

ABHANDLUNGEN FÜR DIE KUNDE
DES MORGENLANDES
Band 118

Rosane Rocher
with Agnes Stache-Weiske

For the Sake of the Vedas
The Anglo-German Life of Friedrich Rosen
1805–1837



Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft

Harrassowitz Verlag

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DES MORGENLANDES

Im Auftrag der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
herausgegeben von Florian C. Reiter

Band 118

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In Ludo's loving memory



Plate 1

Wären die Vedas nicht, so würde die Universität allein mich nicht gerade in London fesseln ... Gern vergleiche ich mich mit einem Indischen Muni, der auf einige Zeit andern Rücksichten entsagt, um in guter Ruhe die Vedas zu lesen, und den Himmel des Indras zu erobern, der in meinem Falle etwa eine Deutsche Universität seyn könnte.

If it were not for the Vedas, the university alone would not keep me in London ... I like to compare myself to an Indian muni, who forsakes other concerns for a while to read the Vedas in peace and attain Indra's heaven, which in my case might be some German university.

(Rosen to Bopp, 13 Oct. 1830)

Es thut mir nur innigst leid daß wir ... Sie hier entbehren müssen. Indefß ist es gewiß für Sie selbst und noch vielmehr für die Wissenschaft ein großer Gewinn daß Sie so viele Jahre den Quellen der Arbeiten nahe bleiben welchen Sie sich widmen.

I can only deeply regret that we ... must be deprived of your presence. Yet, it is definitely of greater benefit for you, and even more for scholarship, that you remain so many years close to the sources of the works to which you are devoting yourself.

(W. v. Humboldt to Rosen, 25 Nov. 1832)

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Preface

This work did not start as a biography, nor even as a book. It evolved from successive discoveries and redactions. The original, modest plan was to publish the letters of August Wilhelm von Schlegel to Friedrich Rosen preserved in manuscript in Dresden. When letters of Rosen to Schlegel were shown to exist in Marbach, letters to Wilhelm von Humboldt were revealed as worthy companions. In the course of writing what was expected to be a brief biographical essay as an introduction to the correspondence between Rosen and those two eminent scholars, Rosen's correspondence with his father, preserved in Detmold, became an important source. Its volume and its revelatory power opened the floodgates that irrevocably led to a biography, which required sleuthing for further correspondence and other personal and professional documentation, as well as for unfinished scholarly projects that survive in manuscript. Rosen emerged from this exercise as a much more central figure in the oriental scholarship of the 1820s and 1830s than was anticipated. Following him has been inspiring.

A glance at the list of libraries and archives that have fed this book will suffice to show that it would be impossible individually to acknowledge all the help of which it benefited. With the sole exception of St. Petersburg, librarians and archivists, and even some habitual readers uniformly responded to requests for information and for copies of documents, and also provided references and hints for additional sources and repositories. Thanks are due to an entire collaborative intellectual community. Nancy Charley, Eliza Cubitt, Maddalena Italia, and Peter Marshall must be singled out for their forbearance with repeated and open-ended requests. Ulrike Kirchberger generously retrieved and copied notes she had made, when researching her book on German migrants to London, of letters that Rosen wrote to the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, which can no longer be found in the archives of University College London. The auction house J.

A. Stargardt graciously searched their records to identify institutions that had acquired lots of correspondence of Rosen listed in their past catalogues.

Agnes Stache-Weiske has been of tremendous and steady assistance in this venture. Jürgen Hanneder witnessed the genesis of this book and finalized its presentation for publication. I am grateful to the editorial leadership of the *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* for welcoming this work in their series. To Ludo Rocher, who lit the torch that led to this biography of a scholar of whom he thought highly, I have kept my promise, three years after his death.

Rosane Rocher

Philadelphia, 2 November 2019.

Conventions

Unless otherwise clear from the context, the name Rosen, without first name or initials, refers to the subject of this biography. Other major players who share last names with others may also be mentioned without first names. Thus, Humboldt refers to Wilhelm, Schlegel to August Wilhelm, Mendelssohn to Felix, Yates to James.

Years of birth and death appear in parentheses after the first mention of a person. Author and date of publication of works quoted are mentioned in parentheses in the text, followed by a letter if several appeared in the same year. They correspond to entries in the list of references at the end of the volume. In footnotes, references to sources include, as a rule, author, date, volume, and page, folio, or column numbers. If a document bears no date, but a date can be established by context or from related documents, the assigned date is given in brackets. Likewise, the names of formally anonymous, but traceable authors appear in brackets. When documents, such as series of manuscript letters in the Rosen archives (NL Rosen) in the Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen Abteilung Ostwestfalen-Lippe, Detmold, have not been paginated, the cumbersome designation “unpaginated” has generally been dispensed with. The item can then usually be found by date. Place names have not been modernized. They are quoted in their English forms. In the list of references, reviews of Rosen’s works appear under his works, reviews of other works under the reviewers’ names.

In order to ease the flow of testimonies in a book that predominantly draws on unpublished manuscript exchanges between a host of correspondents, mainly in German, partly in English, sometimes in French, English paraphrases have been preferred to in-quote translations in most cases. Full English translations have been given primarily for formal statements. Exceptionally, however, Humboldt’s recommendation of Rosen for a professorship in London is quoted in its original French text, and Heinrich Stieglitz’ poetic lines in Rosen’s memory appear in

their actual German expression. Only the two passages quoted as epigraphs appear in both original form and in English translation. Whether for quotations, translations, or paraphrases, footnotes identify sources at all times.

Abbreviations

| | |
|-------------|--|
| AAC | Asian and African Collections |
| ADB | <i>Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie</i> |
| AJ | <i>Asiatic Journal</i> |
| ALZ | <i>Allgemeine Literaturzeitung</i> |
| AZ | <i>Allgemeine Zeitung</i> |
| BL | British Library, London |
| BM | British Museum, London |
| BnF | Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris |
| Coll. Corr. | College Correspondence |
| DLA | Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach am Neckar |
| DMG | Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft |
| DNB | <i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> |
| EIC | East India Company |
| ELB | Eutiner Landesbibliothek, Eutin |
| FQR | <i>Foreign Quarterly Review</i> |
| GGA | <i>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen</i> |
| GNM | Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg |
| GSStA PK | Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin |
| IB | <i>Indische Bibliothek</i> |
| JA | <i>Journal Asiatique</i> |
| JAOS | <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> |
| JASB | <i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> |
| JRAS | <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> |
| JWK | <i>Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik</i> |
| LEK | Library of Entertaining Knowledge |
| LLB | Lippische Landesbibliothek, Detmold |

| | |
|-------------|--|
| <i>LLZ</i> | <i>Leipziger Literaturzeitung</i> |
| MCM | Miscellaneous Committee Minutes |
| MOTC | Minutes of the Oriental Translation Committee |
| MS(S) | Manuscript(s) |
| NA UCLSC | National Archives University College London Special Collections, Kew |
| <i>NDB</i> | <i>Neue Deutsche Biographie</i> |
| NL Rosen | Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen Abteilung Ostwestfalen- Lippe, Detmold D 72, Nachlass Rosen-Klingemann |
| <i>ODNB</i> | <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> |
| OTC | Oriental Translation Committee |
| OTF | Oriental Translation Fund |
| <i>QJE</i> | <i>Quarterly Journal of Education</i> |
| RAS | Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland |
| RDL | Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen |
| SAO | Stadtarchiv, Offenbach, Main |
| SBB | Staatsbibliothek, Berlin |
| SDUK | Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge |
| SLBD | Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, Dortmund |
| SLUB | Sächsische Landes-, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden |
| SUBG | Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen |
| SWK | Sozietät für Wissenschaftliche Kritik |
| <i>TRAS</i> | <i>Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> |
| UBL | Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig |
| UBT | Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen |
| UCL | University College London |
| ULBB | Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn |
| ULBSA | Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen- Anhalt, Halle |
| <i>WZKM</i> | <i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> |
| <i>ZDMG</i> | <i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> |
| <i>ZKM</i> | <i>Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> |

Introduction

In tracing the life and career of Friedrich Rosen, this book seeks to highlight the scholarly circumstances, opportunities, and challenges that prevailed in the early decades of the nineteenth century, when the first university trained Indologists took the field. They lived and moored a new academicized, professionalized, and transnational discipline.

The last decades of the eighteenth century had been marked by the forays of amateur scholars, many of them intellectually inclined and inquisitive servants of the East India Company and of the British Crown who tapped the learning of pandits and other Indian intellectual elites. These pioneers beamed their discoveries and speculations to Europe through organs such as the *Asiatic(k) Researches* issued in Calcutta, which were multiply reprinted in England and partially translated into German and into French, the latter with annotations by leading French academicians.¹ There was also a flurry of German translations of other works by members of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta.²

In 1801, the East India Library opened its doors in London under the direction of Charles Wilkins, who had cultivated Sanskrit in Banaras and who, on his return to England, had drafted a plan and lobbied for the library's creation. The East India Company did not intend to purchase books and manuscripts. It set up a library and museum to receive collections of its retired personnel. Only a fraction of its servants brought back such items, and fewer still were willing to give them away, yet some gifts and legacies were magnificent. Most notable in the library's early years were the manuscript collections that Henry Thomas Colebrooke had assembled in northern India and Colin Mackenzie in the south. The library also received a part of the spoils of the raid of Tipu Sultan's library.³ These riches

1 *Asiatic(k) Researches*, 20 vols, 1788-1839.

2 See a chronological chart in Rabault-Fuehrhahn 2008, pp. 429-446.

3 Arberry 1967.

dwarfed the resources in manuscripts, primarily from missionary sources, held in Paris, which had been the most substantial in Europe theretofore. In the decades that followed, the Crowns of Russia and Prussia probed the London market for a share of such treasures. London became the leading center of Indological research for scholars from all over Europe, often after a preparatory stay in Paris.

Resources and their scholarly users were, however, misaligned. At the East India College founded by the East India Company in 1806, returned military servants Alexander Hamilton and Graves Chamney Haughton successively taught Sanskrit and Bengali, but it was only a service academy designed for civil servants bound for India.⁴ The old established universities in Britain showed little interest in oriental languages other than Hebrew and Arabic. Even after Colonel Joseph Boden had, by his will, endowed a professorship of Sanskrit, the University of Oxford waited five years, from 1827 to 1832, before taking steps to fill it. Lobbied by the Arabist Silvestre de Sacy, the French government was first in 1815 to establish a chair of Sanskrit in Europe and to vest it in the Collège de France.⁵ Its first incumbent, Antoine Léonard Chézy, originally a scholar of Persian, was self-taught in Sanskrit. His withdrawn personality did not attract an international cohort of disciples such as flocked to Sacy. There was no thought of setting up Sanskrit studies outside of Paris. In Germany, the teaching of Sanskrit grew more organically and multiply. With a vast network of universities and deeper benches of teaching personnel who were given relative latitude for their course offerings, with a tradition also of orientalists who cultivated multiple languages, Sanskrit could sporadically be taught at the fringe of a generic portfolio of oriental languages. A traditional dependency of oriental languages on theology could, however, be an impediment as well as an opportunity. Being primarily concerned with Sanskrit could be a handicap, as Franz Bopp experienced when he was denied an appointment at the University of Würzburg on the grounds that Sanskrit was a dispensable “literary luxury.”⁶

Indology first blossomed at the new, secular, Prussian universities of Bonn and Berlin.⁷ The first university to offer courses in Sanskrit in Britain was also the new, programmatically secular University of London, which was founded on those Prussian models. Friedrich Rosen was the first German scholar to earn a

4 R. Rocher 2002.

5 Rabault-Feuerhahn 2019.

6 Bopp to K. J. Windischmann, to Schlegel, 8 Aug. 1820 (Lefmann 1891–1897, p. 67*, 88*).

7 Sengupta 2005.

Ph.D. with a dissertation on Sanskrit, at the University of Berlin. He was also first to teach Sanskrit at a British university, the University of London, later renamed University College London. Yet, at none of these three universities had appointments been made specifically for Sanskrit. August Wilhelm Schlegel was appointed as an ornament to the University of Bonn when it opened its doors in 1818, essentially to teach what he pleased in literature and art history. His relatively recent Indological interests were not expected to be represented. In Berlin, Wilhelm von Humboldt had Bopp appointed in 1821 primarily to teach comparative Indo-European linguistics, in which Sanskrit was a crucial component, and which Bopp taught separately.⁸ Bopp was not first to teach Sanskrit at Berlin. The theologian and orientalist Georg Heinrich Bernstein had offered a course on Sanskrit language and literature for two semesters in 1820–1821 before leaving for a full professorship in Breslau.⁹ The wishes of the University of London were conflicted in this matter. It called for teaching Indian languages to young men who prepared for a career in India, a goal then best achieved with Persian and Hindustani, but the university heralded Rosen's appointment and supported him throughout as a student of Bopp, who was to introduce new linguistic methods.

For all his transformational role, Rosen maintained an old trait of multipronged interest in oriental texts. He let go of Hebrew, but he continued to cultivate Arabic, Syriac, and Persian in addition to Sanskrit. And, although he fully adhered to Bopp's comparative method, he did not take sides in the harsh and public dispute between the Bonn and Berlin modes of Indology. He was a scrupulous philologist, but he did not conceive of language as an end, as his teacher Bopp did. He viewed it as a means to access the cultures of the past.

It was in the context of a search for new, sometimes conflicting, sometimes complementary, paradigms that Rosen was to function for his entire and brief adulthood. His primary objective was to open the Vedas to the West. Bopp had, in his youth, vowed to focus exclusively on the Vedas when he got to London.¹⁰ The Vedas called Rosen to the sanctum of London libraries and kept him there through thick and thin. His location made him the envy of a growing number of continental scholars, and a target for their pressing requests. The ways in which he negotiated his multiple activities, and how he and his contemporaries pursued

8 Sengupta 2005, pp. 21–22.

9 Virmond 2011, pp. 225, 239.

10 Bopp to K. J. Windischmann, 24 Feb. [1815] (Lefmann 1891–1897, p. 18*).

various opportunities and navigated currents, open to view the many challenges of a foundational period in the growth and development of new forms and forums of scholarship.

An Educational Cauldron (1805–1822)

The Ballhorn-Rosen family

Friedrich August Rosen was born Friedrich August Ballhorn shortly after 10 p.m. on Monday, 2 September 1805, in Hanover, where his mother had gone to stay with her parents for the birth of her first child. The delivery was difficult, and it appeared that the infant might be stillborn. His maternal grandfather and paternal grandmother waited for two days to let his father, who had stayed behind in Göttingen, learn of what was by then the good news of his birth. A letter of the new mother confirmed both initial anxiety and subsequent joy.¹ This firstborn's frail health remained a source of concern throughout his life.

Friedrich August's father, Friedrich Ernst Ballhorn, later Ballhorn-Rosen (1774–1855), was descended from a long line of Lutheran clerics and teachers, and, through his great-grandmother, from the father of Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560). With the entire family, Friedrich August (Fritz in private) took great pride in this theologian antecedent.²

F. E. Ballhorn was three years old, the third of four children aged one to eight when they lost their father, Ludwig Wilhelm Ballhorn (1730–1777), a pastor who had served as principal of the Lyceum in Hanover.³ Their mother, born Christine Wolckenhaar (1744–1812), then opened and directed a high school for girls in Hanover. She devoted every resource to the education of her children, hiring tutors of such caliber that Johann Adolf Schlegel (1721–1793), the father of August

1 Johann Christian Eisendecker to Friedrich Ernst Ballhorn, 4 Sep. 1805; Christine Ballhorn to Friedrich Ernst Ballhorn, 4 Sep. 1805; Charlotte Ballhorn, born Eisendecker, to Friedrich Ernst Ballhorn, 6 Sep. 1805 (NL Rosen: 59).

2 G. Rosen and Klingemann 1917, pp. 34–35; Klingemann 1936, p. 156; Rosen to his father, 17 Apr. 1835 (NL Rosen: 59); Sophy Horsley to Lucy Callcott, [late June, early July 1835] (Gotch 1938, pp. 210, 216–217).

3 Grotefend 1833a, pp. 27–32.

Wilhelm (1767–1845) and Friedrich (1772–1829), and possibly other residents of Hanover had their offspring share in lessons imparted to the Ballhorn siblings.⁴

F. E. Ballhorn enrolled at the University of Göttingen in 1793 for philology and theology.⁵ He devoted himself primarily to philology and was inducted in the elite philological seminar led by the great classicist Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812) and renowned as a nursery of humanists. After earning a Ph.D. in 1798 with a dissertation *De iure naturali veterum*, he taught at the girls' high school in Hanover which his mother directed. In 1800, he assumed a position of preceptor in Amsterdam. His employer was Count Diederik Johan van Hogendorp (1754–1803), the brother-in-law of his Göttingen friend, the Dutch jurist Andries Cornelis Munter (1775–1861), to whom he had dedicated his dissertation. A philologist first and foremost, Ballhorn collated part of Pliny's *Natural History* from a manuscript that he estimated was to be dated to the 14th century. He hoped to establish a philological seminar near Leiden, presumably on the model of Heyne's in Göttingen. The political turbulence of the times put, however, an end to his plans.⁶

Returning to Hanover in 1802, F. E. Ballhorn courted Charlotte Eisendecker (1781–1818), a niece of his brother-in-law Johann Konrad Brande (1754–1817) and daughter of Johann Chr. Eisendecker (1750–1821). Since her father did not find him sufficiently well established to consent to their marriage, Ballhorn went back to Göttingen to pursue law studies. He promptly earned a second doctorate, in law, with a dissertation on the manuscript *De omni agro deserto* (Ballhorn 1803), which he dedicated to the American lawyer John Pickering (1777–1846), with whom he had made friends in Amsterdam. The copy he sent to Pickering went astray. They lost contact. Yet, when Pickering's associate George Ticknor (1791–1871) traveled to Europe a decade later, Pickering asked him to give him news of his old friend. Ballhorn supplied another copy, which Ticknor shipped with a request that Pickering write to Ballhorn in English, which he knew quite well. No correspondence between the two philologists has been preserved, but Pickering promptly sent Ballhorn a dedicated copy of his epoch-making *Vocabulary or*

4 G. Rosen and Klingemann 1917, pp. 54–66.

5 Selle 1937, p. 344.

6 Pickering's diary, 24 Apr. 1802; Ticknor to Pickering, 3 Apr. 1817 (Pickering 1887, pp. 192, 261); Büchsel 1959, pp. 161–162; Tütken 2005, vol. 2, pp. 536–538.

collection of words and phrases which have been supposed to be peculiar to the United States of America (1816).⁷

Ballhorn wed in Hanover in 1804 and brought his bride to Göttingen. Monies from her father allowed them to settle in a commodious residence with a garden and outbuildings.⁸ He conducted classes and practical exercises on Roman law, the laws of debt and of loans, and Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut's (1772–1840) *System des Pandektenrechts* (1803) as extraordinary professor in the university's law faculty. He was also active in the "Spruchkollegium," a nursery for judges, and he held a position in the judicial administration of nearby Waake. From 1807 to 1813, when Göttingen was made a part of a new kingdom of Westphalia under Jérôme Bonaparte, Ballhorn taught the Code Napoléon. He was also appointed to serve with the local superintendent of the Lutheran Church to form a new consistory of Göttingen. In his yearly report on the state of his young family in 1813, he rejoiced at the lifting of the French yoke and at the restoration of home rule, which he thought ought to provide role models for his children and lessen the threat of foreign manners poisoning their character. Members of the faculty retained their positions during and after the French interlude, but the position Ballhorn had assumed had inevitably made of him a collaborator with the French regime against which committed patriots, and particularly students, demonstrated.⁹

Enters Princess Regent Pauline of Lippe (1769–1820), who had maintained good relations with the French and managed to retain her principality in the new Prussian dispensation that followed. In 1814, she was in search of a governor for her two sons when they enrolled in the law faculty of the University of Göttingen. This was a position for which Ballhorn was ideally suited, and which he undertook with the title of "Hofrat" and the expectation that, if all went well with the princes' education, he would be offered a position in the administration of Lippe. Indeed, Pauline already used his services for the reform of the Lippian judicial administration during that period. Ballhorn hoped that this engagement would help give him the means to raise and educate his children, but he regretted

7 Ticknor to Pickering, 3 Apr. 1817 (Pickering 1887, pp. 261–263); G. Rosen and Klingemann 1917, p. 67; Büchsel 1959, p. 162; Tütken 2005, vol. 2, pp. 538–540; *Rulon-Miller Books English Language Web Catalogue* 1, 1995, no. 143.

8 F. W. Alfred Rosen, "Biographische Nachrichten über Kanzler Ernst A. F. [sic] Ballhorn-Rosen" (NL Rosen: 25).

9 Büchsel 1959, pp. 162–166; Tütken 2005, vol. 2, pp. 540–543; Klingemann 1936, p. 157; Stache-Weiske 1999, pp. viii–ix; Ballhorn, "Nachrichten von meinen Kindern," 1813 (NL Rosen: 35).

the extent to which it curtailed his participation in their instruction. The American scholar of literature George Ticknor, then a student at Göttingen, observed that Ballhorn had little time to devote to people other than the princes. Yet, after a while, Ballhorn taught him Italian and read Dante daily with him for seven months. No one at the university knew Dante and Italian as well as he did. Ticknor felt more indebted to him than to any other person in Europe, he wrote.¹⁰

Ballhorn did not endear himself to the two young princes, but he fulfilled their mother's expectations. One year after their arrival, he observed that he had risen in Princess Pauline's esteem and this gave him hope for his children. He would be able to stay in Göttingen for one more year and planned to use that time to build up his knowledge to the point that he might be able better to educate his children when he would no longer benefit from all the means available in Göttingen. He also attended to their financial future. Experience having taught him that he was not good at saving money, he put in 1815 his mother's inheritance into a trust in the hands of his father-in-law for the benefit of his children, retaining only the yearly sum of 100 Rthl. for his own use. By that time, he had enough to pay his debts, with something to spare.¹¹

As the princes left Göttingen in March 1817, after five semesters of study, Pauline recruited Ballhorn to her service as vice-director (later director) of the chancellery, criminal judge, and advisor in the judicial, administrative, and constitutional reforms in Lippe, for the remainder of his life, in his last years at the rank of chancellor.¹² His move to Detmold represented an abrupt departure from his prior life. He renounced the academy for government service. That he meant this step as a clear break is confirmed by another, surprising decision he took at the same time. He had his name officially changed to Ballhorn-Rosen, with the further provision that his children, born and unborn, would be known by the sole name Rosen. He privately adopted the sole name Rosen as well, and so signed his letters. He addressed this change in his memoir of the year 1817 only expressly to state that he would never reveal the real reason that prompted him to take that step. He added that it was merely fortuitous that it would save his children from

10 Büchsel 1959, pp. 166–168; Tütken 2005, vol. 2, pp. 543–545; Stache-Weiske 1999, p. ix; Ticknor to Pickering, 3 Apr. 1817 (Pickering 1887, p. 262); Ticknor 1909, vol. 1, pp. 85–86; Ticknor's journal, 8 Apr. 1816, 22 Mar. 1817 (Adam and Mettele 2009, pp. 31, 87).

11 Ballhorn, "Nachrichten von meinen Kindern," 1814–1815 (NL Rosen: 35); draft contract between Ballhorn and J. C. Eisendecker, 22 Mar. 1815 (NL Rosen: 33).

12 Büchsel 1959, pp. 168–172.

a name that had been turned into a joke—the verb *verbal(l)hornen* meaning to corrupt a text with corrections—for which he had often been teased. He found it amusing that his name change elicited much curiosity, and that not a soul found out the true reason.¹³

The mystery that shrouded this name change was to pursue Ballhorn-Rosen's son Friedrich to London. At a dinner with the Duke of Clarence, soon to become William IV, King of Great Britain and Hanover, Friedrich was embarrassed when the Duke remarked that he did not recall a Rosen family in Hanover. On his telling his father about this challenge, Ballhorn-Rosen still prevaricated, answering that an aging father might not be keen to make *Confessions à la Rousseau to his son*; otherwise it would be easy for him to explain it. He suggested that, on future occasions, it might be expedient just to say that the name change had been a condition under which a Dutch friend had once paid him a major service. Princess Pauline of Lippe, who granted him the name change, was the only person who knew part of the real reason, he averred.¹⁴ (Johannes) Karl Büchsel (1885–1965), a family historian, has suggested as the most plausible explanation Ballhorn's desire to spare his sons any hostility stemming from his collaboration with the French, if and when they enrolled as students at Göttingen.¹⁵ This hypothesis finds support in Ballhorn-Rosen's later decision not to send his two eldest sons to Göttingen. At any rate, Ballhorn-Rosen was extraordinarily disciplined and successful at leaving everyone guessing. The reason remains a mystery. It appears that, in leaving Göttingen for Detmold with a new name, Ballhorn-Rosen did not just turn a leaf, he firmly closed a book. He would be a new man.

Eleven years later, Ballhorn-Rosen remembered the date, Easter day, 6 April 1817, when he and his family arrived in Hiddesen, near Detmold. Yet later, after Friedrich's death, he recollected the months that followed their arrival as idyllic, when father and son would walk, books under arm, and have lessons at nearby scenic spots.¹⁶ He thought that living in the countryside would be beneficial to the entire family. It made all healthier and happier, except for his wife, who had been raised with all the amenities of city life and longed for better conveniences

13 Ballhorn-Rosen, "Nachrichten von meinen Kindern," 1817 (NL Rosen: 35); Tütken 2005, pp. 535–536; Stache-Weiske 1999, p. x.

14 Rosen to his father, 1 Jan. 1820; Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 18 Jan. 1829 (NL Rosen: 59).

15 Büchsel 1959, p. 169.

16 Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 6 Apr. 1828 (NL Rosen: 59); Ballhorn-Rosen, "Biographie des seel. Friedr. Rosen" (NL Rosen: 58).

and company downtown. He morosely reviewed the advantages of living in town and remained unconvinced. Yet, there being no available rental in Detmold, a house was bought in his wife's name. It was chosen more for its salubriousness and agreeable location, next to the Lutheran church in the Schüler Strasse, than for exterior elegance, he said. He treasured two gardens on a little stream in Detmold and two orchards in Hiddesen, which were acquired at the same time. His wife died on 20 September 1818, less than a year after they occupied the house.¹⁷

Of the five children born to Ballhorn-Rosen of his first marriage who reached adulthood, Friedrich, Emilie (1807–1829), Gisbert (1808–1875), and Bodo (1814–1848) had been born before the move to Lippe; Hermann (1818–1866) was born in their new locale four months before his mother's death. Friedrich was thirteen years old when he lost his mother. Two years later, Ballhorn-Rosen married Sophie Rudorff (1787–1859), who had been brought in to manage the household and care for the children. She became "die gute Mutter" whom Friedrich had from age fifteen, and who worried about his wellbeing when he was away from home.¹⁸ Ballhorn-Rosen repeatedly praised her for her care and support and he begged his eldest son to continue cherishing her even after his death.¹⁹ She survived father and son. One son, Georg (1820–1891), and three daughters, Sophie (1822–1901), Auguste (1824–1848), and Elise (1829–1897), born of this second marriage reached adulthood.²⁰

Ballhorn-Rosen's only brother, the physician Georg Friedrich Ballhorn (1770–1805), died, married but childless, shortly before Friedrich was born. Ballhorn-Rosen remained close to his sisters, Rosine Brande (1769–1841) and Auguste Bialloblotzky (1776–1832), settled in and near Hanover, and their families. Friedrich and his siblings were sent for extended stays with them, and Ballhorn-Rosen likewise hosted nieces and nephews for long periods of time. He also maintained a close connection with the Eisendeckers, the family of his first wife. Friedrich's maternal grandfather emotionally recalled the trauma and joy of his birth on his sixteenth birthday.²¹ After his death, his son, the wealthy and childless August

17 Ballhorn-Rosen, "Nachrichten von meinen Kindern," 1817–1818 (NL Rosen: 35); F. W. Alfred Rosen, "Biographische Nachrichten über Kanzler ... Ballhorn-Rosen" (NL Rosen: 25).

18 Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 1 Dec. 1822 (NL Rosen: 59).

19 Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 13 Aug. 1826 (NL Rosen: 59).

20 G. Rosen and Klingemann 1917, pp. 72–78.

21 J. C. Eisendecker to Rosen, 5 Sep. 1821 (NL Rosen: 58).

Friedrich Eisendecker (1784–1842), to whom Friedrich and his brothers continued to pay visits, was in charge of the trust Ballhorn-Rosen had set up for the benefit of his first wife's children, subsidized their education, and made them his heirs.²²

Early education

Ballhorn-Rosen was a voracious reader in a vast array of languages, ancient and modern, and a subscriber to the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* and the *Journal des Savan(t)s*. He was an amateur scholar and author at the intersection of philology and Roman law, particularly for instructional purposes (Ballhorn-Rosen 1822, 1853–1854). He acted as a substitute teacher of Greek and Latin at the Detmold gymnasium when a need arose. His reputation as a humanist and educator earned him an offer of the directorship at the highly rated archigymnasium at Soest, an opportunity that, to Princess Pauline's displeasure, he only declined after obtaining a substantial increase in salary at Detmold.²³ He worked on a book devoted to pedagogy, which has not been preserved.²⁴

Ballhorn-Rosen's foremost concern was his children's education. He was happy to buy books or a herbarium, or pay for private lessons to meet the particular interests of a child.²⁵ He expected his sons to be learned, to the point that his second son Gisbert complained that it was unreasonable of his father to expect that all his sons would become full-fledged scholars.²⁶ In fact, Ballhorn-Rosen allowed his sons to choose their path, provided they strived to equip themselves for it. Friedrich, the subject of this biography, became an orientalist and an academic. He was his father's favorite son. Once worried about his health when he was a professor in London, Ballhorn-Rosen wrote him emotionally that he was his son, his friend, and his guru.²⁷ To a large extent, Ballhorn-Rosen's emphasis on languages prepared his eldest son for such a career, of which he

22 August Eisendecker's dictated postscript to Rosen's letter to his father, 3 July 1822 (NL Rosen: 58); Ballhorn-Rosen to Georg Rosen, 1 Apr. 1849 (Stache-Weiske 1999, p. 180).

23 Büchsel 1959, p. 171; F. W. Alfred Rosen, "Biographische Nachrichten über Kanzler ... Ballhorn-Rosen" (NL Rosen: 25).

24 Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 11 Jan. 1835 (NL Rosen: 59).

25 F. W. Alfred Rosen, "Biographische Nachrichten über Kanzler ... Ballhorn-Rosen" (NL Rosen: 25).

26 Rosen to his father, 17 Sep. 1827 (NL Rosen: 59).

27 Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 31 Jan.–7 Feb. 1830 (NL Rosen: 59).

heartily approved. But he as eagerly fostered the interest Friedrich showed for mineralogy in his childhood.²⁸

Gisbert studied law at Leipzig and Heidelberg, where he became one of the closest friends of a fellow law student, later musician Robert Schumann (1810–1856), as Friedrich formed a friendship with Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy (1809–1847) during his student days in Berlin. Gisbert was a source of chronic concern and disappointment to his father for many years, even after he earned a doctorate in laws with a thesis on a fragment of Roman law—Ballhorn-Rosen’s favorite object of study—and dedicated it to his father. But he ended up having a successful career, like his father, in the judicial administration of Lippe. He focused on the practice of the law, not on its scholarship, which his father cherished, but he became a trusted helper in later years.²⁹ Bodo studied medicine in Göttingen and Berlin before leaving for Maryland, in the United States, where he died of yellow fever, estranged from his father. Hermann, a spirited but not intellectual youngster, entered a technical school and, to his father’s regret, pursued a military career. Georg, first-born of Ballhorn-Rosen’s second marriage, showed early promise, as Friedrich, first-born of his first marriage had done. He peremptorily declared at age 16 that he wanted to be a philologist. He became an orientalist, like Friedrich, and a diplomat. He was closest to his father’s heart after Friedrich’s death.³⁰

Ballhorn-Rosen entertained progressive ideas on female education. He mentioned handiwork, for sure. But he did not subscribe to the common notion that daughters did not need more education than what their mothers had received, and which amounted to just enough French not to butcher French words when reading the newspaper to their fathers, and to play a musical instrument and sing to entertain their parents’ guests at tea parties. He queried Friedrich on current thoughts on desirable intellectual accomplishments for young women in England. On learning that Friedrich read the *Odyssey* with the ten-year old Lucy, daughter of the German-to-English translator Sarah Austin (1793–1867), who as Lucy Duff Gordon (1824–1872), was to become a German-to-English translator as well, Ballhorn-Rosen asked if they read it in Greek, English, or German. He

28 Ballhorn to Rosen, 6 Sep. 1812 (addressed “An den Herrn Mineralogen Ballhorn”), 7 Aug. 1815 (NL Rosen: 58).

29 Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 6–8 Apr., 31 July 1828; 21 Oct. 1829; 31 Jan.–7 Feb. 1830; 13 May 1832; 24 Mar. 1833; and *passim* (NL Rosen: 59); Gisbert Rosen 1831.

30 Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 13 May 1832, 27 Mar. 1833, 13 Nov. 1836 (NL Rosen: 59); G. Rosen and Klingemann 1917, pp. 72–78.

had his daughters attend the girls' school founded in Detmold in 1830, and he supervised and participated in their education at home. Friedrich was delighted at the positive reception of a simplified *School Shakespeare* (1828) he had sent from London, which his father read with the younger girls, with Friedrich occasionally serving as a substitute during his holidays in Detmold. He found his father's conversational mode of instruction particularly effective, although he feared that it forced the young girls to study and sit still more than was good for their health. Ballhorn-Rosen was determined to ensure that his daughters be well educated enough not to have to depend on the generosity of relatives if a need arose, as his widowed mother had demonstrated. His eldest surviving daughter, Sophie, taught at the girls' school in Detmold until her marriage to Friedrich's friend, Carl Klingemann (1798–1862).³¹

Friedrich's delicate health demanded his parents' first attention. Since it was judged important that he have many outdoors activities, he was encouraged to cultivate an interest in mineralogy and to begin a collection of rocks. At the same time, he was much attracted to books. By age five, he was judged physically strong enough to engage on a planned system of education. For eight years, from 31 December 1811, when Friedrich was six years old, until 1818, Ballhorn kept a yearly record of his children's progress. His observations also reveal his priorities and methods in matters of education.

For the first half of the years for which records are available, the children were taught at home by private tutors drawn primarily from the Göttingen student body and local clergy. Friedrich had read three books with understanding by age 6 years and 4 months. He could also make additions, and national and general geography had been introduced in conversation. In the following year, he learned to draw. His father thought that he showed little interest in that skill, but several well executed sketches and maps he drew have been preserved. A drawing he is believed to have made when he was in his last year of study in the gymnasium was chosen to illustrate an architectural history of the princely palace in Detmold.³²

After Easter 1812, Friedrich began to study Latin with August Christian Heinrich Freitag (ca. 1797–1855), a law student of his father. By November

31 Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 28 Feb. 1830, 13 May 1832, 11 Jan. 1835, 27 Mar. 1836 (NL Rosen: 59); ten-year old sister Auguste Rosen to Rosen, 20 July 1834 (NL Rosen: 59); Rosen to Klingemann, 1 Oct. 1835 (SLBD: MS 15486); Klingemann 1909, p. 36.

32 Ballhorn, "Nachrichten von meinen Kindern," 1811–1815 (NL Rosen: 35); sketches and maps by Rosen (NL Rosen: 62, 111); Peters 1984, p. 241.

he had two more new teachers, one for religion, geography, and reading, the other for writing and arithmetic.³³ In 1813, Ballhorn consulted with the classicist pedagogue Georg Ludolf Disson (1784–1837), who had returned to Göttingen after teaching for a year at Marburg. He adopted Disson's method to read the *Odyssey* with youngsters (Disson 1809), and had it taught to Friedrich by Disson's younger brother.³⁴ Friedrich then continued to study Latin only for the purpose of learning terminology and being able to follow a grammar of Greek. He made progress in drawing and learned to dance. Ballhorn began to instruct him and his two teachers in English, using Friedrich Gedike's (1754–1803) English reader for beginners and Milton's poems. Part of the reason why Ballhorn also taught the teachers was that he wished to get a better measure of them. By the following year, Friedrich had finished reading the *Odyssey* and began Herodotus. A new teacher, a daughter of the law professor Gustav Hugo (1764–1844), taught him French.³⁵

Home instruction was intensive, but it was not necessarily lonely, since, when feasible, several of the siblings were taught certain subjects together. Youngsters from the extended family and from friends' families often joined in this home-based education. Rosen received his first instruction in English from his father along with his lifelong friend, the future physician Ferdinand Wilhelm Becker (1805–1834), son of the physician and philologist Karl Ferdinand Becker (1775–1849).³⁶ His French teacher also taught him along with his older cousin Charlotte Bialloblotzky (1800–1876), who lived with the family for more than a year.³⁷ It was a practice in the extended Ballhorn family to have sons and daughters stay for long periods with relatives. This provided a protected transition between the cocoon of home and the wider world. It also allowed to cope with emergencies. When (August) Carl Bütemeister (1778–1823), husband of Ballhorn-Rosen's niece (Augusta) Wilhelmina "Minna" Bialloblotzky (1794–1857), died, leaving young children and a pregnant wife, their oldest son, Burghard (1813–1844), went to live in Ballhorn-Rosen's family for eight years, which became a burden.³⁸

33 Ballhorn, "Nachrichten von meinen Kindern," 1811–1815 (NL Rosen: 35); Ballhorn-Rosen, "Biographie des seel. Friedr. Rosen" (NL Rosen: 58); Selle 1937, p. 547.

34 Ballhorn-Rosen, "Biographie des seel. Friedr. Rosen" (NL Rosen: 58).

35 Ballhorn, "Nachrichten von meinen Kindern," 1811–1815 (NL Rosen: 35).

36 F. Becker to Rosen, 5 Oct. 1820 (SAO: Becker Nachlass 18/55, pp. 3–4).

37 Ballhorn, "Nachrichten von meinen Kindern," 1814 (NL Rosen: 35).

38 Rosen to his father, 17 July 1823; Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 19 June 1830; Rosen to his father, 15 Apr., 13 May 1831 (NL Rosen: 58–59).

At Easter 1815, Friedrich began to attend the Göttingen gymnasium, where two future orientalists, the older Heinrich Ewald (1803–1875), and the younger Theodor Benfey (1809–1891) were fellow students.³⁹ His father had misgivings about his attending school, none of which could be helped, he sighed. He could no longer control who his son's companions were, nor could he set his curriculum. Since school instruction emphasized Latin, he had to let Friedrich start school Latin and add an hour with a private teacher. He did not like that the school instruction focused on learning and speaking the language. He would have preferred him to read Latin authors. He had to suspend the instruction in mathematics the boy had with Freitag, and lessons in drawing and writing. Friedrich learned Greek grammar at school, but he continued to read Herodotus with a tutor, more slowly than before, and next Xenophon's *Anabasis*. He kept learning French with Ms. Hugo, and English with his father. Ballhorn also took beginning steps in teaching Friedrich Italian. Ballhorn's American friend Ticknor corrected his English pronunciation. Friedrich preserved in his youth album lists of the days of the week in German and English, and of English names of the months, which Ticknor carefully wrote for him with ictus firmly indicated. Although his father thought his progress in English was slow, Friedrich delighted him with a translation of Thomas Gray's "Ode on the Spring," when he was short of age eleven. Ballhorn was also proud that the boy did well in school and breezed from the fourth to the third class at Easter 1816.⁴⁰

During the first summer after their move to Lippe, Ballhorn-Rosen sought further to foster his first-born's interest in mineralogy by taking him on a four-day geological and mineralogical excursion on foot in northern and eastern Lippe, about which Friedrich wrote a ten-page journal.⁴¹ Ballhorn-Rosen followed up with an introduction to geology. The two eldest boys began to attend the Detmold gymnasium at Michaelmas 1817. Ballhorn-Rosen had also brought along his former student Freitag from Göttingen to help with their and their younger siblings' home education.⁴² Yet, he firmly believed that nothing surpassed direct

39 Ewald to Ballhorn-Rosen, 6 Oct. 1837 (SUBG: MS Ewald 47); Benfey 1849, p. 362.

40 Ballhorn, "Nachrichten von meinen Kindern," 1815–1817 (NL Rosen: 35); Ticknor, days of the week and months of the year, summers 1816, 1817, Rosen's album (NL Rosen: 74); Rosen, "Übersetzung des Gedichts Ode an den Frühling von Gray," 10 Aug. 1816 (NL Rosen: 22).

41 Rosen, "Beschreibung einer Reise durch einen Theil des Fürstenthums Lippe-Detmold angestellt im August des Jahres 1817 durch Rosen Vater u. Sohn" (NL Rosen: 22).

42 Ballhorn, "Nachrichten von meinen Kindern," 1817 (NL Rosen: 35).

paternal instruction.⁴³ He took charge of his children's general education and personally taught the elder boys in turn more challenging subjects. He emphasized languages, both ancient and modern, following a method of rapid and repeated reading of texts. In Greek, Ballhorn-Rosen first completed reading with Friedrich the *Anabasis* begun with a tutor in Göttingen, and he followed with Xenophon's history of Greece; he further had Friedrich recite short stories from Gedike's Greek reader. In Latin, Friedrich read the *Lex Burgundionum* with his father, and the *Aeneid* and Justinian with Freitag. He also read Justinian at school, at a slower pace, and had exercises in writing and translating Latin. In English, father and son went together through Gedike's reader for beginners, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, and part of *Paradise Lost*. Friedrich also read *The Triumph of Benevolence* on his own.⁴⁴

Ballhorn was pleased with the instruction in German style and in religion which Friedrich received at the Detmold gymnasium from Christian Friedrich Falkmann (1782–1844). There Friedrich also studied mathematics, with less zest, with Ludwig Preuß (1772–1845). Freitag lasted only one year in Detmold. Not only did he fail to follow the method of rapid reading Ballhorn-Rosen favored, but Ballhorn-Rosen also found him disorganized, more a playmate than a teacher to his children, and often a silly one at that. He decided to let Freitag go at Easter 1818.⁴⁵ Before leaving, Freitag provided a page for Friedrich's album.⁴⁶ He missed his former tutees and kept corresponding with Friedrich for several months, as he had done in prior years when the children went to Hanover on vacation. Some of his messages were tinted with wistfulness after his removal.⁴⁷

Ballhorn's last report on his children's studies dates to 31 December 1817. That of 1818 only mentioned the birth of his son Hermann and the death of his first wife. Without yearly reports, we can only presume that Friedrich's studies got even more intensive, and we must rely on less contemporaneous evidence. Hebrew was added to the languages he learned, since he later wrote of it as his first oriental language. He judged that Hebrew teaching at the gymnasium was unsatisfactory, and that private instruction required dedication.⁴⁸

43 Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 21 Oct. 1827 (NL Rosen: 59).

44 Ballhorn, "Nachrichten von meinen Kindern," 1817 (NL Rosen: 35).

45 Ballhorn, "Nachrichten von meinen Kindern," 1817 (NL Rosen: 35).

46 Freitag's entry in Rosen's album, Feb. 1818 (NL Rosen: 74).

47 Freitag to Rosen, 23 July, 1 and 25 Aug. 1815; 26 Mar., 5 Apr., 20/26? May, 2 July, 19 Aug. 1818 (NL Rosen: 58).

48 Rosen to his father, 9 Feb. 1823 (NL Rosen: 58).

From Michaelmas 1817 until Easter 1820, Friedrich moved up from the third to the first class at the gymnasium, all the while taking the advanced, select courses in each class. He shone as the youngest boy in the first class in 1819. He was grown-up enough as a thirteen-year old to order for himself a schoolbook on logarithmic and trigonometric tables from the Meyer bookdealers in Lemgo. The list of Greek and Latin texts he read at school, with a tutor, and on his own, is nothing short of stupendous.⁴⁹ His attendance at the Detmold gymnasium was interrupted in the fall of 1819 when his father took him along on an about three-month long stay in Frankfurt, where Ballhorn-Rosen had to engage in delicate negotiations on behalf of Princess Pauline. There they became acquainted with the philologists Georg Friedrich Grotefend (1775–1853), Theodor Vömel (1791–1868), and Simon Heinrich Adolf Herling (1780–1849), all of whom allowed Friedrich to attend their classes at the gymnasium. Father and son also renewed their friendship with the physician and philologist K. F. Becker and his son Ferdinand, who had moved from Göttingen to nearby Offenbach.⁵⁰

By Easter 1821, Ballhorn-Rosen judged that fifteen-year old Friedrich was too advanced to benefit from further gymnasium instruction. Yet, he did not wish to enroll him in a university in the following fall. He opted to keep Friedrich for a year of private instruction at home.⁵¹ In the summer, he sent the teenager on a visit to his grandfather in Hanover and his uncle and aunt Bialloblotzky in nearby Pattensen. That was followed by an extended stay in Bruchhausen with the Bütemeisters. Young Rosen tutored Burghard, their eldest son, and other local youngsters in the Greek classics. Ballhorn-Rosen viewed this exercise as formative, since teaching children fostered clarity of thought and of expression. He also found that observing a regular class schedule was a good habit to develop. He held that even an occasional failure was instructive and a part of building teaching skills.⁵² Rosen obviously enjoyed that experience, since he wished to become a tutor in an aristocratic family even before he attended a university. His father, however, disallowed such a step until he had had a minimum of two years of university studies.⁵³

49 Rosen to the Meyer bookdealers, 7 Feb. 1819 (Herzog August Library, Wolfenbüttel: Mittlere Briefsammlung 1407+1408), to his father, 21 Oct. 1821 (NL Rosen: 58); Fink 2002, pp. 188, 324.

50 Ballhorn-Rosen, "Biographie des seel. Friedr. Rosen" (NL Rosen: 58); Büchsel 1959, p. 171.

51 Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 8 July 1821 (NL Rosen: 58).

52 Rosen to his father, 14 June 1821; Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 8 and 30 July, 1 Aug. 1821 (NL Rosen: 58).

53 Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 30 July 1821 (NL Rosen: 58).

In the gap year before Friedrich began university studies, Ballhorn-Rosen had him bear down on Roman law with a philological outlook. They read Gaius, Paulus, and Ulpian together. Ballhorn-Rosen engaged Friedrich in the preparation of a didactic, philological study of Ulpian's Title XIX fragment on ownership (Ballhorn-Rosen 1822), the son providing etymologies for his father's consideration. Ballhorn-Rosen also looked forward to his son's help with proofreading his book.⁵⁴ Friedrich appreciated his father's teaching of philology, since he considered instruction at the Detmold gymnasium poor and uninspiring on that subject. He later credited both his early teacher Carl Friedrich Ludwig Kolbe (1790–1870?), a student of theology in Göttingen, and his father for developing his interest in philology.⁵⁵ Along with his philological study of Roman law texts, Rosen read the Hebrew Book of Isaiah privately with the principal of the gymnasium, Ernst Anton Ludwig Möbius (1778–1838). He also began to study Arabic and Syriac on his own.⁵⁶

The education mill continued to operate into adulthood. Ballhorn-Rosen read law and other special subjects with his elder sons when they were home from their respective universities. At the same time, the elder siblings were expected to teach the younger during vacations. Friedrich and Gisbert tutored Bodo in turn.⁵⁷ Later, when Friedrich visited from London, he gave to all instruction in English. He still read Homer and other Greek texts with Bodo in those years, and he hoped to introduce him to Sanskrit.⁵⁸ Law student Gisbert was recruited to help teach (August Phillip) Wilhelm Heinrichs (1813–1883), one of the many young men bound for law studies with whom his father read texts of Roman law.⁵⁹

Ballhorn-Rosen was the first member of the family to become interested in Sanskrit. He attracted Friedrich's attention to it and henceforth father and son read Sanskrit together when Friedrich was in Detmold. He also taught Sanskrit to the younger Georg, along with fellow Detmoldian and future theologian and writer Theodor Althaus (1822–1852), when they were in their teens. Althaus' brother and biographer viewed Ballhorn-Rosen as one of the most learned and

54 Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 19 Aug., 16 Sep. 1821 (NL Rosen: 58–59).

55 Ballhorn-Rosen, "Biographie des seel. Friedr. Rosen" (NL Rosen: 58); Rosen to his father, 22 June 1823 (NL Rosen: 58).

56 Ballhorn-Rosen, "Biographie des seel. Friedr. Rosen" (NL Rosen: 58).

57 Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 19 Aug. 1821, 28 Feb. 1830 (NL Rosen: 59); Rosen to his father, 19 Oct. 1822 (NL Rosen: 58).

58 Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 11 Aug. 1831, 8–15 Apr. 1832 (NL Rosen: 59).

59 Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 31 Jan.–7 Feb., 28 Feb. 1830 (NL Rosen: 59).

most remarkable men in the country.⁶⁰ The philologist of German Herling came to Ballhorn-Rosen as a mature scholar to learn Sanskrit. The younger Heinrich Schierenberg (1800–1851) did likewise, at the rate of two hours a week, when he became a professor at the Detmold gymnasium, and he did very well.⁶¹

Friedrich and Georg thrived in this all-encompassing intellectual environment. Other boys resisted the pressure. In the latter case, Ballhorn-Rosen resorted to punishment. When Gisbert's report card showed insufficient diligence in homework in the summer of 1821, Ballhorn-Rosen canceled a trip to Lake Steinhude that Gisbert had planned and grounded him until such time as he had completed all his vacation-time homework.⁶² He also applied stern discipline. Depending on a youngster's age and the severity of his offense, he could make the culprit stand in a corner or wield the rod, in the case of Gisbert often and hard.⁶³ There is no record of Friedrich having been castigated.

As Friedrich prepared for university studies, Ballhorn-Rosen felt sure of his commitment to intellectual pursuits. Yet, with the concern of a father whose son was soon to leave home, he reminded him that it was even more important to be an upright man than a learned one. He pointed then to the brothers Schlegel, whose father had confirmed him in the Lutheran faith, as men who, for all their fame, were, in his opinion, deficient in morals.⁶⁴

60 Althaus 1888, p. 15.

61 Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 6–8 Apr. 1828; 3 and 24 Mar. 1833 (NL Rosen: 59).

62 Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 8 July 1821 (NL Rosen: 58).

63 Ballhorn, "Nachrichten von meinen Kindern," 1811–1817 (NL Rosen: 35).

64 Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 19 Aug. 1821, 31 July 1828 (NL Rosen: 59).

Student at Leipzig (1822–1824)

The Ballhorn family's tradition and its members' expectations pointed to Göttingen as the university that Friedrich Rosen would attend. Yet, early on, Ballhorn-Rosen resolved not to send his eldest son to his alma mater, at least not at first, not until he was more mature. Let him spend some time under the tutorship of his father, then go first to Leipzig for a year and then decide for himself where to go next. One wonders if the "Kümmeltürken" (ignoramuses) in whose hands Ballhorn-Rosen feared that his shy son might become a prey in Göttingen were men who might have harbored a grudge dating back to his collaboration with the French regime. Ballhorn-Rosen later explained that his decision was based on the fact that, in Göttingen, Friedrich would have run into many old acquaintances, whereas Leipzig was better suited to making new friends.¹ When it came to making practical dispositions, Ballhorn-Rosen arranged for Friedrich to receive money transfers through the Hahn bookdealers and for him to room in the house of then M.A., later Doctor of Theology, Carl Christian Friedrich Siegel (1780/1–1846), a son-in-law of the professor of Roman law Christian Gottlieb Haubold (1766–1824).²

Forbearing emotional goodbyes, Friedrich slipped out of Detmold on 10 October 1822 to proceed eastward, first to Hanover, where he visited his uncle August Eisendecker, his aunt Rosine Brande, and a host of relatives and family friends. The cleric Heinrich Philipp Sextro (1746–1838) joined with August Eisendecker and Rosine Brande to dissuade him from making on foot the further journey he planned in fulfillment of his continuing interest in geology. They made him travel to Leipzig by coach. The passport which he obtained in Hanover on 15 October gave a sketch of the young student-to-be: "Age: 17; Height: 5'9"; Build: slender;

1 Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 19 Aug., 2 Sep. 1821; 1 Dec. 1822 (NL Rosen: 58–59).

2 Hahn bookdealers to Ballhorn-Rosen, 11 Oct. 1822; Ballhorn-Rosen to Rosen, 17 Oct., 17 Nov. 1822; Rosen to his father, 6 Nov. 1822 (NL Rosen: 58).