

Lorenzo Hervás (1735–1809) and the account of the Japanese and Korean scripts in his *Paleografía universal**

Sven Osterkamp

Bochum University, Germany

The aim of the present paper is to introduce the little studied *Paleografía universal* of Lorenzo Hervás (1735–1809) and especially its chapter treating the Japanese and Korean scripts. While the manuscript nowadays kept at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (Ms. 8496–8498) was only finished in 1805, the chapter in question can be demonstrated to have already been written by 1798. Together with Joseph Hager's well-known "Alphabet of Corea" (1800) *Paleografía* thus constitutes the earliest Western work to contain an actual specimen of *han'gŭl*, predating those by Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat and others by a number of years. Unlike Hager, Hervás even had an actual Korean print at his disposal, the original of which could be located in the Vatican library.

Positioning *Paleografía* in the history of Western studies of both Korean and Japanese, this paper will outline Hervás's actual achievements and demonstrate in how far the flawed results can be reconciled with the author's claims as to how they were arrived at. As will become clear, a correct understanding and decipherment of the Korean script was all but impossible from the beginning due to the paucity of available sources as well as erroneous and conflicting Western accounts of the Japanese syllabaries.

Keywords: history of Korean studies in the West, history of Japanese studies in the West, *han'gŭl*, *kana*, *Paleografía universal*, Lorenzo Hervás, Stefano Borgia

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The aim of the present paper is to introduce the work of Lorenzo Hervás (1735–1809) on the Korean and Japanese scripts as contained in his *Paleografía universal*. At least some portions of the single extant manuscript of this little studied landmark in the pre-history of grammatology were only finished in 1805, but the chapter treating the Korean and Japanese scripts can be demonstrated to have already been written by 1798. Together with Joseph Hager's (1757–1819) well-known "Alphabet of Corea" (1800)¹ – generally considered to be the earliest account of the Korean script to be published in Europe² – it thus constitutes the earliest Western work to contain an actual specimen of *han'gŭl*, predating those by Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat (1788–1832), Karl Gützlaff (1803–1851), Julius Klaproth (1783–1835), Walter Henry Medhurst (1796–1857) and Philipp

¹ The year of Hager's "Alphabet," published in number 3.1 of William Ouseley's (1767–1842) *Oriental Collections* is variously given as either 1799 or 1800 in the literature. In theory it could also have been written in or prior to 1798 and thus possibly predate Hervás's work on Korean. The relevant dates are thus in need of clarification here first. While number 3.1 contains contributions "for January, February, and March, 1799" it was published about a year later: The dates referred to on pp. 426, 431, 432 of the preceding number 2.4 ("for October, November, and December, 1798") suggest that the same number was completed around the end of the year 1799, not earlier than November. In the following number 3.2 ("for April, May, and June, 1799") a letter dated 15.II.1800 (pp. 133–137) provides us with a *terminus post quem* for its publication. Furthermore, the *Intelligenzblatt der Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung* (64 [17.V.1800]:534) quotes a letter from London dated 4.II.1800, announcing that the third volume (i.e. 3.1–2) will be published before long, while *The Monthly Magazine* (83 = 13.1 [1.II.1802]:61) later dates the publication of the "Alphabet" to "about two years ago in London."

It also appears that Hager's article was written only briefly before its publication in early 1800. As it is based on the copy of *Sangoku tsūran zuzetsu* 三國通覽圖說 in the possession of Isaac Titsingh (1745–1812), who was in London at the time, it is natural to assume that Hager studied the book during his own stay in London. This cannot have been earlier than in late 1799 (cf. Klaproth 1811:3–5), and in view of the fact that the *Intelligenzblatt* (63 [1.IV.1801]:511) dates the beginning of his stay in London to the preceding year, it appears reasonable to date both Hager's encounter with *Sangoku* and the subsequent preparation of his article to early 1800.

² See e.g. Ogura (1938:1; 1940:147) and Ledyard (1966:9 [= 1998:15]), who explicitly state that Hager was the first in Europe to present a specimen of the script. The same is suggested by numerous other studies, such as e.g. Lee Eung-Ho (1983) or Lee Ki-Moon (2000), which likewise mention Hager but no one else before him as a Western scholar to have provided a specimen of the script. — The mere existence of a Korean script had of course already been known in Europe since the 1660s thanks to Hendrik Hamel's (1630–1692) observations during his involuntary stay in Korea (see e.g. Osterkamp 2010a:16f.).

Franz von Siebold (1796–1866) by a number of years.³

Hervás's attempt is at the same time very similar to and very different from Hager's: Both date from virtually exactly the same time; they share the circumstance that the Korean script is presented in relation to the Japanese script in their respective source; and in the end both have to be considered failures. On the other hand, while Hager's treatment of the Korean script was hampered by the poor quality of his Japanese source, Hervás had an actual Korean print at his disposal – which will likewise be introduced in some detail here, as it is of interest in several other respects as well: It was one of the first works (if not *the* first work) printed in Korea and at least in part in *han'gŭl* ever to have reached Europe and it was heavily annotated by an anonymous Korean, thus turning it into a valuable source on late 18th century Korean phonology as well. Be that as it may, the sources available to Hervás were in the end insufficient for a proper understanding of the Korean script. The merit of having first published an account covering at least the basics of how the script actually works is therefore still due to Abel-Rémusat (1820).⁴

Positioning *Paleografía* in the history of Western studies of both Korean and Japanese – and providing an English translation of the most relevant portions of the Spanish manuscript in the appendices –, this paper will outline Hervás's actual achievements and demonstrate in how far the

³ At the same time it is almost certain however that neither Hervás nor Hager was the first European scholar to acquire some concrete knowledge of the Korean script and its structure: Several European addressees received a chart of syllable combinations in *han'gŭl* (or *panjŏlp'yo*) and a multilingual (Latin, Chinese, Manchu and [Sino-]Korean) Lord's Prayer that were prepared in 1790 by the Christian missionaries in Beijing with the help of later martyr Yun Yuil 尹有一 (1760–1795). Among these addressees was Louis-Mathieu Langlès (1763–1824), who first mentions these materials during the 1790s (see e.g. Langlès in Thunberg 1796:333 and Norden 1798:296). In early 1802 several journals even announce the publication of these sources by Langlès (see e.g. *Intelligenzblatt der Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung* 13 [27.I.1802]:102 and *The Monthly Magazine* 83 [1.II.1802]: 61). While this apparently never happened, exactly the same materials in the possession of Langlès later served as Abel-Rémusat's main source for his account of the Korean script. The appearance of the Sino-Korean version in the polyglot collections of the Lord's Prayer, starting with Marcel (1805), was likewise due to the contribution of that version by Langlès.

⁴ Cf. Abel-Rémusat (1820:85) and the preceding footnote on his main source. It is also worthwhile mentioning that Klaproth had apparently acquired the same or at least a very similar *panjŏlpy'o* long before the publication of Abel-Rémusat (1820), namely in 1810 when he was still in St. Petersburg (cf. Osterkamp 2014, especially p. 220).

flawed results can be reconciled with his own claims as to how they were arrived at. As will become clear, a correct understanding and decipherment of the Korean script was all but impossible to Hervás from the beginning due to erroneous views and conflicting Western accounts of the Japanese syllabaries.

1. On the manuscript and dating of *Paleografía universal*

Hervás's works on the languages of the world are widely known by virtue of the fact that they were printed and published during his lifetime already. There have also been various studies of Hervás and his treatment of the Korean as well as Japanese language in these publications.⁵ When it comes to his works on writing systems, however, the situation is quite different. They remain unpublished up to our day and are therefore little known beyond their titles. Two such works – which if considered in the context of their time may well be addressed as landmarks in the pre-history of grammatology – have long been known to be kept in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, and both were clearly intended for publication, as is evident from the instructions to the printer given in almost each manuscript volume.⁶

- *Historia del arte de escribir* (The History of the Art of Writing) manuscript in 2 vols. (Mss. 7807–7808)
- *Paleografía universal* (The Ancient Manners of Writing in the World)⁷

⁵ See e.g. Ogura (1929), Adami (1980), Osterkamp (2010a) as well as Yoshimachi (1972), Osterkamp (2009) for Hervás on Korean and Japanese respectively.

⁶ For *Historia* see Mss. 7807, unnumbered leaf at beginning; for *Paleografía* see Mss. 8496:25r, Mss. 8497:1r as well as Mss. 8498:1r.

⁷ Needless to say this is less a literal translation of the original title than a rough approximation of what appears to be meant by Hervás. His use of the word *paleografía* is not to be understood in the modern sense of paleography as the study of handwriting as used in early manuscripts. As he states himself (Mss. 8496:26r) what he has in mind is *paleografía* as a general term referring to works “containing ancient ways of writing” (“contiene antiguos modos de escribir”), as ancient ones are said to constitute the majority of scripts treated in his own work – which are furthermore said to be no less than “all alphabets which are used and have been used by all known nations” (“todos los alfabetos, que se usan, y se han usado por las naciones conocidas”), thus explaining the second half of the work's title.

manuscript in 3 vols. (Mss. 8496–8498)⁸

- vol. I: “Tartar” (= Manchu, Mongolian, Japanese, Korean scripts etc.) and “Indian” (= Tibetan, derivatives of Brahmi script) scripts
- vol. II: Hebrew, Syriac, Phoenician, Persian, Arabic, Armenian, Georgian alphabets etc.
- vol. III: Runic alphabets, Ogham script, Glagolitic and Cyrillic alphabets etc.
- (vol. IV: Greek, Coptic, Etruscan, Latin alphabets etc.; whereabouts unknown)⁹

In the introduction to *Paleografía* Hervás clarifies the relationship between the two, stating that *Historia* “must be considered as a work preparatory to the *Paleografía*” (“se debe considerar, como obra preliminar a la paleografía”; Mss. 8496:26v). Furthermore the first 25 leaves of Mss. 8496 are occupied by an *Ensayo de la paleografía universal* (Essay on the *Paleografía universal*), a “brief summary” (“sucinto compendio”; Mss. 8496:2r) of the actual *Paleografía* according to the author himself. Indeed *Ensayo* reads like a summary of *Paleografía* or rather its first volume only,¹⁰ omitting many references and details.

Now the manuscripts of *Historia* and *Paleografía* both carry relatively late dates: *Historia* is dated Rome, 21.VI.1805 at the end of the work (Mss. 7808:207v), while the introduction to volume I of *Paleografía* is dated slightly later, namely Rome, 7.VII.1805 (Mss. 8496:36r).¹¹ This latter date is however not to be equated with the date of all three volumes and in fact not even with that of the first one: The second volume (Mss. 8497)

⁸ Research for this paper was first conducted using a microfilm-based reproduction of both Mss. 7807–7808 and Mss. 8496–8498 ordered from the Biblioteca Nacional in 2010. It was fortunate especially for our inquiries into the textual history of *Paleografía universal* that Mss. 8496–8498 have recently been digitized in color and conveniently made available online (see <http://bdh.bne.es/bne/search/detalle/bdh0000063562>).

⁹ On the probable contents of volume IV, see the introduction (Mss. 8496:29v). The current whereabouts of its manuscript are uncertain, but it was certainly extant at the time of Hervás’s death (see Portillo 1910:185).

¹⁰ This limitation to the contents of the first volume is not apparent from the first few paragraphs, but in one passage Hervás explicitly speaks of “this essay on the first part of the *Paleografía universal*” (“este ensayo de la primera parte de la paleografía universal”; Mss. 8496:2v).

¹¹ The slightly later date given to the introduction to *Paleografía* is probably also the reason why the same work is referred to as “written after this work” in *Historia* (“escrita despues de esta obra”; Mss. 7807:18’v).

carries a note, apparently in Hervás's hand, at the beginning saying that the introduction for volume I, which had already been in the hands of his Madrid-based publisher Elías Ranz at the time, was placed at the end of this second volume. In other words, even if the introduction is now at the beginning of the first volume, where it properly belongs content-wise, Hervás included it in the manuscript of the second volume. In the same introduction he furthermore even explicitly speaks "of the first volume of *Paleografía*, sent to Madrid years ago" ("del volumen I. de la paleografía embiado a Madrid años ha"; Mss. 8496:28r). Thus, the remainder of volume I – which concerns us most in the present paper – is to be dated "years" earlier than 1805.

In fact there is ample evidence demonstrating that Hervás had begun working on *Paleografía* more than a decade before the year 1805. Thus we read in his *Escuela española de sordomudos* (Spanish Education of the Deaf):

"A lo menos juzgo ser muy verisimil, que es antediluviano el uso de la escritura por letras: y este juicio procuré probar en la historia de los alfabetos ó de la escritura por letras, que ocho años ha prometí al publico escribir y publicar, y al que daré principio en el año presente 1793, si Dios me conserva graciosamente vida y salud." (Hervás 1795, I:260)

[At least I consider it very plausible, that the use of writing by means of letters is antediluvian; and this view I have tried to prove in the history of alphabets or of writing by means of letters, which I have promised to the public to write and publish for eight years, and which I will begin with in the present year 1793, if God graciously preserves my life and health.]

The original plan thus reaches back into the 1780s while Hervás's actual work on the manuscript apparently occupied several years from 1793 (or possibly somewhat later) onwards.¹²

More importantly, a more or less complete draft of *Paleografía* can be inferred to have already been written by 1798. This already included the chapter treating the Korean and Japanese scripts – which will be in the focus of the remainder of this paper – and was also already accompanied by plates illustrating the various scripts which had been prepared in the same year. Starting with references in published works let us first turn to Hervás's well-known *Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas*

¹² Also cf. *Ensayo* (Mss. 8496:1v), which refers to the promise made in 1793 in the passage from *Escuela* quoted above.

(Catalogue of the Languages of All Known Nations), the second volume of which contains the reference quoted below. Further references to *Paleografía* abound in *Catálogo*,¹³ but this one here is especially valuable as it mentions the Japanese and Korean scripts as well as his source on the latter: a book allegedly printed in China.¹⁴

“En mi paleografía universal pongo varios alfabetos japoneses, y uno coreano, que he visto impresos en china: y el alfabeto coreano á mi parecer es propio de la Córrea.” (Hervás 1800–1805, II [= 1801]:68)

[In my *Paleografía universal* I provide various Japanese alphabets and a Korean one, which I have seen printed in China; and the Korean alphabet appears to me to be peculiar to Korea.]

The six volumes making up Hervás’s *Catálogo* were published between 1800 and 1805: one volume each in the years 1800 [I], 1801 [II], 1802 [III] and 1805 [VI] as well as two volumes in 1804 [III–IV]. The gap between the third and fourth volumes is not accidental. In 1798 Hervás left Rome to return to Spain for the time being and this is the *terminus ante quem* for the first three volumes. The preface to the first volume is dated Rome, 15.II.1798 (Hervás 1800–1805, I [1800]:viii) and in the fourth volume the preceding third volume is explicitly mentioned to have been sent to Spain for printing in 1798 as well (Hervás 1800–1805, IV [1804]:3). The quote provided above therefore dates from 1798 rather than 1801. The last three volumes on the other hand were written after Hervás’s return to Rome in 1802.

There are however also other sources hinting at the year 1798 for the (first) completion of *Paleografía*, namely from Hervás’s correspondence with other scholars. One of these scholars was Franz Karl Alter (1749–1804) in Vienna, who quotes several letters of interest from the years 1797 and 1798, saying:

¹³ See e.g. Hervás (1800–1805, I [1800]:88; II [1801]:48, 60, 68, 71, 101, 105, 117, 123, 135, 150, 152, 165, 216, 220, 335, 355, 395, 435, 442; III [1802]:119, 298).

¹⁴ Note that even in the extant manuscript dated 1805 there are no indications at all of a second source on the Korean script known to Hervás and in fact he even tells us as much himself: “Of the Korean alphabets I have seen only the Korean characters which I provide in figure 16” (“De los alfabetos coreanos no he visto sino las cifras coreanas, que pongo en la figura 16.”; Mss. 8496:73v). The identification of the source mentioned in his *Catálogo* with the only one put to use in his *Paleografía* is thus straightforward.

“Il famoso Abbate D. Lorenzo Hervás Exgesuita, mio amicissimo, sta lavorando intorno ad una opera che tratta dei Caratteri di tutte de lingue, con tanti Rami di Alfabeti, e che fra poco si stamperà.” (letter by Gregorio Baghinanti, dated Rome, 18.III.1797; quoted in Alter 1797:730)

[The famous abbot and ex-Jesuit Lorenzo Hervás, my dearest friend, is occupied with a work which treats of the characters of all the languages, together with many copper-plates of the alphabets, and which will be printed soon.]

“io mando in Spagna la mia Paleografia, poichè dopo di avere stampati in italiano 22 tomi, sono stato costretto dagli amici a scrivere in ispanuolo; ed ormai a Madrid si sono stampati dieci tomi miei” (letter by Hervás to Alter dated Rome, 19.I.1798; quoted in Alter 1798b:1026)

[I will send my *Paleografía* to Spain, as after having printed 22 volumes in Italian,¹⁵ I was forced by my friends to write in Spanish; and now ten volumes by me have been printed in Madrid.¹⁶]

“In fretta scrivo due righe per dirle, che col mezzo, e favore del Sig. Barone Serdagna [!] le mando l’alfabeto illirico, che io usava [!], e che ho tagliato del mio tomo di alfabeti; perche presentemente è finita l’edizione.” (letter by Hervás to Alter dated Rome, 1.II.1798; quoted in Alter 1798a:9f.)

[In haste I am writing you a few lines to tell you that I send you through the favor of baron Sardagna the Illyric alphabet which I used and which I have taken from my volume on the alphabets, as the editing is finished just now.]

Whether he ever sent the manuscript to Spain at that time is not certain, but in any case we learn that Hervás finished his *Paleografía* – in some form or another – as early as 1798.¹⁷ Furthermore, the 1798 manuscript did not only already comprise an account of the Japanese and Korean scripts, as Hervás states in his *Catálogo*; it also already included plates illustrating

¹⁵ I.e. his *Idea dell’Universo* published in 21 volumes (Cesena 1778–1787), to which is added *Analisi filosofico-teologica della natura* (Foligno 1792), which carries the printed note “Tomo XXII. delle Opere del Sig. Ab. Hervas” right after main text.

¹⁶ This probably refers to his *Viaje estático al mundo planetario* (Madrid 1793–1794, in 4 volumes), *Escuela española de sordomudos* (Madrid 1795, in 2 volumes) as well as the first few volumes forming his *Historia de la vida del hombre* (Madrid 1789–1799, in 7 volumes).

¹⁷ Eichhorn’s (1807:38) otherwise unsupported claim that *Paleografía* was published 1798 in Cesena in quarto is most likely mere conjecture, probably based on Alter’s words.

these scripts based on a source in the possession of cardinal Stefano Borgia (1731–1804). This becomes apparent in a letter dated 13.IX.1798 (BAV, Borg.lat.529, leafs 36–39) in which Hervás tells Borgia about the engraving of the copper-plates for his *Paleografía*, sending him a “copper-plate of the Japanese and Korean alphabets with explanation” (“rame degli alfabeti giapponesi, e coreani interpretati”; Hervás’s wording, quoted from Orsatti 1996:24) based on the original in the Museo Borgiano.

Unfortunately we have little means to tell whether or in how far the version of 1798 is identical with the manuscript extant today, but at least a glance at the extant manuscript immediately betrays its highly heterogeneous nature. In fact, the manuscript of *Paleografía* consists of three main layers of text, each written in a different hand, which we may refer to as “the older hand A/B” (which are rather close to each other) as opposed to “the newer hand.” The chronological order of the three layers is in part obvious from their distribution: the majority of pages are in the older hand A or (to a much lesser degree) in the older hand B,¹⁸ while countless additions and corrections – sometimes interlinear or on the margins, sometimes on separate slips of paper – are in the newer hand. Wherever portions of text have been replaced, sometimes extending to longer passages, they are likewise in the newer hand. (We will indicate this in footnotes for the portions of text translated in the appendices to this paper.) The newer hand thus applies changes to the layers written in the older hand A or B, but never the other way around.

The absolute dating of the layers is not easily possible, but there are some internal as well as external indicators: First, the introduction to *Paleografía* dated 1805 as well as the final portion of *Historia* including the same date (Mss. 7808:207v) are written in the newer hand, so that one may tentatively date the entire newer layer of text to the same year 1805 or probably rather to a somewhat longer span of time ending in 1805. Second, while the two earlier layers in *Paleografía* apparently lack any internal clue as to their age, there are various other manuscripts by Hervás which may be adduced to attempt an approximate dating. In a preliminary

¹⁸ In the first volume (Mss. 8496) only leafs 201r–207v and 208v–218v are in the older hand B, neither passage of which concerns the Korean (or also Japanese) script. The third volume (Mss. 8498) likewise contains only few leafs written in the older hand B (79r–88r, 89r–100v). In case of the second volume (Mss. 8497) on the other hand more than half of the text is in the older hand B, while only the first third is in the older hand A.

survey of some of these, one entitled *El hombre en religión* (Mankind in Religion; Biblioteca Nacional, Mss. 7963) turned out to be the most promising one for our purposes. At the beginning it carries a note dated 23.III.1801 stating that the first volume was written in Rome (i.e. at the latest in 1798), while the second and third were written in Orcajo in Spain. Now if we take a look at its first volume, it begins with a long portion (1r–51v) in the older hand A, then switches to the older hand B (51v–99v, with some interruptions in the newer hand, notably: 62r–64v, 87r–87r) and ends with a passage in the newer hand (99v–138r). The second volume is in the newer hand throughout.¹⁹ This suggests that the older hands A and B date from Hervás's time in Rome, whereas the newer hand dates from his years in Spain in between 1798 and 1802 and also the following years.

Other manuscripts appear to confirm this: The dedication dated 2.I.1797 (2r–3v) in *Gramática de la lengua italiana* (A Grammar of the Italian Language; Biblioteca Nacional, Mss. 7831) is still in the older hand B; the newer hand is only seen in corrections and the final section of the main text (part of 85v, 86r–95v), obviously a later addition (note the date 3.II.1799 mentioned on leaf 91v). Apart from some additions in the newer hand, *Historia* (cf. above) is for the most part written in the older hand A/B – and interestingly these older portions of the text contain several references to the library of the Collegio Romano in which Hervás says he was when writing these lines (cf. Mss. 7807:18r, 18v; Mss. 7808:107r). Among the manuscripts written in Spain, here in 1799, is his *Compendio de la nueva doctrina del Doctor Juan Broun* (Outline of the New Teachings of Doctor John Brown; Biblioteca Nacional, Mss. 6101), which is in the newer hand throughout. The same is true of various other longer and shorter texts written during his stay in Spain.

In other words: The older hands seems to date from his time in Rome ending in late 1798 in all instances, whereas the newer one makes its appearance from his time in Spain (1798–1802) onwards and continues to be used in the last years of his life, when he had already returned to

¹⁹ The third volume is a bit more complex. It begins (257r–260v) and ends (343r–379v) with passages in the newer hand, which is also used in between to some extent. However, it also incorporates two longer passages in the older hand A, which were apparently written earlier in isolation, as they still carry (deleted) titles of their own: “Propagacion del cristianismo” (The Spread of Christianity; 261r–302v) and “Paralelo de la ética cristiana, y pagana” (Parallel between Christian and Pagan Ethics; 304r–326v). Otherwise the older hand A is merely found briefly on leaves 333r–335v and 342r–v.

Rome. We may therefore hypothesize that – with the exception of various additions, corrections and some smaller portions of text in the newer hand – the extant manuscript preserves the 1798 version of the text on the Korean and Japanese scripts, whereas everything in the newer hand was added in between late 1798 when he left Rome and 1805. (The entire *Ensayo* belongs to this later layer as well, being written in the newer hand throughout.)

In short, it is certain that a) the 1798 manuscript already comprised an account of the Japanese and Korean scripts, which b) was based on a source in cardinal Borgia's possession and c) also included copper-plates illustrating these script based on the same source. Finally, it even seems highly likely that d) the only extant manuscript in fact preserves almost the entire 1798 version of the text as far as the Korean and Japanese scripts are concerned.

2. The Korean source of Hervás

Owing to the various details provided by Hervás, the work that had in his time been in the possession of Stefano Borgia – cardinal since 1789, but more importantly secretary of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide since 1770, which likely contributed to the acquisition of the item in question – could be identified and its current whereabouts ascertained. As expected it is nowadays found in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, namely as Borg.cin.400 and thus as part of Borgia's Chinese collection, which also comprises a few items of non-Chinese provenance.²⁰ It is mentioned in Paul Pelliot's catalogue of the BAV's Chinese collections, where we find the following entry (quoting from Takata's [1995:43, #400] edition, whose additions are given in square brackets):

“Syllabaire japono-coréen, par ordre de l'iroha. 8 ff. in folio. [Iroha 伊呂波, célèbre manuel de japonais pour les Coréens. Porte des notes manuscrites en mare.]”

[Japanese–Korean syllabary, arranged in *iroha* order. 8 leafs in folio.

²⁰ Research for this paper was conducted using a digital reproduction ordered from the BAV in 2010. Recently, however, Borg.cin.400 has been digitized anew and conveniently made available online (see http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Borg.cin.400).

(*Iroha* 伊呂波, famous manual of Japanese for Koreans. With manuscript notes in the margins.)]

It can therefore not be claimed to be unknown, but up to 2010 it had not attracted any attention among scholars concerned with the Korean sources for the study of Japanese compiled and printed by the Chosŏn period Bureau of Interpreters, or Sayŏgwŏn 司譯院.²¹ With the exception of a number of items kept in Paris and St. Petersburg, these materials are mostly restricted to Korean and Japanese collections. Being placed in a Chinese collection in Europe certainly did not contribute to an early discovery of Borg.cin.400.

Its exact date of printing is as uncertain as the year of its arrival in Europe, or the time when Hervás first studied its content. We do however have a certain number of indicators: First, while Borg.cin.400 as such has hitherto gone almost entirely unnoticed, its printed content (i.e. excluding the manuscript notes in Latin and Chinese found in the BAV exemplar) had long been known, namely as an appendix to the last two installments in the *Ch'ŏphae sinŏ* series of Korean textbooks for the study of Japanese. It is appended to *Ch'ŏphae sinŏ munsŏk* 捷解新語文釋 (1796) in a shorter version of 6 leaves, while some copies of *Chunggan kaesu Ch'ŏphae sinŏ* 重刊改修捷解新語 (1781)²² feature a longer version, i.e. spanning 8 leaves – just as Borg.cin.400 does. Its content can be summarized as follows:

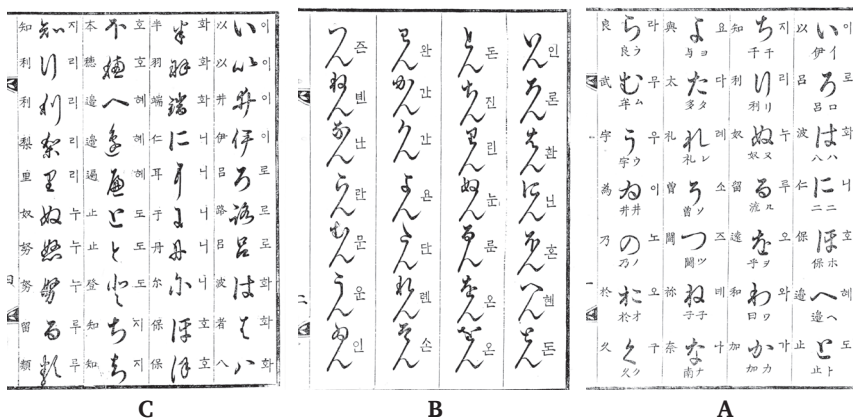
- A (1r–v): *iroha* in both *hiragana* and *katakana* together with the underlying Chinese characters for each *kana* and an indication of their pronunciation in *han'gŭl*
- B (2r–3r): various *hiragana* ligatures for closed syllables, syllables with palatalized initials etc., their pronunciation indicated in *han'gŭl*; 3v is left empty
- C (4r–6r): further *hiragana* (i.e. *hentaigana*), again in *iroha* order and again accompanied by their respective underlying Chinese character and pronunciation in *han'gŭl*
- D (6r–v): a number of combinations used to write common (strings of) morphemes or set phrases, together with their pronunciation in *han'gŭl*

²¹ For publications on Borg.cin.400 see Osterkamp (2010c:361–368; 2011:316) and more recently also Chung (2014).

²² Namely the copies in the possession of the Kyujanggak 奎章閣 (奎3952), the National Library of Korea (古朝40-4) and the Tōyō bunko 東洋文庫 (VII-1-55).

and a Korean translation

- E (7r-8v): “table of 50 sounds,” with an explanation of its arrangement



At least the version in 6 leafs was certainly part of *Munsök* (from which the sample pages above are also taken), as can be deduced from its preface which explicitly mentions it and its exact content. The situation with *Chunggan* is different however, as both copies with and without this appendix exist; also there is no mention of it in the preface. As furthermore no reference to *Ch'öphae sinö* is found in the appendix and its central fold contains no title at all, it has long been assumed to have originally been devised and printed as a work separate from *Ch'öphae sinö* (see e.g. Hamada in Hamada/Fukushima 1965:45; Hamada 1970:89; Yasuda 1970). This original state of the appendix, namely as a separate work rather than as part of any installment of the *Ch'öphae sinö* series, can finally be confirmed with the help of Borg.cin.400.

Now Yasuda's (1970) view is that the longer version must postdate the 1796 *Munsök* – which would mean that the time span between its printing and its arrival in Europe was an extraordinarily brief one. It is also possible however that it was shortened for *Munsök*: Content-wise leafs 7–8 are irrelevant to this work, while the first six would indeed have been useful for deciphering the Japanese main text. The dates of its first Western owner (cf. immediately below on Kocielski) also support this latter view.

Second, the work's provenance may be of help in dating it. In *Paleografía* Hervás notes the following concerning its provenance beyond

its then current owner Borgia:

“Quizà su impresion se habra hecho en Corea, porque en la pajina primera, que es la ultima del libro, se pone una nota latina, en la que se dice, que un mandarin de Corea habia regalado el libro a un misionero.” (Ms. 8496:29r–v)

[Perhaps it was printed in Korea, for on the first page, which is the last of the book, there is a note in Latin which says that a Korean mandarin had presented the book to a missionary.]

The first – or rather last – page of Borg.cin.400 now indeed carries a Latin inscription by a brother Romuald(us) who is certainly to be identified with Polish Franciscan Romuald Kocielski (1750–1791; Chinese name: Luo Jizhou 羅機洲).²³

“Litteræ Japonicæ cum Sinicis, quas quidam Minister Coreæ misit mihi
Fr. Romualdus Refr”

[Japanese letters together with Chinese ones, which a Korean official sent to me. Brother Romualdus of the reformed branch of the Franciscan order]

It was probably the same anonymous Korean who also added the Chinese explanations as to the structure and contents of sections A–C as well as the sound glosses in Chinese characters for almost everything given in *han’gŭl* in sections A–D. The latter are clearly based on contemporary Chinese (rather than Sino-Korean for instance) as it was taught at the Sayŏgwŏn, as a comparison especially with the right hand ones of the two sets of sound glosses in the dictionary *Yŏgŏ yuhae* 譯語類解 (1690, supplement 1775) or the *Pak t’ongsa* 朴通事 textbook series for instance demonstrates. In order to understand Hervás’s use of Borg.cin.400 these can safely be ignored; from the perspective of historical Korean phonology, however, they are of some interest: Mismatches between the printed *han’gŭl* sound glosses and the manuscript additions provide testimony of various phonological changes occurring in the 18th century. These include for instance the merger of /s/ vs. /sy/ (with both さ = *sa* 사 and しや = *sya* 샤 being glossed as *sa* 撒, which is likewise *sa* 사 in the Sayŏgwŏn’s works on Chinese such as those

²³ The dates given here follow Wiśniowski (1999). In the older literature Kocielski is sometimes claimed to have died in 1799 instead, see e.g. Willeke (1991:270, n. 47) who relies on Van Damme (1978) for this date.

mentioned above), loss of word-initial /l/ (→ /n/) before /i, yV/ (as in りやう = *lyowou* 료우 being glossed as *yao-wu* 約無, or *ywo* 요 plus *wu* 우 in the mentioned works) as well as affrication of /t/ before /i, yV/ leading to the merger of /t/ and /c/ here (as in ㄷ = *tyey* 데 being explained by the *fanqie* spelling *zhi-xie* 之睽反, given as *cu* ㄷ and *hyey* ㄷ respectively in the same works and thus yielding *cyey* ㄷ instead of *tyey* ㄷ).

To sum up: The work probably dates from the 1780s or early 1790s, was received by Kocielski in Peking from a Korean and thereupon sent to Borgia in the 1790s, where it must have arrived in 1798 at the latest, but most likely somewhat earlier. It thus constitutes one of the earliest prints (if not *the* earliest one) of Korean provenance printed at least in part in *han'gŭl* ever to have reached Europe. As it was however intended for use in studying Japanese, Hervás had to take recourse to what was known about Japanese writing in Europe in his decipherment and analysis of *han'gŭl* – which will be treated in the following.

3. Hervás and his “decipherment” of the Japanese and Korean scripts, or: Caught in a web of misinformation

If we follow Hervás’s own narrative, his work on the Japanese and Korean scripts was divided into two chronological stages, the first of which is solely concerned with the former script. More specifically the first stage (corresponding to paragraphs 51–56; Mss. 8496:64v–67v) is based on the Japanese syllabaries as published by Kaempfer (1729) and Schultze (1748). The former of these gives three different syllabaries arranged in a single chart, namely *hiragana*, *katakana* and what he calls *yamatogana*.²⁴

²⁴ The last of these designations is somewhat problematic. The specimens of *yamatogana* adduced by Kaempfer and a number of later Western authors such as Siebold (1826: 132 and plate 3), Klapproth (1829:23, 32, plate) or Overmeer Fisscher (1833:90) can all be described as cursively written Chinese characters used as phonograms. The degree of cursivization here is usually that of *xingshu* or *caoshu* and does not go as far as some *hiragana* forms do.

Japanese scholars of about the same time on the other hand use the same designation in the sense of *katakana* as it seems. See e.g. Monnō’s 文雄 *Waji taikan-shō* 和字大觀抄 (1754; I/3r), Arai Hakuseki’s 新井白石 *Dōbun tsūkō* 同文通考 (1760 print; III/1r), Yamada Shōsai’s 山田松齋 *Kana-kō hoi* 國字放補遺 (1826; section 大和假名考, 1r), Yamazaki Yoshishige’s 山崎美成 *Bunkyō onko* 文教温故 (1828; II/7v), the anonymous *Iroha tangen-shō* 伊呂波探玄抄 (ms., in fasc. 3 of *Misonoya* 三十輯, National Diet Library) etc. Modern dictionaries

ALPHABETA JAPONUM . Tab. XLV.

Character Composit.	Small-Gana	Gana	Two-Gana	Small-Gana	Gana	Two-Gana	Small-Gana	Gana	Two-Gana	Small-Gana	Gana	Two-Gana	Small-Gana	Gana	Two-Gana	Small-Gana	Gana	Two-Gana
玄 天	る	ナ	な	道	夕	夕	何	マ	マ	リ	カ	カ	何	ア	ア			
宮 頁	私	子	ね	と	テ	テ	と	セ	セ	セ	ケ	ケ	へ	エ	エ			
雷 雷	あ	二	に	文	子	ち	志	シ	シ	シ	キ	キ	い	イ	イ			
令 亮	め	ノ	の	ヤ	ナ	巴	し	ソ	ソ	ソ	ホ	コ	ニ	オ	ヲ	を		
玄 天		マ	ぬ	成	ツ	ツ	モ	ス	ス	ス	ル	ク	ク	ウ	ウ			
登 以	わ	ワ	わ	瓦	ラ	ラ	カ	ヤ	ヤ	ヤ	ハ	ニ	マ	ハ	ハ			
登 己		わ	う	カ	シ	カ	赤	エ	エ	エ	カ	ノ	カ	ハ	ハ			
登 己			ふ	利	リ	リ	井	井	井	井	ミ	ミ	カ	カ	カ			
登 以	カ	ヲ	を	ワ	カ	カ	カ	コ	コ	コ	カ	カ	カ	カ	カ			
登 以	カ	ヲ	ウ	カ	カ	カ	カ	カ	カ	カ	カ	カ	カ	カ	カ			

Kaempfer's Japanese syllabaries

The latter work – which Hervás frequently refers to in his various linguistic works – actually contains two *hiragana* syllabaries in separate places, but Hervás only mentions the one entitled “Syllabarium Japonicum ex Lexico Hai-Pien” (Japanese syllabary taken from the dictionary *Haipian*; Schultze 1748:134f.).²⁵ Albeit no reference to Bayer is given here, this one is clearly based on a manuscript by Theophil Siegfried Bayer (1694–1738) entitled *Sermo cum duobus Japonensibus* (Conversation with two Japanese) nowadays in the possession of the University of Glasgow.²⁶ It goes back to an early 1734 encounter with two Japanese castaways, Gonza and Sōza, in St. Petersburg. The name *Haipian* may refer to any of a group of Chinese characters dictionaries published around 1600, but here it most likely refers to the *Haipian tonghui* 海篇統匯 (1621) Bayer was working with (cf.

usually define *yamatogana* as a cover term for both *hiragana* and *katakana*, i.e. as *kana* as opposed to Chinese characters.

²⁵ The other *hiragana* syllabary is given as “Alphabetum Chinense” [!] (plate XXVI) and is taken from (Vigenère or more likely) Duret, on whose work see below.

²⁶ Shelf mark MS Hunter B/E10. For studies see Kanmura (2001a, 2001b, 2010).

Osterkamp 2010b:97f.). A number of these dictionaries are known among other things for the fact that they contain a *hiragana* syllabary in *iroha* arrangement and with Chinese sound glosses added to each syllabogram. Andreas Müller's (1630–1694) study of the Japanese script in the 1680s was likewise based on one of these, namely one entitled *Yinyun zihai* 音韻字海.

434 Von der Japanischen Sprache.
SYLLABARIUM JAPANICUM
ex Lunico Hoi-nien.

ワ	yſvei	ア	wa
ウ	ro	カ	ka
エ	fa	ヤ	yo
イ	ni	タ	ta
フ	fo	レ	le
ヘ	fe	テ	t'ſe
ト	to	フ	t'ſu
チ	tſi	ク	ac
ヂ	di	ケ	na
ニ	nu	ナ	na
ル	ru	ネ	ra
ロ	o		

Von der Japanischen Sprache. 135

ム	mu	コ	co	モ	mo
ウ	wu	ヘ	He	フ	fū
イ	i	テ	te	キ	kie
ノ	no	ニ	2	シ	ſi
オ	o	サ	sa	フ	ſu
ク	ku	キ	ki		
ヤ	ja	ジュ	ju		
メ	mz	メ	me		
ケ	ke	ミ	mi		
フ	fu	フ	fchi		
		ジ	je		
		フ	fi		

Setuifche

Bayer's *iroha* from *Haipian tonghui* in Schultze (1748)

As both Kaempfer and Schultze provide a Romanization for each syllabogram, Hervás managed to collate the latter's *iroha* with Kaempfer's syllabaries, combining the four into a single chart arranged in a similar fashion as Kaempfer's chart. The results are given in his figures 14 and

15;²⁷ Bayer's *iroha* is rearranged as follows in these figures:²⁸

	-a	-e	-i	-o	-u
°-	a あ	je ゑ	i ゐ	o お	o を [!]
n-	na な	ne ね	ni に	no の	nu ぬ
w-	wa わ	—	—	—	wu う
t-	ta た	te て	?	to と	—
r-	ra ら	—	—	ro ろ	ru る
s-	—	—	tsi ち [!]	t'so そ	t'su つ [!]
y-	ja く [!]	je ゑ	—	yo よ	ju ゆ
k-	ka か	ke け	ki き	co こ	ku ま [!]
m-	ma や [!]	me め	mi み	mo も	mu む
f-	fa は	fe へ	fi ひ	fo ほ	fu ふ

Interestingly, however, Hervás did not notice that Kaempfer's *hiragana* syllabary and Schultze's syllabary from the *Haipian* are actually the same thing. Why is that so? For one, the graphical distance between the two as the result of distortion through copying will have played a role here. Another important reason, however, is to be found in what might be termed the diversity myth. As with every good myth it has some basis in fact, but it is often taken to extremes that are detached from reality. In a nutshell this myth claims that a tremendous amount of diversity – introduced on purpose by the Japanese according to some authors – is to

²⁷ Viewable in digitized form at: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000063562&page=86>.

²⁸ Some comments from top to bottom: 1) The reasons for using Bayer's *o* を in the position of *u* is unclear, but may stem from a copying error at some point. As Bayer has *wu* for う, we find this in Hervás's row of *wV* syllables – which lacks a graph for *wo* as both お and を are transcribed as *o* by Bayer. 2) The reason for い lacking altogether in the table is without doubt the misleading “reading” given in *Sprachmeister*: “ysivei.” Its intended meaning, “y sive [= or] i,” was maybe not transparent enough. 3) The position of *ti* is filled, albeit with the hard-to-explain letter ぢ, which is nowhere to be found in Hervás's source. 4) The actual *kana* belonging into the slots for *ti* and *tu* are given in the *s*-row further down (cf. below). 5) The positions for *re*, *ri* are left blank as Bayer has *le* れ and *di* り for these two syllables. 6) For *sa* and *se* Hervás could not find anything in Schultze (1748), as the corresponding syllables are *za* さ and *his* (!) せ here. His treatment of Bayer's *tsi* ち and *t'su* つ is inappropriate, yet understandable for someone without any knowledge concerning their older pronunciation as *ti* and *tu* (and especially so in view of Bayer's *t'so* そ). 7) Bayer's Romanization “ku, ja, ma” gives the correct *iroha* order, but his Chinese source already had the *kana* まくや (here, together with their readings in Chinese characters) given inversed as くやま.

be observed both in the Japanese language and script. The *locus classicus* for this as far as language alone is concerned is already found in the writings of Francisco de Xavier (see e.g. Torsellini 1596:151), but it is likewise present in a somewhat extended version in Jean Crasset's history of the church in Japan (*Histoire de l'Église du Japon*, 1689) on which Hervás relies on some occasions. The relevant passage runs as follows in the English translation:

“Their Language is grave, elegant, and copious, and surpassing without dispute both the Greek and Latine in the number of words, and variety of expressions. They use different terms, according to the Quality of the Person they speak to, for they express themselves otherwise to a Person of Quality, and one of a lower Rank, to an Old Man, and a Young, in publick and in private. The same word signifies Honourable in the Mouth of a Prince, and Contemptuous in the Mouth of a Burgher. The very Women have words proper to themselves, which signify clear another thing in Men. What shews the copiousness of their Language, is that they both Speak, Write, and Print in different terms: They have also Letters which bear the full force and sense of a word like the *Chinese*, and *Ægyptian* Hiroglyphicks. [...]

As for their manner of Writing, they have two sorts of Alphabets, one of Letters, and the other of Figures or Cyphers like the *Chinese*[.] Children of Persons of Quality Study till Fourteen Years of Age under the Bonzies, where they learn four [!] sorts of Letters, differently both in figure and signification; for in one they write to the King, in another to the Subject, in the third private, and in another publick concerns [...].” (Crasset 1705, I:6)

This English translation has one marked difference if compared to the original French editions or its Italian and German translations: Instead of just “four sorts of Letters, differently both in figure and signification,” this passage should read “fourteen sorts [...]”²⁹ – and it is this number of fourteen alphabets Hervás believes to exist in Japan, basing himself on the Italian edition of Crasset's work published in 1722.³⁰ The same number is also already found in Crasset's immediate source, namely François Solier's

²⁹ Cf. e.g. in the first French edition of this work: “quatorze [!] sortes de lettres toutes differentes, non seulement en leur figure, mais encore en leur signification” (Crasset 1689, I:8).

³⁰ See e.g. Mss. 8496:4r, 47r, 69v, 94v (and also Hervás 1800–1805, II:68 [#153]) for instances of Hervás making mention of this number.

earlier church history.³¹

What exactly was originally meant by these fourteen sorts of letters is difficult to determine; it probably has to do with the open nature of the *hiragana* syllabary (and originally also the *katakana* syllabary), allowing for one to many relations between syllables to be written and syllabograms to write them. Be that as it may, it was apparently Hervás's trust in Crasset's words and globetrotter Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri's account of a parallel phenomenon of diversity in Persian writing³² that made him anticipate different coexisting syllabaries wherever graphical forms diverged. In the case of the two *hiragana* syllabaries in his sources the discrepancy in form is, however, nothing more than the result of copying by untrained hands.

Hervás's work is therefore a good indicator of the relatively low level of knowledge in his days pertaining to the Japanese script in general and also to how it relates to the language it is used to write for. For instance, he correctly notices that the Japanese grammar and dictionary of Collado (1632a, 1632b) distinguish more than the five vowels that are present in his "four alphabets," just like more consonants are distinguished in the missionaries' Romanizations of Japanese words than appear in the syllabaries. It is thus only natural, even if not quite correct, that he concludes that "the alphabets [...] published by Kaempfer and Schultze are certainly imperfect, as they lack some syllables" ("Son ciertamente imperfectos los alfabetos [...] publicados por Kæmpfer, y Schultze, porque les faltan algunas silabas"; Mss. 8496:65v).

In the second stage (paragraphs 57–65) several new materials are put to use, first and foremost Borg.cin.400. If we trust Hervás's words, his "discovery" of the Korean script was in fact a chance encounter. Discontent with his account of the Japanese script he asked cardinal Borgia for further materials, who then provided him with what is nowadays known as Borg.

³¹ The passage is largely identical here, speaking of "quatorze [!] sortes de lettres toutes diuerses & differentes, non seulement en ce qui est de leur forme & figure, ains en la proprieté & signification" (Solier 1627–1629, I:11).

³² According to Gemelli some Persians "value themselves upon writing eleven several sorts of Hands, or Characters, which they make use of according to the Business in Hand, or Court they have to do with" (Gemelli 1704:160; Hervás quotes from another, Italian edition, namely Gemelli 1728:146) upon which the names of these eleven sorts are given.

cin.400.




Now there are three scripts that are juxtaposed in Borg.cin.400: The printed original gives Japanese syllabograms, which are glossed for their pronunciation in *han'gūl*. The manuscript additions mentioned earlier add a third layer, rewriting the *han'gūl* sound glosses into phonographically used Chinese characters. The Korean script was the least known of all three: Not a single specimen of it had been published in Europe so far and accordingly all previous works on the writing systems of the world (Müller 1694/1703; Schultze 1748; Büttner 1771–1779, 1777 etc.) contained nothing at all about it. Thus, Hervás tried his luck on the Chinese portions of Borg.cin.400 first, with little success however. From his description of his attempts it seems that he was thinking too much of the Chinese script in terms of a “symbolic” (i.e. logographic) script – overlooking the fact that the handwritten glosses employ the characters phonographically. In the end, only the Japanese portions of Borg.cin.400 remained for an attempt at making sense of Borgia’s book. Hervás’s own narrative continues as follows here:

“En estas circunstancias faltó yo de todo medio para interpretar, o conocer el valor de las letras japonas, y coreanas, cotejè atentamente las japonas de dicho libro con las de los alfabetos japones de las figuras 14, y 15, y de[s] pues de varias combinaciones trabajosas con dos libros japones impresos, en que estaban escritos con letras Japonas los nombres de algunos jesuitas misioneros, me atreví a determinar el valor vocal de 21 letras japonas, y segun este inferí el de las coreanas, que se ponian enfrente de ellas. Ya habia concluido esta enfadosa tarea, cuando por casualidad vi el alfabeto japon, que publicó Duret el 1619 diciendo, que era el que habia dado el jesuita Edmundo Auger, y habia publicado Vigenere. Busquè ansiosamente la obra de este conjeturando, que en ella estarian exactamente delineadas las cifras, o letras del alfabeto japon: y mi conjetura se verificò.” (Mss. 8496: 68v–69r)

[Lacking any means whatsoever for interpreting or knowing the values of the Japanese and Korean letters under these circumstances, I carefully compared the Japanese ones of the named book with those of the Japanese alphabets in the figures 14 and 15 and after various laborious combinations with two printed Japanese books, in which the names of some Jesuit missionaries were written in Japanese letters, I dared to establish the sound values of 21 Japanese letters, and according to them inferred those of the Korean ones, which are given opposite to them. I had finished this annoying task, when by chance I saw the Japanese alphabet Duret published in 1619

saying that it was that which the Jesuit Edmond Auger had provided and Vigenère had published. Anxiously I searched that work of him, assuming that the characters or letters of the Japanese alphabet were accurately depicted in it; and my assumption was confirmed.]

Blaise de Vigenère (1523–1596) was the first in the West to include the complete *iroha* poem in original script in one of his works (1586/1587), which was taken over unchanged by Claude Duret (died 1611). The following reproduction is based on Duret’s work (1613/1619:913–915; the plates as well as the text are identical in both editions). While the original in *hiragana* follows the usual order of the *iroha*, the Romanizations are almost entirely misplaced, reducing the practical value of Vigenère’s and Duret’s work to zero: The syllabary is arranged in six columns consisting of seven syllables and a final one of five, but these columns have to be read in the order 3-4-5-6-1-2-7 to yield the *iroha* more or less correctly.³³ *Kana* and sound values therefore never match apart from the final column.

order of kana:			7	6	5	4	3	2	1
									
order of sound values:			7	4	3	2	1	6	5

As quoted above Duret is claimed to have *confirmed* Hervás’s own efforts at decipherment, and indeed the two coincide fully:

³³ Furthermore there are indicators that the underlying manuscript source of Vigenère was somewhat ambiguous in its letter forms at times. Thus we always find “B” where “R” would be expected, and sometimes “L” in place of “T”; also “Ç” is simplified to “C” twice (“CV” for *tsu*, “CA” for *sa*). Additionally, “NA” and “NE” should be in reverse order.

Hervás	Duret	Hervás	Duret	Hervás	Duret	Hervás	Duret
ia	IA	mi	MI	bu	BV	mu	MV
ma	MA	xi	XI	vo	VO	v	V
ke	QVE	i	I	va	VA	i	I
fu	FV	bo	BO	ka	CA	no	NO
ko	CO	fa	FA	io	IO	vo	ŮO
ie	IE	ni	NI	ta	TA	ku	ŮV
le	LE	fo	FO	be	BE	ie	IE
a	A	fe	FE	zo	ÇO	fi	FI
ka	CA	lo	LO	zu	CV	mo	MO
ki	QI	ci	CI	na	NA	se	SE
iu	IV	bi	BI	ne	NE	zu	ZV
me	ME	nu	NV	ba	BA		

Each and every error found in Duret, from simple misspellings to the systematic misarrangement of the transcriptions, is likewise met with in the *iroha* as “deciphered” by Hervás. The same Duret-based Romanizations in the same faulty arrangement are also found in *Historia* in a table illustrating the order as well as the names of letters in various scripts (Mss. 7808: following leaf 127). Coincidence is inconceivable here, so that Hervás must be directly basing himself on Duret instead of working on the basis of his own alleged and hard-to-believe decipherment.³⁴

It is puzzling however, how the faultiness of Vigenère’s and Duret’s *iroha* could go unnoticed despite the fact that Hervás also knew of Kaempfer’s syllabaries and Bayer’s *iroha* and even managed to collate them, for the most part correctly. Also, Andreas Müller (1694/1703) had already criticized Duret for his erroneous syllabary long before Hervás – but regrettably Müller’s works on the writing systems of the world seem to have been unknown to Hervás. In effect thus the *han’gŭl* syllable blocks and their alleged pronunciations as seen through the sound values of the *kana* according to Vigenère and Duret hardly ever match, thereby rendering it utterly impossible to assign constant sound values to the letters making up the Korean alphabet. Basically, any letter could correspond to almost any

³⁴ In fact in a somewhat later passage he eventually states having deduced the readings of the Korean syllable blocks by means of the Romanization given by Vigenère (Mss. 8496:73v). Note also that Hervás quotes Duret time and time again in his own works since the mid-1780s. It seems unlikely that he was *unaware* of the *iroha* in Duret’s work when he started to work on his *Paleografía* – he probably knew about it from early on.

sound at random and often even to many different ones at the same time:³⁵

The sound values of *han'gŭl* letters as suggested by Duret's *iroha*

vowel letters		consonant letters	
<i>a</i> ㅏ	A ⁽²⁾ , I ⁽²⁾ , O ⁽²⁾ , V	<i>k</i> ㅋ	C ⁽²⁾ , B, X, zero
<i>ya</i> ㅑ	O	<i>n</i> ㄴ	F ⁽²⁾ , L, Q, V
<i>ye</i> ㅓ	E ⁽⁶⁾ , A ⁽²⁾ , O	<i>t</i> ㅌ	B, L, N
<i>o</i> ㅗ	O ⁽³⁾ , A ⁽²⁾ , E ⁽²⁾ , I, V	<i>r</i> ㄹ	C ⁽²⁾ , F, I, M
<i>wa</i> ㅛ	E, I	<i>m</i> ㅁ	B, M, N, T, V
<i>yo</i> ㅝ	I	<i>s</i> ㅅ	M, N, Q, S, Z
<i>u</i> ㅜ	I ⁽²⁾ , V ⁽²⁾ , A, O	(zero) ㅇ	I ⁽³⁾ , B ⁽²⁾ , M ⁽²⁾ , N ⁽²⁾ , zero ⁽²⁾ , V
<i>yu</i> ㅠ	I	<i>ch</i> ㅈ	F, zero
<i>ŭ</i> ㅡ	O, V	<i>h</i> ㅎ	C, Ç, F, I, QV
<i>i</i> ㅣ	V ⁽⁴⁾ , A ⁽³⁾ , I, O		

Had the Romanizations been given in the correct order by Vigenère/ Duret or had Hervás succeeded in detecting the errors in some of his sources, the result would have been rather different – namely as shown below. A number of problems would have remained due to misprints and pronunciation mismatches, but it would have been easy to see a pattern here – and in consequence, to determine the sound values of most of the common Korean letters and letter combinations, especially for the vowels.

Ditto, if the arrangement of Duret's *iroha* is corrected

vowel letters		consonant letters	
<i>a</i> ㅏ	A ⁽⁶⁾ , E	<i>k</i> ㅋ	Q ⁽³⁾ , C ⁽²⁾
<i>ya</i> ㅑ	IA	<i>n</i> ㄴ	N ⁽⁵⁾
<i>ye</i> ㅓ	E ⁽⁶⁾ , A [after cons.] IE ⁽²⁾ [otherwise]	<i>t</i> ㅌ	L ⁽²⁾ [!], T
<i>o</i> ㅗ	O ⁽⁶⁾ [after cons.] VO ⁽²⁾ [otherwise]	<i>r</i> ㄹ	B ⁽⁵⁾ [!]
<i>wa</i> ㅛ	VA	<i>m</i> ㅁ	M ⁽⁵⁾
<i>yo</i> ㅝ	IO	<i>s</i> ㅅ	C, Ç, S, X, Z
<i>u</i> ㅜ	V ⁽⁶⁾	(zero) ㅇ	zero ⁽⁸⁾
<i>yu</i> ㅠ	IV	<i>ch</i> ㅈ	C ⁽²⁾
<i>ŭ</i> ㅡ	V ⁽²⁾	<i>h</i> ㅎ	F ⁽⁵⁾ [!]
<i>i</i> ㅣ	I ⁽⁹⁾		

³⁵ The numbers in brackets indicate the frequency (if greater than 1) of each correspondence.

As Hervás however did not discover and correct Duret's errors, all he managed to do was to notice certain redundancies in the structure of and the elements making up blocks of *han'gŭl* – and eventually to isolate 25 simple plus 8 composite letters (cf. his list of “L[etras] C[oreanas]” given at the bottom of figure 16 on plate IV),³⁶ a large number of which was indeed correctly identified based on their appearance alone. One of the key factors inhibiting his progress apart from the errors in Vigenère's and Duret's accounts was undoubtedly the diversity myth – for which Hervás even found further confirmation in the list of variant forms contained in Borg. cin.400!

As already stated in the beginning, Hervás thus failed in his attempt at properly understanding the Korean script, very much as Hager did at almost the same time, even if for rather different reasons. Nevertheless, Lorenzo Hervás undoubtedly deserves a prominent place in the early history of Western studies pertaining to the Korean script.

4. Aside: Hervás on the “Tartar” origin of the Japanese and Korean scripts

In his *Paleografía* Hervás counts the Japanese syllabaries as well as the Korean alphabet among the “Tartar alphabets,”³⁷ all of which, or so he believes, sprung from a common source. This may seem bewildering at first, but has to be considered in the context of a) contemporary scholarship on the origin of the scripts in question and of b) Hervás's views on the respective languages, chiefly as published in the earlier Italian and later Spanish incarnation of his catalogue of the world's languages.

Regarding a) it is first important to note that earlier Western sources on the Japanese script were all still unaware of the Chinese origin of the syllabaries (see especially Vigenère 1586/1587; Duret 1613/1619; Müller 1694/1703; Meister 1692; Schultze 1748; Büttner 1771–1779, 1777).

³⁶ Viewable in digitized form at: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000063562&page=87>.

³⁷ Note that “alfabeto” is used by Hervás to refer to phonographic writing in general, regardless of subtype (whereas a logographical writing system such as Chinese is termed “escritura simbólica” or “escritura jeroglífica,” i.e. symbolic or hieroglyphic writing). He does however differentiate between “alfabetos silábicos,” including both actual syllabaries and abugidas, and “alfabetos literarios,” i.e. alphabets in the narrow sense of the word (cf. e.g. Mss. 8496:27r).

One obvious reason is of course that any attempt at clarifying the real derivation of *kana* required a firm grasp of the Chinese script, something exceedingly few European scholars can be claimed to have had before the 19th century. However, this is undoubtedly also related to the fact that the Chinese script in its cursive form (as opposed to its *kaishu* form which was known to some extent from printed texts that had been brought back to Europe) was largely unknown to European scholarship – thus rendering any attempt at equating *hiragana* and Kaempfer’s so-called *yamatogana* with their underlying Chinese characters difficult from the beginning.³⁸ The case of *katakana* is certainly different (even if a number of *katakana* clearly derive from cursive character forms, contrary to popular belief), but here we face another problem, namely that of underrepresentation. With the exception of Kaempfer (and Büttner based on the same) none of the above-mentioned sources contained any specimen of *katakana*.³⁹

Finally, Hager (1800:91f.) noticed that there are Chinese radicals that are more or less identical in shape with some *katakana* as well as that Kaempfer’s *hiragana* and *yamatogana* both derive from cursive Chinese characters. The same is confirmed by Klaproth (1802:546) shortly afterwards. Kopp (1819–1821, II:85) later adopted the idea of Hager and Klaproth, though the correspondences he proposes, with the Chinese based on contemporary pronunciation, are historically incorrect. In the 1820s Abel-Rémusat (1820:82f.; 1825; 1827) expanded this line of argumentation and illustrated it by – this time correct – comparisons between *kana* shapes and underlying characters. The second half of the same decade saw further confirmations of the Chinese origin of *kana* with the publications of Siebold

³⁸ An interesting early case in this respect is the following comment by Purchas (1627: 375), accompanying the reproduction of a Japanese document written in cursive script (*kana* and Chinese characters): “The Characters haue by some been thought to be those of *China*, but I compared them with *China* bookes, and they seemed to me quite different, yet not letters to compound words by spelling, as ours; but words expressed in their seuerall characters, as the *Chinois* vse, and the breuitie manifesteth. I take them characters peculiar to *Iapan*. Take them thou Reader, and judge better, if thou canst.” Not even the cursively written Chinese characters contained in the document were thus recognized as what they are, Chinese characters after all. Also cf. note 58 below.

³⁹ The full set of *katakana* was only available in manuscript form prior to Kaempfer, thus e.g. in *Alphabetum Iaponicum, et exemplare* (Biblioteca Casanatense, Mss. 2110; reproduced in Doi 1963:260–290, see especially p. 272) or in the “Meacensian manuscript” Andreas Müller had in his possession (cf. Bibliothèque nationale, Japonais 320, on which see Kornicki 1993 and Osterkamp 2010b).

(1826) and Klaproth (1829) for instance. The more important works on the origin of the Japanese scripts were thus all published well after Hervás's death, and as far as we can tell from his writings Hervás never became aware of Hager's or Klaproth's early statements on this issue.

It is regrettable however that Hervás failed to notice that his Korean source actually provides for each single *kana* the Chinese character deemed to have been the basis it was formed upon: The beginning of the *iroha* on page 1r of Borg.cin.400 for instance does not only give the standard *hiragana* (い, ろ, は etc.) in large script, but besides their reading in *han'gŭl* to the right (ㅇ, ㄹ, ㅎ) also the characters these *hiragana* derive from to the left (以, 呂, 波), all in smaller script. Additionally the corresponding *katakana* (イ, ロ, ハ) are given below each *hiragana*, again together with the underlying Chinese characters (伊, 呂, 八).⁴⁰

The situation with the Korean alphabet is now rather different from the case of *kana* in that not a single actual specimen of the Korean script had been published in the West up until the one by Hager in 1800 – which Hervás was unaware of, as already stated above. As soon as such specimens did appear, however, it became common to assume a genetic connection between the Korean alphabet and the Chinese script. Louis-Mathieu Langlès was probably the first to propose such a connection, without however illustrating in detail how “the Koreans have turned the Chinese characters into an alphabet” (“les Coréens ont alphabétisé les caracteres chinois”; Langlès in Norden 1798:296). Again Hager (1800:91) assumed the letters to derive from Chinese radicals (erroneously this time), and again the idea that *han'gŭl* ultimately derives from parts of Chinese characters was entertained by several scholars in the early 19th century, such as Abel-Rémusat (1820:82f.), Klaproth (1832:26) or Neumann (1837:87).

Similarities to Tibetan square script (and later to the Tibetan-based ‘Phagspa script) were likewise noted by a number of the early investigators of the script, such as Abel-Rémusat (1820:83f.), Siebold (1833, VII:14), Wall (1835–1841, II:254ff.) and others. It was only well after Hervás's death that knowledge pertaining to the ‘Phagspa script spread in the European scholarly community,⁴¹ but on the other hand he treats the Tibetan script

⁴⁰ Furthermore the manuscript notes in Chinese on top of leafs 1r–v in Borg.cin.400 in fact even explicitly mention that ㄹ for instance is derived from 以.

⁴¹ Even if preceded by the publication of some minor sources, such as the coin inscriptions found in Endlicher (1837:44–46), the first real milestone in Western

in quite some detail in *Paleografía* (Mss. 8496:77r–96r). Nevertheless he does not seem to have noticed any similarities between it and the Korean alphabet, as other scholars would later on. This is maybe self-explanatory, however, as a comparison based on his erroneous sources on the Japanese script inhibited him from assigning the correct pronunciations to the Korean syllable blocks, and consequently to the single letters they consist of. Had Hervás been successful in equating for instance \sqcup with p and \sqcap with t , he might well have noticed similarities to Tibetan $b(a)$ \sqsupset and $d(a)$ \sqsubset and so on. And, indeed, he was well aware of all this, saying:

“La forma de las cifras coreanas es simple: por lo que si se llega a saber el valor vocal de las primitivas, o radicales del alfabeto coreano, facilmente se podra determinar su verdadero orijen.” (Mss. 8496:75r)

[The form of the Korean characters is simple: therefore, when we come to know the sound value of the primitives or radicals of the Korean alphabet, one may easily determine its true origin.]

As we have seen, the origin of the Japanese and Korean scripts was far from clear in the 1790s. This then leaves us with the question why a “Tartar” origin was in the end the default choice for Hervás in assigning the two scripts to one of his two genealogical groups in the first volume, i.e. “Tartar” alphabets as opposed to “Indian” alphabets. An answer to this can be found in *Paleografía* alone, but the probable reasons for this become much more apparent as soon as Hervás views on the respective languages are considered as well, which leads us to b).

In the case of Japan there were two main views as to the origin of its people and the genealogy of its language: either both were Chinese in origin, or otherwise “Tartar.” The former, older view was contested by Engelbert Kaempfer, who devoted an entire chapter of his widely read and highly influential *History of Japan* to this problem, entitled “The Author’s opinion of the true Origin and Descent of the *Japanese*” (Kaempfer 1727: 81–96). At about the same time aforementioned Orientalist Bayer proposed a “Tartar” origin. Thus he wrote in a letter to Mathurin Veyssière de La Croze (1661–1739) in 1725 and published soon after:

knowledge on the ‘Phagspa script was probably Gabelentz (1839), who learned about the text from *Shimo juanhua* 石墨錦華 he treats about from Neumann (cf. 1837:144).

“De Iapanensium origine me Sinenses paene deceperunt, ut crederem, illos ab hisce propagatos fuisse. Nuper denique accipi didaci colladi *dictionary Iapanicum*, ceteraque, quae Iapanice et Latine edidit, ex quibus plane persuadeor, linguam Iapanensem esse Tartaricam.” (Uhl 1742:54f.)

[About the origin of the Japanese the Chinese have almost deceived me into believing that the former have been brought forth by the latter. Recently [however] I have at last received the Japanese dictionary and other works by Diego Collado, which he published in Japanese and Latin and based on which I am completely convinced that the Japanese language is a Tartaric one.]

In the first edition of Hervás’s catalogue of the world’s languages we then read about his initial stance on the origin of both Japanese and Korean:

“Poteva dubitarsi, se la lingua Giapponese sia dialetto della Tartara *Mancheiü*, o della Tartara *Mongola*. I Giapponesi appena distano dieci leghe da’ Coreesi, che probabilmente parlano la lingua *Mancheiü*, e trafficano con essi, e mutuamente si sposano, [...]” (Hervás 1784:141)

[One may doubt whether the Japanese language is a dialect of the Manchu Tartars or Mongol Tartars. The Japanese are merely ten leagues away from the Koreans, who probably speak the Manchu language, and they have relations and intermarry with them.]

As for Korea he was influenced primarily by its historical “Tartar” connections he learned about from the writings of the missionaries and found confirmation for in the name of Korea, which Hervás derived etymologically from Manchu “*Koron*” (i.e. *gurun* ᠭᠤᠷᠦᠨ ‘country’; Hervás 1784:135). At this point in time merely a few isolated words of Korean were known among Western scholars, and while the case of Japanese was a different one as Collado’s Latin–Spanish–Japanese dictionary had been published in Rome in 1632 and was thus readily available, Hervás inspected it in detail only somewhat later. In 1784 the classification of both languages was therefore carried out on entirely non-linguistic grounds.

Now writing systems are less represented in the Italian *Catalogo*, but Hervás (who had not yet seen a single actual specimen of Korean writing at the time of writing) at least mentions the use of three different kind of scripts in Korea as had been reported by Hendrik Hamel in the 1660s.⁴²

⁴² Modern commentators usually identify these three kinds as *kaishu* 楷書, *caoshu* 草書 and *han’gŭl*. On Hamel and his contribution to Western knowledge of Korean also cf.

Here Buddhism serves as an indicator for a possible “Tartar” script among these, as Hervás assumes:

“La lingua Coreese scrivesi con caratteri particolari. I Letteratti Coreesi studiano la lingua Letterata Cinese, ed usano i caratteri Cinesi. Dicesi che nella Corea sia una scrittura Simbolica, e propria de’ Ministri per gli affari politici: ma io credo, che sia la Scrittura Tartara alquanto sfigurata. I Coreani seguono la religione Tartara del Dio *Fo*, o *Xaca* de’ Tartari, o del *Lama* de’ *Tibetani*.” (Hervás 1784:111, note a)

[The Korean language is written with peculiar characters. The Korean literati study the Chinese literary language, and make use of Chinese characters. It is said that there is a symbolic script in Korea, peculiar to statesmen for political affairs; but I believe that it is the Tartar script, somewhat disfigured. The Koreans adhere to the Tartar religion of the God *Fo* [i.e. *Fo* 佛, Buddha] or *Xaca* [i.e. Śākya(muni)] of the Tartars, or of the Lama of the Tibetans.]

Opinions tend to change over time, and all the more so for opinions on somewhat unsafe ground. It is therefore unsurprising to find Hervás presenting entirely different views in the later Spanish edition of his catalogue. His change in mind concerning Japanese is even explicitly mentioned here:

“Tratando yo de la lengua japona en la obra que he impreso en italiano, dixé que conjeturaba ser dialecto mongulo; mas despues he cotejado atentamente sus palabras y syntaxis con las de los idiomas tártaros, y de otras muchas lenguas, y he conocido que la japona no tiene afinidad alguna con las tártaras, y no he encontrado idioma alguno con quien la tenga. He hallado que la lengua japona es totalmente diversa de los idiomas de todas las naciones asiáticas (exceptuando probablemente alguna de la Córrea china), que estan las mas inmediatas al Japon.” (Hervás 1800–1805, II [= 1801]:63f.)

[Treating of the Japanese language in the work printed in Italian [i.e. Hervás 1784] I said that I assumed it to be a Mongolian dialect; but later I have carefully compared its words and syntax with those of the Tartar idioms and with many other languages, and I noted that the Japanese is not related at all to the Tartar ones, and I have not met with any idiom which is related to it. I found that the Japanese language is completely different from the idioms of all Asian nations (likely excluding some of Chinese Korea),

which are closest to Japan.]

Or in short: “The Japanese language is not a Tartar one, it is a matrix [language]” (“La lengua japona no es tártara: es matriz”; Hervás 1800–1805, II:64), i.e. forms a language family on its own and cannot be derived from any other language. Interestingly his two main sources on Japanese were the dictionary and grammar by Diego Collado – and thus exactly the same ones that earlier led Bayer to the conclusion that Japanese must be “Tartar” in origin!

Now as for Korean: In 1801 (that is, actually in 1798) Hervás makes no mention of his Manchu etymology for “Korea” anymore. This time he rather takes the notices about the Koreans he finds in Du Halde (1735, IV:426) more serious than back in 1784, which clearly state that “their language is different from the Chinese language and the Tartar language” (“Leur langue est différente de la langue Chinoise & de la Langue Tartare”). Sufficient specimens of the language were still not available to Hervás, so that instead of linguistic considerations it is in the end again geographical, cultural and historical ones that lead him to the conclusion that there must be some relationship between Korean and Japanese, as was already hinted at in the quote given above:

“De estas noticias y observaciones parece inferirse que algun language de los córeas debe tener afinidad con la lengua japona. La inmediatecion de la Córrea al Japon, pues una isla de este dista solamente de aquella diez leguas: las conquistas de los japones en la Córrea: el unirse matrimonialmente los japones y los córeas: el ser comun á unos y otros una misma religion, cuyos ministros son los bonzos, y el ser la lengua córea totalmenta diversa de la china y de la mancheu, son otros tantos fundamentos para conjeturar que pueden tener afinidad la lengua japona y algun language de Córrea.” (Hervás 1800–1805, II [= 1801]:67)

[From these notices and observations it appears to follow that some language of the Koreans must be related to the Japanese language. The proximity of Korea to Japan, as one of the latter’s islands is merely ten leagues away from the former; the Japanese conquests of Korea; that the Japanese and Koreans intermarry; that the same religion, the ministers of which are the Bonzes, is common to both; and that the Korean language is entirely different from the Chinese and the Manchu are many other reasons to surmise that the Japanese language and some language of Korea must be related.]

Hamel's and his companions' inability to understand a word of Japanese although they had acquired some knowledge of Korean over the 13 years they spent in the country is explained away by assuming dialectal differences – comparing the hypothetical position of Japanese and Korean to that of Spanish and French (Hervás 1800–1805, II [= 1801]:67f. [#153]). Kaempfer's (1727:85) words that “what hath been observ'd of the difference between the Chinese and Japanese languages, holds equally true with regard to the languages spoken in *Corea* and *Jedso*, compared with that of the Natives of Japan” are relativized by the fact that Kaempfer's freedom during his stay in Japan was limited, as it was for all foreigners at the time, thus preventing him from noticing the linguistic diversity of Japan that Hervás assumes to be present, as the various Western accounts and notices of Japan contain sufficient evidence to conclude that the inhabitants of Japan are not all of a single people but likewise show quite some diversity (Hervás 1800–1805, II [= 1801]:70 [#155]). In the end he thus sticks to his assumption that Japanese and Korean, or rather a Japanese and “some” language of Korea, share a common origin.

Before referring the reader to his *Paleografía* for actual specimens of both writing systems, Hervás here also reconsiders Hamel's statement concerning the use of three kinds of scripts in Korea:

“El dicho Hamel dice en su relacion que en Córrea se usan tres especies de letras, que son la china para escribir libros y asuntos públicos: otras algo semejantes á las europeas, que se usan por los nobles y por los gobernadores en sus asuntos particulares; y otras, que son mas toscas y fáciles, las quales se usan por las mugeres y por el vulgo. Segun esta noticia, en la Córrea se usa de la escritura china, que consta de geroglíficos, y además otros modos de escribir con letras: y estos probablemente son japones, porque en el Japon se usan diversos alfabetos, [...]” (Hervás 1800–1805, II [= 1801]:68)

[The aforementioned Hamel says in his account that three kinds of letters are used in Korea, which are: The Chinese ones to write books and for state affairs; others, somewhat similar to the European ones, which are used by the nobles and governors in their private affairs; and yet others that are cruder and simpler, which are used by women and by commoners. According to this notice the Chinese script consisting of hieroglyphs is used in Korea but also other modes of writing with letters; and these are likely to be Japanese, as various alphabets are in use in Japan, [...].]

The assumption concerning the languages is therefore extended to the

scripts – and if the Japanese one is “Tartar,” the same must be true for the Korean one. Near the end of his discussion of the Japanese and Korean scripts in his *Paleografía* Hervás indeed also indicates that he had the same impression with the latter as with the former, namely that they both resemble the other “Tartar” scripts. This time however, he refers to the parent system of the “Tartar” scripts for even greater similarities:

“La forma de las dichas 25 cifras coreanas no poco se asemeja a la de las cifras tartaras, y mas a la de las sirocaldeo samaritanas, de las que inmediatamente provienen las tartaras.” (Mss. 8496:75r)

[The form of the said 25 Korean characters show not little resemblance to the Tartar characters, and more to the Syro-Chaldaic–Samaritan ones, of which the Tartar ones immediately derive.]

This thus leads us to the last aspect to be considered here, namely graphical similarity. Concerning Japanese, Hervás felt that:

“Las cifras del alfabeto hai-pien [...] se asemejan mas a las mantcheus, calmukas, y mongulas, que las de los otros tres alfabetos japones.” (Mss, 8496:66r)

[The letters of the alphabet *hai-pien*, [...] resemble the Manchu, Kalmyk and Mongol ones more than those of the other three Japanese alphabets.]

In fact he was not even the only one to think along these lines. To start with another contemporary European scholar, we may quote Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752–1827) who shared this impression of a certain graphical similarity between *kana* on the one hand and the Mongolian (-derived) script(s) on the other. Consider the following passage from a chapter on the “Sprachen der Mongolischen Völker,” i.e. “Languages of the Mongolian peoples,”⁴³ in which he touches upon Japanese as well, writing:⁴⁴

⁴³ Eichhorn (1807:152f.) considered the Japanese people to be of Mongolian descent and, similar to Hervás before him, he assumed the Japanese language to be a dialect of Mongolian.

⁴⁴ The only actual specimens of Japanese *kana* Eichhorn (1807:155) refers to are those by Kaempfer and Büttner (1777) – the latter of which is in turn again largely based on Kaempfer, but also in part on Müller (1694/1703). There is thus quite some overlap with the sources Hervás had at his disposal.

“Die gegenwärtig in Japan gewöhnliche Schrift ist offenbar die Mongolische, der Japanischen Sprache gemäs eingerichtet. Sie ist in ihrer dreyfachen Form [...], wie bey den Mongolen, ein Syllabarium, in senkrechten Zeilen, die von der Rechten zur Linken gestellt sind. Welche Nation von Asien außer den Mongolen und Kalmücken hätte erweislich je auf diese Weise geschrieben? Selbst in einzelnen Zügen ist die Verwandtschaft dieser Alphabete noch nicht ganz erloschen.” (Eichhorn 1807:155)

[The script currently in common use in Japan appears to be the Mongolian one, adapted to the Japanese language. In its threefold form [...] it is just as with the Mongols a syllabary [written] in perpendicular lines, arranged from right to left.⁴⁵ Which other nation of Asia besides the Mongols and Kalmyks would demonstrably write in this manner? The relationship of these alphabets has even not entirely vanished in some traits.]

Interestingly it is not too difficult to find parallel statements by pre-modern East Asian authors, illustrated here by one case each from China, Korea and Japan. The earliest appearance of the Japanese *iroha* in a Chinese source is in the well-known *Shushi huiyao* 書史會要 (1376), which notes, probably in reference to the way *kana* were often written continuously:

其聯續成字處髣髴蒙古字法也 (VIII/8v)

[In terms of how characters are formed in it by joining several together it very much resembles the Mongolian way of writing.]

For a case from Korea – which may or may not be related to continuous writing as well – we may refer to Cho Myōngch’ae 曹命采 (1700–1764) who writes in his *Pongsa Ilbon si mun’gyōnnok* 奉使日本時聞見錄 (1748) in the entry for the day 14.IV.1748 among other things:

又有一屏。付扇帖古書。問之此皆古倭中名顯者筆蹟。而渠輩之所寶藏也。多是倭諺而類清書。不可解矣。

[Furthermore there was a folding screen, with folding fans and old writings attached. When I asked about it, it turned out that these were all

⁴⁵ Eichhorn is of course mistaken when he says that lines are “arranged from right to left” in the Mongolian script. In another passage he even contrasts the Mongolian and Chinese scripts, saying that while both make use of perpendicular lines, the Mongolian script “does not run, as with the Chinese, from left to right, but rather as with the Semites, from right to left” (“sie läuft nicht, wie bey den Sinesen, von der Linken zur Rechten, sondern wie bey den Semiten, von der Rechten zur Linken”; Eichhorn 1807: 138). The claims concerning the two scripts need to be reversed of course.

calligraphies by the most renowned persons in Japan in olden times, so that they are kept like treasures by them. They were mostly in Japanese vernacular script [i.e. *kana*] and resembled Qing writing [i.e. the Manchu script]. It was incomprehensible.]

Finally as for Japan there is a remark of interest in Arai Hakuseki's 新井白石 (1657–1725) *Dōbun tsūkō* 同文通考 (1760 print; with additions by Arai Hakuga 新井白蛾) which also leads us back to the *Haipian* type dictionaries containing the Japanese *hiragana* syllabary. Here it is not *hiragana* in its authentic form but rather copies thereof in Chinese works carried out by untrained hands that bear resemblance to the Manchu script.

又異朝ノ書ニ吾國ノ伊呂波ヲ載テ其音ヲ釋シタルアレトモ。今ノ滿字トイフモノハ形ニ似テ。大ニ其真ヲウシナヘリ。オモフニコレ轉寫ノ訛レルガ致ス所ナルヘシ。[書史會要。海篇心鏡等ニ。伊呂波ヲ載ス。滿字トイフハ。今清朝ニ行ハルハ所ノ國字。モトコレ奴兒于[=干]部ノ文字ナルヘシ。] (III/5r)

[Among Chinese books there are furthermore ones containing the *iroha* of our country and explaining its pronunciation, but they resemble the so-called Manchu script of today in form and have lost their authenticity to a great degree. As I think this is probably due to corruption while copying. (Among others *Shushi huiyao* and *Haipian xinjing* contain an *iroha*. The Manchu script is the national script presently in use in the Qing dynasty; originally this is probably the script of the Nurgan region.)]

The *iroha* as contained in *Haipian xinjing* is basically the same as that in *Yinyun zihai* Müller was working with and that in *Haipian tonghui* Bayer was working with – the latter of which was also known to Hervás by way of Schultze (1748). In the end Hervás was thus in good company with various other scholars in various places and times when he felt a graphical similarity between the Mongolian script or its derivatives and Japanese *kana*.

Appendix 1: Translation of *Ensayo*, #17–20 (Mss. 8496:4r–5r)

[pl. III (fig. 14–15): <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000063562&page=14>]

[pl. IV (fig. 16–18): <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000063562&page=15>]

§. III. The Japanese, Korean and Formosan alphabets⁴⁶

[17.] The Japanese have, as Crasset (1722:41) says, “fourteen manners or classes of letters that are different not only in their appearance but also in their signification. With the one class of letters they write to the king, with one to subjects. The letters in public writings are different and those in private writings are [again] different.” Ginnaro (1641, I/1:69) notes no less exact in the notices he gives about Japan that “the Japanese use fourteen different manners of writing” and that “one of these manners is by means of Chinese characters, which number 80.000.”⁴⁷ The Japanese thus make use of the Chinese script which consists of as many characters as there are objects denoted by them, and they make use of a script of alphabetical characters; and as they put their courtesy and education not only in speaking more or less elegantly and with variation in the words depending on the kind of person whom they talk to, but also in writing to them or in writing in a variety of affairs, they have multiplied their alphabets, of which I give the principal ones in the tables or plates III and IV.

[18.] In figure 14 the characters corresponding to the vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, *je*, *o* in four alphabets are given. The characters corresponding to number I belong to the first alphabet; to the second belong the characters corresponding to number II; the characters corresponding to number III belong to the third alphabet; and to the fourth belong the characters corresponding to number IV.

19. In figure 15 the consonants of the aforementioned four alphabets are provided, or rather, a part of the syllabary or of the syllabic characters

⁴⁶ The entire portion from *Ensayo* translated here is written in the newer hand.

⁴⁷ The number of 80.000 characters is widespread in the literature up to Hervás’s times, leading at times to bewildering statements such as the following: “whereas we can read other Languages, when we are able to distinguish 20, 30 or 40 different Letters, the knowledge of 40000 Characters in the *Chinese* and *Japan* Languages, which have at least 80000, is but an indifferent progress towards reading it” (*The History of the Works of the Learned* 11.3 [March 1709]:136).

of the four alphabets. The syllabary is easy to read. For instance: After the letter *n* the numbers I, II, III, IV are given, which indicate the four alphabets. Facing number II there are five characters, which belong to the second alphabet; and in accordance with the five vowels *a, e, i, o, u*, which are seen in the beginning of figure 15, the said five characters are to be read *na, ne, ni, no, nu*. The characters corresponding to the remaining consonants *w, t, r, s, y, k, m* are to be read in the same manner, after which the characters corresponding to the syllables *fa, fe, fi, fo, fu* in the said four alphabets are given in two columns.

Figure 16 contains a Korean alphabet (or [alphabet] of Korea, a kingdom attached to the Chinese empire) and several Japanese alphabets. Said figure is easily understood with the following explanation.

In the first column to the reader's left five syllables are given in this manner: 1. *ia*, 2. *ma*, 3. *ke*, 4. *fu*, 5. *ko*, and below each of these syllables in said column characters are given which are Korean and correspond to the value of the European syllable immediately above them. In this manner the remaining Korean characters are provided, which number 47 and are seen under the remaining numbers 6, 7, 8, 9 etc.

In the second column to the reader's left and corresponding to number II characters corresponding to the said syllables *ia, ma, ke, fu, ko, ie, le* etc. are given in different alphabets. Thus, Korean characters and their sound value are given in the columns numbered I, and in the columns numbered II the characters are given, which in different Japanese alphabets correspond to the sound values given in the columns numbered I. At the end of the last column of figure 16, starting with number 48, five composite Korean characters are given together with the Japanese ones they correspond to. I do not know the sound values of these five characters, which I have provided to give an idea of composite Korean [characters].

Under the figure 16 a row of 33 characters is given with the letters "L. C.," i.e. "Letras Coreanas." In said row I give the simplest form, which appears to correspond to the primitive characters of the Korean alphabet. The first 25 characters have a very simple form, and this will consequently be the original one; the last eight characters are somewhat composite.

20. The alphabet in figure 17 was published successively by Leonhardt Thurneysser and Benjamin Schultze under the title "the Tartar alphabet";⁴⁸

⁴⁸ This refers to Thurneysser (1583:188) and Schultze (1748:151) respectively.

I do not know to what nation it belongs. It has some Samaritan letters and it imitates the traits of the letters of the Armenian and Iberian or Georgian alphabets. In figure 18 the Formosan alphabet or that of the island Formosa (2) is given. The sound values of the characters of these two alphabets are clearly indicated by means of European letters, which are given together with them.

Appendix 2: Translation of *Paleografia*, #51–67 (Mss. 8496: 64v–75v)

[fig. 14–15: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000063562&page=86>]

[fig. 16–18: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000063562&page=87>]

§. V. The Japanese, Korean and Formosan Alphabets⁴⁹

51. In figures 14 and 15 I give four alphabets, which were published by Kaempfer in his history of Japan and by Schultze (1748, part 1:134) under the title of “Japanese alphabets.” In figure 14 I give the vowels and in figure 15 the consonants. In the one as well as in the other figure I denote the number and order of the four alphabets by means of the Roman numerals I, II, III and IV. However these Roman numerals are arranged horizontally in figure 14, but vertically in figure 15. The first three alphabets were published by Kaempfer, and the fourth by Schultze.

Understanding figure 14 is simple. Facing the letter *a* the characters which denote it in the mentioned four alphabets are given. The character which is facing *a* and below the number I denotes that of the first alphabet. The character which is below the number II denotes that of the second alphabet. The character which is below the number III denotes that of the third alphabet. The character which is below the number IV denotes that of the fourth alphabet. The other characters denote the corresponding vowels in the four alphabets in this order. The vowels given in figure 14 are: *a*, *i*, *u*, *je*, *o*. The syllable *je* denotes the somewhat aspirated vowel *e*. I express this vowel *e* with the syllable *je*, as I found it denoted in this manner.

In figure 15 the consonants are provided, or rather, a part of the

⁴⁹ The chapter title as well as the entire paragraph 51 is in the newer hand, replacing an older version of the passage, the end of which is still visible (but deleted) in the first three lines on leaf 65r.

Japanese syllabary [combined] out of the consonants together with the vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o* and *u*. For instance: Facing the number I of the letter *n* one reads *na*, *ne*, *ni*, *no* for the four characters corresponding to said number; the character for the syllable *nu* is missing. Facing number II one reads *na*, *ne*, *ni*, *no*, *nu*, as we have five characters. Facing the number I of the letter *w* one reads *wa*, *wu*;⁵⁰ the characters for the syllables *we*, *wi*, *wo* are missing. In this manner the remainder of the characters in figure 15 is to be read. At the end of it and of the line, on which the vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* are found, the syllables *fa*, *fe* etc. are placed, which [also] belong to the syllabary out of consonants. The two characters that are below the syllables *fa*, *fe* and facing number I belong to the first alphabet; to the second belong the further two characters which face number II; the same is to be understood respectively for the remaining characters, which are below the syllables *fo*, *fi*, *fu*.

52. The four alphabets, to which the characters explained [herein] belong, are called *imato-cana* [*yamatogana* 大和仮名], *cata-cana* [*katakana* 片仮名], *firo-cana* [*hiragana* 平仮名] and *hai-pien* [*Haipian* 海篇].⁵¹ The alphabet *imato-cana*, or rather *Iamato-cana* is used exclusively in the court of the ecclesiastical emperors of the Japanese, which are called *dairi* [*dairi* 内裏], and the names *imato*, or *iamato* [Yamato 大和], allude to *Iamsiuro* [Yamashiro 山城], which is that of the province where the residence Meaco [*miyako* 京], or court of the *Dairi*, is located.⁵² The alphabets *cata-cana* and *firo-cana* are common in Japan, and common persons understand them. These meagre notices Kaempfer (1729, I:plate XLV) gives about the first three alphabets, of which he published the characters in his history of Japan, based on which I give them in figures 14 and 15. The fourth alphabet is called *hai-pien*. The Chinese give this name to their great dictionary, in which the characters of all the words in their language are found. And as each word has its own distinct character, the number of Chinese characters contained in *hai-pien*, equals that of the words, which

⁵⁰ Probably an error for “Facing the number IV”

⁵¹ This paragraph is mostly based on Kaempfer (1729, I:lii), including all Japanese terminology.

⁵² The name *yamatogana* of course refers to the former province of Yamato alone, which comprised the old capital Nara. The old capital Kyōto (“Meaco”) was however indeed part of the former province of Yamashiro, which apparently lead to the confusion here.

are said to number more than 80.000.⁵³ The name *hai-pien* means ‘plain of the sea.’ The Japanese make use of alphabets and Chinese characters (17), and their alphabets will probably have been placed in the dictionary *hai-pian* of the Chinese; and therefore alphabet IV will be given under the name of *hai-pien*.

53.⁵⁴ The alphabets given in figures 14 and 15, and published by Kaempfer and Schultze, are certainly imperfect, as they lack some syllables, which from the grammars and dictionaries of the Japanese language can be deduced to exist in it. In figure 14 there are five vowels, and [yet] the Japanese have a greater number of them (56).⁵⁵ Likewise in figure 15 there are only nine consonants (namely *n, w, t, r, s, y, k, m, f*), and [yet] the Japanese certainly have a greater number, which I infer from the rules on orthography Collado gives at the beginning of his Japanese grammar.⁵⁶ Kaempfer, however, does neither give a greater number of vowels nor of consonants in the Japanese alphabets, which I publish [herein]; and to the present day I have not succeeded in getting to see those which the Jesuits sent not without great precision to Europe few years after their establishment in Japan.

54. The letters of the alphabet *hai-pien*, which stand under number IV in figures 14 and 15, resemble the Manchu, Kalmyk and Mongol ones more than those of the other three Japanese alphabets. In Japan the custom was introduced (17) to diversify the letters, just as the words and the

⁵³ Cf. footnote 47 above.

⁵⁴ Paragraph 53 is written in the newer hand on a slip of paper, replacing an older version of this passage. As is obvious from the retained footnote in the older hand, the original passage also already referred to Collado’s grammar.

⁵⁵ Hervás obviously expects a distinct written representation for each vowel in the language, whereas in fact long vowels and diphthongs are written as combinations of the five basic vowels. Unlike his predecessor João Rodriguez, Collado as Hervás’s chief source on the Japanese language does not discuss how long vowels and diphthongs are represented in writing in his grammar.

⁵⁶ This is mostly a matter of phonology versus phonetics. Collado discusses a number of pronunciation issues that reflect allophonic variations of consonants, which are not reflected in the Japanese script, but are to some extent distinguished in the missionaries’ Romanizations. A second issue here is that of voicing distinctions. As diacritical marks to indicate voiced initials were still optional in Japanese writing, both during the so-called Christian century and at Hervás’s time, the earlier Western accounts of the scripts are mostly silent on them (Kaempfer merely indicates two possible sound values in the case of *t* vs. *d*, but not for other pairs), thus implying non-existing gaps in the syllabaries.

expressions to speak with confidence, fear, reverence etc. are diversified, and therefore the Japanese have formed from their original alphabet, which they had in their antiquity, various and distinct alphabets, in which they have distorted the form of their ancient letters. These, despite being distorted, even disclose to us that they have an origin common to the Manchu, Kalmyk and Mongol ones. The Japanese write like the Manchus, Kalmyks and Mongols (43). All these circumstances tell us that the alphabets of all these nations have a common origin. In the Japanese language the word *caki* [*kaki* 書き] means ‘to draw’ and ‘to write.’⁵⁷ These two meanings of *caki* seem to indicate that drawing was the original writing of the Japanese. This was probably the one which the Chinese used anciently.

55. The quoted Kaempfer (52) added to the small Japanese syllabary which he has published five characters of five alphabets called: *sin* [*shin* 真]; *common* [*komon* (*kobun*) 古文]; second *common*, or *taf* [read *faf* = *hafu* (*happun*) 八分]; third *common*; *sso* [*sō* 草]. About their names he gives the following explanation: The letter *ssin* belongs to the profound and learned language of Japan in accordance with the Chinese manner. The letters of the first *common* the Japanese use just as the Chinese do in their seals. In these the Japanese also use the letter *taf*, and the letter of the third *common*. The letter *sso* is from the learned language of the Japanese. Only this indigestible explanation does Kaempfer give about the five alphabets, without denoting or expressing with Latin letters the sound values of the characters, which he gives of them. About these characters I have made the following observations. Those of the first four alphabets appear to be Chinese characters, and those of the last one must be alphabetical characters, which the Japanese use to write books.⁵⁸ The name *sin* is probably from the Chinese language, in which ‘to write’ is called *sie* [*xie* 寫]; ‘to write in abbreviation’ *seng-sie* [*sheng xie* 省寫]; ‘sealed piece of writing’ *in-sin* [*yinxin* 印信]. A letter is called *ji* [*ji* 字] in Japan, and in China a letter is called *jü*.⁵⁹ The Japanese make use of the Chinese script and of

⁵⁷ Most likely based on Collado’s dictionary, which reads: “*Pingo, is, pintar, càqi, u.*” (1632b:303) as well as “*Scribo, is; escriuir, càqi, u. caqi xirùxi, u.*” (1632b:326).

⁵⁸ Note how only the first four forms are perceived as Chinese characters, but not the cursive (*sō* = *cao*[*shu*]) forms given last. Cf. note 38 above.

⁵⁹ Reference unclear. The expected *zi* 字 is written as “zu” elsewhere (e.g. *Historia* = Mss. 7807:22v).

alphabetic writing (17); and certainly no nation will adopt the Chinese script if it knew and used an alphabetical one; but it is possible to retain the use of the Chinese script after getting to know an alphabetic one; and this is what must have happened to the Japanese, which had probably used Chinese writing before they became acquainted with the alphabetic one, and therefore kept it, and denote it with the words, *sin*, *ji*, which are originally Chinese. The characters which the Japanese use in their seals according to Kaempfer are Chinese characters, made with strokes which render them in good proportion to the eye, just like the characters are which, made of initial Latin letters of the names, are engraved on seals. Kaempfer says that the *sin* letters are the significant and learned language of the Japanese;⁶⁰ but he should have said that the *sin* letter is the script, which they understand, when they know the unchanging meaning of its characters, even if one does not know the Chinese language; and it is the script of scientific books.

56. The aforementioned Collado places the following observations on the sound values of the Japanese letters at the beginning of his Japanese grammar, the pronunciation of which is somewhat extraordinary.

[...] ⁶¹

These words of advice by Collado tells us that the Japanese have seven vowels, like the Tartars; that they agree with these in various accents; and that their alphabet has more consonants than the Latin one.

57. I had finished the preceding discussion of the Japanese script, and although it appeared to me that I had satisfied the public with the very little which I had said about it, because I had somewhat advanced beyond what is said about that script in the Japanese history of Kaempfer, which is excessively applauded by the people today, I was nevertheless not without discontent about to continue with the explanation of the Tartar alphabets, when on a visit I made to cardinal Borgia, who has the best museum of ancient and foreign literature in Europe, I said to his eminence that I was dissatisfied with the few notices, which I had been able to gather about the Japanese script. Then the cardinal told me, showing me a book printed

⁶⁰ Cf. Kaempfer (1727, II: explanation to Tab. XLV): “Those mark’d 1, are the *Ssin* characters, as they call them, being the characters of the significant or learned language of the Chinese and Japanese, express’d after the Chinese manner.”

⁶¹ The nine paragraphs following this and containing Collado’s account of Japanese pronunciation are omitted here.

in Korea: “Here I have an alphabet book written in Chinese, Japanese and Korean, however without any explanation. I have shown it to several Chinese of the [Sacra Congregatio de] Propaganda [Fide] and they merely knew to tell me that a Japanese alphabet, another Korean one and some explanation in Chinese is contained in it. If you want to work on this book, take it and work on it.” I took it and examined it with great pleasure, as I saw that it was splendidly printed and inferred from this that the form of all the alphabetical characters would be of the greatest exactness. Perhaps it was printed in Korea, for on the first page, which is the last of the book, there is a note in Latin which says that a Korean mandarin had presented the book to a missionary.

Not having any book instructive of the Japanese scripts and the Korean one in this city of Rome, I thought it possible to grasp the said book by means of the Chinese script; and in the Chinese vocabularies of the Propaganda and in the best which mister Poet, superior of the French missions of the Propaganda (whose immense utility will soon be gone due to the misfortunes of France), brought with him and owns, I sought the briefest explanation, which is given to every character of the Japanese alphabet and the Korean one; but my work was in vain, for the Chinese, who have no idea about alphabetical characters, gave a superficial and for my concerns useless explanation about these. The notes in Chinese for instance tell us: “final letter or character,” “profound character, which the erudite know,” “character denoting time,” “auxiliary character,” “conjunctive character,” “comparative character” etc. These and other explanations are of no help to understand the use and the sound values of the alphabetical characters; and by the Chinese they were given in relation to their characters, which are not alphabetic, and with total ignorance of the letter-type [i.e. alphabetic] characters.

Lacking any means whatsoever for interpreting or knowing the values of the Japanese and Korean letters under these circumstances, I carefully compared the Japanese ones of the named book with those of the Japanese alphabets in the figures 14 and 15 and after various laborious combinations with two printed Japanese books, in which the names of some Jesuit missionaries were written in Japanese letters, I dared to establish the sound values of 21 Japanese letters, and according to them inferred those of the Korean ones, which are given opposite to them. I had finished this annoying task, when by chance I saw the Japanese alphabet Duret

published in 1619 saying that it was that which the Jesuit Edmond Auger had provided and Vigenère had published (Duret 1618:913). Anxiously I searched that work of him, assuming that the characters or letters of the Japanese alphabet were accurately depicted in it; and my assumption was confirmed.

58. Vigenère however gives a Japanese alphabet (the most extensive and exact one which has been published in Europe up to today) saying “that by the grace of the king, and through the count of Bouchage the alphabet of China and of Japan has been made public on the request of the most learned, reverend and devoted father Edmond Auger of the holy Society of Jesus, who imparted to us this goodness” (Vigenère 1587:CCCXXVII).

Vigenère calls “the alphabet of China and of Japan” what is [in fact] only that of Japan. This alphabet was most likely printed after having finished the printing of the named work by Vigenère, as I note that after leaf 326 ten leafs with Roman numerals are given (on which the Japanese alphabet is given) and after these the Arabic numbers 327, 328 etc. follow so that the leafs containing the Japanese alphabet can easily be lacking in some exemplars of the said work. On these ten leafs Vigenère provides the alphabet of Japan (of which notice will be given later) and in Japanese letters the permission through which the Jesuits had been allowed to evangelize in Japan. Duret in his mentioned work reprints what Vigenère had published on the named ten leafs.

59. As an account of the Japanese alphabet published by Vigenère and of the book in Japanese, Chinese and Korean (mentioned earlier) of the most eminent cardinal Borgia will serve the explanation of figure 16.

The Japanese make use of a multitude of alphabets which appear to be fourteen (17). Four have been placed in figure 15, and others are given in figure 16, which must be considered as the most exact ones. Said figure 16 is distributed in classes of two columns with the numbers I, II. Under number I the characters of the Korean alphabet and their sound value in Roman letters are given; and under the column of number II the characters of the Japanese alphabets are given, and the sound value of these is the same as that of the Korean ones, which is opposite in column I. I now give a practical and easily intelligible explanation of the characters in figure 16 and of the sound value they have.

60. In the first column of figure 16 “1. *ia*” is given to the reader’s left under the number I and afterwards a character, which is Korean; “2. *ma*”

follows, afterwards a Korean character is given; “3. *ke*” follows, afterwards a Korean character is given; “4. *fu*” follows, afterwards a Korean character is given; and “5. *ko*” follows, afterwards a Korean character is given, with which the said first column, which is below number I, concludes. Thus the five Korean characters or syllables, whose sound value is *ia*, *ma*, *ke*, *fu*, *ko*, are given in this column.

The same applies to the column I, in which are likewise given, with Korean characters added: 6. *ie*, 7. *le*, 8. *a*, 9. *ka*, 10. *ki*, 11. *iu*. With these Latin syllables the sound values of the Korean characters of the numbers 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 are denoted, which are given under the said syllables *ie*, *le* etc. respectively.

In the following column numbered I with Korean characters added are likewise placed: 12. *me*, 13. *mi*, 14. *xi*, 15. *i*, 16. *bo*. With these syllables the sound value of the Korean characters numbered 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 are denoted.

In the same manner the Korean characters are to be read in the column I, which begins with number 17; in the column I, which begins with number 22; in the column I, which begins with number 29; in the column I, which begins with number 35; and in the column I, which begins with number 44.

The Arabic numbers, which are given in the said columns, number 47; and likewise do the Korean characters. No sound value is given to those starting from number 48, therefore I do not know them. Of the five Korean characters, which are under number 48, and of the five respective Japanese ones which correspond to them will be treated later (62). Here I must only note that under the number 18 Korean characters are given, which have the same sound value *ni*. Likewise, under the number 19 two other Korean characters⁶² of the same sound value *fo* are given; under the number 21 two others of the same sound value *lo* are given; under number 30 two others of the same sound value *ta* are given; and lastly under the number 41 two others of the same sound value *vo* are given. I have given the said duplicated Korean characters, for even though they have the same value, they differ somewhat in form; and with this difference I have found them provided in the mentioned Chinese–Japanese–Korean book.⁶³ In China and

⁶² Here and in the following lines “characters” refers to *han’gŭl* letters.

⁶³ This refers to part C (4r–6r) of Borg.cin.400.

in Korea printing is done only on plates of copper or of wood, so that it happens not infrequently, that the form of the same character is altered somewhat.

61. In the columns below number II only Japanese characters of several alphabets are given. I will explain their order and sound value in a practical manner.

In the first column of number II four Japanese characters are given from number 1 up to number 2; and these Japanese characters are equivalent to the Korean ones, which are under these numbers, and the sound value of each of these is *ia*.

In the said column of number II three Japanese characters are given under numbers 2 and 3; and these Japanese characters are equivalent to the Korean ones, which are under numbers 2 and 3; and the sound value of each of these is *ma*.

In the said column II six Japanese characters are given under numbers 3 and 4; and these characters are equivalent to the Korean ones, which are under these numbers; and the sound value of each of these is *ke*.

In the said column II five Japanese characters are given under numbers 4 and 5; and these characters are equivalent to the Korean ones, which are under these numbers; and the sound value of each of these is *fu*.

Likewise the sound value of the four Japanese characters, starting from number 5 in the said column II, is *ko*.

The same must be said about the other Japanese characters, which are in the other columns in number II. The three Japanese characters, which are under numbers 6 and 7 have the sound value of *ie*; the other three, which are under numbers 7 and 8 have the sound value of *le*; the other three, which are under numbers 8 and 9, have the sound value of *a*; the four Japanese characters, which are under numbers 9 and 10, have the sound value of *ka*; the three, which are under numbers 10 and 11, have the sound value of *ki*; and the five, which are from number 11 to the end of the column, have the sound value of *iu*.

The same is to be understood and must be said of the Japanese characters in the column number II, which are under numbers 12 and 13; under numbers 13 and 14; under numbers 14 and 15; under numbers 15 and 16; and from number 16 to the end of the column; the same characters have the sound value of *me*, *mi*, *xi*, *i*, *bo* etc. respectively. With this explanation the sound values corresponding to the Japanese characters

put under number 17 and 18, under number 18 and 19 etc. are easily understood.

62. Although the number of the Japanese characters that have the same sound value is clearly distinguished in figure 16, I will nevertheless provide them in the following table for better clarity.

sound value	number of Japanese characters	sound value	number of Japanese characters	sound value	number of Japanese characters
I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.
1. ia	4	17. fa	3	33. zu	3
2. ma	3	18. ni	4	34. na	4
3. ke	6	19. fo	5	35. ne	5
4. fu	5	20. fe	4	36. ba	2
5. ko	4	21. lo	7	37. mu	3
6. ie	3	22. ci	2	38. v	2
7. le	3	23. bi	4	39. i	3
8. a	3	24. nu	3	40. no	2
9. ka	4	25. bu	1	41. vo	3
10. ki	3	26. vo	7	42. ku	2
11. iu	5	27. va	2	43. ie	1
12. me	4	28. ka	3	44. fi	4
13. mi	5	29. io	2	45. mo	4
14. xi	5	30. ta	5	46. se	4
15. i	3	31. be	6	47. zu	5
16. bo	5	32. zo	3		

The Japanese characters up to number 47 inclusively are 173 in number, and of all of them a sound value is given. From number 48 five characters of unknown sound value are given, but each one of these must have a different one, as the five Korean characters to which the five Japanese ones correspond are different. Each one of the five Korean characters is composed from different characters, and from this it is inferred that the respective Japanese characters must be of a composite sound value, and difficult to pronounce, or they are diphthongs.

63. In the Japanese syllabary in figure 16, 47 classes of different syllables are given. They are of different alphabets, which do not always have the same number of characters. Thus it is hardly possible to determine the number of alphabets in said figure, in which I have placed the Japanese characters and the Korean ones in the same order as they are given in the

named Chinese–Japanese–Korean book.

In this book a single alphabet of 52 characters is given in the beginning and these [characters] are the first of each of the syllables, which are given in said figure. In this alphabet, which consists of 52 characters, the characters are given in this order: The first Japanese *ia* as number 1. The first Japanese *ma* as number 2. The first Japanese *ke* as number 3. The first Japanese *fu* as number 4. The first Japanese *ko* as number 5. And likewise the first Japanese character *me* as number 12, the first Japanese *mi* as number 13 etc. The 47 first Japanese characters of the other syllables are given up until the syllable *zu*. And afterwards 5 characters are given, which continue from number 48, so that the entire characters are 52 in number, and to each of these the corresponding Korean character is given, as it is seen in figure 16.

I assume that this alphabet is the sacred or principal one among the Japanese, and that it is thus given alone and in the beginning; also this alphabet is the one which, published at the request of Edmond Auger, is printed and put in the work of Vigenère, as was said before (58). From the sound values given to each Japanese character in Vigenère's alphabet, I inferred those of the Korean characters, to which the Japanese are matched respectively in the said first alphabet, which I call sacred.

After this sacred or principal Japanese alphabet a syllabary with Japanese characters and Korean ones, which I have not been able to understand, is given in the named Chinese book.⁶⁴ In this syllabary Japanese characters are given that are entirely different from all that are in figure 16, and to several of these some of the Korean characters are matched, which I give in said figure, for which the sound values can clearly be inferred and known through the Japanese characters, which correspond to these Korean ones. But to many other Japanese characters Korean characters are matched, in part new ones (which are simple) and in part ones combined from the new ones and from the already known ones, the sound value of which is impossible to determine. This syllabary has 88 characters.

In the third place all the characters of figure 16 are given in the order in which it is seen in it [= figure 16], and with the only material

⁶⁴ This refers to section B (2r–3r) of Borg.cin.400 as described above. If not the number of entries but rather the number of *han'gūl* syllable blocks are counted, the result is 87 – so that Hervás's number of 88 is probably slightly erroneous.

difference that the Korean character is repeated, to which each Japanese character corresponds.⁶⁵ For example: the Korean character *ia* of number 1 is repeated four times, the Korean character *ma* of number 2 is repeated three times, and the other Korean characters are also repeated, or given as many times as the Japanese ones to which they correspond are; and this repetition told me that the 173 characters in figure 16 are characters of different alphabets. After these characters 29 Japanese characters are given in the said Chinese books, which must be very complex, as each of these corresponds to a combination of several Korean characters, which may form long[er] words.⁶⁶

64. In the Japanese alphabet of Edmond Auger as well as in the Japanese alphabets of the mentioned Chinese book the order of the syllables as in figure 16 is observed; this order is truly extraordinary. *Ma* is given a number 2, *me* is given as number 12, *mi* is given as number 13, *mu* is given as number 37 and *mo* is given as number 45. *Fu* is given as number 4, *fa* as number 17, *fo* as number 29, *fe* as number 20 and *fi* as number 44. This way of arranging the syllables is irregular, but it should be based on some rational principle, which is unknown to us, just like we do not know the motive behind not joining all syllables beginning with the same consonant together. Among the characters in figure 16 those for the vowels *e*, *o* are not provided separately, but only those for the vowels *a*, *i*, *u* under the numbers 8, 15, 38, 39. Perhaps only these vowels are used separately. The two characters of *i* under the numbers 15 and 39 signify that this vowel has two different sounds the one of which will be similar to that of *e*; and thus the vowel *e* is found in many Japanese words in the Japanese dictionary of Collado (53). In the Japanese alphabets in figure 15 the characters containing the letter *r* are given, which are missing in the alphabets in figure 16; but perhaps in the alphabets of figure 15, which lack the letter *l*, the letter *r* is given in its place, whose pronunciation is confounded with that of *l* as it is very soft (56); and therefore *r* is missing in figure 16.

65. Of the Korean alphabets I have seen only the Korean characters which I provide in figure 16. It was noted before (17) that two different

⁶⁵ This refers to section C (4r–6r) of Borg.cin.400.

⁶⁶ This refers to section D (6r–v) of Borg.cin.400, which however has 26 rather than 29 entries.

alphabets are in use in Korea: one by the nobles and one by the common people. The Korean alphabet which I give in said figure is perhaps the vulgar one, as its characters have a clear and simple form; and perhaps the alphabet of the nobles will be the Japanese one of Edmond Auger, which I have called sacred or principal (63). I do not know the number of the Korean characters, but they must exceed the number of 50, as I have observed in the mentioned Chinese book; of these 50 letters at least 25 appear to me to be the primitive or simple ones; and the rest are combination or unions of others. The primitive Korean letters appear to me to be the first 25 characters, which I give under the figure 16 opposite to the letters "L.C." (that is, "letra coreana"). The eight characters placed after these 25 appear to be simple, but they are not: for they are composed from the preceding ones, of which likewise all the Korean characters are composed that are given in figure 16. I have observed all the Korean characters attentively, which are in the named Chinese book, and from their observation I have inferred that they are all different combinations of the 33 letters, which I give under the figure 16 opposite to the letters; or rather, they are combinations of the first 25 characters, as the eight remaining ones are not simple but composite, as I have said. The form of the said 25 Korean characters show not little resemblance to the Tartar characters, and more to the Syro-Chaldaic-Samaritan ones, of which the Tartar ones immediately derive (294). The form of the Korean characters is simple: therefore, when we come to know the sound value of the primitives or radicals of the Korean alphabet, one may easily determine its true origin. The Japanese characters are the result of the whimsical urge of inventing a variety of alphabets, on which the Japanese devote their science and civilization; which is why it is difficult to know the properties of its primitive characters, and consequently to determine its true origin, which appears to be Tartar.

66. I conclude the Tartar, Japanese and Korean alphabets with the two alphabets in the figures 17 and 18, which appear to coincide in their origin with the Tartar ones. The alphabet in figure 17 was published successively by Leonhardt Thurneysser and by Benjamin Schultze (1748:151) under the title "the Tartar alphabet"; the same published that in figure 18 under the title of "the Formosan alphabet." The alphabet in figure 17 resembles in some letters the Samaritan alphabets (300) and appears to imitate the appearance or forms of the letters of the Iberians and of the Armenians,

with whom all the Tartar nations have always kept commerce.

67.⁶⁷ The alphabet in figure 18 is used, says Schultze (1748:103[–106]), on the island Formosa, “the language of which is similar to the Japanese one, although there is a difference in the accents of vowels, by which the Formosans distinguish the tenses of verbs. Thus they denote or express the present tense with the normal tone, the past tense with a high tone, and the present tense with a yet higher tone.”⁶⁸ The Formosan language is totally different from the Japanese one, and from the Chinese one; and this difference I have discovered by comparison of the words of the Lord’s Prayer and of the Apostles’ Creed in the Formosan language with corresponding ones in the Japanese and the Chinese ones. The Formosans probably have one of the idioms, which are spoken on the neighboring islands, called Lieukieu or Lequeuo [= Ryūkyū] and which reach up to the vicinity of Japan. Under the number 145 of my catalogue of the languages I give a long notice of the said islands taken from the historical relation about them printed in the year 1721 [= *Zhongshan chuanxin lu* 中山傳信錄] by order of the Chinese emperor Kang-hi [= Kangxi]. In that relation it is said, that on the islands of Lieukieu (which number 36) the Chinese and Japanese scripts, called *iluhua* [*yiluhua* 伊魯花] by the islanders and *irofa* [both = *iroha*] by the Japanese, are used. Perhaps the Formosan script is the ancient one of the Japanese, as it is simpler than what they use. The form of their script resembles those of the Burmans and Peguans a lot (122). According to the Chinese annals, as pointed out in the above-mentioned catalogue, the Formosans did not use, nor know any writing six centuries before the Christian era. But in the said annals it is not said, at which time they started to use or know it.

⁶⁷ The beginning of paragraph 67 translated here is written in the newer hand on a slip of paper, replacing an older version of this passage. The remainder of the same paragraph (not translated here) on leaf 76r–v is in the older hand again.

⁶⁸ Schultze (1748) – whose account is also somewhat misrepresented by Hervás, at least concerning the “second present tense” – fell victim to the fantastic claims of the infamous impostor “George Psalmanazar” here.

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Sven Osterkamp
 Department of East Asian Studies
 Bochum University, Germany
 <sven.osterkamp@rub.de>

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