

JAINA STUDIES

1

Johannes Klatt

Jaina-Onomasticon

Edited by
Peter Flügel & Kornelius Krümpelmann

Harrassowitz

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Peter Flügel & Kornelius Krümpelmann
London & Münster, 31.10.2016

Life and Work of Johannes Klatt

by Peter Flügel ¹

¹ All unattributed translations in the text are the author's. Selected, previously unpublished, primary sources are presented in footnotes. A set of Klatt's letters and postcards is published in FLÜGEL (2017).

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The name of Johannes Emil Otto Klatt (1852-1903), Classical and Oriental philologist, Librarian at the Königlische Bibliothek in Berlin, and pioneer of Jaina Studies, has almost entirely disappeared from the records of 19th century intellectual history; despite the fact that, between 1873 and 1892, as librarian and bibliographer, he became one of the pivotal figures in Oriental Studies. Klatt was one of a handful of scholars, coalescing around his teacher Albrecht Weber (1825-1901) of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Berlin, who, together with Georg Bühler (1837-1898) in Surat and Vienna, effectively established Jaina Studies as an academic field. Not only is Klatt 'not recognised as standing among the major German Indologists of the nineteenth century',² he is not mentioned in any of the many recent studies on the history of Oriental research, not even in those dedicated to the history of Indology in Germany, few of which touch on Jaina Studies at all.³ Histories of the Royal Library at Berlin, where Klatt occupied a prominent position for twenty years, also hardly take note of his existence.⁴ The only exceptions are Ernst WINDISCH (1917, 1920), who in his classical work *Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie und indischen Altertumskunde* records two of Klatt's scholarly contributions,⁵ and Wilhelm RAU (1982), whose book *Bilder 135 deutscher Indologen* offers a rare photo of Johannes Klatt and thereby includes him in the Indological lineage.⁶ Whoever wanted to know anything further about Klatt's 'work-filled life and his writings'⁷ had to consult a footnote which Klatt's friend Ernst Leumann (1859-1931) inserted in Klatt's last, posthumously published, article.⁸ It has remained the single authoritative bio-bibliographical source on Johannes Klatt's life and work to date.

At the occasion of the posthumous publication of Klatt's magnum opus, the *Jaina-Onomasticon*, which Walther Schubring (1881-1969) repeatedly praised as one of the principal accomplishments of 19th century Jaina research,⁹ the time has come to re-discover its author and his still relevant work; not merely for posterity, but also as a paragon and tool for the ongoing exploration of South Asian history and culture. The reconstruction of Johannes Klatt's life and work, tragically cut short by illness, is not an

easy task, though, and, to a certain extent, remains a puzzle to be solved, due to the absence of literary remains and substantial archival vestiges. On the basis of the presently available documents, hardly anything can be said about Klatt's personal and family life. Many aspects of the context of his academic work remain opaque as well; particularly his motivation to specialise in Sanskrit philology, in the first place, and the scientific rationale informing the Jaina-Onomasticon; a question, which may never be elucidated, unless conclusive evidence is brought to light. Klatt's career as a librarian, his day-to-day work, and some of his professional engagements, are relatively well-documented in personnel files and his few surviving letters of 1874-82 to Albrecht Weber, both held at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, and in the letters of 1881-91 to his close collaborator Wilhelm Adalbert Ernst Kuhn (1846-1920) in Munich, which are preserved at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. The details of Klatt's routines and working methods are of general interest for intellectual history. They offer a glance into the ways in which 'normal science' was conducted in the 19th century, by a civil servant engaged in Oriental Studies, and how information was processed in the Königlische Bibliothek zu Berlin (KBB), the Prussian Royal Library, at a time of exponential influx of published and unpublished data from all over the world. Even after the creation of an independent University Library at the Königlische Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität zu Berlin (KFWUB), mainly a teaching collection, the Prussian Royal Library (now: Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz) remained the principal research library in Germany. At the time of Klatt, it had already become the main resource centre for the network of universities, libraries, scholars, and publishers, who set the tone for academic life in the newly created German Empire. However, the main source for the following reconstruction of the life and work of Johannes Klatt remains Klatt's published work, a complete list of which is offered in the bibliography of this bio-bibliographical essay.

2 BALBIR (2003: 253f.).

3 EMINENT ORIENTALISTS (1922), STACHE-ROSEN (1990), G. G. SENGUPTA (1996), MCGETCHIN (2004), SCHÜTTE (2004), SENGUPTA (2005), RABAULT-FEUERHAHN (2008/2013), MARCHAND (2009), GRÜNENDAHL (2012), ADLURI & BAGCHEE (2014), etc.

4 See the literature in the bibliographies of BALCKE (1925), KUNZE, DUBE & FRÖSCHNER (1961), KITTEL (1961), and PAUNEL (1965) (until 1884).

5 WINDISCH (1917: 51; 1920: 296, 349-51) mentions only KLATT's (1873) dissertation on Sanskrit gnomic literature,

and his first article on Jaina chronicles (1882a). Klatt's annual reviews for the DMG, which Windisch must have used for his own book, are not listed.

6 RAU (1982: 62): '* 31. Oktober 1852 Filehne/Posen † 27. August 1903 Berlin'. The photo is from Robert Birwé, Leverkusen-Rheindorf, Schnepfenflucht 10 (p. 142).

7 SCHUBRING (1935 § 4: 8, Fn. 2): 'Über sein arbeitsreiches Leben und seine Schriften vgl. LEUMANN IA 23, 169'.

8 LEUMANN (1894: 169, Fn. 2). See page 135.

9 SCHUBRING (1935 § 4: 8; 1944: vi-vii; 2000 § 7: 10).

1. Johannes Klatt's family and life at a glance

Johannes Klatt was born on 31 January 1852 in the small town of Filehne (Wieleń), in the western part of the administrative region Bromberg (Bydgoszcz) of the Prussian province of Posen (Poznań). His father Friedrich Michael Klatt (1803-1880)¹⁰ was a postmaster, a Prussian civil servant, of Protestant-Lutheran faith.¹¹ On 8 January 1842 he married Caroline Wilhelmine (*née* Fiedler), who survived him, and spent the final years of her life with her step-sister in Braunschweig.¹² They had two children: Dr. phil. Johannes Klatt, and one younger brother, the Gymnasium teacher Dr. phil. Ludwig Klatt (c. 1859-1924), who died in Berlin as a 65-year-old childless widower.¹³ In 1887, Johannes Klatt married the Berlin-born Margarete Patzig (1861-1928), the daughter of Heinrich Albert Rudolf Patzig (b. 1814 in Berlin) and Johanna Auguste Patzig (*née* Sprenger, later Baumann) (b. 1822 in Altenburg). They had two sons, the pedagogue and war invalid Dr. Fritz Klatt (1888-1945), a leading member of the Youth Movement, writer on literature and art, and pioneer of adult education in the Weimar Republic, who in 1930 became Professor at the Pädagogische Akademie in Hamburg,¹⁴ and the expressionist freelance landscape painter Albert Klatt (1892-1970),¹⁵ who, like his brother, was branded 'politically undesirable' after 1933, yet from 1948-57 worked as Professor for Watercolour Painting at the Hochschule für bildende Künste, Berlin-Charlottenburg.¹⁶ Margarete Klatt had two older brothers, Bernhard Patzig (c. 1850-1917) and Hermann Patzig (c. 1860-1931). Bernhard Patzig never married, and lived with the family of his sister Margarete from 1892. Hermann Patzig had at least one son, Dr. med. Bernhard Patzig Jr. (1890-1958), a leading researcher at the Kaiser-Wilhelm Institut für Hirnforschung in the 1930-40s. Another of Margarete Klatt's nephews, Rudolf Patzig, died in WW I.¹⁷ Evidently, almost all members of the inner circle of Johannes Klatt's nuclear family, both in

the paternal and maternal line, were well-educated, and belonged to an upwardly mobile middle-class, which benefitted from the favourable economic circumstances of the *Gründerjahre*, the years of rapid industrial expansion following the creation of the German Empire at Versailles in 1871. Most of them resided in Berlin. The psychological and material hardships that the family of Margarete Klatt had to face after the sudden manifestation of Johannes Klatt's illness in 1892, which led to his premature death in a private clinic in Bonn on 27 August 1903, could therefore be mitigated through family support.

2. The Prussian Province of Posen

The province of Posen, where Klatt grew up, was bilingual. The majority of the inhabitants were Polish smallholder farmers and landless farm workers of Roman Catholic faith. They were dominated politically and economically by a minority of mainly Protestant Germans, who only formed demographic majorities in some of the small cities, particularly in the western and northern parts of the province, such as Filehne (72%) and Bromberg (68.3%).¹⁸ Most Germans in Posen tended to look down on the Polish population and about fifty percent supported German nationalist parties. Even before the height of the so-called *Kulturkampf* between the state of the post-1871 German Empire and the Catholic Church, a strong anti-Polish and anti-Catholic propaganda campaign was instigated by the Prussian Government in the early 19th century. The surge of the number of monasteries in the Catholic areas, and the tenfold increase of monks, for instance in the Prussian Rhine Province and also in Posen, was portrayed by the government as the vanguard of a resurgent culturally backward form of medieval Catholicism, which posed a serious threat.¹⁹ In 1848, a Polish uprising was put down by the Prussian army.²⁰ Subsequently, an increase in the number of German settlements was encouraged by the government, with,

10 KLATT (Letter to Lepsius 27.5.1880) reports the death of his father.

11 KLATT (Kurzer Abriß des Lebens 30.7.1874) describes himself as 'Sohn eines Preußischen Beamten'.

12 F. KLATT (1965b: 12).

13 F. KLATT (1965a: 189, 1965b: 13). KBB (Acta I. 9^d, Letters, pp. 161, 167, 174, 185, 189, 191).

14 On Fritz Klatt (1888-1947), see his own writings, and BÖHM (1977: 710). He was married twice: to the medical doctor Edith Mischke, with whom he had one son and one daughter, and in 1939 to Elisabeth C. R. Wendt, with whom he had two daughters.

15 A. KLATT (Letter to Bau- & Finanzdirektion 12.10.1928) mentions his economic struggles.

16 See A. KLATT (1950, 1967, 1968). For photographs, see: <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk>, http://gesichter-des-dka.gnm.de/content/mdc_artefactd7ff

17 F. KLATT (1965a: 189).

18 On the social structure of Posen, see M. WEBER (1892: 403-92), MATULL (1973: 479-81), RADEMACHER (2006): http://www.geschichte-on-demand.de/p_posen.html

19 See SCHULTE (1872), BELZYT (1998: 17f.), GROSS (2004: 130f.):

'Prussian state authorities were disturbed by the rapid spread of monasteries and congregations especially in the peripheral, predominantly Catholic areas to the east and west with their suspect Polish and French ethnic populations. [...] [I]n the three dioceses of Breslau, Posen-Gnesen, and Kulm there had been before 1853 a combined total of only 236 monks and and nuns. By 1872 the number had jumped to 1,986'.

20 WUTTKE (1864: 237ff.).

however, limited success. The majority of the predominantly rural population of Posen was poor,²¹ the population increase significant, and the rate of emigration was the highest in Prussia. While almost a third of the migrants moved to the Americas, the majority relocated to the booming urban centres of late 19th century Prussia, particularly to Berlin.

Filehne had only 3,920 inhabitants in 1861. But it was an important ancient county town, with legal privileges, a railway connection from 1851, a local court, post office, and other facilities that gave it significance beyond its size. The *Revidierte Städteordnung* of 17.3.1831 granted additional civil rights to selected towns, including Filehne, which also benefited the Jewish population.²² There was a synagogue and a large Jewish community, which in 1816 and 1837 was the biggest congregational group.²³ Two significant Jewish-German scholars, who also ended up in Berlin, were born in Filehne: Moritz Lazarus (1824-1903), brother-in-law of Klatt's university teacher Heymann Steinthal (1823-1899) (with whom Lazarus coined the term *Völkerpsychologie*), and Aron Freimann (1871-1948), Historian, Orientalist and Librarian at the Royal Library in Berlin. By 1890 most Jews had left Filehne.²⁴

3. Primary and secondary education in Filehne and in Bromberg

Johannes Klatt moved to Berlin at the young age of sixteen, after completing secondary education. In Filehne, he was initially taught by a private tutor, Dr. Emil Grüning.²⁵ Probably after the retirement of his father, at the age of sixty, the family relocated to Bromberg (Bydgoszcz), the capital of the northern administrative region of Posen, situated 142 km east

of Filehne, where, from 29.9.1862 to 21.9.1868, Klatt attended the Royal Gymnasium, one of only a handful in the region.²⁶ The *testimonio maturitatis* (*Zeugnis der Reife*) of 21.9.1868²⁷ certified the unanimous assessment of the Königliche Prüfungs-Kommission (Royal Examination Commission) that Johannes Klatt deserved the 'certificate of scientific maturity' that would enable him 'to study Law'.²⁸ Klatt was generally considered to have been a good student, though not a precocious one. Poor Latin style and French were attested.²⁹ He also had to repeat class one (his first after initial private tuition). In the CV that he supplied on 4.11.1872 to the University of Halle-Wittenberg, as part of the application for acceptance to the doctoral examination, Klatt states that the Director of the Gymnasium, *vir illustrissimus* Deinhardt, had conveyed 'optimal merit' to him.³⁰

4. Königliche Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin 1868-72³¹

Studying at a university served as a rite of passage for the male offspring of the social elites, especially the middle-class. Usually it terminated with the award of the doctoral degree, which re-confirmed the social status of students, who generally belonged to the wealthier strata of society, who were able to afford the considerable expense. Many students were recruited from the families of academics, the educated middle-classes, known as the *Bildungsbürgertum*, members of which tended to intermarry.³² Klatt's father, though relatively well off as a retired postmaster with a state pension, must have been highly socially aspirational.³³ Otherwise, he would not have invested so heavily in the status- and

21 M. WEBER (1892: 486f.) argued that cultural factors such as 'Intensität des Deutschtums' could explain disparity of economic performance.

22 WUTTKE (1864: 234f.).

23 WUTTKE (1864: 292f.): 2,719 inhabitants in 1816: 1,180 Jews, 970 Lutherans, 569 Catholics; 3,288 inhabitants in 1837: 1,380 Jews.

24 In 1890 Filehne had 4269 inhabitants: Protestant 2408, Catholic 1260, Jewish 601 (RADEMACHER 2006: http://www.geschichte-on-demand.de/p_posen.html).

25 Vita (UMLUHW, Promotionsakte Johannes Klatt. 1872-73).

26 KLATT (Kurzer Abriß des Lebens 30.7.1874). Zeugnis der Reife 21.9.1868 (UMLUHW, Promotionsakte Johannes Klatt. 1872-73). Klatt's father is said to have lived in 1868 as a 'Rentier' in Bromberg.

27 Signed by D. Mehring (Königlicher Kommissarius), Breda (Director Königliches Gymnasium), Fechner (Professor), Dr. Schoenbeck (Oberlehrer), Dr. Hoffmann (Oberlehrer), Heffter (Oberlehrer), Marg (Gymnasiallehrer).

28 Zeugnis der Reife 21.9.1868 (UMLUHW, Promotionsakte Johannes Klatt. 1872-73):

'Die unterzeichnete Prüfungskommission hat ihm demnach, da er jetzt die Anstalt verläßt, um die Rechtswissenschaft zu

studieren, das Zeugniß der wissenschaftlichen Reife einstimmig zuerkannt [...]'.

29 His performance was evaluated as follows (UMLUHW, Promotionsakte Johannes Klatt. 1872-73): I. Moral Conduct: 'good', Diligence: 'satisfactory'; II. Achievements: 1. German: 'satisfactory', 2. Latin: Reading 'satisfactory', Style 'considerable defects', 3. Greek: Grammar 'satisfactory', Class Readings 'sufficient', 4. Hebrew: 'satisfactory', 5. French: 'insufficient', 6. Study of Religion: 'satisfactory' ([Christian] doctrinal teachings, church history, New Testament Text), 7. Mathematics: 'satisfactory' ('inclination and talent for this science'), 8. Physics: 'satisfactory', 9. History & Geography: 'satisfactory'.

30 KLATT, Amplissimo 4.11.1872 (UMLUHW, Promotionsakte Johannes Klatt. 1872-73).

31 In 1949 renamed *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*.

32 RINGER (1992: 268) found that 'two-thirds of the fathers of German academics between about 1860 and 1890', were academically trained themselves and formed the small 'mandarin class' of pre-war Germany.

33 Not only the middle-classes, also farm-workers were socially aspirational, but, according to M. WEBER

employment-enhancing university education of both of his sons. His attitude was not unusual for members of the middle-class at the time, however, whose sons enjoyed increased educational opportunities, 'brought on by factors such as increasing employment opportunities in the various services of the Prussian state'.³⁴ The letters of Johannes Klatt, nevertheless, clearly indicate that he had to take up additional part-time work to finance his studies. He belonged to the minority of students from lower-middle classes, in a student body that was dominated by the educated and propertied classes,³⁵ and must have felt the difference in social status.

Klatt matriculated on 17 October 1868 at the Faculty of Philosophy of the prestigious Königliche Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin.³⁶ It is not entirely clear why he enrolled in this particular faculty, given that his certificate of maturity states that his original plan was to study law.³⁷ One possibility is that he was not accepted at the Faculty of Law. Another, more likely, scenario is that he was not interested in studying law in the first place, but in the then fashionable study of philology as part of classical studies. His education at the Gymnasium in Bromberg focused on classical languages, plus German and French (not English), and hence prepared him particularly well for Classical Studies, that is, Classical (and Oriental) Philology combined with Classical Antiquity (Altertumskunde), including lectures on archaeology, history, comparative linguistics, comparative mythology, history of literature, textual criticism, and philosophy. Classical Studies were offered at faculties of philosophy, where generally Gymnasium teachers were educated.³⁸ They

provided a new, non-theological approach to the texts and cultures of antiquity, which figured prominently in the neo-humanist ideal of *Bildung* that was promoted in 19th century Prussia and in the German Empire.³⁹ Because his Latin style was judged to be less than perfect by his Gymnasium teachers, Klatt might have felt uncertain whether an application for the study of philology in Berlin would have been supported by the examination board of his school, and had initially opted for law. The student register (Studentenverzeichnis) of the KFWUB for 1868 lists 'J. E. O. Klatt' under 'Studies of Philology'.⁴⁰

The reasons for Klatt's specialisation in Indian languages and literatures are even more opaque. Since there is no evidence of a youthful romantic infatuation with an imagined India, it seems most likely that his interest in the study of Indian languages was triggered by Albrecht Weber's course Sanskrit Grammar, which Klatt attended during his first term at university. Sanskrit was considered as a necessary requirement for Comparative Linguistics, the discipline which dominated training in the Humanities in Berlin ever since Wilhelm von HUMBOLDT's (1820/1822) programmatic article 'Ueber das vergleichende Sprachstudium in Beziehung auf die verschiedenen Epochen der Sprachentwicklung' and his friend Franz BOPP's (1833) pioneering work *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litthauischen, Gothischen und Deutschen*, whose influence is also evident in HUMBOLDT's (1836) posthumously published book *Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaus und ihren Einfluss auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts*.⁴¹ In his CV, submitted to

(1892/1984: 921), their aspirations focused on the possession of an individual share of land, rather than on education.

- 34 SENGUPTA (2005: 174), based on LENZ (1910), JARAUSCH (1984: 29f., 76-8). See also RINGER (1992: 268f.): 'Another significant constituency of the German university was what I have called the non-economic lower middle class, which consisted of middle-level and lower officials and of primary or "lower" teachers, meaning teachers without university-level education. Given the fact that they usually had modest incomes, these occupational groups were remarkably well represented among the fathers of German academics. The column for all faculty present as of 1864 suggests that their share may have been 10 percent or more around the mid nineteenth century; it decreased to two-thirds of that level in the 1870s and 80s; but it then steadily recovered to around 9 percent in 1910, 11 percent in 1920, and 13 percent in 1931. How did young people from such modest backgrounds survive the low salaries and long probationary periods they encountered as junior faculty? The same question could be asked about the sons of secondary teachers as well, and one can only assume an extraordinary commitment to social mobility through learning in this very interesting group'.

- 35 SENGUPTA (2005: 174-7).

- 36 On the procedures, forms, and fees for students at the time, see DAUDE (1887: 684ff.).

- 37 Abgangszeugnis von Johannes Klatt Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin 14.10.1872, signed by the Professors 'Dove, Lehnert, Mommsen' (UMLUHW, Promotionsakte Johannes Klatt. 1872-73).

- 38 Since there was an increased demand for Gymnasium teachers, the percentage of students enrolled at the Philosophical Faculties in Germany increased from 30.4% to 42.7% in 1870-80 (JARAUSCH 1984: 72).

- 39 SENGUPTA (2005: 166):

'This was the faculty which had become the chief theatre of realisation of the ideals of neo-humanism in education in the course of the nineteenth century and, at the same time, the chief training-ground for teachers of the prestigious secondary schools, the *Gymnasium*. Both classical studies as well as the new comparative linguistics were part of this faculty'.

- 40 KFWUB (Studentenverzeichnis 1868, p. 20).

- 41 HUMBOLDT (1836: 301):

'Die Sanskritischen Sprachen aber nähern sich dieser [vollkommensten Sprach-] Form am meisten, und sind zugleich die, an welchen sich die geistige

the University of Halle-Wittenberg in 1872 as part of his application for the doctoral examination,⁴² Klatt describes his course at the University of Berlin as ‘study of philology, especially Indian’.⁴³

The leaving certificates issued by the KFWUB recorded the lectures attended and fees paid by the student.⁴⁴ They certify that Klatt studied for four years, that is, the conventional eight semesters, two more than required for the Triennium, including a year for the composition of the doctoral dissertation. He registered for altogether 38 lectures,⁴⁵ completed 33 of them,⁴⁶ enrolled for three without completing them (one due to illness of the lecturer), and did not enrol for two which are listed in his course register (at least one of which was cancelled). Klatt’s studies focused on classical and Sanskrit philology and history.⁴⁷ He attended three lectures on comparative linguistics and philosophy of language, twelve on language, literature, and mythology of the Greek and Roman,⁴⁸ and thirteen on the Indian classics, four on European antiquity and pre-antiquity (Greek and Roman history, historiography, mythology, and antiquities), and one on the history of the art of writing. He also enrolled for individual lectures on pedagogy⁴⁹ and comparative mythology, which were cancelled, and the history of philosophy, which was terminated due to illness of the lecturer. Klatt did not complete lectures on pedagogy (an unpopular lecture which did not require seat allocation) and linguistics in antiquity. Amongst his teachers were some of the

leading scholars of his time, because the University of Berlin, capital of the most powerful of the German states, strove to recruit the best scholars.⁵⁰

In detail, he registered for classes in Comparative Linguistics and Philosophy of Language (Chajim Heymann Steinthal 1823-1899),⁵¹ Latin- (Emil Hübner 1834-1901), Sanskrit-, and (twice) (Zend or) Pali-Grammar (Albrecht Weber 1825-1901), and Greek- (Rudolph Friedrich Moriz Haupt 1808-1874,⁵² E. Hübner, Johann Wilhelm Adolf Kirchhoff 1826-1908),⁵³ Latin- (Carl Eduard Geppert 1811-1881,⁵⁴ M. Haupt) and Sanskrit- (A. Weber) Literature, with additional courses on History: ‘Pre-Greek’ History (Johann Gustav Droysen 1808-1884), Greek History and Historiography (Friedrich Wilhelm August Mullach 1807-1882,⁵⁵ E. Hübner), and on Greek- (A. Kirchhoff) and Roman Antiquities (Christian Matthias Theodor Mommsen 1817-1903), Greek-, Roman- (Ernst Curtius 1814-1896) and Comparative Mythology (H. Steinthal), History of (European) Philosophy (Friedrich Adolf Trendelenburg 1802-1872), and additional courses on Pedagogy (Hans Ferdinand Massmann / Maßmann 1797-1874), and History of the Art of Writing (Gustav Michaelis 1813-1895). KLATT’s (1873: 73) Vita additionally mentions a ‘Grimm’ amongst his teachers, though no lectures are recorded in his course register.⁵⁶

Bildung des Menschengeschlechts in der längsten Reihe der Fortschritte am glücklichsten entwickelt hat. Wir können sie mithin als einen festen Vergleichspunkt für alle übrigen betrachten’.

42 See Footnote 125.

43 UMLUHW (Promotionsakte Johannes Klatt. 1872-73).

44 KFWUB (Statuten 1838, §§ 84-85, pp. 32-34).

45 A diminishing number of lectures per semester: 8-7-5-3-3-5-5-2.

46 Lectures per semester: 7-6-5-2-3-5-4-2.

47 The *Compendienverzeichnis* or record of textbooks used in the Faculty of Philosophy was classified into broad sub-categories, such as ‘Geschichte und Alterthumswissenschaft’ (Curtius, Mommsen, etc.), ‘Literaturgeschichte’ (Hübner, etc.), ‘Philologie’ (Griechische und Römische Sprachen: Curtius, etc.), ‘Sanscrit’ (Bopp, Lassen, etc.), ‘Philosophie’ (Trendelenburg, etc.) (ASCHERSON 1872: 183f.).

48 Seven of the twelve lectures were concerned with ancient Greek literature.

49 Klatt never took this course, offered by Massmann, despite two attempts, and his Vitas do not include him in the list of his teachers. Massmann was already very old, and may have been ill occasionally, or Klatt was not very impressed, and registered only because a course in pedagogy was regarded as a formal requirement. On Massmann, a promoter of physical education, who in 1817 organised a burning of ‘impure’ books, see SCHERER (1884).

50 LENZ (1918 II: 302).

51 LENZ (1918 II: 302) characterises Steinthal, a pupil of Wilhelm von Humboldt who taught half a century at the KFWUB 1849-1899, as someone who wanted to go beyond the narrow confines of ‘the accustomed frame’ of the University of Berlin, and hence remained ‘alien’ to the Faculty of Philosophy. HOLZMAN (1908) highlights the fact that in 1860 he founded with his brother-in-law Moritz Lazarus the journal *Völkerpsychologie* and in 1869 belonged to the co-founders of the *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*: ‘Er hatte nicht viel Hörer. Sein Vortrag war äußerlich nicht anziehend. So blieben ihm nur tiefer angelegte Naturen treu’. On this point see also ERMAN (1994: 94). LOHMANN (1960: 454ff.) assessed the legacy of Steinthal’s methodological innovations underlying his ‘Typen des Sprachbaus’.

52 On Haupt, a student of Karl Konrad Friedrich Wilhelm Lachmann (1793-1851), proponent of the method of formal textual criticism, see SCHERER (1880, cf. 1883), LENZ (1918 II: 293-6), BECKER (1969).

53 On Kirchhoff, see WIRTH (1977).

54 Cf. GEPPERT (1870, 1871).

55 On Mullach, Habilitation Berlin 1853, see LENZ (1918 II: 296) and Wikipedia.

56 It may have been one of Wilhelm Grimm’s two sons: Herman Friedrich Grimm (1828-1901) or Rudolf Georg Grimm (1830-1889). The matter is not clear.

The academic year used to be divided into two ‘semesters’, from Michaelis (Michaelmas: 29 September) to Easter, and from Easter to Michaelis, with teaching lasting from fifteen to eighteen weeks, from the first Monday following the 14th of October to the Saturday after the 20th of March, and from the first Monday following the 8th of April to the Saturday following the 17th of August.⁵⁷ Studying at the University of Berlin was tightly regulated, though not to the level of the present universities in 2016. Seats in the lecture hall were numbered,⁵⁸ and, against advance payment of the auditor fees via the Faculty, individually allocated by the lecturer for the entire term.⁵⁹ This was done to prevent fights between students of popular courses.⁶⁰ After all, the University of Berlin was already in the 1870s a massive university, with about 10,000 students.⁶¹ There was no assessment, except on demand. Certificates attesting the degree of diligence of a student, particularly attendance, were only issued on request at the end of the semester, usually for the purpose of an application for a stipend.⁶² The following table summarises the contents of Klatt’s course register (*Anmeldungs-Buch*) for the years 1868-72,⁶³ which are also reproduced in his entry form for issuing a leaving certificate (*Anmeldungsschein zur Ausfertigung eines Abgangszeugnisses*) of 9.3.1872,⁶⁴ and in his leaving certificate (*Abgangszeugnis*) of 14.10.1872, which classifies his studies under the term ‘Philosophy’.⁶⁵

Semester	Lectures	Lecturers
1. Michaelis 1868-Ostern 1869	Die Form der indogermanischen Sprachen	Steinthal
	Der Eunuchus des Terentius	Haupt
	Sanskrit-Grammatik	Weber
	Die Leichenrede des Perikles bei Euripides ⁶⁶	Hübner
	Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern	Steinthal
	Die Casina des Plautus	Geppert
	Thucydides erklärt	Mullach
	<i>Pädagogische Fragen</i>	Massmann ⁶⁷
2. Ostern 1869-Michaelis 1869	Rigveda oder Atharvaveda	Weber
	(Zend- oder) Pāli-Grammatik ⁶⁸	Weber
	Ueber die griechischen Dialekte	Kirchhoff

57 DAUDE (1887: 382).

58 DAUDE (1887: 362). In Weber’s lectures Klatt occupied seat numbers 1-5, which indicate a very small auditorium (similary: Mullach & Geppert). His high seat numbers in the lectures of Trendelenburg (No. 109), Mommsen (No. 76), Haupt (No. 35-89), Kirchhoff (No. 46-68), Curtius (No. 42), Steinthal (No. 11-37), Hübner (No. 27), Droysen (No. 23), by contrast, reflect large auditoria (KFWUB, *Anmeldungs-Buch* 17.10.1868-5.8.1872). According to RINGER (1992: 257), in the Humanities in Germany a staff member had on average 8 students in 1873.

59 DAUDE (1887: 694). KFWUB (*Anmeldungs-Buch* des Studirenden Johannes Klatt 17.10.1868): ‘B e m e r k u n g: Nach den Bestimmungen in der hohen Ministerialverfügung vom 26. September 1829 hat jeder Studirende während der Vorlesung nur denjenigen Platz in dem Auditorium einzunehmen, welchen die ihm von dem betreffenden Lehrer gegebene Nummer in dem Anmeldungsbuch bezeichnet und zwar das ganze Semester hindurch. Auch soll, wenn ein Studirender verhindert, einige Tage oder länger an den Vorlesungen Theil zu nehmen, kein Anderer befugt sein, von dessen Platz unter irgend einem Vorwande Besitz zu nehmen’.

60 DAUDE (1887: 706f.).

61 JARAUSCH (1984: 72).

62 DAUDE (1887: 708f.).

63 KFWUB (*Anmeldungs-Buch* 17.10.1868-5.8.1872).

64 KFWUB (*Anmeldungsschein* 9.3.1872).

65 The form of the leaving certificate was fixed in 1825. For details see DAUDE (1887: 739-42).

UMLUHW (Promotionsakte Johannes Klatt. 1872-73):

‘Wir Rector und Senat der königlichen Friedrich Wilhelm Universität zu Berlin bekunden durch dieses Abgangszeugnis, daß Herr Johannes Emil Otto Klatt, geboren zu Filehne, Sohn des Rentiers Klatt in Bromberg, zu den akademischen Studien auf dem Gymnasium zu Bromberg vorbereitet, auf den Grund des Zeugnisses der Reife am 17^{ten} October 1868 bei uns immatrikuliert worden ist, sich seitdem bis zum Schlusse des Sommersemesters 1872 als Studirender hier aufgehalten und sich “der Philosophie” beflissen hat.

Während dieses Aufenthalts hat derselbe bei unserer Universität nach den vorgelegten Zeugnissen die nachgehend verzeichneten Vorlesungen gehört. [...]’.

66 Funeral sermons/addresses were a popular genre in 18th and 19th century Germany and published in the form of anthologies. See GRAEVENITZ (1980), EYBL (2003).

67 Klatt was registered, but not de-registered for this course (KFWUB, *Anmeldungs-Buch*, p.1). Italics highlight lectures that Klatt intended to take, but which did not run. The title of the lecture alone is italicised if a course ran only for a few weeks or was not completed by Klatt.

68 Since Klatt took the course ‘Pāli-Grammar’ in the eighth and last semester at the University of Berlin again, it must be assumed that Weber taught ‘Zend’ grammar at this time, now called ‘Avestan’. For the term ‘Zend’ see RASK (1820, 1834), F. BOPP (1833), also M. MÜLLER (1867: 118-59).

Semester	Lectures	Lecturers
	Kālidāsa's Meghadūta ⁶⁹	Weber
	Der Agricola des Tacitus	Hübner
	<i>Pädagogische Fragen</i>	Massmann
	Truculentus des Plautus	Geppert
3. Michaelis 1869-Ostern 1870	Atharvavêda	Weber
	Die Ilias erklärt	Haupt
	<i>Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie</i>	Trendelenburg ⁷⁰
	Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra	Weber
	Pāli-Grammatik	Weber
4. Ostern 1870-Michaelis 1870	<i>Allgemeine und vergleichende Mythologie</i>	Steinthal
	Die Kunstmythologie der Griechen und Römer	Curtius
	Kālidāsa's Çakuntalā	Weber
5. Michaelis 1870-Ostern 1871	Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur	Kirchhoff
	Rigveda	Weber
	Sprachphilosophie und allgemeine Grammatik	Steinthal
6. Ostern 1871-Michaelis 1871	[Die] Acharner des Aristophanes	Haupt
	Geschichte der griechischen Historiographie	Hübner
	Geschichte der vor-griechischen Zeit	Droysen
	Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra	Weber
	Geschichte der Schreibkunst	Michaelis

69 Cf. GILDEMEISTER (1841).

70 The course registry (KFWUB, Anmeldungs-Buch, 16.2.1870) notes that Trendelenburg (1802-1872) had to terminate his lectures in 21.1.1870 due to illness: 'Herr Prof. Trendelenburg hat wegen Erkrankung seine Vorlesungen am 21. Januar schliessen müssen. Ritter'.

71 Klatt was registered, but not deregistered for this course (KFWUB, Anmeldungs-Buch, p.7).

Semester	Lectures	Lecturers
7. Michaelis 1871-Ostern 1872	Griechische Staatsalterthümer	Kirchhoff
	Römische Staatsalterthümer	Mommsen
	Lateinische Grammatik	Hübner
	Mālatīmādhava	Weber
	<i>Sprachwissenschaft bei den Alten</i>	Steinthal ⁷¹
8. Ostern 1872-August 1872	Pāli-Grammatik	Weber
	Mālatīmādhava	Weber

Klatt took thirteen of his thirty-three completed classes (39.4%) with Weber, altogether four classes with Hübner, three with Steinthal, three with Kirchhoff, three with Haupt, two with Geppert. His preferences are reflected in each lecturer's share of Klatt's fees of 100 Reichsthaler (Reichstaler) Gold and 4 Reichstaler Courant for the eight semesters of his studies. Payment to only nine of the twelve university teachers of Klatt is recorded in the *Anmeldungsschein* of 9.3.1872 for the leaving certificate. Probably, because Geppert, Michaelis and Mullach were not full professors, they were not listed:⁷²

Lecturer	Fees
Weber	35 Reichsthaler Gold
Haupt	15 Reichsthaler Gold
Kirchhoff	15 Reichsthaler Gold
Hübner	10 Reichsthaler Gold
Steinthal	10 Reichsthaler Gold
Droysen	5 Reichsthaler Gold
Mommsen	5 Reichsthaler Gold
Trendelenburg	5 Reichsthaler Gold
Curtius	4 Reichsthaler Courant

Droysen, Mommsen and Trendelenburg claimed 5 Reichstaler Gold per course, whereas Hübner and others demanded only 2.5 Reichstaler Gold, etc. According to regulations from 1847, a standard hourly fee had to be charged per lecture. Only with special permission could less than the statutory fee be demanded for a lecture of one hour.⁷³ The different fees

72 KFWUB (Anmeldungsschein 9.3.1872).

73 DAUDE (1887: 381):

'In der philosophischen Fakultät betragen die Honorare:

a) Für die meisten 4-5 stündigen Vorlesungen 20 DR.; jedoch wird auch vereinzelt noch der Satz von 17 DR. erhoben;

for the listed courses can be explained by the quantity of lectures dedicated to a course per week, varying from one to five hours. A full professor taught ten hours per week. Albrecht Weber, for instance, announced three courses for the summer term 1872: Sanskrit-Grammar (three hours), R̥gveda and Arthavaveda (three hours), and a course on Bhavabhūti's Mālatī and Mādhava (two hours).⁷⁴ Instead of Sanskrit-Grammar, Weber actually taught Pali-Grammar (maybe because there was no student interest in Sanskrit), a course which Klatt took, together with the one on Mālatī-Mādhava.⁷⁵ Klatt also attended private classes free of charge, which were still counted as an achievement in fulfilment of the requirements for the final leaving certificate.⁷⁶

Besides the comparative approach of Heymann Steinthal, who, like August Friedrich Pott, Klatt's future doctoral examiner at the University of Halle-Wittenberg, was inspired by the ideas of Humboldt and Bopp,⁷⁷ three university teachers, in particular, would prepare Johannes Klatt with technical skills and research paradigms for his Jaina-Onomasticon project: Hübner, Mommsen, and Weber. Emil Hübner wrote a doctoral dissertation on Latin onomastics at

the University of Bonn in 1854,⁷⁸ was promoted to Professor of Classical Philology in Berlin in 1870, and was married to a daughter of Droysen. Subsequently, he became one of the most important collaborators in Theodor MOMMSEN's (1863 ff.) large-scale project on Latin epigraphy, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. He compiled four volumes for the series, before falling out with Mommsen and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848-1931).⁷⁹ Mommsen also instigated the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, a supplementary long-term project that was started in 1874 and completed in 2015.⁸⁰ As a student of Mommsen, Klatt must have been familiar with his approach and his major scientific initiatives, though in his surviving letters he refers only in passing to Mommsen, and to Hübner.⁸¹

The single most important intellectual influence on Johannes Klatt was undoubtedly his mentor, the Sanskritist Albrecht Weber, who, in contrast to many of his colleagues, including his own teacher Franz Bopp, was an inspiring personality,⁸² if not a particularly effective lecturer.⁸³ Like most professors of Sanskrit, to this day, Weber attracted few, but highly talented students.⁸⁴ In two letters to Rudolph Roth

b) Für Vorlesungen, welche in weniger als 4 Stunden wöchentlich gelesen werden, je nach der Stundenzahl 10 und 15 DR.; [...]

Nach dem Ministerial-Erlaß vom 11. Oktober 1847 soll in der Regel kein Docent befugt sein, eine Vorlesung, welche er gegen Entgelt zu halten beabsichtigt, einseitig für ein geringeres als das für Vorlesungen der Art nach der vorstehenden Tabelle veröffentlichten Honorare zu halten, mag die Vorlesung privatim, mag sie privatissime gehalten werden'.

74 ASCHERSON (1872: 11).

75 SENGUPTA (2005: 157):

'One of the most significant additions to the teaching curriculum of Indology at the University of Berlin, introduced as early as in the 1870s, came in the form of Pali and Buddhist studies'.

76 KFWUB (Statuten 1838, § 84, p. 32).

77 PLANK (1995: 362).

78 HÜBNER's (1854) study was published one year after POTT's (1853) pioneering work on proper names (which is not cited).

79 Wikipedia.

80 The first three volumes were edited by DESSAU et al. (1897). On the development of the prosopographical method in the 19th century see ECK (2003).

81 Another teacher, who must have had some influence on Klatt was A. MULLACH (1856), a classical philologist, specialised on pre-socratic and modern Greek language and literature, whose book *Grammatik der griechischen Vulgarsprache in historischer Entwicklung* focused on Greek vernaculars and their grammar. Like most works on vernacular language of the period, it was influenced by W.v. HUMBOLDT's (1836) posthumously published ideas on comparative linguistics.

82 WHITNEY (Letters to Freeman Bumstead 10.12.1850, & E. E. Salisbury 15.2.1851), in ALTER (2005: 21, 22).

83 ERMAN (1994: 94) remembers his student days in Berlin, and how he became attracted to Sanskrit through Weber:

'Da ein Nachfolger des 1867 verstorbenen Bopp noch nicht berufen war [...] so hörte ich das allerdings recht langweilige Kolleg von des einzigen damaligen Vertreters des Fachs, H. Steinthal, und begann im dritten Semester bei Albrecht Weber Sanskrit zu treiben. Webers Unterrichtsweise spottete jeder Beschreibung. Als in viel späterer Zeit eine pädagogische Ausbildung auch für die Hochschullehrer verlangt wurde, mußte ich immer an meine Erlebnisse bei Weber denken. Zu faul oder zu vornehm, um sich irgendwelche Mühe mit der Anleitung der Anfänger zu geben, oder beides zugleich, las er in den ersten zwei Wochen des Semesters im Galopptempo einen kurzen Abriss der Grammatik vor und verlangte dann, daß wir interpretieren sollten! Von den zwölf bis fünfzehn anfänglichen Zuhörern verschwand darauf die große Mehrzahl auf Nimmerwiedersehen, denn keiner konnte bis dahin auch nur lesen. Ich verabredete mit zwei bis drei anderen gemeinsame private Übungen, in denen wir die Stenzlersche Grammatik durcharbeiteten. Die Interpretation zu übernehmen, weigerten wir und zunächst durchaus und sagten Weber, daß wir uns melden würden, sobald wir der Aufgabe gewachsen zu sein glaubten. Er war sehr ungehalten, mußte sich aber fügen und lange Zeit hindurch selbst interpretieren, bis der erste von uns eintrat. So war ich denn, als das dritte Semester zu Ende ging und ich ernstlich daran denken konnte, Berlin zu verlassen, ganz und gar dem philologisch-sprachwissenschaftlichen Studium verfallen und dachte nicht mehr daran, zur Geschichte zurückzukehren'.

Ich verabedete mit zwei bis drei anderen gemeinsame private Übungen, in denen wir die Stenzlersche Grammatik durcharbeiteten. Die Interpretation zu übernehmen, weigerten wir und zunächst durchaus und sagten Weber, daß wir uns melden würden, sobald wir der Aufgabe gewachsen zu sein glaubten. Er war sehr ungehalten, mußte sich aber fügen und lange Zeit hindurch selbst interpretieren, bis der erste von uns eintrat. So war ich denn, als das dritte Semester zu Ende ging und ich ernstlich daran denken konnte, Berlin zu verlassen, ganz und gar dem philologisch-sprachwissenschaftlichen Studium verfallen und dachte nicht mehr daran, zur Geschichte zurückzukehren'.

84 SENGUPTA (2005: 155) writes 'Sanskrit studies at Berlin never attracted large numbers':

'Even the presence of renowned Indological scholars like Albrecht Weber seems to have left the bulk of the students at Berlin cold. While expressing his dissatisfaction with

(1821-1895) in Tübingen, of 25.11.1871,⁸⁵ and to his former student William Dwight Whitney (1827-1894) at Yale, of 7.2.1872, Weber praises the extraordinary quality of his eight principal students, including Klatt, of the academic year 1871-72, for whom he held an additional class, free of charge, at his residence in Berlin Friedrich-Wilhelm-Straße 14.⁸⁶ In another letter to Roth, from 26.3.1872,⁸⁷ Weber recommends his three German students of 1872, Johannes Klatt, Hermann Jacobi (1850-1937), and Paul Goldschmidt (1850-1877); mentioning that Klatt and Jacobi were planning to take their doctoral examination under Johannes Gustav Gildemeister (1812-1890) in Bonn, and Goldschmidt under Theodor Benfey (1809-1881) in Göttingen, and that Goldschmidt and Jacobi intend to come to Tübingen thereafter.⁸⁸ By the end of 1872, however, Klatt did not go to Bonn, but applied to the University of Halle-Wittenberg, to take his doctoral examination under August Pott (1802-1887), Professor of General Linguistics, a former student of Franz Bopp and friend of Albrecht Weber, who was a founding member of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (DMG) (and its first librarian),⁸⁹ and author of pioneering works on etymology⁹⁰ and onomastics.⁹¹ Ernest RENAN (1868: 22) described him as the ‘doyen des linguistes’ after the death of F. Bopp.

the small group of interested students that he had, Weber repeatedly complained to his friends about the dismal size of his audience. In the summer term of 1865, for example, Weber counted himself lucky that he had found eighteen students for four of his lectures, with two of them being enrolled for yet another lecture. In the winter-term of 1873-74, he reported that he had only one student in his lecture on Sanskrit grammar, but a satisfactory seven in his lectures in the Veda’ (pp. 159f.).

85 WEBER (Letter to Roth 25.11.1871):

‘Zend hört bei mir Paul Goldschmidt, der auch bei dir war, Jacobi (Schüler Gildemeisters, jetzt mit dem Laghujātaka beschäftigt) und Prof[essor] Jagić aus Odessa. Im Veda und Manu tritt noch Dr. Pischel zu, Klatt, der zwei nepāles(ische) Mss[Manuskripte] des Cāṇakya zur Dissertation verarbeitet hat. – Auch Dr. Siegf[r]ied Goldschmidt ist jetzt hier, theils beschäftigt mit Umschrift einer Telugu-Handschrift des Hāla, die ich durch Burnell aus Madras erhalten [...]’.

86 WEBER (Letter to Whitney 7.2.1872):

‘Mit meiner Thätigkeit an der Univ[ersität] bin ich in diesem Semester sehr zufrieden, wenn auch nicht der Quantität, so doch der Qualität nach. Ich lese Zend für drei (1. Stud[ent] Jacobi, der das Laghujātaka bearbeitet, 2. Stud[ent] Goldschmidt, der den Setubandha vorhat, 3. Prof[essor] Jagić aus Odessa, ein tüchtiger Slavist), Veda für fünf (4. D[okto]r Pischel, V[er]f[asser] der tüchtigen Dissert[ation] über Kālidāsa’s Čakuntalā, 5. Fortunatoff aus Moskau), Drama für sieben, Grammatik für zehn. Dazu noch ein Gratis-Privatissimum zu Hause, an dem ausser 1-5 noch 6. D[okto]r Goldschmidt, 7. Stud[ent] Klatt, der über einigen Nepāl-M[anu]s[c]ripten des Cāṇakya arbeitet, und seit Neujahr 8. Emile Senart, dem wir die treffliche

5. Doctoral dissertation on Sanskrit gnomic literature 1872

During his four years at the KFWUB, Klatt was trained in Classical and Oriental Philology. He refined his command of Greek and Latin language, his knowledge of history, philosophy, literature, and archaeology of classical antiquity, and was introduced into the methods of comparative linguistics and mythology. His specialisation was, however, in Sanskrit and Pali philology. Under the guidance of Albrecht Weber, he completed in the last year of his studies a seventy-four-page long doctoral dissertation in Latin on hitherto unstudied sayings attributed to Cāṇakya (Kauṭalya), *De trecentis Cāṇakyaē poetae Indici sententiis* (On Three Hundred Maxims of the Indian Poet Cāṇakya). The work is based on ten manuscripts which he deemed to have been composed in prakritised Sanskrit, seven of which are written in Nevārī script. Five of the manuscripts were held in the KBB, and five in the library of the DMG in Halle. The former were received from Nepal through the offices of Dr. Daniel Wright,⁹² brother of Professor Dr. William Aldis Wright (1831-1914), then librarian at Trinity College Cambridge, who presented them to the KBB in 1868 and 1869.⁹³ The focus of the dissertation is on altogether 302 (sic) sayings

Herausgabe von Kaccāyana’s Pāli-Gramm[atik] im Journal Asiatique verdanken, Theil nehmen; [...]’.

87 WEBER (Letter to Roth 26.3.1872):

‘Mein tüchtiges Auditorium löst sich für diesen Sommer auf. Klatt und Jacobi gehen nach Bonn, Paul Goldschmidt nach Göttingen. Er und Jacobi denken nach ihrer Promotion noch zu dir zu kommen’.

88 On Jacobi, Goldschmidt, Gildemeister and Benfey see the articles in the ADB and NDB by KÖLVER (1974: 228f.), GOLDSCHMIDT (1879: 339f.), JACOBI (1904: 354-9), KIRFEL (1955: 46).

89 On Pott see LEOPOLD (1983), PLANK (1995), SCHMITT (2001: 659f.), <http://www.catalogus-professorum-halensis.de/pottaugustfriedrich.html>

90 POTT (1833, 1836).

91 POTT (1853/1859).

92 See WEBER’s (1877) review of D. WRIGHT (1877) and WEBER (1886: 178).

93 KBB (Accessio manuscriptorum 1863-1886): Nr. 9500, 22.10.1868, Manicūdāvadānoddhṛta: ‘Geschenk des Prof. Dr. Will. Wright’; Nr. 9528-9530, 12.2.1869, Cāṇakyaśārasaṃgraha (2x), Vetālapañcaviṃśati: ‘Geschenk des Prof. Dr. W. Wright in London (durch Prof. Weber)’; Nr. 9658, 9.3.1869, Pāṇḍavagītā: ‘Geschenk d. Prof. W. Wright in London’. See WEBER’s (1886) catalogue: Vetālapañcaviṃśati (1800 CE): No. 1587 (Ms. or. fol. 600) (p. 169); Laghu- & Vṛddha-Cāṇakyaṃ Rājanītiśāstram: No. 1590 (Ms. or. fol. 1037) (pp. 170-2); Cāṇakyaśārasaṃgraha: Mss. 1591 & 1592 (Ms. or. fol. 598 & 599) (p. 172); Manicūdāvadānoddhṛta: Ms. 1606 (Ms. or. fol. 597) (p. 178). D. Wright donated and bought further gnomic texts attributed to Cāṇakya and written in Nevārī script to the library of the

comprised in two of the five manuscripts at the KBB, both entitled *Cāṇakyaśārasaṃgraha*, and hence explicitly attributed to Cāṇakya. Chapter I of the dissertation, pp. 1-8, describes the ten manuscripts.⁹⁴ Chapter II, pp. 9-18, describes the known editions and references to the 'sayings of Cāṇakya'. Chapter III, pp. 19-72, the main body of the work, provides, first, an introductory outline of parallels of the maxims in the published literature - including the Greek translation by Demetrios Galanos [1770-1833] of 330 maxims in Bhartṛhari's *Nīti- and Vairāgya-śataka*,⁹⁵ of which, according to Klatt, 110 maxims are elsewhere attributed to 'Cāṇakya',⁹⁶ and 89 of the *Laghu-Cāṇakya*, which in 1865 was translated by Weber on the basis of Berlin Mss. or. fol. 165 & 167. It offers, further, a typology of the main themes of the maxims, a linguistic analysis of the idiosyncrasies⁹⁷ of the Sanskrit,⁹⁸ pp. 19-28, and finally an annotated Latin translation of 101 previously unpublished sayings, found in the two *Cāṇakyaśārasaṃgraha* manuscripts. After a brief Vita of Klatt, the published dissertation concludes with a list of ten 'controversial sentences' for the disputatio. These are unconnected with the dissertation as such. Only three of them concern Indian literature. Seven are related to European antiquity.⁹⁹

Klatt's dissertation supplemented BÖHTLINGK's (1863-1865) and WEBER's (1865, 1868) pioneering work on Indian sayings and apothegms¹⁰⁰ (on ethics and law, love and women, renunciation, etc.).¹⁰¹ Its main contribution was the description, translation and interpretation of one hundred hitherto unknown maxims of the *Vṛddha-Cāṇakya*, which featured neither in Böhlingk's famous thesaurus¹⁰² nor in Weber's manuscript of the *Laghu-Cāṇakya*.¹⁰³ Prior to the defence and publication of the thesis in 1873, Klatt already had supplied Böhlingk with a transcript of the *Vṛddha-Cāṇakya* manuscript and material from chapter two of his dissertation for Volume III of the revised edition of the latter's work *Indische Sprüche*.¹⁰⁴ Böhlingk included some of Klatt's findings, described in chapter two of the dissertation, into his tome, but not the maxims Klatt newly discovered in deemed to be prakritised apocryphal Sanskrit texts from Nepal, written with Nevārī spellings reflecting Nepalese pronunciation.¹⁰⁵ This was due to Böhlingk's strong views on the relevance of grammatical Sanskrit, and disregard for apocryphal materials collated for purposes of historical research. The role of poetic licence was a disputed issue between him and his friend A. Weber.¹⁰⁶ Though Klatt's doctoral dissertation had an instant impact on

University of Cambridge: e.g., *Cāṇakyanīṭisāra*, MS Add.1040, donated 1874; *Cāṇakyaśārasaṃgraha*, MS Add.1346, bought 1875. Cf. KLATT (1890: 184f.): '1868-9 schenkte W. Wright in London 5 Sanskritthss'.

94 KLATT (1873: 1-8). The five manuscripts at Halle are: Kuvalayaśva-nāṭaka, Madāśānṛtya, Hariścandraṇṛtya, Hitopadeśa, Kārttikamāhātmya (cf. ZDMG 25 1871: xxxvii). The five manuscripts of the KBB are: Mañicūḍāvadānoddhṛta (Ms. or. fol. 597), *Cāṇakyaśārasaṃgraha* (Ms. or. fol. 598), *Cāṇakyaśārasaṃgraha* (Ms. or. fol. 599), *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* (Ms. or. fol. 600), *Pāṇḍavagītāstotra* (Ms. or. fol. 601).

95 On Galanos, see DEMITRIOS (2000: 138-61).

96 WEBER (1865: 401): '*Cāṇakya*'s Name ist ihnen nur in majorem gloriam zugetheilt'. Similarly: KRESSLER (1907: 7f.).

97 WEBER (Letter to Pott 1.11.1872) talks about 'irregularities' and 'deviations'.

98 KLATT (1873: 26f.) reverts to HOEFER (1836) and LASSEN (1837), and certainly used BOEHLINGK and RIEU (1847) and WEBER (1870). H. JACOBI (1880b: 258) could additionally use for instance GOLDSCHMIDT (1873), BÜHLER (1878), PISCHEL (1880), and HOERNLE (1880). See WEBER (1881: vii) for a brief summary of the state of Prakrit Studies at the time, highlighting the publication of Hemacandra's *Prakrit Grammar* by Mahābala Kṛishṇa (Bombay 1873).

99 E.g. no. 4: 'Idea boni et deus Platoni non eodem venerunt' (KLATT 1873: 74).

100 KLATT (1873: v) placed his thesis explicitly in the context of Böhlingk's research project: 'Trecentas Cāṇakyaee sententias e duobus bibliothecae Regia Berolinensis codicibus descripseram. Sed quum editione omnium trecentarum sententiarum finitus

dissertationis ambitus permultum excederetur, non nisi partem sententiarum affero, et quidem 1) novas (quae quidem in Böhlingkii Sententiarum Thesaurio non insint) 2) nonnullas alias diversis causis selectas. Quod ad omissas sententias attinet, quas in prolegomenis, ubi de linguae proprietatibus codicum disputamus, non minus respici oporteat, ad tertium Böhlingkii Sententiarum tomum et supplementa delegamus'.

101 KLATT (1873: 21).

102 WEBER (1865: 400) highlighted the fact that Böhlingk's maxims from the *Laghu-Cāṇakya* came from Galanos's Greek translation. Cf. KLATT (1873: 20). WINDISCH (1917: 51) points to E. TEZA's (1878, 1879) later publication and Italian translation of the original Sanskrit text of the *Laghu-cāṇakya* used by D. Galanos for his Greek translation, which Nikolaos Kephala had given to the Vatican. See already KRESSLER (1907: 40).

103 KLATT (1873: 20):

'De sententiis 302, quae his codicibus, circiter 100 novae sunt, quae quidem neque in Böhlingkii Thesaurio insint neque mihi alicubi in Sanskritis libris obvenierint (hae omnes infra legentur)'.

104 BÖHTLINGK (1870, 1872, 1873a). For a list of further supplements to this edition, supplied by Böhlingk himself, Aufrecht, Blau, Durga Prasād, and Sternbach, see STERNBACH (1974: 30, Fn. 132).

105 On this issue, see BROUGH (1954 / 1996: 353-6 / 132-5): 'Such spellings may perhaps reflect Nepalese pronunciations, but they are not in themselves evidence for the original texts.'

106 BÖHTLINGK (1873b: v-viii). See infra.

his chosen academic field, it was in danger of becoming an apple of discord already before its formal validation.¹⁰⁷

6. Doctoral examination in Halle 1872-73

The precise reasons for Klatt's choice of the University of Halle for his doctoral examination are not known. They may, however, to some extent, be inferred. Generally, in mid 19th century Germany, the legal role of the main academic teacher was not marked out, as it is today, by designations such as 'Doktorvater' or 'Supervisor', since students often took their final exams at a university that was different from their principal alma mater. This practice was particularly popular amongst students in the philosophical faculties. A variety of reasons accounted for it. According to BRANDT (2007: 670), the main motive of the itinerant doctoral candidate (*Wanderpromovent*) was the relatively easy examination (*Leichtpromotion*) offered at certain universities. Other motivating factors were: the competence of the principal examiner, difficulties with the teachers at the place(s) of study, non-conformism, individualism, quest for self-realisation, and the significance of a doctorate from a prestigious university for 'personal reputation and career advancement'.¹⁰⁸ Taking the final examination at

a different university offered also other advantages to doctoral students, not mentioned by Brandt. It could, for instance, provide: (a) independent validation of the quality of the submitted work, and (b) an introduction to a potential employer.

Because by custom, rather than rule, the roles of teacher and examiner tended to be separated at the time, lines of intellectual influence and discipleship (cf. *śikṣā-guru* and *dīkṣā-guru*) can not be traced mechanically in an unambiguous way.¹⁰⁹ Usually, the only indication of the principal tutelage was a singular acknowledgment placed at the beginning of the doctoral dissertation. In his thesis, KLATT (1873: vi) used the following words to single out his principal guide, the 'illustrious man' (*vir illustrissimus*) Albrecht Weber:¹¹⁰

Praeceptori Carissimo, Viro Illustrissimo
Albrechto Weber.

Neque vero huic praefationi finem imponere possum, quin Albrechto Weber viro illustrissimo pro singulari erga me comitate gratias agam quam maximas, quum non solum mihi neque consilio neque opera unquam defuerit, sed etiam opere confecto correcturam susceperit summoque libelli commodo absolverit.¹¹¹

107 The chapter, and the debate, was superseded by the dissertation supervised by Leumann and submitted in 1902 to the University of Strassburg by O. KRESSLER (1907), who refers to Klatt's as 'Recension. XVI' or Recension 'K.', using Klatt's transcript of a 'Cāṇakyaṃ von 302 Sprüchen, das Klatt aus zwei n e p a l e s i s c h e n Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek (Fol. 598 und 599) transcribierte' (= 'Index t'), which was made available to him by Weber, and the published dissertation (= 'Index d') to produce a concordance of the verses in the seventeen recensions that were at his disposal (p. 44). Subsequently, the work of STERNBACH (1963a, 1963b, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1969, 1970, 1974a, 1974b, 1977, 1987, etc.), who only occasionally obliquely refers to Klatt (1873) under the abbreviation CKI, is significant. For a review of 1963a and 1963b, see J. C. WRIGHT (1965: 162). The present whereabouts of Klatt's transcript of the two Cāṇakyaśārasaṃgraha manuscripts, which Böhlingk and Kressler had used, are yet to be discovered. See page 32f.

108 BRANDT (2007: 697): 'Die Bedeutung der Promotion für persönliche Reputation und berufliches Fortkommen wird subjektiv hoch angesiedelt; entsprechend bedeutsam ist in der Regel das mit ihnen verbundene Passageerlebnis und die Intensität seiner autobiographischen Schilderung. Die Permissivität der Promotionspraxis in vielen Fakultäten ist die entscheidende Rahmenbedingung für diese <Wanderkultur>, die ein eigentümliches Kennzeichen der dezentralen deutschen Universitätslandschaft und ihrer national-kulturellen Einheit darstellt'.

109 In his investigation of A. Pott's *paramparā* (he did not find Klatt's file, and hence does not mention him), PLANK

(1995: 349) indirectly confirms the existence of the expectation that teacher and examiner ideally had to be different: 'Wie wird der Besucher von Lehrveranstaltungen zum Schüler? Eine notwendige formelle Bedingung dürfte gewesen sein, daß er von seinem Lehrer geprüft und grundsätzlich für geeignet befunden wird, fortan dessen Lehre auch selbst zu vertreten. Ist der Besuch von Potts Kollegien auch selbst schon spärlich, Schüler in diesem Sinn ist darunter kein einziger'.

110 According to MORGENTHAU (1975-6: 321, 1978a: 97), only W. Pertsch 1854, F. Johaentgen 1858, E. Siecke 1869, E. Sieg 1891, and W. Friedländer 1900, studied with and took their doctoral examination under Weber. On Pertsch, who in 1850 studied under Weber, together with W. D. Whitney, see BERBIG (1907: 18). Morgenroth does not mention Klatt. He counts amongst Weber's disciples: Michel Jules Alfred Bréal, J. Eggeling, P. Goldschmidt, A. de Gubernatis, Jan Hanusz, A. Hillebrandt, A. Ludwig, G. Thibaut, H. Jacobi, J. Jolly, F. Kielhorn, H. Kern, E. Kuhn, E. Leumann, J. Minayeff, H. Oldenberg, R. Pischel (Weber's successor), W. D. Whitney, and H. Zimmer. Many of these studied for some time both with Bopp and Weber. PARPOLA (2003: 192) set apart F. L. Pullé and P. E. Pavolini as students, who studied with Weber only for a (relatively) short period (the first in the years 1873-75 and 1885). But many of the above mentioned names could have been added. E. MÜLLER (1876) also dedicated his work on the grammar of Jaina-Prakrit to A. Weber.

111 POTT, Report on Klatt's dissertation 12.11.1872 (UMLUHW, Promotionsakte Johannes Klatt. 1872-73) designates Klatt as a 'disciple of Prof. Albrecht Weber'.

Klatt's decision to take the examination in Halle, rather than in Berlin, was likely mainly informed by financial considerations. The standards of the University of Berlin were known to be extremely high, and a doctor's degree from Berlin was considered as a candidature for an academic career.¹¹² Yet it was very expensive.¹¹³ The classical philologist Ulrich von WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF (1989), a contemporary of Klatt, writes that he turned away from the University of Berlin in indignation, and took his doctoral exams in Bonn, because a fellow student in Berlin advised him to go to Halle, which, he seems to suggest in his memoir, was known to be an inexpensive and easy alternative to Berlin.¹¹⁴

'Do you really want to get your doctoral degree here? For this purpose one goes to Halle and takes the small doctoral degree. It costs little. One does not need to publish. Everything is very comfortable'.

The information reportedly received by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff does not entirely correspond to the facts, however,¹¹⁵ because the University of Halle-Wittenberg also demanded statutory copies of the dissertation to be published before the final disputation. As in Berlin, the doctoral examination at Halle-Wittenberg incorporated the master artium examination, which was no prior requirement. It also involved, besides the assessment of the dissertation by a committee of three or more professors and a final public defence, a *rigorosum* comprising three oral- but no written exams.¹¹⁶ The only significant difference between the two universities, which were both located in Prussia and maintained by comparable standards and rules of examination,¹¹⁷ was the fee for a doctoral examination, which in Halle was considerably lower than in Berlin. The statutes of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Berlin of 1838 stipulated 100 Goldtaler (= 340 Reichsmark) to be the basic fee for a doctoral examination.¹¹⁸ This rule remained unchanged for

- 112 RADBRUCH 1903, in BRANDT (2007: 643): 'Die Anforderungen waren dort hoch, die Zahl der Doktoranden ganz gering, die Berliner Promotion fast eine Anwartschaft auf eine akademische Laufbahn'.
- 113 BRANDT (2007: 631): 'Vor allem war die Promotion [in Berlin] teuer. Die Kosten schwankten von Fakultät zu Fakultät, waren aber insgesamt hoch. Sie flossen den Professoren zu'.
- 114 WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF (1989), cited by BRANDT (2007: 669): 'Was ich von den Berliner Studenten sah, stieß ab. Ein Nebenmann sah die Reinschrift meiner Dissertation und sagte <Sie wollen doch nicht hier promovieren? Dazu geht man nach Halle und macht den kleinen Doktor, der kostet wenig, zu drucken braucht man nicht, alles ist ganz bequem>'.
- 115 WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF (1989: 47) had well-publicised disagreements with (ex-) members of the University of Halle-Wittenberg.
- 116 UMLUHW (Promotionsakte Johannes Klatt, 1872-73). The rules of the KFWUB (Statuten 1838, §§ 96, 106, pp. 38, 43) state that it is assumed that whoever applies for the doctoral examination, claims at the same time the degree of *Magistri artium liberali*. A written examination was not demanded; though BRANDT (2007: 667) paints a slightly different picture: 'Berlin, dessen philosophisches Terrain schwierig und dessen Promotionsverfahren mit vorgeschalteter Magisterprüfung und schriftlichem und mündlichem *Rigorosum* besonders hürdenreich war, genoss – wie in den anderen Fakultäten auch – schon in der Restaurations- und Vormärzzeit ganz allgemein den besonderen Respekt der Promovenden. Das Ausweichen von dort nach Jena ist prominent durch die Promotion von Karl Marx dokumentiert, der seinen Titel 1841 ebenfalls auf diesem Wege durch eine *absentia*-Promotion ohne *Rigorosum* erwarb'.
- 117 From 1858, the University of Berlin promoted (in vain) the homogenisation of standards and cost of academic degrees across the kingdoms and countries which were represented in the Council of the German Empire

(Reichsrat) (BAUMGART 1885b: x-xi). However, following T. MOMMSEN's (1876) criticism of 'the German pseudo-doctors', the popular practice of promotion in *absentia* (without oral examination) was slowly abandoned.

- 118 The statutes of the Philosophical Faculty of the KFWUB (Statuten 29.1.1838 & Zusätze 15.1.1892: 33ff.) set out the following formal requirements for a doctoral cum masters degree: § 98 three years study at one or more universities (*triennium*); § 85 a leaving certificate comprising a list of lectures heard, an evaluation of conduct, payment for which a respite is granted; § 90 fees of admission to the examination (*tentamen*): 10 Reichstaler Gold; § 94 fees for each sitting: 5 Reichstaler Gold & 1 Reichstaler Courant; § 99-100 and Appendix p. 54 formal application comprising the request to submit the thesis in Latin (a requirement in classical and oriental philology and archaeology), CV with indication of the religious confession, course of study, evidence of the *triennium*, school leaving certificate (*Reifezeugnis*), university leaving certificate, and specimen of the scientific knowledge of the candidate; § 101 the specimen will be circulated amongst all concerned experts of the faculty who decide in writing on the application of admission to examination including two-three written assessments; § 105 oral examination in one major and two minor subjects; § 114 then 150 printed statutory copies (1892 - 250 copies) of the thesis are to be submitted; §§ 112, 118, 199 the public disputation with at least two opponents is to be held in Latin, followed by opening of the floor to any member of the university who wishes to oppose the work, after which the doctoral degree is solemnly conveyed; §§ 117, 120 the candidate appears in black dress at the lower lectern and a 'university judge' at the upper lectern reads the statutes, which are to be accepted; § 132 the following dues are to be paid for the doctoral degree: 100 Reichstaler Gold (= 340 Mark) to the Dean (50 in advance), 5 Reichstaler Courant (= 15 Mark) to the University Library. See also MAUS (2013: 89f.). In 1810 the value of 1 Taler was about 36 Euro (p. 110, Fn. 367), in 1870 about 30 Euro in 2013 (p. 143). A full

some time. In 1885, the KFWUB charged 355 Mark (Gold) for the doctoral examination. This was 107 Mark more than the charges at the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg.¹¹⁹ The saving must have been significant for Klatt,¹²⁰ considering that he still had to pay back arrears of student fees he owed to the University of Berlin.¹²¹

From Klatt's point of view, an additional advantage of taking the exam in Halle must have been that the successful examination by an independent, well-known Orientalist promised to enhance his reputation and hence employability in the eyes of other scholars. His Dissertation was, after all, also a treatise on five manuscripts from the Library of the DMG in Halle. Klatt's initial approach to the famous August Pott was facilitated by a letter of recommendation by A. Weber, written on 1 November 1872, which he delivered by hand during his first visit in Halle. Weber praised Klatt as an 'industrious, solid

young man of good knowledge', who had already proven himself by supplying Böhlingk with new materials for the third volume of the second edition of the latter's vast anthology *Indische Sprüche*, and had worked in the same field for his doctoral dissertation, based on popular texts, written in Nevārī script in an irregular and idiosyncratic Sanskrit, which was worthy of investigation precisely for this reason.¹²² After securing approval from Pott, Klatt submitted, on 4 November 1872, his formal application for admission as a doctoral candidate to the University of Halle-Wittenberg. In accordance with standard practice, he supplied the following documents: (a) formal letter of application for the combined doctoral and masters examination, written in Latin;¹²³ (b) Vita (specifying his religious affiliation,¹²⁴ course of study, main subject, and names of

professor received a basic annual salary of about 2,000-2,500 Talers (~ 60-75,000 Euro in 2013) (ib.).

- 119 BAUMGART (1885a) produced a book comparing the cost of degrees at different universities in German speaking parts of Europe. It shows that in 1885, the cost for a doctoral degree in Halle was lower than in Berlin, but higher than in Leipzig: Berlin 355 Mark & 250 statutory copies (p. 152-4, cf. 155-7), Halle 210 Mark (Philosophical Faculty: 248 Mark) & 200 statutory copies (pp. 173-6, 176-9), Leipzig 210 Mark & 200 statutory copies (pp. 182-7).
- 120 To put these figures into context: Klatt's first earnings for work over a period of six months from October 1873 till May 1874 as a casual assistant for cataloguing Sanskrit manuscripts at the Royal Library in Berlin was a one-off payment of '100 Thaler' (~ 3,000 Euro in 2013) (KLATT, Letter to Lepsius 30.3.1874). At the time, a middle ranking civil servant earned a monthly wage of about 60-80 Reichsmark (~ 960-1,280 Euro: 1 Mark ~ 16 Euro): http://www.deutscheschutzgebiete.de/muenzen_deutsches_reich.htm.
- 121 Klatt's remaining dues of 100 Reichstaler Gold and 4 Reichstaler Courant for his studies at the University of Berlin from 17.10.1868-14.10.1872 were deferred (KFWUB Abgangszeugnis Klatt 14.10.1872).
- 122 WEBER (Letter to Pott 1.11.1872):
'Herrn Professor Pott,
Halle a/S.
Hochverehrter Herr College!
Gestatten Sie mir Ihnen in dem Überbringer, Herrn Cand. phil. Joh. Klatt von hier, einen meiner Schüler vorzustellen, der seit Beginn seiner Studien mit größtem Eifer sich dem Sanskrit und Pāli gewidmet hat. Er gedenkt sich jetzt in Halle um die Promotion zu bewerben, und ich kann Ihnen denselben als einen tüchtigen, soliden jungen Mann von guten Kenntnissen nur auf das Angelegentlichste empfehlen. Er hat sich auch schon um Böhlingk's indische Sprüche durch Zusendung neuer Materialien verdient gemacht, und seine Promotionsschrift ist ja gerade auf diesem Gebiete entlehnt. Er hat dazu einige der durch Prof. [William Aldis] Wright's Bruder aus Nepal gesandten Mss. in Nepāli-Schrift benutzt, und ich hoffe,

dass seine Arbeit sich als eine tüchtige bewähren wird. Das Sanskrit dieser Art von Texten, die mehr einen volkstümlichen Charakter, so zu sagen, tragen und in entfernteren Landstrichen Indiens abgefasst sind, bietet allerhand Irregularitäten und Abweichungen von der recipirten Grammatik, aber in ihrer Verwerthung wird gerade ein besonderer Nutzen der Arbeit selbst liegen.

Indem ich mich Ihnen auf das Herzlichste empfehle, verharre ich in getreuer dankbarer Ergebenheit und Verehrung
der Ihrige
AWeber
Berlin

Freitag 1 Nov. 1872'.
123 KLATT, Amplissimo (UMLUHW, Promotionsakte Johannes Klatt. 1872-73):
'Berolini, 4. Nov. 1872
Brüderstrasse 1.

- Amplissimo Philosophorum Ordini in Academia Fridericiana Halensi cum Witebergensi consociata. Hanc dissertationem inauguralem philologicam "De trecentis Cāṇakyaē sententiis" offero, quam ad summos in philosophia honores capessendos una cum thesibus controversis publice defendere in animo est. Examen rigorosum cupio ut instituat 1) de philosophia Platonica 2) de lingua literisque Indicis (Vedica, Sanscrita, Pāli, Prācrita) 3) de literis Graecis Latinisque. Quibus in disciplinis si me satis versatum praebuero et si dissertatio mea amplissimo Philosophorum Ordini sufficiens eruditionis diligentiaeque specimen visum erit, spero nihil impediturum quominus doctoris et magistri liberalium artium munera et honores in me conferantur. Joh. Klatt'.
- 124 Klatt's handwritten Vita did not indicate his religious affiliation ('evangelicae' = protestant), which was compulsory at the KFWUB (Statuten 29.1.1838, § 114, p. 112) and other Prussian universities. Hence it had to be added to the Vita at the end of the published version of the dissertation (KLATT 1873: 73). The fact that Klatt left the information out of his original application indicates that religious affiliation and observance did not feature highly in his life.

teachers), also in Latin;¹²⁵ (c) leaving certificate (Reifezeugnis) of the Royal Gymnasium of Bromberg dated 21 September 1868;¹²⁶ (d) leaving certificate of the University of Berlin dated 14 October 1872; (e) a pre-print copy of his philological inaugural dissertation.¹²⁷

After Pott's approval, the formal application was evidently considered a mere formality, since the Tentamen, the three-stage examinations process, commenced already within a few days. It comprised: (1) evaluation of the dissertation, (2) oral examinations (rigorosum), and (3) public defence of ten controversial propositions (*sententiae controversae*), listed at the end of the dissertation, but unrelated to its content.

(1) The examinations began with the assessment of his written submission, the *Specimen* or *Probenschrift*, which, like all dissertations in Classi-

cal and Oriental Philology at the time, had to be composed in Latin.¹²⁸ Klatt's dissertation *De trecentis Cāṇakyaē poetae indici sententiis* was circulated straightaway amongst the three examiners, the so-called *Verfahren durch Umlauf*. First, it was assessed by August Pott, who chaired Klatt's board of examiners. His report from the 12 November 1872 echoes the points highlighted by Weber, while offering mild criticism of Klatt's Latin diction, which 'often can only be understood after re-translation into German'. It attaches the epithet 'skilled and accurately composed' to the work.¹²⁹ Following Pott's recommendation to the Faculty to admit Klatt for the oral examinations, and to honour the dissertation by publishing it in its name, the two other members of Klatt's board of examiners, Heinrich Keil (1822–1894), Professor for Latin,¹³⁰ and Rudolf Haym (1821–1901), Professor for the History of German

125 UMLUHW (Promotionsakte Johannes Klatt. 1872–73, pp. 2f.) [revised and printed: KLATT (1873: 73)]: 'Vita.

Natus sum Johannes Aemilius Otto Klatt a. 1852 die XXXI. Mensis Octobris Filehnae in oppido Posnaniae, patre Friderico, matre Carolina, e gente Fiedler, quibus superstitibus adhuc laetor. [Addition in Klatt 1873: Fidei addictus sum Evangelicae.] Literarum elementis imbutus praeceptore Dr. Aemilio Gruening, anno h.s. LXII gymnasium Brombergense adii rectore Deinhardtio viro illustrissimo et de me optime meritum florens. A. 1868 testimonio maturitatis instructus [Klatt 1873: Testimonio maturitatis instructus a. 1868] in Universitatem Berolinensem me contuli, ubi per octo semestria [Klatt 1873: quatuor annos] studio philologiae, praesertim Indicae, me dedi scholisque interfui virorum doctissimorum: Curtius, Droysen, Geppert, [Addition in Klatt 1873: Grimm,] Haupt, Hübner, Kirchhoff, Michaelis, Mullach, Mommsen, [Klatt: 1873: Mommsen, Mullach,] Steinthal, Trendelenburg, Weber, quos omnes grata semper prosequar memoria'.

126 Ib., pp. 14f.: The 19th century Gymnasia in Germany were elite institutions with demanding curricula.

127 Ib.

128 Cf. KFWUB (Statuten 1838, § 100, p. 40f.).

129 POTT, Report on Klatt's dissertation 12.11.1872 (UMLUHW, Promotionsakte Johannes Klatt. 1872–73): 'Die mir zur Beurtheilung vorgelegte Arbeit des Cand. philol. Joh. Klatt aus Berlin, eines Schülers von Prof. Albrecht Weber derselbst, enthält 300 Sprüche, manche unter dem Namen des indischen Gnomendichters *Ān'akya*, einer (....?) etwas mythisch angehauchten Persönlichkeit, - mit mehr oder minder abweichenden Varianten - umlaufen. Dem genannten Bewerber um unsere Doctorwürde, welcher sich auch bereits durch Zusendungen an *Böhtlingk* für dessen "Indische Sprüche" Bd. III. Verdienste erworben hat, flossen als Quellen 10 Handschriften, von denen sich 5 in Berlin, die anderen grösstenteils in Halle in der Bibl[iothek] der deutschen morgenl[ändischen] Gesellschaft vorfinden, durch Prof. Wright's Bruder aus Nepal hergeschickt.

Klatt's *Einleitung* zu seinem umfangreichen Werke, bis S. 59 reichend, beschäftigt sich mit ausführlicher Gründlichkeit mit Beschreibung, der durch Nachweis, nicht nur der benutzten, sondern auch bloß ihm bekannten Grundschriften und Drucke von seinem Autor. Das ist aber keine leichte Aufgabe, indem zwar das *Metrum* in den untersuchten Sentenzen mit großer Strenge beachtet wurde, allein sonst gewaltige Verschiedenheit herrscht, sei es in *Schrift*, *Sprache* und *Ausdruck*, des acteurs nicht zu vergessen. So z. B. sind einige Mss. in *Nevârî*, einer dem Dêvanâgarî entstammenden, jedoch eigenständigen Schriftart abgefaßt. Was aber die Sprache verlangt: da zeigen sich mancherlei, oft mehr praktisierend und demnach volksthümlichere Abweichungen von dem allgemeingültigen *Sanskrit*, und sind diese von H[er]n Klatt in sachgemässer Weise herausgehoben und erläutert.

Die *Sprüche* selbst, in lateinischer Schrift umgesetzt, sind begleitet mit lateinischer Uebersetzung, mit den Varianten, mit Nachweisen und Sonstigem. Natürlich kann die Kritik nicht fehlen, und zum Schluss? eine Conjectur.

Die mühsame und gelehrte Arbeit aber, im Ganzen genommen, ist so angethan, daß sie von einer gediegenen Kenntniss des Sanskrit und mehrerer seiner Bücher vollgültiges Zeugnis ablegt, und hat man nun zu bedauern, daß ihr Ve[r]f[asser] im Gebrauch des lat[einischen] Idioms offenbar sich nicht recht heimisch fühlt. Man würde jedenfalls die Schrift mit mehr Genuß lesen, wenn man sie unmittelbar in Deutsch lesen, als vermittelt durch ein Latein, welches man häufig erst durch eine Rückübersetzung ins Deutsche sich verständlich macht.

Einen abgesehen, verdient jeder Abschnitt, welcher etwa für den Druck der Dissertation gewünscht würde, unbedingt diese Ehre im Namen der Facultät. Ja es würde ihr ein epitheton ornans, ein *docta et diligenter scripta* mit noblem Ernste gebühren.

Unter solchen Umständen kann ich Zulassung des Cand[idaten] zum mündlichen Examen mit gutem Gewissen zustimmen.

Halle den 12. Nov. 1872 Pott'.

130 Habilitation Berlin 1856 (LENZ 1918 II: 296, Fn. 1).

Literature,¹³¹ individually examined the dissertation and finally accepted it on 24 November 1872.

(2) In his application for the examination concerning the award of the title *doctoris et magistri liberalium artium* Klatt proposed the following topics for the three oral exams of the *rigorosum*: 1) Platonic philosophy, 2) language of Indian letters (Vedic, Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit), 3) Greek and Latin literature. The topics were accepted. The three oral exams were held in a single session in Halle on 2 November 1872, in the presence of all three members of the doctoral committee. As was customary, they were conducted partly in German and partly in Latin. The first oral exam on the language of Indian literature, Klatt's main subject, was conducted by Pott. His brief report states that after an opening question about Indian languages in general, he presented Chapter IV of the 'Nalus', the *Nalopākhyāna*, a text from the Sanskrit Mahābhārata, edited and translated into Latin (and German) by F. BOPP (1819, 1832, 1838),¹³² which was widely used in teaching Sanskrit at the time, and Klatt 'translated it with ease'. Klatt had also no problems in translating several sentences in Pali from the *Uragasutta* edition of F. SPIEGEL (1845: 75-80, cf. 81-90) and from E. BURNOUF's and C. LASSEN's (1826) *Essai sur le Pali*.¹³³ However, he was not able to answer entirely a question concerning the 'comparison of languages' (Sanskrit and Pali), one of Pott's favourite subjects. Pott finally bestowed upon Klatt the predicate *eximia linguarum Sanscritae et Palicae cognitio*, 'excellent knowledge of Sanskrit and Pali languages'.

Heinrich Keil's account on the following 'philological examination' on Greek and Latin literature reports that first a passage of Horace's *Epistulae* I.2.1 ff. was presented to Klatt, which he translated without fault. Subsequent questions on the history of Greek literature were answered 'in a praiseworthy manner'. He also demonstrated 'satisfactory knowledge' about the Greek antiquities. Hence, the epithet *probabilis cognitio graecarum litterarum*, 'satisfactory knowledge of Greek letters', was awarded to him.

At the end of the philosophical examination, Rudolf Haym awarded also a *probabilis cognitio* to Klatt, after querying him about Plato, and the fundamental principles of logic, both of which he was 'generally acquainted with'.

(3) After successfully passing the first two stages of the examination, the dissertation was returned to Klatt to enable him to get the obligatory 200 statutory copies printed. The final act of the Tentamen, the largely ceremonial public disputation, conducted in Latin on Klatt's *sententiae controversae*, took place on 15 February 1873. Klatt's opponents were two doctoral students of the University of Wittenberg-Halle, Konrad Zacher (1851-1907)¹³⁴ and Emil Gässner, both of them classical philologists. After the disputation, the formal procedure of conferring the title of *doctorandus philosophiae* and handing over the doctoral certificate to Johannes Klatt was performed by the Chancellor of the University, August Anschütz.¹³⁵ As was customary, the doctoral certificate did not record any grade.

7. Reception of Klatt's book and the index to Böhrling's Indische Sprüche 1873-76

KLATT (1873) had just published his doctoral dissertation *De trecentis Cāṇakyaē poetae Indici sententiis* in January 1873, when he was approached by Otto Böhrling to produce an index for the second edition of the latter's work *Indische Sprüche* (Indian Proverbs). BÖHRLING's (1863a, 1864, 1865) first edition of this monumental, more than 1,100 pages long anthology of Indian aphorisms and maxims in three volumes (which were further expanded in the second edition),¹³⁶ stood, in his own words, 'in closest relationship'¹³⁷ to the *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*.¹³⁸ The first edition of the anthology was produced at the same time as volume three of the Sanskrit-German dictionary. Its purpose was to explore further the vocabulary used in Sanskrit poetry, in texts such as Bhartṛhari's Śatakātṛaya and the Pañcatantra, for the benefit of the dictionary. Böhrling decided that the arrangement of the selected sayings had to follow strictly the Indian

131 On Haym, see ERMANN, POTT, etc. 4.2.1860 (in MEVES 2011: 208-518).

132 Cf. RÜCKERT (1838). The 'Nalas' (sic) was apparently one of the preferred texts for doctoral examinations for Pott, who also regularly probed the candidate's knowledge on comparative linguistics; as PLANK's (1995: 354f.) summary of a report by Paul Horn, a student of Bartholomae, on his *rigorosum* at the hands of A. Pott, on 11.3.1885, indicates.

133 English: FAUSBÖLL (1881: 1).

134 See ZACHER (1873) and WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF (1989: 47).

135 For a copy of the certificate, see UMLUHW (Promotionsakte Johannes Klatt 1872-73).

136 BÖHRLING (1870, 1872, 1873a).

137 BÖHRLING (1863b: v):

'Die nächste Veranlassung zu dem Werke, dessen ersten Theil wir jetzt veröffentlichen, ist schon in dem Vorworte zum dritten Theile des Wörterbuchs in Kürze angegeben worden. Zu diesem steht es in engster Beziehung, so dass wir nicht besorgen uns den Vorwurf zuzuziehen, als zersplitterten wir unsere Kräfte und verzögerten oder gefährdeten gar ohne alle Noth dadurch die Vollendung des vor Allem der Vollendung bedürftigen Wörterbuchs'.

138 BÖHRLING & ROTH (1855, 1858, 1861a, 1865, 1868, 1871, 1875).

alphabetical order of their first words (*pratīka*), while noting all of the important variants. Besides the translation into German, a ‘complete’ subject index (*Real-Index*) had been planned already in 1861, to enable the reader to locate proverbs on particular themes without difficulty.¹³⁹ In the Preface to the first volume of the first edition of the *Indische Sprüche*, BÖHTLINGK (1863b) explained that an alphabetical order had to be chosen for the presentation of the proverbs, because of the difficulty of unequivocally classifying them according to their content, given their frequent use of metaphor and other poetic forms. This deficiency would need to be compensated by adding subject-indexes at a later stage:

‘An arrangement of the proverbs according to their content would have been exceedingly difficult and after all in many cases more or less arbitrary. The inherent shortcomings of the alphabetical order one will be able to remedy with good indexes. These will, at the same time, enormously facilitate the task of locating a proverb, whose content is already known’.¹⁴⁰

Böhtlingk himself did not find the time to produce the desired subject index, and, for ten years, his long-announced plan was put on hold. In 1872, when Böhtlingk was just about to issue the last volume of the second revised edition of his *Indische Sprüche*, he received from Klatt notes on the newly discovered sayings, and in January 1873 the published doctoral dissertation,¹⁴¹ which A. Weber, Böhtlingk’s friend

and collaborator on the Sanskrit-German-Dictionary, recommended widely in his correspondence.¹⁴² At that point, Böhtlingk began to inquire whether Klatt would be willing to produce the desired index. Evidently, Klatt was ideally qualified. It is even possible that he had been groomed for this task by Weber. The question of funding seemed of secondary importance. On 5 August 1873 Böhtlingk wrote from Jena to his friend and collaborator Rudolph Roth in Tübingen: ‘If Klatt produces the index to my Sayings, then maybe the opportunity for this will afford itself’.¹⁴³

Klatt was flattered by Böhtlingk’s offer, but not eager to commit himself to such a mammoth task, particularly not during the delicate period of transition from student life to a position of secure employment. Therefore, he played for time. Protracted negotiations about the project started in the summer of 1873. They intensified in winter 1874, when the Austrian-American philologist and pharmacist Johann Reiss (Charles Rice) (1841-1901) offered to produce the index, which Klatt successfully prevented.¹⁴⁴ The negotiations lasted until the end of 1876, when Klatt finally committed himself exclusively to a career at the Royal Library in Berlin.¹⁴⁵ Prior to this, he had sought to strengthen his claim to a permanent position at the Library by mentioning Böhtlingk’s offer in the CV that he had to present to the Director on 30 July 1874, following his appointment as Library Assistant on an annually renewable contract: ‘With this work I will occupy myself in the following years’.¹⁴⁶ At the same time, he tried to

139 BÖHTLINGK (in BÖHTLINGK & ROTH 1861b): ‘Die Anordnung müsste zur Erleichterung des Auffindens eine streng alphabetische (nach den Anfangsworten des Spruches) sein; bei jedem Spruche würden alle Quellen anzugeben sein, in denen er mitgetheilt wird; ausserdem wäre es Pflicht des Herausgebers, auch die Varianten, zum wenigsten die wichtigeren, mitzutheilen. Eine Uebersetzung der Sprüche wäre gewiss auch am Platze, vor Allem aber ein möglichst vollständiger Real-Index, mit dessen Hülfe man jeden Spruch auch nach einer unvollständigen Reminiscenz aufzufinden im Stande wäre’.

140 BÖHTLINGK (1863b: vii): ‘Eine Anordnung der Sprüche nach ihrem Inhalte wäre überaus schwierig und in vielen Fällen doch mehr oder weniger willkürlich gewesen. Den Mängeln, die der alphabetischen Anordnung anhaften, wird man durch gute Indices abhelfen können. Diese werden zugleich die Auffindung eines Spruchs, dessen Inhalt schon bekannt ist, bedeutend erleichtern’.

141 WEBER (Letter to Roth 3.3.1873) also informed Böhtlingk’s friend and collaborator R. Roth: ‘Klatt’s Dissertation ist ganz verdienstlich’.

142 WEBER (Letter to Whitney 22.2.1873) communicated with his former pupil W. D. Whitney about Klatt’s dissertation:

‘Klatt’s Dissertation wird Ihnen, denk’ ich, willkommen sein; ich habe ihn veranlasst, sie Ihnen unter +Band zu senden. Er ist der dritte meiner Zuhörer vom vorigen Winter, der seitdem promovirt hat (Jacobi mit Laghujātaka, Paul Goldschmidt mit Setubandha). – Diesen Winter sieht’s dagegen schwach aus’.

WHITNEY (Letter to Weber 8.4.1873) replied: ‘Klatt’s *Cānakhya* also came duly to hand, and I thank both you and him for it’.

143 BÖHTLINGK (Letter to Roth 5.8.1873, in BRÜCKNER & ZELLER 2007: 779):

‘Wenn Klatt den Index zu meinen Sprüchen macht, wird sich dazu vielleicht die Gelegenheit finden’.

144 KLATT (Letters to Weber 8.12.1874). On Reiss/Rice, see WORTHEN (2004). Agnes Stache-Weiske kindly provided this reference.

145 In 1876, Klatt’s position at the library was put on a more secure financial footing, and he abandoned alternative career paths. After he sent some collations to Böhtlingk in December 1876, the matter did not come up anymore in conversation. See BÖHTLINGK (Letter to E. Kuhn 29.12.1876).

146 KLATT (Kurzer Abriss des Lebens 30.7.1874, pp. 1-2): ‘Inzwischen hat mir der Herausgeber der Sammlung indischer Sprüche, Otto von Böhtlingk in Jena, aufgetragen den Realindex zu dieser Sammlung zu

keep all of his options open. Via Weber, he requested Böhlingk to reject Rice's offer, until he had completed a term of additional language training in Arabic, Syriac, Samaritan and Osmanic at the University in Berlin, and had made up his mind about the technicalities of Böhlingk's time-consuming project, which, after all, offered no avenue to secure employment.¹⁴⁷

Meanwhile, BÖHLINGK (1873b: v-viii) had published an extensive, overall positive, review of Klatt's dissertation in the Preface to the third volume of the second edition of his work *Indische Sprüche*,¹⁴⁸ in which he thanks Klatt for his input to the

volume.¹⁴⁹ Yet, he also addresses major differences between his own and Klatt's methodological approaches. The main point of contention was the methodological stance favoured by Weber, which Klatt adopted, namely, 'respect for the written letter', to the point of acceptance of recurring linguistic 'barbarisms', which Böhlingk treated as mistakes of 'criminal', i.e. ignorant, copyists, that had to be 'eliminated' as far as possible,¹⁵⁰ whereas Weber and Klatt sought to retain them, because of their value for historical research, and because they were prepared to grant poetic licence to vernacular expressions.¹⁵¹

verfertigen. Mit dieser Arbeit werde ich mich in den nächstfolgenden Jahren beschäftigen'.

147 KLATT (Letters to Weber 8.12.1874):

'Berlin, den 8. December 1874

Geehrter Herr Professor!

Für die Zusendung vom 4. d[es] M[onats], die ich richtig erhalten habe, erlaube ich mir hiermit meinen besten Dank auszusprechen. Einen Index zu den indischen Sprüchen anzufertigen, habe ich keineswegs aufgegeben, bin aber bis jetzt noch nicht dazu gekommen, da meine Zeit während des Sommers durch Arbeiten für das Oberlehrer=Examen und für die K[önigliche] Bibliothek in Anspruch genommen war. Auch in diesem Semester werde ich leider schwerlich Zeit dazu haben, indem ich theils für die Bibliothek, theils einen lang gehegten Wunsche nachgebend, noch einige orientalische Sprachen lerne, nämlich Arabisch und Syrisch bei Professor Haarbrücker und Samaritanisch und Osmanisch bei Professor Petermann.

Ich habe mir erlaubt, Herrn Staatsrath Böhlingk diese Verhältnisse ausführlich darzulegen, und habe ihn gebeten, das Ansuchen des Herrn Rice abzulehnen, mit mir aber noch bis zum Schlusse dieses Semesters Geduld zu haben. Den Brief habe ich mit zurückgeschickt. Ich verbleibe

Hochachtungsvoll

Dr. Joh[annes] Klatt

Berlin C, Brüderstr[asse] 44, III'.

148 BÖHLINGK (1873b: v-viii):

'Mit diesem dritten Theile schliesse ich das Werk ab, da ich bei meiner durch das Wörterbuch stark in Anspruch genommenen Zeit nicht daran denken kann an die Anfertigung eines Index zu gehen, so wünschenswerth dieser auch wäre. [...] Drei Quellen verdienen besonders hervorgehoben zu werden, da ich aus ihnen am meisten geschöpft habe. Ich verdanke die Mittheilung derselben DR. JOH. KLATT, der sie für mich abschrieb und mir zu freiem Gebrauch überliess. Diese Quellen sind: 1) die Berl[iner] Handschriften des VRDDHA-KĀṆAKJA, 2) BAHUDARĀṆA, 3) ein in Telegu-Charakteren in Madras gedrucktes NĪṬĪĀSTRĀ. Eine nähere Beschreibung dieser Bücher findet man in des eben genannten Gelehrten Dissertation: De trecentis Cānyae poetae indici sententiis.

Die Abschriften des Dr. KLATT sind mit Verweisungen auf gleiche oder verwandte Sprüche in meiner Sammlung oder in andern Büchern, insbesondere mit Rücksicht auf GALANOS' griechische Uebersetzung versehen, was dem dritten Theile meiner Sprüche zu Gute

gekommen ist. Bei denjenigen Sprüchen, welche wir Beide, aber ganz unabhängig voneinander, bearbeiteten, gehen wir nicht selten aus einander. Man wird alsbald bemerken, dass der Aeltere kühner zu Werke geht, der Jüngere mehr Achtung vor dem geschriebenen Buchstaben an den Tag legt. Ich habe alle Barbarismen, weil ich dieselben lediglich unwissenden Copisten zuschreibe, nach Möglichkeit zu entfernen gesucht, während Dr. Klatt sie öfters beibehält, indem er dieselben auf den Dichter selbst zurückzuführen scheint. [...] Bei dieser Gelegenheit kann ich die Bemerkung nicht unterdrücken, dass nach meiner Ansicht Viele, auch mein Freund WEBER, den geschriebenen Buchstaben bisweilen zu hoch anschlagen. [further mentioned are M. Müller, W. D. Whitney] [...] Zum Schluss wiederhole ich DR. KLATT auch öffentlich meinen Dank für seine uneigennütigen Bemühungen. Seine glücklichen Conjecturen habe ich in den Verbesserungen und Nachträgen zur Kritik des Textes am Ende des Theiles an der betreffenden Stelle erwähnt. Die hier und da nachgetragenen Lesarten aus dem handschriftlichen VRDDHA-KĀṆAKJA, erklären sich zum Theil dadurch, dass DR. KLATT in seiner mir übersandten Abschrift nicht bei jedem Spruch die meist werthlosen Lesarten der zweiten Handschrift angemerkt hatte'.

149 A brief published appraisal of Klatt's dissertation can also be found in WEBER (1877: 412f.).

150 Cf. BROUGH (1954 / 1996: 351 / 130):

'When Buddhist works in Sanskrit were first introduced into Europe, it was at once obvious that the language of some of them as it appears in the manuscripts was, in comparison with Classical Sanskrit, frequently ungrammatical, and on occasion barbarously so. The immediate and natural reaction of scholars accustomed to the regularity of Sanskrit was to stigmatize these shortcomings, and to remove as many irregularities as possible by forcibly emending the text. It was, however, very soon recognized that many of the seeming anomalies could not be abolished, and that they must be accepted as genuine in their own context'.

151 Differences of opinion on the relationship between grammar and style are a recurrent feature in the correspondence of Böhlingk and Weber. See WEBER (Letter to Böhlingk 25.6.1883):

'Mir scheint eine Verständigung zwischen uns noch ziemlich weit, da Sie immer noch an Ihrem Anspruch auf correctes Sanskrit festhalten. Mir dagegen liegt es daran, den Gründen für die Incorrectheit und die Eigentümlichkeiten des Styls nachzukommen'.

A more exacting version of this fundamental objection was published in a review of Klatt's book, which BÖHTLINGK (1874: 219) contributed to the first volume of his local *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*. Though he disapproves of Klatt's hesitance in correcting the 'mistakes' in the ten manuscripts he used, Böhlingk confirms that Klatt's work contains many sayings which cannot be found in his own anthology, and praises the author's 'solid knowledge and upright diligence'.

Böhlingk's criticism of Weber's (and Klatt's) historical approach, voiced from a strictly grammatical point of view, was later reiterated, amongst others, by W. SCHUBRING (1944: v) in his presentation of the differences between WEBER's (1886, 1888, 1891a) *Verzeichniss der Sanskrit- und Prākrit-Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* and his own 'supplementary catalogue' *Die Jaina-Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek - Neuerwerbungen seit 1891*.¹⁵² Yet, because Sanskrit grammar could not be applied consistently in the cataloguing of Jaina manuscripts in Gujarati and Hindi¹⁵³ that use apocryphal Prakrit and Sanskrit Jaina terminology, in these cases Schubring effectively followed the approach of Weber and Klatt.¹⁵⁴ Schubring was one of only a handful of scholars who commended the handwritten manuscript of Klatt's Jaina-Onomasticon as a 'unique guide', not least to Jaina vernacular literature.¹⁵⁵ He could not, however, resist the temptation to mention a vernacular text-snippet, which Klatt had reproduced in a romanised form without separation of words, as evidence of 'a time in which the intensive preoccupation with new Indian languages had not arrived yet'.¹⁵⁶

Methodological disagreements with Böhlingk continued to play a role in the negotiations over the index for the *Indische Sprüche* in 1875. They were probably only pleaded by Klatt, who, at this stage, had already other plans, and communicated with Böhlingk, and the Director of the KBB, only indirectly, via Weber, to avoid friction over this matter.¹⁵⁷ Information on the diverging views is preserved in two letters of KLATT to Weber from 5.12.1875 and 18.1.1876 and WEBER's response from 6.12.1875 and letter of 9.1.1876.¹⁵⁸ They concerned the question of the best approach to indexing an alphabetical list of proverbs. Klatt advocated the kind of subject-index envisaged in Böhlingk's original plan, published by BÖHTLINGK and ROTH (1861b) in the Preface to the third volume of their Sanskrit-Dictionary. Namely, creating for each proverb one keyword, which expresses 'its real content with the greatest possible clarity', and arranging the keyword index thematically. By 1875 Böhlingk had changed his mind and favoured an extensive glossary of all significant Sanskrit terms, arranged in accordance to the Sanskrit alphabet, to be able to link the index to Sanskrit dictionaries. According to these specifications, Klatt prepared a specimen of the index, and on 5 December 1875 sent it to Weber, with the request to take a decision on his behalf. In his own estimation, if Böhlingk's method were to be applied, almost every Sanskrit word would need to be included in the glossary, resulting in a workload that would be 'colossal' and 'limitless'. Effectively, Klatt would have become entangled in the Sanskrit-Dictionary project. For Weber's information, Klatt also forwarded two recent letters from Böhlingk,

- Weber's student WHITNEY (Letter to E. E. Salisbury 15.2.1851, in ALTER 2005: 22) described the differences between the grammatical focus of F. Bopp and the cultural-historical approach of Weber in similar terms: 'I have been led more away from Bopp, who rather represents the linguistic, to Weber, who more directly represents the archaeological department of study'.
- 152 SCHUBRING (1944: v): 'Mit der vorauszusetzenden genaueren Kenntnis der Spracheigentümlichkeiten, insbesondere des Prakrit, entfällt die Notwendigkeit, die Unwissenheit oder Flüchtigkeit unserer Jaina-Schreiber durch die getreue Wiedergabe ihrer Fehler zu verewigen oder die ihnen gewohnten Ligaturen in sprachwidriger Transkription zu kennzeichnen. Entgegen WEBER'S Forderung (S. XVII) darf, wenigsten im Umschrifttext, heutzutage gezeigt werden, was dastehen sollte, nicht was dasteht'.
- 153 For contrasting definitions of the terms 'Jaina literature' and 'Jaina manuscript', see SCHUBRING (1944: v) and BRUHN (1954: v) on the one hand and KAPADIA (1938: 4), TRIPATHI (1975: 17) and BALBIR (2006 I: 19) on the other. In the present essay, Schubring's definition of 'Jaina-literature' as 'the religious literature (the word taken in the wider sense) of the Jaina' is followed more

- or less stringently ('Jaina-Literatur [...] die religiöse Literatur (das Wort im weiten Sinn genommen) der Jaina').
- 154 See SCHUBRING (1944: viii-ix): 'auch neuindische Texte werden in ihrer unregelmäßigen Schreibweise wiedergegeben'.
- 155 Ib. See also Footnote 684-5, and BRUHN (1954: v).
- 156 In the Jaina-Onomasticon, under the keyword JINARANGASŪRI, KLATT cites Jinaraṅga: 'tummere manametumeredilame'. SCHUBRING (1944: vi, Fn. 1): '(=Dubistin meinemherzendubistinmeinemsinn)'. Schubring points to WEBER (1891b: xvii): 'Meine Kenntniss der jetzigen indischen Dialekte ist eine sehr dürftige, s. p. 177^{n.1}'.
- 157 Even collations done for Böhlingk were sent by Klatt via Weber. See BÖHTLINGK (Letter to Weber 29.12.1876): 'Die Collationen von Klatt habe ich richtig erhalten und danke Ihnen nachträglich für Ihre Betheiligung dabei. Gleichzeitig erhielt ich von Lempertz in Rom aus dem Friedrich'schen Nachlaß einige Blätter vom Anfange eben dieser Adhjāa für 2 M[ark] 50 Pf[ennig]. Mit Hilfe dieser drei Handschriften habe ich Manches in den Ausgaben verbessern können'.
- 158 Published in FLÜGEL (2017).

which seemed to indicate that Böhlingk did ‘not even regard the index as absolutely necessary’, provoking the question of why he wanted to burden Klatt with such a ‘protracted, burdensome and thankless task’. After all, Böhlingk was aware of the demands of the library work on Klatt’s time.¹⁵⁹ In reply, Weber proposed a compromise solution: first to create a list of keywords for each proverb, then to decide what additional information to add (since proverbs often connect different themes), and to create index cards for both. The final step would be

to decide the arrangement of the cards (alphabetical or thematic).¹⁶⁰ He himself explicitly favoured the creation of two indexes, time permitting: an alphabetical index for thematic keywords (*Stichwörter*), and a list of selected Sanskrit common nouns (*appellativa*) and of all proper nouns (*nomina propria*) in the form of a ‘german-Sanskrit glossary’ (sic).¹⁶¹ Weber assured Klatt that Böhlingk, with his well-established contacts at the Academy of Science in St. Petersburg, would be able to reward him

159 KLATT (Letters to Weber 5.12.1875):

‘Berlin, den 5. Dezember 1875

Hochgeehrter Herr Professor!

Wenn ich jetzt wage, mich mit einer Bitte an Sie zu wenden, so hoffe ich dabei auf Ihre Nachsicht, dass ich Ihnen hiermit einen, wenn auch nur kleinen Theil Ihrer kostbaren Zeit entziehe.

Es betrifft die Angelegenheit, in welcher Sie zu Anfang dieses Jahres an mich zu schreiben die Freundlichkeit hatten, den Index zu Böhlingk’s indischen Sprüchen, welchen anzufertigen sich damals ein Apotheker in Neuyork erbot. Herr Staatsrath Böhlingk lehnte jedoch das Anerbieten im Hinblick auf meine Priorität ab. Nun hat er aber über die Art und Weise, wie der Index zu machen ist, eine andere Meinung als ich. Ich wollte, um es kurz zu präzisieren, jeden Spruch im allgemeinen nur einmal im Index anführen, unter einem Stichwort, welches den wirklichen Inhalt des Spruches möglichst scharf ausdrückt, und die Stichwörter sodann stofflich systematisch ordnen, B. will dagegen alle irgendwie hervorstechenden Wörter in den Index aufnehmen. Ich bin nun durch seine Gegengründe in meiner Meinung auch wieder schwankend geworden. Nur fürchte ich, daß bei diesem Verfahren die Arbeit erst recht colossal wird und sich wahrhaft ins Grenzenlose verliert, da man dann schließlich dazu kommen könnte, jedes Wort aufzunehmen. Dennoch würde ich auch ganz seinen Forderungen nachgeben. Aber es scheint mir, daß er den Index überhaupt nicht für unbedingt nothwendig hält. Das scheint mir aus seinen Briefen hervorzugehen, wenn nicht seine Worte dahin zu deuten sind, daß er mir nicht geradezu eine so langwierige, beschwerliche und dabei undankbare Arbeit zumuthen will, besonders da ich ihm schrieb, dass die Bibliothek meine Zeit sehr in Anspruch nimmt.

Ich erlaube mir daher, die Sache Ihrer Entscheidung zu unterbreiten. Ich sende dazu das specimen des Index mit und hoffe, auch keine Indiscretion zu begehen, wenn ich die beiden Briefe von Böhlingk mit einlege.

Hochachtungsvoll

Dr. Joh[annes] Klatt

(Berlin C, Brüderstraße 44. III.)’.

160 WEBER (Letter to Klatt 6.12.1875, draft reply on the reverse page of Klatt’s letter dated 6.12.1875) (Weber often wrote outlines of his reply on the back pages of letters that he received, to retain a personal copy. See ZELLER 2012: 96, Fn. 8). The transliteration of Weber’s idiosyncratic handwriting was kindly done by Agnes Stache-Weiske:

‘Lieber Herr Doctor! Ihre Zusendung hat mich in hohem Grade erfreut, da ja nun endlich also ein so lange

von mir gehegter Wunsch, dem ich im Interesse der Wissenschaft die beste Ausführung wünsche, derselben sich zu nähern scheint. Sollte es nicht das Beste sein, wenn wir mal persönlich darüber konferiren könnten? Ich bin Vorm[ittags] immer zu Haus, meist bis 3 Uhr. Morgen denke ich allerdings etwa zwischen 2 - 3 Uhr gerade auf die Bibl[iothek] zu kommen, um mir da Einiges anzusehn. Könnten Sie vielleicht noch da bleiben bis dahin? Ich will die Schriftstücke mitbringen. Mir scheint im Ganzen B[öhlingk]’s Plane, der ermöglicht, Anschlüsse an die Anordnung indischer D[e]v[anagari][?] Wörtl[erbücher] zu Grunde zu legen; und ich kann dem nur beistimmen! Die Hauptsache wird sein, zunächst die Stichwörter für jeden Vers zu bestimmen und sich über den Umfang dessen, was außerdem noch aus jedem Verse aufzunehmen sein wird, principiell zu einigen. Haben Sie das erst für wollen sagen 2 oder 300 v. gethan, und sich B[öhlingk]’s Zustimmung für Ihre Bearbeitung derselben versichert, so würde das Übrige daran leicht sein und Sie werden dann wie noch in einzelnen Fällen mit ihm zu verständigen haben. Erst die Zettel, dann die Anordnung.

In wie weit die Sansk[rit]wörter selbst aufzunehmen sind, wirklich die Appellativa, das ist freilich schwer zu sagen. Ich würde Ihnen darin beistimmen, möglichst viel davon aufzunehmen; man hätte dann gewissermassen ein deutsch-Sanskrit Glossar. Jedenfalls muß, m[einer] M[einung] nach, jedes n[omen] pr[oprium] eines Thieres, einer Pflanze etc. aufgeführt werden.

Im Übrigen bin ich dafür, daß für die Stichwörter auch ein alph[abetischer] Index beigegeben wird. Doch das ist eine cura posterior, die wesentlich von dem Umfange abhängen wird, den das Werk bekommt.

Die Bedenken, die B[öhlingk] hat, beziehen sich gewiß nicht darauf, ob das Werk wichtig u[nd] bedeutsam sei, sondern nur darauf, ob Sie ein zu großes Opfer damit bringen, und ob er im Stande sein wird, Ihnen dafür eine irgend genügende oder doch wenigstens entsprechende Entschädigung zu bieten. Ich glaube, Sie können sich aber in dieser Beziehung auf ihn, so wie auf die Kais[erliche] Ak[ademie] in St. P[etersburg] getrost verlassen. Und die Hauptsache bleibt doch, das Buch wird Ihnen Freude u[nd] Ehre machen, und der Wissenschaft zu hohem Nutzen gereichen.

Mit fr[ündlichen] Gr[üßen] der Ihrige AW.

6/12.75

Wenn Sie irgendwelche Fragen oder Bedenken haben, werde ich Ihnen stets gern zu Rede u[nd] Antwort stehen’.

161 For the use of Priscian’s distinction between nomen proprium and appellativum see A. F. BERNHARDI (1769-1820) (1801 I: 139f.) and POTT (1853: XI).

adequately for his indexing work.¹⁶² He also stressed the intangible rewards of the work: ‘The main thing remains, after all, that the book will produce joy and honour for you and will greatly benefit science’.¹⁶³

In the end, considerations of financial security and employment opportunities prevailed.¹⁶⁴ Klatt worked already full-time for the KBB, though on annually renewable contracts, and from 1874 had set his mind on a career at the KBB. In the meantime, BÖHTLINGK (1875, 1876) himself had produced further supplements to his *Indische Sprüche*, and as the body of relevant material continued to grow, the accomplishment of a comprehensive index of all Sanskrit terms became an increasingly unlikely prospect. In a letter of 9 January 1876, referring to a conversation with Karl Richard Lepsius (1810-1884), the Director of the KBB, who was approached by Klatt by letter on 5 January 1876 to explore the option of occasionally replacing him at the KBB for one day a week to enable him to continue his part-time work as a stenographer,¹⁶⁵ WEBER reported that Lepsius was not in favour of the proposal. However, it was his impression that Klatt’s ‘prospects for the future’ (at the Royal Library) were, generally, ‘good’; not least, because the planned appointment of ‘P.’, that is, Richard Pischel (1849-1908), who had been offered an academic position in Kiel in 1875, had come to nothing.¹⁶⁶ He had previously already recommended a career in the Royal Library to Klatt, who after two years of practical experience as unpaid Auxiliary Assistant at the library stated his ‘own inclination’ for this work in the CV which he had submitted to the Director of the KBB on 30 July 1874.¹⁶⁷ Klatt maintained his interest in gnostic literature,¹⁶⁸ but from 1876 gradually shifted his academic focus to biographical and bibliographical work, and to the exploration of the history of the Jaina tradition and Jaina literature, inspired by the acquisition of Jaina manuscripts by the KBB and A. Weber’s interest in the systematic investigation of

the Śvetāmbara canonical texts and the Jaina tradition as such. In 1888, he contributed an article to the *Festgruss an Otto von Böhlingk zum Doktor-Jubiläum*, a type of *Festschrift* that has gone out of fashion in the 20th century, fittingly on ‘Eine apokryphe Paṭṭāvalī der Jainas’.¹⁶⁹

The index was finally produced in 1893, by August Blau (1858-1926),¹⁷⁰ who succeeded Klatt at the Royal Library, after Richard von Garbe (1857-1927) and Theodor Victor Hugo Zachariae (1851-1934) had both declined the offer. Blau stayed there from 1894-1902, following a recommendation of Carl / Karl Cappeller (1840-1925), Professor for Sanskrit in Jena.¹⁷¹ His index effectively implemented Klatt’s original suggestion to highlight the ‘central idea’ of a maxim, rather than creating a glossary of Sanskrit terms. It does not include Sanskrit terms and, in the words of the author, determined the alphabetically presented keywords in a ‘partly arbitrary’ way.¹⁷² There is no evidence of an influence of Klatt on Blau, who apparently did not receive the specimen index which Klatt had sent to Böhlingk in 1875, since Klatt’s name is not mentioned in his work.

August Eduard Oscar Kressler (1876-1970),¹⁷³ who at the University of Straßburg, under the guidance of Klatt’s friend E. Leumann, revisited the issue of ‘Cāṇakya’s maxims’ for his 1902 doctoral dissertation on a Vṛddha-Cāṇakya text that was published in Bombay 1858, with reference to Klatt’s work,¹⁷⁴ produced a similar subject index, supplementing an exhaustive concordance of maxims given ‘under the name of Cāṇakya’ in different manuscripts and text-editions, including Böhlingk’s. The subject index

162 Earlier, Franz Anton SCHIEFNER (1817-1879), a former colleague of Böhlingk in St. Petersburg (cf. STACHE-ROSEN 1990: 52f.), wrote to Weber (Letter 16/28.7.1873): ‘Ein alter Brief Böhlingks sprach von dem Index, den Dr. Klatt zu den Sprüchen machen will. Kommt der Antrag an uns, so werden wir ihn schon unterstützen’. SCHIEFNER (Letter to Weber 3./15.11.1878) was later also in personal contact with Klatt: ‘Ein [...] Verzeichnis der Mitglieder unserer Akademie [...] findet sich die nächstjüngste Liste vom 20 Februar 1877 in Band XXIX Heft 2 S[eite] 158-174. Dieser Band ist sicher sowohl auf der König[lichen] Bibliothek als auch bei Professor Jagić; auf der Bibliothek frage Dr. Klatt nach den Записки (Sapiski)’.

163 WEBER (Letter to Klatt 6.12.1875).

164 There is no evidence for a period of compulsory military service in Klatt’s personnel files, though conscription existed in Prussia.

165 KLATT (Letter to Lepsius 5.1.1876).

166 WEBER (Draft letter to Klatt 9.1.1876).

167 KLATT (Kurzer Abriß des Lebens 30.7.1874).

168 Cf. KLATT (1883f: 21f.).

169 KLATT (1888c). See *infra*.

170 On Blau, see HABERMANN, KLEMMT & SIEFKES (1985).

171 BÖHTLINGK (Letter to Kuhn 7.6.1893): ‘Klatts Stelle hat man Garbe und Zachariae [an]getragen, aber beide haben abgelehnt’.

172 BLAU (1893: v).

173 On Kressler, see MEYER (2013).

174 See Footnote 107.

adopted the format of Blau's thematic index.¹⁷⁵ However, it is rather short, only four pages long.¹⁷⁶

8. Stenographer at the Prussian House of Lords 1870-76

After his doctoral examination, at the age of twenty-one, Klatt found himself burdened with debts to the University in Berlin, and without secure employment. During a period of transition, lasting until 1880, when, at the age of twenty-eight, he was finally able to secure a stable and well-paid position as Custodian at the Royal Library, he was forced to take up various part-time occupations, while continuing to be engaged in his academic pursuits. Already as a student, from the beginning of the year 1870, he worked, until 1876 - at a very reasonable salary - as an hourly paid stenographer at the House of Lords (Herrenhaus),¹⁷⁷ the first chamber of the Prussian legislative assembly (Preussischer Landtag). In contrast to the second chamber, the House of Representatives (Abgeordnetenhaus), the membership of the Herrenhaus consisted exclusively of the heads of the Prussian noble families and of (hereditary) personal appointees of the King, including representatives of larger cities (majors) and other institutions, such as

universities.¹⁷⁸ Klatt had learned stenography already at the Gymnasium in Bromberg, and, after passing an entry examination in 1870, was employed by the stenographical bureau of the Herrenhaus, which from 1855-89 was directed by Gustav Michaelis (1813-1895),¹⁷⁹ the leading stenographer of his time. From 1851, Michaelis taught also at the University of Berlin, as Lector of Stenography.¹⁸⁰ Klatt attended his lectures on the History of the Art of Writing from 10.5.-1.8.1871. As late as 5 January 1876, Klatt pleaded with Lepsius to extend his special permission to work as a stenographer in addition to his duties at the Library. For the few days of his absence from the Library, he suggested, his colleague Dr. Johannes Müller would cover for his duties at the reading room. As the main reason he cited his precarious financial circumstances, and the advantages of his part-time work at the Herrenhaus, which secured him an annual income of 558 Goldtaler¹⁸¹ for seventy-two hours of work:

‘Since I neither own capital, nor receive money from anyone, but rely on what I earn myself, it would be a severe blow for me, particularly in this year, to lose such an important source of income for my circumstances’.¹⁸²

175 KRESSLER (1907: 145-8, 47):

‘Um die Auffindung des Sanskritoriginals zu einem hier enthaltenen Verse, der zufällig etwa nur in der deutschen Übersetzung begegnet, zu ermöglichen, ist in Gestalt eines deutschen Sach- bzw. Stichwortindex noch eine inhaltliche Klassifikation des hier verarbeiteten Materials beigegeben. Dieser Index ist jenem Inhaltsverzeichnis, das Blau (in den Abhandl. z. Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bd. IX, Nr. 4) als Orientierungsmittel zu Böhlingks indischen Sprüchen angefertigt hat, nachgebildet. Natürlich muß sich ein solches Verzeichnis, wenn es nicht über Gebühr anwachsen soll, im allgemeinen auf den bzw. die zentralen Gedanken eines Spruches beschränken, abgesehen von einzelnen Besonderheiten, die es unter Umständen erforderlich machen können, ein und denselben Vers unter verschiedenen Stichwörtern mehrmals anzuführen’.

176 Ludwik STERNBACH (1965, 1974a, 1974b, etc.), in particular, continued to edit, translate, classify and analyse the texts attributed to Cāṇakya and others along the lines of Böhlingk and Kressler. More sources on Indian gnomic literature are being discovered, also Jaina sources, for instance by STERNBACH (1977) and BALBIR and BESNARD (1993-94).

177 KLATT (Kurzer Abriß des Lebens 30.7.1874). KLATT (Letter to Lepsius 5.1.1876). KBB (Acta I. 6^a, p. 1, 105): ‘Bestätigung für die Aufgabe seiner Stelle als Stenograph im Landtag’. See also LEUMANN (1894).

178 On the *Herrenhaus*, see SPENKUCH (1998).

179 On Michaelis, see JOHNEN (1906).

180 ASCHERSON (1872: 16).

181 ~ 16,740 Euro in 2013.

182 The letter is interesting, because it offers a detailed account of the work of stenographers at the legislative assembly, which from 1871 shared its premises with the newly established parliament of the German Empire, the Reichstag, on the basis of a time-sharing arrangement, which is also referred to in the letter. KLATT (Letter to Lepsius 5.1.1876):

‘Bittbrief an den Herrn Geheimen Regierungsrath Lepsius, Königlichen Ober=Bibliothekar.

Indem am 16.ten d[ies] M[onats] des preußische Landtag zusammentritt, in dessen erster Kammer ich seit 6 Jahren als Stenograph fungire, erlaube ich mir gehorsamst das Gesuch einzubringen, daß ich diese Beschäftigung diesmal wieder aufnehmen darf. Da ich weder Capitalien besitze, noch von Jemandem Geld bekomme, sondern auf das angewiesen bin, was ich mir selbst erwerbe, würde es für mich ein harter Schlag sein, namentlich in diesem Jahre, ein für meine Verhältnisse so bedeutende Einnahme zu verlieren.

Die Stellung des Stenographen im Herrenhause ist folgende: Er hat während der Sitzung anwesend zu sein und in jeder Stunde je 10 Minuten die Verhandlungen stenographisch aufzunehmen, worauf er von dem folgenden Stenographen abgelöst wird. Die übrigen 50 Minuten der Stunde dienen ihm dazu, das Aufgeschriebene mittels Dictat in gewöhnliche Schrift zu übertragen. Er ist als Diätar angestellt und kann zu jeder Zeit, d.h. ohne Kündigung, sowohl abgehen wie entlassen werden. Der Diätensatz ist: 6 Thaler für den Sitzungstag, 3 Thaler Wartegeld für den sitzungsfreien Tag.

In der Landtags=Session des verflossenen Jahres, welche vom 16. Januar bis zum 15. Juni dauerte hatte das Herrenhaus 35 Sitzungen, im Durchschnitt monatlich 7.



Fig. 1 Alte Bibliothek & Kronprinzenpalais, J. G. F. Poppel (1852).
Das Königreich Preussen in malerischen Original-Ansichten Vol. 2, p. 695.

On 9 January 1876, Weber wrote to Klatt that he had talked to Lepsius, his acquaintance, who showed himself not in favour of the arrangement suggested by Klatt. But Weber had gained the impression that Klatt's prospects at the Library were good.¹⁸³ A little later, on 18 January 1876, Klatt wrote to him, that he was still undecided as to whether he would settle for a career at the Library, as recommended by everyone and personally preferred, because the question of his status at the KBB had yet to be resolved.¹⁸⁴ Klatt felt he had to hold on to his part-time position as stenographer as long as he had not secured a permanent contract at the Royal Library, which was offered only to those who had reached the rank of Kustos (Custodian) or Librarian.¹⁸⁵ In the end, he accepted a

one-off payment of 600 Mark from the KBB, paid on 19 December 1876, as compensation for giving up his position as stenographer altogether.¹⁸⁶

9. The Oriental collections at the Royal Library

The Royal Library in Berlin was founded in 1661 under the name Churfürstliche Bibliothek zu Cölln an der Spree, and over the next centuries would develop into one of the largest and most important research libraries in the world, modelled on the British Library in London. From 1784 to 1913, the fast expanding collection, which was accessible only to selected categories of citizens, was located in an opulent custom-made baroque building that was commissioned by King Frederick 'the Great' (1712-

23 Sitzungen begannen um 11 Uhr Vormittags, 1 um ½ 12, 10 um 12, 1 um 2 Uhr. Die Zahl der Dienststunden, die ich an der Bibliothek versäumte, betrug 72, was einem Urlaub von 14 Tagen gleichkommt. (Der Verdienst war 558 Thaler). Doch bemerke ich, daß die vorige Session eine der arbeitsreichsten war, die das Herrenhaus gehabt hat. Im Allgemeinen hat das Herrenhaus durchschnittlich im Monat nur 5 Sitzungen, die zur Hälfte um 12, zur Hälfte um 11 Uhr anfangen. Insbesondere sind für die kommende Session dem Herrenhause bis jetzt nur kleine Vorlagen zugegangen; außerdem wird diesmal gleich nach Eröffnung des Landtages dieselbe auf einige Wochen vertagt werden, um dem Reichstage Zeit zur Beendigung seiner Arbeiten zu lassen. Es wird daher voraussichtlich nur eine Session von einigen 20 Sitzungen werden. An den Tagen, an welchen ich nicht auf der Bibliothek sein sollte, um die für den Nachmittag ins Lesezimmer verlangten Bücher herauszulegen, würde mich Herr Dr. [Johannes] Müller vertreten. Im Übrigen könnte ich in

meiner vielleicht von Herrn Rechnungs=Rath Kunstmann zu beaufsichtigenden Liste aufschreiben, um wieviel Uhr ich jedesmal von der Bibliothek fortgehe. Soviel ich versäume, könnte ich an den Nachmittagen der anderen Tage aufarbeiten.

Mit der Bitte um Gewährung unterzeichne gehorsamst
Berlin, den 5. Januar 1876
Dr. Klatt'.

On the perceived undue significance of the role of Aemil Kunstmann, the secretary of Lepsius, see ERMAN (1994: 131).

183 WEBER (Draft letter to Klatt 9.1.1876)

184 KLATT (Letter to Weber 18.1.1876).

185 At the KBB in 1884, custodian and librarian salaries were graded from 3,000-6,000 Reichsmark (Gold) per annum (HARTWIG & SCHULZ 1884b: 27).

186 KÖNIGLICHE BIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN: (Dr. Klatt 19.12.1876).

1786) and positioned vis-à-vis the opera, near the royal palace (until 1840 only on the top floor). Due to its shape, it was popularly known as the ‘Old chest of drawers’ (Alte Kommode). After the establishment of the Königliche Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität zu Berlin in 1810, on the initiative of Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835),¹⁸⁷ it also served as university library, until 1842. Because the building had soon become too small, in 1913/14 the library moved to a larger purpose-built building opposite, ‘Unter den Linden’, next to the University. In 1918, it was re-named Preußische Staatsbibliothek (PrSB), and a special ‘Oriental Section’ was created for the first time.¹⁸⁸ Between 1784 and 1945, the KBB was headed by eight Chief Librarians:

- 1784-1816 Johann Erich Biester (1749-1816)
- 1817-1840 Friedrich Wilken (1777-1840)¹⁸⁹
- 1842-1873 Georg Heinrich Pertz (1795-1876)
- 1874-1884 Karl Richard Lepsius (1810-1884)
- 1886-1905 August Wilmanns (1833-1917)
- 1905-1921 Adolf von Harnack (1851-1930)
- 1921-1925 Fritz Milkau (1859-1934)
- 1925-1945 Hugo Andres Krüß (1879-1945)

Until 1877, the Chief Librarian of the KBB was also overseeing the University Library that was established in 1831 as a sub-division within the KBB,¹⁹⁰ which from this time effectively bifurcated into a research and a teaching branch. The University Library became physically separated in 1842, when it moved out of the ‘Alte Kommode’ to a building called Adlerscher Saal at Unter den Linden. Its administrative independence was, however, only secured after 1874, when R. Lepsius became Chief Librarian of the KBB, on request of its head Wilhelm

David Koner (1817-1887). Because, for all practical purposes, the University Library had already developed into a self-governing unit, Lepsius immediately invested Koner with the authority to run its affairs autonomously under his own aegis. In 1877, the library of the University finally became fully independent, and received separate state funding.¹⁹¹

While Lepsius gradually took over from Pertz as Chief Librarian, during an interim period lasting thirteen months,¹⁹² he recruited many new employees. In 1873, one new secretary, Theodor Vogel, joined the staff, followed in 1874 by the appointment of six new Assistants, most of whom became full Librarians over time: Dr. Wilhelm Erman, Dr. Georg Valentin, Eduard Ippel, Dr. Johannes Müller, Dr. Friedrich Hampke, and Dr. Johannes (‘Johann’) Klatt.¹⁹³ In his 1916 memoir, *Erinnerungen an die Königliche Bibliothek. 1874-1885*, Eduard Paul IPPEL (1849-1915) (1916) recollects the names of a sizable group of new young employees who, like himself, joined the KBB between 1874 and 1888, including Klatt, who received his first annual contract as an Assistant on 1 May 1874:

‘[A]part from myself Erman, Klatt, Meisner, Valentin, Müller, Hampke, Mecklenburg, Menzel, v. Wagenheim, Paukert, Zunker, Kopfermann, Gleiniger, Weil, Blömeke, Rupp, de Boor, Rosochatius, Gaedertz, Apfelstädt, Henniger, Redlich, Blumenthal, Vollers, Sachse, Bahlmann, Liesegang and finally as last Assistant of the pre-Wilhelminic time [until 1888]¹⁹⁴ and at the same time last Assistant of the old card catalogue, Alfred Schulze’.¹⁹⁵

187 KÖPKE (1860: 61-92). W. v. Humboldt was supported by König Friedrich Wilhelm III (r. 1797-1840), who sometime after Napoleon’s conquests reportedly said: ‘Der Staat muss durch geistige Kräften ersetzen, was er an physischen verloren hat’ (MAUS 2013: 102). The origin of this statement, which was elevated to the credo of the University of Berlin in 1930, is, however, not certain.

188 W. VOIGT (1973: 128).

189 On Wilke, who was treated for mental illness between 1823 and 1827, ‘due to overexertion, nervous overstimulation and gout’, see STOLL (1898).

190 FRIESE (1910: 29), KRUEGER and IRMSCHER (1981).

191 FRIESE (1910: 131ff.).

192 Lepsius was officially inaugurated on 25 May 1874, after performing the role of Acting Director for a brief interregnum following Pertz’ retirement on the 23 April 1873. On Lepsius, see LEYH (1955), PAUNEL (1965: 320-402), KRAUSE (1988), MEHLITZ (2011). On Lepsius’ proposals for the reform of the KBB see also SCHMITZ (2009), and the suggestions made to Lepsius by KLATT (Letters to Lepsius 23.1.1878 & 6.8.1878).

193 PAUNEL (1965: 334). Other reports, summarised by PAUNEL (ib.), also mention for 1875: Dr. Heinrich

Meisner, 1876: Hermann Benno Mecklenburg, 1878: Dr. Theodor Gleiniger and Dr. Albert Kopfermann, 1879: Rudolf Weil, 1880: Dr. Ernest Rosochatius, Dr. Theodor Gaedertz and Karl De Boor, 1881: Max Blumenthal.

194 Kaiser Wilhelm II (1859-1941) = Friedrich Wilhelm Viktor Albert von Preußen (r. 1888-1918).

195 IPPEL (1916: 34f.).

‘In das Kollegium nun von zum Teil schon ergrauten Männern, wie es im Jahre 1874 bestand, zog von März ab in ziemlich schneller Folge eine ganze Schar jüngerer Kräfte ein. Fürchten Sie nicht, dass ich auch diese einzeln behandeln will, nur die Namen, die zum Teil schon ihrem Gedächtnis entschwunden sein werden, will ich anführen: außer mir Erman, Klatt, Meisner, Valentin, Müller, Hampke, Mecklenburg, Menzel, v. Wagenheim, Paukert, Zunker, Kopfermann, Gleiniger, Weil, Blömeke, Rupp, de Boor, Rosochatius, Gaedertz, Apfelstädt, Henniger, Redlich, Blumenthal, Vollers, Sachse, Bahlmann, Liesegang und endlich als letzter Assistent der vor-Wilhelminischen Zeit und zugleich letzter Assistent des alten Zettelkatalogs, Alfred Schulze’ (34f.).

These are the names of the significant work colleagues of Klatt.¹⁹⁶ Probably because he was already working at the KBB in a voluntary capacity, Ippel did not include the famous Jewish Orientalist Dr. Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907), who literally spent half of his life at the KBB as a bibliographer, and was one of the stalwarts of the institution. Steinschneider is not recorded in the stafflists of the Royal Library published by the CfB,¹⁹⁷ not even as an unpaid Auxiliary Assistant (Hilfsarbeiter or Hilfsassistent). PAUNEL (1965: 333), however, mentions that he was working as an unpaid Auxiliary Assistant (Hilfskraft) since 1865, cataloguing the Rabbinica at the KBB, in addition to his work as Teacher and Director of schools of the Jewish community in Berlin. Together with the Egyptologist and Coptologist Dr. Ludwig Stern (1846-1911), Assistant to the Director (Direktoralassistent) of the Royal Museums, from 1874 also Auxiliary Assistant at the KBB, under Director Wilmanns Librarian and from 1905-11 Director of the Manuscript Department of the PrSB,¹⁹⁸ Klatt and Steinschneider formed a trio of Orientalists at the KBB, who worked closely together.

Few of the official reports and numerous works that document the history of the KBB, the PrSB, and the University of Berlin mention Klatt.¹⁹⁹ Though, during his twenty years at the KBB, Klatt became

widely known, and respected, and, due to his position, interacted with virtually every scholar in Classical and Oriental Philology, he is only ever alluded to passing, regards minor contributions to library work.²⁰⁰ E. PAUNEL (1965: 334 & Fn. 56) is the only historian, who, in his comprehensive history of the KBB, *Die Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin: Ihre Geschichte und Organisation während der ersten zwei Jahrhunderte seit ihrer Eröffnung, 1661-1871* (sic),²⁰¹ mentions 'Johann' Klatt several times, including a brief and accurate synopsis of some of his biographical data, compiled from the CfB, and, evidently, personnel files.²⁰² He emphasises the fact that the entry of Klatt into the KBB almost coincides with the appointment of Lepsius.²⁰³

The career path of a librarian at the Royal Library comprised five principal stages: 1. Unsalaries Assistant, 2. Assistant, 3. Custodian (graded), 4. Librarian (graded), 5. First Librarian. Additional posts, such as Head of the Manuscript Department, etc., were created over time as well.²⁰⁴ The position of First or Chief Librarian (Oberbibliothekar) was equivalent to Director of the KBB, and not integral to the linear career path of a librarian. It was always filled by a senior academic recruited from outside. Permanent contracts were only issued to custodians and librarians. These positions had become very desirable in

196 According to PAUNEL (1965: 332f.), who gives total figures of employees in 1872/3, 1875, 1883/4, 1884/5, and of the average salaries in 1884/5, there were 13 Custodians and Librarians in 1884 (2 more than in 1873), and 15 Assistants (12 more than the 3 Auxiliary Assistants in 1873). The division of labour is also outlined (p. 335).

197 HARTWIG & SCHULZ (1884: 24f.), HARTWIG (1890: 29ff.).

198 On L. Stern, see JACOBS (1911).

199 See Footnote 4.

200 See, for instance, PAUNEL (1965: 374, Fn. 172): 'DSB-Festschrift I, S. 283 – Klatt, S. 182 mit teilweise abweichenden Angaben, die Erwerbung betreffend – Pr.St.A. v. 18.2.1874 Nr. 43 und ebenda v. 11. Mai 1878 Nr. 111'; ROLOFF (1961: 167, Fn. 1) 'Der 1887 von Johannes Klatt [1887a] verfaßte hs. Katalog dieser Sammlung [DtSB (Ms. Cat.)] bringt ebenfalls gelegentlich kurze Aktenzitate'; ROLOFF (1961: 170, Fn. 46): 'Diese Stelle [J. E. Biester 1.9.1788 on the 'confusum Chaos' at the library at the time] hat J. Klatt [1887a] in seinem Verzeichnis der alten Kataloge excerpiert'.

201 The text comprises a long chapter on the era of Lepsius, which started in 1873/4!

202 PAUNEL (1965: 339f. & Fn. 83, Sources: HARTWIG & SCHULZ 1884a: 25, HARTWIG 1888: 510, 1890: 31; BADER 1925: 127):

'JOHANN KLATT, geb. am 31. Oktober 1852 in Filehne (Posen), war klassischer Philolog und Sanskritforscher, gelangte 1872 als Hilfsarbeiter an den sprachwissenschaftlichen Abteilungen des Realkatalogs [=systematischer Bandkatalog 21.8.1842 ff.: Verzettlung -1859 &

Katalogbände fertig 1881 (p. 283)] in die Königliche Bibliothek, wurde 1874 Assistent, 1. Oktober 1880 Kustos, im April 1888 Bibliothekar, 1890 5. Bibliothekar, musste 1893 wegen Geistesleidens in den Ruhestand treten. Er starb am 27. August 1903'.

203 PAUNEL (1965: 372; 334): '1874 verzeichnen wir als neue Hilfsarbeiter [...] JOHANN KLATT'. Diverging information on Klatt's commencement of duties: ib., Fn. 56 (sources: BADER 1925: 127: 1872; KBB Acta 2/V Bl. 131/132: 1873; ib. Bl. 140: 1874).

204 The stages, which are vividly described in JACOBS's (1917: 169) portrayal of Valentin Rose's (1829-1916) life and work at the KBB from 1855-1905. In the years 1884-86, shortly before and after Lepsius's death, Rose was Deputy Director (Stellvertretender Oberbibliothekar) and Acting Director (Kommissarischer Leiter), and 1886-1905, after the appointment of August Wilmanns, Director of the Manuscript Department:

'Zu Neujahr 1855 wurde Rose von dem Oberbibliothekar Pertz zum Dienst in der K[öni]gl[ichen] Bibliothek angenommen, am 8. Januar, seinem Geburtstage, trat er ihn an, zunächst als unbesoldeter Hilfsarbeiter, seit 1. Januar 1859 mit monatlichem Entgelt von zehn Talern. Am 1. Januar 1859 wurde er Assistent mit dreihundert, am 1. April 1863 Kustos mit fünfhundertfünfzig Talern Gehalt, das am 1. Januar 1872 sich auf elfhundert Taler verdoppelte. Nun war spät die Gründung eines eigenen Herdes möglich. Im August 1872 verheiratete er sich mit Marie Poggendorff, seiner Jugendgenossin. [...] Sechs Jahre später, am 1. Juli 1878 rückte er zum Bibliothekar, zum vierten zunächst, auf, am 1. Juli 1881 wurde er erster Bibliothekar' (p. 169, emphasis added).

the 1870s, because, after a reform in Prussia in 1873-4, they were paid well on permanent contracts. Moreover, custodians and librarians were employed as *Bibliotheksbeamte*, that is, members of the Prussian civil service, and enjoyed generous pensions and other privileges. For a librarian of a prestigious library, such as the KBB, alternative career options opened as well. The Royal Library in Berlin, and similar institutions, employed only scientific librarians, that is, highly specialised academics, many of whom became associate or full professors at universities after publishing the outcome of research conducted in their private time. Conversely, many university professors, especially those who had few students and therefore little income, took up additional employment as librarians.²⁰⁵

Some academic subjects could only develop because scientific librarians passionately pursued them in their private time, by taking advantage of their privileged access to library resources. Arguably, Jaina-Studies, a niche subject par excellence, was able to blossom in 19th- and 20th-century Germany only because specialists in Prakrit and Jainology could be consecutively placed at the main Indological research libraries in Berlin, Bonn, and Halle, as scientific librarians with special responsibility for the Oriental collections. In addition to Johannes Klatt (1852-1903), Georg Bühler (1837-1898),²⁰⁶ Richard Pischel (1849-1908),²⁰⁷ Richard Fick (1867-1944),²⁰⁸ Otto Friedrich Schrader (1876-1961),²⁰⁹ Willibald Kirfel (1885-1964),²¹⁰ and Walther Schubring (1881-1969)²¹¹ in Germany, Armand

Albert Guérinot (1872-?), librarian at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, is to be mentioned, who worked throughout his career on Jaina materials.²¹²

Manuscripts and books written in Sanskrit and other Indian languages arrived in greater numbers at the KBB only after the acquisition of the collection of Sir Robert Chambers (1737-1803) in 1842. These and other Oriental manuscripts were placed on the fourth floor of the southern pavilion of the library at the Opernplatz, and catalogued by leading scholars of the Prussian Universities from 1842-1914.²¹³ They were supported by the specialised Custodians and Librarians employed by the Library, who were scholars in their own right. In 1866, Chief Librarian Heinrich PERTZ (1867: 2, 17) succeeded in establishing a dedicated permanent position for a specialist who could look after the Oriental collections at the KBB. The first official Custodian for Oriental Manuscripts (*Kustos für orientalische Handschriften*) was the Semitist Richard Gosche (1824-1889).²¹⁴ Subsequently, further posts for Custodians specialising in Oriental languages were established. The following scholars have looked after the collection of manuscripts and of books written in Indian languages at certain periods of their careers at the KBB:²¹⁵

- 1847-1862 Richard Gosche (1824-1889)
- 1862-1872 Wilhelm Grünmach (1830-1893)²¹⁶
- 1872-1893 Johannes Klatt (1859-1903)
- 1894-1902 August Blau (1858-1926)
- 1897-1921 Richard Fick (1867-1944)²¹⁷
- 1907-1920 Walther Schubring (1881-1969)

205 Cf. BADER (1925). The case of Friedrich Stenzler (1807-1887) is a well-known example.

206 Bühler worked as Assistant of the Librarian for the Queen at Windsor Castle in 1861 and as Assistant at the University Library in Göttingen in 1862 (WINTERNITZ 1903).

207 Pischel was Professor for Comparative Linguistics and Indology (*Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft und Indologie*) at the Universität Halle from 1885-1902. Besides this, he worked as Managing Director and Librarian at the Library of the DMG in Halle from 1886-1902 (MLUHW 2016).

208 See FICK (1888, 1889), FAY (1889). On Fick's career, see JANERT (1961): 1886 Bibliothek Kiel, 1897 Bibliothekar Berlin, 1904 Oberbibliothekar, 1916 Abteilungsdirektor. For 'Kirfel' and 'Fick', see HABERMANN, KLEMMT & SIEFKES (1985); KBB (Acta I.76 [I 943] Fick, Prof. Dr. Richard): 1.4.1897-31.3.1921 'als Bibliothekar, Oberbibliothekar, Direktor und Abteilungsdirektor an der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek beschäftigt'.

209 Schrader was director of the Adyar Library in Madras 1905-14 (SCHMIEDER-JAPPE 2004: 19).

210 Kirfel worked for the University Library 1911-21 and in 1922 became Professor for Indology in Bonn (BIRWÉ 1977).

211 Schubring worked for the University Library in Bonn from 1905, and for the Preußische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin 2.4.1907-31.4.1920: 2.4.1907 Volontär,

22.2.1909 Assistent (Bibliothekarsprüfung Göttingen 22.2.1909), 1.4.1912 Hilfsbibliothekar, 1.1.1915 Bibliothekar (STAATSARCHIV HAMBURG, Wissenschaftliche Beamte und Hilfsarbeiter, Personalnachweisung, IV 1472 Schubring 1919-1955; SCHUBRING, Letter to Harnack & reply. KBB Acta I.9⁹⁰, pp. 5-6, 45).

212 For unemployed European Orientalists an alternative to Librarianship was employment abroad, mainly in the UK or in India. In the 19th century, many European Orientalists, such as Martin Haug, Eduard Röer (Roer), Georg Bühler, Franz Kielhorn, Rudolf Hoemle, Georg Thibaut, Alois Anton Führer, and others, worked in the libraries and educational and research institutions of South Asia, and played a significant role in the discovery and dissemination of Jaina primary sources amongst scholars worldwide.

213 A. Weber started cataloguing in 1842 (PERTZ 1853: x).

214 See AUSTER (1961: 280).

215 Figures on the left side of the name designate the period of employment at the library.

216 On Grünmach, librarian at the KBB 1857-93, see ROLOFF (1961: 148).

217 Detailed career-path at the KBB: 1.1.1897 Hilfsbibliothekar, 1.2.1897 Bibliothekar (Ausbildung), 1.3.1897 Bibliothekar (Aufnahme in die KBB), (Iron cross 2nd and 1st class,) 'Direktor', Abteilungsdirektor 1.2.1916 (KBB, Acta I.76 [I. 943] Fick, Prof. Dr. Richard).

Of the six, the last four were experts in Sanskrit philology, and three of them Jainologists. Two had specialised in Jaina Studies already before their library career, namely Fick and Schubring, and one during his library career, namely Klatt. He worked at the KBB for twenty years, from 1872 to 1892: under Chief Librarian Pertz as a Volunteer (1872-3) and as fractionally paid part-time Auxilliary Assistant (1873-4); under Chief Librarian Lepsius as full-time Assistant (1874) and 9th (1880), 8th (1881) and 3rd Custodian (1884); and under Director Wilmanns as 2nd Kustos and as 8th (1888) and as 7th or 5th Librarian²¹⁸ (1890).²¹⁹

10. Johannes Klatt's career at the Royal Library in Berlin 1872-92

Klatt had not planned to become a librarian. Originally, he must have envisaged a career as a teacher in a Gymnasium, like his younger brother Ludwig Klatt. But due to his specialisation in Sanskrit philology his life took a different turn. In April 1872, when he was still a student, Klatt started to work at the Royal Library as a casual library assistant, specially employed for cataloguing Sanskrit

books. It was customary for recommended newcomers at the KBB to work at the outset on a voluntary basis, to test their inclination for library work, to learn the trade, and to prove their abilities. Not every volunteer stayed on.²²⁰ Klatt, however, was interested to continue, and, in June 1873, informally approached the new acting Director of the KBB, Richard Lepsius, for employment opportunities at the KBB.²²¹ His request was successful. Klatt received his first payment from the KBB for recording the new Jaina manuscripts that the library had received in the accession register,²²² and for further cataloguing of Sanskrit books.²²³ The work was conducted over a period of six months, from October 1873 till May 1874. The remuneration was paid in two instalments: 100 Goldmark ('100 Thaler') on 22 November 1873 and 400 Goldmark on 1 May 1874.²²⁴ The salary for this work was relatively high, because Klatt was employed as a part-time fractional replacement for the Keeper of Oriental Manuscripts, a position which was left vacant after the departure of Richard Gosche (1824-1889),²²⁵ who, on 8 December 1862, took up a chair as Professor for Oriental Languages (Professor der morgenländischen Sprachen) at the University of Halle-Wittenberg.²²⁶

218 5th Librarian, according to PAUNEL (1965: 340).

219 The following salaries are recorded by LEPSIUS (Letters to Klatt. Berlin 25.9.1880, 18.10.1881, 18.3.1884, 6.8.1884) 9. Kustos: Reichsmark 3,000 + 540 housing allowance, 8. Kustos: Reichsmark 3,500+540, 3. Kustos: Reichsmark 3,500+540, and by WILMANN (Letters to Klatt 1.7.1886, 18.1.1888, 17.10.1888, 23.12.1891) 3,800+540, 2. Kustos: Reichsmark 4,800+540, Bibliothekar: 4,800+900, 5,200+540). Cf. HARTWIG (1888: 510, 1890: 31).

220 After his doctoral examination, Albrecht Weber's son Heinrich Weber also volunteered at the KBB, but soon realised that library work was not for him, and became a Gymnasium teacher instead. See PARPOLA (2003: 192), and KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 4.1.1884): 'Am 2. Jan[uar] trat Prof. Weber's Sohn bei uns an der Bibliothek als Assistent an, hat es aber nicht länger als 1 Woche ausgehalten, und wird nun das Oberlehrer-examen machen'.

221 KLATT (Letter to Lepsius 30.3.1874).

222 This is what Lepsius writes. However, judging on the basis of the handwriting, the first three consignments of Jaina manuscripts from Bühler in Bombay may have been entered by Weber, certainly not by Klatt: See KBB (Accessio manuscriptorum 1863-86): Nr. 9832-9867, 12.10.1873, 'gekauft von Prof. Bühler'; Nr. 9882-9911, 26.1874, 'Prof. Bühler in Bombay'; Nr. 10004-10036, 5.11.1874, 'Bühler in Bombay'. Only the remainder were entered by Klatt: Nr. 10290-10308, 25.10.1875: 'Vierte Dr. Bühler'sche Sendung von Jaina-Mss. aus Bombay'; Nr. 10363-10375, 26.4.1877: 'Fünfte Dr. Bühler'sche Sendung von Jaina-Mss. aus Surat'; Nr. 10427-10546, 18.1.1878: '120 Sanskrit- und Prakrit-etc. Papiermanuscripte. Specialverzeichniss im Catalog Manuscripta orientalia' [can not be located anymore,

but see KLATT 1879b]; Nr. 10567-10637, 18.3.1878: '72 Jaina-Manuscripte. Specialverzeichniss im Catalog Manuscripta orientalia'; Nr. 10656-10772, 1.5.1878, '117 Dschaina-Handschriften. Specialverzeichniss im Catalog Manuscripta orientalia' ('Aus Bombay durch Vermittlung des Dr. Bühler'); Nr. 11436-11440, 1886 = KBB (Accessio manuscriptorum 1886-93) Nr. 1886.39-43. E. Leumann entered the '395 Jaina-Mss.' (amongst others & some printed texts) from 'Bhagavandas Kevaldas in Sigrampura [sic], Surat' (KBB, Accessio manuscriptorum 1886-93) Nr. 88-543, 2.3.1893.

223 LEPSIUS (Letter to Weber 14.10.1873) thanked Weber and Bühler for their 'efforts' in procuring these 'Sanskrit-Mss.' for the KBB.

224 The directive of LEPSIUS of 25.4.1874 (Acta I. 6^a) retrospectively specified the purpose of the payment of altogether 500 Goldmark to Klatt: 'für die ihm im vorigen Jahre übertragene Katalogisierung der sanskritischen Bücher und für die Verzeichnung der Bühler'schen Sanskrit Handschriften'.

225 At the time, Gosche's position at the KBB was covered by Wilhelm August Ferdinand Grützner (1830-1893) (PAUNEL 1965: 372), a philologist without specialisation in oriental languages: 'geb. 17. September 1830, stud. klassische und neuere Philologie; Oktober 1857 Volontär an der Kgl. Bibliothek, April 1858 Hilfsarbeiter, März 1868 Kustos, Oktober 1880 Bibliothekar' (HARTWIG 1890: 30). Cf. HARTWIG & SCHULZ (1884a: 24): 'Dritter Custos Bibliothekar Dr. phil. Wilh. Aug. Ferd. Grützner, ev., geb. 17. Sept. 1830, stud. Philologie, eingetreten 9. Okt. 1857, 1858 Hilfsarbeiter, 1867 Custos, 1890 Bibliothekar'.

226 Gosche (4.6.1824 – 29.10.1889) studied Theology and Classical and Oriental philology, worked as librarian at

Klatt shared this appointment with Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907),²²⁷ who was already renowned for his masterful catalogue of the Hebrew works in the Bodleian library at Oxford and for his *Hebräische Bibliographie*,²²⁸ and would later collaborate with E. Kuhn and J. Klatt for their *Litteraturblatt für Orientalische Philologie*.²²⁹

In his Vita for the KBB, dated 30 July 1874, Klatt wrote that, at first, he took up library work only 'out of curiosity', and in the hope that it would benefit his prospects in the field of Sanskrit. With time, the idea of spending all day with the books, and, as it were, being able to freely dispose of them, grew on him. For this reason, he applied for a proper position at the KBB.²³⁰ On 30 March 1874, one month before the end of his temporary appointment, he had submitted an official letter of application to Lepsius,

who was interim director at the time.²³¹ In the letter, Klatt highlighted his personal interest in working at the Library in Oriental languages, in particular Sanskrit, and mentioned that he could also take over Celtic, Lithuanian or Slavic language or the discipline Linguistics. During his studies, he wrote, he had also acquired ample knowledge in the field of Oriental, Latin, and German philology, as well as Archaeology, History of Art, Philosophy and Aesthetics.

Klatt officially joined the Royal Library on 1 May 1874, as an 'Assistant' on an annually renewable contract worth 400 Goldmark,²³² and was made responsible for 'Oriental', 'Slavic' and 'Occidental' languages and literatures.²³³ In July 1874, he was cataloguing books in Occidental languages. At the same time, he prepared for the exam *pro facultate*

the KBB 1847-1862 (started the Catalogue of Arabic Mss.), became Professor for the History of Literature at the University in Berlin 1860, then Professor for Semitic Languages at the University of Halle from 1862, was a writer and journalist, frequently indulging in 'agitatorial' public interventions. See FRÄNKEL (1904), PERTZ (1867: 2, 17), AUSTER (1961: 280), and BADER (1925/1968: 78): 'Gest. 29. Okt. 1889 durch das eigene Rasiermesser'.

227 KBB (Extract of the report of 12.9.1873. Acta I. 6^a, p. 3): 'Dass von den noch zu leistenden, in dem erstalligierten Bericht näher bezeichneten Aufgaben diejenigen [...] 3., an den Dr. Klatt mit 100 g. für den Katalog der Sanskrit-Litteratur auf das etatsmässige Gehalt der vakanten Stelle des Conservators der orientalischen Handschriften angewiesen wurden, erscheint insofern gerechtfertigt, als die fraglichen Arbeiten zu denen gehören, für welche die Thätigkeit des Conservators der orientalischen Handschriften vorzugsweise in Anspruch zu nehmen gewesen wäre und welche daher in Vertretung der Funktionen desselben durch die Dr. Dr. Steinschneider und Klatt geliefert worden sind'.

228 STEINSCHNEIDER (1852-1860, 1859-1882).

229 See infra. On Steinschneider, editor of the periodical *Hebräische Bibliographie* 1859-1882, Professor at the Veitel-Heine-Ephraimsche Lehranstalt, Berlin, 1859-1890, 1869-1907, Assistant (Hilfsbibliothekar) at the Royal Library, Berlin, 1894 Honorary Professor (Honorarprofessor) of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin, see SINGER (1905: 546), ELBOGEN (1926), HEBREW BIBLIOGRAPHY (1998), FIGEAC (2007), GRÖZINGER (2009: 28f.), LEICHT & FREUDENTHAL (2012).

230 KLATT (Kurzer Abriß des Lebens 30.7.1874).

231 KLATT (Letter to Lepsius 30.3.1874): 'An den Ober=Bibliothekar der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Herrn Geheimrath Professor Dr. Lepsius. Unter Bezugnahme auf mein mündliches Gesuch vom Juni vor[igen] J[ahres] erlaube ich mir hiermit, auch schriftlich um eine Anstellung in der Königlichen Bibliothek einzukommen. Als das Fach, welches ich auf der Bibliothek zu bearbeiten wünsche, bezeichne ich die orientalischen Sprachen. Auch könnte ich dazu oder statt dessen, wenn es gewünscht wird, die celtische,

lithauische, slawische Sprache, oder auch das Fach „Linguistik“ übernehmen. Vielfache Kenntnisse habe ich mir ferner erworben auch dem Gebiet der orientalischen, lateinischen, deutschen Philologie, ferner der Archäologie, der Kunstwissenschaft, der Philosophie, der Aesthetik u.s.w. Der Theil der Wissenschaft, dem ich mich speciell gewidmet habe, ist das Sanskrit, welches ich in den Jahren 1868-72 in der Berliner Universität studiert habe. Als erste Frucht meiner Studien ist im Jahre 1873 meine Doctor=Dissertation „De trecentis Cānakyae poetae indicī sententiis“ erschienen. Für die Königliche Bibliothek arbeite ich seit zwei Jahren. Ich habe an der Anfertigung des Katalogs der orientalischen Litteratur, speciell der Sanskrit=Litteratur Theil genommen, wofür mir eine Gratifikation von 100 Talern gewährt worden ist. In diesen zwei Jahren glaube ich mir bereits einige Einsicht in die Geschäfte innerhalb der Bibliothek erworben zu haben.

Ich verbleibe hochachtungsvoll und gehorsamst
Berlin, den 30. März 1874 Dr. phil. Johannes Klatt
(Brüderstraße 44)'.
232

From 1.5.1874 Klatt was employed as Assistant Librarian (Hilfsbibliothekar) on an annually renewed contract for cataloguing work. A note shows that sometimes he was paid a little extra for specified work (KÖNIGLICHE BIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN 9.3.1875). On 22.3.1875 Klatt was granted a salary of 600 Mark, 6.6.1875: 1,200 Mark, 2.6.1876: 1,200 Mark, 25.3.1878: annually 1,200 Mark, 1879/1880: fixed remuneration of 1,500 Mark for I.-III. Quarters & an extraordinary remuneration of 750 Mark, 1880: 1,500 Mark for I.-III. Quarters & an extraordinary remuneration of 500 Mark (LEPSIUS, Letters 22.3.1875, 6.6.1875, 25.3.1878, 18.12.1879, 24.9.1880). - According to PAUNEL (1965: 333), in 1884/5, the official salary for Assistants at the KBB was 1,200-2,400 Mark, of Custodians and Librarians 3,000-6,000 Mark, and for the Chief Librarian 9,000 Mark.

233 KLATT (Kurzer Abriß des Lebens 30.7.1874): 'Kurzer Abriß des Lebens von Joh[annes] E[mil] O[tto] Klatt
Ich bin geboren am 31. October 1852 in Filehne in der Provinz Posen als der Sohn eines K[öni]g[lich]en Preußischen Beamten. Mein Religionsbekenntniß ist

docendi, to qualify for the position of teacher at a Gymnasium, to open up yet another alternative career path, and he continued negotiating with Böhrling.²³⁴ In the Michaelmas semester 1874-5, Klatt also began to learn 'a few more' Oriental languages, 'partly for the library and partly following a long cherished desire'.²³⁵ He studied Arabic and Syriac with Friedrich Theodor Haarbrücker (1818-1880),²³⁶ and Samaritan (Samaritan Aramaic) and Osmanian (Ottoman Turkish) with Julius Heinrich Petermann (1801-1876),²³⁷ two professors of the University of Berlin, who apparently permitted Klatt to attend their

classes as an unregistered (but possibly paying) auditor. Later, he worked on Slavic languages in the KBB.²³⁸ Evidently, it was expected from a librarian at the KBB to have a working knowledge of several of the principal languages of Europe, the Near East, and Asia, and their scripts, and to specialise in one or other language or language families and its literature.

The high demands on the academic staff of the prestigious Royal Library, 'the haste of library work',²³⁹ including the physically demanding task of book-selection for readers and return of the volumes

das der evangelisch=lutherischen Kirche. Nachdem mir der erste Unterricht durch meinen Privatlehrer erteilt worden war, wurde ich Schüler des Gymnasiums in Bromberg, welches ich von Michaelis 1862 bis eben dahin 1868 besuchte. Auf der Universität Berlin studierte ich 4 Jahre lang die classische Philologie und das Sanskrit. Im Jahre 1873 erlangte ich den Grad des philosophischen doctors mit der Dissertation: *De trecentis Cāṇakyaē poetae Indici sententiis*, Halis 1873, welche unter dem Titel *De trecentis Cāṇakyaē poetae Indici sententiis*, in quibus centum adhuc ignotae, nunc primum foras datae, Berolini 1873, auch in den Buchhandel gekommen ist. Seitdem bin ich beschäftigt mit den Vorbereitungen zum Examen pro facultate docendi, welches ich in der nächsten Zeit absolvieren werde. Inzwischen hat mir der Herausgeber der Sammlung indischer Sprüche, Otto von Böhtlingk in Jena, aufgetragen den Realindex zu dieser Sammlung zu verfertigen. Mit dieser Arbeit werde ich mich in den nächstfolgenden Jahren beschäftigen. Noch eines will ich nicht unerwähnt lassen, da es grade auf meine äußern Verhältnisse einigen Einfluß ausgeübt hat, insofern es bei wenig Zeitverlust unverhältnißmäßig reichen Gewinn bringt. Es ist die Stenographie, die ich nach dem System von Stolze schon auf dem Gymnasium erlernte. Nachdem ich die Fähigkeit erlernt hatte, Reden aufzuschreiben, trat ich nach vorhergegangener Prüfung im Jahre 1870 in das stenographische Bureau des Herrenhauses ein, dessen Vorsteher Herr Prof. Michaelis ist, und fungire noch gegenwärtig als Stenograph des Herrenhauses.

Im Anfang des April i[m] J[ahre] 1872 trat ich zuerst in nähere Verbindung mit der K[önigl]ichen Bibliothek, indem ich bei der Anfertigung des Katalogs der orientalischen Literatur mit hinzugezogen wurde. Obgleich ich damals nicht die Absicht hatte, definitiv in die Bibliothek einzutreten, ging ich sehr gerne darauf ein, da es für mich großes Interesse hatte, die Einrichtungen einer Bibliothek kennen zu lernen, und ich außerdem in meinem Specialfach, dem Sanskrit, gefördert zu werden hoffen durfte. Da aber die Aussicht, als Angestellter an der Bibliothek den ganzen Tag über bei den Büchern verweilen und gewissermaßen frei verfügen zu können, zu verlockend war, so kam ich allmählig, ermutigt besonders durch das allseitige wohlwollende Entgegenkommen der Herren Bibliotheksbeamten, zu dem Entschlusse, mich dauernd der Bibliothek zu widmen. Das Datum meines definitiven Eintritts ist der 1. Mai 1874. An Remuneration habe ich von der Bibliothek bezogen:

1) 100 Thaler unterm 22. November 1873, 2) 400 Thaler unterm 1. Mai 1874. Ich verwaltete auf der Bibliothek die orientalischen, die slawischen und die unter dem Namen occidentalisch zusammengefaßten Sprachen und Literaturen. Mit der Anfertigung eines Katalogs der occidentalischen Literatur bin ich augenblicklich beschäftigt.

Berlin, den 30.ten Juli 1874

Dr. phil. Johannes Klatt'.

- 234 KLATT (Letter to Weber 8.12.1874). W. ERMAN (1994: 124f.) faced similar career choices after his doctoral examination in 1873 in Leipzig. He also considered to work as a private tutor or journalist. He (and maybe Klatt too) became only interested in the career as a librarian after reading in the papers in 1874 that the previously pitifully low salary of librarians and custodians had been more than doubled in course of a reform of the Prussian Civil Service, from 400-1,300 Taler in 1872 to 1,000-2,000 Taler per annum. Like Klatt, he met Schrader for initial inquiries and induction, and found out that only a Doctorate was required as a qualification:

'Die meist kümmerlich dotierten Kustodenstellen boten daher keine verlockende Aussicht für ein Aufsteigen, umso weniger, als auch sie nicht selten zur Versorgung bedürftiger oder im Lehrberuf nicht erfolgreicher Dozenten oder anderer Leute, die ihren Beruf verfehlt hatten, verwendet wurden. Die neuen Gehaltssätze der Königlichen Bibliothek ließen die Sache nun in einem ganz anderen Licht erscheinen [...]. Ich erfuhr, daß meine Vorbildung für den sofortigen Eintritt als Assistent genügt, und daß auch für die spätere, etatmäßige Anstellung als Custos außer der Promotion nur die praktische Bewährung im Dienst verlangt wurde' (p. 126).

- 235 KLATT (Letter to Weber 8.12.1874).

- 236 Professor for Oriental Languages at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Berlin from 1873. See GRÖZINGER (2009: 28).

- 237 From 1837 Extraordinarius Professor of Oriental Philology at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin. See BOBZIN (2001).

- 238 PAUNEL (1965: 383 & Fn. 214; Source: Acta KB Kataloge 9/II Bl. 211, Mai 1874): 'Rakowicz legte, unter Schraders Leitung, zur allgemeinen Zufriedenheit den Band der slavischen Literatur an, der ihm am 5. Mai 1874 übertragen wurde, später ging er an Klatt über'.

- 239 KLATT (1881d: 199, Fn. 1): 'die Eile der Bibliotheksarbeit'.

to unheated storage areas,²⁴⁰ and the tight control mechanisms, are well documented in a number of letters which Klatt wrote to Weber on 2.6.1876 (on the Director himself pointing out to him that he could not stay away from work due to illness without giving prior notice),²⁴¹ to Ernst Kuhn 14.4.1882 and

23.3.1885 (on psychological strain due to work-overload), and on 25.6.1877 to Chief Librarian Lepsius, in reply to a query of as to why so much uncompleted work remained on Klatt's desk.²⁴² In response to this question, Klatt itemised all of his official tasks at the time:²⁴³

240 ERMAN (1994: 128). Most librarians had to work standing up. The type of work Custodians had to do in the 1880s lists PAUNEL (1965: 391): Selecting book for acquisition; keeping the accession register; supervising book-binding; keeping the journal room, statutory copies, and register of duplicates; maintain the alphabetical catalogue; work on te thematic and alphabetical catalogues; work in special collections.

241 KLATT (Letter to Weber 2.6.1876):
‘Sehr geehrter Herr Regierungsrath,
Indem ich soeben von dem Herrn Geheimen Reg=Rath Lepsius darauf aufmerksam gemacht wurde, dass es nothwendig sei, [Abwesenheit] [...] durch Krankheit vor 9 Uhr auf der k. Bib. zu melden, - bitte ich für dieses Versäumniss um Entschuldigung. Ich hatte (irrthümlich) geglaubt, dass meine persönliche Meldung bei Ihnen, Herr Regierungsrath, am vorangegangenen Tage auch noch für den folgenden ausreichen würde. Ich theile zugleich mit, dass, soweit ich meinen Zustand - heftige Kopfschmerzen - beurteilen kann, ich ziemlich sicher [bin] [...], dass ich auch morgen nicht im Stande sein werde, nach der Bibliothek zu kommen. Dagegen hoffe ich, dass bis Dienstag eine Besserung eingetreten sein wird. Sollte es nicht der Fall sein, so werde ich Sie zur rechten Zeit davon benachrichtigen.
Hochachtungsvoll ergebendst
Dr. J. Klatt’.

242 See ERMAN (1883-4: 476) on ‘Lepsius’ Abscheu gegen nicht endgültig Fertiges’.

243 KLATT (Letter to Lepsius 25.6.1877):
‘Der Aufforderung, über die Reste, die sich in den mir zugewiesenen Abtheilungen angesammelt haben, Bericht zu erstatten, entspreche ich hiermit. Ich hätte schon längst aus eigener Initiative von diesem Zustande Mittheilung gemacht, wenn ich nicht die Mißdeutung hätte befürchten müssen, daß ich es nur thäte, um Arbeit von mir abzuwälzen.

- 1) Die größte Arbeit, die mir noch bevorsteht, ist die Katalogisierung der 610 Bücher aus dem Petermann’schen Nachlaß, (im März d[es] J[ahres] erworben, acc. 215183-793; provisorischer Platz im Zimmer der libri impr[essi] rari). Die Erledigung einer solchen Menge Bücher, deren armenische Titel ich erst mühsam ins Deutsche übersetzen muß, erfordert Jahre. Vor einigen Monaten hatte ich Zeit, die ersten 10 Bücher von dieser Sammlung zu erledigen; seitdem bin ich nicht wieder dazu gekommen.
- 2) Eine ebenfalls sehr umfassende Arbeit, die nur deshalb schneller vonstatten gehen wird, weil sie mit meinen Privatstunden in Zusammenhang steht, ist die Katalogisierung der i[m] J[ahre] 1875 für 1438 Mark erworbenen Sanskritbücher (acc. 203277-418 und 205506-533; provisorischer Platz im Kartenzimmer Schrank 9). Von diesen Büchern haben nur einige neben dem orientalischen einen englischen Titel. Bei der Mehrzahl, die nur einen Titel in

Dēvanāgarī-, bengalischen, Telinga-, Tamil- und anderen Charakteren hat, ergibt sich für mich die äußerst zeitraubende und unangenehme Arbeit, den Titel ins Deutsche zu übersetzen. Ich habe in diese Bücher damals die Accessionsnummer hineingeschrieben. Außerdem ist noch Alles für sie zu thun, da ich seitdem keine Zeit mehr dafür gehabt habe.

- 3) Die Anlage des Katalogs der libri impr[essi] Orientalis nach der neuen Bestimmung, daß jede Sprache eine besondere Abtheilung bildet. Vor einigen Monaten habe ich die beiden ersten Abtheilungen “Aethiopisch und Annamitisch” angelegt. Seitdem habe ich nicht wieder Zeit dazu gefunden.
- 4) Die Katalogisierung der im Kartenzimmer in den Schränken 9, 65 und 66 stehenden gedruckten Bücher und der in Schrank 8 stehenden Handschriften (unter den letzteren besonders die dritte und vierte Bühler’sche Sendung von Sanskrithandschriften und die schon vor einigen Tagen durch Tagor an die Bibliothek gekommenen 50 birmanischen Manuskripte). In Bezug auf das Eintragen der orientalischen Manuskripte ersehe ich aus den Schriftzügen, daß früher Herr Secr. Jockens die Güte hatte, die kurzen Angaben des Accessionskatalogs gleich in den Katalog der orientalischen Handschriften einzutragen. Ich stelle anheim, ob dies wieder geschehen soll. Wenn dagegen eine Katalogisierung erfolgen soll mit Angabe des ganzen Titels, des Verfassers, des Schreibers, des Datums und Orts, der Seitenzahl, der etwa vorhandenen Defecte u.s.w., so ist das auch wieder eine ganz langwierige Arbeit, mit welcher allein ich Monate lang zu thun habe.

Von einzeln gekauften gedruckten Büchern habe ich mit Ausnahme der polnischen Pflichtexemplare aus Posen und sonstiger werthloser Sachen nur noch Weniges einzutragen (darunter befand sich auch das Buch, welches die direkte Veranlassung zu diesem Bericht gegeben hat).

Ich bemerke in Bezug darauf, daß ich in der Zeit, die mir die Tagesgeschäfte übrig lassen, doch eben nur ein Buch nach dem andern vornehmen und in den Katalog eintragen kann, so wie ich darin von Herrn Dr. Schrader unterwiesen bin, und wie ich es nach meinen eigenen Erfahrungen für zweckmäßig halte.

Bin ich über irgend etwas falscher Meinung, so erbitte ich mir Instruction, wie ich es künftig machen soll. Desgleichen auch in Betracht des Bücheraussuchens.

Es ist mir zuweilen in Bezug darauf von Herrn Dr. [Julius] Sybel gesagt worden: Sie geben sich zu viel Mühe. Ich erfülle vielleicht die Forderungen des Publicums zu penibel.

Da ich aber einsehe, wie nothwendig es ist, auf allen Gebieten im Allgemeinen Bescheid zu wissen, so wünsche ich sehr, mit dem Bücheraussuchen noch weiter beschäftigt zu werden. Jedoch mach ich den Vorschlag, mich alle zwei Monate wechseln zu lassen, bis ich

1. Cataloguing 610 books in Armenian language, of the literary estate of his former teacher Julius Heinrich Petermann (1801-1876), which Klatt estimates to take 'years'.
2. Cataloguing (after working hours, during private time) 168 books in Sanskrit, including the 'unpleasant work' to translate the titles, written in different Indian scripts, into German.
3. Creating a new catalogue for printed Oriental books, arranged according to language, according to new rules (starting with Ethiopian and Annamite)
4. Cataloguing further books, the third and fourth consignment of Sanskrit manuscripts sent by Bühler, and 50 manuscripts in Burmese.
5. Cataloguing statutory copies of separable books published in Polish, sent from Posen.
6. Selecting books in answer to requests from readers.

In order to save time, Klatt recommended following the example of Secretary Julius Jochens,²⁴⁴ who copied the short references for the Accession Catalogue straight into the Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, rather than producing full information on title, author, copyist, data and place, page-numbers, defects, etc., which would require 'months' to accomplish for the Sanskrit books. Klatt stressed that

sämtliche Bücher kennen gelernt habe, und mich dann auf so lange von den Tagesgeschäften zu dispensiren, bis ich die Reste aufgearbeitet habe.

Gehorsamst

Berlin, den 25. Juni 1877

Dr. Klatt'.

- 244 One of Lepsius's confidants. See ERMAN (1994: 131).
- 245 ERMAN (1994: 128f.) mentions the figure of ca. 60-70 book requests per day and librarian. Average figures for the daily users of the Library for 1884 are provided by PAUNEL (1965: 382): December 1884: 160 (co-preset 79), January 1885: 189 (85), February: 204 (76), March: 166 (77). From 1878 onward the opening hours were from 9.00-15.00 (p. 386).
- 246 ROLOFF (1961: 146-51).
- 247 ERMAN (1994: 131) recalls the disagreement between Schrader and Lepsius concerning the separate shelving of new accessions, introduced by Lepsius in 1874 (and now common), which seemed to go against the thematical arrangement, which Schrader had established over many years. Schrader was the most important librarian at the KBB. He masterminded and supervised its entire re-organisation from 1841-81; using for the first time a card catalogue (Zettelkatalog), first for the new thematic catalogue and then an alphabetical catalogue, which was started in 1863, using the cards that remained after a clean copy of the *Realkatalog* had been produced. See also ROLOFF (1961: 146-51, 153) and PAUNEL (1965: 382-4).
- 248 The strains caused by the confined working conditions on the academic staff of the KBB, and the sometimes heavy-handed style of supervision by Lepsius, is evident in some of the draft letters of Wilhelm Adolf

in the hours that remained after the day-to-day library business,²⁴⁵ he could only ever enter 'one book at a time' into the catalogue, that is, not do everything at once, following the instructions received from Julius Schrader (1808-1898), and his own judgment. Schrader had been the library reformer and instigator of the great subject catalogue of the KBB, a card catalogue²⁴⁶ that was created between 1842 and 1881 through the collective effort of all librarians.²⁴⁷ Klatt suggested that he be rotated every two months to enable him to get to know 'all the books', and thereafter to release him from day-to-day interaction with readers until he had completed the remainder of his cataloguing tasks.²⁴⁸

In his reply of 26 June 1877, Lepsius suggested that Klatt should (a) focus on the recording of newly arrived books, and complete the remainder of his work before starting his summer holidays; (b) give up the production of extensive summaries of the contents of books and the translation of their titles, which could be done at a later stage; and (c) concentrate on the day-to-day business in the Oriental section. He also requested a written report from Klatt on the results of his cataloguing work by the end of July.²⁴⁹ In a letter of 1 October 1877, Klatt in turn requested that Lepsius provide a proper workplace

Erman (1850-1932), one of which, addressed to Director Lepsius, mentions Klatt in passing:

'Sie sagten mir schliesslich, ich sei der einzige Beamte der Bibliothek, der beständig Ihren Anordnungen nicht Folge leiste! – Darf ich von Ihrem Gerechtigkeitsgefühl erwarten, dass Sie mir auch nachträglich noch Worte der Verteidigung gestatten werden.

Ich beginne mit dem einzigen genau präzisirten Tadel, den Sie aussprachen. Er bezog sich auf die Durchführung Ihrer Anordnung, dass der erste Tisch im Lesezimmer für die Leser von Handschriften und Kupferwerken reservirt sein, und die benachbarte Thür [zwischen den Expeditionszimmern und dem Lesezimmer] für das Publikum geschlossen gehalten werden soll. Obgleich nun seit mehreren Monaten Hr. Dr. Klatt mit den auf die Handschriftenbenutzung bezüglichen Geschäften betraut ist, ihn also jedenfalls die eigentliche Verantwortung für die Durchführung der Massregel trifft, so bin ich doch meines Platzes im Lesezimmer wegen an der Handhabung derselben in gewissem Grade betheilig, und deshalb auch gern bereit, die Verantwortung mitzutragen. [...]' (ERMAN to Lepsius 1882?). Erman acted as spokesperson in a letter signed by the custodians Drs. W. ERMAN, A. KOPFERMANN, J. KLATT, Joh. MÜLLER, H. MEISNER, and B. MECKLENBURG (Letter to Lepsius 31.1. 1884), who asked for explanations for continuing underpayment. LEPSIUS (Letter 1.2.1884) replied that he will make an application accordingly, but demanded staff should refrain from writing such letters. ERMAN's (1883-4) obituary of Lepsius does not mention his ten years at the KBB at all.

- 249 LEPSIUS (Letter to Klatt 26.6.1877):

dedicated to him alone. The main problem, causing him much pain day-in and day-out, and delaying his work, he pointed out, was that he had to constantly meander between six different workplaces at the Library, as a consequence of which he was confronted with many troubles: seats that he vacated for just a moment were often occupied by visitors, books, quills or ink pots went missing, etc. Had he known a solution, he would have pointed out this problem much earlier. It was only when he was working during the holiday period on the backlog of his cataloguing load, that he found that the connecting room between the library sections 'Science of War' and 'Libri impressi rari' would be most suitable as a dedicated workplace for him, since he was able to assemble there all the materials he needed and to complete much of his task. If this space would be allocated to him as his personal workplace, he would also be located nearer to the Orientalists Dr. Moritz Steinschneider (1916-1907) and Dr. Ludwig Stern (1846-1911), who he needed to consult regularly.

Steinschneider and Stern would also appreciate it if the Oriental catalogues, which other librarians hardly ever used, would be shifted to the room, to be closer at hand.²⁵⁰ Lepsius replied that he saw himself unable to assign the connecting room to Klatt without requesting someone else to move to his present place in the reading room. Bookshelves would need to be set up as well, etc. The manuscript catalogues certainly could not be shifted, but would have to remain at their place in the manuscript cabinet in the reading room, because they had to be always at hand. Lepsius indicated that he was not entirely opposed to Klatt's proposition, but, in the 'general interest', as little change as possible would be preferable. At the end of his letter, Lepsius demanded again a detailed account of Klatt's work, as requested in his previous letter of 26 June 1877.²⁵¹ Klatt finally produced this report on 23 January 1878, immediately after a personal meeting with Lepsius,²⁵² who apparently invited Klatt to make more constructive suggestions

- 250 'Ich darf erwarten, daß die jetzt noch vorhandenen Reste vor Antritt des diesjährigen Urlaubs erledigt werden'. KLATT (Letter to Lepsius 1.10.1877):
 'Meine Eingabe geht auf die Änderung eines Zustandes, welcher, je länger er dauert, desto unerträglicher wird. Ich wünsche einen ordentlichen Arbeitsplatz, an welchem ich alle Bücher und Handschriften, die ich zu katalogisieren habe – und die ich in meinem Bericht vom 25. Juni 1877 aufgezählt habe – aufstellen kann. Augenblicklich habe ich 6 verschiedene Arbeitsplätze in der Bibliothek. Um alle die Übelstände, die hieraus entstehen, zu schildern, könnte ich ganze Bogen füllen. [1] Ein Hauptübelstand ist z.B., daß ich meistens erst nach langem Suchen oder gar nicht zu finden bin, da ich nicht immer Allen mittheilen kann, auf welchem von meinen Plätzen ich zunächst zu arbeiten gedenke.
 2) Auf welchem meiner verschiedenen Plätze ich sitze, nicht lange, so brauche ich etwas, was auf einem der andern Plätze liegt. Ich muß minutenlang Gänge machen, es zu holen. Es ist ein ewiges, unseliges Hin und Hertragen der Utensilien und Bücher. Außerdem ist der Zeitverlust so groß, daß ich noch einmal soviel leisten würde, wenn ich einen Platz hätte.
 3) Der Platz im Lesezimmer auf welchem ich die meiste Zeit zubringe, ist der allerunleidlichste. Ich gehe einen Augenblick fort und finde bei der Rückkunft meinen Platz von Jemand aus dem Publicum besetzt. Ein ander Mal finde ich meine Schreibfeder, mein Tintenfaß nicht mehr. Ich bin genöthigt, vielleicht von weit her ein anderes Tintenfaß zu holen, in welchem andersfarbige Tinte ist, so daß ich im Katalog eine Zeile, die ich mit schwarzer Tinte angefangen habe, mit blasser beende. Es ist ganz unmöglich, die unzähligen Kleinigkeiten zu nennen, die mir diesen Platz zur Qual machen. Außerdem ist immer die Gefahr vorhanden, daß Bücher oder Handschriften, welche ich mir zum Eintragen hinlege, entwendet werden.
 Ich hätte dies schon längst zur Sprache gebracht, wenn ich einen guten Vorschlag gewußt hätte, wo mir ein

Platz anzuweisen ist. Jetzt weiß ich einen Platz, der sehr gut für mich passen würde, auf welchem ich schon ein Paar Wochen in den Ferien gesessen habe. Es ist das Zimmer, zwischen den Abtheilungen "Kriegswissenschaft" und "Libri impressi rari", welches ganz leer und unbenutzt ist.

1) Hier würde ich nicht weit von den Plätzen der Herren Steinschneider und Stern sitzen, mit denen ich häufig zu conferieren habe. Auch würde es für diese Herren sehr bequem sein, wenn die orientalischen Kataloge oben ständen. Dagegen werden von den anderen Herren Beamten die orientalischen Kataloge fast gar nicht gebraucht.

2) Ich glaube nicht, daß für die anderen Herren Beamten Unbequemlichkeiten entstehen, wenn ich diesen Platz einnehme. Der Weg nach dem Journalzimmer ist nicht weiter, als nach der Stelle, wo die Kataloge der Mathematik u.s.w. stehen.

3) In diesem Zimmer könnte ich die von mir einzutragenden Bücher und Handschriften, die jetzt an 6 verschiedenen Stellen der Bibliothek verstreut stehen, übersichtlich zusammenstellen und das Zusammengehörige zusammen erledigen.

Meine gehorsamste Bitte geht dahin, zu genehmigen, daß ich – und zwar unter Mitnahme der Kataloge, in welche ich die Eintragungen besorge – dieses Zimmer zu meinem Arbeitsplatz einrichte.

Berlin, den 1. October 1877

Dr. Klatt'.

- 251 LEPSIUS (Letter to Klatt 8.10.1877).

- 252 KLATT (Letter to Lepsius 23.1.1878):

'Auf die Aufforderung, anzugeben, wie viele Bücher ich seit meinem letzten Bericht eingetragen habe, gebe ich an, daß es nach Ausweis der von mir geschriebenen Titelzettel

occidentalische Bücher c. 200,

slawische " c. 300

sind. Die orientalischen Zettel habe ich schon abgegeben zur Einordnung unter die übrigen, nach der Größe

for an improvement of the working conditions at the Library. Staff motivation had to be maintained.

Klatt first stated that he had written *Zettel* (slips of paper) with booktitles for circa 200 Occidental and 300 Slavic books and for about 600 books written in Sanskrit. He does not specify the time-period in his letter, but it is likely to have been in 1876-77. For the swift completion of the remaining work, he made several suggestions. The first was to create a new category of printed Oriental books under the rubric *Libri impressi orientales*, using labels in different colours, following the example of the manuscript collection. The second was to keep Petermann's collection of books in Armenian language etc. together, including books with titles printed in Latin script, using a distinctively coloured label *Libri impressi orientales armeni*, rather than simply a running number, which would lead to their disappearance in an ocean of books on the top floor of the Library, and effectively render them unprocessed and inaccessible. Klatt also requested that a casual library assistant should record the ca. 300 titles written in Latin script, which would take about eight days, according to his calculation, given a five hour working day, and

twelve books per hour. Lastly, Klatt requested professorial expertise from the University for cataloguing texts in languages and scripts no-one at the Library had reliably mastered - such as handwritten manuscripts in Indian languages, which Klatt suggested Weber should help to catalogue. Klatt proposed mainly the names of professors of the University of Berlin, who were already engaged in the ongoing large-scale project of cataloguing the manuscript collections of the KBB:

1. Sachau (Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Armenian, Syriac)
2. Jagić (Classical languages)
3. Albrecht Weber (Sanskrit)
4. Schott (Finnish, Mongolian, Chinese)
5. Johannes Schmidt (Celtic languages)
6. Tobler (Rumanian)

Klatt's suggestion, to create a separate category for Oriental books, was apparently accepted, since at least seventy-two of Petermann's books were entered into a handwritten catalogue of manuscripts and printed volumes entitled *Petermann I. Sammlung orientalischer Handschriften*.²⁵³ The catalogue provides a list of consecutively numbered titles of books in different languages, in the original Latin,

des Packe[n]s, derer ich mich noch erinnere, sind es etwa 600 gewesen.

Was nun die Erledigung der übrigen Bücher betrifft, so gehen meine Vorschläge dahin: Für die Petermann'sche armenische Bibliothek schlage ich vor, daß dieselbe zusammen bleibt und unter der fortlaufenden Nummer: "Libri armenici 1-610" eine Abtheilung der Libri impr[essi] orientales bildet. Es müßte dann im Katalog der Libri impr. orient. die Notiz zugefügt werden, daß aus der Rücksicht, diese Bibliothek zusammenzulassen, ausnahmsweise auch Bücher mit Titeln in latein[ischen] Lettern unter die Libri impr. orient. aufgenommen seien. Bei dieser Behandlung ist es auch möglich, sämmtliche Bücher zu behalten, während sie sonst in ihrer Mehrzahl zu den Doubletten würden gegeben werden. Ich schlage ferner vor, daß mir behufs schneller Erledigung ausnahmsweise einer von den Hilfsarbeitern für eine kurze Zeit beigegeben wird, um die lateinischen gedruckten Titel auf Zettel zu schreiben. Es sind c. 300 Bücher mit solchen Titeln, und dürfte dies - täglich 5 Stunden gerechnet - eine Arbeit von höchstens 8 Tagen sein.

Ich schlage ferner vor, daß behufs Anlegung der Abtheilung "Libri impressi orientales" verschiedenfarbige Etiquettes gedruckt werden, und zwar je von denselben Farben, wie die Etiquettes für die orientalischen Handschriften. Es würde dann z.B. das neuste Buch der Petermann'schen Bibliothek folgende Signatur führen:

- 1) mit Bleistift geschrieben Libri impr. or. Armen. 1,
- 2) ein farbiges Etiquette auf den Rücken geklebt, auf welchem [L.] Armen. 1 gedruckt ist.

Dagegen rathe ich davon ab, die Bücher ohne weitere Katalogfixierung nur mit einer fortlaufenden Nummer zu versehen und sie aus der Nähe meines Arbeitsplatzes, wo sie jetzt stehen, an eine andere Stelle oben

in der Bibliothek, wo sie definitiv verloren sind, zu bringen. Das bedeutet doch nichts Anderes, als sie unerledigt bei Seite schaffen. Ich glaube, daß eine solche Gewaltmaßregel jetzt nicht nöthig sein wird, wo ich nicht mehr wie bisher $\frac{3}{4}$ der ganzen Zeit auf andere als orientalische und slawische Sachen zu verwenden brauche [*Lepsius added a question mark here*].

Dagegen halte ich es für sehr zweckmäßig, die Professoren der Universität u.s.w. mehr heranzuziehen, als es bis jetzt geschehen ist. Ich formuliere meinen Vorschlag dahin, (auf die directe Aufforderung, Vorschläge zu machen), an die unten bezeichneten Herren ein Schreiben richten zu lassen, worin dieselben gebeten werden, zu einer bestimmten Zeit nach der Bibliothek zu kommen, um mit ihrem Rath die Beamten zu unterstützen; nämlich 1) Prof. Sachau für Arabisch, Persisch, Türkisch und Armenisch (auch Syrisch u.s.w.), 2) Prof. Jagić für klassische Sprachen, 3) Prof. Weber für Sanskrit, 4) Prof. Schott für Finnisch, Mongolisch, Chinesisch u.s.w., 5) Prof. Joh. Schmidt für celtische Sprachen, 6) Prof. Tobler für Rumänisch.

In eben erfolgter mündlicher Besprechung bin ich angewiesen worden, zuerst an die Trübnerschen Sanskritbücher zu gehen und zwar zuerst diejenigen vorzunehmen, bei welchen voraussesehen ist, daß sie keine Schwierigkeiten machen werden, also vor allem ein mit Titeln in lateinischen Buchstaben, die übrigen für Prof. Weber zurückzulegen, dann ebenso unter den Petermann'schen armenischen Büchern die leicht zu erledigenden herauszusuchen und die übrigen für Prof. Sachau zurückzulegen. Wonach ich mich richten werde.

Gehorsamst

Berlin, den 23. Januar 1878

Dr. Klatt'.

253 KBB (Petermann I).

Armenian, and Arabic script, with a German translation added in brackets, if deemed necessary. Some of the numbers were later crossed out and replaced with different numbers in no particular order under the title *Libri impr. Orient. Armen.*, as suggested by Klatt. The procedure was apparently no longer fit for purpose and discontinued at an early stage, and books donated by scholars such as Peterman first labelled under the name of the donor with a consecutive number, and then under an individual signature. The two different signatures were at some stage entered into a partly typed and partly handwritten catalogue of catalogues of books acquired from Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751-1817), Julius Rudolph Ottomar Freiherr von Minutoli (1804-1860), Julius Heinrich Petermann (1815-1876), Aloys Sprenger (1813-1893), and Johann Gottfried Wetzstein (1815-1905),²⁵⁴ entitled *Libri in oriente impressi (arabici, persici, syriaci, turcici, hindustanici, armenici)*.²⁵⁵ The catalogue contains only lists of numbers in typescript and equivalent handwritten signatures. Books written in a particular language were evidently at first consecutively numbered and later given proper library signatures, which are added in handwriting. It is recorded here that several volumes had been given to the collection of duplicates.

The three original catalogues for the Petermann collection²⁵⁶ indicate that, as far as printed books of special collections were concerned, the method of cataloguing was not properly thought through at the time. The experimentation with different cataloguing methods (name of the donor, language, general catalogue, and combinations) was later given up, and

books individually entered into the general catalogue, whereas manuscripts from the literary estate of Peterman were still recorded under the signature *Ms. or. Peterm.*²⁵⁷ The ensuing problem that these entries could not be accurately processed by non-specialists became acute at the time of the creation of the Union Catalogue of Prussian libraries, first planned in 1895, and essentially completed in form of slips of paper in 1926. The result was that the Oriental literature, written in non-European languages, was left out and, following the example of the British Library, reserved for specialist catalogues.²⁵⁸

In 1878, the library was re-organised. Many manuscripts were moved to dedicated rooms, and the structure of the manuscript collection turned from a thematic to a linguistic arrangement. Klatt was fully involved in this work, and implemented with great enthusiasm the re-organisation of the manuscripts according to linguistic categories. He repeatedly proposed to Lepsius to apply the same 'solely correct principle' to the collection of printed books published in the Orient or in a particular Oriental language, which, in his view, should be shelved together with printed books in western languages written on these languages (and cultures). Klatt suggested to create three sections, Orientalia, Slavica, and Linguistics, and the respective sub-sections. His vivid description of the difficulties of locating useful information on a particular field in the Library culminates in the remark that at present the reader needed a full course of study to get an overview of the relevant books in the collection.²⁵⁹ It is difficult to say to what extent his ideas were taken into consideration. In the library's thematic catalogue

254 On the acquisition of these and other collections see KLATT (1890b: 181-3), SCHMIEDER-JAPPE (2004: 12f.).

255 KBB (*Libri in oriente impressi*, 1f., 49f., 61, 74, 81-95). Petermann had no books in Syriac.

256 KBB (Petermann II), the apparently oldest list of manuscripts and books offers a date: 24 August 1870.

257 KARAMIANZ (1888). KLATT (1890: 181) notes that the manuscripts acquired from Bühler ended up in the general catalogue 'Manuscripta orientalia', because they were bought not at once, but over many years.

258 ERMAN (1904b: 491f.).

259 KLATT (Letters to Lepsius 23.1.1877 supra & 6.8.1878):

'Nachdem die Umstellung der orientalischen Handschriften ihrem Abschluß nahe gerückt ist, und sich die neue Ordnung nach Sprachen schon jetzt vorzüglich bewährt hat, tritt die Frage nach einer etwaigen eben solchen Umstellung der gedruckten Bücher näher. Von der heillosen Zerstreuung der sprachwissenschaftlichen Bücher giebt das eine Vorstellung, daß z. B. die Sanskrit-Grammatik und Wörterbücher bei der "Oriental[ischen] Literatur" stehen, die assyrischen bei "Inscriben", die ägyptischen bei der Geschichte von Afrika, die samaritanischen bei der Theologie u.s.w.,

daß folgende 3 Bücher von Prof. Weber, Indische Studien, Indische Literaturgeschichte, Indische Streifen, jedes in einem anderen Stockwerk sich befindet.

Man hört von Orientalisten die Äußerung, je mehr man in die Bibliothek eingeweiht würde, desto mehr sähe man, wie reich sie eigentlich sei. Offenbar ist das eine mangelhafte Einrichtung, wenn erst ein Studium erforderlich ist, um das Vorhandene zu überblicken; sondern jeder Gelehrte muß die zu seiner Wissenschaft gehörenden Bücher übersichtlich neben einander finden.

Nun ist aber die Ordnung nach Sprachen das einzig richtige Princip. Der Jurist, der Arzt, der Theolog, der Mathematiker, der Musiker, alle müssen sich an den Orientalisten wenden, wenn sie den Inhalt der betreff[enden] orientalischen Werke kennen lernen wollen. Ist es aber praktisch ausführbar, ist es möglich, gegen ein 30 Jahre lang durchgeführtes falsches System anzukämpfen?

Ich glaube, daß es auch in der weitesten Ausdehnung ausführbar ist, wenn man das einfache System anwendet, welches ich in Vorschlag bringe. Ich schlage nämlich vor, daß ebenso wie bei den Handschriften die bisherigen Nummern unverändert gelassen werden, daß nur die betreffenden Bücher mit verschiedenfarbigen

(Schrader's Realkatalog) and shelving arrangement, books in Oriental Studies, written in western languages, remained under disciplinary categories, such as Medicine, Agriculture, etc. In the alphabetical catalogue, books written in Oriental languages were not included. Instead, special catalogues were created, according to a division into eight classes of languages, which were kept at the respective sections of the library.²⁶⁰

The apparent triviality of the disputes concerning Klatt's workload and workplace, conducted mainly through an exchange of official letters rather than personal consultation, was symptomatic, reflecting well-documented fundamental problems of lack of space, organisation, and leadership at the KBB.²⁶¹ Because of the increasingly cramped conditions, the KBB was not fit for purpose anymore, and had to be

restructured.²⁶² In 1873, it had only 74 places for readers to offer in the Reading Room, 8-10 in the Journal Room, and none for joint storage or reading of manuscripts, which were placed in cabinets at different locations of the KBB, and lent to readers.²⁶³ Staff found themselves without proper work spaces, which poisoned the atmosphere for everyone involved. There was space for 7 in the workroom for librarians. Visitors had no access to catalogues, and one third of all book requests were returned unsuccessfully, often because the book could not be located.²⁶⁴ In May and June 1873, before commencing his period of full employment as Chief Librarian, Lepsius sent a *Denkschrift* to the Prussian Minister of Culture, Adalbert Falk (1827-1900), detailing the ruinous conditions at the Library.²⁶⁵ Since the money for the suggested building programme could not be

Etiquetten (ebenso wie die Handschriften) versehen und nach Sprachen zusammengestellt werden.

Meine Vorstellung geht dahin:

3 neue Abtheilungen einzurichten,

- 1) Orientalia
- 2) Slavica
- 3) Linguistik,

(bloss die im Orient gedruckten Bücher herauszunehmen, wäre eine halbe Maßregel und würde beinahe dieselbe Mühe und Zeit kosten), und in diesen Abtheilungen alle Bücher zu vereinigen,

- 1) die in den betreff[enden] Sprachen geschrieben sind, gleichviel welchen Inhalt sie haben,
- 2) die über die betreffenden Sprachen (und das Land und Volk) handeln, gleichviel in welchen Sprachen sie geschrieben sind.

Ich habe in diesem Sinn den ersten Katalog: Encyclopädie (A), Titel für Titel durchgesehen, wozu ich ½ Stunde brauchte, und dabei 6 Bücher gefunden, die ev[entuell] herauszunehmen wären: 1 Sanskrit, 1 rumän[isches], 1 russ[isches], 2 poln[ische] u[nd] 1 ungarisches.

In derselben Weise müßten sämtliche 400 Kataloge durchgesehen werden, welche Arbeit, verglichen mit den unübersehbaren Vorteilen, nicht zu groß erscheint. Die Arbeit kann jederzeit abgebrochen und wieder aufgenommen werden.

Berlin, den 6. August 1878

Dr. Klatt'.

260 PAUNEL (1965: 372f.):

'Im neuen Realkatalog stehen die in westlichen Sprachen verfaßten, die Orientalistik betreffenden Bücher an der Stelle, die dem Fach zukommt, das sie vertraten, z.B. bei der Geschichte der Medizin oder bei der Landwirtschaft. Die alphabetischen Kataloge für die in orientalischen Sprachen geschriebenen Werke befinden sich, in acht Sprachgruppen geordnet, bei der Abteilung, weil sie im großen alphabetischen Katalog nicht verzeichnet waren'.

261 See ERMAN (1994: 130-6, 169-209), KASTAN (1919) cited by MEHLITZ (2011: 286).

262 Staff had to work at many separate places, because due to the lack of space even manuscript collections had to

be dismembered and shelved at different locations. See LÜLFING (1961: 339):

'Die seit der Gründung der Bibliothek überkommene geschlossene Aufstellung der Handschriften mußte aufgegeben werden. Die wiederholt eingegangene Verpflichtung, einzelne Sammlungen gesondert aufzustellen, förderte die Zerstreuung der einzelnen Bestandsgruppen im Hause [...]'.
263 LÜLFING (1961: 339) mentions that the 'Oriental and non-European manuscripts' were located on the 4th floor of the Southern Pavilion of the KBB.

264 ROSE, in MEHLITZ (2011: 294).

265 LEPSIUS 1873, summarised by LEYH (1955: 33f.):

'Schon im Mai und Juni 1873 trug Lepsius dem Kaiser die Raumnöte der Bibliothek persönlich vor und unmittelbar darauf in einer Denkschrift dem Kultusminister Falk: die Zustände der Königl. Bibliothek seien auf einen Punkt gekommen, der zum Ruin der Anstalt führen müsse; ohne Bibliothek keine Wissenschaft, und ohne Bücher keine Bildung überhaupt. Die Bücher seien vielfach in zwei Reihen aufgestellt, Serien auseinandergerissen, Fussboden und Tische belegt, ungebundene Schriften in Haufen gestapelt und unbenutzbar, selbst Verkehrstreppen seien mit Gerümpel angefüllt und kaum passierbar. Das Lesezimmer, Journalzimmer, die Bücherausgabe, die Arbeitsräume der Beamten seien eng, finster, armselig. Das Arbeitszimmer der Bibliothekare könne zur Not 7 Personen aufnehmen. Selbst der Realkatalog, die wissenschaftliche Hauptleistung der Bibliothek, ist ausserhalb des Hauses entstanden in den Privatwohnungen der Bibliothekare und anderer Berliner Gelehrter, da in der Bibliothek der Arbeitsraum fehlt. Das Lesezimmer hat nur 74 Plätze, in dem nur beschränkt zugänglichen Zeitschriftenzimmer befinde sich ein einziger Tisch für nicht mehr als 8-10 Personen; ein Handschriftenbenutzungszimmer gibt es überhaupt nicht. Nicht wegen Mangel an Geld, sondern aus Raummangel mussten selbst Forschungswerke abbestellt werden. Kaum verständliche Lücken sind entstanden wegen mangelhafter Übersicht und Wachsamkeit der Bibliothekare, es fehlen Rankes Englische Geschichte, es fehlen die maßgebenden neuen Ausgaben von Lessing, seit 1851 fehlen alle ausländi-

raised to ameliorate the situation, the library moved part of its operations to the adjacent *Niederländische Palais* in 1884,²⁶⁶ where Klatt worked as well.²⁶⁷ Lepsius directed all librarians to work only five hours per day at the Library itself and to complete much of their bibliographic and research work at home.²⁶⁸ At the same time, he demanded that staff should spend at least half an hour per day on customer service.²⁶⁹

As his letter from 23 January 1878 indicates, Klatt himself was mainly concerned that three quarters of his working time were spent on matters other than books in Oriental and Slavic languages, for which he was, after all, employed. He also conceded his lack of linguistic competence in certain areas, which had prevented him from advancing more rapidly with the tasks that were assigned to him.

schen Zeitungen. Für das ungeheure Gebiet der Naturwissenschaften und Medizin war ein einziger Referent bestellt’.

266 On Lepsius’s report on the reorganisation of the library to the Government in 1884, see SCHMITZ (2009).

267 MEHLITZ (2011: 293), LEYH (1955: 34f.): ‘Ein neues Bauprogramm von 1878 bedeutete, historische gesehen, einen Fortschritt vor allem in den Raumgruppen für die Benutzer und für die Bibliothekare. Aber auch spätere Entwürfe mussten zurückgestellt werden, da es nicht gelang die finanziellen Ansprüche der verschiedenen Vorbesitzer des grossen Baugeländes abzuklären. So begnügte man sich zunächst mit dem Umbau eines Teiles des an die Bibliothek anstossenden *Niederländischen Palais* zu Bücherdepots, der Mittelsaal der Kommode wurde als neuer Lesesaal eingerichtet, das alte Lesezimmer als Hauptgeschäftsraum. Es war wiederum nur eine sehr kostspielige Notlösung für die nächsten Jahrzehnte. Trotzdem hat Lepsius in der Geschichte der Königl. Bibliothek eine wesentliche Stellung als idealer Bauherr. Es ist ihm gelungen, die ihm als wichtig erscheinenden Punkte durchzusetzen und für die Dauer zu sichern. Dass die Bibliothek heute auf dem Akademieviertel steht, ist sein grosses Verdienst, das er sich schon bei den ersten Verhandlungen von 1873 erworben hatte’.

268 From 1875 onward 34 office hours per week were obligatory (ERMAN 1994: 124f.). Lepsius spent only about 1-2 hours per day at the Library (MEHLITZ 2011: 295).

269 LEYH (1955: 38f.): ‘Nach dem Vorbild der Bibliothek des Britischen Museums gedachte Lepsius auch die Königl. Bibliothek allmählich als Präsenzbibliothek einzurichten, die nur der streng wissenschaftlichen Arbeit zu dienen habe; die Studenten seien auf die weiter auszubauende Universitätsbibliothek abzuleiten. Dass diese Frage auch später immer wieder auftauchte, beweist ihre andauernde Aktualität. Als unmittelbar fruchtbar erwies sich die Anordnung, dass die Kustoden aller Abteilungen täglich eine halbe Stunde sich den Bestellzetteln zu widmen haben; nur auf dem Weg über die Prüfung des Bedürfnisses der Benutzer lassen sich Sachkenner für die wissenschaftlichen Fächer heranziehen.

Lepsius, in turn, conceded that it was unreasonable to request a librarian to learn and master numerous difficult languages on the side. He suggested that first Klatt should catalogue printed Sanskrit texts whose titles were written in Latin script, as in Trübner’s catalogue, and other texts that were easy to catalogue. He should consult with Albrecht Weber and others as far as difficult items were concerned. In 1880, when Klatt was promoted to the position of Custodian, Lepsius still reminded him of his duties of punctual adherence to the office hours and maintenance of a satisfactory mode of conduct.²⁷⁰ The scientific librarians of the KBB were expected to keep up with their respective academic fields, and encouraged to do research in addition to their obligatory duties at the library. It seems therefore likely that Klatt’s day-to-day duties at the library suffered from

In der Gesamtorganisation war die königl. Bibliothek unter Pertz in einem primitiven Zustand verblieben. Erst Lepsius forderte den Generaldirektor mit weitgreifenden Befugnissen; unter seiner einheitlichen starken Leitung sollten 5 Abteilungsdirektoren stehen für Druckschriften, Handschriften, Musik, Karten und Spezialsammlungen. 17 Kustoden, 17 wissenschaftliche Assistenten und 5 Sekretäre sollten den Beamtenkörper, ohne die Diener, auf 43 Köpfe ergänzen gegenüber 12 des damaligen Standes.

In welchem Maße sich Lepsius mit der Natur der bibliothekarischen Arbeit vertraut gemacht hat, zeigt sein begründeter Vorschlag, die Arbeitszeit für die akademischen Beamten grundsätzlich auf 5 Stunden am Tag zu begrenzen [LEYH 1955: 36, Fn. 1: Die wissenschaftlichen Beamten mit weniger als 15 Dienstjahren hatten eine Arbeitszeit von 6 Stunden]; der immerhin mehr oder weniger mechanische Bibliotheksdienst, der indes seiner Natur nach nur von Gelehrten versehen werden könne, lasse ein vorzeitiges Erschlaffen der geistigen Spannkraft befürchten. Um es daher den älteren Beamten zu erleichtern, durch eigentliche wissenschaftliche Arbeit die nötige Geistesfrische sich zu bewahren, liege diese Ordnung durchaus im Interesse des Dienstes. Als stehende häusliche Arbeit sei sämtlichen wissenschaftlichen Beamten die Pflicht aufzuerlegen, Bibliographien, antiquarische und Auktionskataloge sowie kritisierende Journale sorgfältig zu studieren. Nur durch vereinte Wachsamkeit können positive und negative Sünden bei den Anschaffungen vermieden werden’.

270 LEPSIUS (Letter to Klatt 25.9.1880) informed Klatt of his promotion to Kustos and an improved salary of 3,000 Mark and 540 Mark housing allowance from 1 October 1880, adding:

‘Ich hege die feste Hoffnung, daß Sie bemüht sein werden, durch eine geschickte und pflichtgetreue Ausführung der Ihnen nunmehr theilweise unter eigener Verantwortlichkeit obliegenden wichtigen Dienstgeschäfte, durch pünktliche Einhaltung der Dienststunden und durch Ihr sonstiges Verhalten sich meine Zufriedenheit zu erwerben’.

his increasing scholarly commitments (Klatt published his first article based on a Prakrit Jaina manuscript one year later).

Lepsius was certainly not easy to work with,²⁷¹ and it is clear to see why most of the senior staff held negative opinions about his regime. But even his critics praised him for having moved the Library forward from its desolate state during the last years of the stewardship of H. Pertz, bringing in money, new talented staff, and rationalising procedures, taking into account the point of view of a user of the library, while setting in place proper plans for the future.²⁷²

11. Annual reports on Oriental History and Philology 1878-86

In about 1877, Klatt started to work on the Jaina manuscripts at the KBB, and in 1879 published two articles in this field. In the following nine years, however, his written output consisted almost entirely of annual reviews and specialised bibliographies on new publications in Oriental Studies. Between 1880 and 1888 he published extensive, increasingly ambitious literature reviews and bibliographies for three new or fundamentally reshaped annual review journals, intent on presenting information on scientific advances in novel ways: *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft* (JGW) (Annual Report for the Science of History) for the years 1878-81, *Wissenschaftliche Jahresberichte über die morgenländischen Studien* (WJMS) (Annual Scientific Report on Oriental Studies) for the years 1880-81 (with substantial input to the report for the year 1882),²⁷³ and *Literatur-Blatt für orientalische Philologie* (LoP) (Literary Gazette for Oriental Philology) for the years 1883-87. A certain overlap existed between his contributions to the JGW and the WJMS for the years 1880-81. All three of these widely read annual reviews experimented with different formats in response to the pressing problem of presenting the increasing volume and the complexity of new bibliographical data and interpretations in the most convenient way for a specialised readership anxious to keep up with the

latest developments in the disciplines of History and Philology or the field of Oriental Studies as a whole.

(A) Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft (JGW)

In 1878 Klatt, now 26 years old, agreed to produce brief annual reviews on publications pertaining to the history of India for the newly launched *Jahresbericht der Geschichtswissenschaft*, which was published from 1880 to 1942. The JGW was founded in 1877 by the *Historische Gesellschaft* in Berlin. Initially, it was edited by the local Gymnasium professors Dr. Fritz Abraham (1841-1901), Dr. Johann Hermann (1842-?), and Dr. Edmund Meyer (1840-1905), who invited fellow historians to contribute to the JGW. This was done by way of a leaflet, which was sent to selected scientific librarians of the KBB, in particular those who had first-hand access to new publications and handwritten primary sources. The aim of the publication was to present information in a new format that would enable historians to find their way through the overwhelming mass of new data. In contrast to reputed academic journals such as the *Historische Zeitschrift* (founded 1859) or the *Revue historique* (founded 1876), whose review sections offered a combination of plain bibliographic book lists, and extensive reviews of somewhat arbitrarily selected individual publications, the JGW aimed at presenting comprehensive assessments of the entire annual scholarly output in the various sub-fields of history. They had to be written by experts, who were able to judge the main advances in their fields of specialisation, while also communicating information on relevant new publications that would not fall into this category.²⁷⁴ The main objective of the JGW was to identify and report new findings and advances in the field, published not only in books, but also in *articles*, which are generally overlooked by the review sections of established academic journals. To accomplish the task of presenting collective reviews in a compact form, it was decided to foreground *results*, rather than individual authors and publications, and to include also bibliographic references to *reviews*.²⁷⁵ An alphabetical index of the

271 ERMAN (1994: 132f.) missed 'the stringent sense of justice' (das strenge Gerechtigkeitsgefühl) in Lepsius.

272 LEYH (1955: 39), PAUNEL (1965: 394-401), KRAUSE (1988), IPPEL, in MEHLITZ (2011: 294).

273 See *infra*.

274 ABRAHAM, HERMANN & MEYER (1880: iv): 'Sie [die Herausgeber] stellten es als Aufgabe des Jahresberichts hin, nicht die Schriften an sich zu besprechen, sondern aus ihnen alles, was sich im Vergleich zu der bisherigen Forschung in Hinsicht der Thatsachen, der Auffassung oder der Methode als neu ergab, herauszuheben und dieses Neue, nach kleineren

Gebieten und Abschnitten einem Ganzen vereinigt, dem Leser in zusammenhängender Darstellung vorzuführen, derart, dass Schrift und Autor nur in den Anmerkungen genannt würden und nur zum Belege des im Texte Mitgetheilten dienten. Objektivität in der Wiedergabe der zu Tage tretenden Ergebnisse und Bestrebungen musste daher Haupterfordernis sein; alle Polemik sollte ausgeschlossen und die Kritik auf kurze, sachlich gehaltene Bemerkungen beschränkt sein'.

275 ABRAHAM, HERMANN & MEYER (1880: iv): 'Autor und Schrift sind dann nur die unumgänglichen Mittel, durch die wir zu einer besseren Kenntnis der

authors of the reviewed texts was added at the end of each volume.

The annual date of publication of the JGW was scheduled to be 29 September (Michaelmas). The task of the editors was to solicit uniformly shaped contributions from about fifty predominantly German specialists. Their reports were arranged in three sections: Antiquity (Altertum), Middle Ages / Medieval Period (Mittelalter), Modern Times (Neue Zeit). Most sub-sections were defined in geographical terms, interspersed with a small number of recurrent thematic reports (Crusades, Papacy, etc.). The section on 'Antiquity' had the widest geographical scope, covering literature on the history of India, the Near East, and Europe. The section 'Middle Ages' focused entirely on publications concerning European - especially German - history, with the exception of an entry on 'Islam'. The section 'Modern Times' also concentrated mainly on the history of Germany and other European regions, nations or states, but also had an entry on India.

The JGW pursued a universal historical approach.²⁷⁶ This was reflected in the format. Germany was deliberately decentred, but placed at the apex of a sequence of reports on regional histories, leading the reader from *East to West*.²⁷⁷

The first report of the Antiquity section in JGW I-III was dedicated to publications on 'India', the region furthest away from Germany, followed by reports on 'Media and Persia', 'Egypt', 'Assyria and Babylonia', 'History of the Jews', 'Greece', 'Rome and Italy', and finally on 'Antiquity in General'. The sections on the Middle Ages and Modern Times focused almost exclusively on the history of Germany, beginning with 'Prehistory of the Germanic People' (Germanische Urzeit), and followed by 'Migration Period' (Völkerwanderung). The absence of China,

Japan, and other regions of the world in the geographical coverage of the JGW, and the very titles of its successor journals, the East German *Jahresberichte der deutschen Geschichte* (JDG) (1947-2015) and the present *Deutsche Historische Bibliographie* (2015ff.), demonstrate that the principal rationale was not to cover world history, but to present German history in universal historical perspective. In the preface to the first volume, the editors lament the limited regional coverage, expressing the hope that it could be expanded in future.²⁷⁸

For unstated reasons, the structure of the Antiquities section of JGW IV was changed from an arrangement determined by geographical distance from Germany, to a sequence determined by a mixture of chronological and geographical distance, starting with 'Egypt', 'Assyria and Babylonia', 'Jewish History', 'Destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans', 'History of the Jews from the Destruction of Jerusalem until the Present', 'India', 'Media and Persia', 'Greece', 'Roman History', 'Church History', 'General Information', and 'Paralipomena'.²⁷⁹

For the years 1878,²⁸⁰ 1879,²⁸¹ and 1880,²⁸² Klatt covered new publications on 'India' (Indien), for the sections on Antiquity and Modern Times, and - on condition that a better qualified person would soon take over - an additional report on 'Islam' in the Middle Ages, which must have been difficult to write for Klatt. For the year 1881, the entry on 'Islam' was taken over by his new colleague Karl Vollers (1858-1909),²⁸³ a specialist on Arabic literature, who worked as an Assistant at the KBB from 1882 to 1886.²⁸⁴ Klatt reviewed only the publications on ancient and modern India.²⁸⁵ After working for the JGW for four years, he renounced his responsibilities for the two entries on 'India' as well, and handed

Vergangenheit gelangen, und haben daher keinen anderen Werth als den jedweden Gewährsmannes und jedweder Quelle, die man in Anmerkungen citirt'.

276 THOMASSEN (2016).

277 To what extent the chosen structure is inversely related to the geographical arrangement of the history sections of the KBB, from *West to East*, remains an open question. In the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, '[d]ie geographische Ordnung für die historischen Disziplinen geht im wesentlichen von Westen nach Osten' (in KRAUSE 1995: 75).

278 ABRAHAM, HERMANN & MEYER (1880: vi): 'Zunächst lässt das Inhaltsverzeichnis leicht erkennen, dass einige Länder ganz oder in einzelnen Abschnitten ihrer Geschichte nicht berücksichtigt sind: das Forschungsgebiet konnte eben noch nicht in seiner ganzen Ausdehnung umfasst werden. Wir werden uns freuen, wenn anerkannt werden darf, dass wenigstens das

Nächste und Nothwendigste vorhanden ist und eine genügende Grundlage bildet, um ferner Liegendes später aufzunehmen'.

279 See Footnote 349 on KUHN's and MÜLLER's (1879: ix) emphasis on historical links, or 'genealogical connections', for their arrangement of the structure of the WJMS under their editorship.

280 KLATT (1880a, 1880b, 1880c).

281 KLATT (1881a, 1881b, 1881c).

282 KLATT (1883c, 1883d, 1883e).

283 VOLLERS (1885). On Vollers, see KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 2.8.1883: 'Seine wissenschaftl. Qualifikation wird von Dillmann u. a. angefochten'), SCHMIDKE (2011: 53f.), LANDMANN (2012). For the significance and political machinations behind Vollers's appointment as Director of the Khedivial-Library of the Viceroy of Egypt in Cairo in 1886, see MANGOLD (2004: 215f.).

284 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 2.8.1883).

285 KLATT (1885a, 1885b).

them over to Albert Grünwedel (1856-1935),²⁸⁶ a former pupil of Ernst Kuhn.

Klatt arranged his reviews for the JGW in thematic sections, indicated by the spacing of key words. A brief look at his contributions on 'India' (Ancient & Modern), with a focus on the treatment of contributions to Jaina Studies will suffice here.

Klatt's first report on 'India' (*Antiquity*), in JGW I on 1878, is very short. The report concentrates on the history of Indian religions, beginning with the R̥gveda. At the outset, it emphasises that in the Orient all aspects of life and literature are touched by religion: 'In the oriental sphere, no sharp boundaries can be drawn between the individual disciplines'.²⁸⁷ For lack of space, it excludes works on Indian philosophies, languages, literatures, and sciences, which were beyond the scope of the JGW, but offers brief summaries of new works on epigraphy, palaeography, archaeology, numismatics, and architecture.

Klatt's second report, JGW II on 1879,²⁸⁸ begins with a review of new publications on the places of origin of the Aryan people ('das arische Volk in seinen Ursitzen'), and prehistorical monuments, featuring a long description of Heinrich Zimmer's work *Altindisches Leben*. The following assessment of new contributions on the history of Indian religions is prefaced by a report on new books on Indian religion and culture in general,²⁸⁹ Sanskrit, and the progress of Oriental Studies as reflected particularly in the third and last volume of A. WEBER's (1879a) collected reviews for the *Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland* (LC) and the *Jenaer Literaturzeitung* (JLZ), covering the years 1869-79, that were reprinted under the title *Indische Streifen*. Klatt expressed his hope that by the end of the 1880s he would be able to publish an equally impressive collection of reviews.²⁹⁰ The core section on Indian religions (including the Archaeology of Buddhism in Afghanistan, China), is followed by reviews of publications on ancient Indian legal literature, the 19th-

century caste system, women, archaeology, numismatics, reports by Muslim writers on Indian religions, and the local history (Specialgeschichte) of Indian regions,²⁹¹ including epigraphy. The report ends with a note on E. Kuhn's proof that 'Sinhala is an Aryan language'.

Individual section headings were not one hundred percent fixed in Klatt's reports, and depended on the actual annual publications. Six meta-themes appear to underlie the nineteen identifiable headings in Klatt's contribution to the Antiquity section of JGW III, covering the year 1880 (the most elaborate of his four reviews on this topic for the JGW):²⁹²

1. Origin of the Aryan Indians
2. History of ancient India
3. History of religion (general and Indian)
4. Indian society
5. Indian sciences
6. Regional history

A closer view at the keywords, demarcating the sections, shows that 'Vedic Religion and Culture' and 'Hinduism' are treated separately, and that, for the first time in any annual review, an individual subsection is dedicated to the 'Jaina-Religion', which, together with the sub-section on the 'History of Buddhism' (in a variety of countries, including Afghanistan, Ceylon, China and Indo-China), is placed between 'Vedic Religion' and 'Hinduism', following the presumed historical sequence. The rubric 'Hinduism' has many sub-sections, which are not separately listed in the following abstracted general list of contents of Klatt's reports:

- [1] Place of origin of the Aryan Indians
- [2] History of ancient India
- [3] History of religion
 - Religious- and cultural history of Vedic times
 - History of Buddhism
 - Jaina-religion
 - Hinduism
 - Sikh-religion

286 On Grünwedel, see HOFFMANN (1966).

287 KLATT (1879b: 1):

'Auf orientalischem Gebiet sind die Grenzen zwischen den einzelnen Disciplinen nicht scharf zu ziehen. Wie das ganze übrige Leben, so gehen auch Literatur und Wissenschaft von der Religion aus und münden in der Religion. Vorzüglich gilt dies von dem Lande, in welchem mehr Religionen entstanden und vergangen sind, als in der ganzen übrigen Welt, nämlich von Indien. Unser Referat beginnt daher mit den über die indischen Religionen erschienenen Schriften. Dagegen sind die Schriften über indische Philosophie fortgelassen, ebenso wie die über die schöne Literatur, die Grammatik, Mathematik, Medizin, Jurisprudenz u.s.w. handelnden Schriften. Der Umfang dieses Kapitels wäre sonst

etwa fünfmal so gross geworden, wie ein Blick auf Friedericis Bibliotheca orientalis pro 1878 zeigt, welcher diesmal über Indien 312 Nummern (S. 35-50) bringt, wobei er sich auf deutsche, englische und französische Bücher beschränkt'.

288 KLATT (1881a).

289 For instance: 'Jainas' (in GOLDSTÜCKER 1863: 672f., 1879a I: 85-9).

290 KLATT (1881a I: 6): 'Hoffentlich ist es dem Vf. vergönnt, auch am Ende des nächsten Jahrzehnts einen so stattlichen Band Recensionen herauszugeben'.

291 For instance: KĪRTANE (1879) on Nayaçandrasūri's Hammīra Mahākāvya.

292 KLATT (1883c).

- Brahma-Samāj
- Appendix: Parsism & Islam
- [4] Indian law
 - Indian caste system
 - Village community
 - Indian women
- [5] Indian museums
 - Health care
 - Mathematics
 - Indian medicine
- [6] Special history of individual provinces

Klatt's last contribution to the Antiquities section, in JGW IV, on publications of the year 1881, differs from previous reviews by focusing exclusively on historical works in the strict sense. Excluded are text-editions and translations, and other publications of a more philological nature,²⁹³ which Klatt covered in his other review of publications of 1880, published in the WJMS under the title 'Vorderindien' (Indian Peninsula).²⁹⁴ He explicitly points to this first review for the WJMS,²⁹⁵ where, in his own words, publications on Brahmanical literature, poetry, philosophy, astronomy, medicine, linguistics, etc., are reviewed, which had been deliberately left out of the JGW report for the same year. GRÜNWEDEL (1886: 51) mentions in his first report on 'India', for the year 1882, that he had adopted the format of J. Klatt, who had provided him with extensive notes, which he had already prepared before handing over.²⁹⁶

In contrast to the reports on Indian antiquity, Klatt's much shorter reports on 'India' (*Modern Times*) cover only literature in European and modern Indian languages, especially Urdu, with many sub-

sections under the headings 'History of European settlements in India' and 'Provinces of India'. The reviewed literature is almost entirely in English. However, it is by no means complete, not least, because 'hardly any of the English books appearing on India reach the continent'.²⁹⁷ Six themes are covered in Klatt's reports on modern India:

1. History of India in the last 400 years (Akbar etc.)
2. History of European settlements in India
3. Ethnographic and travel literature
4. Literary production of British-India
5. Christianity in India
6. Provinces of India

On the *Jaina tradition and the Jainas* hardly anything is said in Klatt's contributions on 'India' for the 'Modern Times' sections of JGW I-IV. Yet, each of his reports for the 'Antiquities' sections contains a paragraph on the 'Dschaina-Religion', which is treated separately from 'Buddhism' from the outset. Klatt describes Buddhism as the only 'world-religion' that emerged in India, spreading all over Asia and beyond, while Jainism remained confined to the Subcontinent (the case of Hinduism is not addressed). Klatt's choice of terminology suggests that he would have classified Jainism either as a 'local'-²⁹⁸ or as a 'national-religion'.²⁹⁹

In Vol. I, Klatt's paragraph on the 'Religion of the Jainas' highlights the fact that by 1878 very few scholars had been attracted to the study of the Jaina religion, even after the arrival of a great number of unedited Jaina manuscripts in Europe due to the efforts of Georg Bühler, amongst them also 'many texts on history'.³⁰⁰

293 KLATT (1885a I: 37):

'Abweichend von unseren Berichten in den ersten drei Jahrgängen gedenken wir uns diesmal auf die eigentlich historischen Werke zu beschränken, unter Ausscheidung der Text-Publikationen und -Übersetzungen und überhaupt aller Schriften, welche mehr philologisches Interesse haben. Die letzteren sind zu finden im "Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht über die Morgenländischen Studien im J[ahre] 1881"'.

294 KLATT (1883f.). For the year 1881 see KLATT (1885c; 1883c: 10). Cf. KLATT (1884a, 1885d, 1887b, 1888a).

295 KLATT (1883f.). The reports on 'Hinterindien' (Indochina Peninsula) for 1880-81 for the WJMS were prepared by Kuhn in KUHN & MÜLLER (1883), KERN et al. (1885).

296 The topical question of the 'original home of the Aryan Indians and cognate peoples', which KLATT (1883c: 1, 1885b: 37) characterised as 'not solvable' without re-investigation of the materials on the 'peoples and languages of Central Asia', was also only briefly referred to by GRÜNWEDEL (1886 I: 51):

'Bei der Zusammenstellung des diesjährigen Referats ist das im Vorjahre eingeschlagene Verfahren beibehalten worden, Text-Publikationen und Übersetzungen sind also ausgeschieden geblieben. Bemerken muss ich, dass mir zu der nachstehenden Arbeit mein Vorgänger Dr. J. K l a t t ein äusserst reiches Zettelmateriale in lebenswürdigster Weise übergeben hat, wofür ich ihm hiermit meinen herzlichen Dank ausspreche. Für die Frage nach der U r h e i m a t d e r A r i e r ist diesmal nur ein Werk von Bedeutung zu nennen'.

297 KLATT (1881c: 236):

'Von den über Indien erscheinenden englischen Büchern gelangt fast nichts nach dem Kontinent'.

298 KLATT (1883c: 23-25):

'Nachdem wir die Geschichte der aus Indien hervorgegangenen Weltreligionen beendet haben, gehen wir zu den anderen in Indien entstandenen Religionen über, und zwar zuerst zu der dem Buddhismus am nächsten stehenden D s c h a i n a - R e l i g i o n'.

299 Cf. TIELE's (1876/1877) term 'national nomistic religion'.

300 KLATT (1880a: 5) (with detailed references in Fn. 1-10): 'Die noch so unbekannte Religion der DSCHAINAS hat auch in diesem Jahre nur wenige angezogen. G. BÜHLER

In Vol. II, Klatt offers an exhaustive treatment of new publications on Buddhism. Afterwards, he reviews JACOBI's (1879a) 'foundational' edition of the Kalpasūtra: the 'first complete and critical edition' of one of the 'holy books' of the Jainas, which contained 'the legend-like life-story of the founder of the Jaina-Religion Mahāvīra' (!), and editorial remarks on 'the relationship of Jainism to Buddhism'; a link, which Klatt judges to be still undecidable, due to the small amount of material at hand. Klatt highlights the unusual fact that Jacobi published in English, rather than in German, to make his work accessible to readers in India, adding that Jacobi's aim could have furthered by the use of Nāgarī script instead of Roman transliteration.³⁰¹ The paragraph also discusses S. J. WARREN's (1879) edition of the Nirayāvalīyāsutta, and summarises KLATT's (1879a) own first article on Jainism, on Dhanapāla's 10th c. Rṣabhapañcāśikā, which, according to Klatt, in v. 32

offers the oldest reference to the game of chess in Indian literature; a conjecture which WEBER (1891a: 934, Fn. 5) replaced with the suggestion that the game of backgammon must have been referred to; a possibility, which Klatt himself discussed.³⁰²

Vol. III offers three pages on new publications in Jainology, particularly on several new volumes of 'Bahādur's Āgam Sangraha', the first print edition of a full set of Śvetāmbara-Āgamas. Highlighted is JACOBI's (1880a: 106) inference, that Mahāvīra can not be regarded as the founder of Jainism, as previously assumed, particularly by Weber, due to the 'matter-of-fact' depiction of Pārśva's teachings, the cāturyāma-dharma, in both Jaina and Buddhist texts, and of the distinguishing features of the followers of Pārśva and of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, and their debates, in Jaina-Āgama texts, especially the Bhagavatī, and the classical commentaries.³⁰³ Klatt's choice of words, 'which J. presumes to be historical',

giebt eine Notiz über die Sekte der Digambaras. Er nennt die Städte, in welchen dieselben wohnen, und sagt einiges über ihre Einrichtungen, sowie über ihre Bücher, die theils von denen der Čvetāmbaras abweichen, theils mit ihnen übereinstimmen. Derselbe hat einen Jaina-Text publicirt, desgleichen H. JACOBI. A WEBER handelt über die Dschaina-Recension der Märchensammlung Sinhāsana-dvātriṅgikā, E. THOMAS über die Frage, ob die Dschainas oder die Buddhisten älter sind. Ein i. J. 1869 geschriebener und daher veralteter Aufsatz VINSONS über die Dschaina-Religion findet sich in den Études de linguistique neu abgedruckt. BÜHLER hat einen grossen Theil der Dschaina-Literatur der europäischen Wissenschaft zugänglich gemacht, indem er den Erwerb von Dschaina-Handschriften (i. J. 1878 allein 320) seitens der K. Bibliothek in Berlin vermittelte. Diese Handschriften enthalten ohne Ausnahme uneditirte Texte, darunter auch viele historische'.

301 KLATT (1881a I: 16f.) (with detailed references in Fn. 5-7, 1-5):

'[M.] W i l l i a m s [Buddhism and Jainism, in: Contemporary Review] stellt den Buddhismus mit der Dschaina-Religion zusammen.

Auf dem Gebiet der letzteren hat das Berichtsjahr zum ersten Mal eines der heiligen Bücher der Dschainas vollständig und in kritischer Ausgabe gebracht, das Kalpasūtra durch J a c o b i. Das Werk enthält eine legendenhafte Lebensgeschichte des Gründers der Dschaina-Religion Mahāvīra. Der Verfasser Bhadrabāhu ist nach der Tradition der Dschainas i. J. 356 v. Chr. (170 nach Mahāvīras Nirvāna) gestorben. In der Einleitung spricht der Herausgeber über das Verhältnis des Dschainismus zum Buddhismus, über das Zeitalter Mahāvīras u.s.w. Mit Recht hält er es für überflüssig, sich in eine Kritik der früheren Meinungen über diese Dinge einzulassen, weil dieselben auf zu dürftigem Material beruhten. Das vorliegende Material ist indessen auch jetzt noch zu gering, als dass sich eine der Hauptfragen endgültig entscheiden liesse. Der Herausgeber, obwohl ein Deutscher, bedient sich für Einleitung, Anmerkungen u.s.w. der englischen Sprache, um dem Buche auch in Indien Verbreitung zu verschaffen. Noch

mehr würde diesem Zweck förderlich gewesen sein, wenn der Text in Devanāgarī-Schrift, anstatt in lateinischer Transcription gedruckt worden wäre. Das Buch ist ein Fundament auf dem die folgenden weiterbauen können. – Eine kleinere, zum Kanon der Dschainas gehörige Schrift, Nirajāvalijā, hat der Holländer [S. J.] W a r r e n herausgegeben. Dieselbe enthält eine Legende vom Kampfe des Königs Kūṇija (Adschātucātru der Buddhisten). Der Herausgeber hat leider nur zwei Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek benutzt, während dieselbe später noch fünf Handschriften dieses Textes, darunter zwei mit Commentar hinzubekommen hat. – Einen Hymnus auf einen Dschaina-Heiligen, Rischabha, verfasst c. 973 n. Chr., hat der Referent veröffentlicht. Der Verfasser Dhanapāla war von Geburt Brahmane, als welcher er das von B ü h l e r herausgegebene Prākṛit-Wörterbuch schrieb. Später trat er zur Dschaina-Religion über und feierte seine Bekehrung durch diesen Hymnus auf Rischabha, welchen er zu seinem besondern Schutzpatron erwählt hatte. Beiläufig erwähnen wir, dass in diesem Hymnus das Schachspiel genannt wird, und zwar ist dies die älteste Stelle in der indischen Literatur, während es auf arabischem Boden, obgleich es erst von Indien dorthin verpflanzt wurde, schon früher genannt wird. – Einen älteren Artikel von A l w i s über die sechs Tīrtaka (sic) druckt der Indian Antiquary ab, weil jetzt von besonderem Interesse ist, dass einer derselben Nīganṭha Nātaputta heisst, welches nach Bühlers Vermuthung der wahre Name Mahāvīras, des Stifters der Dschaina-Religion ist. Über eine Sammlung von Dschaina-Gemälden aus Radschputana berichtet R ā j e n d r a l ā l a M i t r a'.

302 See page 88.

303 KLATT (1883c: 23-25) (with detailed references in Fn. 2-4, 1-17, 1-17):

'Mahāvīra ist nach H. J a c o b i nicht der eigentliche Gründer der Dschaina-Religion, sondern hat eine schon bestehende, vielleicht von dem 23. Tīrthakāra Pārśva, welchen J. für historisch hält, ausgehende Religion reformiert. In demselben Artikel handelt J. über die Prākṛit- und Pāli-Form des ältesten Namens der Sekte (Nirgrantha) und des Namens des mit Mahāvīra identifizierten

seems to betray personal scepticism about the historicity of Pārśva, in line with WEBER's (1858b).³⁰⁴

Klatt's report in Vol. IV includes information on newly discovered palmleaf manuscripts, and on the debate between Oldenberg and Jacobi on the postulated identity of Udāyin and Kālāsoka, supported by the latter.³⁰⁵ As in his previous article for the An-

tiquities section of the JGW, Klatt provides extensive information on new books published in Gujarati, in particular by the Nirnay Sāgar Press and the Jagdishwar Press in Bombay. Klatt was one of the first European scholars to take note of the vernacular Indian literature, both manuscripts and print publications,³⁰⁶ and included extensive references to it in his Jaina-Onomasticon; albeit in public perception it

Dschnātaputra (oder nach J. Dschnātriputra) und über einige dunkle Punkte in der Beschreibung der Nirgrantha-Lehre durch die Buddhisten. Buddhisten und Dschainas stimmen in dem Namen der Sekte Nirgrantha, des Lehrers Dschnātaputra und dem Ort seines Todes, der Stadt Pāpā überein. Abweichend nennen die Buddhisten den Dschnātaputra einen Agnivaiśjājana, während er in Wirklichkeit ein Kāśjapa war. Mahāvīras Schüler und Nachfolger Sudharman war dagegen ein Agnivaiśjājana, und es ist nicht unmöglich, dass der letztere in der Tradition der Buddhisten gemeint sei. Buddha war noch ein Zeitgenosse von Sudharman, aber kaum noch des Mahāvīra, da nach der wahrscheinlichsten Annahme 477 v. Chr., Mahāvīra nach der Dschaina-Überlieferung 527 v. Chr. und Sudharman 20 Jahre nach ihm (507) starb. Eine von Jacobi herausgegebene Prākṛit-Bearbeitung der Legende von Kālaka, einem alten Dschaina-Heiligen, enthält mancherlei historische Elemente. Kālaka soll die Entthronung des Gardabhilla, welcher nach der Tradition der Dschainas 73-60 v. Chr. König von Uddschajini war, bewirkt haben, und zwar mit Hilfe der Schāhi, welche er aus Śakakūla, einem Lande jenseits des Indus (nach J. Σακαστανή der Alten, jetzt Sejestan) herbeiholte. Jedoch zieht J. das allgemeine Resultat, dass die historischen Angaben der Dschainas auf unsicherer Tradition beruhen.

G. T h i b a u t giebt in einer von doppelter Gelehrsamkeit, sprachlicher und mathematischer, strotzender Abhandlung eine Darstellung des in der Sūrajapradśnapti enthaltenen kosmologischen und astronomischen Systems der Dschainas, in welchem z. B. 2 Sonnen, 2 Monde u. s. w. angenommen werden. Die Arbeit ist ebenso, wie W e b e r's frühere über denselben Gegenstand (Ind. Stud. 1868) auf Malajagir's Kommentar gegründet, da dem Vf. eine Handschrift des Textes nicht zugänglich war. Nach seiner Meinung verdient das Werk wegen des mannigfaltigen alten Materials, das es enthält, ganz herausgegeben zu werden. – In einer gediegenen Abhandlung macht T h. Z a c h a r i a e Mitteilungen über eine von den Dschainas herrührende Sanskrit-Grammatik, die er für eine der ältesten Umarbeitungen des Pāṇini hält. – Nicht näher bekannt ist uns eine kleine Publikation von F r. L. P U L L É. – Auszüge aus Dschaina-Handschriften findet man in R ā j e n d r a l ā l a M i t r a's Katalog der Handschriften des Mahārāja von Bikāner.

In Indien sind diverse für Dschainas bestimmte Bücher erschienen, von denen wir nur ein einziges, welches von T r ü b n e r nach Europa importiert worden ist, gesehen haben. Es ist ein Handbuch für Anhänger der Dschaina-Religion, und zwar des Kharataragatscha, in Hindi-Sprache, aber mit vielen Prākṛit- und Sanskrit-Theilen; es enthält u. a. das Dschajatihuaṇa-Stotra des Abhajadeva, das von Jacobi edierte Bhaktāmara- und Kaljānamandira-Stotra, eine stavanamālā auf Dādādschi (Dschinakuśala, gest. 1332 n. Chr.). Das eben erwähnte Bhaktāmara-

Stotra ist auch einzeln erschienen. Von einem umfangreichen Sammelwerk ist der 3. Band, enth. 11 Dschaina-Schriften in Prākṛit, Sanskrit und Alt-Gujarātī, erschienen [unter dem Titel Prakaraṇaratnākara], während die 1876 u. 77 herausgekommenen ersten Bände 79 Dschaina-Werke enthielten. Von den zum heil. Kanon gehörenden Schriften ist das Ātśhārāṅga-Sūtra in Calcutta, das Sthānāṅga in Benares, das Nandī- und Uttarādhjajana-Sūtra in Calc. gedruckt worden [Bahādur, Āgama Saṃgraha]. Mehrere Sammlungen von Hymnen, Gebeten u. s. w. in Gudscharati- und Hindi-Sprache sind in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Surat und Calcutta erschienen, ferner mehrere Erzählungen, von welchen die eine eine Dschaina-Version der Geschichte von Nala und Damajantī enthält, die hier, wie zu erwarten, als fromme Dschainas dargestellt werden, eine andere die Erzählung von den 5 Pāṇḍavas, in welcher der Gott Kriśṇa u. a. als Dschainas ausgegeben werden, wieder eine andere Geschichte von der beabsichtigten Heirat des Neminātha, die aber unterbleibt, weil der Bräutigam für das Hochzeitsfest keine Tiere töten lassen will. Ein in Calc. ersch. Sanskrit-Lesebuch enthält Stücke aus dem Kathākośa, m. engl. Übers. – Schliesslich sei ein Buch, welches die termini technici der Dschaina-Religion und Philosophie erklärt, 2 in Azimganj (Beng.) und je 1 in Ahmedabad, Calcutta, Bombay, Agra u. Benares ersch. Buch erwähnt.

304 WEBER (1858b: 2; 37, Fn. 1): 'Colebrooke und Stevenson halten ihn für den wirklichen Stifter' des Jainathums, was wohl zu viel der Ehren ist.' See also LEUMANN (1934: i): 'Der Jinismus oder die Jaina-Religion, gegründet von "Jina" oder "Mahavira"'; similarly BHATT (2017). JACOBI (1880a: 163) himself writes that 'there is nothing to prove that Pārśva is the founder of Jainism', but 'beyond him all is lost in the mist of fable and fiction'.

305 JACOBI (1881a).

306 KLATT (1885b: 49) (with detailed references in Fn. 1-16): 'Über die DSCHAINAS gab RHYS DAVIDS einen kleinen Artikel. Von besonderem Wert für die Geschichte der Dschainas ist die in den Besitz der Regierung von Bombay gelangte Sammlung alter Palmblattmanuskripte, von denen das älteste "samvat 1138" (1081 n. Chr.) datiert ist, also noch beinahe 200 Jahre älter als die Palmblatthandschrift der Berliner Bibliothek (samvat 1307). Überraschend ist die geringe Zahl der im XIV. christl. Jh. geschriebenen Palmblatthandschriften, welchen Umstand Kielhorn mit dem Fall von Anhilwād, 1297 n. Chr., in Zusammenhang bringt. Eine in Kahāun, ungefähr 46 miles s.-o. von Gorakhpur (N. W. Prov.) gefundene Dschaina-Inschrift ist unter der Regierung des Skandagupta geschrieben und trägt das Datum 141, aber ohne Angabe der Aera. Sie beurkundet, dass Madra, der Sohn des Radrasoma Bildsäulen von 5 Adikartris (Tīrthakaras) aufstellte. Die von Oldenberg angegriffene Identität des Udājin der Dschainas mit

was W. SCHUBRING (1944: vi), who first brought the Jaina vernacular literature to the attention of Jaina scholars, as a fruitful field for future academic research.³⁰⁷

(B) Wissenschaftliche Jahresberichte über die morgenländischen Studien (WJMS)

The contextualisation of Klatt's commitment to the WJMS, and of his role in the decision to discontinue this iconic publication of the DMG requires going a little further back. After his promotion to the position of Assistant at the KBB, Klatt set his mind on a career as librarian, and took steps to enhance his prospects for securing a permanent position. In 1875, he joined the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* (DMG),³⁰⁸ the professional body for Orientalists in Germany (founded 1845),³⁰⁹ of which he remained a member until 1901, when his affiliation was given up, presumably by his family, to save the expenses.³¹⁰ In 1875, the KBB also joined, as an institutional member. Klatt did not, however, like A. Weber and other Orientalists, become a member of the *Verein deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner*, the umbrella body for all philologists in the German speaking world, of which Oriental Philology had become a section.³¹¹ It was important for status recognition to be accepted into a prestigious professional association, such as the DMG, which tried to cement its elite status by only coopting individuals that had been proposed by two full members.³¹² Klatt was not a very sociable person. The only annual general assembly of the DMG Klatt ever attended was the one held on the 16 September 1881 in his adopted home city Berlin.³¹³ Although he was not actively involved in the administration and politics of the DMG, Klatt played a significant role in one of its core activities during from 1880 to 1888.

Following the example of the Société Asiatique, the statutes of the DMG, from 2 October 1845, demanded an annual review on 'the state of Oriental Studies in general' to be published in the ZDMG.³¹⁴ the *Wissenschaftliche Jahresberichte* (Annual Scientific Reports). The implementation of this statute proved to be difficult, however, because the demanding task was allocated to a single individual only. In the words of the Arabist Gustav Leberecht Flügel (1802-1870), it was 'one of the most difficult tasks that the journal [the ZDMG] imposed upon itself'.³¹⁵ In the beginning, the annual reviews were delivered orally at the annual assembly of the DMG, and then published as single-authored articles of varying length in the ZDMG, in the same way as the rapports for the Société Asiatique in Paris were published in the *Journal Asiatique*. The WJMS reports, to which Klatt contributed four review articles, were published by the DMG between 1847 and 1885, covering the years 1846 to 1881. From 1868 to 1885, covering the years 1859 to 1881, with interruptions, these reports were issued as independent book-length publications under the title *Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht über die morgenländischen Studien* (WJMS) (Annual Scientific Report on Oriental Studies). Although the annual reviews for the DMG were issued more or less regularly by various individual authors or editors, they often appeared after long delays, under changing titles, and in different formats. Usually, they appeared so late, that they were out of date at the time of dissemination. In 1882, when it became already clear that the WJMS could not be continued,³¹⁶ its place was taken by the newly founded *Literaturblatt für orientalische Philologie* (LoP), a brainchild of E. Kuhn, who edited it in collaboration with J. Klatt. Because it soon faced the same problems as its predecessors, the LoP was stopped after only four volumes. In 1888, annual

dem Kâlâsoka der Buddhisten wird von Herm. JACOBI verteidigt. Eine kurze Notiz über eine Dschaina-Statue bringt die Academy. – Hieran schliessen wir, wie im vor. Jahr eine Liste der in Indien erschienenen Dschaina-Bücher. Ausser den im Jahresbericht der DMG. 1881 erwähnten Sûtrakritânga, Aupapâtikasûtra und Prakaraṇaratnakâra sind es 5 Drucke der Nirṇaya Sâgar Press in Bombay, 3 Lithographien der Jagdishwar Press in derselben Stadt, 1 in Ahmedabad und 1 in Dâkor erschienenen Buch, sämtlich in Gudscherati-Sprache. Ihrem Inhalt nach sind es Gebete, Hymnen, heilige Erzählungen und sonstige religiöse Schriften'.

307 Cf. JAINI (1974, 2001).

308 DMG (1875: iii): '878. Herr Dr. Johannes K l a t t, Assistent an der k. Bibliothek in Berlin'.

309 On the origins of the DMG, see PREISSLER (1995).

310 DMG (1901: xliii, xlvii).

311 MANGOLD (2004: 180-9).

312 DMG (1849, § 13), MANGOLD (2004: 197).

313 DMG (1882b: xlii).

314 DMG (1849: 1-6):

'§ 10. Der Vorstand hat dafür zu sorgen, dass der Generalversammlung jährlich nicht nur über die gesammte Geschäftsführung und namentlich über die Cassenverwaltung der Gesellschaft ausführlich Rechenschaft abgelegt, sondern auch über die wissenschaftliche Thätigkeit derselben und über den Zustand der orientalischen Studien überhaupt ein Jahresbericht erstattet werde, welcher demnächst in der Zeitschrift abgedruckt werden soll'.

315 Gustav Flügel 1862, in PREISSLER (1995: 324).

316 In 1882 the DMG discussed the proposal to delete the problematic clause in its constitution (GILDEMEISTER 1884: xxi). But only in 1884 this was agreed, on suggestion of Weber (p. xix). The initiative came too late to save the WJMS.

reviews were entirely abandoned. Only plain bibliographies were published, first by August Müller (1848-1892) and then by his successors Ernst Kuhn (1846-1920) and Kuhn's pupil Lucian Scherman (1864-1946), under the title *Orientalische Bibliographie*; a title which J. Klatt had used for his contribution to the LoP, following the paradigm of K. Friederici's prior *Bibliographie Orientalis*.³¹⁷

Because of changing formats, titles, and delayed publication, it is difficult to find a clear bibliographic record of the annual scientific reports sponsored by the DMG;³¹⁸ though GILDEMEISTER (1884) offers a first-hand account of their fate in the years 1844-84. The following table should help in navigating the different publications, not all of which were funded by the DMG:³¹⁹

Authors / Editors	Publication	Year (Publication)
Fleischer	Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht	1845-46 (1847)
Fleischer	Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht	1847 (1848)
Fleischer	Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht	1847-49 I (1850a)
Fleischer	Fortsetzung des Jahresberichtes	1847-49 II (1850b)
Rödiger	Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht	1850 (1851)
Rödiger	Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht	1851-1852 (1854)
Arnold	Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht	1853 (1856)
Rödiger	Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht	1854 I (1855)
Rödiger	Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht	1854 II (1856)
Gosche	Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht	1856 (1857)
Gosche	Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht	1857-58 (1860, 1863)
Gosche	WJMS	1859-61 (1868)
Gosche	WJMS	1862-67 (1871)

Gosche	WJMS	1874-75 (1905)
<i>Friederici</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis*</i>	<i>1876 (1877)</i>
<i>Friederici</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis*</i>	<i>1877 (1878)</i>
Friederici	Bibliotheca Orientalis*	1878 (1879)
Friederici	Bibliotheca Orientalis*	1879 (1880)
Friederici	Bibliotheca Orientalis*	1880 (1881)
Friederici	Bibliotheca Orientalis*	1881 (1882)
Friederici	Bibliotheca Orientalis*	1882 (1883)
Friederici	Bibliotheca Orientalis*	1883 (1884)
Kuhn & Socin	WJMS	1876-77 (1879)
Kuhn	WJMS	1878 (1883)
Kuhn & Müller	WJMS	1879 (1881)
Kuhn & Müller	WJMS (Klatt: Vorderindien)	1880 (1883)
Kern et al. & Klatt	WJMS (Klatt: Vorderindien)	1881 (1885)
Kuhn (& Klatt)	LoP (Klatt: Bibliographie)	1883-84 (1884)
Kuhn (& Klatt)	LoP (Klatt: Orientalische Bibliographie)	1884-85 (1885)
Kuhn (& Klatt)	LoP (Klatt: Orientalische Bibliographie)	1885-87 (1887)
Kuhn (& Klatt)	LoP (Klatt: Orientalische Bibliographie)	1886-87 (1888)
Müller	Orientalische Bibliographie	1887 (1888)
Müller	Orientalische Bibliographie	1888 (1889)
Müller	Orientalische Bibliographie	1889 (1890)
Müller	Orientalische Bibliographie	1890 (1891)
Müller	Orientalische Bibliographie	1891 (1892)

317 See infra.

318 For example, DMG (1895: 33): 'Der 1846 erscheinende "Jahresbericht der DMG. für das Jahr 1845" ist nicht eigentlich ein Jahresbericht, sondern enthält die Vorträge der Generalversammlung zu Darmstadt. Den ersten wirklichen Jahresbericht über die neu erschienenen Arbeiten verfasste FLEISCHER im "Jahresbericht der DMG. für das Jahr 1846".'

319 Publications not funded according to DMG (1895: 3-14) are marked with an asterix (*). FRIEDERICI's (1879) publication was however supported by the DMG from vol. 3

onwards, as the compiler himself indicates, although this is not visibly indicated in the annual accounts published in the ZDMG. Because his first two volumes were not sponsored, they are represented additionally in italics. The volumes with which subsequent publications of the WJMS and the LoP overlapped in content are highlighted in bold. The DMG also funded WEBER's (1850-98) *Indische Studien* 2-18, WEBER (1858b), AUFRECHT (1891, 1896, 1903), and more.

Kuhn	Orientalische Bibliographie	1892 (1893)
Kuhn (& Scherman)	Orientalische Bibliographie	1891 (1894)
Kuhn (& Scherman)	Orientalische Bibliographie	1891 (1895)
Scherman	Orientalische Bibliographie	1895-1926 (1896 ff.)

The first four of the *Wissenschaftliche Jahresberichte*, for the years 1845-49, were published between 1847 and 1850 by Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801-1888), one of the co-founders of the DMG,³²⁰ and, according to MANGOLD (2004: 27), ‘the most influential German Orientalist of the 19th century’.³²¹ After him, Emil Rödiger (1801-1874),³²² another co-founder and early stalwart of the DMG, published four reports; Friedrich August Arnold (1812-1869) one;³²³ and Fleischer’s pupil Richard Adolf Gosche (1824-1889) two.³²⁴ Since the number of publications in Oriental Studies had risen dramatically in the 1860s and 1870s,³²⁵ three further reports by Gosche, covering the years 1859-75, were issued as separate book-sized publications under the title *WJMS*. Combining poetic exuberance with condensed scholarly assessment of works on ‘Oriental Studies in general’, as demanded by §10 of the statutes of the DMG, the two reports by GOSCHE (1868, 1871) for 1859-61 and 1862-7 are idiosyncratic masterpieces. They represent the last attempt of a single scholar to master the new literature of the entire field of Oriental Studies. The reports furnish rich pickings for the post-colonial critic of ‘Orientalism’.³²⁶ At the same time, they provide insightful observations (‘Wissenschaftliche Leistungen sind sittliche Handlungen’).³²⁷ It was noted by GILDEMEISTER (1884: xxiv), that Gosche could only cover as much ground on his own, because between 1847 and 1862 he was working as Custodian for Oriental Manuscripts at the KBB. When he left the Royal Library, to take up a chair in Semitic Languages at Halle, lack of access to many of the latest publications prevented him from completing his chosen task to the standard he had set himself.³²⁸ Hence, complaining about lack of

collegial support, he resigned from his WJMS duties, once in 1867,³²⁹ and finally on 27 September 1875. His unfinished last report for the years 1874-75, printed already in 1878, but not distributed, was published posthumously, in 1905.

In 1876, after Gosche’s resignation, the DMG agreed to a new format for the WJMS, proposed by Ernst Kuhn and August Müller.³³⁰ It was based on the principle of a division of labour between regional experts, who would supply reports on their respective area of expertise, following the example of the JGW. The final five issues of the WJMS, for the years 1876-81 (published 1879-85), were thus created collaboratively, under the aegis of different editors: Ernst Kuhn and Albert Socin (1844-1899) for the years 1876-77 (published 1880), E. Kuhn for the year 1878 (published 1883), E. Kuhn and A. Müller for the years 1879 and 1880 (published 1881 and 1883), and H. Kern, F. Praetorius, F. Baethken, J. Klatt, E. Kautzsch, H. Ethé, and F. Hommel for the year 1881 (published 1885). The dominant figure was (Wilhelm Adalbert) Ernst Kuhn, a Pali scholar, son of the philologist (Franz Felix) Adalbert Kuhn (1812-1881), who had studied with A. Weber, amongst others. From 1877, until his retirement, he was Professor for Aryan Philology and Comparative Indo-Germanic Linguistics (Arische Philologie und Vergleichende Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft) at the University of Munich. He did not publish much, but was very active in the DMG, and, due to his editorial work, became one of the main linking pins for Oriental Philology in late 19th century Germany. He (co-) edited the following journals: *Wissenschaftliche Jahresberichte über die morgenländischen Studien* (with Albert Socin, August Müller) (1879-85), *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiet der indogermanischen Sprachen* (established in 1852 by Adalbert Kuhn; 1881 ff.), *Literaturblatt für orientalische Philologie* (with Johannes Klatt) (1884-88), *Orientalische Bibliographie* (1893-95) (with Lucian Scherman),³³¹ and *Grundriß der iranischen Philologie* (with Wilhelm Geiger) (1895-1904).³³²

320 FLEISCHER (1847, 1848, 1850a, 1850b).

321 On Fleischer, see GOLDZIHNER (1904).

322 On Rödiger, see THE ATHENAEUM (1874: 19).

323 On Arnold, see WOLFF (1875).

324 On Gosche, see FRÄNKEL (1904).

325 See MANGOLD (2004: 289).

326 Cf. GOSCHE’s (1871: 1f.) poetic concoction of humanistic universalism and euro-centric hybris.

327 GOSCHE (1860: 135).

328 GOSCHE (1905: 2).

329 GILDEMEISTER (1884: xxiv).

330 KUHN & MÜLLER (1879).

331 Vols. 6-8 of the journal reporting on the years 1892-4. Vols. 1-5 were edited by A. MÜLLER (1888-92), and vols. 9-25 by L. SCHERMAN (1896-1928) with interruption during WW I.

332 On E. Kuhn, see WILHELM (1982) and OERTEL (1916), who praises the ‘enormous work’ he has ‘done for others’: ‘Es ist das Los des Bibliographen, daß er, auf Dank verzichtend, seine Arbeit selbstlos für andere verrichtet: wo er fördert, wird seine Hilfe wie Luft und Licht genossen, nur wo er versagt, erinnert man sich seiner. In den Jahresbänden der Orientalischen Bibliographie

For the WJMS volume covering the years 1876-77, the two editors wrote almost all reports themselves. Soon this had become untenable. In the first years under his (co-) editorship, Kuhn for instance had covered a wide variety of subjects for the WJMS, such as 'Vorderindien', 'Hinterindien', 'Alt-Iran', and 'Tibet', not all of which fell into his areas of special expertise. He was therefore interested in attracting regional specialists, who might be prepared to take over some of his work. The editors, therefore, turned for help to J. Klatt, amongst others, whose high quality reports for the JGW had been noted. Eventually, Klatt became a member of the core team that produced annual reviews for the DMG. In 1881, he was co-opted by Kuhn for the WJMS, to write the report on 'Vorderindien' (The Indian Subcontinent) on his behalf. Hence, for the last volume of the WJMS, covering the year 1881, KUHN (1885) authored only one report, on 'Tibet und Hinterindien'.

KUHN's (1879b: 117-132) first report on 'Vorderindien', for 1876-7, covered works on archaeology, history, cultural history and religious history, etc., in addition to linguistics and literary history. The rubrics on archaeology and cultural and religious history are missing in his two subsequent articles on 'Vorderindien'. In the report on 'Vorderindien' for 1879, which appeared earlier than the report for 1878, KUHN (1881: 37) covered only publications on 'Linguistics and History of Literature'. For coverage of the other branches of the Science of Indian Antiquity (Alterthumswissenschaft) he pointed to KLATT's (1880a) annual review for the year 1878 in JGW I. To avoid overlap, a division of labour between the contributions by Kuhn and Klatt on 1879 for the JGW and WJMS was agreed in 1880-

81. This required sorting the geographically arranged material into different disciplinary sub-categories, which effectively contributed to the consolidation of demarcated specialised fields of inquiry within the field of Oriental Studies.³³³

By the time of the publication of his report, Kuhn had already persuaded Klatt to take over the report on 'Vorderindien' for the WJMS. Klatt had been promoted by the KBB to the position of Kustos on 1 October 1880, and had just published an excellent first report for the JGW on 'Indien (Althertum)' for the year 1878. He was therefore perfectly placed for this task. Kuhn wrote to Klatt immediately, twice, inviting him to work for the WJMS, and offered the references that he had already collected for the report on 'Vorderindien' for 1880. So much is clear from the reply sent by KLATT on 18 January 1881,³³⁴ in which he expressed his general interest in Kuhn's proposition, albeit reluctantly. He included proofs of his forthcoming article for the JGW on 'Islam',³³⁵ with the promise to post the impending proofs of his article on 'Indien' (Modern Times) as well.³³⁶ Klatt stressed that he could not betray the commitment he had made to the editors of the JGW, although he would prefer to work for the WJMS, because it would suit his 'own inclinations' much more, and would free him from the 'difficult separation between the historical and the non-historical'. To prevent duplication between his report on 'Indien' (JGW) and Kuhn's report on 'Vorderindien' (WJMS), Klatt proposed to leave out linguistic matters in future JGW reports. He also offered to take on Kuhn's reports on 'Vorderindien' for the WJMS, 'if sometime it will get too boring for you'.

ist seit 1892 eine gewaltige Arbeit niedergelegt, die Kuhn für andere getan hat' (p. xi).

333 Cf. MANGOLD (2004: 100ff.), SENGUPTA (2005: 104ff.).

334 KLATT (Letters to E. Kuhn 18.1.1881): 'Berlin, S.O., Adalbertstr[asse]. 80.I. 18/I 1881

Sehr geehrter Freund und Gönner!

Ihre beiden Briefe habe ich richtig erhalten. Entschuldigen Sie, daß ich Ihnen auf den ersten noch nicht geantwortet habe. Besten Dank für die übersandten Titel, die ich seinerzeit benutzen werde. Einiges davon steht in meinem Bericht über Indien, *neue Zeit* (1879). Dieser, obgleich im Manuscript längst beendet, ist noch nicht gedruckt, auch nicht gesetzt, sonst würde ich Ihnen einen Abzug schicken. Dafür schicke ich Ihnen anbei unter Kreuzband den eben fertig gewordenen Bericht über den Islam. Ich habe auch diesen Bericht übernommen, solange bis sich ein Fachmann dafür findet. Es würde meinen Neigungen natürlich weit mehr entsprechen, bei Ihnen mitzuarbeiten. Weil die Berichte den Be-

teiligten zugänglicher werden und die schwierige Trennung zwischen Historischem und Nichthistorischem entfallen würde. Aber ich kann die Leute, bei denen ich einmal bin, nicht so im Stich lassen. Doch will ich Ihnen den Bericht über Indien (nach seinen übrigen Beziehungen) abnehmen, falls er Ihnen einmal so langweilig wird. Jedenfalls werde ich mich bestreben, die sprachlichen Sachen künftig möglichst fortzulassen, damit vieles nicht unnöthiger Weise zweimal erwähnt wird.

Ich bin jetzt mit der Abschrift der 20 Jaina-Handschriften, die ich aus Bombay geliehen bekommen habe, beschäftigt. Ich will zunächst die Pattāvali's des Kharatara- und des Tapāgaccha herausgeben. Schon allein aus dem Grunde, weil die Jainas in Indien meistens reiche Kaufleute sind, muß man ihrer Religion anhängen, und nicht dem Buddhismus.

Ich hoffe Sie noch einmal zu besuchen.

Ihr ergebener J. Klatt'.

335 KLATT (1880b).

336 KLATT (1880c).

Kuhn must have instantly agreed to both proposals, because in his next letter to Kuhn from 4 February 1881 Klatt offered to produce the report on ‘Vorderindien’ for the year 1880, since he had already complete notes, due to his habit of excerpting relevant new publications immediately after they arrived at the KBB.³³⁷ For Klatt the matter was simple. He only had to divide the material he had collected for his regular JGW report into ‘historical’ and ‘philological’ contributions, and then produce two separate reports instead of only one. The ‘difficult separation between the historical and the non-historical’ did not disappear, but it took a different shape. Without mentioning the accord struck with Klatt, who stopped working for the JGW only in 1882, KUHN (1881: 37) stated in his report on ‘Vorderindien’ for 1879, that ‘this time again’ his own contribution would be restricted to the field of ‘Linguistics and the History of Literature’, since the ‘other branches of the Science of Antiquities’ (History, Religion, Archaeology, Architecture) had been covered ‘more extensively’ in JWG I by KLATT (1881a).

Already in 1878, the DMG had agreed to omit literature on *geography* and to limit the scope of the new WJMS to publications in *philology and history*.³³⁸ Now the WJMS became defined as a publication for Oriental *linguistics and philology* only. KLATT’s (1883f) report on ‘Vorderindien’ for 1880 appeared eventually in the same year in which E. KUHN’s (1883b) report for 1878 was finally published. In this report, which he must have rewritten in 1883, Kuhn outlined for the first time explicitly the division of labour between his own article on ‘Vorderindien’ in the more philologically oriented WJSM, and KLATT’s (1880a) report on ‘Indien (Altertum)’ for 1878 in the more historically oriented JGW.³³⁹ By excluding history, the process of

the ‘philologisation of Oriental Studies’³⁴⁰ had now been officially ratified by the main review journal of the DMG. The interests and work of Klatt, however, continued to bridge the divide, at least in his reporting on the years 1878–81.

Texts pertaining to Oriental religion were generally allocated to the Science of Antiquities rather than to Philology, in contrast to texts pertaining to philosophy. This may be one of the reasons why, before Klatt joined the WJMS, hardly any information is given in the WJSM reports on the *Jaina tradition or the Jainas*, and, if at all, then under the label ‘Prācrita’: FLEISCHER (1850b: 445) mentions Rev. STEVENSON’s (1848) pioneering translations of the Kalpasūtra and the ‘Nava Tatva’ of the ‘Jain-Secte’,³⁴¹ as well as BÖHTLINGK and RIEU’s (1847) edition and translation of Hemacandra’s Abhidhānacintāmaṇi (p. 447); RÖDIGER (1856: 717) has a reference on Māgadhī; GOSCHE (1860: 200) lists WEBER’s (1858b) book, but the word ‘Jaina’ does not figure in his report. The ‘Jainas’ are first mentioned in the WJMS by GOSCHE (1868: 85) in a more extensive appreciation of WEBER’s (1858b) pioneering work on the Śatruñjaya-māhātmya, a text of a religion which the rapporteur presents as an example of the ‘bad’ transmutations in derivative forms of Buddhism amounting almost to a ‘peculiar independence’.³⁴² More references on new books touching on the Jaina religion and the Jainas are given by E. KUHN (1879b: 85, 110, 118, 128; 1883: 163, 171f.; 1881: 41, 47, 56f.), in the restructured book-size WJMS, albeit not under these titles, but spread over different sections, in particular under Sanskrit and Prakrit languages and literatures. Highlighted are the contributions in 1876–9 of H. Warren, A. Weber, F. L. Pullé, R. Pischel, J. Klatt,³⁴³ H. Jacobi, R. Hoernle, S. Goldschmidt, and further volumes of

337 KLATT (Letters to E. Kuhn 4.2.1881): ‘Berlin S.O. Adalbertstr[asse] 80.I 4/2 1881

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor!

Wenn Sie es wünschen, so will ich auch gerne schon für 1880 die Schrift über indische Sprachen u[nd] Literaturen übernehmen. Ich excerpire freilich die Journale in der Regel gleich nach dem Erscheinen und bin daher mit 1880 fertig. Dennoch hoffe ich, da ich nach §2 der “Grundsätze” das Manuscript erst Anfang 1882 abzuliefern brauche, das Meiste nachtragen zu können. Ihre Notizen werden mir sehr willkommen sein.

Ihr ergebener J. Klatt’.

338 DMG (1878: vi):

‘Auf eine Anfrage der Herren Kuhn und Socin wurde erklärt, dass es nicht wünschenswerth sei, die geographische Literatur in den Jahresberichten weiter zu berücksichtigen, als es philologisches und historisches Interesse habe’.

339 KUHN (1883b: 156):

‘Unseren Bericht über Indien beschränken wir dieses Mal auf das sprachliche und literarische Gebiet, indem wir für Geschichte, Religion und Denkmälerkunde auf Klatt’s Referat in den neu begründeten Jahresberichten der Geschichtswissenschaften verweisen’.

340 Dated by MANGOLD (2004: 78ff.) between 1835 and 1880.

341 On Stevenson’s work see JACOBI (1879a: 27–9).

342 GOSCHE (1868: 85):

‘Zwar sind die mannigfachen Umbildungen des Buddhismus noch weit schlimmer als z. B. die Erniedrigung des Christenthums in Aethiopien. [...] Am weitesten haben sich von den Grundanschauungen desselben [des Buddhismus] fast bis zu eigenthümlicher Selbstständigkeit die Jainas entfernt; die ersten bestimmteren, besonders in geschichtlicher Beziehung wichtigen Nachrichten über dieselben verdanken wir A. Weber’s auch sonst anziehenden Mittheilungen aus dem Śatrunjaya māhātmyam nach der einzigen Oxforder Handschrift’.

343 KUHN (1881: 41):

the first Āgama edition of Bāhādur.³⁴⁴ All rapporteurs portrait ‘the Jainas’ as a Buddhist sect, founded by Mahāvīra = Buddha. In this, they followed the reviewed sources, especially A. WEBER (1858b: 3, 1883a: 240f.; 1888-92 vol. 17: 290 / 1999: 20f.), who throughout his career regarded the ‘Jainas as one of the oldest of the Buddhist sects’.³⁴⁵

Klatt composed two reports on ‘Vorderindien’ for the years 1880 and 1881, which were published in 1883 and 1885, after the demise of the WJMS in 1882.³⁴⁶ At the same time, he wrote five reports for the JGW: two on ‘Indien’ (Ancient & Modern) and one on ‘Islam’ (Medieval) for the year 1880 (published in 1883) and two on ‘Indien’ (Ancient & Modern) for the year 1881 (published in 1885). Klatt’s two reports on ‘Vorderindien’ for the WJMS, as for the JGW, are still interesting to read, because, like those of Gosche and Kuhn, they do not simply list bibliographical details of texts, reviews and comments, but place them within the context of contemporary scholarly debates, and highlight particularly remarkable findings, occasionally adding comments. Like A. WEBER’s (1879a)³⁴⁷ collective reviews and E. KUHN’s (1879b, 1881, 1883b, etc.) annual reports, they served as a stimulus for advances in Oriental Studies, and are documents of the history of research, which proved to be useful for intellectual historians, such as E. WINDISCH (1917, 1920) and W. SCHUBRING (1935 §§ 1-11).



Fig. 2 Johannes Klatt, ca. 1880, Photo: Theodor Prümm. (Portr. Slg. / Bibl. kl / Klatt, Johannes, Nr. 2)

‘Klatt [1879b] gab ein vorläufiges Verzeichniss der zu Berlin vorhandenen Jaina-Manuscripte, d. h. nicht nur heiliger Texte der Jainas, sondern auch anderer Werke, unter denen wir die sprachlichen Arbeiten Hemacandra’s besonders hervorheben wollen; eng daran schliesst sich das Verzeichniss der in *Jacobi’s* [1879b] Besitze befindlichen Handschriften. Die wenigen von *Bühler* [1879] beschriebenen Wiener Manuscripte sind für das Kāthaka und die Grihya-Literatur von Interesse. Verzeichnisse von neueren Sanskrit-Drucken aus Indien findet man in Trübner’s Record’.

- 344 The most substantial paragraph is E. KUHN (1881b: 56f.): ‘Für die Prākṛit-Literatur der Jainas steht desselben *Jacobi* Ausgabe des Kalpasūtra obenan, nicht nur, weil in ihr ein umfangreicher Text in kritischer Behandlung vorliegt, sondern auch durch ihre Einleitung, in welcher die Uebereinstimmung zwischen Buddhismus und Jainathum aus der Gleichzeitigkeit der beiden Religionsstifter erklärt wird, eine ganz unerwartete Lösung des bisherigen Räthsels, an welcher jedoch die beigebrachten Beweisstellen, namentlich die aus der Literatur der südlichen Buddhisten kaum noch einen Zweifel gestatten. Mit der *Nirayāvaliyāsutta* hat uns *Warren* bekannt gemacht. In *Dhanpat Singh Bāhādur’s* Sammlung von Jaina-Texten sind ausser einer in dem unten genannten Cataloge nicht namhaft gemachten Schrift das *Uttarādhyaṇa* und die Fortsetzung des *Nandisūtra* erschienen. Einen in mehrfacher Hinsicht unter Ande-

rem auch für die Geschichte des Schachspiels interessanten Hymnus auf den Ādinātha Rishabha von Dhanapāla, dem Verfasser der *Pāyilacchī*, hat *Klatt* [1879a] herausgegeben. – In *Goldschmidt’s* Ausgabe des *Setubandha* begrüßen wir das Resultat einer langen und mühsamen Arbeit, durch welches das Prākṛitstudium eine sehr erhebliche Förderung erhalten hat. *Hoernle* berichtet über eine neue Handschrift des *Vararuci*. *Pischel* hat in seiner Ausgabe des Hemacandra Uebersetzung und Erläuterungen folgen lassen, welche durch die stete Rücksichtnahme auf die modernen Sprachformen, mit denen *Pischel* sich in hohem Grade vertraut zeigt, einen ganz besonderen Werth erhalten. Eine Art Ergänzung zu dieser Arbeit bilden seine etymologischen Darlegungen über die *Deççabādās* bei *Trivikrama*, deren weiterem Verlaufe wir mit grossem Interesse entgegensehen. *Goldschmidt’s* scharfsinnigen und im Einzelnen of recht verdienstlichen *Prākṛitica* dürfen eine gewissen Vorliebe für lautliche Künsteleien nicht ganz abzusprechen sein’.

- 345 See WEBER’s (1858b: 1-13) discussion of earlier speculations.
- 346 GILDEMEISTER (1884: xxi-xxii).
- 347 KLATT (1881a: 6) wrote about WEBER (1879a): ‘Der letzte Band [...] bildet gewissermassen eine kritische Geschichte der indischen Philologie des letzten Jahrzehnts und somit eine Ergänzung von Webers [1852] *Indischer Literaturgeschichte*’.

The historical development of the field of Oriental Studies is reflected in the increasingly differentiated structure of the section headings of the reports. KUHN (1881) praised KLATT's (1880a) report for the JGW as a 'really exemplary presentation',³⁴⁸ because the format of Klatt's annual reviews for both the JWG and the WJMS, covering the years 1878-81, evidently followed the guiding principles for the WJMS formulated by Ernst KUHN and August MÜLLER (1879),³⁴⁹ as well as the example set by KUHN's (1879b) first report on 'Vorderindien' for the WJMS. Kuhn's own report was again influenced by prior instalments of the *Wissenschaftliche Jahresberichte* that were published in the form of articles.³⁵⁰ Klatt's reports for the WJMS are broadly structured in the following way:

- Sanskrit grammar and dictionaries
- Manuscriptology and new Sanskrit manuscripts & manuscript catalogues
- Sanskrit literary history
- Vedic literature
- Scientific literature
 - o Indian philosophy (beginnings)
 - o Law and custom (beginnings: Gṛhya- and Dharmaśāstras)
 - o Medicine
 - o Mathematics
 - o Gemmology
- Buddhist Sanskrit
- Numismatics (linguistics)
- Pāli literature
- Prākṛit literature
- Modern languages

KLATT's (1883f) report for the year 1880, more specifically, is presented under the following headings. It starts with Sanskrit grammar, followed by paleographic and manuscript sources, and then presents publications

on the literary genres of different Indian languages, ancient and modern, with a clear focus on Sanskrit literature:

- Sanskrit grammar & lexicography
- Palaeography
- New manuscripts and manuscript catalogues³⁵¹
- Sanskrit literature
 - o General overview
 - o Vedic literature
 - o Old epic poetry
 - o Gnostic and lyric poetry
 - o Dramatic poetry
 - o Grammar
 - o Performing art (Nāṭyaśāstras)
 - o Philosophy (Upaniṣads)
 - o Ritual and custom (Gṛhyasūtras & Dharmaśāstras)
 - o Indian medicine
 - o Mathematics, astronomy and astrology
 - o Fortune-telling and magic
 - o Music
 - o Gemmology
 - o Buddhist Sanskrit
- Pāli (Buddhist) literature
- Prākṛit (Jaina) literature
- Modern Indian languages
 - o General overview
 - o Hindustani & Hindi
 - o Bengali
 - o Gypsy language
 - o Singhalese
 - o Dravidian languages
 - o Tribal languages

Klatt closed this report by referring for the 'missing sections on History, Archaeology, Religion, etc.' to (his) reports in the JGW.³⁵²

348 KUHN (1881: 37):

'Unser Bericht über Indien darf sich auch dieses Mal rein auf das sprachliche und literaturgeschichtliche Gebiet beschränken, da für die sonstigen Zweige der indischen Alterthumswissenschaft wiederum auf Klatt's nunmehr weit ausführlicheres und geradezu musterhaftes Referat verwiesen werden kann'.

349 E. KUHN & A. MÜLLER (1879: ix):

'Der Jahresbericht soll im Allgemeinen Sprache und Literatur, Geschichte und Antiquitäten, Inschriften, Münzen und Kunstdenkmäler, Religion und Cultur der in Betracht kommenden Völker gleich eingehend berücksichtigen. Von geographischer, administrativer, commercieller und Missionsliteratur soll principiell nur das berücksichtigt werden, was in philologisch-historischer oder ethnographischer Hinsicht von Bedeutung ist. [...] Zweckmässigkeitsgründe verschiedenster Art

werden bei einzelnen Gebieten besondere Beschränkungen rathlich erscheinen lassen. Die Reihenfolge der einzelnen Abschnitte soll, im Osten beginnend, im Grossen und Ganzen durch die genealogische Zusammengehörigkeit der behandelten Völker bedingt sein' (emphasis added).

350 FLEISCHER (1847, 1848, 1850a, 1850b), RÖDIGER (1851, 1854, 1855, 1856), ARNOLD (1856) and GOSCHE (1857, 1860, 1868, 1871, 1905).

351 KLATT (1883f: 15f.) mentions Jaina manuscripts in this section; and points to 'a type of stenography of Sanskrit' in at least one text.

352 KLATT (1883f: 43):

'Mit dieser vortrefflichen Publikation [Hodgson: Himalaya languages] schliessen wir unseren Bericht und verweisen für die fehlenden Abtheilungen, Geschichte, Archaeologie, Religion u.s.w. auf die Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaften'.

Klatt's two reports for the WJMS offer relatively comprehensive information on the latest, at the time pioneering, research on the Jaina tradition. Most, but not all, of the publications pertaining to the *Jaina tradition* are presented under the label 'Prākṛit literature'.

In his first report, KLATT (1883f: 16, 23, 29, 33-35) first informs about the latest findings on Jaina (and other) Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts in India, as documented in the new reports on the search for manuscripts and in new manuscript catalogues. Then T. ZACHARIAE's (1880) article on the Jainendravākarāṇa is mentioned, a text on Sanskrit grammar composed by a Jaina author, written on the basis of a single manuscript that had reached the KBB, and G. THIBAUT's (1880) study of the cosmological Āgama text *Sūryaprajñapti*.³⁵³ Finally, new publications on Prakrit Jaina texts and on Prakrit grammar by R. Pischel, H. Jacobi, R. Hoernle, and P. Goldschmidt are presented. Only two publications of Jaina texts in India are mentioned. For the remainder of the new publications in Jaina Studies, the reader is referred to KLATT's (1883c) corresponding account in JGW III.³⁵⁴

In his second report, KLATT (1885c: 31, 35, 47, 50-2) informs about C. H. TAWNEY's (1881: 190f.) comparison between 'A story of tenderness to animals' in the Kathākośa of the Jaina ācārya Hariṣeṇa and the similar narrative 'Rich Peter the pedlar' in the Norse Tales translated by G. W. Dasent. This is followed by a summary of F. KIELHORN's (1881: 75-9) remarks on three further manuscripts of the Jainendravākarāṇa preserved at the Deccan College, showing that the text is not of significance, and that it was created by the monk Devanandin, although the Jaina tradition (Pūjyapāda) attributes all grammars to

Mahāvīra. JACOBI's (1882) forthcoming edition of the Ācārāṅgasūtra is announced in the 'Pāli'-section of the report, because it was to be published as the first volume of the series of the Pāli Text Society. The section on 'Prākṛit' provides information on WEBER's (1881) 'epoch-making' second attempt at an edition and analysis of the Saptasatakam of Hāla, based on more than only one complete manuscript of the text and commentaries.³⁵⁵ Also mentioned are STEINTHAL's (1881) dissertation on the story of Megha in the Nāyādhammakahā, and new Jaina-Āgama texts and other Jaina texts, published or soon to be published in India, such as the subsequently much used compilation of Māgadhī texts named Prakaraṇaratnākara, as advertised in TRÜBNER's catalogue. Finally, two articles by JACOBI (1881a, 1881b) on Jaina (legendary) history, two articles by GOLDSCHMIDT (1881, 1883) and two further articles by JACOBI (1881d, 1883) discussing Prakrit grammar are mentioned.³⁵⁶

In accordance with the format of the WJMS, Klatt offered cross-references to reviews and comments. He apparently read or at least scanned through all of the hundreds of books and articles that he brought to the attention of his readers. His accounts were as comprehensive as possible, covering all European languages.

The end of the Jahresberichte

On 26 September 1882, at the General Assembly of the DMG in Karlsruhe, August Müller and Ernst Kuhn resigned as editors of the WJMS, citing the requirement defined in § 10 of the statutes of the DMG, that the annual reports should give an account 'on the state of Oriental Studies *in general*'. In their view, the clause should have been deleted, because it could

353 Cf. WEBER (1868).

354 KLATT (1881a: 33-5) (footnotes omitted, selected references):

'Aus der Jaina-Literatur veröffentlicht Jacobi [1880b] eine Prākṛit-Bearbeitung der Legende von Kālakācārya, welche eine Art Anhang zum Kalpasūtra bildet. Derselbe [Jacobi 1880a] versucht eine nähere Begründung der Ansicht, dass Mahāvīra nicht Gründer einer neuen, sondern nur Reformator einer schon bestehenden Religion gewesen sei und theilt eine Stelle aus Čilāṅka's Commentar zum Ācārāṅga Sūtra über Sulasā mit [Jacobi 1880c]. Von indischen Drucken nennen wir hier nur die Ausgabe des Sthānāṅga Sūtra [Bāhādūr edition] und ein Handbuch für Anhänger des Kharataragaccha [Ratnasāra] und verweisen im übrigen auf die Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft 1880 I p. 24 f., wo sämmtliche in den Jahren 1879 und 1880 in Britisch Indien erschienenen Jaina-Bücher zusammengestellt sind. Von grossem Werthe ist das von Bühler entdeckte und von ihm und Pischel gemeinschaftlich veröffentlichte Prākṛit-Wörterbuch des Hemacandra [Pischel

1880]. Wegen Pischel's Prākṛit-Grammatik des Hemacandra, Thl. 2, sowie Goldschmidt's Setubandha, Lief. 1, die, obwohl die Jahreszahl 1880 tragend, in der That schon 1879 erschienen sind, vgl. man den vorjäh. Bericht p. 57. Sehr verdienstlich ist Hoernle's [1880] Ausgabe von Caṇḍa's Grammatik des Jaina – Prākṛit, besonders auch durch die Vergleichung dieser Grammatik mit denen des Vararuci und Hemacandra. Derselbe Hoernle berichtet über eine bisher unbekannte Prākṛit-Grammatik, Prākṛitānanda von Raghunātha und giebt eine cursorische Uebersicht der in der Prākṛit-Philologie bis jetzt erlangten Resultate. Pischel setzt seine Besprechung der Deçīcabdās bei Trivikrama fort, Goldschmidt [1880] behandelt die Wörter duruttara, dāvaī, painassati und den acc. pl. auf e, und Jacobi [1880d] wendet sich gegen eine von Goldschmidt schon früher (Prākṛtica 1879 p. 28) aufgestellte Behauptung'.

355 In contrast to WEBER (1870).

356 References to JACOBI (1881c, 1883) are missing, however.

not be met by any single individual, due to the increasingly unmanageable scope of the task, and because of the practical difficulties of establishing reliable modes of cooperation between editors and reviewers.³⁵⁷ After handing in their resignations, KUHN and MÜLLER (1883) still completed the volume for 1880. But the last volume of the WJMS, for the year 1881, had to be brought to press by the H. KERN, F. PRAETORIUS, F. BAETHKEN, J. KLATT, E. KAUTZSCH, H. ETHÉ, and F. HOMMEL (1885). On 27 September 1882, at the second session of the General Assembly, Adalbert Merx (1838-1909) suggested producing only a plain bibliography in future and to approach Karl Friederici, who had already produced one from 1877. A. Socin, a previous co-editor of the WJMS, supported this motion.³⁵⁸ On 28 September 1882, on suggestion of Gildemeister, it was decided to set up a commission for the elaboration of a 'properly formulated proposition' to be decided at the next general assembly. The proposal to elect Kautzsch, Klatt, E. Kuhn, A. Müller, Socin, and Gildemeister - five previous contributors to the WJMS - was unanimously approved.³⁵⁹ Kautzsch and Klatt were not present at this or subsequent meetings, and must have been consulted by letter.³⁶⁰ Apart from the five members of the commission, only Ernst Windisch reacted to the invitation to comment in writing on the future of the WJMS.³⁶¹

As a consequence of the recommendations of this group, the WJMS was officially discontinued. The findings were communicated two years and three General Assemblies later by J. GILDEMEISTER (1884) to the General Assembly of the DMG on 3 October 1884. In a fourteen-page report, *Referat*

über die Jahresberichts-Angelegenheit, he reviewed the history of the WJMS from its outset. On the basis of this report, at the suggestion of A. Weber, the WJMS was finally relinquished by the DMG on 4 October 1884.³⁶²

The reasons for the fate of the WJMS are instructive, because they reflect wider changes in Oriental Studies in the second half of the 19th century, and provide insight into the ways in which scientific information was processed at the time. They also describe well, how a professional bibliographer, like Klatt, must have felt. In a nutshell, the commission found that the statutory aim for the annual reports, set by the DMG, to review 'the state of the Oriental Studies in general', was too ambitious, given the steadily increasing amount of relevant material, published in books, journals, social communications, book catalogues, etc.³⁶³ The enormous effort required, first on the part of a single reviewer, later by a team of reviewers, was not sustainable, if arbitrary selections and assessments were to be avoided. The results were also not sufficiently appreciated. Already in 1848, H. L. FLEISCHER had lamented the rather lukewarm reception of his reports, the scientific value of which seemed to receive less recognition than it deserved. He demanded a division of labour and cooperation of scholars (which never materialised), because the 'time and strengths of one is not sufficient even with the best will and utmost exertion' to handle the enormous and 'difficult to master bibliographical material'.³⁶⁴ R. GOSCHE (1876: vi) cited the following reasons for his decision to relinquish the task of producing the annual review for 1874/5 for the DMG:³⁶⁵

357 DMG (1882b: xl):

'Im Anschluss an den Rechenschaftsbericht erklärt Prof. Müller, dass er, nachdem er die von ihm übernommenen Verpflichtungen, auf zwei Jahre die Redaction der semitischen Abtheilung des Jahresberichts zu führen, durch vollständige Einlieferung der Berichte für 1879 und 80 erfüllt hat, auf die Weiterführung dieser Aufgabe verzichten muss. Eine analoge Erklärung gab Prof. Kuhn ab, in dem er es aussprach, dass er nach Ablieferung der rückständigen Theile der Jahresberichte 1878-80 auf eine weitere Fortführung dieses Unternehmens verzichten werde. Er knüpfte hieran den Antrag, dass in §. 10 der Statuten die Worte: "und über den Zustand der orientalischen Studien überhaupt" gestrichen werden sollen. - Nach einer lebhaften Discussion wurde auf Antrag de Prof. Socin eine weitere Verhandlung des Gegenstandes auf die nächste Sitzung vertagt'.

358 DMG (1882b: xl):

'Der Vorschlag des Prof. Merx, bloss bibliographische Register in der Form der Friderici'schen Bibliotheca zu verfertigen, eventuell selbst mit letzterer in Beziehung zu treten, sei in's Auge zu fassen'.

359 DMG (1882b: xli-xlii):

'Es wird vorgeschlagen, in die Commission zur Erledigung der Jahresberichtsfrage zu erwählen die Herren Socin, Müller, Kuhn, Klatt, Kautzsch und Gildemeister. Der Vorschlag wird einstimmig angenommen'.

360 No correspondence with Klatt remains in the archives of DMG in Halle.

361 GILDEMEISTER (1884b: xxii).

362 GILDEMEISTER (1884: xix).

363 GILDEMEISTER (1884b: xxi, xxii-xxiii) mentions '[d]ie grosse Masse der Quellen aus denen der Bericht, abgesehen von der Autopsie, zu schöpfen ist (Journale, Gesellschaftsschriften, Buchhändlercataloge) [...]'.
364 FLEISCHER (1848: 447):

'Erklärung [...], dass Zeit und Kräfte eines [...] zur rechtzeitigen Ausarbeitung so umfassender und ausführlicher Berichte, zumal mehrere Jahre nach einander, auch bei dem besten Willen und der grössten Anstrengung nicht ausreichen [...] das schwer zu bewältigende bibliographische Material [...] [zu verarbeiten]'.

365 GOSCHE (1876: vi):

'Der riesenhafte Umfang solcher Arbeiten; die selten verstandene Schwierigkeit der Ausführung; der Mangel

‘The gigantic scope of such toil; the rarely understood difficulties of execution; the lack of real recognition for such achievements carried out on a slightly grander scale; the danger of being obliged to see cherished personal relations and general working conditions disturbed: these matters are not related to each other in any reasonable way’.

Because of the consistent lateness of their publication, the WJMS volumes provided merely an archival record of Oriental Studies, rather than functioning as up-to-date sources of information for cutting-edge research, as intended. In GOSCHE’s (1860: 135) words, they amounted to ‘arbitrarily and randomly delimited pieces of the history of a particular direction of inquiry’.³⁶⁶ GOSCHE (1868: i, 1878 / 1905: 1f.) twice compared his WJMS reports with the ‘brilliant’ *Rapport sur les travaux du conseil de la société asiatique*, which Ernest RENAN (1868 ff.),

an equally gifted writer, wrote annually for the *Journal Asiatique*. In two deeply ironic prefaces, reflecting his increasing level of desperation in the face of an unmanageable flood of new information, he noted that his friend Renan only reviewed literature published in France (from 1870 onward), whereas the WJMS covered all literature available, including ‘insignificant works’, due to the ‘bad habit of German scholars’ of seeking comprehensiveness, unavoidably in a more ‘arid style’, rather than focusing on specialised scholarship alone.³⁶⁷ Gosche was equally contemptuous of over-specialised scholarship, ‘conducted with blinkers’, without any concern for ‘larger perspectives’, such as those guiding his own contributions to the WJMS, which critics had denigrated as ‘encyclopaedic’.³⁶⁸ He consoled himself with the belief that all his efforts represented a ‘sacrifice’ presented by him to Oriental Studies, compared to which the ‘often admired reproductions of even fatuous Oriental manuscripts are entertaining

wirklicher Anerkennung für solche in etwas grösserem Stile dargebotenen Leistungen; die Gefahr, geschätzte collegialische und ganz allgemeine Verhältnisse verschoben sehen zu müssen: diese Dinge stehen in keinem irgend angemessenen Verhältnis zu einander’.

366 GOSCHE (1860: 135):

‘Die wissenschaftlichen Jahresberichte sind willkürlich und zufällig abgegrenzte Stücke der Geschichte einer besonderen Richtung des Erkennens’.

367 GOSCHE (1868: v):

‘Da ich fürchten muss, dass man diese Arbeit mit den meisterhaften Rapports unseres ausgezeichneten Ehrenmitgliedes in Paris vergleichen wird, so will ich ausdrücklich bemerken, dass meine Zusammenstellungen die möglichste Vollständigkeit erstreben, daher bisweilen zur trockensten Kürze herabsinken, und zweitens, dass der Berichterstatter der grossartigen und altberühmten Société asiatique in Paris lebt, wo das bedeutendste und seltenste Material zusammenströmt und ausserdem, in einem uns beschämenden Unterschiede von der üblen Gewohnheit deutscher Gelehrten, neben der Specialforschung Arbeiten allgemeinerer Tendenz als voll berechtigt gelten’.

GOSCHE ([1878] 1905: 1f):

‘Aber noch ein zweites habe ich zu beklagen. Wer jetzt Ernest Renan’s glänzende Jahresberichte zur Hand nimmt, bemerkt sofort neben der Vollendung der Form und dem Zauber der Sprache eine bewundernswürdige Sachlichkeit und Gründlichkeit, und vergisst gern die principielle Beschränkung des Berichtes auf Frankreich. Es ist das Verdienst verschiedener Collegen Renan’s, dass sie die Resultate und Anschauungen ihrer besonderen Fachwissenschaft in den Dienst dieses Meisters frappanter Gruppierung, geistvoller Combination und schöner Darstellung gegeben haben. Ich wünschte, dass ich, ein ungleich Bedürftigerer als mein Pariser Freund, ähnliche Beihülfe erfahren hätte’.

This alludes to the oblique remarks of RENAN (1870: 13-15) on the misrepresentation of the ‘science française’ in the WJMS, and his proposition of a

division of labour between the different Asiatic Societies, which should produce only reports on new research in their own country. The different annual reports would at the same time become more solid, avoid duplication, and complement each other to produce a more complete picture:

‘Or, tenons pour certain que les défauts dont nous sommes choqués en lisant les comptes rendus faits à l’étranger des travaux de l’école française, nous y tombons quand nous parlons en France des travaux faits à l’étranger. Toutes les fois qu’une société asiatique fera de ces rapports généraux, une seule partie du rapport aura une valeur solide: c’est la partie relative aux études du pays où la société est établie. J’estime donc, Messieurs, que, dans l’état actuel des études, le meilleur principe à suivre est que chaque société asiatique se borne à rendre compte des travaux qui se fond dans son cercle d’activité. En lisant des deux ou trois rapports de ce genre qui se publient en Europe, on aura le tableau complet de nos études’ (p. 14).

In contrast to his first Rapport, in which RENAN (1868: 41) highlighted the ‘infatigable’ WEBER’s (1866, 1867) pioneering study of the Bhagavati, in line with his new suggestion, RENAN (1870 ff.) started to focus entirely on publications in France. He bypassed, for instance, the important new findings on the history of Jainism by JACOBI (1879a), and also, of course, the work of KLATT (1873, 1879a, etc.), etc. Subsequently, the need for a division of labour would prompt the differentiation of disciplines and fields of study or sections, rather than an increased national focus of academic societies.

368 GOSCHE (1905: 1):

‘Nur in einem Punkte bin ich meiner früheren Arbeitsweise treu geblieben: die ausgewählten Einzelheiten unter grossen Perspektiven anzuschauen und zu gruppieren. Ich verbitte mir daher bei den Handwerkern der Wissenschaft ausdrücklich, diese Methode als “encyklopädisch” bezeichnen zu wollen: ich bekenne mit Stolz, dass mein Geschmack mehr dem Teleskop gilt als den Scheuklappen’.

and enjoyable amusements'.³⁶⁹ In contrast to his German colleagues, he showered praise on the 'superb' work of foreign booksellers, such as B. Quaritch in Strassburg, Ernest Leroux in Paris, and particularly Nicolas Trübner in London, whose *Trübner's American, European and Oriental Literary Record* he described as essential for his work. The *Catalogue de livres de linguistique* of the publishing house Maisonneuve & Cie in Paris was hailed by him as a veritable 'treasure-box' for the study of Oriental literature.³⁷⁰ In the end, however, Gosche decided to renounce his work for the WJMS, and dedicated himself exclusively to his own research and to journalism.

In his account of the history and fate of the WJMS, the causes of which he summarises in three points, J. GILDEMEISTER (1884) refers to a communication of Klatt, who favourably compared the JGW with the WJMS, which, in his view, could have only succeeded if it had been conceived as a collaborative production from the outset as well:

'If a scholar like Gosche, who is extraordinarily talented for this work and vividly interested, was not able to accomplish its timely appearance, then it must be in the nature of things. The same

phenomenon showed itself also in similar ventures, for example the Annual Report for the Science of History [JGW], which is after all redacted by a number of correspondents, as *Klatt* observes. As reasons appear: 1) the time is too short; 2) more and more the reports were expanded in the attempt to achieve absolute comprehensiveness, namely in the inclusion of reviews and small unimportant and dilettante products; 3) the disciplines and orientalist writings have undergone a quite different expansion beyond that which they had in 1845, as can be seen already from the number of pages which individual reports have required'.³⁷¹

GILDEMEISTER minutely described the painstaking efforts that a rapporteur, such as Gosche, had to undertake to be able to produce a comprehensive annual report on any area of Oriental Studies:

'Probably everyone will have an idea of how laborious and time-consuming the work of the rapporteur can be. Briefly: as far as possible he has to see books and treatises himself and take sufficient notice of the content; of those, which he cannot catch sight of, he has to get knowledge of

369 GOSCHE (1871: v-vi):

'Indess eine Trost für alle Mühen finde ich in der Selbstschätzung, welche man mir lassen wolle: ich glaube unserer Wissenschaft ein Opfer zu bringen, gegen welches die gern bewunderten Abdrücke selbst alberner morgenländischer Handschriften heitere und genussreiche Amusements sind'.

370 GOSCHE (1905: 2):

'In erster Linie dem trefflichen *Nic. Trübner* in London und der verwandtschaftlichen Filiale in Strassburg; ohne seinen 'Record' wäre ich in vielen Fällen rathlos geblieben. Dann hat mich Herr *B. Quaritch* durch exacte Zusendung seiner orientalischen Kataloge verpflichtet, welche mir nicht selten die erwünschtesten Einblicke in die ältere Fachliteratur gestatteten. Der Commissionsbuchhändler der ehrwürdigen Société Asiatique in Paris, Herr *Ernest Leroux*, hat mich durch die national-liebenswürdige Mittheilung mannigfacher bibliographischer Blätter und Kataloge zur morgenländischen Philologie erfreut. Von hohem Werthe waren mir neben diesen allen die Litteraturverzeichnisse, welche das Haus *Maisonneuve & Cie.* in Paris mit der anerkanntesten Liberalität verbreitet; das neueste Heft ihres 'Catalogue de livres linguistique' ist ein wahres Schatzkästlein morgenländischer Litteraturkunde. Je aufrichtigeren Dank ich über den Rhein und den Canal sende, um so mehr bedauere ich, mich meinen deutschen Landsleuten nicht im Geringsten verpflichtet bekennen zu dürfen, während ich sogar von freundlichen Sendungen aus Peking aufgesucht wurde. Wo überhaupt deutsches Interesse für die Arbeit meines Berichtes vorhanden war, bestand es mehr in einer kräftigen Neigung zu polizeilicher Eintreibung meiner litterarischen Rückstände. Nicht einmal das war zu

erreichen, dass die deutschen Orientalisten regelmässige Zusendungen von ihren Veröffentlichungen an die Bibliothek unserer Gesellschaft machten, welche so ihrer natürlichen Bestimmung gemäss ein Archiv der deutschen morgenländischen Wissenschaft und nebenher eine bequeme Grundlage für die wissenschaftlichen Jahresberichte geworden wäre. Der Berichterstatter der D. M. G., trotzdem dass er in dieser seiner Eigenschaft als ein organisches Mitglied des geschäftsleitenden Vorstandes gilt, blieb einsam und bei der litterarischen Mittellosigkeit einer Provinzial - Universität in morgenländischen Dingen darauf angewiesen, seine Notizen mühselig und sporadisch, wie ein Aehrenleser auf einem geizigen Stoppelfelde, mit Aufwand von Zeit und Kraft einzusammeln'.

371 GILDEMEISTER (1884: xxvii):

'Wenn ein für diese Arbeit so ausserordentlich begabter und so lebhaft interessirter Gelehrter, wie Gosche, das rechtzeitige Erscheinen nicht hat zu Stande bringen können, so muss das an der Natur der Sache liegen. Auch bei ähnlichen Unternehmungen z. B. bei dem Jahresbericht für Geschichtswissenschaft, der doch von einer Anzahl von Berichterstattern redigirt wird, hat sich, wie *Klatt* bemerkt, die gleiche Erscheinung gezeigt. Als Gründe erscheinen: 1) die Zeit ist zu kurz; 2) mehr und mehr haben sich die Berichte durch das Streben nach absoluter Vollständigkeit, namentlich in Anführung von Recensionen und kleinen unbedeutenden und dilettantischen Producten erweitert; 3) die Disciplinen und die orientalische Schriftstellerei haben eine ganz andere Ausdehnung erhalten, als sie 1845 hatten, was sich schon aus der Zahl der Seiten ersehen lässt, welche die einzelnen Berichte erfordert haben'.

from other sources, and additionally to produce excerpts over a long time from periodical writings of all kinds, catalogues etc., even from quite distant branches of science, which after all one has not at hand, but needs painstakingly to seek out; certainly the latter will be facilitated to some extent by the summaries of contents which some literary gazettes communicate of the published journals, but still only provisionally. This literature he has not all in front of him, but he must use it gradually, until he has reached a measure of completeness, which will nonetheless require continual supplementation. The like can actually only be accomplished at a central library, most easily in the case where the contributor himself has a position there, so that he can at once make use of everything at first hand. The collection is followed by summarizing and working up the material, for which one has hitherto determined that it should not be an arid enumeration, but should briefly evaluate the individual item and in appealing, vivid, entertaining form characterise the scientific advances. Gosche himself told us at a meeting that this part of the work, the written exposition, was for him the most difficult and time-consuming, and that was also the reason, why he desired a stenographer. This might have been one cause of the delay and the reason why he occasionally gave up the reporting (1867. 1875).³⁷²

Eventually, the commission supported Klatt's suggestion to give up the WJMS altogether, in favour of a comprehensive bibliography.³⁷³ Klatt argued that personal assessments of reviewers cannot

be fully relied upon anyway, and hence are less important than complete references to published reviews:

'Klatt declared himself in favour of a systematically structured bibliography. So also Socin. It should appear at least quarterly, encompassing in sections the books, articles and reviews, furnished with a register at the end of the year. [...] The text should be omitted: however convenient these judgments may be for provisional orientation, they are nevertheless made with a feeling of uncertainty'.³⁷⁴

The question as to whether the WJMS itself should be sustained in the form of a plain bibliography was not really seriously considered anymore in 1884, because it had been officially discontinued in 1882 (though the two final issues were only published in 1883 and 1885), and because two such bibliographies already existed, both supported by the DMG: Karl FRIEDERICI's (1877-84) well-established and popular *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (BO), and the 'Bibliographie' produced by Johannes KLATT (1884a) for the new *Literaturblatt für orientalische Philologie* (LoP) for the first time in 1884.

Karl Friederici's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 1877-84

In 1882, after his dissociation from the WJMS, Ernst Kuhn decided to start his own, less ambitious, annual review journal, the *Literaturblatt für orientalische Philologie*, to be published by Otto Schulze in Leipzig.³⁷⁵ His plan was to focus exclusively on philology, and to combine more specific review articles by area specialists, in the manner of the volumes of the WJMS that had been produced under his editorship,

372 GILDEMEISTER (1884: xxviii):

'Wie mühsam und zeitraubend die Arbeit des Berichterstatters sei, davon hat wohl jeder eine Vorstellung. Ich hebe kurz hervor: er hat Bücher und Abhandlungen möglichst selbst zu sehen und ausreichende Notiz von dem Inhalt zu nehmen; von denen, die er nicht zu Gesicht bekommen kann, aus anderen Quellen sich Kenntniss zu verschaffen, dazu eine lange Zeit aus periodischen Schriften aller Art, Catalogen u. dergl., selbst aus ganz fernliegenden Wissenschaftszweigen, die man doch nicht von selbst hat, sondern mühsam aufsuchen muss, Excerpte zu machen; etwas wird letzteres allerdings erleichtert durch die Inhaltsangaben, welche einige Literaturblätter von den erschienenen Journalen mittheilen, aber doch nur vorläufig. Diese Literatur hat er nicht auf einmal vor sich, sondern muss sie allmählich benutzen, ehe er es zu einer Vollständigkeit gebracht hat, die doch immer wieder Nachträge erfordert. Dergleichen lässt sich eigentlich nur an einer Centralbibliothek zu Stande bringen, am leichtesten in dem Falle, wenn der Referent an ihr selbst eine Stellung hat um alles gleich aus erster Hand nutzen zu können. Der Sammlung des Materials schliesst sich die

Zusammenfassung und Ausarbeitung an, für die man bisher festgehalten hat, dass sie nicht eine trockene Aufzählung sei, sondern kurz das Einzelne beurtheile und in ansprechender, lebhafter, unterhaltender Form die Fortschritte der Wissenschaft kennzeichne. Gosche selbst hat uns in einer Versammlung gesagt, dass dieser Theil der Arbeit, die schriftliche Darstellung, für ihn das Schwerste und Zeitraubendste sei, und das war auch die Veranlassung, weshalb er einen Stenographen wünschte. Es mag das mit ein Grund der Verzögerung gewesen sein und davon dass er einigemal (1867. 1875) die Berichterstattung niederlegte'.

373 Which goes back to A. Merx. See Footnote 358.

374 GILDEMEISTER (1884: xxxi):

'Für eine systematisch geordnete Bibliographie erklärt sich nude Klatt. Ebenso Socin. Sie solle wenigstens vierteljährlich erscheinen, in Rubriken die Bücher, Artikel und Recensionen umfassen, mit Register am Schluss des Jahres versehen sein. [...] Der Text soll wegfallen; so angenehm die Urtheile zu vorläufiger Orientierung sind, so sind sie doch in der Regel im Gefühl der Unsicherheit gefällt'.

375 See his report to DMG (1883: xix).

with a comprehensive annual bibliography. Schulze had already printed and disseminated K. FRIEDERICI's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (BO), in association with Nicholas Trübner in London, Ernest Leroux in Paris, and Bernhard Westermann in New York.³⁷⁶ This publication, a geographically structured bibliography of annual publications on 'the languages, religions, antiquities, literature and history of the East', had been compiled by the author, translator and editor Carl / Karl Friederici since 1877; in his own words, because until 1871 Gosche had not produced 'the long promised Yearly Report of the Deutsche Morgenl. Gesellschaft' for the years 1862-67,³⁷⁷ and had officially stopped reporting in 1875.³⁷⁸ Instead of the comprehensive annual review that the statutes of the DMG demanded, Friederici merely provided a plain bibliographic register of new publications in Oriental Studies. Like Trübner's Record, his BO was addressed at an international academic audience, and hence written in English, not in German.³⁷⁹ It provided, as far as possible, 'a complete list of books, papers, etc. on the various branches of Oriental research',³⁸⁰ published in 'Germany, England, France, and the [English] Colonies'. From the second volume onwards, the BO also offered an index. From 1880, that is, from the fourth volume onwards, it stopped listing literature on geography, like the WJMS in 1878, because of the overwhelming quantity of new publications, and became 'a register of linguistic publications only'.³⁸¹

In the spring of 1883, Kuhn once again approached Klatt, who had done excellent work for the WJMS, and, as Kustos at the Royal Library, enjoyed instant access to the latest books and journals, to invite him to participate in the production of the planned LoP. On 15 April 1883, Klatt replied, this time relatively enthusiastically, that such a journal seemed 'timely', and that he was certainly willing to collaborate. He stressed, however, that he had not the slightest experience in the business of editing, and was already stretched for time. This indicates that Kuhn had offered co-editorship to him. Klatt instead suggested that he contribute in a more modest way, with permission of Lepsius, on new acquisitions of the KBB or produce brief literature reports, either in the style of Caspar René Gregory (1846-1917), who wrote for Emil Schürer's (1844-1910) *Theologische Literatur-Zeitung* (TLZ, 1876-1918), or in the manner of the new *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie* (LGRP, 1880-1920), edited by Otto Behaghel (1854-1936) and Fritz Neumann (1854-1934).³⁸² Kuhn must have been very persuasive, however, because only a few days later, on 2 May 1883, Klatt agreed, on condition that he be not mentioned on the cover of the planned journal as co-editor, but only as collaborator, 'if my name has to be mentioned at all'.³⁸³ Yet, effectively he acted as co-editor of the LoP, in all but name, and was recognised as such by the general assembly of the DGM on 3 October 1884.³⁸⁴

376 Friederici adopted the title from ZENKER's (1840, 1846-1861) geographically more limited bibliography.

377 FRIEDERICI (1879: i).

378 The fragment was published as GOSCHE (1905).

379 Vol. 7-8 are officially bi-lingual, under a German title, but with the text in English.

380 FRIEDERICI (1878: i).

381 FRIEDERICI (1880: i).

382 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 15.4.1883):

'Berlin 15.4.1883

Sehr geehrter Professor,

Ihre Idee scheint mir sehr zeitgemäß, und ich bin zum Mitwirken selbstverständlich sehr geneigt, habe aber, wie Sie wissen, in Redaktionsgeschäften nicht die geringste Übung, bin auch in meiner Zeit sehr besetzt (von 9-2 Bibliotheksdienst, von 2-4 Journalzimmer, um für die Jahresberichte die Zeitschriften zu excerptieren, dann Mittagessen u.s.w., so daß ich meistens nicht vor 6 Uhr an für andere Arbeiten frei werde.) Ob ich daneben noch im Stande bin, in der Redaktion einer Zeitschrift mitzuwirken, werden Sie vielleicht besser beurtheilen können als ich, da ich in der That nicht weiß, wie viel Zeit und Mühe die Herausgabe eines monatlich oder öfter (?) erscheinenden Blattes in Anspruch nimmt. Jedenfalls stelle ich mich Ihnen zur Verfügung und werde mich freuen, an diesem neuen Unternehmen mitwirken zu können. Ich könnte über neue Erwerbungen der K. Bibliothek Mittheilungen machen, doch müsste ich erst Lepsius fragen, ob er es gestattet.

Ich könnte Literaturberichte geben, wie sie C. R. Gregory für die Theol[ogische] Lit[eratur]-Z[ei]tung liefert, oder wie sie in dem Literaturbl[att] f[ür] germ[anische] u[nd] rom[anische] Phil[ologie] sich finden. Jedenfalls hoffe ich in irgendeiner Weise an dem neuen Unternehmen theilhaftig sein zu können, und bitte ich sicher auf mich zu zählen.

Hochachtungsvoll

J. Klatt'.

383 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 21.4.1883).

384 At this meeting, the WJMS was finally abandoned, and the DMG resolved to financially support the LoP instead with an annual subsidy for published volumes, for two years to begin with, on condition that the DMG retained an editorial influence, and that special reports on individual disciplines would be retained, if possible, etc. (STRACK 1884: xviii):

'1. Die DMG. trifft mit dem von den HH. K u h n und K l a t t herausgegebenen Literaturblatt ein Uebereinkommen, wonach die Gesellschaft demselben eine Unterstützung von x Mark, zahlbar in zu vereinbarenden Raten n a c h Erscheinen von je x Heften, bewilligt. Die näheren Verhandlungen über die der Gesellschaft vom Verleger zu gewährende Gegenleistung bleiben dem geschäftsführenden Verbands überlassen. Die Unterstützung gilt zunächst für zwei Jahre.

2. Dem geschäftsführenden Vorstände steht ein Einfluss auf die Redaktion des Blattes zu'.

Although later he was paid 500 Taler for his work, initially Klatt rejected Kuhn's offer of an honorarium, which at this stage of negotiation for funding with the DMG would have come from Kuhn's own pocket. On 2 May 1883 he wrote to Kuhn:

'I have never aspired to collect mundane positions. Hence the question of an honorarium does not come into consideration for me, and I am in agreement'.³⁸⁵

This statement is one of the few surviving personal expressions of Klatt and offers a glimpse into the values that informed his exemplary work ethic, which could be described as a product of the secular ideals of *Bildung* and the so-called 'Prussian virtues', rather than any romantic idea associated with India.³⁸⁶

On 1 July 1883 Klatt started collecting bibliographical information, continuing until 15 August, broadly along the lines of his previous work for the JGW and the WJMS. He evidently worked throughout his holidays to complete a publishable portion of the bibliography, while Kuhn prepared the review articles from different contributors for publication. A chain of events was triggered in October 1883,³⁸⁷ when a sample copy, that is, the first issue of the first volume of the LoP, was produced, apparently intended for the 6th International Congress of Orientalists in Leyden 10-15 September 1883,³⁸⁸ to be widely circulated. On 23 September 1883 Kuhn also reported on the new publication to the General Assembly of the DMG.³⁸⁹ After the appearance of KLATT's (1884a) more extensive full 'Bibliographie' for the LoP, covering the period from October 1883 - September 1884, Friederici stopped pub-

lication of the BO, albeit with a heavy heart. He explains his reasons in the preface to the last volume of the BO:

'Since Dr. Klatt publishes in a most admirable manner in Prof. Kuhn's *Literatur-Blatt für orientalische Philologie* a list of the Oriental Literature there is no further need for me to continue my *Annual* however much I may regret being obliged to relinquish my task. - Perhaps I may eventually resume my work publishing it in volumes comprising the Literature of five years' (FRIEDERICI 1884: ii).³⁹⁰

The publication of the sample copy of the LoP on 1 October 1883 must have immediately provoked Friederici to abandon the BO, because already in November 1883 Otto Schulze, the publisher of the BO, offered Klatt to continue Friederici's bibliography in the same manner as the LoP, but with an additional index. Klatt seriously considered the offer, since Herman N. Almkvist (1849-1904), in an encouraging review of the sample,³⁹¹ came to the same conclusion as Schulze, namely, that Klatt's bibliography was identical to the BO in layout, structure, and detail, so that one might assume that it actually was the next volume of the BO. Yet, it had a greater scope. Though the contributions of the first issue were all in German, it accepted contributions in all 'four' main European languages of science. In his letter to Kuhn of 23 November 1883, Klatt highlights the reviewer's observation that the bibliography in the LoP contained 'all (sic) books that appeared in the year 1883' (and exceptionally also from 1882). Though Klatt was tempted to publish the bibliography independently, he decided to continue his collaboration with Ernst Kuhn, and to publish it as part of the LoP.³⁹²

385 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 2.5.1883): 'Irdische Plätze zu sammeln, darauf habe ich nie gestrebt. Daher kommt die Frage des Honorars für mich nicht in Betracht, und ich bin einverstanden'.

386 See also supra: WEBER's (Letter to Klatt 6.12.1875) appeal to 'joy', 'honour' and 'benefit to science', in his attempt to motivate Klatt for taking on the index for Böhlingk's *Indische Sprüche*.

387 GILDEMEISTER (1884: xxvi).

388 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 31.8.1883). On the basis of the distribution of the three parts of Klatt's bibliography in this first volume of the LoP, it might be inferred that pp. 1-42 was published in October 1883 as Part 1. Part 2 would have covered pp. 43-116, Part 3 pp. 117-380, and most likely a Part 4 pp. 381-476.

389 DMG (1883: xix).

390 FRIEDERICI's (1884: ii) introduction is both in English and in German:

'Seitdem Dr. Klatt in vorbildlicher Weise in Prof. Kuhn's *Literatur-Blatt für orientalische Philologie* die

Literatur zusammenstellt, fällt die Nothwendigkeit der Herausgabe weiterer Jahrgänge meiner Bibliotheca orientalis weg, wenn ich auch bedauern muss, von der mir nun liebgewordenen Arbeit ablassen zu müssen. - Vielleicht setze ich die Zusammenstellung in fünfjährigen Bänden fort'.

391 ALMKVIST (1883: 106f.).

392 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 23.11.1883):

'Anbei schicke ich Ihnen einen Brief von Herrn O. Schulze, betr[effend] die Biblioth[eca] orientalis, mit der Bitte um Rücksendung. Ich bin zwar geneigt, auf seinen Vorschlag einzugehen, da mir, soviel ich sehe, keine Arbeitsvermehrung daraus erwachsen wird, abgesehen etwa von der Anfertigung des Index, möchte aber erst Ihre Ansicht darüber hören, da dem L[iteratur-]B[latt] doch Abbruch geschehen könnte.

Da Sie die schwedische Recension in der Nordisk Revy nicht gesehen haben, wird es Sie vielleicht interessieren, näheres darüber zu erfahren. Es wird darin hervorgehoben, daß die Namen der Recensenten vollständig

In 1884, the DMG officially abandoned the WJMS and the BO in favour of E. Kuhn's new LoP. The motives for this decision are on record. But the reasons for disavowing the BO are less clear. The LoP was probably preferred, because it offered a compromise between the WJMS and the BO: the combination of a comprehensive bibliography with reports on selected new developments in 'Oriental Philology' by area specialists, whereas Friederici produced a bibliography only. Certainly, in terms of quality, Klatt's bibliography compared favourably with the BO; a fact, which Friederici instantly conceded, and which had prompted his swift withdrawal of the BO. GILDEMEISTER (1884) described the advantages of Klatt's bibliography as follows:

'However, now a novum interferes in the matter quite substantially, *Kuhn's Literaturblatt für Orientalische Philologie* [Literary Gazette for Oriental Philology], appearing since October 1883, which soon will have completed its first volume. It brings 1) for 1883 a complete bibliography from *Klatt's* hand, for an appraisal of which, *inter alia*, the 1883 volume of *Friederici's* (bibliography), which is about to terminate, will serve. While *Friederici* contains 1,573 items, this one offers 904 + 1,946 items and a richer, perhaps even definitive register of reviews; 2) reviews, which, though excellently worked, yet, since their number amounts to only forty-two until issue eleven, cover only individual manifestations and cannot offer an overview over the entire trend in literature, and 3) news and notices which, with

the regular monthly appearance that is intended but not as yet realised, can find a place here which a quarterly journal could not offer'.³⁹³

The only criticism of the LoP, reported by Gildenmeister and by Klatt himself in an earlier private letter to Kuhn,³⁹⁴ was the initial absence of an index of names, which *FRIEDERICI's* BO offered from the second volume onwards.³⁹⁵

After the cessation of *Friederici's* *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, which was published 1877-84, the second instalment of Klatt's bibliography adopted the vacated title 'Orientalische Bibliographie'.

(C) Literaturblatt für orientalische Philologie

The LoP abandoned the time-consuming production of comprehensive annual reviews in favour of a combination of detailed 'reviews and reports' of selected publications in Oriental philology, by invited experts, with a comprehensive bibliography of everything published on non-western 'language families', supplemented by 'obituaries' of important Orientalists, and 'miscellaneous communications'.³⁹⁶ Klatt published under the titles 'Bibliographie' (Vol. I) and 'Orientalische Bibliographie' (Vol. II-IV) four comprehensive annual bibliographies of new publications in Oriental Studies for the years 1883-86 (published 1884-88), including the periodical literature, comprising altogether 904 pages, and a name index for all four volumes.³⁹⁷ For his toil, he was paid 500 Reichsmark per annum by Kuhn, who was able to solicit support for the LoP from the DMG, be-

angegeben und ihre Orthographie respectirt würde. Die Recensionen könnten in einer der 4 Kultursprachen geschrieben werden, was auf Aussichten auf einen über ganz Europa ausgebreiteten Kreis von Mitarbeitern deute; indessen enthalte das vorliegende erste Heft nur deutsche Aufsätze. Darauf werden die im ersten Heft recensirten Werke der Reihe nach aufgezählt. Den Schluss bilde die orientalische Bibliographie, welche alle (sic) i[m] J[ahre] 1883 (und ausnahmsweise 1882) herausgekommenen Bücher enthalte.

Druck, Anordnung u[nd] sämmtliche Details seien so identisch mit *Friederici's* *B[i]bliotheca O[rientalis]*, daß man vermuthen könne, die Bibliographie sei bestimmt, den neuen Jahrgang der *B[i]bliotheca O[rientalis]* zu bilden. Zum Schluß resumirt er: der Inhalt des Probeheftes sei ebenso mannigfaltig wie die typographische Ausstattung geschmackvoll. Unterzeichnet ist: H. A. (Herm[an] Almkvist?)'.

393 GILDEMEISTER (1884: xxvi):

'Ganz wesentlich greift nun aber ein Novum in die Sache ein, das seit October 1883 erscheinende *Kuhn'sche Literaturblatt für Orientalische Philologie*, das bald seinen ersten Jahrgang vollendet hat. Es bringt 1) über 1883 eine vollständige

Bibliographie von Klatt's Hand, zu deren Würdigung ausser anderem auch eine Vergleichung mit der *Friederici'schen* künftig aufhörenden für 1883 dient. Während *Friederici* 1573 Nummern enthält, bietet dies 904 + 1946 Nummern und ein reicheres, ja vielleicht abschliessendes Recensionenverzeichnis; 2) Recensionen, die zwar vortrefflich gearbeitet sind, aber, da ihre Zahl bis Heft 11 bloss 42 beträgt, nur einzelne Erscheinungen betreffen und keine Uebersicht über die ganze Literaturbewegung geben können, und 3) Nachrichten und Notizen, die bei dem beabsichtigten bis jetzt noch nicht durchgeführten regelmässigen Erscheinen Monat für Monat hier eine Stelle finden können, die ihnen eine Vierteljahrschrift nicht bieten kann'.

394 Similarly: KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 23.11.1883).

395 GILDEMEISTER (1884: xxvi):

'Was noch zu wünschen gewesen wäre, ist ein Namensregister in der Art des *Friederici'schen*, das geringen Raum (5 Seiten im Jahrgang) einnimmt und für den Gebrauch sehr wesentlich ist'.

396 Each of the four volumes offer a slightly different sequence and labelling of the main sections.

397 KLATT (1884a, 1885d, 1887b, 1888a).

cause, after the demise of both the WJMS and Fiederici's BO in 1883,³⁹⁸ it was the only annual review in Oriental Studies in Germany that remained.³⁹⁹

The designation 'Literatur-Blatt für orientalische Philologie' had become deceptive, because the journal, and in particular Klatt's bibliography, covered not only new publications on historical and comparative linguistics, but also on anthropology, archaeology, art, epigraphy, history, etc. In the case of the LoP (as well as the BO), 'geographic coverage consisted of East Asia, South Asia, Central Asia, Australia and Oceania, Turkey, the Middle East and Africa'.⁴⁰⁰ Only the Americas, located in the 'west', were excluded. Otherwise, the term 'Orient' would have been synonymous with 'Non-European'.⁴⁰¹ The ideal of the LoP was full coverage of the literature on Africa, Asia and Oceania, although complete treatment of the Middle East, East Asia and South East Asia, and of the hypothetical 'ural-altaic languages' could never be realised, due to a lack of regular collaboration of area specialists.⁴⁰² These sections were, however, retained throughout all four volumes of the LoP; in contrast to the originally planned sections on American Languages (!), Albanian and Basque, which were dropped early on.⁴⁰³

The format of the publication changed over time. Most notably, the share of the bibliography relative to the review section was increasing from volume to volume. This was pointed out by BALAY (2000: 76) in his brief assessment of the LoP:

'Originally intended to publish reviews of books and reports of research relating to languages of East and South Asia, the Middle East (including Turkey, North Africa, and the Caucasus), and the

countries and islands of Southeast Asia and Oceania including Australia and New Zealand, to which a bibliography of books, academic publications, and journal articles would be appended. Gradually, the bibliography overwhelmed the reviews, first moving to a position at the beginning of each issue, and by v. 4 taking over the entire publication. Arranged by a classification, for which no outline is provided, but which moves from general studies to countries, linguistic regions, and individual languages (e.g. Sanskrit), so can be followed without difficulty. There is no list of periodicals, and no key to abbreviations. Monographs and articles are intermixed in the bibliography, and for articles full cites are given. An author index to the set is printed at the end of Bd. 4. In the first volume, the bibliography is called simply "Bibliographie", but thereafter "Orientalische Bibliographie".

The 'Oriental Bibliography' served primarily the pragmatic purpose of informing scholars specialising in Asian and African Studies of new book and periodical publications in as many languages as possible. The rationale underlying the bibliographic work and its methodology is well documented in the letters of Johannes Klatt to Ernst Kuhn, which are archived in Munich, along with other literary artefacts.⁴⁰⁴ In the summer of 1883, Klatt wrote to Kuhn, that he intended to 'generally' apply the same method that he employed for his own contributions for the JGW and the WJMS to the bibliography for the LoP, with roughly the same sections as in his reports for the WJMS. However, the scope of his new collection would be more extensive, because he intended to look immediately after their publication

398 The last volumes appeared in 1885 and 1884.

399 DMG (1887: xxii):

'[Re. 500 M. für August Müller's Orientalische Bibliographie,] Hr. Prof. K u h n bemerkt hierzu, dass Dr. K l a t t das Material für seine Bibliographie für das Jahr 1886 beisammen habe und dass der Verleger bereit sei dieselbe zu drucken unter der Bedingung, dass die Gesellschaft die bis jetzt ausgezahlten 500 M. auch für dieses Jahr bewilligte.

Hr. Prof. T h o r b e c k e beantragt nun für die K l a t t'sche Bibliographie für das Jahr 1886 wiederum 500 M. zu bewilligen unter der Bedingung, dass sein vollständiger Namenindex zu allen vier Bänden geliefert wird. Erst nach dessen Vollendung sind die 500 M. zahlbar. Dieser Antrag wird genehmigt'.

400 BAYAL (2000: 127).

401 PREISLER (1995: 263f.):

'Ohne die Besonderheiten der einzelnen Regionen und Kulturen zu unterschätzen oder gar zu ignorieren, ging man doch von einer gewissen Einheitlichkeit dieses außereuropäischen Gebietes aus'.

The constitution of the American Oriental Society, founded in 1842, defined "'Oriental" broadly, as embracing Asian, Near Eastern, African, and Polynesian languages and cultures' (ALTER 2005: 24f.). The DMG used the term 'Orient' similar, to designate 'die Kulturräume von Marokko bis Tokyo und von Ostafrika bis zum Kaukasus und Zentralasien' (VOIGT 1976: 167, Fn. 2).

402 Though ultimately it did not come to this (see KLATT 1885d), on one occasion KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 27.8.1883) suggested to drop entire sections because of their 'insufficient completeness':

'In letzterem Falle würde ich empfehlen, daß diesmal wegen ihrer geringen Vollständigkeit und aus anderen Gründen folg[ende] Abth[eilungen] ausfallen: Malayisch-polyn[esisch], China, Japan, Hinterindien, Tibet, Ural-altaisch, Türkisch, Palaestina u[nd] Syrien'.

403 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 9.11.1883):

'Ich würde empfehlen, ev[entuell] die Abth[eilungen] Amerikanische Sprachen, Baskisch u[nd] Alban[isch] fortzulassen'.

404 See KLATT, Letters to Ernst Kuhn 1881-91, published in FLÜGEL (2017).

through all the relevant journals to which the KBB had subscribed. Previously, he had restricted himself to fifty specialist journals only, and extracted information on other periodical publications from the lists of contents in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* (DLZ), on book publications from the accession catalogues of the KBB, and for books written in German language⁴⁰⁵ from published bibliographies, such as the *Allgemeine Bibliographie für Deutschland* (ABD), known as *Hinrichs'sche Bibliographie*. Within sub-sections, books and articles would now be listed in alphabetical order. A new second section for reviews would also be arranged alphabetically, according to the name of the reviewed author.⁴⁰⁶ In the end, Klatt listed the reviews underneath each reviewed publications.

Although it was presented in a disjointed form, in instalments, PISCHEL (1888: 287) rated already the first of his four bibliographies for the LoP as 'exemplary'. Klatt's most comprehensive bibliography, in Volume III, had an enormous scope. It was arranged under the following mainly geographical, linguistic and thematic headings (in German), often covering bibliographic information on highly diverse subjects. His main focus was evidently the literature on the Indian subcontinent, in which he himself specialised.⁴⁰⁷

General
Bibliography
Journals
General linguistics
Writing
General literature
History, Ethnography, Mythology etc.
Malayan-Polynesian language region
 Malayan languages
 Malakka
 Phillippines
 Formosa
 Madagascar
 Polynesia

New-Guinea
New-Holland and Tasmania
China
 Language and literature
 History, Religions etc.
Japan
 Language and literature
 History etc.
Korea
Aino
Indo-China (Hinterindien)
Andamans and Nicobars
Tibet
Central-Asia
North-Asia
Ural-Altaic languages and peoples
Osmanic
Turkey
Indogermanic
 Comparative grammar
 Comparative mythology, origin etc.
India
 Obituaries
 Bibliographies
 Sanskrit
 Indian editions of Sanskrit texts
 Anthologies
 Astrological texts
 Biographies
 Dramas
 Grammatical texts
 Jaina scriptures⁴⁰⁸
 Medicinal texts
 Philosophical texts
 Poetry
 Purāṇas
 Religious texts
 Religious texts (hymns)
 Dictionaries
 Journals

405 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 2.8.1883):
 'Für deutsche Bücher ist meine Quelle die Allg[emeine]
 Bibliogr[aphie] f[ür] Deutschl[and]
 (Hinrichs)'.

406 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 14.8.1883):
 'Berlin 14.8.83
 Sehr geehrter Herr Professor !
 Den Leihschein habe ich an Dr. Rost geschickt und werde
 das Buch heut oder morgen ebenfalls zurück schicken. Mit
 der Bibliographie habe ich am 1. Aug[ust] abschließen
 müssen, da an diesem Tage der Journalzimmerbeamte
 seinen Urlaub angetreten hat. Die Buchhändler, von denen
 wir Journale kaufen, stellen während der nächsten 4 Monate
 ihre Lieferungen ein; die Pflichtexemplare aus Preußen
 kommen allerdings an, bleiben aber unausgepackt liegen.
 Ich gedenke in der Bibliographie ungefähr dieselben
 Unterabtheilungen zu machen, wie sie in dem Jahres-

ber[ichten] der DMG gemacht sind, innerhalb der einzelnen
Abtheilungen aber die Bücher und Abhandlungen
alphabetisch nach Autoren zu ordnen, da eine
alphabetische Ordnung ja meistens für den Benutzer das
Bequemste ist. Außerdem müsste ich eine zweite Ab-
theilung "Recensionen" machen, ohne Unterabtheilun-
gen, alphabetisch nach den Namen der recensierten
Autoren. Mit dieser Eintheilung und mit der Abschrift
werde ich wohl mehrere Tage zu thun haben.
Hochachtungsvoll
J. Klatt'.

407 The other three volumes were arranged in a similar way.
The multi-leveled nature of the headings is only subtly
indicated through the use of different fonts.

408 KLATT (1887b: 123f.) has Jacobi's translations of
'Jaina-Sūtras I' under the section 'Prakrit' rather than
under 'Jaina scriptures'.

Indian languages
 Ethnography
 Inscriptions, coins, art
 Religions
 History etc.
 Old-Iran. Avesta
 New-Iran. Persian
 Oriental editions of Persian texts
 Afghanistan and Beluchistan
 Kafiristan. Pamir
 Armenian
 Countries of the Caucasus
 Asia Minor
 Cyprus
 Semitic⁴⁰⁹
 Cuneiform inscriptions
 Mesopotamia. Kurdistan
 Phoenicians. Carthage
 Palestine and Syria
 Hebrew
 Old Testament. History of Israel
 Rabbinica and Judaica
 Aramaic
 Arabic. Islam
 Oriental editions of Arabic texts
 Egypt
 Coptic
 Africa

Johannes Klatt's work routine and the end of the *Literaturblatt*

In his letters to Kuhn, Klatt frequently describes his duties at the KBB and working routine, as well as the obstructions, which he regularly faced, to explain the frequent delays of his submissions. The standard method of producing a report or bibliography was to look through journals, books and catalogues, to collect references and to compose brief excerpts of relevant publications and reviews. For this purpose slips of paper were used. These slips were sorted, numbered, and the final text transcribed in neat handwriting and sent to the publishers,⁴¹⁰ often in separate instalments. Proofs would then be returned, also in separate instalments. Klatt worked in a meticulous way and produced near faultless scripts, in clearly legible handwriting, in order to avoid spending additional time at the proofs stage. The second proofs by Kuhn, he stated once, should only take 'five minutes'.⁴¹¹ More troublesome was often the demand to meet the agreed page limit. Klatt's attempt to introduce a system of abbreviation and numbering for the bibliographies of the LoP was not accepted by the publishers. His suggestion, to save space by dropping numbering of entries altogether, however, was evidently implemented.⁴¹²

Klatt habitually produced excerpts immediately after the delivery of a relevant journal or book to the KBB, and hence was generally able to deliver annual

409 A mixed category covering reports on archaeology, epigraphy, language and history.

410 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 23.8.1883):
 'Berlin 23.8.83

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor !

Ich war gerade im Begriff, den Anfang des Ms. an Sie zu senden, als ich Ihre Karte erhielt, die mich sehr beunruhigt hat. Ich dachte die Bibliographie käme erst, wenn alles Übrige gedruckt ist, und würde dann bei meiner deutlichen Handschrift schnell in Satz und Correctur beendet sein. Sie schreiben, die Sache habe etwas Eile; ich schließe daraus, daß es noch nicht sehr eilig ist. Sonst müßte ich gerade die Zettel numeriren und an die Druckerei schicken. Es sind c. 1000 Titel von Büchern und Abhandlungen, und 250 Recensionen. Daraus läßt sich der Umfang wohl ungefähr abschätzen. In den letzten Tagen beschäftigte ich mich damit, noch einiges nachzutragen. Auch jetzt fehlen mir noch die letzten Nummern von Rev[ue] de Ling[ui]stique] (Apr[il]), I[n]dian] Ant[iquary] (Juni), Amer[ican] Journ[al] of Philol[ogy], Sat[urday] Rev[iew] u.s.w. Diese werde ich wohl fortlassen müssen und fahre einstweilen in der Abschrift der Zettel fort. Ich bitte mich zu benachrichtigen, ob noch Zeit genug ist, diese zu beenden, oder ob ich die Zettel an die Druckerei schicken muß. Letzteres könnte wenige Stunden nach Eintreffen Ihrer Nachricht geschehen.

Ich habe jetzt Urlaub von der Bibl[iothek]. Und kann mich den ganzen Tag mit der Sache beschäftigen.

Hochachtungsvoll

J. Klatt'.

411 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 5.9.1883):

'Die Correctur wird wohl auch zu spät gekommen [sein]. Andernfalls wollte ich Sie bitten, die zweite Correctur, die ja höchstens 5 Minuten in Anspruch nimmt, für mich zu übernehmen'.

412 In this respect, the LoP differs from the OB. See KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 9.11.1883):

'Ich widme dieser Sache ohnehin schon enorm viel Zeit und habe mit den Kürzungen viele Stunden zugebracht, ganz überflüssiger Weise! Eine solche Rücksichtslosigkeit seitens einer Druckerei ist mir wirklich noch nicht vorgekommen. Durch die Kürzungen wären nicht weniger als 200 Zeilen also 4 Druckseiten erspart worden, wie Sie aus dem beil[iegenden] Blatte entnehmen werden. Die Kürzungen hätten ermöglicht, innerhalb des für die Bibliographie verabredeten Raumes zu bleiben, während jetzt wohl wieder nicht das Ganze wird gedruckt werden können (es sind nach meiner Schätzung 44 Seiten). Ich würde empfehlen, ev[entuell] die Abth[eilungen] Amerikanische Sprachen, Baskisch u[nd] Alban[isch] fortzulassen. Jetzt, wo ich den Umfang der Zeilen kenne, werde ich die w[esentlichen]. Kürzungen schon im Manusc[ri]pt angeben, was der Druckerei auch nicht unangenehm sein wird.

Auch auf meinen Wunsch, die fortlaufenden Nummern nachträglich einzufügen, ist die Druckerei nicht eingegangen. Etwa 250 Titel sind mit a b c d u.s.w. bezeichnet, und es wäre vielleicht besser, die laufenden Nummern künftig wegzulassen, bes[onders] da sie auch manchmal 1 Zeile kosten, vgl. 797'.

reports on time, though with increasing difficulty.⁴¹³ In 1883, as mentioned before, Klatt decided no longer to restrict himself, as previously, to about fifty journals and extracted information on other periodical publications from the lists of contents in the DLZ, but to personally look through all journals kept by the KBB. For bibliographical information on independent publications, such as new books, Klatt relied mainly on the accession catalogues of the KBB, which in part were produced by himself, and on the book-lists and catalogues of publishers, book-sellers, and review journals. Information on books written in German language he took mainly from published bibliographies such as the ABD.⁴¹⁴ In his letters to Ernst Kuhn, he also mentions Friedrich August Wilhelm MÜLDENER's *Bibliotheca philologica* (1849-98),⁴¹⁵ and Max ROEDER's *Deutsche Literaturzeitung für Kritik der internationalen Wissenschaft* (1880-85), and other review journals that were commonly used at the time. Most important for his work, as for the annual reviewers for the DMG,⁴¹⁶ were the catalogues of the booksellers N. TRÜBNER (1865-79, etc.), especially *Trübner's American, European and Oriental literary record*. Catalogues from India that were not available in Berlin, such as the *Bengal Library Catalogue of Books*, an Appendix to *The Calcutta Gazette*, he frequently received on loan from Reinhold Rost at the India Office in London, with whom he maintained regular contact.⁴¹⁷

Klatt usually began to collect bibliographical data after his four-week-long annual holiday, which he preferred to take from around 11 May until 11

June,⁴¹⁸ for a period of six to ten weeks until beginning or mid-August, and continued his work after the end of the official holidays of the KBB in mid-September for another two months.⁴¹⁹ One of the main problems was that during the official holidays of the KBB (mid-August till mid-September) the keeper of the journals was absent and the journals were inaccessible.⁴²⁰ Booksellers, from whom the Royal Library acquired periodicals, stopped sending them for four months until 1 November. Statutory copies of new books published in Prussia were delivered during the summer, but not unwrapped. For the first volume of the LoP, Klatt took therefore all necessary notes before 1 August, and then spent his entire annual holidays elaborating his bibliographies.⁴²¹ The aim was to publish the review of the previous year in the autumn of the next.⁴²² Sometimes, Klatt also took his annual holidays from 1 August. But more often he used the quiet period in the summer to work on his own projects. Klatt calculated his work-load for the LoP as follows. Since in the first week of June 1883 he was able to collect 75 bibliographical references and 1 review for Volume I of the LoP, he could expect to collect about 700 references altogether in the 9 week period until mid-August, provided that he could keep on working continuously at the same pace.⁴²³ By September of the same year his optimism had grown, and he anticipated to collect 500 references and related reviews in the four week period between 15 September and 15 October 1883, that is, 125 references per week.⁴²⁴

413 KLATT (Letters to Kuhn 4.2.1881, 2.6.1883).

414 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 2.6.1883). See Footnote 425. KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 2.8.1883): 'Für deutsche Bücher ist meine Quelle die Allg[emeine] Bibliogr[aphie] f[ür] Deutschl[and] (Hinrichs)'. On the ABD, see ROST & ROST (1898).

415 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 5.6.1882).

416 See page 64.

417 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 25.11.1881). The BLCB was edited by John ROBINSON (1874-1930). On R. Rost, who was Librarian to the India Office 1869-93, see WEISE (1897).

418 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 8.5.1882).

419 KLATT (Letters to Kuhn 5.9.1883, 9.11.83): 'Meine Arbeit für Heft 2 des L[iteratur]-B[latts] ist nun beinahe zu Ende, und ich werde wohl sofort an das Recensionsverzeichnis gehen müssen'.

420 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 2.6.1883): '[D]ie in den Bibliotheksferien (Mitte Aug[ust] bis Mitte Sept[ember]) einlaufenden Journale bleiben unausgepackt liegen'.

KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 14.8.1883): 'Mit der Bibliographie habe ich am 1. Aug[ust] abschließen müssen, da an diesem Tage der Journalzimmerbeamte seinen Urlaub angetreten hat. Die Buch-

händler, von denen wir Journale kaufen, stellen während der nächsten 4 Monate ihre Lieferungen ein; die Pflichtexemplare aus Preußen kommen allerdings an, bleiben aber unausgepackt liegen'.

421 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 23.8.1883): 'Ich habe jetzt Urlaub von der Bibl[iothek] und kann mich den ganzen Tag mit der Sache beschäftigen'.

422 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 31.8.1883) mentions the aim to complete Vol. I of the LoP for the 6th International Congress of Orientalists, Leyden 10-15 September 1883. The full text was published only one year later (cf. KLATT 1884a), but a sample copy of 'Issue I', dated 1 October 1883 (ALMKVIST 1883: 106), seems to have been circulated already at the congress (KLATT, Letter to Kuhn 23.11.1883).

423 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 25.6.1883): 'Auf Ihren Wunsch habe ich am 1. Juni zu sammeln angefangen und in der ersten Wochen 75 Titel u[nd] Recensionen gesammelt. In den noch übrigen 8 Wochen bis Mitte Aug[ust] in derselben Weise fortzufahren, würde es gegen 700 Nummern ergeben, wozu allerdings noch einiges (Geographisches, Reise-, Missionsliteratur) wieder ausgedeutet werden müsste'.

424 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 5.9.1883):

His daily work routine was arduous. He describes it in a letter to Ernst Kuhn from 2 June 1883:

‘From 9-2 service at the library, from 2-4 journal room, in order to excerpt the journals for the annual reviews [JGW], then lunch etc., so that I usually will not be free for other work before 6 o’clock’.⁴²⁵

After the obligatory five hours work at the library, more or less the entire afternoon, after lunch, was spent on excerpting journals. Most of his academic writing and research he could only accomplish ‘in the few evening hours’.⁴²⁶ In Klatt’s letters to Kuhn, which often lament his lack of time, explicit references to psychological strain are first mentioned in a communication from 14 February 1882, at a time when Klatt wrote annual reviews both for the JGW and the WJMS.⁴²⁷ More explicit is the letter from 23 March 1885, in which Klatt announces his intention to withdraw from the LoP.⁴²⁸

‘Nevertheless, I fear I will have to give up the production of the bibliography at the end of 85, with consideration to mental health. During the

office hours at the Library I have bibliographical work, then at home again the same work – in the long run this is unsustainable. The material is so vast, that I can hardly cope, not to mention work on something else besides it. Ever new resources for the bibliography are opening up due to the acquisition of new journals and books, etc., mostly arranged by myself’.

On 4 June 1887, Klatt had finished the bibliography for 1885 and sent it to the printers.⁴²⁹ A few weeks later, in a letter from 19 July 1887, he declared to Ernst Kuhn that his interest in the bibliography, for which he had previously worked eagerly, was now ‘entirely extinguished’. He wrote that he desired to terminate his involvement immediately, but offered still to complete the bibliography for the year 1886 (KLATT 1888a), for which he had already collected 2,500 references, in view of the agreement that might be struck with August Müller,⁴³⁰ who had committed to produce the *Orientalische Bibliography* as an independent publication for the year 1887, and onward, for the foreseeable future.⁴³¹

‘Von Mitte Sept[ember] bis Mitte Oct[ober] würde ich wieder 500 Titel und entsprechend Recensionen zusammenbringen’.

425 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 2.6.1883).

‘2.6.1883

Sehr geehrter Herr Prof.!

Ihren Wünschen gemäß werde ich am 1. Juli die Sammlungen beginnen, und werde dabei wohl im Allgemeinen dasselbe Verfahren wie bei meinen Sammlungen für die Jahresber[ichte] d[er] Geschichtswiss[enschaft] u[nd] d[er] DMG anwenden können. Nur möchte ich (ob es ausführbar sein wird, weiß ich noch nicht) sämtliche auf d[er] Bibl[iothek] gehaltenen Journale sogleich nach dem Erscheinen selbst durchsehen, während ich mich bisher auf ca. 50 Fachzeitschr[iften] beschränkte und für die übrigen Journale die in der DLZ gegebenen Inhaltsverzeichnisse durchsah. Für die selbstständigen Publicationen bin ich auf unsern Accessionskatalog u[nd] die gedruckten Bibliographien angewiesen. Die Titel der in Preußen erschienenen Bücher werde ich im Allgemeinen nach der Hinrichs’schen Bibliogr[aphie] geben müssen, da die Pflichtexempl[are] von den Buchhändlern manchmal erst spät eingeliefert werden, die in den Bibliotheksferien (Mitte Aug[ust] bis Mitte Sept[ember]) einlaufenden Journale bleiben unausgepackt liegen. Während dieser Zeit bin ich außerstande meine Bibliographie zusammenstellen.

Hochachtungsvoll

J. Klatt’.

426 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 6.3.1884):

‘Obgleich ich von Anfang an alles für den Drucke einrichte, ist bei der schließlichen Zusammenstellung doch noch mancherlei zu thun; das bloße Sortieren der Zettel nimmt viele Tage in Anspruch. Jeden Tag nach Beendigung der Bibliothekszeit habe ich die neu angekommenen Journale und Bücher durchzusehen.

Diese Arbeit kann nicht ausgesetzt werden, da ich, wie ich aus Erfahrung weiß, etwas vorläufig bei Seite gelassenes später nicht mehr aufholen kann. So bleiben mir nur die paar Abendstunden für die schließliche Zusammenstellung der Bibliogr[aphie]’.

427 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 14.4.1882):

‘Ich werde mich mit dem Jahresbericht möglichst beilegen. Bisweilen überkommt mich die Furcht, dass ich mir doch zu viel aufgeladen habe. 3 Schriften für die Jahresber[ichte] der Geschichtswiss[enschaft], Altindien, Neuindien, Islam – letztere von mir abzuwälzen ist mir leider noch nicht gelungen. Die betreff[enden] 3 Herrn Redacteurs haben mich auch schon wiederholt gemahnt’.

428 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 23.3.1885):

‘Trotzdem fürchte ich, werde ich zu Ende 85 die Anfertigung der Bibliographie aufgeben müssen, mit Rücksicht auf die geistige Gesundheit. Während der Dienststunden auf der Bibliothek habe ich bibliographische Arbeit, darauf zu Hause wieder dieselbe Arbeit – das ist auf die Dauer nicht auszuhalten. Der Stoff ist so groß, daß ich ihn kaum bewältigen, geschweige denn etwas anderes daneben arbeiten kann. Immer neue Hilfsquellen für die Bibliographie eröffnen sich durch die meist von mir selbst veranlaßte Anschaffung neuer Zeitschriften und Bücher u.s.w’.

429 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 25.6.1887).

430 Klatt’s choice of words suggests that it might not have been clear at this stage, whether Müller would join the LoP or start a new publication on his own, which finally happened.

431 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 19.7.1887):

‘Berlin 19.7.87

Sehr geehrter Herr Prof.!

Ebenso eifrig, wie ich früher für die Bibliographie gearbeitet habe, ebenso ist mein Interesse für dieselbe jetzt

After Klatt's announcement of his withdrawal, the LoP had no real future, and Ernst Kuhn decided to terminate the publication, after the appearance of Vol. IV in 1888. Without Klatt, Kuhn was unable, and maybe unwilling, to continue the production of the LoP. While funding problems may have been one of the causes leading to the discontinuation of the widely appreciated publication, and Klatt's workload another, a third reason must have been that Klatt, who had married in 1887, wanted to free up time for the *Jaina-Onomasticon*, his new main academic project. According to LEUMANN (1894), Klatt had started the project already in 1882, certainly by 1884,⁴³² although Klatt mentioned this to Kuhn only once, in his penultimate letter of 8 March 1891.⁴³³ At the time, few scholars were better placed and informed than Klatt on the state of the art in Asian Studies, and in Sanskrit Philology in particular. Hence it was noted with regret that Klatt had ended his successful collaboration with Ernst Kuhn. In 1887, Kuhn publically announced the termination of the LoP after Volume IV, and the agreed continuation of the *Orientalische Bibliographie* as an independent publication under the editorship of August Müller.⁴³⁴ In a Postface to Volume IV of the LoP, J.

KLATT and E. KUHN (1888b: 223) officially handed the *Orientalische Bibliographie* over to August Müller, who had already started collating bibliographical references for the years 1887 and 1888, and was able to issue the first volume of the *Orientalische Bibliographie* (OB) in the same year 1888.

Orientalische Bibliographie 1888-1928

The first five volumes of the *Orientalische Bibliographie*⁴³⁵ were edited by Ernst Kuhn's friend, and prior collaborator on the WJMS, the Semitist August Müller (1848-1892) of the University of Königsberg (from 1890: Halle), beginning in 1888 until his death in the year 1892, covering the years 1887-91 (Vol. I-V). Thereafter, Lucian Milius Scherman (1864-1946) took over, a former student of Ernst Kuhn, who edited the *Orientalische Bibliographie* from 1894-1928.⁴³⁶ The OB was a straight extension of Klatt's *Orientalische Bibliographie*. But it was published as an independent periodical, in four annual instalments, to speed up the process of publication. It offered plain lists of new, continuously numbered publications on Asia and Africa, in all languages, but mainly in German and French, with added infor-

vollständig erloschen, und es wäre mir sehr erwünscht, wenn ich nur noch die Correctur der Bibliographie f[ür] 1885 zu erledigen brauchte und damit die Sache abgethan wäre. Ich würde daher, wenn dieses Arrangement auch in Ihrem und H[err]n Sch[ulze]'s Interesse läge, gern zustimmen.

Da indessen A[ugust] Müller erst mit 1887 anfängt und ich selbst für 1886 schon rund 2500 Nummern gesammelt habe, und namentlich mit Rücksicht auf Ihre und H[err]n O[tto] Sch[ulze]'s Beiträge, erkläre ich mich bereit, die Aufarbeitung der Bibliographie für 1886 noch zu übernehmen.
Hochachtungsvoll
J. Klatt'.

432 LEUMANN (Nachlass Notebook 135, p. 1 [see PLUTAT 1998: 32]).

433 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 8.3.1891).

434 The decision was announced in the CfB. See HARTWIG (1887: 474):

‘Mit Bedauern wurde es vernommen, dass die von Dr. J. Klatt in Kuhns Litteratur-Blatt veröffentlichte *orientalische Bibliographie* mit dem Ende des Jahres 1886 eingehen sollte. Jetzt kündigt die Verlagsbuchhandlung von H. Reuther in Berlin eine Fortsetzung derselben an. Dieselbe wird unter Mitwirkung von A. Bezzenberger, H. L. Strack, Joh. Müller und C. Vollers von dem bereits durch seinen Katalog der Bibliothek der Deutsch-morgenländischen Gesellschaft rühmlichst bekannten Prof. A. Müller herausgegeben werden und in vierteljährlichen Heften erscheinen. Das erste derselben, das im October d. J. zur Ausgabe gelangen soll, wird bereits die Bibliographie der Monate Januar-März 1887 enthalten. Die Bibliographie soll alles umfassen, was sich auf Volkstum, Religion, Sitten

und Gebräuche, Sprache, Litteratur und Geschichte der Völker Asiens, Oceaniens und Africas bezieht; besonderes Gewicht soll auf die Verzeichnung der im Orient selbst gedruckten Litteratur gelegt werden. Der Preis für den Jahrgang ist auf 6 Mk. festgesetzt’.

435 PISCHEL's (1888: 287) review of the first volume of the OB illuminates the historical context informing this new publication:

‘Ueber den bisherigen Versuchen ein Bild von der Entwicklung der weitverzweigten orientalischen Studien zu geben, hat ein eigener Unstern gewaltet. Die Wiederaufnahme der lange ins Stocken geratenen Jahresberichte der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft hatte das Ergebniss, dass allmählich die Berichte über 1876-1881 erschienen, der letzte erst 1885. Das 1883 gegründete *Literaturblatt für orientalische Philologie* brachte die mustergiltige Bibliographie von Dr. Klatt. Ein vierter Band mit der Bibliographie für 1886 ist in Aussicht gestellt; dann wird das Blatt aufhören zu erscheinen. Es war die Ursache gewesen, dass die *Bibliotheca orientalis* von Karl Friederici, die seit 1876 veröffentlicht wurde, 1883 leider einging. So war von 1887 an das Feld frei und die von A. Müller gegründete *Orientalische Bibliographie*, deren 1. Heft nun vorliegt tritt in die Lücke ein.

Was allen ihren Vorgängerinnen hauptsächlich zum Nachtheil gereichte, die Verspätung des Erscheinens, sucht die neue Bibliographie durch eine besondere Organisation zu vermeiden, und das pünktliche Erscheinen des 1. Heftes kann als ein gutes Zeichen für die Zukunft angesehen werden’.

436 On Scherman, see WILHELM (2005).

mation on salient reviews under the heading 'Recensionen'. The last of the four annual issues included an alphabetical index of authors.⁴³⁷ The scope and the headings of the bibliography mirrored the format of Klatt's *Orientalische Bibliographie*. However, the sources of information for each sub-section were not clearly identified. Additionally, a multi-leveled listing of the sections was introduced, and more subtle changes, such as the replacement of Klatt's heading 'Indogermanisch' (with sub-headings such as Comparative Grammar, Comparative Mythology, Place of Origin, etc.), with the heading 'Indogermanen' (1. General, 2. India, etc.). August Müller worked with a team of regional experts, several of whom were working in Berlin, some at the KBB. For the first volume⁴³⁸ Adalbert Bezzenberger (1851-1922) (Königsberg),⁴³⁹ Hermann Leberecht Strack (1848-1922) (Berlin),⁴⁴⁰ Johannes Müller (1850-1919) (Berlin),⁴⁴¹ Karl Vollers (1859-1909) (Berlin), and Théodoor Charles Lion Wijnmalen (1841-1895) (Leiden?) were listed as collaborators. Due to a lack of regional expertise, much less information on India was included than in the LoP. The main loss from the point of view of the reader and the DMG, however, was the termination of the annual reviews.

12. Klatt as biographer of Orientalists 1882-83 and 1889

Collating annual reviews and bibliographies was not the only extra-ordinary work which Klatt engaged in. In 1881, Ernst Kuhn asked Klatt whether he would on his behalf also be prepared to write a biographical entry for the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (ADB), on the Orientalist, explorer and polymath Julius Klaproth (1783-1835). Klaproth was the

founding (co-) editor of the *Asiatisches Magazin* in Weimar (established 1802), one of the first academic journals concentrating exclusively on Asia (as part of the 'Orient'),⁴⁴² and of the *Journal Asiatique* in Paris (established 1822). One reason for requesting Klatt to accomplish the task was that he had access to all of Klaproth's publications.⁴⁴³ Klaproth had been born and raised in Berlin, and was occasionally supported by local academic institutions and other patrons, including King Friedrich Wilhelm III. He was also well connected with the KBB, and had, in 1822, produced a catalogue of the manuscripts and books at the KBB that were written in Chinese and Manchu.⁴⁴⁴ The resulting bio-bibliographical review and critical assessment of Klaproth's vast and multi-faceted work by KLATT (1882c: 51-60) is a masterful account, which recommended Klatt for future work for the ADB.

In his next assignment, on Christian Lassen (1800-1876), the Norwegian pupil and successor of August Wilhelm v. Schlegel (1767-1845) on the Chair for Sanskrit at the University in Bonn, and 'founder of the Science of Indian Antiquity', KLATT (1883a: 784-8) contrasts the 'critical-historical school' of Sanskrit philology in Bonn (Schlegel, Lassen) with the 'comparative linguistic school' in Berlin (Humboldt, Bopp).⁴⁴⁵ In this, he followed more or less Lassen's self-presentation in the preface to the first edition of his eight-volume work *Indische Alterthumskunde*.⁴⁴⁶ De facto the lines of divisions were not that clear-cut.⁴⁴⁷ Klatt's own teacher A. Weber studied in Breslau with Stenzler (1842-3), himself a student of both Schlegel and Bopp, spent one year with Lassen in Bonn (1844), and one term with Bopp in Berlin (1845). Weber's interest in the

437 See also BALAY (2000: 127f.).

438 MÜLLER (1888a).

439 On Bezzenberger, see SELLE (1955).

440 On Strack, see DAHM (1996).

441 On Johannes Müller, Custos at the KBB, see HARTWIG & SCHULZ (1884a: 25):

'Neunter C u s t o s Dr. phil. Joh. M ü l l e r, ev., geb. 24. Febr. 1850, stud. Theologie und Philologie, 15. Sept. 1874 eingetreten, 1. Okt. 1880 Custos'.

442 MANGOLD (2004: 44).

443 See KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 3.6.1881).

444 Published in Paris: KLAPROTH (1822).

445 KLATT (1883a):

'Neben der kritisch-historischen Schule der Sanskrit-philologie, deren Sitz Bonn war, bestand damals die sprachvergleichende Schule, die in Berlin ihren Sitz und in Bopp ihren Repräsentanten hatte'.

446 LASSEN (1847, in 1867/1968 vol. 1: v-vi).

447 The contrast in approach, of which Klatt speaks as of the past, became an apple of contention between competing 21st century interpretations of the history of 'Indology'. According to GRÜNENDAHL (2012: 43f.), this is due to sociological over-interpretation. MANGOLD

(2004: 189, 293), on the other hand, highlights, like Lassen, the existence of an institutional trend in 19th century 'Oriental Studies' in Germany, manifest from 1844 onward, to focus exclusively on language and literature, at the cost of history. Through this process of 'philologisation' (p. 183), Mangold argues, the field of Oriental Studies was able to emancipate itself from its previous role as an ancillary science to Christian theology, and, under the label 'Oriental philology', to establish itself as a respected academic discipline, to the detriment of alternative cultural-historical (social-historical and philosophical, etc.) approaches:

'Die Historiographie hingegen, der sich einige Orientalisten sehr wohl verpflichtet fühlten, beschäftigte sich vor allem mit der deutschen Geschichte und folgte dem Ideal des Nationalstaats. Orient-Historiker oder eine historische Orientalistik wurden damit geradezu unmöglich in Deutschland' (p. 293).

This argument is echoed by SENGUPTA (2005: xv), who additionally distinguishes between 'literary-historical' (philological) and 'scientific-linguistic' approaches within Oriental Studies, and between 'academisation' and 'institutionalisation' (p. 18).

study of Indian antiquity and ancient Indian history was triggered by Lassen's lectures.⁴⁴⁸ Yet, he was also connected with the school of Bopp in Berlin, and became Bopp's successor.⁴⁴⁹ Similarly, Weber's critical friend Otto Böhtlingk studied, besides St. Petersburg, both in Berlin and in Bonn. In his article, Klatt highlights the main works of Lassen, such as the Prakrit grammar *Institutiones Linguae Pracriticae*,⁴⁵⁰ but also one lesser known treatise on the names under which Indian philosophers were known amongst the Greeks.⁴⁵¹ He dedicates a whole section on the controversy surrounding Lassen's presumed claim to precedence over Burnouf regarding the decipherment of the ancient Persian cuneiform alphabet, which Klatt's reconstruction of the events dismisses (following Weber's arguments). Klatt points out that some of Lassen's works had already become dated, due to the swift advances in the field of Sanskrit philology. But he does not mention Lassen's well-founded rejection of Weber's 'far-fetched theories of the supposed Western origin of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kṛṣṇa, and *bhakti* religion', nor LASSEN's (1867/1968 vol. 8: 755f., 765f.) agreement with WEBER (1858b) and British writers such as Wilson, Tod, and others, on the Jains being a Buddhist sect, in spite of JACOBI's (1879a) convincing arguments to the contrary.⁴⁵² KARTTUNEN (2007: 112) praises Klatt for recovering information on Lassen's university courses, which is otherwise not preserved but significant for intellectual and institutional his-

tory.⁴⁵³ Klatt himself discovered in the KBB the letter which Lassen sent to the University of Copenhagen to reject its invitation to join faculty.⁴⁵⁴

KLATT's (1883b: 27) account of the life and work of Robert Lenz (1808-1836), a pupil of Bopp, contributed to the preservation of the memory of this promising, prematurely deceased Sanskrit scholar.⁴⁵⁵

Hans Heinrich Eduard Röer (Roer) (1805-1866), another pupil of Bopp, was mainly interested in Indian philosophy. KLATT (1889a: 42-5) praised Röer's twenty-two-year long work in Calcutta: for the East India Company (from 1837), as Librarian of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (from 1841), and as Secretary of the Philological Department of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (from 1847). His most important achievement, in Klatt's assessment, were his editions of thirty-three volumes of Sanskrit texts for the Bibliotheca Indica from 1847-61.

KLATT's (1889b: 192-195) last biography for the ADB records the brief life and work of Friedrich August Rosen (1805-1837), who, after studying with Bopp in Berlin, became Professor for Oriental Languages at the age of twenty-two at the newly founded University of London (later called UCL). He edited Henry Thomas COLEBROOKE's (1765-1837) (1837) *Miscellaneous Essays* Vol. 1.2, on the latter's request. Klatt underlines that Rosen was also the author of the sales catalogue of R. Chambers's collection of Sanskrit manuscripts (anonymously published in

448 PARPOLA (2003: 191). On Lassen, see also KARTTUNEN (2007).

449 '[T]he bond of Sanskrit and Indology with comparative Indo-European linguistics thus dissolved at the University of Berlin' (PARPOLA 2003: 194).

450 LASSEN (1837).

451 LASSEN (Rheinisches Museum für Philologie 1, 1838: 171-90).

452 KARTTUNEN (2007: 111f.).

453 KARTTUNEN (2007: 112): 'Klatt has studied the programs of the university and given a summary'. KLATT (1883a):

'Die Vorlesungen, die L. an der Bonner Universität ankündigte, waren abwechselnd Sanskrit-Grammatik, Erklärung indischer Schriftsteller, vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen, indische Alterthümer, Neupersisch und Privatissima über Sanskrit und Zend. Für den Unterricht im Sanskrit bediente er sich theils seiner eigenen Sanskrit-Anthologie, theils später der Chrestomathien von Böhtlingk und Benfey. Den Vorgerückteren interpretirte er folgende Texte: *Manu*, *Bhagavadgītā*, *Hitopadeśa*, *Pāñcātānta*, *Bhārtrihari*, *Vedāntasāra*, *Raghuvāṇa*, *Gītāgovinda*, *Mudrārākṣha*, *Mālatīmādhava*, *Prabodhacandrodaya*, *Çakuntalā*, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Mṛicchakatī*, ausgewählte *Upanishads*, *Rigveda*.

Eine Zeit lang las er auch über altpersische Grammatik und die altpersischen Keilinschriften. Statt der indischen Alterthümer kündigte er zeitweilig Alterthümer der wichtigsten Völker des Orients und Alterthümer der vorderasiatischen Völker an. In der ersten Zeit las er auch über alte Geographie und allgemeine Sprachkunde. Als ordentlicher Professor war er außerdem verpflichtet, Vorlesungen über englische Litteratur zu halten. Bonn war damals der eigentliche Sitz der Sanskritphilologie. Unter Schlegel und L. florirte dort das Studium der indischen Sprache und Litteratur so, daß begeisterte Schüler von einem „zweiten Benares an den Ufern eines zweiten Ganges“ sprechen konnten. Wohl die meisten von den Sanskritanern, die jetzt an den deutschen Universitäten die Stellen einnehmen, haben bei L. ihre Ausbildung erhalten'.

454 KLATT (1883a):

'Ein darauf bezüglicher Brief Lassen's an den Geheimrath Schulze in Berlin befindet sich auf der Berliner königl. Bibliothek, s. Verzeichniß der von dem verstorbenen preuß. Generallieutenant J. v. Radowitz hinterlassenen Autographen-Sammlung, II. Gelehrte, Berl. 1864, S. 419, Nr. 5693'.

455 'Bericht über eine im Asiatischen Museum der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg deponirte Sammlung Sanskrit-Manuscripte' (*St. Petersburger Zeitung*, 1833, Nr. 219 bis 223).

1838),⁴⁵⁶ whose acquisition by the Royal Library in Berlin in 1842, followed by WEBER's (1853) cataloguing of the same in the years 1842-52, marked the beginning of 'this new epoch of this entire branch of science', that is, Sanskrit Studies, in Berlin and Germany, as predicted by W. v. HUMBOLDT (1828).⁴⁵⁷

The five biographies that were composed by Klatt in addition to his bibliographic work are all concerned with Sanskrit scholars, many of whom were connected, in one way or another, with Franz Bopp, Albrecht Weber, and with the Royal Library in Berlin.

13. The acquisition of Jaina manuscripts by the Royal Library in Berlin in 1873-78

Klatt started investigating Jaina texts relatively late in his short scholarly life, due to the chance acquisition of a great number of Jaina manuscripts by the KBB between 12 October 1873 and 1 May 1878.⁴⁵⁸ These hitherto unknown texts had to be entered into the accession catalogues, properly catalogued, and their contents studied and placed within the archives of scholarly knowledge. As part of the academic circle of Albrecht Weber, who took on the task of cataloguing and studying these new manuscripts, Johannes Klatt engaged with the Jaina materials as well. In his capacity as Assistant Librarian for the Oriental Collections, he started cataloguing the manuscripts from about 1875, in place of Weber,⁴⁵⁹ after familiarised himself further with the Jaina Prakrits. In 1879, he published a list of the Jaina manuscripts at the Royal Library in Berlin, with an added note, which hinted at Weber's forthcoming catalogue, without mentioning his name: 'A closer investigation of the manuscripts I do not consider as timely, since a comprehensive catalogue will appear in the

next years'.⁴⁶⁰ As part of his stocktaking and dissemination duties, he also produced an article on print editions of Sanskrit texts from India held by the KBB.⁴⁶¹

KLATT (1890b: 180f.) himself is one of the best sources for the history of the collections of Indian manuscripts at the Royal Library in Berlin and of their catalogues.⁴⁶² In a review of the first ten manuscript catalogues of the KBB, published between 1853 and 1889, Klatt points out that Berlin had turned into the centre of Sanskrit studies in Germany only because of the acquisition of the Chambers Collection, bought for the Royal Library in Berlin on 20 May 1842 at the behest of King Friedrich Wilhelm III: a bundle of 210 Sanskrit manuscripts containing 845 texts,⁴⁶³ according to the auction register produced by Duncan Forbes (1798-1868), which according to WEBER's (1853: xxi) catalogue amounted to 1340 partly fragmentary manuscripts, amongst them many Vedic texts, which the judge Sir Robert Chambers (1737-1803) had procured during his years in Calcutta 1774-99. The same can be said about the arrival of previously unknown Jaina manuscripts in Berlin, which stimulated the exploration of Jaina literature in similar ways. On recommendation of A. Weber, the Royal Library acquired a great number of Jaina manuscripts, in several instalments, through the offices of Johann Georg Bühler (1837-1898), then Educational Inspector of the Government of Bombay in Surat, after written permission was given by C. Gonne, Secretary to the Government of Bombay on 30 June 1873 for 'supplying the Royal Library of Berlin with copies of such sacred writings of the Jainas as have already been collected for Government'.⁴⁶⁴ From 1868 until his departure from India in 1881, for health reasons, Bühler procured more than 506 manuscripts⁴⁶⁵ for

456 ROSEN (1838).

457 W. v. HUMBOLDT (Letter to Minister Freiherr v. Altenstein 26.12.1828).

458 See Footnote 222.

459 When exactly he was entrusted with this task is not entirely clear. A comparison of the handwritings suggests that he wrote his first entry into the accession catalogue for manuscripts on 25 October 1875. See KBB (Accessio manuscriptorum 1863-1886, pp. 41a-42).

460 KLATT (1879b: 478): 'Eine nähere Untersuchung der Handschriften halte ich nicht für zeitgemäss, da ein ausführlicher Katalog in den nächsten Jahren erscheinen wird'.

461 KLATT (1881c).

462 He draws in the reports by PERTZ (1853: xi-xiv), WEBER (1853b: xxiv), BÜHLER (1882, 1888a: 530f.) and documents collected in the KBB (Acta III, C.44), KBB (Accessio manuscriptorum 1863-1886). Later, WEBER (1891b) became the main source on the history of acquisition of the Jaina manuscripts in 1873-78. See

also WINDISCH (1920: 347), AUSTER (1961: 282-4), PAUNEL (1965: 374).

463 PERTZ (1853: xiv).

464 His letter is reprinted in WEBER (1891b: viii):

From C. Gonne Esqu. Secretary to Government Bombay to K. M. Chatterfield Esqu., B. A., Ag. Director of Public Instruction, Poona.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th June last No. 1395, and in reply to State, that there appears to His Excellency the Governor in Council to be no objection to Dr. Bühler's supplying the Royal Library of Berlin with copies of such sacred writings of the Jainas as have already been collected for Government.

I have the honour etc.

(signed) C. Gonne, Secretary to Governor.

Bombay Castle, 30. June 1873.

465 Klatt refers the reader to BÜHLER (1888: 534, Fn.1).

the Royal Library,⁴⁶⁶ from 1873 also Jaina manuscripts, while presenting his private collection of 321 Sanskrit manuscripts to the India Office Library in London, and arranging for the acquisition of 74 Jaina, 26 Brahmanical and 2 Hindi manuscripts from the specialist trader Seth Bhagvāndās Kevaldās in Surat⁴⁶⁷ by the University Library in Vienna.⁴⁶⁸ In this way, Bühler played a pivotal role in the creation of the very foundations for Jaina Studies in Europe.⁴⁶⁹ He explained where the Jaina manuscripts he had selected for the KBB had come from as follows:

‘I have presented to the Berlin library a number of Jaina books, purchased with the special authorisation of Govt during the years 1873-1877, and collected many others for the same institution against payment. The total of my presents (including the MSS. of my old collection) amounts according to an official list furnished to me, to 177 in 201 vols.⁴⁷⁰ and that of the books for which the Library has paid, to 305 in 309 vols.

The history of the latter collection is as follows. After I had been working for some years in Gujarāt, I found that the number of MSS. offered for sale, especially of those of the Jainas, was so large that it was impossible to purchase with the funds at my disposal more than a small fraction of them. Moreover, it seemed to me that the acquisition of the majority of them for Government was undesirable, because they contained over and over again the same works which had already been purchased. Knowing that unsalable MSS. in Gujarāt usually find their way into the hands of the Borah paper-manufacturers and are destroyed, I informed several friends in Europe and India of the facts and asked them to use the opportunity to add to the stock of MSS. in other libraries. The first to respond to this appeal was Professor Weber, who in 1873 induced the Chief Librarian of the Royal Library at Berlin to obtain from the Prussian Government a special grant for purchasing MSS. and to entrust me with the collection. Before complying with this request, I reported the matter to the Government of Bombay

through the Director of Public Instruction and asked for formal sanction. This was readily accorded by Govt Resolution Edu¹ Dep¹ No. 696 of June 30, 1873 which says ‘that there appears to H. E. the Governor in Council to be no objection to Dr. Bühler’s supplying the Royal Library of Berlin with copies of such sacred works of the Jainas as have already been collected for Government’. In accordance with this permission I sent between 1873 and 1877 to Berlin one hundred and fourteen MSS., containing all the Jaina Āgamas with two exceptions,⁴⁷¹ commentaries on the same and a number of works on Jaina Dharma, legends and devotional poetry. During my leave in Europe 1877-1879, I further received from one of the Bombay agents two boxes, filled with Jaina and Brahmanical MSS. which had been rejected as useless by the officials then in charge of the Search, and was asked to sell them in Europe. I fulfilled this request, after, however, carefully examining them and taking away several which afterwards were incorporated in the Deccan College Collection of 1879/80.⁴⁷² I then made the collection over to Professor Weber who selected 189 MSS. for the Berlin Library. The remainder, rather more than one hundred, were purchased in a lump by the British Museum. After my return to India in 1879 I furnished two Brahmanical MSS. to the Berlin Library, as stated in my Report for the year’ (BÜHLER 1888a: 530f.; cf. 1882: 563f.).

The newly arrived Prakrit and Sanskrit Jaina manuscripts at the KBB were eventually rendered accessible through the second part of the manuscript catalogue, which Albrecht Weber had prepared over a period of 42 years: Part I on the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Chambers Collection (WEBER 1853), and Part II, in three volumes, on the Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts received after 1842, mainly from

466 The accession dates are listed in WEBER (1891a: 1233f.).

467 A Jaina Bhāusār (member of a dyer caste) by birth. See GLASENAPP (1925/1984: 325).

468 BÜHLER (1882: 564f.).

469 KLATT (1879b: 478): ‘Dadurch hat Bühler für diese Studien in unserm Lande auf Jahrhunderte hinaus einen festen Boden hergestellt und den Arbeitern auf diesem Felde lohnende Thätigkeit verschafft’.

470 BÜHLER (1888a: 503, Fn.):

‘The total of the MSS. which have come to Berlin through my agency is thus 482. I may add that according to a calculation, made by Professor Weber, it amounts to 506 numbers. Of late, I have added a transcript of Govinda’s commentary on Baudhāyana’s Dharmaśāstra which was made for me in India from the Grantha MS. of Dr. Burnell’s Collection in the India Office’.

471 Citation by BÜHLER: ‘The Pinḍaniryukti and the Pañchakalpa, the few obtainable MSS. of which I kept for the Govt-Collection.’

472 See Report of 1879/80 p 3.

Georg Bühler.⁴⁷³ In Part II of Weber's catalogue the 'Jaina-Literature' is for the first time separated out and treated in a special section, after 'Brāhmanical Literature' (WEBER 1886), amounting to two full volumes: the first volume presenting manuscripts of texts of 'the Jaina-Siddhānta' (WEBER 1888), and the second volume manuscripts of the Jaina 'Literature outside the Siddhānta' (WEBER 1891a).

In the introduction to the final volume of his catalogue, WEBER (1891b: i-ii) attributes the vision for the cataloguing of the Jaina manuscripts to the late Richard Lepsius, the former Director of the KBB, who apparently had agreed with Weber, that it was a matter of 'honour' to take advantage of the unexpected good fortune which had made such a rich collection of Jaina manuscripts available to the Royal Library, and to produce a *catalogue raisonné*, that is, a systematic annotated catalogue which would convey the material contained therein as completely as possible.⁴⁷⁴ Weber's aim was evidently not just to create an annotated list of manuscripts, but to describe systematically, and in great detail, with long transcriptions of the original Prakrit, the form and the contents first of the Śvetāmbara *siddhānta*, that is, the 45 texts listed by Bühler,⁴⁷⁵ and then of the remaining Jaina manuscripts in the collection.⁴⁷⁶ As a result of his investigation of the texts contained in these manuscripts, which must have taken almost ten years, WEBER (1883, 1885) initially published two book-length articles on the Śvetāmbara *siddhānta*,

and then the two catalogue volumes. The articles on *Die Heiligen Schriften der Jaina* represent the first comprehensive academic study of an important segment of Jaina literature; a truly ground-breaking work, which reduced the subsequently published catalogue volumes to mere appendices, offering direct access to the extensively transcribed and edited primary sources.

The last of the two volumes on the Jaina manuscripts Weber had prepared with the help of two 'collaborators', that is, his former students Ernst Leumann and Johannes Klatt, who helped proof-reading the text. In his preface, Weber highlights the input of Klatt who, from October 1888,⁴⁷⁷ had read the second of five proofs for the last 363 pages, and also furnished bio-bibliographical information and copious *addenda et corrigenda*, published on pp. 1203-1216 of the volume, which was completed on 31 December 1890. There is little overlap between the addenda and the indexes of Weber's final volume and the manuscript of Klatt's Jaina-Onomasticon (Spring 1892), which in conception and form is entirely different, but supplementary to Weber's catalogue and analysis of the Jaina *siddhānta*.⁴⁷⁸

Further supplements to these, for Jaina Studies foundational publications were JACOBI's (1879a, 1882) critical text editions, and his selected translations from the Jaina *siddhānta* for Max Müller's popular *Sacred Books of the East* series, which appeared at about the same time, and made knowledge

473 See WEBER's (1891a: 1233f.) list of the 'sources of supply' of the manuscripts.

474 WEBER (1891b: i-ii): 'R. Lepsius [...] war mit mir der Meinung, dass die besondere Gunst der Umstände, durch welche die Königl. Bibliothek in den Jahren 1873-1878 in den Besitz einer reichen Sammlung von *Jaina*-Handschriften gelangt war, Ehren halber dahin ausgenutzt werden müsse, das darin enthaltene Material so vollständig, als dies in einem »Catalogue raisonné« derselben möglich sei, zur Anschauung gebracht werde. Und dieser Standpunkt ist dann auch nach dem viel zu früh erfolgten Hinscheiden meines verehrten Freundes (10. Juli 1884) der leitende geblieben'.

475 See Footnotes 481 & 537ff.

476 As lamented by WEBER (1886: 823f.), only few Digambara manuscripts had reached Europe before LEUMANN's (1897) successful efforts to build up a substantial collection at Straßburg. See TRIPATHI (1975a, 1975b).

477 WEBER (1886: 180, etc.) cites Klatt's publications only, with the exception of p. 342, Fn. 1-2, where he thanks Klatt for information on a palmleaf manuscript that was held at the Ethnographic Museum in Berlin. WEBER (1888: 648, 825), by contrast, details some of Klatt's input.

478 WEBER (1891b: xviii): 'Von manchen Bogen habe ich fünf Correcturen gehabt. Trotzdem ist sicher Manches noch mir und meinen

beiden treuen Mitarbeitern bei den Correcturen entgangen. Von p. 425 (Mai 1886) ab nämlich hat, s. p. 825 E. Leumann die Freundlichkeit gehabt, neben mir die dritte Correctur zu lesen und von p. 853 (Oct. 1888) ab hat, s. p. 1215, J. Klatt dasselbe für die zweite Correctur gethan. Wenn ich Leumann besonders für Berichtigung mannichfacher Druckfehler und sonstiger Versehen, sowie für manchen speciellen Nachweis aus den *siddhānta*-Texten selbst zu herzlichstem Danke verpflichtet bin, so hat mich Klatt besonders durch eine grosse Zahl bibliographischer und literaturgeschichtlicher Daten aus seinen reichen Sammlungen der Art, in welchen er das einschlagende Material aus den trefflichen Reports von Bühler, Kielhorn, P. Peterson, R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, Rājendra Lāla Mitra etc. vollständig eingetragen hat, für die ausserhalb des *siddhānta* stehende *Jaina*-Literatur, zu ganz besonderem Danke verbunden. Beide Gelehrte haben damit diesem meinem Werke ihrerseits so wesentliche Dienste geleistet, dass ich ihnen dafür die wärmste Anerkennung schuldig bin'.

WEBER (1891a: 1215) repeats the same:

'853 von hier ab hat J. Klatt die Freundlichkeit gehabt, die zweite Correctur zu lesen, wobei ich ihm besonders für eine grosse Zahl bibliographischer und literaturgeschichtlicher Daten aus seinen reichen Sammlungen der Art zu speciellem Danke verpflichtet bin'.

on Jaina religion and philosophy widely accessible. Together with a range of other publications on the Jaina tradition, not least BÜHLER's (1887a, 1887b, etc.) studies of Jaina epigraphy, Jaina Studies as an academic field was established around the 1880s by scholars belonging to the wider circle of Albrecht Weber.

To contemporary Orientalists, the answer to the frequently posed question, why in the 19th century 'Jaina Philology' as an academic sub-field was developed primarily by scholars from Germany was obvious: because of the availability of primary sources.⁴⁷⁹ This point is clearly made by LEUMANN (1898: 368f. / 1998: 294f.) in his own appreciation of 'Bühler as a collector of Mss.':

'When a town or country shows some predilection for this or that branch of research we are, at first, inclined to find the reason in some local or national instinct, or in the efficacy of the teaching and writing of some scholar, who may be considered to be the "local genius". [...] The real explanation lies in the dispersion of the materials'.

In retrospect, it was the coincidence of several historical circumstances that contributed to the development of Jaina Studies in 19th century Germany: Wilhelm von HUMBOLDT's (1809-10) ideas for the reform of the universities; Franz BOPP's (1833) influential work in comparative linguistics; the institutionalisation of Oriental Studies, in particular Sanskrit philology; employment opportunities for leading European Sanskrit scholars, such as Bühler or Kielhorn, at newly established educational institutions in British India; their crucial role in the search, cataloguing, and acquisition of manuscripts of the newly 'discovered' Jaina scriptures for the Government of India, and in the sale of 'duplicate' sets for leading research libraries in Europe, in particular the

libraries of the East India House (India Office Library) and the British Museum in London, and the Royal Library in Berlin. In the same way as the manuscripts of the Chambers Collection inspired Sanskrit learning, and Vedic Studies in particular,⁴⁸⁰ so did the acquisition of Jaina manuscripts in Prakrit, through the initiative of G. Bühler in Surat and A. Weber in Berlin, stimulate Jaina philology in Germany. Rather than political constellations or cultural mentalities, certainly in Leumann's view, it was the fortuitous sudden availability of hitherto unstudied primary sources that motivated the interest of a small group of well-qualified researchers to focus their energies on the exploration of a new field of knowledge, yet untouched by the then leading Orientalists in Britain and France. The fact that the Jaina manuscripts which Bühler and others donated or sold to the collections in Great Britain were not studied with the same intensity at the time, Leumann interpreted as a consequence of the ongoing preoccupation of British and French scholars with Buddhist texts.

In Germany, the Śvetāmbara 'canon' (siddhānta), presented by Bühler to the Royal Library in Berlin as a set of 45 'Sacred Scriptures of the Jainas',⁴⁸¹ became the prime object of study,⁴⁸² and, of course, its language. Besides the unintended benefits of the late-introduction of Sanskrit philology in Germany, with many fields of study already claimed by others, Leumann points to the decisive influence of Albrecht Weber, the successive occupant of two prestigious chairs in Berlin: for Comparative Linguistics from 1856-67 and for Sanskrit from 1867-1901, who already in 1853 had published catalogue entries on individual Jaina manuscripts,⁴⁸³ and from 1858 had worked frequently on Jaina materials, which, at first, he found in Oxford and Schwerin.⁴⁸⁴ In his own words, Weber was interested in the Jaina

479 MANGOLD (2004: 43):

'Wenn die deutschen Orientalisten des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts selbst nach den Gründen für den Aufschwung ihrer Studien suchten, fiel ihnen zuerst die Vermehrung der "Hilfsmittel" ein, die das Studium der orientalischen Literatur überhaupt erst ermöglichte'.

480 WEBER (1853: xxiv). See PERTZ (1853: xi-xiv), and, therein, the arguments presented by Wilhelm von HUMBOLDT (1828) to the Prussian Government. GOSCHE (1853: xviii) highlighted that WEBER's (1853) first catalogue contains information on a Jaina manuscript, the Nemicaritamālā, which 'as witness to the language and ideas of the heterodox sect of the Jaina deserves the highest attention'.

481 BÜHLER (Letter to Weber 1873). Cf. JACOBI (1879b: 14, Fn. 2), FLÜGEL (2014: 38), Footnotes 537ff.

482 In the year 1875-6 G. Bühler was able to collect an almost complete set of the 'sacred literature of the Digambaras' in India (JRASB 1877, JOLLY 1899: 7). After his

appointment in Straßburg in 1884, Leumann began to collect Digambara manuscripts as well, and in this way instigated the study of the Digambara Jaina tradition in Europe.

483 WEBER (1853: 269, 372, 374) No. 902, No. 1356, Jaina-Scriptures No. 1362-1364.

484 See WEBER's (1848) article on the manuscript collection of Alexander Walker, one of the pioneering British explorers of the Jaina tradition, besides T. Colebrooke, C. Mackenzie, H. H. Wilson, F. Buchanan Hamilton, W. Francklin, J. Tod, and J. Stevenson. See WALKER (1807-1830). WEBER's (1858a, 1858b) first book on a chapter of a major Jaina text, *Über das Čatrunjaya Māhātmyam: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Jaina*, was based on Ms. No. 264 of the Wilson Collection in Oxford. WEBER's (1866, 1867) first important study on a Jaina canonical text: the *Bhagavati*, was based on a manuscript which was sent to him from the Antiquarium of Schwerin (WEBER 1866: 370, vgl. 1891: viii).

literature ‘in and for itself only as an important link within the Indian history of religion, because of its entirely peculiar and independent development’.⁴⁸⁵ According to Leumann, Weber personally persuaded Bühler, Klatt and Leumann to enter this new field of philological and historical inquiry as well:

‘The majority of those five hundred manuscripts which Bühler sent to Berlin belong to the literature of the ‘Svetāmbara Jains. This had the effect that Jain Philology is comparatively much cultivated in Germany, while in England and France, where the scholars are still greatly absorbed by the occupation which their rich stores of Buddhist manuscripts affords, no effort has been made to deal with Jainism. First of all Weber devoted to the new materials ten years of his life, as the fruits of which he brought out – not to speak of smaller publications – his *New Catalogue* (three volumes of 1,364 pages) and his *Sacred Literature of the Jains* (an English translation of which was published in the *Indian Antiquary*). Klatt also was won for the new branch of study by the materials, as well as by Bühler personally (when on leave in Europe in 1878); and with a remarkable skill and assiduity he selected from the new literature all that tended to yield chronological and bibliographical facts. What Klatt contributed and what later on by ill fate he was prevented from contributing to Indian Research may be inferred from a Note in a former volume of the *Indian Antiquary* (1894, p. 169, note 2). A few years after Klatt, Leumann began, as a student in Berlin, his Jain investigations, transferring them afterwards to Strassburg where he tried to complete Bühler’s work in that line by procuring for his University Jain manuscripts not represented

as yet in the Berlin-Bühler Collection’ (LEUMANN 1898 / 1998: 370 / 296).⁴⁸⁶

Conspicuously absent in Leumann’s account is Hermann Jacobi, arguably the most influential former student of Weber, who in 1873/4 accompanied Georg Bühler during his journey of discovery to the famous Jaina library in Jaisalmer.⁴⁸⁷ Apart from Bühler, Jacobi was the only 19th century pioneer of Jaina Studies from Germany who spent some time in India that is known to have established personal contact with the Jaina community. Weber, Klatt and Leumann, on the other hand, never visited the Subcontinent.

14. Klatt as cataloguer and prosopographer

The craft of the cataloguer and bibliographer, the bedrock of any modern science, was not learned by the pioneers of Oriental Studies. As far as one can tell, they invented their own rules, as they went along, and learned from paradigmatic specimens, and from each other’s mistakes. Since the principles informing Klatt’s main work, the Jaina-Onomasticon, which is both an index, a meta-catalogue, and a prosopographical database, are nowhere defined, it is important to understand his stated views on cataloguing and classification from other sources. Klatt’s standards of cataloguing are most clearly expressed in his review of Ernst HAAS’s (1876) *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Pali books in the British Museum*,⁴⁸⁸ which highlights the ‘incompleteness’ of Haas’s record, and in particular in his review of the first ten of eventually twenty-three manuscript catalogues of the Royal Library in Berlin, which were published by different authors between 1853 and 1889, under the general editorship of Georg Heinrich Pertz (1795-1876), Chief Librarian of the Royal Library 1842-76. KLATT’S (1890b) review, *Die Handschriften-*

Only his second work on a Jaina canonical text, the *Sūryaprajñapti* (WEBER 1868), is based on a manuscript from the KBB, first described in WEBER (1853: 372).

485 WEBER (1891b: xii):

‘[...] Jaina-Literatur, die ja an und für sich selbst nur als ein wichtiges Glied innerhalb der indischen Religionsgeschichte, auf Grund ihrer völlig eigenartigen und selbstständigen Entwicklung, unser Interesse in Anspruch nimmt’.

486 AUSTER’S (1961) depiction of the arrival of the Jaina manuscripts at the KBB echoes Weber’s, while adding interesting detail on the making of SCHUBRING’S (1944) supplementary catalogue of Jaina manuscripts in Berlin, covering 1,127 predominantly north Indian Jaina works (124 Digambara, 1,003 Śvetāmbara), which were acquired by the Royal Library after the completion of WEBER’S (1853-91) catalogue. It is interesting to note that the Jaina-Mss. of the KBB survived WW II only

with great luck in the strong room of the Reichswirtschaftsministerium, Unter den Linden 15, which was hit by a bomb on 3.2.1945, causing a fire which damaged many other manuscripts. See SCHUBRING (1944: vi), SCHOCHOW (2003), SCHMIEDER-JAPPE (2004: 20f.). The Jaina manuscripts were not, like others, moved out of Berlin during the last phase of the war, because Schubring in Hamburg catalogued them, and they had to be sent back and forth to the Ministry: ‘Die Jaina-Handschriften wurden trotz des Krieges in kleineren Sendungen zur Katalogisierung nach Hamburg und zurück geschickt. Aus diesem Grunde konnten sie nicht verlagert werden, sondern wurden im Tresor des Reichswirtschaftsministeriums aufbewahrt. Nach Kriegsende kehrten sie unversehrt ins Haus zurück, wo sie heute wieder zur Verfügung stehen’ (AUSTER 1961: 283f.).

487 BÜHLER (1883), ALSDORF (1951/1974), JOHNSON (1992), FLÜGEL (1998/1999).

488 KLATT (1881d).

Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, is in two parts.

In the first part, Klatt gives a detailed account of the history of acquisitions until 1889, as a result of which the manuscript collection of the Royal Library became one the largest and most significant archives of textual primary sources in the world.

In the second part, he broadly assesses form and contents of each of the ten catalogues, with a focus on the forewords of the authors and the chosen formats of the texts. The article is instructive, because it is the only document from Klatt's own hand that gives insight into Klatt's assessment of what nowadays would be called socio-bibliographical⁴⁸⁹ and prosopographical aspects of the pioneering catalogues of the KBB. Since he was just completing his *Jaina-Onomasticon* at the time, a bio-bibliographical encyclopaedia with an innovative format, it appears, in retrospect, that Klatt implicitly compared the manuscript catalogues with his own work in progress.

KLATT (1890b: 192f.) praises the considerable achievements of the overall cataloguing project. At the same time, he laments that the various catalogues of the Royal Library did not use a standardised method of transcription (as proposed by Richard Lepsius, Chief Librarian 1873-84), but their 'private orthography'. The only exception being the catalogues of Wilhelm PERTSCH (1832-1899), Librarian of the Herzogliche Bibliothek Gotha, who applied Lepsius's proposal to his record of 1,160 Persian (1888) and 514 Turkish (1889) manuscripts. Klatt commends Pertsch's catalogues⁴⁹⁰ for their exten-

sive indexes, including indexes of personal and geographical names.⁴⁹¹ The catalogues were also structured in a systematic and scientific way and at the same time presented in an accessible form to the general user, which, in Klatt's assessment, shows that the cataloguer had the advantage of not only being a scholar, but also a working librarian.⁴⁹²

The catalogue volumes published by A. WEBER in 1853, 1886 and 1888, by contrast, are addressed mainly at the specialist; especially Volume I-II of Part II of the catalogue, published in 1886 and 1888, which comprise not only manuscripts in Sanskrit, but also manuscripts in Prakrit, not least Jaina manuscripts, which are described in great detail.⁴⁹³ KLATT (1890b) observes that Weber's texts are more than mere 'catalogues'.⁴⁹⁴

'The treatment that Weber's imparts to the manuscripts becomes more and more penetrative, it becomes ever more caring and thorough, the information about the content ever more detailed, interesting passages and even entire texts of small size are communicated in extenso' (p. 189).

The unusual amount of detail offered by Weber is understandable in Klatt's view, because entirely new information is provided, in particular on the literature and doctrines of the Jains.⁴⁹⁵

'To give an impression of the almost entirely unknown literature of this sect, it was necessary to expatiate on the content more extensively and to communicate extracts from the texts' (p. 192).

489 See BRY (1977).

490 Before his appraisal, PERTSCH (1888: xvi) already applauded Klatt: 'auch Herr Dr. J. Klatt hat den grössten Theil der Druckbogen durchgesehen und mir auf meine häufigen Anfragen über Lesarten der Handschriften mit nie ermüdender Gefälligkeit Antwort gegeben'.

491 PERTSCH (1888, 1889) offers altogether 9 indices: 'Der pers. Katalog enthält nicht weniger als 9 Register auf 202 Seiten: 1. eine Conkordanz der alten und neuen Nummern. 2. Register der Titel und der titellosen Schriften. 3. Personennamen (in latein. Schrift, aber in der Anordnung des pers. Alphabets). 4. Geographische Namen. 5. Indische, mit arab. Schrift geschriebene Wörter und Namen. 6. Chronologisches Verzeichnis der datirten Hss. 7-9. Siegelstempel, Bilder, Arabesken, bemerkenswerthe Einbände, Verfasser-Autographen' (p. 192).

Clearly, Klatt, noting these details, reflected here on the requirements of his own work in progress - the *Jaina-Onomasticon*. This applies also to the remark (p. 193) that a thematically structured catalogue, like the catalogue of ca. 12,000 manuscripts in Arabic produced by AHLWARDT (1888, 1889, 1897), who is said to have dedicated 10 hours per day for 20 years to cataloguing, involves much more work, because it required detailed

consideration of the content of a text. The benefits for historiographic studies of the meticulous registration of teacher-disciple relationships are noted as 'particularly interesting' (cf. Klatt's own work on Jaina historiography). See Fn. 505.

492 KLATT (1890b: 191):

'W. Pertsch [...] hat vor seinen Mitarbeitern die nicht gering zu schätzende Eigenschaft voraus, ein in der Praxis stehender Bibliothekar zu sein. Seine Kataloge kommen daher den Bedürfnissen von Leuten, die nicht in den betreffenden Gebieten Fachleute sind, am meisten entgegen'.

493 WEBER (1886: 175, 180, etc.).

494 KLATT (1890b: 189):

'Die Behandlung, die Weber den Hss. zu Theil werden lässt, vertieft sich immer mehr, sie wird immer liebevolle und eingehender, die Mittheilungen über den Inhalt immer ausführlicher, interessante Stellen und selbst ganze Texte kleineren Umfangs werden in extenso mitgetheilt'.

495 KLATT (1890b: 192):

'Um eine Vorstellung von der fast gänzlich unbekannten Litteratur dieser Sekte zu geben, war es nothwendig, über den Inhalt weitläufiger sich zu verbreiten und aus den Texten Auszüge mitzuthellen'.

In contrast to Wilhelm Ahlwardt (1828-1909), who had begun to measure the height and width of manuscripts in centimetres ‘after it had become fashionable’, which cost him several months of his time (p. 194), Weber had been extremely frugal regarding further information on the manuscripts. He also employed idiosyncratic typesetting and made no use of the Indian scripts:⁴⁹⁶

‘While the extracts from the texts were a scientific necessity, Weber otherwise is economical with the space. The description of externalities is as brief as possible, all other explanations are avoided, and only the text of the manuscript has its say. For the indication of scribal mistakes of the manuscripts he has developed his own typographical system, by means of which, to prevent confusion with printing mistakes, they are marked through antiqua-typesetting, in contrast to the usual italicised characters. While the other catalogue-authors also make use of the oriental alphabets, in Weber’s catalogue the use of the Indian script is missing, except for the tablets of the first volume. The transliteration through Latin characters has the advantage, that with its help, through larger initials, spaced or antiqua typesetting, the significant words, especially the proper names, can be emphasized (see Preface, Vol. I, p. xxiii)’ (p.190).

W. SCHUBRING (1944: v-vi), echoing Klatt, decided not to follow Weber’s methods of cataloguing, which he regarded as not appropriate for his day and age, while praising his epoch-making achievement of rendering the primary texts of the Jaina siddhānata accessible. In the Preface to his supplementary catalogue of Jaina manuscripts acquired by the KBB after 1891, *Die Jaina-Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek: Neuerwerbungen seit 1891*, he notes that WEBER’s (1888, 1891a) two volumes on the Jaina manuscripts provided probably too much

textual detail, without furnishing basic information on the texts themselves, as one would expect from a library catalogue. Moreover, because many peculiarities of Prakrit had not yet been known at the time, Weber diplomatic transcription deliberately reproduced some ‘linguistic mistakes’ he found in the original manuscripts, while marking them with the help of a peculiar ligature. In line with his general criticism of catalogues containing elaborate descriptions of form and content of manuscripts, SCHUBRING (1944: vi) suggested to choose a ‘middle path’ between the requirements of library administration and science, between the need to represent some of the scribes’s idiosyncrasies in a catalogue and accuracy, and, in regard to further references, between brief indication and full bibliographic reference.⁴⁹⁷ The guiding principles of his own work were, firstly, that faulty orthography of titles and extracts of texts should always be corrected, pace Weber, with the exception of the colophons, containing valuable information on date, writer, client, receiver, previous owner, etc., which he reproduced more or less verbatim,⁴⁹⁸ and, secondly, that the names of the authors are to be rendered into Sanskrit, however they are written in the original text, in order to have a consistent point of reference for linguistic variants in the primary texts.

Weber’s separate classification of the Jaina material in Volume II of his catalogue is not discussed in Klatt’s review, and it was left to WEBER (1891b: xi) himself to point to the difficulties of deciding whether a text outside the Śvetāmbara siddhānta, whose texts he presented according to the classification received from BÜHLER (1873a),⁴⁹⁹ properly belongs to only one or to two or even three of the four genre categories which he used to describe the material, within which texts are presented alphabetically: (1) dogmatics and discipline, (2) stava and stotra, (3)

496 KLATT (1890: 190):

‘Waren die Auszüge aus den Texten eine wissenschaftliche Nothwendigkeit, so ist andererseits Weber mit dem Raume sparsam. Die Beschreibung der Aeusserlichkeiten ist so kurz wie möglich, alle sonstigen Erörterungen sind vermieden, und nur der Text der Handschriften kommt zu Wort. Zur Bezeichnung der Schreibfehler der Hs. hat er ein eigenes typographisches System, indem sie, um Verwechslung mit Druckfehlern vorzubeugen, durch Antiqua-Satz, im Gegensatz zu den sonstigen Cursivbuchstaben markirt werden. Während die übrigen Katalogverfasser auch die oriental. Alphabete zur Anwendung bringen, fehlt in Weber’s Katalog der Gebrauch der indischen Schrift, ausser in den Schrifttafeln des ersten Bandes. Die Umschreibung durch latein. Buchstaben hat den Vorzug, dass bei ihr

durch grosse Anfangsbuchstaben, gesperrt oder Antiqua-Satz die bedeutsameren Wörter, besonders die Eigennamen, hervorgehoben werden können (s. Vorwort, Bd. I, S. XXIII)’.

497 He cites the second part of his own critical appraisal of R. K. KAPADIA’s (1954, etc.) catalogue of the Jaina-Mss. in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institut in Pune, to make this point; i.e. SCHUBRING (1937: 186): ‘Das Ideal ist in der Beschreibung die mittlere Linie zwischen dem Bedürfnis der Verwaltung und dem Genügen der Wissenschaft, ebenso wie der Textdarstellung zwischen Schreiberverstand und Richtigkeit, in den Literaturangaben zwischen Hinweis und Bibliographie’.

498 See Footnote 152. Cf. KRAUSE (2013).

499 See infra.

legendary-historical literature, (4) narrative and gnostic didactic literature.⁵⁰⁰ A similar problem had already arisen in the context of the discussion about the format of the index for Böhlingk's work *Indische Sprüche*.

In line with his personal interest in historiography, KLATT (1890b: 194) notes that many of the reviewed catalogues do not offer any bio-bibliographical information, such as chronologies, etc., not even the two exemplary catalogues of Wilhelm PERTSCH (1888, 1889), who had distinguished himself already with his five catalogues on the Persian and Turkish manuscripts of the Oriental manuscript collection of the Herzogliche Bibliothek zu Gotha,⁵⁰¹ which offer indexes on personal and geographical names, but no information on the history of the manuscripts.⁵⁰² Praise is reserved exclusively for the efforts of Wilhelm AHLWARDT (1887), working from his residence in Greifswald on the collections of the KBB, to include bio-bibliographical information in his catalogues:⁵⁰³

‘A particularly sizable groundwork of his catalogue are the biographical and bibliographical collections, comprising extracts from handwritten works, which enabled him to identify the au-

thors and their period. Samples of this magnificent collection can be found at the end of the individual sections’ (KLATT 1890b: 194f.).

Klatt reproduces the thematic structure of Ahlwardt's catalogue in detail, and highlights the significance of the two final sections of the volume, on teacher-disciple relationships, for the history of literature and scholarship.⁵⁰⁴

‘A particularly interesting section, for which Ahlwardt also has a special liking, are the courses of study and certificates of apprenticeship.’⁵⁰⁵ In the course of study the author mentions which teachers he heard, and which works he studied with them, or with which teachers he interacted during the course of his educational journeys. There the line of teachers is mentioned who preceded his own teacher. For the history of literature and history of scholarship these lists of teachers are of preeminent interest, even if they usually relate only to the theological disciplines. A certificate of apprenticeship is the permission given by a teacher to a pupil himself to teach that which he had heard’ (p. 195f.).

Notably, the entire structure of Ahlwardt's work, including the ‘particularly interesting section’ on courses of study and reading certificates, had been

500 WEBER (1891b: xi):

‘Was sodann die *Jaina*-Literatur betrifft, so liegen, wie bereits bemerkt, die Texte des *siddhānta* der *Çvetāmbara*-Schule, mit Ausnahme zweier derselben [*Pañcakappa*, *Pinḍanijjuttī*], vollständig vor. Und auch die dazugehörigen *cūṛṇi*, *bhāṣya* etc. sind gut vertreten, obschon da allerdings noch Manches fehlt. Die ausserhalb des *siddhānta* stehende weitschichtige Literatur habe ich in vier Gruppen: 1) Dogmatik und Disciplin, 2) *stava* und *stotra*, 3) legendarisch-historische Literatur, 4) didaktische Literatur in Erzählung und Spruch, zerlegt, und innerhalb derselben die Texte, da eine anderweite Reihenfolge zunächst noch unthunlich war, alphabetisch geordnet. Bei dieser Zerlegung ist denn allerdings wohl mancher Text insofern zu kurz gekommen, als er nicht blos zu einer dieser vier Gruppen, sondern zu deren zwei, oder gar drei gehören könnte, da der Inhalt bald dahin, bald dorthin Beziehungen hat. Auch ist die weitere Unterabtheilung, ob nämlich in *Prākṛit* oder in *Sanskṛit*, oder in *bhāṣā* abgefasst, nicht durchweg stichhaltig, da mancher Text auch hierin ein Doppelgesicht hat. Bei der vierten Gruppe, wo dies vornehmlich der Fall ist, habe ich daher, s. p. 1075, diese letztere Scheidung überhaupt ganz fallen gelassen’.

501 PERTSCH (1859, 1864, 1878, 1880, 1881, 1883, 1892).

502 KLATT (1890b: 192f.):

‘Ueber die Geschichte der Hss. giebt Pertsch ausser einem kurzen Ueberblick in der Vorrede gelegentliche Notizen bei den einzelnen Hss., soviel er aus ihnen selbst ermitteln konnte. Das weitere Material konnte alleine die Bibliothek aus ihren Akten und Accessionskatalogen beschaffen (noch dazu, wenn der Verfasser des Katalogs an einem anderen Ort wohnt) [...]. Da sich

aber in den Bibliotheksakten so interessante Nachrichten nur selten vorfinden, so dürften sich für gewöhnlich chronologische Tabellen empfehlen, wie die Vorworte in den Verzeichnissen der abessin., armen., und dem Kurzen Verzeichnis der syr. Hss. sie darbieten, in welchen von jeder einzelnen die Herkunft und das Jahr derselben angegeben wird’.

503 KLATT (1890b: 194f.):

‘Eine besonders grosse Vorarbeit seines Kataloges sind die biographischen und bibliographischen Sammlungen, bestehend in Auszügen handschriftlicher Werke, die es ihm ermöglicht haben, bei zahllosen Schriften die Verfasser und ihre Zeit zu bestimmen. Proben dieser grossartigen Sammlungen finden sich am Schlusse der einzelnen Abtheilungen [...]’ (S. 194f.).

504 KLATT (1890b: 195f.):

‘Eine besonders interessante Abtheilung, die Ahlwardt auch mit Vorliebe behandelt, sind die Studiengänge und Lehrbriefe. Im Studiengang giebt der Verfasser an, bei welchen Lehrern er gehört, und welche Werke er bei ihnen studirt hat, oder mit welchen Lehrern er auf seinen Studienreisen verkehrt hat. Dabei wird die dem eigenen Lehrer vorausgehende Lehrerreihe mitgetheilt. Für die Litteraturgeschichte und Gelehrten-geschichte haben diese Lehrerlisten ein hervorragendes Interesse, wenn sie sich auch meistens nur auf theologische Fächer beziehen. Unter einem Lehrbriefe ist zu verstehen, die von einem Lehrer an einen Schüler ertheilte Erlaubnis, das bei ihm Gehörte auch seinerseits vorzutragen’ (p. 195f.).

505 HIRSCHLER (2011: 73) calls them ‘reading certificates (sg. *samā*)’.

devised by Ahlwardt together with Geheimrat Dr. Olshausen of the Prussian Ministry of Culture, which financed the catalogues, who requested a historical approach, for reasons which have not yet been established. The catalogue was planned to serve as a foundation for a subsequent literary history, though Ahlwardt refused to extend his work to the holdings of other libraries, for one reason, because 'the available catalogues were not always reliable'.⁵⁰⁶ This was a wise decision, particularly in view of the required effort, aptly characterised in Ahlwardt's foreword, which could have served as a warning for researchers, like Klatt, not to be too ambitious (Ahlwardt's finished catalogue amounted to ten volumes).

PERTSCH (1888: ix) had to be persuaded by Richard Lepsius, in 1876, to catalogue the new Persian manuscripts of the KBB, after all, in addition to his cataloguing work in Gotha.⁵⁰⁷ Klatt expressed his reservations as to the feasibility of certain aspects of the ambitious cataloguing project of the KBB, especially considering that some cataloguers such as Ahlwardt and Pertsch were not working at the library itself and hence had no instant access to all the manuscripts. Klatt also criticised the fact that Pertsch did not even attempt to offer a 'diplomatic' transcription that follows the original texts in every detail come what may (as he himself did in the Jaina-Onomasticon), as in some of Pertsch's own earlier catalogues.⁵⁰⁸

506 AHLWARDT (1887: vii-ix):

'[D]ie ins Auge zu fassenden Punkte wurden mit dem damaligen vortragenden Geheimen Rath im Cultusministerium, Dr. Olshausen festgesetzt. Die Hauptsache sollte sein, die Titel der Werke, die Namen und die Lebenszeit der Verfasser, den Anfang und Schluss der einzelnen Schriften, besonders nach der Eintheilung derselben, besonders genau anzugeben, auch auf die Vollständigkeit und Lückenhaftigkeit oder unrichtige Blattfolge sorgfältig zu achten. [...] Der in späterer Zeit behandelten Frage gegenüber, ob auch eine Aufzählung der auf anderen Bibliotheken befindlichen Handschriften derselben Werke stattzufinden habe, verhielt ich mich ablehnend. Denn der dafür aufzuwendende Raum werde sehr beträchtlich sein und den Umfang des Katalogs erheblich vergrößern; die vorhandenen Kataloge seien nicht immer zuverlässig, also die Anführungen aus ihnen misslich; es sei zu erwarten, dass im Laufe der Jahre auch die anderen Europäischen Bibliotheken ihre Handschriftenkataloge veröffentlichen würden und dass dann, auf Grund aller dieser Arbeiten, eine übersichtliche Zusammenstellung der an verschiedenen Orten vorhandenen handschriftlichen Werke gemacht werden könne. Von diesem Punkte wurde also Abstand genommen, ebenso davon, dass angegeben werde, ob eine Handschrift bereits gedruckt oder welche Arbeiten in Bezug auf dieselbe veröffentlicht seien. [...] Dem Auftrage, die Handschriften der arabischen Dichter und Litteraturgeschichtswerke in der angegebenen Weise zu beschreiben, stimmte ich theils mit Bedenken, theils mit Freudigkeit zu. Jenes, weil ich fürchtete, dass die Arbeit mich völlig in Anspruch nehmen und mich meinen Specialstudien mehr und mehr entfremden werde und weil ich glaubte voraussehen zu können, dass die Katalogisirung des ganzen Handschriften-Vorrathes mit der Zeit mir obliegen werde; mit Bedenken ferner, weil das Katalogisiren leicht für eine untergeordnete Beschäftigung angesehen wird und das Maass der Schwierigkeiten, die dabei zu überwinden, und der Entsagungen, die dabei zu üben sind, nur von denen gewürdigt werden kann, welche aus eigener Erfahrung solche Arbeit kennen; [...]']

507 PERTSCH (1888: ix).

508 PERTSCH (1888: x):

'Ferner hat der Umstand, dass ich nicht in Berlin lebe und also die beschriebenen Handschriften nicht während des Druckes stets zur Hand hatte, mit sich gebracht, dass ich für den diplomatisch genauen Abdruck

der mitgetheilten Textstellen nicht durchaus eintreten kann; bei Versen habe ich mir sogar erlaubt, wo ich es zur Kennzeichnung des Metrums für nöthig hielt, absichtlich Vocale und sonstige Lesezeichen beizufügen. Möglichst vollständige Hinweise darüber zu geben, wo handschriftlich vorliegende Werke ganz oder theilweise gedruckt oder übersetzt oder auch nur in gedruckten Werken benutzt sind, habe ich mir angelegen sein lassen; ebenso, das Zeitalter der Verfasser auszufinden und nachzuweisen, wo etwa nähere Angaben über die Lebensumstände derselben anzutreffen sind'.

Cf. PERTSCH (1859: vi-vii) on his catalogue of ca. 3,000 Persian manuscripts in Gotha (emphasis added):

'Über die Verfasser sind möglichst viele Nachweisungen beigebracht, meist aber auch nur Nachweisungen, da es mir, dem Quellenwerke über die Biographie persischer Schriftsteller fast gar nicht zu Gebote standen, in den meisten Fällen doch nur möglich gewesen wäre, schon anderweitig Bekanntes zu geben. Nur das Todesjahr ist, wo möglich, von jedem erwähnten Schriftsteller genau angegeben. Was die äussere Beschreibung der Handschriften betrifft, so ist von jeder genau die Anzahl der Blätter, welche sie umfasst, die Zahl der Zeilen auf jeder Seite (um von dem Umfang des Werkes einen ungefähren Begriff zu geben), so wie der Schriftcharakter, dessen sich der Schreiber bediente, angegeben. Wo der Name des letzteren, so wie die Zeit, in welcher er seine Arbeit vollendete, angegeben sind, ist beides auch im Katalog beigelegt'.

PERTSCH (1878: v-viii) explained his ideal guiding principles (emphasis added), from which he had departed in earlier and later cataloguing work, most clearly in his introduction of volume 1 of his catalogues of the manuscripts in Arabic at the Gotha library:

'Ich bin bemüht gewesen, von jedem Werke Titel und Verfasser, sowie das Zeitalter des letzteren ausfindig zu machen. Womöglich habe ich nachzuweisen gesucht, wo biographische Daten über den Verfasser zu finden sind; über die beschriebenen Werke habe ich mich bestrebt möglichst vollständige bibliographische Nachweise zu geben, sowohl was Ausgaben u. dergl., als auch was Handschriften betrifft, welche als vorhanden bekannt sind. In letzterer Beziehung bin ich dem Beispiel des Leidener Kataloges gefolgt und glaube gerade durch die vollständige Aufzählung aller in anderen Bibliotheken vorhandenen Handschriften der von mir beschriebenen Werke meiner Arbeit einen besonderen Werth gegeben zu haben. Die Capiteleintheilung der

Of all the catalogues he reviewed, Klatt was clearly most interested in the teacher-disciple lineages documented in volume one of Ahlwardt's catalogue, and in Ahlwardt's (not entirely coherent) typology of the forms of constructing accounts of traditions found in the texts in the second volume. There, AHLWARDT (1889: 2) divided his section on 'Tradition' in thirteen sub-sections: Tradition in general (transmission via a teacher-lineage); six main traditions; other large traditions; smaller traditions or collections of traditions (*Traditionssammlungen*); tradition-books; singular traditions; chain-traditions (*Ketten-Traditionen*), that is, a chain of Korān-reciters; multiple-chain traditions (*Mehrreihige Traditionen*); discontinued (or incorporated) traditions (*Aufgehobene Traditionen*); inauthentic traditions (*Unächte Traditionen*); fragments (*Bruchstücke*); lexical items in the tradition (Lexikalisches); concealed expressions (verdeckte Ausdrücke), that is, allusions to unmentioned individuals.⁵⁰⁹

A comparison of the reviewed catalogues with Klatt's *Jaina-Onomasticon*, which was conceived as a bio-bibliographical catalogue of catalogues, ideally covering the entire then known literature of and about the Jainas accessible through published catalogues and manuscripts, shows how much Klatt must have learned from the different approaches taken by the expert cataloguers working on the manuscripts of the Royal Library. As to the significance of bio-bibliographical work, which was never explicitly expressed by Klatt himself, his remarks on Ahlwardt might as well apply to Klatt's later work itself. Given his own interest in what nowadays would be labelled historiography, sociobibliography and prosopography, it is clear, why Klatt was fascinated by Ahlwardt's work, and, had he lived longer, might have pursued his own investigations of Jaina literary history along similar lines as those indicated in Ahlwardt's 'Tradition' section.

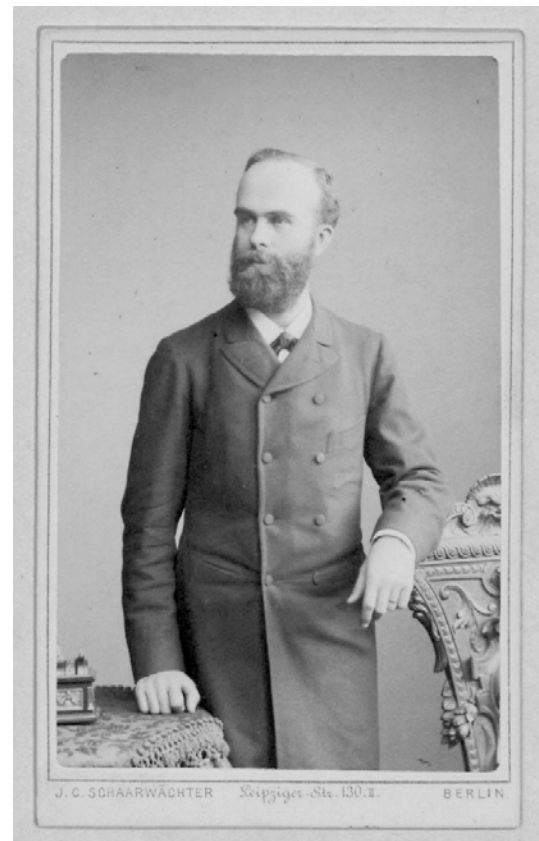


Fig. 3 Johannes Klatt, ca. 1885, Photo: J. C. Schaarwächter (Portr. Slg. / Bibl. kl / Klatt, Johannes, Nr. 1)

15. Studies in Jainology 1879-94

More than any other scholar outside India, Albrecht Weber had worked on Jaina texts, from the 1850s onwards. Hence, he was particularly qualified and interested in answering the many open questions regarding the Jaina tradition that puzzled scholars of

besprochenen Werke ist, wo dies nöthig schien und nicht bereits an einem anderen Orte geschehen war, mitgetheilt, womöglich mit den Worten des Verfassers selbst. Die Anfangsworte jedes Werkes resp. jeder Handschrift sind angegeben; bei Handschriften, welche am Ende defect sind, auch die Schlussworte, mit welchen das Fragment abbricht. Diese Anfangs- und Endworte der Handschriften sind stets diplomatisch genau (doch meist mit Weglassung der Vocale) aus den Handschriften abgedruckt, während ich mir bei Mittheilung sonstiger Texte in Beziehung auf Beisetzung einzelner Vocale und stenographischer Zeichen etwas grössere Freiheit genommen habe; doch habe ich auch hier eine irgend erhebliche Änderung nie angebracht, ohne die Lesart der Handschrift mitzutheilen. Durch Angabe der Zahl der Blätter, aus welchen jede Handschrift besteht, sowie der Zeilen, welche auf jeder Seite stehen, glaube ich für die Möglichkeit, den Umfang eines Werkes ungefähr zu berechnen, hinlänglich gesorgt zu haben.

Dem Ende des Kataloges wünschte ich sehr, photographische Facsimiles einiger paläographisch interessanten Handschriften beigeben zu können; ob es möglich sein wird, diesen Wunsch zu erfüllen, muss ich im Augenblick noch dahingestellt lassen. – Das sind die Grundsätze, nach denen ich gearbeitet habe'.

- 509 Ahlwardt's last substantial volume appeared in 1897, dealing with history and its subsidiary sciences (Hilfswissenschaften) chronology and genealogy, as well as with general- and special (regional etc.) history (Special-Geschichte), followed by an extensive section on biography, which terminates in a section on the identification of names (Namen-Feststellung), that is, on works dealing with the correct writing and pronunciation of similar personal names and family names (Gentilnamen), and epithets (Beinamen), with biographical details. The final volume of 1899 offers various indexes including indexes of personal names, texts, and a thematic index (Sachregister).

the age. Soon after the arrival of Bühler's consignments of Jaina manuscripts in Berlin,⁵¹⁰ Weber began to investigate them systematically, in view of his planned catalogue on Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts, supplementary to his *Verzeichniss der Sanskrit-Handschriften* (1853) at the KBB. He did this with characteristic enthusiasm and energy, because, as author of three of the first significant academic studies of Jaina texts,⁵¹¹ amongst them the first serious work on Jaina chronology,⁵¹² and of non-Jaina Prakrit literature,⁵¹³ with a keen interest in the history of Indian literature in general,⁵¹⁴ he was well aware of the significance of the yet unstudied Jaina materials. In the process of its creation his 'catalogue' therefore expanded in size and in the end turned out to be an edition of selected parts of these texts.⁵¹⁵ Klatt's published work on Jainism must be seen in this context. Klatt had been inspired by Weber to work on the Jaina manuscripts as well, which promised to open up a window on entirely unknown facets of Indian culture. Six significant works of Klatt, four of them written in English, were published on Jaina materials during his lifetime:

- (1) Dhanapāla's *Ṛṣabhapañcāṅgikā* (1879a),
- (2) Extracts from the historical records of the Jains (1882a),
- (3) Eine apokryphe paṭṭāvalī der Jainas (1888c),
- (4) The date of the poet Māgha (1890a),
- (5) The Samachari-Satakam of Samayasundara and paṭṭavalis of the Anchala-Gachchha and other Gachchhas (Revised with additions by Ernst Leumann) (1894a),
- (6) Specimen of a literary-bibliographical Jaina-Onomasticon (1892a, 1892b).⁵¹⁶

Most of these publications are studies of what WEBER (1891b: xi) called the 'legendary-historical literature' of the Jainas. They are frequently cited in Parts II.2-3 of his catalogue. The six publications will be briefly reviewed, before attention will turn to the Jaina-Onomasticon, Klatt's masterpiece, which,

because of the sudden deterioration of his health and changed research agendas, remained unpublished for 124 years.

(1) KLATT's (1879a) first academic article on a Jaina manuscript, Dhanapāla's *Ṛṣabhapañcāṅgikā*, a rare Jaina stotra text written in Mahārāṣṭrī verse, was published a few years after he had settled at the Royal Library. The article offers an edition of the 50 *gāthās* of the text in Nāgarī, together with a German translation, a Roman transliteration of Dharmasēkhara's Sanskrit commentary (avacūri),⁵¹⁷ Klatt's own commentary, including citations from and references to other texts, and a Prakrit-Sanskrit glossary. The edition is based on a single undated manuscript written in the town Gandhāra, which the KBB received in 1874 from G. Bühler.⁵¹⁸ Klatt's study addressed a topical issue. Dhanapāla's Prakrit dictionary Pāiyalacchī (Deśināmamālā) of VS 1029 (c. 973 CE) had just been published by G. BÜHLER (1878), who had speculated already in two earlier notes about the identity of the author.⁵¹⁹ Interest in Dhanapāla was further enhanced by JACOBI's (1878: 510) discovery - in Merutuṅga's Prabandhacintāmaṇi and in the avacūri to the Śobhana-Stutayaḥ - that the born Brahmin Dhanapāla from Mālvā is said to have been converted to Jainism by his younger brother Muni Śobhana. Jacobi had translated the latter's Sanskrit Śobhana-Stutis, directed to Ṛṣabha as well, with the help of the commentary, and on the basis of his own reconstruction of an 'original' text based on two manuscripts.⁵²⁰ Klatt's introduction cites further corroborating evidence for Bühler's and Jacobi's conjectures on the dates of Dhanapāla from the Gurvāvalī and the Paṭṭāvalī at the KBB.⁵²¹

One of the main contributions of the article is the analysis of the language of the text, which demonstrates Klatt's familiarisation with Jaina-Prakrit (pp. 447-52).⁵²² Klatt does not, however, correct the few identifiable irregularities in the text. He quotes his own doctoral dissertation in support of the valid ar-

510 Recorded in an appendix published by KLATT (1879b).

511 WEBER (1858b, 1866-67, 1868).

512 WEBER (1858b).

513 WEBER (1870).

514 WEBER (1876).

515 WEBER (1886, 1888, 1891).

516 The publications listed under (6) are discussed last, because their contents overlap with the Jaina-Onomasticon, which is discussed in the following chapter.

517 With reference to BÜHLER (1874: 14), who is not mentioned under the Jaina-Onomasticon-keyword DHARMAŚEKHARA.

518 See WEBER (1891a: 934f.) on Ms. No. 1966 = Berlin Ms. or. fol. 680; and Jaina-Onomasticon-keywords

ṚṢABHAPAÑCĀSIKĀ (Berlin ms. cited as: 'WEBER 1891: 934 - 5 no. 1966'), DEŚINĀMAMĀLĀ, ŚOBHANA, etc.

519 BÜHLER (1873d, 1873e: 305, 1875a, cf. 1873c). Cf. PISCHEL (1880). See Jaina-Onomasticon-keyword DHANAPĀLA (No. 3).

520 One in his possession and one from the KBB: Ms. or. fol. 668.

521 KLATT (1879a: 445). See also BÜHLER (1882: 568-70) on the biography of Dhanapāla. KLATT (1882a: 253, Fn. 50) supplements the Tapāgaccha Paṭṭāvalī reference to Dhanapāla with a citation from the Prabhāvakacaritra 17.194, and refers to his 1879a article.

522 Cf. E. MÜLLER (1876).

gument that, often, copyists of Prakrit verse ‘sometimes insert a grammatical mistake to bring out the metre’,⁵²³ which generally are cases of *Verschlimmbesserung*. LEUMANN (1883b: 249, Fn. 1) subsequently pointed to the significance of the ways in which the e and o vocals are represented in the script for the dating of manuscripts, though KLATT (1879a: 446) in his article did not accept as ‘proof’ that a text can be dated to the ‘last 3 ½ centuries’ (1530ff.) if the vocals are represented by strokes above the consonants, because this is also the case in a manuscript used by JACOBI (1878), which is dated VS 1486 (c. 1429/30). His suggestion⁵²⁴ that v. 32 offers the oldest reference to the game of chess in Indian literature was questioned by WEBER (1891a: 934, Fn. 5), who, with a subtle reference to his own earlier article on ‘Einige Daten über das Schachspiel nach indischen Quellen’ (1873), which Klatt did not cite, suggested that backgammon (tric-trac) must have been referred to by the word *phalaya* (Skt. *phalaka*, gaming-board) in v. 32;⁵²⁵ an option, which KLATT (1879a: 466) himself discussed, while following the questionable view of the commentary, which explains *phalaka* with *caturaṅga*, ‘army consisting of four parts,’ a designation for chess which became current only from the 10th century.⁵²⁶ The difference of opinion shows that Klatt wrote his article without substantial input of his teacher Weber.⁵²⁷

With this first research article, which raised many interesting questions, Klatt established himself as a Prakrit scholar and as an expert in Jaina Studies,⁵²⁸ having edited ‘the first specimen of a Jaina stotra composed in Jaina Prākṛit’,⁵²⁹ discussed its

language, contributed to the debate on Dhanapāla’s identity,⁵³⁰ to the question of the oldest reference to chess, and, not least, to the understanding of the role of Rṣabha in Jaina culture.

As an ‘Appendix’ to his article KLATT (1879b: 478-80) published a plain list of the titles and numbers of Jaina manuscripts which, through Bühler’s efforts, came to the KBB between 1873 and 1876. Non-canonical Jaina manuscripts, including the Rṣabhapañcāśikā, are listed alphabetically in a subsequent section.⁵³¹ The two lists are accompanied by an introductory note that points to (Weber’s) forthcoming catalogues of Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts, in order to explain why no further details are given. Apart from the titles of the texts, Klatt’s two lists offer only additional information on the names of their authors (if applicable) and on the titles, authors and dates of the commentaries that are generally incorporated in the Berlin manuscripts, which were taken from the *Gurvāvalī* and the *Paṭṭāvalī* at the KBB on which he was working at the time.⁵³²

For all practical purposes, the appendix is a separate publication.⁵³³ It is likely that it represents the published version of the otherwise untraceable ‘*Specialverzeichniss*’ of the catalogue ‘*Manuscripta Orientalia*’, which Klatt is said to have prepared from 1873 onward.⁵³⁴ After the brief introduction, a list of titles and numbers of manuscripts of each of the ‘45 Āgamas’ in the KBB is presented in the form of G. BÜHLER’s (1873a) handwritten classification of ‘The 45 Sacred Texts of the Jainas’,⁵³⁵ a list which was first published, with minor amendments, by JACOBI (1879a: 14, Fn. 2), to whom Klatt refers, and

523 KLATT (1879a: 451f.):

‘Trotzdem habe ich mich nicht entschliessen können, in den c. 20 Fällen die Lesart der Handschrift zu ändern, weil die Handschrift mit grosser Sorgfalt geschrieben ist, [...] und weil die Handschriftensreiber [...] ja manchmal einen grammatischen Fehler hineinsetzen, um nur das Metrum herauszubringen, s[iehe] meine Diss[ertation] de 300 Cāṇakya sententiis p. 27’.

524 KLATT (1879a: 465-7).

525 Weber indirectly refers to A. van der LINDE’s (1881: 4f.) indication of Klatt’s ‘Fehlschluss’; which may have been influenced by Stenzler’s wrong translation of *phalaka* as ‘chess-board’ that was copied by BÖHTLINGK (1864: 122, Indische Sprüche 2294), which WEBER (1873a: 565) had pointed out: ‘Die hier vorliegende Übersetzung von *bhuvanaphalaka* direkt durch “Schachbrett der Erde” ist durch nichts motiviert; *phalaka* bedeutet nur Brett im Allgemeinen. Das Trictrac wird eben auch gar nicht auf dem Schachbrette selbst, sondern auf der innern Seite desselben gespielt, die durch roth- und Schwarz oder sonst wie gefärbte Felder (“Häuser” sagt unser Text) bezeichnet ist.’ See also LINDE (1874: 62) and LÜDERS (1907: 66), who cites the verse from Klatt, with a new translation of his own.

526 With reference to Van der LINDE (1874: 78ff., 1881: 259), THIEME (1962: 215) notes that ‘[c]hess combined with dicing and played by four players (*catūraṅgi*) is safely traceable only to texts from the 2nd millennium, A.D. (earliest possible, but by no means sure, allusion in Dhanapāla’s Rṣabhapañcāśikā 32 (end of 10th century, A.D.))’, while chess is ‘already known to Patañjali’.

527 KĀPAḌIYĀ (1933: 99) still interpreted the word *phalaya*, like Klatt, as ‘chess-board’ (*śataraṅjanam pāṭiyam*).

528 See WEBER (1881: vii, Fn. 11).

529 KLATT (1879b: 445).

530 For a review of the subsequent literature on Dhanapāla, see YADAVA (1982: 1-32).

531 KLATT (1879b: 480-78).

532 See KLATT (1882a).

533 Hence it is given an additional separate reference here: KLATT (1879b).

534 KBB (Accessio manuscriptorum 1863-1886, Nr. 10427-10546, 10567-10637, 10656-10772).

535 For a photo, see FLÜGEL (2014a: 38), and Fn. 2-6 for further literature on the subject.

later again, with different amendations, by WEBER (1883a: 225f.; 1888-92 vol. 17: 285 / 1999: 11).

The lists which first Jacobi and then Klatt published in 1879 derived both from Bühler's unpublished letter, yet differ slightly in several aspects. In contrast to Jacobi, who only partially abbreviates Bühler's original Sanskrit titles of the Prakrit texts, Klatt omits the suffixes -aṅga and -sūtra that Bühler used in entirety; except for the cases of 'Nandīsūtra' and 'Anuyogadvārasūtra', because both of them doubled as section titles, and are given in this form in Bühler's list. Jacobi classified the texts Nandī and Anuyogadvāra together under a new untitled section 'V', and therefore gives only six sections, in contrast to Bühler's seven. He thus was able to refer to the second text simply as 'Anuyogadvāra', though, strangely, retaining 'Nandīsūtra'. Bühler's handwritten list classifies the 45 Āgama texts into the following seven sub-sections,⁵³⁶ which Klatt's account retains:⁵³⁷

- I. 11 Angas
- II. 12 Upāṅgas
- III. 10 Payannas
- IV. 6 Chhedasūtras
- V. Nandīsūtram
- VI. Anuyogadvārasūtram
- VII. 4 Mūlasūtras

The spelling of the titles of the texts listed under these categories by Bühler, Jacobi and Klatt do not entirely correspond to current standards, set by

SCHUBRING (1926: viii-ix; 1935 § 41: 57) for the Prakrit originals and by PUNYAVIJAYA, MĀLVANIYĀ and BHOJAKA (1968: 25f.) for their Sanskrit equivalents,⁵³⁸ replacing WEBER (1883a) in this respect as the principal reference. Bühler has for instance 'Rājapraçñīsūtram', 'Nirayāvalisūtram', 'Tandulaveyalisūtram', 'Gaṇividya[rakīṇaka]-sūtram', etc., Jacobi 'Rājapraçña', 'Nirayāvalī', 'Taṇḍulavaiaīlī', 'Gaṇivīja', etc., and Klatt 'Rājapraçñī', 'Nirayāvalī', 'Tandulavaitālika', 'Gaṇividya', etc. Klatt evidently follows Bühler more closely than Jacobi, as regards the Sanskrit translation of the original Prakrit titles in the manuscripts at the KBB, and probably after consultation with Weber, who later expressed his doubts about the form and meaning of three of the 45 titles he adopted, with amendments, from Jacobi.⁵³⁹ He notes that the 'Pañcakalpa', Bühler's 'Panchakalpasūtram' and Jacobi's 'Pāñcakalpa', was missing in the Berlin collection,⁵⁴⁰ as was the Piṇḍaniryukti, the 'fourth Mūlasūtra'.⁵⁴¹

Albeit contributing to the effective canonisation of the 45-list, by way of dissemination,⁵⁴² Klatt observes that Bühler's list differs from MITRA's (1876: 67), with 50 variant and differently classified titles, based on information in the printed text Siddhāntadharmaśāra: A Collection of Jain Hymns and Songs (Bombay 1872).⁵⁴³ The fact that no 'standard list' of '45' Śvetāmbara-Āgamas can be verified in the textual corpus of the (Mūrtipūjaka) Śvetāmbara Jainas itself is reflected in the tentative

536 Read: Aṅga(s), Upāṅga(s), Prakīṇaka(s) (Pkt. Painṇa), Chedasūtra(s), Nandīsūtra, Anuyogadvārasūtra, Mūlasūtra(s).

537 BÜHLER (Letter to Albrecht Weber 1873). The origins of this classification are not entirely clear, although historical precursors of '45' texts have been identified by WEBER (1883a: 225, Fn. 2), KAPADIA (1941/2000: 30, 58 / 28, 53), and BHOJAKA (1984: 76, Fn. 1) in three texts of the 16th and 14th centuries respectively. KAPADIA (1941: 58) argued that 'the number of Āgamas was fixed as 45 at least by the time [the] *Vīyārasāra* was composed' by Pradyumnasūri in the 14th C. (V.S.) (PRADYUMNASŪRI No. 4 in the Jaina-Onomasticon), and BHOJAKA referred to the list in Pradyumnasūri's *Vicārasāraprakaraṇa* (Āgamodaya Samiti, 1923) vv. 344-352, which is almost identical to Bühler's. Only the category of Prakīṇaka is not clearly mentioned. Hence, the modern scholarly canon is rooted in the tradition, which, however, was as fluid as its 20th century textbook representations.

538 The use of Sanskrit equivalents for Prakrit titles was criticised by PISCHEL ([1900] 1955/1999 § 19: 22, Fn. 1) as an 'objectionable practice that has become customary'.

539 Regarding 'Taṇḍulavaiaīlī', 'Candāvīja', 'Gaṇivīja', WEBER (1883a: 226, Fn. 1) writes: '[D]iese Namen sind nach Form und Bedeutung unsicher'. Cf. WEBER

(1888-92 vol. 17: 285, Fn. 34 / 1999: 11, Fn. 34) (with inaccurate translation): 'These names, both as regards form and signification are either of doubtful explanation, or are involved in obscurity'. WEBER (1883a: 439, Fn. 2; 1888-92 vol. 21: 111, Fn. 55 / 1999: 156, Fn. 799):

'It is uncertain how we are to translate or explain this. In aṅgas 2,1,2 *veyāliya* is = *vaidārika*, in *dasaveāliya* = *vaikālika*. In ms. or. fol. 1075 the title is translated by *taṇḍulavaitālikam*; and also in Kashinath (the state of a child in the womb, its birth, etc.)'.

SCHUBRING (1969: 21) has: Pkt. Tandulaveyāliya, Skt. Taṇḍulavaicārika.

540 Its contents are only known through the *cunṇi* (SCHUBRING 1935 § 52: 79 / 2000 § 52: 114).

541 KLATT (1879b: 480).

542 Cf. BRUHN's (1981: 12) distinction between the 'old (science of religion) concept of canon', "canon" of preceding research', and subjective selection of 'old works' or 'old literary material'.

543 See BLUMHARDT: Catalogue of the India Office II.V 1908. The discrepancy is discussed more elaborately by WEBER (1883a: 225f.; 1888-92 vol. 17: 285f. / 1999: 11f.), without reference to Klatt's earlier publication. It may be deduced from this that Weber was a vital source for KLATT (1879b).

and fluid nature of the presentation of the ‘Jaina-Siddhānta’ in the publications of JACOBI (1879a), KLATT (1879a), BÜHLER (1882),⁵⁴⁴ and WEBER (1891a).⁵⁴⁵ The situation was aptly characterised by WEBER (1883a: 228f.; 1888-92 vol. 17: 285f. / 1999: 12f.):

‘If, now, [...] it is manifest that even the parts of the Siddhānta are at present uncertain, we have herein a sure proof of the unsettledness and uncertainty which attaches to the entire writings of the Jains. [...] If we do not discuss at length the problem as to whether we are to consider all the 45 *āgamas* of Bühler’s list as collected by Devarddhigaṇi, as is the belief of Jacobi, *Kalpās*. p. 16, we must accept *this* as a fact; that their present state cannot be that to which they were possibly brought by him’.⁵⁴⁶

(2) Besides his library duties and commitment to produce annual reviews for the JGW, Klatt continued to work on Jaina manuscripts after hours. In a letter to E. Kuhn from 18.1.1881, he mentioned that he was presently preoccupied with the copying of 20 manuscripts that were lent to him from the Elphinstone College in Bombay, through the kindness of K. M. Chatfield, from 1880-1896 Bühler’s successor as Director of Public Instruction.⁵⁴⁷ To begin with, he intended to publish the monastic chronicles (*paṭṭāvali*/-ī and *gurvāvali*/-ī) of the Kharatara- and Tapā-gaccha Śvetāmbara traditions:

‘I am now occupied with the transcription of the 20 Jaina manuscripts which I was lent from Bombay. I want to publish first of all the *paṭṭāvalis* of the Kharatara- and the Tapāgaccha. For the reason alone that the Jainas in India are mostly rich merchants, does one need to study their religion, and not Buddhism’.⁵⁴⁸

This brief remark indicates that in 1881 Klatt increasingly immersed himself in researching Jaina

history and historiography, which, as the case of Dhanapāla taught him, is the very foundation for source-critical literary history. His main (unstated) question was: Who were the named authors of the many Jaina manuscripts that reached Europe and when and where did they live? In 1880, Klatt probably had not yet started systematically to collect bio-bibliographical material for a Jaina-Onomasticon. Most likely, he was initially following the trace of Dhanapāla, who is also mentioned in the paragraph in his reconstructed ‘historical record’ of the Tapāgaccha,⁵⁴⁹ and of authors of other texts that were studied at the time. In his letter, he evidently also felt the need to explain, why he is not focusing on Buddhist literature, like Kuhn himself, but on Jaina texts, whose stereotypical lack of ‘poetic value’ he had remarked upon himself in his first published article,⁵⁵⁰ arguing that the political-economic significance of the Jainas in South Asia alone justifies focusing the attention of the cultural historian on their religious literature. This argument is still widely used today, although it puts the cart before the horse, as far as Jainism is concerned, and does not tally with the value of *Bildung*, which one would expect to have been emphasised by a salaried academic like Klatt.

The tangible outcome of Klatt’s investigation of the Jaina chronicles, over a period of fifteen years, between 1877 and 1892, were three important articles, which are still consulted today.⁵⁵¹ The fact that they appeared at six-year intervals, the last one edited and published by E. Leumann in 1894, can be explained by the numerous other demands on Klatt’s time, not least his bibliographical work for the DMG until 1888, and finally his illness, that prevented him from completing the last article himself. It is evident that all three publications were produced in tandem with Klatt’s work on the Jaina-Onomasticon, whose entries frequently refer to them.

544 In an appendix BÜHLER (1882: 577-9) published a list of 45 ‘canonical’ texts in Nāgarī script, ‘Liste der canonischen Bücher der Jainas’, which was given to him in 1871 by ‘a learned yati’, and subsequently confirmed by other Śvetāmbara monks, with whom he discussed it, amongst them the Kharataragaccha monk Jinamuktisūri, on whom see BÜHLER (1883), translated in FLÜGEL (1998/1999: 3ff.). The list is linguistically mixed in Prakrit and Sanskrit, orthographically faultless, and in structure and content identical with the list in the letter to Weber.

545 See SCHUBRING (1935 §§ 40-1: 55-7 / 2000 §§ 40-1: 78-81), BRUHN (1987).

546 Cf. FOLKERT (1993: 44-52) on ‘the Western view’ of ‘the notion of a fixed “canon”’, and WILES (2006).

547 KLATT (1882a: 245). LEUMANN (1934: i) also acknowledged that without Chatfield’s generous help, his work

on the Āvaśyaka-literature would not have been possible.

548 KLATT (Letter to Kuhn 18.1.1881). See Footnote 334. The reference to the economic significance of Jaina householders in India has remained standard till today, since it is not immediately apparent to non-specialists why so much time and effort should be spent on researching such a relatively small religious tradition.

549 KLATT (1882a: 253).

550 KLATT (1879a: 447): ‘Wiewohl das Gedicht an einigen Stellen nicht ohne Schwung ist, ist der poetische Werth im Ganzen nur gering. Als höchste poetische Schönheit erscheinen dem Verfasser Gleichklänge und Doppelsinnigkeiten, Kunststücke, in welchen er aber seinem Bruder Ćobhana nicht entfernt gleichkommt’.

551 KLATT (1882a, 1888c, 1894a).

KLATT's (1882a) much cited first study of the Jaina chronicles, 'Extracts from the Historical Records of the Jains',⁵⁵² was published in English in the widely read journal *The Indian Antiquary*. It had the greatest and most long-lasting international impact of all his publications. Its aim was to reconstruct the lines of succession of the leaders, called paṭṭadharas or sūris, of the Kharataragaccha and of the Tapāgaccha, the historically two most influential Śvetāmbara Jaina monastic traditions. The study was based on 22 manuscripts, 2 from Berlin and 20 from Bombay. For comparison, the first article on this subject published by BHĀU DĀJĪ (1822–74) (1872) on Merutuṅga's Therāvālī was also used, as well as the pioneering work on Jaina history by JACOBI (1879a, 1880a, 1880b) and WEBER (1882a);⁵⁵³ plus Hemacandra's Paṛiśiṣṭaparvan, Devendrasūri's vṛtti on the Praśnottararatnamālā, and other texts available at the KBB. Although 22 core manuscripts were used to construct, or as the title of article has it: to 'extract', as it were, a 'correct' chronological record of two important monastic lineages, KLATT (1882a: 251) starts his reconstruction of 'the' Tapāgaccha line of succession with the words '[t]he Paṭṭāvalī of the Tapāgaccha enumerates [...]' and finishes it with the words 'Here ends the MS' (p. 256). This suggests, either, that only one manuscript was used for the reconstruction of the Tapāgaccha line of succession (61 sūris from Suhamma to Vijayaprabha of the end of 17th century), and twenty-one manuscripts for the reconstruction of the Kharataragaccha line of succession (70 sūris from Mahāvīra to Jinaharṣasūri of the beginning of the 19th century: Saṃvat 1856), or, that Klatt used the 20 manuscripts from Bombay

only to triangulate the historical information embedded in the two manuscripts of the KBB. The matter is not entirely clear, though the latter scenario is more likely.⁵⁵⁴

Klatt's pioneering article is not a methodologically self-consciously presented document. The primary sources he used are generally not mentioned, probably to avoid overloading the article with footnotes. Only the two manuscripts from the KBB can be clearly identified with the help of WEBER (1891a: 997-1915 = Nr. 1980, 1030-156 = Nr. 1989).⁵⁵⁵ Weber's catalogue reproduces the original text-segment comprising the Berlin Sanskrit *Paṭṭāvalī* of the Kharataragaccha, and adds the relevant passage of Dharmasāgara's autocommentary and further critical notes to the Berlin Prakrit *Gurvāvalī* of the Tapāgaccha - 'as confirmation' and 'partial supplementation' of Klatt's account, which is compared throughout (pp. 999ff.). In the absence of any record of the 20 additional manuscripts sent to Klatt from Bombay, which were later deposited in the Deccan College and are presently at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (BORI) in Poona, it may never be possible to identify all of the auxiliary manuscripts he used; though WEBER (1891a: 997, Fn. 5), whose catalogue should always be consulted in conjunction with Klatt's work, provides references for two of them.⁵⁵⁶ Moreover, because Klatt's main concern was the reconstruction of the lines of succession of the two main monastic traditions of the Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaka tradition, to be able to contextualise the authors of important texts, the data offered by the chronicles are more or less taken at face value,⁵⁵⁷ especially if they coincided in different manuscripts, without much scrutiny of their accuracy

552 WEBER (1883a: 213 / 1888-92 vol. 17: 280 / 1999: 3; 1886: 192, Fn. 1, etc.; 1888: 370, Fn. 2; 389, Fn. 2; 535; 547; 612; 626, etc.; 1891a), etc.

553 WEBER's (1858a, 1858b) earlier work pertaining to Jaina chronology is not cited by Klatt.

554 WEBER (1891a: 998, Fn. 6) found that Klatt supplemented information for the last two sūris from unnamed other sources, and that Klatt utilised supplementary information from ĀTMARĀMA's (1884) Jainatattvadarśa: '[D]ie Angaben bei Klatt l. c. gehen noch über Vijayasena hinaus, beruhen resp. in ihrem letzten Theil auf Materialien, die über das vorliegende Werk hinabreichen. (Fortsetzung bis auf die Gegenwart im Jainatattvadarśa, Bombay 1884 p. 592 fg., Klatt.)'.

555 The anonymous Sanskrit *Paṭṭāvalī* of the Kharataragaccha (Nr. 1989 = Ms. or. fol. 729), and the Prakrit *Gurvāvalīsūtram* of Dharmasāgara of the Tapāgaccha (Nr. 1980 = Ms. or. fol. 682). The *gurvāvalī*-text of the latter is identical with a section in the Kalpasūtra-text Nr. 1886 = Ms. or. fol. 647 (WEBER 1888: 551f.). WEBER (1891a: 997) refers in both cases to Klatt's article: 's[iehe] Klatt's hier so vielfach herangezogene, treffliche Arbeit' (also: p. 1030).

556 WEBER (1891a: 997, Fn. 5) named two *gurvāvalī* manuscripts from Bombay (later: Deccan College) used by Klatt: 'Decc. C. p. 11. 147 (hier = D). *Bhāṇḍārkar Rep.* 1883/84 p. 5 u. 311. *Rāj. L. M.* Notices 8, 139-40. ZDMG. 42, 551'. See also the note on variant information in the *paṭṭāvalī* that WEBER (1891a: 1030, Fn. 2) had received from Klatt: 'die hieraus Decc.C. p. 66 Nro. 243 (= D) mitgeteilten Varianten verdanke ich Klatt'.

557 Since he found much overlap of names and dates mentioned in the manuscripts he used, KLATT (1882a: 248, Fn. 22) put much faith in the accuracy of the chronicles, for instance by wrongly suggesting in a footnote that a reference by Jacobi to Abhayadeva as commentator of the *Uvavāi* must be wrong, because the chronicles only mention four manuscripts that he wrote 'at Anahilapāṭaka'. For differences of opinion on the data of Śīlāṅka see KLATT (1879a: 478, 1882a: 247) and WEBER (1888: 361, Fn. 1). For a query of the placement of Jinadatta (No. 44) in Klatt's reconstruction of the Kharataragaccha list, in view of the known dates of the mentioned emperor Akbar, see WEBER (p. 742).

(a potentially endless task)⁵⁵⁸ or reflection on the historiographical rhetoric of the authors of the texts, who tended to privilege the perspective of their own monastic sub-lineage.

Klatt's intention was not to produce a critical edition of the two Berlin manuscripts, but, through comparison of different *paṭṭāvalī*s / *gurvāvalī*s⁵⁵⁹ of each tradition, to (re-) construct, not unlike the manner of the respective Jaina *paṭṭāvalī*s themselves, single lines of succession to which further individuals and events are linked. Lineage segmentation, splits, extinct branches, manipulated descent constructs, and other troubling facts, were not considered by Klatt at this preliminary stage of investigation,⁵⁶⁰ and edited out.⁵⁶¹ The seeds for Klatt's later work on Jaina chronology and the Jaina-Onomasticon are, however, already evident in this publication. Nāgarī citations from the manuscripts offer access to the primary data, and footnotes include cross-references to other available sources, as well as analytical observations on questions such as the difference between the longer line of succession, starting with Mahāvīra, and the shorter 'line of teachers' (*vidyā-vaṃśa*) of the Kharataragaccha, starting with Vardhamānasūri,⁵⁶² and on the plausibility of the presented line of succession between Susthita (no. 12) and Uddyotana (no. 39) in the Kharataragaccha-*paṭṭāvalī*.⁵⁶³

JACOBI (1880b), in the introduction to his edition and translation of the *Kālakācārya-kathānakam*, had earlier argued that the historical value of the historiographic Jaina texts are 'untrustworthy', showing that not only are the canonised lists of the elders (*therāvalī*) 'based on uncertain tradition' (p. 253), but also the Jaina reports on royal dynasties before the Vikram era, which are 'partly mutually contradictory, and partly appear to be later concoctions' (p. 256).⁵⁶⁴

'Without throwing the Jaina reports entirely overboard, one nonetheless will have to maintain, that they are not based on a reliable tradition' (ib.).⁵⁶⁵

One year after KLATT's (1882a) article, Ernst LEUMANN (1883b) picked up the thread on Jaina chronology left by Jacobi and Klatt, with a comparative analysis of three versions of the *Kālaka*-legend, only one of which Jacobi had translated and examined in his previous article. Leumann's article, entitled 'Zwei weitere *Kālaka*-Legenden' (Two further *Kālaka*-legends), offers a critical assessment of the reliability of known chronologies of the Jains,⁵⁶⁶ based on a re-examination of Jacobi's, Weber's and Klatt's data⁵⁶⁷ and conjectures. In contrast to JACOBI (1880b: 256, etc.), who, like WEBER (1858a: 189) on the questionable credibility (*Glaubwürdigkeit*) of the chronological calculations offered in the *Sātruṅjaya-Māhātmya*, maintained his sceptical perspective on

558 KLATT (1882a: 248, Fn. 19) refers only once to corroborating epigraphical evidence (but several times to other primary and secondary texts). Only very few variations in the 22 manuscripts are noted. Klatt evidently looked for similarities.

559 The difference between the two terms and their referents was neither discussed by Klatt nor by WEBER (1891a: 945), who used the ambiguous term 'spiritueller Stammbaum'.

560 DUNDAS (2006: 176f.), in the most important study on the *Tapāgaccha* to date, did not attempt reconstructing the *Tapāgaccha* lineages either, but appended a list of *Tapāgaccha* sūris extracted from Klatt (1882a), who is cited elsewhere as well (pp. 191, Fn. 67; 196, Fn. 128); and an apparently identical *vaṃśa-vṛkṣa* of J. C. ŚĀH (n.d.).

561 For instance KLATT (1882a: 246, Fn.5): 'The followers of Bhadrabāhu are here omitted'. Cf. Leumann (1934: 26)

562 KLATT (1882a: 248, Fn. 18).

563 KLATT (1882a: 248, Fn. 17):

'The interval of 157 years between Susthita's death and Vikramāditya is filled up by three names (13-15), the interval of 400 years between Vajra's death and Devarddhi by eight (17-24), and the interval of the 550 years between Devarddhi and Uddyotana by fourteen (25-38). There are evidently great gaps here'.

564 Cf. JACOBI (1879a: 14).

565 JACOBI (1880b: 256):

'Aus unserer Untersuchung geht das als indirektes Resultat hervor, dass [...] die Angaben der Jains über

den betreffenden Zeitraum der indischen Geschichte theils sich widersprechen, theils wie späteres Machwerk erscheinen. Ohne die Jaina-Berichte gänzlich über Bord zu werfen, wird man doch daran festhalten müssen, dass ihnen keine sichere Tradition zu Grunde liegt'.

566 LEUMANN (1883b: 497):

'Ueber der Glaubwürdigkeit der jainistischen Chronologie herrscht noch ein vollkommenes Dunkel. Innerhin ist zu erwarten, dass Prof. Jacobi's [1879a: 256] negatives Schlussresultat mit der Zeit einem etwas günstigeren Platz zu machen haben wird'.

Leumann (p. 502) rightly distinguished between the earlier Jaina *thera*-lists, which are not very reliable, and the local lineage accounts post-Hemacandra, which are relatively reliable.

567 LEUMANN (1883b: 497) noted that the *paṭṭāvalī*s cited by Klatt (1882a) at various places use the date of death rather than the date of inauguration in their succession-lists. WEBER (1891a: 998, Fn. 1) points out to contradictory evidence not only for the early but also for the later *paṭṭadharas*. But he offers no hypothesis as to the possible reasons for this:

'[E]s ist sehr auffällig, dass wie für die ältere Zeit [...], so hier auch in Bezug auf zwei so m o d e r n e Namen [Vijayasena, Jñānasāgara, Kulamaṇḍana], die der Abfassungszeit des Textes so n a h e liegen [...], eine dgl. Differenz hinsichtlich der Stellung ihrer Träger, von denen Beiden zudem so bedeutende Leistungen vorliegen, b e s t e h e n k a n n [...]'.

the historical value of both the Jaina ‘Kathānaka-Literature’⁵⁶⁸ and the Jaina chronicles, LEUMANN (1883b: 504) concluded that, although distortions of the dates that emerged as a consequence of the replacement of the Śaka calendar by the Vikrama calendar,⁵⁶⁹ which the later Jainas preferred, can be observed, and as a result of wilful attempts at systematisation, dates ‘from the middle of the 10th century onward’ are ‘entirely credible’.⁵⁷⁰ While praising Klatt’s pioneering and ‘admirable’ contribution (p. 499, Fn. 10), Leumann (p. 502f.) nonetheless posed fundamental questions about the relationship between ‘lists of names’ and ‘lists of dates’,⁵⁷¹ and the degree of parallelism between ‘local church historical accounts’ and ‘local political chronicles’, as observed by Klatt in one instance.⁵⁷² The discussion between Jacobi and Leumann on the problem of assessing the historical content of legendary-historical Jaina texts must have been at the forefront of Klatt’s mind throughout his work on the Jaina chronicles during the following years.

At the same time Klatt was interested in the identification of the geographical locations referred to by place-names in the texts. This is evident in a brief article published in the same year. It provides a list of extracts from the medieval Jaina legendary-historical literature that refer to the town and district *Śūrpāraka* (now usually identified as modern Sopārā

north of Mumbai), whose location BURGESS (1882a, 1882b) had tried to determine in a brief article.⁵⁷³ Jinadattasūri’s 12th c. Gaṇadharasārdhaśataka v. 36, the Prabhāvakacaritra v. 1.185, Munisundara’s 15th c. Gurvāvalī v. 23, and the Kharatara-paṭṭāvalī no. 17 all mention a place named Sopārā or Sopāraka that is located in Kuṅkuṇa country.⁵⁷⁴

(3) KLATT’s (1888c) article in the Festschrift for Otto Böhtlingk, ‘Eine apokryphe Paṭṭāvalī der Jainas’, is devoted to an interesting Prakrit text of an unknown author and date named *Yugapradhāna-svarūpam* or *Yugapradhāna-paṭṭāvalī-sūtram*, ‘Aphorism on the Line of Succession of the Pre-Eminent-Personalities of the Ages’. The text is accompanied by a Sanskrit commentary, composed Śaṃvat 1685 (1629 CE) by a monk called Kalyāṇa, who belonged to the Kaṭukagaccha. Klatt relied on a single manuscript from the Bombay Collection 1873/4 No. 247 (Kielhorn catalogue), which was copied as late as 1874. The short prophetic text is unique in many respects;⁵⁷⁵ for a start, because it is one of the few known documents featuring a commentary written by a member of the Kaṭukagaccha,⁵⁷⁶ hence offering information on the line of leaders or leading monks of the Kaṭukagaccha at the end.

Their names are of course not included in the list of Yugapradhānas of the primary text, which begins with a sequence of names and dates of 141 ‘great

568 For the term see JACOBI (1932: vi).

569 As noted by WEBER (1888: 651) in one instance. See already WEBER (1858a, 1858b), and cf. LASSEN (1847). LEUMANN (1883c: 504) points to ‘obfuscations and distortions’ produced by the ‘systematisation’ attempted by the monastic Jaina chronicles after the 10th century: ‘Vollständig glaubwürdig sind bloss die Daten von der Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts ab; von den früheren muss indessen ein Theil doch wenigstens schon vor der Einführung der Vikrama-Aera fixirt gewesen sein, hat aber wohl erst um die Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts (bei dem Auftauchen paralleler Bestrebungen auf dem Gebiete der politischen Chronistik) eine geordnetere und sorgfältigere Zusammenstellung erfahren; und zwar mögen hiebei denn allerdings durch die damit verbundene Systematisierung manche Verdunkelungen und Entstellungen der wenigen Ueberkommnisse mituntergelaufen sein. Ja, auch eine grosse Reihe von factischen Irrthümern musste sich eindrängen infolge des verhängnissvoll unhistorischen Charakters der Vikrama-Aera, auf welche die Jaina-Chronisten doch mit der Zeit beinahe alle ihre Daten zu reduzieren sich veranlasst fühlten’.

570 LEUMANN (1883c: 504): ‘Vollständig glaubwürdig sind bloss die Daten von der Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts ab; von den früheren muss indessen ein Theil doch wenigstens schon vor der Einführung der Vikrama-Aera fixirt gewesen sein, hat aber wohl erst um die Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts (bei dem Auftauchen paralleler Bestrebungen auf dem Gebiete der politischen Chronistik) eine geordnetere und sorgfältigere Zusammenstellung erfahren; und zwar mögen

hiebei denn allerdings durch die damit verbundene Systematisierung manche Verdunkelungen und Entstellungen der wenigen Ueberkommnisse mituntergelaufen sein. Ja, auch eine grosse Reihe von factischen Irrthümern musste sich eindrängen infolge des verhängnissvoll unhistorischen Charakters der Vikrama-Aera, auf welche die Jaina-Chronisten doch mit der Zeit beinahe alle ihre Daten zu reduzieren sich veranlasst fühlten’.

571 LEUMANN (1883b: 502):

‘Da von vornherein streng unterschieden werden muss zwischen den blossen N a m e n-Listen und den mit diesen in Beziehung gebrachten D a t e n, so erheben sich gleichzeitig zwei parallele Fragen:

1. Wie weit lassen sich die N a m e n-Listen geschichtlich rückwärts verfolgen?

2. Wie weit die zugehörigen D a t e n?’

572 KLATT (1882a: 248, Fn. 19, emphasis added).

573 CHARPENTIER (1927: 111); referring to Burgess and Klatt (CHARPENTIER 1928: 410).

574 KLATT (1882b: 293f.). See the keyword SOPĀRAGA in the Jaina-Onomasticon for further references.

575 Cf. WEBER (1858a: 188f.) on prophecies of Mahāvīra described in the Śatruñjaya-Māhātmya 14.100ff. WEBER (1891a: 953f.) points to similar ‘wild prophecies’ in other texts, and to ‘interpolierte Prophetien ex postea’ (p. 1069, Fn. 1) or ‘secondary’ prophecies (p. 1073), etc.

576 Known to Klatt through WEBER’s (1882b) synopsis of Dharmasāgara’s (1573) Kuṇḍakauśikādītya, and the Gurvāvalī of the Tapāgaccha at the KBB (KLATT 1882a: 256, cf. KLATT, Letter to Weber 31.7.1882).

personalities' succeeding Mahāvīra. Altogether, the text projects the vision of an 'uninterrupted sequence' of 2,004 great men, covering a period of 20,987 years; starting with Mahāvīra's disciple Sudharman and 33 further Yugapradhānas, for which characteristic details are given, in addition to names and dates, and ending with summary figures for predicted future Yugapradhānas for each *udaya* (rising, here: time-period). For details, the text refers to Bhadrabāhu's work Dussamapāhuḍa (Duḥṣamāprābhṛta), and other sources (p. 58).

KLATT (1888c: 57) echoes LEUMANN (1883a: 502) in observing that of the 141 named Yugapradhānas the first 34 - ending with Mādharasambhūti (Samvat 889 = 833 CE) - are known from similar lists of past 'patriarchs',⁵⁷⁷ and, in this sense, could be regarded as 'historical'. Of the 34, the names of 6 particularly well described Yugapradhānas (no. 22-27), ending with Kālikācārya, which are 'not based on old tradition' are also found in the paṭṭāvalī of the Tapāgaccha, and in this regard can possibly be confirmed as 'historical'. The remainder, however, are otherwise unknown, and 'seem to be all invented'. At the beginning of his article, probing different interpretive perspectives, Klatt also considers the possibility that the 49 names that fall within the time before the composition of the commentary could be regarded as 'historical' (p. 54). However, since the last 15 of these 49 names could not be found in any other text at hand, and hence seemed to be inventions, he turns to a different interpretation, namely that the date of the composition of the primary text could be inferred from this apparent switch of perspective from the (legendary-) historical to the prophetic at the time of the 34th Yugapradhāna Mādharasambhūti: 'Maybe the base text was composed at this time and comprised the following names and dates as prophecies' (p. 57).

Following on from Jacobi's and Leumann's attempts at discriminating 'legendary' and 'historical' segments within the then known chronologies of past 'patriarchs', Klatt thus presented a previously unknown type of Jaina chronicle that projects chronological history from the point of view of a historical present both into the past and into the future, thus combining history and legend with prophecy (a widespread feature of chronicles across the world). The conclusion of LEUMANN's (1883a: 504) article that 'entirely credible are only the dates from the

middle of the 10th century onward' was thus put in its place.

Klatt discovered and described in his article additional ways in which fact and fiction have been combined in the historiographical constructions of the Jains, which further complicated the quest for the 'historical core' of the Jaina chronologies, which necessitated the distinction of different types of historiographical 'invention', pointing to the past, and pointing to the future.

With the selection of this short 'apocryphal' text Klatt demonstrated his extensive knowledge of Indian and particularly Jaina historiographical literature, of which he was already a leading expert at the time. Not only did he introduce new material, he also addressed a new question in this article. A question that he had not yet considered himself in his first study of Mūrtipūjaka paṭṭāvalī eight years earlier: 'What then is the historical value of the names and dates that are communicated about the first 49 patriarchs?'⁵⁷⁸ He concludes that, although the presentation of precise dates, such as those given for Yugapradhānas of past and future in the present text, are no guarantee for the reliability of a historical source, since one can easily invent them, 'it would be an error, to deny our texts all historical value'. After all, the unknown author of the Yugapradhāna-paṭṭāvalī-sūtra made use of 'traditional' sources as far as Yugapradhānas 1-10 are concerned (Sudharman-Suhastin) (which does not mean these sources are reliable). Yet, 'the whole is devised in such a way as to create an uninterrupted series (paramparā) of holy teachers from Vīra until the final days'. This is done on a speculative basis by delimiting a stretch of time, with reference to the dogma of the future decline of the Jaina tradition within the present half of the current time cycle, and to divide it into 23 definite periods (udaya). In the Yugapradhāna-svarūpa the future is presented from the perspective of a transcendent observer, as a past future (although, as Klatt showed, an immanent perspective is presupposed from the point of view of the recipient of the text, seeking to locate him-/herself inside this frame).⁵⁷⁹ In this way, 'historical chronology' was embedded in a cosmological Jaina model of world-epochs, or, rather, open ended historical time integrated into the model of cyclical time. Klatt does not analyse the historiographical rhetoric of the text, but proves the artificiality of the construct by pointing to the implausible attempt to fit 23

577 Klatt refers to Merutuṅga's Therāvalī of Samvat 1362 (BHĀU DĀJĪ 1872).

578 KLATT (1890a: 54): 'Wie steht es nun mit dem historischen Wert der von den ersten 49 Patriarchen mitgeteilten Namen und Daten?'

579 The so-called traikālya-vāda.

Yugapradhānas into the set period of 1,346 years of the second udaya, which results, on average, in a 'reign' of 60 years for each, although historically verified data show only an average of 20 years.⁵⁸⁰ Hence, '[a]ll statements that are not confirmed otherwise are therefore to be accepted with caution'.⁵⁸¹ The question remains, of course, what type of information counts as corroborating evidence.

In this article, Klatt explicitly adopted a source-critical stance on Jaina historiography. He clearly demonstrated, although not in so many words, that the word *paṭṭāvalī* ('line/list of succession', sometimes translated as 'chronicle'), refers in the first instance to a literary format. Although they imply a claim to factual accuracy by providing precise information on names, dates and places in a chronological sequence, the boundaries between historiography and fiction are fluid in many, if not most chronicles, not only as far the past is concerned, but also in view of the future.⁵⁸²

Like most scholars at the time, in his article Klatt did not, however, question the sociological fiction, projected by its source, that one *yugapradhāna*, or famed teacher, succeeds another, just like a *paṭṭadhara*, or occupier of the throne, who legally reigns over a monastic order. The ubiquitous use of the translation 'patriarch' for both, as in KLATT's (1882a: 54) 'patriarch of the Jaina church', did not help resolving the ambiguity. It took a further forty-four years for JACOBI (1932: xv) to distinguish clearly between 'patriarchs' and 'yugapradhānas' and finally presenting a convincing proof for the fact that the list of the so-called patriarchs, comprising the names of 13 immediate successors of Mahāvīra, from Jambū to Vajra, transmitted in both the short and long versions of the Therāvalī (Skt. Sthavirāvalī), cannot possibly have represented a line of succession of group-leaders or a teacher-disciple relationship.⁵⁸³

'Our inquiry into the structure of the Therāvalī will have convinced the student that it does not

furnish, as it pretends to do, a connected line of patriarchs succeeding each other as teacher and disciples, but a patched up list of those patriarchs whose memory survived in oral or literary tradition, while the rest of them had fallen into utter oblivion. As the chroniclers had to work on insufficient, though in part very good materials, they failed to produce a connected history of the patriarchs' (pp. xix-xx).

He further suggested that, although the names of patriarchs (thera) in certain parts of the Therāvalī might, nevertheless, have a 'degree of trustworthiness', the names enumerated in succession lists after Vajra (no. 13) cannot have been patriarchs linked by succession, but were only Yugapradhānas:

'The famous teachers after Vajrasena from Kālaka down to Haribhadra, whose lives have been included in the Kahāvalī, are, as said above, decidedly Yugapradhānas and have no claim to be regarded as patriarchs even in a restricted sense of the term' (p. xv).

JACOBI (1932: xi) pointed out how the coherent narratives of a history of succession after Mahāvīra that emerged in the early medieval period, based on older lists of more or less (un-) connected individuals, might have been constructed through the artificial combination of variously transmitted stories about these individuals, which were composed between the 1st and 8th centuries C.E. (the period of the Kathānaka literature):

'The idea of constructing a continuous history of the patriarchs by combining Kathānakas about them was probably suggested by the Cūrṇi of the Āvaśyaka itself. For the Kathānakas related in Āv. VIII 41-49 present one complete period, viz., that of Vajra, Āryarākṣita, and Vajrasena, the subject of Sthavirāvalīcaritra XII and XIII. Following up this precedent the next step was no doubt to collect and put together the Kathānakas of the

580 A similar argument was used by JACOBI (1932: xvii-xviii).

581 KLATT (1890a: 54f.): 'Alle Angaben, die nicht anderweitig bestätigt werden, sind daher mit Vorsicht aufzunehmen'.

582 Cf. FLÜGEL (2010: 358-60, 376f., 412).

583 See JACOBI (1884: 8). JACOBI (1932: xviii), who accepts the '7 schisms', that are briefly mentioned in the siddhānta and more extensively described in Āvaśyakaniryukti 8.56-100, to have been historical events, because precise dates and descriptions are given in the sources, points to a veritable 'error' in the Jaina chronology by comparing the dates and names of the seven 'heretics' with the names mentioned in the longer redaction of the Therāvalī (and concludes that there must have been many more theras to cover the entire time-period):

'As entered in the table of the schisms, the 4th and 5th heresiarchs, Āsamitta and Ganga, were disciples of Kodinna and Dhanagutta, who themselves were disciples of Mahāgiri, and the 6th heresiarch Rohagutta was a disciple of Sirigutta, disciple of Suhastin. The latter and Mahāgiri were contemporaries, being partners in the eighth patriarchate. Therefore those three heresiarchs, being *praśiṣyas* of Mahāgiri and Suhastin, must also have been contemporaneous or nearly so. Nevertheless the 4th and 5th schisms are placed in 220 and 228 A.V., and the 6th schism in 544 A.V.'

An alternative interpretation of the seven heresies in the ĀvN, as theoretically possible alternative philosophical positions rather than historical heresies, has been offered by the present writer. See SONI (2013: 23).

remaining periods from Jambū down to Vajra. The collection of the materials for the whole history of the patriarchs was achieved, probably for the first time by Bhadreśvara [c. 1100-1190, author of the *Kahāvalī*, a universal history of 63 illustrious personalities].

In other words, patched up lists of loosely connected names of *theras* were turned into continuous narratives, and those were used as the raw material for the *paṭṭāvalīs*, or “lists of succession”, connecting *Mahāvīra* with the local chronicles of the medieval *gacchas*. The idiosyncratic and ultimately unreliable retro-projections of the origins of the medieval *gacchas* and *gaṇas* back to *Mahāvīra* or his disciples, by freely using the old *therāvalī* lists and *kathās*, can help us to understand the construction of the old *therāvalīs* and the later *yugapradhāna-paṭṭāvalīs* as well. Since some of the *theras* also figure in later lists of *Yugapradhānas*, it is likely that the latter were produced in a similar way (p. xv).

Having slightly revised his views under the impression of BÜHLER’s (1887, 1888b, 1889) discovery amongst the Mathurā inscriptions of the names of 4 *gaṇas*, 8 *śākhās*, and 13 *kulas*, and of several monks of the *Suhasṭin* line that are also mentioned in the longer recension of the *Therāvalī*, JACOBI (1932: xvi) conceded that the latter ‘is based on some trustworthy tradition’. However, he adds, ‘reliable documents [...] seem to be only the *gāthās* quoted in it’, not the predominant prose sections. Ultimately, he held on to his sceptical position as to the historical value of the (longer) *Therāvalī* list:

‘Whether the list itself deserves the same credit, is open to grave doubt. For no inscription ever mentions the patriarch for the time being, our knowledge of them and their succession as exhibited in the *Therāvalī* entirely rests on literary tradition’ (ib).

With JACOBI’s (1932) ‘Introduction’, the inquiry into the historical veracity of the legendary-historical literature of the Jains, which Jacobi himself had launched fifty-three years earlier, came to some kind of conclusion, which more or less still holds today, since scholarly interest moved on to the investigation

of the Jaina universal histories. Now that the chronicles of the *gacchas* and *gaṇas* are revisited and studied in greater detail,⁵⁸⁴ the conclusion reached by the first generation of serious academic scholarship becomes pertinent again: though some names, dates and events may be verifiable, the lineage constructions offered by the texts as a whole are entirely artificial and have to be treated with utmost care. Likely, because it was written in German, and published in a *Festschrift*, the important study by Klatt, which anticipated the conclusion that ‘all statements that are not confirmed otherwise are therefore to be accepted with caution’, was unfortunately almost entirely neglected by subsequent scholarship.⁵⁸⁵

(4) With reference to a related, but more specific question raised by JACOBI (1889: 141) in his article ‘On *Bhāravi* and *Māgha*’, namely, how to determine the relative date of the famous Sanskrit poet *Māgha*, since it can not be established on the basis of his self-description at the end of the work *Śiśupālavadha*,⁵⁸⁶ KLATT (1890a: 61) argued in ‘The Date of the Poet *Māgha*’, that the Jaina text *Prabhāvākacarita*, composed in 1277/8 CE by the *Śvetāmbara* *ācārya* *Prabhacandra*, might help solving the problem. According to the information presented there, *Māgha* was a cousin of the Jaina monk *Siddharṣi*, author of the *Upamitabhavaprapaṇcākathā*. Since this text was composed in the year 906 CE, *Māgha* must have lived ‘a few decades earlier than the year 906 A.D.’.⁵⁸⁷ Klatt offers much interesting information on the contents of this previously unstudied Jaina text, including a list of chronological data invoked throughout its narrative.

In his response, ‘*Ānandavardhana* and the date of *Māgha*’, JACOBI (1890: 236) points out that the story of *Siddha* ‘is composed mainly of legendary material’, before establishing a relative date for *Ānandavardhana*, concluding that he ‘lived about the middle of the ninth century’. Since he, his older contemporary *Vāmana*, as well as *Ratnākara*, ‘the court-poet of *Bālabṛihaspati* or *Chippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa* of *Kāśmīr* (835-847 A.D.)’, both quoted or imitated *Māgha*, the latter ‘must have been earlier than the beginning of the ninth century’ (p. 244), not later than the end of the ninth century as Klatt surmised:

584 ŚIV PRASĀD (2000, 2009), FLÜGEL (2000, etc., 2010), BALBIR (2003), DUNDAS (2007), etc.

585 BALBIR’s (1991: 60, Fn. 3) seminal study on ‘*tirthaṃkaras* of the future’, does not mention Klatt’s article.

586 On manuscripts of Vallabha’s commentary, see KLATT (1890b: 183).

587 KLATT (1890a: 71). Under the keyword *MĀGHA Kavi*, the Jaina-Onomasticon offers the same information: ‘at

the time of *Siddha-vyākhyātar* (VS 962), *PRABHĀVĀKA-CARITRA* XIV: verse 3, 156’. JACOBI (1890) is referred to in a general way under *UPAMITABHAVAPRAPAṆCĀKATHĀ*. Similarly *SIDDHARṢI*. The keyword *VASUDEVA* mentions that a person of this name is said to have been ‘Father (otherwise *Suprabhadeva*) of *Dattaka*, grandfather of *Māgha*, author of *Çiçupāla-vadha*, AUFRECHT 1859: 118^a no. 194’. Cf. JACOBI (1889: 144).

‘If this legend were historically true, Vāmana and Ānandavardhana who quote verses from [Māgha’s] Śīsupālavadhā, must be younger than Māgha, and granting the correctness of the Jaina chronology, later than the end of the ninth century. On the other hand Kalhaṇa states in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī 5, 39 that Ānandavardhana became famous in the reign of Avantivarman of Kaśmir (855-884 AD). It is evident that these statements cannot be reconciled, and the question to be settled is, which of them deserves greater credit’ (JACOBI 1890: 236).

JACOBI (1890: 244) draws a strong conclusion from this:

‘The preceding discussion has deprived the Jain tradition regarding Māgha of all historical interest which DR. JOH. KLATT seems inclined to claim for it. The only interest left to it is, that it is a further instance of the well-known tendency of the Jains to connect in one way or another, on the slightest possible pretext, every Indian celebrity with the history of their creed’.

The same argument JACOBI (1889: 141) had offered already in his first article on Māgha, in which ‘the legends’ told in Vallala’s Bhojaprabandha and Merutuṅga’s Prabandhacintāmaṇi are judged to be not ‘of any use for chronological purposes’.⁵⁸⁸

‘For they would make us believe that Māgha was a contemporary of king Bhoja of Dhārā who lived in the eleventh century. This is however a palpable anachronism. For passages from the Śīsupālavadhā are already quoted in the Kāvyaṭāmkāra Vṛtti of Vāmana who must be referred to the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century. Māgha therefore must have lived before the ninth century’ (ib.).

JACOBI (1889: 141ff.) subsequently tried to show that Māgha lived ‘anterior to the seventh century’, because of similarities in poetic style in works of Bāṇa and Subandhu. He concludes: ‘We therefore cannot place Māgha later than about the middle of the sixth century’ (p. 144). It is here, where KLATT (1890a: 61) began his own, equally speculative, argument.

JACOBI (1890: 236f.) concedes at the outset that arguments on ‘general grounds’ are not very helpful, including some of his own, but reminds the reader that not everything in legendary tales that seem to contain a grain of historical truth can be taken at face value. Subsequently, the debate on the data of Māgha

was addressed by KIELHORN (1906: 728), who, with reference to an inscription from Rājputānā, inferred the data of Māgha to be ca. 650-700 CE. This conjecture was indirectly confirmed by K.B. PATHAK (1902: 304f.), who noted the significance of the grammatical treatise Kāśikāvṛtti by Jayāditya and Vāmana, and its commentary, the Nyāsa of Jinendrabuddhi. Since Māgha alludes to texts of these Buddhist authors, he must be placed after them.

It might be assumed that Jacobi’s argument could apply to some of the information Klatt assembled in his Jaina-Onomasticon. However, Klatt’s bio-bibliographical encyclopaedia does not offer interpretations of the assembled data, in contrast to his articles.

(5) KLATT’s (1894a) last published ‘article’, written in English, was not brought to press by himself, but was published (with amendments and additions based on a manuscript that had been newly acquired by the KBB) by E. Leumann, on the basis of the draft manuscript that Klatt left behind when he fell ill in 1892. The ‘article’ comprises only notes on diverse subjects related to the study of Jaina history, as its title indicates: ‘The Samachari-Satakam of Samayasundara and Pattavalis of the Anchala-Gachchha and other Gachchhas’. It can be read as a collection of materials for the Jaina-Onomasticon planned to be separately published in form of a thematic article on new findings about the monastic lineages of the Mūrtipūjaka tradition. The notes are in nine parts, eight of which contain text-based information, while the last is an inscription of an altar bronze located in the Ethnographic Museum in Munich (MFK).⁵⁸⁹

1. The first part reports on the contents of the Kharataragaccha monk Samayasundara’s *Sāmācārī-śataka*, a polemical praśnottara- (question-answer) text in Klatt’s own possession, containing much historical and other information. Klatt (p. 170) presents selected chapter headings which represent topics of debate and also gives the section titles of ‘one of the most interesting chapters’: on the debate, conducted in Saṃvat 1617 kārttika śukla 7 in Aṇahīlapāṭaka in the presence of the leaders of ‘84 gacchas’, between two leading representatives of competing Śvetāmbara traditions, Jinacandrasūri of the *Kharataragaccha* and Dharmasāgara of the *Tapā-gaccha*. At stake was the question whether Abhayadeva, the famous author of Sanskrit commentaries on nine Āgama texts, had been a member of the Kharataragaccha or not. Following the historical records of the traditions, KLATT (1882a: 248, 253) himself identified Abhayadevasūri (Saṃvat 1135 or 1139) as a member of the Kharataragaccha.

588 See also the keywords BALLĀLA and BHOJAPRABANDHA in the Jaina-Onomasticon.

589 See infra. To make it easily identifiable, in the present text also cited as KLATT (1894b).

His next paragraph reproduces the names of seventeen paṭṭāvalīs that are mentioned in Samayasundara's text, while the last part of this section is dedicated to the names of the works and authors quoted in the text.

Nalini BALBIR (2003: 253f.) offered the following assessment of Klatt's pioneering work on this text in the introduction to her own analysis of the *Sāmācārī-śataka*:

'The six pages he devotes to Samayasundara's work he entirely based on the reading of a manuscript which was in his possession. Later on, his wife handed it over to Ernst Leumann, so that it is now kept in the Strasbourg library together with the other manuscripts collected by this scholar. Since 1939 the text is available in an Indian edition, which is the document I will refer to here. KLATT's analysis of the work follows the line of his usual interests and provides basic historical information. The composition of the *Sāmācārī-śataka* was spread over three years and was finished in V.S. 1672 (= 1616 CE). It took place in Rajasthan. Samayasundara, the author, was a member of the Kharatara-gaccha. His work has also the side title *Praśnōttara-śata*. 'A number of chapters have special names', writes KLATT (1894a: 169), thereupon providing an incomplete list of such headings, whereas the rest of the investigation gives an alphabetical index of works mentioned in the *Sāmācārī-śataka*, with focus on the account of a dispute between a teacher from the Kharatara-gaccha and a rival from the Tapā-gaccha. As will be seen, the learned character of Samayasundara's book is indeed one of its main characteristics and one of the main characteristics of the literary form to which it belongs. In brief, good seeds have been sown by KLATT's observations. Yet they have to be grown and reaped in order to do full justice to the author's purpose, the real literary affiliation of his book and its richness as far as the development of Jainism is concerned'.

2. Part two offers a comparison of the names and dates in a paṭṭāvalī of the *Añcala-gaccha* or *Vidhi-pakṣa*,⁵⁹⁰ extracted from the one printed in the *Śrīmad-Vidhi-Pakṣa-Gacchīya-śrāvakaṇām* *Daivasādika Pāñce Pratikramaṇa-sūtra* (Bombay: Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, 1889, pp. 478-519), with

those in the paṭṭāvalīs of the Kharataragaccha and of the Tapāgaccha. It is followed by a list from Ācārya Ātmārāma (Vijayānandasūri) that was communicated to Klatt via Rudolph Hoernle.⁵⁹¹

In contrast to the quasi-dynastic succession lists published by Klatt in 1882, the picture that emerges from these texts is one of sectarian strife, disputation, and lineage-segmentation. In the final seven parts of Klatt's article, selected information from a variety of paṭṭāvalīs further strengthens this impression. It is presented under the following headings:

3. *Goyaraksa-śākhā* of the *Añcala-gaccha* (Poona Ms. collection 1884-86 No. 609 f. 2b).

4. Paṭṭāvalī of the *Tapā-gaccha*. This section mentions and lists six chronicles, paṭṭāvalīs and gurvāvalīs, of the Tapāgaccha tradition: (a) The *Gurvāvalī* of Dharmasāgara, which WEBER (1891a: 997-1015) had published with its auto-commentary (Klatt adds a retrospective clarification of the sources of his 1882 article); (b) the older *Gurvāvalī* of Munisundarasūri (Saṃvat 1466),⁵⁹² (c) the last chapter of Guṇaratnasūri's *Kriyāratnasamuccaya* (Saṃvat 1466); (d) Chapter IV of Devavimala's *Hīravijayacaritra* - a paṭṭāvalī transcribed by LEUMANN (1893a: 315); (e) the *Paṭṭāvalīsāroddhāra* of Ravivardhanagaṇi (Saṃvat 1739-1749) (Deccan C. p. 147, Fn. 409); and, finally, (f) the *Gurvāvalī* of Jayavijayagaṇi (Saṃvat 1680) (Deccan C. p. 39, Fn. 392 & p. 147, Fn. 402), which is dismissed as uninformative.

5. Paṭṭāvalī of the *Vijayānanda-sūri-gaccha*. The name was probably created by Klatt himself. It effectively designates an organisationally independent group of the Tapā-gaccha Vijaya-śākhā that is nowadays called Vallabhasūri-samudaya.⁵⁹³

6. Paṭṭāvalī of the *Vijaya-śākhā* (Poona MS. Coll. of 1875-6, No. 743 = Decc. C. p. 116).

7. Paṭṭāvalī of the *Vimala-gaccha* (Poona MS. Coll. of 1871-2, No. 388 = Decc. C. p. 38). Additional information is drawn from colophons and from Ācārya Ātmārāma (Vijayānandasūri) via a letter of R. Hoernle.

8. Paṭṭāvalī of the *Pārsvacandra- (Nāgapurīya-Tapā-) gaccha* (Poona MS. Coll. of 1871-2, No. 392 = Decc. C. p. 30).⁵⁹⁴

9. A note on an inscribed brass altar piece of Pārsvanātha (Ethnographic Museum Munich). This section, offering a translation of the inscription on

590 On the *Añcalagaccha* see also BALBIR (2003b). Now to be considered are the Jaina-Onomasticon-keywords: *AÑCALAGACCHA* (but not: *Acalagaccha*), *AÑCALAGANAPAṬṬĀVALĪ*, *AÑCALAMATASTHĀPANA*, *ĀÑCALIKAGACCHA*, etc., *SAMAYASUNDARA*, *SĀMĀCĀRĪ*, and numerous source-references to *SĀMĀCĀRĪ-ŚATAKA* in Klatt's text.

591 Cf. R. HOERNLE in VALLABHAVIJAYA (1936).

592 Cited by KLATT (1882a: 253, 255), LEUMANN (1883b: 502).

593 FLÜGEL (2006: 322).

594 Cf. ŚIV PRASĀD (1999).

the back of the altar piece with information on the line of succession of the *Jirāulā-* or *Jirāpallī-gaccha*.⁵⁹⁵ is effectively an appendix, and therefore here also separately cited as KLATT (1894b).

Klatt's collection of not yet analysed data, published in 1894, shows that, at this stage of his research on monastic lineages (in 1892), he had already started to investigate the sub-gaccha level of organisation, such as the *śākhās* and *samudayas* of the *Tapāgaccha*, as well as multiple, only partly overlapping lineages, that do not fit into the model of a single unilinear succession line that informed his first article on the subject. This line of inquiry was still at a preliminary stage at a time when G. BÜHLER (1887a, 1887b, 1892, 1894) offered additional textual and epigraphic evidence of the early Jaina *therāvalīs*, and August Friedrich Rudolph HOERNLE (1891, 1890, 1891), in quick succession, six further *paṭṭāvalīs*, five of which pertained to the previously entirely unknown Digambara tradition, supplementing the sources investigated by Klatt.

With the aforementioned studies on Jaina history, published between 1882 and 1894, based on manuscripts and inscriptions offering relatively reliable primary information, as far as the history of the *gacchas* and *gaṇas* and names of certain early *theras* are concerned, the broad framework was set for the academic investigation of Jaina history for years to come, though a clear understanding of the internal organisation of these traditions and groups and many details were and still are missing.

Since not all relevant materials had been collected and investigated at the time, the full history of differentiation of the *Śvetāmbara* schools, sects, orders and lineages could not be fully understood yet. Although major advances have been made in the meantime through the publication of more *Mūrtipūjaka paṭṭāvalīs*, especially by DARŚANAVIJAYA (1933, 1950), DARŚANAVIJAYA, JÑANAVIJAYA and NYĀYAVIJAYA (1952, 1960, 1964, 1983), JINAVIJAYA (1961), KALYĀNAVIJAYA (1966), and the synthesising efforts in particular of M. D. DEŚĀI (1926, 1931a, 1944, 1986-97), M. U. K. JAIN (1975), and ŚIV PRASĀD (1999, 2000, 2009), and others, the organisational history of the *Mūrtipūjaka Śvetāmbara* tradition,⁵⁹⁶ which alone interested Klatt in this and his 1882 article, is still not

fully reconstructed. Although Klatt's articles on the Jaina chronicles are pioneering efforts and in certain aspects or details somewhat dated now, they remain still extremely valuable for a first orientation, and are often cited. Klatt's two articles in English, the first and the last of the three, which naturally had the greatest impact, were translated into Gujarati and published in the journal *Sanātān Jain* with additions and comments by M. D. DEŚĀI (1907, 1907-1908a, 1907-1908b), and were twice reprinted in DEŚĀI (1931 & 1997a, 1997b, 1997c).⁵⁹⁷

(6) Klatt mentioned his research project on the *Jaina-Onomasticon* only once in his literary estate, in the penultimate of his letters to E. Kuhn of 8 March 1891. The letter contains an oblique hint at his preoccupation with a 'catalogue' which he modestly describes as a 'supplement' to T. AUFRECHT's (1891) *Catalogus Catalogorum*, the first volume of which had just been published.

Fourteen months later Klatt found himself hospitalised and forced to hand over the responsibility for publishing the last work that he had prepared himself for the press to A. Weber and E. Leumann. It was the *Specimen of a literary-bibliographical Jaina-Onomasticon*, an edited extract from the English *Jaina-Onomasticon* which was swiftly published in a short version (KLATT 1892a) and in a longer version (KLATT 1892b). In the spring of 1892, at Weber's request, Klatt had prepared a specimen of his manuscript, of which, according to WEBER (1892: iii), 1,402 handwritten pages had already been completed for the press (up to the keyword *daṇḍaka*) at the time.⁵⁹⁸ The short version, entitled 'Specimen eines Jaina-Onomastikons', was presented by Weber to the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin on the 21 April 1892.⁵⁹⁹ It was not unusual for presentations to the Akademie der Wissenschaften to be presented not by the author himself but by a mentor from the ranks of its members. Because the original manuscript of the Specimen of 211 handwritten pages considerably exceeded the allocated space, however, only a sample of 13 pages could be read and subsequently published in the Proceedings of the Royal Academy (SPAW). Determined to present the full text of the Specimen to the public, Klatt instigated the publication of a separate book of 55 pages. He managed to prepare the first 40 pages himself. Due to

595 See Footnote 650.

596 For a contemporary snapshot of the group structure of the current Jain mendicant traditions, including the Digambara traditions, see FLÜGEL (2006) and the literature cited therein.

597 KLATT (1907, 1907-1908a, 1907-1908b, cf. 1997a, 1997b, 1997c).

598 WEBER (1892: iii): 'bereits druckfertig, bis d a ṇ ḍ a k a, auf 1402 Seiten'. Weber must have based this statement of hearsay, because the surviving manuscript was by no means publishable, not even the pages up to *daṇḍaka*, which do not differ much from the rest – on the contrary, the first part comprises the pages which posed the greatest challenges for transcription.

599 KLATT (1892a).

the deterioration of his health, the remaining 15 pages were corrected by Ernst Leumann. However, both versions of the Specimen offer only a glimpse of the monumental work that Klatt had prepared over a period of ten years, and nearly completed.

16. The Jaina-Onomasticon

Klatt started to collect bio-bibliographical information related to the Jaina tradition from around 1882 onward. As much was indicated by LEUMANN (1894: 169, Fn. 2), who, like WEBER (1891b: xviii), and many other scholars, frequently interrogated Klatt for historical and bibliographic details on specific texts and authors.⁶⁰⁰ It is not evident, whether at this stage Klatt had already a clear vision and research plan for the text that he would eventually produce,⁶⁰¹ that is, an alphabetically structured collection of proper names of persons, works, and places pertaining to the history of the Jaina tradition, as mentioned mainly in post-canonical Jaina and related texts, supplemented by additional bio-bibliographical information. The prime purpose of the work was evidently to serve as a tool for literary historical research. In an unpublished note, which must have been written after 1892, Leumann praises Klatt for having given in the Jaina-Onomasticon a systematic account of relevant information that had been made accessible in the period between 1884 and 1892.⁶⁰² Hence, Klatt may have started to work on a Jaina-Onomasticon in earnest only from 1884 onwards.

Klatt conducted his research almost clandestinely, in private, apparently without discussing it with anyone, except for Weber, Leumann, and maybe Bühler and Jacobi. By the late 19th century, it had become widely acknowledged that grand dictionary and encyclopaedia projects, such as Klatt's, could only be undertaken by a collective effort.⁶⁰³ In Berlin, Theodor Mommsen's collaborative mega-project on the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, which commenced in 1853, played a paradigmatic role in this respect. Klatt's Jaina-Onomasticon,⁶⁰⁴ by contrast, was planned from the outset as the work of a single individual, with a little help of his friends. Even amongst the many unavoidably over-ambitious

ventures in Jaina Studies, it stands out as a project of almost unmanageable scope, given the need of integrating a constantly increasing influx of new data into an ever growing manuscript, which effectively became an open ended document (see Figure 9).⁶⁰⁵ The feasibility of alternative approaches was not seriously considered. Expertise in Sanskrit and Prakrit philology, and in Jaina Studies in particular, was thinly spread, and access to relevant sources only possible at a handful of research libraries in Europe and India; arguably only in Bombay, London, and Berlin. This fact alone explains why Klatt worked independently, and possibly over-exerted himself in doing so. Before the unstated scientific rationale of his project can be ascertained, Klatt's sources, method of compilation, and choice of format for the Jaina-Onomasticon need to be examined; three intrinsically connected aspects, which, in conjunction with a consideration of the intellectual context of Klatt's project, offer clues as to what the unstated aims of this long-term project might have been.

(A) Secondary and primary sources

Klatt's Jaina-Onomasticon is an alphabetically structured bio-bibliographical index or encyclopaedia for the systematic study of the literary and religious history of the Jaina tradition. It is not a thematic index. It was produced on the basis of an enormous body of freshly available aggregate data, comprising both non-Jaina and Jaina sources. To render relevant information embedded in diverse sources visible by way of further reduction of complexity, the data needed to be filtered, selected, further investigated, re-described and re-ordered. Klatt's principal sources were the reports on the search for Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts in India and manuscript catalogues that were published particular in India in great number from 1869 onwards.⁶⁰⁶ These compilations of new information on hitherto unknown primary sources, generally presented in the form of plain lists, sometimes accompanied by excerpts from the original texts, were state of the art and produced only for a select group of specified learned institutions and named scholars in India, Europe, and

600 E.g. LEUMANN (1883b: 249, Fn. 2) on the authors Bhāvadeva and Dharmaprabha. See Jaina-Onomasticon-keywords: BHĀVADEVA, BHĀVADEVASŪRI, DHARMAPRABHASŪRI.

601 The word *onomasticon* designates a 'collection of names'. It derives from Greek *onomastikós*, 'of or belonging to naming', a derivative of *onomázein* 'to name', from *onoma* 'name'. See TOSI & VELESCO (2006).

602 LEUMANN (Nachlass Notebook 135, p. 1 [see PLUTAT 1998: 32]).

603 Carl Heinrich BECKER (Die orientalischen Wissenschaften, 1914: 1183, in MANGOLD 2004: 285): 'Grosse

Editionen, Inschriftensammlungen, Lexica entstehen als Früchte kollegialer Zusammenarbeit'.

604 WEBER (1892: iii) speaks of Klatt's 'grossartigem Werke'.

605 WEBER (1892: iii): 'Andererseits wächst ein solches Werk während des Druckes fortwährend bedeutend an. Wir stehen erst im Anfang der Jaina-Studien. Schon jetzt, ein halbes Jahr nach der Fertigstellung dieses Specimens, würden erhebliche Zusätze dazu gemacht werden können'.

606 See for instance JOHNSON (1988).

America.⁶⁰⁷ Descriptive catalogues of this kind, ‘meta-data’ in modern parlance, are an essential tool for organising sizable quantities of information into manageable portions for further investigation. Making the abundant new primary sources accessible by means of basic descriptions was the most pressing need of the day. In this respect, not much has changed in the field of Jaina Studies over the last one-and-a-half centuries.⁶⁰⁸

Klatt based his work principally on the catalogues and reports on Sanskrit (and Prakrit) manuscripts published by A. Weber (1853-1892), R. G. Bhandarkar (1882-1897), P. Peterson (1882-1899), G. Bühler (1869-1880), R. Mitra (1824-1891), F. Kielhorn (1869-1882), B. L. Rice (1837-1927), and others, and used all further relevant primary and secondary sources at hand: textual, epigraphical, bibliographical, and printed books and articles. His search for information motivated family holidays, for instance in Austria and Italy, where he conducted research on the Jaina manuscript collections of Florence, Vienna, and elsewhere. A rough statistical breakdown of Klatt’s sources and citations provides an insight into the method of compilation of the

Jaina-Onomasticon, the original manuscript of which consists of 5,338 pages covering ca. 15,000 entries. Klatt utilised both primary sources (manuscripts, published inscriptions) and secondary sources (manuscript catalogues, catalogues of catalogues,⁶⁰⁹ reports on the collection and purchase of manuscripts, catalogues of printed books, monographies, articles, etc.).⁶¹⁰ He also refers to his own research articles.⁶¹¹ Taken together, the quantitative import of individual monographs and articles is considerable. However, the overwhelming majority of the references in the text draws on two types of sources: the catalogues of Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts at the KBB produced by A. Weber, and the reports on the search for Sanskrit manuscripts in India,⁶¹² especially those of R. G. Bhandarkar, G. Bühler, F. Kielhorn, R. Mitra, and P. Peterson.⁶¹³ The bulk of the remaining sources are other post-1868 reports on the searches for manuscripts, and catalogues of texts in Sanskrit and Prakrit (etc.) that had been freshly located and collected by agents of the British Government all over India.⁶¹⁴ The following table indicates the most frequently cited sources. In most cases the citations refer to printed books. An

607 BÜHLER produced first a raw list of relevant recipients (MSAM 1873 General Department Vol. 74, No. 250, M-39-43, pp. 29-31), and then a printed list of 10 learned institutions in Europe and America, 11 in India, 13 libraries in Europe, America and Australia, 3 in India, 59 individuals in Europe and America, 39 in India (MSAM 1874 General Department Vol. 66, No. 255, Skt. M.S.S. Dr. Buhler’s Reports, M-239-241, pp. 235-237).

608 See for instance. BALBIR, SHETH, SHETH & TRIPATHI (2006), KRAUSE (2013), etc.

609 E.g. KIELHORN (1869, 1874).

610 In the footsteps of E. KUHN (1879: 37f.), KLATT (1883e: 221f.) writes: ‘Über die l i t t e r a r i s c h e P r o d u k t i o n v o n Britisch-Indien geben die von der englischen Regierung herausgegebenen Bücherkataloge eine durchaus befriedigende, nicht nur im Orient, sondern überhaupt ohne Beispiel dastehende Auskunft. Dieselben erscheinen quartell und besonders für folgende 10 Provinzen: Madras, Bombay, Bengalen, Nordwestprovinzen und Oudh, Punjab, Centralprovinzen, British Burma, Mysore, Assam, Hyderabad, sodass sich der Katalog eines Jahres aus 40 einzelnen Heften zusammensetzt. Sehr erwünscht wäre es, wenn auch für Ceylon derartige Verzeichnisse erschienen. Die Kataloge werden leider nur in wenigen Exemplaren gedruckt und kommen nicht in den Handel. Daneben erscheint ein die wichtigsten Daten zusammenfassender Auszug (s. den Titel im Jahresber. II, 3, 237 n.7). Wir sehen aus dem Auszug für das Jahr 1878 (der für 1879 ist 1881 erschienen und wird erst im nächsten Jahr auszuführen sein), dass 1878 in Britisch-Indien 4913 Publikationen erschienen sind, und zwar die meisten in Bengalen (1486), Punjab (915), Bombay (908), Madras (824), N. W. Prov. und Oudh (629), während in den Centralprovinzen und

Hyderabad nur je ein Buch erschienen ist. Da das Jahr 1876 mit 5065 Nummern vertreten war, so ergibt sich eine Verminderung um 150 - wohl eine Folge der Hungersnotjahre. Z e i t u n g e n gibt es gegenwärtig in Indien ungefähr 230, die meisten (c. 100) in Urdu-Sprache, wie wir einem von dem früheren Herausgeber der Calcutta Review veröffentlichten Essay über das indische Zeitungswesen entnehmen. Im J. 1822 erschien die erste einheimische Zeitung, Samāchār Darpan, in bengalischer Sprache, während die erste englische, Hicky’s Gazette, schon 1780 in Calcutta herauskam’.

In his review for the WJMS 1881, KLATT (1885c: 23f.) offers a shorter variant of the appraisal:

‘Für die Bibliographie der in Indien gedruckten Bücher sind die Hauptquelle die indischen amtlichen Bücherlisten (s. Jahresbericht 1876/7 I p. 37 n. 13), und es haben uns dieselben, die wir der Gefälligkeit R. Rost’s verdanken, bei der Zusammenstellung des Berichts wesentliche Dienste geleistet. [...] Die Gesamtberichte über die Publikationen in Britisch Indien erscheinen leider in der Regel zu spät, um sie noch verwerthen zu können.’

611 Klatt’s auto-citations are not included in the statistics, because the word ‘Klatt’ appears too often in other contexts [in square brackets] as well.

612 Subsequent to E. KUHN (1881a: 90), and others, KLATT (1883f: 16; 1885c: 22f.) recorded at various places the significance of their publication.

613 WEBER (1891b: vii, xviii; 1891a: 216) presents a slightly difference sequence, based on historical pre-eminence in the search for manuscripts, not on the quantity of relevant data published: ‘B ü h l e r, K i e l h o r n, P. P e t e r s o n, R. G. B h ā ṇ ḍ ā r k a r, R ā j e n d r a L ā l a M i t r a’.

614 At the time of the completion of WEBER’s (1891a: vi-vii) catalogue, some 70,000 manuscripts had already been listed in the reports that resulted from the order for