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Early history of ethnography and ethnology in the German enlightenment : anthropological discourse in Europe and Asia, 1710-1808

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History of Anthropology

**Early History of Ethnography and Ethnology
in the German Enlightenment:
Anthropological Discourse in Europe and Asia, 1710-1808**

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Aan mijn ouders

To my teachers

Für Anett und Erato

Ethnography is ... the Anthropologist's Muse
(Ioan M. Lewis 1973)

L'anthropologue est l'astronome des sciences sociales
(Claude Lévi-Strauss 1954)

Die Wahrheit ist das Kind der Zeit, nicht der Autorität
(Bertolt Brecht 1938)

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Preface

The present book reports on research on the early history of anthropology in Europe, Asia, and North America conducted over the past twenty years. In April 1988, I completed a lengthy manuscript on ‘The Emergence of Ethnology in Göttingen, c.1770,’ which the Department of Cultural Anthropology at the University of Leiden accepted as a M.A. thesis (Vermeulen 1988). In this thesis, written in Dutch, I argued that ethnology had originated in eighteenth-century Germany when two professors of history at the University of Göttingen, August Ludwig Schlözer and Johann Christoph Gatterer introduced two concepts for that study, *Völkerkunde* and *Ethnographie*. According to the information then available, it was in their work (published between 1771 and 1778) that these concepts, together with variants such as *ethnographisch* (ethnographic) and *Ethnograph* (ethnographer), first surfaced as the names of a new academic discipline. In the years 1991-95, thanks to a doctoral fellowship from the Centre of Non-Western Studies in Leiden (later Research School CNWS), I had the opportunity to check these data in the university library of Göttingen and in other libraries, museums, and research institutes in Germany, Scotland, England, Austria, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Russia. In the course of my investigations, I found much evidence supporting these suppositions and came to the conclusion that there had indeed been a fruitful period in the final quarter of the eighteenth century during which ethnography and ethnology could be said to have come into existence. The astonishing fact was not that this material was unfamiliar to contemporary scholars but, rather, that the post-World War II secondary literature had not or not sufficiently acknowledged it. However, after attending a conference at Halle, Central Germany, in 1996, I became aware that these events had been preceded by an earlier stage, during which ethnography might be said to have originated in the field. After studying the relevant material, I concluded that both periods are part of a process of conceptualization beginning in the early eighteenth century. Thus, ethnography originated in the field, was subsequently introduced as ethnology (*Völkerkunde*) in scholarly discourse at the University of Göttingen, and then exported abroad.

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Chapter One

Introduction

History of Anthropology and Ethnology

In the absence of history, men create myths ...
(George W. Stocking, Jr. 1963: 783, 1968: 72)

In 1871, Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917) published *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom* (London 1871). This book is generally regarded as the founding text of cultural anthropology, the 'science of customs' (Keesing 1958). For today's readers it is, perhaps, surprising that Tylor called the study to which his book contributed 'ethnology' rather than 'anthropology.' In his earlier *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization* (London 1865), he also used the concepts 'ethnography' and 'ethnology' to denote his subject. Tylor regarded both books as studies in 'rational ethnography,' that is, as 'the investigation of the causes, which have produced the phenomena of culture, and the laws to which they are subordinate' (quoted in Dieserud 1908: 35). Tylor obviously avoided the term 'anthropology' as this concept usually denoted the biological study of humans. Ten years later, when Tylor's long-awaited textbook came out, it carried the title *Anthropology* (London 1881). This shift in terminology can be explained with reference to the debates regarding the name and subject matter of the Ethnological Society of London (founded in 1843) and the Anthropological Society of London (founded in 1863). After many battles, both merged to found the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1871 (Stocking 1971).

Tylor is, perhaps, best known for his minimal definition of religion ('the belief in spiritual beings') and his maximal definition of culture. Many anthropologists have regarded the fact that Tylor used the term 'culture' in the title of his 1871 monograph as the point of departure for modern cultural anthropology. Tylor defined the subject matter as follows: 'Culture or CIVILIZATION, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.'¹ The word 'culture' was new to British usage when Matthew Arnold employed it in his essays 'Culture and its Enemies' and 'Anarchy and Authority' in 1867-68.² Tylor generalized its meaning. The crucial word in Tylor's definition, as James Urry (1998: 23) pointed out, is civilization. This word was capitalized in the original but is frequently omitted in quotations, although it was much better known to contemporary English readers than culture, which probably sounded like the German word *Kultur* to them

¹ Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 1871, vol. 1, p. 1. In the book's second edition, 1873, 'language' was added to the subtitle (Leopold 1980: 27, 179).

² Reprinted in 1869 under the title *Culture and Anarchy* (Stocking 1963, 1968; Leopold 1980: 13-14).

(Leopold 1980: 115). By equating culture and civilization, Tylor made it clear that the new concept of culture was to be understood in terms of the older concept of civilization. His concept of culture, as Urry notes, refers ‘to the unity of humankind involved in a common evolutionary process of becoming cultured or civilized.’ Tylor’s book deals with ‘this total process which he believed historically had advanced at different rates through a set of stages but which had not necessarily ended’ (Urry 1998: 23). Humankind becoming ‘cultured or civilized’ is the crucial phrase in this regard. A plural view of the world consisting of ‘cultures’ is not implicit in Tylor’s definition nor in his book, although many anthropologists assume it is. The latter view entered American anthropology in the late nineteenth century through the German ethnologist Franz Boas (1858-1942), who heralded J.G. Herder’s relativist view of peoples unfolding towards humanity (Stocking 1966a; Broce 1986).

Tylor drew on published sources in English, Spanish, German, and French (e.g., Charles de Brosses 1760). However, in an extended analysis of Tylor’s early works, Joan Leopold (1980) has pointed out that Tylor was predominantly inspired by German ethnographers and linguists who had assembled large collections of data on the world’s peoples and their culture. Tylor was able to arrive at a synthesis thanks to the considerable body of knowledge available in the literature in German. This fact has not been sufficiently taken into account.

History of Anthropology

Tylor’s work plays an important role in debates on the history of anthropology. These debates revolve around such questions as: When did anthropology begin? What was its subject matter? How was it defined and operationalized? There are many different answers to these questions. The history of anthropology has been written from a variety of viewpoints, depending on gender, nationality, and theoretical perspective. The most common view has been to see anthropology as a ‘young’ discipline, originating during the second half of the nineteenth century with the work of Tylor, Henry Sumner Maine (1822-1888), and John Ferguson McLennan (1827-1881) in Britain, Johann Jacob Bachofen (1815-1887) and Adolf Bastian (1826-1905) in Switzerland and Germany, and Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881) in the United States.³ In their work, anthropology – at the time referred to as ethnology – is held to have become ‘scientific’ by adopting evolutionism as a theory and kinship as primary object of research. Ethnologists and cultural anthropologists predominantly share this opinion, to an almost canonical degree.⁴ In further elaborations of this view, Franz Boas is held to have founded anthropology in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, while Émile Durkheim (1858-1917) and Marcel Mauss (1872-1950) are said to have played a similar role in France. Modern anthropology is held to have begun in England with Bronislaw Kasper Malinowski (1884-1942)

³ See e.g. Thomas Hylland Eriksen and F.S. Nielsen, *A History of Anthropology* (2001). On anthropology as a young discipline, see Linton 1936; Nadel 1952; Kardinier and Prebble 1963; Cerulli 1969; Feest and Kohl 2001.

⁴ Penniman 1935; Lowie 1937; Burrow 1966; Mercier 1966; Poirier 1968a, 1969; Service 1985; Trautmann 1987.

and Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown (1881-1955), who are regarded as the founding fathers of British social anthropology from the 1920s onward (Kuper 1973, 1983, 1988). Malinowski is also credited as the father of long-term fieldwork, having invented the emblematic method of ‘participant observation’ with which modern anthropology purportedly began.⁵

By contrast, one encounters the view that anthropology is an ‘old’ discipline that began in Antiquity among the Greeks with Herodotus, among the Romans with Strabo and Tacitus. This view is prevalent among historians who trace anthropology, in the form of ethnography, back to ancient Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Arabic scholars, until its reappearance during the European expansion.⁶ The point is sometimes even widened by assuming that an interest in ‘others’ is basic to humankind, leading to the thesis that cultural anthropology may have commenced in prehistory when the first Neanderthal commented on his neighbors.⁷

Many interpretations have been developed as an alternative to these basic viewpoints. Some argue that anthropology arose during the Renaissance and the Age of Discovery (1450-1700) when Europeans explored the world.⁸ Although these journeys were mostly set up for the purpose of trade, European seafarers encountered ‘exotic’ people in the world beyond Europe and composed valuable ethnographic reports. Others point to medieval travelers such as Carpini, Rubruck and Marco Polo. Merchants and missionaries were sent out to set up relations between European courts and the Mongol rulers of China, sometimes writing detailed reports. Still others see anthropology as a ‘Romantic’ discipline, originating from encounters between European travelers, traders, missionaries, and colonial officers and the peoples outside Europe. This view couples a definition of anthropology as the study of the ‘Other’ with Romanticism, a philosophical movement of the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries that added a sentimental counter-current to the rationalism of Western science.

In opposition to ethnologists and cultural anthropologists in the United States, social anthropologists in Great Britain and France developed their own view of anthropology, seeing it as a product of the Enlightenment.⁹ Durkheim (1892) included Montesquieu among his scholarly forebears; Lévi-Strauss (1962b, 1963) adopted Rousseau. Radcliffe-Brown (1951, 1957) and Evans-Pritchard (1951, 1962, 1981) acknowledged the philosophers of the Scottish Enlightenment as their intellectual ancestors. Scottish moral philosophers such as Adam Ferguson, Lord Kames (Henry Home), Lord Monboddo (James Burnett), William Falconer and

⁵ Alternative founders of anthropological fieldwork are Frank Hamilton Cushing who conducted research among the Zuni from 1879, and Franz Boas who studied Baffin Island in 1883-4. Malinowski’s biographer suggests that his supervisors A.C. Haddon and C.G. Seligman have as much right to the title of founder of long-term fieldwork as Malinowski does, and points out that Haddon introduced the term fieldwork into anthropology (Young 2004: 339).

⁶ See Momigliano 1966, 1977; Bitterli 1976, 1989. Anthropologists adopting this view include Mühlmann 1948, Hymes 1974, Darnell 1974, Honigsmann 1976, Palerm 1982, Petermann 2004. On anthropology in Classical Antiquity up to the Byzantine era, see Marett 1908, Myres 1908, Hoffman 1973, Klaus E. Müller 1972-80.

⁷ A point made by Kai Birket-Smith, see Feest and Kohl 2001: xi; see also Claessen 1976: 9.

⁸ On anthropology emerging in the Renaissance, see Cocchiara 1948; Hodgen 1964; Rowe 1964, 1965.

⁹ The Enlightenment’s importance for social or cultural anthropology has been emphasized by Bryson 1945; Evans-Pritchard 1962, 1981; Slotkin 1965; Foucault 1966; Harris 1968; Moravia 1970, 1973; Duchet 1971; Diamond 1974; Voget 1975; Copans and Jamin 1978; Llobera 1980; Littlejohn 1987; Barnard 1995a-b, 2000; Wokler 1988, 1993.

William Robertson used ethnographic data on the peoples of the world in order to illustrate the presumed development of human society. Summarizing the field, Regna Darnell (1974: 5) stated that the ‘role of the eighteenth-century Scottish philosophers, or the French rationalists of the same period is already well-known to the history of social science. These men laid the foundations not only of anthropology as a discipline, but also of other fields of inquiry.’

Historians of Native Americans claim that comparative ethnology began with the work of the French Jesuit Joseph-François Lafitau in 1724 (Pagden 1986). Others argue that relativism in anthropology began with Montaigne, Oviedo, Las Casas, and de Sahagún during the sixteenth century, both in Europe and in the Americas (Erdheim 1990).

Finally, there are attempts to see anthropology as beginning only when it was professionalized. Sol Tax argued that anthropology began when ‘the first anthropological (then called ethnological) society was formed’ (Tax 1955b: 316), which took place in Paris, in 1839. This view fits in with the viewpoint of historians that anthropology was established as a discipline during the nineteenth century in specialized societies, ethnographic museums, and anthropological departments. The first ethnological societies were founded in France, the United States and Great Britain during the years 1839-43; the first specialized ethnographic museums were created in St. Petersburg (Russia), Leiden (the Netherlands), and Copenhagen (Denmark) in 1836-41 (see Table 8); the first ethnographic chairs were established in Russia and the Netherlands in the 1830s; and the first anthropological departments emerged in the United States during the 1890s. In the United States, professional anthropology is regarded to have begun with Franz Boas and his students in the early twentieth century (Stocking 1974).

Nevertheless, the majority of socio-cultural anthropologists trace the origins of their discipline to the 1860s when its practitioners embraced evolutionism as a theory. Bachofen’s *Mutterrecht* (1861), Maine’s *Ancient Law* (1861), McLennan’s *Primitive Marriage* (1865), Tylor’s *Primitive Culture* (1871), and Morgan’s *Ancient Society* (1877) are seen as the founding texts of socio-cultural anthropology as a specialized discourse on human diversity.¹⁰

Varieties of Anthropology

Common to the views presented above is the attempt to equate anthropology with a specific tradition, to determine its origin, and to trace its development. Cultural anthropologists emphasize the predominance of culture and of evolutionism and thus give precedence to the nineteenth century. Social anthropologists focus on society, a concept that surfaced during the eighteenth century. Folklore specialists emphasize the study of manners and customs that began in sixteenth-century Europe. Historians and philosophers highlight the overseas interest and the ancient tradition of reports on the ‘Other,’ going back to the Greeks and the Romans.

¹⁰ The term ‘discours’ was employed by René Descartes in 1637. Tzvetan Todorov (1966) defined it as a way of representing a subject, a story, a history. In a social-scientific sense, the term was introduced by Michel Foucault in his *L’Archéologie du savoir* (Paris 1969) and *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison* (Paris 1975).

Sometimes one finds multiple views expressed in the work of one and the same author. For example, Radcliffe-Brown, one of the founding fathers of social anthropology, claimed that his work was part of ‘a cultural tradition of two hundred years’ (Radcliffe-Brown 1952b: 14). Significantly, his subject had not one but two origins. The first dates from 1748, when Charles de Montesquieu, a French lawyer and political philosopher of the *Ancien Régime*, published *De l'esprit des loix* (The Spirit of the Laws, 1748). In it, Montesquieu analyzed forms of government and developed a theory of the influence of climate on political and social organization (climatic determinism). He advocated the *trias politica* (the separation of executive, legislative, and judicial powers) and developed a system of checks and balances that was implicitly formulated as a ‘social system.’ These ideas were adopted by the Scottish Enlightenment philosophers and inspired both the Founding Fathers from Philadelphia who signed the American Declaration of Independence (1776) and the Framers who drafted the United States Constitution (1787). Citing an authority such as Montesquieu gives both political and scholarly credibility to one’s work, and Radcliffe-Brown was well aware of that. His second point of origin dates from c.1870 when Tylor, McLennan and Morgan published their works on kinship and marriage (Radcliffe-Brown 1958: 147-156). Thus, as part of his efforts to create a ‘comparative sociology,’ Radcliffe-Brown referred to the French and the Scottish Enlightenment, generally presumed to have commenced social science, at the same time reverting to the concept of ‘progress’ that spanned both the Enlightenment and the Victorian period (Barnard 1992: 3).

Claude Lévi-Strauss, one of the founders of structural anthropology, has three points of origin in his anthropological family tree. Acknowledging Durkheim as an intellectual stimulus on his own work, Lévi-Strauss favors Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) as the ‘founder of the sciences of man’ (Lévi-Strauss 1962b) and the ‘father of anthropology’ (Lévi-Strauss 1963). For the nostalgic author of *Tristes Tropiques* (1955), the critical theories of Rousseau regarding ‘the natural state of man’ were an obvious choice. Lévi-Strauss called Rousseau ‘the most anthropological of the philosophers’ and the ‘founder of classical anthropology.’ He found his *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (1755) ‘without doubt the first anthropological treatise in French literature’ as Rousseau had posed the ‘central problem of anthropology,’ viz. the passage from nature to culture, ‘in almost modern terms.’ Lévi-Strauss motivated this choice not by referring to Rousseau as a founder of Romanticism, but to Rousseau’s language theories as set out in his *Essai sur l'origine des langues* (1783). However, Lévi-Strauss also refers to the French humanists Jean de Léry and Jean Bodin for having laid the foundations for the science of humankind in the sixteenth century. ‘What we call the Renaissance was a veritable birth for colonialism and for anthropology’ (Lévi-Strauss 1960, 1966b: 123). During the Renaissance, from the fourteenth century on, philosophers began to emphasize reason against belief, and gradually turned away from the *jenseits* to the *diesseits*. This philosophical development coincided with the European explorations in the Age of Discovery. Anthropology was a ‘daughter to this era of violence’ in

which ‘one part of mankind treated the other as an object’ (Lévi-Strauss 1966b: 126). Thus, Lévi-Strauss points to the Renaissance for having laid the basis for a science of humankind, which was founded by Rousseau during the eighteenth century, and which came to fruition during the nineteenth century. It is not difficult to see that in all three cases, anthropology changes dress and is defined in quite different ways. In the case of Jean de Léry (1578) and Jean Bodin (1566, 1576), the central object was the manners and customs of the native people and the sovereignty of the state; in that of Rousseau (1755, 1783), the state of nature and the origins of language; in that of Durkheim (1912), the comparative sociology of religion.

Matters become more complicated when a variety on a different level is introduced, physical or biological anthropology. Publishing in the 1860s, none of the authors mentioned above would have presented their work as a contribution to ‘anthropology.’ This is because, at that time, anthropology was predominantly seen as a biological study of human diversity conducted by medical doctors and natural historians (biologists). Indeed, there had been a stage during the late eighteenth century in which philosophers such as Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) had used the concept ‘anthropology’ for a philosophical discussion of humanity, not seeing it in terms of cultures, or peoples, but ‘from a pragmatic point of view’ (Kant 1798). Still, by 1860, the concept ‘anthropology’ was primarily reserved for the biological study of the diversity of mankind, a trend set by the German anatomist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840) in 1795-98. In the second half of the nineteenth century, biological anthropology became dominant due to the founding of anthropological societies in Europe and the United States. Adopting Blumenbach’s terminology, the French neurologist Paul Broca created the *Société d’Anthropologie de Paris* in 1859, and the British physician James Hunt founded the Anthropological Society of London in 1863. These societies succeeded the ethnological societies that had been established in Paris, New York and London between 1839 and 1843.

Anthropology and Ethnology

The establishment of physical-anthropological societies and the dominance of the biological perspective in the mid-nineteenth century sparked off a debate in England, France and the United States. In England, an Ethnological Society of London (ESL) had been founded in 1843. Twenty-one years later, the renowned prehistorian John Lubbock, president of the Ethnological Society and author of *Pre-Historic Times* (1865) and *The Origin of Civilisation* (1870), argued that ethnology was ‘an older word and a prettier word than anthropology.’¹¹ Therefore, it was to be preferred in the name of the British Association for the Advancement of Science’s Section E, dealing with Geography and Ethnology. Using this argument, Lubbock prevented an attempt by members of the Anthropological Society of London (ASL) to include anthropology in the Association’s Section. Lubbock did not favor anthropology as the ASL’s

¹¹ Lubbock quoted in *The Anthropological Review*, February 1864: 296 (Stocking 1971: 381).

founder, James Hunt, was known as a racist and a polygenist who emphasized the biological history of humankind, rather than the cultural history to which Lubbock himself adhered. The battle between the ‘anthropologicals’ and the ‘ethnologicals’ at the British Association ignited a heated debate. When, later that year, the first plans were made for a merger between the ESL and the ASL, the question rose: Under what name? This launched a frantic search for historical data on the relative age and meaning of the three terms anthropology, ethnology, and ethnography – concepts denoting a study of human diversity, also known as a ‘study of peoples’ (*Völkerkunde*), the ‘study of man,’ the study of culture, the study of human races, etc. Lubbock’s remark inspired members of the ASL, especially Thomas Bendyshe (1865a-c) and James Hunt, ‘to trace the origin and different meanings attached to the words anthropology, ethnography, and ethnology’ (Hunt 1865: xcii). Both favored the term anthropology, which they found to be much older, as Magnus Hundt had introduced it in Leipzig in 1501. An agreement was eventually reached in 1871 when the ESL and ASL amalgamated under the name ‘Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland’ (Cunningham 1908; Stocking 1971).

In the world at large, anthropology is especially known in three forms: as philosophical anthropology, as physical or biological anthropology, and as cultural or social anthropology.¹² A physical study of the human species emerged during the eighteenth century with the work of Carolus Linnaeus, Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon, Petrus Camper, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Samuel Thomas Soemmerring, John Hunter, Charles White, Georges Cuvier, James Cowles Prichard, William Lawrence, and others. Beginning in 1795, Blumenbach called this study *Anthropologie*. However, that category was so broad that the equation of the physical study of humans with anthropology only occurred half a century later. Philosophical anthropology also took off during the eighteenth century, especially in the work of Immanuel Kant and Johann Gottfried Herder. John Zammito (2002) argues that Kant and Herder stood at the cradle of anthropology in its philosophical guise and that (philosophical) anthropology was born out of philosophy in the work of Kant and Herder of the late 1760s and early 1770s.

These developments formed the background to the debate between the advocates of ‘anthropology’ and ‘ethnology’ in England on the differences between these two terms. Thus, it can be said that reflection on the conceptual history of anthropology and ethnology began in the 1860s. Historical research led participants in the debates on these terms to change the name of an important British research institution – a process that was to have reverberations abroad. The British discussions were continued in the United States (1869-79) and in France (Topinard 1876, 1880, 1885, 1891). They eventually led to the implementation of a hierarchical model in which anthropology was seen as the name of an inclusive, overarching science, and ethnology as that of a subordinate science.

¹² There are also a medical, a theological, and a psychological anthropology – all less well-known. On the history of physical and philosophical anthropology, see Dilthey 1904; Günther 1907; Martin 1928; Diem 1962; Marquard 1965, 1971; Linden 1976; Erickson 1987; Wokler 1988, 1993, 1995; Pittelkow 1991; Benzenhöfer and Rotzoll 1994; Dougherty 1985, 1990a-b, 1996; Mazzolini 1990, 1997; Meijer 1991, 1999, 2004; Barnard 1995a-b; Spencer 1997; Eidson 2000; Roede 2002; Zammito 2002; van Hoorn 2004; Hoßfeld 2005; Corbey 2005.

In the United States, the four-field approach developed, in which anthropology is viewed as the main subject, composed of four sub-disciplines: (1) physical or biological anthropology, (2) archaeology, (3) linguistic anthropology, and (4) ethnology or cultural anthropology.¹³ The four-field model was first formulated with reference to America in the statutes of the Anthropological Society of Washington in 1879 (de Laguna 1960: 94; Eidson 2000). Franz Boas continued this model in the United States (Stocking 1974). Boas was able to do that because he had become familiar with anthropology, linguistics, and ethnology while studying in Berlin.

The American hierarchical model was not accepted everywhere. Up until World War II, the development in Europe was very different. On the European continent, anthropology and ethnology developed in separate domains, parallel to each other. The practitioners of these sciences came from differing domains: in the case of anthropology, from biology (natural history) or medical studies; in that of ethnology, from jurisprudence and from the humanities, including history, geography, and linguistics. For a long time, the term anthropology did not need an adjective to specify what kind of anthropology one was referring to. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, anthropology was a physical or a philosophical study of humankind. Social and cultural anthropology did not yet exist, being products of later developments in the United Kingdom and the United States respectively. These studies were introduced in the early twentieth century to replace a previously existing discipline: ethnology (Lowie 1953).

The Problem of History

Thus, the origins of ‘anthropology’ are diverse and depend on the definition of this subject. Evolutionism, Romanticism, the Enlightenment, the Renaissance, the Age of Discovery, and Classical Antiquity have all been proposed as starting points for anthropology. These views clearly depend on the theoretical perspectives of the respective authors and on their answers to the question: What is anthropology about? When anthropology is defined as a study of ‘the Other’ (a topic borrowed from philosophy), one arrives at a totally different view on its history than when it is defined as a study of *anthropos* (Greek for human being), or a study of *ethnos* (Greek for people). These terms served as the basis for the neo-Greek concepts *anthropologia* and *ethnologia*, which were coined in 1501 and 1781-83 respectively.

The fact that the concept anthropology as developed in the English-speaking world is of a composite nature, forms part of the problem. It refers to what the American historian of anthropology, George W. Stocking, Jr. (1981: 19) calls ‘the hybrid study of human culture and nature.’ In this view, anthropology is half humanities, half science. Stocking considers anthropology to be ‘a hybrid discipline uniting at least two distinct scholarly traditions: the natural historical and the social theoretical (with input as well from various lines of humanistic inquiry).’ This ambiguity causes complications when pursuing the history of anthropology.

¹³ See Winthrop 1991: 13; discussions in the *Anthropology Newsletter*, October 1992, December 1992, and January 1993; Eidson 2000; Borofsky 2002; Silverman 2002; Segal and Yanagisako 2005.

None of the views presented above take into account that ethnology, the predecessor of anthropology in its social or cultural guise, commenced in the eighteenth century within the German Enlightenment and in the context of researches conducted in Europe and Asia. This is surprising, as it was precisely in this period and this context that the foundations were laid for an ethnical (or ethnological) anthropology that eventually evolved into cultural anthropology in the United States and social anthropology in Great Britain.

Apart from Sol Tax's article (1955b) mentioned above, in which Tax pointed to the 'anthropological (then called ethnological) societies,' few studies pay attention to ethnology before it became cultural or social anthropology. Only a small minority of authors has pointed to the eighteenth century as the era when ethnology and ethnography first surfaced, were developed and practiced in the field. This negligence is widespread, not only among colleagues in the United States, Great Britain, and France, but also in Germany (see below).

As the present study demonstrates, ethnography and ethnology arose during the eighteenth century in the work of German-speaking historians, geographers, explorers, natural historians, and linguists. They began to conceptualize and practice a study of peoples and nations called *Völkerkunde* in German and *ethnologia* in neo-Greek from the 1730s to the 1780s. Because ethnology is the original name of the discipline now known as social and/or cultural anthropology, it is important to reconstruct its history.

There is an additional reason for paying attention to the history of ethnology and ethnography. The definition of ethnology presented in the ethnological societies departs from the definitions occurring in eighteenth-century German works. While the original German sources defined ethnology as the study of peoples and/or nations, the ethnological societies defined ethnology as the study of human races. The *Société ethnologique de Paris* was founded to study 'human races according to the historical tradition, the languages, and the physical and moral characteristics of each people.'¹⁴ The aim of the society, in the words of its founder, William F. Edwards, was to establish 'what are, in effect, the various human races.' One of the members of the Ethnological Society of London, the physiologist and zoologist William B. Carpenter, defined Ethnology as 'the Science of Races' in 1848.¹⁵ The study of race is a very different subject than the German study *Völkerkunde*, even allowing for the fact that British authors tended to use 'races' as another term for 'peoples.'

This shift in meaning has hardly been noticed, because the history of ethnography and ethnology in the German Enlightenment, and its connection to ethnology and ethnography in the nineteenth century has not been studied in any detail. One exception is an article by the ethnologist Hans Fischer, who noted the change in meaning when reviewing national claims on the first appearance of the concepts ethnology, ethnography, and *Völkerkunde*.¹⁶ As a

¹⁴ 'l'étude des races humaines d'après la tradition historique, les langues et les traits physiques et moraux de chaque peuple' (de Quatrefages 1867: 30; Davis 1868: 395; Broca 1869: 26; Topinard 1885: 119; Gollier 1905: 16).

¹⁵ Carpenter 1848; Burke 1848; Hunt 1865: c; Stocking 1973: ix-x.

¹⁶ Fischer 1970: 177; see also Vermeulen 1995b: 50-51, 53-54.

result, it has not been understood that the definition of ethnology provided by the ethnological societies of the early nineteenth century departed significantly from that found in the eighteenth-century German works in which the subject first occurred. Thus, if one wants to study the history of socio-cultural anthropology, one has to focus on the history of ethnology.

History of Ethnology

In the United States it is well-known that ethnology was the predecessor of cultural anthropology and that the roots of cultural anthropology lie in the eighteenth century. The doyen of the history of anthropology, George W. Stocking, Jr., has published important articles on the *Société des Observateurs de l'Homme* (Stocking 1964), the merger of the ethnological and anthropological societies in London (Stocking 1971), and the ethnological work of James Cowles Prichard (Stocking 1973). Stocking advanced anthropology's life span by extending the period in which it would be fruitful to speak of anthropology from 1871 to 1842 (Stocking 1971) and from 1841 to 1800 (Stocking 1964). Whereas Stocking, in his early work, was concerned with enlarging the scope of anthropology's history by looking at the period *before* Tylor in Great Britain (Stocking 1973), he shifted to *Victorian Anthropology* and the period *After Tylor* in his later work (Stocking 1987, 1995). Stocking was correct in postulating an ethnological tradition, but his work on the earlier period has remained schematic. For example, he has suggested that there have been three 'paradigmatic traditions' in anthropology, which he labeled: the 'biblical,' 'developmental,' and 'polygenetic' traditions (Stocking 1990: 713-5, 1992: 347-9). The first of these corresponds to the earliest phases of the ethnological tradition. As Stocking wrote, 'a very interesting problem in the history of anthropology' is 'the way in which the Bible functioned as a kind of Kuhnian paradigm for research on the cultural, linguistic, and physical diversity of mankind' (Stocking 1968/1982: 71). However, this does not seem to apply to eighteenth-century German ethnology. Characteristic of the German Enlightenment scholars was a critical stand toward the Bible and to any knowledge handed down by authorities. The historian of early American ethnology, Robert E. Bieder (1972: 18), distinguished in his PhD thesis a 'biblical-historical model' from a 'secular-scientific model,' with which he analyzed scholarship in the United States between 1780 and 1820. By contrast, German *Völkerkunde* related to a *historical* (or a historical-linguistic) paradigm rather than to a 'biblical-historical model.' Apparently, the situation in eighteenth-century Germany was different from that in the USA.

With few exceptions,¹⁷ German ethnologists see the beginnings of ethnology in the works of nineteenth-century authors such as Gustav Klemm, Theodor Waitz, and Adolf Bastian. In his *History of Ethnological Theory*, Robert H. Lowie, an American ethnologist of Austrian descent, pointed to Christoph Meiners (1785) as an eighteenth-century philosopher who 'had a tolerably clear conception of the central core of ethnography.' Meiners had sensed 'the need

¹⁷ Mühlmann 1948, 1968; Berg 1982, 1990; Harbsmeier 1994, 1995; Feest and Kohl 2001; Gingrich 2005.

of a new branch of learning to be set over against political history, a science to be dubbed “the history of humanity” (Lowie 1937: 5, 10-11).¹⁸ Lowie went on to discuss the nineteenth-century work of Klemm, Waitz, and Bastian, acknowledging that these scholars built on the contributions of Enlightenment predecessors such as Meiners. Others, however, have questioned Meiners’ relevance, because of his proclivity for racialist or even racist views.¹⁹

In their critical review of the concept of culture, the American ethnologists Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn (1952) mentioned several German authors who wrote ‘culture-conscious’ studies during the eighteenth century. They valued Voltaire’s *Essai sur les mœurs et l’esprit des nations* (1753-56), often seen as the first contribution to the philosophy of history, and argued that ‘two paths ... led out from Voltaire.’ The first emphasized the ‘spirit’ (*l’esprit*, *Geist*) of nations and led Iselin, Condorcet, and Hegel to lay down philosophical reflections on human history. The second path, taken by Adelung (1782), Herder (1784-91), Meiners (1785), and Jenisch (1801), among others, led toward the ‘customs’ (*coutumes*, *mœurs*) of nations, regarded as variable, plural, and empirical, rather than as rational. Thereafter, the development of the philosophy of history in Germany bifurcated to an even greater degree. The first branch, or rather its advocates, became ‘less interested in history and more in its supreme principle. It dealt increasingly with mankind instead of peoples, aimed at clarifying basic schemes, and operated with the concept of “spirit” instead of that of culture.’ Kroeber and Kluckhohn considered this development to be of little further concern. Instead, they focused on the second ‘current, in which comparative, cultural and ethnographic slants are visible from the beginning.’ This branch was ‘interested in the actual story of what appeared to have happened to mankind. It therefore bore heavily on customs and institutions, became what we today should call culture-conscious, and finally resulted in a somewhat diffuse ethnographic interest.’ The scholars involved viewed ‘mankind ... as an array or series of particular peoples’ (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952: 19, 145-146, 1963: 33, 285). Because their focus concerned the concept of culture, Kroeber and Kluckhohn paid relatively little attention to the role of *Völkerkunde* during this period. They did not consult the work of Adolf Bastian (1881) and Hans Plischke (1925). Mentioning the fact that Meiners had applied the term *Völkerkunde* in 1785, they added in a footnote that this term had been used previously by J.R. Forster, *Beiträge zur Völker- und Länderkunde* in 1781.²⁰ They also stated that (according to Mühlmann 1948: 46) the word ‘ethnography’ was first used in 1608 by Johann Olorinus in his *Ethnographia mundi* (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952: 19, 23 n. 57, 58). As we shall see presently, the latter reference is fatally incorrect.

In 1881, Adolf Bastian, the founder of modern ethnology in Germany and director of the Berlin Museum of Ethnology, published a short history of the subject. He called it ‘A Prehistory of Ethnology’ (*Vorgeschichte der Ethnologie*) and assembled many interesting facts about the

¹⁸ Christoph Meiners, *Grundriß der Geschichte der Menschheit*. Lemgo, 1785. 2nd ed. 1793.

¹⁹ See Ihle 1931; Rupp-Eisenreich 1983b, 1985c; Lotter 1987; Dougherty 1990a; Vetter 1997; Gierl 2008.

²⁰ The correct title of this publication, actually a journal, is Johann Reinhold Forster and Matthias Christian Sprengel (Hrsg.) *Beiträge zur Völker- und Länderkunde*. 14 vols. Leipzig, 1781-90. For the reference to this early use of *Völkerkunde*, Kroeber and Kluckhohn pointed to Hans L. Stoltenberg (1937: 200).

early history of this discipline before it had become established in his own day and age. Bastian mentioned that the concept ethnography had surfaced at the end of the eighteenth century, among others in the title of an Ethnographic Picture Gallery (*Ethnographische Bildergalerie*), published at Neurenberg in 1791.²¹ He saw the study of ethnology beginning with the ethnological societies and observed that it had occurred later than anthropology, originating in the sixteenth century (Bastian 1881: 17-19, 7). He referred to Herder's History of Humankind (*Geschichte der Menschheit*) (1881: 14) and quoted from a *Magazin für Ethnographie und Linguistik* published in 1808,²² in which one of the editors, the celebrated publisher F.J. Bertuch, is supposed to have stated that 'Völkerkunde or *Ethnographie*, guided by *Anthropologie*, reviews all larger and smaller branches of the ... system of peoples (*Menschensystem*)' (1881: 5, 15).²³ Bastian (1881: 7) viewed ethnology as a 'homeless' science in need of assistance from studies such as linguistics (ethnology's 'powerful ally'), psychology, archaeology, and anthropology. His booklet is a rich study but lacks precision. Although consulted by Wilhelm Schmidt (1906), Plischke (1925), and Fischer (1970), the book has not received the attention it deserves.

In his theoretical and methodological overview of modern ethnology, Father Wilhelm Schmidt returned to some of the facts Bastian had dealt with. Ethnology had received a powerful boost from comparative linguistics during the early nineteenth century, as the linguists had made people aware that apart from the anthropological grouping of races, humanity also knew other forms of belonging, namely language families (Schmidt 1906: 144-145). The first occurrence of the name *Ethnographie* was still controversial. Schmidt suggests that the word was first used at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the Danish historian Niebuhr (Bendyshe 1865a) and occurred in the German dictionary of the lexicographer Campe (Hunt 1865: xcv). Bastian, on the other hand, had pointed to the *Ethnographische Bildergalerie* of the late eighteenth century.²⁴

In a number of publications, Hans Plischke, professor of ethnology at the University of Göttingen, studied aspects of the history of ethnology at that University, particularly in the context of sea and land voyages. The library of the University of Göttingen holds a large number of travel accounts that were seen as primary sources on peoples and places around the world. Plischke pointed out that Blumenbach had not concentrated solely on physical anthropology but also included the study of artifacts in his studies, thereby linking anthropology and ethnology. Plischke studied the ethnographic collections of Göttingen, which go back to the eighteenth century (1931), published on its most spectacular item, a Tungusian shaman's coat (1936), pointed to Blumenbach's influence on the explorers of his day and age (1937), analyzed the

²¹ [Th.Fr. Ehrmann], *Ethnographische Bildergalerie: Eine Reihe von Sittengemälden aus der neuesten Völkerkunde*. Nürnberg 1791 (Bastian 1881: 15). More on this picture gallery in Chapter 6.

²² *Allgemeines Archiv für Ethnographie und Linguistik*, hrsg. von F.J. Bertuch und J.S. Vater, Weimar, vol. I, 1808.

²³ Actually, this quotation is from the introductory article in Bertuch and Vater's journal written by Theophil Friedrich Ehrmann, as indicated by his initials, T.F.E. (see Ehrmann 1808a: 11).

²⁴ Schmidt (1906: 144, note 4) gives neither specifics nor dates for Niebuhr and Campe. A book of Barthold Georg Niebuhr in which he used the term *Ethnographie* or *Beschreibung der Völker* (Gollier 1905: 13, based on Bendyshe 1865a and Topinard 1876), has not been found. Poirier (1968a: 25) concludes that Niebuhr used the term during lectures at the University of Berlin in 1810 (see Fischer 1970: 175). The first occurrence of the term *Ethnographie* in the dictionary of Joachim Heinrich Campe is 1811 (Campe 1805-1811, vol. 5: 434).

manifold relations between Göttingen and Tahiti (1938a), and wrote on the ‘Malay variety’ of humankind that Blumenbach introduced (1938b). Plischke was the first to notice that the concept *Völkerkunde* had already occurred in 1781 in the title of the journal *Beiträge zur Völker- und Länderkunde*, edited by Forster and Sprengel (Plischke 1925: 109). Although this was not the first use of the term, as Hans Fischer (1970) discovered, the reference was much earlier than any other in the contemporary literature. Apparently, Plischke was not aware of the fact that Schlözer had introduced the term *Völkerkunde* ten years earlier; otherwise he would have been able to link this with the fact that Sprengel had studied under Schlözer and Gatterer at Göttingen.

In 1948, Wilhelm Emil Mühlmann published a *Geschichte der Anthropologie*, in which he paid attention to the development of both French and German anthropology and ethnology. Mühlmann held the view that the French authors had preceded the Germans, but that the Germans had later ‘caught up.’ For the eighteenth century, he distinguished a ‘critical’ stage (1735-78), connected with French Enlightenment authors such as Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau, and a ‘classical’ stage, in which the ‘leadership in anthropology passed suddenly into the hands of the Germans’ (Mühlmann 1948: 52, 1968: 51). According to Mühlmann, German scholars dominating the field during this ‘classical’ period (1775-95) were Blumenbach, Kant, Johann Reinhold Forster and Georg Forster, S.T. Soemmerring, Meiners, Herder, and Wilhelm von Humboldt. This view, although partial, is relatively clear. However, Mühlmann seriously erred in stating that, ‘Although the material and epistemological prerequisites of a disciplinary establishment of ethnology (*Völkerkunde*), but not yet of raceology (*Rassenkunde*), were laid during the classical period, ethnology did not originate during this period.’²⁵ As we shall see, ethnography had emerged *before* this period, while ethnology surfaced during Mühlmann’s ‘classical’ period, not only in Germany and Switzerland but also in Russia, Austria and Bohemia.

Mühlmann was misled in dating the origins of ethnology because he mistakenly believed that the concepts *Ethnographie* and *Ethnologie* were introduced in the early seventeenth century. In the first edition of his book, we read that Johann Olorinus’ *Ethnographia mundi* was ‘the first proof of the surfacing of the concept “ethnography”.’²⁶ In the second edition, Mühlmann (1968: 78) had to correct this error: ‘The attribution of the word *Ethnographie* to the *Ethnographia mundi* of Olorinus (=Johann Sommer, Magdeburg 1607, 1609), that one occasionally encounters in the literature, is an *Aufsitzer*: the appropriate title of the work is *Ethographia mundi*.’²⁷ Indeed, Johann Sommer (1559-1622) had written a book titled *Ethographia mvndi*, published in three volumes at Magdeburg from 1609 on. In the same vein, Mühlmann corrected an error committed by Wilhelm Schmidt (1926: 29), who quoted a title of the French linguist Étienne Guichard’s

²⁵ ‘Obwohl die materialen und erkenntnistheoretischen Vorbedingungen für eine fachliche Ausbildung der Völkerkunde (noch nicht der Rassenkunde) mit der klassischen Epoche gelegt waren, kam diese dennoch nicht zuwege’ (Mühlmann 1948: 71; 1968: 67).

²⁶ ‘der erste Beleg für das Auftauchen des Begriffes “Ethnographie”’ (Mühlmann 1948: 46).

²⁷ ‘Die in der Literatur gelegentlich anzutreffende Zurückführung des Wortes *Ethnographie* auf die *Ethnographia mundi* von Olorinus (=Johann Sommer, Magdeburg 1607, 1609) ist ein *Aufsitzer*: das betreffende Werk heißt *Ethographia mundi*’ (Mühlmann 1968: 78). *Aufsitzer* is derived from *jemanden aufsitzen*: to be fooled by somebody.

Harmonie étymologique, dated 1606, as *Harmonie ethnologique* (Mühlmann 1968: 78). As we have seen, Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952: 23) adopted the incorrect reference to Olorinus.²⁸

Moreover, Mühlmann thought that ethnology could not have originated around 1775 as the interest in ‘exotic countries and peoples’ (*fremde Länder und Völkerschaften*) supposedly declined during this period (Mühlmann 1948: 71, 1968: 67). This view is clearly incorrect. It can be demonstrated from the contemporary literature that scholars and the general public in Germany took a lively interest in ‘other’ countries and peoples. Moreover, this interest *did* lead to the formulation of a separate discipline and to attempts to create a new field of enquiry. However, the interest in exotic peoples and places was not the only factor in bringing forth the study of ethnography. Another factor was that peoples and nations were becoming known for which little or no place existed within world history (see Chapter 6). At the same time, some of these peoples were creating political and administrative dilemmas, continuing to do so on an even larger scale in the decades to come. It is significant that the new discipline was designated, not in terms referring to ‘savages’ or exotic ‘others,’ but in terms referring to *ethnos* and *Völker*.

As the result of these misreadings and chronological mistakes, Mühlmann missed the true origins of ethnography and ethnology. If he had known that these studies had taken off during the German and Russian Enlightenment, Mühlmann would certainly have given them a place in his historical overview. He did not, for one reason only: he was not familiar with German historians doing research in Siberia, or with German *Universalhistoriker* in Göttingen working their findings into a theory of general world history. Mühlmann obviously was not aware of the fact that the University of Göttingen stimulated new fields, notably the study of statistics or *Staatenkunde*, of linguistics alongside philology, of ethnology and history alongside geography, of physical anthropology alongside natural history.

In 1955, the American historian of medicine Erwin Ackerknecht (1955: 83) summed up the expertise in these fields at the University of Göttingen, which he described as ‘the first academic center of geography in Germany’ and ‘the first academic center of anthropology in history.’ To substantiate this claim, Ackerknecht mentioned Blumenbach’s physical anthropology, the Arabia expedition carried out by Carsten Niebuhr (1761-67), lectures given on the ‘art of traveling’ (*ars apodemica*), Meiners’ *Grundriß der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1785), and the influence of Georg Forster, the well-known traveler who accompanied Captain James Cook on his second voyage around the world and published a celebrated travel account in 1777.

Although these events were certainly important, the list is incomplete. On the basis of recent research, one has to add the Göttingen *Universal-Historiker* Johann Christoph Gatterer (1727-1799), August Ludwig Schlözer (1735-1809), and Arnold Hermann Ludwig Heeren (1760-1842). These scholars not only discussed ethnographic details in their historical and

²⁸ See Fischer (1970: 173-74, 180) on Olorinus, Schmidt, and Guichard. Mühlmann’s mistake was recently repeated by the index maker of the *Zeitschriften der Aufklärung*, hosted at the Bielefeld University Library website, where an article on the history of German fashion in the sixteenth century, appearing in *Journal von und für Deutschland* of 1788, is accompanied by a keyword: Sommer, J. / ‘Ethnographia mundi.’

geographical works, but actually formulated and outlined a discipline called *Völkerkunde* or *Ethnographie*. Research in this field has been conducted by the German ethnologist Hans Fischer (1970, 1983), the Austrian ethno-sociologist Justin Stagl (1974b, 1995b, 1998, 2002b), the Austrian anthropologist Britta Rupp-Eisenreich (1983a-b, 1984, 1985a-b), and a few others.

Recent Contributions

In 1970, Hans Fischer, working at the University of Hamburg, pointed out that the concepts *Ethnographia* and *Völkerkunde* occurred as early as 1775 in Gatterer's *Abriß der Geographie*. Both concepts were used as equivalents and classified together with *anthropologia* or *Menschenkunde* as a category within the field of geography. Fischer critically evaluated all earlier claims about the origins of the concepts *Völkerkunde*, ethnography, and ethnology (1970).²⁹ He concluded that the concept *Völkerkunde* appeared in the titles of 'a great number of books and journals during the 1780s and 1790s that have two things in common: they all derive from Northern Germany, especially from Göttingen, and either relate to geographical textbooks or to travel accounts' (Fischer 1970: 170). He thought, incorrectly, as we now know, that Gatterer was also the first to use the concept *Ethnographie*, at Göttingen in 1775, as a synonym of *Völkerkunde*. Therefore, Fischer (1970: 176, 181) concluded, '*Völkerkunde* and *Ethnographie* originated simultaneously and with the same meaning – as translations of each other – in Northern Germany and to all probability in Göttingen.' Because these terms later occur in the work of geographers and historians in Göttingen and Hamburg, 'there can be little doubt that *Völkerkunde* originated here as part of geography' (Fischer 1970: 182).

The concept *Ethnologie*, on the other hand, is supposed to have occurred first in the work of the French-speaking Swiss theologian Alexandre-César Chavannes (Lausanne 1787), the classification of sciences of the French physicist André-Marie Ampère (Paris 1830), and an article of the French archaeologist Edme-François Jomard (Paris 1839). On the basis of these references, Fischer concluded that *Ethnologie* 'most certainly originated in the French-speaking world, perhaps in imitation of *Ethnographie*, possibly several times independently of each other' (Fischer 1970: 182). He observed that initially the meaning of *Ethnologie* was about the same as that of *Ethnographie*, but that its meaning later changed when *Ethnologie* was related to the concept of race, especially in France and England, as well as in Germany.

Fischer's article is of great value and significantly expanded the state of our knowledge. However, the dates he proposed are not always correct. Gatterer did not coin the concepts *Völkerkunde* and *Ethnographie*. His younger colleague August Ludwig Schlözer had used them four years earlier and much more often than Gatterer (see below). In addition, Chavannes was not the first to use the concept *Ethnologie*. The Slovak historian Ján Tibenský reported that the concept *ethnologia* was used and defined by the historian-cum-librarian Adam

²⁹ I owe the reference to Fischer's 1970 article to an anonymous article on 'Völkerkunde' in the *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie*, 17. Auflage, Wiesbaden. Band 19, 1974: 684-686.

Franz Kollár in a publication written in Latin and published at Vienna in 1783 (Tibenský 1978). Moreover, Fischer's interpretation that *Völkerkunde* originated 'as part of geography' cannot be corroborated. Rather, *Völkerkunde* originated as part of history and was only later relegated to geography. Nevertheless, Fischer was correct in pointing out that the terms *Völkerkunde* and *Ethnographie* had first been used in the German-speaking world of the late eighteenth-century and that *Ethnologie* played an important role in France during the 1830s.

Justin Stagl, working at the University of Bonn and later at that of Salzburg, discovered in 1974 that the two concepts *Völkerkunde* and *Ethnographie*, along with *ethnographisch*, had been used three years before Gatterer. Schlözer used them in his textbook on world history titled *Vorstellung seiner Universal-Historie* (Göttingen 1772, 2nd ed. 1775). In this book, Schlözer included ideas on *Völkerkunde* or *Ethnographie* and discussed 'an ethnographic method' of history, that is, a history according to peoples (Stagl 1974b, 1981). While Gatterer applied these concepts only once, Schlözer did so several times and, according to Stagl (1974b: 79, 1981: 20 n.16), 'for the first time.' Both Gatterer and Schlözer used these terms as synonyms.

Stagl had been led to Schlözer's *Vorstellung* while reading the work of Johann Gottfried Herder. He stumbled upon a review in which Herder had attacked Schlözer's view of world history and criticized Schlözer's use of the term *ethnographisch* (Herder 1772). Schlözer had reacted to Herder with a complete second part of his world history (Schlözer 1773), in which he defended his views and his use of the term *ethnographisch*. Stagl saw in Schlözer's *Vorstellung* an 'outline of a *Völkerkunde* or *Ethnographie*' and inferred that Göttingen had been the place where *Völkerkunde* had originated (*Entstehungsort der Völkerkunde*). He did not state that Schlözer had invented these concepts but concluded nonetheless that Schlözer, in his reply to Herder (1773), had implicitly claimed the word *ethnographisch* as his spiritual property. However, Stagl did not exclude the possibility that the concepts had been coined several times and 'perhaps even before Schlözer' (Stagl 1974b: 74, 81).

Britta Rupp-Eisenreich, an Austrian anthropologist working in Paris, studied the origins of German *Völkerkunde*. She discovered that the work of German historians such as Meiners was familiar to Louis-François Jauffret and Joseph-Marie de Gérando in France. The latter two were members of the *Société des Observateurs de l'Homme* in the period 1799-1804, and adopted German ethnological ideas (Rupp-Eisenreich 1983a-b, 1984, 1985a-b). The Italian historian Sergio Moravia wrote a fascinating book on eighteenth-century anthropology, in which he discussed German and French Enlightenment scholars (Moravia 1970, 1973); however, ethnology as such does not play a role in his study. Another historian of anthropology in France, Michèle Duchet, wrote a celebrated book on *Anthropologie et histoire au siècle des Lumières* (1971, 2nd ed. 1995), in which she concentrated on the 'anthropological discourse' of the French philosophers Buffon, Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvétius, and Diderot. Anthropology in France has always carried the connotation of being a practice of philosophers and Duchet's study pays homage to the rich French tradition in this regard. However, Duchet (1971: 12) also identified an

‘ethnological discourse,’ even if she named only one of the authors contributing to that discourse: the Swiss protestant theologian Alexandre-César Chavannes who used the concept *ethnologie* at Lausanne in 1787 and 1788. Chavannes saw *ethnologie* as part of a larger study, namely anthropology, which he called ‘a new science’ (*une science nouvelle*) or ‘general science of man’ (*science générale de l’homme*) (Chavannes 1787, 1788; Duchet 1971: 229). It is puzzling that this is the only reference to ethnology in the *Ancien Régime*. Claude Blanckaert, a French historian of anthropology who edited a book on the birth of ethnology with missionaries working in the Americas from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century (Blanckaert 1985) and wrote an article on William Edwards and the origins of French ethnology in 1839 (Blanckaert 1988), found few traces of the terms ethnography or ethnology in France before 1826. In that year, the Italian geographer Adriano Balbi published an *Atlas ethnographique du globe* in Paris (Balbi 1826a). The Hungarian anthropologist living in Paris, Geza de Rohan-Csermak (1967) noted the first occurrences of the terms ethnology and ethnography in Ampère’s classification of sciences of 1829-34. The term ethnological ‘was still new to English usage’ when Richard King issued a prospectus to found an Ethnological Society in London in 1842 (Stocking 1971: 372). This led to a surprising question: was ethnology developed in Germany and Austria earlier than in France (from 1826 on) and in Great Britain (from 1842 on)?

Building on the theories of Fischer and Stagl, and on documents published by members of the Eduard Winter School in East Germany,³⁰ I joined the discussion in 1988 (in Dutch) and 1992 (in English). During studies conducted in Leiden, I discovered that the concepts *Völkerkunde*, *Ethnographie* and *ethnographisch*, together with the concept *Ethnograph*, had already appeared in Schlözer’s *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* (Halle 1771), a book Fischer and Stagl had overseen. This book is a masterpiece, much more elaborate than Schlözer’s *Vorstellung*. It presents a regional history of the European and Asian North, which Schlözer saw as interconnected. In line with the historical linguistics introduced by G.W. Leibniz (1710), Schlözer applied these concepts in order to study the peoples of the world and arrange them in a *Systema populorum* or ‘Völker-System.’ Schlözer used the concepts in strategic places in his argument and much more often than Gatterer or any other contemporary author. This made it probable that he had coined them in 1770 and 1771 when he was writing his *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte*. I concluded that *Völkerkunde* as a science had originated at Göttingen c.1770 (Vermeulen 1988, 1992) and presented the hypothesis that the terms *Völkerkunde* and *Ethnographie* do not occur in printed sources before 1770 and 1771 (Vermeulen 1988: 127).

During extensive research in German libraries, especially in the University Library of Göttingen, much additional evidence made it clear that the early history of *Völkerkunde* or *Ethnographie* was a stage in the history of anthropology, rather than merely its prehistory (as Bastian had surmised). In 1994, I presented a list of forty-two books or journals published in Germany, Bohemia, and Switzerland between 1771 and 1791 that contain one of the terms

³⁰ Eduard Winter (1896-1982) was a historian from Bohemia who emigrated through Vienna to East Germany, where he set up a school of East-European history both in Halle (Saale) and Berlin.

Völkerkunde, *Ethnographie*, *Volkskunde*, or *Ethnologie* in the title or the text (Vermeulen 1994a: 340-342). During the conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists held at Prague in 1992, I learned that Chavannes had not been the first to use the concept *Ethnologie* in 1787, but that Kollár had already done so in 1783. I postulated that this early stage, which could be called ‘the conceptualization of ethnology or *Völkerkunde* (as a) descriptive and historical study of all nations,’ had been followed by the institutionalization of ethnology and ethnography in the nineteenth century. During the latter stage, ‘ethnology underwent a transformation and was influenced by nationalistic ideas on the one hand (especially in Central and Eastern Europe) and by racial ideas on the other (particularly in France and England)’ (Vermeulen 1995b: 40, 54).

In 1994, Klaus Schmidt, head of the *Zeitschriften-Index* in Göttingen, established that Schlözer (1771) was not the first to use the term *Ethnographie*. Instead, the German historian Johann Friedrich Schöpperlin working in Nördlingen, Swabia, had already used it four years earlier, in 1767. I reported Schmidt’s findings in several articles.³¹ They caused a small sensation, as Schöpperlin’s name had never been mentioned in the literature on the origin of the *ethnos*-terms. To the contrary, the literature was focused on the University of Göttingen and on Schlözer’s and Gatterer’s work at that university. However, as we shall see, it is possible to postulate a relationship between Schöpperlin and Schlözer (see Chapter 6).

Stagl adopted these findings, especially in a chapter on ‘August Ludwig Schlözer and the Study of Mankind According to Peoples’ (Stagl 1995b, 2002b). Stagl’s books (1995a, 2002a) deal with three methods of research (travel, questionnaires, and the collection of objects) prior to anthropological and social scientific research becoming professionalized in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Stagl concentrated on *ars apodemica* (the art of traveling) and the formal instructions for travelers, a genre beginning in the sixteenth century. Schlözer’s ethnographic approach to world history occupied a central place in Stagl’s argument. In his article on ‘the controversy between Schlözer and Herder’ (1998), Stagl concluded that what he called the ‘*ethnos*-terms’ (*Ethnographie*, *Völkerkunde*, *Ethnologie*, and *Volkskunde*),³² which ‘stress human cultural diversity over the fundamental unity of mankind,’ were ‘coined by a group of mutually known scholars in the late eighteenth-century Germany.’ He argued that these terms were coined in the context of the German Enlightenment, not in that of Early Romanticism (Stagl 1998).

This conclusion was in line with research by German scholars of folklore (*Volkskundler*), which made clear that *Volkskunde*, previously regarded as a study of one’s own people that came to fruition during the nineteenth century, had already commenced in the eighteenth century. Prior to its proclamation as a science in a lecture by its putative founder Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl (*Volkskunde als Wissenschaft*, 1859), there had been many statements and programs dealing with this subject. In 1964, Helmut Möller, a folklore specialist from the University of Göttingen, opened the debate by pointing to a number of German-language studies that had been part of an

³¹ Vermeulen 1996a-b, 2000, 2002, 2006a. See Stagl 1998, 2002b: 255; Bucher 2002: 210; Schippers 2005: 9.

³² Stagl introduced the term ‘*ethnos*-names’ (1995b: 234), later ‘*ethnos*-terms’ (1998: 521), as a generic category for the names of disciplines dealing with *ethnos* (*Volk*): *Völkerkunde*, *Volkskunde*, ethnology, and ethnography.

emerging ethnological and folklore discourse in the eighteenth century. Möller concluded that the concept *Volkskunde* had originated in the late eighteenth century. The early use of this term in the work of Josef Mader (Prague 1787) pointed to its occurrence in the field of ethnology. Following that period, the concept had been employed by the ‘Statisticians’ of the 1820s in the sense of *Bevölkerungskunde*, a study of the population of a state (Möller 1964: 220-221). Gerhard Lutz, from the University of Hamburg, also pointed to a number of references to *Volkskunde* and *Völkerkunde* in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries (Lutz 1969, 1971-72, 1973). Uli Kutter, a student of Möller, discovered an even earlier reference to the concept *Volkskunde*, namely in the journal *Der Reisende* of 1782, probably written by Friedrich Ekkard, an associate of Schlözer (Kutter (1978, 1996).³³ It seems that the difference between *Völkerkunde* and *Volkskunde* was that the first concept applied to the study of all peoples, whereas the second applied to the study of one people only. Thus, the opposition between ‘Western’ and ‘non-Western,’ with reference to which the distinction between *Volkskunde* and *Völkerkunde* is usually explained,³⁴ was not valid for the late eighteenth century.

Having attended a multidisciplinary conference on the work of the German naturalist-cum-explorer Georg Wilhelm Steller held at Halle (Saale) in 1996,³⁵ I realized that the work of the Göttingen historians of the late eighteenth century had been built upon a foundation that was laid much earlier: during the first half of that century. It was in the work of the German historian Gerhard Friedrich Müller, and others members of the Second Kamchatka Expedition (1733-43), that ethnography had been prepared on the ground, so to say, during fieldwork in Siberia and Russian Asia in general. Müller conducted ethnographic fieldwork himself, stimulated other expedition members to conduct ethnographic research, wrote extensive instructions to that effect, and summarizingly used the concept *Völker-Beschreibung* in 1740 (see Chapter 4). In Halle, I was introduced to the work of Wieland Hintzsche, the main historian of the Second Kamchatka Expedition, and through him to that of Aleksandr Christianovich Elert, a Russian historian specializing in Müller’s work during the Second Kamchatka Expedition. The work of these scholars, particularly on the unpublished manuscripts of Müller dating from the 1730s and 1740s, made me aware of the fact that there had been a stage before *Völkerkunde* and *ethnologia* were introduced in the academic centers of Göttingen and Vienna in the 1770s and 1780s. During this stage, a new study, ethnography or *Völker-Beschreibung*, was conceived and developed as a program for describing all peoples of Siberia. This was the first step towards the conceptualization of ethnology as a theoretical reflection on the world’s peoples.

The Halle conference, and its yearly successors, made me revise my original ideas and led to a period of renewed research into the origins of ethnography and ethnology as the root of

³³ The American historian of folklore studies, Uli Linke (1990: 117-118), summarized the state of research in 1990 by mentioning that Schlözer coined the term ethnography in 1772 (based on Stagl 1974b), Gatterer the term *Völkerkunde* in 1775 (based on Fischer 1970), and Ekkard the term *Volkskunde* in 1782 (based on Kutter 1978).

³⁴ See, among others, Cocchiara 1981; Lutz 1982; Linke 1990; Zumwalt 1988; Brednich 1988; Bendix 1997.

³⁵ ‘*Ungeduld und Verzweiflung.*’ *Georg Wilhelm Steller (1709-1746) und die Erforschung von Sibirien und Alaska.* Internationale wissenschaftliche Tagung in den Frankeschen Stiftungen zu Halle/Saale, organisiert von Wieland Hintzsche, 8-12 November 1996. For the accompanying exhibition’s catalogue, see Hintzsche and Nickol 1996a.

socio-cultural anthropology. The methodological principles of this research will be outlined below. These new studies led to conclusions that greatly differ from those drawn on the basis of the late eighteenth-century material. These differences may be summarized briefly as follows. The earlier studies, conducted by Müller, Messerschmidt, and others, were inspired by the Early Enlightenment, based in Central Germany, and carried out in an absolutist, imperial-colonial context. The later studies, conducted by Schlözer and Gatterer, were inspired by the Late Enlightenment, based in Northern Germany, with no direct links to colonialism. I published these views in several articles, the first of which (Vermeulen 1999) was quoted appreciatively by Stagl (2002b) and Petermann (2002). Although these authors have adopted some of my data and interpretations, I feel that the later period (from 1767 onward) cannot be properly understood without looking more closely at the work of the preceding period (from 1710 onward). This is one of the reasons for writing the present book. It is hoped that a history of the German ethnographic tradition, characterized by an encompassing, critical, empirical, and comparative perspective, may inspire scholars in the United States, Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, and other countries to look anew at the early material and to conduct historical research on eighteenth-century studies of peoples and nations.

Research Questions

The data presented above point to the existence of a discourse reflecting the urge to study all peoples and nations (*Völker*) of all times and places. Following Duchet (1971: 12), one may call this discourse ethnological. An ethnological discourse is a way of thinking and communicating about peoples and nations. An ethnological perspective is a way of looking at people in ethnical terms. What *ethnos* is (Bromlev 1977a-b), and how it relates to other objects, is open to debate.

Most German ethnologists seem unaware of the originality of their own ethnographic tradition, which first formulated the basic distinction between ethnography and ethnology, outlined the subject matter of both studies (national diversity in the world, *Völkervielfalt*), and coined the concepts with which these studies are designated even today, more than two centuries later. As we have seen, only a few authors have pointed to the eighteenth century as the era when both ethnology and ethnography surfaced, were designed, developed, and practiced. Their work shows that the genesis and early development of ethnology and ethnography took place during the eighteenth century, from the 1740s onward, rather than in the nineteenth century, with the work of the social evolutionists beginning in the 1860s.

Pursuing the historiography with the American hierarchical four-field model in mind, one is led to assume that ethnology developed in a hierarchical relation to anthropology. Instead, these discourses ran parallel to each other, with the participants coming from diverging domains of science. The same seems to hold for ethnology and sociology. Although the origins of social anthropology are also often traced to scholarly developments in the

eighteenth century, the study of culture or the study of peoples has not received the same degree of attention and its origin in the eighteenth century have largely been overlooked.

Therefore, I propose to focus on the *conceptualization* of what is now called anthropology, that is, on the formation of ethnography and ethnology during the first and the second half of the eighteenth century. In my view, socio-cultural anthropology originated when it came to be designated by the concepts *Völker-Beschreibung*, *ethnographia*, *Völkerkunde*, and *ethnologia* in the years 1740-1787, even though it took another century before it was institutionalized. What is decisive, is that contemporary scholars saw these terms as referring to a scientific discipline. In the eighteenth century, however, this discipline was not uniform and several theoretical positions were formulated from diverging research traditions. For historiographical reasons, it is essential to pay attention to these traditions and their varying contexts – academic, political, international.

This leads to the following questions: When did anthropology in its socio-cultural guise (*Völkerkunde*, including ethnology and ethnography) begin? In what contexts and to what purpose? And what effects did ethnology in the German tradition have on scholars elsewhere?

The aims and objectives of the present project are: first, to retrace, describe and contextualize the early beginnings of ethnography and ethnology in the German-speaking territories during the eighteenth century, and second, to connect that body of scholarship to developments in other parts of Europe during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

What's in a Name? Conceptual History as a Method

The primary method applied by most authors dealing with the origins of ethnology and ethnography is conceptual history. This part of the history of ideas specializes in the history of concepts (*Begriffsgeschichte*). In science, the most important concepts are the names of sciences. In the preface to the *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte*, founded in 1955, Erich Rothacker drew attention to the 'many-layered interrelatedness of the history of problems and the history of terminology' (Bödeker 1998; den Boer 1998). If we apply the dates and meanings involved as indicators of more general developments, the method has great potential. It points to shifts of meaning and terminological innovations, allowing us to make discoveries we might otherwise have missed. Stagl (1995b: 234; 1998: 521) found the cluster of concepts that are the focus of this study so important that he coined an inclusive designation for it, *ethnos*-terms. Each time one of these terms is encountered, it must be analyzed and contextualized. Conceptual history includes an analysis of definitions and programmatic statements. Needless to say, the method has its limitations. Sometimes, sciences are formulated without a proper name. Vico's *Scienza Nuova* is a good example. Therefore, conceptual history needs to be complemented, among others by the history of reception of scientific innovations, and by historical contextualization.

A basic principle to the study of history is that historiography should avoid anachronism, nationalism, and presentism. The methodological principles of the present study are as follows. First, anachronism, an error with regard to the chronological sequence, should be avoided.

Second, it is essential to avoid ‘presentism,’ that is, the tendency to conceive of the past as merely preparing the present and to look at the present as if it were a mere continuation of the past (Stocking 1965, 1999; Di Brizio 1995). This tendency leads to distortions, while ignoring paradigmatic and terminological changes. Accordingly, I propose to work in a historicist manner, setting developments, discourses, and ideas against the background of preceding developments. I shall therefore contextualize and historicize as much as possible (Stocking 1968, 1990, 1992b; Kuper 1991; Urry 1993; Vermeulen 1995a: 11). This amounts to applying ethnographic methods to the field of history, in an effort to gain access to the ideas of the eighteenth-century scholars and interpret their work in terms of notions and concepts that organized their debates.

Third, such a study should ideally be pursued within a comparative framework. The historical connections in European scholarship have to be taken into account. There is no single national standpoint from which the history of ethnology and ethnography can be studied, and we shall therefore have to look at national traditions comparatively and connectedly.

Fourth, I concentrate on changes in terminology that suggest paradigmatic shifts ‘hidden’ behind them. According to Kuhn (1977), ‘A paradigm is what members of a scientific community, and they alone, share.’ Following Lakatos (1977), I employ the term paradigm as another word for research program. For example, the coining of the concepts *Völker-Beschreibung* (1740), *Ethnographie* (1767) and *Völkerkunde* (1770) implied a shift from the study of manners and customs (*Sitten und Gebräuche*) to the study of peoples and nations. The German concept *Sitten* can mean both ‘manners’ and ‘morals.’ Another example is the shift from a ‘science of nations’ to a ‘science of human races’ taking place around 1840 (Vermeulen 1995a: 12, 1995b: 40, 54-55). It foreshadowed the demise of the ethnological societies during the 1840s and 1850s and their transformation into anthropological societies in England, the United States, and France during the 1870s and 1880s (Stocking 1971, 1984b).

Finally, it is vital for historiographic purposes to pay attention to changes in meaning and scope, as these are often related to shifts in theory and method. The history of anthropology is an anthropological problem (as Hallowell already suggested in 1965) and should be studied as such. Consequently, the methodological framework adopted here starts from an emic perspective.

In writing history, we have to bear in mind that it is virtually impossible to completely transcend one’s own cultural categories, as ethnographic studies have abundantly demonstrated. In dealing with foreign cultures or other time frames, we are always led by the images, views, and emotions we have acquired from teachers, books, and media. A truly historicist study is untenable and our historical interpretations will always be influenced by presentist concerns (Kuper 1991; Urry 1996). Therefore, the ideal of grasping another reality by means of its own categories can only be accomplished to a certain extent. The American historian of anthropology

Jacob W. Gruber (1982: 590) summarized the discussion as follows: ‘as in anthropology itself, some double vision is required in which one can see the now and then, the here and there.’ With this caveat, the present study attempts to be historicist, contextual, conceptual, and comparative.

Arrangement of the Book

The book is subdivided in six chapters and two parts. The first chapter provides an introduction to the study of the history of anthropology, concentrating on the genesis of ethnology in the eighteenth century. The chapters arranged in Part One are devoted to the origins of ethnography in the field during the early German and Russian Enlightenment. Chapter 2 deals with G.W. Leibniz’s theories about the importance of historical linguistics for elucidating the early history of peoples. It also shows the manifold relations Leibniz entertained with Peter the Great and his advisors from 1697 to Leibniz’s death in 1716. In Chapter 3, I discuss the post-conquest exploration of Russian Asia by Russian, Swedish, Dutch, and German scholars, including the Siberia expedition by D.G. Messerschmidt (1719-27). Chapter 4 deals with later Russian-German explorations of Siberia, particularly the Second Kamchatka Expedition (1733-43). As a participant in this expedition, the historian G.F. Müller developed a program of ethnographic research entitled *Völker-Beschreibung* (ethnography) of Siberia (c.1740) and wrote a (soon to be published) comparative ‘Description of Siberian Peoples.’ Chapter 5 provides an analysis of the Danish-German Arabia Expedition (1761-67) that gathered data on the contemporary Middle East but did not contribute to the formation of ethnography as a discipline. Part Two is devoted to the foundation of *Völkerkunde* in universities and academies during the second half of the eighteenth century. Chapter 6 analyzes the introduction of the concepts *ethnographia* and *ethnologia*, *Völkerkunde*, and *Volkskunde* by A.L. Schläzer, J.C. Gatterer, and A.F. Kollár in Central and Eastern Europe during the 1770s and 1780s, in the context of historical, geographical, and linguistic discussions on the origins and migrations of peoples and nations. It also deals with the program of a global *Völkerkunde* and how J.G. Herder transformed this into a relativist study of the plurality of the world’s peoples. Another aspect requiring attention is the development of *Anthropologie* as a parallel discourse dealing with the physical (biological) and philosophical study of humankind. In the Epilogue, the influence of the German ethnographic tradition on scholars in France, Russia, Holland, the United States, and Great Britain is outlined.

PART ONE

Ethnography and Empire

The Origins of Ethnography in the German and Russian Enlightenment

For knowledge itself is power
Nam et ipsa scientia potestas est
(Francis Bacon 1597)

... languages are the pedigree of nations
(Samuel Johnson 1773)

Ethnography is perhaps the most important and
most widely used qualitative mode of inquiry
into social and cultural conditions,
not only in the academic social sciences
(The Center for Ethnography,
University of California-Irvine, 2008)

Chapter Two

Theory and Practice

G.W. Leibniz and the Advancement of Science in Russia, 1697-1716

The first traces of an ethnological way of thinking in Western discourse can be found in the work of the German philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716). He was what the Germans call a *Universalgelehrter*, a universal scientist. His work covered a broad range from philosophy, politics, and mathematics to history, geography, and linguistics. He invented the binary system of arithmetic, when working in Hanover, and developed the differential and integral calculus independently of Isaac Newton. Much less known is that Leibniz was deeply interested in the history and languages of the peoples of the world, especially in Europe and Asia. He studied the relations between language and people and, by comparing the world's languages, hoped to shed light on the early history of peoples (*Völkergeschichte*). By adding a strict methodology, Leibniz contributed to a field now known as historical linguistics. As we shall see, Leibniz's ethnolinguistic approach was highly conducive toward furthering an ethnological perspective.

Leibniz between Science and Politics

Leibniz's linguistic theories directly influenced comparative language studies during the German Enlightenment. His monism, the metaphysical view that all is one, offered an alternative to René Descartes' dualism and John Locke's empiricism. Because Locke's work served as an important source of inspiration for Leibniz, as well as of critique, we have to discuss it briefly.

The natural philosophy of John Locke (1632-1704) was directed against the 'Divine Right' theory of law. His work, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) and *Two Treatises of Government* (1690), is seen as a touchstone for the social sciences, including anthropology. Locke's empiricism was seminal to the formation of the Scottish Enlightenment, especially through the work of David Hume (1711-1776) who further developed the empiricist tradition in philosophy (*An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, 1748). Locke's ideas also influenced Charles de Montesquieu (1689-1755), a central figure of the French Enlightenment whose ideas were adopted by the Scottish Enlightenment philosophers and the Founding Fathers.

Locke's language theories stimulated the development of linguistics in the English-speaking world (Aarsleff 1982; Gray 1999). He held the human mind to be a 'blank slate' (*tabula rasa*) at birth and maintained, against Descartes, that human beings are born with no innate content. Thus, rules for processing data are formed by one's sensory experiences. This idea is central to Lockean empiricism, emphasizing the individual's freedom to define the content of one's own character. The Lockean doctrine of 'natural' rights derives from this presumption of a free, self-authored mind combined with an immutable human nature.

Leibniz's linguistic work stimulated German-speaking scholars to the same extent as Locke's work in the English-speaking world. Leibniz believed that the human mind reflected the universe at birth. His philosophy was rationalist, dynamic, and optimistic. Based in Baroque scholastics and in Early Enlightenment thinking, Leibniz held that God ruled in good order (*Gott als ein Gott der Ordnung regieret ...*) and that monarchs should follow His rules.³⁶ He believed in a pre-established, divine harmony that suffuses the cosmos; the evil in the world does not conflict with God's goodness and notwithstanding its evils, the world is the best of all possible worlds (*Théodicée*, 1710). Science should strive at advancing this harmony. Leibniz was a pursuer of a synthesis: between the East and the West, Europe and Asia, Catholics and Protestants, Knowledge and Power (Richter 1946: 20-21). His philosophy was influenced by the Thirty Years' War (1608-48), a conflict between Catholics and Protestants that had devastated large parts of Europe, especially the German states. Seeking to prevent a recurrence, Leibniz strove for cosmic harmony, to be advanced by developing the arts and sciences.

For Leibniz, language was not conventional and words were not randomly related to things. Rather, words were symbols bearing some underlying, inherent, and divinely sanctioned connection to the things they referred to (Aarsleff 1982: 42-83, 84-100; Gray 1999: 129). Through his vast correspondence and numerous memorandums, Leibniz influenced scholarly practice, not only in Germany but also in Russia. His motto was *theoria cum praxi*, a phrase he placed at the beginning of his works to express the unity of theory and practice, the unity of science and life. In his dissertation on the art of combinations (1666), Leibniz stated: 'if we regard the disciplines in and for themselves they are all theoretical; if we regard them from the point of view of their application, they are all practical.'³⁷ The disciplines or sciences must be made practical, which means application-oriented: it is crucial to solve not only the problems that science itself poses, but also the problems that society presents.

On the basis of this ambition, Leibniz strove to become an advisor to European monarchs. Born in Leipzig as the son of a professor of moral philosophy, he studied philosophy and law in Leipzig under Jacob Thomasius and mathematics in Jena under Erhard Weigel. Weigel was the patriarch of the 'Primary Enlightenment' (*Primäraufklärung*), an often-overlooked episode preceding the 'Early Enlightenment' (*Frühaufklärung*) in Halle (Mühlpfordt 2005: 53). In 1666, after obtaining his doctorate in law at the University of Altdorf, Leibniz moved to Nuremberg, where he met the politician Johann Christian von Boineburg. The following year, Boineburg hired him as an assistant and introduced him to cultural and political figures in Frankfurt, such as Philipp Jacob Spener and Hermann Conring. Under Boineburg's patronage, Leibniz entered into the political service of the Elector (*Kurfürst*) of Mainz in 1670, aged twenty-four. During this period, he invented a calculating machine. Dispatched on a diplomatic mission to Paris in 1672, he continued his study of mathematics and physics, primarily under Christiaan Huygens. While on a diplomatic mission to London in 1673, Leibniz demonstrated his calculating machine to

³⁶ Denkschrift über die Collegien (1711), attributed to Leibniz (Richter 1946: 133; Guerrier 1873 II: 364-9).

³⁷ *Dissertatio de arte combinatoria*, in G.W. Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*, vol. VI/1, p. 229.

members of the Royal Society. Realizing that his knowledge of mathematics was incomplete, he intensified his efforts. After his return to Paris, he was elected member of the Royal Society through its secretary, Henry Oldenburg, in April 1673. Leibniz now worked on the infinitesimal calculus (or *calculus integralis* as he called it in 1675). This mathematical problem kept him occupied until 1686, one year before Isaac Newton published his *Philosophia naturalis principia mathematica*. Visiting Holland in 1676, Leibniz met Antoni van Leeuwenhoek in Delft, Jan Swammerdam in Amsterdam, and Spinoza in The Hague. At the time, the United Provinces were at war with France, Brandenburg, the Holy Roman Empire,³⁸ and Spain (1672-78).

Upon his return to Germany, Leibniz began a life-long career as librarian and courtier (*Hofrat*) of Johann Friedrich, Duke of Hanover, and his brother Ernst August, both members of the House of Brunswick. He served Hanover as a librarian, historian, Privy Counselor of Justice, and political advisor for forty years. From 1691 on, Leibniz also acted as a librarian for Anton Ulrich, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg and Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel who expanded the renowned Wolfenbüttel Library founded by his father. In 1685, Leibniz was commissioned to write a dynastic history of the Guelf family to which the House of Brunswick was related. He made a European tour to conduct archival research in 1687-90, traveling through southern Germany, Austria, and Italy. During this trip, he discovered medieval sources providing evidence of the historic role the Guelfs played in the Holy Roman Empire and in Italy. In Vienna, Leibniz was able to advise the Austrian monarch, ruler of the House of Habsburg and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, on the imminent war between France and Austria. Of great consequence was his meeting in Rome in early 1689 with Father Claudius Grimaldi, a French Jesuit working in China as a mathematician. This meeting made Leibniz aware of the opportunities for cultural and scientific exchange between Europe and China. In Vienna, Leibniz accomplished that his patron, Ernst August, became the ninth German Elector (*Kurfürst*) in 1692. Under the latter's successor, Georg Ludwig, who was crowned King of Great Britain and Ireland in London in 1714, Leibniz landed into personal difficulties, often spending more time in Vienna and Berlin than in Hanover.

Leibniz shifted daily between science, religion and politics. His attempts to unite Catholics and Protestants, approved of by Boineburg and Johann Friedrich, had little success in France, where the Bishop and historian Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet opposed them in 1692-3 and 1698. His attempts to at least unite the Protestants (Brunswick-Hanover was Lutheran, Brandenburg-Prussia was Calvinist) met with approval in Berlin. However, a letter to Gilbert Burnet, the Bishop of Salisbury who had the willing ear of King William and Queen Mary, remained unanswered in 1699. In this context, Leibniz also cast his eye on Russia, wanting to persuade the northern countries to form an alliance between the German states, the United Provinces and Great Britain against the hegemony of Louis XIV, the Roman Catholic King of France.

Leibniz's major scholarly aim was to create a network of academies in order to coordinate research into the arts and sciences, as well as into agriculture, manufacture, technology and

³⁸ *Das Heilige Römische Reich deutscher Nation*, a union of medieval states in Central Europe (962-1806).

commerce. As early as 1669-72, Leibniz proposed to establish a ‘Society in Germany to promote the Arts and Sciences’ (*Societät in Teutschland zu aufnehmen der Künste und Wißenschaften*). He convinced the ruler of Brandenburg-Prussia to establish a ‘Society of Sciences’ in Berlin and became its first president in 1700 (Aiton 1985: 296-97). The Berlin academy was the German equivalent of the first modern scientific academies in Europe: the *Academia Aboensis*, founded at Åbo (Finland) in 1640; the *Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher Leopoldina*, established at Schweinfurt (Bavaria) in 1652, changing seats until finding a permanent location at Halle (Saale) in 1878 and elevated to the status of German National Academy of Sciences in 2008; the *Accademia del Cimento*, founded at Florence (Italy) in 1657; the Royal Society of London for the Improvement of Natural Knowledge, established in England in 1660; and the *Académie Royale des Sciences*, created at Paris (France) in 1666. These societies accompanied the ‘Scientific Revolution’ of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Berlin academy was followed by the academies of Dresden and Vienna, also founded at Leibniz’s suggestion (Stagl 1995a: 147-49), but set up later. In several memorandums to the Russian Tsar, Leibniz stimulated the foundation of an Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg.

Peter the Great

Before Leibniz met Peter the Great (1672-1725) at Torgau (Saxony) in October 1711, he had wished to meet the ‘Tsar of all Russians’ in person for almost fifteen years (Richter 1946: 45). On that occasion, Leibniz spoke with the Tsar twice and suggested him to explore his empire to the Eastern Ocean, observe the deviation of the magnet, and find out if there was a land bridge connecting Asia and America. They also discussed financing, diplomacy, and the advancement of sciences and the arts in Russia. At that time, Leibniz was 65 years old. He had tried to contact Peter, then 39, ever since the Tsar’s first voyage to Western Europe. Tsar Peter was to meet Leibniz several times and Leibniz would become one of the Tsar’s German advisors.

During his first European journey, known as the Great Embassy (1697-98), Peter the Great contacted ambassadors, scientists, engineers, and craftsmen in Germany, Holland, England, France, Bohemia, and Austria. The official aim of this trip was to seek support against the Turks, but the real aim was that the Tsar wanted to learn how to build ships and obtain military training and equipment for his navy and army. In addition, Tsar Peter was interested in opening up Russia to western science. Ever since his youth, when Peter contacted Dutch, German and Swiss merchants and engineers and Scottish officers in the *Nemetskaya Sloboda*, the settlement just outside of Moscow where all foreigners were required to live (Massie 1981: 110-113), he was fascinated by western knowledge. Peter the Great showed a great deal of interest in science, especially in practical sciences and technology. During the nine months of his sojourn in Holland, August 1697 to May 1698, the Tsar worked on a wharf in Zaandam and Amsterdam. Avoiding politicians as much as possible, he frequented Dutch scholars in order to expand his

knowledge of science, visiting enlightened burghers such as the anatomist Frederik Ruysch, the merchant Levinus Vincent, the administrator at the Amsterdam Admiralty Jacob de Wilde, and merchant-burgomaster Nicolaas Witsen. The Tsar acquainted himself with their collections of unknown *naturalia* and *artificialia*, gathered from all over the world, of books describing collections of other amateurs, and of scientific instruments that helped them study the stars and demonstrate the newly discovered laws of nature (Driessen-van het Reve 1989, 1996b, 2006). When the Tsar paid a visit to the physician Herman Boerhaave at Leiden University in 1698 and 1717, he inspected its anatomical collection and was shown around the botanical gardens. Boerhaave, *Praeceptor totius Europae*, informed him about herbs and medicine, and physicians willing to enlist in the service of the Russian Empire.

After traveling on to England, Peter to his relief finally became acquainted with the theory of the art of shipbuilding. This theory lacked in Holland where Peter had become a master ship carpenter building an East India merchant vessel. He visited Parliament, received an honorary law degree in Oxford, and was instructed in astronomy at the Greenwich Observatory. He talked to Newton, Halley, and other British scientists. The Tsar spent 105 days in England, which resulted in many reforms introduced in Russia on his return. In 1701, he founded the Moscow School of Mathematics and Navigation, which was modeled on the Royal Mathematical School in London. It provided Russians with technical education for the first time. Its curriculum was suited to train sailors, engineers, land surveyors (*geodesists*), cartographers, and bombardiers for Peter's expanding navy and army. The first teachers at this school were British mathematicians, engineers, and naval officers (MacGregor 2003: 79-86).

Peter also hired instrument makers, shipbuilders, and physicians. Among the latter was Robert Areskine (1677-1718), a Scot of noble birth (in English spelled Erskine) who had studied medicine in Edinburgh and Utrecht. He obtained a doctorate with a thesis on human anatomy before continuing his studies in Paris. Areskine was a member of the Royal Society and came to Russia in 1704 as personal physician of Alexander Menshikov, favorite of the Tsar. Areskine was the first to describe the flora in the vicinity of Moscow. From 1706, he was in charge of the *Aptekarski Prikaz*, the Apothecary Chancellery in Moscow where the imperial natural history collections were held (Neverov 1996: 18). Areskine reformed it into one of the first places in Russia in which the natural sciences were developed (Driessen-van het Reve 2006: 69). In 1714, Areskine became the Tsar's archiater, or imperial physician, and head of the Imperial *Kunstkamera* and Imperial Library in St. Petersburg. He initiated the first scientific expeditions that left St. Petersburg for the expanding Russian Empire from 1710 onward (see Chapter 3).

Another important advisor of the Tsar was Jacob Bruce, one of his friends and generals. Yakov Vilimovich Bryus (1670-1735) was the grandson of a Scottish nobleman who had entered Russian service in 1647. Born in Moscow, Bruce trained to become a military together with the young Tsar and accompanied him during his first voyage to Western Europe (1697-98). Bruce had a keen interest in science and founded the first Russian observatory in Moscow, in 1702. He

corresponded with Huygens, Leibniz, and Leonhard Euler and translated several textbooks into Russian, including a grammar of the Dutch language published in 1717 (Djubo 2004).

In 1697-98, Peter the Great was not yet at the height of his power but full of plans. His main motive for visiting the United Provinces, and later England, was that he needed a fleet to fight the Turks on the Black Sea and the Swedes on the Baltic. On his return from England, Peter planned a visit to Venice to study ways of building ships that could sail in shallow water. Such ships were indispensable in fighting the Turks in the Sea of Azov. A political uprising in Moscow cut this plan short. After suppressing this rebellion so brutally that it shocked both Witsen and Leibniz, the Tsar engaged in a war with the Swedes (1700-21) and the Turks.

After winning a decisive battle against the Swedes at Poltava in the central Ukraine (1709), Russia entered the European stage as a powerful state. Tsar Peter concluded a political alliance with Hanover in 1709 and made three more trips to western and central Europe. The first two led him to Germany (Saxony, Prussia) and Bohemia (1711, 1712-13), the third to Germany, Denmark, Holland, and France (1716-17).³⁹ Working on many fronts, he introduced a series of changes in Russian society that became known as the ‘Petrinian reforms.’ In 1703, Peter decided to build a new city on the Neva, St. Petersburg, that became the capital of the new Russia. He established schools and manufactories, a library and a museum, successfully outmanoeuvred the Russian orthodox clergy from the state, and introduced western customs and dress codes (Figs 2002).

The Tsar’s first European journey counts as a breakthrough in the westernization of Russia. During his later European trips, Peter also met Leibniz, who presented his plans for advancing science in Russia. Tsar Peter’s four trips to Western and Central Europe were extremely influential. The contacts between Peter and Leibniz, and the scientific expeditions of Messerschmidt, Müller, Steller, and others to Siberia and Alaska followed from them.

Leibniz and Peter the Great

The Russian monarch who wanted to modernize his country and open up a window to the West fascinated Leibniz. Leibniz considered it ‘heroic’ that a ruler of his stature would strive at the ‘Common Good’ (*das Gemeine Beste*) and that it would be in the interest of both science and diplomacy to support such a leader (Richter 1946: 42, 46, 62). Leibniz saw in Tsar Peter the ideal ruler for realizing his ideas of advancing science and culture on a global scale. Leibniz regarded Russia as a powerful ally against the Turkish threat in Southeastern Europe and the dominance of the French in Western Europe. Some sources state that Leibniz was interested in Russia as early as 1685 (Schulenburg 1973: x). The 1689 meeting with Grimaldi in Rome made Leibniz aware of scientific developments in China and of Russia’s potential importance as intermediary between Europe and China (Richter 1946: 29). His correspondence with scholars in Holland,

³⁹ On Peter the Great’s travels, see the biography by H.L.C. Bacmeister (1774). For a detailed reconstruction of Peter’s itinerary during his two trips to Western Europe, see Susanne Luber (2003).

Sweden, China, and Germany about the history and languages of Europe and Asia increased during the 1690s. Leibniz's interest in Russia became manifest when he heard of Tsar Peter's incognito journey through Germany to Holland in 1697. Grasping the importance of the first trip ever of a Russian emperor outside Russian territory, he tried to meet the Tsar at Hanover and Minden. In August 1697, he contacted François Lefort, a Russian general of Swiss descent who held a prominent position in the legation as one of Peter's most trusted advisors. That same year, Leibniz contacted Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf (1655-1712), a German diplomat from Erfurt, who worked in England since 1678. Ludolf had traveled through Russia in 1692-94 and had written the first grammar of spoken Russian, published in 1696 (Tetzner 1955: 56-62).

In 1697, Leibniz published his *Novissima Sinica* in which he detected the same pursuit of perfection in China as in the West. This book, consisting of essays by Leibniz, Grimaldi and others,⁴⁰ presented China as the most rational society on earth and as an example for European societies to follow. Leibniz felt that exchange relations between Europe and China were unavoidable. He hoped that Russia could function as an intermediary between Europe and China. From Grimaldi, Leibniz learned that the Jesuits wanted to travel from Europe to China by a safer and faster way, through Russia and Siberia. Father Grimaldi himself had once taken the route through Persia, Uzbekistan, and the Great Tartary (southern Siberia) to China (Richter 1946: 33).

Leibniz met Tsar Peter on three occasions: at Torgau (Saxony) in October 1711, Karlsbad (Bohemia) in November 1712, and Bad Pyrmont (Lower Saxony) in May-July 1716. On all these occasions, he spoke with Peter several times: at Torgau twice, once at dinner; at Karlsbad a number of times, as Leibniz was invited to travel in the entourage of the Tsar to Teplitz and Dresden (Saxony). They conversed at Bad Pyrmont, where the Tsar visited the local spa, and at Herrenhausen, where the Hanover court was based, an unknown number of times. Leibniz spoke with the Tsar's diplomats and advisors as well. He talked to Peter the Great as a scientist, a historian, a jurist, and a diplomat.

These meetings stimulated Leibniz to write a large number of letters and memorandums (*Denkschriften, aide mémoires*) to Peter the Great or his assistants.⁴¹ All in all, Leibniz presented nine memorandums to Peter the Great between 1708 and 1716. These dealt with observations of the magnetic field in Russia, the collection of language samples (*Sprachproben*) in Russia and the Russian parts of Asia, the improvement of arts and sciences in Russia, the establishment of an Academy of Sciences in Russia, and the organization of the Russian *Collegien*, or government ministries (Guerrier 1873 II: 364-69; Aiton 1985: 324).

In these documents, Leibniz also discussed politics. He cherished – at times utopian – ideals about the relations between the German states, ruled by the Emperor in Vienna, and the

⁴⁰ *Novissima Sinica Historiam Nostri Temporis Illustratura ...* Edente G. G. L. [Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz]. With contributions by Josephus Suarius, Claudius Philippus Grimaldus, Verbiestius, Johannes Franciscus Gerbillonius, Antonius Thomas. [S.l.] [Hannover]: [Nikolaus Förster] 1697. [15] + 174 pp. 8° 2nd ed. 1699.

⁴¹ Studying these documents in the 1860s, Vladimir Guerrier found that two hundred and forty-four pertained to Leibniz and Russia between 1692 and 1716. Guerrier missed important documents, as Liselotte Richter, who worked in the Leibniz archives at the Royal Library in Hanover for ten years, pointed out (Richter 1946: 46, 67).

Russian state. He hoped that the Russians would expel the Swedes from Germany (Sweden had occupied Pommern; Charles XII had invaded Saxony in 1706), fight the Turks in Central Asia and Europa, and help Germany to obtain a natural border along the Rhine against France (1708). He promoted the Nordic Alliance between Germany, Poland, and Russia against Sweden and envisioned an alliance between the Russian Tsar and the Emperor Charles VI in Vienna (1712). However, his main ambition was that of a science organizer. The dominant theme in all Leibniz's letters relating to Russia was the advancement of science and the arts. The four main tasks set by Leibniz were to: (1) investigate the possible overland connection between Asia and America; (2) establish an Academy of Sciences or 'Gelehrten-Collegium'; (3) set up observatories to measure the deviation of the magnet in the northern parts of Russia; and (4) collect language samples in Russia (Guerrier 1873 I: 190-196).

As early as 1697, in his first memorandum to Lefort in which Leibniz asked for a genealogy of the Tsar and for language specimens from Russia, Leibniz included an essay on the founding of an 'établissement général pour les sciences et les arts' (Guerrier 1873 II: 20-23; Richter 1946: 44-45). From then on, he consistently presented these ideas. In 1708, he wrote a memorandum to the Tsar stating that, because science had not yet been established in Russia and Russia could be seen as a 'tabula rasa,' errors made in the West could be avoided. To this end, a 'considerable, well-equipped ministry' should be founded to stimulate the development of schools, print shops, laboratories, workshops, artists, and craftsmen.⁴²

When they first met at Torgau in 1711, Leibniz handed Tsar Peter a memorandum on the founding and funding of an Academy of Sciences (Guerrier 1873 II: 180-183; Richter 1946: 148-149). He also spoke on the 'improvement of geography and insight in the origin of peoples.'⁴³ It was presumably during this meeting that Leibniz submitted a long memorandum on the establishment of the 'Collegien' or ministries.⁴⁴ In 1711, Peter the Great decided to change the Russian system of administration, and it is possible that Leibniz hinted at this reform. Distinguishing eleven such ministries, Leibniz elaborated on the last one, 'an academic college' (*ein Gelehrt-Collegium*), listing many sciences it should deal with and the equipment it should entail. With the help of Anton Ulrich, Duke of Wolfenbüttel, Leibniz obtained an audience with Peter on 28 or 29 October. The manner in which the Tsar took up the plan for an academy is not known. After his son's wedding in Torgau, Peter was preoccupied with the situation at home. Despite the unexpectedly great victory at Poltava the war with the Swedes was still on going. It was only in 1718 that Peter decided: 'We shall have an Academy of Sciences.' However, we know that Leibniz's proposal to set up observatories to calculate magnetism, in order to improve the way of determining longitude and latitude, was taken up positively by the Tsar and especially

⁴² 'ansehnlich, wohl autorisirten Collegii' (Guerrier 1873 II: 95-100; Richter 1946: 62-63, 148).

⁴³ 'zu verbesserung der Geographi, erkenntnis des Ursprungs der Völker' (Richter 1946: 149).

⁴⁴ It is not certain that this 'Denkschrift über die Collegien,' published by Guerrier (1873 II: 364-369) and attributed to Leibniz by Russian archivists since Count Orlov donated it in 1767 (Richter 1946: 136), was written by Leibniz. But Richter (1946: 139) sees so many resemblances in content and style with Leibniz's other memorandums that she feels that if he did not write it, somebody else did on the basis of earlier work by Leibniz.

by General Bruce, who had a keen interest in mathematics and astronomy. Leibniz's plea for language samples was also honored and he received permission to approach the Imperial Chancellery to that effect. During that same meeting, Leibniz was accepted as an advisor of the Russians on the understanding that he would continue his work and receive an annual pension in return (Guerrier 1873 I: 119-120). Only one year later, at Karlsbad, Leibniz was presented with the official diploma of Privy Councilor of Justice (*Geheime Justiz-Rath*), signed by the Tsar.⁴⁵

After this first, successful meeting, Leibniz sent letters to General Bruce and Chancellor Alexei Golovkin and, when he did not receive an immediate reply, wrote directly to Peter, his first letter to the Tsar. Written in January 1712, this letter is regarded by Guerrier (1873 I: 127) as 'one of the finest pieces of German eloquence from the early eighteenth century.' In it, Leibniz outlines his motives for promoting science and the arts in Russia:

While I have often been consulted in public affairs and in matters of law, sometimes even by great monarchs, I have higher regards for the arts and sciences, because it is through them that the honor of God and the good of the entire human species are enduringly advanced. The miracle of God, His power, wisdom und benevolence are especially displayed in the sciences and the cognizance of nature and art, and the arts and sciences are the true treasure of humankind. It is through them that art gains power over nature and the civilized peoples (*wohlgefasste Völker*) distinguish themselves from the barbaric ones.⁴⁶

He repeated this motive for stimulating the progress of science in Russia in a letter to Golovkin written that same day: 'because the arts or sciences are the true treasure of humankind.'⁴⁷ In his letter to Peter, Leibniz stated that he would consider it an honor and a pleasure to serve the Tsar in such 'a commendable and sacred work' because 'I do not belong to those eager for their fatherland or a particular nation, but aim at the benefits of the entire human species; as I take the heavens to be the fatherland and all people of good will to be its citizens. And I would rather do many good works with the Russians than few with the Germans or other Europeans.'⁴⁸

This view is closely related to Leibniz's philosophy, which as we have seen was rational, optimistic and synthetic. Leibniz regarded Science as a Mission and saw the

⁴⁵ Guerrier (1873 II: 283, 324); Richter (1946: 16, 51).

⁴⁶ 'Ob ich nun wohl oft in publiquen affairen, auch Justizwesen gebraucht worden und bisweilen von grossen Fürste darinn consultiret werde, so halte ich doch die Künste und Wissenschaften für höher, weil dadurch die Ehre Gottes und das Beste des ganzen menschlichen Geschlechts beständig befördert wird, denn in den Wissenschaften und Erkenntnissen der Natur und Kunst erzeigen sich vornehmlich die Wunder Gottes, seine Macht, Weisheit und Güthe: und die Künste und Wissenschaften sind auch der rechte Schatz des menschlichen Geschlechts, dadurch die Kunst mächtig wird über die Natur und dadurch die wohlgefasste Völker von den barbarischen unterschieden werden.' Leibniz to Peter the Great, Hanover 16 January 1712 (Guerrier 1873 II: 207, 1873 I: 127; Richter 1946: 124).

⁴⁷ 'Car les vrais trésors du genre humain sont les arts ou les sciences' (Guerrier 1873 II: 203; Richter 1946: 17).

⁴⁸ 'denn ich nicht von den bin so auff ihr Vaterland, oder sonst auff eine gewissen Nation, erpicht seyn; sondern ich gehe auf den Nutzen des gantzen menschlichen Geschlechts; denn ich halte den Himmel für das Vaterland und alle wohlgesinnte Menschen für dessen Mitbürger und ist mir lieber bey den Russen viel Guthes auszurichten als bey den Teutschen und andern Europäern wenig' (Guerrier 1873 II: 208, I: 128).

‘Republic of Letters’ as the realization of the ‘Civitas Dei’ (Richter 1946: 18, 30-36, 142). Leibniz believed there was a great work to be done in Russia, precisely because it had not advanced in science yet. Moreover, Russia could serve as a mediator between Europe and China, between East and West.⁴⁹ His ideal was an exchange of science and culture, which would lead to a better world. As part of the secularization of society, Leibniz considered the main philosophical aim to be: ‘the Common Good of All Peoples’ (*das gemeine beste aller Völker*), or the ‘Common Good’ (*das gemeine Beste*). His social ethics led him to think that pursuing the sciences and the arts could best attain this aim. An Academy of Sciences would play a central role in this exchange process (Richter 1946: 118-119). Thus, in all Leibniz’s strivings for a better world, the sciences touched him the most, as he wrote in 1707.⁵⁰ This explains why Leibniz turned to Peter the Great. Just as Leibniz regarded Russia as a mediator between Europe and Asia, he saw himself as a mediator between knowledge and power. In his early years, Leibniz had written: ‘My entire ambition has been to find a great monarch with deeper insights than usual, and I believe that in human life there is nothing more beautiful and noble than deep wisdom connected to a great power.’⁵¹ This shows that Leibniz was well aware of Francis Bacon’s dictum, ‘For knowledge ... is power’ (1597). He followed Bacon and others in developing mercantilist forms of scientific planning that attached great value to the role of science and scientists in absolutist states (Stagl 2002a).

Leibniz’s interest in science included historical and comparative linguistics. His first letter to the Tsar also held an essay on ‘the origin of European nations’ (*über den Ursprung der Europäischen Völker*). In it, Leibniz summarized his findings on the history and linguistics of Europe and Asia, as earlier published in an article in Latin (Leibniz 1710). In the essay, Leibniz divided the peoples of Europe on the basis of their languages into four large groups (*Haupt Völker*): Tartars, Sarmatians, Finns, and Germans (Guerrier 1873 II: 210-213). In the final decade of his life, Leibniz consistently pointed at the importance of language studies and the collection of *specimina variarum linguarum* in order to solve the ‘origin of peoples’ (see below).

These documents were translated into Russian and forwarded to the Russian court, where they were well received. Bruce invited Leibniz to expand on the two points discussed at Torgau: observations of the declination of the magnet and the collection of language specimens in the Russian Empire. In September 1712, Leibniz sent a long memorandum to that effect, enlarging on both issues. In passing, he added a third point that should be investigated: ‘if Asia could be completely circumnavigated in the North.’⁵² These memoirs led

⁴⁹ ‘je considère l’Empire du Czar comme pouvant établir une liaison entre l’Europe et la Chine’ (Leibniz 1707, quoted in Richter 1946: 62, 75)

⁵⁰ ‘les sciences sont qui me touche le plus’ (quoted in Richter 1946: 61).

⁵¹ ‘Mein ganzer Ehrgeiz hat einzig darin bestanden, einen großen Fürsten zu finden, der mehr als gewöhnliche Einsichten hat, und ich glaube, daß es in den menschlichen Dingen nichts so Schönes und Edles gibt, als eine große Weisheit, die mit einer großen Macht verbunden ist’ (Leibniz, c.1676, quoted in Richter 1946: 45).

⁵² ‘... die Welt ist noch biss Dato in Zweifel ob Asien gegen Norden ganz umschiffet werden könne, oder ob es wie etliche vermeynen an America hange’ (Guerrier 1873 II: 248, 1873 I: 140); repeated in 1716 (Guerrier 1873 II: 360).

to a personal invitation from the Tsar to meet him at Karlsbad (Bohemia) in October-November 1712 (Guerrier 1873 I: 142).

At Karlsbad, Leibniz discussed these three subjects as well as politics. In collaboration with Duke Anton Ulrich, he urged the necessity of an alliance between the Austrian Emperor and the Russian Tsar. While the Tsar displayed an interest, he already had two diplomats in Vienna. In addition, the Austrians, at war with France over the Spanish Succession (1701-14), delayed a decision. More successful were Leibniz's efforts to become a Privy Councilor of Russia and the Tsar invited him to draft laws for the new Russia. Leibniz was pleased about becoming a 'Solon of Russia' and the Tsar invited him to accompany him to Teplitz (Teplice) and Dresden. During this trip, Leibniz contacted several courtiers, in particular Bruce, who promised to assist Leibniz in his enquiries. The list that Leibniz drew up for Bruce contains thirteen 'desiderata,' including a catalogue of books published in Russia, a list of Greek and Russian manuscripts in Russian monasteries, a Russian dictionary-*cum*-vocabulary, a Slavonic grammar, and, by way of a post scriptum, an 'encyclopaedia' written in Russian (Guerrier 1873 II: 272-273, 280).⁵³

In Dresden, Leibniz took his leave and traveled to Vienna where he worked for two years. His main topics during this period were diplomacy and the history of the Guelfs. He contacted Bruce and Areskine, the Tsar's most esteemed science advisors, and wrote three more letters to the Tsar, dealing with Europe's political situation (December 1712), law and science in Russia (October 1713), and the history of Slavic peoples (June 1714). In all cases, Leibniz emphasized the importance of language studies, now using the additional argument that this would help spread Christianity in the Russian Empire (Guerrier 1873 II: 284-286, 311-314, 321-323).

In the midst of these activities, Leibniz became the victim of accusations of plagiarism. In 1711-12, Samuel Clarke accused Leibniz of having plagiarized Newton's calculus. Although these accusations were later found to be unwarranted, the charges must have damaged Leibniz's reputation and hampered his negotiations with the Russians, even if his contacts continued.

In preparation of the meetings at Bad Pyrmont in the summer of 1716, Leibniz exchanged letters with the Tsar's Vice-Chancellor Peter Shafirov. He was in the Tsar's vicinity for a week, at first when the Tsar took the baths at Pyrmont; then when Peter resided for two days at Herrenhausen, home of the Elector of Hanover who had become King of Great Britain (Guerrier 1873 I: 174). What matters were discussed during these meetings is unknown. Presumably, Leibniz presented the following plan to Peter that he had already sent to Shafirov:

- (1) to clarify ancient history and the origins of nations, if all languages in your empire and neighboring countries would be observed through translations of the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed; (2) to expand Christian religion; (3) to improve navigation by investigating the declination of the magnet in your lands and contact [people in] Great Britain in this respect; (4) to stimulate astronomy; (5) to improve geography, if you would

⁵³ This was quite timely: a *Cyclopaedia, or, An Universal Dictionary of Art and Sciences* published by Chambers appeared in London in 1728; the *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers* by Diderot and d'Alembert appeared in Paris in 1751-72; the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in Edinburgh in 1768-71.

order inquiries about whether Asia is connected to America (*ob Asia an America fest, oder nicht*; (6) to increase physics, or *Natur-kunde*, and (7) to improve all arts and sciences.⁵⁴

On this occasion, Leibniz wrote two more memorandums to the Tsar, a short one ‘on the magnet needle’ and a long one ‘on the improvement of the arts and sciences in the Russian Empire’ (Guerrier 1873 II: 346-360). The latter included sections on a library, a museum, schools, a university, laboratories, an encyclopaedia, and again a plea to investigate ‘if Asia can be circumnavigated in the North, or if the extreme ice cape is attached to America’ (*ob Asien gegen Norden zu umbschiffen, oder ob das äusserste Eiscap an Amerika hange*). Leibniz stated that ‘the extensive lands of the Russian Empire ... offer excellent opportunities ... for new discoveries through which the sciences are advanced.’ Suggesting that the Tsar might ‘render a great service’ by ordering the exploration of the northern polar seas and the geographical relationship between Asia and America, Leibniz noted that the huge empire would undoubtedly ‘yield many new plants, animals, minerals, and other natural objects that have not yet been discovered.’⁵⁵

Leibniz was pleased about the meeting in Bad Pyrmont and felt he had accomplished something (Guerrier 1873: 188). The Tsar impressed him, as he wrote in July 1716:

I admire the vivacity and judgment of this great Prince. He gathers knowledgeable people from all corners and when he talks to them they are amazed as his speaking makes a great deal of sense. He is interested in all mechanical arts, but his main interest is in everything related to navigation and, by consequence, he also loves astronomy and geography. I hope that, through him, we will learn whether Asia is connected to America.⁵⁶

This confirms the image of a Tsar who was fascinated by science and technology, especially by mechanical sciences and all things related to navigation. In a letter to Areskine, written in August 1716, three months before his own death, Leibniz expressed his gratitude and also referred to his dispute with Clarke, ‘apologist of Mr. Newton,’ saying it was continuing but that he hoped it would be finished soon.⁵⁷

Thus, after this last set of meetings with the Tsar and his advisors, Leibniz hoped he had achieved something. But what did he accomplish? Guerrier (1873) answered this question by evaluating Leibniz’s contribution to the development of science in Russia in four different fields.

⁵⁴ Leibniz to Vice-Chancellor P.P. Shafirov, Pyrmont 22 June 1716, Guerrier 1873 II: 344-346 (see also Aiton 1985: 324; Driessen-van het Reve 2006: 61).

⁵⁵ Denkschrift über die Verbesserung der Künste und Wissenschaften im Russischen Reich, quoted in Black and Buse (1989: 2), referring to the Russian edition of Guerrier (1873: 360); see also Guerrier (1873 II: 359-360).

⁵⁶ ‘Je ne saurois assez admirer la vivacité et le jugement de ce grand Prince. Il fait venir des habiles gens de tous côtés, et quand il leur parle, ils en sont tout étonnés, tant il leur parle à propos. Il s’informe de tous les arts mécaniques; mais sa grande curiosité est pour tout ce qui a du rapport à la navigation; et par conséquent il aime aussi l’Astronomie et la Géographie. J’espère que nous apprendrons par son moyen, si l’Asie est attachée à l’Amérique.’ ist’ (Leibniz to Bourguet, Hannover 2 July 1716, Guerrier 1873 II: 360).

⁵⁷ Leibniz to Areskine, Hanover 3 August 1716 (Guerrier 1873 II: 361). He added that he was planning to write a short piece in Latin, in the form of a letter addressed to Areskine, intended for publication in the *Acta Eruditorum*. See also H.G. Alexander (ed.) *The Leibniz-Clarke Correspondence*. Manchester 1956.

(1) *Ob Asien gegen Norden ganz umschiffet*: The investigation into a passage or a land bridge between Asia and America has received much attention in the German literature. In an attempt to find precedents of Peter's decision to order the first Bering expedition to Kamchatka (1725-30), Ernst Benz (1947) claims that Leibniz was the first European scientist to point at the importance of studying the border areas between Asia and America. However, the qualification 'first' is problematic, as Dutch and English seafarers had tried to find the Northeast Passage unsuccessfully, as Leibniz emphasized. In addition, Guerrier mentions that the problem had already been solved by Semen Dezhnev's voyage, having rounded the Chuckchi Peninsula in 1648 and founded Anadyrsk in 1649. However, knowledge of this event had been lost, and the evidence that Dezhnev had already demonstrated what Bering was to prove in 1728 was only rediscovered by Gerhard Friedrich Müller in the archives of Yakutsk in 1737. Moreover, the question whether America had been populated from Asia had fascinated scholars for decades. Some scholars had even found material evidence, as Müller read in the second edition of Witsen:

It is probable that the large, protruding corner in northeast Asia, called Ice-Cape [on my map], is close to America ... One finds in this corner, in particular in its southern beginnings, people who carry small stones and bones drilled to their cheeks, and who seem to be related to the North Americans, of whom such stones are in my possession; they are bright blue, three inches long and one inch wide: so that, perhaps, America was populated via this route or also via this way (Witsen 1705: 158-159).⁵⁸

Evaluating the situation in 1989, Black and Buse state that Leibniz's 'suggestions were timely, if not decisive in Peter's decision to explore and open up the vast potential of his domain.' Indeed, although Leibniz had broached the subject regularly since 1697, one of Peter's own subjects, F.S. Saltykov, had made similar recommendations in 1714 (Black and Buse 1989: 2). As Lev Berg pointed out, Saltykov had made proposals to explore the Northern Seaway in 1713-14, firmly putting the idea of a northern sea route through the Arctic to China and India in the Tsar's mind. In this way, Peter hoped to reach Japan in two months. After the conclusion of the war against Sweden in 1721, the Tsar gave the order to explore Arctic navigation from the Ob River (Berg 1954: 16-18). Preceding these efforts, Peter ordered a survey of the Caspian Sea as well as the mapping of Russia's borders with Persia and Turkey in 1699 (Black and Buse 1989: 2-3). As this was slowly realized (1705, 1719-22), reports on rebellions in eastern Siberia on the one hand and prospects of trade with Japan and China on the other persuaded the Tsar to appoint a Great Kamchatka Command in 1716. This expedition never took off but paved the way for others. The following year, when Peter resided in Paris, he met with scientists of the Académie des Sciences and discussed the geography of Siberia with the leading French geographer and astronomer

⁵⁸ 'Het is gelooffelijk, dat de groote uitsteekende hoek, in het Noord-oosten van Asia gelegen, en by my Ys-kaep genaemt, dicht aen Amerika strekt. ... Men vind aen deze hoek, te weten aen zijn begin Zuidwaerts, Menschen, die steentjes en beenen in hunne wangen ingeboort dragen, en groote gemeenschap met de Noorder Amerikanen schynen te hebben, van wien my alzulke steentjes in handen zijn; zy zijn glinsterent blaeuw, lang drie duim, en breed een duim: zoo dat, misschien, Amerika over dezen weg, of daer omtrent mede, bevolkt is geworden' (Witsen 1705: 158-159). Quoted by Müller, *Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker*, section on American peoples.

Guillaume De l'Isle (Delisle, 1675-1726). De l'Isle had issued a map in 1706, suggesting that a chain of mountains connected Siberia with 'some other continent' (Black and Buse 1989: 3). In the meeting with Tsar Peter, De l'Isle posed two questions to him: whether he had any concrete knowledge of the eastern borders of his empire, and if he would allow a French expedition to enter this region. This probably induced the Tsar to order the exploration of the eastern parts of the Russian Empire. In 1719-22, the surveyors Fedor Luzhin and Ivan Evreinov traveled to Kamchatka to map this region and the Kurile Islands (Fisher 1977: 34). They had secret instructions to discover whether Asia and America were connected but failed to carry out this part of their mission due to a sea accident (Black and Buse 1989: 3). This led to the First Kamchatka Expedition (1725-30) under the command of Vitus Bering (see Chapter 4). Thus, Leibniz's suggestions were indeed timely and reinforced the idea of an exploration of the Empire's eastern borders, which led Peter to discuss the matter with specialists in France.

(2) The foundation of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences took place eight years after Leibniz's death. Again, his proposals had been timely and consistent. It is likely that Peter took them seriously. However, Tsar Peter had many advisors and he was a member of the Royal Society in London. In fact, while in England, Peter had talked about establishing an Academy of Sciences in Russia during conversations with Edmund Halley in 1698 (Driessen-van het Reve 2006: 61). In Paris, where Peter lived for several months during 1717, he attended a session of the *Académie des Sciences*, which later elected him as a member. Peter was impressed by the quality of scholarship in France and it is probable that this stimulated the Tsar in deciding to set up a comparable institution in Russia. The decision to found an Academy of Sciences in Russia was taken in 1718, although the preparations only started in 1721 after the Great Northern War had come to an end. Compared with the French and British academies, the Berlin Society founded at the instigation of Leibniz was uninspiring during the first years of its existence. Yet, Leibniz's plans for the Russian Academy were explicitly modeled on the Berlin Society (Richter 1946: 119) and the Tsar's instructions for the Russian Academy were in line with Leibniz's suggestions, both in regard to the three departments and the financing of the Academy. True enough, Leibniz was not the only one in Europe fostering such a project, and Francis Bacon had launched similar research programs a full century earlier. But Leibniz showed a consistent interest in academies of science from as early as 1667 and the idea occupied a central place in his philosophy, as demonstrated by his proposals of 1708, 1711 and 1716. Finally, Leibniz's work was indirectly influential through the teachings and correspondence of Christian Wolff, who wrote more than one hundred letters about the way the Academy could be organized (Mühlpfordt 1952b: 169) – generally along the lines set out by Leibniz (Richter 1946: 124-129).⁵⁹ Thus,

⁵⁹ In 1860, the Russian Academy of Sciences published Wolff's correspondence with the Russian Academy in an edition dedicated to the Berlin Academy of Sciences (Richter 1946: 124). See (anonymous) *Briefe von Christian Wolff aus den Jahren 1719-1753. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg*. Petersburg: Eggers, in Commission der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1860.

Leibniz's proposals may have achieved a great deal more than just add weight to already pre-existing ideas with Peter the Great (as Driessen-van het Reve 2006: 61 would have it).

(3) Leibniz's proposals for observations on the deviation of the magnet in Russia attracted attention of the Tsar and his advisors, interested in improving navigation. It was only when Alexander von Humboldt renewed Leibniz's proposals for a chain of observatories in 1829, and stations were established at the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, Kazan, Tiflis, Nikolaev, Helsingfors, and on Sitkha in North America, that the results were more convincing, enabling Gauss in Göttingen to formulate a theory of the earth's magnetism (Guerrier 1873 I: 194-195).

(4) A final subject discussed by Guerrier was Leibniz's linguistic work, or, as he himself called it: 'das Werck der Sprachen' (Guerrier 1873 II: 243; Richter 1946: 82). Guerrier believed that Leibniz's pleas to collect language samples in Russia were even more important but just as premature as the preceding attempts. Leibniz's efforts had met 'no approval (*keinen Anklang*) at the court of the Tsar, because he was preoccupied with mathematical and mechanical arts' (Guerrier 1873 I: 196). Guerrier claims that the collection of languages was only taken seriously later, when Catherine the Great personally assembled the specimens into a comparative dictionary that was edited and published by Pallas in 1786-89.⁶⁰ But he overlooks the linguistic research undertaken by scholars such as Messerschmidt, Tatishchev, Müller, and Fischer in Siberia during the 1720s, 1730s and 1740s. Leibniz's language studies reached a much wider audience in Russia and Germany than Guerrier grasped. Because of the close relationship between languages and peoples, this subject is directly relevant to the present book and warrants a separate treatment. Before dealing with that issue, one other aspect needs to be discussed.

German and Russian authors often point to Leibniz's influence on the foundation of the *Kunstkamera* in 1714 to demonstrate his impact on science in Russia. Yet, in this case, two Dutch collections, of Seba and Ruys, had served as incentive (Driessen-van het Reve 2006). In the seventeenth century, the Dutch were well advanced in scientific collecting, facilitated by their worldwide trade network that resulted in substantial collections acquired in the East and the West Indies, as well as in Africa.⁶¹ Tsar Peter had inspected these collections during his first trip to Western Europe and was so impressed that he wanted to have a similar collection in Russia but larger and more complete. His museum was to be a three-dimensional encyclopaedia.

⁶⁰ Peter Simon Pallas (ed.) *Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa; Augustissimae cura collecta*. Sectionis primae, Linguae Europae et Asiae complexae [in Russian]. 2 vols. Petropoli [St. Petersburg], Typis Iohannis Caroli Schnoor. 4° Pars prior [1786] 411 pp. + 6 pp. introduction [in Latin]; Pars secunda [1789] 481 pp. Listing 200 languages: 149 in Asia, 51 in Europe.

⁶¹ See Ellinoor Bergvelt & Renée Kistemaker (eds) *De wereld binnen handbereik. Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585-1735*. 2 vols. Zwolle/Amsterdam: Waanders, 1992.

The *Kunstkamera* in St. Petersburg

The Imperial *Kunstkamera* (from the German term *Kunstkammer*, or ‘Chamber of the Arts’) was established in St. Petersburg in January 1714 (or December 1713, depending on the calendar used).⁶² Peter the Great founded this museum, in Latin called *Museum Imperialis Petropolitani*, as part of his program to reform Russian society and to promote science and education. It was the first public museum in Russia and opened its doors in 1719. The *Kunstkamera* formed the basis of the Academy of Sciences, established in 1724-25.⁶³

The Enlightenment in Russia coincided with the Petrinian reforms. The Tsar and his advisors followed the most important scientific developments in Europe and imported western knowledge. The *Kunstkamera* arose from Peter’s wish to found a public museum according to West-European tradition, as he had seen in Holland, England, Saxony (Dresden), Denmark (Holstein), and France. Peter also consulted Leibniz, who suggested that a museum was good for entertainment and for educating the Russian people. Accordingly, entrance was free of charge. This is remarkable because other museums were open to the well educated friends and relations of the owners of the collections only; some, however, were open to the general public for a small fee. Peter expressly ordered that citizens visiting his museum would be rewarded with a drink.

The *Kunstkamera* was encyclopaedic in outlook. Its first catalogue, *Gebäude der Kayserlichen Academie der Wissenschaften Bibliothec und Kunst-Kammer in St. Petersburg* (*Palaty*, compiled by Schumacher and first published in Russian in 1741) stated that this ‘*Kunst-Kammer*’ was, in fact, a ‘*Kunst- und Naturalienkammer*.’ It included both objects classified as *artificialia* (man-made products) and *naturalia* (products of nature), evoking the classic division between *Artes* and *Natura*. It evolved from the collections of the *Aptekarski Prikaz*, including the *naturalia* acquired by the Tsar during his travels in Holland in 1698. In the wake of his decision to build a new capital on the banks of the Neva (1703), they were transported from Moscow in 1712 and concentrated in the Summer Palace at St. Petersburg. Other items were added and the collections, consisting of minerals, coins, zoological and anatomical items as well as objects pertaining to the life of European and Asian peoples, were displayed in a separate chamber. Several cabinets presented the finest objects and the walls were adorned with figures representing the four continents: Africa, America, Asia, and Europe.

After viewing the Gottorp collection in Schleswig-Holstein (then Denmark) in 1713, Peter was even more motivated to acquire collections. The Gottorp collection included parts of the cabinet of the renowned Dutch anatomist Bernardus Paludanus (Driessen-van het Reve 2001). Surprisingly, Leibniz seems to have been unaware of the fact that Peter already had a museum. Otherwise he would have mentioned this in his memorandums written between 1708 and 1716.

⁶² From 1700 to 1918, Russia used the Julian calendar, which during the eighteenth century was eleven days behind the Gregorian calendar (Golder I, 1922: 50, n. 6; 332, n. 3; see also Bobrick 1993: 11).

⁶³ On the history of the *Kunstkamera*, see Stanyukovich 1953, 1970; Troufanoff 1966; Potapov 1966; Its 1989.

In 1715-16, the Tsar acquired two large collections from Holland, which provided the scholarly foundation of the *Kunstkamera*. They had been assembled by Frederik Ruysch (1638-1731), a professor of anatomy at Amsterdam, and Albert Seba (1665-1736), an East-Frisian apothecary and collector working in Amsterdam. Robert Areskine, and his secretary Johann Daniel Schumacher (1690-1761), also librarian of the Tsar and later managing director of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, acted as intermediaries.⁶⁴ As noted earlier, Areskine had transformed the *Aptekarski Prikaz* in Moscow into one of the first places in Russia in which the natural sciences were developed. On his return from a voyage to Persia and India, the Dutch painter and traveler Cornelis de Bruyn visited Moscow in 1710 and commented on the new developments in Russia. He observed that the *Aptekarski Prikaz* held a herbarium, two gardens, a hothouse, and a small cabinet with plants, animals and natural curiosities, which also contained several *artificialia* or objects of art (de Bruyn 1711: 451-452).

De Bruyn's report had some resonance in Amsterdam and in 1715 Seba entered into correspondence with Areskine, who had moved the *Aptekarski Prikaz* to Petersburg in 1712 and became head of the *Kunstkamera* and the library in 1714. Seba delivered medicines to the Tsar and Areskine in 1715, and in the process offered his personal collections to the Tsar. These were bought for 15,000 Dutch guilders in February 1716. Seba then began negotiations for the purchase of the anatomical cabinet of Frederik Ruysch, which was bought for 30,000 guilders in April 1717. After a delay of one year at the docks in Amsterdam, the Ruysch collection was transported to St. Petersburg, where it arrived in September 1718 (Driessen-van het Reve 2001, 2006). The Ruysch collection was anatomical and natural-historical in outlook. Seba's collection was predominantly natural-historical, including many objects from 'the East and West Indies and other distant countries' (Russow 1900: 7). Russow (*ibid.*) characterizes Seba's collection as consisting of both natural historical objects and artificial rarities (*Naturalien- und Raritäten-Sammlungen*) but this is somewhat overstated. Seba himself speaks of 'rarities of nature' (*seldzaamheden der natuur*, Seba 1734-65) and the list of objects sold to the *Kunstkamera* mentions only few items of a man-made character (Driessen-van het Reve 2006: 290-304).⁶⁵ We may presume that the 'artificialia' in Seba's collections were sideproducts and of interest to him mainly because of the materials they were made from.⁶⁶

As a result of these and other purchases, the collections of the *Kunstkamera* had become so extensive that new housing had to be found. Initially, they were transported to the Kikin Palace (1719-27), under the supervision of Schumacher, the Tsar's librarian. At the time, they included anatomical, zoological, botanical and geological collections, a coins collection, and the library. In 1721, the Tsar ordered Schumacher to supplement the collections of both the *Kunstkamera*

⁶⁴ For Seba's correspondence with Areskine and Schumacher, see Driessen-van het Reve (1996a, 2001, 2006). Officially, Schumacher was Secretary of the Academy's Chancellery; in practice he managed the Academy.

⁶⁵ On Seba's collections, see Jozen Driessen-van het Reve (2006) and Ellinoor Bergvelt et al. (1992: 25, 35-38).

⁶⁶ After selling his collection to Peter the Great, Seba began to assemble a new one, which he catalogued extensively in 1734 (Russow 1900: 38, 186). After the fire of 1747, which destroyed parts of the *Kunstkamera*, some specimens were replaced by acquiring new ones from Seba's second collection (Driessen-van het Reve 2006: 305, 306-307).

and the library by buying additional items in Western Europe. Schumacher also traveled to the Dutch Republic, visiting Amsterdam and Leiden, where he acquired the newest instruments for conducting scientific experiments from Willem Jacob 's Gravesande and Johan van Musschenbroek (Driessen-van het Reve 2001, 2006: 220). This illustrates the scholarly reputation of the *Kunstkamera*, which by now contained not only natural-historical and artificial objects but also technical instruments and some paintings. The *Kunstkamera* was the first scientific institution in Russia and formed the basis on which the Academy of Sciences was founded in 1724-25. It was moved to a specially built edifice on Vasilyevsky Island in 1728, where it remains to the present day. The building was damaged by fire in 1747, but renovated and reopened in 1766. It stands where it is as Russia's first scientific museum and the world's oldest ethnographic museum (Fig. 1). From the 1830s, the collections were divided over new museums. The *Kunstkamera* kept the ethnographic objects and the anatomical specimens. To honor its founder, the museum's name was changed into 'Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography named after Peter the Great (Kunstkamera), St. Petersburg' in 1879.

Originally, the Academy's library was housed in the *Kunstkamera* as well, in its eastern wing, only later was it moved out. The Academy of Sciences was at first housed in Petrogradski, the former mansion of Shafirov, where the Academicians, Müller included, worked and the first sessions were organized. In 1728, the Academy took office in a palace next to the *Kunstkamera* and in 1789 moved to a classicist building constructed on the other side of the *Kunstkamera*.⁶⁷



Fig. 1. *Kunstkamera*, St. Petersburg (center). On the left, the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg Branch (Courtesy of *Kunstkamera*, St. Petersburg)

⁶⁷ See the illustration by M.I. Makhaeva 1753 in Kopelevich (1977, facing p. 64); Hintzsche and Nickol (1996a: 34); Buberl and Dückershoff (2003).

Driessen-van het Reve (n.d.) emphasizes that Peter was not interested in art as such but rather in collecting knowledge. His *Kunstkamera* should include all things remarkable and interesting from a scientific point of view, not from that of aesthetics. The *Kunstkamera* that he built was an encyclopaedia – not in the shape of a book, as Leibniz had suggested, but a three-dimensional encyclopaedia in the form of a museum. The fact that Tsar Peter, or his secretary Schumacher, ordered *all* objects to be documented on paper, in drawings, watercolors, and in print,⁶⁸ enhanced the idea of an encyclopaedic museum of arts and sciences.

Leibniz's Language Studies

The linguistic studies that Leibniz pursued between 1679 and 1716 were exceptionally broad. In his language reconstructions, Leibniz was a historian on a grand scale – a ‘cosmologist.’ He was innovative in formulating methodological rules to prevent the analysis from remaining nationalistic. Yet, despite their importance for world history, his ‘various attempts to employ linguistic theory and evidence as a tool in reconstructing the history of mankind’ are ‘not so well-known’ nowadays (Waterman 1963: 27).⁶⁹ This is mainly due to the fact that these studies were conducted by means of corresponding and that only a few of his texts on the comparison of natural languages were published during his life. Leibniz published only one article in Latin on ‘the origin of peoples, based primarily upon evidence from their languages’ (1710). His *Protogaea* (1690-91), on the formation of the earth and the transmigrations of nations, was sent to the Academy of Sciences in Paris but went astray; it was later published and translated into German in 1749. A selection of Leibniz's linguistic writings was published after his death by his secretary Johann Georg Eckhart (Eccard) under the title *Collectanea etymologica, illustrationi linguarum veteris celticae, germanicae, gallicae* (1717). Leibniz's *Nouveaux Essais sur l'entendement humain*, written in 1703-05 in reaction to Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690),⁷⁰ were published in 1765. Parts of his elaborate correspondence on linguistic subjects were published in 1755 and 1978 (Michaelis 1755, Waterman 1978). But the bulk of Leibniz's linguistic writings remained in manuscript and the editing of his ‘historical and linguistic writings’ (Reihe V of the Akademie-Ausgabe) ‘has not been taken up thus far.’⁷¹

This publishing record does not square with the innovative character of Leibniz's linguistic work. The scope of his linguistic work was astonishingly broad and his classification of world languages was ‘amazingly advanced’ for its time (Mühlmann 1968: 42). His influence on

⁶⁸ See Renée E. Kistemaker, Natalya P. Kopaneva, Debora J. Meijers and Georgy B. Vilinbakhov (eds) *The Paper Museum of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg c. 1725-1760*. Amsterdam: Edita, 2005.

⁶⁹ Only a few studies deal with the linguistic aspects of Leibniz's oeuvre. These include four articles (Waterman 1963, 1974; Aarsleff 1969, 1975), one book (von der Schulenburg 1973), two chapters in a book (Aarsleff 1982) and some secondary sources (Benfey 1869, Neff 1870-71, Danvillé 1909, Mühlmann 1948, 1968, Arens 1955, Borst 1960-61, Semyonov 1963, Poliakov 1979 [1971]).

⁷⁰ After Locke's death in 1704, Leibniz refrained from publishing the book. It first appeared in 1765.

⁷¹ ‘Die Bearbeitung der Reihe V (historische Schriften und sprachwissenschaftliche Schriften) ist noch nicht aufgenommen worden’ (website of the Leibniz-Edition in Hanover, Potsdam, Münster, and Berlin).

contemporary scholars was strong and he inspired students of language up to the mid-nineteenth century. The question is what did he seek to accomplish? And where did he find his inspiration?

To her book on Leibniz and his view on Russia (1946), the German historian Liselotte Richter added a linguistic table, which shows that Leibniz provided family trees for at least three language families: the Indo-European, Hamito-Semitic, and Finno-Ugric. This table was slightly adapted by the American linguist John T. Waterman (1963: 34), who added several Germanic languages such as English, Gothic, Icelandic, and Dutch. While Richter was interested in Leibniz's classification of the Slavic languages, Waterman emphasized Leibniz's interest in Germanic languages. As we shall see, both views are partial and tend to overlook the importance of the Oriental languages. Let us first turn to Leibniz's language classification (Table 1).

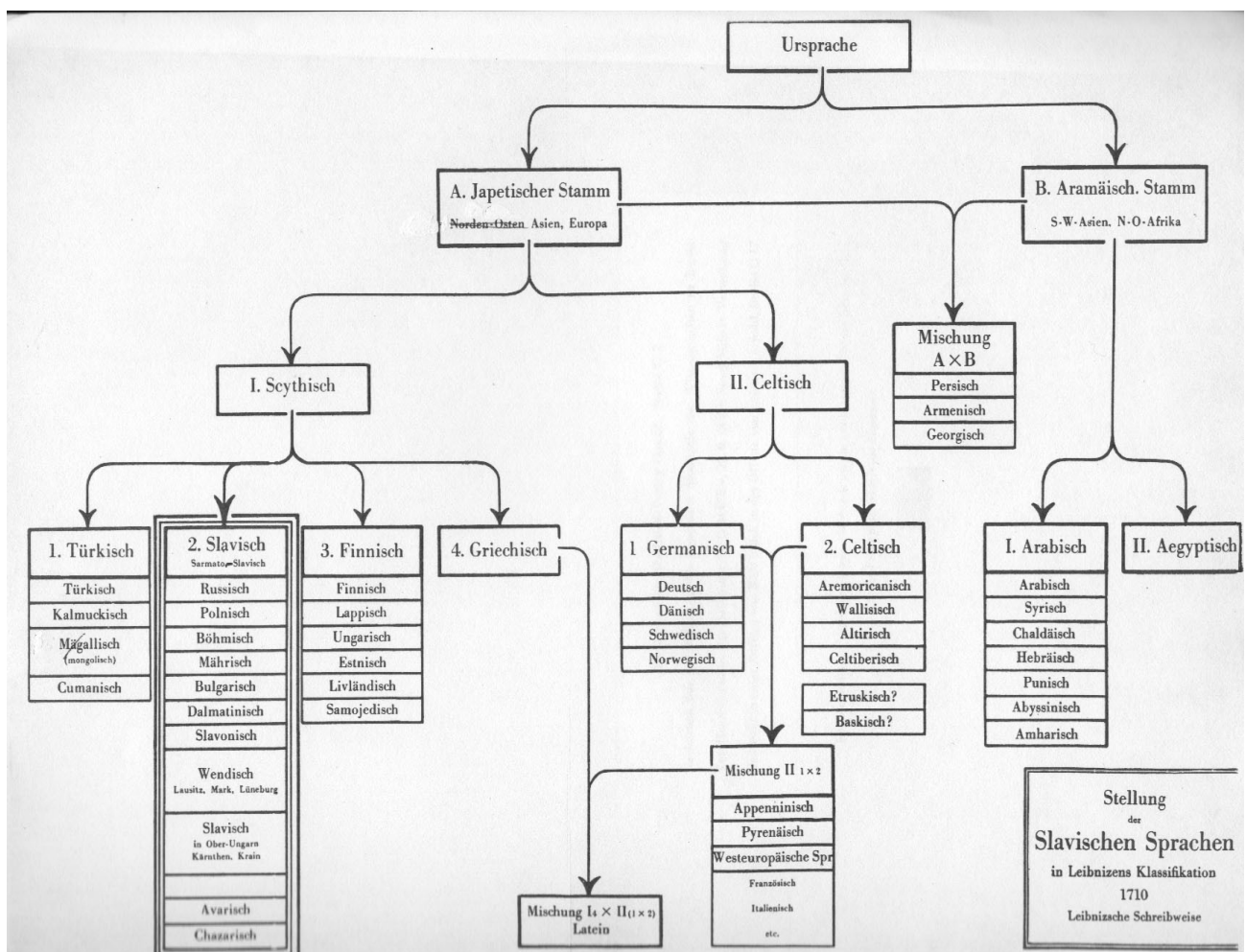


Table 1. **Leibniz's Classification of Languages of 1710** (From Richter 1946, Appendix)

Richter presents the following errata: instead of Norden-Osten Asien read: N.O. Asien;
instead of Mägallisch: Mögallisch; instead of Sarmato, Slavisch: Sarmato-Slavisch.

This classification is a reconstruction based on Leibniz's article in the transactions of the Berlin Academy of Sciences (1710)⁷² and on his manuscripts and correspondence. It shows that Leibniz posited an unknown and no longer existing primal language (*Ursprache*) from which all languages developed. This primal language was divided into two branches: the 'Japhetic tribe,' which was the basis of the European and Northeastern Asian languages, and the 'Aramaic tribe,' including the languages of Southwestern Asia and Northeastern Africa. Leibniz believed that – 'leaving the Holy Scriptures apart' – the languages of Europe and of Asia derive from 'a common source' and that this also applied to many languages of Africa. However, the languages of America, the southern parts of Africa, and China appear 'far removed from the others.'⁷³

Leibniz concentrated his efforts mostly on the languages of Europe and Asia, on which most linguistic material was available. But he was also interested in the languages of America, Africa, the Orient, and the Far East. To a large degree, Leibniz accepted the authority of Holy Writ, assuming that humankind originated from the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates in Asia Minor (the Garden of Eden). Leibniz did not mention the Tower of Babel, or the Confusion of Languages, but he did not doubt the Great Flood. After the Deluge, Noah and his three sons and their descendants had populated the earth again (Genesis 5-9). Leibniz believed that the only plausible exit from this homeland (*Urheimat*) was through the mountain passes between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. He called the vast area to the north and stretching eastward into Asia 'Scythia.'⁷⁴ According to Waterman (1978: 58) Leibniz embraced this theory partly for linguistic reasons, partly because of his 'intuitive reconstruction of prehistory' and partly out of patriotism. Subdividing the Japhetic languages in Scythian and Celtic, Leibniz assumed that Europe and Northeastern Asia were populated by migrations from Scythia. He referred to this region as a *vagina gentium*, or 'portal of peoples.'⁷⁵ Another name for the Japhetic language group was 'Celto-Scythian.' It included all languages of Europe and Asia known at the time: Turkish, Slavic (or 'Sarmatian'), Finnish (including Hungarian), Germanic, Celtic, Greek, and Latin (Waterman 1963: 30). The 'Aramaic' language group included Arabic, Syrian, Chaldaean, Hebrew, Phoenician, Abyssinian, Amharic, and Egyptian. Leibniz noted combined forms, for instance Latin, but also Persian and Armenian that he saw as a mix of the Japhetic and Aramaic languages. Not included in this scheme are the languages of America and Africa, but Leibniz was interested in them as well.

⁷² *Brevis designatio meditationum de Originibus Gentium, ductis potissimum ex indicio linguarum* (A Brief Account of Thoughts concerning the Origins of Peoples, based primarily upon Evidence from their Languages). *Miscellanea Berolinensia* I (1710): 1-16.

⁷³ 'Mettant la Sainte Ecriture à part, on ne laisse pas de voir de ce me semble que les langues de l'Europe et de l'Asie viennent d'une même source, aussi bien qu'une bonne partie de celles de l'Afrique. Il faut avouer pourtant que les langues de l'Amerique, et les Extrémités de l'Afrique comme aussi la chinoise paroissent très éloignées de toutes les autres' (Leibniz to Larroque, 26 January 1694, quoted in Waterman 1963: 30).

⁷⁴ The name Scythia already occurs on an ancient map of Eratosthenes. For Leibniz's and Ludolf's views on Scythia, see their correspondence in Waterman (1978: 25, 28-30) and Waterman (1978: 57-60, 63).

⁷⁵ 'Scythia is the portal [*vagina gentium*] through which it is reasonable to assume that our Germans also passed on their way toward their historic homeland' (Leibniz to Ludolf, April 1692, translated in Waterman 1978: 25).

The overall research problem of Leibniz's study of languages and of the peoples speaking them was the origin and migrations of nations. After visiting the German Orientalist Hiob Ludolf at Frankfurt in 1687, Leibniz wrote him a letter about the desirability of having a dictionary listing roots and primary words of many languages; with such a dictionary 'the origins of nations would also be wonderfully elucidated' (quoted in Aarsleff 1982: 85, 95 n. 3). In 1691, Leibniz explained his program on the uses of the study of languages for history as follows:

I must also in some measure consider the migrations of nations and the origins of languages ... I fully believe that the harmony of languages is the best means of determining the origin of nations, and virtually the only one that is left to us where historical accounts fail. It seems in fact that all languages from the Indus river to the Baltic Sea have a single origin (quoted in Aarsleff 1982: 85, 95 n. 4).

Thus, Leibniz believed that the compilation of a 'harmony of languages' was the best method for arriving at the origins of nations. In a letter to Tentzel, written in January 1692, he wrote:

There is no doubt but that the origins and relationships are illustrated by linguistic connections; indeed, I hold this to be an unparalleled method [for finding our way back] to hidden antiquity [*abditā antiquitate*] (quoted and translated in Waterman 1978: 59, n. 3).

And, in a letter to Bignon dated 1694, Leibniz stated that languages are 'the most ancient monuments of the human species ... that serve best for knowing the origin of peoples.'⁷⁶

This material object, the 'origins of nations,' occurs repeatedly in Leibniz's published and unpublished work, be it in Latin, French or German, from 1687 onward. Leibniz called his article of 1710 'my conjectures on the origins of nations' and, a little more elaborately, 'my dissertation on knowing the origins of nations on the basis of languages' (quoted and translated by Aarsleff 1982: 96 n. 10, 98 n. 32). In his *Nouveaux Essais sur l'entendement humain* (written in 1703-05), Leibniz remarked that the main purpose of linguistic research was to discover 'the harmony that serves particularly to enlighten the origin of nations.'⁷⁷

Thus, a 'harmony of languages' in order to establish the origin of nations was the main goal of Leibniz's linguistic research. In the prefatory essay for the Berlin Academy, he stated:

Since the remote origins of people transcend history, languages take for us the place of ancient documents. And the oldest traces of languages remain in the names of rivers and forests, which, even though the inhabitants have changed, are usually kept (Leibniz 1710: 1, also quoted in Waterman 1978: 59, Aarsleff 1982: 86).

This shows that Leibniz regarded the origin of peoples as his primary historical research problem, and saw languages as the most important source of information for solving it. In the

⁷⁶ 'Les langues sont les plus anciens monumens du genre humain, et qui servent le mieux à connoître l'origine des peuples' (quoted in Waterman 1978: 59, 78 n. 4).

⁷⁷ 'l'Harmonie qui serviront particulièrement ... à éclaircir l'origine des Nations' (Leibniz 1962: 286).

section on the study of words in his *Nouveaux Essais* (Livre III: Des Mots), the following often-quoted passage occurs, which reveals his way of thinking:

Et je dis en passant que les noms des rivières étant ordinairement venus de la plus grande antiquité connue, marquent le mieux le vieux langage et les anciens habitants, c'est pourquoy ils meritoient une recherche particuliere. Et les langues en general étant les plus anciens monumens des peuples, avant l'écriture et les arts, en marquent le mieux l'origine, cognations et migrations. C'est pourquoy les Etymologies bien entendues seroient curieuses et de consequence ... (Leibniz 1962: 285; partly quoted in Aarsleff 1982: 93, Meinecke 1936 I: 41, Borst 1961: 1477).

All this amounted to a highly ambitious research project: without ancient documents at hand, the historian had to draw upon the study of languages in order to solve the historical puzzle *par excellence*: the origin, descent, and migration of nations.

This raises the question: whence did Leibniz's interest in the origin and migration of nations derive? Waterman (1963: 31) claims that Leibniz's fundamental interest was 'in tracing the origins and affiliations of the Germanic languages.' Richter has focused on Leibniz's classification of Slavic languages and their positioning within the languages of Europe. Leibniz had a personal interest in Slavic languages, as his home country was Saxony where Slavic and Germanic speakers have lived together for centuries, even if their languages are very different. While Leibniz's immediate ancestors were German, his surname (and the postfix *-niz*) suggests Slavic origins (Waterman 1978: 7). But Leibniz was a 'universal genius' (Waterman 1978: ix; *Universalgenie*, Borst 1961: 1475) and this should be taken into account when evaluating his multifaceted work. Already in 1939, Sigrid von der Schulenberg claimed that Leibniz's interest in the study of languages began in 1685 with the medieval material that he found for his history of the House of Brunswick-Lüneburg: his efforts to 'understand and explain the ancient texts,' written in a variety of languages and dialects, led him to 'probe deeper and deeper in etymology' (*immer tiefer in die Wortforschung*, von der Schulenberg 1973). The editor of her work, Kurt Müller (1973: xi), added that Leibniz intensified his language studies during the years 1690-93. This can be confirmed on the basis of his correspondence in this period published in Guerrier (1873 II). Thus, Leibniz conducted a comparative study of languages for the sake of historical knowledge; his linguistic interest was closely connected to his historical studies and to his travels through Europe from November 1687 to June 1690; while his interest in the philosophical aspects of language was influenced by reading Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding* (1690).

However, Leibniz's interest in the dialects of the German language dates from even earlier. This is shown by his 'exhort to the Germans to better cultivate their intellect and language' (*Ermahnung an die Teutsche, ihren Verstand und Sprache besser zu üben*), dated 1679. The American historian of linguistics Hans Aarsleff has noted that Leibniz had another, more powerful motive for his linguistic studies and that his interest in this subject dates from prior to

his European travels. Already in the late 1670s, Leibniz was aware of the work of Swedish historians such as Georg Stiernhjelm, Olof Verelius, and Olof Rudbeck who propounded the thesis that the origins of the Germanic nations lay in Sweden. Olof Rudbeck (1630-1702), a Swedish physician and antiquarian, was the best known of these. In his study on ‘Scytho-Scandicae’ and the three-volume work *Atlantica* (1675), Rudbeck tried to prove that all famous peoples, including the Germanic nations, hailed from Sweden and from there had migrated to the European continent. Leibniz wanted to refute this ‘Gothic doctrine’ as he thought it lacked a solid foundation. Aarsleff concluded in 1975: ‘It is true that Leibniz’s study of natural languages is linked with his work on the history of the ducal house he served; but it is the Swedish thesis that sets this study in motion, and the opportunity to gain knowledge of Asian languages that gives promise of ultimate success’ (Aarsleff 1975: 134, 1982: 96, n. 4).

This important new insight matches with the chronological data. Leibniz’s earliest linguistic work dates from the late 1670s, when he had not yet begun his historical work, and Locke was still writing his *Essay*. By that time the Swedish theories had become known on a large scale. As we have seen in the section on Leibniz and Peter the Great, Leibniz held such an interest in obtaining material from the languages of peoples in the Russian Empire that he even contacted the Tsar personally. This confirms Aarsleff’s view that Leibniz tried to acquire knowledge of Asian languages in the hope of expanding his linguistic project and increasing its chances of success. However, Aarsleff’s interpretation is also partial, as it does not explain what motivated Leibniz’s interest in the languages of the Orient and America. At least part of the answer to this question may be found when looking into Leibniz’s travels through Germany.

While in Frankfurt, in the autumn of 1687, Leibniz met Hiob Ludolf (1624-1704), who was later to become one of his prominent linguistic correspondents. Ludolf was an Orientalist familiar with twenty-six languages. He had written a lexicon and a grammar of Ethiopian (Abyssinian) that was published, in a pirated edition, in 1661, as well as a *Historia Aethiopica* (1681-94) and a grammar of Amharic (1702). He descended from a patrician family in Erfurt and had studied medicine and law at the University of Erfurt, before switching to Oriental languages. He mastered Arabic, Hebrew, Samaritan, Syriac, Chaldaic, and Armenian. Continuing these studies at the University of Leiden under Jacob Golius from 1645 on, he concentrated on Arabic, Hebrew, and Persian. He traveled through England, France, Italy, Sweden, and Denmark. While in Rome, Ludolf met four Ethiopian clergymen who ‘were impressed by his desire to perfect his knowledge of Amharic, amazed at his ability to explain and translate it, and amused by his pronunciation of it’ (Waterman 1978: 4-5). After serving in Stockholm and in Altenburg, working for the dukes of Saxony, Ludolf settled in Frankfurt-on-the-Main in 1678 to devote the remainder of his life to the private study of language. Nine years later, Leibniz visited him there. This marked the beginning of an intensive correspondence, predominantly on linguistics.

The Leibniz-Ludolf correspondence, consisting of over sixty letters in Latin exchanged between 1687 and 1703, was published by August Benedict Michaelis at Göttingen in 1755. In

his shortened English translation, Waterman provided a summary, stating that ‘the letters are devoted in whole or part to linguistic or ethno-linguistic themes’ (1978: 18). The subjects discussed ‘can be grouped under four headings: (1) the geographical origins of the Germanic people; (2) the theory of a proto-language; (3) principles and methods of establishing linguistic relationships; and (4) the study and improvement of the German language including its dialects’ (Waterman 1978: 18). The first three subjects are directly relevant to our present discussion.

As Ludolf was an Orientalist, the main subject of his correspondence with Leibniz concerned the linguistic composition of the Orient. This region opened up to Europe, Asia, and Africa. It was the main issue behind that which Leibniz called the ‘origins of the Germanic people.’ Leibniz saw Scythia (southern Russia) as ‘staging area for the Germanic migrations’ (Waterman 1978: 57) and behind that lay the Orient. The scholarly problems involved with that region included the relationship between Hebrew and Arabic within the Semitic language family as well as between the Semitic and the Indo-European language families as a whole. These were major problems that were to keep European Orientalists and Biblical scholars occupied for the next century and a half. A pupil of Ludolf, Johann Heinrich Michaelis, was head of the Oriental Theological College (*Collegium Orientale Theologicum*) in Halle. He produced the first critical edition of the Old Testament in 1720 (see Chapter 3 and 5).

Moreover, as we have seen, Leibniz was highly interested in vocabularies of the peoples in the Russian Empire. He corresponded on this subject with Peter the Great’s advisors and discussed it with the Tsar himself. His interest in the Scythian languages was extended to the languages of Eastern and Northern Asia. His interest in the languages and peoples of Eurasia were combined with an interest in the languages and peoples of America. Ever since the sixteenth century, the origins of the American peoples had been widely debated. Leibniz’s comparisons of the languages spoken in the Russian Empire could throw light on the relation between the peoples in the eastern parts of Asia and those in America (Aarsleff 1982: 93). In this way, a contribution could be given to the main problem formulated by sixteenth and seventeenth century scholars such as José de Acosta (1590) and Hugo Grotius: ‘the origin of the American nations’ (*de origine gentium Americanorum*, 1642).⁷⁸ This problem was heavily debated by Johannes de Laet (1643), Mathew Hale (1677), and Nicolaas Witsen (1692), up to Cornelius de Pauw (1768-69). The possible connection between Asia and America remained a continuous theme in German scholarship during the entire eighteenth century (see, for example, Fischer, ‘von dem Ursprunge der Amerikaner,’ 1771) until Johann Severin Vater (1810) finally produced evidence of a linguistic connection between the two continents.

This brings us closer to an understanding of how Leibniz came to formulate his program for the comparison of languages. The issue of ‘the origin of the American nations’ was broadened to that of ‘the origin of humankind and of the peoples’ (as Poliakov 1979: 144

⁷⁸ Grotius’ dissertation with this title was cited by Schlözer (1771: 212 n. B). For additional information, see Poliakov (1979: 138-144). Acosta was the first to hypothesize that Latin America’s indigenous peoples migrated from Asia to America. Grotius held them to have come from Europe, Ethiopia, China, and the Western Pacific.

phrased it). This implied a worldwide interest in subjects that could only be dealt with by combining history and linguistics. Thus, the problem of the early Americans obtained a central significance in a much larger area, the relations between the peoples of Europe and Asia. We know that the Gothic thesis of Rudbeck had set Leibniz's languages studies in motion, and that the origin of the German nations played a key role in that respect. Furthermore, we have seen that Leibniz was highly interested in Scythia (southern Russia) and even approached the Tsar in 1711-16 to find out if Asia and America were connected.

Leibniz's Linguistic Program: 'das Werck der Sprachen'⁷⁹

The concepts of 'homeland' (*Urheimat*), 'staging area,' and 'portal of peoples' (*vagina gentium*) indicate that Leibniz was fascinated by the migration of peoples out of Asia Minor. This was an interest he shared with many of his contemporaries, but their theories were often nationalist and based on arbitrary etymologies. For example, Johannes Goropius Becanus, a Flemish physician who knew six languages, including Hebrew, Latin and Greek, developed a theory in 1569 that Adam and Eve has spoken Flemish and that even Hebrew had descended from the Flemish language. Olof Rudbeck launched Sweden as cradle of the Germanic nations in 1675. And, in 1703, Paul Pezron, a Benedictine priest from Brittany, was the first Celtophile to show France its roots. By means of an 'exegesis of Genesis 9 and 10 ... and leaning on the Church Fathers, he restored Gomer as forefather of the Galls, equating them with the Titans from Greek mythology.' Pezron allowed the Galls or Titans to hail from the legendary Bactria located between Medes and Tartary (Poliakov 1979: 38-9). In order to fight these fictive genealogies, based on a selective and nationalist use of etymologies, Leibniz developed a methodology.

Leibniz was a monogenist and accepted a single origin of humankind but he rejected the thesis that Hebrew was the primal language (*Ursprache*). He was one of the first to do so. Some writers even call him 'the first' (Mühlmann 1968: 71) but others deny this (Borst 1961: 1478). Arno Borst (1961: 1477) reports that Leibniz 'explicitly rejected Bochart's thesis that Hebrew was the primal language' (*zur ausdrücklichen Zurückweisung von Bocharts These, Hebräisch sei die Ursprache*). Samuel Bochart (1599-1667) was an internationally respected Orientalist from France who had studied Arabic under Thomas Erpenius in Leiden. The idea that Hebrew was the primal language did not originate with Bochart, as it occurs in the work of the Swiss encyclopaedist Conrad Gesner (*Mithridates*, 1555), the French linguist Étienne Guichard (*L'Harmonie étymologique des langues*, 1606, 2nd ed. 1618), the Flemish author Adrianus Screeckius (1614), and the French polyhistor Joseph Juste Scaliger (*Diatrise critica*, 1619). But Bochart had lent authority to the idea and had given it a wide diffusion. In his *Geographia sacra* (1646-51), Bochart used his knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic to arrive at an exegesis of the Old Testament. Presenting a new interpretation of the Biblical genealogies,

⁷⁹ Leibniz 1712, in Guerrier (1873 II: 242-243); Richter (1946: 82).

he assigned a new ancestor to the French, Italians, Spaniards, and even to the Americans. The acceptance of Bochart's views was so complete that Johann David Michaelis, the Orientalist at the University of Göttingen, had to conclude a full century later that 'previous authors on the origin of peoples believed they were founding themselves on the ancient Hebrew Mozes, whereas they, in fact, based themselves only on the new French Bochart.'⁸⁰

Leibniz rejected the priority of the Hebrew language because the German language was held to be the purest of all known languages and the most direct in representing reality. (Another reason must have been that the German language was lacking in Bochart's work.) He wrote: '... il semble que le Teuton a plus gardé du naturel, et ... de l'Adamique' (Leibniz 1962: 281). This, at first sight, bizarre idea had surfaced during the sixteenth century in the work of Goropius Becanus, and in that of the German geographer and historian Philipp Clüver or Cluverius (Borst 1961: 1465). The German grammarian Justus Georg Schottel had developed it in a manner that was more acceptable to Leibniz (Poliakov 1979: 115-6). What was involved here was the primal language that according to Leibniz was not God-given (as Locke assumed) but a 'natural language' (*Natur-Sprache*) that had been developed by man. For lack of a better alternative, Leibniz, following the German mystic Jacob Böhme, called it 'Adamic.' This natural language had been lost, but new languages had since been 'invented' (*erfunden*) in a way that Leibniz thought had much in common with onomatopoeia.⁸¹

New languages had evolved since Noah by way of a process of natural differentiation and they all derived from the same source. As we have seen, Leibniz divided them in two groups, *Aramaea* and *Japetica*, the language family later known as Hamito-Semitic, and the language family called 'Celts-Scythian' or 'German' respectively. The Aramaic branch was held to have migrated south from Armenia (after Noah's Ark landed on Mount Ararat), while the Japhetic branch moved to the north, populating Europe and northeast Asia.

Leibniz held these two languages to be proto-languages, that is, reconstructions of a situation long past. A proto-language (in German *Ursprache*) is a language that was the common ancestor of related languages forming a language family. Both Aramaic and Japhetic went back to Noah and through him to Adam. The term Japhetic, that also occurs in the Leibniz-Ludolf correspondence, is a clear case of a proto-language. It refers to Japhet, the third son of Noah (the first two being Sem and Cham), whose descendants were thought to have populated Europe and Asia. The subdivisions of this family spoke Celtic (subdivided by Leibniz into Galls, Germans, English and Romans) and Scythian (subdivided by Leibniz into Slavs, Turks, Hungarians and Greeks). The idea of a relationship between Celtic and Scythian is not from Leibniz.⁸² However, Leibniz was the first to place all Celts-Scythian languages

⁸⁰ As August Ludwig Schlözer (1771: 265) summarized Michaelis' ideas, set out in his *Spicilegium geographiae Hebraeorum exterae post Bochartum* (Michaelis 1769-80).

⁸¹ Borst 1961: 1465; Aarsleff 1982: 89. Jacob Thomasius already used the word 'erfunden.' The question of the original language became an important issue for later scholars such as Vico and Herder (Berlin 1976, 1979).

⁸² The concept 'Celts-Scythian' already occurred in the work of Adrianus Scieckius, *Van't Beghin der eerster Volcken van Europen, insonderheyt van den oorspronck ende saecken der Neder-Landren, XXIII boecken: Met*

under a common ancestor (Japhetic) and the entire group, together with the Aramaic languages, under a common language: the Adamic *Ursprache*. This was related to Leibniz's conviction, after years of study, that there is a common origin of peoples and a common primal language (Poliakov 1979: 116). As he wrote in his *Nouveaux Essais*, European languages 'all derive from one source and may be taken as alterations of one and the same language that could be called Celtic.'⁸³ He asserted that numerous Scythian languages 'have many common roots,' both among each other and with 'ours' (that is, with the Celtic languages), which also applies to Arabic (including Hebrew, Phoenician, Chaldaean, Syriac and Ethiopian). The similarities were so striking that they could 'not only be attributed to coincidence, or trade, but foremost to the migration of peoples' (Leibniz 1962: 281).⁸⁴

Thus, Leibniz solved the problem of the priority of Hebrew by postulating a primal language called Adamic. He applied the same principle to the relationship between the Celtic and Scythian languages: both proto-languages descended from an older language, Japhetic. On a lower level, the same logic was followed: 'It is certain that the Celts at one time included both the Germanic and Gaulish peoples ...' (Leibniz 1699, quoted in Waterman 1978: 60).

Waterman, who translated the correspondence between Leibniz and Ludolf, pays a great deal of attention to the fundamental idea of proto-languages in Leibniz's classification of world languages. Although Leibniz did not use the term proto-language itself (it arose much later), the idea is clearly anticipated in his work, both in the concepts Adamic and Japhetic, and in the terms Celtic and Scythian (Waterman 1978: 59-63). Waterman considers this to be such an innovation in comparison to Leibniz's predecessors and contemporaries that he raises the question if Leibniz should not be considered the 'true father of comparative linguistics' rather than William Jones, who is generally seen as the founder of comparative linguistics on the basis of his statements on the fundamental relationship between Sanskrit, Greek and Latin in his 1786 address (Waterman 1978: 2, 60-61). Waterman writes: 'One of the letters [exchanged with Ludolf] defines the term "linguistic relationship" in a way which most linguists believe was not formulated until a full century later. Other letters discuss proto-languages and families of languages, ideas which led both men before their deaths to propose linguistic pedigrees, or "family trees" – something which most textbooks tell us, was not done until the mid-nineteenth century' (Waterman 1978: ix). Altogether they make it 'probable ... that the beginnings of modern linguistics are to be found in the eighteenth rather than in the nineteenth century' (Waterman 1978: 2).

betoon van de dwalinghen der Grieecken ende Latinen op 't selus Beghin ende den ghemeynen Oorspronck ...; af-beleet vanden beghinne, totten tijd van Carolus Magnus; ende besluytende ouer de 4900 iaeren. Beschreven door Adriaen van Srieck. T'Ypre: Bellet, 1614, and in that of Philippus Cluverius (Borst 1961: 1477).

⁸³ 'viennent toutes d'une source et peuvent estre prises pour des alterations d'une même langue qu'on pourroit appeler la Celtique' (Leibniz 1962: 280).

⁸⁴ 'Or toutes ces langues de la Scythie ont beaucoup de racines communes entres elles et avec les nostres, et il se trouve que meme l'Arabique (sous la quelle l'Hebraique, l'ancienne Punique, la Chaldeenne, la Syriaque et l'Ethiopien des Abyssings doivent estre comprises) en a d'un si grand nombre et d'une convenance si manifeste avec les nostres, qu'on ne sauroit attribuer au seul hazard, ny même au seul commerce, mais plustost aux migrations des peuples.'

Leibniz etymological studies were closely connected to his philosophy of language. He assumed that a non-arbitrary relationship exists between words, thoughts, and objects: ‘words are signs not only of thoughts but also of things’ (as stated in a letter written by Leibniz in 1697, quoted in Aarsleff 1982: 88). As he maintained against Locke, there was ‘something natural in the origin of words that indicate a relation between things and the sounds and movements of the vocal organs’ (Leibniz 1962: 283). The primal language was a direct (we would now say, iconological) depiction of reality, and this also applied to languages that developed later, even if the direct terms in these had already become mixed, or had moved to the background. Therefore, Leibniz wrote in the introduction of his article of 1710:

Since the distant origins of nations transcend history, languages take for us the place of old documents. The most ancient vestiges of languages [*linguarum vestigia*] remain in the names of rivers and forests, which very often survive the changes of populations. The most obvious are the appellations of places that have been established by men (...). I therefore hold it as an axiom that all the names that we call proper names were formerly appellatives; otherwise they would not conform to reason. Thus, whenever we do not understand the name of a river, mountain, forest, nation, region, town, villages, we must conclude that we have gone beyond the ancient language (Leibniz 1710, translated in Aarsleff 1982: 48; compare Aarsleff 1982: 86 and Waterman 1978: 59).

The function of language comparison should be to reconstruct the historical development of languages by retrieving the ‘most ancient vestiges of languages’ that have been preserved in the names of rivers and forests, and other proper names that formerly were appellatives (‘established by men’). To prevent this reconstruction from becoming arbitrary, Leibniz formulated a number of methodological rules for language comparison. He assumed that two of his philosophical laws, the ‘principle of sufficient reason’ and the ‘principle of continuity,’ also applied to linguistics (Waterman 1978: 62; Aarsleff 1982: 88). After pointing out that the names of rivers are of the greatest antiquity, and that languages ‘are the most ancient monuments of peoples’ Leibniz outlined these methodological rules in his *Nouveaux Essais* in the following way:

Et les langues en general estant les plus anciens monumens des peuples, avant l’écriture et les arts, en marquent le mieux l’origine, cognations et migrations. C’est pourquoy les Etymologies bien entendues seroient curieuses et de consequence, mais il faut joindre des langues de plusieurs peuples, et ne point faire trop de sauts d’une nation à une autre fort éloignée, sans en avoir des bonnes verifications, où il sert sur tout d’avoir les peuples entre deux pour garans. Et en general l’on ne doit donner quelque créance aux etymologies que lors qu’il y a quantité d’indices concourans: autrement c’est Goropiser. (Leibniz 1962: 285)

The ‘principle of sufficient reason’ stipulated that the amount of evidence should be large and a thorough analysis of especially root words in a great number of languages (as many as possible) should be made. The ‘principle of continuity’ demanded that the steps from one people to another should not be too large and evidence of the intermediate peoples should also be obtained.

This second principle was formulated to correct the customary practice of posing genealogical relations between e.g. the Franks and the Trojans, two peoples that were far apart, both in time and space. In general, a number of additional data (*indices concourans*) should be considered before the etymologies could acquire credibility. Thus, language is the oldest historical document, but it needs to be checked by other sources (as Borst 1961: 1477 summarized it).

In this way, Leibniz was able to make major progress in the conceptualization of language studies during the eighteenth century. By sharpening the focus and stipulating the rules, he produced an ‘epistemic shift’ (in the terms of Foucault 1969) in comparative language studies that was highly influential in the German-speaking world. Leibniz’s ethnolinguistic perspective signaled a radically changed attitude towards Biblical dogmas and nationalist genealogies that needed to be checked by empirical work.⁸⁵ Such a perspective was still inconceivable in the work of the Port Royal grammarians that Foucault writes about. Language was a major issue during the eighteenth century and Leibniz outlined how to study it.

Leibniz’s interest in linguistics rested upon the belief ‘that the historico-comparative study of language is the only reliable method of determining ethnic origins and affinities’ (Waterman 1963: 28) and ‘that a careful study of languages was the surest way of reconstructing the prehistorical record of the human race’ (Waterman 1978: 17). ‘For reconstructing prehistory he considered the comparative and historical study of language to be the most reliable and effective tool’ (Waterman 1978: 63, 59, 17 and 78 n. 2; Aarsleff 1969). Thus, the study of languages and of etymology became ‘an auxiliary discipline to history’ (Aarsleff 1982: 85). However, Leibniz was ‘decidedly pragmatic’ in his approach to knowledge: ‘knowledge, to his way of thinking, had to serve some useful purpose’ (Waterman 1978: 17). This is one of the reasons why Leibniz approached the Tsar to ‘collect Dictionariis or at least small Vocabulariis under the peoples of Scythia and neighboring countries that are subject to your rule’ – it would promote ‘the study of the origin of nations ... by comparing the languages’ and have the additional advantage that Christianity could be spread among these peoples.⁸⁶

Leibniz’s perspective was world-wide and allowing for a much greater time frame than indicated in the Bible. Aarsleff writes that Leibniz ‘took a much wider view of language than his contemporaries. In space he ranged from Chinese and the languages of Asia in the East to Icelandic and Basque in the West, and he even sought information on the languages of sub-Saharan Africa, including that of the Hottentots. And as regards time, there is no indication that he ever accepted the traditional Old-Testament chronology, which was widely believed in his day and indeed also later. To Leibniz the changes from the original tongue had occurred over a much greater expanse of time’ (Aarsleff 1982: 89).

Leibniz valued language comparison as a historical tool. In order to prevent etymology from being ‘conjectural’ (speculative) and nationalist, he developed rules for comparing

⁸⁵ Waterman (1978: 18, 57) uses the term ‘ethnolinguistic’ for the linguistic work of both Leibniz and Ludolf.

⁸⁶ ‘die Erkenntnis des Ursprungs der Nationen ... aus Vergleichung der Sprachen’ (Leibniz, quoted in Benfey 1869: 253 n. 1; compare Peschel/Ruge 1877: 798 and n. 3).

languages, pointing out ‘the necessity not only of finding as many witnesses as possible, but of trying to establish a spatial continuity’ (Waterman 1963: 29). He even predicted, in one of his earliest letters to Ludolf, that in due course scholars would ‘advance the matter further and collect the dialects also of living nations.’⁸⁷ He demanded that the vocabularies be arranged according to roots, promoted the translation of the Lord’s Prayer in as many languages as possible (in a well-circumscribed manner, see below), and emphasized that language comparison should be based not only on vocabularies but also on grammars.⁸⁸

As we have seen, Leibniz repeatedly emphasized in his correspondence with people in Russia the need for collecting language specimens. These documents also included instructions on how this material should be collected. For instance, as he wrote in his memorandum of 1712, not only should the Lord’s Prayer and the Apostles’ Creed be translated ‘in every language spoken in the Empire of the Tsar and in neighboring countries,’ but this should be done in a ‘versione interlineari so that each word would correspond to the other as much as possible.’ Moreover, one would need a vocabulary, in which the nomina and verba are provided, Russian words and their deviation from those in other languages are given, and their pronunciation would be indicated. In addition, one would need to know the name of the nation, and those of the main rivers in the area, so that the location of the language sample could be clearly established. Finally, it would be important to not only use ‘interpreters, but also some travelers and merchants, preferably born from the people in question (*aus der Nation bürtig*), or at least well acquainted with them.’⁸⁹

These and other instructions were a major improvement on the manner in which earlier language samples had been acquired. A first collection of translations of the Lord’s Prayer (*Vater Unser*) in various languages was published by the German humanist Johannes Schiltberger in 1427. Conrad Gesner (1516-1565), a Swiss encyclopaedist, physician and polyhistor, and the Father of Bibliography, included translations of the Lord’s Prayer in one hundred and thirty languages in his comparative work *Mithridates* (1555). The idea was continued by Witsen (1692), Leibniz, and many others, including Benjamin Schultze (1748), who added seventy languages. In 1786-89, when Peter Simon Pallas published *Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa* (1786-89), he discussed two hundred languages: 149 in Asia, 51 in Europe. The practice reached its apex with Johann Christoph Adelung’s work *Mithridates, oder allgemeine Sprachkunde, mit dem Vater Unser als Sprachprobe in bey nahe 500 Sprachen und Mundarten* (co-published with Johann Severin Vater in four volumes, 1806-17) in which almost five hundred languages were listed. Friedrich Adelung and Wilhelm von Humboldt enlarged these collections with another 203 languages (Richter 1946: 76).

⁸⁷ Leibniz to Ludolf, December 1687, quoted and translated in Aarsleff (1982: 93, 99 n. 37).

⁸⁸ In his study of Semitic languages, Ludolf also paid attention to morphology (Robins 1979: 168, Benfey 1869: 236). This principle was much later applied by the Spanish Jesuit Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro in his *Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas* (1784, 2nd ed. 1800-05) (Benfey 1869: 269-71, Peschel/Ruge 1877: 799).

⁸⁹ Denkschrift Leibniz’s über Untersuchung der Sprachen und Beobachtung der Variation des Magnets im Russischen Reichs (September 1712). In: Guerrier 1873 II: 239-249 (p. 239); Richter 1946: 79-82 (p. 80).

On the basis of these data, we should reconsider Waterman's position that Leibniz rather than William Jones be recognized as true father of comparative linguistics, in particular of historical linguistics. In 1711, Leibniz called the combination of historical and linguistic studies he pursued *historia etymologica*, which can be translated as historical linguistics.⁹⁰

Characteristic for Leibniz's approach was that language studies were a prerequisite for classifying peoples. This idea had significant consequences for the description of peoples that was called ethnography or *Völker-Beschreibung* from 1740 onward (see Chapter 4). The underlying assumption was that there was a direct relationship between languages and the peoples that speak them. By equating linguistic and ethnic pedigree, and by assuming a correlation of identity between language and peoples (Waterman 1963: 28-29), Leibniz arrived at a grand scheme for the history of humankind. This assumption was still shared a full century later when the German linguist Theodor Benfey described Leibniz's classification of languages, published in 1710, as 'essentially a classification of peoples according to their languages and therefore, at the same time, a classification of languages.'⁹¹ The German geographers Oscar Peschel and Sophus Ruge, writing on the history of ethnography, presented Leibniz as the first scholar who attempted 'to arrange peoples on the basis of their languages.'⁹² This was quite a different approach than the more common manner of arranging peoples according to their customs, or on the basis of levels or stages of civilization.

Apart from his classification of languages, Leibniz's most important contribution was the methodology he presented for comparing languages. By setting out the rules for a reliable study of 'hidden antiquity,' and by stimulating research internationally, he was enormously influential. In the reception of Leibniz's linguistic studies, we may discern three stages. The first is the influence he exerted during his life, primarily by way of correspondence and some publications. The second stage begins after his death, when his secretary Eckhart published a number of essays written by Leibniz and by other scholars in the *Collectanea etymologica* (1717), a project upon which Leibniz had long been working. The third stage begins with the publication of the Leibniz-Ludolf correspondence (Michaelis 1755) and of his *Nouveaux Essais* (Raspe 1765).

Leibniz not only conducted linguistic research himself but also stimulated others to do so. Many examples could be presented here, but the most famous are his correspondence with Ludolf (1687-1702) and the Russian Tsar and his advisors (1703-1716). During the second stage mentioned above, Leibniz influenced a number of scholars working in Russia, including the German naturalist Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt, the Swedish military officer Philipp Johann Tabbert von Strahlenberg (1730), the German Orientalist Theophil Siegfried Bayer,

⁹⁰ See G.W. Leibniz, *Epistolaris de historia etymologica dissertatio* [G.W. Leibniz ad J.G. Eccard [Eckhardt] 1711-12]. Unpublished ms., 64 pp. (Leibniz-Archiv, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek, Hannover/Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek Hannover). This is 'the final and by far the most comprehensive of Leibniz's writings on etymology' and was planned as the introduction to the *Collectanea etymologica* (Aarsleff 1982: 87).

⁹¹ 'wesentlich eine Classification der Völker nach ihren Sprachen und somit zugleich eine Classification der Sprachen selbst' (Benfey 1869:246-247).

⁹² Peschel/Ruge (1877: 798). This characterization is confirmed by Ferdinand Frensdorff (1890: 592).

the Russian historian Vasilii Nikitich Tatishchev, and the German historian Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1759 [1733]). All these scholars collected vocabularies of Siberian peoples in order to contribute to Leibniz's project on historical etymology. In the third stage, Leibniz influenced German scholars such as the Orientalist Johann David Michaelis, the naturalist and linguist Christian Wilhelm Büttner (1771), and the historian and linguist August Ludwig Schlözer (1771). He also influenced the work of comparative linguists such as Johann Christoph Adelung, Peter Simon Pallas, and Johann Severin Vater.

Given the importance of Leibniz's historical linguistics and the influence he exerted in an international context, it is surprising that an article on Leibniz is not to be found in a recent handbook on linguistics in the German-speaking world during the eighteenth century.⁹³ Moreover, the fact that his writings on history and linguistics have not been made accessible by the Leibniz-Edition is a remarkable omission that seriously hampers research. As a result, it is not generally acknowledged that Leibniz was influential precisely in that field of research, bordering on world history and linguistics, that was to become ethnography and ethnology.

Concluding Remarks

After meeting Peter the Great for the final time, at Bad Pyrmont in 1716, Leibniz felt satisfied he had achieved something (Guerrier 1873 I: 188). Shortly afterwards, Leibniz passed away at the age of seventy, almost forgotten. His reputation was in decline, most of his work remained in manuscript. During his lifetime, he had published only three books, *Ars combinatoria* (1690), in which he developed symbolic logic, *Novissima Sinica* (1697), and his *Théodicée* (1710), as well as numerous smaller studies, mostly articles. His vast correspondence had not been edited and he had been unable to finish the history of the House of Brunswick he had been commissioned to write (it appeared during the nineteenth century).⁹⁴ For this reason, he had been left behind when the Elector of Hanover ascended the throne in London as King George I in 1714. Another reason for not taking him along was that it might insult Newton, who was held to have won the differential calculus priority dispute in which Leibniz was wrongly accused of having plagiarized Newton's calculus. Leibniz's reputation suffered from the accusations. He had been a life member of the Royal Society and a founding member of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, but neither organization honored his passing. The French Academy of Sciences in Paris paid tribute to its foreign member by means of a eulogy presented by Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle (1716). One year later Christian Wolff published a eulogy in the *Acta Eruditorum*, the journal Leibniz had helped found. But Leibniz was in disfavor among the population of Hanover who took him for an atheist and his grave in Hanover went unmarked for fifty years.

⁹³ *Bio-bibliographisches Handbuch zur Sprachwissenschaft des 18. Jahrhunderts*, hrsg. von Herbert Brekle et al. Tübingen, from 1992 onward.

⁹⁴ Godofr. Wilh. Leibnitii *Annales imperii occidentis Brunsvicenses ex codicibus bibliothecae regiae Hannoveranae*, edidit Georgius Henricus Pertz. 3 vols. Hannoverae: Hahn 1843-46 (Leibnizens gesammelte Werke). The first volume was finished in 1715; the second volume in 1716, just weeks before Leibniz's death.

Nevertheless, Leibniz's mission was not fruitless and his teachings were carried forward in the next generation. As we have seen, his most important 'pupil,' Christian Wolff, corresponded with the Russian Academy of Sciences from 1719 to 1753 and continued Leibniz's philosophy, making it less utopian and more practical. Half a century after Leibniz's death, his star began to rise again. When a Latin edition of his correspondence with Ludolf appeared at Göttingen in 1755 and his *Nouveaux Essais sur l'entendement humain* were published by R.E. Raspe in 1765, Leibniz became a veritable culture hero. Especially in Göttingen, the intellectual center of Northern Germany, a Leibniz revival can be observed, both in the work of Büttner and Michaelis, and in that of Kästner and Schlözer (see Chapter 6). This revival slowly accelerated and from 1923 a complete edition of his writings and correspondence is being published, covering eight series (*Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*). This is a huge undertaking considering the more than 15,000 letters that Leibniz exchanged with scholars and politicians around the world (1,100 correspondents from sixteen different countries).⁹⁵ The Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences at Potsdam and Berlin, and the Göttingen Academy of Sciences cooperate in this project, jointly with the Leibniz-Archiv in Hanover. In his honor, the University of Hanover renamed itself the 'Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Universität Hannover' in July 2006. The *Leibniz-Gemeinschaft* now coordinates eighty-two scientific institutions in Germany.

An evaluation of Leibniz's influence on scholarly developments in Germany and Russia has to be based on all available facts. Until the documents in German archives and those held in Russian archives have been systematically compared, the following can only be a preliminary assessment. As we have seen, the influence of Leibniz on the establishment of the Russian Academy of Sciences was both direct and indirect, even though its foundation took place almost ten years after his death and Peter the Great had many advisors, both from England and France.

Leibniz's influence on the reform of the *Collegien*, the ministries in Russia, may have been stronger than the Russians realized. In 1873, Guerrier concluded that 'the circumstances had allowed him only an ephemeral influence on the great reformer of the East'⁹⁶ but he had not been able to consult all relevant documents. Richter (1946: 132-140) argues that the undated proposal for establishing ministries may have been drafted by Leibniz and should be dated 1711 (in stead of 1716). In that case, Leibniz may indeed have been an 'initiator of the Russian ministerial administration,'⁹⁷ even if the Russians in 1719 opted for the Swedish system of administration.

Leibniz's influence on the exploration of the Russian Empire was presumably strong, adding to advice given by French and British scientists such as De l'Isle and Halley. The idea to set up a network of stations to observe magnetism in the Russian Empire, later implemented by

⁹⁵ The Leibniz-Archiv in Hanover states on the website of the Leibniz-Edition: 'Der Nachlass von Leibniz umfasst etwa 50.000 Stücke, etwa 150.000 bis 200.000 Blatt. Dazu gehören etwa 15.000 Briefe von und an etwa 1.100 Korrespondenten. Etwa 40% sind lateinisch geschrieben, etwa 35% französisch und der Rest überwiegend auf Deutsch. Der Nachlass wird von der Handschriftenabteilung der Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek betreut' (<http://www.gwlb.de/Leibniz/Leibnizarchiv/Einfuehrung/>).

⁹⁶ 'die Umstände hatten ihm nur eine flüchtige Anregung auf den grossen Reformator des Ostens vergönnt' (Guerrier 1873 I: 189, cf. 186).

⁹⁷ 'Urheber der Collegien-Verwaltung' (Guerrier 1873 I: 186).

Alexander von Humboldt, was a result of Leibniz's efforts. The same seems to hold for Leibniz's persistent pleas for the exploration of the border areas between Asia and America, especially as the French geographer De l'Isle confirmed the importance of this query in 1717.

However, Leibniz's influence on Russian explorations was probably not as large as it might have been because Areskine may not have trusted Leibniz on account of the calculus priority dispute of 1711-12. Guerrier (1873) lists only two letters from Leibniz to Areskine (dated 1713 and 1716). This is puzzling, as Areskine was the main science organizer in Russia from 1706, planning several scientific expeditions into the Russian Empire from 1710 onward (see Chapter 3). It would have been logical for Leibniz to correspond with him but he did not. Further research in Russian, German, or British archives could confirm this personal dissonance, which may have reduced Leibniz's effectivity in Russia.

Leibniz's influence was the most direct on the study of the languages spoken in the Russian territories. Guerrier (1873 I: 196) alleges that Leibniz's urges to collect language samples had found no approval (*keinen Anklang*) with the Tsar. But Leibniz's linguistic theories were extremely influential on German or German-speaking scholars working for the Russians. His pleas had a direct influence on Strahlenberg and Messerschmidt, on Müller and Fischer, on Schlözer and very likely on Michaelis and Büttner, extending right up to Pallas, Adelung, and Vater (1810), ultimately reaching Benjamin Smith Barton in the United States (1797, 1798). Thus, Leibniz's influence was the most enduring in the field of historical linguistics, a field that has largely been overlooked in the secondary literature. It is the least documented aspect of Leibniz's oeuvre but the one that probably has had the most direct impact on the subject at hand.

The relevance for the formation of ethnology was large: Leibniz's work served as a major incentive for its constitution. By focusing on the study of languages as vestiges of history, as an alternative to the age-old study of manners and customs (*mores*), Leibniz exercised a direct influence on the formation of an ethnological discourse both in Europe and in the United States.

While the impact of Leibniz on science in Russia may not have been as large as German historians would have wished, his influence on German scholarship was enormous. This fact has not been sufficiently acknowledged. Leibniz's linguistic work represented the first stage of a new, scientific perspective on the peoples of the world. We shall now see, how, in the next stage, Leibniz's ethnolinguistic discourse was developed into a veritable ethnological program.

Chapter Three

D.G. Messerschmidt and the Early Exploration of Siberia, 1719-1727

German-speaking scholars did not start the description of Siberian peoples but they systematized it and turned it into a research program. By equating *Völkerkunde* (the science of peoples) with *Ethnographie* (a description of peoples), they outlined a new, comprehensive, and promising research program. This program appealed to many young scholars sent on scientific expeditions into the outer regions of the Russian Empire, formerly dominated by non-Russians.

The Age of Discovery (1450-1700) is the term used to refer to the way the West explored and conquered the Rest. In the grand narrative of European expansion beginning in the early modern era (*Frühe Neuzeit*), European nations, inspired by religious fervour and mercantile aspirations, discovered America and established trading posts in Asia and Africa. Columbus sailed to Cuba and the West Indies in 1492, Vasco da Gama reached India on his sea voyages of 1497-99, the Moluccas were first sighted by the Portuguese in 1512, Ferdinando de Magalhaes passed through the Straits of Magellan in 1520. In this discourse, trade and power precede science and exploration. As a result of these voyages, European scholars developed a new understanding of the world, contributing a great deal to the Scientific Revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These narratives are intrinsically ethnocentric. Thus, the Chinese sea voyages of Zheng He (Cheng Ho), undertaken at the order of the emperor of the Ming Dynasty to sail to ‘the countries beyond the horizon, all the way to the end of the earth’ in 1405-33 (Menzies 2002) are excluded from the standard account of discoveries. In the same way, the Russian conquest of Siberia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is hardly ever mentioned. Nevertheless, the arrival of the Russians in Asia was contemporaneous and in many ways analogous to the European colonization of the Americas. Moreover, the Russian conquests led to important discoveries, which are usually not included in the secondary literature. One of these contributions to science was *Ethnographie*.

The most important early explorer of Siberia was the German naturalist-cum-physician Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt (1685-1735), whose work, although by and large unpublished, influenced that of later explorers such as Gerhard Friedrich Müller, Georg Wilhelm Steller, and Peter Simon Pallas. It set an example for the scientific, critical, empirical, and encompassing study of Russian Asia. However, Messerschmidt could build on the work of others and before we review his ground-breaking work, we have to consider earlier studies of Siberia.

The Conquest and Early Exploration of Siberia

Perhaps the earliest synthesis of reports on peoples in the northern and eastern parts of the Russian Empire was presented in a book by Nicolaas Witsen, *Noord en Oost Tartarye* (1692,

2nd ed. 1705). Even earlier, diplomatic mission and trade mission reports had been written by Sigismund von Herberstein, Adam Olearius, Eberhard Isbrand Ides, Adam Brand, Lorenz Lange, and Georg Johann Unverzagt, as well as travel accounts by Isaak Massa, Samuel Purchas, and Jean Chardin (Bucher 2002: 46-64). Witsen's work was special in that it tried to present a comprehensive picture of countries and peoples, based on accounts of others, not on first-hand observations by the author himself. Witsen was a compiler, not a traveler. Nevertheless, for the first time in the history of scholarship, a western author had succeeded in collecting all available facts about the relatively unknown northern and eastern parts of Tartary.

'Tartary' (correctly Tatar) was a little known area ruled by Tatars and Mongols. Beginning in the Middle Ages, Europeans used the designation 'Great Tartary' to refer to Northern Asia. Previously, its western part had been known as Yugra and the people as 'Ugrians.'⁹⁸ During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, vast areas of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia were controlled by the Mongols. Under the rule of Genghis Khan (1206-1227), Tatar extended as far east as the Pacific Ocean. Tatars are Turkic-speaking peoples living in Russia and in parts of China.⁹⁹ The name 'Tatar' originally applied to both Turkic and Mongol branches that invaded Europe. After the conquests of Genghis Khan, the invaders became known in Europe as 'Tatars.' The Mongolian invasion of Hungary and Germany (1241) led by Batu Khan at the head of the Golden Horde is also known as the Tatar invasion. Mongol horsemen ruled Russia from that date until the year 1480, when 'the Mongol yoke' was removed (Kappeler 1992). The Golden Horde adopted Islam in the fourteenth century. The Tatar Empire disintegrated in the late fifteenth century, when the independent khanates of Kazan, Astrakhan, Sibir, and Crimea emerged. Russia conquered the first three khanates, while the khans of Crimea became vassals of the Ottoman Empire in 1478. Siberia long continued to be known as Tartary and the Crimean domains were known as Little Tartary (the Crimean Tatars raided Moscow in 1572). Eventually, the term 'Tatar' was replaced with 'Siberia' by Russian expansionists.

The Russians conquered Siberia from the Tatar Khans. This conquest was initiated by the Cossack *ataman* Yermak Timofeev, but it had been prepared under Ivan III Vasilevich (Ivan the Great, 1440-1505). Ivan III was one of the most successful Russian rulers, who ended the payment of tribute to the Tatars and shook off the Tatar yoke once and for all (Semyonov 1963: 14). He took as his second wife Sophia, the niece of the last Byzantine emperor, in 1472. Conceiving of Moscow as the Third Rome (Byzantium being the second), he built the Moscow Kremlin and laid the foundations for the Russian autocracy.¹⁰⁰ However, the Russian lands had

⁹⁸ Yugrians is the name the men from Novgorod gave to the people beyond the Iron Gate: the Urals (Semyonov 1963: 15). The current province with this name, in West Siberia, includes Khanty-Mansiysk and the Yamal Peninsula.

⁹⁹ Tatarstan (capital Kazan) is now an autonomous republic of west-central Russia. The region was conquered by Mongols of the Golden Horde in the thirteenth and by Moscow in the sixteenth century. The Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was established in 1920 and declared its independence in 1991. Today, the Tatars also form one of the fifty-six ethnic groups (or nationalities, *minzú*) recognized by the People's Republic of China, officially seen as a unitary multinational state (Nationality Law of the People's Republic of China, 1980).

¹⁰⁰ The Austrian diplomat Sigismund von Herberstein's account of his travels to Russia in 1516-18 and 1526-27, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* (Vienna 1549) counts as the first European report on Western Asia.

to be united and a path into the outside world had to be found. The Muscovy state was barred to the south by the Turks, to the east by the Tatars, and to the west by the Poles and Lithuanians. Known as ‘gatherer of the Russian lands,’ Ivan III annexed the rich trading center Novgorod in 1478. Novgorod controlled access to the Baltic and the White Sea, and provided the key to Siberia across the Ural Mountains. Ivan the Great’s decision to stop paying tribute to the Golden Horde led to a bloodless standoff between the Russian and the Tatar armies on the Ugra River (1480), resulting in the retreat of the Tatar-Mongols and the disintegration of the Horde. From 1499 to 1502 parts of western Siberia were incorporated in the domain of the Russian state.

The conquest of Siberia was continued during the rule of Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible, or Ivan Grozny, 1530-1584), who was the Grand Duke of Muscovy from 1533 to 1547 and the first ruler of Russia to assume the title of Tsar. For some he was the founder of the modern Russian state and even the empire, for others a cruel tyrant who set Russia on the path of despotism and terror. His long reign witnessed the conquest of Tatar and Siberia and the transformation of Russia into a multiethnic and multiconfessional state. Ivan IV also launched a victorious war of seaward expansion in the west, fighting the Swedes, Lithuanians, Poles, and the Livonian Teutonic Knights. In 1552 he defeated the Tatar Khanate of Kazan, whose armies had repeatedly devastated the northeast of Russia and annexed its territory. Ivan IV’s conquest of this Islamic Khanate is usually seen as the founding event of the Russian Empire. Four years later, he annexed the Astrakhan Khanate and destroyed the largest slave market on the river Volga. These acts opened to Russian colonization ‘vast regions of virgin black earth previously inhabited by nomads’ (Massie 1981: 781). In 1558, Ivan IV granted financial, judicial, and trade privileges in ‘uninhabited lands’ in the Perm district to the Stroganovs, a merchant family of furtraders with investments in the salt wells in the Urals, where they later also installed ironworks and copper-smelting factories. Ivan IV supported Yermak’s conquest of Siberia.

Tradition has it that the Stroganov family wanted to protect the territories of their hunters from Tatar attacks and sent Yermak Timofeev on an expedition to defeat the Tatars. Advancing in riverboats, Yermak and his band crossed the Urals in 1581 and with the superior force of firearms conquered Isker,¹⁰¹ the capital of the Tatar Khanate of Sibir in 1582.¹⁰² Yermak reached the Irtysh River but was killed in an encounter with the Tatars in 1584, when his troops were forced to retreat. However, Russian troops retook the territory in 1586 and founded Tyumen, the first Russian city in Siberia. The city of Isker, the residence of Khan Kuchum, ruler of Sibir, was abandoned after the foundation of Tobolsk. Yermak’s expedition initiated the take-over of Northern Asia by the Russians. Resistance was particularly strong in the Southern Urals, where the Russian conquest had commenced (Forsyth 1992: 117).

¹⁰¹ Isker is the name of a former city on the confluence of the Irtysh and Tobol rivers, southeast of present-day Tobolsk, West Siberia. Founded in the eleventh or twelfth century, it became the capital of the Tatar khanate of Kuchum in the early sixteenth century, when the empire of the Golden Horde disintegrated.

¹⁰² On the conquest of Siberia by Yermak Timofeev and his band of Cossacks, see the report in the *Stroganov Chronicle* of 1582 published in Dmytryshyn et al. 1985-88, I: 14-23; see also Armstrong 1975.

The Cossacks, runaway serfs from Muscovy who settled in the Don and Volga areas, became the conquistadores of Siberia. Yermak has been characterized as the ‘Russian Pizarro.’ Their conquest of Siberia marked the beginning of the expansion of Russia into this region and its colonization. Colonists from Muscovy moved into the new territories. Siberia was attractive for runaway serfs as it knew no serfdom. From the late sixteenth century onward, the Russians explored the Asian continent from the Urals in the West to its eastern shores, reaching the coast of the Pacific Ocean in 1639 (Berg 1954: 88). The pattern of ‘pacification’ follows that of the establishment of the first Russian towns in Siberia: Tyumen (1586), Tobolsk on the Irtysh River (1587), Berezov in the North (1593), Surgut on the Ob (1594), Mangaseya (1601), Tomsk on the Tom (1604), Yeniseysk (1619) and Krasnoyarsk (1627) on the Yenisei, Bratsk (1631) and Yakutsk on the Lena (1632), Okhotsk near the Sea of Okhotsk (1647), Anadyrsk (1649), Irkutsk (1652), and Nerchinsk (1659).¹⁰³ The famous Lake Baikal was first encountered by Ivan Kurbatov in 1643. Within sixty-five years after Yermak’s expedition, the vast lands of Siberia had – at least formally – been incorporated into the Muscovy State (Hoffmann 1988: 64).

The Russian conquest of Siberia¹⁰⁴ was part of a territorial expansion program that has hardly seen its equal. Siberia was littered with fortified settlements (*ostrogs*) and factories, built by colonists, and the local population had to pay tribute (*yasak*), mostly in the form of furs, to the government (Wolf 1982). The early stage of this process culminated in 1697-99, when the Cossack Vladimir Atlasov occupied the Kamchatka peninsula in the Far East after a bloody war with the indigenous people, the Itelmens and Koryaks (Howgego 2003: 63-64).

The main motives for the Russians to conquer Northern and Central Asia were fivefold: to occupy as much land as possible, find open water and ice-free harbours, exploit natural resources, Christianize the local population, and tax them, especially for furs (pelts).

Dittmar Schorkowitz (1995) divides Russian administrative and economic policies during the tsarist period in three stages. In the first, pre-Petrinian stage, the Siberian and Central-Asian territories were conquered and heavily taxed; private trade was insignificant and Siberia was seen as ‘a colony, its peoples as willing providers of taxes and furs.’¹⁰⁵ In the second stage, beginning with the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689), which brought the eastward expansion to a halt, trade between Russia and China became important. Under Peter the Great’s rule the development of trade went hand in hand with the exploration of Siberia and Russian Asia, without abandoning the tax-system (*yasak*). During this period, in which the scientific exploration of Siberia was equivalent to finding natural resources, Siberia was incorporated into the Russian state system (*Staatsgemeinschaft*). According to Bakhrushin (1999 [1937]: 21), the first aim was ‘to investigate the economic power of the colonies’ in order to exploit ‘their rich resources to the benefit of the ruling classes.’ This stage was continued under

¹⁰³ See the map of Siberia in the Seventeenth Century in Dmytryshyn et al. 1985-88, I: lxxxviii-lxxxix.

¹⁰⁴ On the conquest of Siberia, see Müller 1761-63; Fischer 1768; Semyonov 1963; Scuria 1963; Dmytryshyn et al. 1985-88; Bobrick 1992; Forsyth 1992; and Ziegler 2005.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Sibirien war Kolonie, seine Völker galten als willige Lieferanten von Steuern und Pelzen’ (Schorkowitz 1995: 331).

Catherine the Great and lasted until the end of the eighteenth century. In the early nineteenth century, Siberia was incorporated into the sphere of Russian culture (*Kulturgemeinschaft*).¹⁰⁶ These stages are reflected in the reports on the territory that was conquered and explored.

Russian Reports

From 1558 onward, Russians were interested in amassing riches in Siberia and in making a cartographic inventory of the empire.¹⁰⁷ Their conquests during the seventeenth century led to geographic discoveries. Posselt (1969: 66-67) presents a list of seventeenth-century Russian explorers with primarily geographical aims, including Ivan Moskvitin, who explored the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (1639); Vasili Poyarkov, who reached the Amur River basin (1643-46); Semen Dezhnev, who explored the Bering Strait in 1648 (eighty years before Bering); Jerofei Chabarov, who traveled through the area north of the Amur (1649-51); and Luca Morosko and Vladimir Atlasov, who conquered and explored Kamchatka (1697-99). Russian administrators had lists of peoples to be taxed. The first department dealing with Siberia, *Sibirski Prikaz*, was founded in Moscow in 1637. The Department of Siberian Affairs collected data on peoples to be subjected to *yasak*, and on natural resources to be exploited. Schorkowitz (1995: 334-335) mentions that ‘people in the service of the state, hunters for fur, and Cossacks’ sent reports to their supervisors and Chancelleries – even if their primary tasks were ‘to occupy the territory for the Tsar, establish winter camps, forts and settlements, and force the subdued people into paying taxes, if necessary by using firearms or by taking hostages (*amanaty*).’¹⁰⁸ Although these reports contain valuable accounts, the exploitation of people and natural resources was of primary concern. Müller found many such documents in the archives of Siberian towns. They were neither detailed nor reliable and needed to be checked. Studies by Swedish prisoners of war exiled to Siberia count as more valuable. Some of them will be dealt with below.

Russian historians hold that the Russian ethnography of Siberia began with Semyon Ulyanovich Remezov (1642-c.1720). His work provided the starting point of the systematic exploration of Siberia (Bakhrushin 1999: 7). Remezov was the son of a *boyar* (aristocrat) from Tobolsk who had been assigned by the *Sibirski Prikaz* to collect all available information on Siberia and map it.¹⁰⁹ Apart from distances between rivers and towns, he had to record where the peoples lived and whether they were nomadic or sedentary. Remezov compiled his ‘Siberian Sketchbook’ (*Chertezhnaya kniga Sibiri*) in 1699-1701. Also known as the ‘Book of Siberian Maps,’ it contained twenty-four maps with lists of distances, sketches of towns, and brief descriptions of Siberian peoples. European scholars were introduced to the book after Strahlenberg consulted it during his stay in Tobolsk and published excerpts in his travel account

¹⁰⁶ Schorkowitz (1995: 331-332), based on Klaus Heller (1980: 8-32).

¹⁰⁷ Dmytryshyn (et al. vol. I, 1985) presents ‘a documentary record’ of Russia’s conquest of Siberia, 1558-1700.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Dienstleute (*sluzhilye ljudi*), Pelztierjäger (*promyshlenniki*) und Kosakken’ (Schorkowitz 1995: 334-335; see also Pypin 1892, IV: 247-254; Schweitzer 1990: 33-50).

¹⁰⁹ One of these maps of Siberia is published as a frontispiece in Dmytryshyn et al. 1985-88, vol. I.

(Tokarev 1966: 64). Only part of this information is preserved today. However, Remezov's work was known to Siberia explorers such as Messerschmidt, Gmelin, and Müller (Hoffman 2005: 70, 82). Tokarev (1966: 63) calls Remezov the first ethnographer of Siberia, but this is an overstatement; he was the first Russian cartographer and geographer.¹¹⁰

Even more important was the work of Vasilii Nikitich Tatishchev (Tatiščev, 1686-1750), generally regarded as the most eminent Russian historian of the Early Enlightenment. Tatishchev was a statesman, economist, and historian. He wrote about the history and geography of Russia, especially about early Russian chronicles, and stimulated statistical and linguistic research. He served as an economic reformer of the Urals (1720-23, 1734-37) and, after heading the Orenburg Committee (1737-40), as Governor of Astrakhan in 1741-45 (Pekarskii 1870; Grau 1962, 1963). During his travels in the Urals, West Siberia, and Southeast Russia, Tatishchev had ample opportunities for studying the Asian peoples in these regions (Winter 1953: 321). Having visited Berlin in 1713-14, he was personally acquainted with many German scholars. He stimulated the advancement of geography and cartography, including an atlas of Russia. In 1725, he wrote the first summary of reports on Siberian mammoth findings. Moreover, he issued instructions for research in Siberia. In 1734, he sent a questionnaire to administrators in Siberia with 195 questions relating to the history, economy, geography and ethnographic situation in that region.¹¹¹ He corresponded with Müller during the Second Kamchatka Expedition (1733-43).

Tatishchev also collected linguistic material, studying the unpublished results of Messerschmidt through the work of the Swedish officer Tabbert von Strahlenberg and the German Orientalist Theophil Siegfried Bayer from the Academy of Sciences in Russia. Visiting Sweden in 1724, Tatishchev met Strahlenberg in Stockholm and discussed Strahlenberg's and Messerschmidt's research in Siberia. Inspired by Messerschmidt and Bayer, Tatishchev began to collect language specimens of Siberian peoples (Winter 1953: 321). In 1735, Bayer requested Tatishchev to forward information on the 'names of rivers, mountains, etc.' (Grau 1963: 212) – a clear reference to Leibniz's thesis that the ancient names are best preserved in the names of such (immovable) objects of nature. Strahlenberg, who qualified Leibniz as 'the great Philosopher,' knew Tatishchev's work.¹¹² Tatishchev continued to request linguistic material from the administrators in Siberia as late as 1736-38. But his greatest achievement was the compilation of a history of Russia on the basis of ancient chronicles. August Ludwig Schlözer, working in Russia from 1761 to 1767, called Tatishchev 'the Father of Russian history.'¹¹³ Schlözer suggested the publication of Tatishchev's history, which thus far only existed in handwriting. Scholars such as Müller, Taubert, and Lomonosov happily drew on it. The four volumes were printed in 1768-84 and edited by Müller (Winter 1961: 11).

¹¹⁰ For a study of Remezov's life and work, see Leonid A. Goldenberg, *Semyon Ulyjanovich Remezov: sibirsky kartograf i geograf, 1642-posle 1720 gg.* Moskva: Izd. Nauka, 1965. See also Goldenberg 1971.

¹¹¹ Andreev 1965: 89, 313; Kosven 1961: 182-183; Potapov 1966: 151; Schorkowitz 1995: 338; Bucher 2002: 191.

¹¹² 'der grosse Philosophus' (Strahlenberg 1730, Vorrede).

¹¹³ 'Dieser um die alte Geschichte Rußlands ganz ungemein verdiente Mann' (Schlözer 1768: 24); 'der Vater der russischen Geschichte' (Schlözer in a letter of 1767, quoted in Winter 1961: 191).

Numerous reports on peoples, places, and products of the newly occupied territories in northern and central Asia served the Russian administration as documentation. For example, Atlasov, who occupied Kamchatka in 1697-99, reported on physical condition, economy, material culture, warfare, marriage rules, customs and religion of the indigenous population, including Chuckchi and Koryak.¹¹⁴ Bucher (2002: 61-62) calls this report 'the first ethnographic source on Kamchatka,' which is surely overstated, but the report was processed in the second edition of Witsen's book (1705). Bucher (2002: 62) concludes that by the end of the seventeenth century 'at least a minimum of knowledge was available on almost all Siberian peoples.'

It was against this background of the conquest and early exploration of Siberia that Nicolaas Witsen published the first synthesis of the vast areas between the Urals and the Pacific Ocean.

A Dutch Synthesis

When Witsen compiled his *Noord en Oost Tartaryen* (Northern and Eastern Tartary),¹¹⁵ the conquest of Siberia was, in some parts, almost complete. Witsen obviously wished to report on an area that had been more or less closed to western observers. He selected a form consisting of geography and topography (*Land- en Plaets-beschryvinge*). In one of his letters to Leibniz, Witsen summarized his own work as a 'geography of Tartary.'¹¹⁶ Witsen reports on the inhabitants of almost the entire region. Despite the book's topographical focus, Witsen provides a great deal of information on customs and languages. He published the first picture of a Tungus shaman (Witsen 1692, plate following page 663; Vitebsky 2005: 261).

All in all, it is amazing that Witsen was able to collect such a large quantity of information without ever having been in Siberia. His book is compiled from many different sources including travel accounts, correspondence, and oral information. As Witsen explains in his preface, he had spoken to numerous Tatars, Greeks, Persians, and other persons who had been in Tatar, as traders, convicts or otherwise, as well as to Chinese who had seen Tatar behind the Chinese Wall and had translated Tatar or Chinese writings (*Voorreden aen den Lezer*). It remains difficult to establish how much Witsen's work owed to Russian reports. Russian administrators and/or explorers probably had inventories of peoples inhabiting newly conquered territories of Russia. In a forthcoming Russian translation, these sources will be disclosed as much as possible.¹¹⁷

Nicolaas Cornelisz Witsen (1641-1717) was a Dutch politician, geographer and collector who served his native city Amsterdam in several functions. He was one of four Burgomasters of Amsterdam intermittently between 1682 and 1707, and he was a board member of the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC), founded in 1602. After traveling to England with his father when

¹¹⁴ See the account by Atlasov, dated 10 February 1701, in Dmytryshyn et al. 1985-88, II: 3-12.

¹¹⁵ *Noord en Oost Tartarye, ofte Bondigh ontwerp van eenige dier landen, en volken, zo als voormaels bekend zyn geweest*. 2 vols. Amsterdam 1692. 2nd ed. Amsterdam 1705; 2nd ed. 2nd printing Amsterdam 1785.

¹¹⁶ Witsen to Leibniz, Amsterdam 19 January 1706: 'cette Géographie Tartarique' (in Guerrier 1873 II: 60).

¹¹⁷ A Russian translation of Witsen's *Noord en Oost Tartaryen* is long overdue. A joint Dutch-Russian team, supervised by Bruno Naarden in Amsterdam, plans to publish a translation by Wilhelmina G. Triesman (1901-1982), a Dutch lady married to a Russian navy officer working in Leningrad, together with a CD-ROM.

he was fifteen, Witsen enrolled at the Athenaeum Illustre in Amsterdam. Studying at the University of Leiden (1663-64) Witsen's attention was drawn to Oriental countries and peoples by the lectures of Jacob Golius.¹¹⁸ After completing a doctorate in law at Leiden, Witsen was a member of Jacob Boreel's embassy to Russia (1664-65).¹¹⁹ While in Moscow, he took a lively interest in Russian government and culture. He remained fascinated by Russia and its unexplored territories throughout his life. Although Witsen later complained about limitations set on his travels in Muscovy, he was able to collect a wealth of information on Siberia. One of his informants was his cousin Andrey Winus, the Russia-born son of an Amsterdam grain-merchant who set up ironworks in Tula. His son rose to high-ranking positions, including head of the Siberian Chancellery, and was a confidant of Tsar Peter (Wladimiroff 2008). After his return to the Dutch Republic, Witsen maintained correspondence with people in Russia. This enabled him to collect information for his books and to compile a map of Siberia (1687) then considered the most detailed map of inner Asia. In an explanatory note to this map, which was printed in four sheets, Witsen suggested that the trade route to Persia could best be undertaken alongside the Caspian Sea, and the trade route to China through Siberia (Driessen-van het Reve 1996: 33). He also stated that it was unclear whether a landbridge existed between Asia and Northern America (Bucher 2002: 60). These were important issues for Peter the Great, who was highly interested in trade routes to China and India (Winter 1953: 314). Siberia shared a common borderline with China measuring thousands of kilometers and the overland trade route to China led through Siberia. Witsen corresponded with Leibniz who emphasized these very subjects in his memoirs.

Acting as an advisor to the Russian Tsar, Witsen served as host during Peter's first visit to Holland. As the author of a book on shipbuilding (1671), Witsen was an important expert to be consulted by Peter. In 1697, Witsen arranged an incognito apprenticeship for the Tsar at the ship wharves of the East Indies Company in Amsterdam. In three months he familiarized himself with the art of shipbuilding, the selection and training of officers and sailors, and the complexities of managing an international harbour.

Witsen not only published on Siberia himself but assisted others as well. He edited the account of Eberhard Isbrand Ides' voyage through Russia, Siberia, and Mongolia to China (1692-95) and partly financed Cornelis de Bruyn's voyage through Persia and India to Muscovy (1701-08). Witsen dedicated the second edition of his *North and East Tartary* (1705) to Peter the Great.

Witsen's interest was roused by the possible relations between Asia and America. On the basis of 'many remnants of manners and customs of the Northern and East Tartars' that they shared with the inhabitants of Northern America, he considered it probable,

¹¹⁸ See Veder's biography of Witsen in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek* (4, 1918: 1473-1479).

¹¹⁹ For Witsen's journal, see *Moscovische reyse, 1664-1665: journaal en aentekeningen*. Edited by Th.J.G. Locher and P. de Buck. 3 vols. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966-67. Russian translation in Jozien J. Driessen-van het Reve and Natasha P. Kopaneva (eds) Nikolaas Vitsen, *Puteshestvie v Moskoviju, 1664-1665*. Perevod s gollandskogo V.G. Trisman. Sankt-Peterburg: Symposium/'s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1996.

that the Northern Americans descend from the Tartars [Tatars], either those around Jezo, or more to the north from Tartary crossed to America, probably appears from many remnants of manners and customs of the Northern and East Tartars, still occurring under the Northern Americans until the present day. (Witsen [1692] 1785: 157)

Witsen provides many examples from which this conclusion can be drawn, based on statements by Hornius, de Laet, etc. However, according to later historical linguists such as Leibniz and Schlözer, a correspondence in customs does not provide us with sufficient evidence to establish the affinity between nations.

Witsen had a serious interest in languages and he published translations of the Lord's Prayer (*Vater Unser*) in nine Asian languages. He also collected vocabularies.¹²⁰

Witsen's work was highly influential. Excerpts from his correspondence with Leibniz were published in Leibniz's *Collectanea etymologica* (1717: 361-369). Gerhard Friedrich Müller, who would take part in the Second Kamchatka Expedition as historian, geographer and ethnographer, wrote an article on 'a rare work titled Noord- en Oost-Tartarye by Nicolaes Witsen' (Müller 1733a) and published a fifty-page index on both the first and the second edition of Witsen's work in his periodical *Sammlung Rußischer Geschichte* (Müller 1733b). Almost sixty years after Witsen's demise, his work was still cited with admiration by Schlözer (1771: 292), who regretted that the work was rare and hard to find as the result of its low print run. Although Müller cited Witsen often in his published and unpublished work, he was also critical of Witsen. Particularly Witsen's lack of a systematic approach proved a handicap for studying his work:

Apart from this general division there is no order to be found in the book. The most extensive descriptions and reports, in which many times entirely different subjects are treated, are 'in Forma' indented, and it appears not rarely as if the author has arranged the reports according to the moment they reached him. As a result, one loses a great deal of time using the book, because information of a town or region has sometimes to be looked for in ten different places (Müller 1733a: 216).¹²¹

It was precisely at the level of systematics and methodology that the early German explorers of Siberia made their main contribution. Most of them were educated at the universities of Halle, Leipzig, Jena, or Wittenberg in Central Germany (Mühlpfordt 1997). These universities played an important role in the dissemination of Early Enlightenment thinking (Bödeker

¹²⁰ These vocabularies appeared in the third edition of Witsen's *Tartary* (1785) in the following order: Korean (pp. 52-53), Daurian (pp. 68-73), Mongolian (p. 266), Kalmyk (pp. 297-304), Georgian or 'Iberian' (pp. 506-515), Cherkessian (pp. 526-528), Crimea-Tartaric (pp. 578-583), Mordvinian (pp. 624-627), Ostyak (p. 633), Tungus (p. 654), Yakut (Sakha) (p. 677-678), Lamut (Even) (p. 678), Yukaghir (p. 687), Vogul (Mansi) (pp. 732-733), Perm-Samoyedic (pp. 811-812), and Samoyedic (pp. 890-892). List provided by Hintzsche (2004: 800, n. 10).

¹²¹ 'Außer dieser Generaleintheilung ist im Werke fernerhin keine Ordnung anzutreffen. Die weitläufigsten Beschreibungen und Rapporten, worin oftmahls von ganz unterschiedenen Materialien gehandelt worden, sind in Forma eingerückt, und es scheint nicht selten, als habe sich der Verfaßer in Mittheilung derselben blos nach der Zeit des Empfangs gerichtet. Hieraus entstehet folglich bey dem Gebrauche des Buchs ein großer Zeitverlust, indem daß Nachrichten von einer Stadt oder Gegend mannmahl am 10 unterschiedenen Stellen müssen gesucht werden ...' (Müller 1733a: 216).

2008). This holds true especially for the University of Halle that rapidly turned into a center for Oriental and Slavic studies with diverse relations to the Orient and the Russian Empire.

Halle and the Early German Enlightenment

Halle (Saale) is a city forty km northwest of Leipzig that forms part of the federal state Saxony-Anhalt. It was part of the bishopric principality of Magdeburg from the tenth century onward and came to Brandenburg-Prussia in 1680.¹²² Leipzig belongs to Saxony, a state that tried to maintain its independence against Prussia. Both cities are now part of a region called 'Central Germany' (*Mitteldeutschland*), uniting the three German states Saxony (*Sachsen*), Saxony-Anhalt (*Sachsen-Anhalt*), and Thuringia (*Thüringen*). Together with Leipzig and other universities in Central Germany, and with the University of Göttingen in Northern Germany, Halle was one of centers of the movement in science and philosophy that has become known as *Aufklärung* in Germany, *Enlightenment* in England, and *Illumination* in France.

The University of Halle, founded in 1694, became one of the centers of the Early German Enlightenment as well as of Pietist Protestantism. It was the combination of Pietism and Enlightenment education that was characteristic for Halle (Hinske 1989). An earlier attempt to found a university in Halle, undertaken by Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg in 1531, failed due to financial shortages.¹²³ The second founding took place under different circumstances, in which no longer Catholicism and the Renaissance but Protestantism and the Enlightenment dominated. The establishment of the 'Fridericiana Halensis,' or 'Friedrichs-Universität' after Frederick III, represented a vital step in the dissemination of Early Enlightenment thought. Together with the universities of Leipzig (founded in 1409), Wittenberg (founded in 1502), and Jena (founded in 1558), the University of Halle formed a rectangle with scholarly impact in Europe and beyond. Famous scholars such as Christian Thomasius in the Faculty of Law, August Hermann Francke in the Faculty of Theology, Georg Ernst Stahl and Friedrich Hoffmann in the Faculty of Medicine, and Christian Wolff in the Faculty of Philosophy made it into the model university of the Enlightenment. Their influence extended far beyond Halle.

The University of Halle was the most modern university of Germany until the foundation of the University of Göttingen in 1737.¹²⁴ When the University of Halle was closed down by Napoleon in 1806, it counted the highest number of students in Central Germany, equalling that of the University of Göttingen in Northern Germany. Together these universities held a

¹²² Halle, first mentioned as 'Halla' in the Chronicon Moissiacense of 806, celebrated its 1200th anniversary in 2006. It came to Brandenburg-Prussia in 1680 under Frederick III of the Hohenzollern dynasty, the Elector of Brandenburg who crowned himself King Frederick I in Prussia in 1701. Until the early nineteenth century, Halle's main source of income was the harvesting of salt, from which it derives its Indo-european name. After 1949, Halle became one of the centers of chemical industry in the German Democratic Republic (GDR).

¹²³ See Johann Christoph von Dreyhaupt, *Pagvs neletici et nvdzici, Oder Ausführliche diplomatisch-historische Beschreibung des zum ehemaligen Primat und Ertz-Stift, nunmehr aber durch den westphälischen Friedens-Schluß secularisirten Hertzogthum Magdeburg gehörigen Saal-Creyses*. Halle 1749-50, Bd. II, 1750, pp. 1-3.

¹²⁴ Ralf-Torsten Speler, *Academia Halensis – die Musteruniversität der Aufklärung und ihre historischen Sammlungen* (2005: 221).

leading position until the foundation of the University of Berlin in 1810. After its reestablishment, the University of Halle was combined with the University of Wittenberg in 1817. Its name was changed into the 'Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg' in 1933.¹²⁵

When the Enlightenment began is a matter of debate. In 1684, one year after Ottoman troops laid siege to Vienna for the last time, Pierre Bayle published the first of his *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* in Amsterdam. In what was one of the first scholarly journals of modern times, Bayle referred to the United Provinces as a 'Suburb of Enlightenment,' indicating the early start of what Jonathan Israel (2001) calls the 'Radical Enlightenment.' This philosophical movement was seminal in 'the making of modernity' during 1650-1750. It began much earlier than the Enlightenment of the Scottish moral philosophers David Hume, Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, Lord Kames, Lord Monboddo and William Robertson, or of the French philosophers Montesquieu, Buffon, Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvétius, Diderot and Condorcet. The 'Radical Enlightenment' was the early start of this movement that began with Baruch de Spinoza (1632-1677) and other 'free thinkers' (*vrijgeesten*) in the Dutch Republic of the seventeenth century who broke away from Judaeo-Christian beliefs and were held to endorse 'atheism.' The movement reached John Locke in England (who had to finish his work in Rotterdam) as well as radical and more moderate philosophers in Germany (Israel 2006).

The 'patriarch of the German Enlightenment' was Erhard Weigel (1625-1699), a German mathematician, astronomer, and philosopher who served as a professor of mathematics at the University of Jena for forty-six years, from 1653 until his death.¹²⁶ According to Günter Mühlpfordt (1990, 1994, 1997) the 'Primary Enlightenment' (*Primäraufklärung*) preceded the 'Early Enlightenment' (*Frühaufklärung*) and the 'High Enlightenment' (*Hochaufklärung*). Weigel endeavored to introduce mathematics in the universities and in secondary schools.¹²⁷ He tried to demonstrate the 'mysterium trinitatis' by using geometrical principles and advocated the use of the Gregorian calendar.¹²⁸ Weigel taught many members of the early German Enlightenment, including its founding fathers Samuel von Pufendorf (1632-1694), Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (see Chapter 2), and Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus (1651-1708), a friend of Spinoza. Leibniz and Pufendorf traveled to Jena to attend Weigel's lectures in 1663; Leibniz and Tschirnhaus met again in Paris in 1675. Pufendorf, Leibniz, and Tschirnhaus served as models for Christian Wolff, who continued and systematized Leibniz's philosophy. Wolff's rival, Christian Thomasius, and his adversary, August Hermann Francke, the leader of Pietism in Halle, were also students of Weigel at Jena (Mühlpfordt 2005: 53). The 'Early Enlightenment' is

¹²⁵ See Schrader, *Geschichte der Friedrichs-Universität zu Halle* (Berlin 1894); Hübner, *Geschichte der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg: 1502-1977* (Halle 1977); Gunnar Berg et al. *Emporium: 500 Jahre Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Landesausstellung Sachsen-Anhalt 2002* (Halle 2002).

¹²⁶ The characterization 'Erzvater der deutschen Aufklärung' is from Günter Mühlpfordt (1990: 48, 2005: 53).

¹²⁷ Leibniz held Weigel in high regard, both as a mathematician and as a pedagogue. He wrote in 1716: 'Es ist bekannt, daß Herr Weigelius, ein in Mathesi sehr erfahrener und gelehrter Mann, und dabey ein ganz löbliches Absehen zum gemeinen Besten führet, welches er sonderlich in seiner vorgeschlagenen Tugendschule zu erkennen gegeben, allwo er darauf treibet, daß die Jugend in den Schulen nicht nur zu Verbal-, sondern auch Realwissenschaften, aber auch zu Tugenden geführt werden möchte' (quoted in Richter 1946: 107).

¹²⁸ Schielicke et al. *Erhard Weigel: 1625 bis 1699. Barocker Erzvater der deutschen Frühaufklärung* (1999).

generally seen as having begun with the work of Christian Thomasius; the ‘High Enlightenment’ with that of Christian Wolff. The ‘Primary Enlightenment’ preceded both and Weigel played a seminal role in it. This period was followed by the ‘Late Enlightenment’ (*Spätaufklärung*) taking place particularly in Northern Germany at the University of Göttingen.

Christian Thomasius (1655-1728), a jurist, was the founding professor of the University of Halle and one of the spearheads of the Early Enlightenment in the German states. He prepared the way for reforms in philosophy, law, literature, and social life. Born in Leipzig and educated by his father Jacob Thomasius, head of the Thomasschule and one of Leibniz’s teachers, Christian Thomasius came under the influence of the political philosophy of Hugo Grotius and Samuel Pufendorf. He studied physics, mathematics, history, and philosophy in Leipzig, where he received the degree ‘Magister der Philosophie’ in 1672. Continuing as a law student at the Viadrina University (Frankfurt an der Oder) he obtained his doctorate there in 1679. The study of Pufendorf convinced him of the importance of Enlightenment ideas and he left Frankfurt as an enlightened rationalist. After a short trip to Holland, where he met Pufendorf, Thomasius taught natural law (*Naturrecht*) in Leipzig from 1684 onward. He published a manual on natural law three years later. In 1687 Thomasius began to lecture in German instead of in Latin – one of the first German professors to do so. The following year, he started a monthly (the first journal in German), in which he ridiculed the pedantic way of the learned and took the side of the Pietists in their controversy with the orthodox. He contributed to a rational program in philosophy but also tried to establish a more common-sense point of view, aimed against the unquestioned superiority of the aristocracy and of theology. His battles against scholastics and *Buchstabenwissen* drew the attention of many students but made him enemies. In May 1690, Thomasius was forbidden to lecture or write. He escaped arrest by fleeing to Berlin. When the Elector Frederick III of Prussia offered him refuge in Halle and the permission to lecture, Thomasius taught at the *Ritterakademie* in Halle, founded by the Huguenot Milié dit la Fleur. His lectures inaugurated the Law Faculty of the University of Halle, which he helped found in July 1694. He lived in Halle until the end of his life, becoming one of the most esteemed teachers and influential writers of his day.¹²⁹ Already in Leipzig, Thomasius had helped August Hermann Francke in his battle with orthodox theology professors. They later cooperated in the University of Halle, united in their belief that science should serve life (*die Wissenschaft im Dienst des Lebens*).

Christian Wolff (1679-1754) was the greatest Enlightenment scholar in Halle and the most eminent German philosopher between Leibniz and Kant. In his work, High Enlightenment (*Hochaufklärung*) rose to fruition. Wolff was born in Breslau (Wrocław), Silesia, as the son of a Protestant tanner. After studying mathematics in Jena (1699-1702), he continued his studies in Leipzig and defended a thesis on *Philosophia practica universalis* there in 1703. This work was taken up positively by Leibniz, which resulted in a long-lasting correspondence between

¹²⁹ On Thomasius’ work and his impact, see Werner Schneiders (ed.), *Christian Thomasius, 1655-1728. Interpretationen zu Werk und Wirkung*. Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1989.

the two men, including several exchanges in the *Acta Eruditorum*, a journal published in Leipzig and founded by Otto Mencke and Leibniz in 1682. At the recommendation of Leibniz, Wolff was appointed professor of mathematics and physics at the University of Halle in 1707. From 1709 he also taught philosophy, logic, and moral philosophy. In his lectures on physics (*Collegium physicum*) and experiments (*Collegium experimentale*) Wolff developed principles and methods of empirical research, such as measurements with the microscope, observations in the field, and the exact recording of experiments and observations. As we have seen, he was a major advisor of the Russian Academy of Sciences in the years 1719 to 1753.

Following Thomasius' example, Wolff introduced the German language as the vehicle of scholarly instruction and research. German became the accepted language among members of the bourgeoisie, the 'third class' that came to the fore during the eighteenth century (Mühlpfordt 1952a: 33). Building his philosophy on Leibniz' rationalism, but rejecting his harmony, Wolff applied a deductive, mathematical method in order to demonstrate the unity of human knowledge. He wanted to be *professor universi generis humani* (teacher of the entire human species) and strove to change the schoolish way of 'learning from memory' into 'learning by intellect' (*denken mit Verstand*). Adopting the phrase 'sapere aude' (dare to know) from Horatius, *Epistles* (I, 2, 40), Wolff made it into a motto, 'Sapere aude – wage es, dich der Vernunft zu bedienen' (dare to know – dare to think for yourself). The idea was so powerful that Kant applied it in his influential article *Was ist Aufklärung?* (1784).

The Pietist Protestants, who were becoming a new orthodoxy in Halle, perceived Wolff's enlightened philosophy as a threat. When Wolff, in 1721, delivered a lecture 'On the Practical Philosophy of the Chinese,' in which he praised the purity of the moral precepts of Confucius, presenting it as evidence of the power of human reason to attain moral truths by its own efforts, the Pietists seized upon the opportunity. They pointed out the political consequences of Wolff's ideas to King Frederick William I who commanded Wolff to leave Prussia within 48 hours or be hanged. Wolff fled to Merseburg and Basel, accepting a chair at Marburg in 1724. He had his greatest success in Marburg and became one the most popular professors of Europe. His classrooms were filled with hundred or more students and he was personally responsible for increasing immatriculation figures with about fifty percent. The publishers could not keep up with the demand from students and scholars around Europe for Wolff's publications. In order to reach a wider readership, Wolff translated his own works in Latin. After Frederick William I had died in 1740, his son Frederick the Great invited Wolff to return to Halle, where he was greeted enthusiastically by hundreds of students and citizens.

Keywords in Wolff's philosophy are empirical, natural, practical, reason (*Vernunft*), and universal. These ideas remained en vogue as German *Schulphilosophie* until the rise of Kantianism in the 1780s.¹³⁰ Leibniz's and Wolff's philosophy served as background to the

¹³⁰ On Wolff, see Schneiders (ed.) *Christian Wolff, 1679-1754*. Hamburg 1983; Mühlpfordt 1952a, 1956, 2005.

introduction of the *ethnos*-terms from the 1740s to the 1780s. However, while Leibniz was interested in history, Wolff was not. Historians, especially, paid attention to ethnic diversity.

Eduard Winter, a German historian from Bohemia working in Halle, devoted a detailed study to Halle as ‘the point of departure for German studies of Russia during the eighteenth century.’¹³¹ Halle was a center of radiation and the university where many German explorers and administrators, as well as their Russian counterparts, took their degrees. In a follow-up study, Winter outlined how Halle turned into a center for Slavic studies as the result of the work of teachers, students, and travelers.¹³² Along with the universities of Leipzig, Jena and, in a later stage, of Göttingen, Halle has been of great significance for the exchange between German and Russian scholars. Their interplay has led to the constitution of early ethnography and ethnology.

However, Halle was not only a center of Slavic studies. It was also a center of Oriental and Asian studies. This was especially related to Pietism and Lutheran Protestantism.

Halle and Pietism

One year after the founding of the University of Halle, another school was established there, too. This was the Historic Orphanage (*Waisen-Hauß*) and ‘School Village’ of Glaucha, near Halle, founded by Francke. It was to become the center of German Pietism and Halle’s gate to the world. Pietism was an important Protestant movement in the Lutheran Church. It began as a religious movement of devoutness (*Frömmigkeitsbewegung*) but under Philipp Jacob Spener (1635-1705) and August Hermann Francke developed into a social reform movement. The movement had a significant impact on social aid to the poor, pedagogy, and medical institutions, extending its influence all over the world in a short time span. Halle has been a Pietist center, especially thanks to the *Franckesche Stiftungen* (Francke’s Foundations).

August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) was a theologian and pedagogue who established the *Franckesche Stiftungen* in 1695-98.¹³³ After studying theology and Hebrew at Erfurt, Kiel, and Leipzig, Francke had a religious experience in 1686, which led him to Pietism. He went to stay with Spener in Dresden and resumed his teaching in Leipzig in 1689. However, the following year he was forbidden to teach by the faculty, because his lectures were inciting a ‘pietist movement.’ Francke then went to Erfurt, where he taught and preached in the spirit of Spener until being expelled in 1691. After accepting a job as pastor in Glaucha, an impoverished town in front of the city gates of Halle, in 1692, Francke opened a school for the poor and an orphanage in 1695. That same year he was appointed as professor of Greek and Hebrew at the University of Halle, later changing to a professorship in theology.

Francke began building the main edifice of the Orphanage in July 1698 and obtained a Privilege from the Elector of Brandenburg in September that same year, allowing him to open a

¹³¹ Eduard Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt der deutschen Russlandkunde im 18. Jahrhundert*. Berlin 1953.

¹³² Eduard Winter, *Die Pflege der west- und süd-slavischen Sprachen in Halle im 18. Jahrhundert*. Berlin 1954.

¹³³ Paul Raabe, *Vier Thaler und sechzehn Groschen: August Hermann Francke, der Stifter und sein Werk* (1998).

book shop, a print shop, a book binder, and an apothecary. This enabled Francke to finance the broad educational program he envisioned. Francke's aims were to promote Pietist Protestantism, build a 'universal church,' and spread 'universal awareness of true Christianity' across the globe. Subjects of all nations should be given the chance to share this awareness. In order to achieve this, Francke needed to train devout, well-educated Christians who would wander out and spread the word. During the eighteenth century, German Pietist missionaries worked in Russia, Siberia, Poland, Bohemia, Slovenia, the Baltic region, India, and North America. Francke and the Halle Pietists set up a world-wide communication network of practicing Christians. They exchanged medicine and books from Halle with information from abroad, which Francke and his collaborators used in order to expand their reform work.¹³⁴ In 1696, Francke opened the *Pädagogium*, a school for children of noble and well-to-do families, preparing them for study at the university. Apart from the orphanage and several schools, a print shop, book shop, apothecary, Francke's Foundations included work shops, a botanical and medical garden, a clinic, agricultural gardens, and a library – all in an effort to mobilize the children and set them to work. In addition, the Foundations held a *Wunderkammer*, or cabinet of curiosities and natural products that thrived on the donations from students.¹³⁵ From 1710, they also housed the *Cansteinsche Bibelanstalt*, exporting bibles in affordable editions around the world. Halle has the world's oldest Bible College. In this way, Francke's religious 'school village' developed into a *New Jerusalem*, seen as such by contemporaries who were impressed by its pietist devoutness and progressive pedagogy.

Halle missionaries played an important role in the cultural and scholarly dialogue between Central Germany and the world. One important sphere of influence was India. At the invitation of Frederik IV, King of Denmark and Norway, and with the active support of Francke, Pietists from Halle settled in southeast India, where they founded the mission station in Tranquebar (Travancore) in 1706.¹³⁶ This post, known as the *Dänisch-Hallesche Mission*, was established by the Lutheran pastors Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682-1719) and Heinrich Plütschau (1675-1752). It was the first Protestant mission post in India and the first missionary enterprise in Protestant church history. The Danish-Halle mission expanded its influence into coastal cities controlled by the English East India Company, becoming the English-Halle mission stations in Madras (1728), Cuddalore (1737), and Calcutta (1758). The work of the Danish-Halle and English-Halle missionaries can be analyzed under three broad headings: missionary, educational, and scholarly. The latter is what interests us the most.

¹³⁴ Paul Raabe et al., *Pietas Hallensis Universalis: Weltweite Beziehungen der Franckeschen Stiftungen im 18. Jahrhundert* (1995); Helmut Obst and Paul Raabe, *Die Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle: Geschichte und Gegenwart* (2000); Helmut Obst, *August Hermann Francke und die Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle* (2002).

¹³⁵ Jürgen Storz, *Das Naturalien- und Kunstkabinett der Franckeschen Stiftungen* (1962); Thomas J. Müller-Bahlke, *Die Wunderkammer. Die Kunst- und Naturalienkammer der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle (Saale)*. Halle, 1998.

¹³⁶ Tranquebar was a Danish colony on the Coromandel Coast in southeast India from 1620 to 1845. It is spelled *Trankebar* or *Trangebar* in Danish, which derives from the native Tamil *Tarangambadi*, meaning 'place of the singing waves.' It is located in the Nagapattinam district about 100 km south of Pondicherry.

The Halle missionaries were fascinated with local culture and religion. Studying the local languages in order to translate the Bible and other Christian texts, they developed an interest in local culture. Almost immediately upon arriving in India, Ziegenbalg began to investigate the linguistic and cultural aspects of local society, including the caste system. He wrote several monographs on South-Indian culture that were sent to Halle. For several reasons they remained unpublished during his lifetime. His work is regarded as providing a solid foundation for western knowledge of Tamil society and religion during the early eighteenth century and has been characterized as ‘proto-ethnography’ (Dharampal-Frick 2006).

The studies conducted in these mission posts resulted in reports on the peoples of South India, as well as many cultural and natural-historical objects being sent to Halle. These extensive descriptions, published as *Hallesche Berichte*,¹³⁷ shaped the image of India in Germany. The Halle reports played an important role in turning India into a country of exotic desire and ardent longing. The Halle missionaries were sent to India to missionize ‘pagan’ people, in conformity with Francke’s aim of spreading the Pietist gospel, but the world that appeared before them was wondrous. The ancient culture arising from the indigenous texts that Ziegenbalg, Schultze and others translated and published would go on to influence the work of authors such as Herder, Goethe, Novalis, the Schlegel brothers, Jean Paul, Heinrich Heine, Schopenhauer, Max Müller, and Hermann Hesse (Gross et al. 2006). Jacob Haafner, an inspired traveler and author of many travelogues, originated from Halle (van der Velde 2008).

Apart from inspiring German romanticism, the work of the Halle missionaries in southern India during the eighteenth century also advanced scholarly knowledge. Halle missionaries contributed to German Indology *avant la lettre* (Jürgens 2004, 2006b). Perhaps the finest example hereof is Benjamin Schultze (1689-1760), a German theologian and linguist who, after studying and working at Halle, served as a missionary at the Tranquebar mission station from 1719. Conflicts with his colleagues caused him to relocate to Madras in 1726. He was the first German missionary to work at the English-Halle mission station in Madras, being officially employed by the London-based Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge from 1728 on. Schultze was first and foremost a translator of religious texts into Tamil, Telugu, and Hindustani. However, he also set up a charity school and he was linguistically active. He wrote a *Grammatica telugica* at Madras in 1728 (published at Halle in 1745) and a *Grammatica hindostanica* (Halle 1745). In 1725 Schultze observed the uniformity of numerals in Sanskrit and Latin, a fact also noted by the German Orientalist Theophil Siegfried Bayer working at the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. In his Hindustani Grammar, Schultze pointed to the correspondence between several European languages and Sanskrit (Benfey 1869: 261, 333-341). In 1767, this point was taken up by the French Jesuit Gaston-

¹³⁷ *Der Königlich dänischen Missionarien aus Ost-Indien eingesandte ausführliche Berichte von dem Werck ihres Amts unter den Heyden*. 9 vols. Halle: Waysenhaus, 1710-1772. It was continued as *Neuere Geschichte der Evangelischen Missions-Anstalten zu Bekehrung der Heiden in Ost-Indien*. 95 vols. Halle: Waisenhaus, 1776-1848. For an analysis of this periodical’s contributions toward German Indology, see Jürgens (2006b).

Laurent Coeurdoux in greater detail (but published only later)¹³⁸ – long before William Jones lectured in Calcutta on the relationships between Gothic, Celtic, Persian, Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit (Jones 1788). Schultze also composed an *Orientalisch- und Occidentalischer Sprachmeister* (Oriental and Occidental Master of Language) consisting of language samples from two hundred European, Asian, African, and American languages, including a polyglot table. It was published at Leipzig in 1748 (and, again, under a different title, in 1769). This was an early example of comparative linguistics, just as Leibniz had asked for.

From an early stage on, Francke extended his network into the Russian empire. Impressed by the reforms under Peter the Great, Francke sent pastors, teachers, physicians, and naturalists to Russia (Winter 1953). In this way, he established contacts with Russian ministers, generals, and bishops. Soon trading posts from Halle were set up in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Archangelsk, and Astrakhan. Francke's collaborators and friends participated in the founding of schools and in preparing the Russian Academy of Sciences. The first president of this Academy, Laurentius Blumentrost, Jr. (1692-1755), had studied at Halle, Oxford, Paris, Amsterdam, and Leiden. His father, Laurentius Blumentrost, Sr., the physician of Peter the Great, was a personal friend of Francke; they had met at the University of Erfurt in Thuringia.

Francke's Foundations were also active in North America. When the Halle Pietists established the Lutheran church in the English colonies of North America, the lines of communication initially ran through London. The Halle Pietist and royal pastor A.W. Böhme established contact with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London. Because of political sensibilities, it was only in the next generation, led by Francke's son, Gotthilf August Francke (1696-1769), that the American colonies could actually be contacted. In 1742, the Foundations sent Heinrich Melchior Mühlberg (1711-1786) as a missionary to Pennsylvania and Georgia, where he is now known as the Patriarch of the Lutheran Church in North America. The spin-off was political this time. His sons, trained in the Halle orphanage, belong to the founding fathers of American democracy and are held in high esteem. One of them, Frederick Muhlenberg, was the first Speaker of the House of Representatives.

In 1702, influenced by conversations with Ludolf and Fyodor Saltykov, Francke founded the Oriental Theological College (*Collegium Orientale Theologicum*) in Halle.¹³⁹ Following the example of the *Collegium Orientale* of the Jesuits in Rome, the Halle College aimed at preparing Francke's students for work as a tutor, missionary, or scholar. Selection was strong and no more than twelve students were allowed to enroll each year. The College taught the languages of the Near East, including Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Ethiopian, Syriac, Chaldean (Aramaic), as well as Russian, Church Slavonic, and Polish (Brentjes 1985-88: 104). The College was directed by Johann Heinrich Michaelis and Christian Benedict Michaelis. It was

¹³⁸ See Gaston Laurent Coeurdoux, [Letter to Abbé Barthélémy (1767) published by Anquetil Duperron in] *Mémoires de littérature de [...] l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 49: 647-667, Paris (1808). See also Benjamin Schul[t]ze 1760 (cited in Benfey 1869: 261, 336-8).

¹³⁹ August Hermann Francke, *Viertes Proiect des Collegii Orientalis Theologici, 1702*. Nachwort von Brigitte Klosterberg. Halle: Frankesche Stiftungen, 2002. 16 pp.

followed by a 'Judaic and Muhammedan Institute' (*Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum*) that trained missionaries to convert Christians in the Near and Middle East to Lutheranism. In this way, Halle became a center for Biblical, Oriental, and Slavic studies. Characteristic for Halle was a combination of Early Enlightenment and Pietist Protestantism, based in a school system that hardly had its equivalent elsewhere in the German states. Among the finest students of these schools who explored Siberia were Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt and Georg Wilhelm Steller.

Swedish Studies of Siberia

In the early eighteenth century, Swedish prisoners of war set up a Pietist school in Tobolsk and began to investigate the western parts of Siberia. Russia and Sweden had been engaged in the Great Northern War (1700-1721) for supremacy of the Baltic Sea. After the Battle of Poltava (1709) thousands of Swedish officers and soldiers were taken prisoner.¹⁴⁰ Many were sent to Siberia. Francke was much concerned about the welfare of the Swedish prisoners in Siberia and sent Christoph Eberhard as a pastor and representative to Russia in 1711 (Winter 1953: 306). The Pietist school in Tobolsk was founded by Curt Friedrich von Wreech, a Swedish officer from Estonia, who had been taken captive before the Battle of Poltava. Following the example of Francke's Foundations in Halle, the school in Tobolsk was part of a compound that also included an orphanage and a hospital (Jarosch 1966: 218). The Swedish Pietists actively pursued studies in the Asian parts of Russia and the western parts of Siberia. Prisoners of war were free to move around, but had to provide for themselves. In order to spend their time usefully, and in the hope of earning some money with the results of their studies (Winter 1953: 314), they made study trips in the region, among others to the Kalmyks, the Ostyaks (Khanty), and the Tatars.

At least five studies resulted from this center of learning in Siberia. The first dealt with the 'interior and exterior condition of the Swedish prisoners in Russia based on their own letters' and reported on 'the establishment of a public school in Tobolsk, the capital of Siberia' (1718).¹⁴¹ The second described 'the most recent state of Siberia' (1720). Based on the correspondence between the German Pietists Francke and Eberhard and the Swedish prisoners of war, the latter reported on the physical and political condition of 'the large and little known province in Asia,' its mountains, rivers, towns, animals, as well as on the 'manners and customs of Samoyeds, Voguls, Kalmyks, Ostyaks, Tungus, Buryat, Mongols, and other Tatar peoples.' It also contained notes on 'remarkable events' about the Swedish held prisoner there, on the Pietist school at Tobolsk, and on the 'wonderful beginnings of the conversion of unbelievers.'¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ The Battle of Poltava was the decisive battle of the Great Northern War, which ended Swedish ascendancy in northeastern Europe under Charles XII and marked the establishment of Russia as a military power under Peter I.

¹⁴¹ *Der innere und äussere Zustand derer Schwedischen Gefangenen in Rußland durch Ihre eigene Briefe ...* Von Alethophilo [Christoph Eberhard]. Franckfurth und Leipzig, In Verlegung der Neuen Buchhandlung, 1718.

¹⁴² [anonymous] *Der allerneueste Staat von Siberien, einer grossen und zuvor wenig bekannten Moscovitischen Provinz in Asien, Entdeckend nicht nur die ehemalige und gegenwärtige Beschaffenheit des Landes, nach seiner Regierung, nach der Gegend Frucht- und Unfruchtbarkeit, Gebürgen, Thieren, Flüssen, Städten u. d. gl. Sondern auch Die Sitten und Gebräuche der Samojeden, Wagullen, Calmuken, Ostiaken, Tungusen, Buratten,*

The third result was a small book by Johann Bernhard Müller, a Swedish army captain, reporting on the Ostyaks to the north of Tobolsk. Müller's report on 'life and customs of the Ostyaks' and on 'the manner in which they had been converted to Greek Orthodox Christianity' was published at Berlin in 1720 and 1726 (Robel 1992).¹⁴³ It was mainly based on a manuscript by the Ukrainian exile Grigorii Novickii who made a missionary trip to the Ostyaks (Khanty) and Voguls (Mansi) with the metropolitan of Siberia, Filofei Leshchinskii, and his successor Anatoli Stachovskii, in 1712. Novickii's report was completed in 1715, but published only in 1884 (Pypin 1892, IV: 221-224; Schorkowitz 1995: 335).

Curt Friedrich von Wreech (1650-1724) founded the Pietist school in Tobolsk, where he worked as a teacher and a director. His memoirs appeared in 1725.¹⁴⁴ Von Wreech came from Estonia and may well have recognized similarities between the Uralic languages spoken in northern, northeastern and central Europe and those in western Siberia. The possible relationship between these languages had already been brought up by Leibniz. Apparently, knowledge of Finno-Ugric (Uralic) languages spoken in western and northern Siberia may have been common among von Wreech and other Swedes from Estonia.¹⁴⁵ If this supposition is correct, their knowledge may have influenced later language scholars such as Fischer and Schlözer without the latter knowing or crediting the connection.

The most impressive study was delivered by Philipp Johann Tabbert von Strahlenberg (1676-1747), a Swedish officer and cartographer who worked in Siberia for over a decade. He had been taken prisoner even before the Battle of Poltava. The Treaty of Nystad (1721) concluded the Great Northern War and gave Russia the territories of Estonia, Livonia, Ingria, and much of Karelia; the Stockholm Treaties of 1719 and 1720 resulted in the release of the Swedish prisoners. After his return to Sweden, Tabbert donned the title 'von Strahlenberg'¹⁴⁶ under which name he published. He was a leading figure in the Swedish circle at Tobolsk and supported the Pietist school directed by his friend von Wreech. Tabbert traveled extensively in the Tobolsk area and studied language and customs of the Ostyaks. After joining the expedition of Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt for a year (1721-22), he wrote a well-known book on the 'Northern and Eastern parts of Europe and Asia' (Stockholm 1730). Its title reminds us of Witsen's *Noord en Oost Tartarye*, but Strahlenberg adds more details in a Baroque manner.¹⁴⁷

Mongalen und anderer Tartarischen Völker. Nebst einer Historischen Nachricht von den merkwürdigen Begebenheiten derer in diesem Lande gefangenen Schweden, von der Schule zu Tobolsky, und vom wunderbaren Anfang zur Bekehrung der Unglaubigen. Nürnberg, verlegt Wolfgang Moritz Endter, 1720. Reprint 1725.

¹⁴³ J.B. Müller, *Leben und Gewohnheiten der Ostjaken, Eines Volcks, daß bis unter dem Polo Arctico wohnt, wie selbiges aus dem Heydenthum in diesen Zeiten zur Christl. Griechischen Religion gebracht. Mit etlichen curieusen Anmerkungen vom Königreich Siberien und seinem Freto Nassovio oder Weigats. In der Gefangenschafft daselbst beschrieben und anjetzo mit einer Vorrede versehen.* Berlin, bey Christ. Gottlieb Nicolai, 1720. Müller's report was also included in F.C. Weber's *Das veränderte Rußland* (Frankfurth 1721).

¹⁴⁴ C.F. von Wreech, *Wahrhaffte und umständliche Historie von denen Schwedischen Gefangenen in Rußland und Sibirien.* Sorau [Lausitz]: Rothe, 1725. 2nd edition 1728.

¹⁴⁵ Personal communication Peter Hoffmann, Berlin Nassenheide, May 2005.

¹⁴⁶ He received the title 'Baron von Strahlenberg' in 1707 (Jarosch 1966: 216), but learned of it only after his return (letter to Wreech 1723, Winter 1953: 472). Messerschmidt (1962) calls him Tabbert. His hometown was Stralsund.

¹⁴⁷ P.J. von Strahlenberg, *Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia, In so weit solches Das gantze*

The English edition, compiled by Strahlenberg, appeared in London and presented *An Historico-Geographical Description of the North and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia; but more particularly of Russia, Siberia, and Great Tartary; both in their Ancient and Modern State*.¹⁴⁸

Tabbert von Strahlenberg was the first to translate a 'genealogical history of Khans and Regents of the Tatars' into German. It was based on a seventeenth-century manuscript by Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan (c.1603-1663), a Tatar historian who ruled as Khan of Chiwa from 1643. A Swedish colleague published it in French.¹⁴⁹ Messerschmidt's translation appeared in 1780.

In his monograph, Strahlenberg held a combination of history and geography important for describing a large part of the globe (as the title of his introduction shows).¹⁵⁰ He dealt with the Russian Empire and included Siberia as its northern Asian part, Tataria as its southern part. He paid a great deal of attention to a new map of the area he had drawn in 1716-18, which was published in his book. Comparing it to Witsen's map (1687), Strahlenberg criticized Witsen for not situating place names according to latitude and longitude and for misspelling geographical names.

Tabbert von Strahlenberg was the first to suggest the Ural Mountains as the natural boundary between Europe and Asia, basing his proposal on the differences 'in regno animali, vegetabili et minerali' (Semyonov 1963: 166-167). This boundary was adopted by A.L. Schlözer (1771: 307).

Strahlenberg had a strong *Völker*-perspective, focusing on peoples or nations. He states that 'the Kalmyk nation consists of four principal tribes.'¹⁵¹ In the glossary at the end of his book, Strahlenberg provides short descriptions of Siberian and Tatar peoples. He distinguished 'thirty-two species of Tatar peoples languages'¹⁵² and presented specimens in a polyglot table called 'harmonia linguarum' – a title reminiscent of Leibniz's efforts to combine history and linguistics. This table, subdividing these languages in six classes, is probably the result of a joint effort of

*Rußische Reich mit Siberien und der grossen Tatarey in sich begreiffet, In einer Historisch-Geographischen Beschreibung der alten und neuern Zeiten, und vielen andern unbekannten Nachrichten vorgestellt, Nebst einer noch niemals ans Licht gegebenen Tabula Polyglotta von zwey und dreyßigerley Arten Tatarischer Völker Sprachen und einem Kalmuckischen Vocabulario, Sonderlich aber Einer grossen richtigen Land-Charte von den benannten Ländern und andern verschiedenen Kupfferstichen, so die Asiatisch-Scythische Antiquität betreffen; Bey Gelegenheit der Schwedischen Kriegs-Gefangenschaft in Rußland, aus eigener sorgfältigen Erkundigung, auf denen verstatteten weiten Reisen zusammen gebracht und ausgefertigt von Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg. Stockholm, in Verlegung des Autoris, 1730. (This book also appeared in a smaller edition under the title *Historie der Reisen in Rußland, Sibirien, und der Großen Tartarey. Mit einer Landcharte und Kupferstichen welche die Geographie und Antiquität erläutern*. Leipzig 1730). English translation 1736. French translation 1757.*

¹⁴⁸ *An Historico-Geographical Description of the North and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia; but more particularly of Russia, Siberia, and Great Tartary; both in their Ancient and Modern State: together with an entire new Polyglot Table of the Dialects of 32 Tartarian Nations, and a Vocabulary of the Kalmuck-Mungolian Tongue; as also a large and accurate Map of those Countries; and Variety of Cuts, representing Asiatick-Scythian Antiquities. Written originally in High German ... now faithfully translated into English by Philipp John von Strahlenberg. London: W. Innys 1736.*

¹⁴⁹ [A. Lados] *Histoire généalogique des Tatars traduit du manuscrit tartare d'Aboulgasi Bagadur Chan et enrichie d'un grand nombre de remarques authentiques et tres-curieuses sur le veritable estat present de l'Asie septentrionale avec les cartes geographiques necessaires. Par D***. A Leyde: chez Abram Kallewier, aux despens du traducteur, 1726.* The German translation by Messerschmidt appeared in *Historisches Journal* 1780.

¹⁵⁰ Einleitung zur der Historisch-Geographischen Beschreibung des Nord- und Ostlichen Theils von Evropa und Asia, in so weit solches das gantze Rußische Reich mit Sibirien und der grossen Tatarey in sich begreiffet.

¹⁵¹ 'die Kalmuckische Nation ... aus vier Haupt-Stämmen bestehet' (Strahlenberg 1730 Vorrede).

¹⁵² 'zwey und dreyßigerley Arten Tatarischer Völker Sprachen' (Strahlenberg, *Harmonia linguarum*).

Strahlenberg, other Swedish scholars in Siberia, and Messerschmidt. Whatever the originality of this part of Strahlenberg's work, it served as an example for later researchers such as Müller and Fischer (see Chapter 4). Strahlenberg was especially proud of having connected the linguistic table with his map, indicating the locations where each people lived.

In his preface, Strahlenberg mentions Leibniz's program to investigate the migrations of peoples (*Migration der Völker*) by studying their languages (Strahlenberg 1730: Vorrede). His 'harmony of languages' aimed at furthering Leibniz's project. He wrote:

The Transmigration of Nations is, indeed, a nice and ticklish Point to touch upon; But certain it is, that many difficulties would be removed, were the advice of Leibnitz followed, and a competent Knowledge obtained of the Languages of North-Asia; This great Philosopher being fully convinced, that by the Help of these, many Things concerning the Transmigration of Nations might be clear'd up.¹⁵³

This is a full acknowledgement of the value attached to Leibniz's idea that a thorough study of North-Asian languages would be needed to clarify issues concerning the migration of nations. However, Strahlenberg does not seem to have the concept of ethnography as a description of peoples surfacing in Müller's work during the 1730s. This ethnological interest seems to fade into the background of his historical-geographical approach, which obviously had higher priority. Strahlenberg's interest was a continuation of an earlier tradition, namely historical geography as initiated by Strabo in the Roman Empire. While in such a tradition a great deal of attention is paid to peoples, their customs and migrations, it is not equivalent to ethnography.

Strahlenberg was familiar with Tatishchev and his work. The latter had visited Strahlenberg in 1724-26, when studying Swedish mining systems at the order of the Tsar (Winter 1953: 322). Strahlenberg reported on these meetings in a letter to Johann Leonhard Frisch (1666-1743), dated March 1725, in which he expressed high regard for Tatishchev's scholarly work, especially his geographical writings. Frisch was a German polyhistor and linguist, one of the best German Slavists of his age (Grau 1963: 23). He served as Rector of the Berlin school *zum Grauen Kloster* from 1698 and was a member of the Berlin Society of Sciences. Frisch was acquainted with Golovkin, the Russian ambassador at Berlin, and taught six Russian students at the Berlin *Ritterakademie* (as he informed Leibniz in letters dated 2 September and 29 October 1712). Frisch was invited by Tsar Peter to work for the Academy of Sciences, when Peter visited Berlin in the fall of 1712. He probably knew Tatishchev, visiting Berlin in 1713-14, personally.¹⁵⁴

Eduard Winter (1953: 318) argues that the arrival of scientifically educated explorers such as Schober and Messerschmidt in Tobolsk brought system into the research activities of Tabbert and other Swedish pietists. Messerschmidt, in turn, profited from Tabbert's input. Tabbert had experience in western Siberia, maintained good relations with local people, had familiarized himself with their languages, and helped Messerschmidt to prepare and execute the first year of

¹⁵³ Philipp Johann Tabbert von Strahlenberg 1736 (quoted by Benjamin Smith Barton 1798: 1)

¹⁵⁴ On Frisch, see Eichler 1967. A posthumous work of Frisch (1775) distinguished between *Ordo* (Ordnung), *Gentes* (Völker), *Societates* (Zünfte), *Genera* (Geschlechter), and *Species* (Arten) (compare Gatterer 1775).

his expedition. In the expedition journal, Tabbert noted on New Year's Day 1722 that he was now entering his fifth year (*annus quintus*) of travels in *Orientis Hyperborei*, or Siberia.¹⁵⁵

Early German Explorers

Several young scholars educated at the Universities of Halle and Jena traversed the Russian Empire during the early decades of the eighteenth century: Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf traveled to Istanbul; Justus Samuel Scharschmid to Astrakhan; Gottlob Schober to Kazan and Persia; Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt to Siberia. The first two traveled in commission of Francke who was looking for new trade routes, extension of his network, and ways to spread the Pietist mission. Ludolf was Francke's consultant for Russian affairs (Winter 1953: 163; Tetzner 1955). Leibniz contacted him in 1697. Scharschmid was 'Francke's first envoy to Russia.' As a pastor he was in close contact with the archbishop of Novgorod, Theophan (Feofan) Prokopovich (1681-1736).¹⁵⁶

The last two, Gottlob Schober (c.1670-1739) and Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt (1685-1735), were medical doctors and naturalists. Schober, enlisted by the Medical Chancellery as a physician in 1712, made a four-year trip to Persia and the Caspian Sea to conduct research in the field of natural history (1717-20). After studying medicine at Leipzig and Utrecht, he acquired a doctorate at Utrecht in 1696. He worked as a physician in Lübeck, Reval, Dresden, and Leipzig, then was appointed as supervisor of the apothecary and *medicus ordinarius* in the Medical Chancellery. Areskine, director of this institution, sent Schober 'to Kazan and Astrakhan to study nature' (Driessen-van het Reve 2006: 152). Schober traveled in the service of the Tsar, but probably also provided Francke with information (Brentjes 1985-88: 105). After his return, Schober produced a report, titled *Memorabilia Russico-Asiatica*, in which he recorded his observations on 'physics, medicine, geography, politics, and economics.'¹⁵⁷ The report also included notes on the languages of various unknown peoples. Unfortunately, Schober's report was never published and went missing during the second half of the eighteenth century. It is known only through an abstract in Russian published in 1760 (Winter 1953: 313, 318) and an abstract in German written by Schlözer and published in Müller's journal in 1762 (Hoffmann 2005: 363; Posselt 1977).¹⁵⁸ The last of these young scholars, Messerschmidt,¹⁵⁹ studied Schober's manuscript in the Petersburg archives (Jahn 1995: 212), probably after his return from Siberia. He became the first natural scientist of Siberia and was probably the first scholar to conduct ethnographic research in Siberia.

¹⁵⁵ Tabbert [von Strahlenberg] reporting in Messerschmidt (1962-77 1: 167); cf. Jahn (1995: 213-214).

¹⁵⁶ 'Franckes erster Sendbote in Russland' (Mühlpfordt 1998: 55, 62, 63, 65, 67, 68, 69, 72); cf. Winter (1953).

¹⁵⁷ *Memorabilia Russico-Asiatica seu observationes physicae, medicae, geographiae, politicae, oeconomicae in itinere in Russia ad mare Caspicum jussu Monarchae sui facto, collectae inquisitiones item in quarundam aquarum mineralium, naturam, nec non variorum populorum linguae nondum cognitae nec descriptae* (unpublished ms.).

¹⁵⁸ Auszug aus D. Gottlob Schobers bisher noch ungedrucktem Werke *Memorabilia Russico-Asiatica*. Zum Druck vorbereitet von A.L. Schlözer, Anmerkungen von G.F. Müller. In: G.F. Müller (Hrsg.) *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte* 7(1-2) 1762: 4-154.

¹⁵⁹ He was not related to the Messerschmitt family that built the aircraft used during World War II.

Messerschmidt as Explorer of Siberia

Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt was the first scientifically trained explorer of Siberia and is regarded as ‘the founder of the allround study of Siberia.’¹⁶⁰ The earlier voyages that had been undertaken were diplomatic trade missions, such as the journey of Ides and Brand to Beijing. Between 1719 and 1727 Messerschmidt traversed the northern and central parts of the Russian Empire and reported on almost every aspect of this region.¹⁶¹ He was successful in collecting information and most of his collections landed in the *Kunstkamera*, the museum of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. Although his meticulous writings are as yet largely unpublished, they played an important role in later research on Siberia. His manuscripts were consulted by scholars having access to the archives of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg.

German historians of science such as Doris Posselt (1969, 1976a-b) and Ilse Jahn (1995) describe Messerschmidt as a *Forschungsreisender* and this term is significant. Posselt, who studied Messerschmidt’s botanical work in the context of German scientific expeditions during the eighteenth century, calls him the ‘pathfinder’ or the ‘precursor’ of the exploration of Siberia.¹⁶² The editors of Messerschmidt’s journals present his travels as a *Forschungsreise*.¹⁶³

The German term *Forschungsreise* is difficult to translate into English. The British expert Raymond John Howgego does not use it in his *Encyclopedia of Exploration* (2003-06) and glosses all voyages of discovery under the label ‘exploration.’ The English equivalent of the German term *Erforschung* is ‘exploration’ but a *Forschungsreisender* in German is more specific than an ‘explorer’ in English. I propose to translate the term *Forschungsreise* as ‘scientific expedition,’ although ‘research expedition’ comes close. These scientific expeditions must be distinguished from military expeditions, trade missions, and private, ‘edifying journeys’ (*Bildungsreisen*). The term *Forschungsreise* was also used by the geographer Hanno Beck (1971) in order to distinguish this kind of travel from *Entdeckungsreisen*, or exploring expeditions.¹⁶⁴ Both are distinct from the ‘academic wanderings’ (*peregrinatio academica*) and *Bildungsreisen*, or ‘Grand Tours,’ customarily made to conclude a university education during the Baroque.¹⁶⁵ Beck (1971) regards Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716) as one of the

¹⁶⁰ ‘Messerschmidt war der Erste, der eine wissenschaftliche Reise in das innere Sibiriens unternahm’ (Posselt 1969: 66); ‘der Begründer der eigentlichen Sibirienkunde’ (Wendland 1996: 68). See also Novljanskaya 1970.

¹⁶¹ The editors of Messerschmidt’s journals (Jarosch et al.) date his expedition to 1720-1727, and their edition begins with the journal he began in Tobolsk. However, they omit the first year of his travels that included his journey to and across the Urals in order to arrive at Tobolsk. The journal of this first year seems to be missing.

¹⁶² ‘Wegbereiter für die Erforschung Sibiriens’ (Posselt 1976c).

¹⁶³ D.G. Messerschmidt, *Forschungsreise durch Sibirien, 1720-1727*. Teil 1: Hrsg. von Eduard Winter und Nikolai Aleksandrovich Figurovskij; Teil 2-5: Hrsg. von Eduard Winter, Georg Uschmann und Günther Jarosch. Zum Druck vorbereitet von Günther Jarosch. 5 vols. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1962-68, 1977 (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas 8). This edition is far from complete. Originally ten volumes had been planned.

¹⁶⁴ The term ‘exploring expedition’ can be found in at least two references to comparable projects in the United States: Adelbert von Chamisso, *A Voyage around the World with the Romanzov Exploring Expedition in the years 1815-1818 in the Brig Rurik, Captain Otto von Kotzebue* (Honolulu 1986); Barry Alan Joyce, *The Shaping of American Ethnography: The Wilkes Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842* (Lincoln 2001).

¹⁶⁵ See, e.g., Griep 1991; Maczak 1995; Stagl 1995a, 2002a; Bödeker 2002, 2004.

greatest travelers of the Baroque and the discloser of Japan but views him as an *Entdeckungsreisender*, in contrast to the Arabia explorer Carsten Niebuhr (1733-1815) whom Beck calls the first explorer (*der erste Forschungsreisende*). Niebuhr is also seen as ‘the first modern explorer.’¹⁶⁶ To apply this qualification to Niebuhr is to oversee the scientific expeditions of Messerschmidt and his ‘successor’ Georg Wilhelm Steller. They may be considered as earlier examples of this new type of traveler, characterized by the fact that they were scientifically educated, officially employed by an Academy of Sciences, and had been fully briefed.

Messerschmidt was trained as a medical doctor and naturalist in Jena from 1706 and Halle from 1708 on. In Halle, the naturalist Friedrich Hoffmann, the physician Georg Ernst Stahl, and the philosopher Christian Wolff were among his tutors. Wolff taught the principles of modern research in his lectures on physics that Messerschmidt applied during his research in Siberia (Posselt 1969: 54; Wendland 1996: 68). He came into contact with August Hermann Francke’s Pietism and saw the orphanage, hospital, apothecary, medicinal garden, cabinet of natural and artificial curiosities, and library of the Francke Foundations. He wrote a thesis on the ‘ratio behind the world of medicine’ and obtained a doctorate in medicine under Hoffmann in 1713.¹⁶⁷ He then returned to his place of birth, the Polish-German city of Danzig (Gdansk), to practice medicine. He was recommended to Peter the Great by Johann Philipp Breyne (1680-1764), a naturalist from Danzig known throughout Europe for his collections and correspondence. When Tsar Peter visited Danzig in March 1716, during his second European tour, he and his friend and personal physician Areskine inspected Breyne’s Cabinet of Natural History. On that occasion, the Tsar asked Breyne to suggest a scientist who ‘would be prepared to undertake a voyage through Russia and make a description of everything remarkable’ (Pekarskii 1862: 351).¹⁶⁸

Messerschmidt left Danzig for St. Petersburg in February 1718 and signed a contract for a scientific expedition in November 1718. His brief was to study the medicine, natural history, the peoples, their languages and customs, the history and geography of Siberia (see below). Before his departure, Messerschmidt received detailed instructions from Johann Deodat Blumentrost (1678-1756), head of the Medical Collegium from 1718 to 1730, and his brother Laurentius Blumentrost, Jr. (1692-1755), archiater and head of the *Kunstkamera* (collections and library) and from 1725 the first president of the Academy of Sciences. Both brothers had studied at Halle, as had Breyne and Messerschmidt. In November 1718 Areskine died. After his death, Areskine’s many tasks, including supervision of the Medical Collegium, the *Kunstkamera*, and the Imperial Library, were divided between the two Blumentrost brothers. Even before, they had taken over several of Areskine’s tasks, who was suffering from illness since 1716 (Winter and Figurovskij 1962: 5). Although the brothers briefed Messerschmidt and wrote his instructions, the major influence on Messerschmidt’s assignment was probably Areskine (see below).

¹⁶⁶ ‘erste moderne Forschungsreisende’ (Wiesehöfer & Conermann 2002: 12). See Chapter 5.

¹⁶⁷ *De ratione praeside universae medicinae*. Halae Magdeburgicae, Typis Christiani Henckelii, 1713.

¹⁶⁸ Donnert (1983: 99) writes that Christoph Eberhard had recommended Messerschmidt to Peter. On Breyne’s connections to Russia, see Grau 1966, Chapter VI.

Messerschmidt directed his annual reports to Johann Deodat Blumentrost as head of the Medical Collegium, to which he was subordinated during the expedition (Hintzsche 2004: xxvii).

The expedition that Messerschmidt carried out was one of several scientific expeditions dispatched from St. Petersburg. At around the same time, A. Bekovich-Cherkasski undertook an expedition into the area around the Caspian Sea, and Lorenz Lange traveled to China (Schorkowitz 1995: 332). This combination of directions (Siberia, Caspian Sea, China) suggests a well-thought out plan, probably designed by Areskine with the full consent of Peter the Great. After visiting Moscow in 1710, Cornelis de Bruyn reported that Areskine was planning scientific expeditions: ‘he [Areskine] planned to send a few people to Siberia to collect herbs, flowers, and other things relating to nature’ (de Bruyn 1711: 451-452). As head of the Apothecary Chancellery (*Aptekarski Prikaz*, from 1714 *Aptekarski kantslareya*), renamed the Medical Collegium (*Meditsinskaya kollegiya*) in 1717, Areskine had the rank of minister and could realize these plans. He dispatched scholars on scientific expeditions, including Schober to Kazan, Astrakhan, and Persia in 1717, and Messerschmidt to Siberia in 1719. He instructed Lange and Gausin (Gaubin?), sent on a diplomatic mission to China, to collect ‘all curiosities related to natural history and antiquities’ in 1715 (Driessen-van het Reve 2006: 71-72). Another German naturalist employed by the *Kunstkamera* was Johann Christian Buxbaum (1693-1730), who traveled through Turkey, Armenia, Dagestan, and Astrakhan to describe the flora, fauna, and minerals. His work is illustrated with beautiful watercolors of plants (Sytn 2003, 2005). Like Messerschmidt, Buxbaum had studied medicine and natural history under Hoffmann in Halle.

It is noteworthy that Messerschmidt received explicit instructions to also study the peoples and languages of Siberia. According to his instructions, Messerschmidt was expected to study all domains. The contract that he signed in St. Petersburg on 15 November 1718 dealt with a scientific expedition to Siberia that was to span several years. He was ordered:

to travel to Siberia and study (1) the geography of the country, (2) [its] natural history, (3) [its] medicine, including medicinal plants and epidemic diseases; (4) [its] peoples and [their] languages; (5) [its] monuments and antiquities, and (6) [collect] everything remarkable.¹⁶⁹

Ilse Jahn (1989: 109) presents the same list and specifies that Messerschmidt was to deal with natural history in its three domains (zoology, botany, mineralogy). She phrases the third point as ‘popular medicine and knowledge of pharmaceuticals’ (*Volksmedizin und Heilmittelkunde*) and the fourth point as ‘ethnology and linguistics’ (*Völker- und Sprachenkunde*),¹⁷⁰ which, of course, is

¹⁶⁹ Based on a German translation from Pekarskii (1862: 351): ‘Im unterzeichneten Vertrag verpflichtete er [Messerschmidt] sich nach Sibirien zu reisen, um sich a) mit der Geographie des Landes; b) mit der Naturgeschichte; c) mit der Medizin, mit Heilpflanzen und epidemischen Krankheiten; d) mit Aufzeichnungen über Sibirische Völker und mit Philologie; e) mit Denkmälern und Altertümlichkeiten und f) mit allem, was bemerkenswert ist, zu beschäftigen.’ Winter has a slightly different translation: ‘nach Sibirien zu reisen und Feststellungen zu treffen, 1. auf dem Gebiete der Geographie, 2. der Naturgeschichte, 3. der Medizin, 4. eine Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker und ihrer Sprachen zu liefern, 5. Erinnerungen an die Vergangenheit und 6. alles Bemerkenswerte zu sammeln’ (Winter 1953: 318; based on Pekarskii 1862: 351; see also Posselt 1969: 67).

¹⁷⁰ Jahn (1989: 109), based on a personal communication by Günther Jarosch in Berlin.

an anachronism. Wendland (1996: 68) gives a different list, adds meteorology as a subject, and mentions that Messerschmidt should also study and acquire collections related to economy and trade. Schorkowitz (1995: 333) states that all the researchers mentioned above had been instructed to ‘purposefully collect objects and information about the peoples’ (*zielgericht Gegenstände und Nachrichten über die Völkerschaften zu kollektionieren*) and adds that Messerschmidt’s contract ‘already foresaw ethnography, that is, a description of Siberian peoples and their languages.’¹⁷¹ However, this statement is anachronistic, as the field of ethnography had not been named as such. The fourth point of Messerschmidt’s contract stipulated that he should study ‘the peoples [of Siberia] and their languages.’ It was only a few decades later that scholars would call this subject ‘ethnography’ (see Chapter 6).

This raises the question: Whose idea was it to instruct Messerschmidt to also pay attention to the Siberian peoples and their languages? The instructions he received were written by the Blumentrost brothers. But who was the mastermind behind the elaborate list and the inclusion of a description of peoples and their languages? None of the sources consulted document this. We may assume that the architect of this and comparable expeditions was Areskine, the science organizer in Russia at the time. He passed away on 17/29 November 1718 – two weeks after Messerschmidt signed his contract. Johann Deodat was still new to his office and his brother Laurentius was twenty-six years and had just returned from an acquisition tour in Holland. Further research in Russian archives could confirm Areskine’s importance in this respect.

The question is surely of interest as such a study (especially of non-Russian languages) could not be expected from just anybody with a medical and natural historical training. Language studies belonged to an entirely different field than medicine, and philology was an auxiliary discipline of history. In his *General Heads for a Natural History of a Countrey*, Robert Boyle (1665: 188) includes ‘a careful account of the Inhabitants themselves, both Natives and Strangers, that have been long settled there: And in particular, their Stature, Shape, Colour, Features, Strength, Agility, Beauty (or want of it) Complexions, Hair, Dyet, Inclinations, and Customs that seem not due to Education.’ However, this list does not mention languages.

Jahn (1995: 212) mentions that the original plan for Messerschmidt’s expedition was modest. He was to undertake acquisition trips and assemble collections for the Academy’s museum (the *Kunstkamera*), as well as for the Cabinets of two professors, namely Breyne at Danzig and Martini at Riga (Kaliningrad). In the end, Messerschmidt did more than just collect and systematically investigated Siberia in seven fields of science, including linguistics.

It astonishes that Messerschmidt managed to produce valuable results in all these fields. Halfway, in November 1724, he arranged his notes in Chitinsk and divided them into seven categories: geography, philology, archaeology, mineralogy, botany, zoology, and medicine (*Rangierung der annotationum geographicarum, philologicarum, antiquariarum-monumentariarum etc., mineralogicarum, botanicarum, zoologicarum, medicinalium et denique*

¹⁷¹ ‘Messerschmidt, dessen Kontrakt schon explizit die Ethnographie, d.h. die Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker und ihrer Sprachen, vorsah.’

curialium).¹⁷² This list is characteristic for Messerschmidt's encyclopaedic outlook. Note that the concept archaeology is used anachronistically (by Jahn) and that the subject 'ethnography' does not enter Messerschmidt's scheme as such – he did not have a category to that end. Ethnography may have been subsumed under philology, or under geography. Meteorology was not mentioned separately either, although Messerschmidt made meteorological recordings, a subject that was subordinated under (mathematical) geography. In any case, Messerschmidt processed many of his observations during the expedition, and systematized his recordings. In so doing, he often anticipated later attempts at systematization (Jahn 1989: 129). His methodology was ingenious: he arranged his material in written lists and notes as well as in boxes and cases (te Heesen 2000).

Messerschmidt's Itinerary and Results

Messerschmidt left St. Petersburg for Moscow in March 1719 and in September departed for Tobolsk, the capital of Siberia, where he arrived in December. There, he met the Swedish Pietists and made many fieldtrips into western Siberia. Messerschmidt asked the Governor of Siberia for the assistance of four Swedish prisoners. He pleaded for Tabbert's release on account of his knowledge and his contacts with other Swedish prisoners who posed their research findings, including drawings of birds and plants, at his disposal (Winter 1953: 319; Jarosch 1966: 219). During the first year of his expedition, Messerschmidt was accompanied by Tabbert and his nephew Karl Gustav Schulman, a draftsman. From March 1721 on, Messerschmidt, Tabbert, and Schulman sailed from Tobolsk to Krasnoyarsk, on the Yenisei River in Central Siberia, then traveled to Mangaseya in the North and on the river Nishnaya Tunguska to the Lena area. After hearing of the peace treaty between Russia and Sweden (1721), the Swedes took their leave and in May 1722 Tabbert returned home.¹⁷³ Messerschmidt continued the journey with three Russian students, a German servant named Peter, and a German cook called Andres (Messerschmidt 1962-77 1: 224); their number later somewhat increased (Messerschmidt 1962-77 3: 194). They set off, often with insufficient means, from Irkutsk through the Transbaikalia area in southern Siberia, traveled along the Chinese and Mongolian frontiers back to Irkutsk, and then through Yeniseysk to Tobolsk (see Fig. 2).

Messerschmidt wintered in Abakan (1721-22), Krasnoyarsk (1722-23), Irkutsk (1723-24), Chitinsk (1724-25), and Samorov-jam (1725-26). During these winter breaks, he arranged his collections, inventorized, and packed them for transportation to the Medical Collegium in St. Petersburg. He also worked on his notes, making summary outlines of works he envisioned to publish after his return to St. Petersburg. Departing from Samorov-jam in February 1726, Messerschmidt traveled to Tobolsk where he stayed for a month before returning through the Urals to the European parts of Russia. He remained in Solikamsk for eight months and then via

¹⁷² Messerschmidt (1962-77, 3: 194); see also Jahn (1989: 125, 1995: 213).

¹⁷³ A report on Tabbert's return trip, sent to Wreech in July 1723, was published in Winter (1953: 467-472).

Moscow traveled back to St. Petersburg where he arrived in March 1727. In his luggage, he carried several manuscripts, including detailed journals and his synthetic *Sibiria perlustrata*.

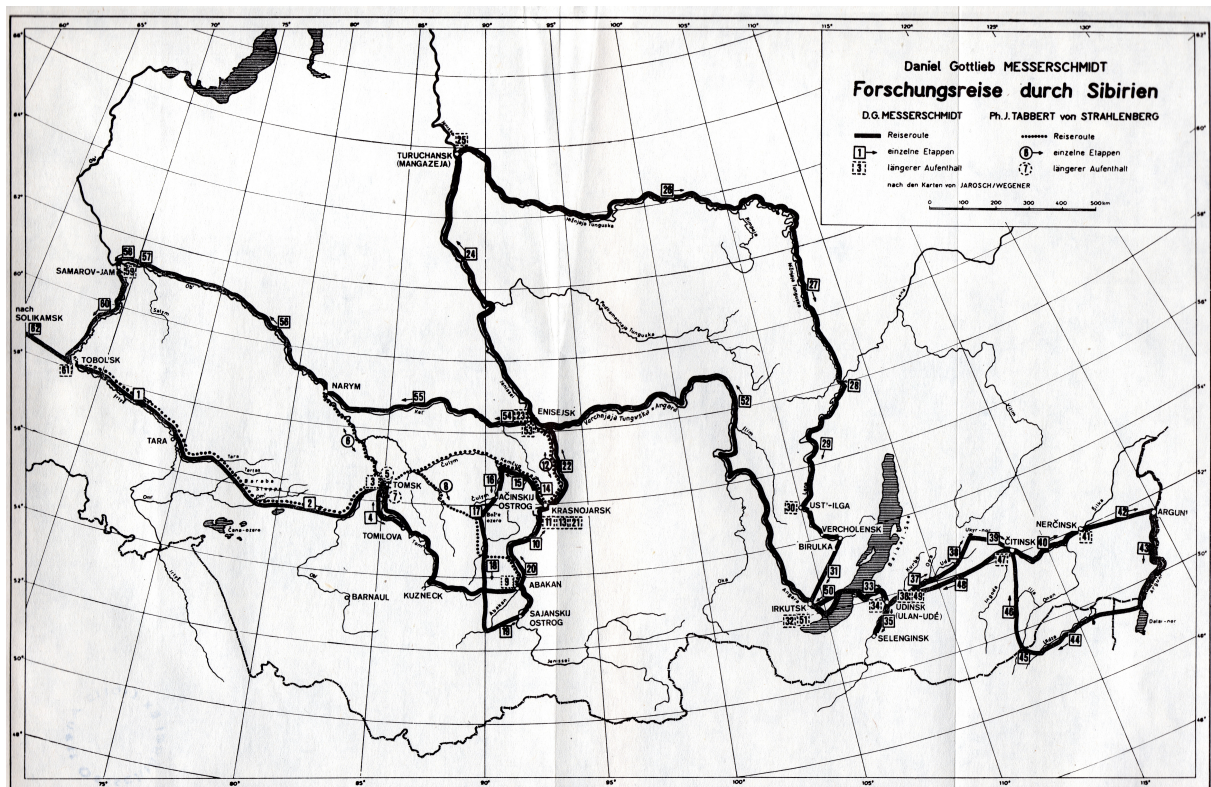


Fig. 2. Messerschmidt's Itinerary in Western and Central Siberia (From Jarosch 1962-77, Teil 5)

Sadly, while Tabbert von Strahlenberg published a historical and geographical account of 'the Northern and Eastern parts of Europe and Asia' (1730), including a 'Polyglot Table of the Dialects of 32 Tartarian Nations' as well as twenty cuts, two tables, and a map, Messerschmidt was never able to publish his results. He had permitted Tabbert to keep the journal of the expedition (Jarosch 1966: 219), who relates to Messerschmidt as 'Herr Doktor.' Strahlenberg was not a trained scientist but a layperson with an unusual talent for and interest in geography, history, and languages. He avoided Messerschmidt's name in the preface to his book but referred to him respectfully as 'Doctor Messerschmidt' on page 280 (Winter/Figurowskij 1962: 14).

Messerschmidt's strict way of proceeding in the field of science can be demonstrated by his reports on mammoth (*mammut*) remains in Siberia. He reported on findings of large bones and teeth in May 1722 and January 1724 in his XIVth report to Johann Deodat Blumentrost. During his winter sojourn in Irkutsk, Messerschmidt excavated the head of a mammoth, plus two large teeth and a molar and several bones that had been found near the lower Lena River. He had them drawn by his assistants and sent to the *Aptekarski Prikaz* in St. Petersburg, to the attention of its director, Blumentrost (Messerschmidt 1962-77, 2: 194-95, 202-03; Brentjes 1985-88: 120). Messerschmidt's report was entitled 'Ossium diluvianorum animalis, vulgo dicti Mammoth

Sibiricum, ... adumbratio ichnographica.' He also dispatched a report, together with two mammoth teeth, to Breyne in Danzig, who lectured on these findings before the Societas Litteraria at Danzig in 1722 and 1728. Breyne forwarded his lecture to Hans Sloane of the Royal Society in London, who published it in the *Philosophical Transactions* 40 (1737). Breyne's article was based on Messerschmidt's report and contained six drawings, as well as an eyewitness report on the excavation of the mammoth bones, which took place in Irkutsk on 18 January 1724, by a Polish prisoner of war.¹⁷⁴ The origin of the term *mammut* is uncertain. It may derive from Mansi, a finnish-ugric language spoken in northwestern Siberia,¹⁷⁵ and was popularized in English as mammoth.¹⁷⁶ The first reports of mammoths date from the late sixteenth century.¹⁷⁷ Witsen reported on mammoth remains in Siberia in 1692, seeing them as 'elephants that lived in Siberia in warmer times and died in the Flood.' Leibniz wrote a report on the 'diluvial' animal in his *Protogaea* of 1690-91 (published and translated in 1749). The first report of a mammoth in England was an entry with 'curious observations concerning the products of Russia' in the English translation of H.W. Ludolf's *Grammatica Russica* (1698). Eberhard Isbrand Ides (1699), Lorenz Lange (1721), Johann Bernhard Müller (1720, 1721, 1726), and Vasilii Nikitich Tatishchev (1725) also reported on mammoth remains in Siberia. Hans Sloane summarized his own findings in an article on 'Elephants Teeth and Bones' in the *Philosophical Transactions* of 1728. However, Messerschmidt's descriptions were so precise that they inspired Georges Cuvier to begin paleozoological investigations in 1796 (Uschmann 1982: 171; Jahn 1995: 215).¹⁷⁸ The first complete specimen of a frozen mammoth was found in 1799 in the eastern parts of the Lena River delta on the Bikovskii peninsula by a Sakha chieftain hunting for ivory. It was excavated by the Scottish botanist Mikhail F. Adams in June 1806 (Adams Mammoth) and is the first-ever skeleton of a mammoth, now on display in Yakutsk.

Messerschmidt met the leaders of the First Kamchatka Expedition, Vitus Bering and Martin Spangberg at Yeniseysk in July 1725. He was eager to hear of their plans for this expedition (see Chapter 4). They met several times during the period 23 July-12 August, exchanged field notes and maps, and discussed various itineraries (Messerschmidt 1962-77, 4: 172-192).

However, when Messerschmidt returned to St. Petersburg two years later, with extensive collections on the flora, fauna, the history, and the lifestyle of peoples of western and central Siberia, he had almost been forgotten. He carried with him collections in all seven fields he had identified in 1724 (geography, philology, archaeology, mineralogy, botany, zoology, and medicine) as well as detailed travel journals (in five volumes). He submitted a research plan

¹⁷⁴ Michael Wolochowicz, Niederschrift über die Ausgrabung der Mammutknochen am 18.1.1724. Irkutsk, 10.2.1724. Abschrift von Johann Philipp Breyne (in Latin). Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Chart. A 875 Bl. 87v.

¹⁷⁵ Personal communication Aleksandr Anikin, Moscow, September 2005.

¹⁷⁶ V.E. Garutt, *Das Mammut*. Wittenberg Lutherstadt: A. Ziemsen Verlag, 1964.

¹⁷⁷ Early reports on the woolly mammoth or woolly mammoth material (in chronological order): list compiled by Mike Reich, Curator Geoscience Centre of the University of Göttingen, April 2007.

¹⁷⁸ Further details on Messerschmidt's zoological findings are held in the Breyne archives in Gotha. See *Jacob und Johann Philipp Breyne: zwei Danziger Botaniker im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. Nachlaßverzeichnis von Helmut Roob in Zusammenarbeit mit Cornelia Hopf. Gotha: Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, 1988, p. 88.

aimed at processing his field notes and collections to the Academy of Sciences that had been founded during his absence in 1724-25 (see Chapter 4). However, this proposal was not accepted and Messerschmidt was ordered by the Blumentrost brothers to hand over his journals and field material to the *Kunstkamera*. After arranging his collections, Messerschmidt signed a contract of transfer in September 1727 that allowed him only a few doublets. In February 1728, a commission from the Academy, including the managing director Schumacher, the astronomer and geographer Joseph Nicolas De l'Isle, the botanists Johann Amman and Johann Georg Gmelin, and the historians Theophil Siegfried Bayer and Georg Friedrich Müller, studied his collections. It took these scholars two weeks to arrange and catalogue Messerschmidt's extensive collections. Winter (1962b: 199) reports that it was painful for Messerschmidt that he no longer had access to the material he had collected after its transfer. His demands for financial compensation were not or not fully met (Posselt 1976c: 221; Winter 1953: 320). Müller later explained that Messerschmidt claimed to have collected doublets of natural objects (*Naturalien*) for himself, which claim was not accepted, and that he had not been instructed to collect artificial curiosities (*Seltenheiten*), a task he had set himself and for which he had paid with his own money. Because the commission decided that the 'antiquities, Mongolian, Tangutian, and Chinese rarities and writings, as well as many articles of clothing from various Siberian peoples' would be invaluable to the *Kunstkamera*, it recommended that these should remain there and Messerschmidt be compensated with a gift of money (apparently 200 roubles).¹⁷⁹

Disappointed, Messerschmidt retreated into married life, in which he was unhappy (Müller 1890: 152-153). Apparently, his return to the new capital of Russia was untimely. Peter the Great had passed away in 1725 and his widow and successor, Catherine I, in 1727. There was no longer much interest in scholarship as well as an urgent lack of money. The First Kamchatka Expedition had set off in 1725 as instructed by Peter weeks before his death, and was consuming all Russian reserves. It was only a decade later, when the Second Kamchatka Expedition (1733-43) and the First Orenburg Expedition (1734-37) took off, that this situation was partly remedied.

Upon his return to Danzig Messerschmidt lost his few remaining personal belongings in a shipwreck. Embittered by the harsh treatment he had received from the Russian Academy of Sciences, and especially by the avowal that he should remain silent about his research results and not publish anything without the consent of the Academy, he lived quietly and withdrawn in Danzig. Things only changed when Strahlenberg published his monograph on 'the Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia' (1730), which included material collected during the first year of Messerschmidt's expedition to Siberia. The book drew the attention towards Messerschmidt, who in the preface was referred to as 'a certain good friend.' Strahlenberg regretted that the latter (for reasons unknown to him) found no opportunity to publish the research results himself 'as he stayed in these remote countries even longer than I have, and ... who as a scientist would have done a much better job [in describing them]' (Strahlenberg 1730; Posselt 1976c: 222).

¹⁷⁹ Müller, *Istoriia akademii nauk. Materialy* VI (1890): 147, 150-151; Russow 1900: 9; Winter/Figurovskij 13.

Messerschmidt was called back to St. Petersburg in 1731, at the recommendation of Tatishchev and Bayer, who received positive reports via contacts in Uppsala. He was allowed to work on his material but was never made a member of the Academy of Sciences. With the support of the painters Georg Gsell and Maria Dorothea Gsell, who worked on his drawings of birds and plants, and the archbishop Prokopovich, who consulted him as a physician, Messerschmidt worked on his manuscripts and completed several texts. These included his archaeological study *Curiosa sibiriae* (Brentjes 1985-88, 1988) and his ten-volume ‘bird’s book’ (*Ornithologica Sibirica et Tatariae*), on which he had begun work at Tobolsk in May 1720 (Jahn 1989). Sadly, before publishing any of these works, Messerschmidt passed away in impoverished circumstances in March 1735 – the same year in which Linnaeus revolutionized botanical nomenclature. Only fifty years of age, he left behind a wife and their young daughter.

His manuscripts, including the *Index botanicus sibiriae*, *Mantissa ornithologica*, and the long manuscript *Sibiria perlustrata seu Pinax triplicis naturae regni* that summarized his findings, are held in the archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg Branch (PFA RAN). Scholars given access to these archives profited from these texts. These included historians such as Theophil Siegfried Bayer and Vasilii Nikitich Tatishchev, and Siberia travelers such as Gerhard Friedrich Müller, Johann Georg Gmelin, Johann Eberhard Fischer, Georg Wilhelm Steller, and Peter Simon Pallas. The results of Messerschmidt’s scientific expedition were utilized in the planning of the Second Kamchatka Expedition (Berg 1946: 79; Winter/Figurowskij 1962: 15-16). They also served the Academic Expeditions of 1768-74, supervised by Pallas (Posselt 1976c: 222). Thus, although Messerschmidt’s writings remained unpublished, his work became a rich source of information for his colleagues. To give one example, Gerhard Friedrich Müller had taken Messerschmidt’s journals with him when he moved to Moscow in 1765. It took Pallas some effort to persuade Müller to return them to St. Petersburg so that he could study Messerschmidt’s zoological findings for his own work.¹⁸⁰ Therefore, Posselt (1976c) was correct in calling Messerschmidt a ‘pioneer in the exploration of Siberia.’

Although the majority of Messerschmidt’s manuscripts to the present day are gathering dust in the archives of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, some parts have been published. Johann Amman, the Swiss director of the botanical gardens of St. Petersburg, included Messerschmidt’s botanical material in a catalogue of these gardens.¹⁸¹ Their collections had been augmented with seedlings and plants brought by later Siberia explorers, such as Gmelin and Steller. Messerschmidt’s drawings of plants are exquisite and accurate. Gmelin referred to Messerschmidt’s material in his *Flora Sibirica* (1747-69). Pallas used Messerschmidt’s results in his *Flora Rossica* (1784-88) and *Zoographia Rossa-Asiatica* (1811-31). In 1782, he published excerpts from Messerschmidt’s journal in his ‘Report on Dr. Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt’s seven-year journey through Siberia’ in order to introduce ‘him and his merits for the study of Siberia and to do him justice.’ In 1781, Pallas credited Messerschmidt for being the first to

¹⁸⁰ Pallas, letter to J.A. Euler of November 1767, quoted in Winter (1963b: 335); see also Wendland (1992: 88).

¹⁸¹ J. Amman, *Stirpium rariorum in Imperio Rutheno sponte provenientium icones et descriptiones*. Petropoli, 1739.

identify the Dsiggetäi, a wild, halfbred donkey inhabiting the eastern deserts of Central Asia, as a distinct species of horses. In 1780, Messerschmidt's translation of a Turkish manuscript with the genealogical tables of the Mongol Khan Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur was published at Göttingen.

Messerschmidt's archaeological work involved the discovery of many art objects from Siberia and Mongolia, including three items excavated in Siberian tombs.¹⁸² Strahlenberg carried important findings of Messerschmidt to St. Petersburg in 1722 (Winter 1953: 320). The art historian Brentjes (1985-88, 1988) has analyzed Messerschmidt's studies in the field of Siberian archaeology and praised Messerschmidt for his 'excellent way of documenting.'¹⁸³

At long last, Messerschmidt's journals were partly published during the 1960s in the context of a research program on the 'German-Russian Encounter' (*deutsch-russische Begegnung*), directed by Eduard Winter. The East Germans received impeccable photocopies of (almost) all Messerschmidt's manuscripts kept in St. Petersburg and set up an multidisciplinary research team to edit and comment on his work. Apart from the historian Eduard Winter in Berlin and the natural historian Georg Uschmann in Jena, the team included Ilse Jahn, a historian of biology in Jena working on zoology; Doris Posselt, a historian of biology in Jena working on botany; Hans Prescher, working on mineralogy; Burchard Brentjes, an art historian in Halle working on oriental archaeology; and the actual editor, the folklorist Günther Jarosch in Berlin. The project resulted in a five-volume edition of Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt's *Forschungsreise durch Sibirien, 1720-1727* (Berlin 1962-77). The edition was promising and brought Messerschmidt's accomplishments to the public attention but remained sadly incomplete. Originally, ten volumes had been planned. The beginning and the end of the expedition are not included as the first volume of the journal went missing, while plans to publish the final year failed due to lack of finance. The journals only cover the period between March 1721 and April 1726 (instead of November 1718 to March 1727). In addition, sections that were not flattering to the Russians were omitted. Moreover, the concluding volume with essays by specialists (*Kommentarband*), planned since 1966,¹⁸⁴ never materialized. These essays on Messerschmidt's contributions to the seven fields he had worked on had been completed by specialists in these fields,¹⁸⁵ but rested with Jarosch at the time of his passing away in January 1993.¹⁸⁶ This was deplorable, as one of the essays, by Burchard Brentjes, was

¹⁸² 'ex tumulis sepulcralibus Siberiae,' see the catalogue of the Kunstkamera, MIP Vol.II, P.I, 1741: p. 132 N54, N56, N69, resp. 8th-9th c., 8th-9th c., 1st-5th c., drawn in the 1730s; and MIP Vol.II, P.I, 1741: p. 120 N113 13 figurine plaques from Siberian barrows, antiquity, drawn in the 1730s.

¹⁸³ 'die vorzügliche Art der Dokumentation Messerschmidts' (Brentjes 1985-88: 163; Winter/Figurosvkij 1962: 18).

¹⁸⁴ Günther Jarosch, D.G. Messerschmidt, *Forschungsreise durch Sibirien, 1720-1727*. (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas, Band 8). Teil 5: Kommentar und Register. Vorlage zur Sitzung des Kollegiums zur Herausgabe der Tagebücher Messerschmidts am 19.10.1966. Typescript, 5 pp. kept in the archives of the Leopoldina, Halle/Saale.

¹⁸⁵ On the backcover of Teil 5 (1977) Jarosch inserted a note: 'Vorbereitet wird ein Sammelband: Die Bedeutung der Forschungsreise D.G. Messerschmidts durch Sibirien in der Wissenschaftsgeschichte.'

¹⁸⁶ 'Durch das plötzliche Ableben von Dr. Jarosch (8.6.1991) gingen die von ihm für diesen Kommentarband gesammelten Manuskripte verloren. Die noch vorhandenen Bearbeitungen von Prof.Dr. Burchard Brentjes (Ethnographie), Dr. Doris Posselt (Botanik), Dr. Hans Prescher (Mineralogie) und Dr. Ilse Jahn (Zoologie) werden für die Veröffentlichung in den *Acta historica Leopoldina* neu zusammengestellt' (Jahn 2002: 888, n. 5).

to deal with Messerschmidt's ethnography. It could have been revealing for the contributions Messerschmidt made to a field that had not yet been named, but was clearly developing.

We lack a clear understanding of the full extent of Messerschmidt's ethnography. The first volume of his published journal contains many descriptions of manners and customs of the peoples he encountered along the way. The final year of his journal, which was never published, also contains ethnographic accounts.¹⁸⁷ Winter (1953: 321) mentions that the Russian historian Tatishchev learned of Messerschmidt's results primarily through the Orientalist Bayer who had been assigned by the Academy of Sciences to process Messerschmidt's historical and linguistic results. Bayer profited a great deal from Messerschmidt's results for his own work on the history of Asian peoples. Both Messerschmidt's and Bayer's work stimulated Tatishchev to collect language samples from Siberian peoples. Messerschmidt's combination of historical and linguistic research proved highly valuable. Posselt (1976c: 224) reports that 'Bayer, Radlov, and G.F. Müller analyzed Messerschmidt's ethnographic and linguistic results.' She gives no further details but adds that Messerschmidt made numerous remarks in his journals that 'demonstrate his sympathy for the local population, and his dislike of the arbitrariness of the local authorities (including harassment, high taxes, and torture).' This confirms the image that Messerschmidt 'stood for the simple people' (Posselt 1976c: 225), in accordance with the Pietist principles on which he was raised and which he shared with Tabbert von Strahlenberg (Winter 1953: 319).

Fortunately, we have one source that includes at least a short inventory. Prepared by Jarosch in 1966, this synopsis of Messerschmidt's ethnographic results states:

(3) The journals of Messerschmidt as a source of information for ethnography and folklore [essay to be prepared by G. Jarosch]: During his scientific expedition Messerschmidt also paid a great deal of attention to the culture and the way of living of the Siberian peoples. While we have only a few ethnographic descriptions of separate Siberian peoples (among others Isbrand Ides, Adam Brand) from the period preceding his work, we find in Messerschmidt's journals accounts of many Siberian peoples, such as Tatars, Kalmyks, Mongols, Buryat, Samoyeds (now Nenets), and Ostyaks. He traveled almost three years in the territory of the Tungus (now Evenks). In many cases, his notes represent first recordings. They contain important information on the ethnogenesis of individual nationalities. The ethnographic material inter alia contains a description of settlements and architecture, costumes, jewellery, household appliances, hunting and fishing tools, boats from birch tree. Messerschmidt employs the scientific method of simultaneous examination of words and things. Recordings of customs (especially burial rites) and religious representations (shamanism) are numerous. Especially valuable are the drawings added to the journals (for example, of tattooing among the Orotong tribe and of shamanistic drums) as well as the description of numerous pieces of national costumes that he collected (Jarosch 1966: 3).¹⁸⁸

Such a publication is not known in the Leopoldina. Peter Hoffmann notes that Jarosch died on 16 Jan. 1993. Burchard Brentjes informs us that he donated his books and manuscripts to the Institut für Iranistik in Vienna.

¹⁸⁷ Personal communication Wieland Hintzsche, Halle (Saale), February 2007.

¹⁸⁸ (3) Die Tagebücher Messerschmidts als Quelle für Ethnographie und Folklore: Messerschmidt widmete auf seiner Forschungsreise der Kultur und der Lebensweise der sibirischen Völker große Aufmerksamkeit. Aus der Zeit vor ihm besitzen wir nur wenige ethnographische Beschreibungen einzelner sibirischer Völker (u.a. Isbrand Ides, Adam Brand), während wir aus seinen Tagebüchern Nachrichten über zahlreiche Völkerschaften Sibiriens erhalten, so über Tataren, Kalmücken, Mongolen, Burjaten, Samojeden (Heute: Nenzen) und Ostjaken. Fast drei Jahre reiste er im

Jarosch also compiled the following synopsis of Messerschmidt's linguistic results:

(4) The significance of Messerschmidt's notes for linguistics [essay to be prepared by W. Steinitz *et al.*]: Messerschmidt's notes from the languages of small Siberian peoples are of great significance for linguistics, as his notes were the first or the first reliable ones for many of them. As the precise locations [of these peoples] are known, these notes serve to advance the dialectical study of Siberian languages. Many of the dialects that Messerschmidt documented are now extinct and some are only known to us through his journals. Messerschmidt occupies a honorable place in the history of European linguistics, firstly, because he was the first to put Leibniz's request for compiling vocabularies into practice, especially of Northern and Central Asian, and, secondly, because his astonishingly wide ranging ideas about the relationship between several Siberian and other languages – through his travel companion Strahlenberg and the users of his journals – entered the eighteenth-century scholarly works on Siberia (G.F. Müller, V.N. Tatishchev, J.E. Fischer, A.L. Schlözer and others) and played an important role in laying the foundations for the comparative linguistics of the nineteenth century (Jarosch, typescript, 1966: 3-4).¹⁸⁹

These observations would surely justify an in-depth study of Messerschmidt's linguistic and ethnographic recordings. All specialists agree that Messerschmidt's scientific expedition lay at the basis of further explorations in Siberia and Russian Asia during the eighteenth century. His historical-philological studies influenced Theophil Siegfried Bayer and Vasilii Nikitich Tatishchev, as well as Philipp Johann Tabbert von Strahlenberg. By combining history and philology, Messerschmidt and Strahlenberg were able to produce valuable results. Bayer based parts of his historical work to a large extent on Messerschmidt's research. Winter (1953: 321) claims that Messerschmidt was 'the real creator of the [historical-philological] method' (*der*

Gebiet der Tungusen (Heute: Evenken). Seine Aufzeichnungen haben vielfach die Bedeutung einer ersten Quelle. Sie enthalten wichtige Hinweise auch zur Ethnogenese der einzelnen Nationalitäten. Das ethnographische Material umfaßt u.a. die Beschreibung von Siedlungen und Bauten, Tracht, Schmuck, Hausgerät, Jagd- und Fischereigeräten, Booten aus Birkenrinde. Dabei bediente sich Messerschmidt der wissenschaftlichen Methode der gleichzeitigen Betrachtung von Wörtern und Sachen. Zahlreich sind die Aufzeichnungen über das Brauchtum (vor allem Begräbnisriten) und Glaubensvorstellungen (Schamanismus). Sehr wertvoll sind auch die dem Tagebuch beigefügten Zeichnungen (z.B. Tatauierung beim Stamm der Orotong sowie Schamanentrommeln) sowie die Beschreibung der zahlreichen gesammelten Trachtenstücke' (Jarosch, typescript, 1966: 3).

¹⁸⁹ (4) Die Bedeutung der Aufzeichnungen Messerschmidts für die Sprachwissenschaft: Von großer Bedeutung für die Sprachwissenschaft sind vor allem Messerschmidts Aufzeichnungen aus den Sprachen der kleinen sibirischen Völker, bei denen Messerschmidt für viele überhaupt die ersten oder die ersten zuverlässigen Aufzeichnungen gemacht hat. Da sie genau lokalisiert sind, fördern sie die Kenntnis der Dialektologie der sibirischen Sprachen. Mehrere der bei Messerschmidt belegten Dialekte sind heute ausgestorben und uns nur aus Messerschmidts Tagebüchern bekannt. In der Geschichte der europäischen Sprachwissenschaft nimmt Messerschmidt einen ehrenvollen Platz ein: Erstens hat er als erster Leibniz's Aufforderung zur Sammlung von Wörterverzeichnissen in die Tat umgesetzt, insbesondere von Sprachen Nord- und Zentralasiens; zweitens sind seine erstaunlich weitblickenden Gedanken über die Verwandtschaft der verschiedenen sibirischen und anderen Sprachen durch seinen Reisegefährten Strahlenberg und durch die Benutzer seiner Tagebücher in die wissenschaftlichen Werke des 18. Jh. über Sibirien (G.F. Müller, V.N. Tatishchev, J.E. Fischer, A.L. Schlözer u.a.) eingegangen und haben eine wichtige Rolle bei der Schaffung der Grundlagen für die vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft des 19. Jh. gespielt (Jarosch, typescript, 1966: 3-4).

eigentliche Schöpfer der Methode). However, as we have seen, Leibniz had first outlined the principles of historical linguistics. Thus, Messerschmidt was applying these rules.

Especially valuable was that Messerschmidt had studied the ‘dialects of living nations,’ as Leibniz had predicted people would, in 1687. His vocabularies of some twenty such ‘living nations’ are not as extensive as those of later scholars but they are the earliest, collected even before those of Tatishchev.¹⁹⁰

Messerschmidt took his assignment very seriously and described everything ‘remarkable,’ just as Peter the Great had requested. Although botany was his primary interest, and medicinal plants his main task, he also reported on ethnographic and linguistic aspects of Siberia. In carrying out his expedition in such a systematic, empirically-sound way, Messerschmidt set a standard for later Siberia travelers such as Gerhard Friedrich Müller, Johann Georg Gmelin, Johann Eberhard Fischer, Georg Wilhelm Steller, and Peter Simon Pallas.

Müller, especially, was impressed by Messerschmidt’s work. It inspired him to elaborate on Messerschmidt’s observations by exclusively focusing on the history of Siberia, including archaeology, geography, ethnography, and linguistics. Whereas Messerschmidt’s interests had been encyclopaedic, concentrating on the seven fields he outlined in 1724, later researchers would specialize and focus on a few of these, never on all of them. The only exceptions were, perhaps, the naturalists Georg Wilhelm Steller and Peter Simon Pallas (see Chapters 4 and 6).

It is highly probable, as Peter Hoffmann (1959: 39) suggests, that Müller became initially interested in Siberia during the February 1728 sessions when Messerschmidt’s collections were catalogued by a variety of scholars at the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. The encounter with Messerschmidt’s objects, manuscripts, and drawings will have stimulated Müller’s interest in the vast regions behind the Urals. Müller later recalled that Messerschmidt’s collections were impressive and that it had been ‘beyond expectation how much the Imperial *Kunstkammer* had been expanded by indigenous natural-historical objects and artificial rarities [collected by] Mr. Messerschmidt’s zeal.’¹⁹¹ This admiration will have served Müller as a motive to follow in Messerschmidt’s footsteps.

¹⁹⁰ Pallas (1782: 98) wrote that Messerschmidt was learned ‘also in oriental languages’ and the linguist Julius Klaproth was adamant about Messerschmidt in his *Asia polyglotta* of 1823 (Winter/Figurovskij 1962: 8, 18).

¹⁹¹ ‘Es übertraf alle erwartung, wie sehr die kaiser[liche] kunstkammer damals mit inländischen naturalien und seltenheiten durch des hrn. Messerschmid[t]s fleiss vermehrt worden’ (Müller 1890: 147, 150-151; also quoted in Russow 1900: 9 and Hoffmann 1959: 40).

Chapter Four

Ethnography and Empire

G.F. Müller and the Description of Siberian Peoples, 1732-1747

The ethnographic work of Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705-1783) deserves a special place in the history of anthropology. Müller is known as a German historian who contributed significantly to the expansion of historical and geographical knowledge of the Russian Empire. His participation as a historian in the Second Kamchatka Expedition or the Great Northern Expedition (1733-43) is duly acknowledged. However, his many contributions to the ethnographic study of Siberian peoples have hardly been listed and his name does not occur in any major work on the history of anthropology.

An assessment of Müller's work may serve to improve this slighted status. Müller deserves credit as a founder of ethnography on at least five counts: (1) he conducted ethnographic research and described Siberian peoples when participating in the Second Kamchatka Expedition; (2) he stimulated ethnographic research by others; (3) he developed ethnographic methods and wrote detailed instructions to students and colleagues; (4) he designed an ethnological program for Siberia that was descriptive and comparative; and (5), while in Siberia, Müller invented a concept for this study that he called *Völker-Beschreibung* (Müller 1900 [1740]), or *Völkerbeschreibung* (Müller n.d. [1740]). This was a German-language precursor of 'ethnography,' a concept surfacing in the German states thirty years later and still current today. In this way, writing from ethnological praxis, Müller arrived at a comprehensive and systematic view on a study that had not yet been named and as such did not exist – albeit that ethnographic accounts had been given for centuries in Spanish writings on Native Americans as well as in Greek, Roman, Arabic, Byzantine, and Chinese reports on peoples and places all over the world.

Building on the comparative work of Joseph-François Lafitau (1724), Müller developed an ethnological program that was descriptive, holistic, and comparative. He also transmitted it to others and thus was influential in many ways. Peter Hoffmann (2005: 245) adds that Müller's work provides the first sources on many Siberian peoples and for those now extinct the only ones. Aleksandr Christianovich Elert claims that Müller was 'the first ethnographer'¹⁹² and Wieland Hintzsche characterizes him as 'the true father of scientific ethnology.'¹⁹³ Although these claims may be somewhat overstated, it is true that Müller developed an ethnological program and that he had the means, the methods, and the motive for creating a new discipline now called ethnography. I intend to show that Müller can be considered the first all-round ethnographer of Siberia and should be regarded as one of the founders of anthropology, especially of one of its most enduring roots: ethnography.

¹⁹² 'der erste Ethnograph' (Elert 1999a; personal communication, December 2003, November 2004)

¹⁹³ 'der eigentliche Vater der wissenschaftlichen Ethnologie' (Hintzsche 2004: xxxiv)

Müller's Life and Work¹⁹⁴

Müller received a university education in Western and Central Germany, including a study of history and familiarization with the principles of Early Enlightenment thought. His father officiated as rector of the evangelical grammar school in Herford (Westphalia). His mother was a daughter of Bodinus, professor of theology and oriental languages at Rinteln, the only university in northwest Germany for a long time. Müller studied philosophy and history, first at Rinteln in 1722-23, then at Leipzig (Saxony), especially under the historian Johann Burkhard Mencke, whose library he helped rearrange. Through his teacher, Müller heard of a possibility to work in Russia. He grasped the opportunity and, before completing his studies, migrated to Russia at the age of twenty-one. He arrived in St. Petersburg on 5 November 1725, shortly before the Imperial Academy of Sciences was inaugurated. This important event took place twenty-five years after the establishment of the 'Society of Sciences' in Berlin, founded at the initiative of Leibniz.

After his appointment as a professor of history at the Academy in 1731, Müller joined the Second Kamchatka Expedition. This expedition, under the command of Bering, explored the Northeast Passage separating America and Asia, as well as the vast land masses connecting Kamchatka in the east of Siberia with the Urals in the west. During this expedition, Müller mostly traveled in the company of Johann Georg Gmelin, a physician, chemist, and natural historian from Swabia (*Schwaben*). While Gmelin concentrated on the flora, fauna, and minerals, Müller focused on the history of the Siberian peoples. Their division of labor was conform a distinction between 'political history' and 'natural history' (*politische und natürliche Geschichte*, Gmelin 1752 III: 180), in which case political history can be seen as 'civil history.'

After traveling through Siberia for nearly ten years, Müller returned to his post of professor at the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, publishing only parts of his voluminous field material. His collections related to the history, geography, and ethnography of Siberia. However, he published only a few articles that included ethnographic results (Müller 1759a, 1759b-c, 1760a, 1773). One reason was that he was discouraged from working on this material by his Russian and German peers. Yet, Müller was very productive and published a history of Siberia and of Russia, as well as several geographical studies. His career as the Imperial Historiographer (*Reichshistoriograph*) was distinguished and he remained in the service of the Russian Empire during his entire productive life. In his later career, Müller moved to Moscow as chief supervisor of the Foundling Hospital (1765) and as Archivist of the College of Foreign Affairs (1766).

¹⁹⁴ The most important biographical sources on Müller are: Müller's history of the Russian Academy of Sciences Müller 1890; Büsching 1785; Soloviev 1854, 2000; Pekarskii (1870: 308-430); Bakhrushin and Andreev's introductions in Müller's history of Siberia (Müller 1937-40; 1999-2005); Andreev 1959; Kosven 1961; Urness 1986; Black 1986; Black and Buse 1989; Elert 1990, 1992, 1996a-b, 1999a-b, 2002, 2005a; Bucher 2002; Hoffmann 1959, 1983, 1995, 2005, 2008a-b; Ilizarov 2005, 2006.

The Imperial Academy of Sciences

The Imperial Academy of Sciences (*Akademia Nauk*), founded in St. Petersburg in January 1724 and inaugurated in December 1725, was a favorite project of Peter the Great.¹⁹⁵ His travels through Germany, Denmark, Holland, England, and France made Tsar Peter realize that the only way to develop his empire was by advancing science, technology, and education. He issued the order to found an Academy of Sciences shortly before his death. It was intended as an institute ‘through which not only the fame of the [Russian] state for the improvement of the sciences will spread in the present, but also its teachings and dissemination will become beneficial to the people in the future.’¹⁹⁶ To this end, the Academy appointed scholars from abroad in the natural sciences and the humanities. They began to train young Russians to become scholars, instrument makers, and draftsmen who later would occupy positions in the sciences in Russia.

The proposal to establish an Academy of Sciences was brought before the Senate of St. Petersburg on 22 January 1724. Drafted by Laurentius Blumentrost, Jr., the Academy’s first president, and Johann Daniel Schumacher, the Tsar’s librarian, it was to be an ‘Academy of Sciences and the Arts’ and would incorporate the academy, a university, a *Gymnasium* (grammar school), a museum, a library, and an observatory. The proposal reflected the ideas of Tsar Peter and his associates. Peter the Great ratified the statute founding the Academy on 28 January in the presence of Apraxin, Golovkin, Menshikov and two other friends (*Materialy* I: 301-324).

Prior to the establishment of the Academy, the highest institute of learning in Russia was the Slavonic-Greek-Latin Academy in Moscow, founded by the Russian Orthodox Church in 1687. In Kiev, there were a Clerical Academy (founded in 1615) and the Mohyla Academy (founded in 1632). These orthodox schools were hardly suitable for the economic and technological reforms Peter the Great had in mind. As a result, the early eighteenth century saw a spectacular rise in educational institutions in Russia. A grammar school in Moscow was founded by the German theologian and pedagogue Ernst Glück in 1703 (Winter 1953: 162-175).¹⁹⁷ As part of his program to make his empire self-supporting, the Tsar created a School of Navigation (1698) and a School of Artillery (1699) in Moscow in order to train sailors, navigators, surveyors, and students of fortification. In 1701, these schools merged in the Moscow School of Mathematics and Navigation, directed by Bruce (Donnert 1983: 55). The latter school was transferred to St. Petersburg in 1715 and renamed the Naval Academy. Moreover, a School of Engineers was founded at Moscow in 1712; at St. Petersburg in 1719. For the training of surgeons, the Dutch

¹⁹⁵ On the history of the Russian Academy of Sciences, see Pekarskii 1870-73; Müller 1890; *Materialy* 1885-1900; Kopelevich 1977; Donnert (1983: 68-86); Kistemaker et al. 2005; and Driessen-van het Reve 2006.

¹⁹⁶ ‘Man ... muß ... ein Gebäude errichten, durch das nicht nur der Ruhm dieses Staates im Hinblick auf die Hebung der Wissenschaften in der Gegenwart verbreitet wird, sondern auch künftig deren Lehre und Verbreitung dem Volk zum Nutzen gereichen’ (Proposal to found an Academy of Sciences, 22 January 1724, quoted in Donnert 1983: 71).

¹⁹⁷ Helmut Glück & Ineta Polanska (Hrsg.) *Johann Ernst Glück (1654-1705.: Pastor, Philologe, Volksaufklärer im Baltikum und in Russland*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2005. A conference on Johann Ernst Glück and his work in Latvia and Russia was held at the *Interdisziplinäres Zentrum für Pietismusforschung* in Halle, May 2005.

physician Nikolaus Bidloo started a Medical School at the Moscow Hospital that he founded in 1706. In addition, the Tsar ordered the establishment of schools for mining in 1709.

St. Petersburg was founded by Peter the Great in May 1703 and built under the supervision of Menshikov, Governor of Ingria (Izhora), a province just recaptured from Sweden. Constructed on the swampy banks of the Neva, at tremendous costs and c.200,000 lives, including many Izhorians and Ingrian Finns, the city was built as part of Peter's ambition to develop his empire according to western standards. St. Petersburg was to be Russia's 'window on the West.' The position of the newly built capital was secured only after the Russian victory at Poltava.¹⁹⁸

The Academy's founding in 1724 was an important stage in the westernization of Russia. The Academy was the crown on Peter's reforms of the past twenty years. It was divided in three classes, modeled after the Parisian Academy: (1) Mathematics; (2) Physics (including Mechanics, Physics, Anatomy, Chemistry, and Botany); and (3) Humanities (including Rhetorics, Antiquities, History, Natural Law, Public Law, Politics, Ethics, and Economics). In accordance with the proposals of Leibniz, the Academy also consisted of a university and a *Gymnasium* (grammar school) for the education of young students who later were to attend lectures at the university. In contrast to other universities in Europe, the University of St. Petersburg consisted of three faculties only: Jurisprudence, Medicine, and Philosophy.¹⁹⁹ Theology, the 'queen' of the fourfold division in the West (Facultas Theologica, Juridica, Medica, Philosophica) was not represented. That subject was provided by the Slavonic-Greek-Latin Academy in Moscow.

This restriction was also the case at the University of Moscow, founded in 1755 at the initiative of Mikhail Vasilyevich Lomonosov (1711-1765). He was the first Russian scientist, historian, industrialist, grammarian, and poet. Having studied in Germany, at the University of Marburg, under the supervision of Wolff, and that of Freiburg, Lomonosov was appointed as a professor of chemistry at the Academy of Sciences in 1745. Prolific in many fields, he produced the first modern grammar of Russian in 1757 (also translated into German) and a history of Russia in 1760. Lomonosov is regarded as a national hero of the Russian language and literature. He served as head of the Academy's Geographical Department from 1757 to 1765.

The division in faculties at these universities testified to the formal separation of church and state as instituted by Peter the Great in an attempt to modernize Russian society. The Academy of Arts was founded as late as 1757. However, the arts of scientific illustrating, etching, engraving, and painting were taught at the Academy of Sciences in a master-pupil setting from the beginning. After his appointment in 1717, Georg Gsell professionalized tuition (see below).

The Imperial *Kunstkamera* consisted of a library, a map room, a museum with collections of scientific instruments, *naturalia*, and *artificialia*, a Theatrum Anatomicum, an observatory, a chamber for physical experiments, and workshops for printing, engraving, etc. (see Chapter 2).

¹⁹⁸ On St. Petersburg in the eighteenth century, see Hoffmann (2003). St. Petersburg served as the new capital of the Russian Empire from 1712 to 1918. It was known as Petrograd during 1914-24; as Leningrad from 1924 to 1992.

¹⁹⁹ The University of St. Petersburg evolved from the Academy's *Gymnasium*. It was realized in 1747 when the Academy received new regulations (*Istoria Akademii Nauk USSR* vol. I, Moscow/Leningrad 1958: 148, 302ff.).

This *Museum Imperialis Petropolitanis* was established in 1714 and developed into an important reservoir of technical, anatomical, biological, anthropological, and ethnographic knowledge. Soon after the Academy was founded, Peter the Great died unexpectedly (28 January/8 February 1725). His successor, Tsarina Catherine I, reigned from 1725 to 1727 and continued the plans of her late husband. The first members of the Academy arrived at the Russian capital during the summer of 1725. Müller, sailing in on St. Petersburg in November, belonged to the first generation of Academy members. He was to outlive all his colleagues of that generation.

By that time, the First Kamchatka Expedition had just left St. Petersburg. When an opportunity arose to join the Second Kamchatka Expedition, Müller offered his services.

Müller and the Academy

Müller had been recommended to the Academy by J.B. Mencke, professor of history at Leipzig since 1699, Privy Councilor of Saxony, and editor of the celebrated *Acta Eruditorum*, founded by his father and Leibniz. Mencke had been invited by Peter the Great to become a member of the Academy but had politely declined the offer. In his place, Mencke sent Johann Peter Kohl (1698-1778) as ‘Academician’ (*Akademiker*) to Russia. Kohl was appointed professor of church history and suggested Müller to come to St. Petersburg, too. In Leipzig, Müller had worked in Mencke’s library, arranging his historical works. Müller had already dabbled in the history books kept in his father’s library (Müller 1890: 250) and was well acquainted with the principles and methods of historiography. This would prove crucial for his elaborate historical studies in Russia.

In St. Petersburg, Müller first worked as a ‘studiosus,’ the equivalent of an ‘adjunct’ or extraordinary *Akademiker*, for a modest salary of 200 roubles per year. His task was to teach Latin, rhetoric, history, and geography to students of the Academy’s *Gymnasium* and to attend sessions at the Academy. In January 1728, he took up a position at the archives of the Academy with the additional task of preparing the minutes of Academy sessions (the *Conferenz*) and the academic council, as well as of foreign correspondence. He also edited the *St. Petersburgische Zeitung* (1727) and the accompanying *Monthly ... Notes*, both published in a Russian and a German edition.²⁰⁰ Furthermore, Müller worked in the Academy’s library as an assistant to Schumacher. Schumacher was Imperial Librarian but in fact ran the Academy. The president of the Academy, Laurentius Blumentrost, Jr., was imperial physician and often had to be absent. Following the return of the Russian court to Moscow in 1727, Blumentrost moved to Moscow. He left Schumacher in charge of the Chancellery (*Kanzley*), the bureaucratic center of the Academy, which was often in conflict with the General Assembly (*Conferenz*) of the

²⁰⁰ The *St. Petersburgskie vedomosti* was the successor of an earlier *Vedomosti* that expired early in 1727. At the end of that year, the Academy decided to fill the void with a new newspaper. It was published twice a week, contained four to eight pages, with occasional supplements. Müller was its editor between 1728 and 1730. Its views and contents were official; commentary as such was impermissible. Between 1728 and 1742, the *Monthly Historical, Genealogical, and Geographical Notes to Vedomosti*, also appearing in a Russian and German edition, supplemented the newspaper. Müller conceived of it to contain amusing, popular scientific, and useful information intended to reach a lay Russian audience, an innovation in the history of Russian printing (Marker 1985: 48-49).

Academicians.²⁰¹ Schumacher held this influential position until his resignation in 1761, being also responsible for the Library and the *Kunstkamera*. He entrusted Müller with several jobs and saw to it that Müller was appointed professor of history at the Academy in January 1731, as well as ordinary member of the Academy. By that time, Anna Ivanovna had succeeded to the Russian throne (1730-40). Moving the Russian court back to St. Petersburg, she was more positively predisposed towards foreigners and placed them on important positions (*Bironovshchina*).²⁰²

Before accepting his professorship, Müller undertook a journey to Germany, Holland, and England (August 1730-August 1731) to arrange academic book trade and interest foreign scholars in becoming a member of the Academy of Sciences in Russia. In London he was elected a member of the Royal Society. After his return, Müller found the Academy in a financial crisis and landed into a dispute with Schumacher over his expenses (Hoffmann 2005: 63-64). As a result, he had to give up his position at the library, as well as the ambition to succeed Schumacher and become his son-in-law (Müller 1890: 250). This led Müller to fully concentrate on studies in Russian history. In this ambition, he was stimulated by the German Orientalist and sinologist Theophil Siegfried Bayer (1694-1738). In the first decade of the Academy's existence, Bayer was its only Orientalist, just as Müller was its only historian. Müller began to lecture and published the first issues of an important collection of Russian history, *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte* (1732-37, 1758-64). This periodical was to comprise nine volumes and greatly contributed to making the history of Russia better known in Western Europe.²⁰³ However, Müller's position as a professor at the Academy was insecure. He therefore accepted a job that took him away from the Russian capital for nearly ten years. He was almost twenty-eight when he left, thirty-seven when he returned.

The Kamchatka Expeditions

Following suggestions from Leibniz, the French astronomer Guillaume De l'Isle, and his Russian advisor Saltykov, Peter the Great commissioned the First Kamchatka or First Bering Expedition to investigate if Asia and America were connected (1725-30). The Tsar formulated its aims on 23 December 1724, four weeks before his death. After conversations with Ivan Kirlovich Kirilov (1689-1737), first secretary of the Russian Senate, Peter instructed:

²⁰¹ Winter (1961: 3) calls this division between Kanzley and Conferenz a *Grundfehler*, a fundamental error.

²⁰² After Biron, the Tsarina's favorite and one of the Counts who rose to prominence under Peter the Great.

²⁰³ The publication of Müller's *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte* proceeded with long delays. The first three issues of the first volume appeared under Müller's supervision in 1732-35; its final three issues were published by his friend Adolf Bernhard Cramer (1734-35) but had been completed before Müller started off on the Second Kamchatka Expedition. Bayer published the first three issues of the second volume (1736-37). Müller only took up the *Sammlung* again in 1758 when he began to publish some of the results of the expedition, including: 'Geschichte der Gegenden an dem Flusse Amur' (1758), 'von Seereisen und zur See gemachten Entdeckungen' (1758), 'von dreyen im Gebiete der Stadt Casan wohnhaften heidnischen Völkern' (1759), 'von der Handlung in Sibirien' (1760), 'von Land- und Seekarten (1761)' and 'Sibirische Geschichte' (1761-63).

1. You are to build one or two boats, with decks, either in Kamchatka or in some other place.
2. You are to proceed in those boats along the land that lies to the north, and according to the expectations (since the end is not known), it appears that land [is] part of America.
3. You are to search for the place where it is joined to America, and proceed to some settlement that belongs to a European power; or if you sight some European ship, find out from it what the coast is called, and write it down; go ashore yourself and obtain accurate information; locate it on the map and return here.²⁰⁴

Peter handed these orders to Admiral Fyodor Apraxin in January 1725, saying: 'We are dealing here with a passage through the Northern Arctic to China and India ... During my last voyage I heard in conversations with scholars that such a discovery is possible. As our fatherland has now been secured from its enemies, we must make an effort to achieve fame by pursuing the arts and sciences. Wouldn't we be more fortunate in finding such a seaway than the Dutch and the English, who have investigated the American coasts so often?'²⁰⁵ Thus, the search for a possible connection between Asia and America was at the foreground of the quest for the Northeast Passage that had occupied Willem Barentsz and others during the seventeenth century.

Peter commissioned Vitus Jonassen Bering (1681-1741), a Danish navigator working for the Russian navy since 1703, to accomplish this mission. Together with the Danish lieutenant Martin Spangberg, the Russian lieutenant Alexei Ilyich Chirikov (1703-1748), and one hundred and fifty-five sailors, soldiers, carpenters, and blacksmiths, Bering traveled overland through Siberia to the Sea of Okhotsk; then sailed to the Kamchatka peninsula. Traveling overland on sledges, they reached its east coast where they built a ship wharf and two ships. In 1728, Bering sailed northeast until winter set in, convinced there was no land bridge connecting northeast Asia and northwest America.²⁰⁶ He wintered on Kamchatka and tried again the following summer but eventually had to return to St. Petersburg without actually having seen America's West Coast (Golder 1922; Fisher 1977; Kushnarev 1990; Urness 2003).

Apart from Bering's reports and maps, scholarly results of the First Kamchatka Expedition are not available. Scholars did not take part in the First Kamchatka Expedition, which was solely a naval operation, supervised by the Admiralty and the Senate. It is not known whether ethnographic artifacts were collected during the First Kamchatka Expedition.

Nonetheless, a result of ethnological interest was the map of the First Kamchatka Expedition's itinerary, which was illustrated with drawings of representatives of Siberian peoples (1729). One of Bering's junior officers, the Midshipman Petr Avramovich Chaplin (Tschaplin), produced this map. Several copies of this map with variations were made (Fisher 1984: 583).

²⁰⁴ Peter the Great, quoted in Kushnarev (1990: 9-10); Semjonow (1954: 166); Semyonov (1963: 143, 150).

²⁰⁵ 'Es handelt sich um den Weg durch das Nördliche Eismeer nach China und Indien... Bei meiner letzten Reise habe ich in Gesprächen mit gelehrten Männern gehört, daß eine solche Entdeckung möglich ist. Da nun das Vaterland vor dem Feinde sicher geschützt ist, müssen wir uns bemühen, dem Staate durch Künste und Wissenschaften Ruhm zu erwerben. Sollten wir auf der Suche nach einem solchen Weg nicht mehr Glück haben als die Holländer und Engländer, die schon so oft die amerikanischen Küsten untersucht haben?' (Peter I, quoted in Berg 1954: 16).

²⁰⁶ It was later found out that there had been a Bering land bridge, which opened in the upper Miocene (10 to 5 million years before the present). Because the Bering Strait is shallow, it is believed that during glacial periods human migration from Asia to the Americas took place, as recent as about 25,000 years ago.

Bering added one of these to his 1730 report to the Admiralty. The Russian physician Georg Thomas Baron von Asch donated another copy to his alma mater, the University of Göttingen, in 1777 (see Fig. 3).²⁰⁷ The illustrations portray representatives of ethnic groups in traditional costumes and attire. On the upper row of the Göttingen version, we find (from left to right) a Samoyede wearing snow shoes and carrying a harpoon; a Yakut with a white horse; a female reindeer-Tunguse on a reindeer and a male reindeer-Tunguse on a reindeer (both nomadic); a Koryak wearing snow shoes and carrying a bow; a Kurile with bow and arrow; a Chuckchi with a bird-of-prey in his hand. The middle row shows a male Kamchadale seated on a dog sledge. In the bottom row, we see a male Tunguse with bow and arrows and a bird, and a female Tunguse with a large fish (both non-nomadic). The map also depicts animals that are of importance to Siberian people (a wolf, a dog, horses, a fox, and fishes). It presents a cooking pot, a boat, light enough to be carried by two persons, a pair of snow shoes, two nomads, and two ways of burial: exposing the corpse in the open landscape, or burning it by fire (both occurred on Kamchatka). The map is clearly coded and contrasts ‘savage’ (wild) and ‘civilized’ (Christian) people encountering each other during the expedition (Hintzsche and Nickol 1996b: 7-8). The Chaplin map served as one of the sources of information when Müller prepared his trip through Siberia.

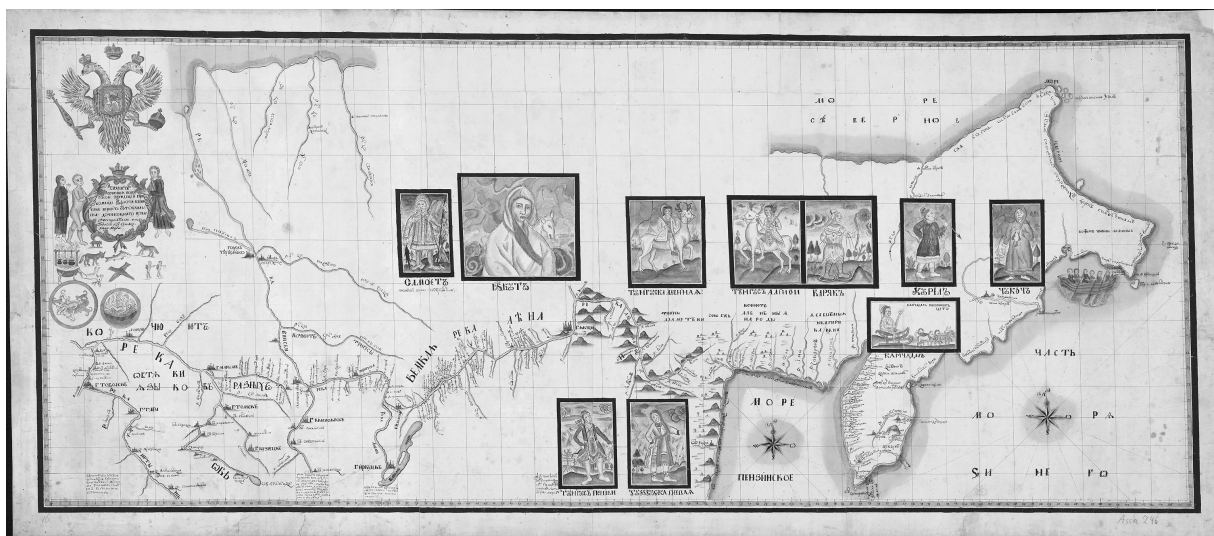


Fig. 3. Chaplin's map of Siberia added by Bering to his report to the Admiralty in 1730
(Courtesy of Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen)

After his return in March 1730, Bering submitted a report to the Admiralty and one to the Tsarina Anna Ivanovna. The former was accepted with reservations. Although it was likely that Asia and America were divided by water (later named the Bering Strait), Bering's observations did not convince the Admiralty due to the fact that he had not sufficiently traveled north. Bering

²⁰⁷ This copy is held by the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen (Cod. Ms. Asch 246). See Buchholz 1961; Kushnarev 1990; Hintzsche & Nickol (1996a: 72-73). It was reproduced in *Monumenta Sibiriae* (Hintzsche & Nickol 1996b) and in Hauser-Schäublin & Krüger 2007. A different version, held in Stockholm, and excluding the Samoyede, is reproduced on the present book's cover (see Yefimov 1964 and Kushnarev 1990).

therefore suggested a second expedition. In November 1730, he submitted a plan to develop eastern Siberia and a plan to organize a much larger expedition to settle the issue of a possible connection between Asia and America. Both plans gained a sympathetic hearing in the highest state organs of the Russian Empire: the Senate, the Admiralty, and the Collegium for Foreign Affairs (Hintzsche 2004: xxvii-xxviii). They became the basis for the Second Kamchatka Expedition (1733-43), which was to find its way through Siberia to America and Japan. The order to undertake this expedition was signed by Tsarina Anna Ivanovna in April 1732. In contrast to the First Kamchatka Expedition, the Second Kamchatka Expedition included scholars from the Academy commissioned to describe Siberia's nature and the peoples living in Siberia.

The aims of the Second Kamchatka Expedition,²⁰⁸ also known as the 'Great Nordic Expedition' or the Second Bering Expedition,²⁰⁹ were to find the Northeast Passage to China, explore and chart the northwest-coast of America and possible land masses between Asia and America, including the fabulous Joao da Gama Land and the island Jezo, chart the arctic coastline of the Russian Empire, and ascertain a southern sea route towards the Amur river delta (Golder 1922; Semyonov 1963; Okhotina-Lind and Möller 2001). Its general objective was to continue the exploration of the sea between Kamchatka and America, establish the geographical position of Japan,²¹⁰ and investigate the Northern Ice Sea to see if faster trade routes to Kamchatka could be found than those existing overland (Müller 1890: 253). Thus, the Second Kamchatka Expedition had to examine the Northeast Passage again, map the coastline of the northern and northeastern parts of Siberia, and find sea routes to Japan and America. In addition, and this was kept a secret at the time, it had to explore the opportunities for trade with America and Japan. The overall aim was, of course, to occupy more land and prepare it for colonization and exploitation.

This expedition, like its precursor, was basically a naval operation and focused on the exploration of the seaways around the Kamchatka peninsula in the northern Pacific. The general organization was, therefore, in the hands of the Russian Admiralty and the Senate of Russia. The Academy of Sciences acted as an advisor on academic matters. Due to the latter's influence, the expedition far surpassed its geopolitical, cartographic, and commercial aims. As a result of the gradual extension of the expedition's aims, the Second Kamchatka Expedition also yielded results in the field of the natural and historical sciences, including ethnography.

²⁰⁸ The literature on the Second Kamchatka Expedition is voluminous but fragmentary. The most helpful sources have been: Gmelin 1751-52; Büsching 1785; Steller 1793; Pekarskii 1870; Müller 1890; Golder 1922, 1925; Gnucheva 1940; Semyonov 1954; Hoffmann 1959; Black & Buse 1989; Posselt 1990; Hintzsche & Nickol 1996a-b; Heklau & Hintzsche 1999; and Möller & Okhotina-Lind 2003. A series of primary documents was initiated by Hintzsche 2000a-b, 2001, 2004, 2006 and Okhotina-Lind & Möller 2001.

²⁰⁹ The expression 'Great Nordic Expedition' dates from the Soviet period and was used from the 1920s on. Russian authors such as Kosven 1961 and East German authors such as Scurla 1963, Posselt 1990, and Hintzsche & Nickol 1996a applied it. The British expert Howgego adopted this term in his *Encyclopedia of Exploration* (2003-2006). However, contemporary authors and travelers such as Müller used the term Kamchatka expedition(s). For this reason the latter term is preferred here.

²¹⁰ The exact location of Japan had been a matter of consideration for western geographers for years. In addition to the possibility of trade, it was put on the agenda again by Peter the Great ever since his conversation with Dembei, a sea drifter from Osaka who was the first Japanese to visit Moscow, in 1702 (Lensen 1959: 29, 40, 84).

The Second Kamchatka Expedition consisted of two parties: (1) a maritime party (or sea command) in three groups led by Bering and his deputies Spangberg and Chirikov, carrying ships with which the coastlines of Siberia and America were to be explored; and (2) an academic party consisting of the expedition's Academy contingent, which was to conduct explorations overland. On this occasion, the expedition involved about three thousand people, the largest scientific expedition ever to venture into Russia.²¹¹ Participants included officers, soldiers, sailors, scholars, surveyors, students, interpreters, draftsmen, copyists, shipbuilders, craftsmen, and assistants. The expedition was so complex that it set off from St. Petersburg in three stages: the first maritime group, under Martin Spangberg, in February 1733; the second maritime group, commanded by Bering, in April; the academic party departed in August that same year.

The academic party started out with three professors from the Academy of Sciences: the French astronomer Louis De l'Isle de la Croyère (c.1688-1741), brother of the renowned French geographer Guillaume De l'Isle in Paris and stepbrother of Joseph Nicolas De l'Isle (1688-1768), also a member of the Academy since 1726; the German natural historian Johann Georg Gmelin (1709-1755), member of the Academy since 1727; and the German historian Gerhard Friedrich Müller, member of the Academy since 1725. Six Russian students accompanied these professors, including the botanist Stepan Petrovich Krasheninnikov (1713-1755) from Moscow. Two of the students, Il'ja Petrovich Jakhontov and Alexei Petrovich Gorlanov, also served as translator. Together, the professors shared the following draftsmen: Johann Christian Berckhan (*Maler*), who traveled with Gmelin and later accompanied Steller to Kamchatka; Johann Wilhelm Lürsenius (*Zeichenmeister*), who accompanied Müller and Gmelin. These artists played an important role during the expedition, as they were the prime recorders of the expedition's results on paper and in watercolors. In addition, there were four Russian surveyors, one Russian instrumental apprentice, as well as copyists, servants, and troops of Cossacks, including a corporal, twelve soldiers, and a drummer (Gmelin 1751; Black and Buse 1989: 48; Hintzsche and Nickol 1996a: 78, 86-91; Hintzsche 2006: 18-19).

Two academicians joined later, the German physician and naturalist Georg Wilhelm Steller (1709-1746), and the German historian and linguist Johann Eberhard Fischer (1697-1771). They were accompanied by the German artist Johann Cornelius Decker, who initially traveled with Steller but later changed positions with Berckhan, and the Swedish translator-*cum*-scribe Jacob Johann Lindenau (1706-1794), who initially traveled with Fischer but later separated from him.

The plan was to travel overland through Tobolsk, the gateway to Siberia, via Tomsk on to Yakutsk and Okhotsk. There ships would be built with which the coastline of Siberia was to be charted and a journey to America was to be made. Smaller parties would travel overland, follow the main Siberian rivers (Dvina, Ob, Yenisei, and Lena) to their deltas, then travel east and west

²¹¹ The number 3,000 is based on contemporary estimates by Sven Waxell (Hintzsche & Nickol 1996a: 199-200, who estimate the total costs of the expedition at 1,5 million roubles). Hoffmann (2005: 77) presents numbers between 570 and 977 participants (based on Berg and Belov, respectively).

to explore the northern coast of Siberia and inventorize everything dead or alive that could be ‘useful either to the Russian Empire or to the advancement of science.’²¹²

Despite great difficulties, these objectives were fully reached. Bering did find (islands west of) Alaska. His deputy, Spangberg, charted the coastline of northern Japan and established that it was exclusively made up of islands. In addition, the northern coast of Siberia from Archangelsk to the Kolyma River was mapped. However, the Second Kamchatka Expedition yielded more than had been planned. This can be attributed to the gradual extension of the expedition’s aims prior to its departure. It is worthwhile to discuss the recruitment of the expedition’s members, as this sheds light on the preparations of the expedition as well as on its widening purposes.

Müller’s Recruitment

As noted above, the original plan for the Second Kamchatka Expedition foresaw a naval operation. This plan expanded during the preparations. Originally, Bering requested two surveyors (*geodesists*) to accompany him on his second expedition, foreseeing that he and his officers would neither have the time nor the expertise to prepare accurate maps and determine exact locations by means of astronomical observations (Müller 1890: 260). These surveyors were to be trained in advance by the Academy’s astronomers De l’Isle and De l’Isle de la Croyère. The Senate, however, decided in June 1732 that a professor from the Academy should accompany these surveyors, in order to oversee the observations and, in addition, produce a geographical description of all areas traversed, as well as to collect, investigate, and describe everything pertaining to natural history. It was stipulated that the expedition members should be appointed by free will and be paid a good salary, to avoid them from breaking their contract during the expedition. The Academy recommended De l’Isle de la Croyère for this task but suggested that a second professor should join him to study the three realms of nature (*tria regna naturae: regnum minerale, regnum vegetabile, regnum animale*). Gmelin volunteered for this function and so it was proposed that Gmelin would cover natural history and De l’Isle de la Croyère astronomy and cartography. This proposal was accepted and the Senate decided to invite twelve students from Moscow who would be trained in the Imperial Academy of Sciences and the Imperial *Kunstkamera* in St. Petersburg. A selection of these students would accompany the professors as assistant and receive instructions during the voyage (Müller 1890: 260-262).

Later that year, when Academy members were writing instructions for the expedition members, Müller contributed an instruction for research in the field of history. This instruction was entitled *De historia gentium* (On the History of Peoples) and dated November 1732 (Hintzsche 2004: 145-148). Müller probably reacted to an order of the Senate to the Academy of Sciences in June 1732 that because the expedition would traverse large unexplored regions a ‘description of the peoples and their manners’ and a study of ‘the fruits of the earth’ should be

²¹² ‘Zum Nutzen des Kaiserreichs und zur Entwicklung der Wissenschaft’ (quoted in Donnert 1983: 101-104).

carried out.²¹³ Müller's instruction contained ten points of interest for 'the history of peoples' and was extended with an eleventh point by the authorities in April 1733. He submitted this instruction on his own account (*ohne das es verlangt wurde*), from his curiosity and personal 'desire that during a journey so remarkable and long the history of country and peoples, the antiquities, and the manners and customs of peoples etc. would not be neglected.'²¹⁴ Müller presented this instruction to Bering in the hope that a natural scientist would deal with them as far as his official duties would allow; Gmelin, in fact, agreed to keep a journal during the expedition and pay attention to the points mentioned by Müller (Müller 1890: 263). However, during the winter Gmelin's health weakened and in January 1733 he withdrew his offer to participate in the expedition. As successors in the field of natural history were not available, it was suggested that a historian would join the expedition. Müller was acquainted with Bering, who increased Müller's interest in the expedition. Bering mentioned Müller's name to Ivan Kirilov, who urged Müller to apply in order to fill Gmelin's place (Müller 1890: 270-71). Müller wrote: 'It was then, in the beginning of 1733, that I offered my services to describe the civil geographical history of Siberia, its antiquities, the manners and customs of the peoples as well as the events of the voyage, which was then approved of accordingly by the ruling high Senate.'²¹⁵

Kirilov, first secretary of the Senate, coordinated the expedition together with Count A.I. Ostermann, vice-Chancellor and leader of the Cabinet of Ministers to which the Senate was subordinated. Kirilov supervised both the Second Kamchatka (1733-43) and the First Orenburg Expedition (1734-37) and had been ordered by Peter the Great to oversee the mapping of the Russian Empire. He planned an 'Atlas of the Entire Russian Empire' in three volumes of each 120 maps and produced over thirty maps between 1726 and 1734. His work was interrupted when he was instructed to move to the southern Urals to build a city, Orenburg, stimulate trade with Asia, and explore the Urals (Berg 1954: 183-4). Kirilov wrote a first, extensive description of the provinces of the Russian Empire (1727 [1977]) in which he dealt with natural resources, population, trade and industry, religion, and historical events (Hoffmann 1988: 170). Under his supervision, and with the assistance of Joseph Nicolas De l'Isle, astronomer and geographer at the Academy of Sciences, the first overall map of the Russian Empire was produced in 1734 (*Generalkarte von Rußland*; Hintzsche 2004: 117). This was a precursor of the Atlas of Russia published by the Academy in 1745 (see below). The Kirilov atlas presents the Russian Empire as

²¹³ 'in diesen unerschlossenen und bisher noch unbekannten Gegenden [sind] viele Observationen auszuführen. Dazu gehört eine wahrhafte Beschreibung der dortigen Völker und ihrer Sitten sowie der Früchte der Erde' (Beschluß des Senats vom 12. Juni 1732 aus Sankt Petersburg, in Hintzsche 2004: 24; Ukaz des Senats an die Akademie der Wissenschaften vom 19. Juni 1732 aus Sankt Petersburg, in Hintzsche 2004: 27).

²¹⁴ 'Ich trag auch dazu mein scherflein bei, ohne das es verlangt wurde. Ich wünschte sehnlich, dass bei einer so merkwürdigen und weiten reise die land- und völkergeschichte, die alterthümer, die sitten und gebräuche der völker etc. nicht möchten unbemerkt bleiben' (Müller 1890: 263). The German 'Sitten' can mean 'morals' or 'manners.'

²¹⁵ 'Darauf both mit dem Anfange des Jahres 1733 auch ich meine Dienste an, um die bürgerliche Landesgeschichte von Sibirien, die Alterthümer, die Sitten und Gebräuche der Völker, wie auch die Begebenheiten der Reise zu beschreiben, welches denn gleichfalls vom hohen dirigierenden Senate beliebt wurd' (Müller 1758a: 140). See also Müller's letter to the Academy, 10 February 1733 (Hintzsche 2004: 199-200).

a huge territory that stretches from the Baltic to the Pacific, extends southwards to the Crimea and the Caucasus, to Mongolia in Central Asia, and to China in the Far East.²¹⁶

The proposal to appoint Müller was brought before the Senate in February 1733 and duly approved in March. However, after ‘befriending one or two bottles of the finest Rhine wine,’ Gmelin miraculously recovered and he was contracted again, in June. Müller’s contract was honored at the same time.²¹⁷ In this way, as Müller (1890: 271) commented, ‘not one but three professors joined the Kamchatka expedition and each of the Academy’s three classes [Mathematics, Physics, and Humanities] was represented.’

Together with the naval authorities, Kirilov was the driving force during the expedition’s preparation. Hoffmann (2005: 72) writes that it was especially at the instigation of Kirilov that the ‘aims of the expedition were expanded with scholarly queries – the geography of Siberia, the flora and fauna, the inhabitants, and their way of life.’ Accordingly, the Imperial Academy of Sciences became involved in the Second Kamchatka Expedition.

Müller’s Preparation

Müller’s interest in Siberia was stimulated by the collections Messerschmidt had acquired in Siberia. Hoffmann (1959: 39) suggests that Müller had firstly become interested in Siberia during the February 1728 sessions when Messerschmidt’s collections were being catalogued and arranged by a committee of scholars from the Academy of Sciences. Perhaps overstated, we know that Müller was impressed by Messerschmidt’s collections. As we have seen, he later recalled that it had been ‘beyond expectation how much the Imperial *Kunstammer* had been expanded by indigenous natural-historical objects and artificial rarities [collected by] Mr. Messerschmidt’s zeal’ (Müller 1890: 147, 150-151). The richness of Messerschmidt’s collections will have stimulated Müller to focus on Siberia and conduct historical and ethnographic research in a more systematic way than Messerschmidt had been able to do.

The difference between Messerschmidt and Müller was, of course, that Messerschmidt was a naturalist and had been trained by Hoffmann and Wolff in Halle, whereas Müller was a historian trained by Mencke in Leipzig. Wolff’s teachings were notoriously ahistorical (Mühlpfordt 1952a: 35). By contrast, Müller’s education was deeply historical and he had been steeped in all aspects of history. Moreover, Messerschmidt’s ethnography had been preparatory and it seems that Müller wanted to surpass him on that level.

The time given for preparation was short as Müller was appointed as a member of the expedition in March 1733 and the academic party left in August. Nevertheless, Müller’s reading before the expedition was extensive (Black 1986; Bucher 2002; Hintzsche 2004). On diplomatic mission and trade mission reports, he read Sigismund von Herberstein (1549, 1557), Adam

²¹⁶ Leo Bagrow, Ivan Kirilov: Compiler of the First Russian Atlas, 1689-1737 (1937); Novljanskaya 1964.

²¹⁷ All documents related to the expedition’s preparation have been published in Hintzsche 2004, see Hintzsche 2004: xxxiii.

Olearius (1647), Engelbert Kaempfer (1727), Eberhard Isbrand Ides (1696, 1699), Adam Brand (1698), Lorenz Lange (1721), and Georg Johann Unverzagt (1725). On travel accounts, he studied Isaak Massa (1612), Samuel Purchas (1613), and Jean Chardin (1686). Müller could also build on the work of Nicolaas Witsen (1692, 1705), Semyon Remezov (1701), Grigorii Novickii, Philipp Johann Tabbert von Strahlenberg (1730), Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt, Johann Bernhard Müller (1720, 1721, 1726), and Vasilii Nikitich Tatishchev, with which the ethnographic description of Siberia began (see Chapter 3). Müller was also familiar with travel accounts relating to other parts of the world, which he cited in the third volume of his *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte* (1758). He studied the illustrated work of Cornelis de Bruyn (1711) and the comparative work on American Indians by Joseph-François Lafitau (1724) that he took along on the journey. The academic party of the Second Kamchatka Expedition was in the possession of a traveling library of more than two hundred books (Hintzsche 2004: 440-446).

Even before being admitted as an expedition member, Müller had paid special attention to Witsen's Northern and Eastern Tartary, especially its second, enlarged edition of 1705. We may presume that this book was among the first that Müller consulted for in-depth knowledge of the peoples and places in Russia's Asian possessions. Bakhrushin (1999: 27) claims that Müller began his studies by making excerpts from Witsen and that Witsen was his guidebook. This is to oversee the importance of Messerschmidt's collections, which Müller had helped arrange in February 1728. Müller was 'an arduous reader of Messerschmidt's notes, always with a pen at hand' (Winter/Figurovskij 1962: 18). Nevertheless, Müller considered Witsen's book so important that he published an index before his departure (Müller 1733a-b). Müller made good use of the book and repeatedly refers to information Witsen supplied, also in his field notes. Despite Müller's critique of Witsen's lack of a systematic presentation of his data (see Chapter 3), Witsen's book provided him with a model of how to proceed with the historiography of Siberia. In March 1733, Müller requested the Academy for a copyist to reproduce parts of Messerschmidt's manuscripts and of Witsen's work that were of importance for his Siberian journey (Hintzsche 2004: 256). Moreover, Müller critically studied Strahlenberg's historical-geographical description of Siberia (1730). For Müller, Messerschmidt's manuscripts, Witsen's and Strahlenberg's books on Northern Asia were the most useful in preparing the expedition.

Another source of information for Müller's preparation will have been maps. A clear case was Chaplin's (1729) map showing Bering's itinerary from Tobolsk to Kamchatka, which also provides portraits of Siberian peoples contacted during the expedition. The cartography of Siberia began with Remezov's collection of maps (*Chertezhnaya kniga Sibiri*, 1699-1701). Tokarev (1951-52: 22) writes that the collection was accompanied by a 'Description of Siberian Peoples' (*Beschreibung der Völker Sibiriens*) that has been preserved only in fragmentary form. It may, however, have been more complete when Müller prepared for the expedition. In any case, he will have studied Kirilov's extensive description of Russian provinces (1727 [1977]).

Itinerary and Results

The maritime and academic parties of the Second Kamchatka Expedition worked mostly independent of each other. Bering and his deputies Spangberg and Chirikov aimed for the Kamchatka peninsula, the Northern Ice Sea, the Amur delta, Alaska, and Japan. Meanwhile, the ‘academicians’ traveled through Siberia, either on ships along the main Siberian rivers, or on horse carriages and sledges. From Tobolsk, Müller and Gmelin traveled, mostly together, to Tomsk, Yeniseisk, and Irkutsk near Lake Baikal in southern Siberia (see Fig. 4).

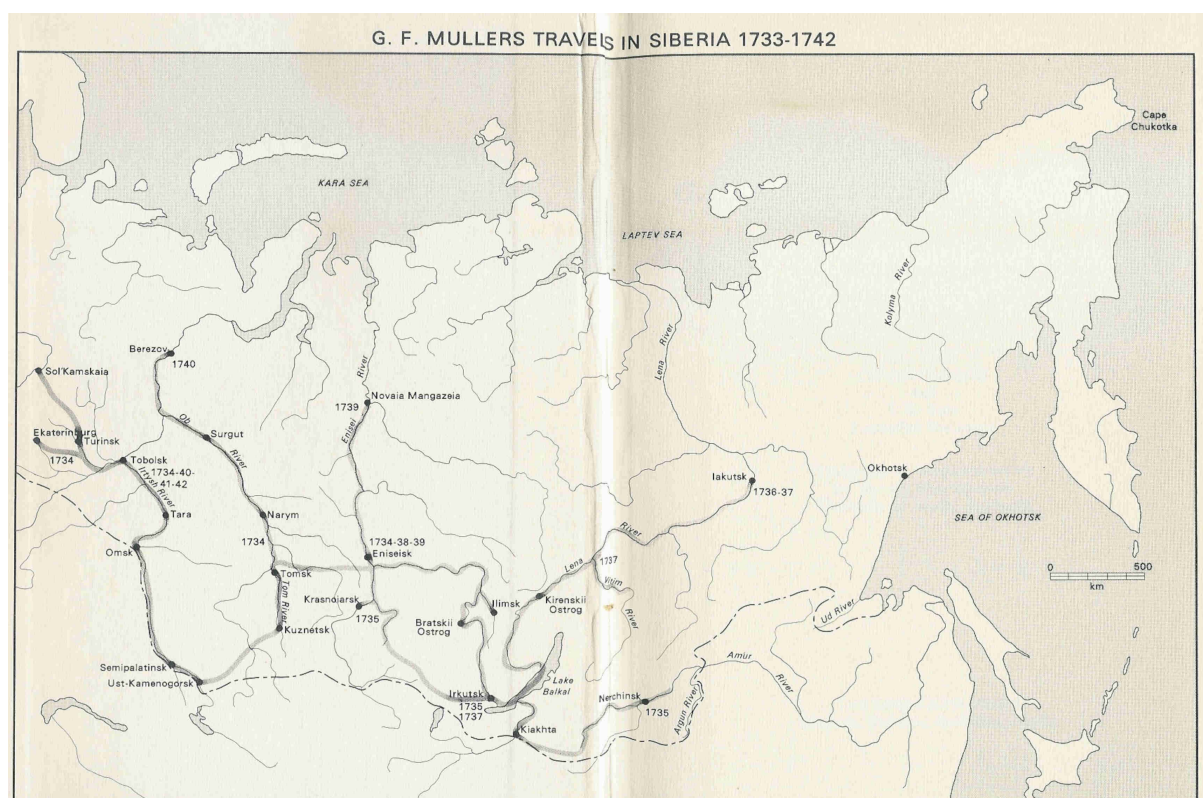


Fig. 4. Müller's Itinerary during the Second Kamchatka Expedition, 1733-1743 (From Black and Buse 1989)

Müller and Gmelin moved through Kiakhta to Nerchinsk, where Müller studied the upper reaches of the Amur River (1735). From Irkutsk, Müller and Gmelin traveled down the Lena towards Yakutsk in eastern Siberia, where they worked for almost a year (1736-37). Although Müller and Gmelin were supposed to go to Kamchatka, logistical problems prevented them from doing so. Neither the authorities at Yakutsk nor Bering's sea party was able to provide the necessary provisions (Büsching 1785: 23). The naval expedition gave the academicians no hope of making the cross from Okhotsk to Kamchatka during the summer of 1737. Therefore Müller and Gmelin had to cancel this part of their journey (Black and Buse 1989: 49, 55). They decided to dispatch the Russian student Krasheninnikov to Kamchatka (1737). They themselves would travel up the Lena and spend the winter in Kirensk, before moving on to Yeniseysk (1738). Müller and

Gmelin slowly made their way back to western Siberia, investigating the lower reaches of the Lena, Yenisei, and Ob rivers (1740). Traveling as far north as Mangazeya, Müller even visited Berezov. Müller and Gmelin returned to St. Petersburg in February 1743, together with other members of the academic party. Bering, De l'Isle de la Croyère, and Steller never made it back. The amassed collections in several fields of science were transported to St. Petersburg and stored in the Academy and its museum, the *Kunstkamera*.

The astronomer De l'Isle de la Croyère separated from Müller and Gmelin in Tobolsk (1734) and again in Yakutsk (July 1737).²¹⁸ He sailed down the Lena with a small group including two surveyors. Traveling to Irkutsk, the Transbaikal area, Kiatha, Yakutsk, and Okhotsk, De l'Isle sailed to Kamchatka where he boarded a ship under Chirikov in search of the fabulous 'Joao da Gama Land' indicated on a map produced by his stepbrother Joseph Nicolas De l'Isle (Fisher 1992a). Having seen the American continent from the ship, he died from exhaustion in 1741.

Stepan Petrovich Krasheninnikov, the best-known Russian student, left Müller and Gmelin in July 1737. He was sent on to Kamchatka, accompanied by elaborate instructions from Gmelin, his mentor, and Müller (see below). Krasheninnikov worked on the peninsula from September 1737 to June 1741 and wrote an important report (*Opisanie zemli Kamchatki*, 1755) that was translated as *The History of Kamtschatka and the Kurilski Islands* (1764). According to the Russian historian Semyonov (1963: 139) it is 'still the best ever written on Kamchatka.'

Georg Wilhelm Steller (1709-1746), a German physician and naturalist originally called Stöller, was adjunct from 1737 and assistant to Gmelin from January 1739. Departing from St. Petersburg in December 1737, Steller traveled with the artist Johann Cornelius Decker through Kazan, Ekaterinburg, and Tobolsk to Yeniseysk, where they reached Müller and Gmelin on 8 December 1738 (Hintzsche 2001: 24). In a report dated 14 February 1739, Müller set out that Steller would travel to Irkutsk and from there to Yakutsk, Okhotsk, and Kamchatka. He added that it was to be expected that, apart from natural history, Steller would also 'conduct all investigations relating to the history of peoples, as he has the necessary skills and desire to do so.'²¹⁹ Steller explored the Irkutsk and Transbaikal region from March 1739 to March 1740. He also traveled to Kiatha on the Chinese border to buy Chinese paper for preserving botanical material. During this period, Steller amassed substantial collections, including materials for his *Flora Irkutiensis*, which was completed in December 1739 and described 1,152 plants.²²⁰ Steller left Irkutsk in March 1740, accompanied by the artist Berckhan and the student Gorlanov. They traveled through Yakutsk to arrive at Okhotsk in August 1740 and left for Kamchatka in September that year. Here Steller contacted Krasheninnikov who handed him the research reports he had written since 1737. After carrying out field studies on southern Kamchatka for

²¹⁸ The itinerary of Gmelin was presented in his travel account (Gmelin 1751-52). See also the abbreviated versions of this account in Posselt (1990) and Dahlmann (1999).

²¹⁹ 'Es ist anzunehmen, daß er alle zur Geschichte der Völker gehörenden Untersuchungen ausführen wird, da er auch für diese Dingen die erforderliche Fertigkeit und Lust besitzt' (Donoshenie von G.F. Müller und J.G. Gmelin an den Senat in Sankt Petersburg vom 14. Februar 1739 aus Enisejsk, Hintzsche 2001: 25).

²²⁰ This *Flora* will be published by Wieland Hintzsche and Heike Heklau in the series 'Quellen zur Geschichte Sibiriens und Alaskas aus russischen Archiven' published at Halle: Verlag der Frankeschen Stiftungen.

several months, Steller was invited by Bering to accompany him to America and the Strait. They departed in June 1741. In the end, Bering did find America and Steller was the first European scholar ever to set foot on Alaska (20 July 1741). He collected one hundred and sixty plants during the six hours he was permitted to be on Kayak Island (Jäger 2000). On the return voyage Bering's ship was shipwrecked and his crew had to pass the winter of 1741-42 on an island. Steller survived thanks to his familiarity of the environment. He prescribed Bering's crew with a botanical cure for scurvy, knowledge of which he had procured on Kamchatka. Steller continued his studies on Kamchatka for two more years (August 1742-June 1744). In January 1744, he received the Senate's order (dated September 1743) to conclude the Kamchatka expedition. He traveled home from August 1744 on, in the company of a draftsman and a student, transporting sixteen boxes of acquisitions and manuscripts. Investigating other parts of Siberia along the way, including, with Grigory Demidov, the Perm area, Steller died on 12 November 1746 in Tyumen, west of Tobolsk. His death was probably caused by pneumonia (Wendland 1990: 361). Steller's observations were so exact and ethnographically relevant that they stand out in the history of explorations, botany, zoology, and ethnography. Just to give a telling example of Steller's precision: he mentions eight ways to catch a seal (Steller 1753, in Scuria 1963: 120-121).

After repeated illnesses, Müller requested to be replaced in December 1737. By the time his replacement Johann Eberhard Fischer arrived, Müller had recovered and continued the journey. Fischer was a German historian and linguist working at the Petersburg *Gymnasium*. He was an Academy adjunct from 1738 and supposed to replace Müller from the summer of 1740 onward. He traveled with Jacob Johann Lindenau as an interpreter. Fischer's itinerary and work during the Second Kamchatka Expedition have hardly been the subject of a separate study (Gulya 1995: 12). Many scholars, including Müller, value his contributions as disappointing (see below). Yet, Fischer published a two-volume history of Siberia (1768), largely based on Müller's work, and compiled an important comparative linguistic manuscript, *Vocabularium Sibiricum* (n.d. [1747]).

Apart from maps, the Second Kamchatka Expedition resulted in collections in the fields of flora, fauna, mineralogy, geography, and history, including Siberia's archaeology, linguistics, and ethnography. Thus, the Second Kamchatka Expedition did not only reach its geopolitical goals, formulated in cartographic and commercial terms. It yielded a much larger harvest.

Folkwart Wendland (1990: 368) provides us with a list of the expedition's results: (1) a beginning was made with the systematic exploration of Siberia and the Pacific. The expedition discovered northwestern America, the Aleutian Islands, and the Kurile Islands; rediscovered the Bering Strait to prove that Asia and America were not connected by land; contradicted the legend of a substantial landmass in the northern Pacific; charted the greater part of the northern coast of Siberia, as well as of Kamchatka, the Sea of Okhotsk, and Japan; and investigated large parts of Siberia, providing a description of the three realms of nature (minerals, plants, and animals). On a more general level, (2) the expedition stimulated the development of science in Russia, including the constitution of new branches of science.

Surprisingly, Wendland's list does not include the study of the inhabitants of the vast areas investigated. In a poem, the Swiss naturalist and physiologist Albrecht von Haller credited Gmelin for discovering 'a new world ... where unknown animals served peoples that had not yet been named, where unknown ore waited for future artists, and never observed plants grew.'²²¹ Contemporaries such as Haller knew full well that the description of 'still unnamed peoples' was on the agenda of the Second Kamchatka Expedition. This was apparent from Gmelin's travel account and from Steller's and Krasheninnikov's descriptions of Kamchatka. Yet, during his life Müller did not publish much in the field of ethnography, although he was the leading academician to work on the subject. This leads to the question: what was the place of ethnography during the Second Kamchatka Expedition? And, why did Müller refrain from publishing his results? In order to answer these questions, let us assess the situation when the members of the academic party returned from their journey through Russia and Russian Asia.

After the Expedition

When Müller returned to St. Petersburg in February 1743, he carried enormous collections of research materials from Siberia. The scope of Müller's work can be grasped from the following summary: 'His completed and catalogued collections included forty-two books of documents on the history and geography of Siberia [copied from the archives of Siberian towns], four books of Siberian and Kazan chronicles, ten books of descriptions of Siberia prepared by Müller himself, three books prepared by students and overseen by Müller, and a large quantity of maps, documents, and city plans.' In addition, he 'delivered fifteen books of reports, documents, letters, orders, and other forms of communication between his group and St. Petersburg between 1733 and 1743. Müller promised soon to hand over the journals of his and Gmelin's voyages, a history of Siberia, a geographical description of Siberia and its provinces, corrected maps of Siberia, and a detailed account of the trade, administration, society, and customs of contemporary Siberia.'²²²

Müller's collections were so huge that Donnert describes them as an 'inexhaustible source [of knowledge] on the history, ethnography and geography of Siberia.'²²³ This was one of the reasons why the processing of the expedition's results turned into a complicated process. In addition, numerous objects collected and observations recorded by Gmelin and Steller went missing en route, as Pallas lamented in his travel report (quoted in Lauch 1987: 380).

Nevertheless, what was published was extensive. Gmelin published two volumes of his collections of Siberian flora and a well-known travel account (Gmelin 1747-49; 1751-52). Müller published on the history of Siberia (1761-63), on that of the Northern Expeditions (1758b, 1761), and on the history of the Academy (1890). He also published on trade in Siberia

²²¹ 'eine neue Welt ... wo Thiere fremder Art, Noch ungenannten Völkern dienten; Wo unbekanntes Erzt sich künftigen Künstlern spart, Und nie besehne Kräuter grüntem' (Albrecht von Haller, on the title page of Johann Georg Gmelin, *Reise durch Sibirien*, Erster Theil, Göttingen, 1751; reprinted in Posselt 1990: 5).

²²² Black and Buse (1989: 18); compare *Materialy* VIII, 1895: 211-212.

²²³ 'unerschöpfliche Quelle zur Geschichte, Ethnographie und Geographie Sibiriens' (Donnert 1983: 103).

(1760), the geography of Siberia (1761), and produced several maps. However, what he wrote on Siberian peoples appeared only partly in print during his lifetime and Müller's most important ethnographic work has yet to be published. His ethnographic notes (published by Helimski and Katz in 2003) provided the basis for his thematic 'Description of Siberian Peoples' (see below).

Moreover, Müller was not the only member of the Second Kamchatka Expedition to conduct ethnographic research in Siberia. Ethnographic accounts also occur in the work of Gmelin, Steller, Krasheninnikov, Lindenau, and Fischer. Gmelin's travel report contains many ethnographic observations (Gmelin 1751-52).²²⁴ Steller's description of Kamchatka, published twenty-eight years after his death, provides information on the geography, climate, geology, and the 'native peoples of the region, including their customs, names, ways of life, and manners' (Steller 1774).²²⁵ Fischer published four articles of ethnological interest (Fischer 1770) and wrote a long introduction to a history of Siberia (1768), which contains Fischer's synthesis of the principal peoples of Siberia, as well as the Mongols, Manchus, Chinese, Greeks, Russians, and Persians.²²⁶ Lindenau produced a 'Description of Siberian Peoples' with 'historical-ethnographic materials on Siberian and northeastern peoples' (Lindenau 1983). This implies that all in all at least six members of the Second Kamchatka Expedition's academic contingent produced accounts in which ethnographic observations were prevalent.

The fact that most of these works were either published posthumously, or not yet at all, is mainly due to the policy of secrecy cultivated in Russia. Although Carol Urness wrote that 'the Russians were not keeping secrets nearly so much as has been thought' (1997: 142, note 35), there is no doubt that during the 1740s and 1750s the circumstances at the Academy were difficult to work in. The Russians maintained strict confidentiality for their Asian colonies and this also applied to the results of the academic contingent of the Second Kamchatka Expedition. The Russian authorities made the expedition members sign a contract not to publish their results without approval from the naval and academic authorities (Dahmann 1997: 21; Bucher 2002: 27, 31; Hintzsche 2004: 487). Messerschmidt's work already suffered from this policy, which prevented him from publishing in the way he had prepared himself for. Müller's work was hindered in the same way and he was discouraged from publishing his results.

In addition, there was a certain degree of unwillingness on the side of the Russians to credit non-Russians for scholarly accomplishments. After Müller's return, the intellectual climate in St. Petersburg was ridden with intrigue and disputes between Russian and foreign scholars. Russian society was torn between the official demands of westernization as dictated by Peter the

²²⁴ Johann Georg Gmelin, *Reise durch Sibirien, von dem Jahr 1733 bis 1743*. 4 vols. Göttingen, verlegt Abram Vandenhoecks seel. Wittwe (Sammlung neuer und merkwürdiger Reisen zu Wasser und zu Lande 4), 1751-52.

²²⁵ Georg Wilhelm Stellers ... *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka, dessen Einwohnern, deren Sitten, Nahmen, Lebensart und verschiedenen Gewohnheiten*. Herausgegeben von J.B.S[cherer]. Mit vielen Kupfern. Frankfurt und Leipzig, bey Johann Georg Fleischer, 1774. Reprint 1996.

²²⁶ Johann Eberhard Fischer, *Sibirische Geschichte von der entdeckung Sibiriens bis auf die eroberung dieses Lands durch die Russische waffen*. Bd. 1-2 (5 parts). St. Petersburg, gedruckt bei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1768; Johann Eberhard Fischer, *Quaestiones Petropolitanæ*, edidit Aug. Ludovicus Schloezer. Goettingae et Gothae, impensis Dieterichianis, 1770. Contains four discourses: I. de origine Ungrorum [1756]; II. de origine Tatarorum [1755]; III. de diversis Shinarum Imperatoris nominibus titulisque; IV. de Hyperboreis.

Great, and a desire to glorify the Slavic past, dominated by the Orthodox religion and the ruling elite. The tension between these two sets of values was mirrored in the regular shifts of power. Not surprisingly, the Academy of Sciences was a battlefield for these opposite positions and Müller became entangled. His lecture ‘on the origins of the Russian people and their name,’ intended for a festive Academy meeting in 1749, was censored by Lomonosov who attacked Müller for tracing the origins of the first state on Russian soil to the (foreign) *Varäger*. Following Bayer, Byzantine sources and the Russian chronicler Nestor, Müller pointed to the founding of Novgorod (862) and Kiev (864) by the *Varâgi* (Vikings from Denmark and Sweden). This led to the *Normannentheorie* controversy, which discredited Müller (Büsching 1785: 139-42; Hoffmann 2005: 106-110).²²⁷ As a result, the lecture was never held and the copies, printed in Latin and in Russian, were destroyed.²²⁸ In the same way, Müller’s history of Siberia was censored and published in a truncated version.²²⁹ Russian patriotism was an important factor in an Academy run by German-speaking officials. Pekarskii (1873) gives a vivid impression of the humanist atmosphere at the Academy of Sciences. However, at times this atmosphere was stained by nationalism and conflicts between Russian and German scholars. Gmelin was so fed up with the hostility he faced that he escaped the rule that Academy members should remain in Russia. After seeing the first volume of his *Flora Sibirica* through the press, he returned to Swabia to publish his travel report and accept a professorship in Tübingen.

Furthermore, Müller, Messerschmidt, Steller, and Fischer were critical of aspects of the Russian conquest, especially of atrocities against the local population. Their reservations were considered detrimental to the interests of the Russian state and hurt Russian national pride. All this was not conducive to publishing rare and unknown materials acquired in the Siberian field.

Finally, many objects collected during the expedition eventually were lost, as were drawings and sketches produced in the field and in the Academy’s museum.

The *Kunstkamera* and the Art of Illustrating

When the objects collected by Messerschmidt during his Siberia expedition were catalogued in 1728, the Academy’s collections consisted of several departments: (1) the *Naturalia Department*, exhibiting minerals from Gottwaldt and objects of flora and fauna and anatomical specimens mostly from the Ruysch and Seba collections on the first and the second floor of the western wing; (2) the *Coin Collection*, containing the numismatic collections from Luders; (3) the *Scientific Instruments*, bought from many different masters, displayed in a separate chamber;

²²⁷ Hoffmann (2008a: 159-160) writes that the conflict was about methodology rather than content. Lomonosov criticized Müller for not presenting a clear overall view and pushed him to express an opinion, which Müller was not prepared to give. Rather, he wanted to present the facts and leave others to draw their conclusions. Hoffmann thinks that Müller was hardly a ‘Normannist’ and agrees with Engel Petrovich Karpeev that Lomonosov was not an ‘Antinormannist.’ Later generations ascribed these labels to them (see also Hoffmann 2008b).

²²⁸ The text was published in Johann Christoph Gatterer’s *Allgemeine historische Bibliothek* 5 (1768): 283-340.

²²⁹ Of the planned twenty-three chapters, only ten appeared during Müller’s lifetime: ‘Sibirische Geschichte’ in: *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte* Band 6 (1761-62): 109-566 (Buch 1-5); Band 8 (1763): 1-458 (Buch 6-10).

(4) *Peter's Gallery*, holding *memorabilia* pertaining to Peter the Great's life and work; and (5) the Department of 'artificially made objects' (*Kunstsachen*) from all over the world on display in a gallery and stored in several chambers on the third floor of the western wing. On display were, for example, garments of the Siberian peoples and of 'other provinces of the Russian Government,' as well as of foreign peoples, 'magic men's costumes,' 'shaman or witch gongs and idols of the heathen peoples of Russia.' Other showcases contained portraits and wax figures, various vessels, luxury articles, and items belonging to the peoples of Asia, carved objects, shaped on a turning lathe of wood, stone and ivory, etc. All exhibits were arranged according to a symmetry on artistically moulded and carved shelves and brackets, whereas the showcases carried detailed captions about the objects, the material, and the peoples concerned (Stanyukovich 1970: 26-27).

Müller drew a distinction between *Naturalien*, objects belonging to the natural world, and *Seltenheiten*, objects belonging to (material) culture.²³⁰ This distinction was fundamental at that time and stems from the separation of *natura* and *artes* in Renaissance and Humanist thought. The actual scope of the Imperial *Kunstkamera* was by no means limited to biology, geology, anatomy, science, and technology but contained a considerable collection of what we would now call ethnographic objects. In 1741, the ethnographic objects from the Russian Empire were kept in two chambers of the *Kunstkamera*, apart from objects originating from other parts of the world, stored in two other chambers.

In Russia, the acquisition of artificial 'curiosities' was highly valued and actively promoted. Peter the Great issued an *ukaz* to send all 'remarkable' objects, both from nature and culture, to St. Petersburg. In 1715, Nikita Demidov donated 'golden objects from the Scythians' to Peter's wife Catherine I that were displayed in the Summer Palace (Neverov 1996: 18). Between 1708 and 1718, the majority of the Siberian archaeological collection was assembled through the governor of Siberia, Prince Matthew Gagarin. In 1715-17, Lorenz Lange acquired an important collection of Chinese objects during his travels to China and, later again, during his trip to Beijing in 1727-28. Bayer described these objects in his *Museum Sinicum* (1730).²³¹ In the late 1720s, collections were added that had been assembled by Messerschmidt and Buxbaum during their journeys through Siberia, and through Southeast Europe and Western Asia (Turkey) to Armenia, Dagestan, and Astrakhan. Studying flora, fauna, and minerals, Buxbaum and his artist produced beautiful watercolors of plants. These were sent to St. Petersburg where they were engraved by Aleksey Zubov and hand-colored by Maria Dorothea Gsell. The plates were published in Buxbaum's report (1728-40), one the first books to be printed at the newly founded Academy press (Sytin 2003, 2005). The watercolors were stored in the *Kunstkamera*.

Thus, apart from the anatomical and natural-historical collections of Ruysch and Seba, the *Kunstkamera* held the results of the expeditions of Lange to China, of Schober to Persia, of

²³⁰ 'inländische naturalien und seltenheiten' (Müller 1890: 147, 150-151).

²³¹ See Shafranovskaya 1969. Lange's report was published in Weber's *Das veränderte Rußland* (Frankfurth, vol. 1, 1721). It appeared in a French edition at Leiden (1726), in an English one in John Bell's *Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia to Diverse Parts of Asia* (vol. 2, 1763: 169-321). A German reprint dates from 1986.

Buxbaum to Minor Asia, and of Messerschmidt to Siberia (Winter/Figurovskij 1962: 12). They provided the basis for the natural-historical and ethnographic collections of the *Kunstkamera*.

The objects collected during the Second Kamchatka Expedition were added to the collections of the *Kunstkamera* from the very start of the expedition (Hintzsche 2004, 2006). Some of these items, especially the costumes, were used in an ‘ethnographic masquerade’ and were lost or damaged during the ‘Ice Wedding’ held on the Neva in February 1740. Imperial orders had been issued to all corners of the Empire to send in a pair of costumes of male and female, representing all types of peoples (*Völkertypen*). A commission prepared the festivities and ordered the Academy to deliver national costumes of the Mordvins, Cheremis, Chuvash, Votyaks, Lapps, Samoyedes, Tungus, and other Siberian peoples. The Academy was requested to produce a detailed report of ‘the Asian peoples that are subject to His Majesty and of neighboring countries’ on the basis of the *Kamtschatkaschen Acten*, including a description of their clothing, accessories, means of travel, and pack animals. A depiction of the peoples of the four continents (Europe, Asia, America, and Africa) was requested. As the Academy entailed a Drawing Chamber, it had to produce drawings of several costumed figures (Russow 1900: 10-12, 32-34).

The professors from the Academy and their students participating in the Second Kamchatka Expedition had been instructed to collect for the *Kunstkamera*. Müller made a special point of this in his elaborate instructions to expedition members (see below). Nearly all acquisitions landed in the Academy’s museum. Not only Müller and Gmelin contributed to the collections, Steller and Krasheninnikov did so too. However, some performed better than others. In 1777, Johann Bacmeister reported that Müller and Gmelin had brought together ‘so many rarities from Asian countries and peoples ... that no other Cabinet in Europe could exhibit such a supply.’²³²

The reason that we hear so little of the *Kunstkamera*’s early collections is that most of them went up in flames. A great fire, taking place on 6 December 1747, inflicted heavy losses on the collections of the Academic Museum and destroyed the central tower of the museum building (which, however, was later rebuilt). Unfortunately, the ethnographic objects suffered the most (Potapov 1966: 152). According to Lomonosov *all* ethnographic collections were lost in the fire (‘the anatomical objects, as well as the entire gallery with Siberian and Chinese objects’).²³³ Russow (1900: 16) doubts this because the museum records do not mention it.²³⁴ He writes that what was saved from the fire was set up in the adjacent house of Demidov. The ethnographic objects were exhibited again in the Siberian and Chinese galleries after the *Kunstkamera* was reopened in 1766. Russow (1900: 16-17) reports that Müller presented ‘his collection of gold, silver, copper, and iron antiquities from Siberian graves’ to the Academy in 1748 and that a strong delivery of Chinese and Tatar objects was acquired from Lange’s heirs in Irkutsk in 1754. It was only with the ‘Academic Expeditions’ of 1768-74, carried out by Pallas, Gölldenstädt,

²³² ‘so viele Seltenheiten asiatischer Gegenden und Völkerschaften eingeschickt, dass kein Kabinet in Europa einen solchen Vorrath derselben vorzeigen konnte’ (Bacmeister 1777: 99; *Materialy* VI: 384, 409, 442; Russow 1900: 10).

²³³ ‘die anatomische Objecte, sowie die ganze Gallerie mit den Sibirischen und Chinesischen Sachen’ (quoted in Russow 1900: 16, referring to Pekarskii, *Istoriia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk v Peterburge*, 2: xxxiii).

²³⁴ See also Stanyukovich (1970: 29) and the reconstruction of the pre-1747 collection by Shafranovskaya (1965).

Gmelin, Lepechin, Falck, and Georgi that fresh collections were brought together. One of the aims of these expeditions was to assemble new collections in compensation of the earlier ones.

This explains why we find so little on the early collections. In a recent catalogue (Its 1989), very little information is given concerning the collectors of Siberian objects acquired during the eighteenth century. Its (1989: 7) confirms that the number of ethnographic objects was greatly augmented during the 1730s thanks to the Second Kamchatka Expedition. However, we have no knowledge which objects Müller collected in Siberia. As we have seen, Müller was present when the collections of Messerschmidt's travels were arranged. It is known that he participated in the compilation of the Latin catalogue of the *Kunstkamera* during the 1740s (Potapov 1966: 150). And we know that he actively stimulated and even instructed his colleagues and students to collect for the museum. But what he collected himself lies hidden in the St. Petersburg archives.

This catalogue, titled *Museum Imperialis Petropolitani Vol. I-II* (MIP), was published in two volumes containing seven parts (1741-45). It built on a catalogue in Russian of 1727 (Potapov 1966: 150). Volume one included objects of nature, namely human anatomy and zoology (1742), plants (1745), minerals (1745), as well as books (1742). Volume two, part one (1741), dealt with artificial objects (*res artificiales*); part two (1745) with ancient coins; part three (1745) with recent coins. The volumes dealing with plants, animals, and ancient coins are the most extensive. Volume II/1, dealing with artificial curiosities, including scientific instruments, sculptures, paintings, drawings, objects of peoples, and precious objects, was the least extensive, containing only 212 pp. This volume also contains a list of drawings (*Icones pictae rerum*) stored in fifty-eight boxes, which lies at the basis of the reconstruction of the *Kunstkamera* provided by Kistemaker et al. (2003-04, 2005). Unfortunately, this part of the catalogue appeared in 1741, too early to include all objects collected during the Second Kamchatka Expedition, which went on until February 1743 (some members, including Fischer, returned as late as 1747). Thus, Müller's contributions to the description of ethnographic objects in the *Kunstkamera*'s catalogue can only have been limited to the objects he and his colleagues sent from Siberia until 1741.

These shipments may have been quite extensive. Until January 1741, Müller had collected one hundred and eight pieces of clothing among the Samoyeds, Ostyaks, Yakuts, Yukagirs, Lamuts, Koryaks, and Tungus. By that time, Müller had also sent archaeological objects (*Materialy* VIII: 210). He was highly interested in historical remains and ordered Lürsenius to draw prehistoric burial objects (Hoffmann 2005: 211-214). The *Kunstkamera* contained many pieces of shaman clothing and paraphernalia collected in Siberia between 1741 and 1743. Müller commissioned Decker in 1744 to draw traditional clothes of Siberian peoples and antiquities, as well as copies of city plans made in Siberia (Stetskevich 2005: 70).

Although this particular commission failed due to financial difficulties, it is fortunate that many of the items lost in the fire have been preserved on paper. This was the result of the decision by Tsar Peter, or his librarian Schumacher, to have *all* objects kept in the *Kunstkamera* documented on paper, in drawings, watercolors, or in print. This decision was taken in an early

stage of the *Kunstkamera*'s existence. Over two thousand of these drawings have been retraced in Russian museums and archives during the 'Paper Museum' project in which thirteen Russian curators and three Dutch (art) historians as well as several Dutch historians of science collaborated. The total number of these *Icones pictae* may have been more than five thousand, all of them dating from the period c.1725-1760. The results of this project have been published in a Russian edition at St. Petersburg (Kistemaker, Kopaneva, Meijers and Vilibakhov 2003-04) and in an English edition at Amsterdam (Kistemaker, Kopaneva, Meijers and Vilibakhov 2005).²³⁵

The drawings of ethnographic artifacts stored in the *Kunstkamera* were contained in the museum boxes 37-38, labeled 'Icones operum artificisorum,' and 41-44, labeled 'Icones operum Chinensium,' as the catalogue indicated (MIP II/1, 1741). This implies that the ethnographic objects were *not* mentioned under a separate category as Müller was devising simultaneously in Siberia. The MIP does not give any indication of the new terminology Müller was inventing in the field. Instead, it reverts to the earlier category of 'artificial objects or antiquities' (*kunst-sachen oder antiquiteten*, see below). In fact, a recent analysis of these drawings has established that the most practical division appeared to be a regional one, distinguishing between 'Siberian and Volga Artifacts' (Pavlinkaya 2005) and 'Chinese and Oriental Objects' (Menshikova 2005), rather than a distinction between the ethnography of Siberia and that of China.

The Russians valued the scientific reproduction of natural and artificial objects to such an extent that they appointed artists and engravers. The most important was Georg Gsell, a painter from Sankt Gallen (Switzerland) who was working in the United Provinces when he was employed to instruct future Russian draftsmen. Mikhail Avramov had already set up a small drawing school inside the Petersburg Printing House in 1715, where the copying of drawings was taught to Russian students. Gsell and his wife professionalized these efforts during the years 1725-43. Peter the Great had met Gsell in Amsterdam during his second trip to Western Europe. Together with his wife, Maria Dorothea Graff, Gsell came to St. Petersburg in 1717, where they received workplaces in the *Kunstkamera* and in the Academy of Sciences. They taught students how to draw, engrave, and paint. An Engraving Chamber developed in the Academy of Sciences where masters fulfilled the needs of the Academy for scientific illustration (Stetskevich 2005).

Maria Dorothea was the youngest daughter of the celebrated artist Maria Sibylla Merian (1647-1717), who specialized in painting flowers and insects and was renowned for her studies of the metamorphosis of insects.²³⁶ Her daughter obtained a contract at St. Petersburg in September 1723, stating that she would draw all objects from the *Kunstkamera*, design the display of the objects, and provide tours for visitors. The contract stipulated that she would paint

²³⁵ This project was a follow-up on exhibitions held in Amsterdam on Cabinets of Natural History and Cabinets of Curiosities (Bergvelt and Kistemaker 1992) and on Dutch-Russian relations under the title 'Peter the Great and Holland' (Kistemaker, Kopaneva and Overvliet 1996, 1997).

²³⁶ See Kurt Wettengl (Hrsg.) *Maria Sibylla Merian: 1647-1717. Künstlerin und Naturforscherin* (1997).

objects in four domains (animals, plants, artifacts, and antiquities) *nach dem Leben*, that is, ‘true to life.’ She was also instructed that no copies of her work were to leave the *Kunstkamer* (sic).²³⁷

Her husband Gsell trained artists into drawing from nature as accurately as possible. The art of illustrating was taken very seriously in Russia at the time. Gsell probably contributed to plans, developed by Avramov, Nartov, and others in the early 1720s, to set up an Academy for Drawing within the *Kunstkamera*. These plans came to nothing. However, when the Academy of Sciences began to provide education in the Academy’s *Gymnasium* in 1726, several of the about forty students chose to be schooled in the art of ‘scientific illustration’ (*wissenschaftliches Zeichnen*). Both Gsell and his wife, and these students collaborated into reproducing all objects kept at the *Kunstkamera*. The impact of this new form of art was so powerful that the Academy of Sciences was renamed the ‘Academy of Sciences and Arts’ in 1747. Ten years later, these domains were separated again and a separate Academy of Arts was established in 1757.

The Academy combined the arts of collecting and painting, of describing and representing. In this spirit, Gsell wrote the instructions for the artists traveling with the Second Kamchatka Expedition: Johann Christian Berckhan, Johann Wilhelm Lürsenius, and Johann Cornelius Decker (Hintzsche 2004: 523-529). After the expedition, these artists were employed to illustrate the Academy’s publications and document the *Kunstkamera*’s collections. One of these was Gmelin’s *Flora Sibirica* that appeared in St. Petersburg, including 297 drawings of plants.²³⁸

The end of this period of blossoming came in the 1760s when Count Vladimir G. Orlov was appointed director of the Academy of Sciences (1766-74). He closed the Chancellery and the workshops (*Werkstätte*), discharging all draftsmen, painters and engravers. In this way, a unique experiment in the history of science was terminated. Characteristic of the experiment had been the combination of research and education, of *theoria cum praxi*, that served as Leibniz’s motto.

The ‘Paper Museum’ of Peter the Great resulted in an encyclopedic system of illustrations, a visual database that facilitated internal research of the collections. It formed the basis for making reproductions that could be published or included in scholarly correspondence. Thanks to these drawings, the early museum catalogue, and Schumacher’s museum guide,²³⁹ the *Kunstkamera* as it was during the eighteenth century can be reconstructed today. The impact of these attempts to professionalize the representation of nature and culture is difficult to access. It is certain, however, that the combined efforts of Gsell and his wife, and of several other artists, resulted in an impressive collection of drawings and engravings.

²³⁷ ‘Die N.N. Gesellin Blum Mahlerin verspricht I. alle diejenige Curiosa die in Seiner Czarischen Majestäts Kunstkamer sind oder annoch darin gebracht werden, – sie mögen aus animalibus, vegetabilis, kunst-sachen oder antiquiteten bestehen – auf des Directoris gutachten mit waszerfarben nach dem leben ab zu mahlen, und niemanden ohne dessen willen ... Copie von dem was ihren zu delinieren gegeben wird, zu kommen zulassen.’ (Entwurfvertrag für Frau Gsell wo in ihre Arbeit für den Kunstammer bestätigt wird. St. Petersburg, 1 September 1723. Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg Branch, PFA RAN, Fond 1, Opis 3, Delo 2, Listov 161r-162v. Quoted in Driessen-van het Reve 2001).

²³⁸ Johann Georg Gmelin, *Flora Sibirica, sive historia plantarvm Sibiriae*. 4 vols. Petropoli, 1747-69.

²³⁹ [J.D. Schumacher] *Gebäude der Kayserlichen Academie der Wissenschaften Bibliothec und Kunst-Kammer in St. Petersburg*, 1744 (first published in a Russian version, *Palaty*, in 1741).

The question remains how much of this material was known to contemporaries. The Russian authorities did not allow any material to leave Russian territory and Müller's work suffered from this ban on the export of knowledge. We have little knowledge of the objects that Müller and his colleagues collected during the expedition but it is certain that they collected actively. In addition, there is a list of field sketches made in Siberia at their request (*Materialy* V: 604, VIII: 194-212). Moreover, Müller issued instructions for the collection of objects for the '*Kunst-Kammer*' (Müller 1740, appendix III; Russow 1900: 97-99).

Müller's Instructions

As one of the leaders of the Second Kamchatka Expedition's academic party, Müller wrote several instructions. An important part of his work during the expedition was the education of Russian students and assistants, which included instructing them for research. Six of these have been studied by Bucher (2002): an instruction for a historian (1732), for Krasheninnikov (1737, with two additions), Steller (1739), and Fischer (1740). I shall deal with them briefly.

The earliest was an instruction for research into history, titled *De historia gentium* (On the History of Peoples) in ten points. It reflects Müller's views of November 1732 before he even knew he would be joining the expedition. He wrote it for 'a' historian or scholar who would accompany Bering. It formulates what Müller, as a historian, would at least want to know 'about the peoples to be encountered by the leader of the expedition, Bering, during the journey to Kamchatka.' It is an exposition of what we would now call ethnic history, as distinguished from political (or civil) history, which was the usual definition of history, *vis-à-vis* natural history.²⁴⁰

In *De historia gentium*, Müller first asked about the boundaries of each people: what marks these boundaries; in what climate do the people live; have peoples of different character (*unterschiedlicher Art*) mixed? Second, he wanted to know about the origins of each people, in their own account: what can be said about their ancient settlements, migrations, achievements, and so on? Third, Müller asked about religion: what is the natural belief of each people; which representations do they have of God and of things related to spiritual welfare; what sacred ceremonies do they perform? Fourth, he was interested in the profane 'manners and rites' (*Sitten und Riten*) of each people, their domestic life, marital traditions, etc. Fifth, he inquired after the commerce, harvest results, arts and crafts, military skills, and political orientation of each people. Sixth, examples should be provided of the language of each people, for example, a translation into the local language of the Lord's Prayer (*Vater Unser*), of numerals and commonly used nouns. (Hereto was later added the request to inquire whether the people knew how to calculate and write.) Seventh, the names of the country, rivers, and towns of each people should be recorded, adding wherever possible the pronunciation of these names and their etymology (word history).²⁴¹ Eighth, the history of each town: when, by whom and on what occasion were they

²⁴⁰ The instruction for Müller was published in Hintzsche (2004: 145-149; see also 300-301, 579-583).

²⁴¹ This is a clear reference to Leibniz's thesis that the origin of nations can be revealed by comparing the names of

built; or, if they earlier had been ruled by others, when and for what reason had they been conquered? Nine, all relics, ancient monuments, old and recent vessels, idols and prospects of the more important towns etc. should be sketched accurately and, if possible, brought to St. Petersburg. In conclusion (ten), individuals of both sexes from each people, exemplifying the characteristics of that nation, were to be accurately painted together with the clothes they wear; furthermore, examples of all items of clothing should be brought to St. Petersburg.²⁴²

With these ten points, Müller sketched the minimum of information on the peoples of the vast area of Siberia that should be gathered. They were adopted by the Academy of Sciences but, at the suggestion of the Senate, and following a request from Lange, enlarged with an eleventh point in April 1733. This point was phrased rather differently and reflected political interest. It called for ‘special attention’ to ‘the origin, morals, customs, and so on of those people living on the north side of the Amur River.’ The Amur area was part of the border between the Russian and Chinese empires and had been controversial since the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689). The point was motivated by means of the rumour that ‘the Russian nation once had numerous settlements there as well.’²⁴³

The latter point is interesting, as any other references to ‘the Russian nation’ are missing in Müller’s first instruction. It seems that Müller at this stage was only interested in the autochthonous peoples of Siberia, disregarding the Russian invaders and colonists. References to the payment of *yasak*, the tribute that the Russians exacted from their new subjects, and an important reason for colonizing Siberia, are also absent. The only exception to this rule is the formulation ‘harvest results’ (*Ernteerträge*) (point five), on the basis of which the people could be taxed; taxes were mostly paid in furs. Although Müller was primarily interested in the original inhabitants of Siberia, he was the first historian to pay attention to the Russians and Cossacks living in Siberia, and their sometimes violent interaction with the Siberian peoples (Elert 2003).

Thanks to this short instruction, the Second Kamchatka Expedition also included a historical study of native peoples of Siberia. The aims of the expedition were cartographic (Bering Strait, Japan, northwest America), commercial (natural resources, taxes), and imperial (appropriation of land). Under the direction of Kirilov, and thanks to Müller’s suggestions, the Second Kamchatka Expedition also yielded results in the field of the history, geography, and ethnography of Siberia. To studies of the three realms of nature (minerals, plants, animals), the study of human diversity was added. It is noteworthy that this augmentation took place *before* Linnaeus included human beings in his *Systema naturae* (1735) by placing them in the animal kingdom.

rivers, mountains, and other immovable objects in the natural environment.

²⁴² G.F. Müller, *De historia gentium*, November 1732, translated from the Latin and German versions published in Hintzsche, Band IV/2, 2004: 145-146. It began with ‘Ad promovendum studium Historiae populorum ...’ (p. 145) and was part of the instructions versed in Latin given to the three professors and their students and draftsmen before their departure. A first draft was entitled ‘Instructions for the Professors taking part in the Second Kamchatka Expedition, summarized by Georg Wolfgang Krafft, Professor of Mathematics and Secretary, St. Petersburg, 5 April 1733.’ They were finalized in ‘Special Instructions of the Academy of Sciences for the Professors taking part in the Second Kamchatka Expedition, St. Petersburg, 5 July 1733’ (Hintzsche 2004: 73-148, 295-312, 491-510). An English translation was published in Black and Buse (1986: 48-49) as ‘About the History of Peoples.’

²⁴³ ‘daß dort einst auch die russische Nation etliche Sitze innegehabt hat.’

In his later instructions, Müller developed these subjects into a more elaborate scheme. He first expanded on them in an instruction for Krasheninnikov when the latter departed for Kamchatka. In June 1737, Müller and Gmelin handed him an instruction containing eighty-nine points, eleven of which dealt with questions of an ethnographic nature (Hintzsche 2001: 25 n. 19; Bucher 2002: 79-82). Hereto Müller added an extensive manuscript titled 'Geography and Constitution of Kamchatka,' based on archival work and interviews in Jakutsk (1737), in which he summarized all he had learned about the peninsula thus far.²⁴⁴ The translator Il'ja Petrovich Jakhontov translated it into Russian. In 1774, Johann Benedict Scherer found it relevant enough to be included as an appendix in Steller's *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka*. In March 1738, Müller sent Krasheninnikov an additional instruction (*Zusatz*) that exclusively related to the peoples living on Kamchatka. Entitled 'Questions on the Description of Peoples, their Manners and Customs,' it consists of two hundred and nineteen questions.²⁴⁵ This important document occupies a central position between Müller's first instruction for a historian (1732) and his instruction for Fischer (1740). In it, Müller exclusively deals with the non-Russian inhabitants of eastern Siberia, the 'Kamtschadalen' (Itelmens), 'Kurilen' (Ainus), Chukchis, Koryak, and Lamuts (Evens). Müller summarizes everything he wanted to learn after processing the available information in Siberian archives. All remaining questions could only be answered in the field. The document was so fundamental that Andreev concluded that Gmelin had used it as the basis for his travel account (Elert 1999a: 24; Bucher 2002: 88 n. 292).

Another instruction was written for Steller on his departure for Kamchatka in February 1739.²⁴⁶ As Steller was to replace Gmelin, he received an instruction mainly written by Gmelin. Most of the fifty questions dealt with natural history; only two of them related to ethnology, written by Müller. However, Kosven (1961: 200) reports that Steller was to supervise the studies of Krasheninnikov and therefore also received copies of the instructions for Krasheninnikov. In Steller's instructions, the making of ethnographic inquiries was not emphasized. As Steller's description of Kamchatka contains many ethnographic observations, Bucher (2002: 89) concludes that these derive from personal interest. Yet, as we have seen, Müller wrote earlier that month that it was expected that Steller would also 'conduct all investigations relating to the history of peoples, as he has the necessary skills and desire to do so.'²⁴⁷ Therefore, Müller and Steller had a common interest. Steller followed the example of Messerschmidt, Linnaeus, and Tournefort – naturalists who also studied the manners and customs of peoples (see Chapter 5).

²⁴⁴ Geographie und Verfassung von Kamtschatka, aus verschiedenen schriftlichen und mündlichen Nachrichten gesammelt zu Jakuzk, 1737. Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg Branch, PFA RAN, Razjrad I, Opis 13, Delo 11, Listov 94-127.

²⁴⁵ Fragen zur Beschreibung der Völker, ihrer Sitten und Gebräuche, 1738. Russian translation by I.P. Jakhontov. Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg Branch, R. I, Opis 13, Delo 11, Listov 128-133.

²⁴⁶ The instruction for Steller, dated 28 February 1739, was published in Hintzsche (2001: 71-90).

²⁴⁷ 'Es ist anzunehmen, daß er alle zur Geschichte der Völker gehörenden Untersuchungen ausführen wird, da er auch für diese Dingen die erforderliche Fertigkeit und Lust besitzt' (Müller 14. Februar 1739 in Hintzsche 2001: 25).

This sixth instruction of Müller that is known is the one he wrote for his substitute Johann Eberhard Fischer.²⁴⁸ It is the most complex and elaborate of all. This instruction was finished in the summer of 1740, seven years after Müller had left St. Petersburg and two years after he had requested to be replaced on medical grounds. In it, Müller summarized everything he wanted to know about Siberia. The instruction contains six parts and three appendices, of which the sixth part deals exclusively with the description of manners and customs of (Siberian) peoples (Müller 1740).²⁴⁹ It counts nine hundred and twenty-three paragraphs. Only the last (ethnographic) part and the appendices have been published thus far (Russow 1900).²⁵⁰ Early models of these instructions were the ones issued by Tatishchev (Potapov 1966: 151) and Müller's 1737-38 instructions to Krasheninnikov. Müller sent a copy of these instructions, totalling 55 sheets (*Bogen*), to the Academy in St. Petersburg. This archival copy is slightly different from the one Russow published in 1900. The instruction deals with the following tasks of 'a historian devoted to a description of the geography and history of Siberia':

- I. On Keeping a Journal (20 paragraphs)
 - II. On Geographical Descriptions (75 paragraphs)
 - III. On the Contemporary Situation of the Towns and the Areas belonging to them (88 paragraphs)
 - IV. On Consulting Archives and Describing the History of Siberia (22 paragraphs)
 - V. On the Description of the Antiquities (100 paragraphs)
 - VI. On the Description of Manners and Customs of Peoples (923 paragraphs)
- Appendix:
- I. On Maps (63 paragraphs)
 - II. On Drawings (30 paragraphs)
 - III. On the Collection of diverse objects for the Imperial *Kunst-Kammer* (16 paragraphs)

The sixth part of these instructions, which Russow (1900: 37) called 'ethnographic' but in fact is entitled 'On the Description of Manners and Customs of Peoples' (*Von Beschreibung der Sitten und Gebräuche der Völker*), is by far the largest. Of the twelve hundred and eighty-seven paragraphs in the instruction, nine hundred and twenty-three deal with what we would now call ethnography. The queries appear in a numerical order without any headings. They are listed in table 2 under the headings introduced by Russow (1900: v-vi).

²⁴⁸ I owe the reference to this instruction to the dissertation of Rolf Herzog (1949), who analyzed the text on pp. 126-129. A fuller analysis is provided in the dissertation of Bucher (2002: 89-126).

²⁴⁹ Gerard Fridrich Müller, Instruction was zu Geographischen und Historischen Beschreibung von Sibirien erfordert wird für den H[err]n. Adjunctum Joh[ann] Eberh[ard] Fischer, 1740 (Ms. in-folio, 55 sheets, c.220 pp. Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg Branch, PFA RAN, Fond 21, Opis 5, Delo 36, Listov 4r-11v). Partly published by Russow (1900: 37-83 + Anhang pp. 84-109).

²⁵⁰ Instruktion G.F. Müller's für den Akademiker-Adjuncten J.E. Fischer: 'Unterricht, was bey Beschreibung der Völker, absonderlich der Sibirischen in acht zu nehmen' (title provided by Russow 1900: v, 37).

Table 2. Müller's Ethnographic Instructions to Fischer (1740)

Paragraph 1	Introduction (<i>Einleitung</i>)
2-9	Ethnic Classification (<i>Gruppierung der Völker</i>)
10-16	Languages (<i>Sprachen</i>)
17-49	Physical Constitution (<i>Körperbeschaffenheit</i>)
50-71	Body Care and Adornment (<i>Pflege und Verzierung des Körpers</i>)
72-94	Clothing (<i>Kleidung</i>)
95-112	Housing (<i>Wohnung</i>)
113-117	Utensils (<i>Hausrath</i>)
118-135	Disposition and Mental Development (<i>Veranlagung und geistige Entwicklung</i>)
136-147	Calculation of Times (<i>Zeitrechnung</i>)
148-166	Medicine (<i>Heilkunde</i>)
167-169	Religious Paintings, Drawings, Book and Picture Printing (<i>Religiöse Malerei, Bildnerei, Buch- und Bilderdruck</i>)
170-171	Morality (<i>Moralität</i>)
172-175	Political Constitution (<i>Politische Verfassung</i>)
176-185	Judicature, Oath, Documents (<i>Rechtspflege. Eid. Dokumente</i>)
186-187	Measurements and Weight (<i>Maass und Gewicht</i>)
188-196	Social and Personal Interaction (<i>Geselliger und persönlicher Verkehr</i>)
197-217	Conduct during Hostilities, Warfare (<i>Verhalten bei Feindseligkeiten. Kriegsführung</i>)
218-227	Commerce, Agriculture (<i>Handel. Ackerbau</i>)
228-290	Husbandry (<i>Viehzucht</i>)
291-325	Translocation overland (<i>Ortsveränderung zu Lande</i>)
326-336	Translocation by water (<i>Desgl. zu Wasser</i>)
337-408	Hunting (<i>Jagd</i>)
409-433	Fishery (<i>Fischfang</i>)
434-452	Crafts (<i>Handarbeit</i>)
453-549	Cooking, Nourishments, Stimulants (<i>Speisebereitung, Nahrungs- und Genussmittel</i>)
550-559	Amusements, Pastime (<i>Vergnügungen. Zeitvertreib</i>)
560-656	Marriage, Raising of Children (<i>Ehe. Kinderzucht</i>)
657-701	Life Span, Illness, Death, Burials, Law of Inheritance (<i>Lebensdauer. Krankheit. Tod. Begräbniss. Erbrecht</i>)
702-712	Religious Representations (<i>Religiöse Vorstellungen</i>)
713-778	Heathen Peoples, Shamanism (<i>Heidnische Völker. Schamanenthum</i>)
779-829	Islam (<i>Muhammedanismus</i>)
830-905	Lamaism (<i>Lamaismus</i>)
906-914	Christianity (<i>Christenthum</i>)
915-921	Suggestions for Communicating with the Natives (<i>Rathschläge für den Verkehr mit den Eingeborenen</i>)
922-923	Suggestions for Analyzing the Collected Materials (<i>Desgl. für die Bearbeitung des gesammelten Materials</i>)

The final part of the instruction (Russow 1900: 37-83) was followed by the three appendices (Russow 1900: 84-99) and a 'Vocabulary, on the basis of which the Languages and Dialects of the Peoples could be collected' (Russow 1900: 99-108, footnote on pp. 108-109). All in all, these instructions present a systematic and comprehensive program for the ethnographic study of Siberia. Having traveled in Siberia for seven years, Müller compiled an extensive questionnaire of everything that ought to be investigated. It was the result of his own field studies from 1733 onward and meant to serve as a model for further research in Siberia.

The only Russian author to deal with this instruction in detail is the historian Mark Osipovich Kosven. He stated that 'Müller's program [his instructions to Fischer] is an outstanding ethnographic document. There is no doubt that it could be fruitfully used in modern ethnographic fieldwork even today' (Kosven 1961: 182, quoted in Bucher 2002: 106; compare Elert 1996b: 41). In 1937, the Russian historian Andreev concluded that even two hundred years later Müller's questions had not yet been fully answered (Bucher 2002: 12).

Müller's list of ethnographic items to be studied in Siberia is encompassing and systematic. It moves from 'external' (visible) items, such as outward appearance, clothing and housing, via languages and physical constitution, to 'internal' (invisible) items, such as indigenous knowledge, religion, and so on. Placed in between, we find subjects that do not fit into this scheme, such as war and economy, rites of passage, the education of children, etc. Müller clearly favored empirical observation of 'external' (visible) things. Only in the final paragraphs, on religious representations (paragraphs 702-914), he discussed 'internal' (or invisible) things. This procedure is obviously inspired by Francis Bacon's empiricism (*Novum organum*, 1620). One of the models for Müller's scheme was Robert Boyle's 'General Heads for a Natural History of a Countrey, Great or Small' published in the *Philosophical Transactions* of 1665.²⁵¹

Müller added recommendations on how to obtain relevant information and how to write a systematic description of Siberian peoples. At the end of this extensive list, Müller applied the term *Völker-Beschreibung* summarizingly to denote a comprehensive, systematic, and empirical study of peoples in Siberia. Moreover, with regard to a *Völker-Beschreibung* of Siberia, one needed to make comparisons with other peoples in Asia, Africa, and America:

In order to elaborate, it is necessary in such a description of peoples (*Völker-Beschreibung*) to take into account all authors and travel accounts that report on the manners and customs of the other Asian, African and American peoples, and undertake comparisons everywhere (on all levels).²⁵²

²⁵¹ Boyle distinguished 'External Productions of the Earth' from 'Internal Productions of the Earth' – Müller 'das Äußerliche und die innerliche Beschaffenheit der Völker' (Bucher 2002: 185-186).

²⁵² 'Zu mehrerer Erläuterung sind bey dieser Völker-Beschreibung alle Scribenten und Reyse-Beschreibungen, welche von denen Sitten und Gebräuchen derer übrigen Asiatischen, Africanischen und Americanischen Völker Nachricht geben, mit zu Rathe zu ziehen, und allenthalben Vergleichen anzustellen' (Müller paragraph 922, in Russow 1900: 83).

In fact, such a comparative study would make the ‘description of peoples’ easier:

The detailed treatise is to be executed of all peoples in connection (*in Zusammenhang*). In this case, it proves advantageous that, as many peoples coincide in many respects, many repetitions can be avoided and one sees at once the correspondence and the difference(s), clearer than if one would want to describe each people as such.²⁵³

Thus, after seven years of intensive research in Siberia, Müller progressed from a ‘history of peoples’ as outlined in his first instruction (*De historia gentium*, 1732) to a comparative ‘description of peoples’ (*Völker-Beschreibung*, 1740). Such a description should be systematic and encompassing. Müller held that a series of such descriptions would be necessary in order to describe Siberia. The plural *Völker* (peoples) indicates that a description was needed of each of the Siberian peoples and that together these descriptions would make up a *Völker-Beschreibung*. However, as many of the Siberian peoples displayed similarities, the description could be shortened if these peoples were viewed in connection (*in Zusammenhang*) and by comparing them systematically. The comparison should be conducted both internally (within Siberia) and externally by drawing from reports of other Asian, African, and American peoples. In such a way, a ‘general description of peoples’ would become possible, as Müller argued in an unpublished preface to his article on peoples living in the vicinity of Kazan (see below).

In this way, inspired by ethnographic practice in the Siberian field, Müller arrived at a systematic, holistic view on a study that had not yet been named. Suggesting the term *Völker-Beschreibung* for such a study, Müller proposed that ethnography should deal with a plurality of peoples (what Germans today call *Völkervielfalt*), that it should be descriptive (that is, empirical), and that it should be comparative in scope. By so doing, he widened Leibniz’s ethnolinguistic program that requested to study the world’s languages in order to elucidate the early history of peoples (Leibniz 1710). In the thirty years since, there had been tremendous progress that, to a large extent, was due to the work of Messerschmidt, Strahlenberg, and Müller himself.

Müller’s ethnological program, with its systematic holism, was ambitious. The queries he listed would require a team of anthropologists to study each Siberian people. Indeed, the sensitivity of several subjects was such that it would entail the questioning of women and men separately. It is therefore not surprising that his substitute, Fischer, did not perform to the high standards Müller set for historians. However, it was not unrealistic as Müller himself conducted the ethnographic research he outlined in his 1740 instructions and had written a systematically arranged comparative treatise of Siberian peoples such as the one he envisaged in 1740.

²⁵³ ‘Die ausführliche Abhandlung ist von allen Völkern in Zusammenhänge vorzutragen. Man hat dabey den Vortheil, weil viele Völker in vielen Stücken miteinander übereinkommen, daß man vieler Wiederhohlungen überhoben ist, und siehet zugleich die Übereinstimmung und den Unterschied deutlicher ein, als wenn man ein jedes Volk besonders zu beschreiben vornehmen wollte’ (Müller paragraph 923, in Russow 1900: 83).

Müller's Ethnography

The most spectacular results of Müller's ethnographic studies in Siberia are his instructions to Fischer (1740) and his comparative work 'Description of Siberian Peoples' (*Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker*), written between 1736 and 1747. However, his fieldnotes and his other ethnographic manuscripts also remain important sources for the history of Siberian ethnography.

Ethnography is mentioned as the second largest field of research covered by the Second Kamchatka Expedition by a number of authors, most of them based at Halle (Hintzsche and Nickol 1996a; Elert 1996b, 1999a; Heklau and Hintzsche 1999; Hintzsche 2004, 2006). The first field being, of course, natural history, including the study of natural resources. It is noteworthy that these authors mention ethnography as an important field of research during early expeditions to Siberia because the secondary literature generally fails to mention ethnographic contributions in this respect. The studies mentioned prove that Müller not only designed an ethnological program but conducted ethnographic research himself. He visited most Siberian districts (*uezdy*), investigated its archives and antiquities, and intensively studied the peoples of Siberia.

The fact that Müller contributed to the ethnography of Siberia, seeing that subject as linked to the history and geography of the region, is largely unknown in the West. This omission is especially due to the fact that important parts of Müller's ethnographic work have not yet been published. The only historians – Russian (Pypin, Pekarskii, Andreev, Kosven, Tokarev, Elert), East German (Hoffmann, Grabosch, Donnert), and Canadian (Black) – to have paid attention to Müller's ethnographic work base themselves on Müller's manuscripts in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Apart from the work of Sternberg (1925), Andreev (1937), Kosven (1961) and Elert (1990, 1996a-b, 1999a-b, 2002, 2006), not many scholars have dealt with Müller's ethnographic collections and writings available in archives in St. Petersburg and Moscow. Following the 1996 international, multidisciplinary Georg Wilhelm Steller conference in Halle (Hintzsche and Nickol 1996a-b), however, Müller's ethnographic work increasingly receives attention and his most important ethnological writings are currently being published by Hintzsche and Elert (n.d.).

There are several reasons for this omission. Although his name was russified as Fedor Ivanovich Miller, Müller was always seen as a foreigner. In certain periods, this was not a favorable position in Russia. Aleksandr Christianovich Elert, a Russian historian from Novosibirsk, writes that Müller felt discouraged from publishing his ethnographic material as he sensed that there was no interest in such a subject in Russia at the time (Elert 1999a: 59; see also Hoffmann 2005: 254). Elert (1996b: 38) observes that Müller left his ethnographic observations out of his works on the history and geography of Siberia because he wanted to publish them separately (see also Bucher 2002: 132, 153). However, as there was no real interest in a comparative work on Siberian peoples, he felt no need to prepare his notes and comparative synthesis for publication.

As a result of this relative lack of interest, Müller published only a few ethnographic articles during his lifetime. These included three short articles on ‘whale hunting around Kamchatka’ (1759b), ‘the use of food for which we have abhorrence’ (1759c), and ‘the origins of the Cossacks’ (1760a), and two longer ones on ‘three peoples living in the vicinity of Kazan’ (1759a) and ‘peoples inhabiting Russia from ancient times’ (1773 in Russian, 1782 in German).

The most extensive was his ‘Report on three heathen peoples, the Cheremis, Chuvash and Votyak, living in the vicinity of the city of Kazan.’ Written in 1733, it was published in 1759 in Müller’s *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*.²⁵⁴ In a footnote, Müller stated that the article was based on his studies in the area surrounding Kazan, a Tatar city on the Volga halfway Moscow and the Ural Mountains, where he had stayed for some time; these studies had been extended during the journey from Kazan to Tobolsk (Müller 1759a: 305). Müller also discussed his methodology, stating that everything was based on observations ‘with his own eyes’ or on ‘repeated questioning’ (*öfteres Nachfragen*) either with representatives of these peoples or through interpreters. The article also contained a *vocabularium harmonicum*, in which the three languages of the area are listed together with German, Kazan-Tatar, Mordvinian, Permian, and Zyrianian. All of this was done precisely in the manner Leibniz had requested.

In a letter written at Kazan in December 1733, Müller gave a short report on the research of the academic members in this early stage of the expedition. On his own studies, he wrote: ‘I have occupied myself predominantly with unbelieving nations such as Tatars, Cheremis, Chuvash, Votyak, and Mordvins living here, of whose way of life, religion, customs, language etc. I composed an extensive description, to which I added a *harmonic vocabulary* of all these languages.’²⁵⁵ Müller adds that he included only the vocabulary in his report to the Senate as he was hoping to ‘perfect the description [itself] during the voyage from Kazan to Siberia.’ This description, with a long, comprehensive title (transcribed in Hintzsche 2004: 806), was ultimately published in Müller’s article of 1759 with the vocabulary.

As Müller stated in an unpublished preface to his ethnographic article on the peoples in the vicinity of Kazan, he planned to publish this article together with the instructions written for Fischer in the hope that what he had written on the description of peoples (*Völkerbeschreibung*) in Siberia could also be ‘useful’ for this subject in other regions and might serve as a model for ‘a general instruction for the description of all peoples.’²⁵⁶ His article was presented as an example of a description of Siberian peoples that could be expected from him in the future.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁴ Nachricht von dreyen im Gebiete der Stadt Casan wohnhaften heidnischen Völkern, den Tscheremissen, Tschuwaschen und Wotiacken. In: G.F. Müller (Hrsg.) *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte* III. Band, viertes Stück, 1759, pp. 305-409. (Including *vocabularium harmonicum*, pp. 380-409). Russian edition 1791.

²⁵⁵ ‘ich habe mich hauptsächlich mit den[en] hiesige[n] ungläubig[en] Nation[en] als Tattar[en], Tscheremis[s]e[n], Tschuwasch[en], Wotiak[en] und Morduan[en] unterhalt[en], von der[en] Lebens art, Religion, Sitte[n], Sprache u[nd] s[o] w[eiter] ich eine weitläufige Beschreibung Verfas[s]et, und selbigen ein *harmonisches Vocabularium* in allen diese[n] Sprache[n] angehängt’ (Müller, letter possibly addressed to Ostermann, in Hintzsche 2004: 805).

²⁵⁶ ‘eine allgemeine Instruktion zur Beschreibung aller Völker.’

²⁵⁷ ‘der künftig von mir zu erwartenden sibirischen Völkerbeschreibung.’

In this preface, dating from c.1744-45, Müller set out his plans for an ethnographic study of Siberia. This preface is titled ‘General Description of Siberian Peoples’ (*Allgemeine Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker*) and was listed in Müller’s bibliography at the conclusion of his History of Siberia (Russian edition 1937-40), but has thus far never been published. In this programmatic preface, Müller wrote:

A most general description of peoples of the earth, thus far largely resting in poor hands and still not ascribed to the domain of true science by anybody, represents a not unimportant part of historiography as well as an example of the first principles of a science of manners [or morals] (*Sittenlehre*) that would also be entertaining.²⁵⁸

In a different version of this preface, he stated: ‘[It has been] one of my foremost ambitions during my ten-year trip through Siberia to learn to know all peoples living there as thoroughly as possible and record what I have partly seen myself or partly heard reliably narrate by others.’²⁵⁹

Müller classified the peoples of Siberia in several classes (*Classen*) mainly on the basis of ways of living. For example, the Tatars of Kazan and Astrakhan are made up of three classes, namely the sedentary Tatars living in towns and villages, the nomadic Tatars living in the steppes, and the Bashkirs (known from Rubruck and Carpini), ‘but they are really Tatars, as both their language and way of life prove’ (*wie sowohl ihre Sprache als Lebensart beZeuet*).

Recent research by Aleksandr Elert (2002, 2005a) reveals that Müller conducted ethnographic research in an entirely systematic manner. He assembled ethnographic collections during the expedition, requested ethnographic objects to be sketched and drawn, made ethnographic inquiries among many peoples of Siberia, and kept detailed journals. Five of these journals (*Expeditionstagebücher*, *Polevoi dnevnik*) have been retrieved, totalling two thousand and five hundred pages. Versed in German, they entail Müller’s original, unedited records of his observations during the expedition, either during his work in the archives of Siberian towns, or of his conversations with indigenous people, Cossacks, Russian tax collectors, hunters, etc. Elert writes that these journals entail ‘many notes on ethnic items, the relations between Russians and indigenous peoples, interethnic conflicts, religious representations, and rites, manners and customs of Siberian peoples’ (Elert 1996b: 40). Müller’s notes were made along the way on a regular basis and constitute a logbook of his research, including his ethnographic research.

²⁵⁸ ‘Eine allgemeinste Völkerbeschreibung des Erdkreises, die bisher größtenteils in schlechten Händen lag und noch von niemandem den wahrhaften Wissenschaften zugerechnet wurde, stellt einen nicht unbedeutenden Teil der Geschichtsschreibung und ein Beispiel für die Anfängsgründe einer zudem unterhaltenden Sittenlehre dar.’ (German translation by Wieland Hintzsche of G.F. Müller, *Allgemeine Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker*, Russian version, Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg Branch, PFA RAN, Fond 21, Opis 5, Delo 6, p. 2r, to be published in Hintzsche and Elert n.d.).

²⁵⁹ ‘auf meiner 10 Jahrigen Sibirischen Reyse eine mit Von meinen fürnehmste[n] Absichten gewese[n] alle daselbst wohnhafte Völker auf das genaueste kennen zu kernen und Alles was ich Theils selbst gesehe[n] Theils von andern glaubhaft erzählen hören anzumerken’ (G.F. Müller, *Beschreibung der in Sibirien Lebenden und Zunächst Angränzenden Mancherley Völker des Rußischen Reichs*, Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg Branch, PFA RAN, Fond 21, Opis 2, Delo 6, p. 1r, to be published in Hintzsche and Elert n.d.).

These journals provided the basis for an ethnographic work dealing with the ‘Yakuts and their Shamans, on Yukagirs, Ostyaks, Tungus, Samoyedes, and ... Tatars’²⁶⁰ It was published under the title *Nachrichten über Völker Sibiriens (1736-1742)* by Helinski and Katz (2003). Elert (1996b: 40) regards these *Nachrichten* as a first attempt to systematize Müller’s fieldnotes. The material is arranged according to peoples, in the sequence in which Müller visited them.

Müller’s ethnographic *Nachrichten* served as preparatory (*Vorarbeit*) for his *Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker* (Description of Siberian Peoples). This systematically arranged work of c.530 pages deals with the manners and customs of peoples of Siberia in a synthetic-comparative manner. Müller began work on it in the field, during his winter sojourn at Yakutsk in late 1736 or early 1737; he ceased work on it during the 1740s in St. Petersburg. The manuscript has no title; Hintzsche added it on the basis of other references. Müller submitted a work with this title on 22 April 1745.²⁶¹ However, he remained interested in the subject and kept adding notes in the margins until the mid-1750s. He wrote a preface to it titled ‘General Description of Siberian Peoples’ (*Allgemeine Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker*), which dates from c.1744-45 (before Fischer’s return, as Müller states in the preface, which took place in June 1747). Müller’s *Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker* was never published during his lifetime. The ethnologist Leonid Pavlovich Potapov found it and prepared a first Russian translation, which never appeared in print. Elert retrieved the manuscript from the RGADA archives in Moscow²⁶² (see Elert 1996b, 1999, 2005a). Hintzsche and Elert will publish it in a joint publication.²⁶³

The material is arranged according to categories of research rather than to peoples. It follows the principles outlined at the end of Müller’s instructions to Fischer, where he stated that the analysis has to ‘be executed of all peoples in connection (*in Zusammenhang*).’ In the unpublished preface to his *Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker*, Müller states:

One part of the science of history that should not be underestimated, but the complete elaboration of which leaves more to be desired than can be hoped for, consists of a general description of peoples (*einer allgemein[en] Völker Beschreibung*), or a systematic account of the manners and customs of all peoples of our world, both in ancient and in modern times, in which the conditions of living of people should be arranged in certain classes, of each people everything that can be said of them be mentioned, each be compared with the others, and useful conclusions be drawn in order to improve the manners. However, the difficulties hindering such a work are overly known.²⁶⁴

²⁶⁰ ‘Nachrichten von Jakuten und ihren Schamanen, von Jukagiren, Ostjaken, Tungusen, Samojeden und ... Tataren’ (RGADA, Moscow, Fond 199, Opis 2, Portfel 509, Delo 3, Listov 1r-178v). (Title not from Müller, but provided later, in Russian). Published by Helinski and Katz 2003; to be published again in Hintzsche and Elert, n.d.

²⁶¹ ‘Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker’ (Hoffmann 2005: 98), based on the minutes of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, *Protokoly zasedanij konferencii Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk s 1725 po 1803 goda/Procès-verbeaux des séances de l’Académie Impériale des Sciences depuis sa fondation jusqu’à 1803*, vol. 2 (1744-1770), St. Petersburg, 1899.

²⁶² RGADA: Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi archiv drevnich aktov, Russian State Archive of Early Acts.

²⁶³ The Russian translation of Müller’s ‘Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker’ shall appear in Moscow; the German original in Halle (Saale), in a series dealing with the history of Siberia and Alaska (Hintzsche and Elert n.d.)

²⁶⁴ ‘Ein nicht geringschätziger Theil der Geschichts-Kunde, deßen Vollständige Ausarbeitung aber Mehr zu wünsch[e]n als Zu hoff[e]n ist, Bestehet in einer allgemein[en] Völker Beschreibung oder Systematischen Erzählung der Sitten und Gebräuche aller Völker unseres ErdKrayeses, sowohl älterer als Neuerer Zeiten, da die

As becomes clear from the structure of the book (see Table 3), Müller was either not able to finish it, or ceased work on it. Elert (1996b: 41) suggests that he wanted to add sections on burial rites and religious representations, including heathen, Muslim, and Buddhist representations, as these subjects were discussed in his fieldnotes and *Nachrichten*. A table of contents is as follows:

Table 3. **Müller's 'Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker'** (Description of Siberian Peoples)

Part I of the manuscript entails the following chapters:

Chapter 1. On the Origin of Peoples [Vom Ursprunge der Völker]	10r
Chapter 2. On the Language of Peoples [Von der Sprache der Völker]	16r
Chapter 3. Political Organization of Peoples [Politische Einrichtung der Völker]	19r
Chapter 4. On the Sciences of Peoples [Von denen Wißenschafften der Völker]	23r
Chapter 5. On Peoples' Way of Calculating Miles [Von der MeilenRechnung der Völker]	38r
Chapter 6. On the Physical Constitution of Peoples [Von der LeibesGestalt der Völker]	40r
Chapter 7. On the Clothing of Peoples [Von der Kleidung der Völker]	43r
Chapter 8. On the Character of Peoples [Von der GemüthsBeschaffenheit der Völker]	70r
Chapter 9. On Administration of Justice of Peoples [Von der RechtsPflegung der Völker]	83r
Chapter 10. On Forms of Taking an Oath [Von dene[n] Eydschwüren der Völker]	86r
Chapter 11. On the Peoples' Habitation [Von denen Wohnungen der Völker]	91r
Chapter 12. Household Tools of Peoples [Hausgeräthe der Völker]	105r
Chapter 13. Friendly and Honorary Ways of Paying Respect among Peoples [Freundschafts und Ehren-Bezeugnungen der Völker]	110r
Chapter 14. On Abusive Words of Peoples [Von Scheltworten der Völker]	113r
Chapter 15. Trade and Commerce of Peoples [Handel und Wandel der Völker]	114r
Chapter 16. On Agriculture of Peoples [Vom Akerbau der Völker]	116r
Chapter 17. On Animal Husbandry of Peoples [Von der ViehZucht der Völker]	117r
Chapter 18. On Reindeers [Von Rennthieren]	124r
Chapter 19. On Dogs [Von Hunden]	130r
Chapter 20. On Camels [Von Cameelen]	131r
Chapter 21. On the Travels of Peoples [Von denen Reisen der Völker]	132r
Chapter 22. On the Food of Peoples [Von der Nahrung der Völker]	145r
Chapter 23. On Cooking [Von Zubereitung der Speisen]	151r
Chapter 24. On Handicrafts, Arts, and other Forms of Work among the Peoples [Von Handwerken, Künste[n] und anderer Arbeit der Völker]	161r-169v

Part II of this manuscript contains the following chapters:

Chapter 25. On Hunting [Von der Jagd (with drawings of bows and arrows)]	2r
Chapter 26. On Fishing [Vom Fischen]	24r
Chapter 27. On Plays and Drills [Von Spielen und Exercitien]	28r
Chapter 28. On War Monging among Peoples [Von der Krieges-Zucht der Völker]	33r
Chapter 29. On Matrimony [Vom Ehestande]	37r

LebensUmstände der Menschen in gewisse Claßen Zu Theilen, und Bey einer jeden alles was sich Von jedem Volke sagen Läs[s]et, anZuführen, eines mit dem ander[en] Zu Vergleichen, und Zu Verbeßerung der Sitten gewis[s]e nützliche Folgerungen Zu Ziehen sind. Die SchwierigKeiten aber, welche eine solche Arbeit im Wege stehen, sind mehr als Zu Bekannt.' (G.F. Müller, Cap. 1, Von den[en] Volker[n] überhaupt, Preface of *Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker*, German version, to be published in Hintzsche and Elert n.d.).

Chapter 30. On the Birth and Education of Children [Von der Geburth und Erziehung der Kinder] 73r-86r

To these chapters will be added Müller's preparatory work:

Nachrichten von Jakuten und ihren Schamanen, von Jukagiren, Ostjaken, Tungusen, Samojeden und ... Tataren ... 1r-178v

Although religion as a separate category is lacking in this overview, Müller included it as 'Chapter 14, Natural Religion and 15, Heathen Religion' in a preliminary table of contents (*Summa Capita*). As these categories occur in his *Nachrichten*, it is assumed that Müller planned to include the sections on religion from his *Nachrichten* in his *Beschreibung*. For this reason, Hintzsche and Elert want to include Müller's manuscript on Yakuts and their Shamans (*Nachrichten*) in his *Beschreibung* to conclude his unfinished description of Siberian peoples. The editors also plan to include the full version of Müller's instructions to Fischer (1740) in this volume, as Russow (1900) only published the ethnographic part of these instructions.

It is highly fortuitous that Müller's manuscript on the 'description of Siberian peoples' will be made available in print after more than two and a half centuries. In this way, the story of Müller's ethnography may finally be told in greater detail. The primary and secondary sources published thus far make clear that Müller was actively concerned with a new and expanding field, the ethnography (*Völker-Beschreibung*) of Siberia. He distinguished this field from the history and the geography of Siberia and gave the first detailed list of what should minimally be known about the peoples of Siberia.

Müller's first interest in ethnography dates from February 1728, when he helped sort Messerschmidt's collections. He studied Witsen's work on Tataria (Müller 1733a-b) as well as Messerschmidt's notes and Strahlenberg's work (1730). In 1731, before the expedition, Müller proposed to write a history of the Kalmyks, including a political and natural geography, a study of the religion, the 'literature and language,' and a description of 'vitae et morum gentis' (Müller 1733c). That same year, he also worked on a description of the Samoyeds (Dahlmann 2003: 160). In the early stages of the expedition, Müller expanded on this idea and wrote a description of the Cheremis, Chuvash and Votyak, and other peoples in the Kazan region (1733/1759). By 1736, he had collected so much ethnographic material that he began a description of Siberia according to peoples (*Nachrichten über Völker Sibiriens*, 1736-42) and one according to subjects (*Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker*, 1736/37-45/47). These works were first analyses of his field data. Müller worked on this material until at least 1745, when he submitted a manuscript with the latter title to the Academy of Sciences. Müller's instructions *De historia gentium* (1732) and his instructions for Krasheninnikov (1737, 1738), Steller (1739), and Fischer (1740) were all written in Siberia. These writings, and the unpublished preface to his 1759 article (dated c.1754-55), show that Müller's interest in a description of peoples was extensive and consistent.

Müller's personal involvement in the history of Siberian peoples is astonishing. How did Fischer, sent by the Academy of Sciences to replace Müller, deal with Müller's program?

Fischer's History and Vocabulary of Siberia

Following Müller's plea to be replaced, the Academy of Sciences appointed Fischer as an adjunct in May 1738 and selected him as a successor to Müller in July 1739. Johann Eberhard Fischer (1697-1771) was a German historian and linguist from Halle who had served as teacher and rector at the Academy's *Gymnasium*. He was ten years older than Müller. Müller and Fischer never worked together, neither in Siberia nor later in St. Petersburg. In June 1740, Müller briefly met Fischer in Surgut on the Ob and handed him the extensive set of instructions he had written for Fischer's work in Siberia (Müller 1900 [1740]). Müller took his leave shortly afterwards to continue his journey, down the river Ob to Berezov.²⁶⁵ He traveled through the Urals back to St. Petersburg, the final part together with Gmelin (Hoffmann 1959: 62-63; cf. Russow 1900: 153).

As we have seen, Müller's instructions to Fischer were divided into six parts. They dealt respectively with the necessity of keeping a detailed journal (20 paragraphs); making geographical descriptions (75 paragraphs); describing the present state of towns, forts and regions (88 paragraphs); writing a detailed history of Siberia and conducting research in archives present in Siberian towns to this purpose (22 paragraphs); describing and collecting antiquities (100 paragraphs); making a detailed description of the peoples of Siberia (923 paragraphs). In these instructions, Müller noted every subject that should be investigated in the field of the history and geography of Siberia, a broad field including ethnography and linguistics. Of these four subjects, two have been primarily covered by Fischer, namely history and linguistics.

Müller's comparative word lists and his linguistic instructions to Fischer led to the fascinating *Vocabularium Sibiricum* (n.d. [1747]). Fischer donated a copy of this manuscript to the Historical Institute in Göttingen at the request of August Ludwig Schlözer. Schlözer befriended Fischer during his stay at St. Petersburg in 1762 and took the manuscript with him when he returned to Göttingen.²⁶⁶ Schlözer also edited Fischer's *Quaestiones Petropolitanae* (Goettingae et Gothae 1770) and reviewed it in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (Schlözer 1770c). This is an ethnographic-historical work, dealing with the origins of the Hungarian, Tatar and Chinese peoples, as well as the Hyperborean, a mythical Nordic people.

Müller's historiographical instructions resulted in several contributions to Russian history by Fischer (1768, 1770). Müller's own history of Siberia appeared in his *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte* in 1761-63 and, in Russian translation, in 1763-64. In 1768, Fischer also published a

²⁶⁵ We repeated this trip 265 years later during a conference in Khanty-Mansiisk and Surgut, 7-15 September 2005 (Baranov et al. 2006).

²⁶⁶ Schlözer (1802: 187-188) writes that Fischer gave him 'his original copy' (*willig gab er sogar sein Original*) of the *Vocabularium* for the *Historisches Institut* in Göttingen, founded as *Historische Akademie* by Gatterer in 1764. Gulya (1995: 13) claims that Fischer finished this version in 1747 and then began a new, extended edition.

history of Siberia, largely based on Müller's historical research, in two volumes.²⁶⁷ A Russian edition appeared in 1774. In a foreword to the German edition, Müller's role was mentioned but his name does not appear in the Russian edition.²⁶⁸ Fischer's *Sibirische Geschichte* deals with the period between 1499 and 1662. It is a concise 861-page text, predominantly based on Müller's historiographic work, with detailed indexes and maps provided by Fischer, and preceded by a 174-page introduction, also written by Fischer (*Von den namhaften Völkern in Sibirien und an dessen Gränzen*). This introduction contains Fischer's synthesis of data on the principal peoples of Siberia, as well as the Mongols, Manchus, Chinese, Greek, Russians, and Persians. In a review (1771c), Schlözer remarks that the introduction belongs to Fischer properly, as Müller had collected everything else. Schlözer added that Fischer had 'only cast it into a form' and that Fischer in this introduction deals with 'the principal peoples of Siberia and at its borders in a critical way showing he was widely read.'²⁶⁹

The University of Göttingen Library digital catalogue describes the two-volume work as a book on Siberia including linguistic and ethnographic information as well as a historical description of its conquest. The first volume contains a description and linguistic comparison of the commonly used terms in various Siberian languages. Two maps show the settlement areas of the Siberian peoples. The volume also provides detailed descriptions of the conquest of Siberia by Yermak and his Cossacks and the suppression of Kuchum's revolt. The second volume discusses the uprisings of the native peoples in the early years of the Russian conquest, the founding of towns and building of forts, as well as the cruelties perpetrated by the conquerors. Somewhat anachronistically, the book's content can be grouped into seven categories: history, ethnography, linguistics, geography, archaeology, statistics, and (physical) anthropology.

Despite the obvious importance of this book and its ethnographic introduction, Fischer's role in the Second Kamchatka Expedition is controversial. Black and Buse (1989: xi, note 3) state that 'Fischer never got to Kamchatka, and contributed nothing of note to the Kamchatka Expedition.' The geographer Büsching (1785: 144) admits that Fischer added 'an introduction of famous peoples in Siberia' but doubts Fischer's ownership of the *Vocabularium Sibiricum* (see below). The Russian encyclopaedia repeats this negative view. Hintzsche and Hoffmann share this scepticism. A fuller appraisal of Fischer comes from the side of the linguists.

The *Vocabularium Sibiricum* (Siberian Vocabulary) that Fischer donated to the Historical Institute at Göttingen contains linguistic material from forty languages, including thirty-four Siberian languages. Like the majority of Müller's collections, it remained unpublished. However, thanks to the copies available both in St. Petersburg and Göttingen, the manuscript has played an

²⁶⁷ Johann Eberhard Fischer, *Sibirische Geschichte von der entdeckung Sibiriens bis auf die eroberung dieses Lands durch die Russische waffen*. 2 vols. (5 parts). St. Petersburg, gedruckt bei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1768. Russian edition *Sibirskaja istoriia s samago otkrytiia Sibiri do zavoevaniia sei zemli rossiiskim oruzhiem*. Sanktpeterburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1774. 631 pp. 2 maps.

²⁶⁸ A work with the same title was written in Cyrillic at Tobolsk in 1745, 142 pp. (Asch Collection, Göttingen).

²⁶⁹ 'Die Einleitung gehöret dem Verf[asser] eigenthümlich zu, da alles übrige bereits von Hr. Müller gesammelte Materie ist, welcher Hr. Fischer nur die Form gegeben.' 'In dieser Einleitung handelt er kritisch und mit vieler Belesenheit von den vornehmsten Völkern in Sibirien und an dessen Gränzen' (Schlözer 1771c: 855).

important role in historical and linguistic debates on the languages of Europe and Asia. Although ascribed to Fischer by contemporary authors such as Schlözer and Gatterer, the entries result from the efforts of many scholars, including Messerschmidt, Tatishchev, Müller, Gmelin, and Steller. These efforts were intensified during the Second Kamchatka Expedition in the years 1733-47 and inspired by Leibniz's program to study the languages of the world by collecting languages samples (*Sprachproben*), persuing 'collatio linguarum' (Gulya 1995: 11).

The Hungarian linguist János Gulya, emeritus professor in Göttingen, studied both versions of the *Vocabularium Sibiricum*. He opines that Fischer completed the original manuscript (now kept at the University Library in Göttingen) in 1747 (the year of his return), then began a new version (now kept in St. Petersburg) which he finished in the year 1757 while investigating historical and linguistic topics (Gulya 1995: 22, 13; see also Fischer 1768: 161).²⁷⁰

The full title of the Göttingen manuscript is: *Vocabularium continens trecenta vocabula tringinta quatuor gentium, maxima ex parte Sibiricarum*.²⁷¹ The manuscript is divided in four parts and contains a title page and ninety-nine numbered folio pages. The Göttingen copy is succeeded by four pages with German comments and preceded by nineteen pages in Russian. For a table of contents, I quote from the original, kept at Göttingen, in the order suggested by Gulya (1995). The Vocabulary contains words from forty languages, divided in four groups of ten languages each (see Table 4). The Latin terms are followed by the current German terminology (given by Gulya 1995: 16, cf. Winkler 1997: 282) and the current or older English.

Table 4. Vocabulary of Siberian Languages, according to J.E. Fischer's Manuscript			
	Latin	German	English
	from Fischer 1747	from Gulya 1995: 16	current (older) names
Part I, p. 1-24			
1.	Latine	Lateinisch	Latin
2.	Chalmyccice	Kalmückisch	Kalmyk or Kalmak Tatar
3	Bucharicae	Bucharisch	Bucharic Tatar (Siberian Tatar)
4.	Tatarice (Tatarorum ad Obium & Tschulim fluvios degunt)	Tschulymtürkisch	Chulym Tatar (Siberian Tatar)
5.	Tatarorum Tschatzensium	Tschattatarisch	Chat Tatar (Siberian Tatar)
6.	Ostiakorum Tomensium s. Narymensium	Selkupisch	Selkup (Ostyak-Samoyedic)

²⁷⁰ Johann Eberhard Fischer, *Vocabularium Sibiricum* (1747). *Der etymologisch-vergleichende Anteil*. Bearbeitet und hrsg. von János Gulya. Frankfurt (Opuscula Fenno-Ugrica Gottingensia, Redigit János Gulya, VII), 1995.

²⁷¹ 'Vocabularium Sibiricum' (SUB Göttingen, call number: 4° Cod.Ms. philol. 261). A second, extended version of the same vocabulary is held in the archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg.

7.	Siraenorum	Syrjänisch	Komi- Zyrianian
8.	Ostiakorum Jeniseensium	Ketisch	Ket (Yenisey Ostyak)
9.	Tungusorum as Tunguscam fluvium	Ewenkisch (A)	Evenki (Tungus)
10.	Assanorum/Assanensium	Assanisch	Assansky [extinct]
Part II, p. 25-50			
11.	Graece	Griechisch	Greek
12.	Finnice	Finnisch	Finnish
13.	Woltiakice	Wotjakisch	Udmurt (Votyak)
14.	Tscheremissice	Tscheremissisch	Mari (Cheremis)
15.	Tschuwaschice	Tschuwaschisch	Chuvash
16.	Tatarorum Casanensium	Kasantatarisch	Volga Tatar
17.	Morduanice	Mordwinisch	Erzya and Moksha (Mordvinian)
18.	Samojedice Mehensium	Nenzisch (A)	Nenet (Samoyedic)
19.	Grusice	Georgisch	Georgian
20.	Hungarice	Ungarisch	Hungarian
Part III, p. 51-76			
21.	Russice	Russisch	Russian
22.	Tatarorum Tobolensium	Toboltatarisch	Tobolsk Tatar
23.	Wogulice	Wogulisch	Mansi (Vogul)
24.	Polonice	Polnisch	Polish
25.	Suedice	Schwedisch	Swedish
26.	Permice	Permjakisch	Komi-Permyak
27.	Ostice (Osteakorum ad fluvium Irtysch)	Ostjakisch	Khanty (Ostyak)
28.	Manshurice	Mandschu	Manchu
29.	Sinice	Chinesisch	Chinese
30.	Samojedarum Jugrensi-um	Nenzisch (B)	Selkup (Ugric-Samoyedic)
Part IV, p. 77-99			
31.	Mongolice	Mongolisch	Mongolian
32.	Tungusice (in provinciis Selenginsk et Nertschinsk)	Ewenkisch (B)	Even (Lamutian)

33.	Tangutice	Tibetisch	Tibetan [Tangut language]
34.	Tatarice (dialect, est eorum, q. degunt ad Tomum, Jeniseam et alios fluvios, ad limites Mongalorum]	Schorisch	Shor
35.	Teleutice	Teleutisch	Teleut Altaic
36.	Tatarice (Kaczensium et all. in provincia Krasnojarensi)	Chakassisch	Khakas
37.	Ariorum	Arinisch	Indo-Iranian (Aryan)
38.	Kottorum & Kaibalorum	Kottisch/Kojbalisch	Khakass (Kaybalian)
39.	Kamaschorum	Kamassisch	Kamas/Kamassian [extinct]
40.	Buratice sive Brattice	Burjätisch	Buryat (Bratsky)

According to Gulya (1995: 47), the material can be subdivided into nine language families:

1. Uralic 13 uralic languages (9 finno-ugric and 4 samoyed)
2. Indogermanic indogermanisch
3. Turkish-Tataric türkisch-tatarisch
4. Mongolian mongolisch
5. Tungusic, a subfamily of the Altaic language family spoken in eastern Siberia and northern Manchuria that includes Evenki and Manchu, also known as Manchu-Tungus
6. Yeniseysk jennisseisch
7. Semito-Hamitic semito-hamitisch
8. Caucasian kaukasisch
9. Tibeto-Chinese tibeto-chinesisch.

Of the languages represented, the *Vocabularium Sibiricum* presents three hundred and seven words, ranging from God (Deus) and Devil (Diabolo) to numerals, in ten columns. Some of the columns are remarkably complete, others less so, as if the relevant material is wanting (*desunt*).

The etymological-comparative parts of Fischer's *Vocabularium*, dated 1747, have been published by Gulya (1995). Even earlier, however, they played an important part in scholarly exchange in manuscript form as they were consulted by Schlözer (1768, 1771) and other scholars having access to manuscripts in the care of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. Especially linguists studying Finno-Ugric languages profited from the material in outlining the many languages belonging to this language family (Farkas 1948, 1952; Sauer 1952; Stehr 1957; Doerfer 1965; Gulya 1974, 1995; Winkler 1997). As we have seen, Müller and Fischer could build on the work of Messerschmidt and Swedish scholars such as Strahlenberg and von Wreech.

The authorship of the *Vocabularium Sibiricum* has led to considerable confusion. Büsching (1785: 144) plays down Fischer's intellectual ownership by writing: 'The vocabularies that were sent under his name to the Historical Institute in Göttingen were not collected by

himself, but requested by Tatishev from the commanders in the [Siberian] towns who had them collected by ignorant scribes. These [vocabularies] do not deserve any credibility, not a single historical proposition or proof can be drawn from them.’²⁷² This view is not correct. The passage occurs in Büsching’s biography on Müller and probably originated from comments by Müller in his correspondence with Büsching.²⁷³ While it is true that Tatishev ordered Siberian town chancelleries to answer detailed questions also on languages, important parts of the *Vocabularium Sibiricum* had been collected by Müller, as well as by other members of the Second Kamchatka Expedition, including Gmelin, Krasheninnikov, Fischer, and Steller. Fischer had Steller’s journal in his possession until his death (which, for this reason, was archived under Fischer’s name).²⁷⁴ Particularly the linguistic part of Steller’s work will have interested him.

In the same way as Büsching, the Russian historian Vasily V. Bartol’d (Barthold 1925) doubted that Fischer was the prime author of the *Vocabularium Sibiricum* and assumed that Fischer received the material from Tatishev. He wrote: ‘at the same time as the historical material, collected by Gerhard Friedrich Müller, the linguistic material, assembled during Peter the Great’s lifetime by Tatishev, the administrator of the Ural mines, also came into the hands of Fischer. Accordingly, the *Vocabularium* is older than 1725 [the year Peter passed away].’²⁷⁵ This dating is not correct, as Tatishchev continued to request linguistic material from Siberian administrators as late as 1736–38. Moreover, the possibility that Fischer collected material himself during his seven-year trip through Siberia, is hardly acknowledged. However, Gulya (1995: 12, 19) reconstructs that Fischer worked on the Siberian vocabularies even before his departure in 1739 and concludes that Fischer at least added the words from the Ostyak (Khanty) language, as the respective column contains the largest number of diacritical signs and is the most detailed. In addition, we know that Müller and other members of the Second Kamchatka Expedition collected linguistic material. Gulya (1995: 17) states that the foundation of the *Vocabularium Sibiricum* was provided by ‘field material collected under the responsibility of Müller.’ Fischer served as its main editor and even compiled two versions. The first one (now in Göttingen) was available at the moment of his return (1747), the second one (now in St. Petersburg) was produced between 1747 and 1767 as a second, extended edition (Gulya 1995: 13, 20, 22).

Therefore, the view that Fischer ‘did not accomplish anything substantial’²⁷⁶ and that his assistant Lindenau had been more productive, should be reassessed. Büsching and Barthold were not qualified to pass judgment on Fischer’s linguistic achievements. For such a grounded opinion

²⁷² ‘Die unter seinem Namen an das historische Institut zu Göttingen gesendeten Vocabularia, sind nicht von ihm gesammelt, sondern Tatischtschew hatte sie sich von den Befehlshabern in den Städten ausgebeten, und diese liessen sie durch unwissende Schreiber zusammentragen. Sie verdienen gar keinen Glauben, es kann gar kein historischer Satz und Beweis aus denselben hergeleitet werden’ (Büsching 1785: 144).

²⁷³ There is no sign of such comments in Hoffmann’s edition of Büsching and Müller’s correspondence (1995).

²⁷⁴ Personal communication Wieland Hintzsche, Halle (Saale), June 2005.

²⁷⁵ ‘es sei zugleich mit dem historischen Material, das Gerh. Friedr. Müller zusammengebracht hatte, auch das linguistische Material, das noch zu Lebzeiten Peters d. Grossen der Verwalter der Uralbergwerke Tatischew gesammelt hatte, in die Hände Fischers gelangt. Demnach ist das *Vocabularium* älter als 1725’ (Barthold 1925: 215).

²⁷⁶ ‘Er richtete aber nichts namhaftes aus’ (Büsching 1785: 143; repeated by Hoffmann 2005: 91; Bucher 2002: 165).

we better turn to historians,²⁷⁷ and to linguists such as Gulya, Brekle, and Winkler. Even here, lack of knowledge seems to dominate. Fischer's entry in Brekle's dictionary of eighteenth-century linguistics runs over four pages, whereas Müller's entry covers only two and a half pages. The latter's linguistic contributions are underrated, due to lack of published information; still, historians of linguistics do take Fischer's linguistic work seriously. Fischer was well versed in Latin, according to Schlözer (1802: 187), and the vocabulary was composed in Latin. Clearly, Fischer was fascinated by the combination of sciences Leibniz had called historical etymology. Gulya (1995: 20) views Fischer's vocabulary as 'a historical-etymological dictionary' and notes that Fischer compared the etymological material (2,432 words) along the lines of Leibniz.

The most general conclusion we can draw from this material is that Fischer was highly *Völker*-conscious. He had an ethnological perspective and paid a great deal of attention to the historical and linguistic relations between Siberian peoples. As late as 1801, a French translation of his work appeared.²⁷⁸ Thus, even thirty years later, there was still an interest in Fischer's historical studies on the 'principal nations' of Siberia and their neighbors. However, there is a difference between having an ethnological perspective and developing an ethnological program. The latter was what Müller was aiming for.

Müller's Later Career

After returning from the Kamchatka expedition, Müller mainly worked on three subjects: the history, geography and ethnography of Siberia, in reverse order. His historical work included a history of Siberia (*Sibirische Geschichte*), which was published in his periodical *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte* (1761-63) and, in Russian, in 1763-64.²⁷⁹ Both versions were incomplete, containing only nine out of twenty-three chapters (Elert 1996b: 37). That Müller's history of Siberia appeared truncated is explained by the intrigues at the Academy after his return (Hoffmann 2005: 111). These included a notorious fight with Lomonosov over Müller's views on the early history of Russia, in which Lomonosov stated that Müller had no right to write a history of Russia because he wanted to chronicle its failures rather than its victories.

Between 1743 and 1754, Müller also worked on geography. This subject fascinated him because he considered it to be the foundation for history and a subsidiary study of it. He was familiar with the work of his colleagues and needed maps for his own historical research. Immediately after his return Müller started work on a 'new general map of Siberia' (*Neue*

²⁷⁷ Mühlpfordt (1997: 115) is laudable about Fischer's linguistics and claims that he recognized the affinity between the Finno-Ugric peoples of Northern Eurasia and the Hungarians: 'Das war die Geburtsstunde der Finnougristik. Daher kann Fischer als Ahnherr einer neuen Sprachwissenschaft und Geburtshelfer einer neuen Völkerkunde gelten.' Hoffmann (2005: 321) counters that this relationship was known in the lexica of Zedler and Iselin 1743-45.

²⁷⁸ *Recherches historiques sur les principales nations établies en Sibirie et dans les pays adjacens, lors de la conquête des Russes*. Ouvrage traduit par M. Stollenwerck. A Paris, 1801. xxiv + 295 pp. (see Benfey 1858).

²⁷⁹ Gerhard Friedrich Müller, *Sibirische Geschichte* [History of Siberia]. In: G.F. Müller (Hrsg.) *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte* Band 6 (1761): 109-559 (Buch 1-5); Band 8 (1763): 1-458 (Buch 6-10). Russian translation *Sibirskaja istoriia* 1763-64, republished as *Istoriia Sibiri*, edited by S.V. Bakhrushin and A.I. Andreev. 2 vols. Moscow and Leningrad 1937-40. 2nd expanded ed. 3 vols. Moscow 1999-2005.

Generalcharte von Siberia), which according to his friend Anton Friedrich Büsching, the best informed German geographer of the time, was finished in 1745-46 but never engraved in copper (Büsching 1785: 160). This was a prototype of a map published by the Academy of Sciences in 1758. This *Nouvelle Carte* or 'new map of the discoveries of Russian vessels on the unknown coasts of western America and surrounding areas' covered the western parts of America and the eastern parts of Siberia. It was quite detailed and included the results of the first and second Bering expedition and of the 1648 voyage of Semen Ivanovich Dezhnev. Müller had realized the importance of Dezhnev's voyage when he discovered manuscripts relating to it in Yakutsk in 1737 (Fisher 1956, 1973, 1981). The 'new map' (finished by Müller in 1754) was of such importance that Schlözer included it in his *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* (1771, facing p. 391). The Academy of Sciences published a second edition of this map in 1773, with corrections and additions by Stählin, with which Müller, however, was unsatisfied (Büsching 1785: 160).

Müller had ample experience with map making. In the early 1750s, he produced two maps of Kamchatka that were published in Krasheninnikov's description of the Kamchatka peninsula (1755), which Müller edited (Büsching 1785: 133). Earlier, Müller had contributed to the work on the atlas of Russia (Hoffmann 1959: 170). It was the first topographical atlas of the Russian Empire (*Russischer Atlas*, published in 1745) and contained a general map of Russia with nineteen detailed maps.²⁸⁰ The maps were inscribed with names in Russian or Latin; the title page was composed in German or French. The atlas appeared as a product of the Geographical Department (*Landkarten-Manufaktur*) that existed since 1735 and became officially part of the Academy in 1739, among others at the instigation of Tatishchev (Grau 1963: 171). Because the Russian atlas appeared with delay, many calculations and cartographic details collected during the Second Kamchatka Expedition were included into it (Polevoj and Hintzsche 1996: 130). Another project was the *Postcharte*, a general map of European parts of the Russian Empire, intended to suit the needs of Western travelers. It was published as late as 1772, due to the fact that it took that long to provide correct drawings of the relative position of Astrakhan and the Caspian Sea. Two other maps on which Müller had worked, on the region between the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea, and on the Orenburg district, were never published (Büsching 1758: 160).

Although Müller was not a mathematician, he had a lasting interest in cartography. The astronomical aspects of geography had been left to the expedition's astronomer, De l'Isle de la Croyère, whose disappointing performance during the expedition (according to Müller 1890: 263) was 'compensated by a competent surveyor' (Hoffmann 2005: 86). In Siberia, Müller and Gmelin mapped several rivers and regions (Hoffmann 2005: 218-19). These maps needed to be corrected by mathematicians. According to Hoffmann (1959: 173), the early maps of Siberia and the Atlas of Russia were so detailed thanks to the work of astronomers and mathematicians. In this respect, the Swiss mathematician Leonhard Euler, who worked on

²⁸⁰ *Russischer Atlas, welcher in einer General-Charte und neunzehn Spezial-Charten das gesamte Russische Reich und dessen angränzende Länder nach den Regeln der Erd-Beschreibung und den neuesten Observationen vorstellig macht*. Sankt Petersburg 1745. 2nd ed. 1761.

calculations for the Atlas of Russia before going to Berlin in 1741, played an important role. Lomonosov served as head of the Geographical Department between 1758 and his death in 1765. After Euler's return to Petersburg, and Müller's departure for Moscow in 1765, Euler was appointed as head of the Geographical Department. This concluded years of struggle in this department (Hoffmann 2005: 222-24).

Müller's interest in cartography was of a historical nature. He was more interested in the correct names of peoples and places than in their co-ordinates. Müller's main contribution was to historical geography and his most important work in this regard dealt with the history of land and sea maps of the Russian Empire and its neighbors. This text remained in manuscript but formed the basis for a Russian work published in 1810 and for Friedrich Adelung's *Über die ältesten ausländischen Karten von Rußland* (1841). An indication of the procedures at the Geographical Department is Büsching's remark that Müller's review of maps produced in Russia, totalling one hundred and eight pages, closed with a list of twenty-six maps that had been printed at the Academy but were never released (Hoffmann 1959: 176).

Until the mid-1750s, Müller also worked on his 'Description of Siberian Peoples.' From then on, he focused primarily on the history and geography of Siberia and Russia in general.

Ethnography and Travel Accounts

Müller was the leading actor in the pursuit of ethnography during the Second Kamchatka Expedition. He carried out ethnographic research himself, stimulated others to do the same, and wrote instructions on how this research should be conducted. However, Müller worked in a Russian environment and in close interaction with his Russian counterparts and peers. It is remarkable that he had such a strong ethnographic interest. None of the other German scholars working in Russia at the time had this interest to the same degree. None of them developed an elaborate ethnological program. Still, as noted above, Müller was not the only scholar focusing on the peoples of Siberia. His Russian counterparts Kirilov, Krasheninnikov, and Tatishchev displayed the same interest. This list may also have included Areskine, the Scottish science organizer who first sent out scientific expeditions at the orders of Peter the Great. The level of interaction between German and Russian scholars is remarkable. Messerschmidt, Müller, Gmelin, Steller, Fischer, and later Pallas on the German side found their counterparts in Remezov, Kirilov, Tatishchev, Krasheninnikov, and later Lepechin on the Russian side. Müller occupied a central position in this network and entertained relations with most of these scholars.

The German ethnological perspective, the ethnological program that Müller developed, and the scientific interest in the origin and migration of Siberian nations must be viewed against the background of Russian utilitarianism: the need to describe the peoples in the Russian Empire in order to impose taxes on them, convert them, and integrate them in an expanding state.

Science and practice met in a blend, and an ethnological program, called *Völker-Beschreibung* by Müller (1740), resulted from this interaction.

Apart from the physician Areskine and the historian Tatishchev, Kirilov played the most important role on the Russian side. As we have seen, Kirilov was a driving force during the preparations of the Second Kamchatka Expedition and supervised the academic party dispatched by the Academy of Sciences. One year after the Second Kamchatka Expedition had set off, Kirilov was sent to Orenburg District to lead the First Orenburg Expedition (1734-37). Its task was to explore the region south and southwest of the Urals up to the Caspian Sea and establish commerce with Central Asia. In the wake of this expedition, the city of Orenburg was founded. After Kirilov's death in 1737, the expedition was renamed Orenburg Commission and Kirilov was succeeded by Tatishchev from 1737 to 1740. Petr Ivanovich Rychkov (1712-1777) published the most important report of this expedition, *Topografiia Orenburgskaia* (1762). He also wrote an *Istoriia Orenburgskaia* (1759). Rychkov's topographical study was amazingly *Völker*-minded. In chapter four of its first part, he dealt with no less than eleven peoples living in the Orenburg District, a number of Asian nations who had recently migrated there, and at least five neighboring peoples. This chapter is entitled 'On the Variety of Peoples inhabiting the Orenburg District, in their Past and Present Condition.'²⁸¹ These peoples included Russians, Tatars, Bashkirs, Meschtscheryaks, Kalmyks, Kyrgyz-Kaisaks or Kyrgyz, Karakalpaks, Mordvins, Cheremis (now Mari), Votyak (now Udmurt), and Chuvash. Rychkov also penned an Attempt at a History of Kazan (*Versuch einer Historie von Kasan*) in 1762.²⁸²

Müller helped Rychkov in publishing his work. Rychkov was not a scholar and after the expedition chose to retreat to his estate in Samara. Müller corresponded with him and stimulated him to report his results (Pekarskii 1867). Tatishchev's recommendations to the Academy of Sciences to publish Rychkov's work remained without results. An often-heard complaint was that Schumacher stimulated Lomonosov but did not advance science.²⁸³ Müller therefore published Rychkov's history of Orenburg in the St. Petersburg *Monthly Contributions*, which he edited. This finally resulted in Rychkov's *Istoriia Orenburgskaia* (1759) and *Topografiia Orenburgskaia* (1762). Whether Müller had a hand in casting Rychkov's ideas in the direction of a *Völker*-perspective is an open question. But we do know that Müller edited Rychkov's work and shortened its long baroque title into the more modern-sounding *History of Orenburg*.²⁸⁴

Müller also edited Krasheninnikov's work and even added two chapters to it. The fact that Krasheninnikov's description of Kamchatka contains so many ethnographic details, is presumable directly related to Müller's instructions, especially the lengthy *Zusatz* (Addition) Müller had sent him in 1738, listing over two hundred detailed questions on the ethnological

²⁸¹ Über die Verschiedenheit der im Gouvernement Orenburg lebenden Völker in ihrem früheren und jetzigen Zustand (Rytschkow 1983: 46-90).

²⁸² On Rychkov and the First Orenburg Expedition, see Pekarskii 1867; Robel 1976, 1987; Anderle 1983, 1991; Fleischhauer 1986: 90-97.

²⁸³ Driessen-van het Reve 2006 gives many examples in favor of Schumacher's advancing science in Russia.

²⁸⁴ Personal communication Yuri Nikolayevich Smirnov, Samara, September 2005.

situation on Kamchatka. As we have seen, these instructions were also made available to Steller, when departing for Kamchatka in 1739, and it is certain that Krasheninnikov profited from Steller's notes after the latter's demise. The *Zusatz* also inspired Gmelin when writing his travelogue of the expedition. Finally, Müller's lengthy instructions to Fischer (1740), dealing exclusively with the non-Russian population of Siberia, make clear that Müller was seriously interested in what he initially had called the 'history of peoples' in Siberia (1732).

It seems therefore that Müller initiated a trend by actively stimulating ethnographic research by others. He placed ethnography (*Völker-Beschreibung*) on the scholarly agenda in Russia. By developing ethnographic methods and writing detailed instructions to students and colleagues, Müller transmitted the idea of a comprehensive and systematic ethnography. He fulfilled this role not only during the expedition but also thereafter. He was a leading consultant to Peter Simon Pallas during the so-called Academic Expeditions of 1768-74 and strongly influenced August Ludwig Schlözer after his arrival in Russia in 1761 (see Chapter 6). Thus, Müller continued his efforts to set up a description of peoples even after his return.

Such a *Völker-Beschreibung* was a major improvement on the previous literature of the travel accounts or *Reise-Beschreibungen* ('travel descriptions'). Renowned examples are Adam Olearius, *Vermehrte Moscowitische und Persianische Reisebeschreibung* (Schleswig 1647, 1656), Johann Albrecht von Mandelslo, *Morgenländische Reyse-Beschreibung* (Hamburg 1658), Jürgen Andersen and Volquard Iversen (*Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, Schleswig 1669), and Eberhard Isbrands Ides, *Reisebeschreibung zu Lande nach China* (Berlin 1696). Going back to the early fifteenth century, these travel reports turned into a rich tradition of reflection on the Other and the Self (Harbsmeier 1994, 2002). The genre was so popular that during the eighteenth century complete series of travelogues appeared, including the sixty-volume *Histoire générale des voyages* of Antoine-François Prévost d'Exiles (1746-61). Bibliographical inventories were made,²⁸⁵ as many of these travel reports were translated, abstracted and reprinted.²⁸⁶ The curator of the University of Göttingen, Gerlach Adolf Freiherr von Münchhausen (1688-1770) already in 1748 urged the library to collect, as completely as possible, 'all voyages and travel accounts' (*alle Voyages und Reise Beschreibungen*) (Eck 1986: 12, n.7). As a result, the University of Göttingen has an extensive series of these *Itineraria* that were consulted by scholars such as Blumenbach and Meiners who regarded *Reiseberichte* as primary sources of information on peoples and customs around the world. By the end of the eighteenth century, travel accounts were predominantly seen as part of geography, especially in the new category 'geography and ethnography' (*Länder- und Völkerkunde*).

Müller was critical about this tradition. In the unpublished preface to his 1759 article, he called the reports by Brand on the inhabitants of Livonia and Estonia, Scheffer on the Lapps, Olearius on several peoples in the Volga region, de Bruyn on the Samoyeds, J.B. Müller on the

²⁸⁵ For inventories of travel reports, see Bernoulli 1784; Stuck 1784-87; and Beckmann 1807-10.

²⁸⁶ The most extensive series in the German-speaking countries were edited by M.C. Sprengel and T.F. Ehrmann, including *Bibliothek der neuesten und wichtigsten Reisebeschreibungen zur Erweiterung der Erdkunde* (1800-14).

Ostyaks, Ides and Strahlenberg on many peoples in Siberia ‘incomplete’ (*unvollständig*).²⁸⁷ He knew from personal experience that these accounts could be partial, fragmentary, and even contradictory or false. The travelers had only been in foreign territories for a short period of time, did not know the local languages nor the history of the region, had been led astray by informants, did not have access to reliable interpreters, and could only record what they saw or had heard about. Müller held that a series of *Völker-Beschreibungen*, especially when placed in a comparative perspective, was superior to a series of *Reise-Beschreibungen*. Following the empirical principles set out by Francis Bacon, Müller was convinced that the collection of facts and the precise description of observable (external) facts was a precondition to theorizing. This explains why he placed so much emphasis on a systematic and holistic description of peoples.

In the unpublished preface to his ethnographic article of 1759, Müller explained that a ‘most general description of peoples’ (*eine ganz allgemeine Völkerbeschreibung*) would have to be based on all available travel accounts as well as on ‘descriptions of separate peoples.’ Thus, Müller wanted to move beyond the travel accounts and establish a new discipline focusing entirely on the description of peoples and their comparison. However, because such descriptions ‘had not yet been brought to perfection and many peoples had not been described in such a way,’ it would be advisable if ‘learned scholars of all empires would bring together their views on peoples of which they have information’ and ‘provide detailed instructions to all travelers to foreign and distant lands.’ It would be profitable if such scholars would join forces in a ‘most general *Völkerbeschreibung* of the future’ and if each of them would compare contemporary peoples with those of antiquity, such as Lafitau had done so admirably.²⁸⁸

This preface (c.1744-45) and the final paragraphs of his instructions to Fischer (1740) make clear that Müller’s ethnological program consisted of two steps: first, ethnographic descriptions, as detailed as possible, then a systematic comparison, both among contemporary peoples and between such peoples and their ancestors. Müller’s ethnological program was a further development on the travel literature, intended to move to a new stage: a systematic and

²⁸⁷ ‘Jene Nachrichten, die bereits erschienen sind, und zwar von Brandt [1698] über die Liefländer und die Estländer, von Scheffer [1673] über die Lappen, von Olearius [1647] über verschiedene Völker am [Fluß] Volga, von [de] Bruyn [1711] über die Samojeden, von [J.B.] Müller [1720] über die Ostjaken, von Isbrand [Ides] [1696] und dem unbenannten Verfasser der Anmerkungen zum Geschlechtsregister des Abulgazi über zahlreiche sibirische Völker und des Strahlenberg [1730] über weitere in Rußland und Sibirien lebende Völker können alle als unvollständig angesehen werden’ (Müller, *Allgemeine Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker*, c.1744-45, to be published in Hintzsche and Elert n.d.).

²⁸⁸ ‘Mein mehrfacher Wunsch war es, daß eine erfahrene Person aus allen bis zur heutigen Zeit vorliegenden Reisebeschreibungen wie auch aus den Beschreibungen einzelner Völker nach den hier übermittelten Angaben den Versuch übernehmen möge, eine ganz allgemeine Völkerbeschreibung zu verfassen und daß durch diese Materialien eine gewisse neue Wissenschaft begründet werden möge, von der die Nachwelt einen ewigen Nutzen erwarten könnte... die gelehrten Leute aller Reiche ihre Auffassungen von den Völkern, über die sie Nachrichten zusammenzutragen in der Lage sind, beifügen könnten und den Reisenden, die in fremde und weit entfernte Länder fahren, ausführliche Instruktionen zu geben ... Sehr vorteilhaft wäre es, wenn sie ihre Werke mit einer zukünftigen allgemeinsten Völkerbeschreibung vereinigen würden und jeder an seinem Platz so weit als möglich einen Vergleich zwischen den Völkern zu jetziger Zeit und zu vergangenen Zeiten anstellen würde, so wie dies der Jesuit Lafitau mit seiner Beschreibung der Völker Nordamerikas getan hat, in der er ihre Sitten mit denen der ältesten bemerkenswerten Völker vergleicht. Dies mag den Nachfahren als vortreffliches Beispiel dienen.’ (Müller, *Allgemeine Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker*, c.1744-45, to be published in Hintzsche and Elert n.d.).

encompassing description of peoples that could be used in a comparative framework. By following the Early Enlightenment tradition of Weigel, Pufendorf, Leibniz and Mencke, and by building on the comparative work of the French Jesuit Lafitau, Müller launched a new discourse.

Müller and Comparative Ethnology

Hintzsche and Elert claim that Müller was a founder of ethnography.²⁸⁹ This took place long before Frank Hamilton Cushing studied the Zuni in 1879, Franz Boas conducted fieldwork on Baffin Island in 1883-84, and Bronislaw Malinowski invented modern fieldwork methods on the Trobriand Islands in 1915-16. Ethnography or *Völker-Beschreibung* as a discipline was invented by Müller in the 1730s and 1740s. However, Müller had important predecessors. The first is the French Jesuit Joseph-François Lafitau (1681-1746) who wrote a substantial two-volume work titled *Moeurs des sauvages Américains, comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps* (Paris 1724).²⁹⁰ Müller took a copy of the French edition with him when he embarked on the Siberian expedition²⁹¹ and he referred to it favorably in the unpublished preface to his 1759 ethnographic article. Lafitau's book was the culmination of the rich tradition of 'Jesuit Relations' in New France (the French part of America) that included French, Latin and Italian documents written between 1610 and 1791 (Thwaites 1896-1901, 73 vols.). Lafitau had spent five years among the Canadian Indians as a missionary and in his book compared the customs of Native Americans with those of classical antiquity, especially the Greeks. He conducted a 'study of the manners and customs of various peoples' that he found 'useful and exciting.'²⁹² His aim was to prove 'the necessity and realness of religion' by pointing to the general correspondence about a supreme being 'among all peoples' (Lafitau 1752: 3).

Sol Tax (1955a) described Lafitau as a forerunner of the 'study of social organization.' William Fenton (1969) presented Lafitau as 'Precursor of Scientific Anthropology.' Anthony Pagden (1986) claimed that Lafitau was the founder of comparative ethnology. In an additional chapter to the second edition of his book *The Fall of Natural Man* (1982), Pagden traced a connection between theological discussions on the 'American Indian' and the origins of what he called 'Comparative Ethnology.' In this chapter, titled 'Comparative Ethnology and the Language of Symbols,' Pagden (1986) argued that Lafitau built on the work of José de Acosta (1539-1600), a Spanish missionary and naturalist who wrote a 'natural and moral history of the Indies' (*Historia natural y moral de las Indias*. Sevilla 1590). In this book, Acosta, also called

²⁸⁹ 'der erste Ethnograph' (Elert 1999a); 'der ... Vater der wissenschaftlichen Ethnologie' (Hintzsche 2004: xxxiv).

²⁹⁰ Joseph-François Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages Américains, comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps*. 2 vols. Paris: Saugrain l'aîné & Charles Estienne Hochereau. German translation *Die Sitten der amerikanischen Wilden, im Vergleich zu den Sitten der Frühzeit*. Halle, bey Johan Justinus Gebauer 1752-53. Reprint with comments by Helmut Reim, Leipzig: Edition Leipzig 1987. English translation by William N. Fenton and Elizabeth L. Moore, *Customs of the American Indians compared with the Customs of Primitive Times*. 2 vols. Toronto: Champlain Society 1974-77.

²⁹¹ Müller took 'La Fitau' as one of many books along on the Second Kamchatka Expedition (Hintzsche 2004: 441). The book was correctly identified as the comparative work of Lafitau by Hintzsche (2004: 457 note 21).

²⁹² 'l'étude des mœurs et coutumes des différents peuples' (Lafitau 1724: 4), or 'die Kenntnis der Sitten und Gewohnheiten verschiedener Völker' (Lafitau 1752: 2); 'nützlich und reizend' (Lafitau 1752: 2).

the Plinius of the New World, focused on the Caribbean and Central America. By adding information on North American nations, Lafitau was able to compare the customs of ‘savage Americans’ among themselves and with those of the Greeks. Pagden claims that ‘comparative ethnology’ commenced with early Spanish and French studies of the Indians. He regards Lafitau as a successor of Acosta and concludes that Acosta and Lafitau, and others following Acosta, deserve credit for having made it possible ‘to see that every explanation of alien cultures had to be securely grounded in that local and empirical study of behaviour which, in the nineteenth century, came to be called “ethnology”’ (Pagden 1986: 209).

As I argue in the present book, Pagden’s dating of ethnology’s emergence is a century too late. Ethnology as the study of peoples was born in the second half of the eighteenth century (see Chapter 6). It was preceded by a stage in which ethnography was conceptualized and practiced as an empirical ‘description of peoples.’ While Lafitau was concerned with a comparison of customs, his subject was still the ‘manners and customs of peoples,’ an old formula in use since Ioannes Boemus (Johann Beham)’s *Omnium gentium mores, leges et ritus* (Augsburg 1520). This work of the sixteenth-century German humanist was translated into French under the subtitle ‘les particulières mœurs, loix et caeremonies de toutes nations & peuples’ (Boemus 1536). In an attempt to collect in one place the rituals, practices, and customs of peoples ancient and modern in Africa, Asia, and Europe, the book grew with each edition as more information became available. It is regarded as having started the study of manners or morals (*l’Histoire des mœurs*, Lemay 1970: 39). Both Boemus and Lafitau had a pluralist *Völker*-perspective, but, unlike Müller, did not develop a program for an interrelated series of ethnographies.

Andreas Motsch devoted a book to Lafitau, analyzing his work as contributing to ‘the emergence of an ethnographic discourse.’ He tested the hypothesis, submitted by Claude Blanckaert (1985) and Pagden (1986), of a close relation between the birth of anthropology and diverse European (Christian) missions in the Americas (Motsch 2001: 6). Müller took great interest in such an ethnographic discourse. Lafitau’s work provided Müller with a powerful example for his ethnographic work. In the unpublished preface to his 1759 article, Müller called Lafitau’s ‘description of North American peoples ... an excellent example.’²⁹³

Apparently, Müller wanted to do for Siberia what the French and Spanish authors had done for the Americas: provide descriptions of all individual peoples that would allow for a systematic comparison, both among each other and with those of other continents and earlier eons. His personal wish was that ‘an experienced person’ would compile ‘a most general description of peoples’ and that, in this way, ‘a certain new science would be founded’ (*eine gewisse neue Wissenschaft begründet werden möge*). This would be ‘beneficial to posterity forever.’²⁹⁴

Another scholar working on a ‘new science’ was the Italian historian Giambattista Vico (1668-1744), regarded by some as a founder of anthropology and generally seen as the

²⁹³ ‘[Lafiteau’s work] mag den Nachfahren als vortreffliches Beispiel dienen.’ (Müller, Allgemeine Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker, c.1744-45, to be published Hintzsche and Elert n.d.).

²⁹⁴ *ibid.*

founder of the modern philosophy of history. Vico wrote a voluminous work titled *Principii di una Scienza Nuova d'intorno alla natura delle nazioni* (Napoli 1725).²⁹⁵ In it, Vico presented a historical study of the 'nature of nations' and paid a great deal of attention to the development of the world's peoples. Of interest is his cyclical theory of history, the rise and fall of nations. In France, Vico's thought was possibly familiar to Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In Germany, Vico's ideas were known to Johann Georg Hamann and, through his disciple Johann Gottfried Herder, to Johann Wolfgang Goethe. Goethe acquired a copy of Vico's book, which he, in turn, lent to Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi. Vico's ideas were also familiar to Friedrich August Wolf who wrote an article on 'G.B. Vico über den Homer' in 1807. The first disseminator of Vico's views in Great Britain was probably Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Vico's ideas reached a wider audience with a German translation by W.E. Weber in 1822 and a French translation by Jules Michelet in 1824. The latter was widely read and led to a new appreciation of Vico's work in France. More recently, Edmund Leach (1976: 4) has reclaimed Vico as founding father of structural and cognitive anthropology. Isaiah Berlin (1976) interpreted Vico and Herder as philosophers of history reflecting on the world's peoples. However, as Vico's work was hardly read outside Naples before 1770 and Herder's work belongs to that of a later generation in the German Enlightenment, these scholars cannot have influenced Müller's thinking in any way.

By contrast, Lafitau's work provided Müller with a model for conducting comparative studies. Müller collected all sources that could shed light on the indigenous, non-Russian peoples of Siberia in order to describe them and compare them to other peoples. French studies such as Lafitau's provided an example for the German scholars in the service of the Russian Empire, treading into relatively unexplored territory. They knew that few had preceded them, but also that others had preceded them in different settings: the East and the West Indies. Messerschmidt, Müller, Gmelin, and Steller must have felt the successors of Spanish and French explorers, investigating a new world: *terra incognita* Siberia.

The Foundation of Ethnography in Siberia

The above survey demonstrates that the systematic ethnography of Siberia began with Müller and that Müller was indeed one of the founders of ethnography. As we have seen, Müller developed an ethnological program in two stages: first, an ethnographic description of the world's peoples, to begin with in Siberia, and second, a systematic comparison between these peoples and those of the New World, Asia and Africa. He began to carry out this program himself and transmitted it to other scholars doing research in the Russian Empire. In this way, Müller opened a new scholarly discourse on the plurality of peoples. This important stage in the

²⁹⁵ Giovanni Battista Vico, *Principii di una Scienza Nuova d'intorno alla natura delle nazioni*. Napoli 1st ed. 1725, 2nd ed. 1730, 3rd ed. 1744. English translation of the third edition *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press 1968 (1st ed. 1948).

history of socio-cultural anthropology was continued in the academic centers of Northern Germany and Austria where historians such as A.L. Schlözer and A.F. Kollár converted Müller's *Völker-Beschreibung* into a general study of peoples, *Völkerkunde* (1771-72) or *ethnologia* (1781-83) (see Chapter 6). The many data on Müller's ethnological program and his methods and instructions give rise to the following thesis: ethnography or *Völker-Beschreibung* arose from the colonial practice of German-speaking scholars working in Russia and Asia. In an article on 'Anthropology in Colonial Contexts' published in 1999, I concluded:

These data suggest that ethnography as *Völker-Beschreibung* came forth from the colonial practice of German scholars working in the Russian empire (1733-1767), both in Siberia, the Caucasus and the Volga area (1733-1767), and was then generalized into *Völkerkunde* or *ethnologia* in the academic centres of Göttingen and Vienna (1771-83). As a result, ethnography in colonial Russia flowered early and abundantly, to such an extent that the institutionalisation of the discipline in Russia occurred much earlier than in Western Europe or the USA (Vermeulen 1999: 29).

The German historian of ethnology Werner Petermann endorsed this view in his handbook on the history of ethnology (2004), adding an interpretation and an important supposition.²⁹⁶ The interpretation added by Petermann is that these *Völker-Beschreibungen* were 'very concrete ethnographic collections of materials and monographs' that had little to do with generalizing reflections from philosophers of history (such as Vico and Herder). This is correct. Petermann also speculated that the ethnographies produced by German scientists working at the Imperial Academy of Sciences were 'desired by the state' (*staatlich gewünscht*). This is surprising, as evidence for such a conjecture was not included in my 1999 article.

Did the Russian authorities feel the desire to make a detailed scholarly inventory of the peoples in their empire? There are indeed indications for such a supposition. As we have seen in Chapter 2, Peter the Great hired Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt to undertake a scientific expedition in the Russian Empire as part of the plan of Peter's physician Areskine to send out scientific expeditions in all directions of the Russian Empire from 1710 onward (these were carried out by Schober, Buxbaum, Messerschmidt, and others). In 1718, Messerschmidt received instructions for an expedition that included a study of the peoples to be encountered and their languages. The Blumentrost brothers, especially Johann Deodat Blumentrost, head of the Medical Collegium and successor of Areskine, who also supervised Messerschmidt's research, drafted these instructions. Earlier, Remezov had received a commission from the *Sibirski Prikaz* to collect information on Siberia, measure the distances from one place to another, record where

²⁹⁶ 'Der niederländische Ethnologe und Wissenschaftshistoriker Han Vermeulen hat wahrscheinlich machen können, dass es die Tätigkeit deutscher Wissenschaftler, Historiker, Geografen und Naturforscher in Russland, insbesondere im Umkreis der Kaiserlichen Russischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg war, die im Rahmen der Erforschung Sibiriens – vor allem durch die 1. und 2. Kamtschatka-Expedition, unter Leitung des Dänen Vitus Bering (1725-30 und 1733-43) – zu einer staatlich gewünschten Bestandsaufnahme mit systematischen 'Völker-Beschreibungen' führte, bei denen es sich diesseits aller generalisierenden geschichtsphilosophischen Betrachtungen ... um recht konkrete ethnografische Materialsammlungen und Monografien handelte' (Petermann 2004: 285).

the peoples lived, and indicate whether they were nomadic or sedentary. Remezov's work counts as the beginning of Russian cartography rather than of Russian ethnography.

Map making was high on the Russian agenda, as Remezov's 'Siberian Sketchbook' (1699-1701), Chaplin's map (1729), and Kirilov's description of Russian provinces (1727) demonstrate. Maps, of course, are never neutral. In the Foucauldian approach, maps are seen as a form of knowledge that facilitates the hegemonic exercise of power (Edney 1997; Harley 2001). This also applies to the Russian Empire, an expanding central state with control over internal 'colonies' (Bakhrushin 1999 [1937]: 21) and territorial claims on neighboring regions. The location of peoples, viewed as part of the wealth of a nation, is indicated on such maps. Major examples of maps locating indigenous peoples are Chaplin 1729 and two maps in Fischer 1768. On one of the versions of Chaplin's map, held at the National Library of Sweden, it is not only indicated whether these peoples were nomadic, but also whether they were tax-paying or not.

Müller drafted his instruction 'on the history of peoples' (*De historia gentium*) inspired by his 'desire that during a journey so remarkable and long the history of country and peoples, the antiquities, and the manners and customs of peoples (*land- und völkergeschichte, die alterthümer, die sitten und gebräuche der völker*) etc. would not be neglected.' However, in writing this instruction, Müller probably reacted upon a decision of the Russian Senate that a 'description of the peoples and their manners' and a study of 'the fruits of the earth' should be carried out in the regions traversed by the Second Bering Expedition. The Senate sent an order to this effect to the Academy of Sciences in June 1732. It may have served Müller as a incentive for writing instructions for an expedition historian in November 1732. He probably acted in concert with Bering, for whom he had worked as an interpreter; Kirilov, the Secretary of the Senate who coordinated the Second Kamchatka Expedition, especially its Academy contingent; and possibly Ostermann who as Vice-Chancellor and Cabinet Minister took an active part in organizing and controlling the expedition (Rychalovskii 2003). Areskine, Kirilov, Ostermann, Blumentrost were authorities representing the Russian state, even if three of them were of foreign origin.

Did they commission Müller to make a study of the Siberian peoples, or was it his own ambition? The available sources are not conclusive in this regard. Müller later stated that he had not been invited to write an instruction for a 'history of peoples' but had acted on his own account (*ohne das es verlangt wurde*). After his return, he wrote in the unpublished preface to his 1759 ethnographic article: 'When my dispatch to Siberia ... had been effected in 1733, I was ordered by the highest Imperial *ukaz*, to describe the manners and customs of all peoples I would encounter during the voyage.' He added: 'Although this task was imposed on me additionally (*zusätzlich*), I can say that I worked on it with such pleasure during the ten-year journey, even if I had other very important things to do, that it served me as recuperation (*zur Erholung*).'²⁹⁷ This

²⁹⁷ 'Als im Jahr 1733 meine Abfertigung nach Sibirien, und zwar in einen solchen Teil des Russischen Reichs, in dem die Unterschiede zwischen den Völkern sehr groß sind, erfolgt war, ist mir durch allerhöchsten Kaiserlichen *ukaz* befohlen worden, die Sitten und Gebräuche aller Völker, die mir auf der Reise begegnen, zu beschreiben. Obwohl mir diese Aufgabe zusätzlich auferlegt wurde, kann ich dennoch sagen, daß ich mich während der gesamten zehnjährigen Reise mit solch großem Vergnügen um diese Sache bemühte, daß mir diese, während ich

seems to indicate that Müller had been ordered by the Russian authorities ‘to describe the manners and customs of all peoples’ he would encounter, in addition to his other duties. However, the official orders of June 1733 only mention Müller’s work on the history of Siberia: he was appointed as a ‘professor of geography and of old and new history.’²⁹⁸ In the specific instructions for the three professors drafted by the Academy of Sciences in July 1733, Müller was ordered to deal with *De historia gentium (Völkergeschichte)*;²⁹⁹ in the general instructions, to also deal with geography and chronicle the events of the voyage.³⁰⁰ Reporting from Siberia in February 1734, Müller’s task was summarized as ‘to study and describe the history and geography of all areas through which our journey would lead us, as well as the manners and customs of the unbelieving peoples of the Russian Empire.’³⁰¹ While this shows that Müller had several tasks during the expedition, including the study of the Siberian peoples, it is not clear if the latter task was imposed on him. He later stated that this was the case (in his unpublished preface) but he had initially offered his assistance voluntarily. It may well be, however, that Müller knew the Russian authorities would be interested in such an offer.

This raises the question: What was the Russian interest in the peoples of their empire? In the seventeenth century, Russian society consisted of a small elite and a large majority of peasants, most of them serfs. The bourgeoisie, or third class, did not yet exist. Yuri Slezkine (1994a) points to the fact that, in pre-Petrinian Russia, social distinction was made on the basis of religion. The Cossacks’ view of the Siberians was not that they were barbarians but disbelievers; they never designated the people of Siberia as ‘savages’ but as strange, incomprehensible people who had to be forced to pay taxes (Slezkine 1994a: 40; Bucher 2002: 155). Ethnology, a way of looking at people in ethnological terms, was not yet a topic in Russia. However, this attitude changed during the Petrinian reforms. In the early eighteenth century, an official interest in a description of peoples in the Russian Empire was developing, which seems to have been related to economic, political and religious concerns. As we have seen, the main motives for the Russian expansion into Siberia and Central Asia were the occupation of land, the Christianization and taxation of peoples (previously paying tribute to the Tatars), the stimulation of trade, and the exploitation of natural resources. These policies had partly been implemented in the pre-Petrinian period when Siberia was seen as a ‘colony, its peoples as willing providers of taxes and furs’ (Schorkowitz 1995: 331). Under Peter the Great, the Russian Empire was extended and its power consolidated. The tax-system (*yasak*) was maintained but the development of trade

mich mit anderen sehr wichtigen Dingen beschäftigte, zur Erholung diente’ (Müller, Allgemeine Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker, to be published in Hintzsche and Elert n.d.).

²⁹⁸ Ukaz des Senats vom 22. Juni 1733 aus Sankt Petersburg (Hintzsche 2004: 429); ‘Professor der Geographie und alten und neuen Geschichte’ (*Donoshenie* [report] aus dem Senat, 4 June 1733, in Hintzsche 2004: 378).

²⁹⁹ Spezielle Instruktionen der Akademie der Wissenschaften für die an der 2. Kamchatkaexpedition teilnehmenden Professoren vom 5. Juli 1733 aus Sankt Petersburg (Hintzsche 2004: 491-510).

³⁰⁰ Allgemeine Instruktion der Akademie der Wissenschaften für die an der 2. Kamchatkaexpedition teilnehmenden Professoren vom 5. Juli 1733 aus Sankt Petersburg (Hintzsche 2004: 485-488).

³⁰¹ ‘die Geschichte und Geographie aller der Gegenden, durch welche uns unsere Reise führen wird, wie auch die Sitten und Gebräuche der ungläubigen Völker des Rußischen Reiches untersuchen und beschreiben soll’ (Promemoria by De l’Isle, Gmelin and Müller, 4 February 1734 from Tobolsk, in Hintzsche 2006: 36).

was actively stimulated. Both were combined with an exploration of Siberia and Russian Asia, which included a search for natural resources. As a result, Siberia was incorporated into the Russian state system. Thus, the Russian ethnographic interest seems to have increased due to economic policies. The peoples (*narody*) had to be described in terms of size, location, and ways of living in order to impose taxes on them and incorporate them into the state. The assignment of Remezov to report on the size, location, and economic situation of Siberian peoples (1699-1701) and the geographical work of Kirilov in the 1720s indicate this. Until 1725, all decisions in this regard had the Tsar's approval. Later indications of an interest in the subject are the Senate's orders of June 1732 to make a 'description of the peoples and their manners' and a study of 'the fruits of the earth' during the Second Kamchatka Expedition, and those of April 1733 to also pay attention to 'the origin, morals, customs, and so on of those people living on the north side of the Amur River' because 'the Russian nation once had numerous settlements there as well' (added as the eleventh point to Müller's instruction *De historia gentium*).

Thus, the Russian authorities had economic, political, and religious interests in the peoples under their control. However, as Hintzsche opines, the descriptions presented by Remezov and Kirilov were brief and Müller found them unsystematic.³⁰² This is revealing because it was precisely at the level of methodology that Müller thought a contribution by a historian could be made during the expedition. The conclusion seems warranted that Müller added a scholarly agenda to the Russian interest in the peoples of their empire. He widened the subject, related it to earlier research on manners and customs, and developed *Völker-Beschreibung* as a research program. In this way, the ethnographic interest in the Russian Empire was strengthened by an ethnological perspective of German-speaking scholars working for the Russians.

To build up scholarly potential, the Russians imported foreign scholars, especially from the universities at Halle, Leipzig and Jena in Central Germany, at the time the most modern universities in the Holy Roman Empire. The president of the Academy, Laurentius Blumentrost, was a German, born in Moscow, who had studied at Halle, Amsterdam, and Leiden. So were Schumacher, the historians Bayer and Bacmeister, and many other academicians in Russia. The Russians also appointed scientists from Scotland, Sweden, Holland, Denmark and Switzerland, countries that were predominantly Protestant. Peter the Great refrained from appointing Catholic scholars to prevent missionary activities. The Central-German universities of Halle, Leipzig, Jena, and Wittenberg were spearheads of Early Enlightenment and Protestantism. German was the *lingua franca* in the Imperial Academy of Sciences during the eighteenth century (Hobsbawm 1990).

Did Müller turn into an ethnographer during the expedition? Müller's biographer, Peter Hoffmann views Müller as an autodidact and concludes that Müller developed his ethnological program during the expedition (Hoffmann 2005). It is possible that Müller obtained his first interest in a historical study of peoples at Leipzig. His teacher had been Mencke, who was

³⁰² Hintzsche, personal communication, Halle (Saale), December 2007.

professor of general history (*historia universalis*), that is, of world history, which included a history of peoples (*Völkergeschichte*). Mencke's teachings probably included references to the historical-etymological work of Leibniz on the relevance of linguistics for elucidating the early history of peoples. However, Müller had studied at Leipzig for less than a year and ethnological works by Mencke are not known. Thus, it is likely that Müller developed his ethnological perspective, a way of thinking in terms of peoples or nations, during the expedition.

Writing from Siberian practice, Müller arrived at a systematic, holistic view on a study that had not yet been named and as such did not exist. He always strove for an overall picture (*Gesamtbild*, Hoffmann 2005: 247) and viewed history, geography, and ethnography as interrelated (Hoffmann 2005: 218, 220). During the expedition, Müller widened his focus and shifted from his original proposal, a *historia gentium* (1732), or *Völkergeschichte*, a 'history of peoples' as part of history, to a *Völker-Beschreibung* (1740), a 'description of peoples' as a sequel to history. During and after the expedition, Müller made a sharp distinction between his work on the history, geography, and ethnography of Siberia. He organized his research and his field notes according to these categories. To my knowledge, he was the first scholar to do so. Neither Gmelin, Steller, Messerschmidt, Strahlenberg nor Tatishchev made this distinction, treating these studies as separate fields. As far as we know, Müller did not yet use the term ethnography. However, his instructions to Fischer (1740) and the unpublished preface to his 1759 article demonstrate that he saw this study as a separate science, apart from history and geography. In this preface, he called it 'a very general description of peoples of the earth' (*eine allgemeinste Völkerbeschreibung des Erdkreises*) or 'a most general description of peoples' (*eine ganz allgemeine Völkerbeschreibung*, Müller c.1744-45).

The concept *Völker-Beschreibung* was a German pre-runner of the concept ethnography, surfacing as early as 1740 in Müller's instructions, 1776 in the work of Georgi, and 1782 in that of Pallas (Vermeulen 1995b: 44-46). Reflecting the amazingly large cultural diversity in Siberia, it stressed the importance of descriptions of the many 'nations' (*Völker*) living in this vast area alongside the description of their history, natural and mineral resources, as well as geography. Ethnography thus emerged as a complement to already existing disciplines in the expanding context of the early colonization and exploration of Siberia. Its founding father was Gerhard Friedrich Müller, a German historian investigating Siberia, who produced a paradigmatic shift from the study of 'manners and customs' (*Sitten and Gebräuche*) as characteristic for peoples, to a brand new and more inclusive study of peoples: *Völker-Beschreibung*.

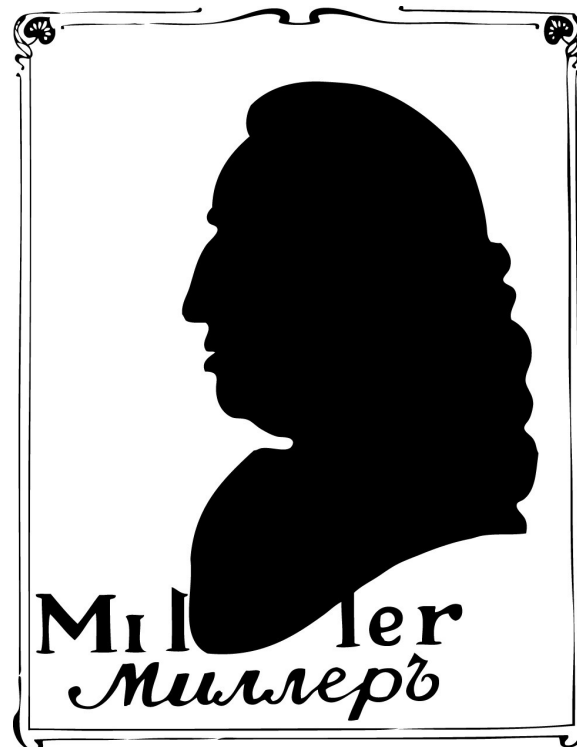


Fig. 5. Gerhard Friedrich Müller (Miller)
(From *Istoriia Sibiri* 1999)

Müller's Legacy

Müller's influence on the formation of ethnography was manifold. He developed an ethnological program and partly carried it out himself. He stimulated ethnographic research by others both during the expedition and afterwards. He wrote instructions for Krasheninnikov, Steller, Fischer, and other expedition members. He edited Krasheninnikov's work on Kamchatka (1755), added an article to Steller's description of Kamchatka (1774), and edited the work of Rychkov (1759). He corresponded with A.F. Büsching, the leading German geographer whom he sent detailed information about Russia, J.D. Michaelis, the initiator of the Danish-German Arabia Expedition in Göttingen, and possibly contacted J.R. Forster, who studied Germans inhabiting the Volga region (1765-66). In addition, Müller was a major advisor to Peter Simon Pallas, who organized the Academic Expeditions of 1768-74, and (indirectly) stimulated August Ludwig Schlözer to conduct research in the field of history, geography, ethnography, and linguistics.

Ethnography, in the work of Messerschmidt, Müller, Gmelin, Steller, and Krasheninnikov, resulted from colonial practice in the context of the Russian exploration of Siberia. It was an empirical study of a multitude of smaller and larger peoples, of a phenomenon German anthropologists nowadays call *Völkervielfalt*, a plurality of peoples. Peter Hoffmann (2005) views Müller as an autodidact who turned into an ethnographer during the expedition through in Siberia. However, even before going on the expedition, Müller had an ethnological perspective, as his instruction *De historia gentium* proves. Starting out with a program for a *Völkergeschichte*, Müller finished with a program for *Völker-Beschreibung* as a series of

ethnographies providing the basis for an inter-ethnic comparison, much along the lines set out by Lafitau in 1724. Neither Hume, nor Montesquieu, Linnaeus, or Buffon influenced Müller prior to 1740. Thus, the development of an ethnological program for Siberia was not influenced by Hume's empiricism, Montesquieu's environmental theory, Linnaeus' systematics, nor Buffon's varieties of humankind. These were all later developments.

During the expedition Müller developed methods for collecting information, based on his experiences. He passed them on in his instructions to Fischer. Müller gave the advice that it was better to work without an interpreter as 'the peoples in many cases were much more openhearted towards us foreigners, than in the company of interpreters who are selected from the Cossacks and are feared because of their terrible oppression of these peoples' (Müller 1900: 83; cf. Herzog 1949: 128). Steller's style of work is valued higher than those of Müller. Steller was known as a Pietist friend of the local people (*Menschenfreund*) and his sympathies were with the oppressed Itelmens, rather than with the Russian conquerors in whose service he worked (Matthies 1986: 56). He described the customs, language, economy, and religion of the Itelmens, as well as their conquering, oppression, exploitation, and destruction by the Cossacks. Gmelin's description of him (1752 III: 177), shows Steller to be an ethnographer *avant-la-lettre*: he had no need for luxury, wine, a cook, nor a wig; instead he cooked his own food, knew how to survive in difficult circumstances, adapted well to local conditions, and traveled as lightly as possible. In contrast to Müller and Gmelin, who even took along wine and goblets, Steller preferred to live and work as simple as possible, much like the example of Francke at the Halle Orphanage. The geographer Beck calls Steller 'a scholar and a traveler' and contrasts him to Gmelin and Müller, whom he views as 'scholars rather than travelers.'³⁰³ However, this is a partial view, based on the fact that Müller's ethnographic studies with few exceptions have not been published. As a result, Müller is evaluated on the basis of his historical and geographical publications, which leave out most of his ethnographic data that Müller intended to publish separately.

In comparison to Steller, Müller and Gmelin may be called gentleman-explorers. They stuck to familiar routes and used the shield of the expedition as well as its financial resources. Steller was a superior fieldworker in that he was able to adapt easily to local circumstances, especially on Kamchatka where he worked for two years in a harsh environment. Yet, Müller and Gmelin were able to collect huge quantities of material in the realm of natural and cultural history, and survived to publish at least parts of that material. Moreover, Müller traveled as far as Nerchinsk, Yakutsk, and Berezov and visited most Siberian districts and towns to unravel the history of Siberia. He studied more Siberian peoples than any other member of the Second Kamchatka Expedition. While Steller's work was ethnographic, Müller designed an ethnological program to produce descriptions within a comparative framework. Müller also developed methods for acquiring information and proper ways for dealing with informants and interpreters.

³⁰³ 'eher Gelehrte als Reisende,' Hanno Beck, quoted in Matthies 1986: 50.

Müller's work presents the first outline of a systematic study of peoples soon called *ethnographia*. His description of peoples (*Völker-Beschreibung*) functioned in the wider context of a comparative science to be built on a series of *Völkerbeschreibungen*, in addition to the earlier travel accounts (*Reisebeschreibungen*). Müller regarded ethnography or *Völker-Beschreibung* to be empirical, critical, and encompassing. His ethnological program influenced other members of the Second Kamchatka Expedition and was adopted by German explorers such as Steller, Pallas, and Georgi. Müller's ideas also influenced the Russian reformer Mikhail Mikhailovich Speransky (1772-1839) who based his 1822 'Code of Administration of Siberian Peoples' (*Polozheniye ob upravlenii Sibirskimi inorodcami*, 'Code of Administration of the Siberian Aliens') on Georgi's work, which in turn was based on Müller's research.

Müller's ethnological program also influenced August Ludwig Schlözer, who brought the idea of *Völker-Beschreibung* to Germany and transformed it into a general study of peoples called *Völkerkunde* (see Chapter 6). Scholars such as Schlözer and Gatterer theorized on the subject and worked *Völkerkunde* and *Ethnographie* into their outlines of both world history (*Weltgeschichte*) and geography (*Erdkunde*). They were the first two historians who began to generalize Müller's Siberian observations and introduced the subject in their teachings at the University of Göttingen. German-speaking historians such as Müller and Schlözer first formulated a science of peoples. However, they did this on the basis of a wider international interest in peoples during the eighteenth century, also in Russia. Ethnography was conducted either by historians such as Müller, Rychkov, and Fischer, or by natural historians such as Messerschmidt, Gmelin, Krashennnikov, Steller, and Pallas. It is significant that historians formulated the concepts referring to this new science. Historians, rather than philosophers paid full attention to the peoples of the world, especially their variety and diversity.

Müller's views on ethnography were largely adopted by Schlözer who, however, transformed Müller's (descriptive) *Völker-Beschreibung* into a (general) *Völkerkunde* and integrated the subject in academic discourse on world history (see Chapter 6). Before we enter that subject, we have to deal with another expedition, also set up on a multidisciplinary basis. This expedition, organized in Copenhagen and Göttingen, led to the Middle East (see Chapter 5). Although it produced ethnographic results, its contributions to ethnological discourse were much less pronounced – a problem that stands to be explained.

Chapter Five

Anthropology and the Orient

Carsten Niebuhr and the Danish-German Arabia Expedition, 1761-1767

The Danish-German Arabia Expedition was planned in Göttingen and Copenhagen. Carried out by a multinational and multidisciplinary team of travelers between 1761 and 1767, the expedition revealed a new form of scientific practice, the well-prepared scientific expedition (*Forschungsreise*) or ‘scientific travel’ (Sörlin 1989). It counts as the first modern European scientific expedition with exclusively scientific aims (Lohmeier 2002: 17). As we have seen, the Second Kamchatka Expedition (1733-1743) and the First Orenburg Expedition (1734-37) also count as scientific expeditions but their aims included geopolitical goals (see Chapter 4). The Danish-German Arabia Expedition was the first scientific expedition to Arabia (Hübner 2002: 398). Its only survivor, Carsten Niebuhr, counts as ‘the first explorer,’³⁰⁴ or as ‘the first modern explorer’³⁰⁵ because he entered into ‘a dialogic relationship’ with the population and adapted to local traditions, nutrition and dress codes (Wiesehöfer and Conermann 2002: 12). This qualification disregards earlier German explorers such as Engelbert Kaempfer, Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt and Georg Wilhelm Steller. Yet, it is true that Niebuhr was able to adapt to foreign countries and that he survived to publish part of the expedition’s results.

As we shall see, there were important precedents to this expedition during the first half of the eighteenth century. In the early 1700s, explorations of the Orient were undertaken by western scholars such as the French botanist Tournefort. The Swedish naturalist Linnaeus dispatched seventeen pupils to study natural history and wrote instructions for ‘traveling naturalists’ that included the observation of manners and customs of the peoples encountered. In the German states, expeditions to Africa (Abessynia, Egypt) and the Middle East (Yemen) were prepared with the aim of exploring the Orient and deciphering the Bible by the use of ‘scientific travel.’ These expeditions had been planned in Halle, Göttingen, and Gotha.

The Danish-German Arabia Expedition yielded many results, including ethnographic observations, which makes it an interesting subject for the present study. Apart from the careful preparation, and its many-folded results, the expedition was unique in that it was multidisciplinary in outlook and had an international cast of members. Tragically, only one of the six members survived and to the present day only parts of the expedition’s results have been published. In following the scientific preparation and execution of this expedition, I shall focus on its aims and methods, the selection of the expedition members, the contexts in which the original ideas were formulated, as well as on the results and their evaluation by the expedition’s initiator, Johann David Michaelis, professor at the University of Göttingen.

³⁰⁴ ‘der erste Forschungsreisende’ (Beck 1971).

³⁰⁵ ‘erste moderne Forschungsreisende’ (Wiesehöfer & Conermann 2002: 12; see also Lohmeier 2002: 17).

The Arabia Expedition and its Antecedents

The Danish-German expedition to Egypt, Arabia and Yemen (1761-67) was organized in Copenhagen and Göttingen, a university town in north-central Germany in the south of the current German state Lower Saxony (*Niedersachsen*), previously belonging to the Electorate of Hanover (*Hannover*). The University of Göttingen, founded in 1734 and inaugurated in 1737, was to be Hanover's answer to the University of Halle in Brandenburg-Prussia (*Sachsen-Anhalt*).³⁰⁶ While the University of Halle was stamped by the Early Enlightenment and Pietism, the University of Göttingen was characterized by the Late Enlightenment (*Spätaufklärung*), from the 1770s onward. Pietism was not accepted. The University of Göttingen quickly developed into the most modern university of the Holy Roman Empire. It maintained close links with the British Empire through the Electors of Hanover (also Kings of Great Britain and Ireland) on the one hand, and the Russian Empire through Catherine the Great on the other. The introduction of new fields, most notably the study of statistics or *Staatenkunde* alongside the study of law, of linguistics alongside philology, of history alongside geography, and of physical anthropology alongside natural history, was actively stimulated.

The expedition was financed by the Danish crown and is known in Denmark as the *Arabiske Rejse* (the Arabian Voyage). Two of its six members were German by birth; three members were trained in Germany. Moreover, the ideas behind the expedition and the instructions for the individual members were formulated in Göttingen. I therefore proposed to call it the *Danish-German Arabia Expedition* (Vermeulen 1999), even if the resulting collections went to Copenhagen where most of the results were published as well.³⁰⁷

The initial plans for the Danish-German Arabia Expedition go back to 1753, when Johann David Michaelis (1717-1791), educated at Halle and professor of Hebrew and Arabic at the University of Göttingen, wrote a short article on the benefits of a voyage to Palestine and Arabia (Michaelis 1753). In 1756, Michaelis suggested to send a well-prepared scholar from Tranquebar (Travancore), the Danish missionary station on the Coromandel Coast in southeast India, to Arabia Felix (Yemen) with the task to study Arabia and collect Oriental manuscripts. These texts were required for the scholarly work Michaelis was pursuing, particularly a critical edition of the Bible. Arabic codices were readily available in academic

³⁰⁶ 'Hannoversche Gegenründung' (von Selle 1937). Most of the first-generation professors of Göttingen hailed from the universities of Halle, Leipzig and Jena (a third from Halle and Leipzig each, Mühlpfordt 2008: 13-14).

³⁰⁷ Sources on the expedition are: (1) *Fragen* published by J.D. Michaelis 1762; (2) primary publications by Carsten Niebuhr 1772, 1774-78, 1837 and Peter Forsskål 1775a-b, 1776, 1950; (3) *Literarischer Briefwechsel von Johann David Michaelis*, ed. by J.G. Buhle (Bd. I, 1794: 297-492, Bd. 2, 1795: 1-209); (4) studies of Arabian exploration such as Hogarth 1905, Kiernan 1937, Bidwell 1976, Freeth & Winstone 1978; (5) critical studies by Kühn 1939, Beck 1971, Eck 1985, 1986, Harbsmeier 1992a; (6) Danish studies by Thorkild Hansen, *Det lykkelige Arabien*, København 1962 (English transl. 1964; German transl. 1965; Dutch transl. 2005), Stig T. Rasmussen, *Carsten Niebuhr und die Arabische Reise 1761-1767* (1986), and Stig T. Rasmussen (ed.) *Den Arabiske Rejse 1761-1767. En dansk ekspedition set i videnskabshistorisk perspektiv* (1990); (7) the recent volume edited by Josef Wiesehöfer and Stephan Conermann, *Carsten Niebuhr (1733-1815) und seine Zeit. Beiträge eines interdisziplinäres Symposium vom 7.-10. Oktober 1999 in Eutin* (Stuttgart 2002).

centers such as Leiden, Paris, and Oxford. In the German states, however, only the universities of Helmstedt, Jena, and Leipzig possessed several such manuscripts. A young university such as Göttingen lacked valuable ‘Oriental manuscripts,’ as Michaelis found out when he wanted to publish the classic geography of Abulfeda.³⁰⁸

The itinerary of the Danish-German Arabia Expedition was decided upon by evaluating previous research voyages to the Orient. The detour by sea over Tranquebar (India) was suggested by fear of the plague in parts of the Middle East that had to be crossed. In this respect, Michaelis invoked the memory of Fredrik Hasselquist, a student of Linnaeus who had made a journey through Palestine, Syria, Arabia Petraea, Egypt and other countries of the Middle East from 1749 onward, before passing away in the surroundings of Smyrna in 1752.³⁰⁹ An even earlier case was the expedition to Ethiopia prepared by Hiob Ludolf in Gotha, who had trained the priest Johann Michael Wansleben (1635-1679). After publishing a pirate-edition of Ludolf’s *Lexicon Aethiopico-Latinum* and his *Grammatica aethiopica* at London in 1661, Wansleben had commenced a voyage to Abessynia in 1672-73 but came no further than Cairo (Rupp-Eisenreich 1987). He wrote a description of Egypt in 1674, which was published only later, as well as a ‘New Description of a Voyage to Ethiopia’ in French (Paris 1677) and a work on Coptic religion (*Histoire de l’Eglise d’Alexandrie*, Paris 1677).

A more successful example for the Danish-German Arabia Expedition was the voyage of the Danish naval officer Frederik Ludvig Norden (1708-1742) to Egypt and Nubia. At the order of King Christian VI, Norden had traveled along the Nile, until he reached the first cataract (near Aswan) where he was forced to return (1737-38). On the basis of his notes and drawings, Norden’s *Voyage d’Égypte et de Nubie* was posthumously published at Copenhagen in two volumes (1755). Translations were published in English (London 1757) and German (Leipzig 1779). The aims of this voyage had been cartographic and mercantile, namely to set up commercial relations between Denmark and Ethiopia (Wiesehöfer and Conermann 2002: 10). As the latter aim was never reached, the main results of Norden’s trip were descriptions, maps and depictions of people and places (*Land und Leute*), especially of pyramids. His report’s many maps and illustrations served the Arabia Expedition as a prime example.³¹⁰

³⁰⁸ ‘morgenländische Manuscripte,’ Michaelis to Jacobi, Göttingen 24 Dec. 1755; Jacobi to Michaelis, Hannover 12 Jan. 1756, in Buhle I, 1794: 118-33; 134-36. See also Michaelis, Vorrede 1762: [p. 12]. The story how Michaelis, during the French occupation of Göttingen, obtained a copy of Abulfeda’s *Takwim al Bodan* from a French general was told by Michaelis in his *Lebensbeschreibung* (1793: 49). The Egyptian part of this manuscript was published by Michaelis in 1776 (*Abulfedae tabulae Aegypti*). Earlier, J.J. Reiske published ‘Abulfedae Opus Geographicum’ and ‘Abulfedae Tabularum Geographicarum’ in A.F. Büsching’s *Magazin für die neue Historie und Geographie*, 5 (1770): 121-298, 6 (1771): 299-366. These apparently came to replace the edition of Abu l-Fida’ by J. Gravius published at London in 1650.

³⁰⁹ Michaelis (1762:[19]) called the example of Fredrik Hasselquist ‘detering.’ His collections were recovered from the Turkish government by the Swedish Queen Louise Ulrike, the younger sister of Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, for the sum of 14,000 Taler in 1754. Linnaeus published a selection of Hasselquist’s notes and correspondence under the title *Iter Palaestinum eller Resa till Heliga landet* (Stockholm 1757); German edition *Reise nach Palästina* (Rostock 1762).

³¹⁰ Norden’s work was reviewed in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, no. 16 and 17, 1756 (see also Michaelis to von Bernstorff, Göttingen 30 August 1756, in Buhle I, 1794: 323).

The University of Göttingen had also sent out a traveler, with much less success. The renowned botanist Albrecht von Haller (1708-1777) organized an expedition to the Americas in 1752, shortly before Haller left Göttingen for Berne. For this expedition funds had been raised by a group of European bankers and merchants. Everything seemed fine, except that the executor of the expedition, Christlob Mylius (born 1722), was unsuited for his task. He died in March 1754 in a house for the poor, after celebrating in Berlin and London before the expedition actually took off (Eck 1986: 17). Reimer Eck, who studied this expedition in the context of the Danish-German Arabia Expedition, mentions that the Mylius expedition suffered from lack of communication between Haller and Mylius. Johann Beckmann states that Linnaeus concluded from Mylius' correspondence that the man had insufficient knowledge of *Naturalien* (objects of natural history) and adds that Mylius had found a powerful reason for delaying his departure from London: 'a beautiful woman, who kept him from making a speedy departure until he finally died there.'³¹¹

The lessons Michaelis drew from this debacle were that the expedition had to be thoroughly prepared, the personnel was to be selected on the basis of scholarly criteria, and the funding had to be adequate. The first proposal forwarded to the Danish court, in May 1756, was modest. Michaelis requested if it would be possible to send a scholar on a Danish ship setting off from the Danish colony Tranquebar in India to Yemen. This proposal was taken up positively by Frederik V, King of Denmark and Norway, and his Foreign Minister, Johann Hartwig Ernst Freiherr von Bernstorff (1712-1772). Frederik V had just founded the Danish Royal Academy in 1754 and was expanding his cosmopolitan *Kulturpolitik*. At the time, he was sponsoring Italian musicians, French artists, and German poets such as Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock. The Danish King jumped at the occasion and his Foreign Minister requested a detailed plan and a budget from Michaelis.³¹² This swift response came rather unexpectedly as Michaelis had mentioned the plan in passing, hoping to find funds in Sweden or Russia. He responded in August 1756 with an extensive plan, in which he suggested to add a physician and a servant to the single-scholar expedition. The reason that the Danish court was interested was that the King expected to gain further prestige as a benefactor of science and the arts. The Danish Foreign Minister von Bernstorff originated from Hanover and had studied in Göttingen. He was positively inclined to proposals from that side.

Denmark at the time was a powerful state with extended commercial networks and several colonies. It had a sound reputation in Europe for being neutral in the political upheavals of that period. Soon the Seven Years' War was to break out (1756-63), a bitter colonial struggle on a global scale. Beginning in North America as the French and Indian War (1754-63) between France and England, it soon spread to Europe and India. In Europe, the Habsburg Empire of Maria Theresia, assisted by France, Russia and Sweden, confronted

³¹¹ 'eine Schöne, die seine schleunige Reise aufgehalten, bis er endlich daselbst gestorben' (Johann Beckmann, *Schwedische Reise nach dem Tagebuch der Jahre 1765-1766*, 1995: 112).

³¹² Von Bernstorff to Michaelis, Copenhagen 3 August 1756, in Buhle (I: 297-298); Rasmussen (1990a: 13).

Prussia under Frederick the Great, who allied with Britain. Göttingen belonged to the Electorate of Hanover, and was part of the Holy Roman Empire, but also maintained close connections with the British Kingdom as the Elector (*Kurfürst*) of Hanover was also King of Great Britain and Ireland (1714-1809). Göttingen was occupied by French troops from the summer of 1757 onward (as was Halle in the summer of 1759) but the university was still functioning. Communication with the outside world was restricted, hampering negotiations about the expedition. However, as Michaelis had excellent contacts with French occupying military officers, his own letters usually went out (Michaelis 1793).

Another aspect of the political background to the Danish-German Arabia Expedition was the decline of the Ottoman Empire, which through an intricate network of beys and deys was in control of the Arabic countries and of North Africa. In Europe, the Turks were under pressure of the Habsburgs. In Asia, they were under attack of the Persians and the Russians. In Egypt, they would soon be struck by the French (1798). This did not pose a problem to the Danish expedition, however, as Denmark remained neutral and passes could be obtained through the Danish consulate in Constantinople.

The original plan was to send a single scholar to Arabia, after being fully briefed with instructions based on consultation with scholars in Europe (Michaelis 1762: [9-12]). This plan slowly expanded. Reimer Eck (1986) has suggested that Michaelis adopted the idea of an expedition to the Holy Land from the Society of Dilettanti, a society founded in London in 1733 that had sponsored a voyage by Robert Wood (1717-1771) and some of his friends, including James Dawkins, to Asia Minor in 1750-51 in order to retrace Homer's steps.³¹³ Eck claims that Michaelis transported this idea into his own field, the history, geography and language-description of the Holy Land and the study of the Holy Scriptures. This is quite plausible, even if it underscores the urgency of obtaining manuscripts.

Another influence on the expedition's set-up was the nascent science of archaeology, albeit initially limited to classical antiquity rather than the Orient.³¹⁴ The excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii in the vicinity of Naples had begun in 1738 and 1748, respectively. While first led by the Spanish Rocco de Alcubierres, commissioned by Carlo III, the King of Naples, the methods for excavating and recording had been systematized by the Swiss engineer Carl Weber. Rumours of the findings as well as rough sketches had circulated in Europe until the German classicist Johann Joachim Winkelmann (1717-1768) sighted some of the statues in Dresden. After visiting the site in 1758 and studying the findings for months,

³¹³ Robert Wood's *Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer* appeared as late as 1769, as a prefix of Wood's *Comparative View of the Ancient and Present State of the Troade*. His book on *The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmore in the Desert* had been published in 1753; that on *The Ruins of Baalbec, otherwise Heliopolis in Coelosyria* in 1757 (Hecht 1933; Eck 1986).

³¹⁴ The concept 'archaeologia' was introduced in 1707 by Edward Lhuyd (Lhwyd), curator of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. He explored the Celtic areas of Wales, Ireland, Scotland and Brittany in person and through correspondence aimed at a comprehensive philological-antiquarian description of the Celts. See Edward Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannica: giving some account additional to what has been hitherto publish'd, of the languages, histories, and customs of the original inhabitants of Great Britain: from collections and observations in travels through Wales, Cornwall, Bas-Bretagne, Ireland and Scotland*. Oxford 1707 (Stagl 1995a: 152).

Winkelman reported on them in his *Sendschreiben von den Herculanischen Entdeckungen* (Letter About the Herculanean Discoveries, 1762) and *Nachrichten von den neuesten Herculanischen Entdeckungen* (Report on the Latest Herculanean Discoveries, 1764). These critical studies count as the first archaeological reports in history. Winkelman's major work, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (The History of Ancient Art, 1764), deeply influenced contemporary views of the superiority of Greek art. It was translated into French (1766), English and Italian. With Winkelman, the archaeology of classical antiquity took an early start, influencing the work of Lessing, Goethe, and Heyne, the classicist in Göttingen.

However, as we shall see, the most prominent impact on the expedition's preparation had been the instructions for scientific travelers written by Carolus Linnaeus in 1759.

The Expedition Members

The main aim of the Danish-German Arabia Expedition was to collect Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts in the Orient. For the position of traveling scholar Frederik Christian von Haven (1727-1763) was selected. This Danish philologist had been studying oriental languages and theology at Göttingen since June 1751 and had attended Michaelis' lecture course on the book of Job (Hiob) (Michaelis 1762: 101). Von Haven was appointed in Copenhagen and given a royal stipend to continue his studies, at first in Göttingen, then in Rome at the Collegio Maronitico to acquaint himself with spoken Arabic. (Other candidates for this position had been A.L. Schlözer and J.J. Reiske, see below.) However, as Michaelis intended to solve issues relating to the natural history of the Bible as well, von Haven suggested that a natural historian would accompany him. This was granted by the Danish king who in turn suggested that a mathematician would be added, in order to settle matters of geographical interest.

To work in the field of natural history, Peter Forsskål (1732-1763) was selected. This Swedish naturalist had studied natural history and theology at Uppsala and was well versed in Oriental languages. As the son of a clergyman, Forsskål enrolled at Uppsala University at a young age in 1742. He returned home and, after studies on his own, rematriculated at Uppsala in 1751, completing a theological degree later that year. In Uppsala, he was a student of Linnaeus and apparently also of the Orientalist Carl Aurivillius. The latter's contacts with Michaelis were probably the reason why Forsskål traveled to the University of Göttingen in 1753.³¹⁵ He studied Hebrew and Arabic under Michaelis and completed a doctorate at Göttingen in 1756. Returning to Uppsala, he wanted to pursue studies in economics but his 1759 dissertation *De libertate civili* (On Civil Freedom), advocating absolute freedom of the press, was censored by the 'Hat' government and caused him to be warned by the Royal Chancellery. In 1760, on Michaelis' recommendation and with Linnaeus approval, Forsskål

³¹⁵ Bengt Hildebrand and Eero Mattinolli, Peter Forsskål, *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, vol. 16, pp. 359–362.

was appointed to join the expedition to Arabia. During the journey, Forsskål pursued studies in Arabic dialects, while also diligently collecting botanical and zoological specimens.

The position of astronomer and mathematician was presented to Carsten Niebuhr (1733-1815), a student of mathematics and geography at Göttingen. Wanting to become a surveyor, Niebuhr received training at Hamburg during a year and then immatriculated at the University of Göttingen in April 1757. His teachers were Abraham Gotthelf Kästner (1719-1800), an applied mathematician and poet (Baasner 1991), and Tobias Mayer (1723-1762), a ‘pioneer of enlightened science in Germany’ (Forbes 1980, 1993; Eck 1985). The idea of joining the Danish expedition came to Niebuhr in the summer of 1758 when Kästner approached him whether he ‘would like to travel to Arabia?’ Niebuhr dryly replied, ‘why not, if somebody is paying for the costs!’³¹⁶ That same evening Niebuhr paid a visit to Mayer seeking private tuition in preparation of the expedition. He was appointed a team member in October 1758.

The selection and training of the expedition members took place between 1758 and 1760, in the midst of the French occupation of Göttingen during the Seven Year’s War. Michaelis conducted most of the training and was in correspondence with scholars throughout Europe in order to settle the itinerary of the journey and discuss the content of the instructions to be given to the expedition members. The itinerary was decided upon shortly before the expedition’s departure: the detour via Tranquebar could be avoided if the expedition to Arabia was to travel overland through Egypt and the Sinai Peninsula.³¹⁷ This would have the additional advantage that discoveries could be made in Egypt, too, and that the Red Sea could be explored. After investigations on Mount Sinai and in Yemen, the return trip home would take place overland through Basra, a region also promising new discoveries.

In Copenhagen, von Bernstorff consulted Danish and German scholars during 1760. Among them were the Orientalist Johann Christian Kall, the zoologist Peder Ascanius, the botanist Georg Christian Oeder, and the physicist Christian Gottlieb Kratzenstein. The latter had studied at Halle, was a member of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg between 1748 and 1753, and a professor of natural sciences at Copenhagen from 1754; he made suggestions for the mathematical and physical aspects of the expedition (Rasmussen 1990a: 46-58). Accordingly, a physician and a draftsman were added as team members. These expedition members were selected in Copenhagen, without the interference of Michaelis.

As a result, the one-man expedition that Michaelis had wanted to send out turned into a veritable expedition consisting of three scholars, a physician, a draftsman, and a servant. The expedition members were: (1) Professor Frederik Christian von Haven (1727-1763), *der Philologus*, specialized in philology and theology; (2) Professor Petrus Forsskål (1732-1763),

³¹⁶ ‘Hätten Sie wohl Lust nach Arabien zu reisen? Warum nicht, wenn jemand die Kosten bezahlt! Die Kosten soll Ihnen der König von Dänemark bezahlen’ (B.G. Niebuhr 1816: 12-13; Beck 1971: 99).

³¹⁷ This was decided shortly before the expedition left (Niebuhr 1772: vii). The overland route was also selected because the Danish navy could render assistance during the investigations in the Red Sea and the members needed to speak Arabic fluently by the time they reached Yemen, the main destination of the expedition.

der Physicus, specialized in natural history and the study of Oriental languages; (3) Ingenieur-Lieutenant Carsten Niebuhr (1733-1815), *der Mathematicus*, specialized in cartography and astronomy; (4) Dr. Christian Carl Cramer or Kramer (1732-1764), *der Medicus* or physician; (5) Georg Wilhelm Baurenfeind (1728-1763), *der Mahler* or painter (draftsman).³¹⁸ (6) The sixth member, by the name of Lars Berggren (died 1763), was a Swedish dragoon serving as an orderly, but Niebuhr and most sources hardly ever mention him.

There was a strict division of labor, which was laid down in handwritten instructions passed to the expedition members shortly before their departure on 15 December 1760. They were to travel to Arabia Felix to make ‘as many discoveries for science as possible.’ All members had to keep a journal, in which everything observed should be recorded. And, if two or more travelers recorded the same event, this would be all the more laudable:

It will be pleasing, for example, if each [member of the expedition] would report what he has noticed on the manners and inclinations of the people [*Sitten und Neigungen des Volks*]; and if the philologist would elucidate words occurring in natural history, the natural scientist would explain the Bible from natural history, and the mathematician would also pay attention to physical aspects, this should not be regarded as a breach of each other’s authority (Michaelis, *Fragen* 1762: [p.43]).³¹⁹

The other duties were specified in articles included in the instructions. These were printed, in abbreviated form, as *Instrvction* in Michaelis, *Fragen* 1762: [pp. 38-68] and, in a complete form, in Rasmussen (1986: 59-78). The natural historian Forsskål was to occupy himself with botany and zoology, in addition to languages, and to find evidence in support of a number of Linnaeus’ theses (*Instrvction* paragraphs 16-22). The physician Cramer was to take care of his colleagues, as well as ‘prominent Arabs’ (*vornehme Araber*), in case of illnesses. In addition, he had to study the history of diseases and their cure, particularly of smallpox, collect materials relating to medical science (*materia medica*), and assist with research into zoology (*Instrvction* paragraphs 23-26). The mathematician and astronomer Niebuhr had to deal with geography and cartography, calculate heights and distances, establish latitude and longitude of strategic locations, compare these with the data given by the Arabian geographer Abulfeda and draw up a new map of Arabia. In addition, he had to concentrate on contemporary facts that could elucidate the classical geography of Arabia and occupy himself with the historical part of geography (*Instrvction* paragraphs 27-34). The philologist von Haven had the task to concern himself with (early) history and philology, collect Oriental manuscripts, transcribe inscriptions discovered along the way, make observations on the use of the Arabic language, and throw light on obscure passages of the Holy Scriptures (*Instrvction* paragraphs 35-42).

³¹⁸ Instrvction by Frederik V, 1760 (in *Fragen* 1762 [p.38]; Hansen 1964: 14; Rasmussen 1990: 11, 59)

³¹⁹ ‘So wird z.E. sehr angenehm seyn, wenn von den Sitten und Neigungen des Volks ein jeder meldet, was er bemerkt hat: und sollte der Philologus manche Wörter, die in die Naturgeschichte gehören, aus derselben erläutern, der Physicus aus der Naturgeschichte die Bibel erläutern, und der Mathematicus mit auf die Physicalia merken, so ist dieses gar nicht für einen Eingriff in ein fremdes Amt zu achten’ (*Instrvction*, in Michaelis, *Fragen*, 1762: paragraph 8 [p.43])

The draftsman and engraver Baurenfeind was assigned to produce illustrations of natural objects, scenic views, costumes etc. for all expedition members (*Instrvction* paragraph 43). The orderly Berggren was sent along to protect the group against any imminent danger.

The expedition was multinational: von Haven and Cramer were Danish; Forsskål and Berggren came from Sweden; Niebuhr was German, born in the duchy of Hadeln, a part of Holstein in Northern Germany that belonged to Hanover, later came to Denmark (now, again, is part of Germany).³²⁰ The draftsman Baurenfeind was also German by birth and had been working in Copenhagen for some time. Two participants were sons of vicars (von Haven, Forsskål) and three of them had studied at the University of Göttingen (von Haven, Forsskål, Niebuhr). Von Haven and Forsskål were academically trained theologians, who received the title of *Professor* during the expedition. Niebuhr was a ‘pragmatic surveyor’ who refused such a title and was modestly enlisted as an *Ingenieur-Lieutenant* of the Danish engineering corps. The international composition of the group was what Michaelis called a ‘happy’ coincidence (1762: [16]), but may have increased the nationalist tensions within the group.³²¹ The expedition left Copenhagen on 7 January 1761, aboard the man of war Grønland. Niebuhr was the only expedition member to return alive, traveling overland, on 20 November 1767.

One year before the departure, Michaelis placed advertisements in a number of journals asking for scholarly advise.³²² He received answers from scholars in London, Paris, Amsterdam and several places in Germany. The expedition was followed with great interest by the learned public in Europe. This was due to the fact that the subject was topical and to the new practice of scientific traveling that had been introduced in Sweden.

Scientific Expeditions and the Apodemics of Linnaeus

During the eighteenth century a new attitude developed regarding research travels. These voyages had to be scientifically prepared, were accompanied by detailed instructions and funded by a royal patron or a state. Following the German term *Forschungsreisen*, I have chosen to call these new forms of scholarly traveling ‘scientific expeditions’ (see Chapter 3), because in these voyages fundamental research became the prime target. In the dissemination of this new form of traveling, a prime role was played by Linnaeus.

³²⁰ The nationality of Niebuhr, the only member to survive the Danish-German Arabia Expedition, has led to controversies as he is treated in Denmark as a national hero, although he was born in the electorate of Hanover. This is understandable, as the expedition was paid for by the Danish crown, and Niebuhr, after his return, worked as a subject in the service of the Danish state (H. Ehrencron-Müller, *Forfatterlexikon, omfattende Danmark, Norge og Island indtil 1814*, Band VI, København 1929: 77-81). Although he referred to himself as Danish and always traveled on a Danish passport, his mother-tongue was Low German and he published in German until the end of his life. This ambiguity led to a competition that is alive even today, to such an extent that when a Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies was established at Copenhagen in 1982, their colleagues from Göttingen, where Niebuhr had studied, objected to what they regarded as monopolization.

³²¹ On the issue of fierce nationalism within the group, see Hansen (1964: 138-139).

³²² For example, in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 7 February 1760, pp. 129-131.

Carolus Linnaeus (1707-1778), the Swedish ‘King of Flowers,’ is credited for having introduced the practice of sending out expeditions with purely scientific aims, rather than with geopolitical and scientific aims (Conermann 2002: 412). Linnaeus did not invent this practice but he developed and transmitted it. One of his examples was the great French botanist of the seventeenth century, Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656-1708) whose system of plants remained influential³²³ even after Linnaeus introduced an improved system in 1737. Tournefort had traveled extensively through Western Europe, particularly the Pyrenees, and carried out a scientific expedition through Greece to the Orient in 1700-02. During this voyage, Tournefort kept his salary as a member of the French Academy of Sciences and all expenses were paid for by the French crown. Being allowed to select two travel companions, he chose the German physician and botanist Andreas Gundelsheimer and the French painter Claude Aubriet, one of the best botanical artists of the time. The aim was to identify plants mentioned in ancient works, discover new plants and plant species, and collect as much information as possible on the geography, history, customs, religions, as well as commerce and industry of the regions visited (Troelstra 2003: 23). Tournefort’s account, *Relation d’un voyage du Levant* (Paris 1717), turned into a classic that was translated into Dutch (1737), English (1741) and German (1776-77). It is a testimony of the Turkish Empire around 1700. Composed in the form of letters, so as to present a chronological overview of the voyage, the account is regularly broken up with descriptions of cities, history, religious and other customs, as well as plants and seeds collected on the way. The account is lavishly illustrated, not only with plates of plants (and some animals) but also of sites and harbours, maps, textiles, both national and religious, buildings, ancient inscriptions, etc. The same breadth of subjects is seen from a list of Tournefort’s collections that included dried plants (his herbarium is kept at the *Musée d’Histoire Naturelle* in Paris), shells, fossils, minerals, national costumes, weapons, and objects of practical use (Troelstra 2003: 34). Both Tournefort’s taxonomy and his travel account served as a model for Messerschmidt, Gmelin, and Linnaeus.

Linnaeus also traveled, not only on the European continent but also in Sweden. While still a student, he was commissioned to explore Lapland in search of new plants. During the summer of 1732, from May to October, Linnaeus traveled through sub-Arctic Lapland and Finland, at the time an uncharted region of Northern Europe. He collected over one hundred plants from the northern forests and the tundra. He not only took detailed notes of the plants he collected but also of the customs of the Sami, the indigenous people of Northern Europe, and the way in which they used these plants for food and medicine. Traveling lightly, he lived with the people he met, ate the same food, and adopted their clothing. For this reason, he is regarded as the first scientist to conduct ethnobotanical fieldwork. This way of traveling influenced many later plant explorers. Linnaeus’ travel journal was later published as *Iter Lapponicum* (1889). In 1735, he set off on an academic journey (*peregrinatio academica*) visiting Holland, England and France. He took his doctorate at Harderwijk in Holland and

³²³ Tournefort’s main work, *Eléments de botanique, ou methode pour connoître les plantes* (1694), is better known through its expanded version *Institutiones rei herbariae* (1700) that served as the botanical standard for a long time.

published his first treatise on classification (*Systema naturae*, 1735) and several other works on botany in Leiden. In 1738, Linnaeus returned to Sweden, where he and his colleagues founded the Royal Academy of Sciences (1739). He first settled as a physician in Stockholm, later was appointed a professor of medicine and botany at the University of Uppsala. After an exploring trip of three and a half months through Ötland and Gotland in 1741, he delivered his inaugural lecture at Uppsala (October 1741) in which he argued the necessity of research trips in Sweden. In his view, they would also be beneficial to the research into medicine. Five years later, in June-August 1746, Linnaeus traveled to the Swedish province West Gotland during which he paid attention to natural sciences and medicine as well as to local economy. In April-August 1749, he undertook a journey to Schonen, the most southern part of Sweden (Goerke 1989: 60-67). Linnaeus' journey to Lapland is notable for exotic and adventurous episodes. His journals contain notes on all encounters of interest. His work was meant to serve useful purposes, being interested in 'economy,' how people made use of the natural resources at their disposal. He wrote as a reporter to the enlightened scientific and political public.

Linnaeus transmitted these principles to his students. He was a prolific tutor. The Dutch historian of biology Stafleu (1971) has estimated that Linnaeus supervised over 186 pupils during his teaching career at Uppsala between 1741 and 1776. In 1746, Linnaeus succeeded in obtaining from the Swedish East-India Company a free return passage every year for a student selected by Linnaeus himself (Beaglehole 1966: 4-5). From then on, his 'apostles,' as Linnaeus called them affectionately, dispersed over the world (Goerke 1989; Troelstra 2003; Hansen 2007-08). At least eight of these 'apostles' preceded the organization of the Danish-German Arabia Expedition. The first of them was Christopher Tärnström, who died on the outward voyage on an island in the China Sea. He was followed by Fredrik Hasselquist who traveled in Palestine and Egypt between 1749 and 1752. After his demise at Smyrna, Linnaeus published his journal under the title *Iter Palaestinum* (1757). Pehr Löfling traveled to Spain and Venezuela. After his passing in 1756, Linnaeus published his journal under the title *Iter Hispanicum* (1758). Peter Forsskål took part in the Danish-German Arabia Expedition (see Chapter 5). After his passing in July 1763 in the Yemenite mountain village of Jerîm, his botanical and zoological descriptions were published by Carsten Niebuhr in 1775-76. Others lived to see their work published. Pehr Kalm achieved acclaim through his studies in North America, traveling through Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, up the Hudson River over the Great Lakes to Canada (1748-51). Pehr Osbeck traveled to China via the Cape and Java. His journal, published in 1757, was translated into English by J.R. Forster (1771). Carl Peter Thunberg traveled in the years 1770-79 in France and Holland, before setting off for Japan via the Cape and Java. His report was published before succeeding to Linnaeus' chair at Uppsala in 1784. In addition, three of Linnaeus' pupils accompanied James Cook on his voyages of discovery to the South Seas: Daniel Carlsson Solander (from Sweden) and Herman Diedrich Spöring (from Finland) on Cook's first voyage (1768-71); Anders Sparrman

(from Sweden) on the second voyage (1772-75). The first two traveled on the *Endeavour*, to accompany Joseph Banks. Sparrman traveled on the *Resolution*, with Johann Reinhold Forster and his son Georg Forster, who had persuaded Sparrman, doing research in the Cape Colony, to come along with them and Cook (Beaglehole 1966: 6-7; Sörlin 1989; Bitterli 1991: 222). A list of seventeen ‘apostles’ trained by Linnaeus is presented in Table 5.

Table 5. The Linnaeus Apostles, 1745-1796			
AREA, Name, Dates, Nationality	Years	Regions	Publications
ARCTIC			
Anton Rolandsson Martin (1729-1785, Swedish, born in what is now Estonia)	1758	Norway, Spitsbergen	
SIBERIA			
Johan Peter Falck (1732-1774, Swedish)	1768-74	Siberia, Kazakhstan	1785-86 ed. Georgi
THE NEW WORLD			
Pehr Kalm (1716-1779, Finnish)	1748-51	Noway, England, North America	1753-61, 3 vols.
Pehr Löfling (1729-1756, Swedish)	1751-56	Spain, Venezuela	1758 ed. C. Linnaeus
Daniel Rolander (1725-1793, Swedish)	1754-56	Suriname, St. Kitts	
MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA			
Fredrik Hasselquist (1722-1752, Swedish)	1749-52	Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon	1757 ed. C. Linnaeus
Peter Forsskål (1732-1763, Swedish, born in what is now Finland)	1761-63	Malta, Turkey, Egypt, Arabia, Yemen	1775a-b, 1776 ed. C. Niebuhr
Göran Rothman (1739-1778, Swedish)	1773	Tunisia, Libya	
WEST AFRICA			
Andreas Berlin (1746-1773, Swedish)	1772	Guinea, Sierra Leone	
Adam Afzelius (1750-1837, Swedish)	1789-96	England, Guinea, Sierra Leone	Sierra Leone Journal 1795-1796 (Uppsala 1967)
SOUTH AFRICA, ASIA AND OCEANIA			
Christopher Tärnström (1711-1746, Swedish)	1745-46	Java, Vietnam (China)	
Carl Fredrik Adler (1720-1761)	1748-61	China, India, Java	
Pehr Osbeck (1723-1805, Swedish)	1750-52	Java, China	Dagbok 1757
Olof Torén (1718-1753, Swedish)	1750-52	India, China	
Daniel Carlsson Solander (1733-1782, born Swedish, changed citizenship to English)	1768-71	Pacific (Cook 1)	Illustrations of the Botany, with Banks
Anders Sparrman (1748-1820, Swedish)	1765-68 1772-75 1787	China, South Africa Pacific (Cook 2) Senegal	1783-1818
Carl Peter Thunberg (1743-1828, Swedish)	1770-79	South Africa, Java, Japan, Ceylon	1784-1805, 1788-93 (1795), 1794-1813
Mainly based on Lars Hansen (ed.) <i>The Linnaeus Apostles – Global Science & Adventure</i> . 8 vols. 11 books. London & Whitby: IK Foundation 2007-08			

On the basis of his own exploring trips and the voyages of his students, Linnaeus wrote an Instruction for Traveling Naturalists. This *Instrvctio peregrinatoris*, first published in 1759 as the dissertation of Erik Nordblad,³²⁴ was soon re-edited under Linnaeus' name and quoted as such in the instruction given to the expedition members by the Danish king (1762: [49]).³²⁵ Accepting the chair in medicine at Uppsala in October 1741, Linnaeus delivered an inaugural lecture 'On the Necessity of Making Research Travels in Our Native Land.'³²⁶ In it, he emphasized the necessity of young Swedes traveling in their own country, instead of going on the customary European 'Grand Tour.' This exhortation to explore the native country was inspired by Linnaeus' own travels through Lapland and other 'exotic' parts of Sweden and Norway in 1732, 1734, 1741, 1746 and 1749. A portrait of Linnaeus, dressed in a Lappish costume, greatly benefited his public image in Europe. While the *Oratio* contained methodological hints for traveling, the *Instrvctio* presenting a comprehensive program for gathering medical and scientific information, in which the study of the customs and way of life of the population was included (Stagl 1983: 67-68, 1994: 85). Indeed, the advice Linnaeus gave to his 'apostles' was to report on every aspect of the people the traveler would meet.

Justin Stagl, focusing on 'the art of traveling' or *ars apodemica* (Stagl 1995a, 2002a), evaluates Nordblad's systematically organized dissertation, which was evidently inspired by Linnaeus, as a 'watershed between the classical apodemics and the modern methodology of research travels' (Stagl 1983: 79). Stagl (1983: 73) makes the same kind of evaluation of the *Fragen* that Michaelis published in 1762. He notes that Linnaeus and Michaelis maintained close contact during the preparation of the Danish-German Arabia Expedition. Although Stagl gives no evidence for this statement, it is clear that the two scholars were in contact about Forsskål who joined the Danish expedition as a naturalist; at least two letters are known, dating from 1773 (cf. Buhle II, 1795). Moreover, the *Instrvctio* was published two years before the *Fragen* (Questions) that is, when the *Fragen* were being prepared. The *Fragen* by Michaelis were translated into French as *Réceuil des questions* (1763). They were discussed in the *Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres* in Paris and served as a model for the instructions given to Bougainville when the latter departed for the South Seas in 1766.³²⁷

³²⁴ Eric Anders Nordblad, *Instructio peregrinatoris*. Upsaliae 1759. 4° The dissertation by Nordblad was, in fact, more of a disputatio, a form of education which was common at the time and involved printed theses that were distributed before the defense by the student took place. Sometimes theses were prepared by the professor who used the occasion to launch controversial ideas or a research program. This seems to have been the case with Nordblad's work, which, amounting to some fifteen pages, can hardly have qualified as a real dissertation.

³²⁵ The work was also published in Linnaeus' *Amoenitates Academicae*. Stockholm 1760, 8°, vol. 15; 2nd ed. Erlangen 1788, vol. 5.

³²⁶ *Oratio, qua peregrinationum intra patriam asseritur necessitas*. Uppsala 1741 4°; 2nd ed. Uppsala 1742.

³²⁷ Rupp-Eisenreich (personal communication); see also Martin-Allanic 1964, I: 475, quoted by Stagl 1995a: 86.

Preparations for the Expedition

Linnaeus' instructions for scientific travel served as a model for Michaelis' *Fragen an eine Gesellschaft Gelehrter Männer, die ... nach Arabien reisen* (Questions to a Company of Learned Men ... Traveling to Arabia) published in 1762.³²⁸ Covering 349 pages, these questions had been prepared by a team of scholars at Göttingen presided over by Michaelis (philologist and theologian) and consisting of Chr. Wilhelm Franz Walch, theologian (*Kirchengeschichte*); Johann David Heilmann, theologian and philosopher; Johann Georg Roederer, physician (*Leibmedicus*); and Christian Wilhelm Büttner, natural historian, collector and linguist (Michaelis 1762: [24]). Assistance was rendered by other professors at Göttingen, including Tobias Mayer, astronomer and geographer, and Abraham Gotthelf Kästner, the mathematician and physicist who had recommended Niebuhr to Michaelis.

Before their departure, all members of the expedition received royal instructions, totalling thirty-one pages and dated 15 December 1760. Signed by the King of Denmark and Norway and Count von Bernstorff, they were drawn up by Michaelis and von Bernstorff.³²⁹ The *Fragen* were not yet published, but an early draft was discussed in the *Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres* in Paris. The *Académie* forwarded a thirty-nine page essay on the history, geography and languages of Arabia that was handed to the expedition members before their departure. This memoir was translated by professor Johann Tobias Köhler into German and added to the *Fragen* as soon as they were published in 1762.³³⁰ However, handwritten copies of these questions reached the expedition members en route, in three portions: in Constantinople, Egypt and Yemen (Niebuhr 1772: xvi). Von Haven mentions them in the second volume of his journal (Rasmussen 1990a: 316). This relates only to copies of the questions as Niebuhr received the printed version as late as August 1764 in Bombay, India (Niebuhr 1772: xvii). Apparently, the publication of the *Fragen* was delayed by the vicissitudes of the Seven Year's War when Göttingen was occupied. The *Instrvction* mentions (1762: [48]) that the *Fragen* were to be forwarded to the expedition members by Michaelis. However, Michaelis (1762 Vorrede [p.37]) states that he had not overseen the printing of the book, which led to a number of misprints. Niebuhr mentions that he and his colleagues had received only 'two very short questions' from Michaelis before their departure (1772: xvi).

³²⁸ J.D. Michaelis, *Fragen an eine Gesellschaft Gelehrter Männer, die auf Befehl Ihro Majestät des Königes von Dännemark nach Arabien reisen*. Frankfurt am Mayn, bey Johann Gottlieb Garbe, 1762.

³²⁹ *Instrvction*, in 43 paragraphs, published in Michaelis, *Fragen...*, 1762: [pp. 38-68]. See also the Danish original published by Rasmussen (1990: 59-84).

³³⁰ 'Mémoire adressé au nom de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres de France à Messieurs les Académiciens Danois qui se disposent à faire le voiage de l'Arabie Heureuse'; with 'Essai de tables chronologique des anciens Rois de l'Yemen, dont les noms sont employés dans la liste de ces Rois, publiée par [E.] Pococke [1663]' (see *Instrvction*, paragraph 14). German transl. 'Anmerkungen, welche die königlich französische Gesellschaft der Aufschriften und schönen Wissenschaften denen dänischen Herren Academisten ertheilet, die eine Reise in das glückseelige Arabien unternehmen wollen,' added to *Fragen ...* (1762: 350-390), 'Anhang: Versuch von Zeitrechnungstabellen der alten Könige von Yemen' (1762: 391-97). A French transl. of the *Fragen* appeared as *Receuil des questions proposées à une Société des Savants* in Francfort am Mayn, 1763.

Therefore, the *Fragen* played a relatively minor role during the expedition. By contrast, the memoir from the French Academy was taken very seriously by Niebuhr.

These one hundred *Fragen*, sometimes small essays, were important for outlining the research program Michaelis had in mind. They were divided into four categories, which Niebuhr summarized as philology, physical science, medical science and geography.³³¹ These subjects were sub-divisions of: (1) biblical philology (*philologia sacra*), (2) natural history, (3) medical science (*materia medica*) and (4) geography. They were to be treated by von Haven, Forsskål, Cramer, and Niebuhr respectively.

However, there was a fifth subject, unevenly divided among the categories of the other questions, namely the description of what Niebuhr called ‘the way of life, the manners and customs of the Arabs’ (*die Lebensart, die Sitten und Gebräuche der Araber*) (1772: xvii). This subject was included in the program outlined by Linnaeus and later became part of ethnography’s material object. Niebuhr mentioned that he had only begun writing down facts related to this category after his partners had died, due to the fact that the subject was part of the tasks of his ‘two oldest’ partners, von Haven and Forsskål. Niebuhr deplored that he had not commenced reporting on every detail of this subject from the very start of the expedition, particularly on how he found ‘the manners of the Levantines to differ from those of the Europeans,’ as he had become so accustomed to their way of life that he failed to notice ‘many things that a newly arrived European would have found most odd (*sehr fremd*).’³³² Because the majority of the *Fragen* belonged to the domain of disciplines Niebuhr had not dedicated himself to, no full answer of these questions could be expected from him (o.c.).

The *Instrvction* mentioned the subject ‘manners and customs’ in paragraph 8 on the keeping of diaries in the context of multidisciplinary co-operation, pointing out that it would be desirable if each expedition member reported ‘on the manners and inclinations of the people all he has observed.’ As we have seen, it was added that ‘if the philologist could elucidate terms occurring in natural history, the natural scientist would explain the Bible from natural history, and the mathematician would also pay attention to the physical aspects, this should not be regarded as a breach of other members’ authority’ (*Instrvction* 1762: paragraph 8 [p.43]). However, in paragraph 35, the subject was clearly designated to von Haven who as a philologist should ‘mark the manners and customs of the country, especially those that shed light on the Holy Scriptures and Mosaic Laws.’³³³

³³¹ ‘Philologie, Naturkunde, Arzneywissenschaft, Erdkunde’ (Niebuhr 1772: xvii).

³³² ‘worinn ich die Sitten der Morgenländer von der Europäer ihren, verschieden fand’ (Niebuhr 1772: xvii).

³³³ ‘merket die Sitten und Gebräuche des Landes an: vornehmlich die, welche der heiligen Schrift und den mosaischen Gesetzen ein Licht geben’ (*Instrvction* 1762 [p.64]).

The Candidacy of Schlözer and Reiske

One of the candidates for the expedition was August Ludwig Schlözer (1735-1809), a student of Michaelis who later would become a well-known world historian and statistician at the University of Göttingen (see Chapter 6). Schlözer had followed twelve courses offered by Michaelis during the academic year 1754-55. In this context, he had made plans to travel to the Orient. This fact has intrigued many of his biographers, as Schlözer mentioned the plan in several letters and autobiographical material. In fact, Schlözer did travel and after his studies in Göttingen accepted a position in Sweden where he worked for four years (from Pentecost 1755 to April 1759), mainly in Stockholm, shortly also at Uppsala, and later for a short time in Lübeck (Germany), with the aim of raising money for his travels to the Orient.

In an article on Niebuhr's travels, Reimer Eck (1986: 20) suggested that Schlözer was to set off on the one-man expedition to Arabia to collect manuscripts that Michaelis planned in 1755, a journey which would be sponsored by Swedish or Russian monarchs. It is certain that Michaelis formulated such a plan but Schlözer was developing his own plans.³³⁴ Eck refers to Schlözer's letters to Michaelis written between May 1756 and August 1757,³³⁵ which outline his ideas to travel to the Middle East. However, they contain no reference to a possible commission concerning such a collecting task.³³⁶ One year later, Michaelis inquired after Schlözer's knowledge of Arabic, particularly after his ability to copy Arabic manuscripts in a readable hand.³³⁷ Schlözer replied that he would not dare to consider the copying of Arabic manuscripts yet as he had 'not sufficiently mastered the language' (*weil ich der Sprache so wenig mächtig bin*). He confessed to following Michaelis' courses for a year, particularly his course on Sura XX in the winter-semester four years earlier.³³⁸ He can therefore hardly have qualified as a serious candidate for the one-man expedition Michaelis had in mind.

A more suitable candidate for the expedition was Johann Jacob Reiske (1716-1774), an Orientalist from Leipzig who had studied at Halle and similar to Michaelis had studied at the Francke Foundations, as well as in Leiden. Reiske was on the brink of publishing several works in Arabic. He had exchanged correspondence with Michaelis in the years preceding the expedition.³³⁹ In the last of these early letters, Reiske spoke of the 'good prospects' (*guten Aussicht*) Michaelis had presented him with. The proposal 'to send me on a journey' (*mich auf Reisen gehn zu lassen*) clearly appealed to him (Buhle I, 1794: 62, 72). However, Michaelis considered Reiske a rival and never repeated his offer. In any case, the members of the expedition had then already been selected. Michaelis passed the final team member's

³³⁴ Schlözer to Michaelis, Stockholm 11 August 1757 (in Buhle I, 1794: 178-86).

³³⁵ Published by Buhle (I, 1794: 172-186).

³³⁶ The possibility that Michaelis had Schlözer in mind for his initial plans of 1755 was not mentioned by Schlözer's son Christian who was familiar with Buhle's edition of Michaelis' correspondence and would certainly have mentioned the fact if any indication thereof existed.

³³⁷ Michaelis to Schlözer, Göttingen 28 May 1758 (in Buhle I, 1794: 189-191).

³³⁸ Schlözer to Michaelis, Stockholm 30 July 1758 (in Buhle I, 1794: 193-197).

³³⁹ Reiske to Michaelis, Leipzig 4 April 1749-20 Dec. 1756 (in Buhle I, 1794: 44-72).

name, Niebuhr, to the Danish court on 10 July 1758.³⁴⁰ Indeed, Schlözer arrived too late in Göttingen and fell out of the competition. On his return to Göttingen from Sweden in April 1759, the expedition members had long been selected and were in training for over a year.

There is, nevertheless, evidence that Schlözer tried to qualify himself for the expedition even after this return. His biographers have not paid sufficient attention to this fact. In the midst of the French occupation of Göttingen during the Seven Years' War, Schlözer commenced studies with a scope as wide as that of the *Fragen* prepared for the expedition members. Looking at the studies Schlözer undertook in the years 1759-61 we see some striking parallels. In his fragment of an autobiography (published by his son Christian I, 1828: 463-465), Schlözer stated that his studies under the supervision of Michaelis were directed at *Orientalia und Naturhistorie*. The latter subject had drawn him into the study of medicine. He followed courses in anatomy, physiology and pathology, as well as *ius publicum* with Pütter and Achenwall. Moreover, he gave private lectures in Hebrew, Arabic and Swedish in order to raise money for his own expedition. Schlözer stated that this period lasted for a year, from Easter 1760 to March 1761, but it must have been from April 1759 onward, that is, for almost two years. In a letter to his friend Viereck, dated 18 June 1759, Schlözer wrote that he was trying to evolve from a theologian into a physician – the latter position would ensure access to people's lives. He writes about occupying himself with hectic studies and experiments: 'In the morning I read osteology with Röderer, metaphysics with Beckmann, physics with Lowith and Kästner, in the afternoon chemistry with Vogel, botany and zoology with Büttner.'³⁴¹ To this program was added the study of anatomy during the winter. During the summer, Schlözer would spend long weekends in the fields surrounding Göttingen on excursions in natural history together with Büttner (C. von Schlözer I, 1828: 50-51; Warlich 1972: 56).³⁴²

One may conclude from these studies that Schlözer made an extreme effort to qualify for the Danish-German Arabia Expedition. This conclusion is in line with a conjecture by Schlözer's son (C. von Schlözer I, 1828: 58), but it remains unclear in what position Schlözer hoped to achieve this. There is no indication that he could hope to replace the natural historian Forsskål, as his knowledge of this subject was clearly insufficient. In a letter to Viereck, Schlözer declined the thought uttered by his friend resolutely (C. von Schlözer I, 1828: 59). We may surmise from the range of his studies that Schlözer desired so deeply to participate that he prepared himself for any position (even that of physician), in order to replace any member who might have to fall out. Schlözer's attempt to qualify as a physician was probably

³⁴⁰ Michaelis (in Buhle I, 1794: 363).

³⁴¹ 'Morgens höre ich Osteologie bei Röderer, Metaphysik bei Beckmann und Physik bei Lowitz und Kästner; Nachmittags aber Chymie bei Vogel, Botanik und Zoologie bei Büttner' (A.L. Schlözer quoted in Christian von Schlözer I, 1828: 50-51).

³⁴² The list that Schlözer gave himself, was not yet complete. His son supplemented it in the following way: *Mosaisch Recht* with Michaelis, *Reichsgeschichte* with Pütter, *Lehnrecht* with Ricinus, *Moral* with Beckmann, *Naturrecht* with Hollmann, *Wechselrecht* with Selchow, *Mathematik* with Kästner and another professor [probably Tobias Mayer], *Politik* and *Statistik* with Achenwall, and *Physiologie* with Roederer (Christian von Schlözer I, 1828: 56-57).

related to Michaelis' idea that a person with such a specific expertise would be more than welcome during a sojourn in the Middle East.³⁴³ It is also likely that Schlözer still held hopes to replace von Haven being a philologist himself. Although von Haven was the older,³⁴⁴ and his knowledge of Arabic more advanced, his character was causing difficulties even before the journey began. Another competitor was Reiske – an ideal candidate for the one-man expedition, except that Michaelis did not want him and Reiske was hesitant about the voyage.³⁴⁵ In any case, Michaelis was already committed to von Haven, who as a Danish subject was not to be discarded.

Therefore, all these efforts proved in vain and when the expedition left Copenhagen, Reiske was still in Leipzig and Schlözer was in Göttingen, reading Haller's *Alpen* to his future wife Caroline Roederer. A few months later, in August 1761, Schlözer departed for St. Petersburg to work with the historian G.F. Müller at Michaelis' recommendation (see Chapter 6). Still wishing to make a journey to the Orient, hoping to reach it from Russia, Schlözer's plan was rendered hopeless by the outbreak of the fifth war between Russia and Turkey (1768-74).

Itinerary of the Expedition

After leaving Copenhagen in January 1761, the expedition members sailed via Gibraltar and Smyrna to Constantinople. There passes were obtained through the Danish Consul and further preparations were made. They departed for Egypt on a merchant ship in September 1761, where the real work started. After working in Egypt for the next twelve months, the group left Cairo with a caravan of pilgrims aiming for Mecca in August 1762. One month later, von Haven and Niebuhr visited a mountain in the Sinai Peninsula that would contain Biblical inscriptions. These were not to be found and they unsuccessfully tried to access St Catharine's monastery important library. Leaving Suez, the expedition departed for Djeddah on a pilgrims ship in October, to continue towards Yemen in December 1762, traveling overland.

In Yemen, the towns of Loheia, Sanaa, Mokha and Jerîm were visited, where first von Haven and then Forsskål passed away (in Mokha on 25 May 1763 and Jerîm on 11 July 1763, respectively). The sojourn in Yemen had been planned to last two or three years but was shortened to just over six months due to these dramatic events. The remaining members decided to take one of the last opportunities that season to leave Mokha by ship, in order to recuperate in the British-Indian atmosphere of Bombay (21 August 1763). The draftsman Baurenfeind and the soldier Berggren passed away en route, followed by the physician

³⁴³ 'Ein Medicus kommt im Oriente überall durch, und wird da geliebt und gesucht, wo andere nicht ohne Gefahr hinkommen können.' (Michaelis to von Bernstorff, Göttingen 30 August 1756, in Buhle I, 1794: 317; cf. *Instrvction* [pp. 54-57]).

³⁴⁴ Von Haven was already a Magister when Schlözer publicly defended his philosophical theses in Göttingen on 15 October 1754. On this occasion, von Haven acted as one of the three opponents (see Christian von Schlözer I, 1828: 21; Anlage IV, pp. 465-66).

³⁴⁵ See Hübner (2002: 381-82) on an incident that explains part of the later animosity between Michaelis and Reiske (Fück 1955: 119-120).

Cramer (in Bombay on 10 February 1764). The cause of the ‘fevers’ and stomach aches that all expedition members suffered from was puzzling at the time, but it is now presumed that the primary cause of these untimely deaths was malaria.³⁴⁶ It was generally thought, even by Niebuhr (1772: ix), that the members had not accustomed themselves to local dress codes and nutrition. This may have played a minor role, but the main reason was beyond their control.

After this dramatic turn of events, there was little else to do for Niebuhr, the sole survivor of the group of six, but to take appropriate measures with regard to the notes and collections acquired by his companions. These were sealed and dispatched to Copenhagen in three shipments: December 1763, Augustus 1764, and December 1764 (Lohmeier 2002: 30-31). Niebuhr decided to continue the expedition alone, a trip that would take almost three years. The Danish-German Arabia Expedition once more became the one-man voyage Michaelis had envisaged. Niebuhr traveled via Muscat (Oman) and Persepolis (Persia) to Basra, Baghdad and Mosul (December 1764-February 1765). At Persepolis, he spent three weeks mapping and drawing the inscriptions of the ruins. At Basra, he inspected the ruins of Babylon. Continuing to Aleppo, he, at the request of von Bernstorff, sailed to Cyprus to copy inscriptions. From Cyprus, Niebuhr traveled to Jerusalem to visit the Holy City. He went on to Damascus, took a rest in Aleppo and with a caravan traveled through Anatolia towards Constantinople, where he arrived in February 1767. Via Bucarest, Lemberg, Warsaw, Breslau, Dresden, Leipzig, Göttingen, and Hamburg Niebuhr returned to Copenhagen (see Fig. 6). There he presented himself to Christian VII, successor of Frederik V, in November 1767.

During his voyage through Oman, Persia, Iraq, Syria, Cyprus, and Palestine Niebuhr traveled in a well-adapted manner. Already in Constantinople and Egypt, the travelers had changed to oriental clothes. After five years of travel, Niebuhr had adapted so well that he was proud to say he only needed three horses to transport his luggage and a servant (Niebuhr 1778, 2: 374; Lohmeier 2002: 31). Although Niebuhr’s Arabic was less advanced than that of Forsskål, he had acquired sufficient working knowledge of common Arabic not to run into difficulties. At any rate, most of his encounters were with Arabic and Jewish merchants who regularly came into contact with Westerners, and therefore his identity never posed a problem.

On his return, Niebuhr, received a warm welcome from von Bernstorff, the patriarch of the expedition who was delighted that one member had survived and that the collections had arrived safely. He provided Niebuhr with a stately pension enabling him to publish his material and, if possible, that of his fellow travelers. Not much later, however, von Bernstorff fell from grace and was ousted out of his position (1770). This was the result of a change in the political climate of Copenhagen in which nationalism replaced cosmopolitanism.

After publishing the results of the expedition, Niebuhr in July 1778 retreated to a quiet life as a *Landschreiber* (notary) in Meldorf (Holstein), where he lived with his wife and two children. The reason for Carsten Niebuhr’s retreat was the change in Danish politics. As a

³⁴⁶ Hansen (1964: 240), Rasmussen (1990: 110). Forsskål presumably died from the plague.

result, he was offered a job as a surveyor in Norway rather than make a trip through the Sahara to Inner Africa as he contemplated. To avoid his perceived 'exile' to Norway, Niebuhr accepted a modest position in the country where he was born (Lohmeier 2002: 35). His son Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776-1831) later rose to distinction as a Prussian politician in Copenhagen and Berlin and as a professor of ancient history in Berlin and Bonn. Niebuhr had wished his son to succeed him as a traveler in the Orient,³⁴⁷ but that never materialized.



Fig. 6. Niebuhr's Itinerary during the Danish-German Expedition to Arabia, 1761-1767 (From Hansen 1964)

Results of the Expedition

Even if the Danish-German Arabia Expedition failed to reach many of its aims, the results are substantial. The expedition results lay primarily in the fields of botany and zoology (Forsskål), philology (von Haven), cartography and ethnography (Niebuhr), and epigraphy (Niebuhr and von Haven). Apart from Forsskål's natural history collections, and the cartographic and geographical measurements and maps recorded by Niebuhr, the majority of the expedition's material consisted of manuscripts, scripts, inscriptions, and coins.

The results were partly published by Niebuhr. They included a geographical description of Arabia (*Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772), preceded by an introduction in which Niebuhr attempted to answer the questions posed by Michaelis and the French Academy, also on the basis of Forsskål's notes. A few years later, Niebuhr published a travel

³⁴⁷ 'Nachfolger in Reisen im Orient' (B.G. Niebuhr 1816).

account in two volumes (*Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Copenhagen 1774-78), with a third volume appearing posthumously (Hamburg 1837). He also published the zoological and botanical observations of Forsskål (Copenhagen 1775), and a volume with Baurenfeind's illustrations of objects from Forsskål's natural history collections (Copenhagen 1776). Most of these books were paid out of his pocket, except for the engravers, who were paid by the Danish crown. Thus, the outcome in print consists of Niebuhr's own two books in four volumes (1772-1778-1837), Forsskål's two volumes (1775a-b) edited by Niebuhr, and one volume of colored illustrations by Baurenfeind, also edited by Niebuhr (1776).

All together, these seven volumes represented a considerable output of a six-year long expedition conducted by six men at the cost of 21,000 *Rigsdaler*, the equivalent of £50,000 in the currency of the 1960s (Hansen 1964: 355; 2005: 395).

However, many expedition results were never published, or only much later. Forsskål's journal was published in Swedish in 1950, while von Haven's *rejsejournal* appeared in Danish as late as 2005. Forsskål's natural history collections withered in Copenhagen and the Latin versions of his work edited by Niebuhr count numerous errors and omissions made by a Swedish corrector he had hired. Unpublished material still lies in the University Library in Kiel (*Nachlaß Carsten Niebuhr*, including Niebuhr's journals), the Royal Library in Copenhagen, the Royal Archives in Copenhagen (*Realia Arabiske Rejse*), and possibly in Paris. Stig Rasmussen (1990a: 117-390, 2002: 43-46) presents us with an overview of both published and unpublished materials of the *Arabiske Rejse*. The University Library in Göttingen also contains relevant archival material in the literary collection of Michaelis.

Most importantly, the philological material has as yet not been published. It included a total of one hundred sixteen Arabic, Hebrew, Turkish, Persian, Ethiopian and Greek manuscripts. They were acquired by von Haven in Constantinople and Cairo (108) and in Yemen (8). The codices are now held at the Royal Library in Copenhagen. The philological collections in Copenhagen have never been used by Michaelis in Göttingen. A review of the philological results was published by Rasmussen in Danish as late as 1990.³⁴⁸

Perhaps the finest achievement of the Royal Danish Expedition lay in the field of epigraphy. During the voyage, many largely unknown scripts and inscriptions had been copied. The precise drawings Niebuhr made of the inscriptions at Persepolis and Rustam in Persia, especially of tri-language inscriptions, enabled the decipherment of the cuneiform script by Georg Friedrich Grotefend at Göttingen in 1802-03 (Harbsmeier 1992a; Wiesehöfer 2002) and by Rasmus Christian Rask at Copenhagen in 1826.³⁴⁹ It is noteworthy that the drawings from Niebuhr's visits to ancient sites in Iran had not been commissioned in the 1760 royal instructions and were the result of his personal interest and curiosity.

³⁴⁸ Frederik Christian von Haven og de filologiske resultater (Rasmussen 1990b: 303-338).

³⁴⁹ Silvestre de Sacy profited from the 'unsurpassable exactness' of Niebuhr's copies of the inscriptions in his *Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse* (Paris 1793) (B.G. Niebuhr, *Carsten Niebuhr's Leben* 1816: 62).

Reception of the Texts

Although these results have lasting value, they were received with polite reservedness by Michaelis, the expedition's initiator in Göttingen. Reading Niebuhr's description of Arabia (1772) alongside Michaelis' review (1774), it appears that both men were rather defensive, justifying themselves against possible reproaches. Niebuhr complains that the *Fragen* had reached him only in Bombay, more than a year after the death of the two companions for whom the majority of the questions had been meant (Niebuhr 1772: xvii). Michaelis praises Niebuhr for having done more than could have been expected given his training and objectives. He interpreted Niebuhr's data by referring to two books he had recently published (*Spicilegium geographiae Hebraeorum*, vol. 1, 1769; *Mosaisches Recht*, vol. 1, 1770), stating that Niebuhr's observations confirmed his own conjectures. This raises the question if Niebuhr's book appeared too late to be of immediate use to Michaelis. According to Eck (1986: 32), Michaelis did use Niebuhr's data, because the latter had sent him a draft of his description to be corrected, to which request the former did not react at all (von Selle 1937: 88; Niebuhr 1772: xix and Hartwig 2002: 160). Moreover, Niebuhr had presented a first report of the expedition during a lecture to the Royal Society of Sciences at Göttingen and, once back in Copenhagen, confidentially corresponded with Michaelis (Harbsmeier 1992a: 35). Whether Michaelis profited from copies of the reports and journals should be considered. According to the royal instructions, the expedition members were obliged to keep a journal and send copies to Copenhagen, as well as copies of their answers to the questions formulated by Michaelis. These will still be available in the Michaelis collection at Göttingen.

In view of the fact that Niebuhr's work is highly valued, nowadays, both for his geography and epigraphy and for his ethnographic accounts, it is puzzling, to say the least, that Michaelis reacted in such a cool manner. In a recent German volume on Niebuhr's work edited by Wiesehöfer and Conermann (2002), several authors deal with this issue by speaking of Michaelis' behavior as 'reserved' (*zurückhaltend*), meaning his polite, lukewarm reactions. Hartwig (2002: 160) finds Michaelis' reservedness 'hard to understand.' What was the cause of Michaelis' reservedness towards Niebuhr's work? The probable reason was that what Niebuhr writes about, the geography of Arabia and the manners and customs of the Arabs, was not what Michaelis was primarily interested in. Although it is nowhere stated expressly, the results of the expedition were probably disappointing to Michaelis. As we have seen, these results lay primarily in the fields of botany and zoology, philology, cartography epigraphy, and ethnography. However, the main material that Michaelis wanted to acquire, the Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts that von Haven had collected, were not available for his research in Göttingen. This brings us to the question: what was it that interested Michaelis, for what purpose had the expedition been set up, and above all why did it go to Yemen?

Michaelis' Research Program and the Theories of Albert Schultens

Aside from the advancement of knowledge, the original purpose of the expedition had been to elucidate the Old Testament.³⁵⁰ This is clearly indicated by Michaelis' preface to the *Fragen* (1762), as well as by these questions themselves. In one of the advertisements published in February 1760, Michaelis stated that the results of the expedition would be useful both for the elucidation of the Bible, and for those scholars 'studying Arabic natural historians.'³⁵¹

The background to this project was formed by Oriental studies carried out in the Dutch Republic during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At that time, the University of Leiden developed into a world center for Arabic studies. The advantage was so strong that the historian of Arabic scholarship Johann W. Fück, based at Halle, wrote: 'in the contest between the European nations the Dutch held the lead for two centuries' (Fück 1955: 59). This was mainly due to the grammatical work carried out by Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624), the lexical work of Jacob Golius, the printing of Oriental types by Franciscus Raphelengius and others, and the manuscript collections acquired in the Levant by Levinus Warner.

The Danish-German Arabia Expedition was based on the presumption first formulated by the Dutch scholar of Hebrew and Arabic Albert Schultens (1686-1750) that the study of Arabic would help explain obscure passages in the Bible. Schultens first expressed the idea that passages and phrases in the Bible could be explained by using information from Arabia and the Arabic language in 1706, when he presented a thesis on the 'Utility of the Arabic Language for the Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures' at the University of Groningen.³⁵² This is a treatise on the use of the so-called 'dialects,' especially Arabic, with regard to the study of the Old Testament (Drewes 1970: 20). These 'dialects' consisted of Chaldean [Aramaic], Syriac, Ethiopian, Samaritan, and Arabic (Nat 1929: 39). Among them, Arabic occupied a prominent position because it was believed to throw best light on Hebrew.

Schultens' view represented a marked departure from the established way in which the Old Testament was either interpreted on its own or by using Rabbinical sources. Implicit in the traditional view was that Hebrew was the oldest (and sacred) language of the world and that all other languages had descended from it (Borst 1960-61; Rossi 1984). Against this view, Schultens held that there was an equality in principle between Arabic and Hebrew, although Arabic was superior in that it had conserved the ancient meanings of words better.

While the gist of these ideas was already present in the late seventeenth century (Juynboll 1931; van Rooden 1989), Schultens' supervisor at Groningen, the German-born Johannes Braun held the view that to achieve a better understanding of the Hebrew language, the study of kindred languages was a necessity (Nat 1929: 33, 39). From 1706, Schultens studied

³⁵⁰ 'Aufklärung des Alten Testaments' (von Selle 1937: 88); 'Neue Erkenntnisse für die Erklärung der Bibel, für die Naturwissenschaften und die Erdkunde' (Kühn 1939: 104); 'the furtherance of knowledge and the more exact interpretation of the Holy Scriptures' (Hansen 1964: 56).

³⁵¹ 'die die Naturgeschichtsschreiber der Araber lesen' (quoted in Eck 1986: 19).

³⁵² *Disputatio theologico-philologica de utilitate linguae Arabicae in intepretanda Sacra Scriptura*. Groningae.

Arabic, especially Arabic manuscripts, in order to explain the original meaning of Hebrew words (Nat 1929: 40). From Groningen, Schultens went to Leiden and Utrecht (to study under A. van Til and A. Reland, respectively), and back to Leiden where he worked on the Arabic manuscripts held in the Legatum Warnerianum. He became a clergyman (1711) and a professor of Hebrew at Franeker University (1713). On this occasion, Schultens delivered an inaugural lecture in which he called Arabic the most splendid daughter of Hebrew (*Hebraeae matris splendidissima*). Sixteen years later, in his second rectoral lecture at Franeker, just before accepting a professorship at Leiden (1732), Schultens stated that Hebrew and Arabic were cognate sisters (*intima ac sororia ... affinitate*) (Nat 1929: 41, 45; Schröder 1978: 26).

Although Schultens had come to this innovative view by comparing both languages during many years, he tried to substantiate the claim by pointing to the genealogical tables in the Bible (Genesis 10-12). It is stated there that after the Great Flood the earth was populated again by descendants of the three sons of Noah: Japhet, whose descendants populated the Near East, Scythia and Europe; Sem, the founding father of the Semites; and Cham, whose descendants moved to Abessynia and Africa. Schultens interpreted subsequent events as follows: from Noah's son *Sem* came Heber, after whom Hebrew was named, who begot two sons, Peleg, from whom Abraham descended, and Joktan (in Arabic *Kehtan*), who was the ancestor of the Arabs and founded a settlement ('colony') in Arabia Felix. This, according to Schultens, implied that there had been an intimate relationship between Arabic and Hebrew. This relationship was strengthened by the residence of Ismael and his family in the Hejaz, while Abraham's other son, Isaac, had moved to Palestine (Nat 1929: 45-46; cf. Genesis 16). Schultens concluded from these data that Arabic and Hebrew were in principle equal. He thought that Arabic had best maintained the original features because it had been isolated and undisturbed, whereas the Jewish people had undergone severe changes and wanderings that had influenced their language. The study of Arabic was, therefore, of great use, indeed of absolute necessity for interpreting unclear or corrupt passages in the Hebrew texts.

This brings us back to the Danish-German Arabia Expedition and its primary destination: Arabia Felix. 'Arabia the Happy' as the Romans called it, or 'Jemen' as Niebuhr preferred, was selected by the expedition organizers because the region had hardly been described, was rich in items of natural history, and 'not as insecure as the wilder and less civilized Arabia.'³⁵³ Most importantly, it was believed that the purest form of Arabic was spoken in Yemen, where the language had consolidated itself from Mohammed's time onward (Nat 1929: 46). In the introduction to the *Fragen*, Michaelis stated that it was now time to study 'Eastern Arabic,' as one was already familiar with the language of 'Western Arabic' (Syriac, Palestinian). He held the view that the Arabic language was 'the most reliable tool for explaining Hebrew' and believed that it was spoken in the interior of Arabia 'in a much purer form.'³⁵⁴

³⁵³ 'das glückliche Arabien' ... 'nicht so unsicher ..., als das wildere und ungesittetere Arabien' (Michaelis, *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*, 7 February 1760, quoted in Eck 1986: 18).

³⁵⁴ 'das sicherste Hülfsmittel zur Erklärung des Hebräischen' ... 'und viel reiner in dem innersten von Arabien

Thus, in the same way that Schultens used Arabic to elucidate Hebrew, Michaelis intended to use the study of Arabia Felix for elucidating the Old Testament. The connection between Schultens and Michaelis is both direct and indirect. Schultens was at that time the most authoritative scholar of Oriental languages in Europe. His writings were critically followed at the University of Halle, where Michaelis had studied.

As we have seen in Chapter 3, Biblical and Oriental studies were stimulated at Halle, both in Franckes Foundations and in the *Collegium Orientale Theologicum*.³⁵⁵ This college, founded in 1702, was directed by Johann Heinrich Michaelis (1668-1738) and Christian Benedict Michaelis (1680-1764), respectively great-uncle and father of Johann David Michaelis. The former had studied oriental languages at Leipzig and worked as an Orientalist for four years. In 1692, he followed Francke to Halle, where a university was founded. He obtained the title 'Magister' there in 1694. After studying under the Orientalist Hiob Ludolf at Frankfurt, who taught him Amharic and Ethiopian in 1698-99, Johann Heinrich Michaelis was appointed as professor of Greek and Oriental languages at the University of Halle in 1699 and ordinary professor of theology in 1709. Christian Benedict Michaelis was one of his students in Oriental languages and later his associate and successor as a professor of theology as of 1731. After eighteen years of work, Johann Heinrich Michaelis published the 'Hallische Bibel' in 1720.³⁵⁶ This was – according to Johann David Michaelis – the 'first really critical edition of the Bible' because it assembled five manuscripts and nine editions in one text.³⁵⁷

Another direct link between Johann David Michaelis and Albert Schultens was Michaelis' tutor in Halle, Johannes Simonis (1698-1768). Studying the books of Schultens had shown Simonis the way of elucidating the Hebrew language from the affiliated dialects, especially from Arabic.³⁵⁸ His main work, *Arcanum formarum nominum Hebraeae linguae*, appeared at Halle in 1735, in the midst of the young Michaelis' period of study (1733-39).

The latter knew Schultens personally and, after finishing his studies in Halle, had traveled to Holland and England in 1741-42,³⁵⁹ visited Schultens in Leiden. At that time, Schultens had just published the second volume of his *Origines Hebraeae* (1738), in which he established the relationship between the ancient languages of the Middle East and concluded that the Persian language was not etymologically related to Arabic and Hebrew. Schultens also stated that the Turkish language was related neither to Arabic and Hebrew, nor to the Germanic languages; therefore its cradle had to be sought in Central Asia (Wensinck 1921: 710). These were suppositions also to be found in Leibniz's work.

lebet' (*Fragen* 1762: 9).

³⁵⁵ Otto Podczeck, Die Arbeit am Alten Testament in Halle zur Zeit des Pietismus: Das Collegium Orientale Theologicum A.H. Franckes. *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg*, Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe 7(5), 1958: 1059-1078.

³⁵⁶ J.H. Michaelis, *Biblia hebraica*. 4 vols. Halae, 1720. See Rengstorff 1989.

³⁵⁷ J.D. Michaelis, *Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek*. Frankfurt am Mayn, I, 1771: 207.

³⁵⁸ C. Siegfried, Johann Simonis, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 34: 379-380.

³⁵⁹ In England, Michaelis worked as an assistant to the German court pastor Ziegenhagen in London. Studying in Oxford, he came into contact with Robert Lowth who was writing his *De sacra poesi Hebraeorum* (1753).

Thus, Johann David Michaelis was at the center of new developments both in historical-critical philology (the editions of the Bible pursued by his father and uncle), and in comparative linguistics of the Semitic languages. As a deist and an *Aufklärer*, Michaelis wanted to study the Bible as a book – a product of natural religion, not of divine revelation.

Michaelis agreed with the theories of Schultens but thought that Schultens exaggerated. He insisted on incorporating Syriac as a dialect (Nat 1929: 70-71). The royal instructions stipulated that the expedition philologist (von Haven) should study ‘the Arabs, Hebrews and Syrians.’ Michaelis’ main competitor in Arabic studies in Germany, Reiske, who had also studied at Halle as well as at Leiden (between 1738 and 1746), was more critical of Schultens’ methods. In his autobiography (1783), Reiske stated that ‘the way in which Mr Schultens studies and promotes Arabic is not the proper way. There is too much cobweb in his derivations, too much arbitrary, wabbly, emptiness that does little or no good. If one wants to advance [the study of] Arabic, one should not pursue it as theology, [but rather use it] to explain and enrich history, geography, mathematics, physics, and medicine.’³⁶⁰ This passage also entails a critique on Michaelis who, to a large extent, adopted Schultens’ views and, in fact, also used Arabic as *ancilla theologiae*, a helpful servant of theology. Although this was Michaelis’ main interest, he had widened his focus and, under the influence of his correspondence with scholars throughout Europe about the expedition, had added the study of Arabic history, geography, and medicine as secondary aims of the expedition.

This explains in part why the results of the Arabia expedition were disappointing to Michaelis. On the whole, the expedition had been a splendid failure. Five expedition members had died, including two of his pupils (von Haven and Forsskål). Many of Michaelis’ questions had not or only superficially been answered and many expedition aims had not been reached. Moreover, Michaelis never got hold of the concrete results of the expedition as all material was sent to Copenhagen.³⁶¹ If Michaelis would have known what von Haven had collected, he might have come to a different conclusion. The extent to which Michaelis made use of copies of reports, journals and correspondence relating to the *Fragen* remains to be investigated. The Oriental manuscripts landed in Copenhagen and Michaelis had no direct access to them. Even the original drawings, of excellent quality (see Rasmussen 1990a), remained unknown to Michaelis, or were available only in poor copies produced by engravers in Copenhagen.

From this vantage point, it may be understandable why Michaelis reacted with such reservedness towards Niebuhr’s work. He was primarily interested in the historical-critical interpretation of the Holy Scriptures (*philologia sacra*) and Niebuhr was not. In his own work, Niebuhr built on the journals and notes of Forsskål but not on von Haven’s notes that

³⁶⁰ ‘... die Art des Herrn Schultens das Arabische zu betreiben und zu befördern, die rechte Art nicht sey. In seinen Originationen sey zu viel Spinnengewebe, zu viel willkührliches, schwankendes, leeres, das wenig oder gar keinen Nutzen schaffe. Wolle man dem Arabischen aushelfen, so müsse man es nicht als Theologie treiben; die Historie, Geographie, Mathematik, Physik und Medicin daraus erklären und bereichern’ (Reiske 1783; Nat 1929: 61).

³⁶¹ According to the *Instrvction* (*Fragen* 1762: paragraph 9 [p.44]) all material was to be send to Copenhagen, to the attention of Adam Gottlob Graf von Moltke, Obermarschall. See also Hübner 2002.

he found ‘useless’ (*unbrauchbar*).³⁶² This may have been offensive to Michaelis who had recommended von Haven as the expedition’s philologist. He was to concern himself with history, archaeology and philology; collect oriental manuscripts; copy old Arabic or Oriental inscriptions, even if he could not decipher them; make observations on the use of the Arabic language, and throw light on obscure passages of the Holy Scriptures. In addition, he should ‘mark the manners and customs of the country, especially those that shed light on the Holy Scriptures and Mosaic Laws’ (*Instrvction* paragraphs 35-42). All of this in the context of biblical studies and *philologia sacra*, the research program Michaelis subscribed to.

Unfortunately for Michaelis, von Haven performed very unevenly in the field. He was an aristocratic scholar rather than a traveler, who failed to carry out many of the tasks set on him and caused trouble by clinging to his cultural habits and competing with his companions during the expedition. However, he had acquired manuscripts and kept a detailed journal. The Danish author Thorkild Hansen has written a splendid story about the psychological and nationalist tensions within the group in his documentary novel *Det lykkelige Arabien: En dansk ekspedition 1761-67* (Copenhagen 1962), portraying Niebuhr and Forsskål as the expedition’s heroes and von Haven as the loser. This is an over-simplification that leaves out much of the nuances and does not deal with the expedition’s aims. Niebuhr was an excellent observer who added a great deal to the knowledge of southern Arabia and the Near East but he was not a theologically-inspired philologist – and that was Michaelis’ main concern.

By contrast, Forsskål had performed admirably, writing two botanical and a zoological work as well as acquiring substantial collections. However, his stay in Yemen had been too short to answer questions pertaining to the natural history of the Bible. To all accounts, Niebuhr had performed splendidly, in the field of cartography and geography, but this work was of little use to Michaelis who was interested in biblical history and sacred philology. In addition, Niebuhr had insufficient knowledge of Hebrew, had spoken about Hebrew texts with Jewish rather than Arabic scholars, had not collected any manuscripts, knew vulgar Arabic better than classical Arabic, wrote it in Latin characters, and had not been able to solve the problem of vocalization in Arabic. This could have been expected from von Haven, Forsskål, or Schlözer, but not from Niebuhr. Niebuhr was not a philologist. He was a cartographer, mathematical geographer and astronomer. He modestly called himself a ‘travel writer’ (*Reisebeschreiber*) and his son Barthold pointed out that his father’s greatest interest was astronomy³⁶³ – not an ideal position to become an ethnographer.

³⁶² Niebuhr 1774: xii; see also Hartwig 2002: 166, n. 26.

³⁶³ Niebuhr in a letter to Herder, Meldorf, 18 January 1788 (in Wiesehöfer & Conermann 2002: 337-338); ‘die Astronomie, seine eigentliche Wissenschaft’ (B.G. Niebuhr 1817: 55, quoted in Lohmeier 2002: 38).

Niebuhr and Ethnography

Niebuhr's work contains many ethnographic accounts and his books are regarded as valuable contributions to the geography and anthropology of the Middle East. He paid a great deal of attention to the manners and customs of 'the Arabians.' However, as Niebuhr wrote in his preface (1772: xvii), he focused on this subject only after the death of his fellow travelers and after receiving the *Fragen* in Bombay. This raises the question how Niebuhr's work should be evaluated and how it relates to that of Müller, the founder of ethnography in Siberia.

An evaluation of Niebuhr's work is only meaningful against the background of aims and achievements of the Danish-German Arabia Expedition. As we have seen, its main purpose was the elucidation of the Old Testament. Because the Arabic language was seen as 'the most reliable tool for explaining Hebrew' and held to be 'alive in a much purer form in the inner parts of Arabia,' a trip to *Arabia Felix* (Yemen) would be promising from a philological, theological, and a natural history point of view (Hübner 2002: 376). Alongside the explanation of the Bible and the comparison of languages, the expedition had as its goal the furtherance of natural history as well as of medical science and geography. These last tasks had been set by the King of Denmark (acting on the advice of Kratzenstein?), but the first three were Michaelis' invention. They served the main goal, namely historical exegesis of the Bible, both in its cultural-historical and its natural-historical aspects. Even the task of the natural historian was related to this purpose, as it was believed that natural history could elucidate passages in the Old Testament. This reflects the influence of Linnaeus, who had carried out similar research earlier, through his own travels and those of his 'apostles.'

Niebuhr had been trained for one of these tasks, namely the (physical) geography and cartography of Arabia. Although topography and map making were important aims of the expedition, as it was for the Second Kamchatka Expedition and Norden's expedition to Egypt, they were not vital to Michaelis' concerns. Only one of the *Fragen* related to the ebb and flow of the Red Sea, to find a basis for the Biblical story of the opening of a path through the Red Sea for the Israelites (*Instruktion* 1762). As a surveyor, Niebuhr was well equipped for this task and there is every reason to respect his accomplishments in this field. His maps of the Red Sea and Yemen are impeccable.

However, after his colleagues had died, Niebuhr widened his focus and included the historical aspect of geography that had originally been delegated to von Haven and Forsskål, namely a description of the 'manners and customs' of the people of Egypt and Arabia, in his research, especially during his travels in India, Iran and the Ottoman Empire.

Niebuhr also adopted the epigraphic part of von Haven's tasks and began copying inscriptions precisely in the way von Haven had been instructed to do, namely to copy exact, especially if the inscriptions could not be deciphered. He applied this principle during visits to a region the expedition had not even planned to explore: the Persepolis ruins at Shiraz, and in a

field he had not been trained for and did not understand (Kuchenbuch 2002: 439). He reported on these inscriptions both in his description of Arabia and in his travel account.

By concluding these tasks of his deceased companions, Niebuhr obtained lasting fame in the history of European travel. His name is mentioned in all reviews of scholarship on Arabic countries (Hogarth 1905; Kiernan 1937; Bidwell 1976; Freeth and Wilkinson 1978) as well as in major handbooks on the history of exploration (Henze 1993; Howgego 2003). His books are reprinted (Henze 1968, 1969) and commented upon. Niebuhr's reputation rests both on the exact determination of geographical locations (proving the value of Tobias Mayer's method of determining longitude),³⁶⁴ and on his contributions to epigraphy and ethnography.

In the first part of his *Beschreibung von Arabien* (1772), Niebuhr presents a general report on Arabia with sections on Arabian nobility, language, religion, marriage, salutation, dining and drinking traditions, types of housing, dress codes, polygamy, circumcision, castration, ancient and secret scripts, poets and orators, chronology and astronomy, secret sciences and medicine, agriculture and horticulture, and various animals of Arabia. The second part presents a topographical description that follows a geographical division. Geographically, Niebuhr (1772: 5) distinguished between 'Arabia, India, Persia, and Syria.' He regarded Arabia (the Arabian peninsula) as consisting of large 'provinces' (including Yemen, Hadramaut, Oman, Lachsa, Nejd, Hejaz) and several smaller regions (*Landschaften*) bordering on them (Niebuhr 1772: 1). This is basically a geographical-political division that concords with the Ottoman administrative division in *eyalets* (provinces).³⁶⁵ The word *Landschaft* was current in northern Germany and southern Denmark at the time, and probably for that reason adopted to denote a region with some (political) autonomy. The second part of Niebuhr's description of Arabia also discusses Mount Sinai and 'several tribes of Bedouin.' In his preface, part one, and sections of part two, Niebuhr refers to the *Fragen* prepared by Michaelis in Göttingen, providing answers also based on Forsskål's notes.

In his *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien* (1774-78), Niebuhr presents a travelogue that follows the itinerary of the expedition, intermixing it with sections on government, arts and trade of Egypt, Egyptian antiquities, on the manners of the Orientals in general, particulars concerning the Arabs in the neighborhood of Suez, on customs of the Arabs in the desert, their religion and character, their manners and customs, the 'language and sciences of the Arabians.' He concludes with chapters on the 'agriculture of the Arabians' and the natural history of Arabia. The book's third volume (1837) describes Niebuhr's journey from Bombay and Surat through Persia, Palestine, Turkey and Eastern Europe back to Copenhagen.

Thus, his first book presents us with a geographical description of Arabia including elements of an ethnography of the Arabs. It can be seen as a *Volksbeschreibung* (*Volk* in the

³⁶⁴ In April 1761, Niebuhr sent his calculations from Marseille to Mayer who received them in February 1762, shortly before he died. They confirmed the usefulness of Mayer's astronomical tables (Lohmeier 2002: 25-28).

³⁶⁵ The current view is that Ottoman Empire joined twenty nations in three continents (Asia, Europe and Africa) that were organized in *vilayets* (provinces), before 1864: *eyalets* (administrative divisions).

singular). This was an improvement in comparison to popular travel accounts but it was not a *Völker-Beschreibung* such as developed by Müller in Siberia (*Völker* in the plural).

In comparison to Müller, Niebuhr seems much less *Völker*-conscious. In his first book, Niebuhr speaks of ‘the Arabic nation’ (*die Arabische Nation*, 1772: a3, x, xii), thereby meaning *one* people. In his travelogue, Niebuhr also speaks of ‘a nation’ (*eine Nation*), for instance when referring to the Persians and their politeness towards European travelers:

The Persians are much more polite toward foreigners than the Turks and the Arabs. In this respect, they have been called the French of the Orient quite correctly. If other travelers described them as treacherous in trade and as a nation (*eine Nation*) that should not be too much trusted for its word, they may be right as well. However, I believe that a European who is not a tradesman can travel among Persians with much more pleasure than among Turks and Arabs. The most disagreeable thing is that the Persians refuse to eat or drink with a heathen from India, a fire worshipper, Christian, Jew and even a Muslim of another sect, as they hold them all for impure.³⁶⁶

Niebuhr called the population of Arabia *Araber* and distinguished them from Syrians who, as Christians, have a different religion. This seems to indicate that Niebuhr had a geographical view on nations. He regarded ‘Arabia’ to be a geographical unit, composed of several smaller territories (provinces). This view returns in Niebuhr’s way of referring to peoples as ‘nations’ (*‘eine Nation’* or *‘viele Nationen’*). For instance, after evaluating the possible reasons why his companions did not survive the journey, he considers himself fortunate to have ‘seen many nations, regarded by the Europeans as uncivilized or even barbarian ... and learn to know them from their better side.’³⁶⁷ Or, writing on circumcision: ‘As circumcision has been accepted by so many nations (*so vielen Nationen*), it must probably also have some physical benefit.’³⁶⁸

This view on peoples and nations differs from that of Michaelis who, after a fifty-page section on ‘impure birds’ mentioned in Leviticus and Deuteronomium, concluded his *Fragen* with the following remark on the collection of native concepts for birds: ‘I am generally very interested in the classifications of birds by these peoples that are so different from us.’³⁶⁹ Michaelis had a pluralist *Völker*-perspective and saw the Middle East as inhabited by a

³⁶⁶ ‘Die Perser sind übrigens viel höflicher gegen Fremde, als die Türken und Araber, und man hat sie in dieser Absicht ganz richtig die Franzosen des Orients genannt. Wenn andere Reisebeschreiber sie als betrügerisch im Handel, und als eine Nation beschreiben, der man auf ihr Wort nicht viel glauben muß, so können sie auch darin Recht haben. Indeß glaube ich, daß ein Europäer, der kein Kaufmann ist, mit mehrerem Vergnügen unter Persern, als unter Türken oder Arabern reisen werde. Das unangenehmste ist, daß die Perser mit keinem indischen Heiden, keinem Feueranbeter, keinem Christen oder Juden, ja nicht einmal mit einem Mohammedaner von einer anderen Sekte essen oder trinken wollen, sondern alle für unrein halten’ (Niebuhr 1778: 98, quoted in Birgit Hoffmann 2002: 294).

³⁶⁷ ‘Ist man gar so glücklich wieder zurück zu kommen, so ist es sehr angenehm daß man viele Beschwerlichkeiten überstanden, viele Nationen gesehen die von den Europäern für ungesittet ja wohl für Barbaren gehalten werden, und sie von einer bessern Seiten kennen gelernt hat’ (Niebuhr 1774: 455, quoted in Lohmeier 2002: 32).

³⁶⁸ ‘Weil die Beschneidung von so vielen Nationen angenommen ist, so muß sie vermuthlich auch einen physicalischen Nutzen haben ...’ (Niebuhr 1772: 77).

³⁶⁹ ‘wie ich denn überhaupt auf die Eintheilungen der Vögel begierig bin, die diese von uns so sehr verschiedenen Völker machen’ (Michaelis 1762: 349).

multitude of peoples that are 'very different from us.' His pupil Schlözer referred to the Arabs as 'a free people' and, like Michaelis, used the concept *Volk*, not the term nation.³⁷⁰

Such a *Völker*-perspective, a way of thinking in terms of peoples (*Völker*), is much less strongly present in Niebuhr's work than it is in Müller's and Schlözer's work. Niebuhr saw the Arabs as 'one nation,' divided in 'tribes' and speaking various dialects. He was aware of cultural diversity but his view was not ethnological, or at any rate, much less than Müller's. This may be related to Niebuhr's geographical view on peoples, seeing them as territorially-bound. His use of the term 'nation' may also be related to a political definition of peoples: Niebuhr's view on the *Arabische Nation* is not unlike the current view on the (multicultural) United States as one nation. The tragedy of the Arabs, in Niebuhr's perception, was that they were politically dominated by the Ottomans who had occupied their territory.

This geographical-political view on nations is markedly different from that of Müller, Michaelis and Schlözer who saw peoples as *Völker*, characterized first and foremost by their languages. In his books, Niebuhr paid a great deal of attention to language and customs but he was ill prepared for describing the 'manners and customs' (*Sitten und Bräuche*) of the Arabs. As we have seen, this subject was included in the instructions to von Haven and Forsskål and adopted by Niebuhr only after their demise. He carried out this self-imposed task to the best of his abilities, answering the questions from the French Academy as best he could and those from the Göttingen committee presided by Michaelis, partly. Niebuhr's findings, mainly in the field of geography and epigraphy, are hailed as important contributions to the exploration of Arabia. Yet, his ethnographic observations are selective and his descriptions do not add up to a full ethnography. This was especially the case during the second part of his voyage, when his companions had passed away. Traveling through India, Iran, Syria and the Ottoman Empire, Niebuhr was unprepared, had no instructions and did not speak the local languages. As a result, his contacts in these countries were limited. He did not deal with Islam, but observed classical subjects and contemporary forms. His ethnography is valuable, but partial.

The reason for this is simple: Niebuhr was trained as a cartographer, not as a historian or a student of language and religion. Yet, by broadening his focus after his companions had died, he overstepped the limitations set by Michaelis' research program and wrote down his observations of contemporary Arabia. We tend to value this nowadays and Fück (1955: 119) paid tribute to Niebuhr for answering Michaelis' *Fragen*, 'still posed under the spell of biblical exegesis,' in 'a more superb way.'³⁷¹ Especially noteworthy are Niebuhr's openness and impartiality. He was not judgmental and his preparedness not to reproduce prejudices against Muslims is impressive (Lohmeier 2002: 20). Niebuhr was a describer (*Beschreiber*), not a hermeneutic (*Erklärer*),³⁷² acting according to Bacon's principle: what one cannot

³⁷⁰ 'Die Araber sind ein freyes Volk' (Schlözer 1759, quoted in Peters 2003: 56).

³⁷¹ 'Die vielbewunderten "Fragen" ... stehen noch ganz im Banne der Bibelexegese, und es war nicht sein [Michaelis'] Verdienst, daß Carsten Niebuhr ... sie in einem viel großartigeren Sinne löste.'

³⁷² This contemporary distinction is discussed in Wiesehöfer & Conermann (2002: 211, 237, 269, 281).

understand, can only be described. Niebuhr's main contribution to the anthropology of the Orient is that he looked beyond the cultural blinders of contemporary theology.

In the literature on the Danish-German Arabia Expedition it is often overseen that Niebuhr was able to achieve this by adopting both subjects, epigraphy and ethnography, from the instructions of von Haven and Forsskål. A volume edited by Josef Wiesehöfer and Stephan Conermann, *Carsten Niebuhr (1733-1815) und seine Zeit* (Stuttgart 2002), makes accessible a large amount of scholarship on Niebuhr and contextualizes the expedition in the history of science and travel.³⁷³ The editors outline several untouched subjects in their preface: historical cartography, Baurenfeind's work as an artist, Niebuhr's travels in Mesopotamia, the development of Oriental studies during the eighteenth century, and the availability of Niebuhriana in Paris. However, by focusing on Niebuhr, they seem to neglect the important work of other members of the Danish-German Arabia Expedition. Niebuhr's work has attracted most of the limelight because he was the only survivor and because he concluded the expedition in such a commendable way. This should not refrain us from evaluating Niebuhr's achievements in the light of the expedition's aims and of Michaelis' research program. We would like to know von Haven's and Forsskål's view on the expedition's aims, their answers to Michaelis' one hundred questions, and their notes on the manners and customs of the Arabs in the light of Michaelis' research program. Almost 250 years after its promising start, elementary materials from the Danish-German Arabia Expedition are still not available for study, including: (1) an English translation of Forsskål's journal, published in Swedish in 1950,³⁷⁴ (2) an English translation of von Haven's journal, partly published in Danish in 2005,³⁷⁵ and (3) an analysis of the one hundred and sixteen Oriental manuscripts von Haven collected in Constantinople, Cairo and Yemen in the light of the *Fragen* by Michaelis.³⁷⁶

This material could help settle the problem in how far the information collected by von Haven and Forsskål provided answers to the historical-theological issues Michaelis was interested in. It might answer such elementary questions as: What caused Michaelis' 'reservedness' towards Niebuhr's work? Was this because Michaelis was interested in the historical-critical interpretation of the Holy Scriptures (*philologia sacra*) and Niebuhr was not? Why did Niebuhr only use Forsskål's travel notes and why did he find von Haven's notes 'useless'? Which ethnographic information did von Haven's and Forsskål's notes contain? What do these notes state on theology, biblical history and linguistics in the Middle East and

³⁷³ See my review of this book in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (BiOr), LXIII (1-2), 2006: 188-192 (Vermeulen 2006c).

³⁷⁴ *Resa till lycklige Arabien: Petrus Forsskåls dagbok 1761-1763*. Med anmärkningar utgiven av Arvid Hj. Uggla. Uppsala: Svenska Linné-Sällskapet, 1950. An English translation will be published in Hansen 2008.

³⁷⁵ *Min Sundheds Forliis: Fredrik Christian von Havens Rejsejournal fra Den Arabiske Rejse 1760-1763*. Udgivet og kommenteret af Anne Haslund Hansen og Stig T. Rasmussen. København: Forlaget Vandkunsten, 2005. This is vol. 1 of von Haven's two-volume journal, containing the actual description of the journey. Earlier, only a small part was published as: F.C. von Haven, Tage-Buch über eine Reise von Suez nach dem Gebal Elmocattebeh und dem Gebal Musa, gethan vom 6^{ten} bis 25^{ten} Septembr. 1762 (in Buhle II, 1795: 117-192).

³⁷⁶ These manuscripts are listed in A.A. Alhaidary and S.T. Rasmussen (eds) *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts: Codices Arabici Additamenta & Codices Simonseniani Arabici*. København, 1995. See also Rasmussen (ed.) *Den Arabiske Rejse 1761-1767*. København 1990b: 335.

Western Europe during the 1760s? And, most importantly, what place did ethnography as a nascent discipline occupy in the Danish-German Arabia Expedition? The answers to such questions still lie hidden in Denmark, Sweden, and Germany and must be left to specialists in Copenhagen, Uppsala, Kiel, and Göttingen with access to the relevant material.



Fig. 7. Carsten Niebuhr in Arab costume
(From *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, 1774-78)

Concluding Remarks

The Danish-German Arabia Expedition was an important exponent of the new way of scholarly travel commencing during the Enlightenment. Well-prepared in advance and well-equipped with instructions from scholars around Europe, the members were to study the contemporary Orient for traces of the Biblical past. Set up in Copenhagen and Göttingen in a multidisciplinary and multinational way, the expedition was to test western theologico-historical ideas in order to elucidate passages in the Old Testament. In the organization of the Arabia expedition, a new attitude towards the Bible became manifest. In the Oriental tradition developed by Johann Heinrich Michaelis and Christian Benedict Michaelis at Halle, the Bible was no longer seen as a Book of Revelation but as man-made, compiled by several authors. These ideas were taken up by Johann David Michaelis in Göttingen and combined with the comparative Semitic linguistics of Schultens. Under the influence of Linnaeus's ideas on the collection of objects of natural history by well-prepared scholarly travelers, Michaelis launched a project to investigate contemporary Arabia with a view on the Bible. This aim proved easier to formulate than to realize. Five of the six members passed away prematurely and the sojourn in the expedition's main destination, Yemen, had to be shortened. Fortunately, one of the members survived, salvaged the expedition results, and managed to conclude the expedition in an impressive manner.

Niebuhr is often praised for his contributions to the anthropology of the Orient. In a postscript to the recent Dutch translation of Hansen's novel, Ronald E. Kon, an Arabist specializing in Yemeni studies, states that 'the expedition yielded ethnographic results before ethnography even existed.'³⁷⁷ The historian of travel literature, Wolfgang Griep, makes the same point and calls Niebuhr's 'a pioneering work of modern ethnography' rather than a mere travelogue.³⁷⁸ This is a matter of debate. It is true that Niebuhr took a lively interest in contemporary Egypt, Arabia, and Yemen and that his books contain many ethnographic data. However, they do not make up a full ethnography. Ethnography was not Niebuhr's subject as this aim of the expedition, still phrased in terms of the age-old formula 'manners and customs' (*Sitten und Gebräuche*), had been delegated to other expedition members. Niebuhr adopted it fully only after their passing and, thus, had to improvise while writing his books.

More importantly, by the time the expedition took off, ethnography had been conceived as a 'description of peoples' (*Völker-Beschreibung*). This took place in the work of Gerhard Friedrich Müller, a German historian investigating Siberia, and other German scholars who carried out a research program for an encompassing study of Siberia peoples during the 1730s and 1740s (Chapter 4). In 1767, the year of Niebuhr's return, the concept *ethnographia* appeared in a Latin text on the early history of Swabia written by the historian Johann Friedrich

³⁷⁷ 'De expeditie boekte ... al etnografische resultaten toen de etnografie nog niet bestond' (Kon 2005: 411).

³⁷⁸ 'Oft hat man später sein Buch als bloße Reisebeschreibung abgetan. Tatsächlich aber ist es ein Pionierwerk der modernen Ethnografie' (Wolfgang Griep, Durchs glückliche Arabien. *Die Zeit* 20 December 2006, Nr. 52).

Schöpferlin, who was acquainted with August Ludwig Schlözer (see Chapter 6). Soon this concept was applied by the historians Schlözer and Gatterer in Göttingen as an equivalent of the concept *Völkerkunde* (1771). This concept designated a study of peoples that dealt with ‘manners and customs’ but was more inclusive, studying other research problems as well.

Niebuhr does not mention any of these new concepts in his *Beschreibung von Arabien* and *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*. In all my readings of Niebuhr’s work, I have not come across a single reference to the idea of a *Völkerkunde* as found in the work of Müller and Schlözer. As the result of his absence from Germany for seven years, Niebuhr apparently missed out on these new developments in the field of history and ethnography taking place in Siberia and the German states, especially at Halle and Göttingen. Niebuhr’s publications have to be viewed in the light of these developments. While ethnography had been formulated as a separate discipline even before the Arabia Expedition took off, Niebuhr was not aware of this and even after his return did not process his data with reference to the new science.

Niebuhr did not develop an ethnological program to describe all peoples of the Middle East as Müller did for Siberia. Niebuhr seems much less *Völker*-conscious than Müller. In his early work, Niebuhr did not discuss the plurality of peoples in the Ottoman Empire but focused on ‘the Arabian nation,’ viewing it as divided in ‘provinces’ and ‘landscapes.’ (Only later, in 1784, did he publish an article on the ‘nations and religious parties in the Turkish Empire’ that resembles the ethnological perspective of Müller and, for instance, Fischer and Schlözer.³⁷⁹) It is noteworthy that Schlözer, who was away from Göttingen during the same period as Niebuhr, returned with an ethnological program (Chapter 6). In addition, Niebuhr was not traveling in the service of the Ottoman Empire but working for the Danish king. The Ottoman Empire showed no interest in a description of the peoples under their command. The primary principles for organizing the Ottoman Empire were territorial and religious. The Russian Empire also knew a division in provinces but introduced an additional, ethnic, principle, namely a division based on peoples and languages. Following Leibniz’s historical linguistics, scholars such as Müller, Fischer, and Schlözer suggested that the main criterion for distinguishing among peoples was language. This distinction is not found in Niebuhr’s work. He seems to cling to the old idea that peoples are distinguished by their manner and customs. In viewing the Arabs as forming one ‘nation,’ Niebuhr applied a political definition of this concept. Such a view is not conducive to the formation of a discipline such as ethnography that focuses on the plurality of peoples and ‘insists on multicultural variation.’³⁸⁰

³⁷⁹ C. Niebuhr, Von den verschiedenen Nationen und Religionspartheien in dem türkischen Reiche. *Deutsches Museum* 2(7), July 1784, pp. 1-23.

³⁸⁰ Talal Asad, remark on ethnography during the concluding sessions of a seminar on ‘Colonial Ethnographies’ organized by Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink at the Research School CASA, Amsterdam, June 1993.

PART TWO

From the Field to the Study

The Foundation of Völkerkunde

Know then thyself, presume not God to scan;
The proper study of mankind is Man
(Alexander Pope 1733)

... der allgemeine Blick, der das Ganze umfasst
(August Ludwig Schlözer 1772: 18, 45;
1775: 234, 256)

... verdiente etwa die menschliche Natur allein
jene genaue Aufmerksamkeit nicht,
mit der man Tiere und Pflanzen zeichnet?
(Johann Gottfried Herder 1785 II, 6)

Chapter Six

A.L. Schlözer and the German Invention of *Völkerkunde*, 1767-1808

Der Name ist Programm
(German proverb)

August Ludwig Schlözer (1735-1809), professor of history at the University of Göttingen from 1769 onward, has been credited for having introduced the new concepts *Ethnographie* and *Völkerkunde* in 1771 and 1772.³⁸¹ He is held to have done this in two books dealing with regional history and world history, respectively. In these early works, published between 1771 and 1775, Schlözer used the concepts *Völkerkunde* and *Ethnographie*, as well as derivatives such as *ethnographisch* and *Ethnograph*, many times and more often than anyone else did in the contemporary literature. Moreover, he used these concepts in strategic passages that were central to his argument. While I believe that Schlözer was the first scholar to introduce the term *Völkerkunde*, there are some doubts as to whether he was the inventor of the concept *Ethnographie*. We have seen in Chapter 4 that this concept, in the German form *Völker-Beschreibung*, goes back to Gerhard Friedrich Müller's work in Siberia (1740). As far as can be determined, the neo-Greek term *ethnographia* first surfaced in the work of Johann Friedrich Schöpperlin in Swabia (1767); the Germanized form *Ethnographie* appeared in a review of Schöpperlin's work by his colleague Albrecht Friedrich Thilo (1767). Both references preceded Schlözer's use of the term *Ethnographie*. Nevertheless, Schlözer may well have been the mediator between these two events. Moreover, there are good reasons for thinking that Schlözer was the first to use the term *ethnographisch* (ethnographic). Apart from that, the 'ethnographic method' he introduced into the study of history was an innovation of great significance. As we shall see, Schlözer held a central position in the international network of scholars first applying the *ethnos*-terms to designate a study of peoples.³⁸²

The Introduction of *Ethnographia*, 1767-1775

After Gerhard Friedrich Müller introduced an ethnological program in Russia, it took less than thirty years for the term 'ethnography' to surface in the German states. Müller had used the term *Völker-Beschreibung* (1740), not yet its neo-Greek equivalent. As far as we know now, the concept *ethnographia* first appeared in 1767, the year Carsten Niebuhr returned from the Orient and Samuel Wallis landed on Tahiti. It occurred in a Latin text published in Swabia

³⁸¹ Stagl 1974b; 1995b, 2002b; Blanke 1990: 494 n.48/1997: *21* n. 48; Blanke and Fleischer 1990 II: 767 n. w; Vermeulen 1988, 1992, 1994a-b, 1995b; Kuper 2002. On Schlözer and Göttingen, see Wesendonck 1876; Frensdorff 1892, 1909; von Selle 1937; Butterfield 1955; McClelland 1980; Kern 1987; Bödeker et al. 2008.

³⁸² Stagl introduced the term 'étnos-names' in 1995 as a generic category for the names of disciplines dealing with *ethnos* (*Volk*), changing it into 'ethnos-terms' in 1998 (Stagl 1995b: 234; 1998: 521).

(*Schwaben*), southern Germany, and in a German review of this text. The first text was a short history of Swabia (*Prolusio scholastica Sueviae veteris*) written by Johann Friedrich Schöpperlin (1732-1772), a historian and head of the *Gymnasium* (grammar school) at Nördlingen, Swabia.³⁸³ Following a description of the Swabian people in the course of their history, Schöpperlin remarked: 'This [the preceding] must rather be called the ethnography than the geography of ancient Swabia, which we shall now briefly represent.'³⁸⁴

According to a review by Schöpperlin's colleague and teacher, Albrecht Friedrich Thilo (1725-1772), Schöpperlin 'begins [his work] with ethnography.'³⁸⁵ This idea must have been extremely novel. The impression is created that it would be more useful to begin such a historical study with ethnography, rather than with geography, as the ancient inhabitants of Swabia did not yet have a permanent residence and were still migrating. For this reason, geography would not be very useful and, therefore, ethnography had to precede geography.

In 1767, Schöpperlin distinguished the concept *ethnographia* from *geographia* (geography). In 1770, in a journal he co-edited at Nördlingen, he returned to the parallelism: 'In geography (*Erdbeschreibung*) proper, as far as she is recently distinguished from ethnography (*Völkerbeschreibung*) ...'³⁸⁶ This could confirm Hans Fischer's (1970: 170) interpretation that the concept *Ethnographie* was coined after *Geographie* (see also Stagl 1998: 522). Geography was surely one of the models for ethnography. However, Schlözer contrasted *Völkerkunde* not so much to *Erdkunde* (*Geographie*) as to *Weltkunde*, that is, *Cosmographie*.³⁸⁷ Schlözer's senior colleague, Gatterer, also began using *Völkerkunde* and *Ethnographia* from 1771 onward. He contrasted it to *Erdkunde* and *Geographia* (Gatterer 1775), setting a pattern that was followed until the end of the eighteenth century. The 1770 quotation from Schöpperlin also indicates that the concept *Völkerbeschreibung*, a prototype of *Ethnographie*, had become familiar on a wider scale since its introduction by the German historian Müller in Siberia (Müller 1740, in Russow 1900: 83). It must be noted, however, that Schöpperlin was writing a *Volksbeschreibung*, namely a description of a single people.

³⁸³ *Prolusio scholastica qua Sueviae veteris per temporum periodos descriptae primae lineae ad supplemdam Speneri Notitiam Germaniae ducuntur* (Nördlingae 1767). A translation of this title is as follows: 'A Scholastic Essay in which the First Outlines of Ancient Suevia, Described according to the Periods of the Times, are Drawn to Supplement Spener's Note on Germany' (1767). It was reprinted as 'Prolvsio scholastica Sveviae veteris per temporvm periodos descriptae primas lineas exhibens. Ad svplemendam Speneri Notitiam Germaniae' in Schöpperlin's historical writings (*Kleine Historische Schriften*, edited by C.G. Böckh, Nördlingen 1787, vol. 2, pp. 412-449). A translation of the second title is: 'A Scholastic Essay Exhibiting the First Outlines of Ancient Suevia, Described according to the Periods of the Times. To Supplement Spener's Note on Germany' (1787). 'Prolusio' is an essay in the literary sense, the addition 'scholastica' makes it a first scientific attempt to sketch the outlines of the ancient history of Suevia. Unfortunately, I have only had access to the second edition (1787).

³⁸⁴ 'Ethnographia haec potius dicenda est, quam geographia Sueviae veteris, quam nunc brevissime subiicimus' (Schöpperlin 1787: 439). See also Vermeulen, *Ethnographia* 1767, *Anthropology Today* 16(5) 2000: 27.

³⁸⁵ 'Der V.[erfasser (Schöpperlin)] fängt mit der **Ethnographie** an ...' (Thilo 1767: 47).

³⁸⁶ 'Bey der eigentlichen Erdbeschreibung, so fern sie neulich von der Völkerbeschreibung unterschieden wird ...' J.F. Schöpperlin, Review of J.C. Martini, *Einleitung in die alte Erdbeschreibung* (Teil 1, 1766), in: J.F. Schöpperlin and A.F. Thilo (Hrsg.) *Magazin für Schulen und die Erziehung überhaupt* 4(3), 1770: 274.

³⁸⁷ See, for instance, the *Cosmographia universalis* of Sebastian Münster (Basel 1533, 1544), distinguishing about forty peoples in Europe, Asia, and the New World.

The term *ethnographia* was based on the Greek words *ethnos* (people, *Volk*) and *graphein* (to write, *schreiben*). Its introduction was an important innovation in the field of history as names of sciences, in those days, had to be derived from the Greek. Schöpperlin and Thilo used ‘ethnography’ more or less in passing, as if the term spoke for itself. Neither scholars claimed its coinage. The term ‘ethnography’ was not defined, nor its equivalent *Völkerbeschreibung*, which to German readers was self-evident anyway. We may assume that the German historians Schöpperlin and Thilo found it sufficient to define the latter by introducing the former, a neo-Greek term with approximately the same meaning. *Ethnographia* was *Völkerbeschreibung*, a description of peoples (plural), or a description of a people (singular). It was a new coinage, which first appeared as *ethnographia* in the Latin text by Schöpperlin (1767), then in its Germanized form *Ethnographie* in Thilo’s review (1767), and later in the historical works of Schlözer and Gatterer (1771-75).

The context in which the concept was introduced in 1767 was comparable to that of the early 1770s. Schöpperlin and Thilo were classical philologists (*Altphilologen*). Both were connected to secondary and higher education institutions such as the grammar school at Nördlingen (Swabia) and Jena (Thuringia). They were Protestant, as were Müller, Schlözer, and Gatterer, and involved in Enlightenment historiography. As we shall see, the introduction of ethnography or *Völkerbeschreibung* reflected new developments in the field of history.

These references are important links in a series of references to the development of what Stagl (1995b: 234, 268; 1998: 521) calls *ethnos*-terms. They show that, contrary to what has been suggested in the secondary literature, Schlözer was not the first to use the term *Ethnographie*, albeit at an early date (between 1771 and 1775). Therefore, he probably did not invent the concept. Schöpperlin’s use of the term *ethnographia* was discovered by Klaus Schmidt, head of the *Zeitschriften-Index* in Göttingen.³⁸⁸ This was rather surprising as Schöpperlin’s name had never been mentioned in the literature on the origin of the *ethnos*-terms, which was entirely focused on the University of Göttingen and on Schlözer’s and Gatterer’s work at that university.³⁸⁹ However, as we shall see, it is possible to relate these pieces of information by postulating a relationship between St. Petersburg (Müller) and Nördlingen (Schöpperlin/Thilo) that runs through Schlözer’s work.

August Ludwig Schlözer, professor of Nordic history at Göttingen from 1769 onward, introduced the concepts *Ethnographie* and *Völkerkunde*, and derivatives such as *ethnographisch* and *Ethnograph*, in his *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* (*General History of the North*), published at Halle in 1771.³⁹⁰ In this book, Schlözer presented a new outline of the history of

³⁸⁸ The ‘Zeitschriften-Index’ is part of the *Akademie der Wissenschaften* in Göttingen from 1976, and excerpts and analyses eighteenth-century journals in the German language. It has published the *Index deutschsprachiger Zeitschriften 1750-1815* on 28 microfiches and in 10 volumes (Hildesheim 1989). It now deals with German review journals of the eighteenth century (‘Index deutscher Rezensionen-Zeitschriften des 18. Jahrhunderts’).

³⁸⁹ I reported Schmidt’s findings in several articles (Vermeulen 1996a-b, 2000, 2002, 2006a). They were subsequently taken up by others (Stagl 1998: 522, 2002b: 255; Bucher 2002: 210, n. 756; Schippers 2005: 9).

³⁹⁰ For Schlözer’s use of *Ethnographie* and *Völkerkunde*, see Vermeulen 1988, 1992, 1994a-b, 1995b.

the European and Asiatic North in an attempt to supplant earlier ‘myths’ with fresh new ideas on the origin, kinship, and migration of the Nordic nations. Schlözer divided the nations in the European part of this enormous area in five large groups, in fact language groups, which he regarded as ‘Principal Peoples and Aboriginal Peoples’ (*Haupt- und Stammvölker*). These included not only the Germanic, Slavic, Lettish, and Finnish peoples but also the Samoyeds. The latter people partly belonged to Europe due to their location west of the Urals, which Schlözer, following Strahlenberg and Müller, suggested as a boundary between Europe and Asia. For the Asiatic part of the North, Schlözer mentioned no fewer than twenty-two peoples (*Völker*), which scholars nowadays would consider ethnic groups. Following Leibniz (and Müller), Schlözer distinguished between these peoples on linguistic grounds.³⁹¹

In this context, Schlözer introduced the concepts *Völkerkunde* (ethnology), *Ethnographie* (ethnography), *ethnographisch* (ethnographic), and even *Ethnograph* (ethnographer). Schlözer did not present a definition of either term but from the context in which he used them, and on the basis of contemporary sources, it seems clear that he regarded *Ethnographie* as an equivalent of the German term *Völkerkunde* (a study of peoples). He contrasted *Ethnographie* to such terms as *Kosmographie*, *Chronographie*, *Geographie*, *Biographie*, *Technographie*, and *Hydrographie*. We can surmise that the meaning of *Ethnographie* was more or less equivalent to its present-day meaning of ethnography, namely a descriptive study of peoples or nations, of cultures or societies. Thus, in Schlözer’s view *Ethnographie* was an empirical description of peoples that should be holistic and universal. If there was to be a study of peoples (*Völkerkunde*), all peoples (*Völker*) of the world should be included and, in principle, all aspects should be dealt with (Vermeulen 1999, 2002).

Of special interest is the concept ‘ethnographic’ (*ethnographisch*), which Schlözer introduced in his *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* (1771) and in a manual for students, titled *Vorstellung seiner Universal-Historie* (1772, 2nd ed. 1775). In this *Vorstellung*, Schlözer devised an ‘ethnographic method’ as one of the four methods of history.³⁹² In principle, this was a history of the world arranged according to peoples. Schlözer introduced it as an alternative to the chronological, technographic, and geographical arrangements of historical events.³⁹³ He defined the ethnographic method of history in the following way:

³⁹¹ August Ludwig Schlözer, *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* = Fortsetzung der Allgemeinen Welthistorie der Neuern Zeiten ... Dreyzehnter Theil. Halle, bey Johann Justinus Gebauer (Allgemeine Welthistorie, vol. XXXI, Historie der Neuern Zeiten, vol. 13), 1771, pp. 292-344, 391-436.

³⁹² August Ludwig Schlözer, *Vorstellung seiner Universal-Historie*. Göttingen und Gotha, bey Johann Christian Dieterich, 1772, pp. 98-99; *Vorstellung der Universal-Historie*. Zwote, veränderte Auflage. 2 vols. Göttingen, bey Johann Christian Dieterich, 1775, I: 292-294. See also Stagl (1974b, 1981, 1995b, 2002b).

³⁹³ ‘Synthetische Anordnung der Weltgeschichte nach den Völkern. Hier lassen sich ... vier Methoden denken. Man ordnet die Facta 1. chronographisch, 2. technographisch, 3. geographisch, 4. ethnographisch’ (Schlözer 1772: Kap. IV, para 40, pp. 96-99; 1775: para 39, pp. 292-294).

(4) **ethnographic**: One divides the inhabitants of the world in large and small groups, according to more or less coincidental similarities on which a (certain) amount of people (*Menschen*) agree among themselves. On account of this similarity one regards the entire group as a unity, and calls it a people (Schlözer 1772: 99, 1775: 294).³⁹⁴

This, of course, raises the question, what is a *Volk*? Realizing that the concept is ambiguous, Schlözer identified three views: (1) a geographical, (2) a genetical (historical), and (3) a political (statistical) conception of *Volk* (Schlözer 1772: 101-104, 1775: 295-298). He introduced these distinctions in his *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* (1771: 118, 144, 210 n. A, 271 n. K) and recapitulated them in his *Vorstellung* (1772: 15, 1775: 231), concluding:

Anyone with a dislike of Greek neologisms could say about peoples (*Völker*) conceived in the geographical sense: they belong to a class [in the Linnaean sense]; of those in the genetical sense: they make up a tribe (*Stamm*); of those in the political sense: they belong to a state (Schlözer 1772: 104, 1775: 298).³⁹⁵

Schlözer found these distinctions so essential that he stated that it ‘would be hard to imagine how fertile and important these distinctions will be for a critique on [ancient] ethnology,’³⁹⁶ that is, for a critical study of the knowledge of peoples both in ancient and in modern times.

‘Following the ethnographic method,’ Schlözer continued, ‘world history would have as many chapters as there are separate peoples.’³⁹⁷ In the preface to the second edition of his *Vorstellung*, Schlözer estimated that ‘between 150 and 200 peoples’ exist and added: ‘We need a description of each!’³⁹⁸ Earlier, Schlözer estimated the number of peoples in Europe and Northern Asia at ‘at least two hundred’ during the course of its history, that is, for the past three thousand years.³⁹⁹ This number is the same as the number of languages discussed by the Halle pietist Benjamin Schultze who provided samples from two hundred European, Asian, African, and American languages in his *Orientalisch- und Occidentalischer Sprachmeister* (Leipzig 1748, republished in 1769). Schlözer was presumably familiar with this work through Michaelis or Büttner and their connections to the Halle missionaries in India.

Although conclusive evidence is lacking, it is probable that Schöpperlin had borrowed the idea of ethnography as a description of peoples from Schlözer. Schlözer was acquainted

³⁹⁴ ‘4. **ethnographisch**. Man teilt die Bewohner des Erdkreises in grosse und kleine Haufen, nach gewissen mer oder weniger zufälligen Aehnlichkeiten, in denen eine Menge von Menschen unter sich übereinkommen. Wegen dieser Aehnlichkeit denkt man sich die ganze Menge als eine Einheit, und man nennt sie Ein Volk’ (Schlözer 1772: 99, 1775: 294).

³⁹⁵ ‘Wer keine griechische Kunstwörter vertragen kan, der sage von Völkern, die nur in geographischer Bedeutung als Ein Volk gedacht werden: “sie gehören in Eine **Klasse**”; von denen in genetischer: “sie sind von Einem **Stamme**”; von denen in politischer Bedeutung: “sie gehören zu Einem **State**”’ (1772: 104, 1775: 298).

³⁹⁶ ‘Kaum sollte man glauben, wie fruchtbar und wichtig diese Unterscheidungen in der Kritik der [alten] Völkerkunde werden’ (Schlözer, *Vorstellung seiner Universal-Historie* 1772: 104, *Vorstellung der Universal-Historie* 1775: 298).

³⁹⁷ Schlözer, *Vorstellung seiner Universal-Historie* 1772: 101, *Vorstellung der Universal-Historie* 1775: 295.

³⁹⁸ ‘so möchten für das Ganze wol 150 bis 200 Völker nötig seyn. So viel einzelne Völkergeschichten brauchen wir!’ (Schlözer, *Vorstellung der Universal-Historie* 1775: Vorrede [II-III]).

³⁹⁹ ‘aller dieser Nationen, alter und neuer, möchten doch wohl wenigstens 200 seyn’ (Schlözer 1771: 285).

with both Schöpperlin and Thilo and even was related to Thilo via the family of his father.⁴⁰⁰ Schlözer stayed with Thilo in Nördlingen before studying at the universities of Wittenberg and Göttingen, and Thilo gave him advice on the best way to pursue a career (Schöpperlin 1772: 429). Moreover, Thilo was a teacher of Schöpperlin. Schlözer had also been in contact with Gerhard Friedrich Müller in St. Petersburg, in whose house he had stayed for six months (from November 1761 to May 1762), working as a tutor of Müller's children. Thus, Schlözer may well have formed the connection between Schöpperlin in Swabia and Müller in Siberia. In my view, Schlözer adopted Müller's concept of *Völker-Beschreibung* as a series of ethnographies and contacted Schöpperlin and Thilo while visiting his native country Franconia (*Franken*) in January 1766. He may well have discussed his preliminary findings on ancient Russian history and Müller's discoveries in Siberia, including the ethnological perspective that Müller had adopted twenty years earlier during his Siberian travels. Alternatively, Schlözer may have learned about the new perspective from Fischer, whom he befriended during his sojourn in St. Petersburg and whose work he edited and reviewed.

However this may be, the historical problem Schlözer worked on was identical to the one discussed by Schöpperlin.⁴⁰¹ Ancient and medieval history of an ethnically complicated area was their special field of interest. Schöpperlin's discussion of Swabia was familiar to Schlözer who was occupied with the same problem regarding Franconia, Germany at large, and the history of Northern Europe and Asia in general.⁴⁰² Schöpperlin paid due attention to the problem of how Swabia had developed, both in his *Suavia veteris* (1767) and in his *Suavia media*, published in the same year and reprinted in the same volume (1787b). He distinguished between 'transdanubian Swabia' and 'cisdanubian Swabia,' dividing their history in three periods, to supplement Spener's notes on Germany. The Celts, Marcomans, Raetis, and Romans had once inhabited the area, making it difficult to establish its original inhabitants (*aborigines*). In a later period, Slavic peoples had made their appearance in the region, and this will have interested Schlözer who made the Slavic presence in Germany a central issue for his own studies on the history of the German territories.

Perhaps the largest problem of history at the time were the early medieval migrations of peoples in Europe known as the 'Great Migration' or *Völkerwanderung* (300 to 700 AD). Marking the transition from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages, the 'Great Migration' involved the Goths, Vandals, Franks and other Germanic, and various Slavic peoples. This period is usually divided into two phases. During the first phase (300 to 500 AD), Germanic peoples took control of most areas that used to be under the sway of the former Western Roman Empire. The Franks, encompassing various west-Germanic tribes, entered Roman territory during the fifth century and the Frankish Kingdom became the predecessor of the

⁴⁰⁰ Thilo's mother's name was Schlözer: Thilo's 'Mutter ist eine geborene Schlözerin, eine Anverwandte des berühmten Herrn Professor Schlözer's zu Göttingen' (Schöpperlin 1772: 429). Courtesy of Klaus Schmidt, 1994.

⁴⁰¹ Schöpperlin and Schlözer were both members of the *Historisches Institut*, founded by Gatterer in Göttingen.

⁴⁰² 'Wie repartire ich nun diese 200 Völker unter jene 14 Japhetiten?' (Schlözer, *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* 1771: 285).

future states of France and Germany. Meanwhile, Roman Britain was conquered by the Angles and Saxons. During the second phase (500 to 700 AD), Slavic tribes settled in Eastern Europe. These migrations were connected to the invasions of the Huns, in turn related to the Turkic migration in Central Asia. This was a huge problem that appealed to Schlözer, even if he found the concept *Völkerwanderung* (Migration of Peoples) misleading as ‘migrating peoples are conquerors from uncultivated areas who occupy territories that have been cultivated by others.’⁴⁰³ These migrations had led to so much confusion, especially in the history of Eastern and Central Europe, that they presented a major historiographical challenge not to be solved for many years to come. Schlözer’s solution was to continue Leibniz’s historical linguistics by introducing the taxonomic model of Linnaeus.

Leibniz, Linnaeus, and Schlözer

In his early historiographical works, Schlözer based himself primarily on the works of Leibniz, Bayer, and Linnaeus. Schlözer introduced the Linnaean perspective in his *Probe Russischer Annalen* (1768). In a section on Slavic peoples that needed to be classified, Schlözer wrote:

May I be permitted to introduce the language of the greatest of naturalists in the history of peoples. I see no better tool for solving confusions in the older and middle [periods of] history than a system of peoples (*Systema populorum*), grouped in classes and orders, genera and species, constructed conform the method of Linnaeus. The possibility exists. Just as Linnaeus classified animals according to their teeth, and plants according to their stamina, the historian can arrange peoples according to the languages. This was what Leibniz so explicitly and often insisted upon; but almost no one listened, because the study of languages and the study of history are heterogeneous [of different origins].⁴⁰⁴

Schlözer returned to these propositions in a strategic section on the names of peoples, right in the beginning of his *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* (1771). Criticizing the practice of travelers, missionaries and geographers to classify Cymru [Welsh], Basques and Germans under ‘Celts,’ or Mongols, Manchus and Kaibals under ‘Tatars,’ he posed the question: Should we continue the ‘lack of knowledge in geography’ (*Unkunde der Geographie*) while our knowledge of the world has recently made such advances and thereby avoid the mistake of bringing all such peoples into the same category? He answered it in the following way:

⁴⁰³ ‘Wandernde Völker sind Conqueranten aus ungebauten Gegenden, die fremde schon gebaute Länder einnehmen’ (Schlözer 1772: 165, with slight alterations repeated in 1775: 102)

⁴⁰⁴ ‘Man erlaube mir, daß ich die Sprache des Grössten der Naturforscher in die Völkergeschichte einführe. Ich sehe kein besseres Mittel den Verwirrungen der ältesten und mittlern Geschichte auszuweichen, und ihre Dunkelheiten aufzuklären, als ein nach Linnäischer Methode verfertigtes *Systema Populorum*, in *Classes & Ordines, Genera & Species, redactorum*. Die Möglichkeit ist da. So wie **Linnäus** die Thiere nach den Zähnen, und die Pflanzen nach den **Staubfäden** einteilt: so würde der Geschichtsforscher die Völker nach den **Sprachen** ordnen. Das war es, worauf **Leibnitz** so nachdrücklich und ofte drang; aber fast niemand hörte ihn: denn Sprachkunde und Geschichtkunde sind *Heterogenea*’ (Schlözer 1768: 72, note 22).

The solution to this problem lies in the *Philosophia botanica* of Linnaeus, because everything this great man has said about the systematic introduction to and the naming of plants can be transferred on to the history of nations. The compilation of a *systema populorum* in classes and orders, genera and species, is possible (and) languages would become to the historian what stamina are to the botanist. But first it would be necessary to arrive at a philosophy of ethnography (*Philosophia botanica*) to prevent Rudbeck, Pezron and Becanus from making the great project of Leibniz ridiculous (1771: 210-211, n. A).⁴⁰⁵

Thus, according to Schlözer the comparative study of languages would be as important to the history of nations (*Völkergeschichte*) as the study of stamina in botany had been to the study of natural history. Striking is the double reference to Linnaeus who had revolutionized botany by basing the classification of plants on their sexual organs. Sébastien Vaillant, Tourneforts successor in France, had introduced the principle in 1718. Linnaeus carried it to its conclusion and made it the basis of his system of nature (*Systema naturae*, 1735), further developed in his *Species plantarum* (1753). Linnaeus's binary nomenclature remained the standard in botany until the second half of the nineteenth century. Just as Linnaeus had been successful in standardizing botany with the help of straightforward criteria such as stamina and pistels for the arrangement of plants, Schlözer wanted to arrive at a system of peoples (*Systema populorum*) by using the comparative study of languages as a tool for arriving at solid conclusions on the mutual relatedness and descent of peoples. By arranging the languages of the world in classes, orders, genera and species, many problems in the history of nations, first and foremost related to their names and migrations, could be solved in a historical-genetical manner. However, in order to do just that, a *Philosophia ethnographica* should be developed first, analogous to Linnaeus' *Philosophia botanica* (1751). Then it would be possible to devise a *Völkersystem*, which could be based on the linguistic relationships between peoples.

With 'the great project of Leibniz' Schlözer meant nothing less than the compilation of such a 'system of peoples' (*systema populorum*), that is, a classification of peoples according to their languages. Following Leibniz, Schlözer attached great value to the study of languages and their potential use for elucidating the early history of nations. 'Languages would become to the historian what stamina are to the botanist.' In many ways, this historical-linguistic program was as advanced for the eighteenth century as the International Human Genome Diversity Project, inventorying human genetic diversity with the help of DNA, is today.

In an important chapter of his *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte*, dealing with the 'Aboriginal Peoples of the European North' (*Von den Stamm-Völkern des Europäischen*

⁴⁰⁵ 'Die Auflösung dieser Frage steht in **Linnei** *Philosophia botanica*: denn alles was dieser grosse Mann von der systematischen Einleitung und Benennung der Pflanzen sagt, läßt sich dem Wesen nach auch auf die Völkergeschichte übertragen. Es ist ein *Systema Populorum in Classes et Ordines, Genera et Species*, redactum möglich: die **Sprachen** würden für den Geschichtsforscher, was die **Staubfäden** für den Kräuterlehrer seyn. Aber vorher wäre eine *Philosophia ethnographica* nöthig, damit kein Rudbeck, kein Pezron, kein Becanus, dieses grosse Leibnitzische Project durch eine verkehrte Ausführung lächerlich mache' (Schlözer 1771: 210-211, note A). In a related passage: 'Oft ist ein ganzer Schwall von Nachrichten, die uns die Alten von einem Volk liefern, dem ordnenden Geschichtsforscher in der Völkerkunde so wenig nütze, als eine seitenlangen Beschreibung einer Indischen Pflanze von Jürgen Anderson dem systematischen Linnäo in der Kräuterkunde' (1771: 271 note K).

Nordens, 1771: 286-288), Schlözer expanded on these propositions. It is precisely in this context that Schlözer introduced the concepts *Völkerkunde*, *Ethnographie* and *Ethnograph*.

If I may be allowed to suggest a general, reliable and powerful instrument for solving the problem of bringing the peoples of several parts of the world and milleniums into closed systems, in order to stop these ebullitions of self-imagined omniscience and prevent future historical geniuses from becoming afflicted by this disease? A look at the totality of our knowledge of peoples (*das ganze unserer Völkerkunde*) is this powerful instrument. It discourages us to the utmost, this broad view (*dieser weite Blick*), and allows us to feel what unbelievable ignorants we are in the study of peoples (*Völkerkunde*); we observe with embarrassment how busily we move around in a narrow circle of a few hundred peoples, flattering ourselves by thinking that we know all or at least most peoples [of the world] ...⁴⁰⁶

‘In the entire Mosaic period, the first two millennia after the Flood,’ Schlözer continued, ‘we know only fourteen peoples in Europe and Nord Asia by name and origin but not by their history.’ In the following period of the Greeks and Romans, ‘that may run from Herodotus to well into the Middle Ages, there is no shortage of names of peoples (*Völker-Namen*), but many nations were unknown to these learned nations. Their ethnology could not reach beyond their cosmology (*Ihre Völkerkunde konnte nicht weiter als ihre Weltkunde gehen*). They knew even less peoples historically, least of all genealogically. The key source was closed to them, as they did not want to indulge in learning barbaric languages.’ He continued,

But we, citizens of the enlightened eighteenth century, we have no doubt depleted the *Völkerkunde* of our and the preceding era and there would no longer be a nation, at least on the known earth, that we wouldn’t know. Yes, if we would at least know our small Europe; not to mention much larger Asia [note P], Africa, and America. Here, in Europe, exist peoples and languages that we do not know to the present day and cannot investigate due to the absence of grammars and similar resources, for instance the Epirots, Walachs, Samoyedes, etc. Secondly, peoples that we could know thanks to the richness of available resources, are unknown to the majority [note R], partly because these resources are difficult to come by [note S], partly because it has not been fashionable [note T] to study ethnology in this manner (*die Völkerkunde auf diese Art zu studiren*), partly because it is hard [note U] to investigate unknown languages in such a way as to provide fruitful propositions to the ethnographer (*dem Ethnographen*).⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁶ ‘Darf ich ein allgemeines, sicheres, und kräftiges Mittel vorschlagen, diesen Kitzel, die Völker mehrerer Welttheile und Jahrtausende unter sich in geschlossene Systemen zu bringen, aus dem Grunde zu heben, diese Aufwallungen eingebildeter Allwissenheit niederzuschlagen, und historische Genien, die noch nicht mit dieser Seuche behaftet sind, auch in Zukunft davor zu präserviren? Ein **Blick auf das ganze unserer Völkerkunde** ist dieses kräftige Mittel. Er demüthiget uns aufs äusserste, dieser weite Blick; er läßt uns fühlen, welch erstaunliche Ignoranten wir in der Völkerkunde sind; wir sehen beschämt, wie geschäftig wir uns in einem engen Zirkel von ein paar hundert Völkern drehen, und dabey den stolzen Wahn hegen, als könnten wir alle oder doch die meisten Völker (...).’ (Schlözer 1771: 286).

⁴⁰⁷ ‘Hier, in Europa, sind **erstlich** Völker und Sprachen, die wir noch bis auf den heutigen Tag nicht kennen, und aus Mangel an Grammatiken und dergleichen Hilfsmitteln, nicht einmal untersuchen können: z.E. die Epiroten, Walachen [note Q], Samojeden etc. **Zweytens**, auch Völker, die man bey dem Reichthum vorhandener Hilfsmittel kennen könnte, kennt doch der grosse Haufe [note R] nicht: theils weil diese auch vorhandene Hilfsmittel **selten** zu haben sind [note S]; theils weil es bisher nicht [p. 288] **Mode** [note T] gewesen, die Völkerkunde auf diese Art zu studiren; theils weil es **mühsam** [note U] ist, unbekannte Sprachen so zu

In the footnotes to these passages, Schlözer enlarged on these theses. In footnote P, he stated that ‘in far-away Siberia dozens of peoples appear in sight, that Fischer made known by his history of Siberia and his unpublished Siberian vocabulary’ (1771: 287).

In his section on the state of knowledge in eighteenth-century Europe, Schlözer stated that it had not been fashionable to study ethnology in this manner (*die Völkerkunde auf diese Art zu studiren*). In footnote T, he elaborated:

Our classical education has taught us to only study the so-called learned languages; at the same time it instilled a distaste in us for languages of such nations that even though they still exist, in obscurity, and wrote and printed books in their national language (*Landessprache*) did not contribute to enhance learned knowledge. If one would not be able to protect (oneself) with the teachings and examples of great men whose taste is as unsuspicious as their erudition, such as Leibniz, Witsen, Bayer and Ihre, one would hardly be permitted to show that one studies Lappish, Samoyedic or Kalmyk. It is not fashionable! Fashionable was, thus far, to look for the origin and affinity of peoples (*Ursprung und Verwandtschaft der Völker*) in writers of annals (chronicles). However, annalists, says Leibniz, neither the old, nor those of the Middle Ages, are sources of information for these investigations, only grammarians and compilers of vocabularies. This leads to a complete change in going about (this subject); totally new points of departure, an entirely different source of information, while the sources that thus far have been customary can only be used additionally; consequently, also completely different conclusions.⁴⁰⁸

In footnote U, Schlözer emphasized the importance of language studies for ethnology:

In the entire field of historiography I know of no work as hard as the study of languages in relation to the study of peoples (*Sprachenuntersuchungen in Rücksicht auf die Völkerkunde*). General propositions ... cannot be abstracted from one or a few words; otherwise one lapses into a crude Rudbeckianism and renders the entire method ridiculous. They require an induction of a great deal of examples; and to find these, collect and compare them, takes effort and diligence and very often depends on coincidence ... To scramble about these foreign, or as the refined Greek used to say, barbaric languages in a hasty manner, snatch a similar word here and there and draw general conclusions from them, is not conform Leibniz’s method in ethnography (*ist nicht Leibnizens Methode in der Ethnographie*).⁴⁰⁹

untersuchen, daß sie dem Ethnographen fruchtbare Sätze liefern.’ (Schlözer 1771: 286-288).

⁴⁰⁸ Note T: ‘Unsre klaßische Erziehung, die uns nur mit sogenannten gelehrten Sprachen beschäftigt, flößt uns unvermerkt einen Eckel an Sprachen solcher Nationen ein, die zwar itzo noch, aber in der Dunkelheit existiren, und falls sie auch in ihrer Landessprache Bücher schreiben und drucken lassen, doch dadurch keine Beyträge zur Erweiterung gelehrter Kenntnisse liefern. Und könnte man sich nicht mit den Lehren und Beyspielen notorisch grosser Männer, deren Geschmack ebenso unverdächtig als ihre Gelehrsamkeit ist, eines Leibnizes, Witsens, Bayers und Ihres, schützen: so würde man sichs kaum merken lassen dürfen, daß man Lappisch, Samojedisch und Kalmuckisch studiere. Es ist einmal die **Mode** nicht! – Die **Mode** war bisher, den Ursprung und die Verwandtschaft der Völker in Annalisten zu suchen: aber Annalisten, sagt Leibniz, weder alte, noch spätere des Mittelalters, sind keine Erkenntnißquellen dieser Untersuchungen, sondern Sprachlehrer und Lexikonschreiber. Dies giebt eine totale Veränderung in der ganzen Art zu verfahren; ganz neue Punkte, vor denen man ausgehen soll, eine völlig andre Quelle, wobey die andre bisher gewöhnliche nur neben her und hülfweise genützt wird; folglich auch ganz andre Folgesätze. Aber desto unbiegsamer ist die Mode, wenn sie ihren ganzen Gang ändern, und in einen völlig ungewohnten Weg einschlagen soll (Schlözer 1771: 288).

⁴⁰⁹ ‘In der ganzen Geschichtsforschung kenne ich, nach meinem Gefühl und meiner Erfahrung, keine so saure

This is a direct reference to Leibniz's method of utilizing languages in order to arrive at the origins of nations, and his principles of 'sufficient reason' and of 'continuity' (see Chapter 2). There are many direct and indirect references to Leibniz in Schlözer's *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* (1771: 6, 210-211, 262, 288; indirect references 107-108, 221, 316-317), which are so numerous that we may conclude that Schlözer in his early work wanted to continue Leibniz's research program (Vermeulen 1988: 99). This ambition was clearly related to the 'Leibniz revival' taking place in Göttingen during the 1750s and 1760s (Vermeulen 1988: 99-102). In those years, when Schlözer studied in Göttingen, a number of his teachers occupied themselves with Leibniz. Not only Michaelis and Büttner but also Kästner and Gatterer referred to Leibniz's linguistic work. Michaelis based himself on Leibniz in his *Spicilegium geographiae Hebraeorum* (1769) in which he, according to Schlözer (1771: 265-266), caused 'a fortunate destruction in all previous systems of the origin of nations' by demonstrating that most authors based themselves on Bochart rather than on Mozes. Michaelis also borrowed from Leibniz in his prize-winning essay on the influence of opinions on language, and of language on opinions (Berlin 1760). In 1755, his nephew August Benedict Michaelis published the correspondence between Leibniz and Ludolf. Ten years later a review of Leibniz's *Nouveaux Essais*, that had just been published in an edition by R.E. Raspe (1765), appeared in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (10 January 1765: 25-29) that may well have been written by Johann David Michaelis (also quoted by Aarsleff 1982: 48-49). The philosopher and mathematician Abraham Gotthelf Kästner, who had recommended Niebuhr for the Danish-German Arabia expedition, wrote a preface to Raspe's edition of Leibniz's work and held a laudatory lecture for the German Society at Göttingen in 1769. The historian and geographer Johann Christoph Gatterer paid attention to Leibniz's ideas in an article on the 'Historical Use of Languages' (1770) and in a section on the same subject in his *Einleitung in die synchronistische Universalhistorie* (1771), in which he wrote: 'The historian, guided by the philosophy of languages, draws conclusions from the affinity of languages about the affinity of nations that speak them.'⁴¹⁰

The natural historian, collector and linguist Christian Wilhelm Büttner, one of the advisors of Michaelis during the preparations of the Danish-German Arabia expedition, conducted extensive linguistic studies of which little has been published. In one of the few

Arbeit, als Sprachenuntersuchungen in Rücksicht auf die Völkerkunde. Allgemeine Sätze, die man hier feste setzt, dürfen nicht von Einem oder wenigen Wörtern abstrahiret werden, sonst verfallen wir in den groben Rudbeckianismus, und machen die ganze Methode lächerlich. Sie fo[r]dern eine Induction van einer Menge von Beyspielen: und diese zu finden, zu sammeln, zu vergleichen, kostet Mühe und anhaltenden Fleiß, einen Fleiß, dessen glücklicher Erfolg noch dazu sehr oft unter dem Zufall steht; denn der glückliche Blick, der Aehnlichkeiten und Verschiedenheiten bemerkt, ist doch gemeiniglich nur ein Werk der Conjecturen, bey dem der Fleiß kein weiteres Verdienst hat, als daß er diese Conjecturen erschaffen, und solchergestalt zur Entdeckung den Weg gebahnet hat. Flüchtig in diesen fremden, oder wie der feine Griechen sich auszudrücken pflegte, in diesen Barbarischen Sprachen herumwühlen, hie und da ein ähnliches Wörtgen aufhaschen, und daraus allgemeine Sätze formiren, ist nicht Leibnizens Methode in der Ethnographie' (Schlözer 1771: 288 n. U).

⁴¹⁰ 'Der Geschichtsgelehrte, von der Sprachphilosophie geleitet, schliest von der Verwandtschaft der Sprachen zurück auf die Verwandtschaft der Nationen, die sie reden' (Gatterer 1771:105).

studies that did appear, two slim volumes of comparative tables of scripts of various peoples (1771-79), Büttner wrote that these were intended as a 'harmonic outline of languages ... of the known peoples of the earth.'⁴¹¹ In a review, Büttner's aim was summarized as follows: 'Language studies can be very useful for determining the descent of nations and for correcting the history of ancient peoples.'⁴¹² Büttner was one of Schlözer's main advisors during his studies at Göttingen (1754-55, 1759-61, 1765-66). Especially in the latter year, his first period of leave from St. Petersburg, Schlözer was assisted by Büttner who helped him in tracing ancient Slavic and Russian books and who compiled a chronological table of Slavonic scripts during the ages.⁴¹³

On the basis of these principles, Schlözer compiled a classification of Slavic languages in nine *species*: Russian, Polish, Bohemian, Sorbian, Polabian, *Windisch* (Wends in Austria), Croatian, Bosnian or Serbian, and Bulgarian (1771: 330-334). This was a major innovation in the comparative study of languages. Schlözer introduced it in *Probe Russischer Annalen*, and expanded on it in *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte*. He wrote: 'I now insert my classification of Slavic Principal Dialects, or, which is identical, of all Slavic Principal Peoples.'⁴¹⁴

In this passage, Schlözer makes a clear statement about the equivalence between language and people (*Sprache* and *Volk*), just as Leibniz had suggested. Following the 'natural way' (1771: 291), outlined by Leibniz (1771: 262), 'to retrace the Aboriginal Peoples (*Stammvölker*) of the North by investigating the Principal Languages,'⁴¹⁵ Schlözer identified five principal peoples of the European North: Samoyedes, Fins, Lets, Slavs, and Germans (1771: 288-344). Each of these *Stammvölker* (classes, in the Linnaean sense) was divided in *Arten* (*species*) and *Varietäten* (varieties): the Samoyedes in four principal dialects (*Hauptmundarten*), the Fins in twelve, the Lets in three, the Slaves in nine, the Germans in three dialects (Saxon, Franconian, Gothic). In the same way, Schlözer arranged the linguistic material for the Asiatic North (1771: 292-300, 391-436), with much less success, due to the fact that much less historical and linguistic material was available.

Thus, Schlözer's main contribution in his early historical work lay in a continuation of Leibniz's *Methode in der Ethnographie* (1771: 288 note U). By carrying Leibniz's methods for historical linguistics (and his symbolic logic) to their consequence and by applying them to diverse material of great historical complexity, Schlözer was able to make a fresh start with the study of the origin, migration and affinity of Nordic and Asian nations. He was sceptical about statements about the origin of nations before grammars, vocabularies and annals had

⁴¹¹ 'harmonischen Sprachenentwurf ... von den bekannten Völkern des Erdbodens' (Büttner, *Vergleichungs-Tafeln der Schriftarten verschiedener Völker, in denen vergangenen und gegenwärtigen Zeiten*, 1771: 4).

⁴¹² 'Sprachenuntersuchungen können zu Bestimmung der Abstammung der Völker, und zu Berichtigung der Geschichte der alten Völker sehr nützlich werden.' *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 16 February 1771: 161.

⁴¹³ Schlözer, Rapport I/7, Göttingen 18 September 1765, in Winter 1961: 109-110, repeated in October, p. 131.

⁴¹⁴ 'Nun setze ich ... meine Klaffifikation aller Slavischer Haupt-Dialecte, oder welches einerley ist, aller Slavischen Haupt-Nationen her' (Schlözer 1771: 330).

⁴¹⁵ 'Neuer Weg, die Stammvölker des Nordens wieder zu finden, durch Erforschung der Haupt-Sprachen' (Schlözer 1771: 4, 288-344).

become available, and accepted the five principal peoples of the European North as his ‘non-plus-ultra.’⁴¹⁶ He modernized historical etymology on the basis of empirical research and introduced the taxonomic ‘system’ and hierarchical ‘classification’ of Linnaeus in historical linguistics. He was the first historian to declare that history begins with the availability of historical documents; thus, historiography can only start when written sources are available. These principles enabled Schlözer to arrive at an innovative view on the importance of ethnography for history and the need for an ethnographic method of history.

By including ethnography in history, Schlözer advanced Müller’s ethnological program. It is puzzling that Schlözer in his *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* did not mention Müller’s ethnographic work, nor Müller’s history of Siberia (1761-63), nor his contributions to the *Vocabularium Sibiricum*. He favorably referred to Müller’s historical work in his *Probe Russischer Annalen* (1768). Bucher (2002: 207) has written that ‘Schlözer utilized Müller’s material copiously, often without specifying his sources, or only referring to the abbreviated version of Fischer’s history of Siberia.’⁴¹⁷ This interpretation fails to acknowledge that Müller left his ethnographic descriptions out of his history of Siberia, in order to publish them separately. For this reason, Schlözer will have found little of interest in Müller’s history, whereas Fischer’s history of Siberia (1768) contains a long introduction that was highly relevant to the ethnography and linguistics of Siberia. Whether Schlözer had insight in Müller’s unpublished manuscripts,⁴¹⁸ is unclear. As to Müller’s contributions to the *Vocabularium Sibiricum*, it is possible that Fischer remained silent about Müller’s linguistic work so that Schlözer was not aware of that, or not to the full extent. Schlözer carefully specified his sources in *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte*, and it is hard to imagine that he would have ignored Müller’s contributions if they had been published.

Whereas Müller had an encompassing ethnographic view and paid attention to both languages and customs, Schlözer was primarily interested in the comparative study of languages. He had a solid reason: a correspondence in customs cannot count as evidence for the kinship of peoples (1771: 211). Following Leibniz, Schlözer held that chronicles written by *Annalisten* can never serve as proof for the origin and affinity of peoples (*Ursprung und Verwandtschaft der Völker*, 1771: 288 note T). Therefore, his subject was: ‘the study of languages in relation to the study of peoples’ (*Sprachenuntersuchungen in Rücksicht auf die Völkerkunde*).

⁴¹⁶ ‘Diese Stammvölker sind mein Non-plus-ultra. Ursprünglich sind sie freylich anderswoher gekommen, aber woher? weis ich nicht. Ursprünglich stammen sie vermuthlich alle von Einem Geschlechte [Gattung] ab: aber von welchem? weis ich nicht. Auch die Zeit, wenn sie hereingekommen, auch die Wege, auf denen, und die Anlässe bey welchen sie in diese Weltgegend gerathen sind, weis ich nicht’ (Schlözer 1771: 291-292).

⁴¹⁷ ‘Schlözer ... war auf den eigenen Erfolg bedacht und benutzte Müllers Material ausgiebig, oft ohne mitzuteilen, worauf er sich bezieht oder sogar nur in jener von Fischer angefertigten verkürzten Version der “sibirischen Geschichte”’ (Bucher 2002: 207).

⁴¹⁸ ‘Man kann also davon ausgehen, daß Schlözer nicht nur guten Einblick in die unpublizierten Manuskripte [Müllers] hatte, sondern auch reichlich daraus geschöpft hat (Bucher 2002: 209).

Völker-Beschreibung in Russia

In Russia, Müller's ethnological program was carried forward by the members of the 'Academic Expeditions' (1768-1774). Under the reign of Catherine the Great,⁴¹⁹ new expeditions were sent out to all corners of the Russian Empire. Originally motivated by the ambition to observe the transit of Venus in 1767 and 1769, these expeditions aimed to 'serve the interests of the Empire and lead to an improvement of the sciences.'⁴²⁰ Another aim was to acquire new collections for the *Kunstkamera*, both in the field of cultural and that of natural history. Supervised by Count Vladimir Orlov, director of the Academy of Sciences, these expeditions led to southern and eastern Russia, the Caucasus, Siberia, and Mongolia. All expedition members were naturalists; however, their instructions also contained the request to collect information 'on the manners, customs, languages, traditions, and antiquities.'⁴²¹ The group included Peter Simon Pallas (1741-1811), Ivan Ivanovich Lepechin (1740-1802), Johan Peter Falck (1732-1774), Johann Gottlieb Georgi (1729-1802), Samuel Gottlieb Gmelin (1744-1774) and Johann Anton Güldenstädt (1745-1781). The first four traveled to the outer reaches of the Orenburg District, while the latter two set off for the Astrakhan District. Another expedition, carried out by Georg Moritz Lowitz (1722-1774), focused on southern Russia (1769-74).

This time, the reports were all published due to improvements in the political climate. These reports are amazingly *Völker*-minded. For example, in the third volume of Falck's report (*Beyträge zur Thierkenntniß und Völkerbeschreibung*), we find short descriptions of thirty peoples living in Orenburg District. Falck describes feasts, meals, marriage ceremonies, religious beliefs, shamanism, houses, tents, clothes, weapons, animals, and medical practices. In addition, he provides vocabularies in German, Finnish, Cheremiss, Votyak, Ostyak, Kazan Tartar, Kirghiz, Bukharan, and Kalmyk.⁴²² Inspired by the example of his teacher Linnaeus, Falck presented detailed lists of flora and fauna, as well as information on the social and economic conditions in the regions visited. His report was edited by his travel companion Georgi, who in a note on his deceased colleague wrote that Falck had provided 'excellent reports on the nations he encountered.'⁴²³ The work had served him 'to recuperate' from his official duties as a naturalist – which reminds us of Müller's remark on his own ethnographic studies thirty years earlier. Falck used the term 'Nazionen' as a synonym for *Völker*, not in the (later) political sense of a nation.

Müller had a direct influence on these expeditions and acted as a prominent consultant for Pallas. His instructions served as the basis for the instructions Pallas wrote for the expedition

⁴¹⁹ Catherine the Great, or Catherine II (1729-1796), was born as Sophie August Friederike von Anhalt-Zerbst-Dornburg, in Central Germany. She reigned from 1762 onward and set out a policy of enlightened despotism not unlike that of Frederick II, King of Prussia (ruled 1740-1786) and Joseph II, King of Austria (ruled 1765-1790).

⁴²⁰ 'Die Hauptabsicht dieser Expeditionen ist zweyfach: der Nutzen des Reichs und die Verbesserung der Wissenschaften' (*Russische Bibliothek* 1, 1772, quoted in Wendland 1992a: 91-92; Bucher 2002: 168).

⁴²¹ 'Nachricht von den verschiedenen Sitten, Gebräuchen, Sprachen, Traditionen und Alterthümern' (ibid.).

⁴²² He does so in a section entitled 'Beyträge zur Kenntniß der Nazionen Rußlands' (Falck 1786: 451-584).

⁴²³ 'gute Nachrichten von den Nationen, die sein Weg berührte' (zur Erholung) (Georgi 1775, II: 804).

members. Pallas communicated with Müller before, during, and after the expedition.⁴²⁴ Müller followed the expedition with great interest and offered Pallas access to his own field material.⁴²⁵ Müller even acted as an intermediary between the expedition members and the Academy.⁴²⁶ Significantly, the concept *Völkerbeschreibung* reappears in this context (Georgi 1776, Falck 1786) and even occurs in the title of a journal edited by Pallas from 1781 on.⁴²⁷

The finest result of this period was Georgi's 'Description of all Nations of the Russian Empire, their Way of Life, Religion, Customs, Dwellings, Clothing and Other Curiosities' in which he summarized all known data on the peoples of the Russian Empire (1776-80).⁴²⁸ It amounted to an overall ethnography of more than sixty nations of the Empire in four volumes and was lavishly illustrated with ninety-five handcolored copper plates by C.M. Roth (1775-76).

The Emergence of *Völkerkunde*, 1771-1775

In addition to the term *ethnographisch*, Schlözer introduced the concept *Völkerkunde* in 1771. The latter is still in use as the name of the discipline in Germany even if it has lately lost ground to the names 'ethnology' and 'social anthropology.' Schlözer applied the term *Völkerkunde* both in his monograph *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* (1771) and in his *Vorstellung seiner Universal-Historie* (1772). Although *ethnographisch* is the most important and by all means the longest-lasting of these concepts, it is clear that by coining *Völkerkunde*, Schlözer elevated Müller's descriptive work and that of others to a higher, more general level.

Völkerkunde means 'knowledge of peoples' and Schlözer contrasted it with *Weltkunde*, 'knowledge of the world.' In his *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte*, he showed little respect for the *Weltkunde* of the ancient Greeks and Romans: 'Their ethnology (*Völkerkunde*) could not reach beyond their cosmology (*Weltkunde*)' and their knowledge of the world (*Weltkunde*) ended at the Rhine, Danube, Don, and Tigris. In the same context, he wrote on the 'cosmological ignorance of the Greeks' (*Griechische Welt-Unkunde*).⁴²⁹ More respect was due the ancient Persians who under Cyrus had founded the first world empire, which implied 'the first large state union of humankind.'⁴³⁰ The Persians had united four principal peoples of the

⁴²⁴ The Pallas-Müller correspondence (1768-83) is extensive; see Wendland 1992a II: 893 ff. for an overview.

⁴²⁵ On the Academic Expeditions, see Donnert 1983: 113-116; Wendland 1992a I: 88-89; Bucher 2002: 32, 167-170.

⁴²⁶ See Hoffmann 2005: 160.

⁴²⁷ Peter Simon Pallas (Hrsg.) *Neue Nordische Beyträge zur physikalischen und geographischen Erd- und Völkerbeschreibung, Naturgeschichte und Oekonomie*. 7 vols. St. Petersburg und Leipzig, bey Johann Zacharias Logan, Band 1.1781-4.1783. From 5.1793-7.1796 under the title *Neueste Nordische Beyträge ...* Band 1-3.

⁴²⁸ Johann Gottlieb Georgi, *Beschreibung aller Nationen des Russischen Reichs, ihrer Lebensart, Religion, Gebräuche, Wohnungen, Kleidungen und übrigen Merkwürdigkeiten*. 4 vols. St. Petersburg, verlegt Carl Wilhelm Müller. French and Russian edition in 3 vols. 1776-1777. English edition in 3 vols. London 1780. Later Russian edition in 4 vols. St. Petersburg 1799. The illustrations appeared in a separate volume, titled *Les Figures appartenantes à la description de toutes les nations de l'empire de Russie*. St. Petersburg 1776.

⁴²⁹ 'Ihre Völkerkunde konnte nicht weiter als ihre Weltkunde gehen.' Schlözer, *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* 1771: 286; 'Griechische Welt-Unkunde' Schlözer, *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* 1771: 291.

⁴³⁰ 'der erste große Statsverein im Menschengeschlechte.' Schlözer, *Vorstellung der Universal-Historie* 1775: 14, 276.

Ancient World, bringing the kingdoms of the Assyrians, the Babylonians, and the Medes within a single state. With the Romans, ‘history had become somewhat world historic,’ with Cyrus and the founding of the Persian Empire, ‘the world itself had become world historic, that is, only since then did humankind join in closer union and acquaintance.’⁴³¹

Although the object of such a *Völkerkunde* was *all* peoples, only a selection of them could be discussed in a systematic world history that focused on the interconnection of peoples and of states. Peoples who had founded states were, according to Schlözer, more advanced than those without a state insofar as the former had connected other peoples. Therefore, the study of the former was more essential both for arriving at that process of increased connection (*Verbindung*) which occurs partly through conquests; and for arriving at a greater *Verkettung* of the world, namely at that process of increased concatenation on a global scale which we, since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, call ‘globalization’ (Wertheim 2002). Schlözer was one of the first world historians to pay attention to this process of increasing interconnectedness, and it is significant that he introduced the concepts *Ethnographie* and *Völkerkunde* in this context. To Schlözer, the adjective ‘universal historic’ implied interconnecting peoples and states. Such a connection was forged not only through conquests, or through the dissemination of culture, customs and laws but also through inventions in the arts, sciences and technology, as well as through migrations of peoples, animals, plants, arts and diseases. Such interconnecting was optimal within a state unifying different peoples and states. Peoples who had produced such a state were therefore called ‘principal nations,’ that is, *Haupt-Nationen* (1775: 279) or *Hauptvölker* (1772: 106-108, 1775: 299-301). These peoples had brought coherence into world history and had disseminated ‘Enlightenment and Literature’ in other parts of the world (1775: 118). Schlözer used the term ‘world system’ (*Weltsystem*) in this connection (1772: 37, 1775: 250), and he can be seen as one of the first global historians, a precursor of Braudel, Wallerstein, and McNeil.

The problem of coherence and interconnectedness represents Schlözer’s main interest in world history (Vermeulen 2008b). However, there was another, less original, level to his historical views. ‘Universal history,’ Schlözer wrote, is ‘a history of humankind and its stage-like improvement or deterioration.’⁴³² World history is ‘the analysis of the great world events in interconnection.’⁴³³ Such a form of history would answer questions such as: ‘Whence the progress of the one, the stand still of another, the relapse of a third people (*Volk*)?’ In the same way, it would deal with the causes of ‘progress of humanity among a people’ (*Fortgang der Menschheit bei dem einen Volk*), of blocking such progress in a second people, and of modifying its course in a third or fourth people (1772: 7-8, 1775: 224-225).

⁴³¹ ‘Mit Rom wird zwar die Geschichte schon etwas universalhistorisch ... Aber mit Kyrus erst wird die Welt selbst universalhistorisch; d.i. seitdem erst kommt das Menschengeschlecht in merere Verbindung und Bekanntschaft unter sich’ (Schlözer, *Vorstellung der Universal-Historie* 1775: 270-271 note *).

⁴³² ‘eine Geschichte der Menschheit und ihrer stufenmäßigen Veredlung oder Verschlimmerung’ (Schlözer *Vorstellung* 1772: 97, 1775: 292-293).

⁴³³ ‘die Betrachtung der grossen Weltbegebenheiten im Zusammenhange’ (Schlözer 1772: 8, 1775: 225).

The latter view, phrased in terms of the Enlightenment model of stage-like progress, has been taken as characteristic for Schlözer's world history. But it was not. Interconnection rather than progress is the key word in his theory of history. Following the section just cited, Schlözer added that these questions will be answered by 'universal history or the consideration of great world events in connection.'⁴³⁴ This is Schlözer's main definition of world history. Acting under the assumption of 'an increasing unity among children of mankind primarily by conquests,'⁴³⁵ Schlözer proposed to focus on those world events that contribute to this increasing unity or interconnectedness of humankind. In the preface to the second edition of his *Vorstellung*, not mentioned in the first, he clarified his view as follows:

People become peoples (Prehistory). Several peoples, in Western Asia, Northern Africa and Southern Europe become large states (Old World). Three continents, with the exception of Southern Africa and Northern Asia, become interconnected (Middle Ages). Finally, Diaz, Columbus and Yermak bring all sons of Adam, with the exception of Southern Indians [Pacific] in a lasting acquaintance with each other.⁴³⁶

With this schematic representation, Schlözer summarized his view on world history, focusing on the interconnectedness of historical events. To analyze that was his primary aim in world history. This aim was not sufficiently appreciated by Horst Walter Blanke and Justin Stagl who concentrated on the first edition of Schlözer's *Vorstellung*, especially on its first part, *Ideal einer Weltgeschichte*. However, Schlözer's interest in the interconnectedness of human history comes forth more clearly in the second edition of his *Vorstellung* (1775) and in its first part, *Summaries der Weltgeschichte*, and was elaborated in the third edition (*WeltGeschichte nach ihren HauptTheilen*, 1785-89). The interconnectedness of world events was of such importance to Schlözer that he developed methods for analyzing it and introduced important distinctions: (1) an 'aggregate of world history' versus a 'system of world history'; (2) a 'real connection of events' versus 'a chronological connection of events'; and (3) a 'synthetical arrangement of historical facts' versus a 'synchronic arrangement of historical facts.' In this context, Schlözer contrasted the new concepts 'ethnography' (*Ethnographie*) and 'ethnographic' (*ethnographisch*) to older terms, respectively 'chronography' (*Chronographie*) and 'synchronistic' (*synchronistisch*). The latter term was adopted from Gatterer, who had introduced the 'synchronistic' method, a way of arranging world history according to periods, and had published synchronistic tables and an accompanying handbook (Gatterer 1765/1769, 1771). 'World history,' Schlözer wrote, should be more than 'just a history of states and

⁴³⁴ 'Universalhistorie, oder die Betrachtung der großen Weltbegebenheiten im Zusammenhange (Schlözer 1772: 8, 1775: 225).

⁴³⁵ 'der meist durch Eroberungen allmählich bewirkte grössere Verein unter den Menschenkindern' (Schlözer 1775: [vii-viii]).

⁴³⁶ 'Menschen werden Völker (**Vorwelt**). Merere Völker, in Vorder-Asien, Nord-Afrika, und Süd-Europa, werden große Staten (**Alte Welt**). Drei Welttheile, nur Süd-Afrika und Nord-Asien ausgenommen, kommen in Zusammenhang (**Mittel-Alter**). Diaz endlich, Colom, und Jermak, bringen alle Adamssöhne, Süd-Indier abgerechnet, in eine daurende Bekanntschaft mit einander' (Schlözer 1775: [viii]).

peoples.⁴³⁷ A reformed world history should no longer focus on the ‘four monarchies’ or the ‘four nations’ (the Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman), which formed the basis for the subdivision of world history until sixteenth-century historians such as Carion and Melancthon. Nor should it focus on the seventy-two languages making up the Jewish view of history (Borst 1961: 1474). Instead, as we have seen, Schlözer proposed to deal with at least two hundred *Völker*, including an unspecified number of states.

Schlözer’s *Vorstellung* has been characterized as a fundamental text in the theory of history and, for this reason, was (partly) reprinted in a handbook on theoreticians of German Enlightenment history, edited by Horst Walter Blanke and Dirk Fleischer (1990). The book’s first part, *Ideal einer Weltgeschichte*, was the subject of an extensive analysis by Justin Stagl (1974b; 1995b: 233-268; 1998; 2002) who interpreted Schlözer’s *Ideal* as presenting an ‘Outline of Ethnology’ (*Entwurf einer Völkerkunde*, Stagl 1974b) and as ‘having launched the *étnos*-names’ (Stagl 1995b: 268). Blanke (1990: 494 n. 48/1997: *21* n. 48) sees Schlözer as the creator of the concept *ethnographisch*. However, these authors concentrated on the first edition of Schlözer’s *Vorstellung*, and only on its first part. They tend to largely ignore his *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte*, which limits their interpretation to a large extent. The terms *Völkerkunde*, *ethnographisch* and *Ethnographie* appear much more often in Schlözer’s *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* (eighteen times) than in his *Vorstellung* (five times in the first edition, seven times in the second edition). The concept *Völkerkunde* occurs only once in the latter book but twelve times in the former (see Table 6).

Table 6. *Ethnos*-terms in A.L. Schlözer’s Early Works, 1771-1775

<i>Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte</i> 1771: 18 times
– Ethnographie (2x), Völkerkunde (12x), ethnographisch (3x), Ethnographie (1x)
<i>Vorstellung seiner Universal-Historie</i> , 1 st edition 1772: 5 times
– Ethnographie (1x), Völkerkunde (1x), ethnographisch (3x)
<i>Vorstellung</i> , 2 nd volume 1773: 15 times
– exclusively ethnographisch
<i>Vorstellung der Universal-Historie</i> , 2 nd edition 1775: 7 times
– Ethnographie (2x), Völkerkunde (1x), ethnographisch (4x)

Thus, Schlözer introduced the concept *Völkerkunde* and the term *ethnographisch* in 1771-72. Although *Ethnographie* had been introduced by Schöpperlin and Thilo in 1767, it is possible that Schlözer served as intermediary between Müller’s *Völker-Beschreibung* and Schöpperlin and Thilo’s *Ethnographie*. In any case, Schlözer generalized the regional (ethnographic)

⁴³⁷ ‘die bloße Staten- und Völkergeschichte’ (Schlözer 1772: 30, 1775: 244).

views obtained while writing his *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* (1771) and placed them in a wider historical perspective in his (theoretical) *Vorstellung* (1772). Schlözer was the first historian after Müller to take the new discipline seriously. He transformed Müller's *Völker-Beschreibung* into *Völkerkunde* and incorporated Müller's ethnography into the broader domain of world history. Through his writings and his teaching in Göttingen, Schlözer introduced the concepts *Völkerkunde*, *Ethnographie*, and *ethnographisch* in academic discourse. By introducing an 'ethnographic method' as one of the four ways of conceiving history, Schlözer raised the level of discussion. *Völkerkunde* was the more general concept, designating the knowledge of peoples; *ethnographisch* was a way of arranging historical material, by focusing on peoples rather than era.

Gatterer and the New Geography

The second source in which the concept *Völkerkunde* surfaced was an introduction to a synchronistic world history (*Einleitung in die synchronistische Universalhistorie*) written by Schlözer's senior colleague, the historian Johann Christoph Gatterer (1727-1799).⁴³⁸ Gatterer was professor of history at Göttingen from 1759 and renowned for developing auxiliary disciplines of history such as chronology, geography, heraldry, genealogy and diplomatics. Gatterer distinguished 'Thracian ethnology of Herodotus' from 'Thracian history.'⁴³⁹ He combined ethnology with anthropology (*Menschen- und Völkerkunde*) and contrasted them with cosmography and geography (*Welt- und Erdbeschreibung*) (Gatterer 1771: 89). He also employed the term '*Mosaische Bevölkerungskunde*, which must have meant something like the knowledge of how the world became populated according to Mozes.⁴⁴⁰ A few years later, Gatterer used the term *Mosaisches Bevölkerungs-System*, to be deduced from Mozes I: 10 (Genesis 10), and he translated Schlözer's concept *Systema populorum* with *Völkersystem*.⁴⁴¹

In 1775, Gatterer used the combination *Menschen- und Völkerkunde* again, now adding a neo-Greek translation *Anthropographia und Ethnographia* between brackets (Gatterer 1775: 4-5). This was an overview of geography (*Abriß der Geographie*), dated 1775. Although the book appeared in 1778, the relevant sections occur in passages that were printed in 1775. It is at this moment that the term *Ethnographie* entered Gatterer's work. His *Abriß* is the second source in which the concepts *Völkerkunde* and *Ethnographie* appeared, and the first in which they were explicitly equated with each other. Gatterer spoke of *Menschen- und Völkerkunde* (*Anthropographia und Ethnographia*) and gave the subject a place in his classification of

⁴³⁸ Johann Christoph Gatterer published a new version of his 'synchronistic tables' in 1769, in which he distinguished between: 'historia politica, historia ecclesiastica, historia literaria' (*Synopsis historiae vniversalis, sex tabvlis*, 1769, 1st edition 1765). Gatterer could build on the synchronistic work of, among others, Theodor Berger, who had studied at Leipzig and Halle, probably under the historian Cellarius (Berger 1728, 1767).

⁴³⁹ 'Thracische Völkerkunde aus Herodot' versus 'Thracische Geschichte' (Gatterer 1771: Inhalt [p.14]).

⁴⁴⁰ For 'Statisticians' of the 1820s who used *Bevölkerungskunde* as the study of the population of a state, see Möller 1964: 220-221.

⁴⁴¹ Gatterer, review of Schlözer's *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* in *Historisches Journal* IV (1775): 64-65.

geographical sciences. He divided geography in four main chapters: physical geography (*Gränzkunde*), geography proper (*Länderkunde*), political geography (*Staatenkunde*), and ethnography (*Völkerkunde*). The latter category was combined with anthropology (*Menschenkunde*), thereby linking both the anthropological and the ethnological discourses. Gatterer formulated his views on the classification of geographical sciences as follows:

The entire description of the earth, with and without respect to the division in ancient, middle and new [era], can, I think, conveniently be brought under four main parts or sciences: (1) the study of boundaries [**Gränzkunde** (*Horismographia*)], (2) the study of countries [**Länderkunde** (*Chorographia*)], (3) the study of states [**Staatenkunde** (*Poleographia* or *geographica Politice*)], and (4) the study of people and peoples [**Menschen- und Völkerkunde** (*Anthropographia* and *Ethnographia*)]. As we deal with geography here, it stands to reason that these four artificial terms are to be taken in their geographical meaning, not in their historical, political or statistical sense.⁴⁴²

This quotation makes clear that Gatterer ascribed a scientific status to *Völkerkunde*, that he equated *Völkerkunde* and *Ethnographie*, and that he adopted the discipline in a nomenclature of sciences. It is remarkable, however, that Gatterer classified the new study in the domain of geography, as Schlözer had given it a place in the field of history and, as we have seen, had even developed an ethnographic method as one of the four methods of history. A probable reason for this re-ordering was that Gatterer was aware that some peoples, including ‘wild peoples’ (*wilde Völker*), did not have a written history (as he wrote in 1773),⁴⁴³ rendering their treatment within the discipline of history a problematic one. However, as Gatterer regarded geography as an auxiliary discipline of history, it was to be expected that the results obtained by ethnography – within the domain of geography – would find their way back into the mother discipline of history, from which ethnography had just been split off.

Gatterer was the first to present a table of contents of the combined *Menschen- und Völkerkunde*, which should deal with people according to: (1) the human body, both in terms of stature and of color; (2) languages; (3) religions; (4) natural products; (5) culture (*Kultur*); (6) trade; and (7) geography, that is, their distribution over the world.⁴⁴⁴

Schlözer and Gatterer were the first historians to use the concept *Völkerkunde*, not only in what later became Germany, but also on a world-wide scale. The University of Göttingen occupied a strategic position in the scholarly network of the Hanoverian state, which through its connection with the expanding British Empire was truly international. Göttingen connected Western Europe and the Americas with Eastern Europe and Asia. The fact that the concept

⁴⁴² ‘Die ganze Erdbeschreibung, mit, und ohne Rücksicht auf die Eintheilung in alte, mittlere und neue, läßt sich, meines Erachtens, bequem unter 4 Haupttheile oder Wissenschaften bringen: 1) **Gränzkunde** (*Horismographia*), 2) **Länderkunde** (*Chorographia*), 3) **Staatenkunde** (*Poleographia* oder *geographica Politice*), und 4) **Menschen- und Völkerkunde** (*Anthropographia* und *Ethnographia*). Es versteht sich von selbst, daß, weil hier von Geographie die Rede ist, diese 4 Kunstwörter in **geographischer Bedeutung**, nicht historisch, nicht politisch, nicht statistisch usw. genommen werden.’ Gatterer, *Abriß der Geographie*. Göttingen 1775. Erster Theil [published in 1778; no further volumes published], pp. 4-5. Also quoted in Fischer (1970: 170, note 13).

⁴⁴³ Johann Christoph Gatterer, *Ideal einer allgemeinen Weltstatistik* (Göttingen 1773: 16).

⁴⁴⁴ Johann Christoph Gatterer, *Abriß der Geographie* (1775: XVIII-XXXVI).

Völkerkunde was coined as a successor of the descriptive study of peoples as introduced by Müller in Siberia (1740) and by Schöpperlin in Swabia (1767) is highly significant.

Volkskunde and Folk-Lore, 1776-1846

Soon after the introduction of the concepts *Völkerkunde* and *Ethnographie*, variants such as *Volkskunde* and *Ethnologie* came into existence. In Germany, *Volks-Kunde* first surfaced in the journal *Der Reisende* (The Traveler), published at Hamburg in 1782 by Friedrich Ekkard (1744-1815).⁴⁴⁵ Ekkard was a close associate of Schlözer and worked at the university library in Göttingen. As editor of the short-lived weekly, Ekkard used the concept in an anonymous section in which he urged travelers to document the celebration of folk feasts (*Volksfeste*) rather than the feasts held at courts (Kutter 1978, 1996). The concept *Volkskunde* reappeared in 1787 in the title of an article on Bohemian *Landes- Volks- und Staatskunde* by Josef Mader, an Austrian professor of history and *Statistik* in Prague, and in 1788 in a Stuttgart chronicle by the poet Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart (see Möller 1964; Könenkamp 1988).⁴⁴⁶

The term *Volkskunde* appeared even earlier in the Netherlands, namely in the work of the Dutch physician and natural historian Johannes le Francq van Berkhey (1729-1812), reader at the University of Leiden. Le Francq van Berkhey used the term in volume three of his natural history of Holland (*Natuurlyke historie van Holland*. Amsterdam 1776), in which, at the end of a chapter on children's games, he wrote: 'The foregoing expositions will suffice, I trust, to open up this subject. Its study still seems to lack in our *Volkskunde* [in the study of our people] and, in my opinion, is here highly appropriate.'⁴⁴⁷ Le Francq van Berkhey's use of the concept was consistent, as he in earlier volumes also employed the terms *volkskenner* (1773) and *volksbeschryving* (1774).⁴⁴⁸ Following Buffon's *l'histoire naturelle*, le Francq wrote a comprehensive account of the natural history of Holland (published at Amsterdam and Leiden in nine volumes, 1769-82, 1805-11). In this case, too, there may have been a connection with Göttingen scholars. Koolhaas-Grosfeld (2003: 70) denies any influence from German historians or folklore specialists on le Francq's work but we know that he adapted a natural history for children written by Georg Christian Raff (1748-1788), teacher of history and geography at the Lyceum in Göttingen, *Naturgeschichte für Kinder* (Göttingen 1778), for a Dutch readership (*Natuurlyke historie voor kinderen*. Leiden 1781). In addition, le Francq van Berkhey had a fatherly friend, J.C. Schutz (1717-1777), German by birth and a true polyglot, who was his teacher of Greek and Latin and often corrected his work (Arpots 1990).

⁴⁴⁵ *Der Reisende. Ein Wochenblatt zur Ausbreitung gemeinnütziger Kenntnisse*. Erstes Quartal, Hamburg 1782.

⁴⁴⁶ J. Mader, Verzeichnis einiger gedruckten Hilfsmittel zu einer pragmatischen Landes- Volks- und Staatskunde Böhmens (in Riegger, Prague 1787); C.F.D. Schubart, *Vaterlandschronik von 1788*, Stuttgart 1788.

⁴⁴⁷ Johannes le Francq van Berkhey, *Natuurlyke historie van Holland*. 9 vols. Te Amsterdam, by Yntema en Tieboel, 1769-1811 (vol.3, 1776: 1457). Ton Dekker, *De Nederlandse volkskunde* (2002: 6) was the first to point out this earlier Dutch reference to *Volkskunde*, but incorrectly provided the year 1773 for this quotation.

⁴⁴⁸ See Koolhaas-Grosfeld 2003.

The nearest equivalent of the term *Volkskunde* in English is ‘folk-lore,’ introduced by William John Thoms (1803-1885) in London in 1846. He used it to connote ‘the Lore of the People ... the traditional beliefs, legends and customs, current among the common people.’⁴⁴⁹ It may be noted that the meaning of ‘folk-lore’ was more limited than *Volkskunde* as the former refers to tales people tell, a narrative tradition, oral history. Moreover, *Volkskunde* in the eighteenth century was not yet restricted to the study of the common people; this restriction took place during the nineteenth century. The first Folk-lore Society was founded in London in 1878; followed by the American Folklore Society in 1888. At present, folklore studies in the Anglo-American world are seen as the equivalent of *Volkskunde* in Germany.

Although none of these authors supplied a definition of *Volkskunde*, we can surmise that its meaning was the same as *Völkerkunde* in the singular, that is, a study of a (one) people, as opposed to the study of more than one people or even of all peoples. According to Matti Bunzl (1996: 685), *Volkskunde* literally means the knowledge of the people. Bunzl distinguishes it from *Völkerkunde*, which means the knowledge of peoples. He connects this interpretation with notes on the later development of both these studies. In the case of *Volkskunde*, ‘the intellectual roots can be found in the Romantic valorization of the German *Volksgeist* (the genius of the people).’ *Völkerkunde*, on the other hand, was ‘colonially inspired and developmentally oriented’ and, in the years after World War I, ‘remained a small discipline’ (Bunzl 1996: 685). These views are widely held but do not apply to developments in the eighteenth century. More helpful is Chris Hann’s assessment who, in a preface to a series of lectures on ‘four [national] traditions’ in anthropology, distinguishes the comparative enterprise of *Völkerkunde* from *Volkskunde*, which he defines as ‘the study of one’s own people’ (Hann 2005: viii).

The next step was to move from a descriptive study of separate peoples (*ethnographia*) towards a general science of peoples (*ethnologia*).

From *Ethnographia* to *Ethnologia*, 1781-1787

It has long been assumed that Alexandre-César Chavannes (1731-1800), professor of theology in Lausanne, first applied the concept *Ethnologie* (ethnology) in 1787.⁴⁵⁰ In an Essay on Intellectual Education with the Project of a New Science, Chavannes defined *ethnologie* as ‘the history of peoples progressing towards civilization’⁴⁵¹ A more complete definition ran: the ‘science of man considered as belonging to a species dispersed over the world and divided in numerous bodies of societies, or nations, occupied with providing to their needs and tastes,

⁴⁴⁹ William John Thoms [ps. Ambrose Merton], ‘FOLK-LORE.’ *The Athenaeum. Journal of English and Foreign Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts*, No. 982, London, Saturday, August 22, 1846, pp. 862-863.

⁴⁵⁰ Hunt 1865: xcii; Topinard 1876: 200, 1885: 59; Gindroz in Herzen 1886: 10; Topinard 1888: 200-201, 1891: 4-5; Brinton 1892a: 264; Poirier 1968a: 25, 1969: 20; Gloor 1970: 265; de Rohan-Csermak 1970a: 674; Fischer 1970: 180; Duchet 1971: 12-13, 229, bibl. 522, 525, index; Moravia 1973: 160; Panoff & Perrin 1973: 23; Berthoud 1992: 257.

⁴⁵¹ ‘l’histoire des progrès des peuples vers la civilisation’ (Chavannes, *Essai sur l’éducation intellectuelle avec le Projet d’une science nouvelle*. Lausanne 1787, quoted after the partial reprint in Herzen 1886: 127).

and more or less civilized.⁴⁵² Chavannes saw ethnology as a part of anthropology, or ‘the general study of man.’⁴⁵³ The ‘new science’ he referred to in 1787 was anthropology, not ethnology. Chavannes’ work became known through the research of the French physical anthropologist Paul Topinard on the origins of ethnology, ethnography and anthropology.⁴⁵⁴ His definition of ethnology was cited as the earliest occurrence of the concept ethnology by numerous scholars in Europe and the United States. In Western Europe it was generally believed that Chavannes was the creator of the neologism ‘ethnologie’ (Berthoud 1992: 257).

Recent studies show that this claim can no longer be maintained. Chavannes’ usage was only one among many, and not the most distinctive. The German *Volkskundler* Gerhard Lutz pointed out in 1973 that the German historian and geographer Johann Ernst Fabri had applied the concept *Ethnologie* in the same year as Chavannes.⁴⁵⁵ Fabri took the concept as an alternative of *Ethnographie* and saw it not as a designation of *Völkerkunde*, but as something larger, combining both *Völkerkunde* and *Volkskunde* (Lutz 1973: 24). A relation between these scholars has to be excluded, as Fabri was educated in Halle, while Chavannes had some connections with the University of Göttingen (through Isaak Iselin of Basel, who had studied at Göttingen) but had never studied there himself. Lutz thought it probable that these authors had independently arrived at the concept *Ethnologie*, by modifying the concept *Ethnographie* that had been around for at least two decades. He assumed incorrectly that the Germans had invented the concept *Ethnographie*, whereas the French had transformed it into *Ethnologie*.

An earlier reference to this term, discovered by Ján Tibenský, a historian from Bratislava (Slovakia), solved this issue in 1978.⁴⁵⁶ He discovered that the concept *ethnologia* had already surfaced in 1783, in the work of the Slovak historian and imperial librarian Adam Franz (František) Kollár (1718-1783). Kollár had written ‘Delicacies from the History and Constitutional Law of the Kingdom of Hungary’ in Latin (*Historiae ivrisque pvblici regni Vngariae amoenitates*. 2 vols. Vienna 1783). In it, he introduced the concept *ethnologia* (ethnology) and gave a first definition. The importance of this discovery is twofold: Kollár had introduced the concept prior to Chavannes (the term may have been current in the

⁴⁵² ‘Ethnologie ou science de l’homme considéré comme appartenant à une espèce repandue sur le globe et divisée en plusieurs corps de sociétés, ou nations, occupées à pourvoir à leurs besoins ou à leurs goûts, et plus ou moins civilisées.’ (Chavannes, *Essai* 1787, quoted in Duchet 1971: 12-13; incomplete in Fischer 1970: 180).

⁴⁵³ ‘science générale de l’homme.’ Alexandre-César Chavannes, *Anthropologie ou science générale de l’homme, pour servir d’introduction à l’étude de la philosophie et des langues, et de guide dans le plan d’éducation intellectuelle*. Lausanne 1788. This is an abstract of a lengthy manuscript on which Chavannes had worked since 1766 and which included ethnology (Duchet 1971: 12-13).

⁴⁵⁴ Paul Topinard, Un mot sur l’histoire de l’anthropologie en 1788. *Revue d’Anthropologie*, 3^e série, tome 3, 1888: 197-201; Topinard, *L’Homme dans la nature* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1891; repr. Paris: Jean Michel Place 1991). See Gérard Berthoud, Une ‘science générale de l’homme.’ L’oeuvre de Chavannes (1992).

⁴⁵⁵ Johann Ernst Fabri (Jena), Kommentar. In: Zweyter Theil von Gottlieb Heinrich Stuck, *Verzeichnis von ältern und neuern Land- und Reisebeschreibungen* (Halle 1787).

⁴⁵⁶ Ján Tibenský, ‘Barokový historizmus’ a začiatky slovenskej slavistiky [‘Baroque Historism’ and the Beginnings of Slovak Slavic Studies]. In: *Štúdie z dejín svetovej slavistiky do polovice 19. storočia* (1978). See also Urbancová (1970, 1980) and Belaj (1989). Tibenský’s reference was long neglected in Western Europe and became known thanks to Zmago Šmitek and Božidar Jezernik during the second biannual conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists in Prague, August 1992 (see Vermeulen 1995b: 57 n. 2).

intervening years); and he supplied a definition that is quite different from the one given by Chavannes but comes close to the (implicit) meaning of *Völkerkunde* given by Schlözer.

Chavannes's definition was general in scope. His formulation of a study of 'peoples progressing towards civilization' or of 'nations (being) more or less civilized' fitted well within the conceptual scheme of the Enlightenment and its theory of stage-like progress (Meek 1976). Four years earlier, Kollár had defined *ethnologia* in a quite different way:

Ethnology, which I have mentioned occasionally above, is the science of peoples and nations, or, that study of learned men in which they inquire into the origins, languages, customs and institutions of various peoples, and finally into the fatherland and ancient seats, in order to be able better to judge the peoples and nations in their own times.⁴⁵⁷

Thus, Kollár, writing from Vienna, the capital of the Austrian multinational state, generalized Schlözer's view, extending *ethnologia* to peoples and nations (*gens* and *populus*). The list of topics in this definition includes the origins, languages, customs, (legal) institutions and 'ancient seats' of nations, adding that ethnology's aim was a practical one: to improve evaluations of peoples and nations in their own day and age. In 1781, in his annotations to the second edition of the catalogue of the Imperial Court Library of Vienna by Petrus Lambecius (Peter Lambeck, 1628-1680), Kollár had written: 'beyond the Danube and the Don the Greeks noticed very little in geography and nothing in ethnology (*in ethnologicis*).'⁴⁵⁸ This is the first occurrence of the concept *ethnologia*, as far as we know.

More importantly, Kollár's view on the limitations of Greek ethnology comes close to Schlözer's view on their cosmological ignorance (*Welt-Unkunde*, 1771: 286, 291). In fact, the meaning of Schlözer's *Ethnographie* was similar to Kollár's *ethnologia* as both concepts referred to a historical description of peoples. However, Kollár added 'nations,' as he referred to ethnology as *notitia gentium populorumque*, that is, the study of peoples and nations. One of the aims of this study was to arrive at reliable information on 'the origins of nations,' or, as Schlözer called it, *origines gentibus*. This was an old problem; the linguistic method applied to arrive at information on the early (undocumented) history of peoples was innovative. As we have seen in Chapter 2, this was the ethnolinguistic method introduced by Leibniz.

In translating *notitia gentium populorumque* as 'the study of peoples and nations' we encounter a problem in languages. The German translation of *notitia gentium populorumque* is *die Kunde/das Wissen über Stämme und Völker*, which in English would be 'the study of

⁴⁵⁷ 'Ethnologia, cujus supra ob iter memini, est notitia gentium populorumque, sive est id doctorum hominum studium, quo in variarum gentium origines, idiomata, mores, atque instituta, ac denique patriam vetustasque sedes eo consilio inquirunt, ut de gentibus populisque sui aevi rectius judicium ferre possint.' Adam Franz Kollár, *Historiae ivrisque pblici regni Vngariae amoenitates*. Vindobonae, 1783, I: 80 (my translation).

⁴⁵⁸ 'Graecos ultra Istrum ac Tanaim in geographicis admodum parum, in ethnologicis nihil omnino vidisse.' Adam František Kollár, *Annotations to Petrus Lambecius, Commentarii de avgvstissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensis*. Editio altera opera et studio Adami Francisci Kollárii. 8 vols. Vindobonae, 1776-82 (vol. 7, 1781: 322, note A). This reference was discovered by Stagl (1998: 523 note 15; 2002b: 258).

tribes and peoples.⁴⁵⁹ However, because the plural ‘peoples’ is not regularly used in English, I opted for the plural ‘nations’ (as a synonym of ‘peoples,’ that is, nation in a non-political sense). In addition, the word ‘tribe’ does not seem to be a proper translation of *gens*. I therefore chose the phrase ‘peoples and nations’ as a translation of Kollár’s definition of ethnology in English. Although Stagl translates *gens* as ‘nation’ and *populus* as ‘people,’ as I did in 1995,⁴⁶⁰ I now tend to reverse these translations. There is room for debate here. Is the Latin word *gens* properly translated into English as ‘people’ (*Volk*)? The German equivalent of *gens* is *Sippe*, in Gaelic that would be *clan*. So, an English translation of *gentium populorumque* could also be ‘of clans and nations.’ However, to argue about which definition is better, would be to miss the point. By including both Latin concepts *gens* and *populus* in his definition of the neo-Greek concept *ethnologia* (as a translation of the German concept *Völkerkunde*), Kollár indicated that the problem of *gens* versus *populus*, of tribe versus nation, of peoples versus nations is part and parcel of the study of peoples and nations. What is the difference between these ‘units’? How do these terms relate to each other? What groups of people do they refer to? How are these groups related? In principle, peoples and nations are synonymous, at least until 1815. The difference is one of scale, as *populus* is larger, combining people from different *gentes*. There is also the distinction between a homogeneous (*gens*) and a heterogeneous unit (*populus*). Kollár thematized the complexity of the problem by including both concepts in his definition.

We find in the notions of *Ethnographie* and *ethnologia* presented by Schlözer and Kollár a very different kind of ethnology from that presented in Chavannes’ *ethnologie*. The Croatian ethnologist (*Volkskundler*) Vitomir Belaj expressed this difference in the following way: whereas the definition given by Chavannes ‘puts an emphasis on the understanding of the laws of the general development of mankind,’ Kollár’s definition places it ‘on the ethnic characteristics of the culture of a certain group of people (*gens*).’ While Kollár’s ‘criteria are cultural’ and his orientation is historical, Chavannes’ ‘subject matter is “people” as a political, i.e., sociological category.’ In addition, Chavannes’ ‘aim is to reconstruct the universal cultural development of all mankind’ (Belaj 1989: 15). Belaj also points to the different conceptions of *Volk* implicit in these definitions of ethnology. In Kollár’s definition, the ‘ethnic characteristics’ of a group of people are considered important; in that of Chavannes, the concept ‘people’ becomes a socio-political category or ‘another word for a certain stage of development in the hierarchy of universal history’ (Belaj 1989: 15).

This distinction seems clear-cut and is consistent with Schlözer’s distinction between a geographical, a genetical (historical), and a political conception of *Volk*. The only complication is, however, that Kollár used both concepts, *gens* and *populus*, in his definition.

⁴⁵⁹ *Kunde* (knowledge, lore) in German is related to *erkunden* (to explore), *erkennen* (to discern) and *erfinden* (to invent). The latter word was also taken to mean *ausfindig machen* (to detect), *entdecken* (to discover), *neue Erkenntnisse gewinnen* (to attain new cognitions) (Mühlpfordt 2007: 19 n. *). *Kenntnis* means ‘cognisance.’

⁴⁶⁰ ‘die Kenntnis von den Nationen und Völkern’ (Stagl 2002b: 258); comparable in Vermeulen (1995b: 57 n. 3).

It is significant that the idea of ethnology as a general study of peoples was formulated in the academy. Ethnography as an empirical description of peoples was developed in the field. Its generalized form, ethnology, however, arose in an academic environment. First, in the University of Göttingen, then in the Imperial Court Library at Vienna. Kollár, the *éminence grise* of the historians in the Habsburg Empire, incorporated the ethnological perspective of (Müller and) Schlözer into history. As head of the central library in Vienna, Kollár occupied a strategic position with the widest view on the past and present state of the Holy Roman Empire and its past and present ethnic diversity. As historians of the Late Enlightenment, Schlözer and Kollár had an open eye for the contemporary condition of peoples. Kollár's definition clearly reflected this when he formulated *ethnologia's* aim: 'in order to be able to judge the peoples and nations in their own times.'

Kollár knew and appreciated Schlözer's work (Kollár 1783 I: 81, 126; II: 10, 102), whereas Schlözer quoted an earlier study of Kollár (1763) on the possible relation between Hungarian and Turkish (Schlözer 1768: 98, 1771: 248, 241; also quoted by Gatterer 1771: 119). Both Kollár and Schlözer focused on the peoples of Northern, Central and Eastern Europe from a historical and a contemporary perspective. Kollár's inspiration arose from the ethnic composition of the two Pannonia's, which had recently been liberated from the Turks. Reflecting on the ethnic diversity of this region, Kollár drew on Byzantine chronicles to prove that the Slavic peoples of these territories were 'aborigines & autochthonae' (Kollár 1783, I: 80-81). This issue also appealed to Schlözer who demonstrated in his *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* that the Slavic peoples were autochthonous in Germany, between the Elbe and the Vistula, and that, indeed, the Slavs were a *Stamm-Volk* of the European North.⁴⁶¹ Stagl (2002b: 258-259) notes that Schlözer's *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* served as the prime example for Kollár's book on the history and constitutional law of the Kingdom of Hungary. As we have seen, Schlözer's inspiration also derived from the linguistic material on the peoples of Siberia provided by Fischer (and Müller). In addition, he was interested in the founding of the first Russian state by the Scandinavian *Varäger* in the ninth century (the *Normannen* theory that had led to the dispute between Müller and Lomonosov in 1749-50). Thus, both Kollár and Schlözer were working on the same research problem: the origin of peoples, nations, and states, with the same material: dictionaries, grammars, and chronicles.

Chavannes' view was shaped by different interests. As a theologian well versed in Enlightenment thought, he leaned on subjects and literature differing from those influencing the German tradition. As a professor in Lausanne, a university town in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, Chavannes was interested in pedagogy. He designed several programs for educating children in various stages of learning capabilities. His main interest was in anthropology, as is demonstrated by a long manuscript of which he published an abstract in 1788. Ethnology's position in this larger framework should be studied in detail in order to

⁴⁶¹ Schlözer (1771: 323-344). Schlözer (1771: 263) views a *Stammvolk* in a historical rather than an etymological way and, following Leibniz and Bayer, defines 'Aborigines, quos aliunde venisse nulla memoria est.'

establish how Chavannes saw the relationship between anthropology and ethnology. Reflecting the theory of stage-like progress of society that was developed during the Late Enlightenment, Chavannes arranged peoples according to their customs, or on the basis of levels or stages of civilization. It seems that Chavannes built on the ‘conjectural’ research tradition, in which ‘savage’ and ‘civilized’ societies are juxtaposed in order to find ‘a living image of our ancestors’ by studying ‘the history of wild peoples’ (in the words of Jens Kraft).⁴⁶² This principle had been phrased well by Adam Ferguson who wrote in 1767:

It is in their present condition [of Arabic clans and American tribes], that we are to behold, as in a mirror, the features of our own progenitors; and from thence we are to draw our conclusions with respect to the influence of situations, in which, we have reason to believe, our fathers were placed.⁴⁶³

The body of literature of this ‘conjectural’ research tradition is substantial and includes such authors as Fontenelle, Goguet, Boulanger, and Condorcet in France; Ferguson, Kames, and Robertson in Scotland; Kraft in Denmark; Iselin and Georg Forster in Switzerland and Germany (Krauss 1978: 48-93). Chavannes was French-speaking but well-informed of recent developments in German science, especially at the University of Göttingen. The Swiss historian Isaak Iselin, who published ‘Philosophical Speculations on the History of Humankind,’⁴⁶⁴ had studied in Göttingen. Jens Kraft wrote a ‘Short Account of the Chief Institutions, Manners and Customs of Savage Peoples: To Explain the Origins and Rise of Humankind.’⁴⁶⁵ In Göttingen, Michael Hißmann and Christoph Meiners contributed to the conjectural tradition that contrasted ‘savaged’ and ‘civilized’ peoples in order to trace a development in the history of humankind.

This tradition became dominant in the nineteenth century and was at the basis of (social) evolutionism. It was a very different approach than the one suggested by Leibniz, Müller, and Schlözer, namely to compare peoples on the basis of their languages rather than their customs and institutions. The ethnolinguistic approach became a tradition in the German-speaking countries. It was less judgmental, reflecting ethnic plurality (*Völkervielfalt*) rather than moral difference. This research tradition can be labeled ‘ethnological,’ or ‘historical-genetic’ in Schlözer’s terms. (Stocking 1990: 713-5, 1992b: 347-9 suggests a ‘biblical’ paradigmatic tradition, which is a less suitable characterization as the historical dimension is left out.)

Striking is that one finds the concept *Ethnographie* in the work of such historians as Schöpperlin, Schlözer and Gatterer, not in the work of philosophers such as Herder and Kant.

⁴⁶² Jens Kraft (1766: 16), quoted in Reim (1987: 53-54); for further details, see Krauss (1978: 65).

⁴⁶³ Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* 1767: Part II, Of the History of Rude Nations, Section I, Of the Informations on this Subject which are derived from Antiquity.

⁴⁶⁴ Isaac Iselin, ‘Philosophische Muthmassungen’ *Über die Geschichte der Menschheit*. 2 vols. Frankfurt und Leipzig 1764; 2nd ed. 2 vols. Zürich 1768.

⁴⁶⁵ Jens Kraft, *Kort Fortaelling af de vilde Folks fornemmeste indretninger, skikke og meninger. Til oplysning af det menneskelige Oprindelse og Fremgang i almindelighed*. Sorø 1760 (see Birket-Smith 1960). German translation *Die Sitten der Wilden, zur Aufklärung des Ursprungs und Aufnahme der Menschheit*. Copenhagen 1766. Dutch translation Utrecht 1778.

The View of Herder

Alongside the view of Schlözer and Kollár on the one hand, and that of Chavannes on the other, there was a third perspective on ethnology – an even more appealing one. It was developed by the theologian, philosopher, and historian Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) and was particularly influential in Northern and Eastern Europe. In his works on philosophy, history, and linguistics, Herder pointed to a number of subjects neglected by Enlightenment scholars, adding language, organic growth, ‘national identity’ (*Nationalcharakter*), and ‘national spirit’ (*Volksgeist*) to its vocabulary. He is the best known of all German scholars mentioned in the present book and has a solid place in the history of anthropology. Herder’s ideas on the originality of the ‘folk-life,’ as expressed in national songs or *Volkslieder*, which he began to collect in 1772, added to the rise of nationalism in the first half of the nineteenth century. Herder’s star rose again in the early twentieth century, when Franz Boas used his vision in his successful attempt to found (modern) ethnology in the United States.⁴⁶⁶ Herder’s work has remained important as one of the major sources of anthropological reflection (Broce 1986; Pross 1987; Berg 1990; Stagl 1998; Zammito 2002; Eidson 2004).

However, Herder entertained an ambivalent relationship with ethnography due to his view on peoples. Whereas for Schlözer *Volk* was a taxonomic unit, that is, a subgroup of the larger unity of humankind, Herder regarded *Volk* as something natural and organic in which humanity expressed itself. These differences are essential, because Schlözer was an adherent of the Enlightenment, in particular of the German *Spätaufklärung*, whereas Herder belonged to the avant-garde of that counter-movement to the Enlightenment called *Frühromantik*. Herder counts as one of the inspirators of the *Sturm und Drang* movement in literature (Fink 1993), which resulted in Romanticism proper (*Hochromantik*), especially in Jena from 1798 onward. In other respects, though, Herder built on the Enlightenment, having studied under the philosopher Immanuel Kant in Königsberg from 1762 to 1764. Yet, he was critical about the Enlightenment’s universalism, especially after meeting the *philosophes* in Paris in 1769. Herder’s work can also be seen as part of the Enlightenment’s auto-critique.⁴⁶⁷

In 1772, Herder launched an attack on Schlözer’s concept of *ethnographisch*, which sounded ‘hard’ to him,⁴⁶⁸ as well as on Schlözer’s view on world history, which he found mechanistic. Herder especially criticized Schlözer’s assumption that mankind was progressing through specific stages of civilization towards a penultimate goal:

⁴⁶⁶ Franz Boas, The History of Anthropology. *Science*, n.s. 20 (512), October 21, 1904: 513-524. Reprinted in Regna Darnell (ed.) *Readings in the History of Anthropology* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), pp. 260-273, and George W. Stocking, Jr. (ed.) *The Shaping of American Anthropology, 1883-1911: A Franz Boas Reader* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), pp. 23-36 (Paperback Chicago 1982).

⁴⁶⁷ ‘Selbstkritik der Aufklärung’ (Günter Arnold, personal communication, Weimar August 1994).

⁴⁶⁸ ‘Synchronistisch, Ethnographisch, und wie die harten Worte mehr heissen.’ Johann Gottfried Herder, Review of A.L. Schlözer, *Vorstellung seiner Universal-Historie* (1772) in: *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen* 1772: 475; *Herders Sämtliche Werke*, hrsg. von Bernhard Suphan, Band 5, Berlin: Weidmann, 1891: 436-440 (p. 438).

Where is that one great endpole? Where is the straight way leading to it? What does 'progress of the human race' mean? Is it Enlightenment? Improvement? Self-perfection? Greater happiness? Where is the yardstick? How are we to use data for measuring so many different periods and peoples, even with the best of outside information?⁴⁶⁹

Schlözer reacted with a second volume of his *Vorstellung* in 1773, in which he stated that he did not know if the term 'ethnographic' was new,⁴⁷⁰ but he could offer very little in reply to Herder's main critique. Herder had attacked his general Enlightenment model and had not perceived Schlözer's primary object, the increasing interconnectedness of humankind. Future reactions by Herder on Schlözer's work were less critical: he appreciated Schlözer's *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* and reviewed the third edition of his world history.⁴⁷¹

Herder simultaneously worked on his own project of writing a world history. To this purpose he contributed part of his travel journal (1769), a fragment on the teaching of the subject (*Grundriß des Unterrichts in der Universal-historie*, 1773, unpublished at the time), his essay *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit* (1774), and his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784-91) and *Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität* (1793-97). In these works, Herder put forward a relativist, almost pluralist vision of world history in which *Humanität* (humanitarianism) was a core concept. He devised a new view of peoples unfolding towards humanity. In Herder's opinion, peoples are regarded not as objects in an 'aggregate,' as Schlözer had suggested, but as the 'most noble part of humanity' (*edelsten Teil der Menschheit*). A people's value, indeed their specificity was not to be judged by reference to the stage (or phase) they occupied. Rather, a particularistic approach was necessary to do justice to the inherent value of peoples and of nations (their culture).⁴⁷²

Herder's *Ideen* constitute an anthropology in the widest sense of the term. His ethnological view was deeply entrenched in his anthropological vision of humankind and of *Völker* as the bearers of humanity. Although speculative, Herder tried to be as empirically sound as possible. He formulated a 'program of global ethnology' in the journal of his voyage to France, *Journal meiner Reise im Jahre 1769* (published in 1846) (Mühlmann 1968: 64). The sixth and eleventh books of his *Ideen* (1785) presented an overview of ethnology according to the contemporary state of knowledge.⁴⁷³ They contain an ethnographic synthesis of the peoples of the world based on a great deal of sources, including eighty travel accounts.

⁴⁶⁹ 'wo steht der **Eine, große, Endpfahl**? wo geht der gerade Weg zu ihm? was heists, "**Fortgang** des menschlichen Geschlechts"? Ists Aufklärung? Verbesserung? Vervollkommen? mehrere Glückseligkeit? Wo ist **Maaß**: wo sind **Data** zum Maaße in so verschiednen Zeiten und Völkern, selbst, wo wir die besten Nachrichten der Aussenseite haben?' (Herder 1772: 476. Slightly differently translated in Stagl 1998: 530).

⁴⁷⁰ 'ob ethnographisch neu sei, weiss ich nicht.' August Ludwig Schlözer, *Vorstellung seiner Universal-Historie*, Zweeter Teil. Göttingen und Gotha, bey Johann Christian Dieterich, 1773 (p. 235-236 note *).

⁴⁷¹ Johann Gottfried Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*. 4 vols. Riga und Leipzig, 1784-91. Part IV, Book 6, Chapter II (ed. Bollacher 1989: 687 note 8). Stagl 2002b: 281 referring to Haym.

⁴⁷² On the Schlözer-Herder debate, see Leventhal 1990; Fink 1992; Stagl 1998

⁴⁷³ 'Das Programm einer globalen Völkerkunde ...' 'Das VI. Buch der Ideen bietet einen Abriß der Völkerkunde nach dem damaligen Stande der Forschung' (Mühlmann 1968: 64). This includes his book XI (Broce 1986: 152).

Herder seems to have avoided the term *Ethnographie* in his work. He occasionally used the term *Völkerkunde*,⁴⁷⁴ but never again *ethnographisch*. Instead, Herder preferred more poetic phrases such as a ‘painting of nations’ (*Gemälde der Nationen*) or ‘a painting of the diversity of our species’ (*ein Gemälde der Verschiedenheit unsres Geschlechts*).⁴⁷⁵ As an alternative for ‘savages’ (*Wilden*) he introduced *Naturvölker* (natural peoples), that is, peoples living in the bosom of nature.⁴⁷⁶ This concept became a household term in anthropology

Ironically, Herder, regarded as one of the founders of anthropology, while refusing to accept Schlözer’s term *ethnographisch*, contributed to the rise of nationalism in Europe. Schlözer, a patriot (in the sense of a *citoyen* or *Weltbürger*), introduced the new science of peoples and nations – without any influence of nationalism, which developed later, in the early nineteenth century (Gellner 1983; Dann 1993). By emphasizing the originality of the ‘folk-life’ and the unicity of individual peoples and cultures, Herder added to the rise of nationalism in Europe. His ideas were adopted in nationalist programs during the early nineteenth century, particularly in Poland and Bohemia (Ziegengeist et al. 1978; Drews 1990). The relation between ‘nation’ and ‘Volk’ is relevant in the context of discussions on ethnicity as a more general phenomenon. *Völkerkunde* entailed a reflection on the condition of peoples and nations. It developed *before* nationalism had reached such a magnitude that it became visible on the world stage. This raises an important question: how was it possible that the study of nations dubbed *Völkerkunde* was conceived before the political movement of European nation-states gained momentum? Did certain proto-forms of these processes escape our attention?

John Zammito (2002) claims that Kant and Herder founded anthropology during the late 1760s and the early 1770s. Focusing on the precritical Kant (before the ‘critical turn’ of 1773) and on Herder’s reformulation of Kant, Zammito argues that anthropology ‘was born out of philosophy.’ This may apply to anthropology as the philosophical and physical study of humankind – but certainly not to ethnology as the study of socio-cultural diversity. Zammito (2002: 344) concludes: ‘Herder sought to bring all the modes of inquiry together into a “science of man,” into anthropology in the eighteenth-century sense. He was, in that measure, the “complete anthropologist” of that age.’ In the case of Herder, the ethnological perspective was embedded in a broad view on the anthropology of humankind.

Anthropology and Ethnology

During the eighteenth century, ethnology as the study of peoples (*Völkerkunde*) and anthropology as the study of human beings (*Menschenkunde*) developed on separate but

⁴⁷⁴ For instance, ‘eine Art Völkerkunde’ (*Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*. Riga 1774); ‘kritische sprach-, zeiten- und völkerkunde’ (Johann Gottfried Herder *Werke* 24: 96).

⁴⁷⁵ Herder, *Ideen* Part II, Book 7, Chapter I and II, 6, VII, respectively (ed. Bollacher 1989: 251, 250).

⁴⁷⁶ Johann Gottfried Herder, *Älteste Urkunden des Menschengeschlechts* (1774-76) ed. J.G. Müller, 1806/I (1774): 83; 1806/II (1776): 33; Stagl 2002b: 281.

parallel tracks. In Kollár's opinion, as in Schlözer's, ethnology and anthropology were not related. In their views on history, and how the study of history should be reformed, there was a need for a philosophically informed discourse on human development, not for a study of the biological differences among people, and between humans and other animals. However, such a connection does occur in Gatterer's and Chavannes' work, as well as in Herder's historical and philosophical work. The connection between *Menschen- und Völkerkunde* also occurs in the work of Blumenbach. What was the relation between these two disciplines?

It is worthwhile to discuss this subject, as the term 'anthropology,' introduced by Magnus Hundt at Leipzig in 1501,⁴⁷⁷ was used in the German states during the 1790s to label a study either defined as the 'natural history of man' (Blumenbach 1795, 1798) or as the 'pragmatic philosophy of humankind' (Kant 1798). This was a major innovation, as prior to this decade, anthropology was seen as a part of medicine (especially, of anatomy) or of theology. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the term was still part of the vocabulary of medicine and signified 'l'étude du corps humain' (Diderot). The article anthropology in the *Encyclopédie* still carried traces of the theological connotation and specified 'Dans l'économie animale, c'est un traité de l'homme.' Other examples of these vague specifications are the anthropologies of Drake (London 1707) and Teichmeyer (Gênes 1739) (Duchet 1971: 13). In 1740, Walch simply defined it as 'the study of humans' (*Lehre von dem Menschen*) (1740 I: 106). When 'anthropology' was included in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1768-71) it was noted as 'a discourse upon human nature' (Barnard 2002: 94). In 1788, Chavannes defined anthropology as the 'general science of man' (*science générale de l'homme*). In the German Late Enlightenment, from the 1750s onward, an 'anthropological turn' in literature and philosophy (called *Selbstaufklärung der Aufklärung*) resulted in new ways of viewing the human 'body, soul, and psyche' (*Leib, Seele und Geist*) (Schings 1994; Schlaeager 1996; Garber and Thoma 2004; Bödeker, Büttgen and Espagne 2008). Major changes in the meaning of the term anthropology occurred in the work of German-speaking philosophers and historians. It seems that these scholars not only invented the study *Völkerkunde* (Vermeulen 2006a), but also the modern concept of race (Bernasconi 2001; Eigen and Larrimore 2006).

The first historian to deal with the relationships between ethnology and anthropology was Gatterer. As we have seen, he spoke of 'the study of people and peoples' (*Menschen- und Völkerkunde*), giving each subject a place in his classification of geographical sciences (1775). Gatterer linked the two subjects, obviously aware of the opportunities for the 'science of man' (not yet exclusively physical but also philosophical) in his day and age. Gatterer was the first historian to expressly combine the two studies *Anthropographia* and *Ethnographia*

⁴⁷⁷ The earliest occurrence of *anthropologia* is in the title of a popular account of medicine by Magnus Hundt (1449-1519), *Anthropologium de hominis dignitate* (Liptzick 1501) (Dieserud 1908: 91; Diem 1962: 360; Marquard 1965). The second author to use the term was Galeazzo Capella (1487-1537), *L'anthropologia* (Venice: Aldus 1533). The third, Otto Casmann (1562-1607), defined *anthropologia* as 'doctrina humanae naturae' (Hanau 1594-96).

and bring them in a common, joint category within the geographical sciences. In so doing, he reflected on the increased importance of the physical and philosophical study of ‘man.’

Schlözer did not comment on anthropology as such, although he agreed with Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon that only varieties of people, and not races, exist. Müller dealt with the physique of Siberian peoples in his *Völker-Beschreibung*, thereby including physical anthropology in ethnography. Not only historians such as Gatterer and Müller were aware of the links between these two approaches. The anthropologists also commented on the subject.

Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840), one of the founding fathers of physical anthropology, pursued both studies during his long career as a professor of anatomy and physiology at the University of Göttingen. In his MD thesis ‘On the Natural Varieties of Humankind’ (*De generis humani varietate nativa*, presented at Göttingen in 1775, published at Göttingen in 1776, 2nd ed. 1781, 3rd ed. 1795), Blumenbach made a four-fold division of human ‘varieties’ (later called races), following Linnaeus. In the tenth edition of his *Systema naturae* (1758-59), Linnaeus arranged *Homo sapiens* in four *varietates*: *Homo sapiens americanus*, *Homo sapiens europaeus*, *Homo sapiens asiaticus*, and *Homo sapiens afer*. In 1775, Blumenbach adopted this division, but changed their order of appearance: Europeans (together with West Asians, North Africans, Lapps and Eskimos), Asians (especially East and South Asians), Africans (excluding North Africans), and Americans (excluding the Eskimos, who were transferred with the Lapps to the Asiatic group in the third edition, 1795: 61, 290-292). Four years later, Blumenbach proposed a classification of in five varieties, suggesting the ‘Malayan’ (Austral-Asian) variety as the fifth (Dougherty 1996: 40). Thomas Bendyshe (1865c: viii) and Hans Plischke (1938b: 226) claim that Blumenbach introduced this five-fold classification in the second edition of his thesis (1781), but this is not correct. Blumenbach introduced it in the first volume of his *Handbuch der Naturgeschichte* (1779: 63-64), distinguishing between *caucasia*, *mongolica*, *aethiopica*, *americana* and *malaica* (Dougherty/Klatt 2006: vii, 292 n. 4). He published it again in the first volume of his *Beyträge zur Naturgeschichte* (1790) together with five cuts produced by the engraver Daniel Chodowiecki in Berlin. In December 1781, Blumenbach requested Chodowiecki to cut five vignettes to illustrate his division of ‘five main races or varieties’ (*fünf Haupt-Raßen oder Varietäten*). Blumenbach added that he based his division also on the four ‘main ways of human food production, namely agriculture, fishing, hunting, and livestock breeding.’⁴⁷⁸

Blumenbach based this new division of human varieties primarily on skin color, not yet on comparative anatomical data as he had not yet acquired exotic skulls.⁴⁷⁹ However the classification was also determined by geographical and ethnographic considerations. Thanks

⁴⁷⁸ ‘Hauptarten von Nährstand der Menschen nemlich Feldbau – Fischerey – Jagd – und Viehzucht’ (Blumenbach to Chodowiecki, in Dougherty/Klatt 2006: 289-293). These vignettes were published in *Beyträge zur Naturgeschichte* (1790: fig. 9-13) and reproduced in Dougherty (1984: 158-162).

⁴⁷⁹ Blumenbach received the first skulls from exotic peoples (*Schädel fremder Völkerschaften*) in 1784-85, in the course of his correspondence with Joseph Banks and Thomas von Asch; the only exceptions were a skull from Switzerland and one from Ancient-Egypt, received in 1778-79 (Personal communication Norbert Klatt, 2007).

to the three voyages of James Cook, the shape and location of all five continents were now established and accurate maps could be drawn. Especially Cook's second voyage (1772-75) was important because it proved that, apart from Australia, there were no large land masses on the southern hemisphere and that the 'terra incognita' mentioned by the ancients did not exist. It took some time before the geographical results of Cook's second voyage became available to scholars in Europe. It is likely that Johann Christian Gatterer held back the publication of his handbook *Abriß der Geographie* (1775) until 1778, in order to bring it up to date with the latest results of this voyage. Blumenbach's new classification was also based on the results of this expedition and especially on the rediscovery of Australia. He wanted to include the newly discovered parts of the Pacific, largely on the basis of the report of Johann Reinhold Forster, naturalist on Cook's second expedition, *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World*, 1778 (Bernasconi 2001, 4: v). Why Blumenbach labeled the fifth variety 'Malayan' is mysterious; possibly, he saw seafaring as characteristic of the population of the South Seas. It is likely that Blumenbach consulted Forster but there is no evidence of such a correspondence during the years 1773-1782 (see Dougherty/Klatt 2006).

Although Blumenbach used the term anthropology as early as 1775, he introduced it as a technical term (*anthropologiae*) only in 1795. In October 1775, the month following the submission of his thesis, Blumenbach published a sketch of anthropology dealing with medical anthropology,⁴⁸⁰ and a short article on 'Diversity in the Human Species' dealing with physical anthropology and including descriptions of drawings of several human varieties.⁴⁸¹ Twenty years later, Blumenbach equated the biological study of the human species with anthropology. In the preliminary remarks to his first *Decas craniorum diversarum gentium* (1790), he employed the word 'anthropological' and spoke of his *apparatus anthropologicus*.⁴⁸² In the dedication to Joseph Banks in the third edition of his thesis, dated 11 April 1795, Blumenbach wrote that his aim was to get at a 'more thorough knowledge of natural history and of anthropology.'⁴⁸³ Blumenbach placed the study of anthropology *next* to that of natural history in general and launched it as the new name for a field previously called 'natural history of man,' *l'histoire naturelle de l'homme*, introduced by Buffon in 1749.⁴⁸⁴ In the opening of his fourth *Decas craniorum* (1800), he mentioned that twenty years had elapsed since he had begun to form his 'anthropological collection.'⁴⁸⁵ This implies that he began to compile it during the late 1770s and early 1780s.

⁴⁸⁰ 'Skizze von Anthropologie' (Blumenbach 1775b); this title was later changed into 'Entwurf einer Anthropologie' (Blumenbach 1776b).

⁴⁸¹ Anonymous [Johann Friedrich Blumenbach], Verschiedenheit im Menschen-Geschlecht. In: *Goettinger Taschen-Calender vom Jahr 1776* (Göttingen, bey Ioh. Chr. Dieterich, October 1775), pp. 72-82.

⁴⁸² The following exposition owes a great deal to information from Norbert Klatt, Göttingen; see Klatt 2007.

⁴⁸³ '... curator cognitio historiae naturalis et anthropologiae' (Blumenbach 1795: ix).

⁴⁸⁴ That there is an equivalence between these terms is clear from the formulation, otherwise Blumenbach would have written '... curator cognitio historiae naturalis et historiae naturalis generis humani.'

⁴⁸⁵ In the third edition, Blumenbach presented a list of his anthropological collections (*index supellectilis anthropologicae auctoris*), which included 'skulls from various peoples' (*crania diversarum gentium*), foetuses, hair samples, anatomical specimens, drawings and paintings from various peoples (Blumenbach 1795: xxi-xlii).

The term ‘anthropological’ passed into other languages through translations of the third edition of Blumenbach’s main work in German (1798), Dutch (1801), French (1804), and English (1865). This took place three years before Immanuel Kant codified the philosophical meaning of anthropology in his *Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht* (1798). There had been earlier attempts at defining anthropology either in a medical or a philosophical way, for instance by Platner (1772), Blumenbach himself (1775b, 1776b), Robinet (1778), and others. Yet, Blumenbach’s choice of the term anthropology as the new name for the ‘natural history of man’ influenced Thomas Bendyshe and James Hunt in opting for the term ‘anthropology’ vis-à-vis the term ‘ethnology’ in 1865. As Joseph Barnard Davis wrote in 1868, Blumenbach, ‘the founder of the science,’ ‘had felt the need of some general name by which to designate his collections, designed to illustrate the Natural History of Man, and had appropriated the denomination “anthropological,” which may have been employed in different senses previously, to this purpose’ (Davis 1868: 397).

Blumenbach coupled a fascination with anthropology to an interest in ethnography. His involvement with ethnography began when he was invited to arrange the collections of Büttner and compile a catalogue of the ‘Academic Museum’ of Göttingen. This museum was founded in 1773 on the basis of an earlier *Kunst-Cabinet* (1754) and of extensive natural-historical collections acquired by Büttner. The catalogue, dated 1778, included a category ‘Kunst Sachen’ (*artifacts*) totalling sixty-six items.⁴⁸⁶ After being promoted to the position of ordinary professor of medicine at Göttingen in November 1778, Blumenbach began to acquire ethnographic objects. In the catalogue he already expressed the wish to obtain more artifacts, ‘everything related to the way of life [and] characteristic customs of foreign peoples.’⁴⁸⁷ In August 1781, Blumenbach wrote to the government in Hanover, asking for ‘some of the superfluous foreign natural curiosities’ acquired during James Cook’s third voyage (1776-80).⁴⁸⁸ His modest request was forwarded to the court of George III, King of Great Britain and Ireland and Elector of Hanover, in London, who ordered an assistant to compile a selection for the Göttingen museum in December. While Blumenbach had asked for some ‘natural curiosities,’ George III sent a ‘collection of natural and artificial products [*Natur- und Kunstprodukten*] from the newly discovered islands in the South Seas’ (Urban 1982, 1991, 1998a-b, 2001; Krüger 2005). These three hundred and fifty objects, predominantly of an ethnographic nature, were shipped from London in December that same year. The unexpected high-quality gift enhanced the reputation of the University of Göttingen as a center of eighteenth-century South Seas artifacts, stimulating Blumenbach’s life-long interest in ethnography. Later, in 1799, a collection of one hundred and fifty objects was purchased from Johann Reinhold Forster, professor of natural history at the University of Halle who had

⁴⁸⁶ ‘Catalog. Musei Academici’ (Archiv Institut für Ethnologie und Völkerkundliche Sammlung, Göttingen). Urban (1991: 19) presents us with an analysis.

⁴⁸⁷ ‘auch alles, was die Lebensart, eigenthümliche Sitten fremder Völkerschaften betrifft’ (quoted in Krüger 2005: 204).

⁴⁸⁸ ‘etwas von dem Ueberflusse ausländischer Natürlicher Merkwürdigkeiten’ (quoted in Urban 1991, 1998).

accompanied Cook on his second voyage. Today, the Cook/Forster Collection is preserved at Göttingen as an singular group of eighteenth-century South Seas artifacts (Hauser-Schäublin and Krüger 1998) and regarded as one of the most renowned Pacific collections in the world.

In 1785, Blumenbach received the first of many letters from Georg Thomas Baron von Asch (1729-1807), an alumnus from Göttingen who worked as a physician in Russia and who generously donated specimens from Russia, Siberia, the Caucasus, etc. The Georg von Asch Collection forms the second important collection of artifacts in Göttingen, even though the donations had commenced earlier. Georg Thomas von Asch was born in St. Petersburg on 12 April 1729. He studied medicine at Tübingen and Göttingen. After receiving his doctorate at Göttingen in 1750, Asch returned to St. Petersburg and became a municipal physician. In 1765, Catherine the Great made him a member of the Russian Empire's highest medical commission. Asch served as a physician general to the Imperial Army during the fifth Russo-Turkish War (1768-74). He sent his first donation of books and manuscripts to Göttingen University in 1771.⁴⁸⁹ Having become a foreign member of the Göttingen Academy of Sciences, the number of donations he sent to the university library increased considerably. In more than one hundred letters to his long-time friend, Christian Gottlieb Heyne (1729-1812), Asch listed the donated items and explained the details of their transfer to Göttingen. These items included books, manuscripts, and maps, as well as medals, minerals, plants, skulls, clothes and items of ethnographic interest. The Asch Collection reflects his close relationships with scholars in Russia and his contacts with distant regions, such as Siberia and Alaska. At the time of his death in St. Petersburg, Asch had bequeathed an impressive collection of rare materials that now form the core of the Göttingen University Library's repository of East European and Siberian material. The Asch Collection is a unique record of Russian expeditions to Siberia in the second half of the eighteenth century and contains printed volumes, manuscripts and hand-drawn or printed maps.⁴⁹⁰ In addition, it holds about two hundred ethnographic objects, which have recently been inventoried (Hauser-Schäublin and Krüger 2007). These two collections make up the bulk of the ethnographic collections of the University of Göttingen as part of its *Institut für Ethnologie und Völkerkundliche Sammlung*.

In the rest of the world Blumenbach's image is restricted to that of a founder of physical anthropology. Few realize that Blumenbach was also the keeper of the Academic Museum's valuable ethnographic collections. During his long life, Blumenbach combined this interest with his main field of interest: comparative anatomy and anthropology. In this connection, he used the same phrase as Gatterer: *Menschen- und Völkerkunde*.⁴⁹¹ Blumenbach published

⁴⁸⁹ For these donations, see Wilhelm Meyer, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen*, Berlin 1894 (Verzeichniss der Handschriften im Preußischen Staate 1,1), Band 3: 22-75.

⁴⁹⁰ On the Asch Collection, see Plischke 1931, 1936; Buchholz 1955, 1961; Urban 1971; Rohlfing 1998.

⁴⁹¹ Blumenbach used the combination *Menschen- und Völkerkunde* in his *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Knochen des menschlichen Körpers* (Göttingen 1786), in a passage written in 1784: 'Es giebt noch eine dritte Rücksicht, die ich aber hier nicht weiter verfolgen kann, ohngeachtet sie noch ganz andre und äußerst merkwürdige Besonderheiten zeigt; nemlich – das characterische der Gerippe nach der *Nationalverschiedenheit* der *Menschenracen*. – Ein überaus fruchtbares, aber weites und nur sehr Stückweise bekanntes Feld: – das aber,

little on ethnological subjects (e.g., an article on the ‘Abilities and Manners of Savages’),⁴⁹² but maintained his position as head of the Göttingen Museum until his demise.⁴⁹³ In the last years of his directorate, Johann Friedrich Osiander served as his assistant (Urban 1991: 25).

It is here that we find a first answer to the question how anthropology and ethnology were related: anthropology dealt with the ‘nature’ of humans, their physique, physical appearance, body; ethnology with their culture, their artistic expressions, artifacts. It is no coincidence that Blumenbach combined his interest in the ‘natural history of man’ (dubbed ‘anthropology’) with that in artifacts. He began the research for his thesis on the ‘natural varieties of humankind’ when Büttner, during lectures on natural history, showed ‘pictures of distant peoples’ taken from travel accounts.⁴⁹⁴ Both Büttner and Blumenbach were able to illustrate the variety of humankind by means of their extensive collections of drawings.

Until the end of his life, Blumenbach objected to the idea of race. He believed that varieties are flexible rather than fixed and that they flow into each other. Blumenbach saw his classification of human varieties as a first orientation. Herder went one step further and rejected the idea of race, stating in 1785 that races as such ‘do not exist.’ Herder wrote:

In short, neither four or five races, nor excluding varieties exist on the earth. The colors fade into each other, the formations (*Bildungen*) serve the genetic character, and on the whole everything ultimately becomes shades of one and the same large painting that extends through all spaces and periods of the earth. It [the subject] does not belong so much to systematic natural history as to the physical-geographical history of humanity.⁴⁹⁵

By contrast, the most-renowned philosopher of the German Enlightenment, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), whose *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (1781) laid the foundations of an empiricist philosophy of knowledge, was highly conscious of race. Robert Bernasconi (2001, 2002) has shown convincingly that Kant invented the modern concept of race, seeing that as a fixed category that can be inherited (Kant 1775, 1777, 1785; Malter 1990; Chukwudi Eze 1995).

nur nach dem wenigen zu urtheilen, was bisher davon bekannt worden, noch sehr reiche Ernden für Osteologie und Physiologie sowol als für Menschen- und Völkerkunde hoffen läßt’ (Blumenbach 1786: 85-90. Courtesy of Norbert Klatt, Göttingen, April 2007). In 1788, he also used the combination: ‘Natur- und Völkerkunde’ in the Vorrede of his *Sammlung seltener und merkwürdiger Reisegeschichten*, Theil 1 (Memmingen 1789).

⁴⁹² Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Einige zerstreute Bemerkungen über die Fähigkeiten und Sitten der Wilden. In: Georg Christoph Lichtenberg & Georg Forster (Hrsg.) *Göttingisches Magazin der Wissenschaften und Litteratur*, 2. Jahrgang, 6. Stück, 1782: 409-425.

⁴⁹³ He wrote regular reports on the Göttingen museum (e.g. Blumenbach 1783, 1787-88, 1797).

⁴⁹⁴ As Blumenbach later stated in a retrospective: ‘Da er [Büttner] mit dem Menschen anfang, den der Jenaische Walch in seinen Vorlesungen unberührt gelassen hatte, und aus seiner zahlreichen Bibliothek eine Menge Reisebeschreibungen mit Abbildungen fremder Völkerschaften herbeibrachte, so reizte mich das, meine Doctordissertation *de generis humani varietate nativa* zu schreiben ...’ (quoted by his biographer Marx 1840: 5).

⁴⁹⁵ ‘Kurz, weder vier oder fünf Rassen, noch ausschließende Varietäten gibt es auf der Erde. Die Farben verlieren sich in einander: die Bildungen dienen dem genetischen Charakter; und im Ganzen wird zuletzt alles nur Schattierung eines und desselben großen Gemäldes, das sich durch alle Räume und Zeiten der Erde verbreitet. Es gehört also auch nicht sowohl in die systematische Naturgeschichte, als in die physisch-geographische Geschichte der Menschheit.’ Herder, *Ideen* Part II, Book 7, Chapter I (1785). I owe this reference to Roede (2002: 1039).

Surprisingly, perhaps, Kant does not seem to have reflected on developments in the field of ethnology in his anthropological work. The concepts ethnography and ethnology do not occur in Kant's work, with one exception. In a review of the second volume of Herder's *Ideen* (1785), Kant used the term 'ethnographic' when summarizing Herder's view that 'a collection of new ethnographic illustrations' would be needed.⁴⁹⁶ Kant was teaching 'anthropology' at Königsberg during the winter semester from 1772-73 until 1795-96, alternating them with lectures on 'geography' during the summer semester from 1775 onward. He published an *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* in 1798. Kant was aware of Herder's and Schlözer's historical work and had studied Gatterer's geography. It is unlikely that he may have overlooked the many references to a new study of peoples in the German literature during the 1780s and 1790s. Instead, we may assume that Kant left ethnography out of his 'pragmatic anthropology' and reserved a discussion of the world's peoples for his lectures on physical geography (published in 1802). He probably thought that the study of *Völker* did not need to be incorporated into a philosophical account of 'man.' If this holds true, Kant had no ethnological perspective and was not 'culture-conscious' in Kroeber and Kluckhohn's (1952: 19) sense of the term.

Kant's failure to acknowledge the contemporary, growing body of work on ethnography in his (philosophical) anthropology has been detrimental to our knowledge of this tradition. Kant's work is regarded as the summation of the German Enlightenment and forms the basis of most recent studies on eighteenth-century philosophy in the United States. If Kant had reflected on the many ethnographic publications of his day and age, this subject would not have been overlooked that easily. Even Zammito's claim that (philosophical) anthropology was born out of philosophy in the work of Kant and Herder neglects the part played by ethnology in German Enlightenment thinking. This omission partly resulted from Kant's failure to acknowledge ethnological developments in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as from Herder's refusal to adopt innovative terminology.

Ethnological Journals

During the 1780s and 1790s, the subject of *Völkerkunde* was developed intensively in the German states and in neighboring countries. This study usually occurs in combination with *Länderkunde* (geography), but also with *Literaturkunde* (the study of literature), *Naturkunde* (the study of nature), and *Staatenkunde* (the study of states). From 1781 on, numerous journals were published carrying the combination *Völker- und Länderkunde* (or *vice versa*) in their title (Fischer 1970; Vermeulen 1988: 218-220, 1994a: 340-342).

The first ethnological journal was published by Johann Reinhold Forster and Matthias Christian Sprengel (both working at Halle), entitled *Beiträge zur Völker- und Länderkunde*

⁴⁹⁶ Kant (anonymous), review of Herder's *Ideen*, Part II, in *Allgemeine Litteratur-Zeitung*, 15 November 1785, quoted in Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze (ed.) *Race and the Enlightenment. A Reader*. Oxford, 1997: 66.

(14 vols. Leipzig 1781-90). It was continued by Sprengel and Georg Forster (Mainz) under the title *Neue Beiträge zur Völker- und Länderkunde* (13 vols. Leipzig 1790-93). As far as we know, this was the first appearance of the concept *Völkerkunde* in the title of a journal.⁴⁹⁷ It is significant that the Forsters included this subject in a journal. Johann Reinhold Forster and his son Georg Forster served as naturalist and draftsman on James Cook's second voyage around the world (1772-75). During this expedition, they made observations in the field of 'Physical Geography, Natural History, and Ethic Philosophy' (J.R. Forster 1778) and acquired important collections of plants, zoological objects, and artifacts. After their return, Georg Forster was celebrated at the University of Göttingen, where he may have been informed about the new, previously unnamed study. Alternatively, the Forsters may have heard about *Völkerkunde* from Matthias Christian Sprengel (1746-1803), who had studied under Gatterer and Schlözer in Göttingen. Sprengel married one of Georg Forster's sisters. He was a professor of history at the University of Halle from 1779 on and actively concerned with the study of travel accounts. The *Beiträge zur Völker- und Länderkunde* attracted considerable attention, as is shown by its twenty-seven volumes. Copies of this journal are readily available in most European university libraries, including those in Great Britain and Ireland. A collection of Georg Forster's writings carries the same title: *Kleine Schriften. Ein Beytrag zur Völker- und Länderkunde* (6 vols. Leipzig 1789-97).

That same year, Peter Simon Pallas began the journal *Neue Nordische Beyträge zur physikalischen und geographischen Erd- und Völkerbeschreibung, Naturgeschichte und Ökonomie* (4 vols. St. Petersburg and Leipzig 1781-83). It was continued as *Neueste Nordische Beyträge ...* (3 vols. 1791-96). As noted above, Pallas had taken part in the Academic Expeditions of 1768-74 and had published extensively on the peoples encountered during his travels apart from the natural history of Russian Asia. By including the concept *Völkerbeschreibung*, Pallas obviously remained faithful to Müller's concept.

The third journal with the term *Völkerkunde* in its title was the monthly *Litteratur und Völkerkunde* edited by Johann Wilhelm von Archenholtz (Dessau 1782-86, continued 1787-91). Archenholtz was a Prussian officer and author who had made many acquaintances during his travels through Europe, in Britain, Italy, France, and Scandinavia. He published articles submitted by correspondents and included many of his own in his successful monthly. Its successor was *Minerva: Ein Journal historischen und politischen Inhalts* (Berlin 1792-1856).

Theophil Friedrich Ehrmann's first journal, *Magazin der Erd- und Völkerkunde*, was also set up as a monthly but appeared in only two issues (Giessen 1783-84). Ehrmann was a young jurist and translator, living in Strasbourg, Stuttgart, and Weimar. He was the first to write overviews of *Völkerkunde* (1787, 1792, 1808) and published an impressive number of journals and travel accounts that are relevant to the history of ethnography and geography.

⁴⁹⁷ Hans Plischke drew attention to this journal in his *Von den Barbaren zu den Primitiven* (1925: 109), stating that this was the first occurrence of the concept *Völkerkunde*. In this respect, he was corrected by Fischer (1970).

From 1785, the concept *Völkerkunde* became popular in the form of *Länder-, Völker- und Staatenkunde*, that is, in combination with geography and political history. Primary examples are Gerhard Philipp Heinrich Norrmann's *Geographisches und historisches Handbuch der Länder-, Völker- und Staatenkunde* (Hamburg 1785) and Friedrich Gottlieb Canzler's *Allgemeines Archiv für die Länder-, Völker- und Staatenkunde* (Göttingen 1787). These publications were discontinued but others were more successful. For instance, Friedrich (J.C.F.) Schulz published a quarterly on geographical, statistical, political, and ethical *Länder- und Völkerkunde* during twelve years (*Auserlesene Aufsätze zur geographischen, statistischen, politischen und sittlichen Länder- und Völkerkunde*, 12 vols. Berlin 1786-97). Friedrich Karl Gottlob Hirsching edited *Allgemeines Archiv für die Länder- und Völkerkunde* (2 vols. Leipzig 1790-91) and *Denkwürdigkeiten für die Länder- und Völkerkunde* (Leipzig 1792). Johann Georg Friedrich Papst and Johann Gottlieb Cunradi edited *Die Reisenden für Länder- und Völkerkunde* (5 vols. Nürnberg 1788-91). Sprengel edited an *Auswahl der besten ausländischen geographischen und statistischen Nachrichten zur Aufklärung der Länder- und Völkerkunde* (14 vols. Halle 1794-1800). And Ehrmann issued *Unterhaltungen für Freunde der Länder- und Völkerkunde* (2 vols. Stuttgart 1790) as well as *Bibliothek der neuesten Länder- und Völkerkunde: Für Geographie-Freunde* (4 vols. Tübingen 1791-94).

This was mainstream ethnology in the German tradition of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These journals, and there were many more, contained travel accounts, geographical data, and abstracts from articles on 'lesser known countries and peoples' (Ehrmann 1790). Ehrmann (1791-94) saw the accounts dealing with *Völkerkunde* as belonging to the field of geography (*Erdkunde*) and Gatterer would have agreed. None of it was theoretically sophisticated and it might be better to label the tradition 'ethnographic' rather than ethnological. But the Germans of the time opted for ethnology, seeing these notes and abstracts as contributions to a new and popular field: *Länder- und Völkerkunde*.

By the early nineteenth century, the amount of material available enabled Gatterer's successor, the historian Arnold Hermann Ludwig Heeren, to begin lectures on *Länder- und Völkerkunde* at the University of Göttingen from 1803 onward (Urban 1987). Carl Ritter, one of the founders of modern geography in Germany, taught *Ethnographie* and *Geographie* at the University of Berlin from 1820. The historian Barthold Georg Niebuhr, son of Carsten Niebuhr, used the term *Ethnographie* during lectures at the University of Berlin in 1810-16 and lectured on ancient *Länder- und Völkerkunde* at the University of Bonn in 1827-28.

Encyclopaedias

The eighteenth century was the age of encyclopaedism and German encyclopaedists incorporated *Ethnographie* in their work. Kant's silence about the new discipline is striking as the philosopher Wilhelm Traugott Krug (1770-1842), who succeeded Kant as a professor at

Königsberg in 1805, included it in his ‘systematic encyclopaedia of sciences’ (1796-97). Krug saw *Ethnographie* and *Anthropographie* as synonymous and placed them in the category of geography as ‘a description of humans and peoples who inhabit the earth, with respect to their bodily and intellectual characteristics, their industry, artistic craftsmanship, trade, customs and way of life, and their literary, aesthetic and religious culture.’⁴⁹⁸

Ten years later, Johann Ernst Fabri (1755-1825), professor at the University of Erlangen, gave the discipline a prominent place in his encyclopaedia of historical sciences (Fabri 1808). Fabri saw *Geographie* as a part of history (1808: 100) and *Ethnographie* as ‘an independent science’ (1808: 355). He divided the ‘synchronistic historical sciences’ in *Geographie* (or *Erdbeschreibung*), *Ethnographie* (or *Völkerkunde*) and *Statistik* (or *Staatenkunde*). In 1787, Fabri had employed the concept *Ethnologie* as including both *Völkerkunde* and *Volkskunde* when working in Halle. He now gave a systematic overview of conceptions of ethnology, ethnography, and anthropology in twenty pages, and concluded it with a bibliography of works on ethnography and anthropology that began with Boemus’ *Omnium gentium mores, leges, et ritus* (1520). Like Krug, Fabri saw *Ethnographie* and *Anthropographie* (*Völker- und Menschheits-Beschreibung*) as an ‘independent’ science that was usually connected with geography. Fabri, however, thought that it would be advantageous to several other scientific studies to see it as a separate historical science (*Doctrin*). She should not be confused with ethnological and anthropological history (*Völker- und Menschheitsgeschichte*), nor with a philosophical study of humans (*philosophische Menschenlehre*) (Fabri 1808: 354-55).

In 1813, Karl Heinrich Ludwig Pölitiz published an encyclopaedic handbook of scientific literature, as a continuation of Krug’s encyclopaedia of sciences, and commented on Herder’s *Ideen* and numerous historical works that contained valuable contributions to *Ethnographie*. His evaluation was that this study had not yet reached its completion as ‘an independent science.’⁴⁹⁹ Obviously, there was a great deal of discussion on how the material should be interpreted and how the new science should be classified, conceived of, and carried out.

Ehrmann’s Synopsis: General Ethnology and Regional Ethnography

At the end of the eighteenth century, the study of peoples and nations had developed into a veritable passion for many scholars, especially in Germany. Everybody wanted to fill in the canvas of human development by painting the smaller pieces of humanity, the *gens*. However, anthropology had come center stage and the study of races attracted a great deal of attention.

A mainstream synopsis of ethnological and anthropological discourse was presented by Theophil Friedrich Ehrman (1762-1811), a jurist who made a living by publishing popular

⁴⁹⁸ Krug ... nennt *Ethnographie* auch *Anthropographie*, und bestimmt solche als eine Abtheilung der Geographie, welche die Menschen und Völker, die die Erde bewohnen, in Hinsicht auf ihre körperliche und geistige Beschaffenheit, auf Industrie, Kunstfertigkeiten, Handel, Sitten und Lebensart, litterarische, ästhetische und religiöse Kultur beschreibet (Krug 1796: 58, as quoted in Fabri 1808: 354).

⁴⁹⁹ ‘die freylich als selbstständige Wissenschaft noch nicht vollendet ist’ (Pölitiz 1813: 53).

geographical works, literature, and travel accounts. As an editor and translator, Ehrmann published the first summaries of *Völkerkunde*. In 1808, he synthesized the relation between ethnology and ethnography on the one hand and between ethnology and anthropology on the other. His work is the culmination of eighteenth-century German interest in the peoples of the contemporary world. Providing abstracts of primary works, summarizing and editing a great number of travel accounts, historical and geographical studies, Ehrmann arrived at an all-round picture of peoples, states, and races. He dealt with ethnography specifically. The influence of Herder and Blumenbach on his work was immediate, as we shall see presently.

In 1787, Ehrmann wrote the very first overview of *Völkerkunde*. In this summary of aims and content of the new subject, Ehrmann took a world-wide view and suggested that peoples should be described according to ‘physique, moral character, and way of living, customs, manners and opinions.’⁵⁰⁰ The fact that Ehrmann published his short overview (seventeen pages) in a journal for women (*Magazin für Frauenzimmer*), indicates that the subject was so modern and topical that it could be popularized immediately. Emancipation of women was an important issue in the late eighteenth century. Marianne Ehrmann (1755-1795), Ehrmann’s wife, founded the second journal for women in Germany.

Four years later, Ehrmann published an *Ethnographische Bildergalerie: Eine Reihe von Sittengemälden aus der neuesten Völkerkunde* (Nürnberg 1791). This ‘Ethnographic Picture Gallery’ was a compilation of travel accounts by Cook, Sparrman, Patterson, Le Vaillant, Bruce, Du Halde, Sonnerat, Grosier, Kämpfer, Thunberg, Bougainville, Forster, Philips, etc. It was illustrated with fairly good cuts representing people, their tools, and textiles. Ehrmann’s *Ethnographische Bildergalerie* was the second volume of a series he had named *Beytrag zu einer redenden Naturlehre und Physiognomik der Menschheit* (Contribution to an Instructive Study of Nature and Physiognomics of Humankind).⁵⁰¹ As Ehrmann writes in his preface, the book was a response to one of Herder’s public incitements, namely to have a collection of ‘faithful paintings of the diversity of our species’ in order to lay the foundation for ‘an appealing study of nature and physiognomic of humankind.’⁵⁰²

The title of Ehrmann’s picture gallery was to play an important albeit limited role in the conceptual history of anthropology. It has long been assumed that the term *ethnographisch* had first appeared in France in the *Atlas ethnographique du globe* written by the Italian geographer Adriano Balbi (1826a-b).⁵⁰³ The *Ethnographische Bildergalerie* preceded this

⁵⁰⁰ T.F. Ehrmann, Kurze Übersicht der Völkerkunde: Über die Verschiedenheit der Leibesgestalt, des moralischen Charakters und der Sitten der verschiedenen Völkerschaften unserer Erde. In: David Christoph Seybold (Hrsg.) *Neues Magazin für Frauenzimmer* (Strasburg), Band 3, Stück 9, September 1787, pp. 241-258.

⁵⁰¹ The first volume of *Beytrag zu einer redenden Naturlehre und Physiognomik der Menschheit* also appeared at Nürnberg, 1791; it contained 103 pages of text and 36 cuts. The second volume, *Ethnographische Bildergalerie*, contained 180 pages of text and 24 + 3 cuts.

⁵⁰² ‘es (wäre) ein schönes Geschenk, wenn Jemand, der es kann, die hie und da zerstreuten treuen Gemälde der Verschiedenheit unsres Geschlechts sammlete und damit den Grund zu einer sprechenden *Naturlehre und Physiognomik der Menschheit* legte.’ Herder, *Ideen* II, 6, VII (1785) (ed. Bollacher 1989: 250).

⁵⁰³ Hunt 1865: xcv; Topinard 1876: 201; Broca 1866/1876: 221, 303; Topinard 1885: 119, 121; Gollier 1905: 13; Schmidt 1906: 144 n. 4; de Rohan-Csermak 1970: 705; Fischer 1970: 177.

usage with thirty-five years. Adolf Bastian referred to it in his *Vorgeschichte der Ethnologie* (1881: 15). However, this reference was adopted only by a few scholars.⁵⁰⁴ One problem was that the book could not be retrieved. In 1970, Hans Fischer placed an unsuccessful request for an Inter-Library-Loan; the book could not be found in West-German libraries. It was only after the Fall of the Wall that a copy could be located in the *Deutsche Staatsbibliothek* in East Berlin. Moreover, the *Ethnographische Bildergalerie* was published anonymously and it was not known that Ehrmann was its editor and prime author (Vermeulen 1994a: 331, 337, 342). Nor was it known that the *Bildergalerie* was part of a series that had commenced in the same year as Ehrmann's *Beytrag*. Contemporary sources confirm that Ehrmann was the editor of both books and that they belong together, totalling two hundred and eighty-three pages and sixty-three cuts. Ehrmann's *Bildergalerie* proves that Bastian was correct when he observed that in the years following the exploration of the South Seas by Cook, Banks, and the Forsters (taking place in 1768-75) 'we hear the names ethnology or ethnography pronounced with greater certainty, and works and treatises concerning this subject increase in quantity.'⁵⁰⁵

In 1792, Ehrmann published another overview article titled *Ueber die Völkerkunde*. It appeared in his journal *Bibliothek der neuesten Länder- und Völkerkunde* (Band 2, pp. 1-24).

In 1808, Ehrmann contributed two articles to the promising journal *Allgemeines Archiv für Ethnographie und Linguistik*, edited by the publisher Friedrich Justin Bertuch and the linguist Johann Severin Vater, and published at Weimar. The first was a summary of 'general and particular ethnology' (*allgemeinen und besonderen Völkerkunde*).⁵⁰⁶ The article makes clear that the first term refers to a general, comparative study of peoples (*Ethnologie*), whereas the second designates a descriptive study of a people or of several peoples (*Ethnographie*). This distinction evokes the one between general and particular geography made by Varenus in his *Geographia generalis* (Amsterdam 1650).⁵⁰⁷ In making this distinction, Ehrmann came up with a solution of lasting value that would remain valid until the 1920s. *Völkerkunde* was the general name for a study consisting of a theoretical part (*Ethnologie*) and a descriptive part (*Ethnographie*). Formulated in modern terms, ethnology referred to general anthropology, ethnography to regional anthropology.⁵⁰⁸

In a separate article in the same journal, Ehrmann dealt with (physical) anthropology. Following Blumenbach, he presented an overview of the most important 'varieties of mankind.' Ehrmann wrote several paragraphs to supplement a map of human races according to skin color. In the title of that article, Ehrmann speaks of 'principal varieties of peoples'

⁵⁰⁴ See e.g. Schmidt 1906: 144 n. 4; Plischke 1925: 109; Hirschberg 1965: 472; Fischer 1970: 176 n. 36.

⁵⁰⁵ 'Damals war es denn auch, wo wir den Namen der Ethnologie oder Ethnographie mit schärferer Bestimmtheit ausgesprochen hören, wo darauf bezügliche Schriften und Abhandlungen sich mehren' (Bastian 1881: 4).

⁵⁰⁶ T.F.E. [Theophil Friedrich Ehrmann], Umriss der allgemeinen und besonderen Völkerkunde. In: F.J. Bertuch & J.S. Vater (Hrsg.) *Allgemeines Archiv für Ethnographie und Linguistik*. Weimar, im Verlage des Landes-Industrie-Comptoirs, Band I(1), 1808: 9-25.

⁵⁰⁷ Varenus divided geography according to its formal object in general or universal and particular or specific geography. This division had existed earlier but Varenus made it popular (Heslinga 1975: 90, 58).

⁵⁰⁸ Compare e.g. Jean Poirier (ed.) *Ethnologie générale* (Paris 1968) and *Ethnologie régionale* (Paris 1972-78).

(*Hauptverschiedenheiten der Völker*) but in the subtitle refers to the map of ‘human races’ (*Menschen-Rassen*).⁵⁰⁹ This confusion is significant and reflects the discussion concerning Blumenbach’s varieties and Kant’s races. At stake was the question whether racial characteristics can be inherited and whether there had been one or several creations (monogenism and polygenism). Ehrmann’s hand-colored map distinguishes five main ‘varieties.’ Presented in pink are: the Europeans (excluding the Lapps and Finns), West-Asians and North Africans (the Caucasian variety); in yellow: the East- and South-Asians (excepting the Malay peoples), Finns, Lapps, Eskimos, inhabitants of Greenland, and inhabitants of part of the North-West Coast of America (the Mongolian variety); in black: the Africans (the Ethiopian variety), excepting the North Africans; in brown: the Americans (the American variety), excepting the most-northerly inhabitants; in red: the Malays from Malaysia and the Indonesian Islands, as well as the Australians (the Malay variety).

‘Charte zur Übersicht der vorzüglichsten Varietäten des Menschen. Nach dem Blumenbachschen Systeme.’ A-3, color. ‘Erklärung der Farben:

- I (Pink) **Kaukasische Varietät.** Europäer (ausser Lappen und Finnen), West-Asiaten, und Nordafrikaner.
- II (Yellow) **Mongolische Varietät.** Ost- und Süd-Asiaten (ausser den Malajen), Finnen, Lappen, Eskimos, Grönländer, ein Theil der NW-Amerikaner.
- III (Black) **Aethiopische Varietät.** Afrikaner, ausser den Nordafrikanern.
- IV (Brown) **Amerikanische Varietät.** Alle Amerikaner, ausser denen im nördlichsten Theil
- V (Red) **Malajische Varietät.** Malajen auf der Halbinsel Malakka und den Ostindischen Inseln, und die Australier.’ (Ehrmann 1808b)

With this map, Ehrmann responded to another of Herder’s incitements: an ‘anthropological map of humankind.’⁵¹⁰ The map shows the eighteenth century’s greatest triumph: the geographical discovery of the world is almost complete. All continents are in place, with their locations fairly correct though not yet definite. Africa is too small, the northern parts of America, Asia and Europe are too large; Oceania is in place; the interior of many continents remains uncharted. A web of physical-anthropological categorization is woven over these geographical boundaries in which Lapps and Finns are located outside the Caucasian variety and brought under the Mongolian variety; West Asians and North Africans are brought into the Caucasian family, thereby separating North Africans from the Ethiopian variety that subsequently includes only African black people. Interesting is the Malay variety, which is separated from the Asians and includes the Australian Aborigines and the native population of New Zealand. All the above is indeed based on Blumenbach’s classification system as set

⁵⁰⁹ T.F.E. [Theophil Friedrich Ehrmann], Skizzirte Uebersicht der Hauptverschiedenheiten der Völker, in Betreff der Leibesfarbe (Mit einer Charte der Menschen-Rassen). In: F.J. Bertuch & J.S. Vater (Hrsg.) *Allgemeines Archiv für Ethnographie und Linguistik* I(1), 1808: 26-39.

⁵¹⁰ ‘eine anthropologische Karte der Erde, wie Zimmermann eine zoologische Versucht hat.’ Herder, *Ideen* II, 6, VII (1785) (Bollacher 1989: 250).

forth in the second edition of his thesis (1781), wherein the human species is divided into five ‘varieties’ instead of four, acknowledging the ‘Malayan’ (Austral-Asian) as the fifth.⁵¹¹

We find here another answer to the question how ethnology and anthropology were related. The relationship is at the level of classification: which peoples belong to what races. If one divides humanity in five varieties, which peoples are to be subsumed under what variety? This was a fundamental question, both for Ehrmann and for Blumenbach.

In Ehrmann’s work we have the clearest example that ethnology and anthropology were formulated alongside each other, in separate branches of learning. This suggests a conception of the world inhabited by different groups of people, which are called *Völker* (peoples) or *Volksstämme* (tribes) as sub-categories of humankind, a category that can also be subdivided in human ‘races’ (varieties). Whereas the early ethnographers were historians, geographers and linguists, the physical anthropologists were physicians and anatomists. There were cross-overs and some naturalists (by no means all) contributed to ethnography. Yet, the main distinction between civil (political) history and natural history was very much alive. These discourses were linked by philosophers such as Herder.

Schlözer’s Legacy

In the same year that Ehrmann published his overview of general and particular ethnology, Fabri included *Ethnologie* and *Ethnographie* in his encyclopaedia of historical sciences (Fabri 1808). Fabri had been educated at Halle and held several posts in universities in Central Germany. He obviously was aware of Schlözer’s work as he repeated the latter’s distinction between a people in a geographical, genetical and political sense, without mentioning his name (Fabri 1808: 97-98, 352). This is another indication of the importance of Schlözer’s views.

Besides Schlözer’s defense of Human Rights (*Menschenrechte*) and his contributions to liberal theory in his critical journals and handbooks (Mühlpfordt 1982, 1983a-b), Schlözer’s view on world history is of lasting interest, even if his regional historiography, based on linguistics, needs wider recognition and further study. The dramatist Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) took up Schlözer’s and Gatterer’s idea that the past and the present should be connected and lessons could be learned from history (adopting an old wisdom from Cicero). Schiller taught this during lectures on universal history at Jena (1789). The Russian historian Soloviev concluded in 1854 that Schlözer laid the solid foundations for a science of history. Mühlpfordt (1983a: 156) summarized that ‘the historian Schlözer developed the philological-critical method into an ethno-critical method and applied it especially to the history of the Slavic, Germanic, Baltic, Eastern Romanic, Finno-Ugric, and other Uralic peoples.’⁵¹²

⁵¹¹ Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, *De generis humani varietate nativa liber cum figuris aeri incisis. Editio altera longe auctior et emendatior* (Goettingae, apud vidvam Abr. Vandenhoeck, 1781) (1st ed. 1775-76).

⁵¹² ‘Der Historiker Schlözer entwickelte die philologisch-quellenkritische Methode weiter zur “ethno-kritischen” und wandte sie besonders auf die Geschichte der slawischen, der germanischen, der baltischen, der ostromanischen, der finnougriichen und der anderen uralischen Völker an. Dadurch hat er in der Rußland-,

In the majority of the cases mentioned above, there existed a connection with Schlözer and Göttingen. Gatterer was Schlözer's colleague, Herder his competitor. Canzler and Sprengel were his students, Ekkard was his associate. Schlözer and Kollár knew each other's work well and inspired each other. Schlözer's conception of *Völkerkunde* and *Ethnographie* was also disseminated by Johann Samuel Ersch, a bibliographer who had studied at Göttingen and became a librarian and professor of geography and statistics at the University of Halle. Together with Johann Gottfried Gruber, Ersch published an *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* (167 vols. Leipzig 1818-89) and numerous other publications.

Another of his pupils was August Christian Heinrich Niemann (1761-1832), professor at the University of Kiel and a statistician who wrote an *Abris der Statistik und der Staatenkunde, nebst Fragmenten zur Geschichte derselben* (Altona 1807). *Statistik*, a comparative study of states, became Schlözer's second specialization and the one with which he achieved greatest acclaim. In 1773, he succeeded Gottfried Achenwall, the father of *Statistik* (Peters 2003: 207). Commenting on political developments in Europe and abroad, Schlözer reached a wide audience. His journals were read throughout Europe, especially in St. Petersburg. Some issues of his *Stats-Anzeigen* reached a print run as high as that of the French *Encyclopédie*.⁵¹³

Schlözer's impact on Russian historiography was considerable. He was admired by the historian Nikolai Karamzin and the novelist Nikolai Gogol. The Russian professors Mikhail Kachenovsky and Mikhail Pogodin proclaimed themselves Schlözer's followers. Schlözer was ennobled by the emperor Alexander I and made a Privy Councilor in 1803. Retiring from active service in 1805, he continued publishing his *Nestorchronik* until his demise in 1809.⁵¹⁴

Schlözer's lecture rooms in Göttingen were so crowded that his turnout was compared to that of Wolff in Halle. Sometimes, more than one hundred students attended his lectures, one-eighth of the total student population of Göttingen. The brothers Grimm and the brothers von Humboldt were among his auditors. Schlözer's work inspired Wilhelm von Humboldt to study the language of the Basques, the original inhabitants of Spain (1820-21). Having studied at Göttingen in 1788-90, he read Schlözer's *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* in 1800 before undertaking a journey to the Basque country in the spring of 1801.⁵¹⁵

Slawen- und Ungarnforschung Epoche gemacht' (Mühlpfordt 1983a: 156).

⁵¹³ The *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers, par une Société de Gens de Lettres* (edited by Diderot and d'Alembert, 28 vols. 1751-72) went from 3,100 and 4,000 to 4,250 copies.

⁵¹⁴ See Zermelo 1875; Wesendock 1876; Frensdorff 1890, 1892, 1909; Mühlpfordt 1982, 1983a-b.

⁵¹⁵ Jean Rousseau, August-Ludwig von Schlözer: un chaînon manquant dans la genèse de la théorie linguistique de Wilhelm von Humboldt. In: Ute Tintemann und Jürgen Trabant (Hrsg.), Teil 2, 2004.



Fig. 8. August Ludwig Schlözer (1735-1809)
(From *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* 43(1), 1780)

In 1801, the new terms *Anthropologie*, *Cultur*, and *ethnographisch* appeared in J.H. Campe's German dictionary of loanwords.⁵¹⁶ Ten years later, the concept *Völkerkunde* was admitted in Campe's official German dictionary and defined in a rather modern way:

Die Völkerkunde: the knowledge or study of peoples (*Völkern*), not only of their origin and history, but also of their political, civil or societal, and customary conditions.⁵¹⁷

In the same period, the concepts were introduced in two countries in Central Europe. In Hungary, the Slovak scholar János Csaplovics applied the term *etnográfia* (ethnography) in 1811 and again in 1818, when he wrote that nations (*Völker*) are to be distinguished 'by language, physical and moral disposition.'⁵¹⁸ Csaplovics published several books on ethnological

⁵¹⁶ Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Wörterbuch zur Erklärung und Verdeutschung der unserer Sprache aufgedrungenen fremden Ausdrücke*. Braunschweig 1801. The term 'ethnographisch' appeared in Band I: 340: 'Die Geschichte wird entweder chronologisch, der Zeitfolge nach, oder ethnographisch, der Völkergeschichte nach, das ist, so dass die Geschichte jedes einzelnen Volks besonders vorgetragen wird, bearbeitet.'

⁵¹⁷ 'Die Völkerkunde: die Kunde oder Kenntniß von den Völkern, nicht sowol von ihrem Ursprung und ihrer Geschichte, als von ihrem staatlichen, bürgerlichen oder gesellschaftlichen und sittlichen Zustande.' Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. Braunschweig, Band 5, 1811: 433-434. In 1968, Mühlmann (1968: 78) still thought: 'Ethnographie scheint auf J.H. Campe zurück zu gehen.'

⁵¹⁸ János Csaplovics, (*Völker*) are to be distinguished 'durch Sprache, physische und moralische Veranlagung.'

themes in German, including ‘Slavonia and Croatia as a contribution to ethnography and geography (*Völker- und Länderkunde*)’ (1819), and an ethnographic explanation of reproductions of Hungarian national dress (1820). In 1822, he introduced the term *ethnographiai* in a series of articles entitled ‘ethnographic dissertation on Hungary’ that was published in the journal *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* (reprinted in 1990).⁵¹⁹

The concept *ethnographia*, and its Czech equivalent *národopis*, were used in the first volume of the journal *Krok* by Jan Svatopluk Presl in 1821; *ethnographia* was included in the Czech-German dictionary of J. Jungmann in 1836.⁵²⁰ As we have seen, the concept *Volkskunde* had appeared at Prague in 1787 in the work of Josef Mader. Two years later, Josef Dobrovský, the celebrated Czech linguist, applied the term *Völkerkunde* when referring to ‘all supporters of Slavic ethnology and language’ (1789).⁵²¹ Dobrovský was an early adopter of the concept. He was bilingual, in Czech and German, and well acquainted with Schlözer’s work (Lauch 1968).

It is interesting that the concept ethnography reappeared in Central Europe during the 1820s. In that period, the phenomenon of nationalism raised its head in most European countries, among others due to political decisions taken at the Congress of Vienna (Locher 1947; Lemberg 1950; Hobsbawm 1990; Smith 1991; Dann 1993). In both cases, a new term was coined to bring the concept in accordance with the national or regional language: in Hungary, *ethnographiai* and in Bohemia, *národopis* (resp. in 1822 with Csaplovics, in 1821 with Presl). Csaplovics had at least two motives for his work. He wanted to describe the multitude of peoples in the Hungarian parts of the Austrian Empire, because there were so many of them (a scholarly motive), and he wanted to pursue this description to acquire basic rights for these peoples (a political motive). The latter motive was clearly related to the changed political circumstances in Europe.

The Age of Enlightenment that set off on such an optimistic note with Leibniz’s views on harmony, found its apex in the French Revolution (1789) and ended in the *Terreur* in France (1793). Soon afterwards, Napoleon Bonaparte arrived on the stage, dividing Europe in new ways and giving her constitutional law. The Napoleonic wars (1803–1815) caused damage in Central and Eastern Europe, which was also felt in the Enlightenment’s core business, the book trade. According to Jörn Garber, 467 German-language journals dealing with history and geography appeared during the 1780s and 1790s; about a third of the articles published therein dealt with ethnography or ethnology in one way or another.⁵²² The decline in print numbers and the demise of these journals after 1800 remains puzzling. One cause was the political reverberation of the French Revolution; another the havoc created by the Napoleonic wars that divided and joined countries in Europe. The publishers could not keep up with the speed

⁵¹⁹ See de Rohan-Csermak 1970: 705; Podolák 1988: 230; Vermeulen 1995b: 51–52. I am grateful to István Sántha (Halle/Budapest) and Mihály Sárkány (Budapest) for providing additional information.

⁵²⁰ Jan Svatopluk Presl (ed.) *Krok. Weregny spis wsenaucny pro Wzdelance Narodu Cesko-Slowanskeho*, vol. I, 1821: 10; J. Jungmann, *Slownjk cesko-nemecký*, Prague, vol. II, col. 611. These references were kindly supplied by Václav Hubinger from Prague (see Vermeulen 1995b: 52).

⁵²¹ ‘alle Liebhaber der slawischen Völkerkunde und Sprache’ (quoted in Krbec & Michálková 1959: 12).

⁵²² Jörn Garber, Die beiden Forsters, die Universität Halle, und die Erforschung der letzten Terra Incognita in der Südsee. Vortrag in Halle, 28 September 2006.

of border changes and there was an acute lack of paper (Kühn 1939). Concomitant was the change in mentality after the French occupation of Egypt (1798-1801), resulting in what Osterhammel has called the 'Oriental Fall.'⁵²³ As a result, the dominant outlook became Eurocentric rather than universalist and comparative. Harsbmeier (2002: 63-64) observes that the eighteenth-century travel accounts were moulded by cosmopolitanism (*Weltoffenheit*) and impartiality (*Unbefangenheit*), a combination that is largely absent in the nineteenth century. The Orientalism of the Enlightenment was replaced by an imperialist Orientalism. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars led to the rise of a new selfconsciousness in Europe and an increase in Eurocentrism (Harsbmeier 2002: 63-64; Conermann 2002: 406 n. 7).

This changed mentality manifested itself at the Congress of Vienna. After the defeat of Napoleonic France in 1813, the future of Europe and its colonies for the next century was decided at the Congress of Vienna, taking place from October 1814 to June 1815 (Pölit 1813: 53). Its purpose was to redraw the political map of Europe. Chaired by the Austrian Foreign Minister Klemens Wenzel von Metternich, the four great victors (Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain) attempted to put an end to the period heralded by the French Revolution; with occasional representation of Spain, Portugal, and Sweden, and, on German issues, of Hanover, Bavaria, and Württemberg (Zamoyski 2007). Two of Schlözer's students were present. Wilhelm von Humboldt and Karl August von Hardenberg represented Prussia; Jacob Grimm attended the Congress as secretary of the legation of Hesse-Kassel. At the behest of Tsar Alexander I, Metternich, together with Russia and Prussia, formed the Holy Alliance, with the purpose to contain the revolutionary movement in Europe. A German Confederation of thirty-nine states was created from the previous three hundred territories of the Holy Roman Empire (dissolved in 1806). The Congress of Vienna resulted in a new diplomatic philosophy seeing Europe as a shifting map of alliances between nation-states, creating an equilibrium of power maintained by strong armies and secret agreements. It led to the formation of nation-states and the suppression of nationalist and liberal movements in Europe. Given the amount of ethnographic and linguistic knowledge at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, especially but not exclusively about Europe, it is astonishing to see that this knowledge was ignored. Political circumstances prevented a public recognition of peoples and their basic rights. The results of eighteenth-century ethnographic and linguistic research were not acknowledged. The Vienna Congress signalled the victory of the principle of states above that of nations. The political point of view prevailed over the ethnological perspective. This served as a powerful motive for many intellectuals, especially in Central and Eastern Europe, to pursue ethnolinguistic research and join national movements to acquire basic rights for their people.

Schlözer's ethnographic method remained part and parcel of the historical paradigm up to the work of Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886). Ranke became the founder of the German historicist school (*Historische Schule*) during the nineteenth century and achieved fame by

⁵²³ Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert*. [The Disenchantment of Asia: Europe and the Asian Empires in the Eighteenth Century] München 1998.

defining the historian's task as 'to show how it really was' (*wie es eigentlich gewesen*). Ranke's historical-philological methods were largely based on methods Schlözer had developed. Schlözer's way of writing ethnographic history influenced the young Ranke, whose first two books dealt with 'Histories of Romanic and Germanic Peoples' (Berlin 1824) and 'Monarchs and Peoples of Southern Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' (Berlin 1827-36). Schlözer's impact was so profound that Ranke called his early works 'ethnographic' – even if they dealt largely with political history. Ranke concluded his career by writing nine volumes of world history (*Weltgeschichte*, Leipzig 1881-88) and wrote hefty tomes on European history, especially of Germany, Prussia, France, and England. This way of writing history was in line with the political process of nation-states establishing themselves in the wake of the Congress of Vienna. Ranke was a witness of this process, and by studying the history of the great powers that were to shape Europe's fate he added to the dominance of political history – which was ultimately based on peoples and nations.

The emergence of ethnography and ethnology as indicated by the publications of Schlözer, Gatterer, Kollár, Ehrmann, and Fabri in Central and Eastern Europe during the 1770s and 1780s was an important but neglected development. This new discipline, later called 'ethnic anthropology' (Dieserud 1908: 17, 63), served as an umbrella under which earlier contributions could be united, resulting in a rapid expansion of the field (see Table 7). Pluralism remained *en vogue* until the institutionalization and professionalization of anthropology in the nineteenth century.

Table 7. **Ethnological Discourse in Asia, Europe, and the United States, 1710-1808****Historia etymologica**

1710 G.W. Leibniz, historian/linguist/philosopher (Hanover)

Völker-Beschreibung

1732 de Historia Gentium: a History of Peoples

1740 **Völker-Beschreibung**: a Description of Peoples

G.F. Müller, historian/geographer (Surgut on the Ob, Siberia)

ethnographia vs. geographia

1767 J.F. Schöpperlin and A.F. Thilo

historians/geographers (Nördlingen, Swabia)

Völkerkunde or Ethnographie, ethnographisch, Ethnograph

1771-72 A.L. Schlözer, historian/linguist (Göttingen; 1761-1767 in St. Petersburg, Russia)

1772-75 A.L. Schlözer: **‘eine ethnographische Methode’**Critique on **ethnographisch** / alternative: *Gemälde der Nationen*

1772-74 J.G. Herder, historian/philosopher (Bückeburg, Weimar)

1775 **Menschen- und Völkerkunde** (Anthropographia und Ethnographia)

1771-75 J.C. Gatterer, historian/geographer (Göttingen, Hanover)

1775 J.F. Blumenbach, physician/anatomist (Göttingen), **Anthropologie** (codified 1795/1798)1781-90 J.R. Forster (Halle) & M.C. Sprengel (Halle), *Beiträge zur Völker- und Länderkunde***Volkskunde**1776 **Volkskunde**: Johannes le Francq van Berkhey (Leiden)1782 **Volks-Kunde**: Friedrich Ekkard (Göttingen), 1787 Josef Mader (Prague), 1788 Schubart> 1846 **folk-lore**: William Thoms (London)**ethnologia**: ‘notitia gentium populorumque’

1781-83 A.F. Kollár, historian/librarian (Vienna)

Ethnologie: ‘l’histoire des progrès des peuples vers la civilisation’

as part of ‘Anthropologie ou science générale de l’homme’

1787 A.-C. Chavannes, theologian/paedagogue (Lausanne)

1787 Johann Ernst Fabri, historian (Jena) **Ethnologie**1787 T.F. Ehrmann (Strasbourg), *Kurze Übersicht der Völkerkunde*: **Ethnographie**1791 T.F. Ehrmann (Strasbourg), *Ethnographische Bildergalerie*1797-98 Benjamin Smith Barton (Philadelphia), *New Views of the Origin of the Tribes and Nations of America*, publishes comparative ethnological and linguistic material1799-1804 **Société des Observateurs de l’Homme**, Paris [**Anthropologie**]

1802-1803 Thomas Jefferson and/or Benjamin Smith Barton ‘Ethnological Information Desired’

1808 T.F. Ehrmann (Weimar) – allgemeine Völkerkunde or **Ethnologie**– besondere Völkerkunde or **Ethnographie**1808 T.F. Ehrmann (Weimar) – **Anthropologie**

Epilogue

From Ehrmann to Tylor, 1808-1881

Reception of the German Ethnographic Tradition in the West

The eighteenth century, so full of ethnological discourse, closed on an anthropological chord. Indicative of this development in the German states are Wilhelm von Humboldt's *Plan einer vergleichenden Anthropologie* (1795, first published in 1903), Johann Friedrich Blumenbach's third edition of his *De generis humani varietate nativa* [On the Natural Varieties of Mankind] (1795, German translation 1798) and Immanuel Kant's *Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht* (1798). The emergence of anthropology during the 1790s was a new development in philosophy and natural history, even if it had been prepared from the 1750s on.

In France, the general interest in the study of humankind led to the establishment of the first anthropological society, the *Société des Observateurs de l'Homme* in Paris (1799-1804). It was founded in Paris by a small group of scholars belonging to the philosophical and political movement of the *idéologues*, including Pierre-Jean-George Cabanis and Antoine-Louis-Claude Destutt de Tracy (who coined the term *idéologie*). The *Société* was short-lived and went into oblivion by merging with the *Société Philantropique*. Yet, the founding of a society devoted exclusively to *la science de l'homme* has been seen as seminal in the history of anthropology.⁵²⁴ The *Société* was inspired by ideas of the *idéologues*, especially Cabanis, on the interrelation of body and soul, the physical and the moral (*l'homo duplex*).⁵²⁵ It also adopted ethnographic ideas developed in Göttingen. A manuscript of the society's secretary, Louis-François Jauffret, on the *Histoire physiologique des différentes races d'homme, ou l'histoire du genre humain* (first published in 1870), copied from Christoph Meiners' work on the history of humankind (Rupp-Eisenreich 1983b). The *Société* published several monographs and assisted in the preparation of an exploring expedition to Australia led by Nicolas Baudin (1800-04). The Baudin expedition was carried out by over one hundred people, including twenty-three scientists: astronomers, geographers, mineralogists, naturalists (nine zoologists and botanists), geologists, hydrographers, gardeners and a pharmacist; there were also portrait, natural history and landscape artists on board; each discipline had two or three representatives on one of the two ships (Péron and Freycinet 1807-11). One of the expedition's scientists, François Péron, counts as the 'first official expedition anthropologist' (Hewes 1968). A position of scientist had been offered to Alexander von Humboldt, who rejected the offer as Baudin had been involved in slave trading in the Caribbean, a practice Humboldt abhorred. The *Société* issued an extensive questionnaire

⁵²⁴ Gollier 1905; Hervé 1909a-d; Bouteiller 1956; Stocking 1964, 1968; Degérando/Moore 1969; Moravia 1970, 1973; Copans & Jamin 1978; Jorion 1980a; Kilborne 1982; Rupp-Eisenreich 1983a; Chappey 2002; Stagl 2002.

⁵²⁵ Cabanis, *Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme* (1802); see Stocking 1964, 1968; Chappey 2002: 308.

written by Joseph-Marie Degérando, *The Observation of Savage Peoples* (Paris 1800),⁵²⁶ which counts as the first questionnaire for ethnographic fieldwork (Stagl 2002b: 328).

Although the members of the *Société des Observateurs de l'Homme* adopted ethnographic ideas developed by Schlözer and Meiners in Göttingen (Rupp-Eisenreich 1983a, 1984; Stagl 2002: 281-282, 327-328), the terms *ethnographie* and *ethnologie* do not seem to figure in their work. The society's historian, Jean-Luc Chappey mentions 'Le premier program de l'ethnologie' (Chappey 2002: 293 n. 1), but Georges Hervé (1909d) called it 'Le premier program de l'anthropologie.' The terms *ethnographie* and *ethnologie* do not seem to enter the pages of the *Société's* publications or of Chappey's detailed history of the *Société*.⁵²⁷

As far as we know, the earliest occurrence of the term *ethnographique* in France is the *Porte-feuille géographique et ethnographique*, written by Godefroy Engelmann and G. Berger and published (chez Engelmann, *directeur de la Société lithographique de Mulhouse*) in 1820. According to Claude Blanckaert, who reported this fact (Blanckaert 1988: 26), this publication did not have any resonance in France and both authors have been ignored in the secondary literature.⁵²⁸ The second-known occurrence of the term in France is the *Atlas ethnographique du globe* (1826) by the Italian geographer and statistician Adriano Balbi (1782-1848). It is a comparative study that presents 'a classification of ancient and modern peoples after their languages,' together with seven hundred (!) vocabularies of the world's principal dialects as well as physical, moral and political tables of the five continents.⁵²⁹ In the introduction to his ethnographic atlas, Balbi (1826b: 61) defined ethnography as 'the classification of languages;' because peoples are characterized by their languages (*une classification des peuples correspondra à une classification des langues*). Fischer (1970: 177) has interpreted this as a shift in meaning, but we can note that Balbi's view is close to that of Schlözer (who is not mentioned) of a classification of peoples on the basis of their languages.

The term *ethnographie* was first included in the sixth edition of the dictionary of Pierre Boiste in 1823,⁵³⁰ then in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* in 1835, and the *Complément du Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* in 1839.⁵³¹ In the latter work, the terms

⁵²⁶ Degérando, *Considérations sur les diverses méthodes à suivre dans l'observation des peuples sauvages*, 1800; English translation *The Observation of Savage Peoples* (Moore 1969).

⁵²⁷ Personal communication Claude Blanckaert, Paris April 2006: 'Le livre de Chappey ne comporte aucune indication sur ce point [the use of the concepts Ethnographie, Ethnologie, ethnographique or Ethnographie].'

⁵²⁸ Personal communication Claude Blanckaert, Paris April 2006: 'Ces deux auteurs sont, en tout cas, totalement ignorés dans la littérature ultérieure. Depuis vos publications, je n'ai pas rencontré le mot "ethnographie" avant l'*Atlas* de Balbi [1826], ce qui confirmerait la rareté de son usage en France.'

⁵²⁹ Adrien Balbi, *Atlas ethnographique du globe, ou classification des peuples anciens et modernes d'après leurs langues ...*, avec environ sept cents vocabulaires des principaux idiomes connus, et suivi du tableau physique, moral et politique des cinq parties du monde. A Paris, chez Rey et Gravier, 1826 (Balbi 1826a); *Introduction à l'Atlas ethnographique du globe*. Paris 1826 (Balbi 1826b).

⁵³⁰ Pierre-Claude-Victor Boiste, *Dictionnaire universel de la langue française*. 6th edition. Paris: H. Verdrière, 1823. Introduces the term 'Ethnographie' in French dictionaries (according to the dictionary *Le Robert* 1966).

⁵³¹ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*. 6me édition. 2 vols. Paris. Tome premier, 1835, p. 689: 'Ethnographie, Partie de la statistique qui a pour but l'étude et la description des divers peuples.' *Complément du Dictionnaire de l'Académie française contenant tous les termes de littérature, de rhétorique, de grammaire, d'art dramatique qui ne se trouvent pas dans le Dictionnaire de l'Académie* [française, 6me édition. Paris 1835]. Bruxelles 1839.

ethnographie and *ethnologie* occur with a definition (1839: 373), in both cases referring to the work of Ampère ('dans la classification de M. Ampère'). In the years 1829-34, *ethnographie* and *ethnologie* appeared in the classification of sciences developed by the physicist André-Marie Ampère (1775-1836): in 1829-30, as part of 'les sciences anthropologiques,' in 1832-34, as part of 'les sciences sociales' (de Rohan-Csermak 1967, 1970a: 674, 1970b: 705; Fischer 1970: 179). Ampère's classification of sciences played an important role in popularizing the terms *ethnologie* and *sciences sociales* in France. His work probably stimulated the founders of the *Société ethnologique de Paris* in 1839 (see below) and the initiator of sociology, Auguste Comte (1798-1857), in coining the term *sociologie* in 1839.

There had been many attempts at formulating an (anthropological) 'science of man' in France, most notably by Buffon (1749, 1777), as well as a (comparative) study of peoples. The latter subject was developed by Charles de Brosses, *Du culte des dieux fétiches, ou Parallèle de l'ancienne Religion de l'Égypte avec la Religion actuelle de la Nigritie* (Genève 1760, reprinted in the *Encyclopédie*) and Antoine-Yves Goguet, *De l'Origine des loix, des arts, et des sciences; et de leurs progrès chez les anciens peuples* (3 vols. Paris 1758; translated into German 1760-62, into English 1775). In both cases a comparison of 'ancient peoples' was made, much like Lafitau had done. Lafitau compared ancient Hebrews and Greeks with contemporary American Indians (mainly Iroquois), De Brosses compared ancient Egyptian religion with contemporary African cults, Goguet contrasted Hebrews, Babylonians and Assyrians with Egyptians and Greeks (with an appendix on Chinese historians). Influential was Voltaire's *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* (7 vols. Paris 1753-56) and Jean-Nicholas Dêmeunier's *L'Esprit des usages et des coutumes des différens peuples, ou Observations tirées des voyageurs et des historiens* (3 vols. Paris 1776). Michael Hißmann translated the latter work into German and titled it 'Manners and Customs of Peoples' (1783-84). Marvin Harris (1968: 17) called Dêmeunier 'probably the greatest ethnographer of the eighteenth century.' Another, less-known comparative study was Antoine Court de Gébelin's *Le monde primitif analysé et comparé avec le monde moderne* (Paris 1773-82, 9 vols.). Edna Lemay (1970) interprets these studies as eighteenth-century follow-ups to the older study of manners and customs that had commenced with Ioannes Boemus' *Omnium gentium mores, leges et ritus* (Augsburg 1520).

As we have seen, the subject matter 'manners and customs' also occurs in the work of Gerhard Friedrich Müller, who moved beyond it and transformed it into a description of peoples, or *Völker-Beschreibung*. Whether his ethnological program had any impact on French authors should be investigated. There is a connection between Göttingen historians and French scientists in the case of the explorer and linguist Constantin-François Chasseboeuf, Comte de Volney (1757-1820). Volney had traveled through Egypt and Syria during 1783-85, later through Corsica and the United States (1795-98). He issued instructions for travelers in 1793 and lectured on the theory of history in 1795. Both his travel account to Egypt and Syria (Volney 1787) and his questionnaire (Volney 1795, 1813) were based on the distinction between

‘natural’ and ‘political’ relations, with the first category including geography, climate, products of the earth, and nourishment, and the second dealing with ‘the people’ in social, ethnic, religious, and political respects. The list played a role in post-revolutionary France, in which the statistical study of French districts was actively pursued. Volney may have formed a *trait d’union* between Paris and Göttingen and was influenced by the *Patriotic Traveler* of Count Leopold Berchtold. In the preface to his *Questions de Statistique à l’usage des voyageurs* (Paris 1813), he once more paid homage to German empirical social research and to the *Patriotic Traveler*. Volney did not know German but learned of the Göttingen apodemic instructions through Michaelis and Berchtold. Apparently, Volney also knew the work of Schlözer, both his world histories and travel instructions (Stagl 2002a: 307-318).

For early anthropology in the United States, the impact of the work of Samuel Stanhope Smith, Benjamin Smith Barton and Thomas Jefferson has been emphasized. Stanhope Smith (1751-1819) was a Presbyterian minister and educator who served as president of Princeton University between 1795 and 1812. He published *An Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species* (Philadelphia 1787, 2nd ed. 1810, German translation 1790), in which he criticized Lord Kames’s *Discourse on the Original Diversity of Mankind*.

Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) had an interest in Amerindian languages since childhood and collected Indian vocabularies, assuming that the comparative study of languages would lead to discovering ‘the affinities of nations.’ As he wrote to John Adams: ‘In the early part of my life I was very familiar with the Indians, and acquired impressions, attachment, and commiseration for them which have never been obliterated’ (quoted in Hallowell 1960: 7, note 16). Jefferson was the principal author of the Declaration of Independence (1776), drafted Virginia’s Statute of Liberty and Religious Freedom, and served as the third President of the United States (1801-09). Jefferson had a copy of the 1581 Dutch *Plakkaat van Verlatinghe* (Oath of Abjuration, the formal declaration of independence of the northern Low Countries from Spain) in his possession when he drafted the United States Constitution in 1787. A.F.C. Wallace’s *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans* (1999) gives an account of Jefferson’s ‘romantic fascination’ with the Indians, their cultures, traditions and languages, the excavation of their burial mounds, and the various designs to resettle their lands for the young agrarian republic, the United States. It also shows that Jefferson maintained a strong interest in the linguistics, archaeology and ethnology of Native Americans. In 1787, Jefferson published his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (2nd American ed. 1794) in which he gave descriptions as well as statistical tables of Native Americans in Virginia and environs.

The American naturalist Benjamin Smith Barton (1766-1815) published comparative ethnological and linguistic material in his *New Views of the Origin of the Tribes and Nations of America* (1797, 2nd ed. 1798). This title resembles Kollar’s definition of ethnology as the study of peoples and nations (*notitia gentium populorumque*, 1783). As we have seen, Barton

was adamant about Leibniz, when quoting Strahlenberg that ‘the Transmigration of Nations is ... a ticklish point to touch upon; but ... many difficulties would be removed, were the advice of Leibnitz followed, and a competent Knowledge obtained of the Languages of North-Asia; This great Philosopher being fully convinced, that by the Help of these, many Things concerning the Transmigration of Nations might be clear’d up’ (Strahlenberg 1736, quoted in Barton 1798: 1).

Leibniz’s influence is also seen in the work of Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix (1682-1761) who mentioned in his Preliminary Discourse (1766) that the question of the origin of nations, especially that of the American Indians, might be solved by studying their languages: ‘We have had, and still have Travelers and Missionaries, who have worked on the languages that are spoken in all the provinces of the New World. It would only be necessary to make a Collection of their Grammars and Vocabularies, and to collate them with the dead and living Languages of the Old World that pass for Originals.’ He continued, however, ‘Instead of this Method, which has been neglected, they have made Enquiries into the Manners, Customs, Religion, and Traditions of the *Americans*, in order to discover their Original.’ In much the same way as Schlözer wrote five years later, Charlevoix stated that the latter were not following the ‘right Path’ and that, instead, the study of language was the only way to arrive at a reliable picture of how the Americas had been populated.⁵³² This method encouraged Benjamin Smith Barton to study *the Origin of the Tribes and Nations of America* (Barton 1798: xii). Both he and Jefferson were very much concerned with the ‘affinity of nations’ (Jefferson 1787: 162-165, Barton 1798: xviii-xix). In 1773, the English lexicographer Samuel Johnson expressed the same idea: ‘There is no tracing the connection of ancient nations, but by language; and therefore I am always sorry when any language is lost, because languages are the pedigree of nations.’⁵³³

The historian of linguistics Edward G. Gray links the American studies to the linguistic work going on in the Russian empire, where Peter Simon Pallas was working on Catherine the Great’s project to assemble specimens of two hundred languages in the world (Pallas, *Vocabularia Comparativa* 1787-89). In 1786, George Washington asked government agents in Ohio to collect Indian vocabularies, which would ‘throw light upon the original history of this country and ... forward researches into the probable connection and communication between the northern parts of America and those of Asia’ (quoted in Gray 1999: 112).

Ethnology was known in the United States at least as early as 1802, when Thomas Jefferson added an appendix to the instructions issued to the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1804-06) entitled ‘Ethnological Information Desired’ (Hallowell 1960: 17). There is some debate on whether and to what extent this text is from Jefferson. Thwaites suggests that the instructions were written by Jefferson,⁵³⁴ as did Joseph Henry (Darnell 1998: 32), but

⁵³² Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North-America*, Dublin 1766 (quoted in Barton 1798: vii-xii).

⁵³³ Samuel Johnson, touring Scotland in Aug.-Nov. 1773 (quoted by James Boswell, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, 1785).

⁵³⁴ Ethnological Information Desired. In: Reuben G. Thwaites (ed.) *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. New York, vol. 7 (1904-05, reprinted 1959): 283-287. The editor added the following note: ‘From original MS ... The handwriting is that of Clark, and apparently is a transcript of instructions from Jefferson.’

Patterson (2001: 167) ascribes the appendix to Benjamin Smith Barton (1803). However, Patterson mentions that Jefferson corresponded with Barton about it in February 1803, and gave extensive instructions to Lewis in June 1803. Following the Louisiana Purchase (1803), which nearly doubled the size of the United States, Jefferson commissioned an expedition led by Meriwether Lewis (1774-1809) and William Clark (1770-1838) to explore the newly acquired territory. The object of the mission was to explore the Missouri River and find a river that runs into the Western Ocean ‘for the purpose of commerce.’⁵³⁵ The real purpose was to advance the frontier to the West. With a party of twenty-five men, Lewis and Clark traveled to the source of the Missouri, thence journeyed across the Rocky Mountains and down the Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean. Living off the land, they explored the uncharted West and tried to find the North-West passage. Jefferson and/or Barton requested that Lewis and Clark also obtain ‘ethnological information’ from the ‘*Indians* of Louisiana,’ including their ‘physical history and medicine, morals, religion, traditions or national history, agriculture and domestic economy, fishing and hunting, war[fare], amusements, clothing dress & ornaments, customs & manners generally.’⁵³⁶ The similarities between the American explorations and those by the Russians seventy years earlier are striking. Apparently, Lewis and Clark undertook inquiries similar to those pursued by Müller and others in Siberia in 1733-1747. The appendix compares well with the list compiled by Müller in 1740 for the peoples of Siberia, though Müller’s list of questions was much more elaborate.

As president of the American Philosophical Society, Jefferson had chaired a committee in 1798 that issued a *Circular Letter*, a short questionnaire in which information was sought about ‘the past and present state of this country.’⁵³⁷ Its fourth point requested ‘to inquire into the Customs, Manners, Languages and Character of the Indian nations, ancient and modern, and their migrations.’ There was also a query relating to ‘researches into the Natural History of the Earth,’ and one dealing with archaeological remains, such as ‘plans, drawings and descriptions of ... ancient Fortifications, Tumuli, and other Indian works of art.’ In addition, the letter expressed the desire to ‘procure one or more entire skeletons of the Mammoth, so called, and of such other unknown animals as either have been, or hereafter may be discovered in America.’⁵³⁸ This short list, following the old tradition of distributing questionnaires (cf. Urry 1973; Fowler 1975; Stagl 2002a), was the first of its kind in the United States. In Russia, however, Müller had issued such lists sixty years earlier, in a more elaborate form. Although the letter did not mention the term ethnology, the idea was clearly around, and Gilbert Chinard (1943) regarded the Circular Letter as ‘the charter of American

⁵³⁵ Jefferson’s Instructions to Captain Meriwether Lewis, Washington 20 June 1803. In: Donald Jackson (ed.) *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents, 1783-1854*. Urbana, 1962, p. 61.

⁵³⁶ Ethnological Information Desired. In: Reuben G. Thwaites (ed.) *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. New York, vol. 7 (1959): 283-287. (Patterson 2001: 13 summarizes the information requested).

⁵³⁷ Jefferson et al. Circular Letter. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 4, 1799: xxxvii-xxxix.

⁵³⁸ The first entire skeleton of a mammoth, found in 1799 in the eastern parts of the Lena River on the Bikovskii peninsula by a Sakha chieftain hunting for ivory, was excavated by the Scottish-Russian botanist Mikhail I. Adams in 1806. The Adams Mammoth is now on display in Yakutsk.

ethnology' (Hallowell 1960: 26). Therefore, the fact that Jefferson and/or Barton added an appendix on 'ethnological information desired' to the instructions of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in 1802 (or 1803) suggests that these scholars were aware of the new study introduced in the German-speaking countries.

Ethnology was first defined as 'the science of nations' in the United States in 1828 in Noah Webster's *An American Dictionary of the English Language*. As we have seen, the term *ethnographie* first occurred in France in 1823 in the dictionary of Boiste, while *ethnographie* and *ethnologie* appeared in 1829-34 in Ampère's classification of sciences. In Britain, the term ethnology 'was still new to English usage' when Richard King issued a prospectus to found an Ethnological Society in London in 1842 (Stocking 1971: 372). The term 'ethnography' first surfaced in the *Penny Cyclopaedia* of 1834, the work of Cardinal Wiseman in 1835, and that of James Cowles Prichard in 1836 (Vermeulen 1995b: 53-54). While I have thus far found no early traces of 'ethnography' in American primary works, it remains intriguing that ethnology surfaced in the United States earlier than in France and Britain.

Just exactly how the new study of ethnology found its way from Europe, in particular St. Petersburg, Göttingen, and Vienna, to Philadelphia in the United States remains to be established. It seems likely that Jefferson was informed about scientific developments in Göttingen. Diplomatic relations between the United States and the German states may have influenced scholarly exchange. Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison served as U.S. ambassadors to France. Franklin was the first U.S. ambassador to France (1778-84). He traveled to Germany in the summer of 1766 and visited Göttingen, staying in Michaelis's house in July 1766. He met several professors of the University, including Gottfried Achenwall who recorded his impressions in an article containing 'Some Observations on North America and the British Colonies from verbal information of Dr. Franklin.'⁵³⁹ Franklin was rather positive about the new university and probably influenced Jefferson in this respect. Jefferson was the second U.S. ambassador to France (1784-89), maintaining contacts with many French scholars and leaving on the very day the French Revolution started (14 July).

Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson were members of the Masonic Lodge *Les neuf soeurs*, established in Paris in 1776, that was influential in organizing French support for the American Revolution. They met at the *salon* of Mme. Helvétius (1719-1800) (Kilborne 1982). Her guests included some of the brightest names of the Late Enlightenment, such as Voltaire, d'Alembert, Diderot, d'Holbach, Condillac, Condorcet, Volney, Cabanis and Dêmeunier. Some of them were also members of the Paris Academy of Sciences. Jefferson later entered into correspondence with Volney, the French *idéologues* (Chinard 1923, 1925), and Dêmeunier.

The Electorate of Hanover and the United States maintained diplomatic relations after a treaty had been signed between Britain and the United States in September 1783. Alexander von

⁵³⁹ This article was published in German in the *Hannoversches Magazin* in 1767 and reprinted in Frankfurt and Leipzig in 1769. It was translated by J.G. Rosengarten as 'Achenwall's Observations on North America, 1767' and published in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (Philadelphia, January 1903, 19 pp.).

Humboldt (1769-1859) paid a visit to Jefferson after his South America expedition with Aimé Bonpland and Carlos Montúfar (1799-1804). After brief studies in Hamburg, von Humboldt had followed lectures in Göttingen with Heyne, Blumenbach, Kästner, Gmelin, Lichtenberg and Spittler (1789-90). Impressed by the research methods of Lichtenberg and Blumenbach, von Humboldt contacted Georg Forster and made a journey with Forster down the Rhine through the Netherlands to England (1790). He continued his studies at the *Handelsakademie* in Hamburg and the *Bergakademie* in Freiberg (Saxony). Even if his studies in Freiberg were of greater importance for his career as a naturalist, and his world view was formed by Goethe and Herder, rather than by Schlözer, Alexander von Humboldt held Göttingen in great esteem and later stated that he had received ‘the more noble part’ of his education at ‘the famous university of Göttingen’ (quoted in Nissen 1962: 85). Invited by the American Philosophical Society, von Humboldt lectured in Philadelphia where he was celebrated as a model scientist.

Another important source for Jefferson’s knowledge about the developments in Göttingen may have been the writings of Benjamin Smith Barton. Robert E. Bieder relates how Barton valued the University of Göttingen to such an extent that he even claimed he had acquired a doctoral degree there. Although Barton’s admission to the University of Göttingen could not be corroborated, it is clear that he held the University of Göttingen in high regard and thought the quality of education there was superior to the one he enjoyed at the University of Edinburgh.⁵⁴⁰ Whether he was able to read German publications remains to be established.

The European scholars Albert Gallatin and Peter Stephen Du Ponceau emigrated to the United States during the American Revolution. There they developed an interest in Indian languages. Gallatin grew up in Geneva, Switzerland, and knew Greek, Latin, and French as well as German. In 1826, he published *A Table of Indian Languages of the United States*. He went on to publish three more volumes on Indians and their languages. Du Ponceau, who grew up in France and as a youth was interested in languages, had served as secretary to the French philosopher and linguist Court de Gébelin. Du Ponceau later became President of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. He worked with the Moravian missionary John Heckewelder (Bieder 1986: 27) and gathered the many vocabularies that had been collected at Jefferson’s suggestion during the 1780s and 1790s. Only the American linguist Horatio Hale, who had visited Europe, could compete with them. All three scholars corresponded with European colleagues on linguistics. Whether, and to what extent, they adopted the new terminology developed in Germany needs to be investigated.

In 1842, Gallatin and others founded the American Ethnological Society (AES) in New York City. This society followed the example of the French ethnological society (1839) and was followed by the Ethnological Society of London (ESL), founded in 1843 (see below).

Why these new ethnological ideas took root in North America earlier than in France or Britain is open to debate. But it is clear that there was a strong and continuous ethnographic

⁵⁴⁰ Robert E. Bieder, personal communication, Halle (Saale), March 2007, May 2008.

and ethnolinguistic tradition in the German-speaking countries, which did not pass unnoticed elsewhere. It may well be that conditions in the United States in the early nineteenth century more closely resembled those in Russia sixty years earlier than those in early nineteenth-century France and Britain. The Russians and Americans were predominantly colonizing overland, with the Russian frontier advancing to the East, the American frontier advancing to the West. The French, British, Dutch, Portugese, and Spanish were predominantly colonizing overseas. This correspondence may have stimulated the early American interest in ethnology.

In Russia ethnography flowered early, to such an extent that the institutionalization of the discipline in Russia occurred earlier than in Western Europe or the United States – with the exception perhaps of parallel establishments in the Netherlands (Vermeulen 1995b: 52-53; 49-50). When, in the 1830s, the *Kunstkamera*'s collections were divided over new museums, an 'Ethnographic Museum' was instituted inside the *Kunstkamera*. It became an independent museum, the first with such a title, in 1836. At the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg a chair in *etnografiya* was established in 1837. This chair, in the languages and ethnography of Finnish and Caucasian peoples, was occupied by Andrey Schegren, who became the first director of the Ethnographic Museum in 1844 (Sternberg 1925: 56; Herzog 1949: 129).

In the Netherlands (United Provinces) *Volkskunde* appeared earlier than *Volkenkunde*. As we have seen, the former was used by the naturalist le Francq van Berkhey at Leiden in 1776. The Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, founded at Batavia (now Jakarta) in 1778, was the first learned society in Asia. Adopting ideas first formulated in the German Enlightenment, founding members such as Willem van Hogendorp and J.C.M. Radermacher produced topographic and ethnographic descriptions of several Indonesian islands that were published in the society's transactions.⁵⁴¹ The society put ethnography on the scholarly agenda, but the new terminology of *Länder- und Völkerkunde* had not yet reached the Southeast Asian colonies. A second occurrence of ethnology (*Volkkunde*) was in the introduction to a reprint of the second edition of Nicolaas Witsen's *Northern and Eastern Tartary* (1785) written by Pieter Boddaert (1730-1796). Dated Utrecht, October 1784, this introduction up-grades geographical knowledge provided by Witsen (1692, 1705) on the basis of more recent geographical, historical and ethnographic studies. Since the glorious century of Louis XIV, Boddaert writes (1785: I), the knowledge of geography (*Aardrykskunde*) had been augmented by the voyages of James Cook around the world and to the Pacific, as well as by those of Russian scholars in the northern and eastern parts of Russia and Asia. Thanks to these voyages 'new light has been thrown on the physical, geographical, political and ethnological contemplation of our terrestrial globe.'⁵⁴² After mentioning the work of Müller, Gmelin, Messerschmidt, Pallas, Laxmann, Lepechin, Georgi, the natural historian Zimmermann, and

⁵⁴¹ *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*. Batavia, 1779-86.

⁵⁴² 'Natuurkundige, Aardrykskundige en Staats- en Volkkundige beschouwing' (Boddaert 1785: I).

the geographer Büsching, Boddaert provides a geographical description of Siberia, presenting notes on ‘the physique, manners and customs of the Kalmyks and Mongolian peoples.’⁵⁴³ He gave an introduction to the government and religion of the Mongolian peoples, intended as a summary of their geographical and ethnographic history (*Land en Volkshistorie*, XXI), and concludes with a short geographical and historical description of Tibet. Boddaert wrote his introduction as a contribution to geography (1785: I) but he finished it by expressing hope that it would help the reader to ‘expand his knowledge of geography and ethnology.’⁵⁴⁴

This extension, and the difference in style between Boddaert and Witsen is striking: some eighty years of scholarly development separates them. Although Witsen included many ethnographic details on the peoples of Siberia, his book is basically concerned with ‘geography and topography’ (*Land- en Plaets-beschryvinge*), as he writes in his preface. Witsen starts with districts, rivers, islands, lakes etc. and then narrates of almost everything in such areas. Boddaert, on the other hand, explicitly mentions the new subject (ethnology) as a separate branch of learning, distinct from geography. A medical doctor, who had obtained a doctorate in medicine at Utrecht in 1764, Boddaert had translated works by Linnaeus and Pallas on botany and zoology, as well as by Thomas Shaw on the Orient, John Hunter on anatomy, and E.A.W. Zimmermann on natural history. He was thoroughly up-to-date and freely presented modern sources in the field of history, natural history, political studies, etc. In this context, he included the new concepts encountered in these works. Boddaert plays with the words he adopted from his German sources: he spells them as *Volkkunde* or *Volk-kunde*, which, a few years later, would become either *Volkenkunde* (plural) or *Volkskunde* (singular). This indicates that, to Boddaert, their spelling was not yet fixed.

In 1794, the word *volkenkundig* (ethnological) occurs in a work written by Arend Fokke Sz. (1755-1812) about ‘a commercial and ethnological journey across Europe’ (*eene handel- en volkenkundige reis door geheel Europa*). Fokke was well versed in literature and published extensively. His travel account, *Boertige reis door Europa* (1794-1806), contains many tales in ‘a peasant-like style’ and was dedicated to the Society Felix Meritis in Amsterdam.⁵⁴⁵ The book remained incomplete, which may have been due to political changes when the Dutch Republic became the Kingdom of Holland under Louis Napoleon Bonaparte in 1806.

After the creation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1813, the Dutch colonies regained their importance. The Dutch Orientalist Joannes Willmet (1750-1835), professor of Arabic and Hebrew at the universities of Harderwijk and Amsterdam, used the term *Volkskunde* three times in a report on Oriental studies in the Netherlands (Willmet 1820).⁵⁴⁶ It is noteworthy that Willmet used the term in the singular, suggesting that *Volkskunde* could be the science of a people, as a counterpart of *Volkenkunde* (the Dutch spelling of *Völkerkunde*).

⁵⁴³ ‘De gedaante, zeden en gewoonten der Kalmukken en Mongolische Volkeren’ (Boddaert 1785: XII).

⁵⁴⁴ ‘uitbreiding zyner kennissen in de Land en Volk-kunde’ (Boddaert 1785: XXV).

⁵⁴⁵ Arend Fokke Sz., *Boertige reis door Europa*. 7 vols. Te Haarlem: bij François Bohn, 1794-1806.

⁵⁴⁶ Willmet used the concept *Volkskunde* in combinations such as ‘de Tijdreken- de Sterren- de Geschied- de Volks- de Lands- de Kruid-kunde,’ or ‘de Natuur- Mensch- en Volks-kunde’ (1820: 199, 209-210).

Willmet combined *Volkskunde* with *Menschkunde* (anthropology) just as Gatterer and le Francq van Berkhey had done. The fact that Willmet spells these names of sciences with a capital letter may point to a borrowing from German.

The dictionary of neologisms (*Kunstwoordenboek*) by Pieter Weiland introduced the term *Ethnographie* in Dutch dictionaries in 1824. It was defined as the ‘history of peoples’ (*geschiedenis der volken*), a circumscription that directly relates to discussions at Göttingen during the 1770s. The material object of *Ethnographie* was a study of manners (*zedenkunde*).

In 1830, R.P. van de Kastele, director of the Royal Cabinet of Curiosities, founded in The Hague in 1816, held the first public lecture on the new study, entitled ‘On Ethnology’ (*Over de volkenkunde*). He made a plea for a ‘general ethnology’ (*algemeene volkenkunde*), which he contrasted with ‘particular ethnology’ (*bijzondere volkenkunde*, or *ethnographie*).⁵⁴⁷ As we have seen in Chapter 6, this conceptual distinction had been introduced by Theophil Friedrich Ehrmann in Weimar in 1808. Van de Kastele’s lecture was to a large extent a literal translation of Ehrmann’s article ‘Outline of General and Particular Ethnology,’ including his distinction between ‘general and particular ethnology’ (Ehrmann 1808a).

Ethnography came to the fore in the context of renewed interest in the Dutch colonies during the 1830s. In 1836, a first chair was created for training military officers at the Royal Military Academy (KMA) in Breda, its subject was the geography and ethnography (*land- en volkenkunde*) of the Malay Archipelago. According to the geographer Heslinga (1975: 96-97), the combination *land- en volkenkunde* is a Dutch adaption of the German combination *Länder- und Völkerkunde*, with *land* (country) in the singular and *volken* (peoples) in the plural, as the Netherlands East Indies were conceived as one country with many peoples. In the following years, the formulation ‘geography and ethnography’ (*land- en volkenkunde*) remained in use, as demonstrated by the 1837 plans for a ‘Museum of Geography and Ethnography’ (*Museum van Land- en Volkenkunde*) by Ph.F.B. von Siebold. He was a German physician who had worked for the Dutch in Deshima and had acquired extensive natural-historical and artificial collections in Japan. These plans marked the beginning of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, one of the oldest ethnographic museums in the world (van Wengen 2002). In 1842, when a chair was established at the Royal Academy for Engineers in Delft, linguistics (*taalkunde*) was added to the earlier combination. This resulted in a tripartite combination: ‘linguistics, geography, and ethnography of the East Indies’ (*taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Oost-Indië*) (de Josselin de Jong and Vermeulen 1989: 282-284).

During the post-Napoleonic period, the Netherlands rapidly adapted to international developments and incorporated ethnography in colonial civil servants training programs (Fasseur 1993). With Britain and Russia, the Netherlands was one of the first countries that made geography and ethnography (*land- en volkenkunde*) compulsory for those serving in the colonial administration, next to local languages, history, religious institutions, and systems of

⁵⁴⁷ Kastele, R.P. van de (1830) ‘Over de Volkenkunde.’ Lecture presented to the Humanities Department of the Society for Natural and Human Sciences ‘Diligentia’ in The Hague. Unpublished manuscript.

law. Due to the fact that ethnography had become part of the civil servant training programs at an early stage, general ethnology had difficulty establishing itself as an independent subject.

A first university chair in ethnology was founded at Leiden University in 1877 and rates as one of the earliest (structural) chairs in socio-cultural anthropology in the world.⁵⁴⁸ However, the Leiden chair was established as a chair in regional anthropology, entitled 'geography and ethnography of the Netherlands East Indies' (*land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië*). The foundation professor was Pieter Johannes Veth (1814-1895), who held the Leiden chair from 1877 to 1885. Veth's merit was that he took the ethnography of the Netherlands Indies seriously and made it respectable (van der Velde 2000, 2006). In 1864, Veth applied Carl Ritter's theories about the interrelations between land and people to the Indonesian archipelago and saw the combined 'geography and ethnography' as geography in the widest sense: 'an encyclopaedic science that divides in a large amount of subjects.'⁵⁴⁹ One year earlier, Veth used Schlözer's ideas without mentioning his name. In a review of R.P.A. Dozy's history of Arabic civilization in Spain, Veth observed: 'When dealing with general history, one always finds oneself torn between the demands of the synchronistic and the ethnographic method.'⁵⁵⁰ Thus, almost a century later, Schlözer's 1772-75 methodological principles were still adhered to, even if nobody knew any longer who had been their initiator.

Veth's successor, George Alexander Wilken (1847-1891), found these views old-fashioned and re-defined the subject as 'comparative ethnology' (*vergelijkende ethnologie*). Wilken connected with more topical theories, notably evolutionism in England and France. He felt that, as a result of the 'development hypothesis' of Darwin, ethnology, previously 'regarded as a part of geography,' had now become 'an independent and mighty science.'⁵⁵¹

This statement reflects the prestige British science had acquired in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, while Wilken remained faithful to the German terminology and spoke of *ethnology* as an independent science, the subject had just been renamed into *anthropology* in Great Britain (1871). This name-changing influenced the way the subject was defined in the Anglo-American world and therefore needs careful examination.

⁵⁴⁸ The first academic chairs in the field of ethnology/ethnography were founded, under various titles, at Berlin in 1871, at Leiden in 1877, at Oxford in 1884, at Philadelphia in 1884, at Harvard University in 1886, at New York in 1887, while the first Department of Anthropology was opened in New York in 1894. Tylor was Reader in Anthropology at Oxford from 1884, being promoted to Professor in 1896. Boas was Professor of Anthropology in New York from 1899. Bastian was associated with the University of Berlin from 1869 and extraordinary Professor of Ethnology during 1871-75, but this was not a structural chair and Bastian had no direct successors.

⁵⁴⁹ Veth zag de 'land- en volkenkunde' als een aardrijkskunde in meest uitgebreide zin: 'eene encyclopaedische wetenschap, die zich splitst in eene groote menigte van onderwerpen' (Veth 1864: 13-14; see also Locher 1978).

⁵⁵⁰ 'Bij de behandeling der algemeene geschiedenis vindt men zich altijd geslingerd tusschen de eischen der synchronistische en der ethnographische methode' (Veth 1863: 447).

⁵⁵¹ Wilken (1885: 5-9) zag Darwins 'ontwikkelings-hypothese' mede als reden waarom de ethnologie, voorheen 'als onderdeel der geographie beschouwd, ... nu eene zelfstandige en machtige wetenschap' was geworden.

The anthropological perspective was introduced in Britain in 1808, when James Cowles Prichard (1786-1848) presented his M.D. dissertation *De generis humani varietate* at Edinburgh. It was published in English as *Researches into the Physical History of Man* (London 1813, reprinted with an introductory essay by George W. Stocking, Chicago 1973). The book went through several editions (2nd ed. in 2 vols. London 1826, 3rd ed. in 5 vols. London 1836-47), and in the fourth edition was posthumously published as *The Natural History of Man* (London 1855). One can read the diligence with which Prichard kept adding new information as an indication of the importance he attached to the subject.

In this book, Prichard reflected on the findings of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, the founder of physical anthropology in Germany, which Prichard contrasted with those of physical anthropologists in Holland, Britain, the United States, and France such as Camper, Hunter, White, Stanhope Smith, and Cuvier. The title of Prichard's thesis rang as an echo of Blumenbach's dissertation, *De generis humani varietate nativa* (presented at Göttingen in 1775, published there in 1776). But different from Blumenbach, Prichard added insights from comparative linguistics, a field many German scholars had been specializing in since Leibniz.

In 1831, Prichard published a work on languages in which he proved the 'Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations' by comparing their dialects 'with the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Teutonic languages.' Prichard knew German and read Adelung, Vater, Friedrich Schlegel, Klaproth, Bopp and other German scholars (Stocking 1973: lxvii). In this book, Prichard combined insights from the comparative study of languages with data from his main field, the study of human varieties. He saw it as 'a supplement' to his main work, *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*. Prichard felt that peoples were characterized by their languages. He related the study of languages to the history of nations and both studies to the study of human races. However, Prichard was ambiguous in his conceptions of ethnography and ethnology.

In the third edition of his *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, Prichard defined ethnology in historical terms: 'the history of nations, termed Ethnology, must be mainly founded on the relations of their languages' (Prichard 1836, quoted by Huxley 1865: 214). He also wrote: 'a survey of the different races of men, an investigation of the physical history, the ethnography, as it is termed, of every tribe of the human family, undertaken and pursued in such a manner as to enable us to determine what changes have actually arisen in the physical characters of nations or human races' (Prichard 1836, vol. I: 110, quoted in Fischer 1970: 177). This definition departed from German usage, in which the historical, linguistic and cultural characteristics of nations (*Völker*) had been emphasized since 1740.

When Prichard and others founded the Ethnological Society of London in 1843, following the *Société ethnologique de Paris* founded in 1839, they defined its aims in a way that was in line with the *anthropological* view on humankind, seeing it as composed of human varieties, or of races, as the French society had also suggested. The French and British views on ethnology differed from the German view that focused on the study of peoples and nations.

The German ethnologist Hans Fischer (1970: 177) has noted this change in meaning (*Bedeutungsveränderung*), which located ethnology in the domain of physical anthropology rather than in that of socio-cultural anthropology. This modification began in France with William Edwards (see below) and was continued in Britain. It also appeared with Luke Burke, one of the members of the Ethnological Society of London, who in the first volume of the *Ethnological Journal*, stated: ‘The learned, indeed, are familiar with the term Ethnology, but it has hitherto been used as synonymous with Ethnography, or the Natural History of Man ...’ (Burke 1848: 1). However, as we have seen in Chapter 6, the term used as an equivalent of the ‘Natural History of Man’ in Germany was ‘anthropology’ (Blumenbach 1795, 1798).

This change in meaning and the accompanying terminological confusion is remarkable. When the terms ‘ethnography’ and *Völkerkunde* were introduced to the English-speaking audience, in an article written by George Long in *The Penny Cyclopaedia* (vol. II, 1834: 97), they were still translated as ‘nation-description’ and ‘people-knowledge’ respectively. This literal translation comes close to the meaning the Germans had given to the terms and does not allow for any confusion of peoples and races. In the same way, Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman, in a lecture delivered in Rome in 1835, defined ethnography as ‘the classification of nations from the comparative study of languages, a science born, I may say, almost within our memory’ (Wiseman 1836: 9) – a definition similar to Balbi (1826) and to Schlözer’s view when he introduced ethnological discourse at the University of Göttingen in the 1770s.⁵⁵²

Why this change in meaning took place is unclear but its beginnings can be traced to the 1820s, when the future founder of the *Société ethnologique de Paris*, the physiologist William F. Edwards, contacted Amedée Thierry, the author of the popular *Histoire des Gaulois* (3 vols. 1828, 1834, 1845). Together with his older brother, the historian Augustin Thierry, Amedée Thierry had founded ‘a new historical school in which, more than previously, the character and predisposition of peoples was emphasized’ (Wilhelm Schmidt 1906: 146). In 1829, Edwards directed a celebrated *Lettre sur les caractères physiologiques des races humaines considérés dans leur rapports avec l’histoire* to Amedée Thierry in which he introduced a new element in the study of history, namely the idea that human races preserve their physical characteristics over centuries (de Quatrefages 1867: 27). Therefore, students of nature and historians should collaborate in order to elucidate the early history of humankind. The ensuing discussions were of such consequence that Edwards and others founded a society for studying the origins of races and peoples (Leguebe 1982; Blanckaert 1988; Sommer 1990; Staum 2000). It served as the example of the societies in New York and London (de Quatrefages 1867: 32).

The *Société ethnologique de Paris* (SEP) was established in 1839 in order to study ‘human races according to the historical tradition, the languages, and the physical and moral characteristics of each people.’⁵⁵³ During the first session, in August 1839, Edwards formulated

⁵⁵² The term ‘ethnographical’ first appeared in an official report in 1845, when the British Museum opened a large new gallery ‘for the reception of the ethnographical collections’ (Braunholtz 1970: 37–38, n. 7).

⁵⁵³ ‘l’étude des races humaines d’après la tradition historique, les langues et les traits physiques et moraux de chaque

as aim of the society to establish ‘what are, in effect, the various human races.’⁵⁵⁴ The French society published two volumes with *Mémoires* (I, 1841; II, 1845) and one volume of *Bulletins*. It was revived in 1847, but vanished in 1848 when the French monarchy was overthrown by a Revolution. The society’s demise, according to the anatomist Armand de Quatrefages (1867:51), was due to the fact that the *Société ethnologique* had not practiced ‘natural history’ enough.⁵⁵⁵

The aim of the American Ethnological Society (AES), founded in New York City on 19 November 1842 by Albert Gallatin, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and others, was rather different. Its purpose was to study ‘Man and the Globe he inhabits, as comprised in the term Ethnology in its widest meaning.’⁵⁵⁶ The predominant disciplines among the members of the AES were history, archaeology, and philology. The AES had been established as a substitute for the American Antiquarian Society (founded in 1812) and as a sequel to the New York Historical Society. It published three volumes of *Transactions* (I. 1845, II. 1848, III. 1853) and several *Bulletins* (1859-63). The AES still exists today and publishes the *American Ethnologist* from 1973 on.

The aim of the Ethnological Society of London (ESL), founded on 7 February 1843 by Thomas Hodgkin, James Cowles Prichard, Richard King and others, was to study ‘the distinguishing characteristics, physical or moral, of the varieties of Mankind which inhabit, or have inhabited the Earth; and to ascertain the causes of such characteristics.’⁵⁵⁷ The ‘ethnologicals,’ as their adversaries called them, published a *Journal* in four volumes (I. 1848, II. 1850, III. 1854, IV. 1856) and seven volumes of *Transactions* (1861-69). After having gone to sleep in 1856, the society was revived in 1861-62 by the archaeologist Henry Christy and – after many vicissitudes – was merged with the Anthropological Society of London (1863-71) in the still-existing (Royal) Anthropological Institute (RAI) in January 1871 (Stocking 1971).

The founders of the Ethnological Society of London seem to have adopted an intermediary position between the historico-philological direction taken by the American ethnologists and the anatomical-physiological-ethnological direction taken by the *ethnologues*. The double object of ‘physical’ and ‘moral,’ put on the agenda by the French *idéologues*, figures prominently in the definition of the British society; the American aim of studying ‘Man and the Globe he inhabits’ returns in the aims of the Society of London to study the ‘varieties of Mankind which inhabit, or have inhabited the Earth.’ However, when one looks closer at the profession of the founders of these societies, it is clear that the English society followed the French society in assuming a dominant role for the natural-historical sciences. Hodgkin, Prichard, and King were medical

people’ (formulated in the request for authorization of the *Société ethnologique* to the Minister of Public Instruction in August 1839, duly approved with the permission of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, quoted in de Quatrefages 1867: 30; Davis 1868: 395; Broca 1869: 26; Topinard 1885: 119; Gollier 1905: 16).

⁵⁵⁴ ‘Les principaux éléments ... d’établir quelles sont en réalité les différentes races humaines’ (quoted in Broca 1863: xii; Bastian 1881: 18; Sol Tax 1955: 316; Heine-Geldern 1964: 407).

⁵⁵⁵ The founders of the *Société anthropologique* supplied a ‘definition naturaliste’ in Paris, in 1832. William Edwards was a ‘pivotal’ member of this society, obviously the predecessor of the *Société ethnologique*.

⁵⁵⁶ See *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society* I, 1845: ix; Hunt 1865: xcvi; Thomas Tax 1975: 105.

⁵⁵⁷ Ethnological Society of London, *Regulations*. London: W. Watts, 1850: 5. Quoted in King 1844: 16; Burrow 1968: 122; Stocking 1971: 372; Rainger 1980: 713. See also Augstein 1999.

doctors, as were Edwards and de Quatrefages. By contrast, Gallatin and Schoolcraft were historians and linguists, specializing in the history and philology of the American Indians.

One of the forerunners of the French and the British societies was the Aborigines Protection Society, founded by Thomas Fowell Buxton and Hodgkin in London in 1837, as part of the crusade led by Evangelical and Quaker philanthropists against the African slave trade and slavery in the British colonies. Buxton was William Wilberforce's chosen successor as leader of the parliamentary anti-slavery group and led the campaign to abolish slavery (Slavery Abolition Act, passed on 23 August 1833). Although the aims of the APS were mainly humanitarian, some of its activities were anthropological and the society stimulated the preparation of an ethnographic questionnaire in 1841. After a visit of Hodgkin to Paris, the French founded the *Société ethnologique de Paris* with, however, strictly scientific aims (Stocking 1971: 369-372).

Another precursor of the French and British societies was a society for phrenology. This pseudo-science evolved from physiognomy, a study that tried to relate facial features to mental traits. It was invented by the Swiss Protestant pastor Johann Caspar Lavater (1741-1801), whose *Physiognomische Fragmente* were published in four volumes (Lavater 1775-78). Physiognomy was followed by phrenology, a study created by the Austrian physician Franz Joseph Gall (1758-1828) who called himself a 'teacher of skulls' (Gall 1805). The report on the nervous system presented by Gall to the Institut de France in 1808 and his experiments with skulls and mental states made quite an impression on the general public in Vienna and Paris. In the late eighteenth century Lavater was ridiculed by the critic Lichtenberg (1778) but Gall had many followers in the early nineteenth century. A *Société phrénologique* was founded in Paris in 1831, and there appears to have been a phrenological society in Edinburgh. Several scholars have stressed the influence of this pseudo-science on the formation of the British ethnological society.⁵⁵⁸ It seems certain that phrenology was an important precursor of ethnology in France and England. The emphasis in America was predominantly on a combination of history and archaeology, coupled with philology and ethnology (*Völkerkunde*) in the German sense; phrenology entered America only later, from the 1850s onward. The major difference between the French and the British societies seems to have been the role of linguistics, which carried great importance for Prichard. In Germany, it was regarded as the sister science of ethnology. By contrast, the French scholars attached greater value to a combination of comparative anatomy and physiology, in order to find the (remains of) 'races in peoples.' This was Edwards' program since 1829, seeing race as the driving force of a people that he wanted to study in its constituent elements (Topinard 1885: 119). His aim was 'to combine natural history and ethnical history' (Mühlmann 1968: 78). The *Société ethnologique* had been founded to give 'a common ground' to the study of the 'sciences naturelles' and the 'sciences historiques' (de Quatrefages 1867: 33).

During the nineteenth century these broad traditions were clearly divided but there were many attempts to connect them. Studies such as anatomy, physiology and biology belonged to

⁵⁵⁸ See Davis 1868: 395; Bastian 1881: 11; Myres 1944: 3; Jorion 1981; Leguebe 1982.

the natural-scientific tradition; history, philosophy, linguistics and geography belonged to the arts, or historical studies (cf. de Quatrefages 1867: 52). However, this distinction was not clear-cut, as the example of geography, with a strong natural-scientific and a historical-political component, shows. The study of race and people was seen as another such case.⁵⁵⁹

When compared to the program of Schlözer and others, who had outlined *Völkerkunde* as the study of peoples as such, separate from a physical study of humans that Blumenbach called ‘anthropological’ from 1795 onward, this was a mixed-up program. The foundation of ethnological and anthropological societies in Europe led to a debate, in which language and race, race and people (*Volk*) were confounded (Mühlmann 1968: 98). Following ideas from Schlegel (1808) and Edwards (1829), these objects were used as interchangeable, in an attempt to link the natural sciences and the humanities (Poliakov 1979). When the French anthropologist Joseph Deniker published a handbook about *Les races et les peuples de la terre: éléments d’anthropologie et d’ethnographie* (Paris 1900), this was translated in English the same year under the abbreviated title *The Races of Man: An Outline of Anthropology and Ethnography*.

In France, the ambition of linking the historical and the natural-scientific traditions in a common program was given up with the establishment of the *Société ethnologique*’s two stepdaughters, ‘les deux filles jumelles’ as de Quatrefages (1867: 45) called them. These were the *Société d’Ethnographie* and the *Société d’Anthropologie de Paris*, founded on 14 May and 19 May 1859 respectively. The members of these French societies went their separate ways, although there was some overlap (Williams 1994). The ethnographers concentrated on language, culture and history; the anthropologists on anatomy. In the 1850s, the ambition to combine ‘the physical and the moral’ took a hold in the United States, where the term ‘anthropology’ was reserved as the name of a research program dealing with ‘the whole science of man.’

In Britain, the terminological confusion was complete when Prichard called Blumenbach ‘in reality, the founder of ethnology’ (1847: 311) and defined ethnology as ‘the history of human races, or of the various tribes of men who constitute the population of the world’ (Prichard 1848: 302, cf. Davis 1868: 396). One year later, the physiologist W.B. Carpenter generalized this view when he defined Ethnology as ‘the Science of Races’ (Carpenter 1848). The debate reached a climax during the 1860s when, after the publication of Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species* (1859), heated discussions followed on the issues of human descent and the unity of humankind. Following the example of the *Société d’Anthropologie de Paris*, founded by the French neurologist Paul Broca in 1859, the Anthropological Society of London (ASL) was founded in 1863. Its founding member, the physicist James Hunt, connected with the physical anthropologists in France, and – like Broca – adhered to polygenism, the theory that existing human races have evolved from two or more distinct ancestral types. In 1864, the members of the Anthropological Society of London tried to gain access to the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS). As we have seen in Chapter 1, the

⁵⁵⁹ A physical ethnology also developed in the Netherlands, where the physician Douwe Lubach published a ‘fatherlandic ethnology’ in which he dealt with ‘the inhabitants of the Netherlands’ (Lubach 1863).

‘anthropologicals’ attempted to have the British Association’s Section E: Geography and Ethnology renamed so as to include anthropology as a subject. This was prevented by John Lubbock, President of the Ethnological Society of London, with the argument that ethnology was ‘an older word and a prettier word than anthropology’ (Stocking 1971: 381).

The infuriated ‘anthropologicals’ conducted historical studies and Hunt and Bendyshe concluded that anthropology was certainly older, surfacing in 1501 in the work of Magnus Hundt (Bendyshe 1865a, 1865b: 352), while ethnology was first reported in 1839 and ethnography in 1807-12 (Hunt 1865: xcv-xcvi). The fact that Blumenbach had chosen ‘anthropology’ as a new name for the ‘natural history of man’ and that Broca had selected that name for the French society were the main reasons for Bendyshe and Hunt to adopt ‘anthropology’ rather than ‘ethnology’ as the name of a section of the British Association, which began work as the Anthropological Section in 1867. The members of the Ethnological and the Anthropological Societies discussed the merits of their subjects: the ‘ethnologicals’ grouped around Prichard and Darwin, the ‘anthropologicals’ around Broca and Hunt. The controversy was especially fierce because of Darwin’s theory of natural selection, which seemed to confirm that humans and apes belong to the same line of descent. While the ‘ethnologicals’ adhered to monogenism, Hunt’s ‘cannibal clique’ adhered to polygenist views on the descent of ‘man.’ If there had been several creations, man and ape were not related. The controversy over the name was solved in 1871 when the ESL and ASL were merged under the name Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. What was ultimately at issue was ‘man’s place in nature,’ as Thomas Huxley summarized it (1863). This subject is ‘etymologically much more adequately expressed by the term “anthropology” than by the term “ethnology”’ (according to Stocking 1971: 387). As President of the Ethnological Society, Huxley settled the issue during a meeting with the anthropologicals: ‘I am convinced that “Anthropology” is the right word, and I propose that the amalgamated Society be called the Anthropological Institute’ (Cunningham 1908: 12).

The renaming process also occurred in the United States and began even earlier than in Great Britain. The American Ethnological Society was relatively successful until 1863 when the American Civil War (1861-65) arrested developments. In October 1869 the decision was taken to change the name of the society in the Anthropological Institute of New York (Bieder and Tax 1976: 11). The renaming took place at the instigation of E.G. Squier (1821-1888), who was impressed by Broca’s work. After visiting Paris in 1867, Squier attempted to reorganize the AES along lines similar to those of the *Société d’Anthropologie de Paris*, with its emphasis on physical rather than cultural research (Bieder 1986: 142). It was only at the end of the nineteenth century, when Franz Boas strove to revive ethnology in the United States, that the American Ethnological Society emerged again, with a new constitution (1900). When the Anthropological Society of Washington was founded in 1879, ethnology was seen as one of the four fields of anthropology: ‘Archaeology, Somatology, Ethnology, and Philology’ (de Laguna 1960: 94; Eidson 2000: 31). However, the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) was also founded in

Washington, D.C. in 1879 and is still a power to be reckoned with. The American Association for the Advancement of Science (founded in 1780) formed a separate section in 1882 and called it Section H: Anthropology. Six years later, the journal *American Anthropologist* was published for the first time (1888). From then on, anthropology has been seen in the Anglo-Saxon world as the superordinate concept, ethnology as the subordinate concept. The AES is still in existence as an independent society, while participating in the American Anthropological Association (AAA), established in Washington, D.C. in 1902. It took until 1973 before the 'ethnologicals' were strong enough to found a separate journal, *American Ethnologist*.

This changing of names (also discussed in France, see Topinard 1876, 1885, 1891), implied imposing a different, hierarchical order: ethnology was subordinated to anthropology, which was considered to be of a higher order, of more general importance. Ethnology, originally conceived of as an auxiliary discipline of history (Schlözer, Gatterer, Kollár), that developed parallel to philosophical and biological anthropology during the eighteenth century and by the end of that century established itself as an independent, sovereign discipline, became subservient to anthropology in the 1870s, and was de facto no longer self-reliant (subaltern). This model, in which anthropology was given precedence over ethnology, and was considered to be superordinate to ethnology, was gradually exported all over the world.

In nineteenth-century Germany, the ethnographic tradition was continued in a number of directions. The historians Arnold Heeren and Barthold Niebuhr began to lecture on the subject at Göttingen and Berlin in 1803 and 1810, respectively. The geographer Carl Ritter taught *Länder- und Völkerkunde* in Berlin, and paid a great deal of attention to the subject in his geographical publications. German linguists, such as Franz Bopp and August Friedrich Pott, pointed to the manifold connections between language and people. After 1815, series of ethnographic accounts were published, again, most notably in Friedrich Alexander Bruns's *Ethnographisches Archiv* (39 vols., 80 numbers Jena 1818-29) and Heinrich Berghaus' *Hertha. Zeitschrift für Erd-, Völker- und Staatenkunde* (14 vols. Stuttgart und Tübingen 1825-29) and *Annalen der Erd-, Völker- und Staatenkunde* (36 vols. Berlin 1830-49). The geographer Berghaus edited a series *Allgemeine Länder- und Völkerkunde* (6 vols. Stuttgart 1836-46) and penned a voluminous *Grundlinien der Ethnographie* (Stuttgart 1849), including an ethnological table, systematically arranged according to linguistic, ethnographic and geographical criteria, and a comparative description of manners, customs, and usages. He also published a general anthropological atlas (1850) and a general ethnographic atlas (1852).

Berghaus' handbook preceded four others: Moritz Ludwig Frankenheim's *Völkerkunde* (Breslau 1852), Maximilian Party's *Grundzüge der Ethnographie* (Leipzig/Heidelberg 1859), Friedrich Müller's *Allgemeine Ethnographie* (Vienna 1873), and Oscar Peschel's *Völkerkunde* (Leipzig 1874, 7th ed. 1897). These books were the first textbooks of the discipline, rather than Tylor's *Anthropology* (London 1881) that was the first handbook in the English-speaking world.

It seems that German scholars were well ahead at the time, even if their influence on scholars in other European countries may have been limited. Better-known is the work of the historian of culture and librarian Gustav Klemm (1802-1868), who published ten volumes on a 'General Culture History of Humankind' (Leipzig 1843-52) and two volumes on a 'General Science of Culture' (Leipzig 1855-58).⁵⁶⁰ Klemm was a great collector and as a librarian at Dresden acquired important artifacts. At an early stage, he phantasied about 'a museum for the culture history of humankind' (Klemm 1843). His collections provided the foundation for the Museum of Ethnology in Leipzig (1869), the first ethnographic museum in Saxony.

Also well-known is the work of the pedagogue Theodor Waitz (1821-1864), a professor of philosophy and psychology at the University of Marburg (Hesse). Waitz wrote six volumes of a work he called *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* [Anthropology of Natural Peoples] that was posthumously completed by the geographer Georg Gerland (1859-72). The aim of Waitz' last major work was to educate and to fight against widespread prejudice, especially of a biological and racist character. He produced the first synthesis of ethnographic knowledge in the mid-nineteenth century based on a critical analysis of the sources. Waitz understood his anthropology as a 'synthesis of the natural sciences and humanities with a common goal for all humanity.'⁵⁶¹ The first volume of his work was translated into English and appeared as an *Introduction to Anthropology*, published for the Anthropological Society of London (1863).

Under the influence of Herder and Wilhelm von Humboldt, the psychologist Moritz Lazarus founded the new discipline of *Völkerpsychologie* (national psychology; Bunzl 2003). It came to fruition in the work of Wilhelm Wundt, who created the world's first psychological laboratory at Leipzig in 1879. Together with the linguist Heymann Steinthal, Lazarus edited the influential *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* (Berlin 1860-1890).

Epoch-making was the work of the Swiss jurist Johann Jacob Bachofen (1815-1887). His 1861 book on motherhood in ancient societies (*Mother Right: An Investigation of the Religious and Juridical Character of Matriarchy in the Ancient World*) was influential. Bachofen's evolutionary theories inspired Lewis Henry Morgan and Friedrich Engels.

The founder of modern ethnology in Germany was Adolf Bastian (1826-1905), director of the Museum of Ethnology (*Museum für Völkerkunde*) in Berlin (see Table 8). Bastian made nine collecting voyages around the world and formulated the influential idea of cultural circles (*Culturkreise*) from 1868 onward.⁵⁶² Together with the (physical) anthropologist Rudolf Virchow, Bastian founded the *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* at Berlin in 1869, which has published the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* ever since. Bastian was the main representative of 'die moderne Ethnologie' (Achelis 1889).

⁵⁶⁰ Gustav Klemm, *Allgemeine Cultur-Geschichte der Menschheit*. 10 vols. Leipzig, 1843-52; *Allgemeine Culturwissenschaft. Die materiellen Grundlagen menschlicher Cultur*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1855-58.

⁵⁶¹ 'Waitz begriff seine Anthropologie als Zusammenführung von Natur- und Geisteswissenschaften, die ein gemeinsames Ziel der Gesamtmenschheit im Auge hatte' (Streck 2007: vi).

⁵⁶² See *Übersichtskarte der ethnologischen Culturkreise nach ihrer ungefähren Begrenzung im 15. Jahrhundert entworfen von A. Bastian und H. Kiepert*. Berlin bei D. Reimer, 1868.

Table 8. **Ethnographic Museums in the Nineteenth Century, 1816-1894**

The Hague	1816	Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden (KKvZ), Royal Cabinet of Rarities (moved to the REM at Leiden in 1883)
Berlin	1829	Ethnographische Sammlung, made up from objects earlier presented in the Königlich Preußische Kunstkammer
St. Petersburg	1836	Ethnographic Museum becomes an independent institution (remaining in the <i>Kunstkamera</i> , founded in 1714)
Batavia (Jakarta)	1836	Plans for a separate department of the Museum of the Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen (KBG, established in 1778) (realized 1868)
Leiden	1837	Japansch Museum (Rijks Ethnographisch Museum 1864)
Paris	1839	Plans for a Musée d'Ethnographie (opened in 1879)
Copenhagen	1841	Etnografisk Museum (1852 moved to a new building)
Dresden	1843-4	Privatsammlung Gustav Klemm (1870 moved to Leipzig)
	1845	Opening of a large new gallery for the reception of the Ethnographical Collections at the British Museum in London (established in 1753, opened to the public in 1759)
Washington, DC	1846	Department of Ethnology opened at Smithsonian Institution
Cambridge, MA	1859	Museum of Comparative Zoology, Harvard University (in 1871 the archaeological and ethnological collections were transported to the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology in Cambridge, MA, opened in 1866)
Leiden	1864	Rijks Ethnographisch Museum (REM), from 1883 also including the collections of the KKvZ in The Hague (1816)
Cambridge, MA	1866	Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology
München	1868	Königliche Ethnographische Sammlung (HausWittelsbach), now Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde München
Berlin	1868	First steps toward a Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde (opened in 1873)
Leipzig	1869	(Staatliches) Museum für Völkerkunde (acquisition of the culture-historical Sammlung Klemm for 3,000 Mark in 1869-70 to found 'a general anthropological museum')
New York	1869	American Museum of Natural History, with an archaeological department and an ethnological department
Budapest	1872	Néprajzi Múzeum (Ethnographical Museum), as part of the Nemzeti Múzeum (National Museum), in Pest
New York	1873	Ethnologic Dept. American Museum of Natural History
Dresden	1875	Königliches Zoologisches und Anthropologisch-Ethnographisches Museum Dresden, now Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden
Paris	1879	Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro (first planned in 1839)
Hamburg	1879	Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg (earlier collection Ethnographische oder Sammlung für Völkerkunde, 1867)
Oxford	1883	University Museum (Pitt Rivers Museum)
Rotterdam	1883	Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde (opened in 1885)
Washington	1884	Dept. of Ethnology of U.S. National Museum (1881)
Amsterdam	1887	Ethnographisch Museum (at the Zoo Artis, founded 1838)
Chicago	1894	Field (Columbian) Museum of Natural History

The founding father of anthropology in Britain, Edward Burnett Tylor, curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, was well aware of the progress made in German science. In his reading lists for the years 1862-63, the names of German scientists abound (Leopold 1980). According to Leopold (1980: facing p. 26), the major influences on Tylor's early work were Charles Lyell, Alexander von Humboldt, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, and Gustav Klemm.

In his early work, the *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization* (London 1865) and *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom* (2 vols. London 1871), Tylor often referred to work of German ethnographers. In a note at the end of the introduction to his *Researches*, Tylor gives credit to six persons who assisted him in writing that book, which is a collection of essays dealing with language, culture, myths, and historical traditions. The first two are British, namely his friend Henry Christy, the archaeologist whom Tylor had accompanied on an expedition to Mexico, and Dr. W.R. Scott, Director of the Deaf and Dumb Institute at Exeter who helped him in writing about gesture-language. The other four are German or Swiss. Tylor writes appreciatively about them, especially about Klemm:

I have to thank Prof. Pott, of Halle, and Prof. Lazarus, of Berne, for personal help in several difficult questions. Among books, I have drawn largely from the philological works of Prof. Steinthal, of Berlin, and from the invaluable collection of facts bearing on the history of civilization in the 'Allgemeine Cultur-Geschichte der Menschheit,' and 'Allgemeine Culturwissenschaft,' of Dr. Gustav Klemm of Dresden. (Tylor 1865: 13)

In the *Researches* and *Primitive Culture*, Tylor repeatedly used the terms Ethnography and Ethnology, rather than the term Anthropology. In the preface to his *Primitive Culture*, he acknowledged his general obligations to 'writers on ethnography and kindred sciences, as well as to historians, travelers, and missionaries,' adding:

I will only mention apart two treatises of which I have made especial use: the 'Mensch in der Geschichte,' by Professor Bastian, of Berlin, and the 'Anthropologie der Naturvölker,' by the late Professor Waitz of Marburg. (Tylor 1871: vi)

Thus, Tylor knew full well that on the European continent anthropology usually referred to physical or philosophical anthropology, and that the subject he was interested in was called ethnology or ethnography, especially in German-language books on which he drew for his own work. However, when Tylor, a decade later, had to provide a title for his handbook, he selected the term that had just become established as the name of the Anthropological Institute, namely *Anthropology* (London 1881). But he needed a subtitle to make clear what his subject really was: *An Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilization*.

Summary and Conclusions

The proper object of history is not the past
but the past-present-future relationship
(Jennifer Robertson 1991: 72)

The data presented in this book support the thesis that anthropology, in its socio-cultural guise, originated as ethnography and ethnology in the work of German-speaking scholars connected to the Russian Academy of Sciences, the University of Göttingen, and the Imperial Library in Vienna during the eighteenth century. The formation of ethnology (*Völker-Beschreibung* and *Völkerkunde*) took place in two stages: (1) as ethnography (*Völker-Beschreibung*), in the work of German explorers in Siberia (Messerschmidt, Müller, Gmelin, Steller, Fischer) during the first half of the eighteenth century; (2) as ethnology (*Völkerkunde*), in the work of German-speaking historians (Schöpperlin, Thilo, Schlözer, Gatterer, Kollár) during the second half of the eighteenth century. These scholars focused on the early history, geography, linguistics, and ethnography of Central and Northern Asia and Europe. In the first stage, a new study, ethnography, was conceived and developed as a program for describing all peoples of Siberia. In the second stage, a general study of all peoples of the world (*Völkerkunde*) was developed, which ultimately was designated by the term *ethnologia* (1783). These stages need to be distinguished, as they occurred in different contexts and related to different academic and political developments. In very general terms, the contexts of the first stage were: absolutism, imperialism, Early Enlightenment; those of the second stage: absolutism, universalism, Late Enlightenment. Geographically, these contexts differed: in the first stage, ‘fieldwork’ was conducted in the Russian Empire; in the second stage, research was carried out at the universities and in the libraries of the Holy Roman Empire. Both empires were multicultural and expanding, with one essential difference: the Russian authorities were hiring young, well-educated scholars to investigate nature and culture within their empire. It seems that the combination of the Russian policies for developing their empire and the Enlightenment insistence on empirical, non-speculative descriptions led to the birth of ethnography. The idea of such a discipline was adopted and further developed in the academic centers of Central Europe. The work of Müller, Schlözer, and Kollár was crucial in this respect.

Ethnography and Empire

During the first half of the eighteenth century, ethnography was developed as a new research program for describing all peoples of Siberia. In the work of Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705-1783), this discipline was given a special position, next to history and geography. Müller participated in the Second Kamchatka Expedition (1733-43) as a professor of history and

geography with the additional task of describing ‘the manners and customs of all peoples’ he would encounter. En route, he widened his focus and shifted from his original plan to write a *historia gentium* (1732), or a ‘history of peoples,’ to a *Völker-Beschreibung* (1740), or a ‘description of peoples.’ During and after the expedition, Müller made a distinction between his work on the history, geography, and ethnography of Siberia. He was the first scholar to separate these disciplines. Müller turned into an ethnographer during the expedition and developed an ethnological program in two stages: first a description, then a comparison. He transmitted this program to other expedition members. On the basis of these achievements, Müller may be regarded as one of the founders of ethnography. In a strict sense, ethnography as a description of peoples first began in Siberia during the Second Kamchatka Expedition. This means that ethnography as a descriptive study of peoples emerged from a colonial context in Siberia.

The Second Kamchatka Expedition consisted of a sea party, led by Vitus Bering to discover the North West Passage and an ‘academic party,’ including scholars to investigate the land masses of Siberia. The latter resulted in abundant material in the fields of natural history, geography, cartography, history, archaeology, ethnography, and linguistics – both in the form of written documents and of objects of nature and culture. The colonizing context in which the expedition was carried out (the expanding Russian Empire, seeking trade and taxation) facilitated ethnographic research, dictated by the Russian interests and the scholarly agenda of the academic members of the expedition. Both factors, state interests and scholarly curiosity, plus the existence of a large number of nations in Siberia and the possible relationship between Northern Asia and Northern America, led to the emergence of a new scientific practice: *Völker-Beschreibung*.

During the Second Kamchatka Expedition and the First Orenburg Expedition (1734-37) tribes and nations (dubbed *Völker*) in Siberia, the Urals, and the Volga region were actively studied in order to describe them and to impose taxes on them. This was the background to the Russian policy to study all things dead and alive in the enormous empire that had been acquired since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In line with this kind of enlightened power-politics, which may also be designated as military fiscalism, the expedition members were given specific instructions regarding the locations and objectives of their investigations and collections. The academic members of the expedition wrote these instructions; the Imperial Academy of Sciences (founded in 1724-25), led by Blumentrost and Schumacher, and the Russian Senate, led by Kirilov, approved them. All reports and correspondence, as well as art objects and items of natural history, were sent to the Senate. From there, the scholarly information was distributed to the Academy of Sciences, the objects went to the Imperial *Kunstkamera* (established in 1714), and the nautical information was forwarded to the naval authorities. The collections, both natural and cultural historical, were extensive. Unfortunately, many of these early treasures were destroyed when a fire raged through the *Kunstkamera* in 1747. This is the main reason why not much is known about these early collections. During the ‘Academic Expeditions’ (1768-74)

under Peter Simon Pallas, and the Billings Expedition (1785-93) with Carl Heinrich Merck as naturalist-ethnographer, fresh collections had to be amassed, a process taking several decades.

As far as concrete descriptions of peoples were concerned, the works of Messerschmidt, Müller, Gmelin, Krasheninnikov, Steller, Fischer, and Lindenau, later of Rychkov, Pallas, Lepechin, Georgi, Falck, and Merck were the most valuable, even if much of the material of Messerschmidt, Müller, Steller, and Merck remained in manuscript. It is astonishing how much ethnographic material was collected among the peoples of Siberia, the Caucasus, Astrakhan (Orenburg District), and surrounding areas during the eighteenth century. In the seventy years after the Second Kamchatka Expedition had set off, the quantity of ethnographic descriptions had grown to such an extent that no other country in the world could boast such a supply.

The relative security provided by the imperial power, the empirical methodology provided by Early Enlightenment philosophers such as Locke and Leibniz, Lafitau's comparative framework, and Müller's systematic mind led to the formation of ethnography in Siberia. The Russian expeditions resulted in a large variety of materials still regarded as ethnographically valuable. Many of the foreign scholars hired by the Russians were German who may have been especially sensitive to cultural diversity. Scholars such as Müller had an ethnological perspective - a way of thinking in terms of peoples and nations. This perspective was conducive to furthering the new discipline called *Völker-Beschreibung* or *Ethnographie*. Such an ethnological perspective was still lacking in seventeenth-century Moscovite thinking which accounted for differences among peoples strictly in terms of religion (Slezkine 1994a-b). However, in the early eighteenth century, Russian authorities began to take interest in descriptions of peoples in their empire. Siberia was seen as one of the 'colonies' (Bakhrushin 1999: 21) and its peoples as 'willing providers of taxes and furs' (Schorkowitz 1995: 331) who needed to be described in order to be taxed. The assignments of Remezov (1699-1701) and Messerschmidt (1718) included a description of peoples and their languages. From 1710 on, scientific expeditions were dispatched to all corners of the Russian Empire in order to study the peoples and natural resources. In 1732, during the preparations of the Second Kamchatka Expedition, the Senate commissioned a 'description of peoples and their manners' and a study of 'the fruits of the earth.' Reacting to this order, Müller offered to write a 'history of peoples' in Siberia (November 1732). During the expedition, he expanded upon this scheme and made it into a program for ethnographic research. Calling it *Völker-Beschreibung* (1740), this study was to be empirical, systematic, and comparative. Building on Witsen, Leibniz, Messerschmidt, and Lafitau, Müller added a scholarly program to the Russian colonial agenda, which was led by their desire to have an inventory of the peoples under their command. Thus, ethnography as a comprehensive description of peoples developed in the Russian colonial practice during the early eighteenth century.

By contrast, the Danish-German Arabia Expedition (1761-67) dispatched to Yemen yielded much less material, even if the descriptions of its sole survivor, Carsten Niebuhr (1733-1815), are valuable as a documentation of contemporary Arabic culture. Although well prepared,

this expedition ended in disaster as most of the members died. Niebuhr's survival is attributed to his ability to adapt to local circumstances, a capacity he had acquired during the voyage. The purpose of the expedition, to elucidate the Old Testament, was perhaps a more difficult goal than the exploration of Siberia and the North West passage. It sprang from the illusion that the present could reveal the past assuming that in 2,000 years little had changed in Arabia. The thesis of Schultens and Michaelis, that Arabic as a 'conservative' language had kept features lost in Hebrew, proved difficult to test. Although Niebuhr tried to answer the *Fragen* prepared under Michaelis' chairmanship in Göttingen, Michaelis published without taking notice of Niebuhr's official account. Niebuhr's name ranks high on the list of European explorers of Arabia. He was sensitive to cultural distinctions, paying attention to manners and customs of the Arabian people. But he did not have a *Völker*-perspective, in any case not to the extent of Müller, Fischer, Steller and other Siberia explorers. Niebuhr did not develop an ethnological program to describe all peoples of the Middle East. It is probable that this lack of an ethnological perspective was related to his training (he was a surveyor with an interest in mathematical geography and astronomy) and to the colonial context in which Niebuhr traveled. The Ottoman Empire was divided in administrative provinces (*eyalets*). The Ottoman authorities were sensitive to issues of religion, but do not seem to have displayed an interest in a description of peoples under their command. In addition, Niebuhr was not traveling in the service of the Ottoman Empire but of the Danish king.

In comparison to the Second Kamchatka Expedition, the Danish-German Arabia Expedition lacked commercial or political interests. The expedition to Egypt and Yemen aimed at providing contemporary evidence on the Bible. Additional research goals were explorations in natural history, geography, and cartography. The subject of 'manners and customs' of the population was included in the instructions given to von Haven and Forsskål. Unfortunately, they died prematurely, leaving Niebuhr with a task for which he was not prepared. Niebuhr's findings, mainly in the field of geography, are lauded as important contributions to the exploration of Arabia. However, his observations did not lead to the emergence of a description of peoples. Niebuhr considered the Arabian people to be 'one nation' with various dialects. This may be linked to the fact that he did not travel under the relatively safe umbrella of a foreign colonizing power. Although the expedition members possessed a *firman* provided by the Ottoman court in Constantinople, this was not the same as being protected by a party of Cossacks. On the other hand, Müller clearly saw the company of Cossacks as an obstacle towards a free exchange with the inhabitants of Siberia. Sensing the same, Niebuhr adapted himself and went 'undercover,' as so many non-Muslim travelers were to do in Arabian countries. (In this respect, he resembled Steller who adapted remarkably to the harsh conditions in Kamchatka, surviving on local nutrition – without the daily use of wine, as the other members of the Second Kamchatka Expedition and von Haven during the Danish-German Arabia Expedition were accustomed to.) Moreover, in contrast to Müller, Niebuhr did not have a perspective of ethnic diversity (*Völker*). Instead, he spoke about the Arabian 'nation' as if it was

a single large group speaking the same language. Despite locally varying customs and dialects, he regarded the Arabian inhabitants as being essentially of one and the same stock. Such a perspective, although politically correct *avant-la-lettre*, is not conducive to the establishment of a discipline such as *Völkerkunde*. It is, therefore, significant that ethnography, as the empirical study of peoples, blossomed in the context of the Russian expeditions in northern and central Asia, but did not get off the ground in the case of the expedition to Arabia Felix.

Thus, different colonial contexts yield different results. In the case of Siberia, in a Russian context, colonialism was conducive to the formation of ethnography as an emerging research practice. In the Danish case, in a Turkish context, the absence of a direct link to a colonial agenda may be one factor in explaining the absence of innovative results.

The formation of ethnography was the result of several factors, including scholarly curiosity (Stagl 2002a) and state interests (power, taxes, legal order). The Russian authorities kept to a colonial agenda, seeking to acquire an inventory of the peoples under their command. Müller and other scholars followed a scientific agenda based on: (1) the ethnolinguistic program suggested by Leibniz, tested by Messerschmidt, adopted by Strahlenberg, and carried to its conclusion by Müller and Fischer; and (2) the comparative ethnological program developed by Lafitau and adopted by Müller. The combination of these factors, coupled to the ethnic diversity of Siberia, the German ethnological perspective, and the Early Enlightenment's emphasis on empirical observation, resulted in ethnography becoming a new scientific practice in Russia during the 1730s and 1740s.

It is plausible that the Russian views of the peoples (*narody*) inhabiting their empire and the German views of these same peoples (*Völker*) were different. This matter deserves further investigation, as it seems that the interaction between these varying views was of importance for the formation of ethnography in the Russian colonial context. Another point of interest to be investigated is the way in which the geographical and ethnographic sources resulting from the Kamchatka and other contemporary expeditions in Russia were received and used by the bureaucrats who had commissioned the research in the first place. An analysis of this problem has not yet been presented, as far as I know. This omission is remarkable, as the Russian authorities at the Senate in St Petersburg and Moscow must have studied the reports carefully. Apart from the Academy, the Senate will have been fully informed. Whether the findings were transmitted to the Russian authorities in Siberia is another matter. Information of this sort would be indispensable for any attempt to establish the extent to which anthropological information was used in a colonial context – how ethnography contributed to empire. There is some evidence that data were employed in this way. As we have seen, Mikhail Mikhailovich Speransky based his reformist 'Code of Administration of Siberian Peoples' (1822) on Georgi's work of the 1770s, which in turn was based on Müller's ethnographic research of the 1730s and 1740s.

The Foundation of *Völkerkunde*

In the 1760s and 1770s, scholars in the German states adopted and generalized Müller's ethnological perspective. August Ludwig Schlözer (1735-1809) combined Müller's ethnological program (*Völker-Beschreibung*) with the historical-critical views of Johann David Michaelis, building on Montesquieu, and integrated these into a grand historiographical vision, including both *Ethnographie* and *Völkerkunde*. In Göttingen, between 1771 and 1781, scientific programs were developed in which the terms *Völkerkunde* and *Ethnographie* were repeatedly applied. Schlözer and his senior colleague, Johann Christoph Gatterer (1727-1799), universal historians working at the University of Göttingen, introduced the terms *Ethnographie* and *Völkerkunde* into academic discourse. They did this as part of their attempts to reform world history and expand its scope to include all of the world's peoples. Schlözer's early work, *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* (1771), was especially important, as it succeeded in supplanting earlier 'myths' with new ideas on the origins, descent, and migration of nations in northern Europe and Asia, using their languages as a basis for classification. Schlözer borrowed this linguistic method from Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716), the philosopher who had actively pursued comparative language studies, or *historia etymologica*. In Siberia, Messerschmidt and Strahlenberg first applied this method, followed by Müller, Fischer, and other participants in the Second Kamchatka Expedition.

Schlözer introduced the terms *Völkerkunde* (ethnology), *Ethnographie* (ethnography) as well as *ethnographisch* (ethnographic) and *Ethnograph* (ethnographer) to a German audience in 1771-72. He employed these terms in strategic places in his argument and more often than any of his contemporaries. Schlözer was not the first to use the term *Ethnographie*, but he may well have been the first to use the term *Völkerkunde*. In any case, he was the first to apply the ethnological perspective in Göttingen. As far as we know, the historian Johann Friedrich Schöpperlin (1732-1772) first used the term *ethnographia* in a Latin text published at Nördlingen (Swabia) in 1767. Schöpperlin contrasted it to *geographia* – possibly arriving at the coinage under Schlözer's influence as the two men were connected through Albrecht Friedrich Thilo (1725-1772) and worked on identical historical problems (Vermeulen 1996a: 8-9; 2006a: 129).

While Schlözer generalized Müllers argument, specifying that *Völkerkunde* should describe all peoples of the world, both in the past and the present, he restricted the analysis to specific peoples, namely 'principal peoples' (*Hauptvölker*, 1772: 106-108, 1775: 299-301). The first procedure would result in an 'aggregate' of world history; the second into a 'system' of world history. These 'principal peoples' had brought coherence into world history, and the problem of coherence and interconnectedness represents Schlözer's main interest in world history (Vermeulen 2008b). In this context, Schlözer used the term 'world system' (*Weltsystem*, 1772: 37, 1775: 250) and he can be seen as one of the first global historians.

The main conclusion that can be drawn from this material is that *Völkerkunde* was the general concept designating the new research program in the German-speaking countries, while *Ethnographie* was seen as the first stage of this new discipline. This conclusion is corroborated by Müller's and Gatterer's work.

The idea of this study caught on rapidly, as is shown by a new body of literature, especially in journals that carried these new terms in their titles and featured the corresponding contents. The first of these journals appeared in 1781 in Leipzig and St. Petersburg, with the naturalists-cum-explorers Johann Reinhold Forster and Peter Simon Pallas and the historian Matthias Christian Sprengel as editors.

In Vienna, the subject was defined as *ethnologia* in the early 1780s. After Russia and Germany, Austria and Switzerland seem to have been the countries in which these ideas first took root. It has long been assumed that the Swiss theologian Alexandre-César Chavannes (1731-1800) coined the term ethnology. He defined *ethnologie* in 1787 as 'l'histoire des progrès des peuples vers la civilisation.' We now know that this term first surfaced in the work of the Austrian-Slovakian historian Adam Franz Kollár (1718-1783) in 1781 and 1783. In 1783, Kollár defined *ethnologia* as *notitia gentium populorumque*, that is, 'the science of peoples and nations, or, that study of learned men in which they inquire into the origins, languages, customs and institutes of various nations, and finally into the fatherland and ancient seats, in order to be able better to judge the nations and peoples in their own times' (Kollár 1783, I: 80; cf. Vermeulen 1995b: 57 fn. 3).

Not only was Kollár's use of the term earlier, it was also much closer to the meaning Schlözer had given to *Völkerkunde* than the one Chavannes gave to *ethnologie* (Vermeulen 1995b: 46-47). Kollár relied on Schlözer's work and concentrated on the same research problem, the origin of peoples and nations, with the same methods, namely historical linguistics and the comparison of languages. While ethnography as a scientific way of describing peoples or nations was first practiced in Russia and in Siberia by German-speaking historians, ethnology originated in the academic centers of East and Central Europe and dealt with a comprehensive, comparative and critical study of peoples – in principle, of *all* peoples and nations.

In the eighteenth century, the scientific interest in the plurality of peoples was not restricted to German scholarship. The Germans did not invent the ethnological discourse but, rather, built on it. This is illustrated by Chavannes' and Lafitau's work, as well as by Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des loix* (1748), aiming to study 'the laws, manners and diverse customs of all the peoples of the earth' (*les lois, les coutumes et les divers usages de tous les peuples de la terre*). The fact that Müller held Lafitau's comparative work (1724) in high regard, indicates that he wanted to situate his ethnographic research in a larger comparative framework encompassing all peoples in the Russian Empire. Their descriptions should be compared with descriptions of the 'other Asian, African, and American peoples.' If Lafitau's work entailed a comparative program, Müller developed a comprehensive ethnological program as a first step in that direction.

Characteristic of the German tradition was an ethnological perspective (*Völkerperspective*), rather than an urge to contrast levels or stages of civilization. This perspective was dominated by the idea that a classification of peoples could only be based on their languages. Leibniz first propounded this idea, stating in 1691 that ‘the harmony of languages is the best means of determining the origin of nations, and virtually the only one that is left to us where historical accounts fail. It seems in fact that all languages from the Indus river to the Baltic Sea have a single origin’ (quoted in Aarsleff 1982: 85, 95 n. 4). In his early work, Schlözer drew primarily on Leibniz in an attempt to find solid evidence for classifying the peoples of the North. As he wrote in 1771: ‘Fashionable was, thus far, to look for the origin and affinity of peoples (*Ursprung und Verwandtschaft der Völker*) in writers of annals (chronicles). However, writers of annals, says Leibniz, neither the old, nor those of the Middle Ages, are sources of information for these investigations, only grammarians and compilers of vocabularies are’ (1771: 288 n. T). ‘In the entire field of historiography,’ Schlözer continued, ‘I know of no work as hard as the study of languages in relation to the study of peoples (*Sprachenuntersuchungen in Rücksicht auf die Völkerkunde*)’ (1771: 288 n. U). Although Müller’s research program was broader, and included a worldwide study of ‘manners and customs,’ Schlözer insisted that in the study of prehistory only historical linguistics could be employed as the basis for comparison. Following Leibniz, Schlözer consistently argued that a correspondence in customs does not provide us with sufficient evidence to establish the affinity between nations. This principle presented the German-speaking historians, ethnographers, and linguists with a powerful tool for studying the peoples of their day and age. It provided them with an method to distinguish among the multitude of peoples in the Russian Empire. And it gave them a head start in historical and comparative linguistics. This is demonstrated, for example, in Vater’s linguistic study of the migration of Amerindians from Siberia over the Bering Strait (Vater 1810), in the *Allgemeines Archiv für Ethnographie und Linguistik* (Bertuch and Vater 1808), set up ‘to complement collections of geography and ethnography (*Länder- und Völkerkunde*),’ and in the foundation of comparative linguistics by Franz Bopp (1816, 1820, 1833).

State, *Volk*, and Nation

The linguistic criterion for defining a *Volk* was a major innovation in the study of peoples. Until the founding of nation-states in the nineteenth century, the terms *Volk* and ‘nation’ were by and large synonymous. The German term *Volk* was used interchangeable for the term *Nation* that is derived from *natus* (past participle of the Latin verb *nasci*, ‘being born’). During the eighteenth century, *Volk* or nation referred to a group of people with a common descent, a homeland, a common history, and language. However, the concept of *Volk*/nation is ambiguous. As we have seen, Schlözer distinguished three conceptions of a *Volk*: ‘(1) in the geographical sense, people belong to a class; (2) in the genetical (or historical) sense, they make up a tribe (*Stamm*); (3)

in the political sense, they belong to a state' (1772: 104, 1775: 298).⁵⁶³ These terms were applied to members of a geo-historical unit (a country or *Land*); people with a common heritage (*gens*); and a nationality or citizenship (in a political sense, people belonging to a state). In the first (geographical) conception, Germans and Czechs are both members of the 'Bohemian Nation.' In the second (genetical) conception, the people of Swabia belong to the tribe of Swaben. In the third (political) conception, Strahlenberg was of German descent, born in Pommern, but a citizen of Sweden; Niebuhr was of German descent, born in Holstein, but a citizen of Denmark. In both cases, their mother tongue was Low German. Kollár described himself as *Hungarus*, but his mother tongue was Slovak and contemporaries called him the 'Slovak Socrates' (Tibenský 1983). Schlözer's fatherland was Franconia, and he was known as a *Franke*, not as a German. Although the idea of a German nation is older, the idea of a German nation-state appeared only in 1871 when the German Empire was founded. Until the nineteenth century, students were registered when immatriculating at a university according to the countries (*nationes*) in which they were born: Michaelis, Halensis; Niebuhr, Hadelensis; Schlözer, Franconia. These entries refer to territories and are related to a political conception of *Volk*.

Kollár's definition of ethnology (*notitia gentium populorumque*) makes clear that Latin has two concepts: *gens* and *populus*.⁵⁶⁴ The first can be translated as tribe (clan), the second as people (nation). The difference seems to be that the first term relates to a homogeneous people (related by descent), the second to people in a heterogeneous, composite, sense (consisting of different tribes or *gentes*). However, eighteenth-century German-speaking authors were not consistent in this regard. They usually opted for *gens*, but sometimes used *populus*. The following examples may illustrate this. Müller's first instruction was titled 'De historia gentium' (on the history of peoples), but it began with the phrase: '*Ad promovendum studium Historiae populorum ...*,' that is, to promote the study of the history of peoples ... (quoted in Hintzsche 2004: 145). Nevertheless, Müller usually employed the term *gens*. In his lecture 'The origins of the Russian people and their name' (written in 1749), Müller spoke of *Origines gentis et nominis Russorum* (1768). His colleague, the historian and linguist Fischer, compiled a vocabulary that counted thirty-four 'Siberian peoples' (or *gentes*) (*Vocabularium ... trecenta vocabula tringinta quatuor gentium, maxima ex parte Sibiricarum*, 1747). The same applies to Leibniz and his interest in the origins of peoples (*origines gentium*). Schlözer also spoke of *origines gentium* (1771) but, at a later stage, in his memoirs (1802), switched to *origines populorum*.⁵⁶⁵ It is an open question, whether Schlözer was confused or wrote this on purpose. In any case, the German language glosses over the differences, because *Ursprung der Völker* (Leibniz 1716) can mean *Volk* (*gens*) and nation (*populus*). On the other hand, one

⁵⁶³ Building on these distinctions, Fabri 1808: 98, added: (4) in a journalistic sense and (5) in the popular sense.

⁵⁶⁴ Greek also discerns *polis* and *demos*. The latter served as the basis of the term 'démographie' that was coined by the French statistician Achille Guillard in the mid-nineteenth century (Guillard 1855).

⁵⁶⁵ 'Den Leibnitzischen Grundsatz, *origines populorum* nach ihren Sprachen aufzusuchen, wußt ich schon lange' (Schlözer 1802: 187). We remind the reader that Schlözer also wrote: 'Es ist ein *Systema Populorum in Classes et Ordines, Genera et Species*, redactum möglich ...' (Schlözer 1771: 210-211, note A; cf. 1768: 72, note 22).

also finds *Nationen* (Niebuhr 1774-78; Georgi 1776-80; Schlözer 1771, 1772; Herder 1784-91) or *Nazionen* (Niebuhr 1784; Falck 1786; Lang 1809-17) in the contemporary literature.

The complexity of these problems was presumably one of the reasons why scholars throughout Europe felt a need to study these phenomena. This feeling was particularly strong in the German states where there had been no political unity since the sixteenth century. During the eighteenth century, the feeling increased that Germany represented a cultural unity and formed a *Kulturnation*. From the 1770s on, this feeling became the subject of the 'German Movement' (*deutsche Bewegung*) that was seminal in promoting German language and culture (Meinecke 1936; Antoni 1951; Nohl 1970). Ever since Thomasius had begun lecturing in German and had published the first journal in German (1687-88), the importance of the German language had grown. If the main criterion for the constitution of a *Volk* was language, this provided the German scholars with a problem because in the German case at least two languages played a role, Low German and High German. Whereas Müller and Schlözer found it sufficient to employ a single concept in German (*Volk*), Kollár seems to have wanted to grasp the full complexity of the problem by including both *gens* and *populus* in his definition of ethnology.

After the introduction of the nation-state at the Congress of Vienna (1814-15), matters became even more complicated. The political definition of people came to dominate. The United States, made up of representatives of many peoples (British, French, Spanish, German, Iroquois, Delaware, to name but a few) and at least three races (whites, blacks, Indians), is considered one 'nation.' In general, politicians refer to it as 'the nation.' Even here, there is doubt. The Iroquois were considered a tribe (by the English and the French colonists), but they spoke and still speak of themselves as 'the Five Nations.' How do these concepts relate to each other? All sorts of questions related to scale, nationality, citizenship, and legal rights play a role in this discussion.

Nations are 'imagined communities,' as Anderson wrote (1983), that is, an abstraction, impossible to observe. Yet, they exist in people's minds. Even then, they were a factor to be reckoned with, perhaps even more in the eighteenth century than now, in a globalizing era.

Nations that develop into states were of particular importance to Schlözer. His interest in this subject is a typical theme of the Enlightenment: if there is progress, peoples can achieve a higher level of organization within the state. It is not a coincidence that Schlözer, in the second half of his career, concentrated on the comparative study of states (*Statistik*). He even succeeded Achenwall as professor of political studies. In his early years, Schlözer had been fascinated by the study of peoples that could be advanced by concentrating on a study of their languages; in his later career, he shifted his focus from peoples that are developing (*werdende Völker*) to 'principal peoples' (*Hauptvölker*) that unite others through conquest and civilization.

If German scholars such as Müller and Schlözer established the new field of ethnography and ethnology, where did they obtain their ethnological (*Völker*-) perspective? Or, more generally, whence did they derive the idea of a plurality of peoples that needed to be described?

There are many different answers to this question. First of all, the Russian Empire counted a large variety of peoples and the authorities expressed a pragmatic interest in having them described for political and economic reasons. At that time, Siberia was seen as one of the ‘colonies’ and its peoples as ‘providers of taxes and furs.’ Thus, the Russian view on peoples (*narody*) was rather limited: as payers of taxes, they were seen as resources that needed to be tapped, as contributing to the empire’s wealth in much the same way as natural resources.

Second, the idea of a multitude of peoples (*Völker*) is prevalent in the Bible. The ‘genealogical table’ (*Völkertafel*) in the book of Genesis traces all known peoples back to the three sons of Noah: Japhet, Sem, and Cham. In order to fill the 4,000 years separating the present from Noah and the Flood, rulers tended to construct genealogies of their dynasties and forefathers. Historians lent a helping hand by producing fictive genealogies that interrelate historical figures from the Bible and Antiquity to the rulers of their day and age. In the Holy Roman Empire, ‘imperial history’ (*Reichsgeschichte*) was important for making such claims. Historians such as Müller and Schlözer took a critical stand against this practice.

Third, the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) that ended the Thirty Years’ War, influenced German thinking about peoples and their relationship to the state. This conflict between Protestants and Catholics was mainly fought out in the central European territory of the Holy Roman Empire under the Habsburg Dynasty. It also involved most of the major continental powers, including Spain, Portugal, France, Denmark, Sweden, England, and Holland. The war led to the collapse of Spanish hegemony, the break-up of Spanish and Portuguese colonial possessions, the recognition of the United Provinces as an independent state, and the establishment of Sweden as a leading power in Europe. The Holy Roman Empire lost its coherence after 1648 and was divided in about three hundred sovereign entities, nominally governed by an emperor who was also the ruler of Austria (Schlözer 1775: 207, 281). The Treaty of Westphalia meant the beginning of European Absolutism (1648-1789). However, its edicts are also seen as having been instrumental in laying the foundations for the basic tenets of the sovereign nation-state (Wagner 1948; Sagarra 1977; Vierhaus 1978). The nation-state is generally held to have taken center stage in Europe at the Congress of Vienna, but it became a real issue during and after the French Revolution (1789) when the cry became ‘*Vive la Nation*’ (long live the people), rather than ‘*Vive le Roi*’ (long live the king). The territorial states in the Holy Roman Empire made the problem of the nation vis-à-vis the state manifest. This may have played an important role, especially in Central Germany where most of the students conducting ethnography in the field hailed from. The Thirty Years’ War also partly provided the background for Leibniz’s philosophy, as he strove to overcome the religious antitheses that had created such a devastating war (Richter 1946).

Fourth, the division in three hundred political entities had been superimposed over the ancient division in ‘tribes’ (*Stämme*) that was characteristic for *Germania* in the days of Tacitus. When Napoleon dissolved the Holy Roman Empire in August 1806, the *de facto*

sovereignty of the territories came to an end. As mentioned above, Germany became a nation-state as late as 1871, when Bismarck united the German states, transforming the king of Prussia into a German Emperor. Even today, Germany is a tapestry of dialects. National diversity is a topic of interest in Germany and the cultural and linguistic differences between Bavaria, Swabia, Franconia, Prussia, Saxony, Thuringia, etc. are noticeable even today.

This basic pattern was reflected in the German scholarly agenda. The varied development from tribe and nation to a territorial state and the nation-state became an issue for historical study. The idea that languages are characteristic for peoples, that language is a marker of ethnicity, that a people (*Volk*) is especially but not exclusively defined by its language (*Sprache*), was seminal in German scholarship during the eighteenth century. It became the foundation for Leibniz's thesis that the comparative study of languages was the only reliable tool for tracing connections among peoples in prehistory, that is, before the existence of historical documents. This thesis fits well in the Early Enlightenment's emphasis on empirical observation. It seems that the German scholars developed the historical-genetic conception of *Volk*, characterized by language. This new view on peoples was apparently adopted in Russian administration. Leibniz's program of historical etymology was carried out by students from Central Germany and exported into the Russian field by Messerschmidt, Bayer, Müller, and later Schlözer. Tatishchev had learnt of it through Strahlenberg, who had heard about it from Messerschmidt. In North America this program was applied by de Charlevoix (1766) and Smith Barton (1798).

Whether there was an influence of 'natural law' (*Naturrecht*) on the formation of ethnography and ethnology in the German states remains to be established. Developed by Thomas Aquinas, Thomas Hobbes, Hugo Grotius, Samuel Pufendorf, and John Locke, natural law was an ethical theory positing the existence of a law whose content is set by nature and which, therefore, has validity everywhere. Sometimes opposed to the 'positive law' of a given political community, society, or nation-state, and used as a standard by which to criticize that law, natural law was highly influential in the Scottish Enlightenment and the American Revolution. Achenwall, who taught *Statistik* at Göttingen from 1748 onwards, was a scholar of law. It is conceivable that principles from the study of natural law and the law of nations (*jus gentium*) found their way into the new ethnological discourse. Understandings of natural law may have changed definitions of *Volk* and nation in the German Enlightenment and have given them more validity, thereby influencing the formation of ethnology. In addition, there may have been an influence of the idea of natural law on the rights of small peoples *vis-à-vis* the state. Müller as a historian paid attention to their rights and especially to the violation of what would be called human rights of small peoples in the expanding Russian Empire (Elert 2003). The problem of basic human rights was also an issue for Schlözer, who in 1791 demanded human rights (*Menschenrechte*) for serfs in Poland and Russia (Mühlpfordt 1983a: 154).

The emergence of this ethnological discourse was related to the universalist tendencies of the Enlightenment and to processes of state-formation and nation-building in the German-

speaking countries, the Russian Empire, and what later became the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867-1918). Another factor was the increasing amount of knowledge regarding peoples recently discovered in Siberia and in other parts of Europe, Asia, and Oceania. The *Völkervielfalt* (ethnic plurality) in the Russian Empire, forming a multinational state linking the European parts of Russia with the peoples formerly under Tatar control and the small peoples of the North and Northeast, appealed to Messerschmidt, Müller, Steller, Fischer, Schlözer, Pallas, and many others. The growing knowledge of peoples of the world was incorporated into the study of history and geography at the University of Göttingen. Schlözer and Gatterer processed field studies by Müller and others in their writings, raising the discussion to a theoretical level. How many peoples are there? What makes up a people (*Volk*)? Which peoples should be included? Which aspects of these peoples should be studied? Kollár extended Müller's and Schlözer's argument and generalized the problem, drawing on a more pressing subject at hand: the management of ethnic diversity in the Austrian, later the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In this way, the past, present, and future of the peoples of Eastern Europe were connected to the politics of multicultural states.

Anthropology and Ethnology

Shortly after its introduction in Göttingen (1771), the philosopher of history Johann Gottfried Herder (1772) forcefully criticized the term *ethnographisch*. He developed a new, organic concept of *Volk* and claimed that a particularistic approach was necessary to do justice to the inherent value of nations and peoples (and of their culture). Herder devised a view of peoples unfolding towards humanity (*Humanisierung*) and avoided the new ethnological vocabulary, as did Kant, who left the topic out of his *pragmatische Anthropologie*. Herder's views entered American anthropology through Franz Boas. In the eighteenth century, anthropology was either a biological or a philosophical subject, dealing with the question, 'What is Man?' subdivided into the three questions pertaining to the relations among humans, between humans and animals, and the evolution of humankind. Generally, the definition of humans and their place in nature played a central role in these debates. By combining natural science with the history of humankind, Herder added a philosophical perspective on anthropology as a holistic science.

Philosophical anthropology may have been born out of philosophy, as Zammito (2002) argues. Yet, ethnography and ethnology, as forerunners of socio-cultural anthropology, were born out of history. They resulted from attempts to understand the bedazzling diversity of peoples and nations in Europe and Asia, particularly those brought together in multinational states such as Russia and Austria. Scholars introducing the ethnological perspective were primarily dealing with historical problems: Where do peoples come from? How are these peoples related? These attempts dealt both with the present state of these nations and with the historical analysis of their origins, languages, migrations, and states. Ethnography and

ethnology, as prerunners of socio-cultural anthropology, resulted during the eighteenth century from the theoretical and practical need to study these processes.

A clear indication that ethnology and anthropology were formulated alongside each other, as separate branches of learning, is to be found in Theophil Friedrich Ehrmann's work (1808a-b). It makes explicit that there was a difference between a conception of the world inhabited by *Völker* (peoples) or *Volksstämme* (tribes) as sub-categories of humankind, and a conception of humankind as subdivided in human 'races' (varieties). The scholars dealing with these subjects worked in different fields. The early ethnographers were historians, geographers and linguists; the physical anthropologists were physicians and anatomists.

Whereas the anthropological tradition of Blumenbach and Kant has received a great deal of attention, the ethnological discourse has largely gone unnoticed in recent scholarship. This new way of thinking in terms of peoples (as such, without a political connotation) has been overlooked not only in France, Great Britain, the United States, and even partly in Russia, but also in Germany. These processes deserve more attention, for 'peoples' are not the same as 'races' – even if the concept 'anthropology' seems to include both.

Nomen est Omen: Ethnography, Ethnology, and Socio-Cultural Anthropology

The central thesis of the present book is that in order to get at the roots of anthropology, we have to look at the eighteenth century, and that in order to understand what anthropology is about, we have to focus on ethnology and its elder sister ethnography, that is, on the study of peoples, tribes, and nations called *Völker* in German (*volken* in Dutch).

The most important research finding is that, during the eighteenth century, an ethnological discourse developed parallel to, and partly in debate with, an anthropological discourse, reflecting on humans, human races or varieties, and human-animal relationships. This ethnological discourse, a way of thinking and communicating about peoples or nations as subdivisions of humanity, resulted from history, under the influence of historical linguistics, and as a complement to (physical and political) geography, moral philosophy, and physical and philosophical anthropology. The existence of such an ethnological discourse was postulated for French-speaking Switzerland by Michèle Duchet (1971: 12) but has never been fully documented. By continuing the work of Hans Fischer (1970, 1983), Justin Stagl (1974b, 1981, 1995b, 1998, 2002b), and by building on primary sources published by members of the Eduard Winter School in East Germany, such as Mühlpfordt, Donnert, Hoffmann, as well as by Wieland Hintzsche (2002, 2006), it has been possible to demonstrate that an ethnological discourse developed in Central and Eastern Europe, in the German states and Russia, in Europe and Asia during the eighteenth century, from 1710 onward. By the end of the eighteenth century, this discourse had reached Holland, Bohemia, Hungary, France, and the United States.

The ethnological discourse in the German Enlightenment cannot be adequately circumscribed as a ‘biblical paradigm’ (Stocking 1990: 713-5, 1992b: 347-9) or a ‘biblical-historical model’ (Bieder 1972: 18). These characterizations may have been valid for late eighteenth-century ethnology in the United States. In the German states, however, ethnology related to a historical paradigm that dealt with peoples and nations, as distinct from states. In 1732, Müller added a *historia gentium* to the previous *historia civilis* and *historia naturalis*.

The method of conceptual history (*Begriffsgeschichte*) has shown great advantages. By focusing on the history of the names of sciences from an emic perspective, it has become possible to distinguish two stages in the conceptualization of ethnology: (1) the formation of *Völker-Beschreibung* in the field, 1732-1747, and (2) the invention of *Völkerkunde* in the study, 1767-1787. Although much of this process remains unclear, with a gap between 1747 and 1767, it is certain that Gerhard Friedrich Müller developed a research program for the ethnographic description of Siberia, that August Ludwig Schlözer postulated a general *Völkerkunde* to be based on a series of ethnographies, characterized by linguistics, and that Adam Franz Kollár introduced and defined the term *ethnologia*. Nevertheless, the method has limitations. Thus, Steller has ethnographic accounts but not the term. Müller has a program for ethnographic research, and the German term *Völker-Beschreibung*, not yet its neo-Greek equivalent *Ethnographie*. Yet it is clear that Müller envisaged a ‘general description of peoples’ (*allgemeine Völkerbeschreibung*) and saw his program for the description of Siberian peoples as part of a comparative program intended to document human diversity at large.

Names of sciences, of course, form a special sub-set of conceptual history. Being linked to institutional positions, names of sciences are of strategic importance. Moreover, sciences in the past, and to a certain extent in the present, had to be designated with names derived from the Greek. It is therefore significant that the *ethnos*-names first surfaced in German (*Völker-Beschreibung*, *Völkerkunde*), and only later occurred in Greek (*ethnographia*, *ethnologia*). The idea existed before the technical term. Since Thomasius introduced the use of German instead of Latin in academic instruction (1687), German scholars had become more confident in using their own language. It was natural for Müller and Schlözer to use the German terms *Völker-Beschreibung* and *Völkerkunde* in their writings. The fact that Schöpperlin, Schlözer, and Kollár introduced the Greek neologisms *ethnographia* and *ethnologia* as proper names, means that these historians had scientific ambitions. It is noteworthy that historians, rather than philosophers and biologists, first formulated these terms. In the German Enlightenment, it were especially the historians who reflected on the peoples of the world and their diversity.

Despite Bastian’s statement of 1881, this period did not represent the prehistory of ethnology (*Vorgeschichte der Ethnologie*) but, rather, its *early* history. The fact that Mühlmann incorrectly assumed the concepts *Ethnographie* and *Ethnologie* to have first occurred during the seventeenth century, has seriously hampered historical research into the

origins of this science. In response to Lubbock, one could say that ethnology is not an older word than anthropology and that it may or may not be prettier, but it certainly is more distinctive.

The importance of ethnology as a subject was clearly recognized in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century. Claims that apart from philosophical anthropology and physical anthropology on the one hand, and social anthropology on the other, there existed an 'ethnological anthropology' were made by Daniel Garrison Brinton (1892a-c, 1895) and Juul Dieserud (1908). Brinton was the first to hold a chair in ethnology in the United States, at the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia from 1884, and in archaeology and linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, from 1886. He distinguished Ethnography, also defined as 'Geographic and Descriptive Anthropology,' from 'Somatology,' that is, from Physical Anthropology (Brinton 1892a: 265; Steinmetz 1892; Fischer 1970: 178). Dieserud was a librarian at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. He devised a classification of anthropological sciences, distinguishing among others physical anthropology or somatology from 'ethnic anthropology,' which he claimed was also known as 'psychical or culture anthropology' (Dieserud 1908: 17). Dieserud preferred '*ethnic* anthropology, already freely used in many lands' (1908: 17), probably because the use of the term ethnology in a physical sense had created confusion. In the actual classification of anthropological sciences, he defined ethnic anthropology as 'psycho-socio-cultural anthropology' (1908: 63). The influence of Dieserud's book on *The Scope and Content of the Science of Anthropology* has been limited, despite the importance that has to be attached to the study of terminology for historiographical purposes. In any case, future developments led to the use of the terms cultural anthropology (in the United States) and social anthropology (in Great Britain). The ethnology-anthropology name-switch in Britain in 1864-71, the United States in 1869-79, and France in 1876-91, has led to a hierarchical rearrangement of the relationships between these disciplines and obscured their earlier parallel development in different domains of science.

The present study shows that parallel to moral philosophy in Scotland, France, the United States, and elsewhere, and to biological anthropology that came to appropriate the term anthropology in the second half of the nineteenth century, there was an ethnological discourse that developed in the Russian Empire and the German states during the eighteenth century. This discourse dealt with peoples, *Völker*, large and small, some becoming nations, others turning into states, some becoming extinct. It focused many of the earlier Renaissance interests in 'manners and customs,' religion and morals, etc. into a new object: *ethnos*.

The study of that object is now alternatively denoted with concepts such as cultural anthropology, social anthropology, European (or German, French, Dutch) ethnology, or just anthropology. Under whatever name, ethnography still lies at the basis of this effort.

Samenvatting

Vroege geschiedenis van de etnografie en etnologie in de Duitse Verlichting: Antropologisch discours in Europa en Azië, 1710-1808

Deze dissertatie betreft de vroege ontwikkeling van de etnografie en etnologie, een wetenschap die begint in de achttiende eeuw. Het gaat daarbij niet om etnografische berichten (*ethnographic accounts*), zoals die in talloze reisverslagen en historische of geografische overzichtswerken te vinden zijn, maar om de volkenkunde als nieuwe wetenschappelijke discipline. Deze wetenschap van volken ontstond vanaf ca. 1730 in de werken van Gerhard Friedrich Müller en andere Duitstalige onderzoekers in het Russische Rijk. De historicus en ontdekkingsreiziger Müller ontwikkelde een programma voor etnografisch onderzoek in Siberië en andere delen van Rusland, dat hij in 1740 met de term *Völker-Beschreibung* samenvatte. Dit programma was systematisch en vergelijkend van aard. Het werd door Müller en door hem gestimuleerde onderzoekers als Gmelin, Fischer, Steller en Krasheninnikov in de eerste helft van de achttiende eeuw uitgevoerd. In de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw droegen Pallas, Lepechin, Falck, Georgi, Gmelin, Güldenstädt en Merck ertoe bij. Vanaf 1771 werd de *Völkerkunde*, aanvankelijk gezien als synoniem met *ethnographia* (1767-75), in het wetenschappelijk debat ingevoerd. Dat gebeurde door de historici August Ludwig Schlözer en Johann Christoph Gatterer, werkzaam aan de Universiteit van Göttingen. In 1783 maakte de Slovaaks/Hongaarse historicus Adam Franz Kollár, hoofd van de *Hofbibliothek* in Wenen, de stap van volkenkunde naar *ethnologia* en definiëerde haar als ‘de studie van volken en naties.’

De begrippen *ethnographia* en *ethnologia* zijn afgeleid van de Griekse woorden *ethnos* (volk), *graphein* (schrijven) en *logos* (kunde). Het gebruik van het Grieks in deze nieuwe termen geeft aan dat de scheppers daarvan wetenschappelijke ambities hadden, omdat in die tijd wetenschappen met aan het Grieks ontleende begrippen moesten worden aangeduid.

Het debat over oorsprong en object van de antropologie, resp. etnologie wordt al sinds 1864 gevoerd. Globaal gezien zijn er twee visies op de geschiedenis van de (sociaal-culturele) antropologie (hoofdstuk 1). De eerste gaat ervan uit dat de antropologie ‘een jonge wetenschap’ is die pas rond 1860 ‘wetenschappelijk’ werd met het werk van Tylor, Bastian, Morgan en enkele anderen. De tweede visie stelt dat de antropologie een ‘oude wetenschap’ is die al in de Klassieke Oudheid werd beoefend door Herodotus, Tacitus en Strabo, in de Middeleeuwen door reizigers als Carpini, Rubruck en Marco Polo en tijdens de grote ontdekkingsreizen van Columbus tot en met James Cook, waarna zij vervolgens in de negentiende eeuw werd geïnstitutionaliseerd. Van groot belang hierbij is welk soort antropologie en welk object men op het oog heeft. Bij Tylor, Bastian en andere evolutionisten gaat het om sociale of culturele antropologie (namen die overigens pas in de twintigste eeuw werden ingevoerd); bij Herodotus en andere klassieke auteurs om etnografie. Meestal worden dergelijke specificaties buiten beschouwing gelaten en heeft met het over ‘de’ antropologie.

Een belangrijke stellingname van dit onderzoek is dat het voor historische doeleinden belangrijk is om wel aandacht aan de diverse soorten antropologie te besteden. Uitgangspunt daarbij is de vraag, hoe wetenschappers deze vakken in een bepaalde periode definieerden en hoe zij hun eigen positie daarbinnen bepaalden. Het gaat er niet om vroegere ontwikkelingen en debatten naar huidige maatstaven te beoordelen (*presentisme*), maar om die ontwikkelingen vanuit de toenmalige ideeën en standaarden te analyseren (*historicisme*).

Deze laatste methode is vruchtbaar omdat er meerdere opvattingen van antropologie bestaan. Gaat men uit van fysische of biologische antropologie, dan kan men in de achttiende eeuw beginnen met het werk van Linnaeus, Buffon, Camper, Blumenbach en anderen, vnl. medici en beoefenaren van natuurlijke historie (biologen); deze tak van wetenschap werd in de negentiende eeuw met *Anthropologie* (menskunde) gelijkgesteld. Is men geïnteresseerd in filosofische antropologie, dan kan men aansluiten bij het werk van filosofen als Immanuel Kant en Johann Gottfried Herder. Zoekt men naar de wortels van de sociale of culturele antropologie, dan komt men uit bij de *Völkerkunde* die vanaf 1771 door historici vooral in Göttingen werd ontwikkeld. Daarnaast bestond er nog een *Volkskunde*, die eveneens in die periode op gang kwam, maar niet, of niet principieel, van *Völkerkunde* werd onderscheiden.

Gewoonlijk wordt in dit rijtje de etnografie niet als zelfstandige discipline genoemd, omdat men er vaak van uitgaat dat etnografie zo oud is als de mensheid zelf. Tegen deze opvatting wordt in deze studie stelling genomen omdat het beschrijven van volken een aparte wetenschappelijke bezigheid was, die zeker niet door iedere onderzoeker werd bedreven en die op een welbepaald moment in de wereldgeschiedenis tot stand kwam, namelijk tijdens het Russische imperialisme en Verlichte absolutisme van de eerste helft van de achttiende eeuw.

Bij de voorbereiding van de wetenschappelijke exploratie van het Russische Rijk speelde de filosoof Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) een belangrijke rol (hoofdstuk 2). Leibniz was een *Universalgelehrter* met ruime belangstelling, vooral voor wiskunde en filosofie, maar ook voor wat hij in 1711 *historia etymologica* noemde, een combinatie van geschiedenis en taalkunde die tegenwoordig historische linguïstiek wordt genoemd. Leibniz was zeer geïnteresseerd in het opkomende Russische Rijk en correspondeerde met Tsaar Peter de Grote (1672-1725) en diens adviseurs. Leibniz heeft de Tsaar tijdens diens reizen naar West- en Centraal-Europa diverse malen ontmoet: in Torgau (Saksen) in oktober 1711, in Karlsbad (Bohemen) in november 1712, en in Bad Pyrmont en Herrenhausen (Hannover) in mei-juli 1716. Hij stuurde de Tsaar tussen 1708 en 1716 negen memoranda (*Denkschriften*), waarin allerlei onderwerpen, ook politieke, werden aangeroerd. Maar wat Leibniz het meest interesseerde was de bevordering van wetenschap en kunst in het Russische Rijk. De vier belangrijkste kwesties die hij aan de orde stelde waren: (1) onderzoek naar een mogelijke landverbinding tussen Azië en Amerika, (2) de oprichting van een Academie van Wetenschappen of *Gelehrten-Collegium*, (3) het inrichten van meetstations om de afwijking van de magneetnaald in de noordelijke delen van Rusland te bepalen, en (4) het verzamelen van taal materiaal in Rusland

(Guerrier 1873 I: 190-196). Op dit laatste gebied heeft Leibniz waarschijnlijk de meeste invloed uitgeoefend. Vooral zijn idee dat bij de studie van volken in de vroege geschiedenis alleen het vergelijkend onderzoek van hun talen antwoord kan geven op vragen naar oorsprong, herkomst en verwantschap van deze volken werd door bijna alle Duitstalige onderzoekers van Siberië en andere delen van het Russische Rijk toegepast.

Na de verovering van Siberië (vanaf 1581) rees in het einde van de zeventiende en het begin van de achttiende eeuw bij de Russische autoriteiten de wens om te komen tot een inventarisatie van alle in het Russische Rijk verenigde volken, evenals van de drie rijken der natuur: planten, dieren en mineralen (hoofdstuk 3). Daarbij gingen economische exploitatie en wetenschappelijke exploratie van nieuwe gebieden, zoals Siberië, hand in hand. Al in 1699-1701 stelde Remezov op verzoek van de *Sibirski Prikaz* in Moskou een 'schetsboek van Siberië' samen, waarin hij alle beschikbare informatie over Siberië weergaf, lijsten opnam van afstanden tussen rivieren en nederzettingen, de woonplaatsen der volken aangaf, en noteerde of deze een nomadisch of sedentair bestaan leidden. Volgens Tokarev (1951-52: 22) gingen deze kaarten vergezeld van een '*Beschreibung der Völker Sibiriens*,' die alleen in fragmentarische vorm bewaard is gebleven. Waarschijnlijk heeft Müller toegang tot dit soort materiaal gehad.

Vanaf 1710 bereidde de Schotse arts Robert Areskine, archiater (lijfarts) van Peter de Grote, onderzoeksreizen voor die werden ondernomen in alle windrichtingen van het enorme Russische Rijk. Nadat hij in 1714 hoofd van de Medische Kanselarij geworden was, kon Areskine deze plannen – met instemming van Peter de Grote – verwezenlijken. Hij stuurde jonge geleerden op expeditie, zoals A. Bekovitsj-Tsjerkasski naar het gebied rond de Kaspische Zee, G. Schober naar Kazan, Astrakhan en Perzië, D.G. Messerschmidt naar Siberië en J.C. Buxbaum naar Klein-Azië. En hij gaf Lorenz Lange en Gausin, die in 1715 op een diplomatieke missie naar China gingen, opdracht om 'alle curiositeiten te verzamelen zowel betreffende de historie der natuur als betreffende de Oudheid' (Driessen-van het Reve 2006: 71-72).

In dit kader werd de in Halle gepromoveerde arts Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt (1685-1735) aangenomen om een onderzoeks- en verzamelreis naar Siberië te ondernemen. Hij tekende in 1718 een contract om onderzoek in te stellen naar: (1) de geografie van het gebied, (2) de natuurlijke geschiedenis, (3) de artsenij, met inbegrip van medicinale planten, (4) de volken en hun talen, (5) de gedenkstenen en oudheden, en (6) om alles dat 'merkwaardig' is te verzamelen. Het is opmerkelijk dat Messerschmidt ook werd opgedragen om de volken en hun talen te onderzoeken – niet iets dat men van iedere medicus-bioloog kon verwachten. Hij kweet zich op een consciëntieuze manier van zijn taak en verzamelde tijdens zijn expeditie zoveel materiaal dat het (volgens Müller) 'alle verwachtingen overtrof hoezeer de Keizerlijke *Kunstammer* met binnenlandse naturalieën en zeldzaamheden door de vlijt van de Heer Messerschmid[t] was vermeerderd.' Messerschmidts verzamelingen belandden in de *Kunstkamera*, die in 1714 in St. Petersburg was opgericht. Het doel van deze grootschalige *Kunst- und Naturaliensammlung* was om voorbeelden van voortbrengselen van de natuur (*naturalia*) en van menselijke vaardigheden

(*artificialia*) uit de hele wereld onder handbereik te hebben en zo het empirisch wetenschappelijk onderzoek in Rusland een fundament te geven. Toen ruim een eeuw later de encyclopedische verzamelingen verspreid werden over nieuw gespecialiseerde musea, kreeg het gebouw van de *Kunstkamera* de etnografica toegewezen en werd het Etnografisch Museum (1836). Dit museum kan met recht het oudste etnografisch museum ter wereld worden genoemd. Messerschmidts geschriften werden pas later (deels) uitgegeven, maar zijn verzamelingen en manuscripten waren zo rijk dat zij als basis dienden voor het werk van volgende generaties onderzoekers in Rusland. In 1724, halverwege zijn acht jaar durende reis, verdeelde Messerschmidt zijn aantekeningen in zeven groepen: geografie, filologie, antiquiteiten, mineralogie, botanie, zoölogie en medicijnen. Hij had toen kennelijk nog niet de beschikking over een aparte categorie ‘volkenkunde.’

Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705-1783) was de eerste geleerde die onderscheid maakte tussen geschiedenis, geografie en volkenkunde van Siberië (hoofdstuk 4). Na zeven jaar intensief onderzoek in Siberië stelde Müller een programma op voor onderzoek van alle in Siberië wonende volken. Dat vatte hij samen met de term *Völker-Beschreibung* (1740). De Siberische volken moesten (a) systematisch en empirisch beschreven worden en (b) vergeleken worden met andere volken in andere delen van de wereld. Müllers etnologische programma was holistisch, systematisch, empirisch en vergelijkend van opzet. In een later geschreven voorwoord tot zijn *Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker* stelde hij dat zijn voorbeeld het vergelijkende werk van Lafitau (1724) was, de Franse jezuïet die na een vijf jaar durend verblijf onder de Indianen van Noord-Amerika een gedetailleerde vergelijking maakte tussen de zeden en gewoonten der Indianen, en die in de Klassieke Oudheid.

De etnografie, een alles omvattende beschrijving van volken, ontstond in het werk van Duitstalige geleerden die in opdracht van de Russische Academie van Wetenschappen het expanderende Russische Rijk onderzochten. De historicus Gerhard Friedrich Müller speelde daarbij een hoofdrol omdat hij een programma voor het doen van etnografisch onderzoek ontwierp, dat deels zelf uitvoerde, daar twee teksten over schreef, en de principes ervan aan andere onderzoekers uitdroeg door het schrijven van omvangrijke instructies. De belangrijkste instructie is die aan de historicus Johann Eberhard Fischer, waarin Müller 923 punten formuleerde die bij een beschrijving van Siberische volken in beschouwing genomen zouden moeten worden (1740). Aan het eind daarvan vatte hij zijn betoog samen met de wens dat bij zo’n *Völker-Beschreibung* ook rekening zou moeten worden gehouden met de vergelijking met andere volken op aarde, in het bijzonder die in Amerika en andere delen van Azië.

Ook Müller kwam met zijn *Völker-Beschreibung* tegemoet aan de Russische wens om de volkeren in het Russische Rijk te inventariseren. Toen hij in 1732 voorstelde om tijdens Bering’s tweede expeditie een ‘historia gentium’ te schrijven, reageerde hij daarmee vermoedelijk op een opdracht van de Russische Senaat aan de Academie van Wetenschappen eerder dat jaar om tijdens deze reis ‘een beschrijving’ te maken ‘van de daar levende volken en hun zeden evenals van de vruchten der aarde.’ Achter deze opdracht zat waarschijnlijk

Ivan Kirilov, eerste secretaris van de Senaat, die zeer actief was op wetenschappelijk gebied. Als geograaf produceerde Kirilov in 1727 een uitgebreide beschrijving van de provincies van het Russische Rijk, waarin hij de natuurlijke hulpbronnen, bevolking, handel en nijverheid, godsdienst en geschiedenis behandelde (Hoffmann 1988: 170). Müller zag de geschiedenis, geografie en etnografie van Siberië echter als drie aparte vakken. Hij voerde het door hem opgestelde programma deels zelf uit, wat resulteerde in twee manuscripten over de volkenkunde van Siberië; het eerste geordend naar volken, het tweede naar onderwerp.

Hoewel Müller weinig van zijn volkenkundige geschriften drukklaar heeft gemaakt, omdat hij ervan uitging dat daarvoor in het Rusland van zijn tijd geen belangstelling bestond, speelden zijn volkenkundige opvattingen een grote rol in Rusland en Duitsland. Tijdens de tweede Kamtsjatka-expeditie (1733-1743) droeg Müller zijn programma over aan zijn medereizigers Gmelin, Fischer, Steller en Krasjeninnikov. Daarna, tijdens de Academische Expedities (1768-1774), instrueerde hij via Pallas onderzoekers als Lepechin, Falck, Georgi en Güldenstädt, die hem hun resultaten stuurden. Ook deze onderzoekers voldeden aan de Russische wens om te komen tot een inventarisatie van volken in het Russische Rijk. In dit geval werden de beschrijvingen wel gepubliceerd. Dit verklaart waarom er zoveel vroege beschrijvingen van volken in Rusland bestaan. Een open vraag is wat de Russische opdrachtgevers met deze beschrijvingen hebben gedaan. Zo is bekend dat de hervorming van het bestuursrecht van Siberië door Michail Speranski (1822) gebaseerd was op de *Beschreibung aller Nationen des Russischen Reichs* van Georgi (1776-80, 4 dln.), die op haar beurt was gebaseerd op het volkenkundige werk van Müller in de jaren 1730 en 1740.

Als men de perspectieven op het Russische Rijk vergelijkt met die op het Ottomaanse Rijk ten tijde van de Deens-Duitse Arabië-expeditie van 1761-1767 (hoofdstuk 5), zoals die door Carsten Niebuhr (1733-1815) werd volbracht, vallen een aantal dingen op. Zo blijkt Niebuhr in vergelijking met Müller en andere Duitstalige onderzoekers in het Russische Rijk veel minder nadruk te leggen op de ‘volken’ in het Ottomaanse Rijk. Hij sprak in 1772 over ‘*die Arabische Nation*’ en bedoelde daarmee de Arabieren van de Hedjaz, Jemen, Syrië, enz. Dat is een politieke opvatting van het begrip volk, vergelijkbaar met de visie dat de Verenigde Staten van Amerika ‘a nation’ vormen. Tevens hanteerde Niebuhr een geografische opvatting van volk. Hij onderscheidde Arabië van India, Perzië en Syrië (Niebuhr 1772: 5) en maakte binnen Arabië onderscheid tussen grote provincies als Jemen, Hadramaut, Oman, Nejd en Hedjaz, en kleinere ‘landschappen’ daaromheen (1772: 1). Niebuhr had een geografische en een politieke visie op volken – niet een linguïstische, zoals die in Rusland en speciaal in Siberië werd ontwikkeld. Niebuhr was geen historicus en niet in dienst van een koloniale, imperialistische mogendheid. Hij heeft geen historisch-vergelijkend programma ontwikkeld voor de beschrijving der volken in het Midden-Oosten. In plaats daarvan rapporteerde hij nauwkeurig wat hij en zijn medereizigers waargenomen hadden. Met deze waarnemingen, en

met zijn gedetailleerde kaarten, verwierf hij aanzien in de wereld der ontdekkingsreizigers, maar zijn etnografie was beperkt van opzet. Niebuhr was eerder cartograaf dan etnograaf.

Onderzoeksreizigers als Niebuhr, Gmelin, Steller en Pallas waren natuurwetenschappers die op beperkte schaal ook aandacht besteedden aan volkenkundige onderwerpen. Linnaeus deed dat tijdens zijn onderzoeksreizen eveneens. Hij heeft zijn ideeën ook uitgedragen en stuurde tussen 1745 en 1796 zeventien jonge onderzoekers (zijn ‘apostelen’) op onderzoek in alle delen van de wereld om de natuur met inbegrip van de volken en hun ‘oeconomie’ te beschrijven. Het beschrijven van de zeden en gewoonten van volken is een oude traditie, die al bij de historicus Herodotus en de geograaf Strabo voorkomt. Maar Müller heeft als eerste een volkenkundig programma ontwikkeld. Als historicus in Rusland kwam hij als eerste op de gedachte om een systematische beschrijving van alle volken te ontwikkelen, met als wetenschappelijk doel de onderlinge vergelijking van de volken.

Gedurende de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw werd Müllers idee van een systematische, omvattende etnografie ook in (het toenmalige) Duitsland verder ontwikkeld. In Göttingen (Hannover) werd dit idee door August Ludwig Schlözer (1735-1809) uitgebouwd tot een algemene volkenkunde (hoofdstuk 6). Via Schlözer oefende Müller invloed uit op het etnologische discours, een manier van denken en communiceren in termen van volken, in Duitsland. Vermoedelijk bracht Schlözer Müllers idee van een *Völker-Beschreibung* vanuit St. Petersburg naar Duitsland en maakte daarvan rond 1770 *Völkerkunde*. Schlözer had in 1761-1762 zes maanden bij Müller in huis gewoond en ging zich in toenemende mate met de geschiedenis, geografie en linguïstiek van Rusland bezighouden. Schlözer was de eerste Duitse geleerde die het begrip *Völkerkunde* gebruikte, in zijn monografie *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* (Halle 1771). Daarin voerde hij ook de termen *Ethnographie*, *ethnographisch* en *Ethnograph* op. Ook in zijn theoretische werk, de *Vorstellung seiner Universalhistorie* (Göttingen 1772, 1775), gebruikte Schlözer deze begrippen. Hij ontwierp een ‘ethnographische Methode’ van de geschiedschrijving, die als één der vier methoden, het historisch materiaal ordende naar de volken (de andere methoden waren chronografisch, technografisch en geografisch; Schlözer 1772: 96-99; 1775: 292-294).

Schlözer was niet de eerste die het begrip *Ethnographie* gebruikte maar hij deed dat wel vaker dan een van zijn tijdgenoten. Het woord *ethnographia* komt voor zover bekend het eerst in 1767 voor in een Latijnse tekst van de historicus Johann Friedrich Schöpperlin, verbonden aan het Gymnasium in Nördlingen (Schwaben). Zijn korte tekst behandelt de geschiedenis van het oude Schwaben. Schöpperlin stelt voor om die te beginnen met *ethnographia* in plaats van met *geographia*, naar we mogen aannemen omdat in die periode de bewoners nog geen vaste verblijfplaats hadden; in dat geval kon de geografie geen uitkomst bieden. Schlözer en Schöpperlin hebben elkaar waarschijnlijk goed gekend, want Schöpperlins oudere collega, Albrecht Friedrich Thilo, was verwant aan Schlözer. Alledrie werkten zij aan hetzelfde soort onderzoek, de antieke en middeleeuwse geschiedenis van etnisch-gecompliceerde gebieden.

In die tijd bestond Duitsland nog niet als natiestaat. Het Heilige Roomse Rijk der Duitse Natie (962-1806) was een lappendeken van volken, stammen, territoria en staten. Het is goed mogelijk dat deze etnische, territoriale en politieke complexiteit zowel Müller, als Schlözer en Schöpferlin voor ogen stond bij hun volkenkundige studies van Europa en Azië. In historisch perspectief waren vooral de volksverhuizingen uiterst boeiend. De methode van Leibniz om daarbinnen met behulp van de taalkunde orde te scheppen, ter aanvulling op de methode van de historici om oude kronieken aan de hand van deze vraagstelling te bestuderen, werd door Schlözer zeer geprezen. In zijn *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* sprak hij over ‘Leibnizens Methode in der Ethnographie’ en schreef hij: ‘In het hele onderzoek van de geschiedenis ken ik ... geen zwaarder werk dan het onderzoeken van de talen in relatie tot de volkenkunde’ (*Sprachenuntersuchungen in Rücksicht auf die Völkerkunde*, Schlözer 1771: 288 n. U). In een autobiografisch fragment keerde hij terug tot de basisregel van Leibniz om de ‘origines populorum nach ihren Sprachen aufzusuchen’ (Schlözer 1802: 187). Schlözers oudere collega, de historicus Johann Christoph Gatterer (1727-1799), merkte over deze kwestie op: ‘De historicus, geleid door de taalfilosofie, trekt via de verwantschap der talen conclusies aangaande de verwantschap der volkeren’ (Gatterer 1771: 105). De etnolinguïstische methode van Leibniz gaf de Duitse historici een belangrijk hulpmiddel in handen om onderscheid te kunnen maken tussen vroegere en eigentijdse volken. Leibniz en Schlözer betoogden dat een overeenkomst in zeden onvoldoende bewijs is voor historische verwantschap tussen volken. Daarmee konden zij stelling nemen tegen etymologische en zedenkundige afleidingen van zeventiende eeuwse historici als Hornius, de Laet en Witsen, die zij speculatief vonden.

De *Ethnographie* van Schlözer was vooral door de taalkunde bepaald. Schlözer benadrukte dat er drie opvattingen bestaan van het begrip volk: (1) een geografische, (2) een genetische (of historische), en (3) een politieke (of statistische) opvatting. In het eerste geval behoren volken tot een klasse, in het tweede geval tot een stam, in het derde tot een staat (Schlözer 1771: 118, 144, 210 n. A, 271 n. K; 1772: 101-104; 1775: 295-298). In zijn eigen werk maakte hij systematisch onderscheid tussen deze opvattingen en koos afwisselend voor de historisch-genetische of de politieke-statistische benadering. Het lijkt erop dat de nieuwe opvatting van volk, als zijnde gekenmerkt door taal, een oorspronkelijke Duitse vinding was, die door geleerden uit andere landen werd overgenomen. In Rusland leidde dit tot een overzichtelijker indeling van de volken. Juist deze visie ontbrak bij Niebuhr. Deze nieuwe, linguïstisch-gefundeerde manier van etnologie bedrijven gaf de Duitstalige geleerden een voorsprong op het gebied van de geschiedschrijving en de historisch-vergelijkende taalkunde, zoals blijkt uit het vroeg-negentiende eeuwse werk van J.S. Vater, F. Bopp en L. von Ranke.

De voordelen van de historisch-linguïstische methode werden ook onderkend door Adam Franz Kollár (1718-1783), de historicus in Wenen die het woord *ethnologia* invoerde en in 1783 als eerste een definitie gaf: ‘Ethnologia ... is de kennis van volken en naties, of die studie van de geleerden waarin zij de oorsprongen, talen, zeden en instellingen, en tenslotte

het vaderland en de oude nederzettingen van verschillende volken onderzoeken, met het doel een beter oordeel te kunnen vellen over de volken en naties in hun eigen tijd' (Kollár 1783, I: 80). Met deze definitie bleef Kollár dicht bij de betekenis die Schlözer aan *Ethnographie* toekende. Beide geleerden kenden elkaars werk en Kollár probeerde in zijn werk over de geschiedenis, geografie en etnografie van de beide Pannonia's dat van Schlözer toe te passen. Maar Kollár gaf een ruimere betekenis aan de volkenkunde omdat hij het woord volk met twee begrippen weergaf, namelijk *gens* (volk, volksstam) en *populus* (hier vertaald als natie). Het lijkt er sterk op dat hij daarmee de etnische complexiteit en diversiteit wilde benadrukken. Dat hij als doel van de etnologie formuleerde om 'de volken en naties in hun eigen tijd' beter te kunnen beoordelen wijst erop dat Kollár zich bewust was van de etnische complexiteit in het Oostenrijkse en Hongaarse Rijk (sinds 1867 de Oostenrijks-Hongaarse Dubbelmonarchie). Deze *Völkervielfalt* is een belangrijke inspiratiebron geweest bij de vorming der *Völkerkunde*.

De factoren die daarbij een rol speelden zijn afhankelijk van de periode en context. Tijdens de eerste periode, bij de totstandkoming van de *Völker-Beschreibung* (ca. 1740), werd de context bepaald door het Russische imperialisme en de kolonisatie van Siberië, de Vroege Verlichting (*Frühaufklärung*), uitgaande van de universiteiten van Halle, Leipzig en Jena met de nadruk op empirisme en rationaliteit, en het absolutisme en mercantilisme van de Russische Tsaar Peter de Grote. Doorslaggevend waren de Russische wens om over een inventaris van de volken in hun expanderende rijk te kunnen beschikken, en de wetenschappelijke eis van Müller om deze zó systematisch-omvattend en empirisch-kritisch op te zetten dat de beschrijvingen van nut konden zijn bij een internationale vergelijking met andere volken. Tijdens de tweede periode, bij de ontwikkeling van de *Völkerkunde* (ca. 1770), leidde het universalisme van de Late Verlichting (*Spätaufklärung*), vooral in de Universiteit van Göttingen, tot de wens van historici om binnen een omvattende wereldgeschiedenis aandacht te besteden aan alle volken, in alle tijdvakken en alle werelddelen. In beide gevallen speelde de etnische diversiteit (*Völkervielfalt*) en de grote Duitse interesse in dit onderwerp, gezien de historische ontwikkeling van het Heilige Roomse Rijk, een rol. De historisch-taalkundige methode van Leibniz bood een middel om onderscheid tussen deze volken te maken en hun onderlinge relaties (oorsprong en verwantschap der volken) te reconstrueren. Het is veelzeggend dat historici als eersten de *ethnos*-begrippen gebruikten.

In ieder geval één van deze historici was zich bewust van de parallelle ontwikkelingen op het gebied van de *Anthropologie*. Schlözers oudere collega Johann Christoph Gatterer introduceerde de begrippen *Völkerkunde* en *Ethnographie* in de aardrijkskunde. Dat deed hij in zijn *Abriß der Geographie* (Göttingen 1775), waarin hij beide begrippen als equivalenten van elkaar opvoerde. Maar hij combineerde ze met *Menschenkunde* of *Anthropographia*. Hij sprak over '*Menschen- und Völkerkunde* (*Anthropographia und Ethnographia*)' en gaf deze een plaats in zijn classificatie van geografische wetenschappen, namelijk als vierde categorie, na de *Gränzkunde*, *Länderkunde* en *Staatenkunde* (Gatterer 1775: 4-5). Dat Gatterer deze

wetenschappen in de aardrijkskunde invoerde is opmerkelijk, omdat Schlözer ze als deel van de geschiedenis zag. Dat heeft vermoedelijk met het feit te maken, dat Gatterer van mening was dat volken zonder geschreven geschiedenis (*wilde Völker*) niet in de geschiedschrijving behandeld konden worden (1773). Maar omdat hij de aardrijkskunde als een hulpwetenschap van de geschiedenis zag, zouden de resultaten daarvan ook aan de geschiedenis ten goede komen. Uit de inhoudsopgave die Gatterer van de *Menschen- und Völkerkunde* gaf, blijkt dat de menskunde gericht was op ‘het menselijk lichaam, naar gestalte en kleur’ (1775: xviii).

De Göttingse arts/anatoom Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, die beschouwd wordt als de grondlegger van de fysische (of biologische) antropologie, legde eveneens verband tussen het antropologische en het etnologische discours. Hij maakte een classificatie van aanvankelijk vier, later vijf mensenrassen (variëteiten) maar hield zich als conservator van het Academisch Museum in Göttingen ook bezig met etnografische collecties. Die dateerden van de tweede wereldreis van James Cook (1772-75) en (via donaties van Georg Thomas von Asch) van de Billings-expeditie (1785-93). Blumenbach was de eerste die het begrip *Anthropologie* (al sinds 1501 in omloop) gebruikte als technische term voor de ‘natuurlijke geschiedenis van de mens’ (1795-98). Ook de filosoof Immanuel Kant was geïnteresseerd in de fysische studie van de mens. Hij introduceerde het moderne rassenbegrip en werkte tot op hoge leeftijd aan zijn *Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht* (1798). Zijn leerling Johann Gottfried Herder, die het gebruik van de term *ethnographisch* bij Schlözer becritiseerde (1772), zette zich eveneens in voor een alles omvattende, holistische studie van de mens. John Zammito (2002) betoogt dat Kant en Herder aan de wieg stonden van de antropologie en dat de (filosofische) antropologie uit de filosofie ontstond, en wel rond 1770 in het werk van Kant en Herder.

Anthropologie was dus iets heel anders dan *Ethnologie*. Dat toont ook het werk van de jurist Theophil Friedrich Ehrmann aan. Hij maakte onderscheid tussen *Anthropologie* (‘naar Blumenbach’) en *Ethnologie*. Ehrmann (1808) was de eerste auteur die een helder onderscheid maakte tussen etnologie (*allgemeine Völkerkunde*) en etnografie (*besondere Völkerkunde*). Een dergelijk onderscheid was in de geografie al geïntroduceerd door Varenius (1650). Met het onderscheid tussen *allgemeine* en *besondere Völkerkunde* stelde Ehrmann dat de volkenkunde bestond uit een algemene (theoretische of vergelijkende) tak, de *Ethnologie*, en een bijzondere (beschrijvende of regionale) tak, de *Ethnographie*.

In de Epiloog wordt uiteengezet hoe deze volkenkundige ideeën door geleerden in Frankrijk, Rusland, Nederland, de Verenigde Staten en Groot Brittannië werden overgenomen. In buurlanden waar men Duits kende, verliep deze overname verrassend snel. In 1802 duikt ‘ethnology’ op in de Verenigde Staten, eveneens in de context van een expeditie (de Lewis en Clark-expeditie). Vanaf 1823 en 1834 treden de begrippen ‘etnografie’ en ‘etnologie’ op in Franse en Engelse bronnen. De antropoloog E.B. Tylor zag zijn boeken van 1865 en 1871 als bijdragen tot de etnografie en etnologie, en baseerde zich vooral op Duitstalige geleerden.

Deze gegevens zijn van belang in het kader van een debat over oorsprong en object van de antropologie dat al sinds de oprichting van etnologische en antropologische verenigingen in de negentiende eeuw wordt gevoerd. Daarover bestaan meerdere opvattingen. Dit onderzoek maakt duidelijk dat (fysische en filosofische) antropologie en etnologie gedurende de achttiende eeuw naast elkaar tot ontwikkeling zijn gekomen, voor verschillende objecten, parallel aan elkaar. Pas vanaf ca. 1840 vond er een onderschikking plaats, waarbij het ene object (ras) hoger werd geplaatst dan het andere (volk). Daarmee kreeg de antropologie een meer algemene en dus hogere status dan de etnologie. In 1864-1871 vond in Londen en in 1869-1879 in Washington een naamsverandering van etnologie in antropologie plaats. Dit leidde tot een hiërarchische opvatting van antropologie. Deze visie kreeg vanaf 1879 zijn beslag in de Amerikaanse *four-field approach*, waarbij antropologie werd gezien als een verzamelbegrip voor vier disciplines, namelijk fysische (of biologische) antropologie, archeologie, linguïstiek en etnologie (of culturele antropologie). Deze benadering heeft grote waarde voor de situatie in Amerika, maar doet geen recht aan de historische (parallele) ontwikkeling van deze disciplines en is daarom voor historiografische doeleinden ongeschikt.

In dit boek heb ik geprobeerd recht te doen aan de rijkdom en complexiteit van het historische materiaal. De conclusie van het onderzoek is dat de sociaal-culturele antropologie veel ouder is dan vaak is aangenomen maar ook dat zij in een andere vorm tot stand kwam dan werd gedacht. Bij het ontstaan van de sociaal-culturele antropologie gaat het niet om antropologie maar om volkenkunde (*Ethnographie* en *Ethnologie*). Dat was een empirische (beschrijvende) vorm van antropologie, in tegenstelling tot een biologische (fysische) of filosofische (bespiegelende) vorm van antropologie. Veel is nog onduidelijk. We hebben maar weinig gegevens over de introductie van de etnologische manier van denken in andere landen van Europa en de periode 1747-1767 is nog te weinig belicht. Wetenschapsgeschiedenis is, zoals Foucault in 1969 al schreef, vaak een archeologie van het denken. Maar het is duidelijk dat tijdens de achttiende eeuw een etnologisch discours bestond naast een zich ontwikkelend antropologisch en een zich ontwikkelend sociologisch discours – deels in contrast en deels in dialoog daarmee. Het bestaan van zo'n discours werd al door Duchet (1971) gepostuleerd, maar nimmer beschreven. Deze manier van denken en communiceren werd tijdens de achttiende eeuw door Duitstalige onderzoekers in het Russische, Duitse en Oostenrijkse Rijk gesystematiseerd en vervolgens overgenomen door geleerden in andere landen van Europa en de Verenigde Staten.

Dit etnologisch discours kwam voort uit de geschiedschrijving, onder invloed van de historische linguïstiek, en als complement van de (fysische en sociale) geografie, de sociale filosofie en de (fysische en filosofische) antropologie. Het leidde tot een nieuwe wetenschap die in het Duits werd aangeduid met *Völker-Beschreibung* (1740) en *Völkerkunde* (1771); in het Neogrieks met *ethnographia* (1767-75) en *ethnologia* (1781-83). Deze etnologische manier van denken werkte door in de latere antropologie, zowel in de fysische en filosofische antropologie van de negentiende eeuw, als in de sociaal-culturele antropologie van de twintigste eeuw.

Kurzfassung

Die Auffassung, dass die *Ethnologie* in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts mit dem Evolutionismus anfängt, oder besser in den Arbeiten der (quasi-)evolutionären Ethnologen Tylor, Bastian, Morgan, Bachofen und anderer "wissenschaftlich" wurde, ist fast kanonisch (z.B. Eriksen und Nielsen 2001). Es gibt allerdings wichtige Ausnahmen. So werden die antiken Wurzeln der Ethnographie betont (Klaus E. Müller 1972-80, 1997) sowie die Mittelalterlichen und Renaissance 'Foundations' der Ethnologie (Hodgen 1964). Die Bedeutung des 18. Jahrhunderts für die Entstehung der Ethnologie wird anerkannt, aber das betrifft vor allem die Arbeiten der Französischen und Schottischen Aufklärung (Duchet 1971; Barnard 2000). Zwar wurde die Bedeutung des 18. Jahrhunderts auch für die deutschsprachige Völkerkunde hervorgehoben, aber vor allem das späte 18. Jahrhundert, im Wirken des Historikers Schlözer (ab 1770 in Göttingen) oder des Philosophen Herder (Fischer 1970; Stagl 1974, 1995, 2002; Rupp-Eisenreich 1984; Vermeulen 1988, 1992, 1995; Berg 1990). Erst in jüngerer Zeit wird auch die Bedeutung des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts für die Völkerkunde erkannt, nämlich in den Arbeiten der Historiker Müller und Fischer, sowie der Biologen Gmelin, Steller und anderer, die das russische Reich erforschten. Ihre Schriften machen deutlich, dass bereits im frühen 18. Jahrhundert eine systematische und umfassende *Ethnographie* existierte (Elert 1996a, 1999a, 2005a; Vermeulen 1999; Hintzsche 2001, 2004, 2006; Bucher 2002; Hoffmann 2005). Die Arbeiten vor allem von Gerhard Friedrich Müller und August Ludwig Schlözer zeigen die Anfänge eines ethnologischen Diskurses, der im 19. Jahrhundert von den besser bekannten Ethnologen Klemm, Waitz, Bastian und Tylor aufgenommen wurde (Vermeulen 2006a-b, 2008a-b). Die Anfänge der Völkerkunde liegen somit nicht erst bei Tylor, Bastian und Morgan im 19. Jahrhundert in England, Deutschland oder Amerika, sondern bereits im 18. Jahrhundert in Russland (Sibirien) und im damaligen Deutschland (im Heiligen Römischen Reich deutscher Nation). Der Begründer der *Ethnographie* war nicht Bronislaw Malinowski, um 1915 Erfinder der teilnehmenden Beobachtung, sondern Gerhard Friedrich Müller, Sibirienforscher, Historiker und Ethnograph.

Meine These ist, dass mit den ethnographischen Arbeiten von Gerhard Friedrich Müller um 1730-40 und den ethnologischen Ansätze von August Ludwig Schlözer, Johann Christoph Gatterer und Adam Franz Kollár um 1770-80 die Geschichte der soziokulturellen Anthropologie, so wie diese sich im 20. Jahrhundert gestaltete, anfängt. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass es sich in allen vier Fällen um Historiker, nicht um Philosophen oder Biologen, handelte. Die Völkerkunde (*Ethnographie* und *Ethnologie*) trat aus der Geschichtsschreibung hervor.

Bibliography

This bibliography lists all the works and sources utilized while writing the present book. The main distinction is between (I) archival sources, (II) maps, (IIIa) primary works (mainly eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century sources), and (IIIb) secondary works. The latter distinction is similar to that between ‘texts’ and ‘studies’ (Rossi 1984). For practical reasons, the last two categories have been combined in one alphabetical list of references.

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II. MAPS

(a) Chaplin, Petr Avramovich (Tschaplin), Map of the Itinerary of the Siberia [First Kamchatka] Expedition under Captain Bering from Tobolsk to Cape Chukotka, depicting representatives of Siberian peoples contacted by expedition members [1729]. The map's title is: *Siya karta socinisy v sibirskoy ekspeditsii pri komande flota kapitana Beringa ot Tobol'ska do Cjukochkago ugla* (Kungliga Biblioteket/National Library of Sweden, Stockholm) 58x136 cm (reproduced on the cover). This map exists in several variants, one of which Bering added to his report to the Russian Admiralty in 1730. Georg Thomas von Asch donated another copy to the University of Göttingen in 1777 (Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Ms. Asch 246). 59,5x137 cm (reproduced in Fig. 3). See Buchholz 1961; Yefimov 1964; Hintzsche & Nickol 1996a: 72-73, 1996b: Blatt 1; and Hauser-Schäublin & Krüger 2007.

(b) Russischer Atlas, welcher in einer General-Charte und neunzehn Spezial-Charten das gesamte Russische Reich und dessen angränzende Länder nach den Regeln der Erd-Beschreibung und den neuesten Observationen vorstellig macht. Sankt Petersburg 1745. 2nd ed. 1761.

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Curriculum Vitae

Han F. Vermeulen is a cultural anthropologist and historian of anthropology working in Leiden, The Netherlands, and Halle, Germany. He was born in The Hague on 9 January 1952 and went to school in Voorschoten, Hollandia, and Leiden. He studied cultural anthropology at the University of Leiden from 1970 to 1979 and from 1988 to 1989. He carried out fieldwork in the Netherlands (1971, 1973) and in northwestern Tunisia (1976, 1978). He has written two unpublished studies in Dutch, *Het ontstaan van de Volkenkunde, ca. 1770 in Göttingen* (MA thesis Leiden 1988) and *Migratie en sociale verandering in de Khroumirie (Noord-West Tunesië): De Cité forestière van Tebeiniya, 1966-1976* (Leiden 1989).

Specializing in the history and theory of anthropology, he conducted library and archival research on the early development of ethnography and ethnology in the Netherlands and Germany. He has been attached to the Research School of Asian, African and Amerindian Studies (CNWS), University of Leiden, from 1991 to 1996, and to the Department of Cultural Anthropology and Sociology of Non-Western Societies (CA/SNWS), also at Leiden, from 1990 to 1991 and from 1997 to 2003. During this period he convened workshops and seminars on the history and epistemology of anthropology in Munich (1991), Prague (1992), Leipzig (1993), Leiden (1996), Amsterdam (1998), Utrecht (1999), and Leiden (1999).

His main interest is in the history and theory of anthropology, especially of ethnology and ethnography in Europe and Asia from the eighteenth century onward. He has published *Taal-, land- en volkenkunde in de achttiende eeuw* (Leiden: Oosters Genootschap, 1996) and co-edited seven volumes of essays, including: with Arturo Alvarez Roldán, *Fieldwork and Footnotes: Studies in the History of European Anthropology* (London/New York: Routledge, 1995); with Henri J.M. Claessen, *Veertig Jaren Onderweg* (Leiden: DSWO Press, 1997); with Reimar Schefold, *Treasure Hunting? Collectors and Collections of Indonesian Artifacts* (Leiden: Research School CNWS/Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, 2002); with Jean Kommers, *Tales from Academia: History of Anthropology in The Netherlands [1770-2000]* (2 parts. Nijmegen: NICCOS/Saarbrücken: Verlag für Entwicklungspolitik, 2002).

He assisted Gregory Forth (University of Alberta, Canada) in studying the life and work of the colonial civil servant Louis Fontijne (1902-1968) and in editing an English translation of Fontijne's 1940 report (*Guardians of the Land in Kelimado*, Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004). Together with J.C. Heesterman, Sjoerd M. Zanen, and Bal Gopal Shrestha, he edited the posthumous book of the Leiden-based anthropologist and indologist A.W. van den Hoek (1951-2001), entitled *Caturmāsa: Celebrations of Death in Kathmandu, Nepal* (Leiden: Research School CNWS, 2004). He was ethnology consultant of the 'Paper Museum' project, resulting in Renée Kistemaker et al. (eds) *The Paper Museum of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg c. 1725-1760* (Amsterdam: Editio-KNAW, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2005). He is a consultant of several academic projects in the Netherlands, including a film project on fire sacrifice in the Agnimatha fire temple in Patan (Nepal) and a research project on Suryoye and Christian minorities in the Middle East and diaspora.

Since 2006 he is a visiting scholar at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology/Max-Planck-Institut für ethnologische Forschung in Halle (Saale), Germany.