

## The Japanese studies of Andreas Müller (1630–1694)\*

Sven Osterkamp

The title above was not chosen at random, but rather in imitation of Donald F. Lach's seminal account of "The Chinese studies of Andreas Müller" published in 1940. While all things Chinese were certainly in the focus of Müller's scholarly interests, his research and publications extend to a variety of languages and scripts, including even Japanese. Despite the significance of his work on Japanese that is the object of the present study, it enjoys relatively little recognition among current scholars. It is therefore unsurprising that Müller's eminent position in the early history of Japanese studies both in German-speaking areas specifically and in the West in general is still far from being generally known.

In Section 1 we will thus concentrate on Müller's works devoted entirely to Japanese, of which regrettably only one is currently available for study. The central aim here is to identify its exact sources, and thereby show where Müller's knowledge of Japanese derived from, as well as to reconstruct the process of its compilation. Following this, in Section 2, a number of passages relating to either the Japanese language or script that are found in various other pieces of Müller's vast scholarship will be considered. Among the sources on Japanese, a hitherto unidentified Chinese character dictionary occupied a central position. The former Berlin exemplar of this work, referred to by Müller on other occasions as *Zihǎi* 字海, and its later history will be our primary concern in section 3. Finally an appendix will deal in some detail with a little known collection of his works dating from 1694, which is exceedingly rare and missing in the relevant bibliographies.

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As detailed biographies of Müller are readily available, we will confine ourselves to a sketch of his life in broad strokes. For a fuller picture, the interested reader is referred to Noack (1995) and Noack / Splett (1997: 272–293) and the references to earlier biographies given therein. Born in 1630 in the town of Greifenhagen (Gryfino) in Pomerania, the wealth of his family ensured him a high-level education, enabling him to enroll himself at the universities of Rostock, Wittenberg, Greifswald and Leiden to study theology and oriental languages. In 1664 Müller became provost in Bernau nearby Berlin, where only three years later he was made provost of St. Nikolai. From the mid-1660s he therefore held posts in the vicinity of the Electoral Library, today's Berlin State Library, which had been opened to the public in 1661. Its growing collection soon became one of the foundations of Müller's scholarly activities, and owing to his knowledge of oriental languages he became regularly involved in the library's business and was eventually given charge of its Chinese collection. During his most productive phase from the mid-1660s to the mid-1680s, he published various larger and numerous smaller works, often concerned with things Chinese from the 1670s onwards, which are difficult to review at present – at the same time they constitute ample materials for future study.

Theological as well as scholarly controversies, dominated by the often mystified *Clavis Sinica* (Key to Chinese) Müller claimed to have developed, eventually lead to the end of Müller's career.<sup>1</sup> Dismissed from his ecclesiastical offices in early 1685 and replaced by Christian Mentzel (1622–1701) in his capacity as curator of the Chinese collection, Müller moved to Stettin (Szczecin) where he had received his early education and where he remained until his death in 1694. Müller's scholarly activities largely ceased during this period, thus leaving us with next to no new publications from the second half of the 1680s onwards. A number of his older writings were however published in several collections up until the early years of the 18th century.

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<sup>1</sup> On the *Clavis Sinica* as well as the controversies surrounding it, see for instance Mungello (1985, especially chapter VII, pp. 208–246).

## 1. Müller's works on Japanese

### 1.1. *Alphabetum Japonicum* (1684)

A work going by the name *Alphabetum Japonicum* (The Japanese alphabet; henceforth *AJ*) is known to us from the following two sources (cf. already Lewin 1999: 94). The first is the introduction to a well-known collection of Müller's works published by Sebastian Gottfried Starck under the title *A καὶ Ω. Alphabeta ac Notæ Diversarum Linguarum pene septuaginta tum & Versiones Orationis Dominicæ prope centum* (Alpha and Omega: Alphabets and characters of various languages amounting to about seventy, thereupon approximately one hundred versions of the Lord's Prayer; Berlin 1703; henceforth *AaN*), which contains a "Catalogus Opusculorum quæ edidit Andreas Mullerus, Greiffenhagius" (Catalogue of the smaller works published by Andreas Müller of Greiffenhagen). Herein we find as its second entry: "*Alphabetum Japonicum* Berl. 1684. 4to" (*The Japanese alphabet*. Berlin, 1684, in quarto).

Numerous entries in Starck's catalogue lack any indication as to their date and place of publication, so that "Berlin 1684" is unlikely to be without foundation and thus appears to be trustworthy. Whether Starck actually saw a copy of this work himself or merely copied the entry from an older list of Müller's works is unknown however.

Our second source is a rather recent one, namely the well-known opening speech of August Müller held on 27.IX.1880 in Szczecin on occasion of the 35th *Philologenversammlung*. The published version contains a bibliography of Andreas Müller's publications, including both works found in libraries in Szczecin and elsewhere at the time of writing as well as works that were merely known to the author from quotes in other sources. Towards the end (1881: XV–XVI) we find the entry already quoted above, but in a section listing works that are found in Starck's "Catalogus" or elsewhere in the earlier literature, the actual publication of which was, however, deemed doubtful by August Müller. Its whereabouts were thus already unknown.

Wherever else any mention of *AJ* is found, it is likewise Starck who clearly served as the source, so that no additional information can be gleaned from these references (cf. for instance Moreri 1732: 434; Jöcher 1751: 725 etc.). At present no copy of *AJ* is known to be extant, thus leaving us without means to ascertain its actual content or its relation to the same author's "Syllabarium Japonicum" – to which we will turn in the following.

1.2. “Syllabarium Japonicum” (1694, 1703)

Fortunately available for study is Müller’s second work on the Japanese script, entitled “Syllabarium Japonicum geminum. E Manuscripto Meakensis alterum; alterum E Sinarum Traditione” (The Japanese Syllabary, twofold: The one from a Meakensian<sup>2</sup> manuscript, the other from a Chinese account; henceforth “SJ”). In recent years three accounts of this work have been published, namely by Komicki (1993), Walravens (1993) and – as the only study devoted exclusively to “SJ” – Lewin (1999), all of which are based on the above-mentioned *Alphabeta ac Notæ* published in 1703.

In fact this was not the first time it was published, however, as another near-identical collection of Müller’s works exists, published approximately a decade earlier by Gottfried Bartsch under the title *Alphabeta Universi Aliâque Affinis Argumenti* (The Alphabets of the World, and other works of related content; Königsberg 1694; henceforth *AU*). The latter appears to be largely unknown and is not even mentioned in the various bibliographies of Müller’s works, including those from Starck (in Müller / Starck 1703) to Müller (1881) up to the most comprehensive one by Noack (1995).

As the difference between the two collections bears little relevance on our discussion of “SJ” itself – which is entirely identical in both – we will not dwell any further on this point here, but rather transfer the discussion to the appendix. Of interest here is however the date of compilation. From Müller’s biography it is not only clear that neither 1703 nor 1694 can be the date of compilation of any of the various smaller works making up the two collections, but also that most of them are unlikely to date from a time after 1685. Now according to Johann Christoph Adelung (1732–1806) and his *Mithridates* (1806: 658) “SJ” was printed in 1680 together with a number of other accounts of writing systems forming the first half of both *AU* and *AaN*:

Noch im Jahre 1680 hatte Müller auch an die 70 verschiedene Schriftarten auf 16 einzelnen theils ganzen theils halben Bogen in Kupfer gestochen heraus gegeben. Sie haben weder Nahmen des Verfassers, noch Ort noch Jahrzahl, sind aber, wie Bayer versichert, in diesem Jahre auf des Verfassers Kosten in 4 erschienen, daher sie sehr unbekannt blieben.

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<sup>2</sup> As already mentioned by Lewin (1999: 95, note 10), this adjective is derived from *miyako* 京 ‘capital’, i.e. Kyōto. Both *meacensis* as an adjective and *Meacus* as the underlying noun are amply attested since the second half of the 16th century in the Latin literature on Japan and its mission.

(In the year 1680 Müller had already published [descriptions of] about seventy writing systems engraved in copper on sixteen partly whole, partly half sheets.<sup>3</sup> They carry neither the name of their author, nor the place or year [of publication], and have therefore remained unknown, but as Bayer assures us, they were published in this year at the author's expenses in quarto.)

He explicitly refers to Theophil Siegfried Bayer (1694–1738) for this piece of information, but the latter's words are much less specific and lack a number of details extrapolated only later by Adelung, who had a copy of both *AU* and *AaN* in front of him.<sup>4</sup> Bayer (1730, I: 45) himself merely writes:

Eodem anno Mullerus etiam versiones precum sanctissimarum et alphabeta omnium gentium Berolini sub personatis Thomae Ludekenii et Hagii Barnimi nominibus dedit. Cuius exemplaria libri quaedam euulgata, alia diu neglecta sunt, donec post aliquot annos Berolini cum vita Mulleri cura Sebastiani Godofredi Starkii in lucem sunt protracta, abolita tamen dedicatione.

(Also in the same year [1680] Müller published in Berlin under the pseudonyms Thomas Ludeken and Hagius Barnimus versions of the most holy prayer and the alphabets of all peoples. Some copies of this book came out, but the others were long neglected until some years later in Berlin when they were brought to light together with [a description of] the life of Müller by the diligence of Sebastian Gottfried Starck, the dedication<sup>5</sup> however done away with.)

The above first and foremost relates the publication of Müller's collection of Lord's Prayers going by the somewhat lengthy name:

*Oratio Orationum. SS. Orationis Dominicæ Versiones præter Authenticam ferè Centum eaq̄ longè emendatiùs quàm antehàc et è probatissimis Auctoribus potius quàm prioribus Collectionibus, Jamq̄ singulæ genuinis Linguae suæ characteribus adeòque magnam partem ex ære ad editionem à Barnimò Hagiò traditæ, editæq̄ à Thoma Ludekenio, Solqv. March.*

(The Prayer of Prayers: Versions of the most holy Lord's Prayer, almost one hundred besides the authentic one, transmitted for publication – in fact heavily improved over those hitherto [published] as well as from the most credible authors rather than from prior collections, and furthermore each in the genuine characters of its language, and the greater part in copper – by Barnimus Hagius and published by Thomas Ludeken of Mark Salzwedel.)

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<sup>3</sup> The short treatises on writing systems usually span either four pages (= half sheet) or eight (= whole sheet), sometimes complemented by additional plates.

<sup>4</sup> Details such as the number of treatises (i.e. 16), the approximate number of scripts treated therein (cf. the full title of *AaN*), their length of usually either four or eight pages and their format (i.e. quarto).

<sup>5</sup> "Dedication", not "Preface" as Lundbæk (1986: 68) translates it, cf. immediately below.

As is evident from the remainder of its title page this collection was published in 1680 in Berlin, together with a dedication to Thomas von Knesebeck (1628–1689) and Levin Friedrich von Bismarck (1623–1696). Another page carries the short title “Orationis Dominicæ Versiones fermè Centum” (About one hundred versions of the Lord’s Prayer), and it is under this briefer one that the entire collection is also included in *AU* and *AaN*. As indicated in the full title, the many versions of the Lord’s Prayer collected in *Oratio Orationum* are not only given in Romanization but in almost all cases also in original script. It was thus a collection of specimens of the known languages but also of their respective writing systems. When Bayer therefore recounts that Müller published “versions of the most holy prayer and the alphabets of all peoples” this simply refers to *Oratio Orationum*. That the brief accounts of writings systems found in *AU* and *AaN* cannot be meant by Bayer is also obvious from the fact that these were not published under the pseudonyms Ludeken and Hagius – only *Oratio Orationum* was (and an addition to it, this however merely gives the name of Hagius).

Note also that Bayer nowhere mentions any of the other works contained in Starck’s *AaN* besides *Oratio Orationum* and Müller’s vita. If the works on coin inscriptions and geography at the end of *AaN* are ignored, there is no need for the accounts of writing systems to turn up here either – Bayer was simply focusing on *Oratio Orationum* and on the fact that it was contained and therefore made known again in *AaN*.

Adelung’s account thus appears to be based on a misreading of Bayer’s admittedly somewhat misleading words, mixed with his knowledge pertaining to the actual content of *AU* and *AaN*. There is thus no actual evidence that any of the brief works on scripts was published in 1680. Possible corroborative evidence for this conclusion comes from a catalogue of Müller’s published and unpublished works up to exactly that year, which makes no mention of any of them either.<sup>6</sup> As we will see below, 1680 would have been an impossible date for “SJ” anyhow, as one of Müller’s main sources was not yet available until 1683. At

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<sup>6</sup> It is entitled “Andreae Mülleri Greiffenhagii de Sinensium Rebus aliaque nonnulla Opuscula” (Several smaller works on things Chinese and others by Andreas Müller of Greifenhagen), listed in Starck’s catalogue as “*Catalogus opusculorum auctoris usque ad Añum 1680. editorum & ineditorum*” (Catalogue of the published and unpublished smaller works of the author up until the year 1680). The dating seems safe: It cannot be earlier than 1680 as this is the year of publication of one of the listed works (#16), and likewise it can hardly be of later date as Theodor Haak (1604–1690) already presented it to the Royal Society of London in early 1682 (cf. Birch 1757: 127f.). All this is inconclusive however as the catalogue does likewise not contain some works that had already been published for certain, such as Müller 1665 or his Marco Polo edition of 1671.

least as far as “SJ” is concerned, the possible time frame for its time of writing thus appears to be 1683–1685, with the year 1684 and thus that of the publication of *AJ* in the middle.

As further pieces of information relating to either the exact date of writing or the relation between *AJ* and “SJ” are lacking, we will now turn to the content of the work itself. First, a translation of the original Latin main text into English will be provided in the following, accompanied by a number of annotations. The original will be found in the form of plates [1] to [6] at the end of the present article.

### 1.3. Translation of “Syllabarium Japonicum”

<page 1> (= plate [1])

The Japanese Syllabary, twofold:

The one from a Meakensian manuscript, the other from a Chinese account.

<page 2> (= plate [2])

#### The Japanese Syllabary

Japanese ms.	Chin. dict.	Duret	Japanese ms.	Chin. dict.	Duret
1. Y.		I.	25. I.		I.
2. Po.		Bo.	26. No.		Xo.
3. Fa.	<i>Pa.</i> [罷]	Fa.	27. Wo.		U.
4. Ni.		Ni.	28. Lu.	<i>Ku.</i> [古]	Qu.
5. Pho.	<i>Pu.</i> [布]	Fo.	29. Ja.	<i>Ya.</i> [牙]	La.
6. Phe.	<i>Pe.</i> [比]	Fe.	30. Ma.		Ma.
7. To.	<i>Tu.</i> [度]	Lo.	31. Qve.		Ke.
8. 'tSy.	<i>Chi.</i> [知]	Ci.	32. Fu.	<i>Pu.</i> [不]	Fu.
9. Ri.	<i>Li.</i> [利]	Bi.	33. Co.		Co.
10. Mou.		Nu.	34. Je.		E.
11. Pou.		Bu.	35. Le.		Te.
12. O.		Vo.	36. A.	<i>O.</i> [惡]	A.
13. We.		Va.	37. Ca.		Sa.
14. Ka.		Ca.	38. Qi.	<i>Ki.</i> [其]	Ky.
15. Sa.	<i>Yeu.</i> [有]	Jo.	39. Ju.		Ju.
16. Ta.		Ta.	40. Me.		Me.
17. Ve.		Be.	41. Mi.		Mi.
18. 'tSo.		çu.	42. Xi.		Si.
19. 'tSu.	<i>çu.</i> [子]	Cu.	43. Je.		Je.
20. Ne.	<i>Ni.</i> [尼]	Ne.	44. Fi.		Fi.
21. Na.		Na.	45. Mo.		Mu.
22. Wa.		Ba.	46. Se.	<i>Xi.</i> [世]	Ce.
23. Moe.		Mu.	47. Zu.		Su.
24. Wou.		U.	48. O.		Kio.

<page 3> (= plate [3])

On the reading of the Japanese script

1. The Japanese make use of two types of script:
  - a. of the Chinese, about which [is written] elsewhere;<sup>7</sup>
  - b. of the Japanese, which is [dealt with] here.

2. The former is carried out with Chinese characters, albeit somewhat altered and mutilated;<sup>8</sup> the latter with *syllabic* letters rather than *alphabetic* ones.

3. There are 48 syllables.<sup>9</sup>

4. Each syllable has two forms:

5. The former listing is from a Meakensian manuscript while the latter is from a Chinese account.<sup>10</sup>

6. The latter shows a fairly careless midwife. For the Chinese do not make much of foreign matters, so as to not appear as being interested.

7. The former, as it originates from a Japanese hand, is much more accurate.

8. In the manuscript the respective letters are expressed by six Chinese characters, the meanings of these characters are in turn explained in Japanese letters.<sup>11</sup>

9. Moreover I have expressed here the names [= sound values] of the letters or syllables in three ways,<sup>12</sup> namely:

- a. in reliance on the [Meakensian] manuscript.

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<sup>7</sup> Chinese is not treated *in extenso* in either *AU* or *AaN*. This must therefore refer to any of Müller's other Sinological works instead.

<sup>8</sup> In his manuscript source he had somewhat cursive character forms before him. In comparison to the *kāishū* 楷書 forms he was acquainted with from Chinese prints these might indeed appeared to be "somewhat altered and mutilated". Most other early Western sources to reproduce specimens of Japanese likewise show cursive writing, at times "mutilated" by a Western hand. For instance Müller was certainly aware of the specimens first published in the Jesuits' *Cartas* (1570: cjv.b–cvij.a, clxj.a–clxiiij.b) and in numerous other publications afterwards. The same is true for the letter reproduced by Purchas (1625, I: 375), from whom Müller quotes on other occasions.

He also came into the possession of Japanese manuscripts and/or prints at some point. Among the "rare oriental manuscripts" he donated to the library of Marienstiftsgymnasium in Stettin for instance there were "Fragmenta IV. Iapanica", i.e. four fragments of Japanese works (Ebert 1783: X).

<sup>9</sup> I.e. the 47 syllables of the *iroha* poem followed by *kyō* 京, as it is found in both of Müller's sources (but not in Duret).

<sup>10</sup> See the right half of plate [5] and the entire plate [6] respectively.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. below on the Meakensian manuscript, which is meant here. This has nothing to do with the "Exempla Lectionum" in the left half of plate [5], as assumed by Lewin (1999: 98, note 20).

<sup>12</sup> This refers to the table "The Japanese Syllabary" on page 2. Note that the Romanizations from the manuscript and from Duret are mixed up in the second half of the table (cf. below for details).



b. then in the manner of their Mandarin pronunciation with which the Chinese author indicated each.

c. lastly as in Duret, *Thresor*,<sup>13</sup> pages 913ff.

10. Beware however, not to think of the syllables, which Duret assigned to the Japanese letters in the place cited, that these [here] are to be assigned to those. For he confused them all, as is revealed, if one is not reluctant to compare his edition with the present one, as I have restored each single one herein.

11. The Japanese letters in Roman order

	A.	36.		Ka.	14.	25.	Ne.	20.		Ta.	16.
	Ce.	46.		Ke.	31.		Ni.	4.		Te.	35.
	Co.	33.	15.	Kio.	48.		No.	26.	40.	To.	7.
	E.	34.		Ky.	38.		O.	12.	[40.]	'tSo.	18
5.	Fa.	3.		Lu.	28.		Phe.	6.		'tSu.	19.
	Fe.	20.		Ma.	30.	30.	Pho.	5.		'tSy.	8.
	Fi.	44.		Me.	40.		Po.	2.		Ve.	17
	Fu.	32.	20.	Mi.	41.		Pou.	11.		Wa.	13. 22.
	I.	25.		Moe.	23.		Ri.	9.	[45.]	Wo.	27.
10.	Ja.	29.		Mou.	10.		Sa.	15.	37. <sup>14</sup>	Wou.	24.
	Je.	43.		Mu.	45.	[35.]	Si.	42.		Y.	1.
	Ju.	39.		Na.	21.		Su.	47.			

<page 4> (= plate [4])

12. In place of numbers either purely Japanese readings or Chinese characters and readings are used.

13. The former they call *Jomi*, the latter *Coje*.<sup>15</sup> See the table [in the section] *Notæ Numerorum Illiteratæ*.<sup>16</sup>

15.<sup>17</sup> Examples of readings

(a) from the Japanese manuscript: five, which are to be read thus:

<sup>13</sup> I.e. Duret (1613/1619: 913–915). While the original title of Duret's work, *Thresor de l'histoire des langues de cest vnivers*, appears to suggest that Müller's abbreviation "Thes." is an error for "Thres.", this is not actually the case – it is rather an abbreviation of the Latinized title "Thesaurus (linguarum universi)". Cf. Müller's list of collectors of versions of the Lord's Prayer at the beginning of his own collection, where it is listed as "Claud. Duretus, in Thesauro LL. universi, Gall."

<sup>14</sup> Probably an error for "47" – but in fact this is only number 46, just as "40" is only number 39.

<sup>15</sup> I.e. Japanese proper (*kun'yomi* 訓読み, formerly simply *yomi* 訓) versus Sino-Japanese (*on'yomi* 音読み, formerly *ko[ye]* 音). Cf. below on the probable source, namely Collado's grammar.

<sup>16</sup> This is the final section in the first half of both *AU* and *AaV* and deals with a number of systems representing numerals. We will come back to this section further below as an explicit reference to Japanese is found here as well.

<sup>17</sup> The numbers jump directly from 13 to 15. The error is retained here for easier reference to the original.

<i>Chinese</i>	<i>Japanese</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>Latin</i>
San [参]	<i>Mitcu</i>	Tres ‘three’
Gin [仁]	<i>Násaqe</i>	Pietas ‘piety’
Li [利]	<i>Ri</i>	Lucrum ‘profit’
Ma [馬]	<i>Coma</i>	Eqvus ‘horse’
Mu [母]	<i>Faua</i>	Mater ‘mother’

(b) from a Chinese dictionary, explained in Japanese (however in Chinese characters):<sup>19</sup> thirteen. These were in fact already shown before in the table.<sup>20</sup>

#### 1.4. The sources of “SJ” and its process of compilation

Naturally the question arises as to what Müller’s sources were: Duret’s *Thresor* is mentioned explicitly and therefore poses no problem, but what about the rest? Referred to in the text are a “Meakensian” or simply Japanese manuscript as well as a Chinese dictionary, which served as the source for the two versions of the *iroha* as well as for most of the examples of words. Furthermore Müller’s knowledge as to the distinction of *Jomi* and *Coje* in #13 is also in need of an explanation.

Despite Kraft’s (1976: 98f.) words of praise for Müller’s way of citing the works of others and giving references *in general*, the sources for “SJ” are not apparent at first glance. Lewin (1999: 102f.) concludes rather pessimistically that the questions concerning these sources will have to remain unanswered. Owing to Kornicki (1993), however, one source had already been identified at the time of Lewin’s study and, as will become apparent below, it is likewise possible to pinpoint the remainder.

<sup>18</sup> Note that the orthography of these Japanese words (<tcu>, i.e. <tçu>, for *tsu*, <qe> for *ke*) is reminiscent of the missionaries’ Romanization of Japanese, especially that of Collado due to the use of the acute accent mark in the word *Násaqe*.

<sup>19</sup> I.e. a Chinese headword is given, such as *nián* 年 ‘year’, which is “explained” in or translated into Japanese, the latter of which is however given in Chinese characters as well: *duōshī* 多失 for *toshi* ‘year’.

<sup>20</sup> The order of the text and plate portions of “SJ” vary from copy to copy. Müller’s wording (“jam ante”) suggests however that the plates were not supposed to be placed at the end, as in the Dresden copy of *AU*, but rather as in the Wolfenbüttel copy of *AaV* for instance. Here the plates are inserted right after the comparative table and thus precede the entire explanatory section. We will stick to the order found in *AU* herein, merely as to preserve the arrangement of the copy used.

#### 1.4.1. The Meakensian manuscript

Blessed with the opportunity to purchase either Müller’s actual source or at least a near-identical one in 1988, Kornicki (1993: esp. 513–515) has already clarified the exact nature of the manuscript referred to as “Meakensian” by Müller. It is based on any of the popular primers known under the name *Nanatsu iroha* 七ッいろは (Sevenfold *iroha*), which contain the *iroha* poem, usually with *kyō* 京 added, each of its syllables being followed by six Chinese characters of identical or at least similar reading.<sup>21</sup> The same is usually repeated for the basic numerals. Additional materials that may or may not be present include, among others, another *iroha* in *katakana*, the stems and branches of the sexagenary cycle, a list of radicals, of characters used in personal names or of province names for instance.<sup>22</sup>

In the “Catalogus Sinicorum & aliorum Orientalium rariorum librorum & Manuscriptorum qui ab Andr. Müllero bibliothecæ Marianæ sunt donati & h. t. adsunt” (Catalogue of Chinese and other oriental rare books and manuscripts which were donated by Andreas Müller to the library of Marienstiftsgymnasium and which are currently there; Ebert 1783: VIII–XI) we meet with what Kornicki (1993: 515) has already identified – certainly correctly – as the Meakensian manuscript (section on “Rare oriental manuscripts”, item #11):

*Alphabetum Iapanicum Sinice explicatum* Fol. Perg. Band in *Miacko* gekauft.

(*The Japanese alphabet, explained in Chinese*. In folio, parchment-bound, bought in Miyako.)

The reference to the place of purchase coincides with the Dutch inscription Kornicki’s exemplar carries on its title page – “Japans a, b, c, boek, in Miako gekogt” (Japanese ABC book, bought in Miyako [i.e. Kyōto]) –, while the addition “Sinice explicatum” refers to what Müller writes in “SJ”, #8, namely that in this manuscript “the respective letters are expressed by six Chinese characters”.

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<sup>21</sup> The first *iroha* is often given in *hiragana*, just as in Müller’s manuscript, but at times also in seal script for instance (or even both). The six (sometimes seven) Chinese characters added to this all have readings identical to or at least commencing with the syllable in question, be they Sino-Japanese or purely Japanese. Note that these six characters do *not* necessarily have to be ones that were used phonographically to represent that syllable, although the set of phonograms and the characters given often show some overlapping elements.

<sup>22</sup> Kornicki’s manuscript has the *iroha* in *hiragana* (plus *kyō*) with six additional characters each, followed by the numerals from one to ten, the sexagenary cycle and another *iroha* in *katakana*.

The provenance of Müller's manuscript is uncertain, but he might indeed have received it from Nicolaas Witsen (1641–1717) as suggested by the German – but clearly non-native – inscription on the fly-leaf of Kornicki's manuscript (cf. Kornicki 1993: 514):

Die Copie dieser Japanischen Alphabets ist wie, ich glaube von V. Witsen gemacht und an Andr. Müller nach Berlin geschickt worden. Ich habe sie mit mir in Siberien gehabt und mit dem Japanese Nicalaus Kolotichin, durch gegengen. In Jahre .1806.

(The [= A?] copy of these Japanese alphabets [?] was, as I believe, made by Nicolaas Witsen and sent to Andreas Müller in Berlin. I had it [them?] with me in Siberia and went through it with the Japanese Nikolaj Kolotygin. In the year 1806.)

The exact meaning of this statement is somewhat difficult to establish, but it merely appears to say that Müller was provided with a copy of the same (kind of) Japanese syllabary (book) as is copied in this manuscript.

A near-identical work – including the German inscription – was also in the possession of Orientalist Julius Klaproth (1783–1835), in the catalogue of whose library we read (Landresse 1839, II: 55, #220):

SETSI I RO FA TE FON; Manuel des sept alphabets. In-fol., cart. (*Manuscrit.*)

Syllabaire japonais en caractères cursifs *Katakana* et *Firokana*, extrait d'un petit volume in-fol., imprimé à Miyako en 1703, lequel contient en effet sept syllabaires; en *Firokana* d'abord, puis six autres dans cette espèce de caractères chinois cursifs, appelés *Yamato kana*, servant à représenter des syllabes japonaises, et à droite desquels on lit, en japonais *Firokana*, la signification qu'ils ont en chinois. Notre manuscrit, qui est d'une belle main, est accompagné de transcriptions en lettres latines. M. Klaproth, dans une note qu'il a jointe au volume, pense que cette copie est la même que celle qui a été faite par le célèbre Witsen pour l'envoyer à André Müller; elle contient en effet quelques corrections de la main de ce dernier. M. Klaproth, qui en est devenu possesseur pendant son voyage en Sibérie, en 1806, y a fait à cette époque d'autres corrections et quelques additions importantes, avec le secours du Japonais Sin sou, baptisé sous le nom de Nicolas Kolotichin.

(*Shichi* [i.e. *Nanatsu*] *iroha tehon*; Manual of seven alphabets. In folio, boards. Manuscript.

The Japanese syllabary in cursive characters, *katakana* and *hiragana*, extracted from a small folio volume printed in Miyako in 1703, which indeed contains seven syllabaries: first in *hiragana*, then six more in the sort of cursive Chinese characters used to represent Japanese syllables, called *Yamatokana*, and to the right of them one reads, in Japanese *hiragana*, the meaning they have

in Chinese. Our manuscript, which is in a beautiful hand, is accompanied by transcriptions in Latin letters. Mr. Klaproth, in a note appended to the volume, thinks that this copy is the same as the one that was made by the famous Witsen to send it to Andreas Müller. It indeed contains some corrections in the hand of the latter. Mr. Klaproth, who became the owner during his trip to Siberia in 1806, had made at that time other corrections and some important additions, with the help of the Japanese Sinzō, baptized under the name of Nikolaj Kolotygin.)

After the sale of Klaproth's library, the "Manuel" entered the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris where it is still found under the shelfmark Japonais 320 (Kosugi 1992: 93, #22). The underlying work of 1703 referred to in the quote is undoubtedly the "*Sitsi i ro fa te fon* 七以呂波手本" Klaproth (1829: 21f.) had earlier mentioned to have acquired in Irkutsk. Notably however this work is said to comprise something entirely absent in both Kornicki's manuscript and the "Manuel" in Paris, namely an explanatory text treating the origin of the various styles of writing used in Japan.<sup>23</sup>

In any case it appears that Kornicki's manuscript is after all a copy of the Paris "Manuel", probably executed during the 19th century: Not only are the portions in original script generally executed considerably better in the latter, a number of errors in the German note are likewise only present in the former but not in the latter.<sup>24</sup> Whoever copied it, neither his Japanese handwriting nor his level of proficiency in German was anywhere close to that of the original writer(s). Further studies are however required to clarify the exact relationship between Kornicki's manuscript and the Paris one, as well as the roles Witsen, Müller, Klaproth and Jan Potocki (cf. Kornicki 1993: 515, note 47) played in their acquisition, creation, duplication and transmission – for it goes without saying that, for instance, Müller could not possibly have had a copy of a work printed as late as 1703 in front of him.

Returning to "SJ" now, the first *iroha* (right half of plate [5]) plus the final *kyō* 京 is an almost exact copy of the one found on top of the pages of the Meakensian manuscript – as would be expected from Müller's explanation. The way most of syllabograms are written coincides completely. Next there are the five examples to the left of the first *iroha*, each consisting of a Chinese character and accompanying *furigana* reading aids (cf. plate [5]).

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<sup>23</sup> Shinmura (1910 [1972: 567]; 1914: 405 [1973: 317]) is probably to be credited for first pointing out that Japonais 320 and the *Sitsi i ro fa te fon* mentioned in Klaproth 1829 are somehow related. His equation of the two is untenable however in light of the discrepancies in content between them.

<sup>24</sup> For instance Japonais 320 correctly writes "N. Witsen", "Berlin", "Sibirien", "Japaner", "Nicolaus" and "Im Jahre".

These were likewise copied from the manuscript (cf. #15a) and connect to what Müller explains in #8: “In the manuscript the respective letters are expressed by six Chinese characters, the meanings of these characters are in turn explained in Japanese letters.” This is indeed what we find in the various *Nanatsu iroha*, i.e. six (near-)homophonous characters are given for every syllable of the *iroha*, *kyō* and the numerals, which in turn are provided with readings in *furigana*. Judging from the two Meakensian manuscripts the picture in the underlying *Nanatsu iroha* must have been as follows:

	これ	かしこまる	こゝろ	くわしく	ことなり	よろし
い	伊	畏	意	委	異	位
	みち	こゝろ	いろり	もるゝ	つゆ	こもる
ろ	路	慮	爐	漏	露	籠
	なかば	なみ	はね	はし	やぶるゝ	よう
は	半	波	羽	端	破	葉
	あかし	ひと	になふ	みゝ	いる	ちご
に	丹	仁	荷	耳	入	児
	...					
	さと	とし	ことほり	すもゝ	なし	うら
り	里	利	理	李	梨	裏
	...					
	みつる	あひだ	あさ	むま	まこと	すゑ
ま	滿	間	麻	馬	真	末
	...					
	しげる	け	うみのも	はゝ	もすぞ	もつとも
も	茂	毛	藻	母	裳	最
	...					
	まいる	かぞふる	ひとへ	のこす	やま	ほむる
三	參	算	衫	殘	山	讚
	...					

There can be no doubt that the five characters 參仁利馬母 together with their readings in *hiragana* were indeed taken directly from the Meakensian manuscript. Whether compared to Kornicki’s manuscript (the five characters from which are reproduced below) or the one in Paris, both the character forms and added readings are identical in “SJ”.



Now as pointed out by Kornicki (1993: 516) and Lewin (1999: 102, note 25), the readings in original script do not however match those given in the explanatory text – which will lead us straight to the next source below. The Meakensian manuscript was however not

merely a source of specimens of *kana* and Chinese characters. It also served as Müller’s main source to establish the sound values of the syllabograms, on the basis of which he discovered one major problem in Claude Duret’s (ca. 1570–1611) *iroha* as found in his posthumously published *Thresor de l’histoire des langves de cest vnivers* (The treasury of the history of the languages of this universe; 1613 and 1619; see pp. 913–915 herein):<sup>25</sup> While the original in *hiragana* follows the usual order of the *iroha*, the Romanizations are almost entirely misplaced, reducing its practical value to zero.<sup>26</sup>

The following table provides a comparison between Müller’s “Roman order”, rearranged into *iroha* order here, the Romanizations found in the Meakensian manuscript<sup>27</sup> and those found in Duret. The latter two are given in two versions: the first (with prefixed “M”) following “SJ” and its table “The Japanese Syllabary” (cf. plate [2]), the second as in the original manuscripts and in Duret (1613/1619) respectively.

number	M: Ordo R.	M: Meak.	Meak. ms.	M: Duret	Duret	number	M: Ordo R.	M: Meak.	Meak. ms.	M: Duret	Duret
1	Y	Y	y	I	I	25	I	I	j / ý	I	I
2	Po	Po	po / po > ro	Bo	BO	26	No	No	no	Xo	NO
3	Fa	Fa	fa	Fa	FA	27	Wo	Wo	wo	U	ŪO
4	Ni	Ni	ni	Ni	NI	28	Lu	Lu	lù / kù	Qu	ŪV
5	Pho	Pho	pho / pho > fo	Fo	FO	29	Ja	Ja	ja / ýa	La	IA
6	Phe	Phe	phe / phe > fe	Fe	FE	30	Ma	Ma	ma	Ma	MA
7	To	To	to	Lo	LO	31	Ke	Qve	ke	Ke	QVE
8	'tSy	'tSy	'tsy	Ci	CI	32	Fu	Fu	fù	Fu	FV
9	Ri	Ri	ri	Bi	BI	33	Co	Co	co / ko	Co	CO
10	Mou	Mou	mou > nu / mou > nu	Nu	NV	34	E	Je	e / ye	E	IE
11	Pou	Pou	pou > ru	Bu	BV	35	Te	Le	te	Te	LE
12	O	O	o	Vo	VO	36	A	A	a	A	A
13	Wa	We	wa	Va	VA	37	—	Ca	sa	Sa	CA
14	Ka	Ka	ka	Ca	CA	38	Ky	Qi	ky / ki	Ky	QI

<sup>25</sup> Despite numerous claims to the contrary, Duret was not the first to publish this. Instead his materials on Japanese originate from Blaise de Vigenère (1523–1596) – whose cousin Duret was – and his *Traicté des chiffres* (Treatise on ciphers). This work was published in 1586 with the page reserved for the Japanese script left blank, but it was supplemented with what is later found in Duret’s work in the following year. See especially Maillard (1982) and Fukushima (1983).

<sup>26</sup> The syllabary is arranged in six columns consisting of seven syllables and a final one of five. These columns have to be read in the order 3-4-5-6-1-2-7 however to produce the *iroha* correctly. *Kana* and sound values therefore never match apart from the final column.

<sup>27</sup> Whenever the two manuscripts do not coincide, the Romanizations of both are provided (separated by a slash, with “Manuel” being given first).

number	M: Ordo R.	M: Meak.	Meak. ms.	M: Duret	Duret	number	M: Ordo R.	M: Meak.	Meak. ms.	M: Duret	Duret
15	Sa	Sa	<sup>?</sup> sa <sup>28</sup>	Jo	IO	39	Ju	Ju	jú / you	Ju	IV
16	Ta	Ta	ta	Ta	TA	40	Me	Me	me	Me	ME
17	Ve	Ve	<sup>?</sup> ve / ve > re	Be	BE	41	Mi	Mi	mi	Mi	MI
18	<sup>?</sup> tSo	<sup>?</sup> tSo	<sup>?</sup> tso / <sup>?</sup> tso > so	çu	ÇO	42	Si	Xi	si	Si	XI
19	<sup>?</sup> tSu	<sup>?</sup> tSu	<sup>?</sup> tsú	Cu	CV	43	Je	Je	je	Je	IE
20	Fe, Ne	Ne	ne	Ne	NE	44	Fi	Fi	fi	Fi	FI
21	Na	Na	na	Na	NA	45	Mu	Mo	mú > mo / mo	Mu	MO
22	Wa	Wa	<sup>?</sup> wa > ra / ra	Ba	BA	46	Ce	Se	ce / se	Ce	SE
23	Moe	Moe	moe / mou	Mu	MV	47	Su	Zu	sú	Su	ZV
24	Wou	Wou	wou / ou	U	V	48	Kio	O	kio	Kio	—

Lewin (1999: 98, note 21) has already pointed out a number of errors in Müller's original table, but failed to notice that in the latter half the contents of the two columns are inverted: With the exception of #28 and #48, the column intended to follow the Meakensian manuscript actually gives Duret's Romanization. This can be shown by comparing the columns with the Romanizations in Duret's work, but is likewise indicated by Müller's "Roman order", which coincides with the column for the manuscript in the first half, but with that of Duret in the second half.

Leaving Duret aside we can clearly observe Müller's reliance on the manuscript: The Romanization he gives as that of the Meakensian manuscript does indeed coincide with what is found in the "Manuel" (and, though to a lesser degree, with what Kornicki's manuscript has). Note however that the corrections found for some syllables (#2, #5, #6 etc.) are nowhere reflected in "SJ" and are thus likely of a more recent date. Müller follows the original transcriptions throughout.

#### 1.4.2. Diego Collado's dictionary and grammar

Among the linguistic byproducts of the Christian century there are not many works that were made available early to Western scholars. Virtually the only exceptions are the works

<sup>28</sup> The manuscript indeed has something here that might be read *sa* (or even *fa*), written however with long *s*, i.e. <ſ>. This <ſ> probably stems from a misread <j> so that we may assume an original gloss *jo* for an earlier stage of transmission. In any case it should have been obvious to Müller that the manuscript is in error here, as Duret (*IO*, Müller's *Jo*) and the Chinese source (*Yeu* 有) coincide here.



of the Spanish missionary Diego Collado, especially his *Ars grammaticæ Iaponicæ lingvæ* (A grammar of the Japanese language) and *Dictionarivm sive thesavri lingvæ Iaponicæ compendivm* (Dictionary or compendium of the treasures of the Japanese language), both published in Rome in 1632. Apart from the fact that they were published in Europe and therefore the most widespread sources on Japanese for about two centuries to come, there is another important aspect regarding the dictionary that deserves attention: It is one of only two missionary dictionaries in which Japanese is the *target* language, whereas Latin is the source language. As long as one knew the desired word in Latin, one could therefore easily look up its Japanese equivalent using Collado – something virtually impossible with the Japanese–Portuguese *Vocabvlario da lingoa de Iapam* (Vocabulary of the Japanese language; Nagasaki 1603–1604) for instance.

Indeed, if we now look up the five Latin words quoted under #15a in Collado’s *Dictionarivm*, we find exactly the same equivalents as those given by Müller:

<i>Syllabarium Japonicum</i>					Collado
A1	A2	B1	B2	B3	
		<i>Sin.</i>	<i>Japan.</i>	<i>Latin.</i>	
參	まいる	San.	<i>Mitcu.</i>	Tres.	<i>Tres, tria, tres.</i> みつゝ. [参・三] (343)
仁	ひと	Gin.	<i>Násaqe.</i>	Pietas.	<i>Pietas, tis: piedad, násaqe.</i> [情け] (101)
利	とし	Li.	<i>Ri.</i>	Lucrum.	<i>Lucrum: ganancia: ri.</i> [利] (75)
馬	むま	Ma.	<i>Coma</i>	Eqvus.	<i>Equus, i: cauallo: coma: mma.</i> [馬] (42)
母	はゝ	Mu.	<i>Faua.</i>	Mater.	<i>Mater, tris, madre, faua, vel, fafa.</i> [母] (79)

What Müller apparently did in compiling this is the following: He selected a few characters from the Meakensian manuscript (A1+A2) of which he knew both the Chinese reading (B1) and meaning (B3). Translation of these meanings into Latin easily yielded the corresponding Romanized words as given in Collado (B2). That A2 and B2 do not match is thus not surprising – and even if equipped with Duret, the manuscript and his Chinese source there would have been no chance for Müller to decipher the *hiragana* reading aids (A2) in their entirety.

We will come back to *Dictionarivm* presently in our discussion of the remainder of plate [5], but let us turn to Collado’s *Ars* first. In #12 and #13 Müller points out the existence of purely Japanese as well as Sino-Japanese numerals, the “former they call *Jomi*, the latter *Coje*.” Now in fact Collado tells his readers as much right at the outset of his chapter on numerals (1632a: 66):

DVo sunt modi numerandi in lingua ista Iaponica primus est per numeralia communia propria ipsius linguæ, quæ vocant, *iomî*, & hæc perueniunt solum vsque ad decem: v.g. *fitôtçu* vnum, [...]

Secundus modus numerandi est per vocabula, *coie*, idest mēdicata a lingua Chinensi, hoc verò non vtuntur vsque ad decem per se; nisi rebus numeratis adiungantur, quæ quidem res debent significari vocabulis etiam Chinēsibus; & non Iaponijs. termini numerales sunt, *ichi*, vnum, [...]

(There are two ways of counting in the Japanese language. The first is by means of the ordinary numerals, particular to their own language, which they call *iomî* and which go only up until ten: for instance *fitôtçu* ‘one’, [...].)

The second way of counting is by means of *coie* vocables, i.e. [vocables] received from the Chinese language. These are not used up to ten by themselves, unless they are joined to the things to be counted, which must likewise be expressed by Chinese and not Japanese vocables. The terms for numerals are *ichi* ‘one’, [...].)

Therefore, while Collado is nowhere explicitly mentioned in “SJ”, his works were doubtlessly involved in the process of its compilation. In fact, further implicit, as well as even an explicit reference to Collado can be found elsewhere in Müller’s opus from the 1660s onwards; these will be examined below. Finally, at least for Collado’s dictionary, the copy formerly in the possession of Müller still exists and its whereabouts are known.<sup>29</sup>

#### 1.4.3. *Zihǎi* 字海

The second *iroha* (plate [6]) betrays its non-Japanese provenance at first glance. For one thing the *kana* are all heavily distorted and lack the appearance of an authentic specimen of the script. Each and every one of them is however also accompanied by a certain indicator that we are

泄	沙	去	倚	子	哇	度	以
庇	其	不	怒	尼	加	知	路
母	又	孤	窩	那	有	利	罷
世	未	依	末	刺	他	奴	尼
是	美	的	古	武	呂	而	布
敵	實	惡	牙	烏	甦	倭	比

dealing with not merely any foreign source here, but a Chinese one: namely the glosses following the format “~字”. Despite the claims of Kornicki (1993: 516), Walravens (1993: 397), and Lewin (1999: 104 etc.) these glosses do *not* indicate the original Chinese character each *hiragana* was considered to be derived from – as Müller already correctly mentions (#9b), these are reading glosses, indicating the pronunciation of the syllabograms by means of a character with a similar reading in Chinese.

<sup>29</sup> See Kajdański (1989: 16), who discovered it in the University of Warsaw Library.

Now as with the Meakensian manuscript only vague references such as to a “Chinese dictionary” are given by Müller, and this time the case is not as trivial as with Collado. An important clue is the rather strange appearance of the second *iroha*. Lewin (1999: 104–106) could not discover any satisfactory parallels between the *kana* forms of this *iroha* and any known *hentaigana*,<sup>30</sup> Chinese characters in grass script or the various God Age scripts of the Edo period, but assumed a non-Japanese writer, not excluding Müller himself as a possible candidate. Why however would these deformations only apply to *one* of the two syllabaries given, if they were due to Müller himself?

There are no known texts written in these “quasi-*hiragana*”, Lewin says, and actual texts are indeed highly unlikely to exist. Now there is in fact however an abundance of sources in Japan, China as well as Europe to feature specimens of the Japanese script in the form of the *iroha* and with the same or at least a rather similar appearance. The undoubtedly still incomplete list of such works comprises for instance:

	year	title	source
Europe	1694, 1703	A. Müller: Syllabarium Japonicum	< <i>Zihāi</i> [= YZ]
	1734	T. S. Bayer: <i>Sermo cum duobus Japonensibus</i>	< <i>Häipiān</i> [= HT]
	1748	B. Schultze: <sup>31</sup> <i>Orientalisch- und Occidentalischer Sprachmeister &amp;c.</i> , pp. 134f.; also 1769: 134f.	< Bayer
	1829	J. Klaproth: “Sur l’introduction de l’usage des Caractères chinois au Japon”, plate	< WSZ
	1862, 1869	L. de Rosny: “Notice sur l’écriture au Japon” (1862), plate XXIX; also 1869: 238	< WSZ
	1865	ditto: <i>Grammaire Japonaise</i> (2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.), plate IV	< WSZ
Japan	1693	Matsushita Kenrin 松下見林: <i>Ishō Nihon-den</i> 異稱日本傳 A.III/68a–69a, B.VII/38a–38b	< SH, YZ
	1712	Terajima Ryōan 寺島良安: <i>Wakan Sansai zue</i> 倭漢三才圖會 (WSZ) XV/36a	< SH
	1736	Zenchō 全長: <i>Irohajikōroku</i> 以呂波字考録 II/37b–38a, 38a–39a	< WSZ, < HZ

<sup>30</sup> See however Kanmura’s (2010: 122–125, 126) careful comparison, which shows that despite the un-authentic appearance, if seen in its entirety many *kana* do in fact correspond well to known *hentaigana*.

<sup>31</sup> We merely follow the traditional attribution of this work to Benjamin Schultze (1689–1760) here. While Schultze signed the first preface and indeed appears to have taken part in its compilation (cf. Adelung 1806: 668–670) – when it was posthumously republished as *Orientalisch- und Occidentalisches A, B, C-Buch* in 1769 (excluding however the second half of the 1748 edition, i.e. the collection of Lord’s Prayers), Schultze’s name is even indicated on the title page –, it was printed by Christian Friedrich Geßner and it was him who had already collected and published a considerable portion of the contents of *Sprachmeister* during the 1740s – and should thus be credited as the first editor. We will return to *Sprachmeister*, its process of compilation as well as its sources on another occasion.

	year	title	source
	1754	Monnō 文雄: <i>Waji taikanshō</i> 和字大觀抄 I/29b	< SH
	1801	Senge Toshizane 千家俊信: <i>Nihon moji denrai-kō</i> 日本文字伝来考, unpaginated <sup>32</sup>	< SH, YZ
	1821	Ban Naokata 伴直方: <i>Iroha-kō</i> 以呂波考 17a–b, 22a–b	< SH, HX
	1826	Yamada Shōsai 山田松齋: <i>Kana-kō hoi</i> 國字攷補遺 (23b–24a), 25a–b	< (SH), HX
	1850	Ban Nobutomo 伴信友: <i>Kana-no motosue</i> 假字本末 II/5a–6a	< SH, YZ
China	1376 <sup>33</sup>	Táo Zōngyí 陶宗儀: <i>Shūshǐ huìyào</i> 書史會要 (SH)	
	1534 <sup>34</sup>	Chén Kǎn 陳侃: <i>Shǐ Liúqiú lù</i> 使琉球錄 (SLL)	
	1579	Xiāo Chóngyè 蕭崇業: <i>Shǐ Liúqiú lù</i> 使琉球錄 (SLL)	
	1606	Xià Ziyáng 夏子陽: <i>Shǐ Liúqiú lù</i> 使琉球錄 (SLL)	
	ca. 1600	<i>Hǎipiān xīnjìng</i> 海篇心鏡 (HX; 1596) <i>Hǎipiān zhèngzōng</i> 海篇正宗 (HZ; 1598) <i>Hǎipiān cháo zōng</i> 海篇朝宗 (HC) <i>Hǎipiān zhènggǔ</i> 海篇正鵠 (HG) <i>Hǎipiān tǒnghuì</i> 海篇統匯 (HT; 1621) <i>Wǔhóuqīng zìhǎi</i> 五侯鯖字海 (WZ) <i>Yīnyùn zìhǎi</i> 音韻字海 (YZ)	< SLL

The Japanese sources all quote from Chinese ones, as do the European ones, either with or without Japanese intermediaries. On the Chinese side only one group of works qualifies as dictionaries, i.e. what Müller calls his source, namely an uncertain number of character dictionaries mostly dating from the Wànlì 萬曆 era (1573–1620). The majority of these contains the element *Hǎipiān* 海篇 in their title, which is why they are usually referred to as

<sup>32</sup> Manuscript in the possession of the library of the Graduate School of Letters, Kyōto University (shelf-mark 國文學|2A|2).

<sup>33</sup> Note that the initial print of this work dating from 1376 does contain an *iroha*, but *not* actually in the distorted form of interest here (the relevant portion is reproduced in KDBKKK 1965: 73f.). Another Ming period print in the possession of the Tōyō bunko shows *kana* forms different from both of these (reproduced in Aken 2005: 85, again the relevant portion only), suggesting that there was considerable variation in the reproductions of the non-Chinese scripts between the different editions of *Shūshǐ huìyào*. The Japanese authors listed above were apparently almost all working with one featuring the distorted forms similar to those seen in Müller, the only exception being Yamada's *Kana-kō hoi* (23b–24a).

Also of notice but not listed above is Arai Hakuseki's 新井白石 (1657–1725) *Dōbun tsūkō* 同文通考 (1760). While Arai does not reproduce them here, he makes notice of some distorted copies of the *iroha* in SH and HX for instance, written in a way as to resemble the Manchu script in shape (III/5a).

<sup>34</sup> There is also a reprint in vol. LXVI of *Jìlù huìbiān* 紀錄彙編 (1617), which shows considerable deviations from the original, both in terms of *kana* shapes and in the glossary. Another reprint featuring yet somewhat different shapes is found in vol. CII of Dèng Shìlóng's 鄧士龍 *Guócháo diǎngù* 國朝典故.

the *Hāipiān* type.<sup>35</sup> It is also under this name that they acquired considerable fame in the West from about the 17th to the 19th century. There is hardly a single Orientalist, or anyone else touching upon matters Chinese, who does not at the very least refer to it in his writings, if he does not even have some *Hāipiān* to work with, be it in his own possession or some library collection. Among the earliest examples are Semedo (1643: 45), followed by Kircher (1667: 12) – the illustrations in the chapter on Chinese literature (1667: 227–233; likewise already 1654: 12, 16–21) are all found in several *Hāipiān*<sup>36</sup> –, Webb (1678: 165), Bayer (1730, I: 142), du Halde (1735, II: 226), Fourmont (1737: 124; 1742: 356–359 [VI], 365 [XXI]) and countless others. For reasons that will become apparent shortly we also include two dictionaries into our considerations that do *not* contain any reference to *Hāipiān* in their titles, but are in fact closely related. Wherever necessary we will refer to the three last ones in the list above – i.e. HT, WZ and YZ, which are identical in content and differ virtually only in their titles – specifically as the “*Zihǎi* group”.<sup>37</sup>

When Theophil Siegfried Bayer had the opportunity to meet two Japanese castaways, Gonza and Sōza, in early 1734, he had them read out the *iroha* for him, noting down its pronunciation. The manuscript resulting from this encounter, *Sermo cum duobus Japanensibus* (Conversation with two Japanese; University of Glasgow, MS Hunter B/E10), has been reproduced and studied in detail by Kanmura (2001a, 2001b, 2010). In fact however it also found its way early into a collection of languages and scripts published in 1748 under the

<sup>35</sup> For studies of these and related dictionaries, see Fukuda (1960; 1979: 393–409), Funatsu (1964 [1993]), Endō (1989), Watanabe (1997), Ōiwamoto (1999). For reproductions of the *iroha* found in several *Hāipiān* and SLL, see Kanmura (2010), for the *iroha* and the glossary of Ryūkyūan in YZ see KDBKKK (1968).

<sup>36</sup> Müller (1683b: 44) already considered them to be taken from a “*çu-hai*” (i.e. YZ). It is uncertain however whether Kircher actually took these from some *Hāipiān*. Lundbæk (1983) has argued that these come from a copy of the popular encyclopedia *Wānbào quánshū* 萬寶全書, probably the one carrying the shelfmark Barb. Orient. 139 in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. A final decision on this matter will require the inspection of the possible sources and a careful comparison of their illustrations with those in both of Kircher’s works.

For the time being Lundbæk’s claim appears plausible (though he does not discuss a *Hāipiān* as the possible source at all), as Kircher tends to agree better with various editions of *Wānbào quánshū* than with different *Hāipiān* in some details. Thus, in the description of the characters attributed to Cāngjié 蒼頡 and imitating the footprints of birds, the word *jì* ‘footprint’ is written 迹 in Kircher (1654: 18 [#8]; 1667: 229 [#8]) just as it is found in Barb. Orient. 139 (cf. Lundbæk 1983: 19, plate 3, left) and later editions of *Wānbào quánshū* – while HX, YZ and WZ for instance clearly have 跡 instead. Likewise we find *guī* ‘tortoise’ as 龜 in the former materials, but 龜 in the latter.

See e.g. Spitzel (1660: 53, 55; based on Kircher 1654) or Hensel (1741: plate III) for further early authors reproducing at least part of the same ornamental characters found in *Wānbào quánshū* and various *Hāipiān*.

<sup>37</sup> Of these three only WZ and YZ could be consulted by the present author. That HT is of identical content however can be deduced with certainty from the details provided by Mungello (1985: 217), Endō (1989: 45, #3.10), Watanabe (1997: 61, #19) and especially Yáo (2006: 97–99).

name *Orientalisch- und Occidentalischer Sprachmeister* (Teacher of oriental and occidental languages). Although no reference to Bayer is given here, the “Syllabarium Japonicum ex Lexico Hai-pien” (The Japanese syllabary from the dictionary *Häipiān*; pp. 134f.) found herein is clearly based on his manuscript, whose *iroha* with transcription carries the same title. Now Bayer was well acquainted with the various works of Müller including “SJ” and thus he notes in the same manuscript that he finally found out where Müller took his second *iroha* in “SJ” from (Kanmura 2001a: 88): namely a *Häipiān*.

Bayer was thus probably the first who found out what Müller’s source had been for his “SJ” – but which *Häipiān* exactly did he have in mind, and was Müller’s source indeed identical with Bayer’s *Häipiān*? In 1730 Bayer was still waiting for a copy of a *Häipiān* to arrive in St. Petersburg (see Bayer 1730, I: 142; translated in Lundbæk 1986: 100), which must have happened shortly afterwards.<sup>38</sup> “What was the *Hai Pian* which Bayer used,” asked Lundbæk (1986: 199), but he did not succeed in answering this question. Unlike Bayer’s papers, the dictionary is not found in Glasgow today (Lundbæk 1986: 199), apart from a single leaf: XVI/11a–b. A comparison of Lundbæk’s (1986: 199, note 71) detailed description of its content with the same double-page in the *Zihāi* group now shows that the former indeed belongs to one of the latter. As according to Lundbæk the title on the center fold reads *Yīnshì häipiān* 音釋海篇, the leaf cannot be from YZ or WZ,<sup>39</sup> it obviously belongs to a copy of HT, whose short title is indeed *Yīnshì häipiān* (Watanabe 1997: 61, #19). We will come back to the later history of Bayer’s HT further below.

If we now compare the sound glosses in the named dictionaries with those Müller copied into “SJ”, as Kanmura (2010: 133) has already done for Bayer’s manuscript, the results

<sup>38</sup> Bayer informed Dominique Parrenin (1665–1741) in Peking about having received the dictionary from Count Savva Lukič Vladislavič-Raguzinskij (ca. 1670–1738) as is apparent from Parrenin’s reply dated 31.VIII.1732 and now found among the Glasgow manuscripts (MS Hunter B/A2).

<sup>39</sup> Which have *Yīnyùn zihāi* 音韻字海 and *Yīnshì Wūhóuqīng zihāi* 音釋五侯鯖字海 respectively in that position. (Interestingly a small number of pages in YZ actually have the title on the center fold as 音韻字海鯖字海, i.e. accidentally retaining the three final characters of WZ’s 音釋五侯鯖字海 and thus suggesting that both works were printed using the same printing blocks, with WZ predating YZ by at least some time. Note also that the title of YZ is given as *Jīngjuān zihāi* 精鑄字海 and *Xīnjuān zihāi* 新鑄字海 in books II and XII respectively. The two initial characters of each variant again appear to be accidental retentions from WZ. Cf. the latter’s title, here with all its variations: *Jīng*[~*Xīn*]*juān*[~*kè*] *Hàiruò Tāng* [~*Tāng Hàiruò*] *xiānshēng jiàodìng* [~*jiàozhèng*~*dìngzhèng*] *yīnshì Wūhóuqīng zihāi* 精[XI–XX: 新]鑄[I, XI: 刻]海若湯[XIII, XVI: 湯海若]先生校訂[XIII, XVI: 校正, II–X, XII, XIV–XV, XVII–XX: 訂正]音釋[I, XI only]五侯鯖字海.)

are as summarized in the following table. The only likely candidates for Müller’s Chinese source are thus the three dictionaries of the *Zihǎi* group.<sup>40</sup>

	“SJ”	<i>Zihǎi</i>	HC	HG, HX	HZ
#26	怒	怒	怒	怒	怒
#33	孤	孤	狐	孤	孤
#36	惡	惡	惡	惡	惡
#39	又	又	河	又	河
#42	實	實	寔	實	寔

The *iroha* on plate [6] is however not the only thing Müller derived from his Chinese source, as there are also the examples of Japanese words on plate [5] (cf. #15b) – excluding the five taken from the Meakensian manuscript, of course. In direct proximity of the *iroha* all dictionaries listed above further contain a glossary of Ryūkyūan, the entries of which take exactly the same form as what we find reproduced in “SJ”: A Chinese word is given, followed by its Ryūkyūan counterpart in a Chinese transcription.

The headwords of Müller are the same as those of all the dictionaries and are thus of no interest here – he merely omits a stroke by accident in two cases, thus writing 爪 for correct 瓜 and 王石 for intended 玉石. The Chinese transcriptions of the Ryūkyūan words are likewise mostly the same in all sources, with two exceptions:<sup>41</sup>

	“SJ”	<i>Zihǎi</i>	HC, HX, HZ
土	足只	足只	足止
山	牙馬	牙馬奴	牙馬奴

The only discrepancy between Müller and *all* Chinese dictionaries is that he has 牙馬 for *yama* ‘mountain’, whereas the glossaries all add 奴 for ‘=nu ‘nominative’’.<sup>42</sup> Otherwise we again arrive at exactly the same conclusion as before, namely that the *Zihǎi* group comprises the closest candidates, whereas the others are inconceivable as Müller’s source. Now while Bayer was working with a HT, there are in fact good reasons however to believe that Müller

<sup>40</sup> Bold frames mark deviations from “SJ”. “*Zihǎi*” represents the entire *Zihǎi* group here.

<sup>41</sup> HG is excluded here as the present author did not yet have a chance to inspect a copy of this work. The preceding table relied on the reproduction of HG’s *iroha* found in Kanmura (2010: 120).

<sup>42</sup> One possible reason for the omission of the last character might be space constraints, as most boxes on plate [5] have room for little more than two characters unless they are of rather limited complexity. It might also have been omitted on purpose as the usual form *yama*, without any following syllable, is found in Collado. Cf. immediately below.

consulted another dictionary of the *Zihai* group, namely YZ. The reasons for thinking so are not found in “SJ” itself and are therefore discussed separately below.

As the source – or rather group of sources with identical contents – for the Chinese words and the Chinese transcriptions of their Ryūkyūan counterparts has now been identified, the only question that remains is where the remainder of the information given in the examples derives from, be it in Roman letters or *kana*. Given the headwords (1 in the following table) and transcriptions (2), Müller should have been able as before to add the readings (3) as well as the meanings (4) of the former. With the help of Collado’s *Dictionarivm* these Latin meanings would again yield the corresponding Japanese words in Romanized form (5) – and indeed this appears plausible in most cases:

<i>Syllabarium Japonicum</i>						Collado
1	2	3	4	5	6	
瓜 (瓜)	吾利	Qua	Melo 'pepo'	Uri	うり	<i>Melones, melo pepones;</i> <i>melones. ùri. [瓜] (279)</i>
年	多失	Nien	Annus 'year'	Toxi	とし	<i>Annus, i. año. tòxi. [年] (10)</i>
門	郁	Muen	Porta. 'door'	To	と	<i>Porta, æ: puerta, to. [門] (103)</i>
字	開第	Çu	Character 'character'	Ysan	いよ	<i>Character litera. letra. jisan.</i> <i>[字讚?]<sup>43</sup> (19)</i>
金	孔加尼	Kin	Aurum. 'gold'	Congane <sup>44</sup>	京やね	<i>Aurum, i. oro, guinsu. cōgane.</i> <i>vōgòn. [銀子, 黄金, 黄金] (14)</i>
玉石 (玉石)	撻馬一	yu-xe	Gemma. 'juwel'	Tama	たま	<i>Gemma, æ: piedra preciosa:</i> <i>tàma. [玉] (54)</i>
耳	米米	Lh	Auris. 'ears'	Mimi	みみ	<i>Aures, orejas: mimi. [耳] (177)</i>
目	乚	Mo	Oculus. 'eye'	Mi	み	unclear
眉	馬由	Mui	Supercilia. 'eyebrow'	Ma	ま	

<sup>43</sup> The underlying word is unclear. *Dictionarivm* clearly has “jisan” (strictly speaking “jifan”), but as confusion between long *s*, i.e. <f>, and <f> is commonly observed, the intended form could also be “jifan”. In fact, while Shima (1966: 185) reads “jifan”, i.e. “jisan”, Ōtsuka (1966: 72) has “Jifan” for the same entry. Decisive evidence that the printed form is *not* an error comes from Collado’s manuscript *Vocabulario de la Lengua Japona* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. Cin. 501), which clearly writes “letra. Jisàn.” (47b17). Ōtsuka / Kojima (1985: 210) interpret this as 字讚, however no attestation of this word could so far be found outside Collado’s dictionary.

<sup>44</sup> Note that Müller selects the second, not the first, of the several words for ‘gold’, apparently in order to achieve a perfect match between the Chinese transcription and the Romanization.



<i>Syllabarium Japonicum</i>						Collado
1	2	3	4	5	6	
土	足只	Tu	Terra 'earth'	Suchi	つき <sup>45</sup>	<i>Terra, æ: tierra: tçùchi.</i> [土] (133)
海	吾也	Hai	Mare 'sea'	Umi	うみ	<i>Mare, ris. mar. vmi, vel, faruca.</i> [海, 遙か] (78)
山	牙馬	Xan	Mons 'mountain'	Yama	やま	<i>Mons, tis: monte: yama.</i> [山] (82)
牛	吾[失]	Nieu	Bos, <i>fem.</i> <sup>46</sup> 'cow'	Uxi	うし	<i>Vacca, æ: vaca, vxi.</i> [牛] (137)

Merely two cases are without a plausible source entry in Collado, namely 'eye' and 'eyebrow'. It is certainly no coincidence that while both are found in *Dictionarivm*, Collado gives equivalents different from those found in the glossaries, i.e. *mī* (< *mē*) and *mayu*:

*Oculus, i. ojos, manaco.* [眼] (91)

*Oculi, orum. ojos, yōgan.* [容顔] (91)

*Oculi, ojos entrambos. riōgan.* [两眼] (91)

*Oculus, i. burgallo de el ojo, me notama.* [目の玉] (152)<sup>47</sup>

*Supercilium, pestañas: mamigue.* [眉毛] (130)

As the two sources did not match, Müller might therefore have tried to decipher the Chinese transcriptions himself, which was possible to the extent we find in "SJ", since both 也 and 馬 already occur in other entries for *mi* and *ma* respectively. 由 does not occur in the other transcriptions, it was therefore unclear to which syllable it corresponds – and was apparently ignored for lack of a better solution, as was also done in other cases (cf. immediately below). If the Romanizations are not based on Collado for instance, but on the Chinese transcriptions, this would explain why the one for 'eye' is *mi* instead of *me*, as one would expect for Japanese.

The only major question that remains to be asked is: Where do the *kana* spellings come from, as they cannot be taken from either Collado or the Chinese dictionary? The answer to this is at the same time the solution to the puzzling discrepancy between Müller's Romanized "Ysan" and the corresponding *iyō* いよ for 'character': They must have

<sup>45</sup> Müller apparently misinterpreted <chi> as if following Italian orthography, thus yielding [ki] instead of the intended [tei].

<sup>46</sup> Instead of Müller's "Bos. *fem.*", i.e. 'female *bos* (bull or cow)' and thus 'cow', Collado uses the synonymous *vacca* 'cow'.

<sup>47</sup> "burgallo" is misprinted with initial "h" where the manuscript (Borg. Cin. 501: 70b1) clearly has "b". It likewise has the expected space after "no".

been written by Müller himself, based on the pre-existing Romanizations from Collado and his own account of the Japanese syllabary, namely in the following fashion.

1. Collado →	2. Müller →	3. Roman order →	4. <i>iroha</i> #1 →	5. <i>kana</i>
jisan	Ysan = Y-sa-n	1+15+?	いゝよ+?	いよ

Being unaware of the details of Collado’s Romanization systems, <y> was erroneously deemed as equivalent to <ji> by Müller.<sup>48</sup> The resulting “ysan” was then segmented into elements that could be rendered in *kana* (2). Next, Müller consulted his own rearrangement of the *iroha* in alphabetical order (#11 in the explanatory notes), giving 1 for “y” and 15 (instead of the expected 37, a reference to which is missing in the Roman order) for “sa” (3) – the latter agrees with Müller’s reading of the Meakensian manuscript, but is in effect an error (cf. note 28). Instead of いさ the resulting *kana* are thus いよ (4+5). As none of Müller’s materials on Japanese provided a letter for consonant-only *-n* it was apparently simply ignored.

For ‘gold’ the case is similar: Collado’s “cōgane” is rewritten as “Congane”, as <ō> would be equivalent to <on> in common usage. In rewriting this in *kana* Müller again ignores *-n*, whereas “ga” turns into 𐄂, i.e. Müller’s “ja”. The only plausible explanation for this is the fact that lenition of [g] to [j] occurs in a number of varieties of German, notably also in the Berlin-Brandenburgish dialects. Since furthermore not a single syllable with initial *g* is found in the *iroha* – unless it is read according to its meaning, which is not the case in “SJ” –, it must have been his best guess that “ga” in fact stood for “ja”, i.e. that the two are interchangeable. Why he picked “Kio” 京 instead of the expected “Co” 𐄂 for initial “Co” defies explanation however, even if “Kio” is still relatively close to “Co” or “Ko”. Whatever the exact reasons, it is beyond doubt that the spelling 京𐄂ね as well as the other ones are the results of Müller’s efforts to revert Romanized Japanese words back into *kana*. Considering the paucity of materials available to him, the lack of a thoroughgoing

<sup>48</sup> In premodern usage there was quite some variation between <i>, <j>, <ij>, <ji>, <y> etc. To name just one case related to Japanese: As was already pointed out by Pfizmaier (1854) in various instances, the French translation of João Rodriguez’ *Arte breve da lingoa Iapoa* (Macao 1620) contains numerous errors in the transcriptions of Japanese. Both <ij> and <ji> are sometimes replaced by <y> (“Ataraxij” [新しい]; Rodriguez 1620: 14b) > “Atarasy” [Landresse 1825: 6, §11]; “Taijin” [大人; R 26a] > “taiyn” [L 14, §28]), <j> before vowels often turns into <y> (“Ikenja” [意見者], “Kiacujin” [客人; both R 54a] > “ikenya”, “kiakouyin” [L 77, §70]) or <i> (“Vonaji” [同じ; R 17a] > “Wonaii” [L 10, §21]), and so on.

account of how the syllabary actually works and finally even the lack of a unified Romanization in his sources, Müller indeed fared rather well.

To sum up, Müller was working with the following set of sources:

- Duret’s *Thresor de l’histoire des langves de cest vnivers* (1613 or 1619)
- the Meakensian manuscript, a copy of some *Nanatsu iroha*, at least in part with Romanizations added
- a Chinese character dictionary of the *Zihǎi* group, most likely *Yīnyìn zihǎi*
- Collado’s *Ars* and *Dictionarivm*

Apart from a few minor mistakes, this set above is sufficient to explain all the materials and the knowledge pertaining to Japanese found in “SJ”. Corroborating evidence suggesting that the latter two, i.e. YZ and Collado’s works, were indeed available to Müller will be given in the following two sections.

## 2. Other references to Japanese in the works of Müller

In the following we will survey in chronological order passages from various of Müller’s works containing references to either the Japanese language or script. Some of these will provide us not only with further indicators that Collado’s works were available to him, but even with explicit proof.

### 2.1. *Excerpta Manuscripti cujusdam Turcici* (Cölln 1665)

Probably the earliest reference to Japanese in Müller’s work is found in note 50 (unpaginated) to his *Excerpta Manuscripti cujusdam Turcici* (Excerpts from a certain Turkish manuscript), where we read:

Præpositio AB in sermone Turcico postremum locum occupat. Sic omnes Particulæ, quas secundum Linguarum nostrarum genium PRÆPOSITIONES vocamus; Turcicè rectius POSTPOSITIONES. Sed & Japonæ, Georgiani, Ungari Finmonesq̄ hujus generis particulas suis nominibus postponunt. V. vel. Grammaticas *Didac. Collado Japon. Fr. Mar. Magg. Georg. Alb. Moln. Ungar. & Andr. Buræi Sveciam*. Imprimis *Japonica* Lingua non pauca communia habet cum *Turcicâ*, quæ in aliis LL. usu non veniunt.

(The preposition ‘from’ takes the last position in the Turkish language. In this way all particles, which we call “prepositions” according to the nature of

our own languages, are more correctly “postpositions” in Turkish. But also the Japanese, Georgians, Hungarians and Finns place such particles behind their nouns. See for instance the Japanese grammar by Diego Collado, the Georgian one by Francesco Maria Maggio, the Hungarian one by Albert Molnár and Anders Bure’s *Svecia*.<sup>49</sup> Especially the Japanese language has not few commonalities with the Turkish one, which do not occur in other languages.)

Remarkable as this passage is, it likely constitutes the earliest explicit mentioning of typological parallels between the Turkish and Japanese languages. A similar cross-linguistic comparison is also found in his *Oratio Dominica Sinice*, on which see below.

## 2.2. *Monumenti Sinici* (Berlin 1672)

Basing himself on Athanasius Kircher’s important and well known *China Monumentis Qua Sacris quàm Profanis [...] Illustrata* (China illustrated by monuments both sacred and profane) published in 1667 and its account of the Nestorian Stele, Müller published his *Monumenti Sinici [...] Lectio seu Phrasis, Versio seu Metaphrasis, Translatio seu Paraphrasis* (Reading, word for word as well as free translation, or: phrase, metaphrase and paraphrase, of the Chinese monument). One of the main divisions of *Monumenti*, namely “De Monumento Sinico Commentarius Novensilis” (A new commentary on the Chinese monument), contains on page 12 the following famous passage related to Müller’s *Clavis Sinica*, which was posthumously criticized by Reland (1708: 104):

Ego verò, si mihi tam certa esset *Stipendii, officii & Ecclesiasticæ pacis* ratio, quàm certa quidem *Sinicarum Notarum* lectio est, intrà *annum*, Deo dante, *ne mensẽ* dicam, aut *minus* aliquod tempus, præstari posse confido, ut mulierculæ etiam *Sinicos & Iaponicos* legât libros, &, si *Hermeneuticæ regulas* nossêt, interpretari queant. Sed erit fortè, ubi frustrà desideretur, & *Talmudicum* illud dici queat: הרבה מעות יש לי ואין לי שולחני להרצותן.

(In fact, if matters of payment, my office and ecclesiastical peace were as certain to me as indeed the way of reading the Chinese characters is, I believe that it is possible to show that within a year, or – though I would not say a month – with God’s help in somewhat less time, even little women [are able to] read Chinese and Japanese books, and, if they know the rules of hermeneutics, are able to interpret them. But it will probably be the case that it is wished for

<sup>49</sup> The other works besides Collado are as follows: Maggio (1643), Molnár (1610) and Bure / Soter (1631; see page 58 herein, or page 56 in the 1633 edition).

in vain and the wellknown Talmud can be referred to: ‘I have many coins, but no money changer to exchange them.’)

### 2.3. *Oratio Dominica Sinice* (S.l. [Berlin?] 1676)

Even before his first full collection of versions of the Lord’s Prayer, Müller had separately published an extensively annotated Chinese version in 1676. Among the supplementary notes (“Mantissa Addendorum”) of this *Oratio Dominica Sinice* (The Chinese Lord’s Prayer) we find the following note (#81), referring to the order of personal names in Chinese as exemplified in the preceding lines by cases such as “*Ly mà teú. Matthæus Riccius*”, i.e. Li Mǎdòu 利瑪竇 for Matteo Ricci.

*Prænomina enim Nominibus postponere solent Sinæ. Æquè ut Hungari, Turcæ, Japonæ & alii. Sic etiam Ægineta Paulus pro Paulus Ægineta ap. Avicenn. Can. II.*

(For the Chinese have the habit of placing the first name after the surname, just like the Hungarians, Turks, Japanese and others. Thus also “Ægineta Paulus” for “Paulus Ægineta” in Avicenna’s *Canon medicinae*, book II.<sup>50</sup>)

### 2.4. *Oratio orationum* (Berlin 1680)

Müller’s first fully-fledged collection of versions of the Lord’s Prayer has already been referred to in the beginning. The role of Japanese here is a minor one: While translations of the Lord’s Prayer into Japanese had theoretically been available since the second half of the 16th century, they were found either in unpublished writings or the publications of the mission press in Japan (such as the various versions of the *Doctrina Christam*), which remained largely unknown in Europe until the 19th century. Japanese does not, therefore, appear in the various collections up to Alois Auer’s (1813–1869) *Sprachenhalle* in the 1840s. Müller, apparently aware of this gap but without a satisfactory solution, includes at least a placeholder for the versions “*Japanica & Tungkingensis*”:

Haberi non potuerunt. Neque *novas* Auctori cudere placuit, quòd *alienas* tantummodo collegisset. Alioqui procul dubio *Notas Sinicas* vocibus *Japanicis, Tungkingicis, Kochinchinicis* & similibus facillè exprimere potuisset & ad *artem Grammaticam* disponere.

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<sup>50</sup> The exact reference could not be verified.

([These] were impossible to get. And it was not agreeable to the author to create new ones, as the others he would merely have collected. Otherwise it would without doubt easily have been possible to express the Chinese characters in their Japanese sounds, their Tonkinese ones, Cochinchinese ones etc. and arrange them according to the grammatical rules.)

Now Collado actually quotes from a Japanese translation of the Lord's Prayer in his *Ars* (1632a: 17), but he does not go beyond the first line. Whether Müller was unaware of this incomplete version or not is uncertain; it seems more likely however that he simply refrained from giving a single line only instead of the full prayer as is the case with all other languages in his collection.

Finally of interest in the 1680 collection is the “*Additamentum. Pater Per Omnes hasce, aliasq̄ Linguas*” (Supplement: ‘father’ in all these and other languages; pp. 62–64), which also includes two words meaning ‘father’ in Japanese:

Japanic.      {    *Chichi.*  
                      {    *Xinobu.*

Notwithstanding the superfluous “o” in the latter, the source for both forms is obvious – cf. the following two adjacent entries in Collado's *Dictionarivm* (1632b: 97):

*Pater: padre, chichi.*  
*Pater, padre, xinbu. vel, goxinbu.*

## 2.5. *Specimen lexicī Mandarinici* (Berlin 1684)

In the entry for the character “XIM 聖 FA”,<sup>51</sup> i.e. *shèng* 聖 ‘holy’, there is a list of synonyms in various languages, including among others for instance Vietnamese<sup>52</sup> and Japanese. Concerning the latter we read: “Japon. *Jenan.*” (Müller 1684: 2). This non-existing word can only go back to the following entry in Collado's *Dictionarivm* (1632b: 119):

<sup>51</sup> The tones of Chinese are not indicated by diacritical marks here, but by means of solmization: “ut [= do] re mi fa sol”. This is also found in other works by Müller and likely goes back to the description of tones in this manner by Jesuit Michał Piotr Boym in Kircher (1667: 12), or possibly also the description of the tones in Vietnamese by de Rhodes (1651: 9; cf. next note): “dò rẹ mĩ pha sở lá”.

<sup>52</sup> Müller's “*Tungk. Thanh*” for Vietnamese derives from the Vietnamese–Portuguese–Latin dictionary of Alexandro de Rhodes – published in Rome by the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, just as Collado's works –, which has: “thánh: *cousa santa*: sanctus, a, vm” (Rhodes 1651: 747). The word is easy to find via the dictionary's Latin index.

*Sancti & sanctæ. sanctos y sanctas. jenán xi jennhonin.*

The whitespace in “jenán xi” is superfluous, as the intended word is “jennánxi”, i.e. *zennanshi* 善男子. The fact that the last syllable is missing in Müller’s *Specimen* – he probably misinterpreted the isolated “xi” as meaning ‘and’ based on the Latin “&” or Spanish “y” – and that he likewise has simple *n* where *nn* would be expected can only be explained by assuming Collado to be his source.

## 2.6. *AU* (Königsberg 1694), *AaN* (Berlin 1703)

Besides “SJ”, both *AU* and *AaN* also contain other brief references to Japanese. First, in the section entitled “Notæ Numerorum Illiteratæ, varii generis” (Various characters for numbers; 8pp. marking the end of the collections’ first half) we find as the last entry (#28) under the heading “Mantissa. De peculiari qvorundam Populorum Numerandi Ratione” (Supplement: Of the peculiar ways of counting among certain peoples; page [8]):

De Japonicâ numerandi ratione meritò dicitur: *Hoc opus hic labor est.* In ordinem tamen redactam habeo.

(Of the Japanese way of counting it is said, and quite rightly so: *Hoc opus hic labor est.* I nevertheless have [a work in which it is] reduced to order.)

A brief look at the title of the chapter on numerals in Collado’s grammar reveals Müller’s source: “De Arithmetica Iaponiæ & materia numerorum, in quibus hoc opus hic labor” (Of Japanese arithmetics and matters pertaining to numbers, in which considerable labor lies; page 66). Collado here alludes to the following passage from Vergil’s *Aeneis* (VI: 126–129), rendered as follows in Dryden’s (1697: 368, lines 192–195) well-known translation:

[...], facilis descensus Auerno;  
noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis;  
sed revocare gradum superasque evadere  
ad auras,  
hoc opus, hic labor est.

The Gates of Hell are open Night and day;  
Smooth the Descent, and easie is the Way:  
But, to return, and view the chearful Skies;  
In this the Task, and mighty Labour lies.

Regrettably however no detailed account of Japanese numerals is found in any of Müller’s works available for consultation.

Second, on a somewhat different note, one might add the description of a “Chinese” coin found in the second of two brief works entitled “Selectionum Numismatum Inscriptiones

nonnullæ” (Several inscriptions on selected coins), which follow the collection of versions of the Lord’s Prayer in both *AU* and *AaN*. As it turns out it is actually a Japanese coin, first cast in 1636, as is evident from its inscription: Kan’ei tsūhō 寛永通寶.

Müller, who tells his readers that he saw this and other coins at Wrocław, correctly deciphers the last three characters and likewise correctly identifies the first two characters as expressing an era name, but due to a misreading of 寛永 as 寶永 he reads “Pao-yum” (i.e.



*bǎo-yǒng*) and thus translates it as “Pretiosa Æternitas”, or ‘precious eternity’.<sup>53</sup>

Both the sections on numerals and on coin inscriptions are undated.

### 2.7. *Commentatio Alphabetica* (Frankfurt 1695)

Another posthumous collection of Müller’s works was published in the year following his death under the title *Andreae Mülleri, Greiffenhagii, Opuscula Nonnulla Orientalia* (Several smaller works on matters Oriental by Andreas Müller of Greifenhagen). Herein we find a lexicon-like work called *De Sinarum Magnæque Tatariae Rebus Commentatio Alphabetica* (Treatises on things pertaining to China and Great Tatar in alphabetical order), which among other things also treats the appellations of China and its dynasties (pp. 52–54). Near the end some Japanese names are touched upon:

Japonibus.	<i>Cara. Lex</i> 20.	(Among the	<i>Cara. Lexicon</i> , p. 20.
	<i>Taito. ib.</i>	Japanese:	<i>Taito. ibidem.</i>
	<i>Than. Trig.</i> 5.		<i>Than. Trigault</i> , p. 5.)

<sup>53</sup> Incidentally the resulting inscription Hōei tsūhō 寶永通寶 would not be impossible either. Coins inscribed thus were however first minted only in 1708 and thus well after Müller’s death.



The last entry refers to the following passage by Nicolas Trigault (1577–1628), who writes after having mentioned the names of the various Chinese dynasties (Ricci / Trigault 1615: 5):

E vicinis verò populis pauci has nominum varietates aduertunt, hinc sit, vt singuli propè singulis hoc regnū nominibus insigniant. Cocincinenses & Siami (à quibus Lusitani Chinæ nomen didicerunt) Cin, Iapones Than, Tartari Han, Saraceni ab occasu Cataium hodieque appellant.

(Of the neighboring peoples few indeed pay attention to this diversity of names, hence it may be that almost all name this empire with its individual name. The Cochin-Chinese and Siamese (from which the Portuguese have learned the name of China) call it *Cin*, the Japanese *Than*, the Tartars *Han* and the western Saracens up to the present day *Catai*.)

This is somewhat misleading as *Than*, i.e. Táng 唐, is not exactly a or even *the* Japanese name for China, but indeed appellations *deriving* from the name of that dynasty were commonly used in Japan to refer to China in general without special reference to the dynasty as such. *Taito*, i.e. *Taitō* 大唐 ‘Great Táng’, as mentioned by Müller would be an example here, just as *Kara* was and is frequently written 唐.

The abbreviation “Lex(icon)” will refer to Collado’s *Dictionarivm* (1632b: 112), where indeed we find these two names of China in adjacent entries on the same page:

*Regnum Chinæ. reino de China. taitō.*  
*Regnum Chinense. China. cára.*

The match is perfect, the page numbers do not coincide however. The exact reasons for this are difficult to recover, but as there is indeed an entry relating to China on page 20 of *Dictionarivm* – “*Chinensis capsula. arca de china. cara fitçu*” (cf. *karabitsu* ‘Chinese chest’) –, Müller might well have simply confused the page numbers of several entries in his notes.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> The other missionary dictionaries preceding Collado’s do not contain anything relevant on page 20 either.

### 3. An exemplar of a *Zihǎi* in late 17th century Berlin

That Müller was working with a dictionary of the *Hǎipiān* type is already beyond doubt from what we have seen in “SJ”. This is confirmed by other cases in which Müller draws upon the materials gathered in some of these dictionaries, for instance in *AU* (but not *AaN*) when he reproduces some of the ornamental or supposedly ancient character forms given in various *Hǎipiān* (see plate [8]). Now these will have been familiar to Müller from Kircher’s *China illustrata* (1667: 227–233), a central work for Müller’s sinological studies, but this cannot be his source. Their earlier but somewhat less known appearance in Kircher’s *Oedipvs Aegyptiacvs* (Rome 1652–4; see tome III, pp.10–21) would be a better candidate, as the Chinese explanations are not as badly deformed here as they are in *China illustrata*. A closer comparison of both the ornamental as well as regular characters in all three sources reveals however that Kircher was not Müller’s source here, a conclusion that is supported by the fact that Kircher follows the arrangement found in some *Hǎipiān* such as HX but also in *Wǎnbǎo quánhū* (cf. note 36), namely in two columns each with three blocks of equal size (the last one being used for its explanation in regular characters), while Müller has them in one column of five blocks each (the explanation of each ornamental character being included in that character’s block) – just as it is found in the *Zihǎi* group (cf. YZ, introductory book, 3b).

Our assumption concerning *Zihǎi* is confirmed by instances such as the following from Müller’s *Speciminum Sinicorum* (S.l. 1685, appended to *Specimen lexici Mandarinici*), where explicit reference to some “Çu-hai” is made. Thus we read in a passage on the character *dī* 帝:

- g. Non postum, quin *Glossam libri Çu-hai* addam.  
 h. Autor ergò *Tom. XV. sect. 10. not. 1. sic habet:*  
*Ti. yn-ti. Ti-vang, Kun-ye. yeu Xang-ti Tien-xin ye.*

Hoc est:

Ti. Lege Ti. *Ti vang*, Rex (est.) Item, *Xang-ti*, Cæli Spiritus (est, *Deum* puta.)

(I cannot forbear to add the gloss of the work *Zihăi*. The author has in book XV, section 10, character 1: 帝 = 音諦 | 王君也又上 | 天神也, i.e.: ‘*dì* 帝: read *dì* 諦. *dìwáng* 帝王 means ‘king’. Furthermore, *shàngdì* 上帝 means ‘spirit of heaven’, i.e. ‘god’.)

Müller’s reference is exact and directly leads to the quoted entry in the *Zihăi* group (XV/21a). Now Müller and his biography are closely connected to the Electoral Library in Berlin, and it is doubtless that it was the library’s Chinese collection that gave him access to the work he quotes from. Despite its brevity of merely a single page, Müller’s *Catalogus librorum sinicorum bibliothecæ Electoralis Brandenburgicæ* (Catalogue of the Chinese books in the Electoral Library of Brandenburg)<sup>55</sup> – generally considered the earliest printed catalogue of what is now the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, reflecting the status quo of the Chinese collection in January 1683 (Kraft 1976: 123, note 104) – is invaluable at this point. The listed works include:

- |      |                             |  |
|------|-----------------------------|--|
| XIV. | <i>Hai-pien.</i>            | <i>(Hăipiān.</i>                         |
|      | <i>Notarium Sinicum.</i>    | A Chinese character dictionary.          |
|      | Extat Pars XVI, XVII.       | Part of [book] XVI [and] XVII is extant. |
| XV.  | <i>Cu-hai.</i>              | <i>Zihăi.</i>                            |
|      | <i>Notarii genus aliud.</i> | Another kind of character dictionary.)   |

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<sup>55</sup> Reproduced in Hülle (1921: 193). The catalogue itself is undated and various dates of publication have been proposed, ranging from 1679 (Lach 1940: 571) to 1685 (Walravens 1988: II).

For books XVI and XVII of some *Häipiān*, namely HX as we shall see below,<sup>56</sup> we are lucky enough to know the circumstances and time of their acquisition. In 1676 Müller visited Jobus Ludolf, who recalls the story in a letter to Peter Lambeck dated 26.XII.1676, and identified two books of a *Häipiān* among the latter's few Chinese prints and made sure they would soon find their way into the Electoral Library (Kraft 1976: 122f.).<sup>57</sup> We will briefly come back to this fragment further below, but in any case these two books are certainly irrelevant here as neither HX nor any other dictionary of the *Häipiān* type contains the relevant glossary and syllabary in either of the two above-mentioned books.

If entry XIV was close, XV is a direct hit: again Müller mentions a *Zihāi* explicitly, this time as part of the Electoral collection. It is found at another time in a catalogue compiled in January 1683 on the occasion of the arrival of several Chinese works sent by Andreas Cleyer

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<sup>56</sup> An exemplar of HX appears to have been brought to Europe and sold in fragments of one or two volumes each at an early date. Such fragments are found at least in Oxford, Manchester, Paris and Vienna: In the Bodleian library we find fragments of apparently three different exemplars (cf. Helliwell 2010, section "Popular reference", entry #2), namely vols. II and III as well as XVIII of one (Sinica 14/1 and 14/2), vols. XIII and XIV of another one (Sinica 73), and finally vols. XVIII and XX of a third one (Sinica 15/1 and 15/2). When Thomas Hyde (1636–1703) writes in a letter dated 16.II.1683 that parts of a *Häipiān* are found in Oxford (see Kraft 1976: 108), this certainly refers to (some of) these volumes. Cf. also Bayer (1730, I, "Grammaticae Sinicae": 115) who vaguely refers to *Häipiān* found "in British libraries". Next, the former Royal Library in Paris owns vols. X and XII, on which see Fourmont (1742: 365 [XXI]) and Courant (1910: 26, #4786). Finally we find vols. XIII and XX in the Austrian National Library under the shelfmarks Sin 111-C.(Kap.13) and Sin 111-C.(Kap.20). Vols. XVI and XVII (cf. note 70) of a HX now kept at the John Rylands Library in Manchester (Crawford Chinese 128) appear to originate from the Berlin Electoral collection.

<sup>57</sup> Also see Ludolf's letter to Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) dated 9.IV.1698 and edited in Michaelis (1755: 170–173 [letter XLIV]; see especially page 171).

(1634–1697) to Berlin.<sup>58</sup> Among these and listed in *Anderer Theil Des Catalogi der Sinesischen Bücher* (Second part of the catalogue of Chinese books; Cölln 1683) we again find:

V.

VIII Bände (in einem Bunde) Eines andern Schrifft-Zeichen-Wercks *Çu-hai* genannt.

(8 volumes, in a single batch, of another work on [Chinese] characters, called *Zihǎi*.)

The terminology used here and in the following quotes is not necessarily consistent in the way units such as *juǎn* 卷 (here translated as book) or *cè* 冊 (fascicle) are rendered. Therefore it is often difficult to relate one source to others, even if they refer to exactly the same copy of the same work. Müller’s “Bände” here likely means ‘fascicles’, certainly not ‘books’.

Shortly after this catalogue we similarly find Christian Mentzel (1622–1701), who succeeded Müller in taking charge of the Chinese collection of the Electoral Library, referring to “*çú-háy, (aliis háy-pien)*” (*Zihǎi*, [called] *Hǎipiān* by others) in the preface to his Latin–Chinese dictionary (1685: [2]; cf. also [4]). Finally there is Bayer (1718, “Praeceptiones”: “De Lexicis”), writing briefly after his visit to Berlin where he was shown the Chinese collection. From his description of the introductory book of *Zihǎi* (his *Zu hai*) we can deduce that the Berlin copy must still have been available for inspection at this time. All three therefore knew the *Zihǎi* in Berlin, but apart from the two isolated volumes already mentioned, there is no evidence to suggest the existence of a complete copy of any *Hǎipiān* type dictionary before 1683 – in Ludolf’s letter mentioned above, Müller is even

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<sup>58</sup> Also cf. Müller (1683b [preface dated 11.III.1683]: 44), where “the Chinese book *çu-hai*” is said to have arrived from the East Indies and come into the possession of the Great Elector recently.

reported to have said that a copy of a *Hǎipiān* was yet to be seen in Europe.<sup>59</sup> Needless to say, this also means that “SJ” cannot possibly have been completed in 1680, i.e. as was suggested by Adelong.

While the above should be sufficient to prove that Müller was working with some *Zihǎi* or another from the Berlin collection, the full title is never mentioned anywhere. Among the dictionaries of the *Zihǎi* group, two come into question, i.e. WZ and YZ.<sup>60</sup> There is no good reason to assume that Müller was working with HT – which makes use of the designation *Hǎipiān*, but not *Zihǎi* – but called it *Zihǎi*.

Mungello’s (1985: 217f.) assumption that the copy of HT found in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana today was originally part of the Berlin collection and thus identical to the *Hǎipiān* Müller was working with is untenable. There is no evidence indicating that a HT had been part of the Berlin collection at any time, whereas a certain *Zihǎi* – either WZ or YZ – undoubtedly was. It is nevertheless insightful to have a closer look at the Vatican HT as it leads us to someone who turns out to be of immense help in pinpointing the exact nature of Müller’s *Zihǎi*: Orientalist Julius Klaproth, whom we already met with above.

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<sup>59</sup> This may not be entirely true, but was certainly close. For some fragments of HX see note 56. Later Fourmont (1742: 356–359 [VI]) describes a complete copy of HC (on which also see Courant 1910: 26, #4787), but its time of arrival in Paris might postdate Müller. There is another *Hǎipiān*, namely HT, in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Borg. Cin. 262–263; see Pelliot / Takata 1995: 17), but this one entered the collection only as late as the 19th century — we will come back to this work further below.

<sup>60</sup> In fact the *Zihǎi* in the quote from *Anderer Theil des Catalogi* above was assumed by Kraft (1973: 22, 24) to be yet another dictionary carrying this element in its name, namely the third one listed by Ōiwamoto (1999: 21f., #17, #21, #22) besides WZ and YZ: *Zihǎi míngzhū* 字海明珠. She offers no reasons for assuming so however, while in Mungello (1985: 245, note 98) her assumption suddenly becomes a “fact” – again lacking any justification. The present author did not yet have a chance to inspect a copy of this work; from Ōiwamoto’s description however (15+1 vols., grouping and arrangement of radicals by their semantics, not reading) it cannot possibly belong to the *Zihǎi* group.

His references to dictionaries of relevance here are as follows, in chronological order. Writing under the pseudonym of C. J. P. and at a time when he was not even twenty years old, Klaproth (1802a: 81) mentions two works:<sup>61</sup>

†) *Hai-pien, Maris latera*, das vollständigste Charakter-Verzeichniß der Chinesen.

††) *Tse-hai Characterum mare*, eine vermehrte Umarbeitung des vorigen in 8 Bänden.

(*Häipiān* ‘Flank of the sea’, the most comprehensive character dictionary of the Chinese.

*Zihāi* ‘Sea of characters’, an enlarged re-edition of the preceding one in 8 volumes.)

For some reason, out of the five dictionaries quoted on this page, *Maris latera* is the only one lacking an indication of its extent – probably because Klaproth did not have a full exemplar at hand at the time of writing.<sup>62</sup> Interestingly however the number of “8 Bände” given by Klaproth for the *Zihāi* coincides with Müller and his “VIII Bände”. No provenance is indicated, as is done for various other works in the same article, but as it was exactly in Berlin where in the closing years of the 18th century young Klaproth commenced his study of Chinese, he was well-acquainted with the collection. The *Zihāi* here is thus most likely the same work as the one listed by Müller more than a century earlier.

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<sup>61</sup> Klaproth himself confirms this identification of C. J. P. (probably short for “Comte Jan [or Jean] Potocki”). In 1804 he published a review of a work by Joseph Hager, signing it likewise as “C. J. P.” (*Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* 1804.149: 561–568, 150: 569–574), but later Klaproth (1811: 6) confesses: “Diese Rezension ist von mir” (This review was written by me).

<sup>62</sup> As mentioned above the Berlin collection merely had fragments of a *Häipiān*. The Latin rendering “maris latera” incidentally appears to be based on Fourmont (1742: 357).

At the end of the decade Klaproth had already put a dictionary of the *Zihǎi* group into good use – namely to extract the Ryūkyūan glossary contained therein and publish it as “Sprachproben von Lieu-Kieu” (Specimens of the Ryūkyūan language; 1810a: 151–158). Just like Müller in his “SJ”, Klaproth (1810a: 152) does not name the dictionary properly, but merely states that he found the glossary in a Chinese work printed towards the end of the 16th century in a section entitled “Ŷ-yù-ŷn-schě”, i.e. “yíyǔ yīnshì” 夷語音釋. Such is indeed the name of the glossary of Ryūkyūan found in YZ, WZ, HX (with prefixed *fùlù* 附錄) and HC (without *fùlù*), but we also find it under rather different names such as “fù wàiyí yǔyīn zhī shū” 附外夷語音之殊 in *Piānhǎi lèibiān* 篇海類編 (PL).<sup>63</sup> The latter is therefore an unlikely candidate, which can also be demonstrated on different grounds: namely on the divergencies between the glossaries in terms of the characters used in the transcriptions of Ryūkyūan. The following table summarizes the results of a comparison between Klaproth’s Romanization and the transcriptions in six different dictionaries.

Klaproth		<i>Zihǎi</i>	HC, HX, HZ	PL
I.18: <i>diänny nufagunndīi</i> 甸泥奴法工的	<i>gunn</i> 工	工	立	工
III.9: <i>gumuny</i> 姑木尼	<i>ny</i> 尼	尼	的	尼
IV.10: <i>nadu-y</i> 那都乜	<i>y</i> 乜 [cf. 也]	乜	乜	missing
X.4: <i>schegian</i> 舌見	<i>sche</i> 舌	舌	活	活
XIII.14: <i>tama y</i> 撻馬一	<i>y</i> 一	一	一	missing

Clearly PL cannot have been Klaproth’s source, but the same is also true for HC, HX and HZ – leaving us once more with only the *Zihǎi* group. Scholarship has hitherto assumed

<sup>63</sup> This work was ignored above as it only contains the glossary, but not the *iroha*.



that YZ was behind Klaproth's "Sprachproben" (most recently Ishizaki 2000: 125), but in fact neither WZ nor HT has ever been mentioned in this context. As they are identical contentwise, a decision between these three can again only be made based on external circumstances. Which of the three dictionaries might have been available to Klaproth in 1810, i.e. towards the end of his time at the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg?

In the following year Klaproth (1811a: 52f.) gives an outline of his Chinese collection "in order to show Joseph Hager what his weapons are to fight him". Here we find among several other dictionaries:

18. Hai - pien. 12 Vol.

19. Kim - szü - hai - pien. 5 Vol.

The latter is short for *Xīnjiào jīngshǐ hǎipiān zhīyīn* 新校經史海篇直音, a work that was still in Klaproth's possession at the time of his death, as is confirmed by the catalogue of his library (Landresse 1839, II: 46, #175; the extent being given as "5 parties en 1 vol."). It contains neither the glossary of Ryūkyūan nor the *iroha* and is thus of less interest here. It also appears in the following description found in another of Klaproth's works published in the same year (1811b: 7f.), which also helps to identify the other *Hǎipiān* with certainty.

若湯海篇 *Shō-tann-chai-biān*. Es giebt mehrere Wörterbücher, die den Titel *Chai-biān* führen, die man nicht mit dem *Biān-chai* genannten verwechseln darf, das von *Chan-chiáo-yén* verfaßt wurde, und 54,595 Caractere enthält. Dies *Chai-biān* erschien unter der Dynastie 明 *Minn*, und besteht aus zwölf Heften. Das erste enthält viel Nützlichendes über die alten Caractere, und giebt Proben derselben, die bei den gegenwärtigen Untersuchungen große Dienste geleistet haben. Das zweite Heft erklärt die schwierigen Caractere aus den alten classischen Werken, und die zehn übrigen enthalten das Wörterbuch selbst, das unter 707 Elementarzeichen 66,174 Buchstaben, wiewohl nur sehr kurz, erklärt. Die 707 Elementarzeichen folgen sich nach der alphabetischen Ordnung der 36 Chinesischen Consonanten. Es giebt außer diesem noch mehrere Wörter-

bücher, die den Titel *Chài-biān* führen; so besitze ich eins in fünf Bänden, ohne Vorrede, Namen des Verfassers und Jahreszahl, das aber dem Drucke nach sehr alt sein muß, und wesentlich von jenem abweicht, weil es unter 439 Grundzeichen 54,745 Caractere enthält. — Das in Paris (Fourmont Gram. Sin. pag. 356 sqq.) befindliche *Chài-biān* in fünf Bänden scheint ebenfalls von beiden verschieden zu sein. — Meine Edition ist von 1626.

(若湯海篇 *Ruò-Tāng Hǎipiān*.<sup>64</sup> There are several dictionaries entitled *Hǎipiān*, which are not to be confused with the one called *Piānhǎi* [篇海], written by Hán Xiàoyàn [韓孝彦] and containing 54,595 characters. This *Hǎipiān* here was published under the Míng 明 dynasty and consists of twelve fascicles. The first one contains a great many useful things about older characters and gives specimens of the same, which were of great service to our present inquiries. The second fascicle explains the most difficult characters from the old classical works, and the remaining ten contain the dictionary proper, explaining 66,174 letters under 707 radicals,<sup>65</sup> albeit only very briefly. The 707 radicals follow the alphabetical order of the 36 Chinese consonants. Apart from this one there are several other dictionaries entitled *Hǎipiān*. Thus I am in the possession of one in five volumes, lacking a preface, the name of the author and the year of publication, which judging from the print however must be very old, and which differs from this one, as it contains 54,745 characters arranged under 439 radicals. — The *Hǎipiān* in five volumes found in Paris (Fourmont 1742: 356–359 [VI]) likewise appears to be different from both. — My edition is dated 1626.)

What Klaproth describes here is a dictionary we have already met with above: HT. Its extent given here (“zwölf Hefte”) matches that of “Hai - pien. 12 Vol.” in the preceding quote — no corresponding entry is found however in the catalogue of Klaproth’s library. The reason is simple and well known: This was the dictionary “en 12 cahiers”

<sup>64</sup> Klaproth here combines two discontinuous parts of the full title, which reads: *Jīngjuān Hǎiruò Tāng xiānshēng jiàodìng yīnshì Hǎipiān tǒnghuì* 精鑄海若湯先生校訂音釋海篇統匯. Note by the way the great resemblance of this title to that of WZ.

<sup>65</sup> Earlier Klaproth (1802b: 102, note \*) had given the number of 66,474 characters under 707 radicals for a *Zihǎi*, most likely based on the *Yīnyùn zihǎi* as it was apparently found in Berlin.

he sold to Italian sinologist Antonio Montucci (1762–1829) on 12.V.1812 and which is now known as Borg. Cin. 262–263 in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (see Mungello 1985: 217 and Pelliot / Takata 1995: 17). When a few years later Montucci (1815: 103) claims to be “in possession of a Dictionary, entitled *Hai-pien*, the contents of which arranged under *seven hundred and five keys*”, this is without doubt the same work.<sup>66</sup>

The only work of the *Zihǎi* that can be demonstrated to have been available to Klaproth in 1810 for his “Sprachproben” was therefore not YZ but rather HT. Another point of interest is the provenance of Klaproth’s HT: it first appears in his writings during his time in Russia, or more precisely, when he was working for the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg – and thus exactly the same place where Bayer had been working on his Chinese–Latin dictionary in the 1730s with the help of none other than HT! As mentioned above it is not found in Glasgow today, one plausible explanation being that it was property of the Academy and not Bayer’s own. Indeed a catalogue of the Academy’s Chinese collection compiled between the times of Bayer and Klaproth lists among the philological books a “Chai pian” (Bacmeister 1776: 135). As Bayer was desperately waiting for a *Hǎipiān* to arrive in 1730, it appears that no dictionary of that kind had been part of the collection before HT reached St. Petersburg. It is thus reasonable to equate the unspecified “Chai pian” with the copy of HT Bayer was using – and should be expected to still have been in the Academy when Klaproth first came there in the early years of the 19th century. Yet, when Klaproth received orders to compile a catalogue of the Chinese and Manchu

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<sup>66</sup> Incidentally Montucci gives the correct number of “keys” or radicals, i.e. 705. Klaproth apparently miscounted them, arriving at a total of 707 when he was still in the possession of this work (1811b: 7), which is retained in his later publications (1828: 236; 1832: 19). — Landresse (1839, II: 46, #174) repeats Klaproth’s error with reference to YZ (cf. also note 65).

works in the Academy's library, the final product of August 1810 does not contain a single word hinting at the existence of any *Häipiān* whatsoever (see its edition in Walravens 1988, esp. pp. 31–34). It is thus tempting indeed to think of the Academy's (or Bayer's) HT and Klaproth's (and consequently Montucci's and the BAV's) HT as one and the same exemplar. For the time being we will confine ourselves to merely suggesting this possibility as only a close inspection of Borg. Cin. 262–263 can possibly clarify the situation. Suffice it to say for now that this would by far not be the first time that Klaproth is claimed to have stolen books, even specifically for St. Petersburg there are quite a few cases.<sup>67</sup> It is beyond doubt that Klaproth had at least some items from the collection of the Academy of Sciences in his possession, some still at the time of his death, others possibly already sold. Incidentally there is even a document listing a “Hai-phian” carrying the number 184 among a number of works which Klaproth had borrowed at some point and which should have been back in the library according to his signatures, but which in fact were not to be found upon checking (see Куликова 2001: 29). Now #184 is nothing else than the “Chai pian” in the catalogue Bacmeister quoted from.<sup>68</sup>

Coming now back to the collection in Berlin, we notice that Klaproth likewise compiled a catalogue here after he had left Russia for good. It was finished in 1812 (but published as late as 1822) and bears a striking resemblance to the St. Petersburg catalogue: It mentions no dictionary of interest to the present discussion, neither a *Häipiān* nor a *Zihāi*. What had happened to the dictionaries mentioned by Müller and Mentzel way back? If the above

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<sup>67</sup> Cf. already Dorn (1846: 92f.) and Audiffret / Pillet (1846: 447) for instance. Also see Gimm (1995: 576, note 31) and the various references therein.

<sup>68</sup> The original catalogue used by Bacmeister was later also published in German, retaining among other things the shelf numbers ([Busse] 1794; see page 279, #184 for the “Chai-pian” in question; alternatively see Walravens 1998: 415, who provides the same data).

assumptions concerning HT and the circumstances of its “acquisition” are correct, might the Chinese work underlying “SJ” have ended up in Klaproth’s private collection as well? We already mentioned the posthumous catalogue of his collection, and indeed there is a very curious entry here, immediately preceding the above-mentioned one dealing with *Xīnjiào jīngshǐ hǎipiān zhíyīn*. It runs as follows (Landresse 1839, II: 46, #174):

YIN YUN TSEU HAÏ; La mer des caractères, rangés par ordre tonique. In-4, dem.-rel., m. v.

Ce lexique passe pour un des plus complets. Il contient l’explication de 66,174 caractères distribués sous 707 radicaux. Les exemplaires en sont rares, même à la Chine.

(*Yīnyùn zìhǎi* ‘The sea of characters, arranged in tonal order’. In quarto, half-bound, green morocco.

This dictionary is considered one of the most comprehensive. It contains an explanation of 66,174 characters arranged under 707 radicals. Copies of this work are rare, even in China.)

Via the auction of Klaproth’s collection this copy of YZ entered the library of Pierre Léopold van Alstein (1791–1862), professor in Ghent, where it remained until the latter’s own death. Again an auction catalogue was published and here we meet again with YZ, but not just YZ (Heussner 1863, I: 191, #2665; 193, #2686):

2665 Fragment du Haïpien, édition de 1596, suivant une note manuscrite (de Klaproth?)

[...]

2686 Yin yun tseu haï. La mer des caractères. Dict. par ordre tonique. in-4, d. rel. m. v. *Rare même à la Chine.*

Exempl. Klaproth. II, 174.

(2665 A fragment of the 1596 edition of *Hǎipiān*, according to a handwritten note [by Klaproth?].

2686 *Yīnyùn zìhǎi* 'The sea of characters'. Dictionary in tonal order. In quarto, half-bound, green morocco. *Rare, even in China.*)

From van Alstein's library these and countless other items then became of part of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana, part of which (including most of the Chinese works) was in turn sold in 1901 and incorporated into the newly opened John Rylands Library in Manchester. That both items were part of Bibliotheca Lindesiana in 1895 is apparent from the catalogue of the Chinese works compiled at that time (Edmond 1895: 20, #128; 68, #136):

**128.—Hai p'ien.** Fragment of the dictionary so called. 265 × 160 mm.

[1596]

[...]

**136.—Yin yün tzǔ hai.** The Sea of characters. A tonic dictionary. 235 × 150 mm.

While not all entries of the 1895 catalogue are nowadays found in Manchester, this is fortunately however the case for both items in question.<sup>69</sup> Neither appears to contain any explicit evidence as to their original provenance, yet it is highly probable that they were formerly part of the Electoral collection in Berlin. The fragment belongs to HX (cf. note 56), which was indeed published in 1596, and consists of books XVI and XVII, albeit incomplete – thus perfectly fitting Müller's description of Ludolf's *Häipiān*.<sup>70</sup> Apart from the end of book XX we find the seal of some previous (Chinese?) owner at the beginning of exactly eight books of YZ, suggesting that the exemplar was at some point divided into and bound in eight volumes (1: introductory book, 2: I, 3: II, 4: III–V, 5: VI–VIII, 6: IX–

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<sup>69</sup> The author would like to take this opportunity to express his gratitude to the special collections staff at the John Rylands Library, first and foremost Elizabeth Gow and Suzanne Fagan, for patiently answering his various inquiries prior to inspecting the works in person in November 2010.

<sup>70</sup> The fragment spans folios 1–12 and 15–32 of book XVI (i.e. with 13f. missing, but otherwise complete) as well as folios 1–18 of book XVII.

XI, 7: XII–XIV, 8: XV–XX) – again coinciding with Müller’s and Klaproth’s words. At some point however it was rebound into a single volume, and judging from the fact that the title on the spine is given in the German-based Romanization “Dsü-chai” (which is typical of Klaproth 1811b and 1822, i.e. his 1812 catalogue of the Berlin collection) this was most likely done briefly after it entered Klaproth’s possession around 1811 or 1812.

It is here thus left to the reader to decide whether it is likely to be mere coincidence when Müller’s catalogue from the 1680s mentions a *Häipiān* fragment as well as a *Zihāi* for the Berlin collection, while Klaproth mentions them not even with a single word in his own 1812 catalogue of the same collection, but rather held the two above-mentioned items in his private possession.

Our preliminary conclusion is therefore that the Berlin *Zihāi* put into use by Müller in “SJ” and other works was indeed an exemplar of *Yīnyùn zihāi*, almost certainly exactly the same one that is now found in Manchester.<sup>71</sup> Incidentally the title page of YZ merely carries the short title “*Zihāi*” in large characters, which might explain why both Müller and Mentzel never considered it necessary to speak of “*Yīnyùn zihāi*”.

#### 4. Closing remarks

At about the same time as Müller was writing his account of the Japanese script, Georg Meister (1653–1713) visited Japan twice, namely in 1682–83 and 1685–86. Following his return to Europe he published *Der Orientalisch-Indianische Kunst- und Lust-Gärtner* (The Oriental-Indian art and pleasure gardener; Dresden 1692), which is in fact the only other

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<sup>71</sup> There does not appear to be anything suggesting the existence of a WZ in Europe at an early date, or of another exemplar of YZ besides the one owned for some time by Klaproth.

work from the German-speaking area besides Müller's to include anything on a Japanese syllabary in a meaningful arrangement up to the publication of Engelbert Kaempfer's (1651–1716) *History of Japan* in 1727. Meister's work enjoyed several editions and does not appear to have fallen into oblivion anytime soon. Accordingly, it is mentioned in the standard reference works on languages dating from the early 19th century – first and foremost Adelung (1806: 571), Vater (1815: 99) and Vater / Jülg (1847: 175) – and has later been included in all important bibliographies on Japan covering the early centuries, e.g. Pagès (1859: 39, #356), Wenckstern (1895: 187), Cordier (1912: 406), Japaninstitut (1940: 234f., #1003–#1005) and Hadamitzky / Rudat-Kocks (1990–, A/1: 27, #395–#399). The 20th century furthermore saw an introduction to Japanese scholarship by Yoshimachi (1940 [1977: 26]; 1959 [1977]) as well as a detailed study by Michel (1986). Finally a number of pages in Kapitza's monumental *Japan in Europa* (1990, I: 938–955) were devoted to Meister's work as well.

If we now turn to Müller the outcome is rather meager. Even if only the readily available *AaN* and “SJ” are considered, they are not mentioned in any of the works named above, and apart from the aforementioned reference by Walravens (1993) and the important studies by Kornicki (1993) and Lewin (1999), everything suggests that it has long been virtually unknown. This is all the more surprising if we compare the scholarly level of Müller's work – which not only points out the shortcomings of Duret's account of the script, but also makes use of Japanese and Chinese sources besides European ones, even though the author never made it to East Asia himself – with that of Meister's, which does not go beyond a plate showing the *hiragana* syllabary arranged according to the *iroha* together with its reading and does not contain even a single line of commentary. This is not to diminish the value of



Meister's work, which has a charm of its own for sure, but simply to say that the pioneering efforts of Müller deserve far more attention than they have hitherto attracted.

Likewise unmentioned in previous scholarship is the fact that Müller was probably the first to present lexical items from Ryūkyūan to the scholarly world in the West, albeit without being aware of himself doing so.<sup>72</sup> The poverty of materials at his disposal and especially the fact that Ryūkyūan was even less known than Japanese at his time are certainly sufficient to explain and pardon the error committed by his confusion of the languages.

In fact, the Ryūkyūan glossary in *Yīnyùn zìhǎi* was even considered to be Japanese, not Ryūkyūan, by contemporary scholars in Japan, such as Matsushita Kenrin 松下見林 (1637–1703) who expresses this view in his *Ishō Nihon-den* 異稱日本傳 (1693: B.VII/38b). And a century later, Morishima Chūryō 森島中良 (1754–1810) likewise informs the readers of his *Ryūkyūdan* 琉球談 (1790: 39) at the beginning of the brief section on the Ryūkyūan language, that the words recorded in the *Zhōngshān chuánxìn lù* 中山傳信錄 (1721) were ignored by him, as he considered them to be Japanese throughout. — In other words: Müller is hardly to blame for confusing the two closely related languages. At best it is surprising to find this fact remaining unnoticed up until the present day.

Müller's general impact on later scholars is difficult to measure, though some indicators do indeed exist. Engelbert Kaempfer for instance expresses his keen interest in his works in a letter to Zacharias Goeze [Götze] (1662–1729) dated 1696 (#156 in Haberland 2001: 526–530), and there is hardly a single one among the 19th century Orientalists who is not

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<sup>72</sup> William Adams (1564–1620) and his log-book, in which a number of Ryūkyūan words, phrases and names are recorded, would be earlier, but remained in manuscript form until the early 20th century.

in the possession of at least several pieces of his opus.<sup>73</sup> Concerning “SJ” in particular however, only little is known so far. Apart from Bayer, who was well acquainted with Müller’s opus in general and sought to improve Müller’s account through his own field-work with Japanese who had been shipwrecked, there seems to be only one scholar who makes use of “SJ” in the late 18th century: Christian Wilhelm Büttner (1716–1801), himself little known nowadays. We will return to the life and work of this fascinating person on a different occasion, suffice it to say here that he published two closely related works on the writing systems of the world in the 1770s: *Vergleichungs-Tafeln der Schriftarten verschiedener Völker, in denen vergangenen und gegenwärtigen Zeiten* (Comparative tables of the scripts of various peoples in times past and present; unfinished; first two parts published in 1771 and 1779 respectively) as well as “Brevis expositio alphabetorum omnium populorum et affinitatum quibus illa inter se conivincta sunt” (Brief explanation of the alphabets of all peoples and the relationships through which they are connected with each other; 1777). Büttner generally has little to say concerning the sources he relied on for the multitude of writing systems he includes in his studies, but the case of Japanese is relatively simple: the *kana* and cursive characters in columns 44–46 of his comparative tables I to V (in both 1777 and 1779) were taken straight from Kaempfer’s syllabaries (1727 [etc.]: plate XLV), whereas column 47 and its Chinese transcription of the *iroha* was apparently taken from Müller’s second *iroha* in “SJ”.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> For Klaproth see entries #978 *bis*, #1022, #1617, #1618, #1620 and #1873 in Landresse (1839, I). The picture is similar in the catalogues of the libraries of other roughly contemporary Orientalists.

<sup>74</sup> The same column also contains 36 further characters that are not found in SJ, namely the 36 traditional initials of Chinese as found in rhyme tables for instance. Their source has not yet been identified, but might be from Müller as well judging from their appearance (note that they are also found on pp. 10b–11a in the introductory book of the *Zihāi* group).

During the first half of the 19th century, new and usually more reliable sources on the Japanese language and script started to appear in considerable numbers, thereby rendering the earlier works by Duret, Müller, Kaempfer and others obsolete. If it was not for 18th century scholars like Büttner, there appears to be little room for actually putting Müller's account into use. However small the impact of Müller's studies of Japanese may have been on later scholarship, in view of the above glimpses at Müller's work we cannot but close with the words of Kornicki (1993: 517): He deserves to be neglected no longer as a pioneer Japanologist.

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## 6. Appendix: *Alphabeta Universi*

Unlike *AaN*, the earlier collection *AU* appears to be almost unknown nowadays, so that a few words on the latter as well as on the relation between the two seem in order. While *AaN* is rather commonly met with in libraries,<sup>75</sup> there is only a single copy of *AU* that is currently available for inspection, namely the one in Dresden (Sächsische Landesbibliothek

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<sup>75</sup> In German libraries alone there are already more than ten copies, though sometimes incomplete ones. Further copies the present author is aware of are found in Great Britain and the United States.

– Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Ling.var.98).<sup>76</sup> Let us now first recount what earlier sources from the 18th and 19th century have to tell us about *AU*.

Probably the earliest description of this collection we owe to Theophil Siegfried Bayer, who mentions it twice in some detail: in his *Museum Sinicum* of 1730 and again in an article published only in 1741 – this latter posthumously published piece is in fact the older of the two, as it is an edited version of a letter from Bayer to Heinrich Bartsch (1667–1728).<sup>77</sup> We will present the two in order of their publication.

In the long preface to his *Museum*, Bayer retells the history of Chinese language studies up to his own day, which naturally also leads him to Müller. Here the work in question is described as follows, in a passage we have already quoted in part (Bayer 1730, I: 45f.; an earlier translation is found in Lundbæk 1986: 67f.):

Eodem anno Mullerus etiam versiones precum sanctissimarum et alphabeta omnium gentium Berolini sub personatis Thomae Ludekenii et Hagii Barnimi nominibus dedit. Cuius exemplaria libri quaedam euulgata, alia diu neglecta sunt, donec post aliquot annos Berolini cum vita Mulleri cura Sebastiani Godofredi Starkii in lucem sunt protracta, abolita tamen dedicatione. Quaedam exemplaria a Mullero Sedinum auecta in Godofredi Bartschii manus venerunt, in quibus Hibernica et Aethiopica Copticaque accesserunt, quae in Berolinensi editione deficiunt. Habeo exemplar, cui Bartschius Regiomonte cum degeret, titulum suumque nomen inscripsit: (\*) sequitur praefatio ipsa Mulleri manu, Bartschii tamen nomine scripta. Adiecta quoque sunt quaedam tum alia, tum Sinica, vt ex Kircheri figurae auium et draconum in litteras coeuntium et alphabetum Europaeum Sinicis litteris expressum. Tamen etiam hoc in libro littera Sinica vna, quae in sanctissimis precibus omissa iam ante fuerat, nondum est adiecta, et vna, quae foede truncata fuerat, nondum est restituta.

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<sup>76</sup> A digital edition produced upon the author's request is publically available online under the following PURL: <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/ppn307861244>.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Bayer (1741: 132f., note \*).

(\*) *Alphabeta vniuersi aliaque affinis argumenti, quorum indicem versa ostendet pagina, editore Godofredo Bartschio Chalcographo, Regiomonti Borussiae anno M D CXCIV.*

(Also in the same year [= 1680] Müller published in Berlin under the pseudonyms Thomas Ludeken and Hagius Barnimus versions of the most holy prayer and the alphabets of all peoples. Some copies of this book came out, but the others were long neglected until some years later in Berlin they were brought to light together with [a description of] the life of Müller by the diligence of Sebastian Gottfried Starck, the dedication however done away with. Having been taken to Stettin by Müller, some copies came into the hands of Gottfried Bartsch, in which [versions of the Lord's Prayer in] Irish, Ethiopian and Coptic have been added, which are wanting in the Berlin edition.<sup>78</sup> I have a copy, on which Bartsch, when he lived in Königsberg, has written a title and his name:

*The Alphabets of the World, and other works of related content, an index of which the following page shows. At the editor Gottfried Bartsch, engraver, at Königsberg in Prussia, in the year 1694.*

[Then] follows a preface, written in Müller's own hand, but in the name of Bartsch. Added to this are also other things, some [on] Chinese [matters], such as from Kircher the figures of birds and dragons combined into letters and the European alphabet expressed in Chinese letters, and some on other [matters]. However even in this book the one Chinese letter that had already been omitted

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<sup>78</sup> This must refer to the numbers "VII. Coptica. Characteres Æthiopicæ" (Coptic, in Ethiopian characters), "XII. Hibernica" (Irish) and "XIII. Latina. Characteres Æthyopico (Latin, in Ethiopian characters)" in *Versionum Orationis Dominicæ*. In the Dresden copy of *AU* the spaces reserved for the reproductions in the named scripts are left blank however.

Incidentally the dating of *Versionum* is somewhat problematic. As Adelung (1806: 657) already pointed out, the year given here, i.e. 1660, cannot be correct, as is obvious from the dates found in the comments to numbers IV (1674), VI (1677) and VIII (1685). Adelung's emendation into 1690 appears reasonable, but if Jēgers' (1959: 30, note 46) assumptions are correct it must even have been printed not earlier than between late 1692 and 1694.

before in the most holy prayer and one that had been horribly mutilated have not yet been restored.)<sup>79</sup>

Note especially the alphabet in Chinese characters<sup>80</sup> and “the figures of birds and dragons” allegedly taken from Kircher (i.e. 1667: 227–233 or alternatively 1654: 12, 16–21) – but actually based on YZ’s introductory book, 3b, as stated by Müller (1683b: 51) himself in the work the plate was originally made for –, which are indeed also found in the Dresden copy (cf. plates [7] and [8]), but not in *AaN*.<sup>81</sup>

Absent however in the same copy is the preface Bayer refers to – and which fortunately he quotes in full in the above-mentioned letter. Having mentioned Müller’s 1680 collection and its republication in the form of *AaN* here, Bayer (1741: 135–137) continues:

Sed quoniam, ut dixi, Bartschius, tabulas æneas penes se habebat, novam is editionem procuravit, cum priori penitus convenientem, nisi quod hæc aliquanto splendidior eo titulo est: *Alphabeta universi, aliaque affinis argumenti, quorum indicem versa ostendet pagina, editore Godofredo Bartschio, Calco-*

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<sup>79</sup> While it is unclear which character is supposed to be missing, the mutilated one will certainly be *shè* 赦 ‘forgive’ (corresponding to position 62 in Müller’s grid), which is indeed illegible here.

<sup>80</sup> At least the second column (reading A: 亞, C: 則, D: 得, E: 核, F: 非 etc.) is clearly based on the alphabet reproduced by Thévenot (1672: plate to “Voyage a la Chine des PP. I. Grveber et d’Orville”), whose work Müller was acquainted with. Laures (1957: 26f, #1) assumes this to be identical with the “Latin-Chinese Alphabet” printed in Macao in 1585 under Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606); cf. also Fukushima (1984).

The examples of names transcribed into Chinese characters found next to Müller’s alphabet were probably gathered by himself from the various Chinese missionary publications available in the Electoral collection at that time (cf. the items listed in Müller [1683?]).

<sup>81</sup> The exact content and structure of *AaN* can be ascertained not only via inspection of extant copies. There is also an exceedingly detailed book notice dating from the mid-18th century (Anonymous 1750) and, even more importantly, some copies of *AaN* still contain a “Bericht an die Buchbinder/ wie gegenwärtige Werke auffeinander folgen sollen” (Directions to the bookbinders as to how the present works are supposed to be arranged). The latter is for instance found in a fragmentary Berlin copy of *AaN* (Staatsbibliothek, Bibl. Diez qu. 2499, work 9 of 12 bound together in a single volume).

*grapho, Regiomonti Borussorum, Anno M DC XCIV. Hæc sunt incisa æneæ tabulæ. Nactus sum exemplar, quod ipsius Bartschii fuit, in quo Andreas Mullerus, manu sua, brevem adornavit præfationem, veluti ab editore profectam, quæ est ejusmodi:*

Candide lector.

Alphabeta universi, hoc est omnia, aut omnigena saltem, per universum terrarum orbem recepta, promittit libelli frons prima. Numerum tamen quis inerat eorum, quæ desiderari queant? Multa enim cum gente sua dudum periisse vix dubitat, qui temporum rationem novit. Fortassis etiam aliqua sunt, quæ nondum sunt prodita Europæis. Interea tamen potissima habes. Et plura quoque propediem habebis, dummodo grata fuerint hæc initia. Vides enim liberalitatem auctoris forte docti & curiosi, cum non alphabeta tantum concesserit mihi, sed syllabaria quoque, hoc est, literarum, quæ una eademque figura, per consonarum & vocalium indissolubilem connexionem, totas ac meras constituunt syllabas. Neque hoc tantum, sed & alia, quæ index subindicat. Alphabeta certe universi superesse optabat *Morhofius* (Polyh. I. 12. p. 115. ppr.) Promittebat etiam editionem *Happelius*, Rel. curios. P. I. p. 801. P. II. 1846. P. III. Præf. p. 6. Possidere se Alphabeta omnium linguarum videri volebat Gallus quidam, C. P. V. nomine, teste *Sponio* Itiner. P. I. pag. 194. Tentavit aliqua huc facientia *Edwardus Bernardi*, Prof. Oxon. in Tabula, qua orbis eruditi literaturam a caractere Samaritico deducere conatur. Mitto aliorum studia. De quorum collectionibus sententiam meam non desideras, puto. Quin potius tuam de his operis meis cognoscere aveo. Multa superesse mihi, fateor, plura auctori. Tu interim Centone isto contentus eris. Steganographica enim, ac Tachygraphica scribendi & legendi ratio parti II. reservatur, cum ceteris ex omni classe scripturarum generibus, cumque alphabeto universali, hoc est, indice litterarum nove formatarum, quibus omnium gentium, aut in quas divisæ sunt linguarum litteræ, syllabæ & voces exprimi, & singulorum genuina pronuntiatio aliorum quorumvis populorum labio accomodari possint, per harmonium omnium alphabetorum syllabarium &c. Vale.

(But since, as I have said, Bartsch had the copper plates in his possession, he has taken care of a new edition, agreeing with the previous one [i.e. *AaN*; *SO*] through and through, except for that it is somewhat more splendid in its title: *The Alphabets of the World, and other works of related content, an index of*



which the following page shows. At the editor Gottfried Bartsch, engraver, at Königsberg in Prussia, in the year 1694. These are engraved in copper plates. I have obtained an exemplar, which had been Bartsch's own and which Andreas Müller provided with a brief preface in his own hand, in a manner as if it originated by the publisher, which is of this kind:

Dear reader.

*The Alphabets of the World* promises the cover of this little book, that is: all, or at least all kinds of [alphabets] collected throughout the entire circle of the earth. Who however enumerates those which might be missing? He who knows the course of time hardly doubts, that many have disappeared together with their people some time ago. Perhaps there are others however, which have not yet been discovered by the Europeans. Meanwhile however you have the most important ones [here]. And you will also have more very soon, provided these initial ones will have been agreeable.<sup>82</sup> For you see the liberty of the author, perhaps erudite and careful, when he has not only consigned over to me alphabets, but also syllabaries, that is, [scripts consisting] of letters, which in a single form constitute entire pure syllables through the indivisible union of consonants and vowels. Not by so much though, but also others, which the index indicates. Morhof (*Polyhistor*, chapter XII, circa p. 115)<sup>83</sup> wished that in fact there remain [further] alphabets in the world. Happel (*Relationes Curiosæ*, vol. I. p. 801; vol. II, p. 184; vol. III, preface p. 6)<sup>84</sup> even promised an edition. A certain Frenchman,

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<sup>82</sup> Cf. below on the planned sequel to *AU*.

<sup>83</sup> See Morhof (1688–1692).

<sup>84</sup> See Happel (1683, 1685, 1687). Page [801] (corresponding to [737] in the re-edition also dated 1683) in vol. I, the first half of the postface, is unnumbered. Here Happel announces for one of the next volumes something about languages, their respective writing systems and pronunciation, as well as a collection of versions of the Lord's Prayer in about one hundred languages. Müller's "1846" (no such page exists in vol. II) must be an error for "184", which directs the reader to the entry "Die Schrifften der Alten" (The scripts of the ancients). Again Happel expresses his intention to write about languages and scripts in the future. The last reference should probably also lead to vol. II instead of III. For on page [6] (last page of "Vorrede an den Leser", or preface to the reader) we likewise read about his plans to inform his readers about "the languages of the entire world together with their characters", of which he claims to have already collected close to one hundred.

C. P. V. by name, wanted to appear as to possess the alphabets of all languages, according to Spon (*Itinerary*, part I, p. 194).<sup>85</sup> Edward Bernard, professor at Oxford, has attempted things useful here in his table, which tried to derive the writing of the [entire] educated world from the Samaritan characters.<sup>86</sup> I will pass over the studies of others. I reckon you do not long for my judgment of their collections. Why do I not rather desire you to get to know these works of mine? Many things remain for me, I confess, more for the author. You will in the meantime be content with this patchwork. For the way of writing and reading in steganography and tachygraphy is reserved for the second part, with the remaining kinds from all classes of scripts, and with an universal alphabet, that is, a list of newly formed letters, by which the letters, syllables and sounds of the languages of all peoples, or into what they are else divided, can be expressed, and the genuine pronunciation of each one accommodated to the lips of whichever other people through the harmony of all alphabets, syllabaries and so on. Farewell!)

Müller was thus planning a sequel to *AU*, which is also obvious from the index of this work: “Index eorum quæ Opusculi hujus Pars I. comprehendit”, i.e. Index of what this present part I of this little work comprises. Regrettably this never happened however.

The next author who had a first-hand knowledge of *AU* was Johann Christoph Adelung, recounting its history of publication in his *Mithridates* (1806: 658–659). Right after our earlier quote from this work, Adelung adds a few lines on Bartsch and the publication of *AU*. Having enumerated all the materials united in this collection he goes on:

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Volumes IV and V of this series were published in 1689 and 1691 respectively, but they might have been unknown to Müller at the time of writing. In any case, while these last volumes contain a few brief articles on languages (IV: 516–521, 535–548), Happel apparently did not keep his promise.

<sup>85</sup> The exact reference is unclear, though Jacob Spon and his *Voyage d’Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece et du levant* (first published Lyon 1678) or its German translation *Italiänische/ Dalmatische/ Griechische und Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung* (Nürnberg 1681, again in 1690) appears to be meant.

<sup>86</sup> See Bernard (1689).

Bayer versichert ausdrücklich, daß Müller diese Sammlung mit einer Vorrede in Bartschens Nahmen versehen habe. Bey dem hiesigen Churfürstlichen Exemplare ist keine befindlich, und mehrere habe ich nicht gesehen; denn auch diese Sammlung ist sehr unbekannt und selten. Die gedachte Vorrede scheint auch wirklich nur handschriftlich geblieben zu seyn, daher Bayer sie in *Lilienthals Preuß. Zehenten* Th. 2, S. 136 abdrucken ließ. Bartsch ging indessen 1701 von Königsberg nach Danzig, wo er 1702 starb. Da er keine Erben hinterließ, so wurden die noch vorhandenen Exemplare nebst andern Schriften Müllers auf das Rathhaus gebracht, und Bayer konnte noch 1730 nicht erfahren, was aus ihnen geworden sey, ungeachtet er an Ort und Stelle war.

(Bayer assures us explicitly that Müller provided this collection with a preface in Bartsch's name. In the copy of the Electoral library here no preface is to be found, and I have not seen further copies, as this collection is likewise exceedingly little known and rare. The preface mentioned above indeed appears to have remained in manuscript form, which is why Bayer had it printed in Michael Lilienthal's *Preußische Zehenden* 2, pp. 136[f]. Meanwhile Bartsch moved from Königsberg to Danzig in 1701, where he died in 1702. As he left no heirs behind, the remaining copies were brought to the town hall together with other writings of Müller, and in 1730 Bayer was still not able to find out what had become of them despite having being on the spot.)

When Adelung writes of “dem hiesigen Churfürstlichen Exemplare”, this needless to say refers to the Electoral Library in Dresden, where he held the position of chief librarian since 1787. He thus describes exactly the same copy as is still found in Dresden today, the preface already lacking in Adelung's time.

With Bayer and Adelung, the list of persons who can be claimed with certainty to have had a copy of *AU* right in front of them already ends. Later mentionings, such as those by Eichhorn (1807: 37) or Wachler (1833: 131) are probably all based upon Adelung's widely read *Mithridates* and in any case provide nothing new. Of considerable interest is however the following entry in Toustain / Tassin (1765: xxvij):

*Gothofr. BERTHELII Alphabeta univerfi, &c. Jenæ, 1688.*

Both the year and place of publication (Jena 1688) are inexplicable for the time being,<sup>87</sup> but apart from the title also the reference to Gottfried Bartsch leaves no doubt that they had the same work in mind. The orthographical problems in Bartsch's name suggest that this entry was copied from somewhere else and rather not the work itself, but the possibility exists that an earlier edition of *AU* had been prepared.<sup>88</sup>

Coming back to the present now, only the Dresden copy is readily available for study. According to its catalogue another copy of *AU* is to be found in the library of Leipzig University (Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Ling.35), however it lacks a title page and does not show *any* of the characteristics of the Dresden copy or the one described by Bayer, such as the two additions concerning Chinese.<sup>89</sup> Its arrangement of the materials is identical to *AaN* but not *AU* in so far as "Alphabetorum Index Universalis" *follows* the various accounts of writings systems instead of preceding them. As there is thus *nothing at all* to suggest that this is in fact an incomplete *AU*, the library catalogue is probably simply in error and we are instead dealing with an incomplete *AaN* here.

There remains however the chance that at least one more copy exists, or at least existed: the one referred to by Bayer. In favour of the view that the Dresden copy is *not* after all the same as Bayer's are the following observations: (1) The preface quoted by Bayer is missing here, which was already true for Adelung's time. (2) In the copy Bayer saw

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<sup>87</sup> Around the same time, namely in 1689, at least two other publications of Müller, one with additions by his son Quodvultdeus Abraham, were published in Jena (Müller 1689a, 1689b [reference based on Andreae / Geiger 1864: 85]).

<sup>88</sup> If so however probably not including all materials of the 1694 edition, as the last work contained in *AU* (and *AaN*), *Geographia Mosaica* (Mosaic geography), was published only in 1689.

<sup>89</sup> The author would like to express his gratitude towards Sölve Faja of the named library for closely inspecting the Leipzig copy and providing me with a detailed description of its structure and content (personal communication, 19.I.2010).

“Hibernica et Aethiopica Copticaque accesserunt”, but they are left blank here (cf. note 78).

Tracing Bayer’s *AU* will be an important task for the future.

To close this appendix a comparative table is provided in the following, giving each single work *AU* and *AaN* consist of. The main body of both collections, i.e. excluding prefatory materials such as the table of contents or the preface, is divided into three larger sections, with A comprising works related to writing systems, B comprising Müller’s 1680 collection of versions of the Lord’s Prayer as well as the additions to it, and C finally with the remaining works dealing with numismatics, inscriptions and geography (the latter work includes an often overlooked world map, though it is missing in some copies of *AaN*).

	<i>AU</i>	<i>AaN</i>	title
	1	—	Index eorum quæ Opusculi hujus Pars I. comprehendit.
	—	1	“Lector Benevole”, includes “Catalogus Opusculorum quæ edidit Andreas Mullerus, Greiffenhagius”
A	2	— (→18)	Alphabetorum Index Universalis
	3	2	Alphabetum Romanum. Et ex hōc Transformata quædam alia Belgicum, Hibernicum, Anglo-Saxonicum, Jamq̄ Antiqvarum, Gothicum. Itemq̄ Runicum, Hetruscum, & Szekelicum.
	4	3	Alphabetum Græcum. Atticum scil. cum Jonico. Ut & Æolico. Quæque ex Græco derivata ac Novis porrò Literis aucta sunt: Ægyptiacum, & Moskoviticum. Tandemq̄, posteriori huic alioqvi vicinum, Slavonicum.
	5	4	Alphabetum Hebraicum, quod Judaicum vocant, & Assyriacum. Ut & duo illa, ex quibus natum esse perhibetur, Phoenicium, quod & Punicum, ac Samaritanum, quod & Hebraicum Priscum appellant. Ea quoq̄ quæ inde porrò successivè nata sunt: Chaldaicum, quod Estrangelo, Syriacum, quod Aramæum cognominant, & Arabicum antiqvum, in formâ Kuficâ.
	6	5	Alphabeti Hebraici Corollarium. H. E. De Accentuum Hebraicorum Ratione Tabulæ insuper Duæ ipsiusq̄, Accentuationis Ablegmina.
	7	6	Alphabetum Arabicum, Idemq̄ novis insuper Literis auctum: Persicum, Turcicum, Tataricum, Malaicum, aliorumq̄ Alkoranistarum.
	8	7	Alphabetum Armenicum.
	9	8	Alphabetum Gjorgjanicum.
	10	9	Alphabeta Fabulosa.
	11	10	Alphabeta Inusitata Hoc est: Antiqvata, Conficta, Fabulosa, Spuria.
	12	11	Syllabarium Æthiopicum. Seu Habessinicum; Literatum Et Amharicum.
13	12	Syllabarium Brachmanicum. Seu Hanscriticum.	

	14	13	Syllabarium Japonicum Geminum. E Manuscripto Meakensis alterum; alterum E Sinarum Traditione.
	15	14	Syllabarium Malabaricum.
	16	15	Hieroglyphicorum Ægyptiacorum Specimen.
	17	16	Scripturæ Figurariæ Mexicanorum Specimen.
	18	—	Alphabetum Sinicum
	19	—	[“figures of birds and dragons”, i.e. ornamental characters from <i>Zihâi</i> ]
	20	17	Notæ Numerorum Illiteratæ, varii generis: Barbaricæ, Romanæ, Ciceronianæ, Indicæ, Sinicæ, Mexicanæ. Qvibus annexi sunt Numeri Cossici, Logistici, Decimales.
	— (→2)	18	Alphabetorum Index Universalis
<b>B</b>	21	19	Orationis Dōminicæ Versiones fermè Centum.
	22	20	Versionum Orationis Dōminicæ Auctarium curante Barnimo Hagio. Anno M DC LX.
<b>C</b>	23	21	Selectiorum Numismatum Inscriptiones nonnullæ, Historicè, Grammaticè, & Criticè Consideratæ. Pera I. Numismata Samaritano & Judaico Characterè; utrinque verò Hebraicâ Lingua Inscripta.
	24	22	Selectiorum Numismatum Inscriptiones nonnullæ, Historicè, Grammaticè, & Criticè Consideratæ. Pera II. Numismata Arabicis partim, partim verò Sinicis, Græcis & Latinis Literis Linguisq̄ Inscripta.
	25	23	Antiqvæ Inscriptiones nonnullæ, quarum Literæ dudum in usu esse desierunt & ignorari cœperunt. Iis denuò Propositæ, qui Ingenii Vires explorare & Inventricis Facultatis Casus obvios minimè negligere volent.
	26	24	A. M. G. Geographia. Mosaica Generalis ex Genesis capite Decimo. cum Novissima Orbis Terraquei Facie, & Commentariolis.

## 7. Plates

The following plates were taken from the Desdesn copy of *AU* (Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Ling.var.98), digitally available in full under the PURL <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/ppn307861244>.

# SYLLABARIUM JAPANICUM

GEMINUM.

*& Manuscripto Meakensis*

*alterum; alterum.*

*& Sinarum Traditione.*

## SYLLABARIUM JAPANICUM.

Ms. Jap.	Sin. Nō. Duret.	Ms. Jap.	Sin. Nom. Duret.
1. Y.	I.	25. I.	I.
2. Po.	Bo.	26. No.	Xo.
3. Fa. <i>Pa.</i>	Fa.	27. Wo	U.
4. Ni.	Ni.	28. Lu. <i>Ku.</i>	Qu.
5. Pho. <i>Pa.</i>	Fo.	29. Ja. <i>Ta.</i>	Li.
6. Phc. <i>Pe.</i>	Fe.	30. Ma.	Ma.
7. To. <i>Tu.</i>	Lo.	31. Qve.	Ke.
8. <i>t</i> Sy. <i>Ch.</i>	Ci.	32. Fu. <i>Pa.</i>	Fu.
9. Ri. <i>Li.</i>	Bi.	33. Co.	Co.
10. Mou.	Nu.	34. Je.	E.
11. Pou.	Bu.	35. Le.	Te.
12. O.	Vo.	36. A.	A.
13. We.	Va.	37. Cal.	Sa.
14. Ka.	Ca.	38. Qi. <i>Ki.</i>	Ky.
15. Sa. <i>Ten.</i>	Jo.	39. Ju.	Ju.
16. Ta.	Ta.	40. Me.	Me.
17. Ve.	Be.	41. Mi.	Mi.
18. <i>t</i> So.	Gu.	42. Xi.	Si.
19. <i>t</i> Su. <i>su.</i>	Cu.	43. Jr.	Je.
20. Ne. <i>Ni.</i>	Ne.	44. Fi.	Fi.
21. Na.	Na.	45. Mo.	Mu.
22. Wa.	Ba.	46. Se. <i>Xi.</i>	Ce.
23. Moc.	Mu.	47. Zu.	Su.
24. Wou.	U.	48. O.	Kio.

“Syllabarium Japonicum”, pp. 1 & 2

Ad

The Japanese studies of Andreas Miller (1630–1694)

**MANUDUCTIO GRAMMATISTICA.**

Ad  
**LECTIONEM**  
**SCRIPTURÆ JAPONICÆ**

1. JAPANES duplici *Scripturarum genere* utuntur :  
a. *Sinico*, de quo alibi ;  
b. *Japonico*, quod hujus loci est.
2. *Illud* Sinicis Notis, nonnihil tamen imutatis, & decurtatis perficitur ; *Hoc* Literis *Syllabicis* potius quam *Alphabeticis*.
3. *Syllaba* XLVIII. sunt.
4. Singularum *Figuras geminas* habes.
5. Et è *Manuscripto* quidem *Meakensi*, recensionem priorem ; Posteriozem verò è *Sinsenium Traditione*.
6. *Hæc* fatis negligentem *Obstetricem* prodiit. Neque n. *Sinæ exotica* magni faciunt ne curæ sibi esse videantur.
7. *Illa*, ut a *Japonensibus* mansit protècta est ; ita multò accuratior.
8. In eodem *Manuscripto* singula *Littera* senis *Notis Sinicis* exprimuntur, iterumq; *Significata* harum *Notarum litterarum Japonicæ* explicantur.

9. Ceterum *Litterarum* seu *Syllabarum*. *Nomen* trifarium h. l. expressi.  
a. *Fide* scil. *Manuscripti*.  
b. Ad modulum dehinc *vocum Mandarinicarum*, quibus autor *Sinæ* singulas indigetavit. Tandem  
c. ut est apud *Duresson*, *Thef.* pag. 913.

10. Cave autem, ne *Syllabas*, quas *Duresson* Literis *Japonicis* loco citato aptavit, his illis aptandas esse putes. Turbavit enim omnia, ut patefceret, si Editionem ejus cum hæc non graveris conferre. *Singula* enim hoc loco restitui.

**LITTERARUM JAPONICARUM ORDO ROMANUS.**

A.	36.	Ky.	38.
Ce.	46.	Lu.	28.
Co.	33.	Ma.	30.
E.	34.	Me.	40.
Fa.	3.	20. Mi.	41.
Fe.	20.	Moe.	23.
Hi.	44.	Mou.	10.
Fu.	32.	Mu.	45.
I.	25.	Na.	21.
Ja.	29.	25. Ne.	20.
Je.	43.	Ni.	4.
Ju.	39.	No.	26.
Ka.	14.	O.	12.
Ke.	31.	Phe.	6.
Kio.	48.	30. Pho.	1.

**MANUDUCTIO GRAMMATISTICA.**

Po.	1.	150.	18.
Pou.	11.	15u.	19.
Ri.	9.	1sy.	8.
Sa.	17.	Ve.	17.
SL.	43.	Wa.	13. 22.
Su.	47.	Wo.	27.
Ta.	16.	37. Wou.	24.
Te.	37.	Y.	1.
40. To.	7.		

12. *Numerorum* loco vel integræ *Voces Japonicæ*. Vel *Notæ*, vocesque *Sinice* usurpantur.

13. *Illas Jemi* vocant, *Has Geje*.  
*Vid. Numer. Illi. Tab.*

15. *Exempla Litterarum.*

.82	2M	3	A
.82	101	4	23
.06	01M	1	2
.04	01M	1	2
.1	01M	1	2
.07	001	0	0
.74	01M	2	
.15	01	2	
.02	01M	1	0
.	01M	1	0
.30	01M	1	0
.15	0	1	0
.0	01M	1	0
.	01M	1	0


(a.) E *Manuscripto Japon.*  
*Quinqs*  
*Quæ sic legenda sunt.*

<i>Sm.</i>	<i>Japan.</i>	<i>Latin.</i>
<i>San.</i>	<i>Miu.</i>	<i>Tres.</i>
<i>Gin.</i>	<i>Nisage.</i>	<i>Pietas.</i>
<i>Li.</i>	<i>Ri.</i>	<i>Lucrum.</i>
<i>Ma.</i>	<i>Cama.</i>	<i>Egvus.</i>
<i>Mu.</i>	<i>Fana.</i>	<i>Mater.</i>

(b.) E *Nomenclatore Sinico Japonicæ* (sed *Notis Sinicis*) explicato.

XIII.

*Hæc* vero in *Tabulâ* jam ante demonstrata sunt.



“Syllabarium Japonicum”, pp. 3 & 4

Sven Osterkamp



“Syllabarium Japonicum”, plates I & II

SYLLABARIUM JAPONICUM. or The Japanese Syllabarium.

の	ろ	あ	ひ	ほ	へ	止	あり	ぬ
以字	落字	罪能字	屋字	加字	加字	學字	學字	知字
百	如	お	加	お	入	乃	乃	乃
要字	係字	嗚字	加字	加字	他字	學字	學字	學字
至	ろ	己	ろ	ろ	ろ	ろ	ろ	ろ
那字	刺字	學字	學字	學字	學字	學字	學字	學字
叶	不	又	以	乙	あ	也	也	也
去字	下字	孤字	係字	的學字	學字	學字	學字	學字
子	入	多	乃	乙	也	也	也	也
美字	實字	世字	屋字	州字	學字	學字	學字	學字

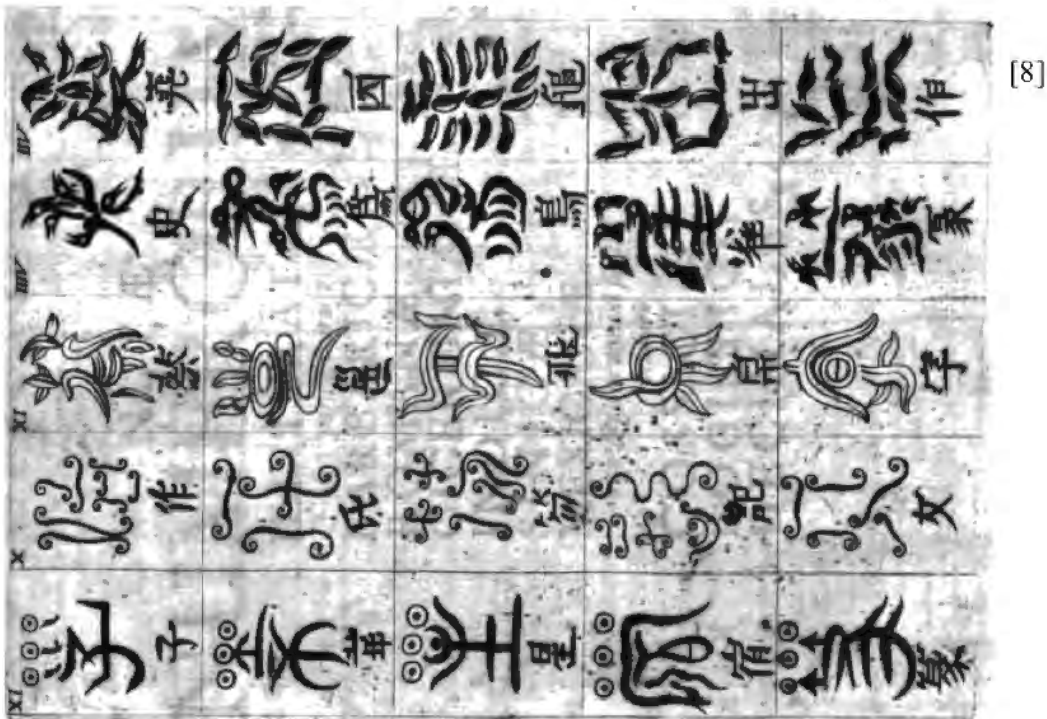
[6]

SYLLABARIUM JAPONICUM. or The Japanese Syllabarium.

い	ろ	ば	に	ほ	へ	こ	り	ぬ	る	な
わ	か	よ	た	れ	ろ	つ	ぬ	ら	び	ろ
お	の	れ	く	や	ま	げ	ふ	こ	ひ	で
さ	き	ゆ	め	み	し	か	ひ	も	せ	す
吾利	年	門	開字	人	足	只	五	馬	吾	牛
Melo	Nien	Muen	Qua	Kin	Terra	Mare	Xari	Nieu	Bos	Super
五	多	之	開	孔	足	五	牙	五	火	
Melo	Nien	Muen	Qua	Kin	Terra	Mare	Xari	Nieu	Bos	Super
利	年	門	開	人	足	只	五	馬	吾	牛
年	年	年	年	年	年	年	年	年	年	年
Nien	Nien	Nien	Nien	Nien	Nien	Nien	Nien	Nien	Nien	Nien
年	年	年	年	年	年	年	年	年	年	年
Nien	Nien	Nien	Nien	Nien	Nien	Nien	Nien	Nien	Nien	Nien

[5]

Additional page #2 on Chinese in *Alphabeta universi* (untitled)



[8]

Additional page #1 on Chinese in *Alphabeta universi*: "Alphabetum Sinicum"

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N
亞	亞	白	則	得	核	非	執	何	依	加	禮	米	亞
亞物瑪利亞 Ave Maria.	亞尼大白 Bechania.	亞利斯首 Cherlocus.	亞利士 Duartonez.	亞利石 Eli.	亞利家 Eli.	亞利月 Genelanceth.	亞內亞 Hacora.	亞嚴義加 Ierusalom.	亞旅嘉 Caspernium.	亞旦 Laong.	亞小 Moses.	亞子 Nicodemus.	亞
阿	阿	力	德	德	德	烏	烏	足	依				
阿國 Hollands.	阿地 Petrus.	阿地 Quernus.	阿地 Bopas.	阿地 Sion.	阿地 Tamerlanos.	阿地 Zar.	阿地 Hongaria.	阿地 Xachans.	阿地 Xachans.	阿地 Xachans.	阿地 Xachans.	阿地 Xachans.	阿地 Xachans.

[7]

アンドレアス・ミュラー著『日本の音節文字』  
——17世紀後半における日本語研究とその資料——

オースタカンプ スエン

要旨

本稿では、欧米における日本語の研究史において重要な意義をもっているにもかかわらず、これまでほとんど注目されてこなかった資料として東洋学者 Andreas Müller (1630~1694) の *Syllabarium Japonicum* (日本の音節文字) を取り上げる。特に、同書のラテン語原文を英訳した上で、彼の研究に利用された資料が何であるかを明らかにすることを目的とする。

Peter Kornicki 氏によって『セッいろは』の写本の一つが同書の出典として夙に突き止められていたが、本研究によって Müller は『セッいろは』以外にも Collado による『日本文典』および『羅西日辞典』、さらに『海篇』類の字書によく登場する「いろは」と琉球語の語彙集を利用していたことが明らかになった。つづいて、*Syllabarium Japonicum* のみならず、あまたある Müller の著作から日本語に関する記述について議論する。彼の著作には日本語とトルコ語が類型論的に似ているといった興味深い指摘を見ることができる。

初期中国学者として知られている Müller の研究と *Syllabarium Japonicum* の成立には、1661 年にブランデンブルク選帝侯によって開設された図書館（現ベルリン国立図書館）とその漢籍コレクションが大きく関わっている。Müller の作成した目録によると、『字海』と呼ばれる字書が 1683 年に漢籍コレクションに加えられたという。本研究では、欧州に所在する『海篇』類字書群の歴史を 17 世紀から現在に至るまで辿り、このベルリン所蔵の『字海』の具体的な候補として、『音韻字海』と呼ばれる字書が最も有力であるという結論に達した。

*Syllabarium Japonicum* の成立年は遺憾ながら厳密には不詳とするほかはないが、『字海』が初めて使われるようになった年代や Müller の活躍時期などを考慮に入れば、1683~1685 年の間と推定できる。もしそうであれば、この著作こそがドイツ語圏における日本文字の紹介・研究書として最初のものということになる。

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