

Between oblivion and instrumentalization.

The vicissitudes of early-modern missionary grammars and dictionaries in 19th-century scholarship, and the special case of Julius Platzmann

Entre el olvido y la instrumentalización.

Vicisitudes de gramáticas y diccionarios misioneros de la modernidad temprana en la erudición del siglo XIX y el caso especial de Julius Platzmann

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Abstract

This contribution examines the extent to which missionary linguistic data and documentation were exploited (or left aside) in the 19th century and in times of professionalization of linguistics as an academic discipline. Scholars interested in non-European languages were often entirely dependent upon missionaries overseas. In the past, special attention has been given to the towering figures of Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro and Wilhelm von Humboldt. After briefly discussing Wilhelm von Humboldt's ambivalent attitude toward the missionaries' work, this paper will in particular survey the importance of 19th-century bibliographies and reprints. Finally, the paper will focus on one of the most prolific 19th-century scholars in dealing with missionary linguistic sources predating the 19th century: Julius Platzmann, who produced numerous reeditions of missionary linguistic sources. Remarkably, he devoted an entire book to explain the motives of this undertaking.

Key words: missionary linguistics, scholarly forgetting, circulation of knowledge, Julius Platzmann.

Resumen

Esta contribución examina hasta qué punto los datos y la documentación lingüística misionera se aprovecharon (o se dejaron de lado) durante el período moderno y en tiempos de la profesionalización de la lingüística como disciplina académica. Los estudiosos interesados en lenguas no europeas con frecuencia dependían totalmente de los misioneros en el extranjero. Previamente se ha prestado especial atención a figuras destacadas como las de Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro y Wilhelm von Humboldt. Luego de una breve discusión acerca de la actitud ambivalente de Wilhelm von Humboldt hacia el trabajo de los misioneros, este artículo se detiene particularmente en la importancia de las bibliografías y las reimpresiones del siglo XIX. Para finalizar, el estudio se focaliza en uno de los eruditos del siglo XIX más prolíficos con respecto al tratamiento de las fuentes lingüísticas misioneras anteriores al siglo XIX: Julius Platzmann, quien produjo numerosas reediciones de dichas fuentes. Sorprendentemente, Platzmann dedicó un libro completo a explicar los motivos de este emprendimiento.

Palabras clave: lingüística misionera, olvido académico, circulación del conocimiento, Julius Platzmann.

1. Introduction

To what extent¹ were early-modern² missionary linguistic data considered in the 19th century? When this question was asked in the past, scholars tended to focus on the towering

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figures of Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (1735–1809) and Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) (see e.g. Foertsch 2001). After briefly discussing Wilhelm von Humboldt's ambivalent attitude toward the missionaries' work, this paper will in particular survey the importance of 19th-century bibliographies and reprints, with special attention paid to a prolific scholar, viz. the German prolific author Julius Platzmann (1832–1902).

2. Bridging the 18th and 19th century: Wilhelm von Humboldt

The importance of Wilhelm von Humboldt for the description of the languages of the world does not need to be highlighted to the readership of this journal (Trabant 2012). When it comes to his attitude towards the linguistic achievements of the missionaries, the following passage is often quoted (either in full or partially):³

Dies thaten die Missionarien, und man muss bekennen, dass wir ihnen allein alles schuldig sind, was wir von den Sprachen der neuen Welt bis jetzt wissen. Allein diese sonst so ehrwürdigen Männer waren doch wenig geeignet Sprachen zu ergründen, deren kühner Bau ihnen durchaus neu war. Es ist traurig zu sehen, welche Gewalt sie sich, und den Sprachen anthun, um sie in die engen Regeln der lateinischen Grammatik Antonios von Nebrixa, oder irgend eines andren Spanischen Schulpedanten zu zwingen. Ganze Seiten füllen sie mit Untersuchungen an, ob diese oder jene wilde Sprache ein Participium, oder Supinum, oder Gerundium hat. Noch verkehrter und mangelhafter ist der an sich schwierigere lexicalische Theil ihrer Arbeiten behandelt. Sie beschränken sich meistens nur auf dürftige Vocabeln - Register, und wenn sie wahre Wörterbücher abfassen, so halten sie sich unnützerweise bei einer zahllosen Menge von abgeleiteten Wörtern auf, und übergehen offenbar eine grosse Menge von Sprachwurzeln, welche allein wahrhaft interessant seyn würden. Wenn man darin auf moralische oder intellectuelle Ideen stösst, so muss man sich wohl vor bloss erdichteten Wörtern hüten, welche die Väter der Missionen, immer nur ihrem Zweck, christliche Ideen in die fremde Sprache überzutragen, und zu predigen, im Auge habend, sich zu bilden erlauben. Da sie überhaupt nur mit der Bekehrung der Wilden beschäftigt waren, so war ihre erste Sorge, mit den alten Gebräuchen alles auszurotten, was mit Tradition und Nationalerinnerung zusammenhieng, und auf diese Weise die ganze Denkungs- und Empfindungsweise der Völker umzuändern. Sie zerstörten daher zum Theil selbst den Gegenstand, den man durch sie ergründet, entwickelt, und dargestellt wünschte (von Humboldt 1905: 237–238).⁴

¹ My gratitude goes to the organizers of the Eleventh International Conference of Missionary Linguistics in Santa Rosa, where I could present a first version of this paper. In addition, thanks are due to the audience and to two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments as well as to the editors for their patience and their painstaking work. Luz Van den Bruel was kind enough to read through the English text. Needless to say, any remaining errors are my sole responsibility.

² In this paper, 'early-modern' refers to the period spanning from ca. 1500 to 1800, while the 'modern' period starts from the 19th century onwards. Hence, the 'premodern' period predates the 19th century.

³ Cf. its presence in the popular work by Deutscher (2010) and, further, e.g. in Ringmacher (2012); Reutter (2011); Tintemann (2017).

⁴ "This is what the missionaries did, and we must confess that we owe them only everything we up to now know of the languages of the new world. However, these otherwise so venerable men were hardly qualified to grasp languages whose challenging construction was entirely new to them. It is sad to see the violence they employed to force themselves and the languages into the narrow rules of the Latin grammar of Antonio Nebrixa, or any other Spanish school pedant. Entire pages are filled with investigations whether this or that wild language has participles, supina, or gerunds. Still more incorrect and deficient is the inherently more difficult lexical part of their work, mostly limited to poor vocabulary indexes. And when writing true dictionaries, they uselessly dwell on a countless number of derived words, apparently ignoring a large number of verbal roots which would constitute a truly interesting study in its own right. If one encounters moral or intellectual ideas in these texts, one must be watchful for mere fictional words, which the Fathers of the Missions allow themselves to form, as they never lost sight of their sole purpose, viz. translating Christian ideas into the foreign language and

It is worth investigating whether this revealing statement is consistent with the statements Humboldt made about this theme in his extensive letter exchange, which has been available in a professional digital edition for some time (Trabant, Zimmer, and Tintemann 2020). The question arises to what extent his appreciation for the missionary work is truly uniformly negative, as the passage quoted above somewhat suggests. In some of his letters Humboldt does show his appreciation for the Trojan work done by the missionaries:

Was wir in dieser Art von den andren Welttheilen besitzen, ist im Grunde nur wenig. In Amerika haben die Missionarien unglaublich viel gethan. Davon ist freilich ein bedeutender Theil untergegangen (Letter from Wilhelm von Humboldt to Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker, 06.11.1821; von Humboldt 1821b: s/p).⁵

In the same vein, a correspondent of Humboldt acknowledges the disastrous effect of the abolition of the Jesuit order on the study of exotic languages:

Seit der Aufhebung der Jesuiten, deren Regsamkeit auch die andern Orden anspornte, ist nichts mehr zum Vorteil aber sehr viel zum Nachteil der armen Indier geschehen, und ihre Sprachen sind so in Verfall gerathen, daß die von der Regierung angestellten Prediger es nicht für nöthig halten, sie zu lernen (Letter from Ignaz von Olfers to Wilhelm von Humboldt, 23.10.1827; von Humboldt 1827a: s/p).⁶

It is striking to see that only the Jesuits are mentioned in this regard: the linguistic realizations of other orders seem to be much less known, or are dismissed as mere copycat activity. All this is in line with Humboldt's observation that "[s]ince the expulsion of the Ex-Jesuits from America nothing much has been done for the knowledge of the Indian languages in the Spanish & Portuguese settlements of America", which is immediately followed by the rather harsh judgment that

Depuis l'expulsion des Exjesuites de l'Amérique rien de bien important ne s'est fait pour la connoissance des langues Indiennes dans les possessions Espagnoles & Portugaises de l'Amérique, & les écrits des Jésuites Missionnaires nous font regretter à chaque page que ces Pères avoient les idées les plus bornés sur les langues en général, [2] & que voulant tout réduire aux formes et aux regles de la langue Latine, ils ne nous montrent guères les Idiomes Indiens dans leur forme individuelle & particulière (Letter from Wilhelm von Humboldt to John Pickering, 12.03.1822 ; von Humboldt 1822a: s/p).⁷

Further on, he continues as follows:

preaching. Since they were concerned only with the conversion of the savages, their first interest consisted in eradicating, with the old customs, all that was connected with tradition and national memory, and hence in modifying the whole original way of thinking and feeling. Therefore, they partly destroyed the very object they aspired to explore, develop and portray". The English translation is mine, after comparing it with other fragmentary translations.

⁵ "The materials from the other parts of the world we can rely on in this regard are basically very limited. In America the missionaries have achieved an incredible amount of work. Of course, a significant part of it has perished".

⁶ "Since the Jesuits, whose activity also encouraged the other orders, were abolished, nothing has happened to the advantage but much to the disadvantage of the poor Indians, and their languages have fallen into such disrepair that the preachers employed by the government do not consider it necessary to learn them".

⁷ "[...] the writings of the Jesuit Missionaries make us regret on every page that these Fathers have the most narrow-minded ideas about languages in general: wanting to reduce everything to the forms and rules of the Latin language, they do not show us the Indian Idioms in their individual & particular form".

Le grand problème dans l'étude des langues consiste toujours à se procurer une idée claire & précise de leur organisation primitive, & pour y parvenir, il faut surtout avoir constamment deux choses devant les yeux. La première est qu'il faut exactement se rendre compte de quelle manière & par l'emploi de quelle partie du discours une langue a coutûme de rendre telle, ou telle des différentes formes grammaticales. Car il ne faut pas s'imaginer que p. e. le Conjonctif, l'Infinitif etc. soit formé de la même manière dans toutes les langues. Si l'on suit en cela les Jesuites Grammairiens des idiômes [7] Américains, on risque de tomber dans les erreurs les plus grossières. Permettez-moi de citer quelques exemples pour devenir plus clair. Dans la langue des Caribes *a-veiri-daco* doit être la 2. personne de l'Imparfait du subjonctif. Mais il est clair que ces trois parties du mot que j'ai séparées, expriment plutôt un gérondif; *a* est le pronom possessif de la 2. personne du singulier, *veiri* est ce qu'on peut nommer un infinitif, la forme primitive du verbe *être*, *daco* est une particule qui désigne une certaine époque (Letter from Wilhelm von Humboldt to John Pickering, 12.03.1822; von Humboldt 1822a: s/p).⁸

Elsewhere, he expressed the hope to work with text specimens

[...] composés dans ces langues par les indigènes mêmes. Tout ce que nous voyons ordinairement d'elles, provient des Missionnaires Européens, et ne porte point une empreinte assez originale (Letter from Wilhelm von Humboldt to Peter Stephen Duponceau, 21.09.1827; von Humboldt 1827b: s/p).⁹

But that does not alter the fact that Humboldt regards some *specific* early-modern grammars as extremely important:

Ich bin vor einiger Zeit so glücklich gewesen, eine sehr wichtige handschriftliche Grammatik der Sprache der Chiquitos des Exjesuiten P. Camaño, die der berühmte Schlözer in den 70er Jahren in Rom erhalten hatte, durch dessen Sohn aus Moskau zu erhalten, wo sie unbenutzt u. vergessen lange Jahre gelegen hatte (Letter from Wilhelm von Humboldt to Bartholomäus Kopitar, 18.08.1826; von Humboldt 1826: s/p).¹⁰

The work of some contemporary missionaries is also praised, provided they take the recommendations of linguists to heart (von Humboldt 1827c, 1831, 1833, 1834, 1835). The above passages thus shed light on Humboldt's ambivalent attitude: only thanks to the Jesuits there are still traces of poorly documented languages, although – with just a few exceptions – their language descriptive methods left much to be desired.¹¹ So there was nothing else to do but to make the best of their writings. Before examining the extent to which the missionary

⁸ “The great problem in the study of languages is always to get a clear & precise idea of their primitive organization, & to achieve this, two things must constantly be considered. The first is that one must be aware of exactly how & through the use of which part of speech a language has the habit of rendering this or that grammatical form. For one should not imagine that e.g. the Conjunction, the Infinitive etc. is formed in the same way in all languages. If one follows the Jesuit Grammarians of the American idioms, one risks making the most fundamental errors. Let me cite a few examples to become clearer. In the language of the Caribs *a-veiri-daco* must be the 2. person of the Imperfect Subjunctive. But it is clear that these three parts of the word, which I have separated, rather express a gerund; *a* is the possessive pronoun of the person of the singular, *veiri* is what can be called an infinitive, the primitive form of the verb *to be*, *daco* is a particle that designates a certain epoch” (italics are underlined in the original).

⁹ “[...] composed in these languages by the natives themselves. All that we usually see of them comes from the European Missionaries, and does not bear an original imprint”.

¹⁰ “Some time ago I was so happy to obtain a very important handwritten grammar of the language of the Chiquitos of the former Jesuit P. Camaño, which the famous Schlözer had obtained in Rome in the 70s, through his son from Moscow, where it had lain unused and forgotten for many years”.

¹¹ After finishing this paper, I noticed that Markus Messling arrived at similar conclusions (Messling 2010).

heritage was preserved and codified in the 19th century, it should be emphasized that Wilhelm von Humboldt was not the only scholar who bridged the 18th and the 19th century. Elsewhere, I discussed the role played by the Carmelite missionary Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo (1746–1806), who after his mission to Kerala became an extremely prolific scholar in Indological studies in Rome (Van Hal 2019). As the author of multiple bibliographies (Paulinus 1792), he was perhaps feverishly trying to secure the Catholic legacy, while 19th-century British scholars were keen to tacitly adopt and adapt early-modern Catholic material (this is the general thesis designed by Xavier and Županov 2015).

3. How to keep memory alive: strategies for preserving Early-modern missionary linguistic tools

With no claim to completeness whatsoever, this section will present some source types testifying to the 19th-century interest in Early-modern missionary sources. To begin with, it is worth dwelling on some rich private and specialized libraries built up by many scholars during the 19th century. In some cases, auction catalogues betray a keen interest in missionary grammars. An example in case was published in 1869, containing the collection by José María Andrade (Deschamps 1869). This man, of whom we do not know very much, is characterized in the preface as

[...] Journaliste, Editeur, et par dessus tout Bibliophile, établi depuis près d'un demi-siècle au Mexique, a consacré quarante années de recherches actives et des sommes considérables, à la formation de cette collection unique, dont il refusa toujours inflexiblement de céder le plus mince fragment, et dont il espérait fermement ne jamais voir opérer la dispersion. Cet espoir promettait de devenir une réalité palpable, quand, en 1865, il put commencer l'installation dans un dépôt public, de ces trésors historiques et littéraires, destinés à devenir le premier fonds de la Bibliothèque Impériale de Mejico (Deschamps 1869: v).¹²

However, political turmoil threw a spanner in the works: when Maximilian I was in power in Mexico, he was backed by the conservatives. It however came to a conflict with the liberals, after which the emperor was executed in 1867. Its rich collection contains, among many other missionary writings, a copy of Molina's "*arte de la lengua Mexicana*" (catalog number 4454; Deschamps 1869: IX), which is said to be very rare; the catalog number 4452 is Mijangos' 1624 "*sermonario en lengua Mexicana*", a "volume of the greatest rarity" ("volume de la plus grande rareté"; Deschamps 1869: IX), whereas catalog number 4452a is Molina's "*vocabulario castell. y mexicano*", the existence of which was even said to be doubted by bibliographers ("Edition dont l'existence fut doutée par les bibliographes"). Other books are said to have remained unknown (catalog number 4447; Deschamps 1869: IX), whereas the word "*rarissime*" is very often made use of.¹³

We also see specialized bibliographies appearing during this period. Some of these bibliographies were compiled by language enthusiasts, who organized and systematized knowledge from bygone days (by way of example, we can mention Marsden 1827; Pilling 1885). Some of these bibliographies were however of a more commercial nature. In 1872,

¹² "[...] journalist, author, publisher and – above all – a bibliophile, who built up, after “forty years of active research and considerable sums of money”, a “unique collection of which he always refused to give up the smallest fragment and of which he emphatically hoped never to witness its dispersion. This hope promised to become a palpable reality when, in 1865, he was able to begin the installation in a public repository of these historical and literary treasures destined to become the first collection of the Imperial Library of Mejico”.

¹³ Julius Platzmann's 1876 *Verzeichnis einer Auswahl amerikanischer Grammatiken, Wörterbücher, Katechismen usw.* will be dealt with in the following section.

Nicolaus Trübner (1817–1884) published the first edition of *A Catalogue of Dictionaries and Grammars of the Principal Languages and Dialects of the World* (Trübner 1872), whose aim consisted in “presenting to Students and to Booksellers a book of ready reference to the titles of those approved Grammars and Dictionaries that can be obtained without difficulty. [...] All the works enumerated can be supplied by us at the affixed prices”, as can be read in the (unnumbered) preface. Ten years later, an augmented edition appeared, in whose preface one reads that the 1872 edition “was exhausted in a comparatively short time, and for which the demand still continues” (Trübner 1882). Within 10 years’ time, the number of titles included (ca. 3000) had tripled. In this 1882 edition, an 18th-century version of Carochi’s *Compendio del Arte de la Lengua Mexicana* is listed at £6 6s, with the remark that the book was “extremely scarce” (Trübner 1882: 107). For many missionary tools, e.g. on the languages of the Philippine Islands, prices were however absent (Trübner 1882: 120–122). Trübner’s catalogue thus had the merit of giving the missionary works a place in the exploding linguistic bibliography. In response to Trübner’s sudden death from heart failure two years later, his press published an extensive anthology of “in memoriam” pieces that appeared all over the world, all of which portrait him as an energetic and generous publisher with a great fondness for exotic languages (Anon. 1884).

Besides the mere creation of lists and bibliographies, some 19th-century actors also started reprinting hard-to-obtain books or publishing early-modern works that had never reached the printing press. Thanks to a report in *The Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature* (Anon. 1833), we are informed about the plans of historian Henri Ternaux(-Compans) (1807–1864) to publish the following book series with book seller J. S. Merlin: *Polyglotte Américaine ou Collection des Grammaires et Vocabulaires des Langues et Dialectes des deux Amériques* (volumes in quarto, each of which would comprise about 400 pages). Probably translating from the originally French book proposal, the early-modern missionary grammars and vocabularies of the America’s are typified as being “among the rarest books”, which are

[...] most difficult to procure. The greater number of these works have been printed in America and a few copies only have reached Europe. Nearly the whole of the editions of those published elsewhere has been sent to America for the use of the Missions, and most of the volumes have been destroyed. If sometimes an amateur succeeds in obtaining one or two, it is with much trouble and expense; and but few are to be found in the most considerable libraries. The great scarceness of these works, which are notwithstanding so necessary to those engaged in the study of the character of nations and of languages, has led us to believe that a re-impression of them would be favorably received. We have in consequence determined to undertake it without any view to personal advantage, but solely with reference to the interests of science; and shall regard it as a sufficient reward if we succeed in affording facilities to a study, to which access is at present almost barred (Anon. 1833: 154).

Readers are thereupon encouraged to notify the editor, who was also planning a special study trip to Spain, of manuscripts and printed sources in both public and private collections (Anon. 1833). It seems that this work never reached the press, even though Ternaux-Compans proved to be a prolific author – his works include, among many others, *Bibliothèque Américaine, ou catalogue des ouvrages relatifs à l’Amérique qui ont paru depuis sa découverte jusqu’à l’an 1700* (1837), *Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux pour servir à l’histoire de la découverte de l’Amérique* in two series of 10 vols. (1837–41), *Essai sur la théogonie Mexicaine* (1840), *Essai sur l’ancien Cundinamarca* (1842). There are, however, no traces of the planned linguistic work. Were there not enough subscribers (who could order the entire series for 20 francs per volume, or separate volumes for 30 francs) or did the undertaking turn out unfeasible from a logistic point of view? The editors of *Select Journal*

cannot be blamed, as they had concluded the brief communication with the encouraging and engaging announcement that the “type and paper will be good, as appears by the specimen”.

Fortunately, some of these reprint projects proved to be successful. John Pickering, whom we already met as one of Humboldt’s correspondents, succeeded in convincing the Massachusetts Historical Society to reprint John Eliot’s 1666 *Grammar of the Massachusetts Indian Language*, in close collaboration with Duponceau (Pickering 1887).

These publications will, I trust, have a tendency to excite the attention of my countrymen to these subjects; and I hope we shall be able before a long time to make our just contributions to the common cause of learning. I can already discover an increasing desire to investigate the languages of this Continent; and, with the hope of keeping up that interest, I am procuring correspondents in different parts of the United States (Letter from John Pickering to Wilhelm von Humboldt, 18.02.1822; von Humboldt 1822b: s/p).

In a previous letter to Humboldt, Pickering had stated:

The American Languages, as you well know, have hitherto excited but little interest in this country; and as M.r DuPonceau justly observes (in his Correspondence with M.r Heckewelder) “we have to go to the German Universities to become acquainted with our own country” (Letter from John Pickering to Wilhelm von Humboldt, 24.08.1821; von Humboldt 1821a: s/p).

Duponceau’s and Pickering’s joint effort was not limited to that one reprint of Elliot’s grammar. Also an early 18th-century lexicographical work by Josiah Cotton (*Vocabulary of the Massachusetts (or Natick) Indian Language*) and a late 18th-century work by Jonathan Edwards (*Observations on the language of the Muhhekaneew Indians*) were once again printed, but not before these works were provided with extensive introductions and rich annotations, which thus “integrated ‘missionary linguistics’ into American and European scholarship” (Turner 2014: 137).

Such comprehensive comments would certainly not become the standard in reproduction projects. In the course of the 19th century a number of such series were successfully initiated, one of which was the so-called *Shea’s Library of American Linguistics*. Its first volume comprised *A French-Onondaga dictionary* (Shea 1860), and its title specified that it concerned “a manuscript of the seventeenth century”. In the preface, the prolific scholar John Dawson Gilmary Shea (1824–1892) – who took much more initiatives than founding this series and is at times styled as the “Father of American Catholic History” – clarified the aims of his project as follows:

The study of American Ethnology has always been fettered by the want of anything like reliable grammars and dictionaries and while compelled to rely on scanty and erroneous vocabularies must ever remain in its infancy. Yet a vast number of tribes were the scenes of missionary labors of zealous and educated men who carefully studied the language of their flocks and have left behind them grammatical treatises and dictionaries more or less complete the value of which in a philological point of view over the random words taken down in a few hours by a traveller must be too apparent to need any discussion or proof. It is time that ethnologists should appeal for the Algonquin to some better authority than La Hontan for Huron to something more full than Sagard. Many works have fallen into my hands which I deem it important to the cause of science to put within the reach of scholars and the present volume will be a specimen of this Library of American Linguistics. The encouragement of a few will enable me to carry out the plan and on them I rely promising to perform my task of editing with all possible fidelity to the original (Shea 1860: vii).

It is striking here how the editor praises the missionaries as true linguists, whose skills contrast sharply with those of the authors of travel journals, who have generally only come into superficial contact with the language. The fact that Humboldt's criticism is nowhere to be found here is not surprising considering that Shea himself had been active as a Jesuit for some time. A total of thirteen volumes would appear, some of which were editions of early-modern manuscripts. Examples include:

-Smith, Buckingham (ed.) 1862. *Grammatical sketch of the Heve language, transl. from an unpublished Spanish manuscript*. London: Trübner & Co.

-Smith, Buckingham (ed.) 1862. *Grammar of the Pima or Né vome, A language of Sonora, from a manuscript of the XVIII. century*. New York: Cramoisy Press.

At the same time, a “bibliothèque de linguistique et d'ethnographie américaines” was initiated by Alphonse Louis Pinart (1852–1911). It was to become a very small-scale library, covering no more than 4 volumes. In general, the succinct prefaces in both series spent few words on the authors of the grammars, apart from the fact that little was known about them. But there is also no trace of disdainful words whatsoever.

The next section will concentrate on a larger reprint endeavor, behind which hides a remarkable story.

4. Julius Platzmann and August Pott

With the Julius Platzmann case, we touch on a special episode. Between 1874 and 1896 Platzmann published multiple facsimiles of early-modern missionary tools, including A. Ruiz de Montoya's *Arte, Bocabulario, Tesoro y Catecismo de la lengua gvarani* from 1640 (in 1876), Anchieta's *Arte de grammatica da lingua mais usada na costa do Brasil* (in 1874), Bertonio's 1603 *Arte de la lengua aymara* (1879) (see the Appendix for an overview). Platzmann spared no expense in reproducing also the formal aspects of the works in a meticulous manner:

In verschiedenen Fällen fertigte er eigenhändig Abschriften an, die von den Originalen schwer zu unterscheiden sind; hier kam ihm seine kunstfertige Hand wesentlich zu statten. Mit einer kleinen Zeichenfeder malte er die zierlichen Buchstaben in peinlicher Sorgfalt und Genauigkeit, alle Eigenheiten des Druckes förmlich photographisch wiedergebend; jede Verzierung, sei es eine schmale Leiste, eine geschmacklose Bordüre oder sei es eine plumpe Vignette, wurde dem Originale getreu reproduziert; gleichviel welche Überwindung das mechanische Kopieren unkünstlerischer Zierraten den Künstler Platzmann kostete, hier war absolute Übereinstimmung mit dem Originale erforderlich und diese wurde in allen Teilen durchgeführt bis zum Schlußpunkte (Grumpelt 1903: 170).¹⁴

If one takes a closer look at these works, one wonders why Platzmann came up with the idea of meticulously republishing older missionary work. In one of his excellently documented contributions, Franz Obermeier assumes that Platzmann himself recognized the relevance and importance of reproducing missionary grammars (Obermeier 2015). However,

¹⁴ “In various cases he made copies by hand, which are difficult to distinguish from the originals; here his skillful hand was essential. With a small drawing pen, he painted the delicate letters with meticulous care and accuracy, reproducing all the peculiarities of the print in an almost photographic manner; every ornament, whether it be a narrow border, a tasteless margin or a clumsy vignette, was faithfully reproduced from the original; no matter what the effort of mechanically copying unartistic ornaments cost the artist Platzmann, absolute conformity with the original was required here and this was carried out in all parts up to the end”.

things might be slightly more complicated. The facsimile nature of the works, which is a fascinating aspect in its own right, raises questions too, just as the absence of introductions from most of the works. All these elements make the question even more pressing: what drove Platzmann? Surprisingly enough, Platzmann, in the later stages of his life, is at our beck and call by devoting an entire work to answering precisely this question. The work is entitled *Weshalb ich Neudrucke der alten amerikanischen Grammatiker veranlasst habe* [“Why I commissioned the reprints of the old American grammarians”] (Platzmann 1893) – a title which carries an apologetic tinge and thus suggests that several contemporaries had already been asking the same question as the present-day reader. The work’s opening sentences run as follows:

Die Beantwortung der im Titel liegenden Frage wird sich am besten an einen kurzen Lebenslauf anschliessen. Ich erhebe nicht den Anspruch Sprachforscher von Fach zu sein. Es genügt mir vollständig ein ganz gewöhnlicher Bewohner des Planeten Erde, ein Mensch, ein ἄνθρωπος zu sein (Platzmann 1893: 1).¹⁵

The work thus turns out to be a barely-disguised biography, as it is also styled in present-day literature (see, e.g., Cop 1990). Even judged by 19th-century standards, Platzmann’s work was seen as a very peculiar biography. In one review, we read:

Es darf nicht verschwiegen werden, daß das ebenerwähnte Buch eine Anzahl sonderbarer Bemerkungen enthält, die den flüchtigen Leser verleiten könnten, die Lektüre abzubrechen; demjenigen aber, der sich Mühe gibt, dem Autor auf seinen oft merkwürdigen Pfaden zu folgen, wird es nicht entgehen, daß sich neben den Eigenheiten scharfsinnige Gedanken, wenn auch oft in wunderlichen Formen, in erstaunlicher Fülle finden (Grumpelt 1903: 163–164).¹⁶

Platzmann thereupon offers us an etymology of the Greek word for man, which can be styled as rather naive and adventurous – even according to the standards of the time. After devoting a few pages to his youth, Platzmann tells us how he left for Brazil in 1858. Readers expecting that Platzmann would start dealing here with the topic as announced in the title are deceived.

In Brasilien bin ich nicht gereist, sondern habe mich 6 Jahre an einunddemselben Ort aufgehalten, indem ich Blumen und Früchte des Urwaldes nach der Natur zeichnete und malte (Platzmann 1893: 9).¹⁷

For more details, he refers to a separate book dedicated to this episode of life (Platzmann 1872). Ironically, Platzmann’s enthusiasm for linguistics was only fanned after he received, back in Europe, a copy of *Glossaria linguarum Brasiliensium* (Martius 1867) from Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius (1794–1868), a German explorer who became first and foremost famous for his botanical work.

¹⁵ “The answer to the question in the title is best seen against the backdrop of my cv. I do not claim to be a linguist by profession. It is enough for me to be an ordinary inhabitant of planet earth, a human being, an ἄνθρωπος”.

¹⁶ “It must not be concealed that the aforementioned book contains a number of strange remarks which might tempt the casual reader to stop reading it. But whoever makes the effort to follow the author on his often strange paths will not fail to notice that, in addition to the peculiarities, astute thoughts, albeit often in wondrous forms, can be found in astonishing abundance”.

¹⁷ “I have not been travelling in Brazil, but stayed for 6 years in the same place, drawing and painting flowers and fruits of the jungle in an accurate vein”.

Und nun beginnt meine große, zwanzigjährige, dilettantenhafte Sprachstudie. Ich kannte damals bloß etwas englisch, etwas französisch, etwas lateinisch, etwas griechisch und hatte 6 Jahre portugiesisch gesprochen, auch wohl einige indianische Worte gehört: Die Glossarien waren bald verschlungen (Platzmann 1893: 10).¹⁸

Platzmann immediately proceeds to action by publishing a comparative list of American and Asian words. As he later admits in his biography, his ambitious first book was not successful in every respect.

Das Resultat dieser Suche ohne Grammatik und ohne ausreichende linguistische Bibliothek, war ein übereiltes und verfrühtes Unternehmen: meine *Amerikanisch-asiatischen Etymologien via Beringsstrasse from the East to the West*, 1871, in denen ich 1520 amerikanische Worte unter Angabe der Hilfsmittel ebensoviel Worten der alten Welt gegenüber gestellt habe. Bald sah ich ein, dass ich mich häufig geirrt hatte, indess nicht immer (Platzmann 1893: 11-12).¹⁹

Only after publishing this comparative endeavor, he begins collecting specialized linguistic books, for many of which he is willing to pay large amounts of money. By now it has become clear to us that Platzmann should be counted among the wealthy citizens.

In 1876 Platzmann published a catalogue of his library, which turned out to be a unique collection of *Americana* (Platzmann 1876). This bibliography attracted the attention of the famous Halle-based scholar August Pott, who devoted a review of Platzmann's work in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1877). We observe that catalogues such as Trübner's had left a great impression on Pott as well.

Schon der Einblick in Ludewig's, von Turner vermehrtes und von Nic. Trübner veröffentlichtes Buch: (*The Lit. of American Aboriginal Languages* London 1858.) könnte darüber belehren, wie, hauptsächlich Dank der Sorgfalt glaubenseifriger Sendboten, eine schwer übersehbare Menge von Quellen fließt für Den, welcher umfassende Studien vorhat im Gebiete der jenseit des transatlantischen Meeres in zahllos buntfarbiger Mannigfaltigkeit einheimischen Menschenrede (Pott 1877: 1315).²⁰

In an early historiographical work, which had reached the press one year earlier (and in which Wilhelm von Humboldt played a central role), Pott had already devoted a short passage to the missionaries, emphasizing the importance of their work for language study (Pott 1876). But in his review, Pott pointed out that these relevant books, some of which were printed long ago and in the remotest parts of the world and in different languages, had become rarities to the extent that consulting them was often no longer possible (Pott 1877).

Um deßwillen bilden die durch Hrn. Platzmann erworbenen Bücher [...] einen beneidenswerthen Schatz von allerhöchstem Werthe und in seiner Art einzigen Privatbesitz,

¹⁸ "And now begins my great, twenty-year, dilettante language study. At that time I knew only a little English, a little French, a little Latin, a little Greek, and had spoken Portuguese for 6 years, probably also heard some Indian words: The glossaries were soon devoured".

¹⁹ "The result of this search without grammar and without a sufficient linguistic library was a hasty and premature undertaking: my *American-Asian Etymologies via Beringsstrasse from the East to the West*, 1871, in which I juxtaposed 1520 American words with the same number of words originating from the old world, while referencing the tools I relied on. Soon I realized that I had often been wrong, but not always".

²⁰ "Already by inspecting Ludewig's book, *The Lit. of American Aboriginal Languages* (London 1858), increased by Turner and published by Nic. Trübner, any scholar planning comprehensive studies in the stunning and multicolored diversity of transatlantic native human speech is, mainly thanks to the assiduousness of religiously zealous messengers, confronted with a hardly manageable stream of sources".

von welchem nur zu wünschen ist, daß er für immer bei einander bleibe und dereinst in einer öffentlichen Bibliothek jedermann zugänglich (Pott 1877: 1315).²¹

This dream would not come true: after Platzmann's death his library was auctioned off publicly (Cop 1990; Grumpelt 1903; Weigel 1903). It is, however, my hypothesis that an implicit strategy that Pott had developed did materialize. Everything seems to suggest that Platzmann's enormous productivity is entirely due to a master plan designed by Pott. We know that Pott attached much importance to not restricting comparative linguistics to the Indo-European language group alone. Clearly well informed about the work of missionaries, he submitted research projects to several academies to facilitate reprints of missionary grammars at low expense. In his opinion, particular attention had to be paid to African languages, which shows that Pott's interest also extended to the work of contemporary missionaries, whose linguistic work, in his view, deserved praise and acknowledgment (Leopold 1983). It seems very plausible that Pott had whispered in Platzmann's ear that by making meticulous reproductions of old missionary grammars he could gain much more fame than with adventurous etymological work, with which he would only expose himself to more criticism. Indeed, Pott might have realized that Platzmann might be easier to convince than the scholarly academies: Platzmann had shown an authentic interest (rather than talent) in languages and linguistics,²² must have been very wealthy, and had time and ascetic discipline, as we can infer from the following description:

Mit Fleiss konnte ich lesen, weil ich nie in Gesellschaft oder in einen Verein gehe, nie in's Theater gehe, nie in ein Concert gehe, nie in eine Restauration gehe [...], nie verreise – mit minimen Ausnahmen –, das ganze Jahr zu hause bin, um 10 Uhr zu Bette gehe, wenn auch nicht früh aufstehe, doch den ganzen Tag bei meiner Sache bin und es sehr ungerne sehe, wenn mich Jemand besucht und aus meinem Gedankenkreis herausbringt (Platzmann 1893: 14).²³

Nichts erheitert den Abend meines Lebens mehr, als dass ich ledig bin. Wenn ich zum Beispiel jetzt erwachsene Söhne hätte, die Bi(b)erologie studieren wollten, so wäre ich ein geschlagener Mann (Platzmann 1893: 127–128).²⁴

It therefore seems safe to assume that Pott brilliantly succeeded in casting an enthusiastic volunteer for executing his ambitious plans. Guidance for this hypothesis can also be found in Platzmann's biography, where we read how in 1882, unexpectedly, a doctor's degree fell into Platzmann's mailbox ("fiel [...] ins haus"; Platzmann 1893: 60): August Pott turns out to have made an effort to honor Platzmann with such an award, most likely in order to motivate his colleague to continue on the same track. And later on in his biography, Platzmann mentions that "Pott billigte vollständig sorgfältig facsimilierte Neudrucke" (Platzmann 1893: 100),²⁵

²¹ "For this reason, the books acquired by Mr. Platzmann [...] form an enviable treasure of the highest value and the only private property of its kind, of which it is only to be hoped that the books will remain together forever and that the collection will one day be accessible to everyone in a public library".

²² Before making a final judgement on Platzmann's qualities as a linguist, his entire work should be carefully examined. This was not possible in the scope of this paper.

²³ "I was able to read with diligence, because I never go out in company or to a club, never go to the theatre, never go to a concert, never go to a restaurant [...], never travel – with minimal exceptions –, am at home all year round, go to bed at 10 o'clock, even if I don't get up early, but I am with my cause all day long and I very much hate it when someone visits me and takes me out of my circle of thoughts".

²⁴ "Nothing cheers up the evening of my life more than the fact that I am single. For example, if I now had grown-up sons who wanted to study bi(b)erology, I would be a beaten man".

²⁵ "Pott strongly approved of carefully facsimile reprints".

although Pott himself “thought that facsimile editions, requiring special typefaces and papers, were perhaps an unnecessary extravagance” (Leopold 1983: cvii).

It is however particularly striking that Platzmann continues to avoid the central question posed in the very title of his book. Hardly any word is devoted to the missionaries themselves. He limits himself to making the following observation, almost parenthetically:

Die alten amerikanischen Grammatiker sind mir wenigstens am liebsten so, wie sie sind. Niemand versuche sie zu corrigieren. Das geht nicht. Ebensowenig kann man einen Raphael, einen Rembrandt verbessern. Es sind Meisterwerke aus einer vergangenen Zeit, die am besten so bleiben, wie sie sind (Platzmann 1893: 98).²⁶

This observation suggests that Platzmann is an up-to-date 19th-century linguist, in that he seems to be aware of the fact that these grammars do no longer meet the contemporary standards. However, nowhere in his work does Platzmann indicate that he is aware of the latest developments and breakthroughs in linguistics (see also Kammler 1994). While Bopp had already masterly demonstrated the relevance of systematically comparing grammatical structures in 1816, 60 years later Platzmann stubbornly insists on the importance of lexical comparisons.

Sicher würde Bopp ganz anders in Polynesien reüssiert haben, wenn er sich mit der ganzen Größe seines Geistes auf das Wörterbuch und nicht auf die Grammatik geworfen hätte (Platzmann 1893: 50).²⁷

It is therefore ironic to read in Pott’s review article how he wipes the floor with scholars who neglect, either forced by lack of data or out of sheer carelessness, the relevance of grammar when comparing languages (Pott 1877).

Weil ich nämlich zu allen, aus bloßer Wörtervergleichung, ohne daß diese zugleich auf grammatische Zergliederung sich stützt, geschöpften Schlüssen über Sprach- oder gar Völkerverwantschaft, als meiner unerschütterlichen Ueberzeugung nach, aller Beweiskraft mangelnd, von vorn herein mich nur ablehnend verhalten könnte (Pott 1877: 1360).²⁸

And while it is precisely Leipzig that emerged around 1875 as the heart of the Junggrammatikers’ activities – claiming to be able to prove that words from various Indo-European language families, sometimes completely *different* in appearance, could be traced back to one and the same origin by relying on the principle of *Ausnahmslosigkeit* of the sound laws they developed (Morpurgo Davies 1998) – Platzmann forged one etymology after another on the basis of mere sound *similarity* of words just a few kilometers away.

And the last indication that Pott hides, as an organizational mastermind, behind Platzmann’s facsimile production is also the most explicit one: in his review article he

²⁶ “The old American grammarians are at least in my opinion preferably such, as they are. Nobody should try to correct them. It is not possible. Neither can one improve a Raphael, a Rembrandt. They are masterpieces from a bygone era that are best left as they are”.

²⁷ “Certainly Bopp would have succeeded quite differently in Polynesia if he had concentrated the full extent of his mind on the dictionary and not on grammar”.

²⁸ “Because I could only reject from the outset all conclusions about linguistic or even ethnic kinship drawn from a mere comparison of words, without at the same time relying on grammatical analysis: it is my unshakable conviction, that such conclusions are lacking all probative evidence”.

unequivocally indicates that he has guided Platzmann in this direction: “ich darf vielleicht sagen, auf Veranlassung von meiner Seite” (Pott 1877: 1316).²⁹

Were Platzmann’s works a commercial success, and did they in this way facilitate the knowledge of the indigenous languages of the Americas at the end of the 19th century? The answer seems to be negative. Because the reproductions seemed to gather dust in Teubner’s depots, Otto Harrassowitz (1845–1920), the Venezuela born publisher and antiquarian with a strong interest in non-western languages, decided to buy the entire collection (see also Kammler 1994).

Aus dem Verlage von Herrn B. G. Teubner in Leipzig übernahm ich in sämtlichen Vorräten Dr. J. Platzmann’s Publikationen zur Amerikanischen Linguistik. Diese wertvollen Werke, meist Faksimile-Neudrucke der überaus seltenen Ausgaben der ältesten Grammatiken der Indianersprachen, sind bisher sehr wenig verbreitet und werden, da sie jetzt zu bedeutend ermässigten Preisen angeboten werden, jeder größeren Bibliothek und jedem, der Americana sammelt, willkommen sein (Harrassowitz 1903).³⁰

The catalogue shows that most works are reduced in price by about 40 or 50 percent. Likely for commercial reasons, Harrassowitz added the following remark at the end of the announcement: “Of some works only very few copies are available; I therefore reserve the right to increase the price soon” (Harrassowitz 1903: s/p).

5. Conclusions

This contribution has reviewed some of the key actors who played a significant role in preserving and promoting missionary language documentation from the early-modern period. It has paid special attention to cataloguing and reproduction initiatives as well as to the agency of leading scholars, such as Humboldt and Pott, interested in languages other than those belonging to the Indo-European family. It has however only touched upon the tendency of appropriating ‘Catholic linguistic knowledge’ by British scholars and it has left out a number of relevant actors, some of which deserve at least to be mentioned here. Some of the rulers and monarchs from the new national states turned out to be fascinated with language studies and linguistics. Emperor Pedro II of Brazil, for instance, was a great champion of language study. Under the wings of a private teacher, Karl Friedrich Henning (1843–1887), the emperor started studying both Hebrew and Sanskrit (Obermeier 2015). Elsewhere in this special issue, Catherine Fountain highlights the relevance of the 19th-century *sociedades bíblicas*. Neither should we lose sight of the actions taken by individual archivists and librarians, even though these tend to be shrouded in silence.

The question now remains how 19th-century scholars evaluated these early-modern missionary tools. The most common characterization is, without any doubt, that these are extremely rare sources. In addition, we would expect to find, in the wake of Wilhelm von Humboldt, numerous scholars criticizing the overall design of early-modern missionary linguistic writings. However, this expectation is not met. I can only guess why the number of critical voices is remarkably restricted. One cannot rule out the possibility that there are

²⁹ “I may perhaps say, at my instigation”. See also the praise Platzmann received from Hans Georg Conon von der Gabelentz (1840–1893) (Weigel 1903).

³⁰ “From the publishing house of Mr. B. G. Teubner in Leipzig, I took over Dr. J. Platzmann’s publications on American Linguistics in all inventories. These valuable works, mostly facsimile reprints of the extremely rare editions of the oldest grammars of the Native American languages, have been very little used until now and, since they are now offered at significantly reduced prices, will be welcome to any major library and to anyone who collects *Americana*”.

definitely such critical voices, but that they are not easy to trace.³¹ In addition, one could also imagine that 19th-century scholars regarded these documents of times long gone, and that they were grateful that they still could rely on previous work. It is also possible that some scholars did appreciate the subtleties behind the Latinized model, which guaranteed their overall usefulness and comprehensibility despite all its infelicities. For scholars working in the middle of the 19th-century who were more in agreement with Humboldt's critical point of view, there might have been a lack of urgency to explicitly disapprove of these grammars: in the end it was a model of the past.

Be this as it may, it seems safe to state that our contemporary knowledge of early-modern missionary grammars and dictionaries builds, to a large extent, on the enthusiasm and dedication of scholars and amateurs, who were working in isolated rather than in orchestrated contexts. Some of these enthusiasts could still report on manuscripts that are no longer available to us today. The loss of much valuable materials may be due to a lack of coordinated actions to uncover, inventory and preserve these writings. As scholars working in the twenty-first century, we prove to be privileged in heuristic (and in many other) terms. Hence, it seems to be the right moment to undertake an orchestrated action in order to save what remains to be saved.³²

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³¹ I am indebted to one of the reviewers for drawing my attention to the example of Rudolf (Rodolfo) Lenz (1863–1938), who went from Germany to Chile at the end of the 19th century, where he became a specialist of Mapudungun. Lenz criticized the missionaries for taking a fanatic and negative attitude towards the traditional religion of the natives and for a lack of interest in authentic language testimonies (see e.g. Sánchez 1992). But this does not alter the fact that he in some of his works praises the early-modern work achieved by specific missionaries, such as Valdivia, Febrés and Havestadt (Lenz 1895–1897: introductory part).

³² See in this regard also Van Hal, Peetermans, and Van Loon (2018).

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Appendix: Platzmann's editorial work

The following survey is partly based on Kammler (1994) and Weigel (1903). Platzmann's editorial activity is mentioned on the title pages in terms such as: "Publicado nuevamente sin alteración alguna por Julio Platzmann", "publicado de nuevo por Julio Platzmann", "novamente dado a luz p. J. Platzmann", "edição facsimilar". In Platzmann 1898, we read: "übersetzt und hier und da erläutert von Julius Platzmann". In some cases, the title page also mentions the publication year of the original. All books were published in Leipzig by

Teubner. Life-dates of the missionaries were added between square brackets in order to give the reader an idea of the chronological scope of Platzmann's reproductions.

- 1874 *Grammatik der Brasilianischen Sprache mit Zugrundelegung des [José de] Anchieta [1534–1597]*
- 1874 *Joseph de Anchieta, Arte de grammatica da lingua mais usada na costa do Brasil*
- 1876 *Arte de grammatica da lingua mais usada na costa do Brasil feita pelo P. Joseph de Anchieta*
- 1876 *Arte, Bocabulario, Tesoro y Catecismo de la lengua gvarani por Antonio Ruiz de Montoya [1585–1652]. 4 vols.*
- 1878 *Grammatica da lingua do Brasil, composta pelo p. Luiz Figueira [1573–1643]*
- 1878 *Catecismo brasilico da doutrina christaã [Antônio de Araújo (1566 – 1632)]*
- 1879 *Arte de la lengua aymara compuesta por el P. Ludovico Bertonio [1555–1628]*
- 1879 *Vocabulario de la lengua aymará compuesta por el P. Ludovico Bertonio. 2 vols.*
- 1880 *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana compuesto por el P. Fr. Alonso de Molina [1513?–1585?]*
- 1882 *Glossar der feuerländischen sprache [Karl W. Whistling (1830–1893)]*
- 1883 *Chilidúgu, sive, Tractatus linguae chilensis, opera Bernardi Havestadt [1714–1781]*
- 1887 *Arte, Vocabulario y Confesionario de la lengua de Chile, compuestos por Luiz de Valdivia [1561–1642]*
- 1888 *Algunas obras raras sobre la lengua cumanagota [5 vols.]*
 Vol. 1: *Arte, Bocabulario, Doctrina christiana, y Catecismo de la lengua de Cumana, compuestos por el R. P. Fr. Francisco de Tauste [1626–1685]*
 Vol. 2: *Principios y reglas de la lengua Cumanagota, c. un diccionario [Manuel de Yangues, death 1676]*
 Vol. 3: *Arte y tesoro de la lengua Cumanagota [Matías Ruiz Blanco, 1643–1705]*
 Vol. 4-5: *Confessionario mas lato en lengua cumanagota por fr. Diego de Tapia [fl. 1746]*
- 1890 *Anselmi Eckarti [1721–1809] Specimen linguae brasiliae vulgaris*
- 1891 *Arte de la lengua quichua compuesta por Domingo de Sancto Thomas [1499–1570]*
- 1892 *Dictionaire caraibe-français composé par le R. P. Raymond Breton [1609–1679]*
- 1894 *Arte de la lengua Moxa con su vocabulario y cathecismo compuesto por el padre Pedro Marban [1653–1713]*
- 1896 *O diccionario anonymo da lingua geral do Brasil [Edition used: Lissabon 1795]*
- 1896 *Catecismo da lingua kariris composto pelo R. P. Fr. Bernardo de Nantes [fl. 1709]*
- 1898 *Der sprachstoff der guaranischen grammatik des Antonio Ruiz [1585–1652]*
- 1899 *Thomas Falkner's [1707–1784] nachricht von der moluchischen sprache. Mit einer karte.*
- 1899 *Der Sprachstoff der brasilianischen Grammatik des Luis Figueira [1573–1643]*
- 1900 *Dictionaire français-caraibe composé par le R.P. Raymond Breton*
- 1900 *Des Herrnhuter Glaubensboten Christlieb Ouandt [1740–1824] nachricht von der Arawackischen Sprache*
- 1901 *Das anonyme wörterbuch tupi -deutsch und deutsch-tupi. Mit einer karte des amazonenstromes*
- 1902 *Dobrizhoffer, Martin, des Abbe [1717–1791], Auskunft über die Abiponische Sprache*
- 1903 *Der Sprachstoff der Patagonischen Grammatik des Theophilus Schmid [fl. 1860]. Mit einer Karte des südlichen Südamerika*