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by D. G. Messerschmidt from Siberia  
and Edited by G. S. Bayer in 1728

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Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt<sup>1</sup> (1685–1735) was a German scholar invited by the Russian Emperor Peter the Great to undertake an expedition to Siberia to explore its geography, nature, ethnography, etc., and collect materia medica and various rarities, including manuscripts. He left St. Petersburg in 1719 and came back in 1727. In 1721, his expedition was joined by Philipp Johann Tabbert<sup>2</sup> (1676–1747), a German officer of the

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<sup>1</sup> Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt (Danzig Sept. 16th 1685–April 5th 1735 St. Petersburg), physician and scientist at Danzig, was recommended to Peter the Great when the emperor visited Johann Wilhelm Breyne's celebrated natural history cabinet in this town in 1716. Subsequently, Messerschmidt was sent on a trip of exploration to Siberia which lasted from 1719 to 1727 and which yielded rich collections for the Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Part of his personal notes were lost in a shipwreck, and part of his collections perished during a fire in 1747. Therefore Messerschmidt's achievements became known mainly through J. Ph. Tabbert (Strahlenberg), his part-time companion on his expedition. More detailed information on Messerschmidt's trip is provided by his travel diaries which were published more than two hundred years later: *Forschungsreise durch Sibirien 1720–1727*, herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Eduard Winter und Nikolaj A. Figurowskij. Vol. 1–5. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962–1977. Only vol. 1 is complete; the following vols. were much abbreviated. Cf. JAHN 1994.

<sup>2</sup> Johann Philipp Tabbert (Stralsund, Oct. 6th, 1677–1747), Swedish [Stralsund was Swedish at that time] officer and explorer who became a Russian prisoner of war after the battle of Poltava (1709); exiled to Tobol'sk, he collected valuable information on Siberia, its geography and its population during his stay there, 1711–1721. Cf. STRAHLENBERG 1730. He was nobilitated in 1707 as von Strahlenberg. See *Svenskt biografiskt handlexikon* 1906: 541; JARRING 1977.

Swedish army captured by the Russians and exiled to Tobolsk. He left Messerschmidt in Krasnoyarsk in 1722 and, after his return to Sweden, he became known as the author of the influential book *Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia* [Strahlenberg 1730] in which he described some discoveries during the early stage of Messerschmidt's expedition. Unfortunately, Messerschmidt himself failed to publish his own extensive account because of a series of personal calamities. He died in need in St. Petersburg. Moreover, a large part of his Siberian collection perished in the 1747 fire at the Kunstkamera, the first Russian museum.

It is well known that Messerschmidt brought to St. Petersburg a number of leaves in Tibetan, gathered in various places during his travels. They included a portion of the very first Tibetan texts documentarily obtained by the Russians, namely in 1716 (or 1717), by a group of spies who made a trip from Krasnoyarsk up the Enisei river and found a Buddhist chapel with some books on the shore of a smaller river, Khemchik (presently, the Tuva Republic, Russian Federation). The leader of the group, Ivan Nashivoshnikov, passed about 20 leaves to Messerschmidt.<sup>3</sup> Some leaves were given by Messerschmidt to Tabbert/Strahlenberg who published one of them in his book.<sup>4</sup> Messerschmidt may also have obtained a couple leaves from some peasant in Beloyarskaya Fortress, who claimed they had been found near Bikatun (now Biysk, Russian Federation) but we do not know exactly if Messerschmidt *did* obtain them.<sup>5</sup> Some other items definitely brought by Messerschmidt, namely an inscription with the 6-syllabled mantra written in the decorative Lantsa (Rañjana) script and Tibetan; a Peking trilingual block print which is the main object of this paper;<sup>6</sup> and a sample of the Tibetan *dbu med* script<sup>7</sup> were made known by

<sup>3</sup> More details see in [ZORIN 2015: 172-173].

<sup>4</sup> STRAHLENBERG 1730: tab. I.

<sup>5</sup> More details see in [ZORIN 2015: 174-175, no. 21].

<sup>6</sup> Such syllabaries are known as *Ālikāli*, or *Aligali* in Mongolian. Numerous versions

G. S. Bayer. There may have been some more Tibetan texts in Messerschmidt's collection. A large part of his Siberian acquisitions placed in the *Kunstkamera* were destroyed by the 1747 fire, and his Tibetan texts *may have* shared this fate. But the surprising recent rediscovery of the trilingual syllabary in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS, St. Petersburg,<sup>8</sup> allows us to hope that the other leaves may also survive. Although they are hard to identify among the numerous Tibetan 18<sup>th</sup> century acquisitions of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences there are some leaves that are likely "candidates" for this identification.<sup>9</sup>

Gottlieb Siegfried Bayer<sup>10</sup> (1694–1738) was one of the first members of the Russian Academy of Sciences; he came to St. Petersburg in February of 1726<sup>11</sup> and headed the Department of antiquities and Oriental languages. He studied various Far Eastern, Central Asian and South Asian writing systems and tried to find their correspondence with other systems. His interest was largely shared by the French scholar Maturin Veyssi re La Croze (1661–1739), their well-known letters in Latin being an important

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of them were created from the 16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century in Beijing, Mongolia and Buryatia, some editions were reproduced in [LOKESH CHANDRA 1982; OTGONBAATAR, TSENDINA 2014].

<sup>7</sup> "In addition the Tanguts have small letters which the learned world will one day credit to the scholarly Messerschmidt" – quoted from the translation of Bayer's paper from Latin included in this edition. The sample of the Tibetan alphabet written in *dbu med* is reproduced by Bayer in Tab. XX.

<sup>8</sup> This institution was founded in 1818 as the Asiatic Museum; Oriental texts and coins of the Academy were transferred there. The numismatic part was given to the State Hermitage in Soviet times while the manuscripts, old printed books and documents in Oriental languages have been kept in the IOM previously known as the Asiatic Museum (up to 1930), the Institute of Oriental Studies and, from the mid-1950s, its Leningrad/ St. Petersburg Branch (up to 2007).

<sup>9</sup> See further, note 23.

<sup>10</sup> See LUNDB EK 1986.

<sup>11</sup> The agreement was signed in December of 1725 [PEKARSKY 1870: 188].



source on how their ideas developed.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, it is no surprise that Bayer paid much attention to Messerschmidt's copy of the Chinese block print that combined three different Oriental alphabets, one of which, Tibetan, was almost unknown to the Europeans.<sup>13</sup> He reproduced it in one of his numerous Latin papers published in the annual *Commentarii Academiae Scientiarum imp. Petropolitanae*. It is from the beginning of the first part of this paper entitled *Elementa brahmanica, tangutica, mungalica* which was split between two issues of the *Commentarii* that we know for sure the way the text appeared in St. Petersburg, its brief description being also provided:

*After Daniel Messerschmidt, doctor of medicine, from Danzig, had returned to St. Petersburg from Siberia as he was sent by Peter the Great to these regions to investigate the secrets of nature and art, he handed over to the Imperial Academy many items collected and observed with singular care. Among them was an oblong booklet as there are many Tangut,<sup>14</sup> Mungal and Calmuck books, of eight loose leaves... On the individual pages there are two sections so that the first line of each shows the Brahmanic letters, the second the Tangut and the third the Mungal ones... This book <...> was printed nowhere else but in China. That is proven by the fact that on*

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<sup>12</sup> LA CROZE 1742–1746: tomus I, p. 3–64; tomus III, p. 5–65. The contribution to the development of Indology is briefly analyzed by G. A. Grierson who also included two illustrations from Bayer's paper: the 6-syllable mantra in Lantsa and Tibetan and Table I covering all the single letters of the Sanskrit alphabet [GRIERSON 1927: 5–9].

<sup>13</sup> Just a few years before his publication, the brothers Fourmont tried to translate a Tibetan text brought from the Dzungar monastery Ablaikit, using a small vocabulary compiled by Catholic missionaries. Although their attempt failed it took some time before this was fully realized by scholars; Bayer included this "translation" in his book *Museum Sinicum* [VOSTRIKOV 1935: 62–65; WALRAVENS 2008: 150–152].

<sup>14</sup> During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Europeans often used this name for the Tibetans and their language.

*the first page of each leaf in the left margin the Brahmanic number first, then the Tangut, third the Mungal, and forth the Chinese is given.*

Bayer supplied his analysis with eighteen tables<sup>15</sup> presenting almost the entire contents of the block print.<sup>16</sup> He did his best to copy the letters and provided them with his Latin transliteration. Bayer applied xylography to reproduce Oriental characters in his publications.<sup>17</sup>

Thus it is quite clear which text exactly was brought by Messerschmidt. But, although Bayer's edition was often mentioned in academic literature,<sup>18</sup> no direct identification of Messerschmidt's copy was ever made. Several copies of the same Chinese block print preserved in the IOM Mongolian collection were catalogued by Aleksei G. Sazykin (1943–2005),<sup>19</sup> one of them, C 452, being an item acquired in the 18<sup>th</sup> century but not from Messerschmidt. By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century there were at least two copies of the trilingual syllabary kept at the Library of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. C 452 is the one listed by Johann Jährig (1747–1795) in his catalogue of Tibetan and Mongolian texts and Lamaist icons under No. 17.<sup>20</sup> The other one is mentioned in the addition to Jährig's catalogue compiled by Johann Heinrich Busse (1763–1835), under No. 5, and in the subsequent list prepared by Isaak Jacob Schmidt (1779–1847), under No.

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<sup>15</sup> Ten tables are included in the first part of the paper, eight in the second part and they are supplied with two more tables, Nos. 19 and 20, that show three Indian alphabets and the Tibetan alphabet respectively.

<sup>16</sup> The final part of the block print that contains some monograms is reproduced in an abridged form.

<sup>17</sup> CHUGUEVSKY 2006: 253.

<sup>18</sup> E. g. the above-mentioned works by G. A. Grierson and A. I. Vostrikov, and some others.

<sup>19</sup> Q 3181 (No. 1468), H 360 (No. 1471), C 452 (No. 1472) [SAZYKIN 1988: 261–262].

<sup>20</sup> 17. *Indianische oder alt Samscretische Buchstaben und derselben Verbindungsgesez; gedruckt* (17. *Indian or old Sanskrit letters and ligatures; printed*) [JÄHRIG 1796: 127].

32.<sup>21</sup> In 2015, a number of items bearing the numbers of Busse's list were rediscovered among numerous unprocessed texts in the IOM Tibetan collection. One of them, an old and fragile copy of the trilingual syllabary, was found in an envelope that used to belong to another item<sup>22</sup> while the envelope with the right legend exactly repeating Busse's entry for No. 5 turned out to contain a different text, in turn. The discovered block print is marked with several Latin inscriptions, namely *Titulus. Lingva Tangutica prima Elementa* on f. 1r, foliation *pag. i* (f. 1r), then *pag. 2* to *pag. 8* on the recto sides of ff. 2–8, and *Finis* (f. 8v). Moreover, the block print has a small black stamp with the two-headed eagle on three ff., 1r, 2r, 5v.



This stamp was used at the Library of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences up to the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> Resp. 5. *Hannatkäisch Alphabet mit Mongolischer Bedeutung* (5. *Hannatkaic alphabet with Mongolian signification*) and 32. *Überdiess noch ein gedrucktes Sanskrit-alphabet mit mongolischer und tibetischer Erklärung* (32. *In addition, another printed Sanskrit alphabet with Mongol and Tibetan explanation*), see [WALRAVENS, ZORIN, 2016]. – *Hannatkäisch* is an (uncommon) German rendering of Mongolian *Eneḍkeg* – India(n); here it is used in the meaning of *Eneḍkeg-ün* (bičig) – Sanskrit.

<sup>22</sup> 22. *Tangutische Schrift, welche zu den Würfeln die Erklärung und Weissagung enthält* (*Tangut writing which comprises an explanation and prophecy to the dice*).

<sup>23</sup> Kind information by Natalia P. Kopaneva, St. Petersburg.

This stamp draws our attention to a bunch of the scattered folios in Tibetan found in an envelope with the inscription that refers to No. 17 of Busse's list. The majority of folios seems to have originated from Kalmykia but some definitely not. Four manuscripts, Tib.970, No. 5, No. 43, Nos. 56 and 106 (two fragments of the same text), No. 108 bear the same stamp as Messerschmidt's syllabary. The first of them contains the Second Dalai Lama's text *Ye shes kyi khyung khra bo sgrub thabs*, and its appearance resembles that of the folio published by Strahlenberg that contains a fragment of the Fifth Dalai Lama's ritualistic text *Mi mthun nyes kun sel zhing legs tshogs ci 'dod 'grub pa'i bsang yig gi rim pa mi mdzad mchod sgo 'byed*. The scribes

All these facts given, it is hard to believe this item can be anything else but the copy brought by Messerschmidt in 1727 and the inscriptions could be written by anybody else but himself or, rather, Bayer who studied it.<sup>24</sup>

The next question concerns the exact identification of the edition presented in this block print. It does not have either title (f. 1a is empty), or colophon, nor could we find any other sources that would provide us with its dating or other details. But it seems quite probable that this edition was prepared in Peking in the context of the translation of the Mongol Kanjur, i.e. before 1720. We do not know if it could relate in any way to the Mongolian version of the *Ālikāli* prepared by Ayusi gūsi in 1586 (acc. to the colophon of *Pañcaraksa* pt. 5).<sup>25</sup>

But it is very likely that this block print was used by the eminent Mongolian scholar Gun Gombojab as a model for his own version of the *Ālikāli*, made presumably in the 1740s.<sup>26</sup> This edition was ordered by the

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are different, but there is a chance the two texts could belong to one set of manuscripts. Tib.970, No. 106 has a mysterious inscription that combines Latin, Tibetan and Hebrew letters, thus reminding about Bayer's interest in comparing various writing systems. One page from Tib.970, No. 5 and the Latin/Tibetan/Hebrew inscription are published in [ZORIN 2017].

<sup>24</sup> The normal size of the leaves would be ca 37 × 10 cm but their edges are often damaged so actual sizes can be smaller (check the digital images supplied). The text area is about 34 per 8 cm. It is marked with a double frame, the outer layer being thick and the inner one thin. To the left of the frame, the foliation is given: on the recto sides in four languages — Sanskrit (in Lantsa), Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese, on the verso sides in Chinese only. The Chinese part contains both the folio numbers and designations of the recto and verso sides.

In 2015, the block print was passed to the IOM Mongolian collection where it was given an access number Q 4744 by its curator Alla Sizova whom we would like to thank for her generous help in finding some information needed for this paper.

<sup>25</sup> LIGETI, 1942–1944: no. 183, p. 57.

<sup>26</sup> Perhaps, the first illustration of a part of this text (f. 1v) is found in the Hungarian translation of B. Laufer's well-known *Skizze der mongolischen Literature*, the caption claims that the syllabary was printed in Peking in 1677 [LAUFER 1911: 321]. This is

sixteenth son of the Kangxi Emperor, Prince Yinlu, or Hoshoi Zhuang Qinwang Yinlu (1695–1767). It is widely available thanks to the publication by Lokesh Chandra while copies of the block print itself can be found in many Institutions. This edition (G) looks like a variation on the earlier one, which was brought to the Europe by Messerschmidt (M), with the following main differences:

- 1) G has the title on f. 1r,<sup>27</sup> M has none;
- 2) G has the syllables written in a more compact way covering ff. 1v to 5v than M that arranges them on ff. 1v to 8r;
- 3) G has some additions not found in M, namely the Sanskrit alphabet in Vartula script and two postscripts, bilingual Tibetan-Mongolian and just Mongolian.

The first postscript names the patron of the block print, Kangxi Tub čin-vang/Thob chin dbang, and its editor, Kelen-ü Erketü Sayin Oyutu/Ngag dbang blo bzang, while the second one names its compiler, Mgôn-pô-skiabs [USPENSKY 1999: No. 855, p. 447]. Unfortunately, neither tells us if Gombojab used any earlier versions of the *Ālikāli* as model for his own edition. On the other hand, it is hard to believe that Gombojab did not know about M which was spread in many copies. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences had two copies of M and none of G. Some copies of the latter (along with some more copies of M) would appear in St. Petersburg in the 19<sup>th</sup> century only. Moreover, M was twice used for very close and direct replica editions, both times in Russia. The very close one was a production of the printing-shop of the Aginsky Datsan<sup>28</sup>, the direct one a

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not substantiated, neither in the Hungarian translation nor the German original. It is not clear whether the illustration and dating go back to Laufer himself. Anyway, the dating is wrong or, at least, it does not refer to the text G.

<sup>27</sup> In three languages: *Ālikāli-bijahāram* / *Dbyangs gsal bzhugs* / *Egesig üsüg kiged: geyigülügči üsüg-üd orosiba*.

<sup>28</sup> Only the arrangement of text is slightly different.

skillful lithographic production, presumably by Paul Ludwig (Pavel L'vovich) Schilling von Canstadt (1786–1837).<sup>29</sup>

Both replicas were reproduced by Lokesh Chandra in his useful edition *Indian Scripts in Tibet* based on the texts collected by Raghu Vira (1982). But he did not know that he dealt with Schilling's replica and not with the original Chinese block print.<sup>30</sup> He did not know either that the original block print represented by Schilling's replica had been prepared earlier than G which he characterized as the oldest of the *Ālikāli* versions he edited [Lokesh Chandra 1982: 3]. Technically, his statement is correct because Schilling's replica was made later than G but not quite since the copy of G edited by Lokesh Chandra seems to be a later replica of G for which wood blocks were made anew.<sup>31</sup> Anyway, Schilling's replica followed the earlier edition the first copy of which was obtained by a European scholar as early

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<sup>29</sup> On the experiments with lithography performed by this St. Petersburg extraordinary inventor and collector of Oriental books see [CHUGUEVSKY 2006: 253–256; Tibetan books published this way are listed on p. 254–255]. It seems nobody ever mentioned the *Ālikāli* syllabary among Schilling's lithographic editions. There is no direct evidence that it is his work but nobody else made experiments of this kind in St. Petersburg in the first part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to which quite specific solid paper of a few copies of the edition found in the IOM RAS may belong. There is also an interesting item (Q 4741 of the IOM Mongolian collection) that consists of several fragments of the original Chinese block print, some of them look like models used for the replica edition. See Addenda 1.

<sup>30</sup> He used photos taken from one of the copies of the Schilling edition preserved in Leningrad/St. Petersburg [LOKESH CHANDRA 1982: 5]. Until recently, it was kept in the IOM Tibetan collection: in the 1930s, it was given an access number A.2710, then it was changed to B-8210. In 2016, it was passed to the IOM Mongolian collection and given an access number Q 4741/4. The text is shaped as a brochure, it has a cover of pink paper, both the cover and the front page were initially empty, now they bear the access numbers. See Addenda 2.

<sup>31</sup> The shapes of the letters in Raghu Vira's copy seem a little distorted in comparison with all the other copies of G available to us; moreover, there is at least one place where an element of the text is just missing in RV's copy. See Addenda 3.

as in the 1720s.

It would be no exaggeration to say that Messerschmidt's copy of the syllabary played an important role in the gradual increase of knowledge about Tibet, its language and literature, during the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Europe. Bayer's pioneering work influenced A. A. Giorgi's *Alphabetum Tibetanum*.<sup>32</sup> In spite of his interest in Tibetan studies, Bayer could not master the language itself, having neither textbooks nor contacts to learn from. Nevertheless, his paper has a historical significance as the first printed introduction to the system of Tibetan writing in Europe. Its importance for the history of Mongolian studies is rather limited since it is focused more on Tibetan and Indian issues. The Indological aspect overshadows the Tibetan one but it is more fully expressed in the second part of the paper while the first one is more or less equal for both and, certainly, for the study of Messerschmidt's block print. It can be seen from the following list of contents of the first part —

1. the general description of the text with the reference to Messerschmidt;
2. the passage on the influence of Indian literature on Tibet and Mongolia;
3. – on the secrecy of Indian letters, first disclosed by some Brahman to the Jesuit H. Roth;
4. – on the sacredness of Indian letters, with an example of veneration towards the formula OM MAṆI PADME HŪṀ;
5. – on some other South Asian writing systems;
6. – on the Tibetan letters, with some basic information on Tibet, mostly on her geography, based on the description extracted by Bayer from Abulghasi Bahadur Khan's<sup>33</sup> treatise;

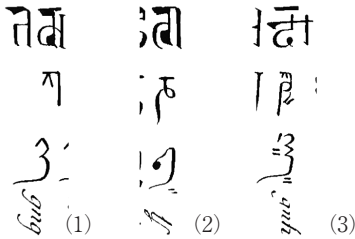
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<sup>32</sup> GIORGI 1762. On this work see [WALRAVENS 2008: 153–155].

<sup>33</sup> It may be mentioned that Messerschmidt had also prepared a translation from

7. – on the script of the Mongols, very briefly;
8. – on the order of comparison of the three writing systems made by Bayer;
9. – on paper of the block print, with some notes on punctuation marks
10. – on the structure of the syllabary, briefly;
11. – a side remark on two editions of the Dutch scholar N. Witsen’s book *Noord en Oost Tartarye*.<sup>34</sup>

From this list, somewhat chaotic, we can see how difficult it was even for such a bright scholar of his time to be consistent in dealing with the material that offered such a narrow basis for one’s analysis. It is no surprise then that he made some mistakes in editing the syllabary itself as we can see from the above-mentioned 18 tables that contain all individual letters, ligatures and combinations of letters rendered by him from M and supplied with his own Latin transcription. Some of the mistakes show clearly that he based his transcription on the Mongolian equivalents, e. g. *gng* for *ka* (1), *ts* for *na* (2), *gnh* for *kṣa* (3), and some others.



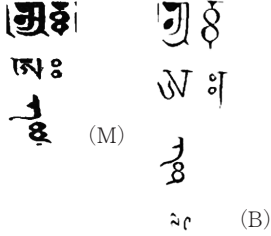

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Abulghasi’s work: *Abulgasi Bagadur Chan’s Geschlechtbuch der mungalisch-mogulischen oder mogorischen Chanen* [Šāgārāi Tārakimā], aus einer türk. Handschrift ins Teutsche übers. von Dan. Gottlieb Messerschmid. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1780. 340 p.

<sup>34</sup> Nicolaes Witsen (Amsterdam May 8th, 1641–Aug. 10th, 1717), Dutch statesman, mayor of Amsterdam and later on administrator of the Dutch East India Company. He is well-known as a specialist on Siberia and Central Asia. The two different



Another mistake was that Bayer did not understand the *visarga* to be an individual sign and decided it was a full stop<sup>35</sup> hence he omitted it systematically from his transcription.



In the ligatures he added 'a' between pairs of consonants (*gag* for *kka*, *kak* for *khkha*, etc.). There are some other mistakes, too. Nevertheless, as a first attempt of this kind, his transcription was not a complete failure and certainly had importance for the development of Oriental studies in Europe.

For those interested in comparing his transcription (B) with the standard modern transliteration of Sanskrit letters the following scheme (with understandable contractions) of M's contents is provided.

[1. *Vowels and consonants. M: 1v1; B: Tab. I*]

a — ā; ā; i — ī; ī; u — ū; ū; ṛ — rē; ṛ — rē; ḷ — lē; ḷ — lē; e — ē; ai — ē; o —  
 ō; au — ō; aṃ — āng; aḥ — ā  
 ka — gng; kha — k; ga — g; gha — gch; ṅa — ng  
 ca — s; cha — tsch; ja — ds; jha — dsch; ṅa — nj  
 ṭa — dz; ṭha — d; ḍa — dz; ḍha — tzch; ṇa — ts

editions of his *Noord en Oost Tartarye* (1692 and 1705) comprise the results of his researches. Cf. PETERS 2010.

<sup>35</sup> "A Tangut full stop is 卍 where the last line indicates the beginning of the following".

ta — d; tha — t; da — d; dha — dch; na — n  
 pa — b; pha — p; ba — w; bha — wch; ma — m  
 ya — j; ra — r; la — l; va — ww  
 śa — sch; ṣa — nh; sa — ss; ha — ch; kṣaḥ — gnh

[2. *Consonants with vowels. M: 1v—5r; B: Tab. II—X*]

ka — gā, kā — gā; ki — gī; kī — gī; ku — gū; kū — gū; kṛ — grē; kṛ — grē;  
 kḷ — glē; kḷ — glē; ke — gē; kai — gē; ko — gō; kau — gō; kaṃ — gāng; kaḥ  
 — none

kha — kâ <...> khaṃ — kāng, khaḥ — none; ga — gā <...> gaṃ — gāng, gaḥ  
 — none; gha — gchā <...> ghaṃ — gchāng, ghaḥ — none; ṅa — ngā <...> ṅaṃ  
 — ngāng, ṅaḥ — none

ca — sâ <...> caṃ — sāng, caḥ — none; cha — tshā <...> chaṃ — tshāng,  
 chaḥ — none; ja — dsā <...> jaṃ — dsāng, jaḥ — none; jha — dschā <...> jhaṃ  
 — dschāng, jhaḥ — none; ṅa — njā <...> ṅaṃ — njāng, ṅaḥ — none

ṭa — dzā <...> ṭaṃ — dzāng, ṭaḥ — none; ṭha — dā <...> ṭhaṃ — dāng, ṭhaḥ  
 — none; ḍa — dzā <...> ḍaṃ — dzāng, ḍaḥ — none; dha — tzchā <...> dhaṃ —  
 tzchāng, dhaḥ — none; ṇa — tsā <...> ṇaṃ — tsāng, ṇaḥ — none

ta — dā <...> taṃ — dāng, taḥ — none; tha — tā <...> thaṃ — tāng, thaḥ —  
 none; da — dā <...> daṃ — dāng, daḥ — none; dha — dchā <...> dhaṃ —  
 dchāng, dhaḥ — none; na — nā <...> naṃ — nāng, naḥ — none

pa — bā <...> paṃ — bāng, paḥ — none; pha — pā <...> phaṃ — pāng, phaḥ  
 — none; ba — wā <...> baṃ — wāng, baḥ — none; bha — wchā <...> bhaṃ —  
 wchāng, bhaḥ — none; ma — mā <...> maṃ — māng, maḥ — none

ya — jā <...> yaṃ — jāng, yaḥ — none; ra — rā <...> raṃ — rāng, raḥ —  
 none; la — lā <...> laṃ — lāng, laḥ — none; va — wwā <...> vaṃ — wwāng, vaḥ  
 — none

śa — schā <...> śaṃ — schāng, śaḥ — none; ṣa — khā <...> ṣaṃ — khāng,  
 ṣaḥ — none; sa — ssā <...> saṃ — ssāng, saḥ — none; ha — chā <...> haṃ —

chāng, haḥ — *none*; kṣa — gkhā <...> kṣaṃ — gkhāng, kṣaḥ — *none*

[3. *Ligatures. M: 5r—7r; B: Tab. XI—XVI*]

[i. *-ya, -ra, -la, -va*]

kya — gīr, kra — gīr, kla — gal, kva — gu

<...>

hya — chīr, hra — chīr, hla — chal, hva — chu

[ii. *doubled consonants*]

kka — gag, khkha — kak, gga — gag, ghgha — gchagch, ṅṅa — ngang

<...>

śśa — schasch, ṣṣa — khakh, ssa — ssass, hha — chach, kṣkṣa — gkhagkh

[iii. *ṅ-, ṅ̄-, ṇ-, ṇ̄-, m-, l-, ś-, ṣ-, s-, r-*]

ṅka — ngag, ṅkha — ngak, ṅga — ngag, ṅgha — *missing*

ṅca — njas, ṅcha — njatsch, ṅja — njads, ṅjha — njadsch

ṇṭa — tsadz, ṇṭha — tsad, ṇḍa — dsadz, ṇḍha — tsatzch

nta — nad, nthā — nat, nda — nad, ndha — nadch

mpa — mab, mpha — map, mba — maw, mbha — mawch

lka — lag, lkha — lak, lga — lag, lgha — lagch, lṅa — lang, lca — las, lcha

— latsch, lja — lads, ljha — ladsch, lṅa — lanj; lṭa — ladz, lṭha — lad, lḍa —

ladz, lḍha — ladzch, lṇa — lats; lṭa — lad, lṭha — lat, lḍa — lad, lḍha — ladch,

lṅa — lan; lpa — lab, lpha — lap, lba — law, lbha — lawch, lma — lam

śka — schag, śkha — khak, śga — schak, śgha — schakch; śṅa — schang,

śca — schas, ścha — schatsch, śja — schad, śjha — schadsch, śṅa — schanj;

śṭa — schadz, śṭha — schad, śḍa — schadz, śḍha — schatzsh, śṇa — schads;

śta — schad, śtha — schat, śda — schad, śdha — schadch, śna — schan; śpa

— schab, śpha — schap, śba — schaw, śbha — schawch, śma — scham

ṣka — khag, ṣkha — khak, ṣga — khag, ṣgha — khagch, ṣṅa — khang; ṣca

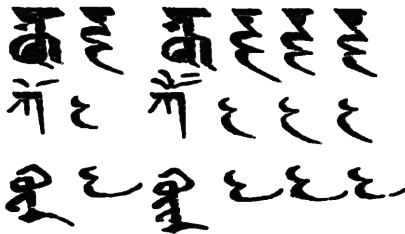
— khas, ṣcha — khatsch, ṣja — khads, ṣjha — khadsch, ṣña — khanj; ṣta — khadz, ṣtha — khad, ṣḍa — khadz, ṣḍha — khatzch, ṣṇa — khats; ṣta — khad, ṣtha — khat, ṣḍa — khad, ṣḍha — khadch, ṣṇa — khan; ṣpa — khab, ṣpha — khap, ṣba — khaw, ṣbha — khawch, ṣma — kham

ska — ssag, skha — ssak, sga — ssag, sgha — ssagch, sña — ssang; sca — ssas, scha — ssatsch, sja — ssads, sjha — ssadsch, sña — ssanj, ṣta — ssadz, ṣtha — ssad, ṣḍa — ssadz, ṣḍha — ssadzch, ṣṇa — ssads; sta — ssad, stha — ssat, sda — ssad, sdha — ssadch, sna — ssan; spa — ssab, spha — ssap, sba — ssaw, sbha — ssawch, sma — ssam

rka — rag, rkha — rak, rga — rag, rgha — ragch, rña — rang; rca — ras, rcha — ratsch, rja — rads, rjha — radsch, rña — ranj; rta — radz, rtha — rad, rḍa — radz, rḍha — radzch, rṇa — rats; rta — rad, rtha — rat, rda — rad, rdha — radch, rna — ran; rpa — rab, rpha — rap, rba — raw, rbha — rawch, rma — ram; rya — raja, rra — rara, rla — rala, rva — rawwa; rśa — rascha, rṣa — rakha, rsa — rassa, rha — racha, rkṣaḥ — ragkha

[4. *Miscellaneous. M: 7r–8r; B: Tab. XVII–XVIII*]

[i. *avagraha*,<sup>36</sup> *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya*]



Bayer omits these specific signs.

<sup>36</sup> We identify this sign as *avagraha* because G uses the standard Tibetan and Mongolian equivalents for it while M provides forms that we failed to find elsewhere.

[*ii. variant forms of some letters and ligatures*]

The following Lantsa letters and ligatures are presented: po, pho, o, e, tsa, e, nra, ʈa, ʈa; u, ū, kka, kka, kka, ʈa, ɖha, ɖa; jña, jña, jña, jña, jña; ɳa, ɳa, ɳa; tta, tta, tu; phpha, nca (? — no Tibetan or Mongolian equivalents are given), ksa, ko, ko (rendered in Tibetan as kō — ཀོ), jloṃ, jloṃ, jloṃ, śrī, hrī, hrī; bhruṃ, tyu, tyu, vyu, syu, syu, dyu, jyu; kṣyuh.

Their Tibetan and Mongolian equivalents follow the same patterns as before, with an exception for the beginning of the Mongolian line which is different and Bayer's transliteration follows it, namely:

pho — puwa, phau — puwa, o — auwa

For variant forms of letter *ɳa* Bayer provides another wrong transliteration — *wa* while in previous cases it was *tsā*. Some other minor mistakes are not worth listing.

[*iii. Monograms*]

smryuṃ<sup>37</sup>— sangmarasu, tsryuṃ<sup>38</sup>— changsarasu, thalhām<sup>39</sup>— *omitted*, kakhagaghaña — gakagagchan, cachajajhaña — sasadsadschanj, ʈaṭha-ḍaḍhana — *omitted*, tathadadhana — *omitted*, paphababhama — bapa-wachama, yaralava — *omitted*, śaśasaha — *omitted*, saḥṭhaśaśaḥka<sup>40</sup> (no Tibetan or Mongolian equivalents are given) — *omitted*, kṣmryuṃ<sup>41</sup>,

<sup>37</sup> This seed (one word) mantra (*bija*) is attested in some Tantric texts, e.g. in a commentary to the Six Yogas of Naropa by fourth (first) Panchen Lama [MULLIN 2006: 151].

<sup>38</sup> We failed to find any examples of the use of this *bija*; the Lantsa inscription in M lacks the element that corresponds to vowel *u* (G has it).

<sup>39</sup> This monogram is likely to relate to the vertical monogram *thalīm* from the 11<sup>th</sup> chapter of the Śrī Guhyasamāja Tantra [BYAMBAA 2005: 97]; e.g. check the monogram in the Derge Kagyur: D442, *rgyud*, ca, f. 107r7.

<sup>40</sup> ḥ is used for *uṣadhmānīya*, ḥ for *jihvāmūlīya*. This monogram is likely to conclude the alphabet rather than be a *bija*.

hamṅṣamalavaraya<sup>42</sup> (twice, the only difference being found in variant forms of syllable *ya* as rendered in both Tibetan and Mongolian) — changgakhamalārawwe and chagakhamalarawwang.

It is not so easy to transliterate these monograms and Bayer’s attempt was relatively successful —

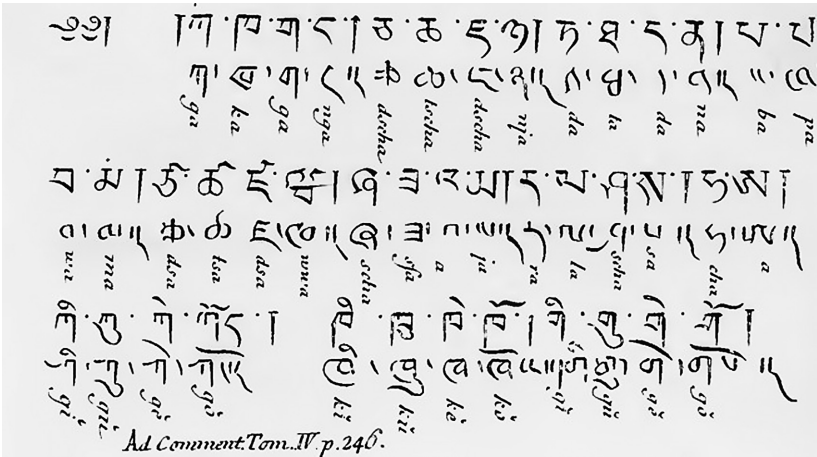


Table XIX, the first of the two additional tables published by Bayer, contains three Indian alphabets, “I. Devanagaram <...> II. Balabandu <...> III. Akār Nagari”. Table XX contains the *dbu can* and *dbu med* versions of the Tibetan alphabet, being most probably based on a text brought by Messerschmidt. The second part of Bayer’s paper is concluded with his remark on the *dbu med* script: “I said in the previous volume that the small

<sup>41</sup> This *bija* is known as *gdan bzhi'i sgo 'gegs pa'i sa bon* [VERHAGEN 2001: 78, no. 291].

<sup>42</sup> The Kalacakra monogram known also as *rnam bcu dbang ldan* in Tibetan.

letters of the Tanguts, or *Schar*, were not yet explained. Afterwards I found a complete Tangut syllabary where these letters were blended in, and by comparing them with the larger ones I easily found out what they were. Therefore it seemed to me the right thing to do, if I put them back in this place [i.e. the table].”<sup>43</sup> Since it was the first widely available European edition of the Tibetan alphabet written in this script it deserves, to our mind, to be reproduced here —



Although available in many libraries and, presently, in the internet, Bayer’s paper is seldom addressed to, mostly because it is written in Latin. Therefore, we decided to present here the Latin text and English

<sup>43</sup> Pt. 2 contains another interesting passage relating to the Tibetan language: “In syllables they follow this method, that they „expe! some letters as mute and transpose others as I learned from Bordon the Calmuck envoy. The words must indeed all be monosyllabic so that in their idea of speech the Tanguts get very close to the Chinese” [Bayer 1735: 245]. Bordon was likely to be a Kalmyk Zaisang (noble man) who stayed in contact with the well-known Russian statesman and historian Vasily N. Tatishchev (1686–1750), cf. БАТМАЕВ 2002: 324.

translation of its first part as relating directly to Messerschmidt's block print. The second part as dealing more with the Indological issues may be an object for a separate study. As the Latin text is not easy to read (in many cases c and e, s and f are almost the same, etc.) we include it in our edition for reference purposes.

Bayer's paper contains Lantsa, Tibetan, and Mongolian script which is rendered with images in the Latin text and by typography<sup>44</sup> in its English translation.

It seems unnecessary to reproduce Bayer's tables; we present instead the Messerschmidt copy, block print Q 4744 preserved in the IOM RAS. This is the first modern reproduction of this particular edition of the *Ālikāli* syllabary.

We hope our contribution will be useful for developing a more detailed and accurate picture of the development of European Proto-Tibetology, the 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

[p. 389]

## ELEMENTA LITTERATURAE BRAHMANICAE TANGUTANAE MUNGALICAE

T. S. Bayer Regiomontanus

Postquam Daniel Messerschmidius Gedanensis, Medicinae Doctor, A.C. MDCC XXVII. ex Siberia rediit Petropolin, vt a Petro Magno eas in regiones missus fuerat, ad naturae artisque secreta peruestiganda, ita

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<sup>44</sup> Namely, *Landza* developed by Georg Fischer (<http://lantsha-vartu.org/lantsha-script/index.html> [21.02.2017]); *Edebris* for Tibetan, since the standard Microsoft Himalaya font (as well as Unicode) does not allow to use the symbol འ without a preceding letter (see note 35), one Tibetan punctuation mark had to be produced artificially by combining two symbols from the standard Times font (see note 97); Mongolian Baiti, and standard Microsoft fonts for Greek, Chinese and Arabic signs.



singulari diligentia conquisita et obseruata multa Academiae Imperatoriae tradidit. In his fuit libellus oblongus, quales sunt plerique Tangutani, Mungalici, Calmucici libri, foliis octo solutis, charta, vt mihi videtur, Coreana, quae bombycinae haud dissimilis est et densitate et si paullum teras, etiam scabritie. Vtraque cuiusuis folii pagina, inscripta est ita, vt quo loco prioris paginae extrema est linea, isthic, si vertas, posterioris sit caput. Sic, inquam, vertere te oportet singula folia, vt numeros plerosque antiquos. Atque hic mos apud Brahmanes, Tangutanos, Mungalos, Malabares omnesque populos, qui in foliis arborum scribunt, obtinet. Ortus ex eo, quod veteres singula folia palmarum, quemadmodum nunc quoque fieri solet, per duo foramina [p. 390] filo transiiciunt, vt vno in volumine contineantur, vbi commoditas suasit, vt sic folia euoluerent, sic inscriberent. Id ipsum vero deinde obseruatum est in chartis. Singulis in paginis duo sunt ordines, ita vt vnusquisque prima in linea Brahmanicas litteras exhibeat, in altera Tangutanas, in tertia Mungalicas: quod nos commoditatis causa mutauimus, vt singulis in paginis nostris essent tres ordines. Liber non scriptus est, sed typis excusus. Nam etiam Tangutani et Mungali artem typographicam a Sinis acceperunt. Exstant, vt audio, apud Celsissimum Principem Alexium Michaelis filium Czerkaskium, bonarum artium Maecenatem, eiusmodi lignae formae, quibus hi populi vsi fuerunt. Attamen is liber, quem a Messerschmidio accepimus, non alibi, quam in Sinis excusus fuit. Testimonio est, quod priori in pagina cuiusque folii ad sinistram in margine primum numerus Brahmanicus, tum Tangutanus, tertio Mungalicus, quarto Sinicus inscriptus est. Sinicus cum voce *xam* in hunc modum  $\frac{\text{r}}{\text{r}}$  *xam vl*, *xam san*, *xam lo* et deinceps. In posteriori vero pagina nulli numeri exstant, tantummodo inscriptus est Sinicus character  $\text{T}$  *hia*. Atque vt in libris Sinicis *xam* significat *priorem folii paginam*, cui numerus adiungitur, ita *hia*, *posteriorem* sine numero. Is autem vsus Brahmanicorum [p. 391] elementorum in Sinis est, quem superstitione a Brahmanibus, Tangutanis, Mungalis in regnum aduecta ad interpretandos

sacrorum suorum libros requirit. Nam Brahmana superstio ita in Tangutana et Tibetana continetur, vt huic etiam aliquid a christiana Nestorianorum religione admistum sit. Quare non est mirandum, Brahmanum litteraturam et libros apud hos etiam populos in honore esse, et ad Lamarum Bonziorumque sacerdotum cognitionem pertinere. Et Brahmanicae quidem litterae, vt prima in linea ponuntur, ita norma sunt et regula horum elementorum. Nam neque apud Tangutanos, neque apud Mungalos, omnes illae litterae, quae hic spectantur, vsurpari vulgo solent. Immo quaedam tantummodo in Brahmanicis Indicisque vocibus scribendis adhibentur, non in Tangutanis et Mungalicis. Neque hic ordo alphabeti Mungalici est, sed alius plane, vt suo loco et tempore demonstrabo: an Tangutani idem vulgo ordo sit, qui Brahmanici est, dicere non possum. Quare totum hoc comparatum maxime est ad Brahmanicae litteraturae illustrationem. Voluptati mihi in primis fuit, litteras tam reconditas contemplari, et credidi, posse iis explicatis aliquem etiam maiorem fructum deinceps sperari. Sed, hic *Rhodus hic salta*, saepe mecum cogitavi ipse. Messerschmidius negabat mihi, haruncc litterarum rationem satis se recordari posse et occupationes suas obiiciebat, iustam sane excusandi causam: at magistrum quem alium aut vnde nancisceretur? Venit [p. 392] mihi in mentem, quod anus Alexandrina monebat Syracusias Theocriti ἐς Τροίην πειρώμενοι ἦλθον Ἀχαιοί, πείρα θῆν πάντα τελεῖται.<sup>45</sup> Feci periculum, quod, quemadmodum processerit, dicam postea; nam de litteris ipsis nonnulla praefanda duco.

Brahmanes in veteri Indica lingua *Kirendum*<sup>46</sup> has litteras adhibent et sedulo occultant, ne extra collegia sua efferantur. Primus, quod sciam,

<sup>45</sup> [*Tentando ad Troiam venire Pelasgi*,....]

<sup>46</sup> Sic eam frequenter vocant Danici Missionarii in epistolia ad amicos. Thomas Hyde in *Ludis orientalibus* l. 1, p. 94. et in *Historia religionis veterum Persarum* p. 521. Sanscroot vocat, Athanasius Kircherus in *China illustrata* Hanscrot et Andreas Mullerus Greiffenhagius ex eo alphabetum Hanscriticum.

Henricus Rhodius Iesuita, cuius iter Indicum Athanasius Kircherus descripsit,<sup>47</sup> aliquantum litterarum accepit a Brahmane sibi deuoto et cum Kirchero communicauit, qui eas ex Rhodii autographo in *China illustrata* edidit. *Cum, inquit, P. Henricus Roth iis ad veram salutis semitam deducendis totus intentus, sine lingua et litteratura eorum id veluti ἀδύνατον videret, per quendam Brahmanem summa benevolentia sibi deuinctum et tam ad Christi fidem suscipiendam inclinatum totam et linguae et litteraturae philosophandique rationem litteris hisce conditam, sex annorum impenso studio consecutus est.* Si quis litteras, quas Kircherus edidit, conferet cum his nostris, is sentiet, obscuros in istis plerosque esse ductus atque confusos et minimam litterarum partem Rhodio fuisse explicatam. Ex Kirchero Andreas Mullerus Greiffenhagenius Brahmanicas litteras alphabetis suis inseruit. [p. 393] Has quoque litteras Eduardus Bernardus in *Orbis eruditi litteratura* proxime secundum Arabicas a Samaritanis litteris deriuare instituit. De origine harum litterarum aliarumque in India dicam alias. Est autem harum litterarum tamquam sanctarum vsus omnium in linguis populorum, qui Indica superstitione sunt infecti. Exstant in Museo Imperatorio apud Academiam vexilla sepulcrorum seu epitaphia e Dauria aduecta a Messerschmidio, inscripta modo his Brahmanicis litteris, modo Tangutanis:

ᠠᠨᠤᠮᠠᠨᠢᠫᠤᠳᠤᠴᠢᠰᠢ  
ᠠᠨᠤᠮᠠᠨᠢᠫᠤᠳᠤᠴᠢᠰᠢ

&c. Tangutana: *Ong ma ni pa dme chum chi*. Clarissimus Messerschmidius in *Isidis Sibericae Xenio* MS. ostendit, preces esse Tangutanorum vulgatissimas, *miserere nostri Deus*. Haec formula quibusdam in vexillis

<sup>47</sup> Kircherus l.c. p. 90 seq. qui eum etiam Roth nuncupat.

ligneis sepulcrorum vel decies occurrit repetita, tamquam symbolum religionis prauissimae optimum. Sunt autem praeter litteras has Brahmanicas maiores, aliae etiam minores, quas praeter Messerschmidium haud scio an quisquam alius homo in Europa cognouerit. Sola autem ductuum celeritate et compendio a maioribus differunt, vt fere sunt pleraeqe Kircherianae. [p. 394] Iisdem Thomas Hyde in *Ludis orientalibus* nomina elephanti edidit. Et quemadmodum has litteras Brahmanes profanis in rebus non adhibent, ita Indi multa alia habent litterarum genera. Nullum autem magis in Europa notum, quam Malabaricum opera Bartholemaei Zigenbaltii clarissimi viri et ceterorum Missionariorum. Non minor spes in Varugicis<sup>48</sup>, postquam eas solertissimus in piis laboribus Beniamin Schultius Madrasae tractandas suscepit, fore vt in Europa amplius cognoscantur. Mihi quidem Mungalicis minoribus similes videntur, praeterquam quod χαμαιφόρος<sup>49</sup> non sunt scriptae.<sup>50</sup>(3) Eundem in modum Bengalicae litterae propiores sunt Tangutanis, nondum tamen satis cognitae. At obscurissimae sunt Ceylanenses, Iauanae, Siamicae. Siamenses litteras in primis illustrandas suscepit Geruasius Praepositus de Sotobrio S. Martini Turonensis, postquam ab Siam in Galliam rediit.<sup>51</sup> sed intercicidit illa eruditus opera. Indi, qui Mahumetanae superstitionis sunt, Arabicis vtuntur etiam Indicis in linguis. Qui propiores sunt Sinis in Tunkino, Cochinchina, Caubango, Ciampa, Camboia, Lais et ipsi Siamenses, quos omnes vulgo in Indis recensent, cum potius sint Tibetanae et Sinicae

<sup>48</sup> [varuga < vadugu, „the northern language“, a term for Telugu in Tamil.]

<sup>49</sup> [This uncommon term is explained as χαμαι (adv.) “on the ground, to the ground” and φόρος (adj.) “carrying, bearing”; kind information provided by Dr. E. Knobelspiess, Constance.]

<sup>50</sup> Vide earum specimen in XXV. continuatione des Berichts dcr Koeniglichen Daenischen Missionarien in Indien ad pag. 106.

<sup>51</sup> Ludouicus Thomassinus [Louis Thomassin, 1619-1695] in praefatione Glossarii Vniuersalis Ebraici [Paris 1697], p. 83.

cognitionis, Sinicis quoque characteribus scribunt. [p. 395] Auctorem habeo Alexandrum de Rhodes<sup>52</sup> qui ita fatus est: *non agimus hic de characteribus, quibus Tunchinenses seu Annamitae vtuntur in suis scriptionibus, qui sunt difficillimi et paene innumeri, praecipue ii quibus suos conscribunt libros, qui sunt iidem ac Cinenses (Sinenses) et ad numerum octuaginta millium peruenire dicuntur: totamque vitam in iis addiscendis insumunt illae nationes, nec tamen vllus vmquam ad omnium perfectam notitiam peruenire consuevit.*

De Tangutanis litteris dixi in epistola ad Ioannem Samuelem Strimesium,<sup>53</sup> et in alia ad Ioannem Burkardum Menkenium,<sup>54</sup> viros amplissimos. Nunc, quasi mihi desponsa et destinata haec prouincia sit, certiora dare possum. Monendum hoc loco duxi, Nicolaum Vitsenium in prima editione Orientalis et Septemtrionalis Tartariae, Tangutanas quasdam edidisse litteras, paucas vero et deprauatas, in altera editione easdem praetermississe. Exstant libri in Museo Imperatorio et spes est hac opera nostra ad interpretationem eorum alios excitatum iri, nisi nobis huiusce rei maior forte copia obtinget. Quod quidem eminentissimus Theophanes Archiepiscopus Nouogrodiensis, pro suo in christianam rem studio, et saepe priuatim optauit, et nuper publice, in consilio de instituenda regia iuuentute. Habent praeterea Tangutani minores litteras, quas [p. 396] doctissimo Messerschmidio aliquando orbis eruditus debbit: sunt enim illi soli notae. Specimen earum Thomas Hyde in historia religionis veterum Persarum<sup>55</sup> dedit, tamquam scripturae Tatarorum *de Boutan*, vt

<sup>52</sup> In linguae Annamiticae seu Tunkinensis breui delineatione p. 2.

<sup>53</sup> In der *Historie der Gelehrsamkeit* parte V. p. 385. anno 1722. (i.e. Epistola secunda de libris ignotis nuper ad Mare Caspium repertis. Ioanni Samueli Strimesio T. S. Bayer, includes a table of the Tibetan alphabet.)

<sup>54</sup> In Supplementis Actorum Lipsiensium A, 1725. t. IX. sect. 1, p. 20.

<sup>55</sup> Tabula XVII. Aliud occurrit in Philippi Ioannis Strahlenbergii *Nord und Ostlichen Theil von Europa und Asia* tab. I.

ipse vocat. Vt me docuit Messerschmidius, Tangutani populum suum nomine  $\text{ᠲᠠᠩᠭᠤᠲᠤ}$  Vod jid appellant. Tangutanum nomen ipsis ita ignotum est vt Sinicum Sinis. Nos isthuc a Persis et Arabibus accepimus qui **تنكوت** *Tankut* et **تتكو** *Tancu* scribunt, et a Guilielmo Rubruquis, a Marco Paulo Veneto, Haithone Armeno. In Abulgaso Bahadurchano, vbi versio Gallica<sup>56</sup> Tanguth habet in MS. est **تايغكوة في بلدي** *Tainkutnensis regio*. De prouincia Tebeth quae Marcus Paulus Venetus habet,<sup>57</sup> nota sunt. Apponam tamen verba eius ex editione altera non item inter eruditos nota, quam ipse possideo: *transactis autem praefatis quinque diebus inuenietur prouincia Tebeth, quam magnus Kaam praeliando et expugnando deustauit. Multae enim ciuitates sunt ibi destructae et castra dirupta: protenditur autem in longum prouincia per dietas XX et quia sic est in solitudinem redacta, oportet vt per viginti dietas viatores omnes victualia secum ferant. Insuper quia habitatoribus caret, siluestres fere supra modum [p. 415] ibi multiplicatae sunt propter quod periculum magnum valde et inde transitum facere et maxime de nocte. Habent tamen marcatores et viatores ceteri.* De Tanguth autem: (2) *completa vero via deserti praefati peruenitur ad ciuitatem Sachion, quae est in introitu prouinciae magnae Tanguth, vbi sunt pauci christiani Nestorini.* Sic et MS. Berolinense, pro quo altera editio *Taguth*. Vetus autem editio, vt cum MS. Berolinensi prorsus congruit, ita ab Basileensi et Mulleriana diuersa, diuersum interpretem nacta est. Nulla vel typographiae vel temporis nota meo in libro: at coniungitur cum duobus aliis eius generis eodem plane typo, quorum vnus hic exitus est: *Explicit itinerarius a terra Angliae in partes Hierosolimitanas et in vltiores transmarinas, editus primo in lingua Gallicana a Domino Iohanne de Mandeuille milite suo auctore. Anno incarnationis Domini MCCCLV in ciuitate Leodiensi et paulo post in eadem ciuitate translatus in dictam*

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<sup>56</sup> p. 42.

<sup>57</sup> l. II. c. 17



*formam latinam. Quod opus vbi inceptum simul et completum sit, ipsa elementa seu singularum scorsum*<sup>58</sup> *caracteres literarum, quibus impressum vides Venetica, monstrant manifeste. Meus codex versionem continet ab Francisco Pepuris ex Italico procuratam. Sic enim interpretis praefatur: Librum prudentis honorabilis ac fidelissimi viri domini Marci Pauli de Venetiis de conditionibus orientalium ab eo in vulgari editum et conscriptum compellor ego frater Franciscus Pepuris de Bononia fratrum Praedicatorum a plerisque [p. 416] patribus et dominis meis veridica seu verificata et fidei translatione de vulgari ad latinum reducere, vt qui amplius latino quam vulgari delectatur eloquio nec non et hii qui vel propter linguarum varietatem omnimodam aut propter diuersitatem idiomatum proprietatem linguae alterius intelligere omnino aut faciliter nequeant aut delectabilius tegant seu liberior capiant. Porro per se ipsos laborem hunc quem me assumere compulerunt perficere plane non poterant sed altiori contemplatione vacantes et infimis sublimia praeferentes sicut terrena scribere recusarunt, et quae sunt deinceps. Nam haec bona cum venia* *ως ἐν π* *αρόδω*, publicae notitiae causa, attingere non absurdum nobis visum. Vox sine dubio Sinica siue *Tan cu* siue *Tien cu*, itaque incertae adhuc significationis. Frequentius tamen regio ab Arabibus et Persis, vt ab Vlugbego et Nassireddino et Eledriso **تبت** *Tebbeth, Tobit, Tobt, Tibet* vocatur, notum etiam Marco Paulo Veneto et Ioanni de Plano Carpini nomen. Chrysococcas **ΤΕΜΠΙΤ** hoc est *Tepit*. Ea enim ratione orthographiae est in huius Persae Graeca versione, vt **ΜΠΙΛΛΧ** pro **Βαλχ**, **ΜΒΟΥΧΑΡΑ** pro **Βουχαρα**. Inuenio etiam **ΤΟΥΠΑΤΑ**. Nam Symeon Magister Antiochiae cognomine Sethus **περί δυνάμεων τροφῶν**<sup>59</sup> sic ait: **Τοῦ μόχου διά φορα εἶδη εἰσίν, ὧν ὁ κρεῖτον γίνεται ἐν πόλει τινι τοῦ χωράση ἀνατολικωτέρα**

<sup>58</sup> [This is an occasional spelling variant (probably originally a misspelling) of the adverb «seorsum» (sundered, separate, apart). We owe this information to Dr. E. Knobelspiess, Constance.]







<sup>59</sup> p. 41, ed. Gyraldi.

λεγομένη τύπατα, *Moschi diuersae sunt species, quae* Chorase (Chorasan prouincie) *nomine Tupata*. Mungalorum scriptura item duplex est, alia haec ipsa grandiuscula, alia minor et festinantibus aptior, quam Mangjuri in primis adhibent. Hanc minorem magis [p. 417] exploratam habeo, ita vt totam istius populi orthographiam explicare possim. Fructum huius operae tomo quinto Commentarior. seruabo integrum. Quemadmodum minores litteras ex Syriacis Estrangelo factas demonstrauit, ita hae maiores ex minoribus sunt ortae.

Vt autem haec elementa explicarem, primo Tangutana consideraui. Contuli cum his alphabetum meum, tum Vitsenianum, tertium quod ante annos aliquot nobilissimus Vir et amplissimus Koeleserus de Kereseer Imperatori Romano a consiliis in Transilvania e MS. itineralio ad Menkenium transmisit: is deinde mecum communicauit. Postquam ex hisce bonam partem litterarum constitui, quales essent, Mungalica tractanda suscepi ex meo alphabeto Lipsiae edito, tum ex Koeleseriano, quae maiorum rationem litterarum magis, quam minorum continent, deinde cum minorum litterarum alphabeto, quod concinnaui ipse, contuli. Adieci alphabeta Calmuccica varia. Ex his igitur alias litteras constitui, alias, quae ex comparatione cum Tangutanis notae erant, confirmaui. Denique alphabetum Brahmanicum Kircheri cum hoc nostro contendi, vt omnia ab omni parte litterarum verae pronuntiationi indagandae inseruissent. Nihil dicam de quibusdam aliis minutis ingenii subsidiis. Vltima cura fuit syllabarum rationem explicare, vbi me Mungalicum alphabetum minus in primis, tum Brahmanica Kircheri iuuerunt.

Charta vtuntur sane praestantissima, densiori [p. 418] tamen quam nostra est, neque ita candida. Saepe caeruleo colore chartas inducant, nonnunquam et nigro, litterasque scribunt aureas vel albas. Vnumquoque folium Brahmanicum ab hoc signo  ordiuntur: Tangutani autem isto  quod *Vtfchum* vocatur et tum in principio tum in fine hoc modo



etiam scribitur  et tertio modo sicuti in Actis Lipsiensibus edidi, nolui enim inde omnia repetere, ne fastidio essem. In posteriori pagina nullum tale signum exstare solet. In istis duobus characteribus Brahmanicis dimidia pars vniuscuiusque proprie finem superiorum, altera principium sequentium significat: apud Tangutanos vero in duabus lineis perpendicularibus, cum solae exstant, alterum fini praecedentis vocis, alterum principio sequentis signum adiungitur. Ortum est hoc signum e Brahmanico commate, quod in prima tabula septius occurrit. Vna eiusmodi linea item apud Tangutanos commatis officio inseruit. Punctum [p. 419] Tangutanum est  vbi etiam extrema linea principium sequentium demonstrat. Brahmanicum vero punctum idem illud signum est, quod in principio poni diximus. Mungali nullo signo initia periodorum notant: at priorem cuiusque folii paginam, supra primam lineam posito hoc signo,  a Tangutanis, vt videtur, accepto, a posteriori discernunt pagina. Comma Mungalicum est;  Punctum est  vel  Vtrumque infra extremam litteram. In priori tantummodo cuiusque folii pagina ad sinistrum marginem tum numeri, tum titulus inscribuntur.

Iam primo omnium in elementis Brahmanicis, quindecim exstant figurae, quae fere sunt similes Aethiopico *Alph*: nam per se pronunciatum primum «a» breue, ceterae deinceps figurae induunt naturam ductuum quibuscum sunt deuinctae, vt tamquam vocales pronuncientur *a* longum *i* breue et longum et deinceps. In his *re* et *le*, quae nobis vocales non sunt, apud Brahmanes cum consonantibus connexae, vt *bremle kre sle*, vocales esse censentur. Eadem ratio obtinet in Tangutanis et Mungalicis, praeterquam [p. 420] quod *re* et *le* vocales ex eadem figura seu ex vocalis *a* caractere non existunt: sunt enim consonantes *r et l* cum vocalium *e* breuis et *e* longi ductibus. Sexta et decima eadem est plane, quae prima, nisi quod in Mungalicis subiectum habet punctum. Eundem in modum in ceteris syllabis, prima etiam in fine ponitur hoc nostro in libello: nos id praetermisimus, quia vtilitatem habet nullam; videtur autem ea caussa

factum: vt punctum Mungalicum subiici posset, ita, vt ne videretur ad vltimae vocalis formam pertinere. Omnes vocales sunt vel breues, vel longae, praeter *ang*. Haec enim tantummodo breuis est in paradigmate. Gutturalem vocalem hanc proprie dixeris, neque enim vt nostrum *ang* plane pronunciatur, neque vt pronunciatur, nostris litteris scribi potest. Nam in gutture ita formatur, vt *ng* non exprimat, sed quodammodo referat sono. Fere vt Aethiopicum et Arabicum *Ain*. Hanc vero vocalem, quam proprie circellus in apice efficit, cum aliis quoque copulam vocalibus, *ang*, *ing*, *vng*, *eng*, *ong*, et deinceps, quod hoc in alphabeto praetermissum est. Vocales Mungalicac forma sua tantummodo in eo differunt a consonante *n*, quod *n* a latere punctum appositum habet, vocales non habent.

Sequuntur omnes consonantes sine vocalibus, per commata suas in classes diuisae: extrema est duplex consonans. Apud Tangutanos vndecimae et decimae tertiae eadem forma est: diuersa apud Brahmanes [p. 421] et Mungalos. Apud Mungalos vero secunda et tertia, decima sexta et decima octaua, vicesima prima et vicesima tertia eadem sunt litterae: Brahmanicae et Tangutanae cum his comparatae diuersis formis. Haec primae nostrae tabulae facies, in reliquis nouem tabulis, hae ipsae consonantes, suis cum vocalibus deuinctae procedunt. Iterum extrema omnium est consonans duplex. Hanc extremam excipiunt multae aliae duplices, quas tomo quarto Commentariorum seruamus, ne hic tomus mole obruatur.

Quoniam librum Vitsenianum supra citauimus, eum autem et a Leibnitio Vitsenii amico<sup>60</sup> et a multis aliis desiderari video, tum amicos externos mirari, quid id fit, quod tomo primo Commentariorum ad eum prouocauerim, monendi sunt eruditi, duplicem editionem in Bibliotheca

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<sup>60</sup> de Numis Gratiani [1701], p. 322, ed. Fabricii [i.e. Johann Albert Fabricius, Leipzig Nov. 11, 1668–April 30, 1736 Hamburg, classical philologist and bibliographer; he taught at the Hamburg Academic Gymnasium.].

Imperatoria exstare. Prima exiit A. C. MDCXCII. altera A. MDCCV. *Nord [!] en Oost Tartarye of te bondig Ontwerp van eeniger [!] dier Landen en Volken door Nicolaes Witsen*. Secunda editio adiectum nomen bibliopolae habet, quod in prima non exstat: *Twede druk t' Amsterdam by François Halma Boekverkooper op de Nieuwen-dyk*. Prima editio continet parte priori paginas 142, parte posteriori paginas 600. In altera editione tota priori parte omissa, posterior sola exstat, in duas diuisa partes: prima pars paginas 503 comprehendit; consequitur secunda a [p. 422] pagina 504. vsque ad 968. Praetermissae quoque sunt epistolae quorundam eruditorum ad Vitsenium quae in priori exstabant, vt Gisberti Cuperi, qui A. C. MDC LXXXIV. ita scripserat: *sed crucior immane quantum et angor animi, quod ea perspiciam te esse modestia et verecundia, vt nolis partam inter eruditos famam augere, malisque frui tacita tam insignium bonorum conscientia, quam nomen tuum, si tamen illi adiici aliquid potest, magis magisque posteritati consecrare et astris inferre*. Praetermissa quoque est altera Cuperi epistola A. C. MDCLXXXVI. scripta et Ioannis Georgii Graeuii, in qua A. C. MDCLXXXVIII. Montauserio maxime auctore Vitsenium ad editionem Tatariae excitauit. Omissa alia multa: contra in posteriori editione alia inserta, in primis multarum linguarum huius septentrionalis Europae & Asiae lexica et specimina, vt duae editiones, totidem diuersa eiusdem auctoris opera esse videantur.

[p. 389]

## ELEMENTS OF BRAHMANIC, TANGUT AND MUNGAL LITERATURE<sup>61</sup>

By T[heophil] S[iegfried] Bayer, from Königsberg

After Daniel Messerschmidt, doctor of medicine, from Danzig, had

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<sup>61</sup> [See also the notes to the Latin text.]

returned to St. Petersburg from Siberia as he was sent by Peter the Great to these regions to investigate the secrets of nature and art, he handed over to the Imperial Academy many items collected and observed with singular care. Among them was an oblong booklet as there are many Tangut, Mungal and Calmuck books, of eight loose leaves and as it seems to me, Corean paper, not unlike silken as to density and if you rub it a bit, even coarse. Both pages of each leaf are inscribed in such a way that where the last line of the previous page ends, there is when you turn the page the beginning of the next one. Therefore, one may say, one should turn single leaves as [with] most ancient numbers [i.e. paginations?]. This is the custom of the Brahmans, Tanguts, Mungals, Malabars and all peoples who write on tree leaves. That the ancients were accustomed to thread single palm leaves as it even happens today by means of two [p. 390] holes so that they formed one volume when convenient was the cause that leaves evolved as they were inscribed. The same was later on observed with paper. On the individual pages there are two sections so that the first line of each shows the Brahmanic letters, the second the Tangut and the third the Mungal ones; we changed that as a matter of convenience, and we have three sections in a single page [in the reproduction]. The book is not written, but printed by type. The Tanguts and Mungals namely took over the typographic art<sup>62</sup> from China. There are, as I learn, wooden types of this kind which these peoples used in the possession of His Excellency Prince Aleksej Michajlovič Čerkasskij<sup>63</sup>, maecenas of fine arts. This book, however,

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<sup>62</sup> [The syllabary is a blockprint, the usual kind of printing of lamast texts. Mongol movable type printing started only in St. Petersburg in 1815.]

<sup>63</sup> [Cherkassky, Sept. 28, 1680–Nov. 4, 1742, was appointed governor of Siberia in 1719, after having assisted his father in the administration of Tobolsk. In 1726 he became a member of the Ruling Senate. Later he was appointed cabinet minister, and finally, in 1740 Chancellor of the Russian Empire. Cf. RBA: R 495,107–155; SU 470, 125. It was during his being the Siberian governor that Ablakit Monastery was

which we received from Messerschmidt, was printed nowhere else but in China. That is proven by the fact that on the first page of each leaf in the left margin the Brahmanic number first, then the Tangut, third the Mungal, and forth the Chinese is given. The Chinese has added the word *xam* [shang], like 上二 *xam vl*, *xam san*, *xam lo* etc. On the verso page there are no numbers only the Chinese character 下 *hia* [below, verso]. And like in Chinese books *xam* means the first page of a leaf, with the number added, and *hia*, the verso, but without number. This is also [p. 391] the custom with Brahmanic elements in China which the superstition that was brought into the empire by Brahmans, Tanguts, and Mungals, requires for the interpretation of its holy scriptures. The Brahmanic superstition is so contained in the Tangut and Mungal [religion] that even something from the Christian Nestorian religion is blended in. Small wonder therefore that Brahmanic literature and books are kept in high esteem by these peoples and came to the knowledge of the priests, the Lamas and Bonzes. The Brahmanic letters are really, as they are put in the first line, the standard rule of these elements, namely, neither with the Tanguts nor the Mungals are all the letters which are shown here, in general use. Certain ones only apply in the writing of Brahmanic Indian words, not in Tangut and Mungal ones. Neither is this order of the alphabet that of the Mungals but quite different as I shall show on another occasion; whether the Tangut general order is the same as the Brahmanic I am unable to say. Therefore the whole comparison serves mainly at the illustration of Brahmanic literature. It has been especially my desire to look at such remote letters and have believed that after having these explained one might hope to reap an even larger fruit next. But I have thought myself: *hic Rhodus hic salta*.<sup>64</sup>

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found by Russian officers from Ust-Kamenskaya Fortress and it was he who sent six folios from there to St. Petersburg in 1721; one of these folios became famous after it was reproduced in [MÉNCKE 1722] and sent to Paris to be translated by the Fourmont brothers.]

Messerschmidt maintained that he could not remember the sense of these letters to the necessary degree and objected with his other occupations, a just reason for excuse. And what other teacher and from where would there be? It came [p. 392] to my mind what the old woman of Alexandria said regarding the Syracusiae of Theocritus: ἐς Τροίην πειρώμενοι ἦλθον Ἀχαιοί, πείρα θην πάντα τελεῖται.<sup>65</sup> I created the danger that I can only say afterwards how it should have gone, as I conclude a few things from the letters themselves.

The Brahmans in ancient India applied these letters to the language Kirendum<sup>66</sup> and eagerly kept them secret, not to leave their own circles. The first one, as far as I know was the Jesuit Heinrich Roth<sup>67</sup> whose Indian travel Athanasius Kircher<sup>68</sup> described, and who received a considerable amount of letters from a Brahman devoted to him, and communicated it to Kircher who published it in *China illustrata* from his autograph. He says: *When Father Heinrich Roth was completely intent on bringing them to the true path of salvation it seemed almost impossible without their language*

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<sup>64</sup> Prove what you can do, here and now!

<sup>65</sup> This quote is from Theocritus' Idyll 15: "The Achaeans got into Troy by trying, [...], all things are accomplished by trying." (Kind information by Agnes Weiske, Munich)

<sup>66</sup> Thus the Danish missionaries often call it in their letters to friends. Thomas Hyde in his *Oriental Games*, book 1, p. 94, and in his *History of the religion of the ancient Persians* p. 521 calls it Sanscroot, Athanasius Kircher in *China illustrata* Hanscrot and Andreas Müller after it alphabetum Hanscriticum.

<sup>67</sup> [Heinrich Roth (Dillingen Dec. 18th, 1620-June 20th, 1668 Agra), Jesuit missionary to India and scholar, author of the first Sanskrit grammar. He accompanied his confrère Johann Grueber to Rome where Athanasius Kircher included his communications in his *China illustrata*. Cf. CAMPS, MULLER 1988; VOGEL 2005.]

<sup>68</sup> [Athanasius Kircher (Geisa May 2nd 1602-Nov. 27th, 1680 Rome), Jesuit polymath, professor in Rome. His book *China illustrata*. Amsterdam 1667, became the authority on China for half a century. Cf. DÜNNHAUPT 1981: 994-1016.]

and letters, and by obliging a certain Brahman through his highest benevolence and making him inclined to accept the Christian faith he put together the idea of the language and literature and philosophy through these letters by six years of intense study. When one compares the letters which Father Kircher published with ours, one notices most of these are unclear and mixed up and only the smallest part were explained by Roth. From Kircher Andreas Müller<sup>69</sup> of Greifenhagen included the Brahman letters in his alphabets. [p. 393] These letters also Edward Bernard<sup>70</sup> recently attempted to derive from Arabic and Samaritan letters, in his *Orbis eruditi litteratura*.<sup>71</sup> About the origin of these and other letters in India I shall speak somewhere else. These letters, just like sacred ones are used by all peoples who are influenced by the Indian superstition. The Imperial Museum at the Academy is in possession of grave flags or epitaphs brought from Dauria<sup>72</sup> by Messerschmidt, inscribed by Brahman and by Tangut letters:

॥ॐमनिपदमेचुमचि॥

॥ཨྐྱཱཎིཔདྨེཅུམཅིམ།།

Tangut: Ong ma ni pa dme chum chi<sup>73</sup>. The excellent Messerschmidt shows

<sup>69</sup> [Andreas Müller (Greiffenhagen ?1630–1694 Oct. 26), theologian and Orientalist, Chinese librarian to the Great Elector. Cf. WEHR 1966: 21–35; NOACK, SPLETT 1997: 272–293.]

<sup>70</sup> [Edward Bernard (Paulerspury, Northampton, 1638–Jan. 12th, 1697 Oxford), 1693–1691 professor of astronomy at Oxford University. Cf. DE QUEHEN 2004.]

<sup>71</sup> [“The literature of the learned world” 1689, a comparison of the then known alphabets.]

<sup>72</sup> [Also: Dahuria–historical name for the mountainous region of Transbaikalia.]

<sup>73</sup> [The right transliteration of the mantra would be OM MAṆI PADME HŪM HRĪḤ. Bayer, again, could not understand the visarga sign and omitted it, his clumsy rendering of the ending of the Lantsa part being rather eloquent.]

in his manuscript *Gift of the Siberian Isis* that these are the most common prayers of the Tanguts, *Have mercy on us, o Lord!* This formula one finds frequently repeated in the wooden signs of graves, is like a splendid symbol of an [otherwise] completely wrong religion. Besides the Brahman letters which are large the others however small, which except for Messerschmidt I do not know there is anybody else in Europe who knows. Only by the speed of writing and the abbreviation they are different from the larger ones as almost all of Kircher's. [p. 394] Thomas Hyde<sup>74</sup> in his *Oriental Games* dubbed them elephants. And as the Brahman letters are not used for mundane matters, the Indians have many other kinds of letters. Nothing is however better known in Europe than the works of Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg<sup>75</sup> and the other Malabar missionaries. There is no less hope in the Varugici after Benjamin Schulze<sup>76</sup>, habile in his pious works, started dealing with them in order to make them better known in Europe. To me they look similar to the small Mungal ones, except that those striking to the bottom are not written.<sup>77</sup> In the same way the Bengal letters belong to the Tanguts, not enough known, however. Unknown are the Ceylanese, Javanese and Siamese. To explain the Siamese was begun by Gervasius<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> [Thomas Hyde (Billingsley, Shrops. June 29, 1636–Febr. 18th, 1703, Oxford), Orientalist; he became Professor of Arabic at the University of Oxford in 1691, and of Hebrew in 1697. The work referred to is *De ludis orientalibus libri duo*. Oxonii: Theatrum Sheldonianum, 1694.]

<sup>75</sup> [Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (Pulsnitz July 10th, 1682–Febr. 23rd, 1719 Tranquebar), first German Protestant missionary to India. He translated part of the Bible into Tamil. Cf. RICHTER 1900.]

<sup>76</sup> [Benjamin Schulze (Sonnenburg 1689–1760) missionary at Tranquebar, then a Danish colony. He is known for his *Grammatica telugica* (Madras 1728), *Orientalisch- und occidentalischer Sprachmeister* (Leipzig 1748) and *Grammatica hindostanica* (Halle 1745)]

<sup>77</sup> *Der Königl. dänischen Missionarien aus Ost-Indien eingesandte ausführliche Berichte von dem Werck ihres Amtes unter den Heyden*, hrsg. von Gotthilf August Francken. *Continuation* 25.1727, to p. 106.



provost of Suèvres [and canon of] of St. Martin of Tours after he had returned from Siam to France which however cut off the scholars from those works. The Indians who adhere to the Muhamedan superstition use Arabic [script] even in Indian languages. Those who are closer to China, in Tunkin, Cochinchina, Caubango, Ciampa, Camboia, Lais and even Siamese, who are all counted to India<sup>79</sup>, also write with Chinese script as they are more related to Tibetans and Chinese. [p. 395] As witness I have Alexandre Rhodes<sup>80</sup> who wrote: *We are not dealing here with the characters which the Tunchinenses or the Annamites use in their scriptures which are very difficult and almost countless, especially those with which they write their books, which are the same as the Chinese and are said to reach up to 80,000: those nations spend a whole life in learning them, but nevertheless nobody ever makes it to a perfect knowledge of all of them.*

I spoke about the Tangut letters in my letter to Johann Samuel Strimesius<sup>81</sup> and in another one to Johann Burchard Mencke<sup>82</sup>, the famous

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<sup>78</sup> [Apparently Nicolas Gervaise (1662–1729), author of *Histoire naturelle et politique du royaume de Siam*. Paris: Barbin 1687. He spent four years as missionary in Siam. In 1724 he went as a missionary to Latin America and was killed by Caribes in 1729. Cf. SEBA: 220, 56–62.]

<sup>79</sup> [Southeast Asian countries which were in early times counted as „India beyond Ganges“.]

<sup>80</sup> [Alexandre de Rhodes (Avignon March 15th, 1593–Nov. 5th, 1660 Isfahan), Jesuit missionary to Vietnam. Cf. DEHERGNE 1973: 215–216. – The reference is to *Linguae Annamiticae seu Tunchinensis brevis declaratio*. Rome 1651.]

<sup>81</sup> In der *Historie der Gelehrsamkeit* part V.1722, p. 385. (i.e. Epistola secunda de libris ignotis nuper ad Mare Caspium repertis. Ioanni Samueli Strimesio T. S. Bayer, includes a table of the Tibetan alphabet.) – [Johann Samuel Strimesius (Frankfurt/O. July 26th, 1684–Dec. 27th, 1744 Frankfurt/O.), 1710–1735 professor of rhetoric and history at Königsberg University.]

<sup>82</sup> [Johann Burchard Mencke (Leipzig April 8th, 1674–April 1st, 1732 Leipzig), Doctor of Law, Professor of History, as of 1707 editor of the learned journal *Acta Eruditorum*. Cf. HAMMERSTEIN 1994.]

scholars. Now, that this domain is so to speak married and destined to me I can provide more reliable information. I would like to point out here that Niklaas Witsen in the first edition of his *Oriental and Northern Tartary*, published certain Tangut letters but few and bad ones but in the second edition he skipped this. There are books in the Imperial Museum and our hope is that our works will motivate others towards their interpretation if we will not be assigned a larger amount of this matter. What however His Eminence Theophanes, archbishop of Novgorod<sup>83</sup> desired for his own study on Christianity, and often privately, and recently in public, in the Council for the instruction of young royals. In addition the Tanguts have small letters [p. 396] which the learned world will one day credit to the scholarly Messerschmidt, they are namely the only ones known. A sample of them Thomas Hyde gave in his *History of the religions of the old Persians* and one of the script of the Tatars *de Boutan* as he himself called it. As Messerschmidt told me the Tanguts call their people བོད་ཡིད་ *Vod jid*.<sup>84</sup> The name Tangut is therefore unknown to them, as Sinae to the Chinese. We received it from the Persians and Arabs who write تنكوت *Tankut* and تنكو *Tancu*, and from William of Rubruck<sup>85</sup>, from Marco Polo of Venice and Haithon the Armenian<sup>86</sup>. In Abulghasi Bahadur Khan where the

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<sup>83</sup> [Theophan (Feofan) Prokopovich (Kiev June 18th, 1681–September 19th, 1736), Archbishop of Novgorod, an influential Orthodox Christian figure, one of the supporters of Peter the Great’s reforms. He was a friend and protector of Bayer who dedicated his *Museum sinicum* to Prokopovich. Cf. PEKARSKY 1870: 188.]

<sup>84</sup> [Tibetan *bod yid* means, literally, “the Tibetan mind” whatever it may signify. Perhaps, Bayer meant *bod yig*, “written Tibetan”, although it does not mean “the Tibetan people”, either.]

<sup>85</sup> [William of Rubruck (Rubrouck, Flanders 1215/1220?–ca.1270), Franciscan priest and explorer; king Louis IX of France sent him to the court of Mongol, a mission which he accomplished during the years 1252–1255. His report is relatively detailed and is considered an important historical source. Cf. VAN DEN WYNGAERT 1929.]

<sup>86</sup> [Hethum I, king of Armenia 1222–1270 († 1271); in 1254 he travelled to the court

French version has Tanguth, the Ms. reads **تاينغوة في بلدي** *Tainkutnensis regio*. About the province *Tebeth* there are notes. I quote his words but from another edition which is unknown among scholars and which I own myself: *After having travelled for the above mentioned 5 days there one finds the province of Tebeth which the great Khan devastated by his battles and fighting. Many cities were destroyed there and castles torn down. The province extends in length for 20 days and because it is kept in solitude, travellers have to take all provisions with them for 20 days. Especially as it is short of inhabitants and [p. 415] wild ones beyond measure, are numerous and therefore it is of great danger to travel through and especially during the night. They have however merchants and other travellers.* And on Tanguth: *After completing the mentioned desert way one reaches the city of Sachion<sup>87</sup>, which is at the entry to the large province of Tanguth, where there are few Nestorian christians.* Thus also the Berlin ms., for which another ed. has Taguth. The old edition, however, which is completely in agreement with the Berlin ms., differs from the Basel ms. and Müller, which are from a different translator. There is neither an indication of the printing-shop nor the time in my book: it is bound with two others of the same kind and from the same type; the end of the one runs: *It describes the itinerary to the Jerusalem and further overseas regions. It is first published in the Gallic language by its author, the soldier John de Mandeville.<sup>88</sup> In Leodinum (Liège) the year of the Lord 1495 and a bit after translated into Latin in the same city. Where this work was begun and*

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of the Mongol Qan. A report on this journey was written by Kirakos Gandzaketsi, a member of his suite, and attracted much attention. Cf. BRETSCHNEIDER 1887: vol. I, p. 164-171.]

<sup>87</sup> [Dunhuang, or Shāzhōu. Cf. BRAFMAN 2016: 90-102.]

<sup>88</sup> [John de Mandeville, fictitious author of a travelogue to the Orient, in parallel to Marco Polo's travels. It is a compilation of material from previous travel accounts. Cf. LETTS 1953.]

*simultaneously completed, is shown by its elements and especially the types of the individual characters, with which as you see the Venetian [i.e. M. Polo] was printed.* My book contains the version provided by Francisco Pepuris<sup>89</sup> from the Italian. The translator says in his preface: *The Book of the prudent, honorable and most trustworthy Sir Marco Polo, of Venice, on the situation of the Orientals, edited and written by him in the colloquial [i.e. Italian]. I, Brother Francisco Pepuris of Bologna, of the Preachers Brothers [p. 416] [i.e. Dominican order], was urged by many fathers and gentlemen to turn from the colloquial into Latin in a true and faithful translation, so that who enjoys more a Latin than a colloquial sermon and certainly also those who either because of the manifold variety of languages or because of the diversity of dialects cannot easily completely understand the peculiarity of another language or find it more enjoyable or relaxing to read. Further, they could simply not perform this work which they compelled me to take on themselves, were differently occupied or preferred more refined things and refused such earthly subjects, and so on.* To deal with this, with *ὡς ἐν παρόδῳ* [as in passing]<sup>90</sup> in the interest of public information, we do not consider absurd. The word is doubtlessly Chinese *Tan cu* [唐古] or *Tien cu* [天竺]<sup>91</sup>, of so far unclear meaning. The region is more often called **تبت** *Tebbeth, Tobit, Tobt, Tibet* by the Arabs and Persians, and by Ulug Beg, Nassireddin and Al-Idrisi as well; it is also the name noted by Marco Polo, of Venice, and Giovanni de Plano Carpini<sup>92</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> [Francisco de Pepuris translated Marco Polo's book into Latin.]

<sup>90</sup> [Kind information by Agnes Weiske, Munich.]

<sup>91</sup> [The first is the transcription of *Tangut*: tanggu [te] 唐古忒, the second a traditional term for India.]

<sup>92</sup> [Giovanni de Piano Carpini (Plan del Carpine ca. 1185–Aug. 1, 1252 Bar, Montenegro), Franciscan priest and explorer; he was sent by Pope Innocence IV to the Mongol Qan in 1245. He returned in 1247 and reported to the Pope, thus adding to the scarce European knowledge of the Tartars. Cf. GIOVANNI 1989.]

Chrysococcas' ΓΕΜΠΙΤ is Tepit. It is the orthographic method in this Persian-Greek version that ΜΙΑΑΧ stands for Βάλχ, ΜΠΟΥΧΑΡΑ for Βουχαρά, I also find ΤΟΥΠΙΑΤΑ. Symeon, Magister in Antiochia, with the additional name Seth<sup>93</sup>, says in his *περί δυνάμεων τροφῶν*. *Τοῦ μόχου διάφορα εἶδη εἰσιν, ὧν ὁ κρεῖττον γίνεται ἐν πόλει τινι τοῦ χοράση ἀνατολικωτέρα λεγομένη τούπατα*. *There are different species of Moschi [musk deer], which are called Tupata in Khorasan*. The script of the Mungals is twofold: the one is rather large, the other smaller and more convenient for people in a hurry, which is especially used by the Mangiuri [Manchus]. [p. 417] I did more work on the smaller one, so that I can now explain the whole orthography of this people. The whole result of this work I shall present in vol. 5 of the *Commentarii*. I showed how the smaller letters were made from the Syrian Estrangelo, and thus the larger ones originated from the smaller ones.




In order to explain these elements, I first considered the Tangut ones. I compared with these my alphabet, then Witsen's and thirdly some that the noble and learned Koesléséri de Kereseer<sup>94</sup> sent to the Roman Emperor from council meetings in Transylvania, from a ms. travelogue to Mencke who then communicated it to me.<sup>95</sup> After I had established from these a good many letters, what they were I began dealing with the Mungal ones from my alphabet published at Leipzig, then from Koesler's which contained more the method of the large than the smaller ones, then compared them with the alphabet of the smaller letters which I compiled myself. I added various Calmuck alphabets. From these I established other letters, and confirmed others which were known through comparison with

<sup>93</sup> On the properties of foods, by Symeon Seth, an 11th century physician.

<sup>94</sup> [Samuel Kóleséri de Keres-eer, (Szendrő Nov. 11th, 1663-Dec. 24th, 1732 Hermannstadt), Transylvanian physician and mining inspector. Cf. Mysz 1993; SEBA: 220, 56-62; HBA 351: 91-166; G 25, 42.

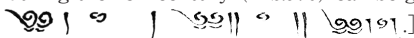
<sup>95</sup> [Excerpta ex litteris eiusdem de litteratura tangutana. *Acta Eruditorum* 1724 (1726), p. 327.]


Tangut. Finally I compared Kircher's Brahman alphabet with ours so that everything serves to find out the true pronunciation of every part of the letters. I shall not speak about certain other smaller measures. The final concern was to explain the method of syllables, where I was aided especially by the smaller Mungal alphabet, then the Brahman of Kircher.

The paper used is indeed excellent, [p. 418] of more density than ours, and not so white. Often the paper is covered with blue colour, sometimes with black, and the letters are written in gold or white. Each Brahmanic leaf starts with the sign . The Tanguts use this  which they call Utschum<sup>96</sup> and write it this way <sup>97</sup> at the beginning and at the end as well; the third way as published in the *Acta Lipsiensia* [the Leipzig Acta, i.e. *Acta eruditorum*] I do not want to repeat here to avoid boredom.<sup>98</sup> On the following page no such sign usually exists. In these two Brahmanic characters the half part of each means the end of the first one, the other the beginning of the following; but with the Tanguts in two vertical lines as they stand alone one sign is added to the end of the preceding word, another to the beginning of the following. This sign originated from the Brahmanic comma that appears in the first table seven times. One such line is inserted as a comma, with the Tanguts. [p. 419] A Tangut full stop is,.

<sup>96</sup> [A slightly corrupted reading of Tibetan *dbu 'khyud*; another and more common name for this sign is *yig mgo*.]

<sup>97</sup> [Unfortunately, Tibetan Unicode does not have the relevant sign which is sometimes used at the beginning of the recto sides of leaves, so we could only achieve a rough similarity by combining two signs from standard symbols of the Times font. The original Tibetan symbol is slightly different from Bayer's reproduction and it does consist of two parts. Some samples extracted from the above-mentioned bunch of folios in Tibetan obtained by the St. Petersburg Academy during the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Tib.970) can be given here -

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<sup>98</sup> [Namely,  , | Cf. [MENCKE 1722]. This sign is rather typical for the leaves of the Ablakit Kagyur.]

where the last line indicates the beginning of the following. The Brahmanic dot however is this same sign which is put at the beginning as mentioned. The Mungals do not mark the beginning of periods by any sign: they distinguish, by putting this sign  $\text{?}$ , accepted as shown by the Tanguts, above the first line, the first page of each leaf from the following. The Mungal comma is  $\text{,}$ ,<sup>99</sup> the dot is  $\text{.}$ <sup>100</sup> or  $\text{.}$  each time after the last letter. Only on the first page of each folio to the left both the page number and the title are inscribed.

Already first of all in the Brahmanic elements there are 15 signs rather similar to the Ethiopian Alph; the first is pronounced by itself as a short „a“, the other following figures assume the nature of the strokes with which they are combined so that they are pronounced like vowels, long *a*, short and long *i* and so on. Among these *re* and *le* which for us are not vowels, are combined, with the Brahmans, with consonants, like *bre mle kre sle*, and are considered vowels. The same method applies to the Tanguts and Mungals, [p. 420] except that the vowels *re* and *le* from the same figure and from the sign of the vowel *a* do not exist. There are however the consonants *r* and *l* with strokes of the vowels short *e* and long *e*. The sixth and tenth are just like the first, only in Mongol a dot is added underneath. It is the same way in other syllables, the first one is put at the end in our booklet, we pass it by as it is of no use. It seems that the reason is that a Mongol dot can be added but this does apparently not apply to the form of the last vowel. All vowels are either short or long, except *ang*. This is only short in the example. When speaking of a proper guttural vowel it is namely neither pronounced like our *ang* nor can it be written down with our letters as pronounced. It is namely formed in the throat as it cannot be expressed by *ng* but refers to a

<sup>99</sup> [This sign is more often used as a full stop, the standard Mongolian comma is  $\text{,}$ .]

<sup>100</sup> [It is a Mongolian rendering of Sanskrit *visarga*. Bayer mistook it for a punctuation mark.]

sound almost like the Ethiopian and Arabic *Ain*. This vowel which, a little circle at the apex, creates also a connection with other vowels, *ang, ing, vng, eng, ong*, etc. which is left out in the alphabet. The form of the Mungal vowels are insofar different from the consonant *n*, as *n* has a dot added on the side, which the vowels do not have.

Then follow all consonants without vowels, divided into classes by means of commas; the last one is double consonants. With the Tanguts the 11th and 13th have the same form which is different from the [p. 421] Brahmins and Mungals. With the Mungals, however, the second and third, 16th and 18th, 21st and 23rd are the same letters. The Brahmanic and Tangut forms when compared prove different. This is the picture of our first table. In the remaining nine tables the same consonants, combined with their vowels are presented. Again, the last of all is the double consonants. From this last one many other doubles which we will offer in vol. IV of the *Commentarii* are taken out in order not to largely overburden this volume.

As we quoted Witsen's book above, I see that Leibniz<sup>101</sup>, Witsen's friend and many others desire it and foreign friends are wondering, what it was that I referred to in the first volume of the *Commentarii*, scholars are warned that there are two editions in the Imperial Library. The first was published in 1692, the other in 1705: *Noord en Oost Tartarye of te bondig Ontwerp van eenige dier Landen en Volken door Nicolaes Witsen*. The second edition has the name of the bookshop while there is none in the first: *Twede druk t' Amsterdam by François Halma Boekverkooper op de Nieuwen-dyk*. The first edition comprises in its first part 142 pp., in its second part 600 pp. In the second edition the whole first part is omitted, and the second only remains, divided in two parts of which the first one

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<sup>101</sup> [Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (Leipzig July 1st, 1646–Nov. 14th, 1716 Hannover) outstanding philosopher and mathematician. Cf. SCHEPERS 1985.]



comprises 503 pp., the second [p. 422] pp. 504–968. Left out are also the letters by certain scholars to Witsen, which were in the former, like one by Gisbert Cuper<sup>102</sup> who wrote in 1684: *but enormously tortured by fear because I see that you are of such modesty and shyness so that you do not want to augment your fame won with the scholars and would prefer to enjoy silently the knowledge of such remarkable goods than having your name if anything could be added to it more and more immortal to posterity and elevated to the stars*. Also dropped is another letter by Cuper written in 1686 and one by Johann Georg Graevius<sup>103</sup> in which he, by strong instigation of Montausier<sup>104</sup>, in 1688 stimulated Witsen to publish his *Tartary*. If much is dropped from the first edition, the second edition added much, especially vocabularies and samples from many languages of Northern Europe and Asia so that both editions would seem different works of the same author.

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RBA: Russian Biographical Archive. München: Saur 1997 ff. (also online)

SBH: Svenskt biografiskt handlexikon. Vol. 2. 1906.

SEBA: Southeast European Biographical Archive. München: Saur 1997 ff. (also online)

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<sup>102</sup> [Hemmen Sept. 28, 1644–Nov. 22, 1716 Deventer, historian and politician, cf. PETERS 1989.]

<sup>103</sup> [Naumburg Jan. 29, 1632–Jan. 11, 1703 Utrecht, classical philologist and historian, taught at the University of Utrecht from 1662 to his death. Cf. HALM 1879.]

<sup>104</sup> [Charles de St. Maure, duc de Montausier, Oct. 6, 1610–Nov. 17, 1690, military man, highly favoured by the king who made him governor of the dauphin. Cf. LOPEZ 1997.]

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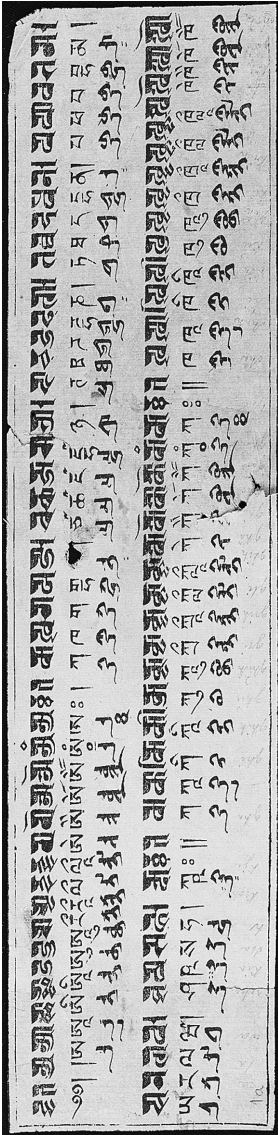
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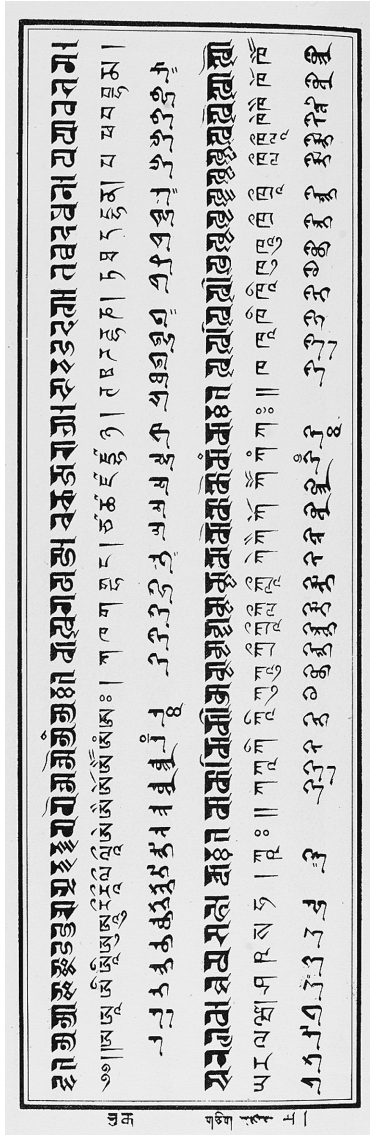
Addenda

1.



IOM RAS, Q 4741: a copy of f. 1b of the syllabarium that seems to have been used as a model for Schilling's replica edition

2.

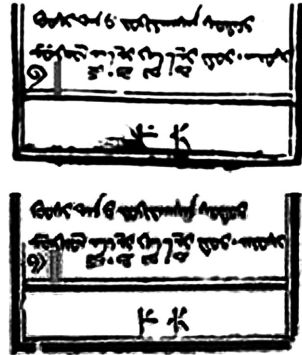






IOM RAS, Q 4741/4, one of the copies of Schilling's replica edition: the first spread, with cropped edges

3.



F. 6b: the beginning of the Mongolian postscript, standard copies found in the IOM RAS (left) have the underlined initial sign *yig mgo mdun ma* while Raghu Virra's copy (right) has its variation, *brda rnying yig mgo mdun ma*



Digital copy of the IOM RAS block print Q 4744

