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## G. S. Bayer and Gabriel the Mongol: Some of the Earliest Documents on Tibetan and Mongolian Studies in Europe\*

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Gottlieb (Theophilus) Siegfried Bayer (1694–1738), the first Orientalist at the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, came to Russia in 1726. By that time, he had already collected a certain amount of information on Tibetan, Oirat and Mongolian alphabets along with a few examples of texts in the first two languages and had published some of these materials. The other hero of the paper is a person known as Gabriel the Mongol, either an Oirat or a Mongol who served the Russians as an interpreter in Moscow.<sup>1</sup> Most of the data Bayer had by the mid-1720s was obtained from Gabriel, apparently via Bayer's contacts among the pietists<sup>2</sup> who were active in Russia at that time. The aim of our paper is to analyze the contribution to Tibetan and Mongolian studies made by Bayer with use of Gabriel the Mongol's manuscripts and present several documents from

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<sup>1</sup> Additional research is needed regarding this person. Some documents that mention his name are said to be kept at the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, Moscow; we thank Prof. S. Chuluun, Ulaanbaatar, for this reference.

<sup>2</sup> *Pietists* here refers to the followers of August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), of Halle. For more on the communications network of Halle pietists in Russia, see Fundaminski 2007.

Bayer's personal collection kept in the Hunterian Library of the University of Glasgow.

1.

It is well-known that, starting from the autumn of 1721, the attention of European educated men was drawn to the curious manuscripts found in Siberia, near the Irtysh, and brought first to Saint Petersburg where the Russian tsar Peter the Great (1672–1725) personally dealt with them. When the language was identified as Tangut (i. e. Tibetan) he even ordered one of the folios to be translated by scholars in Paris. Soon, a number of such folios was brought to Western Europe when the Swedish prisoners of the Great Nordic War were allowed to return home from their Siberian exile. However, these were not the first Tibetan manuscripts obtained by Europeans in Russia. The very first book had been sent to Halle from Saint Petersburg in the 1710s already. We learn about it from several letters and articles written by G. S. Bayer in 1716–1725.

A son of a poor painter, Bayer<sup>3</sup> mastered Latin in his boyhood and was admitted to Königsberg University (1710). Simultaneously, he worked as a teacher and studied Hebrew. In 1713 Bayer tried to study Chinese on the basis of a few available European books that contained some data on Chinese Grammar and Lexicon. After defending his dissertation in 1715, Bayer got a scholarship to make a trip through Germany to continue his studies. In Berlin he met the Royal Librarian, the French Orientalist and linguist Mathurin Veyssière de La Croze (1661–1739) who gave him access to the Oriental books kept at the Berlin library. Later on, the two scholars would regularly exchange information about Oriental languages and ideas concerning the possible relations between various alphabets.

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<sup>3</sup> On Bayer see Pekarsky 1870, Babinger 1916, Lundbæk 1986.

In one of these letters, dated from September of 1716, Bayer first mentions a Mongol who served as an interpreter for the Russians.<sup>4</sup> The letter was sent from Halle and he, apparently, worked there with a Tibetan book since he mentions it in another letter sent from Leipzig in November of the same year: “You receive the last part of a Tangut book; there are others which I shall send shortly”.<sup>5</sup> It is not clear if he means here that the original of the book or its copy was sent to La Croze. In Halle a Russian translation of the text (or its fragment) was left and a friend of Bayer whose name is not disclosed was going to translate it into German as we learn from a letter sent from Leipzig in December.<sup>6</sup> This friend seems to have failed to accomplish his promise since in a letter written on April 10, 1717, Bayer informs La Croze: “Another friend promised in a letter to me, the day before yesterday, to send me the Muscovite version of the Tangut [text], again translated into German by him, this week”.<sup>7</sup> The translation was finally made and Bayer could prepare a Latin translation, this being the third translation from, presumably, the Tibetan original, the first translation having been made by Gabriel the Mongol.

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<sup>4</sup> *...is ipse Mogulensis, qui apud Russos dum uiueret interpres, haec et alia cum amico communicauit* (...he himself is a Mongol who lived with the Russians as an interpreter, and told this and other things to a friend) (Uhl 1742: 3). The friend mentioned here must be Rodde. — Caspar Matthias Rodde (1689–1743), Estonian clergyman, from Narva. He studied theology at Halle. In 1723–1743 he worked as teacher at Narva. He was an active promoter of A. H. Francke’s ideas as documented by his letters. He also translated pietist works into Russian. His large library was sold at auction in St. Petersburg.

<sup>5</sup> *Postremam Tangutici libri partem accipis, sunt alia, quae proxime mittam* (UHL 1742: 7).

<sup>6</sup> *Versionem eorum Moscouiticam Halae apud amicum reliqui, qui interpretaretur* (Their Muscovite version I left at Halle with a friend who is to translate them) (Ibid.: 8).

<sup>7</sup> *Alter amicus Tanguticorum uersionem Moscouiticam a se rursus conuersam, Germanice ad me missum iri his nundinis, scriptis nudius tertius ad me literis, promisit* (Ibid.: 18).

This important detail was stated in a letter sent from Bayer's native Königsberg on October 3, 1717, where the Latin translation is preceded with the following annotation: "Gabriel, a certain Mongol, a rather unpolished person, translated this Tangut fragment very awkwardly into Russian. A friend translated it from Russian into German, and we ourselves made this version from German to Latin with the greatest care".<sup>8</sup> Earlier, on April 3, 1717, Gabriel is mentioned once more (and again in rather a disparaging way) in connection with the Mongolian system of writing: "I would not say that this style of writing would have imposed upon Hyde,<sup>9</sup> which was observed in the book written by the hand of Gabriel Mongalensis (even if by far cruder) as I saw, that in the same way ornaments were painted by the Mongols on the left where they start writing".<sup>10</sup> Thus, from his letters to La Croze we learn that Bayer had access to one Tibetan book in Halle and a Mongolian book written by Gabriel the Mongol from Moscow (probably, also found in Halle). Moreover, in May 1717 Bayer informed his colleague that he had made a copy of the Tibetan book and planned to send it to some other scholars: "I hope to get further [information] from Moscow on Tangut matters. I am

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<sup>8</sup> *Fragmentum hoc Tanguticum GABRIEL quidam Mogulensis, homo perquam rudis, iniquate comuerterat [conuerterat] Moscouitice. Amicus ex Russicis Germanice, et ex Germanicis ipsi Latine summa fide interpretati sumus* (Ibid.: 31).

<sup>9</sup> Bayer means the English orientalist Thomas Hyde (1636–1703) who published a sample of the Mongolian writing (Hyde 1700, Tab. XV, XVIII). Hyde was also the first publisher of a Tibetan text in Europe, namely the passport written in the *dbu med* script that had been given to an Armenian merchant "Chogja Ouanni (i. e. Domino Joanni)" by the Lhasa authorities in 1688 (Hyde 1700: Tab. XVII: "by the Tatars of Bhutan"); the translation of the text see in Csoma 1833: 201–202.

<sup>10</sup> *Ac uereor, ne HYDO imposuerit illa scribendi ratio, quam in libro manu GABRIELIS MONGALENSIS (quamquam longe rudius) descripto uidi obseruari, ut eiusmodi ornatus ad sinistram, unde scribere incipiunt, a Mongalis pingantur* (Ibid.: 12–13).

going to send the Tangut book which I copied myself to Rev. Ziegenbalg<sup>11</sup> for him to see whether it is all Bengal and what it contains. I shall also send to Moscow for the same reason".<sup>12</sup>

A few additional important details concerning the Tibetan and Mongolian books Bayer dealt with are found in his letters addressed to S. Strimesius<sup>13</sup> and J. B. Mencke<sup>14</sup> and published in Germany in the 1720s. Thus, he told S. Strimesius the following story: "In the library of the Halle Orphanage there is a Tangut book copied by me, which reproduced the works in the Muscovite folio more elegantly<sup>15</sup> (as was seen). Wilhelm Tolle<sup>16</sup> who had served Cornelius Cruys,<sup>17</sup> Muscovite admiral, in his religious function, a man not only of impeccable morals and blameless life

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<sup>11</sup> Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682–1719), protestant German missionary to India, founder of the Halle-Danish Mission at Tranquebar, translator of the Bible into Tamil, author of the first Tamil grammar. Cf. App 2010.

<sup>12</sup> *Spero, me aliqua ex Moscia accepturum de Tanguticis rebus. Librum Tanguticum, manu mea scriptum, ad R. ZIGENBALGIVM mittam, ut cognoscat, an Bengalicus sit omnino et quid in se contineat: mittam etiam in Mosciam ob eamdem causam* (Ibid.: 22).

<sup>13</sup> Johann Samuel Strimesius (Strimes) (1684–1744), professor of history at the University of Königsberg. It is possible that his father Samuel Strimesius (1648–1730), professor of theology at the University of Frankfurt (Oder) is meant but Bayer must have worked with the son at Königsberg with whom he certainly shared more interests.

<sup>14</sup> Johann Burkhardt Mencke (1674–1732), professor of history at the University of Leipzig. In 1707 he became editor of the *Acta Eruditorum*, in 1715 also of *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen*. Cf. Hammerstein 1994.

<sup>15</sup> Bayer means the famous Ablai-kit folio published in *Acta eruditorum* by Mencke (Mencke 1722a); in 1722, this folio was sent to Paris and, in 1723, the Fourmont brothers attempted at translating it; the latest analysis of this famous story is provided in Zaytsev 2021 (on the history of the transfer of the folio from Russia to Paris and its studies in Europe) and Sizova 2021 (on the Fourmont brothers' translation).

<sup>16</sup> Wilhelm Tolle (1674–1710), house chaplain of Cruys; 1710 first parson of St. Petri Church, Saint Petersburg.

<sup>17</sup> Cornelius Cruys (?1655–1727), Norwegian admiral in Russian service; he was invited to Russia by Peter the Great; as of 1713 he was the General Supervisor of all evangelical churches and schools in Russia.

but also a scholar and keen researcher of Tartar matters, once in Petersburg also served between the treasures of his library. After his passing about 12 years ago, Christoph Eberhard<sup>18</sup> (whose name is well known because of his nautic discoveries, about which he got into a controversy with the English) and Udalricus Thomas Rholofus,<sup>19</sup> the curators of the library, sent it [the book] to Halle. But they were both protestant ministers in Russia. In addition, if you compare it with the Bengal version of the Christian prayer, it becomes again apparent that they are the same. The Bengals are not far away from the Tanguts. <...> The Mongol book is also in the Halle library, its copy (apograph) is with me”.<sup>20</sup> The publication contained also (Bayer 1722: 391–392) the same translation that Bayer had sent to La Croze in October 1717 (Uhl 1742: 31–32) and a table with certain information about the Tibetan script obtained from Gabriel the Mongol. The latter was mentioned in the title: *Elementa lingvæ Tangutanæ seu Litterarum DeLbergin dictarum a Gabriele quodam Mogulensi tumultuarie scripta, et a T. S. Bayero in hunc ordinem redacta* (“Alphabet of the Tangut language

<sup>18</sup> Christoph Eberhard (1675–1750), geographer and theologian. Cf. Schille 1959.

<sup>19</sup> Ulrich Thomas Roloff (†1721), studied in Königsberg, about 1695 he was a parson of the German community in Arkhangelsk; as of 1699 First Parson at St. Peter & Paul in Moscow.

<sup>20</sup> *In Bibliotheca orphanotrophii Hallensis a me descriptus est liber Tanguticus, qui multo elegantiori opera in charta Moscica (ut videbatur) exaratus erat. Illum Ioannes Vilelmus Tollenius, qui Cornelio de Creys, Moscorum classis præfecto, a sacris fuerat, vir non tantum integris moribus probataque vita, sed & eruditus & Tartaricarum rerum avidissimus scrutator, [386] Petropoli olim, inter cimelia bibliothecæ suæ servavit. Post ejus decessum ante hos duodecim admodum annos, Christophorus Eberhardus (cujus nomen ob inventa nautica, de quibus ei controversia cum Anglis fuit, celebratum satis est) & Udalricus Thomas Rholofus, curatores bibliothecæ, Halam miserunt. Erant autem utriusque Evangelicæ professionis in Russia Presbyteri. Huc accedit, quod, si conferas cum versione orationis Christianæ Bengalica apud Vilkinsium, rursus apparet, easdem esse. Bengalæ autem haud longe a Tangutans sibi sunt. <...> Mongalicus liber itidem in Bibliotheca Halensi extat, cujus apographum apud me est* (Bayer 1722: 385–386, 390).



or Delbergin<sup>21</sup> letters scribbled by a certain Gabriel the Mongol and put in this order by G. S. Bayer”).

Along with the letter to Strimesius, another letter, by Johann Gottlieb Krause<sup>22</sup> to Bayer himself, was published (KRAUSE 1722). Krause finds some obscurities in Bayer’s table of the alphabet by comparing it with the Russian (=Ablai-kit) folio, and which may be credited to Gabriel’s “fast writing”. He indicates several concrete cases. He doubts Rubruck’s statement that Tangut is to be read from right to left (repeated by Bayer) as this does not agree with the graphic style which he sees in the sample. It reminds him of the “Bhutanese” sample given by Hyde<sup>23</sup> whose statements he discusses. Finally, he expresses his gratitude to Bayer for having been the first to make the Tangut alphabet known in Europe.

In the same year Mencke rendered into German the contents of the two letters, both being considered actual in connection with the publication of the Ablai-kit folio that also took place in 1722. Bayer was one of the first Europeans (if not the first one) who correctly identified its language as Tibetan, his letter to Strimesius being the earliest publication where this identification was stated.

In Mencke’s synopsis of Bayer’s letter the story of the Tibetan book in Halle was presented as follows: “He [Bayer] copied a Tangut book in the library of the Halle Orphanage, which was originally owned by Mr. Tolle,

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<sup>21</sup> The term *delbergin* was borrowed by Bayer from Ahmad ibn Arabshah’s history of Timur. It must be a corruption from the Mongolian word *dörbelfin* ‘square’ that refers to the ’Phags-pa script (Schmidt 1824: 128–129).

<sup>22</sup> 1684–1736, historian, professor at Wittenberg; he founded *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen* and edited this first scholarly German language journal from 1715–1733. Cf. Zedler 1722.

<sup>23</sup> See no. 9. For some time, certain authors (including Bayer) thought that the sample published by Hyde belonged to a separate Bhutanese script, not a variation of Tangut (using their terms), and, moreover, that the two scripts belonged to two different countries — Tibet and Tangut, respectively. Gerhard Müller (1705–1783) was probably the first author to identify the two terms as referring to the same entity (Müller 1747: 423).

Protestant ship's chaplain of the Muscovite admiral at St. Petersburg, from where it got to Halle after his death. In Mr. Wilkins'<sup>24</sup> translations of the Lord's Prayer<sup>25</sup> the Bengal one is written with the same letters" (Mencke 1722b: 804). One can see that the passage only adds the name of Wilkins as a source of information about the Bengal script while Bayer's letter to Strimesius provides more details on the story of the acquisition of the Tibetan book by the Halle Orphanage after Tolle's death. According to Mencke, Bayer thought that "Chinggis Khan apparently used both the Tangut and the Mongol scripts and introduced them into the countries adjacent to the Caspian Sea.<sup>26</sup> <...> Mr. Bayer also gives a long quote from a Tangut book, from which much on the religion of the Tartars may be gleaned, which for the most part agrees with the superstition of the Indians and the Egyptians" (ibid.: 805).

Finally, in the ninth volume of the *Supplements to Acta Eruditorum* (completed in 1729) Mencke published one more letter from Bayer written in Königsberg in 1725, i.e. shortly before his arrival in Russia. Bayer remembered: "There [in Moscow] a certain Gabriel the Mongol had the function of an interpreter, a Man who was never sober, from whom Rodde extracted several badly written Tangut and Mongol letters, which were amazingly brought forward by the reluctant man. To defraud him of this praise, or redirect it from the first author to me, I would not bear. I put the writing of both scripts, which I received from Rodde in order (they were like cruelly torn members [of a body]) and copied them in a more

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<sup>24</sup> David Wilkins (1685–1745), a Prussian Orientalist, originally called Wilke, from Memel, Prussia (presently, Klaipeda, Lithuania); he settled in Britain and became a clergyman and librarian. He wrote the preface to John Chamberlayne's edition of the Lord's Prayer. Cf. Dictionary 1885–1900.

<sup>25</sup> Chamberlayne 1715.

<sup>26</sup> The first European publications about the discovery of curious (Tibetan and Mongolian) writings by the Russians erroneously associated it with the military exploration of the Caspian Sea initiated by Peter the Great.

convenient way as far as it was possible on a trip<sup>27</sup>; certain letters were left out as they were most obscure. When these things went out among the people Samuel Köleseri de Keres-Eer<sup>28</sup> sent you last year, (in a letter dated the 3rd day before the calends of May from Cibinium),<sup>29</sup> the Tangut elements [= alphabet], excerpted from an anonymous manuscript, about which you asked my opinion, in your incredible effort for the advancement of scholarship. In this manuscript about 30 letters are presented, most of them differently, some twice, none of them with their vowels added. It was a help, however, for adding my elements, what should, with gratitude, not be left unmentioned. I wrote in my letter to Strimesius about the Tangut book which I had copied. I know that the version made from Gabriel's Russian was brought to the library of the Orphanage at Halle, from which La Croze received it for editing, as I believe. I understand that there is much in it about the mother  $\text{ᠮ} \text{ᠢ} \text{ᠮ}$  *Darecha* of the highest saints. One can also learn the rationale of Tartar philosophy from this book; a sample of its philosophy I gave in the Letter."<sup>30</sup> The main aim of the publication was to

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<sup>27</sup> These words must mean that Rodde showed the Tibetan alphabet written by Gabriel to Bayer when they traveled together, i.e. in 1716. This information is supported by P. Pekarsky; according to him Rodde introduced the Tungus and Mongolian alphabets to Bayer during their travel (Pekarsky 1870: 185). (Obviously, Pekarsky mixed up the words *Tungus* and *Tangut*.)

<sup>28</sup> Samuel Köleseri de Keres-Eer (1663–1732), Transsylvanian physician and mining expert, Inspector-general of the Transsylvanian goldmines.

<sup>29</sup> = Hermannstadt, today: Sibiu, Romania.

<sup>30</sup> *Isthic Gabriel quidam Mogulensis interpretis vice fuit, homo nunquam sobrius, a quo tamen disjectas male litteras Tangutanas Mogulensesque extorsit Roddus, mirifice talia prodere reluctantem. Hunc ergo ea laude fraudari, aut a primo autore in me averti, non sum passus. A Roddio accepta utriusque scripturæ monumenta in ordinem redegei (erant enim veluti lacera crudeliter membra) commodiusque, ut tum in itinere licebat, descripsi, omissis tamen quibusdam litteris, quæ obscurissimæ essent. Cum hæc in vulgus exissent, Sam. Koleser de Keresee superiori anno III Kal. Maji Cibinio ad Te litteris datis, Tangutana elementa, ex anonymi cujusdam MSto excerpta, misit, de quibus quid sentiam, pro incredibili tuo adjuvandi doctrinas studio me rogas. Sunt in eo MSto tantum 30 litteræ, pleræque omnes secus exaratae, aliæ bis occurrunt, nullæ*

introduce the information about Tibetan, Mongolian and some other Oriental alphabets. This topic will be discussed below.

From the quoted fragments one has to assume that Bayer copied two books in Halle, one Tibetan and one Mongolian. The former was brought to Halle in the first half of the 1710s from Saint Petersburg where it had been collected by W. Tolle, before his death in 1710. Its fragment was translated into Russian by Gabriel the Mongol in Moscow, then into German by somebody in Halle and, finally, into Latin by Bayer who published it as a sample of “Tartar” philosophy. The text was connected with the cult of Tārā (=Darecha, i.e., apparently, *Dara eke*, Mother Tārā) according to Bayer but he does not inform the reader how he knew it. Almost no details are provided concerning the Mongolian book in Halle. However, he mentions in his letter to La Croze that he saw a Mongolian book written by Gabriel. It is likely that he means here the same book as was found in Halle. Bayer also obtained certain materials on the Tibetan and Mongolian scripts written by Gabriel. At least some of them were shown or passed to him by Rodde. The Tibetan part was edited by Bayer, engraved and published along with his letter to Strimesius in 1722.

## 2.

The information about the two books kept at the Halle Orphanage corresponds perfectly with the catalogue of Bayer’s personal library compiled by him and preserved now at the Saint Petersburg Branch of the

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*per vocales suas augentur. Subsidio tamen mihi fuit, augendis elementis meis, quod grato animo prætermittendum non erat. De libro Tangutano a me descripto in epistola ad Strimesium memoravi. Ejus versionem a Gabriele Russice factam illatamque bibliothecæ Orphanotrophii Halensis scio, e qua credo acceptam Lacrosus se editurum recepit. Multa ibi de superiorum sanctorum matre ཏ་རྩ་ཏ་ Darecha exstare accepi. Itaque philosophiæ Tartaricæ ratio ex eo libro cognoscetur, cujus philosophiæ quoddam specimen in Epistola edidi (Bayer 1729: 23).*

Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences.<sup>31</sup> This catalogue consists of 26 thematic sections, some of them concern Oriental items, including section 3, “Tangutana Mungalica Calmucica Tatarica”. The Oriental manuscripts and artefacts are also listed, in a different order, in an untitled section found after section 13. It seems to be an older list and, sometimes, it contains alternative characteristics for the objects. It has the following entries of interest for our topic:

<55. *Liber oblongus, Mungalicus a me Halae descriptus*> [An oblong Mongolian book copied by me in Halle]

<56. - - - - *Tanguticus a me ibid. descriptus*> [An oblong Tangut book copied by me in the same place].

The angle brackets mean that the entries were crossed out.<sup>32</sup> We can only guess at Bayer’s reasons for doing this — perhaps, he wanted to mark this way the entries he transferred to other sections, but it cannot explain why the other entries in the untitled section are not crossed out. It could hardly mean that he lost the books, either, since the above-mentioned section 3 of the catalogue repeats these two entries, albeit in an abridged way, without mentioning Halle:

“11. *Liber Tanguticus oblongus* [An oblong Tangut book]

12. *Liber Mungalicus oblongus* [An oblong Mongolian book]”.

Thus, both Bayer’s scholarly letters and the catalogue of his books state that there were two books in Halle and Bayer had copies of each of them made by himself. It seems that the copy of the Mongolian book has survived while the fate of that of the Tibetan one remains uncertain.

The Oriental parts of Bayer’s personal collection were sent by him to Königsberg where he was going to return from Saint Petersburg. His

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<sup>31</sup> In addition to the original catalogue there is also its copy made by J. Ch. Kalau, a scribe who worked at the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, see Müller, Stritter 1890: 472.

<sup>32</sup> Therefore, the copy of the catalogue does not have this passage.

sudden death in 1738 made it impossible. His widow sold the items which had already left Russia to “Heinrich Walther Gerdes, a Lutheran pastor resident in London”, and they “eventually found its way to Glasgow” (Weston 2018: 8). Thanks to David Weston’s catalogue of the Bayer collection now preserved in the Hunterian Library of the University of Glasgow, it is known that most of the Tibetan and Mongolian items registered in Bayer’s personal library catalogue are found there. They include two small *pothi* (=oblong) books, one Tibetan and one Mongolian (or, rather, Oirat). It was natural to suggest first that they should be the two books copied by Bayer in Halle. However, the Tibetan one corresponds exactly with another item from Bayer’s library catalogue, namely:

“3. Alphabetum Tangutanum litteris majoribus s. Sacris et minoribus s. Profanis Schar dictis, ex autographo descripsi” [Tangut alphabet in larger or sacred letters and smaller or profane ones called Schar which I copied from the autograph].

This entry is found in the section 3 while the presumably older list provides a slightly different annotation:

“53. Alphabetum s. Syllabarium Tangutanum litteris maioribus et minoribus Schar dictis” [Tangut alphabet or syllabarium in larger letters and smaller ones called Schar].

The second (older?) title is recorded on the front endpaper of the book found in Glasgow while the first one on its title page. Thus, we can be absolutely sure that the Tibetan book in Glasgow relates to another entry in Bayer’s library catalogue.

A fragment of the text from the Tibetan book under question is said to be known to us, thanks to Bayer’s Latin translation. The German scholar also mentioned that it dealt with the cult of Tārā. It is valuable information but, surprisingly, it definitely relates not to the Tibetan book but to... the Oirat manuscript preserved in Glasgow! The latter consists of three texts:

1. An untitled text that describes a fumigation rite (*bsang*) addressed to gurus, Buddhas, deities, etc., it had six folios, according to the foliation put in Oirat, but f. 2 is missing.

2. The Hymn to Tārā in twenty-one stanzas supplied with additions,<sup>33</sup> 13 ff. according to the Oirat foliation.

3. An additional folio without a title that contains an instruction on ritual washing.<sup>34</sup> It has an inscription “Manus Gabrielis Mogulensis”.

The first of them is definitely the text that gave an origin to Bayer’s Latin translation. The comparison of the two texts shows it with all clarity even though the Latin text deviates from the original in many details, has wrong interpretations of the Buddhist terms, shortens up and omits some small fragments. The left-hand side of the table below shows our English translation from Latin and the right-hand side from Oirat. For the original Oirat text, see Appendix 1 (Text 1), for the Latin text, see footnote 58.

<p>The distribution in religion<sup>35</sup> is made by god, and by the letter A is the precious vessel made, by the letter Chum<sup>36</sup>, however, out of pure and purest holy water, is the sea made.</p>	<p>[1b] OM! From the sphere of emptiness of the dharmas the syllable A [manifests] from which a large, precious vase appears, inside [it] the syllable HŪM [manifests] from which the uninterrupted sea of <i>amṛta</i><sup>37</sup> appears.</p>
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<sup>33</sup> Translated from Tibetan into Oirat by Zaya Pandita (1599–1662). The translation was initiated (in Oirat: *ögligüyin ezen*) by an Oirat aristocrat Ariun süzüqtü tayiši, i. e., supposedly, the Khoshut prince Ablai, the founder of Ablai-kit. The Mongolian collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, the Russian Academy of Sciences, has one block print and six manuscripts of the Oirat version of this famous hymn (Sazykin 2001: 235–236).

<sup>34</sup> An Oirat manuscript of similar contents, Q3664, is preserved at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, the Russian Academy of Sciences.

<sup>35</sup> A wrong choice of the meaning of the word *dharma* that can mean both ‘religion’ and ‘elements of existence’.

<sup>36</sup> The Latin rendition by Bayer is supposed to be pronounced as *Hum* which is correct.

<sup>37</sup> The divine nectar of gods that gives immortality in Indian mythology.

<p>The first salvation in the true believers is from the breadth and the highest root, the Lord who holds a white flower and gives benediction. This, highest Lord and root, is above the clouds, and this, lord and root, we worship.<sup>38</sup></p>	<p>OM ĀḤ HŪM! HA HO HRĪḤ HRĪḤ! From the large continent of the essence of the great blessed Dharma appears the root teacher, the <i>gelong</i><sup>39</sup> with a white lotus flower, the highest teacher, resting like a cloud &lt;...&gt; [3a] &lt;...&gt; to the root teacher I make a smoke offering. I make a smoke offering to the root teacher with the blessed great fumigation (<i>sang</i>).</p>
<p>On the four sides of the origin of the original creation we venerate and praise the eight beloved sons,<sup>40</sup> protected by sixteen places,<sup>41</sup> six adorned<sup>42</sup> and the three highest<sup>43</sup> and eighty great creators.<sup>44</sup></p>	<p>I make a smoke offering to the assembly of the Buddhas from the <i>maṇḍala</i> of the four divisions of tantra.<sup>45</sup> I make a smoke offering to the eight closest sons [and] sixteen arhats. I make a smoke offering to the six ornaments, two highest ones and eighty[-four] Mahāsiddhas.</p>
<p>In general we, the poets, adore the major and minor sisters living in the</p>	<p>[3b] I make a smoke offering to all the protectors of Dharma, great</p>

<sup>38</sup> The translation simply unites the end of f. 1 and the beginning of f. 3 without noticing that an entire folio of the manuscript is missing.

<sup>39</sup> The Tibetan term *dge slong* (Sansk. *bhikṣu*), a full-ordained monk, is rendered phonetically by the Oirat letters.

<sup>40</sup> These are the eight great bodhisattvas, known also as “close sons” of the Buddha Śākyamuni, i. e. Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi, Maitreya, Kṣitigarbha, Ākāśagarbha, Sarvanivāraṇaṣṅkambhīn and Samantabhadra.

<sup>41</sup> It corresponds with the word *sthavira* (lit. ‘firm in his place’), *batu oron* in Oirat, *gnas brtan* in Tibetan, i. e. an elder monk. The group of sixteen *sthaviras* (or *arhats*) borrowed from Chinese Buddhism is popular in iconography of Tibet and Mongolia.

<sup>42</sup> An erroneous interpretation of the so-called “six ornaments [of the world]”, i. e. six most important teachers of Mahāyāna in India, namely Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Dīgnāga and Dharmakīrti.

<sup>43</sup> The number “three” is an error, two highest disciples of the Buddha Śākyamuni, i. e. Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, are meant.

<sup>44</sup> This is the group of eighty-four Mahāsiddhas, the great tantric masters of India.

<sup>45</sup> Kriyātantra, caryātantra, uttaratantra and anuttarayogatantra, the latter being the highest of all.



highest places, the 52 loyal daughters <sup>46</sup> we venerate, and the martyrs with three divine consorts we venerate.	guardians of the four divisions [of tantra]. I make a smoke offering to all the five Sisters of Long Life [and] twelve Dharma Dākinīs. I make a smoke offering to Pehar with his retinue, <sup>47</sup> three <i>Albins</i> <sup>48</sup> and [all] samsāric deities.
The heavenly deputies, the admirable steward who distributes the stars, we venerate; the strong governor who is in charge of the ten parts of the heavenly tribes, we venerate.	I make a smoke offering to owners of earth, the ruler of the universe Rāhu and the planets. <sup>49</sup> I make a smoke offering to the guardians of ten directions and [4a] the purest, noble warrior deities.
Him who gives in thunder the guardian angel and long life, and provides everything necessary for the administration [i.e. the order of our lives], we venerate; Him who gives us on long travels good	I make a smoke offering to the <i>parkhas</i> and birthmarks, <sup>50</sup> and the owners of water and earth. Briefly <??> <sup>51</sup> . I make a smoke offering to the deities liberated from the world. I make a smoke offering.

<sup>46</sup> The five Sisters of Long Life, deities of longevity (headed by Tashi Tseringma) and twelve Dākinīs, female yogic deities (perhaps, *bstan ma bcu gnyis* — twelve female protectors of Tibet, bound under oath by Guru Padmasambhava) got contaminated into “fifty-two loyal daughters” — apparently, because numerals ‘five’ and ‘twelve’ are written together, *tabun arban xoyor*, in the Oirat text.

<sup>47</sup> Pehar is one of the major Buddhist protectors of Tibet bound under oath by Guru Padmasambhava, he is the head of a group of *the five kings*.

<sup>48</sup> It is not absolutely clear what the word *albin* means here. It usually designates harmful demons or ghosts but, in this case, three divine couples of the tantric deities may be called this way, at least this meaning is obviously reflected in the Latin translation. If this interpretation is correct the text may mean the group of three deities most important for the Geluk school of Tibetan Buddhism, namely Guhyasamāja and Sparśavajrā, Cakrasaṃvara and Vajrayoginī, Vajrabhairava and Vajravālī.

<sup>49</sup> Owners of earth, *sa bdag*, are a huge class of demons that master over particular locations; Rāhu is an embodiment of the solar eclipse, he and the *sa bdag* deities of seven planets are supposed to exert influence on people’s lives.

<sup>50</sup> *Parkhas* are the eight trigrams borrowed from Chinese astrology by the Tibetans, each is believed to be mastered by an own *sa bdag* deity; birthmarks (*mengge*) are supposed to define people’s astrological profiles.

<sup>51</sup> The text is corrupted or some passage is missing.

companions [? lit.: good ones on the way], who lives removed from the life of this world in the highest places above the treasure of the sea, we venerate.	
Our prayer to him: Accept our prayer, You who are in the heights above every creature, give wisdom, accompany us three hours of the day and three hours of the night, in the morning and the evening, when I am going somewhere, accompany me, when I return, meet me on the way.	Having tasted the offering of blessed fumigation, etc., bestow supreme and ordinary [4b] <i>siddhi</i> powers <sup>52</sup> [on me]! In daytime during three hours expel [the harm], at night during three hours protect. When [I am] going out of home, [let there be] no diseases of the night (?); when [I am] going back home, meet [me].
Have mercy and give me long life, and even everything I pray for, and fulfil all my prayers and supplications.	Bestow [on me] desired long life without diseases, realization of all plans, accomplishment of all deeds, all possible happiness and welfare.
Three prayers. <sup>53</sup> O, true Lord, have mercy as you promised, benediction. Send my guardian angel <sup>54</sup> daily and at all hours. Have mercy on those who died and those who have not died yet. <sup>55</sup>	HRĪḤ! By protective mercy (?) that hold the true essence of the Three Protectors [5a] the <i>yidam</i> deities have granted the blessing, [so] let the guardians become today the [personal] warrior deities for me, the

<sup>52</sup> *Siddhi* is a magical power that a yogin tries to obtain via his tantric practices; the supreme *siddhi* is the enlightenment, the ordinary *siddhis* are mundane accomplishments such as clairvoyance, clairaudience, flying in the sky, etc.

<sup>53</sup> It seems to render the syllable *hri* (= *hrīḥ*) in the Oirat text but it is not clear why the numeral ‘three’ appeared. It was either borrowed from the expression ‘the three protectors’ or added by the anonymous German translator of the text from Russian: if Gabriel rendered the syllable as *hri* in the Cyrillic letters, i.e. *xpu*, the German could read it as *mpu*, i. e. ‘three’, because he had no idea about sacral syllables of Buddhism.

<sup>54</sup> A Christianized interpretation of the word *yidam* (*yi dam*), a personal deity with whom a yogin comes in contact to obtain the *siddhis* and various other benefits.

<sup>55</sup> The European translators decided that the expression “those who left the world [of *samsāra*] (i. e. obtained the enlightenment)” meant “those who died” – a good example of their cultural misunderstanding of Buddhist context.

	yogin. <sup>56</sup> I praise, I praise the deities who have left the world and those who have not left the world.
Protect me from hostilities and from my enemy <sup>57</sup> and have mercy. Grant unimpaired mind, health, strength and good luck, and have mercy. Be with me at all hours, and do not leave me, whether we walk or sit, incessantly we pray with tongue and mind, have mercy on us in all ten areas and places, as here today.	Having generated great might, having stuck the flag, let the warrior deities instantaneously [5b] [start accompanying me] without leaving wherever I go to or stay at. Having washed the mouth, having placed the [divine] image in front [of you], with the unshakable mind meditate gradually on the instruction. Let the entire accomplished happiness of [all] places of the ten directions appear here today, let there be happiness.
Have mercy, Lord of promise, Angel in faith and not to the whole congregation, give good luck, a good life, health, strength and a clear mind.	The assembly of lamas, <i>yidam</i> deities, Dharma protectors, bestow all possible felicity, wealth and <i>siddhis</i> [on me].
Blessing of the Lord, the very origin, and good fortune be and remain over me. The promised blessing of the divine congregation be over me. The blessing of the angel strengthening in faith be over me. All I have prayed for may be flooded and spread, like water in reality, and come over me in the highest degree, incessantly day and night.	[6a] HRĪḤ! Let the felicity of the root lamas there remain! Let the felicity of the assembly of the <i>yidam</i> deities there remain! Let the felicity of the mother <i>dākinīs</i> there remain! Let the felicity of the Dharma protectors there remain! With occasions [to fulfill] the nine desires increasing like a lake in summer, [6b] with [my] holding on to the unstained mind, constantly, incessantly, day and night [trying to] get liberated thanks to the Teaching

<sup>56</sup> The Oirat *yoyazari* renders a Sanskrit word, either *yogācārin* “the follower of the Buddhist school of Yogācāra” or *yogācāra* “practitioner of yoga”. While the former seems to be closer to the word found in the manuscript, the latter fits the context better.

<sup>57</sup> Obviously, a wrong interpretation of the word “warrior deities” (Tib. *dgra lha*) who, on the contrary, are helpful to the Buddhists.

	about the righteous consciousness, let there appear the accomplished great happiness.
All benediction may be fulfilled on me. <sup>58</sup>	<i>Sarva maṅgalaṃ! Trashi shok!</i> <sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> This text exists in two versions that slightly differ from each other: the first is found in the letter to La Croze (Uhl 1742: p. 31), the other published as a part of the letter to Strimesius (Bayer 1722: 301–302). We used the second version for the following text as it was the latest edition. The deviations are usually simply technical but in four cases, when the earlier version has different words, we provide them in brackets. We do not include a few notes to the text with references to Iamblichos of Chalkis (a neo-Platonic philosopher) and other Greek authors provided by Bayer in his publication since the theological reception of an ambiguous translation of a Buddhist text by Bayer and La Croze is beyond the scope of our research.

*A Deo facta est distributio in religione, et ab litera, A, factum est pretiosum uas, a litera Chum autem, ex pura et purissima sancta aqua, mare factum est. Prima salus in ueris fidelibus a latitudine et a suprema [summa] radice Domino, qui album florem tenens benedicit. Is supremus dominus et radix supra nubes est, et hunc Dominum et radicem colimus. Ad quatuor partes radicis creationis originalis colimus et laudamus dilectos octo filios sedecim locis munitos, sex exornatos et tres summos et octoginta magnos creatores. Omnino Poëtae colimus in excelsis habitantes maiores et minores sorores, duas et quinquaginta fidas filias colimus. Martyres cum tribus cælestibus consortibus colimus. Coelestes uicarios, mirabilem oeconomum, qui stellas dispensat, colimus; fortem gubernatorem, qui decem partibus coelestium generum præst, colimus. Unicum, qui tonitru et angelum custodem et longam uitam dat et omnia ad oeconomiam necessaria implet, colimus. Eum qui nobis in longa itinera bonos uiales dat; qui a uita huius mundi semotus in supremis locis degit super thesauris maris, colimus. Oratio nostra ad eum: Accipe orationem nostram, o qui in excelsis es super omni creatura, da sapientiam, custodi [comitare] nos tres horas diei et tres horas noctis siue mane siue uesperis cumiter aliquo facio, comitare me, cum reuertor huc, ueni mihi obuiam. Miserere et da longam uitam, imo omnia, quae oro, da et perface omnes meas preces et supplicationes. Tres preces. O uere Domine miserere et ut promisisti benedic. Mitte angelum meum custodem quotidie et omni hora. Miserere eorum, qui ex uita decesserunt et qui nondum decesserunt. Ab simultatibus et ab inimico [hoste] meo custodi me et miserere. Integram mentem, ualetudinem, uires, fortunam largire et miserere. Omni hora sis mecum et noli secedere: miserere siue ambulemus siue sedeamus. Tam lingua quam mente oramus indesinenter, miserere nostri. In omnibus decem plagis et locis, ut et hodie hoc loco. Miserere domine promissionis, Angele in fide et non ad totam congregationem. Da fortunam, bonam uitam, uoletudinem, alacritatem*

In spite of all the differences between the two prayers it is clear that the Latin one is the translation of this particular Buddhist text. To explain Bayer's words that the sample of "Tartar philosophy" was translated from Tibetan, one could suggest that the Tibetan book in Halle also had this ritual text, the Oirat version being a translation from Tibetan. However, we can be quite sure that the translation published by Bayer was based on the Oirat manuscript because it lacks f. 2 and the Latin text does not have any fragment that would cover the lacuna. Bayer's mention of *Darecha*, i. e. Mother Tārā, also fits very well the contents of the Oirat book kept in Glasgow since it has the famous hymn to the most popular Buddhist goddess. Moreover, it is hard to say if Gabriel the Mongol could be proficient enough in Tibetan to be able to translate religious texts from it. On the contrary, it is quite natural to think that he made his translation from Oirat, the language that was either his mother tongue (if he was an Oirat) or easy for him to master (if he was a Mongol).

### 3.

We do not have the original record of the Tibetan alphabet made by Gabriel (it is probably lost) and do not know if it contained all the letters put in the right order. We can only analyze what Bayer could extract from it. The results of his work are available in two forms — as the two plates published along with Bayer's letter to Strimesius (1722) and as its undated manuscript version written by Bayer which is kept in Glasgow, being a part

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*[uires] et integram mentem. Benedictio Domini, radix radicum, et fortuna sit et maneat super me. Promissa benedictio diuinae congregationis sit super me. Angeli in fide confirmantis benedictio sit super me. Omnia quae orauit inundentur et diffundantur, ut aqua in uere, et ueniant semper altiora super me indesinenter nocte dieque. Omnis benedictio super me impleatur.*

<sup>59</sup> The Sanskrit and Tibetan (*bkra shis shog*) auspicious formulas (the first means "[let there be] all happiness!", the second "let there be happiness") are rendered phonetically by the Oirat letters.

of the item MS Hunter 213, *Miscella Tartarica* (Weston 2018: 49).<sup>60</sup> The plates present (sometimes, erroneously) vowel diacritics, vowel letters (*a*, *'a* and, mistakenly, *ya*), twenty consonant letters of the Tibetan alphabet (thus, seven letters of thirty are missing), several ligatures with the subjoined *ra* and *ya*, the letters and ligatures with vowel diacritics and an additional table with a few special signs, variations, etc., borrowed from the famous Ablai-kit folio published in *Acta eruditorum* by Mencke (Mencke 1722a). We know from Bayer that some letters written by Gabriel were omitted by him (see p. 107) but can only guess if one-fourth the number of the letters could be missed this way. Perhaps, Gabriel's knowledge of the Tibetan alphabet was not very solid, either.

Bayer continued his study of the Tibetan and other alphabets and presented, in the letter to Mencke written in 1725 and published by him in the ninth volume of the supplements to *Acta Eruditorum* (Bayer 1729<sup>61</sup>), two tables with Tibetan, Mongolian and some other Oriental alphabets compiled in accordance with the information Bayer could find by the mid-1720s (see the Appendix 2). Apparently, the previously prepared plate was used by him as the basis for the Tibetan part. In his explanations (pp. 29–

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<sup>60</sup> Its title is slightly different from that of the plate: *Elementa linguae Tangutanae a Gabriele quodam Mogulensi amico tumultuarie scripta et a me in ordinem composito* (“Alphabet of the Tangut language hastily written by a certain Gabriel the Mongol, a friend, and put in order by myself”). The word *amico* (“friend”) seems rather weird in the context of unflattering characteristics of Gabriel found in Bayer's published works. Perhaps, it means that the two men could meet in the second half of the 1720s. It is not impossible since the document kept in Glasgow could be written *after* the publication of Bayer 1722 (see p. 126–127). In this case, however, it is strange that the word *quidam* (“a certain”) is applied to a person called a friend. If it is not a stylistic inaccuracy and Bayer never met Gabriel, we can only speculate that Bayer had some other motivation. Thus, he could call him so if, for example, Gabriel was a fellow pietist. If any documents on the personality of Gabriel can be found in Moscow they may shed light on this question.

<sup>61</sup> The year 1729 marks the publication of the complete form of the volume but individual installments were probably ready and/or issued earlier.

30) he refers to it using the name of Gabriel Mogulensis as the designation for the original source of information. However, the Tibetan part in the new table added alternative forms to certain letters of the alphabet and several letters were also added. The elements were borrowed from four sources discussed by Bayer briefly on p. 23 (see the quotation above). They can be identified in the following way.

1) *Gabriel Mogulensis* — Gabriel's record obtained from Rodde in 1716.

2) *Scheda Moscoviensis in Actis edita* — the Ablai-kit folio mentioned above.

3) *MS. Tangutanum* — the book found in Halle or, rather, Bayer's copy of it.

4) *Koleserianum MS* — apparently, a document called *Tangutsanum Alphabetum* found in Glasgow MS Hunter 213 (see the Appendix 2).<sup>62</sup> Köleseri's version that was based on an anonymous manuscript of which nothing is known has all thirty letters of the alphabet put in the right order. However, some of them are written in such a way that they can hardly be recognized and their Latin transcriptions are, in certain cases, completely wrong (it suffices to mention that the first letter, *ka*, is annotated as *nya*).

Perhaps, the clumsy way in which the letters were copied by Köleseri prevented Bayer from using this list as the basis for a correct representation

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<sup>62</sup> The same item has also the Mongolian alphabet (see the Appendix 2) that Bayer used for the Oirat part of his tables in Bayer 1729, and the handwritten copy of Köleseri 1726. The latter served as an addition to Bayer's publication (issued earlier than in 1729, the year when the complete form of the volume appeared, so there must be no confusion concerning the dates of the two articles). In the short excerpt from a letter (Köleseri 1726) Köleseri only says that he is not a judge of Tangut literature and can only accept what is copied from the autograph (i.e. he has no further knowledge of the subject). He switches then to Scythic relics and the way of writing which he considers the same as the Chinese. He then gives "Mogol-Tangut" numerals, correlated with their Mongol pronunciation and their Hungarian equivalents. This is an example of the ambiguous understanding of the term Tangut in those days.

of the Tibetan alphabet. His second attempt at making it turned out to bring even more chaos and the new arrangement of the letters has almost nothing to do with the authentic one. The main value of this publication was in finding certain parallels between Tibetan and Indian letters (Bayer also tried to add the Ethiopian script to this comparison).

*MS. Tangutanum* remains the only item of which we cannot say much. An assumption that the book titled *Alphabetum Tangutanum* could be meant here is easily refuted. Such an idea was first supported with the fact that both books found in Glasgow were written by a person, not very skillful in either Tibetan or Oirat.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, *Alphabetum Tangutanum* is directly annotated by Bayer as a copy made by himself from the autograph. The problem is, however, that the catalogue of Bayer's books compiled by the owner himself claims clearly that he had two books copied in Halle and another one titled "Alphabetum Tangutanum...", this information being recorded twice. Moreover, this book starts with the complete Tibetan alphabet arranged in a standard way and its version in the *dbu med* script is also recorded. Without doubt, Bayer would have used this source for the plates compiled in 1725. It means he made this copy later. The annotation

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<sup>63</sup> It is dubious, however, that the Oirat book (its main part) was really copied by Bayer himself, it seems there were some Kalmucks in Halle who could help him with this task (see no. 67). And the text 3 (one additional folio) is said to have been written by Gabriel the Mongol, the style of the scribe showing he was well-trained. The book has some traces of Bayer's work. The first two texts are supplied with Western enumeration of folios (the text 1) and pages (the text 2), the latter in accordance with the order of their binding which is not correct (see the introductory remarks to the Appendix 1). Few other small technical remarks in Latin are also found in the text 2; see, especially, f. 5 verso where the Latin word *deleta* marks a space for one line left empty. Apparently, it means that the Halle book had a crossed-out line here and that Bayer checked the copy against the original. Concerning the Oirat writing in regard of the first two texts we should note that it has a number of graphical mistakes such as omission of diacritical marks or non-differentiation between the vowels *i* and *e*; several words are crossed out and a few words are added between the lines (obviously, the scribe skipped them over when copying the original book).



to *Alphabetum Tangutanum* uses another term for the *dbu med* script, namely *Schar* (Tib. *gshar*). It definitely reminds us about D. G. Messerschmidt who learnt this term in Siberia where he studied Tibetan letters and collected lexicographic materials. Furthermore, the book includes a list of Tibetan words, almost identical with one of the draft vocabularies found in Messerschmidt's archives.<sup>64</sup> Thus, we can be sure that *Alphabetum Tangutanum* was a book compiled by Messerschmidt and copied by Bayer no earlier than in 1727.<sup>65</sup>

Our hope that the original books copied by Bayer can be still found in Halle did not come true. We sent a request to the Franckesche Stiftungen that inherited collections of the Halle Orphanage and received a very kind reply from Prof. Dr. Holger Zaunstöck who informed us that the fellows of the Franckesche Stiftungen had checked all the catalogues and data bases

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<sup>64</sup> The document is kept at the Saint Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences: coll. 98, inv. 1, no. 39: f. 115; published in Sizova, Zorin, Bondar 2022: 375–376, pl. 26–27.

<sup>65</sup> Messerschmidt arrived in Saint Petersburg from his long Siberian expedition in March 1727. In April, Bayer and some other members of the Academy were selected by its first president Laurentius Blumentrost (1692–1755) to pay a visit to Messerschmidt and check his collections that were claimed to belong to the Academy. The traveler tried to sabotage this and further attempts but after several months he had to give up. In February 1728, the collections were thoroughly checked and almost all of the rarities and curiosities, even those bought by Messerschmidt on his own money, were taken by the Academy. He was even deprived of the right to study his own collections and publish results of his researches in Siberia. Needless to say, the traveler was severely disappointed but, most probably, he was not (completely) hostile to Bayer (both men were pietists) who, apparently, obtained some data from him directly. Messerschmidt's original "Alphabetum Tangutanum..." is not found. Our hypothesis is that Messerschmidt hid this book from the Academy but showed it privately to Bayer and allowed him to make its copy. Bayer could not reveal his source because otherwise Messerschmidt would have been deprived of this book. However, it could be lost along with other Messerschmidt's books when the ship on which he was traveling back to Danzig was wrecked in 1729. Bayer's copy of "Alphabetum Tangutanum..." is fully presented in Zorin 2022.

but unfortunately yielded no results.<sup>66</sup> The books are not found in Halle anymore.

According to Dr. Claus Veltmann, the curator of the Wunderkammer, the handwritten inventory catalogue from 1741 mentions three Kalmuck writings (pp. 359 and 362 no. 44ff). The Franckesche Stiftungen has three Tibetan and four Mongolian folios found in the Irtysh area, at least one of them was sent to Halle from Saint Petersburg in 1725 (Knüppel 2014: 23). The catalogue entries 43–45, 48 referred to these Mongolian folios. It shall be noted also that the author of the catalogue, Gottfried August Gründler, states in the note (on pp. 368f.) concerning the items with the numbers 37–39 that he cannot say for sure what language they are written in: “es wäre denn, dass Tangutisch, Mongolisch und Kalmuckisch alles einerley wäre”.

<sup>67</sup>

There is no clear explanation so far of what happened to the two original Tibetan and Oirat books. Bayer mentions that an item relating to the Tibetan book (literally, *the version made from Gabriel's Russian*<sup>68</sup>) was sent from Halle to La Croze. In 1716, he himself wrote to La Croze: “You receive the last part of a Tangut book; there are others which I shall send shortly” — perhaps, meaning copies, not the original. In his letter to Strimesius Bayer stated that the Tibetan and Mongolian book were in Halle (in 1722?). The books could be sent later to La Croze or some other

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<sup>66</sup> We are deeply grateful to Holger Zaunstöck, and his colleagues Anke Mies, Jürgen Gröschl and Claus Veltmann who carried out this search, for their efforts.

<sup>67</sup> It shall be noted also that, according to the information of C. Veltmann, three (?) Kalmuck boys lived in the Orphanage for some time in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. If they were there already in the second half of the 1710s some of them could copy the Oirat book for Bayer. Other Kalmuck visitors to Halle are documented during this time. A young Kalmuck converted by the pietist Justus Samuel Scharschmid (1664–1724) studied medicine in Halle and became a surgeon. A sister of the Torgut Khan Ayuka (1639–1724) also paid a visit to Halle. Cf. Brentjes 1983: 11.

<sup>68</sup> He seems to mean here the German translation made by his friend in Halle from Gabriel's Russian translation.

correspondent(s) of the pietist academic center in Halle. We can only hope that new documents that can shed light on this problem will be found over time.

We do not know, either, why Bayer's copy of the Tibetan book is not found in Glasgow while that of the Oirat book is available there. Moreover, the contents of the Tibetan book remain unknown. The only positive information about its text can be extracted from the explanations to the table with the Tibetan alphabet found in Bayer 1729 but it only concerns the style of the writing. The most important thing in this regard is that the Tibetan letter *ya* was written in a very peculiar shape and the same shape was attested in Gabriel's notes [Bayer 1729: 29, point 2]. Perhaps, it means that the Tibetan book was written by Gabriel himself (in the 1700s?) or in accordance with a certain (Oirat?) tradition of Tibetan calligraphy he also followed.

#### 4.

The books preserved in Glasgow and linguistic materials published as appendices to Bayer's letters are valuable for the reconstruction of the history of the earliest studies of Tibetan and Mongolian scripts in Europe, proving that Bayer played a very important role in this process. It is clear that Gabriel the Mongol from Moscow, in his turn, was the most important source of information for Bayer even though he was not very reliable in regard of Tibetan material. At the end of the 1720s, in Saint Petersburg, Bayer obtained a perfect tool for the study of Lantsa (Rañjana), Tibetan and Mongolian scripts, namely a Beijing block-printed syllabary brought by D. G. Messerschmidt from his long expedition to Siberia. Messerschmidt had to pass his collection of Oriental texts to the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences and could not even use it anymore so Bayer was granted an exclusive right to deal with the collection.

However, before 1728, Bayer had to depend largely on the information sent to him from Moscow. While in Germany, Bayer never had a direct contact with Gabriel but relied on Rodde and, perhaps, somebody else who lived in Russia. Albeit it cannot be ruled out that Bayer met Gabriel after his move to Saint Petersburg (see no. 60), all or most of Gabriel's materials were acquired by Bayer before 1726. Below is the list of the documents of which we know:

A. The lost (?) Russian translation of the Buddhist text from Oirat (see above).

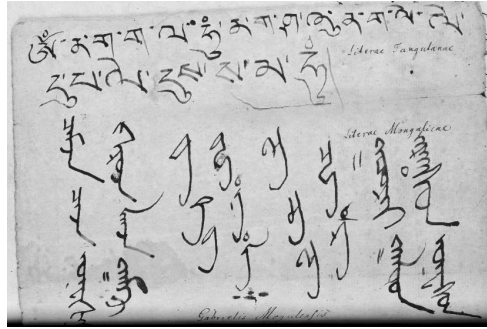
B. One folio marked as *Manus Gabrielis Mogulensis*, found inside MS Hunter 196 (see the Appendix 1). The folio misses both the beginning and the end of the text that describes a Buddhist cleansing ritual, the extant fragment explains what benefits will be achieved in dependence on the time of performing the rite.

C. Manuscripts found inside MS Hunter 213:

i. A slip of paper marked as 'Gabrielis Mogulensis manu' at the bottom, with samples of the Tibetan and Mongolian scripts that are annotated as 'Literae Tangutanae' and 'Literae Mongolicae', respectively. It is published below for the first time, the photo being presented by courtesy of the University of Glasgow Library Archives & Special Collections.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> The photo lacks the bottom of the document with the word "manu" — the slip of paper is tightly bound into the volume and an image with all the text could not be produced without damaging it.



The Tibetan sample runs as follows: *om na ga ga la huṃ na ga sha zhu na ga le le du pa le dus sa ma huṃ*. It is a corrupted and slightly abridged mantra attested in the huge collection of apocrypha known as *Rin chen gter mdzod* (*Treasury of Precious Termas*):<sup>70</sup> *om nā ga kā la hūṃ: nā ga sha sha: nā ga le le: dum bha le le: nā ga rā dza 'dus 'dus sa ma ya hūṃ*.<sup>71</sup> The Oirat inscription is nothing but a list of separate words (some of them cannot be translated): *zamca zaca ünegeni* [a fox] / *kirüca lanca* [Lañtsa script] *xamar* [a nose] / *da ta da* / *dha nam lam*. / *ja ča ja* / *zha ra* / *xourai* [dry] *xaluun* [hot] / *aryasun* [dung] *ünesün* [ash]. Both inscriptions are made by a novice in writing Tibetan and Oirat letters who made exercises or tried to copy some original text. The Oirat part, at least, could not be written by Gabriel and the annotation of the slip of paper that attributes it to him has to be explained. Perhaps, it was one of the documents passed to Bayer by Rodde and they two thought it was written by Gabriel while it was not true. Another explanation would be that Bayer copied some original folio that belonged to Gabriel. But it seems to be

<sup>70</sup> The mantra is found inside the fragment called '*Jam dbyangs nā ga ra+kṣa'i char 'bebs*' which is a part of the text '*Jam dpal klu bdud nā ga ra+kṣa'i lo rgyus zhes bya ba bzhugs*'. The detection of the mantra was possible thanks to the search tool of the online library of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center.

<sup>71</sup> *Rin chen gter mdzod* 2007: 82 (=pt. 2: f. 38b5).

written by a scribe different from the one who produced the next document, the latter being supposed to be Bayer's autograph. Therefore, the second suggestion is not very probable.

ii. *Elementa linguae Mongolicae a Gabriele quodam Mogul apud Moscos interprete amico tumultuarie perscripta et a me in ordinem composita* (Alphabet of the Mongol language scribbled down by Gabriel, a certain Mongol, interpreter with the Muscovites, and friend, and put in order by me), a bi-folium (Weston 2018: 49). The document contains a basically correct list of Oirat letters in combination with vowels, this script being slightly different from Mongolian and known as *todo bičig* invented by Zaya Pandita. It probably means that Gabriel the Mongol was, rather, an Oirat. Otherwise, Bayer would have probably obtained some materials in Mongolian from him. The list corresponds with the Oirat part of the second plate published in Bayer 1729. It was also supplied with few additional details borrowed from Kōleseri's version which is available within MS Hunter 196 (Weston 2018: 50) (see the Appendix 2).

iii. *Diploma a rege Tartarorum et Sinorum datum et a Gabriele Mogulensi interprete Mogolice atque Russice descriptum. Quod non modo mecum Roddius communicavit, sed Russice etiam Latine interpretatus est Halae Saxonum* (A diploma awarded by the king of the Tartars and Chinese and copied by the interpreter Gabriel the Mongol in Mongol and Russian. Rodde not only communicated it to me but also translated it into Russian and even Latin at Halle on the Saale.) (1716?) (ibid.). This document deserves a special study which far exceeds the scope of our paper.

iv. *Elementa linguae Tangutanae a Gabriele quodam Mogulensi amico tumultuarie scripta et a me in ordinem composita* (ibid.). As was mentioned above, this document corresponds with the plates published in Bayer 1722; both versions are reproduced in the Appendix 2; note the difference between their titles and Latin annotations. The manuscript has

several remarks to Köleseri's alphabet, thus it could be written by Bayer later than in 1722. But it cannot be said for sure since these remarks themselves could be added later to the main text. It is also true in regard of one more remark, where the name of Messerschmidt appears — Bayer learnt from him the Tibetan letter *nya* which is missing in both of his published attempts at compiling the Tibetan alphabet. This remark must be dated from 1727 or early 1728 because Bayer soon obtained the Beijing block print with the Sanskrit syllabary.

All the earliest European publications of the Tibetan, Mongolian and Oirat scripts were far from perfect. Bayer's plates were probably the best in regard of the number of elements and their similarity with original characters. However, an acquaintance with D. G. Messerschmidt soon showed to Bayer that his knowledge was but limited. He was lucky enough (and Messerschmidt truly unlucky) to get all the materials, gathered by this extraordinary explorer of Siberia, and use them to make his final contribution to the study of Tibetan and Mongolian writing systems in Europe in Bayer 1732–1734 (the paper was written mostly in 1728–1729).<sup>72</sup> A diligent scholar, Bayer reached the highest level of expertise possible for a person who did not have Messerschmidt's experience of learning languages with lamas in Transbaikalia. It is no surprise that he failed to provide the Tibetan letters with correct transcriptions and it is a pity that Messerschmidt did not have a chance to make this publication himself.<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless, it was rather natural that the scholar who

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<sup>72</sup> Among the Tibetan texts obtained by the Academy from Messerschmidt there was an above-mentioned Sanskrit syllabary block printed in Beijing at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It rendered each element of the Sanskrit script in three forms, of *Lañsa* (=Rañjana), Tibetan and Mongolian (not Oirat) letters. Bayer made his own block printed copy of this syllabary and published it along with results of his research. This work and original block print are analyzed and reproduced in Walravens, Zorin 2017.

<sup>73</sup> Bayer's transcription of the Tibetan letters is almost completely wrong. Without doubt, Messerschmidt, who learnt both the way of reading Tibetan

insistently paid attention to the topic accomplished his studies of it with an edition that provided the academia with a reliable reproduction of the Lañtsa-Tibetan-Mongolian syllabary.

In the end, it is necessary to repeat once more that Bayer's publications prepared before his move to Saint Petersburg relied mostly on the information provided by Gabriel the Mongol. In particular, the first published European translation of a text that belonged to Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism<sup>74</sup> was made by the trio that consisted of Gabriel, an unknown German person and Bayer. They produced the Russian, German and Latin versions, the latter being published in 1722. Disparaging characteristics given to Gabriel the Mongol by C. Rodde and repeated by Bayer (while he could later change his attitude to the man) cannot diminish his role in the history of Tibetan, Mongolian and Buddhist studies in Europe.

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(although in a way typical for the Mongols) and even the rules of specific Tibetan spelling (*sbyor klog*), could do it in a much more accurate way. The block print had been apparently presented to Messerschmidt by his teacher of Tibetan in Siberia (Zorin 2021: 303) and still he was deprived of the right to deal with it by the Academy. Being a proud man, he obviously refuted, albeit under a plausible pretext, Bayer's query for help with the Lañtsa letters that he also had studied. We learn about this episode from his luckier colleague himself: "Messerschmidt maintained that he could not remember the sense of these letters to the necessary degree and objected with his other occupations, a just reason for excuse. And what other teacher and from where would there be?" (Walravens, Zorin 2017: 162).

<sup>74</sup> It is possible that Ippolito Desideri (1684–1733), the Italian Jesuit missionary in Tibet, worked on his translation of Rje Tsong kha pa's (1357–1419) treatise *Lam rin chen mo* into Italian in the late 1710s. However, it was never published and its fate is uncertain. A survey of the issue is presented in Sizova 2014.



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**Keywords:** Gottlieb Siegfried Bayer, Gabriel the Mongol, the Hunterian Library of the University of Glasgow, Tibetan, Oirat and Mongolian scripts, Tibetan and Oirat manuscripts, history of Tibetan and Mongolian studies, the Halle Orphanage

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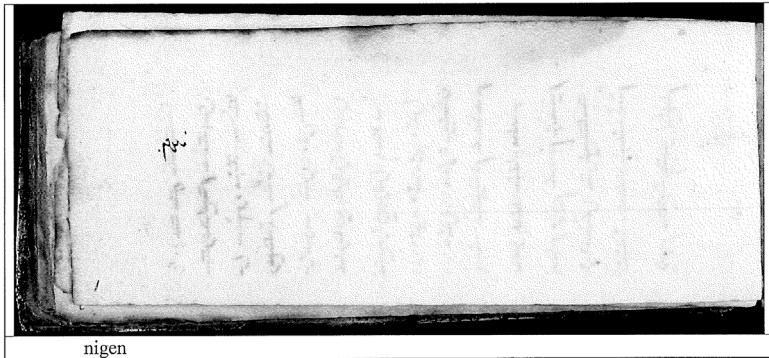
## APPENDIX 1

**MS Hunter 196, the manuscript in Oirat, Bayer's copy of the book that used to be kept at the Halle Orphanage (presently, the Franckesche Stiftungen): presented by courtesy of the University of Glasgow Library Archives & Special Collections.**

Three separate texts, the first two with their own foliation put with Tibetan numerals, are bound together. All the three have *pothi* format in which the recto and verso sides are oriented opposite to each other and, when bound as a codex, one has to rotate the book to be able to read the pages one after another. Moreover, in this book the folios are bound so that the verso sides go first. Therefore, the reader needs also to flip pages back and forth. Below the pages are presented in the correct order and orientation. Round brackets ( ): corrections of the graphical mistakes of the scribe (mostly omission of diacritical marks). Curly brackets { }: letters written by the scribe near the main lines. Angle brackets <>: letters and signs that were deleted or written mistakenly. Square brackets [ ]: editorial designations of parts of the text 2.

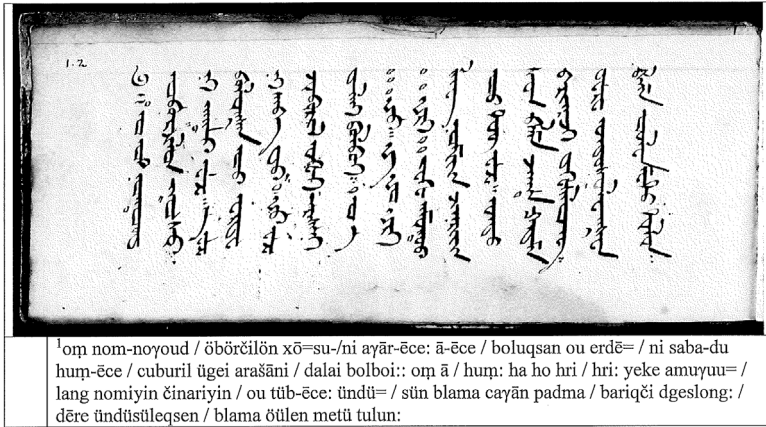
### *Text 1. A fumigation rite*

F. 1 recto



nigen

F. 1 verso

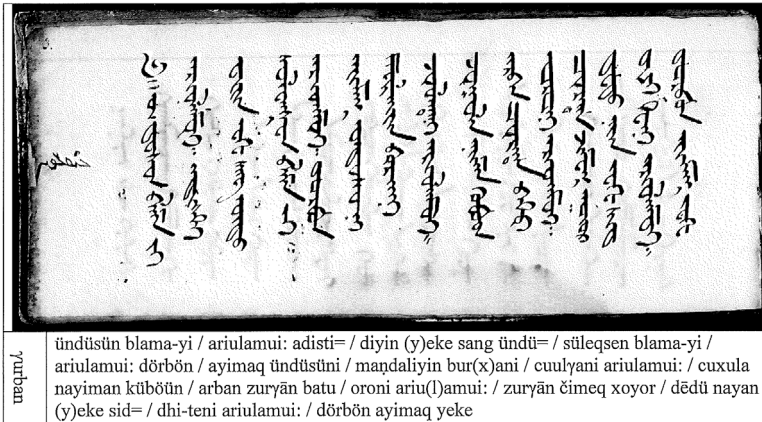


F. 2 is missing

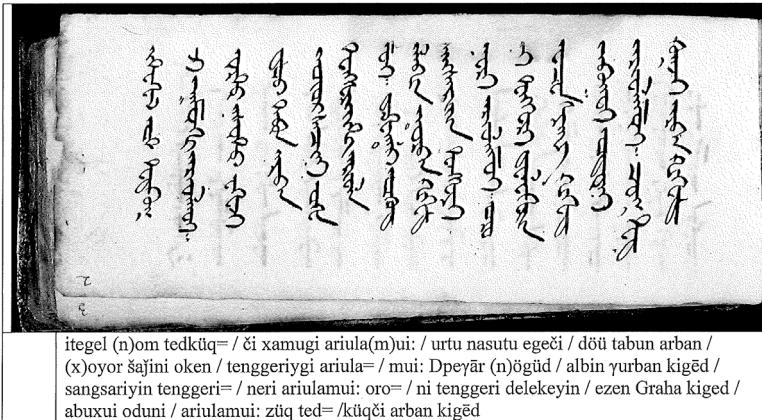
<sup>1</sup> The recto sides of each folio of the book start with the *birga* sign (that is equal to the Tibetan *mgo yig*) which is not rendered by us because scholars of the Oirat texts do not have a tradition to use any special signs to render it in their transliteration.



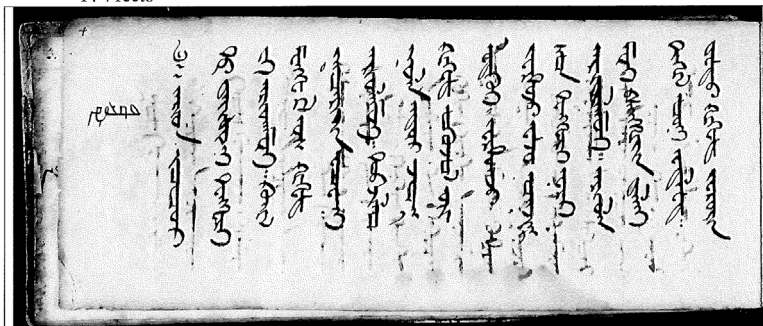
F. 3 recto



F. 3 verso



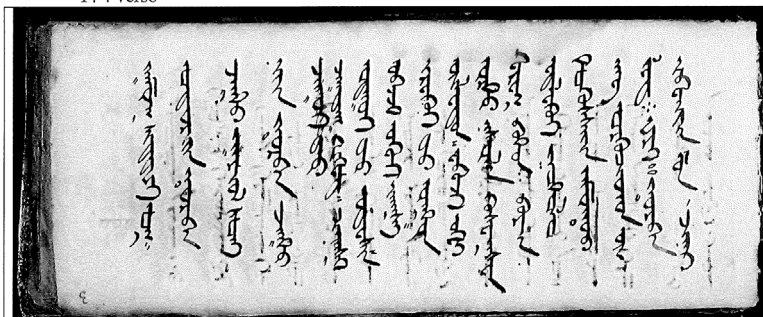
F. 4 recto



döböhön

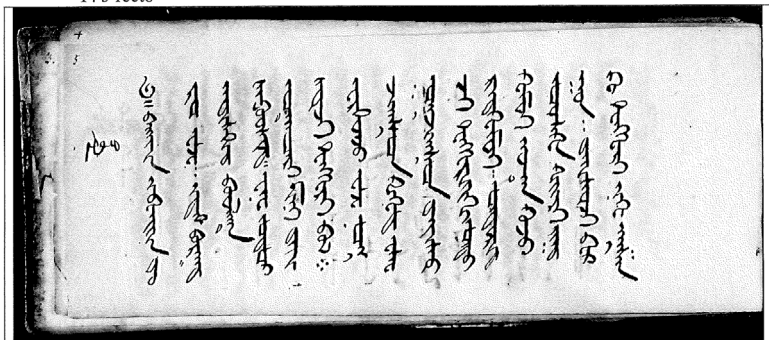
ariun izour= / tu dayisuni tenggeri= / yi ariu(1)amui: kü(1)il / mengge 2 us kigēd / γazariyin  
 ezeni / ariulamui: tobčilo= / xulā adur coq / kigēd (n)öktücöl üyi= / ledktti yertlincü /  
 yertü(n)cü-ēc nöqčiq= / sön tenggeri=neri / ariulamui: ariula= / mui bsanggiyin dalai /  
 takil öüni edläd: / dödü kigēd yertyin-

F. 4 verso



xamuq siddhi öq: / ödüriyin γurban / caqtu xariul söni= / niyin γurban caqtu / <caxui-du>  
 caqdaq kigēd: činaqši / odxui-du üdešin / übčei ügei i(n)aqši / irekütü-dü uqtun / üyiledün:  
 ebeči ügei / urtu nasulan küseqsen / kereq büttün: burin / edlekli xotolo / tögüsiyin  
 amuyuu= / (1)ang örgüjiü(1)ün üi= / led::šri: γurban / ibe(1)iyin mün činar

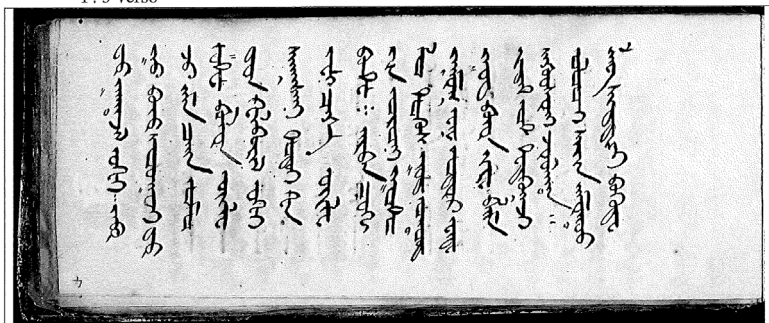
F. 5 recto



tabut

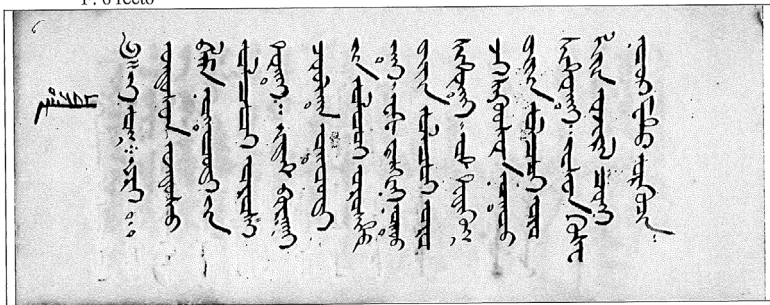
ba(r)in ibe(l)iyin do= / ro-ēce: idam burxad / adistid buulyan / sakuusud: ene ödör /  
 (y)oyazari mini dayi= / suči tenggeri bol:: / (y)ertüncü-ēce nōq= / ėiqsōn kigēd ese /  
 nōqėiqsōn dayisu= / ėi tenggeriyigi öndü= / ridkemtü: ondürid= / kemtü aurya kücü /  
 öüsken kiyiri xad= / xun: dayisuči ber= / ke tenggeri nige aqšan=

F. 5 verso

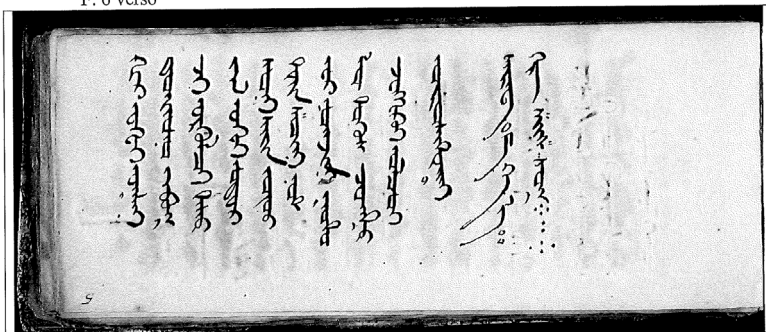


du xayacal ügei: yabu= / xu buyu souxui-du / cü ama zayi(la)n öm(n)ö / šütē bolun üyile= /  
 dūn kelberil ügei / sanaqşani tödüi=ken- / yēr zakā üyile / bütē:: arban zügi= / yin oroni  
 xoto= / lo tögüs xud noyoud / xamuq ene ödür ende / xud bo(l)un ire: blama / idam (n)om  
 tedktüqėi / sakuusu(n)i cuulyan: / ölzöi sayin amuyuu= / lang siddhi bügüde

F. 6 recto

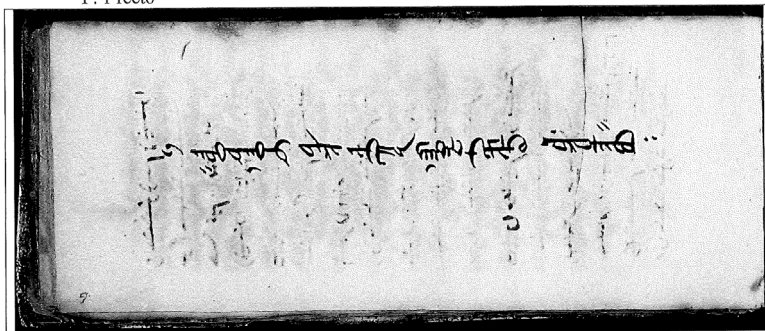
	<p> <span style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">zurjān</span>                 i öq::šri: / ündüstün ündüstü / blama noγoudi-yin / ölzöi oroši= / tuyai: idam burxani /                  cuulyan (n)oyoudi- / yin öl(z)öi orošitu= / γai: eke dagini noγou= / diyin ölzöi oro= /                  šituyai: (n)om tedkūq= / či sakuusun noγou= / diyin ölzöi oro= / šituyai: yestün ktüse= /                  liyin učiral zuni / nour mettü örgüjin             </p>
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F. 6 verso

	<p>                 kir ügei uxāni / do(r)ono abuq= / či ürgülji tasu= / ral ügei ödür / söni sayin oyou= / tuyin                  šajini nom- / yēr nōqčün xoto= / lo tögüs coqtu / cenggeküi ölzöi / orošituyai / sarava mam                  qa lam / gra šiγiš soq:: : :             </p>
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**Text 2. The Hymn to Tārā in twenty-one stanzas supplied with additions**

F. 1 recto



Xutuqtu däre ekeyin maqtāl kemäkü oroşibo:

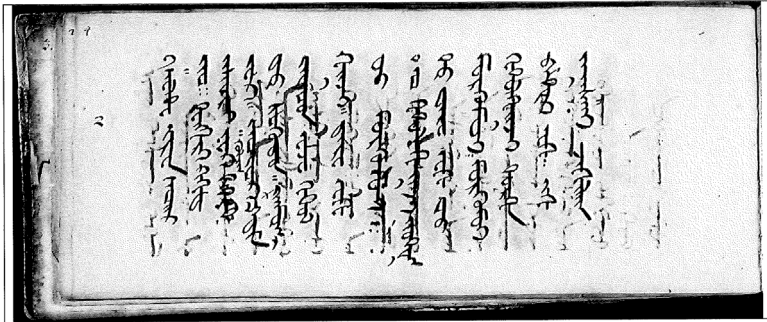
F. 1 verso



1 [introductory part: A]<sup>2</sup> enedkegiyin kelër / ärya däre duddä / ra nama: töbödiyin / kelër: gpagmsa sgröl / ma la bsdod pa / guvs je=va: mongγo= / lvin kelër: xutuq= / tu dare ekeyin maq= / täl kemäkü blama kigöd / däre ekedü mürγü= / müi:: [B] dödü oron / <müi> budaladu: noγön / dam üzüq-ēce / törön: amidāba / <törön> titimtei: (γ)urban cagiyin / burxadiyin üye üyile= / či däre eke nököd

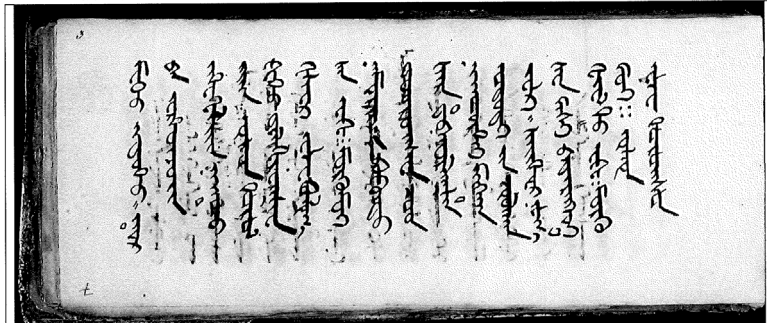
<sup>2</sup> The text consists of the following parts: the introductory part (its stanzas are enumerated as A, B, C), the homage to Tārā, the hymn (stanzas 1–27), the mantra of Tārā, the prayer (stanzas i–xviii), the colophon (I, II). The relevant numbers are provided in the square brackets.

F. 2 recto



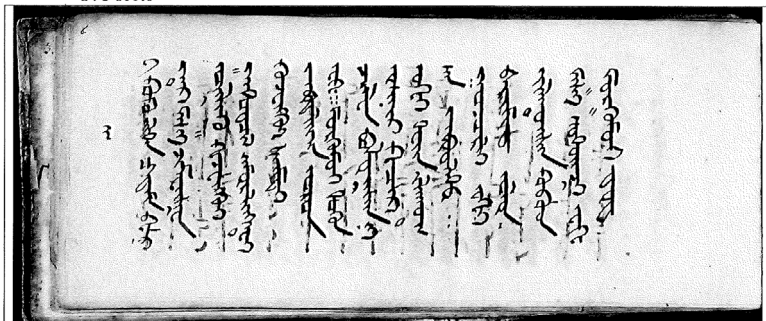
2 selte iren soyir= / xo:: [C] enggeri kigēd / asuri-ner titim= / yēr: xoyor {kōliyin} padma=  
/ du sögüdün: xamuq / yadoun-ēce getel= / geqçi dāre eke= / dū mürgümtüi:: / [homage to  
Tārā] om getülgeqçi xutuq= / tu dāre eke-dü / mürgümtüi: [hymn: 1] mürgümtüi /  
getülgeqçi türgen / bātur eke: nige / aqšani cakil(γ)ān

F. 2 verso



metü (n)iditüi: γur= / ban yertüncüiyin / itegeliyin niyou= / riyin: usun töröl= / kittü  
delgereqsen / geser-ēce boluq= / san eke:: [2] mürgümtüi / namuriyin бүкүндү / döüröqsen:  
zoun / sara dabxurlaqšan / niyouantai mingγan / odudi-yin cuul(γ)an= / yēr: sayitur nēq= /  
sen maši badarangγui / gerel-tü eke: [3] mürgü= / müi:: usun= / ēce töröqsön

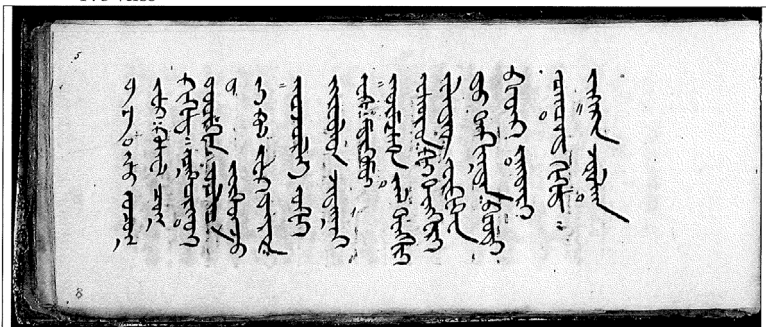
F. 3 recto



3

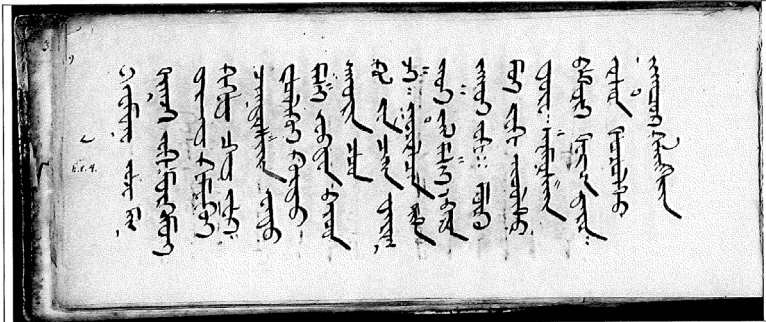
kükü altan padma-bër / ɣar maši čimeqsən / öqligü kicēnggüi / xatoujil amurlingyui /  
 kü(1)cēnggüi samadi / yabudaliyin oron / eke:: [4] mürgümüi tögün= / čilen boluqsan-ni /  
 usnir kizār / ügei teyin ilayūq= / san yabudaltu: / xocorli ügei / barimad olun: /  
 ilayū(q)san küböün / maši (§)üttüčči eke / [5] mürgümüi dud

F. 3 verso



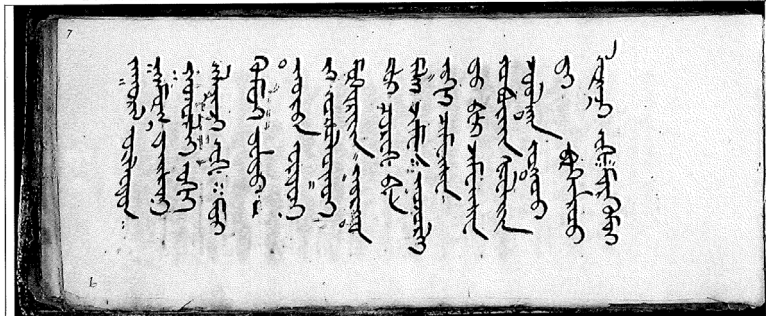
dā ra hūm üzüq= / yēr: küsel züq / kigēd oqtoruyi / düürgen: dolōn / <d> yertüncü= / yi kül-  
 yēr darun: / xocorli ügei / ireülün čidaqči / eke:: [6] mürgümüi / xurmusta ɣal tenggeri /  
 esürün: kei tenggeri / eldeb erketen= / dü takiqdan: bhüdi / bhadar ɣandari / noyoud kigēd: /  
 yakxayin cuulyan

F. 4 recto



4 emüne-ēce maq= / taqči eke:: [7] mürgümü / drad kemekü / kigēd pad-yēr: / činadušiyin endü= / röülkü kürdü / maši ebden: baroun / axurin: zōün / kül-yēn jiyin daruq= / čī: xurulzan (š)ita= / xui ɣal maši <?> bada= / <sup>3</sup> axui eke:: [8] mürgü= / müi yeke ayoutlu / düre: šumnušiyin / bāturi teyin darun: / usun töröltü / niyour kilinggiyin

F. 4 verso

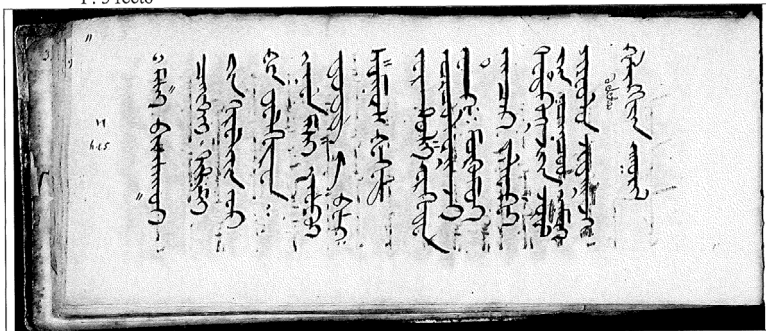


axuril tiyiledün: / xamuq dayisuni / xocorli ũgei / alačči eke:: [9] mür= / gümtü dēdū / ɣurban erdenei= / yi oroloxui / muturiyin xurɣun- / yēr zūreke-bēn / maši čimen: xocorli / ũgei čimeqsen- / dü-bēr čimeqsen / šböriyin gereliyin / cuulɣan (n)oyou- / di butarou= / luqči eke:: [10] mürgümü

<sup>3</sup> The second part of the word *badarangju*, is missing.



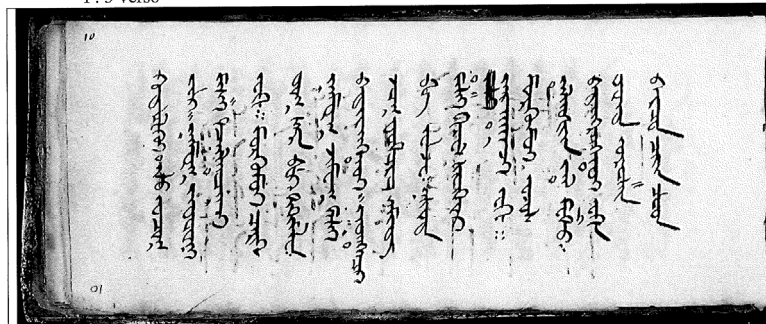
F. 5 recto



5

maši bayasaxui / zalitai; titimi= / yin gereliyin er= / kin delgeren: / inēn maši inēktüi /  
 duddā ra-bēr / šumnus kigēd / yertüncüši erkedēn / orouluqçi / eke:: [11] mürgümtüi /  
 yazar delekei / tedküqçiyin cuul= / yan noyoud: xamugi / iretülün čidaqaçi: / <sup>4</sup> kilinggiyin  
 axuril

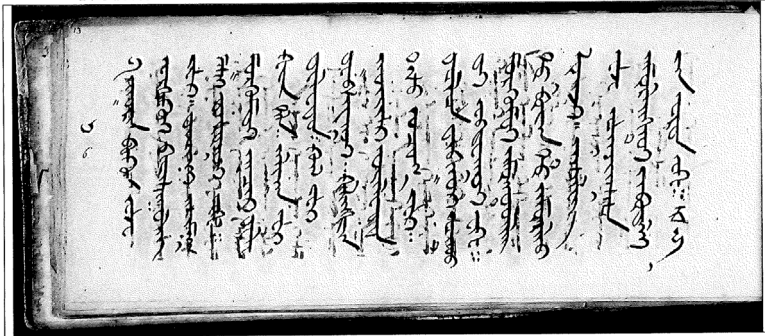
F. 5 verso



ködölküi hüm tüzüq- / yēr: xamuq yadouni / maši tonilyoqçi / eke:: [12] mürgümtüi zarim- /  
 duq sara-bēr titimlen: / xamuq čimeq maši / badarangyui: xongyor= / coq dotoro amida /  
 bhā-ēce: nasuda / maši gerel sayitur / <masi> (γ)aryaqçi eke:: [13] mürgümtüi ecüs:: /  
 yalabiyin yal metti: / badarangyui erken / dunda orošin: / baroun jiyin zöün

<sup>4</sup> A space for one line is left without letters, but the Latin word *deleta* written by Bayer, probably, signifies that the original text had a line here that was crossed out.

F. 6 recto



6

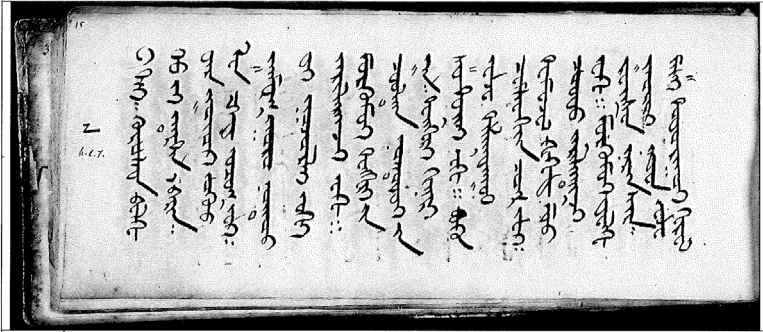
axurin бүктүн-эе / ергикүи байасхulang- / үер: dayini ayimaq / maši daruqçi eke: / [14] mürgümüi yazar dele= / keyin tala: alixa-yer / deledün: күл-үер / debseqçi: killinggiyin / xüniyar tüyledün / хүм үзүq-үер: / dolön dابخur noyou= / di ebdeqçi eke: [15] mürgümüi amuyulang- / tu buyan-tu amuralu= / luqçi: yashang- / эе nоqçiqsön / amurlingyui yabudali- / yin oron eke:: svāhā

F. 6 verso



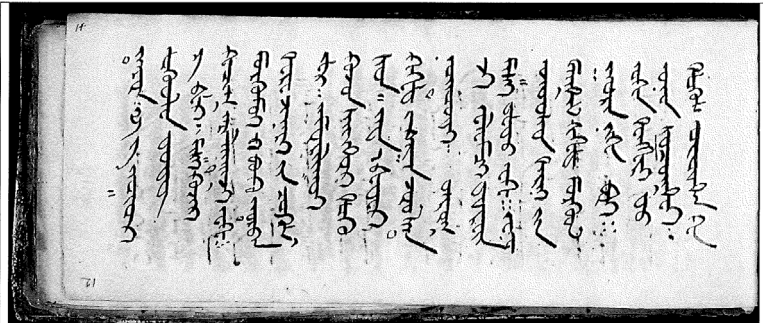
om sayitur tögüstüq= / sen-yer: yeke kilen= / ce ebdeqçi eke: / [16] mürgümüi бүктүн-эе / maši bayasun ергектү- / бэр: dayisuni beyeyi / maši ebdeqçi: arban / zügiyin tarni zokōq= / son: uxān хүм-эе / getülgeqsen eke: / [17] mürgümüi дүре күл / debisküi-bär: хүм- / giyin bayidaliyin күтрөnggü / činartu: sümer oula / mandara kiged nebe= / lün түiledүqçi: yurban yertүncü / noyoudi күдөлgүqçi / eke: [18] mürgümüi / tenggeriyin nour bayidal

## F. 7 recto



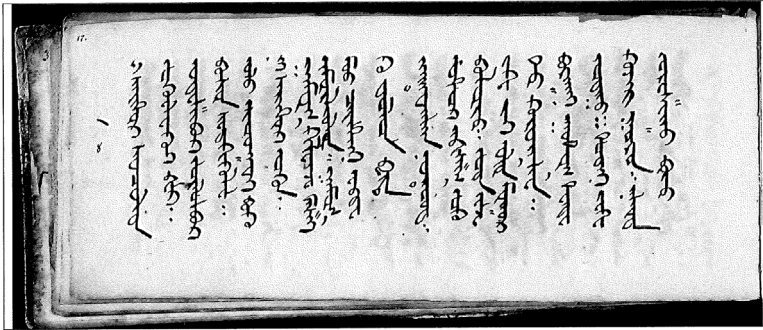
- 7 tai göröstin belge= / tü-yi yartān <?> barin: / dāra xoyor ögütü= / len pad üzütq-yēr: / xamuq xoro noyou= / di xocorli ügei / aril(γ)a(q)çi eke:: / [19] mürgümüti tenggeri-yin / cuulyan noyoudi-in / xān: tenggeri ginari / štütqçi eke: bükün- / ěce tālaqdaqxi / zemsegiyin coq-yēr: / temecel kigēd mou / zödütü arilyaqçi / eke:: [20] mürgümüti delge= / reqšen naran sara: / xoyor nidün-ěce / maši todorxoi gerel

## F. 7 verso



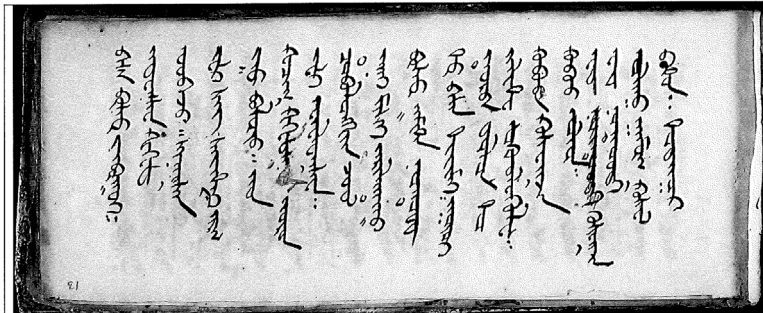
- γarun: ha ra xoyor / ögütülen düdda= / re-bēr: maši küčir / kijiq arilyaqçi eke:: / [21] mürgümüti <b> bükü yurban / tere ěinari-yin zoköl- / yēr: amurlixui / kücün sayitur tögü= / sün: ada <?> beder / kigēd yaxxayin cuulyan / noyoudi daruq= / ěi: ülenji düreyin / maši dedü eke:: [22] ene / ündüstün tarni-yin / maqtāl kigēd mürgütül / xorin nigen bui:: / okin tenggeri-dü / ünēn süztüqtei: / tögüs oyoutan ken

## F. 8 recto



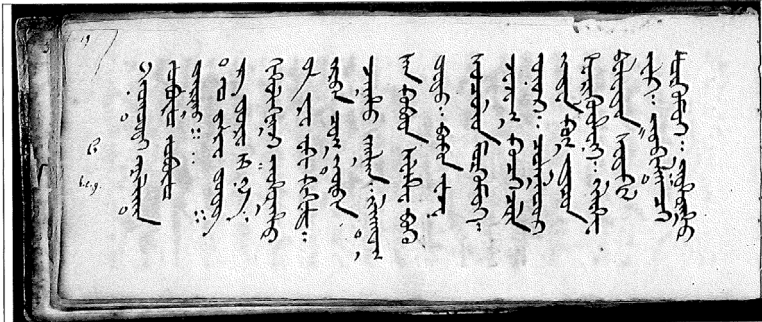
8 sayitur süzülün / ögütüleküi-bēr: / [23] üdešibür örlöbür / bosun sedkekülē: / ültü ayouxui bükü= / ni sayitur ögün: / xamuq kilence maši / amurluulun: xamuq / mou zayātani ebde= / kü: [24] dolōn jeva / i(I)ayūqsan noyoud: / ötür abišiq ökü / boluyu: ötn-ēce / yekē-yi olun muxur- / tu kürtiqsen: / burxani xutuq tende / odux:: [25] töüni yeke / küčir xoron: nasuda / orošixu buyu

## F. 8 verso



basa busu yabuxui: / jdeqsen kigēd / uubācu: sanaqsan- / yēr <sayi> sayitur aril= / xu boluyu: [26] ada / kiñiq kigēd (x)oron- / yēr eneleqsen: / zobolonggiyin cuul= / ğani maši arilyaxu: / busu amitan noyoud- / tu basa teyimi: xoyor / ğurban dolōn to / ilete ögütülekülē: / [27] küböün küseqčün / küböü olun: / ed <noyoudi> küseqčün / ed noyoudi / olxu: xamuq küsel / bütün: todxor

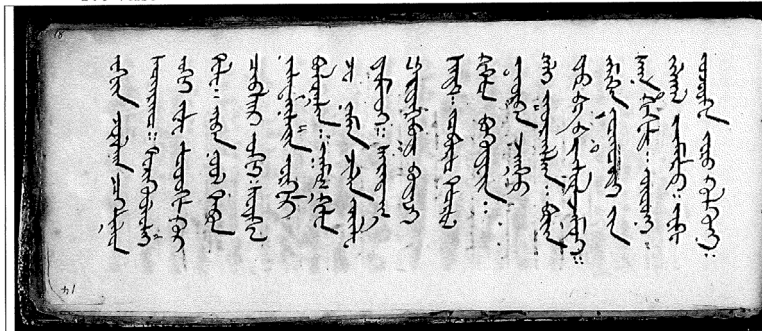
F. 9 recto



9

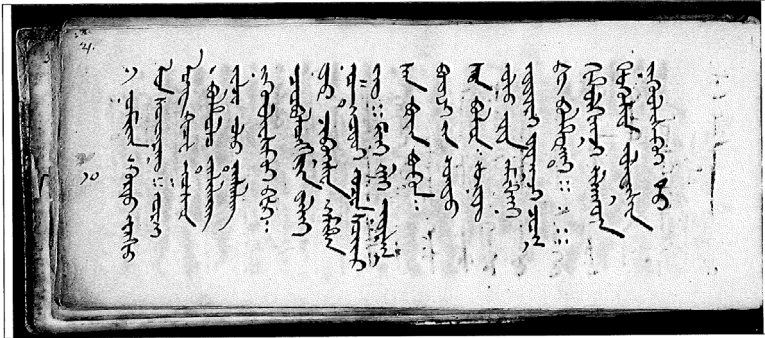
noyoudi arilyan / öbörö öbörö / daruxu:: : / [mantra] om däre dudda / ra däre svā ha: / [prayer: i] getülgeqci xutuqtu / dā re eke kigēd: / arban züq yurban / caqtu aqsan: ilayuq= / san küböün selte bügü= / dedü: büktün-ēce / süzülün mürgümüti: [ii] ceceq ktüji zula / ünür: zöqlour / idēn kätü down / terigütteni: ilete / beledün sedkil- / yēr: xubilyaji / örgümüti: xutuqtu

F. 9 verso



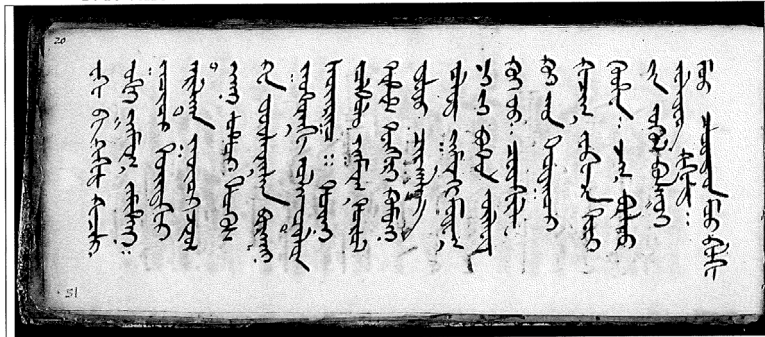
ekeyin cuulyan zö< >qlon / soyirxo:: [iii] terigütlesi / ügei-ēce ödügē kür= / tele: arban nütül tabun / zabsar ügei: sedkil / nisvänišiyin erkēr / boluqsan: xamuq kilen= / ce naman=ēilan tylie= / düümüti: [iv] šravaq pradikabud bodhi / sadv: öbörö töröl= / kitōn bügüdeyin: / yurban caqtu / ali xurāqsan: buyan- / du bi bayasulcamui:: / [v] amitan noyoudi-yin / sanān kigēd: oyouni / ilyal yamāru: yeke / üctütken yerü külgüni

F. 10 recto



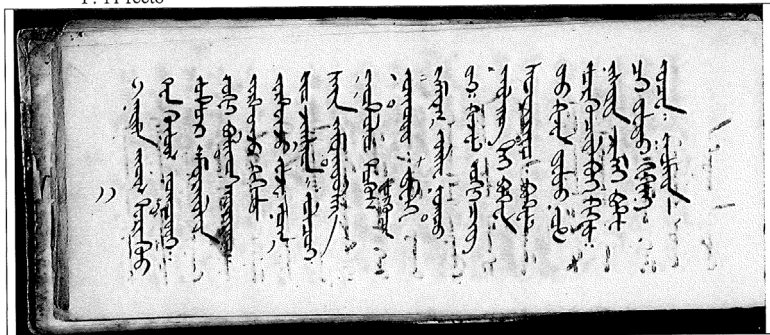
10 nomiyin <?> kürdtü ergüt= / lün soyirxo:: [vi] orči= / long kezē xōsun / <?> boltolo  
 ʧasalang- / ēce üli ʧaslang / nigütlesküi-bēr: / zobolonggiyin dalai- / du čibüqsen:  
 amitan / noyoudi üzen soyir= / xo:: [vii] mini ali xurāq= / san buyan бүктin: / bodhi-yin  
 fündü= / stin bolun: önidö / ülü uda amitani / uduri=duqči coq / bi boltuyai: : : / [viii]  
 getülgeqči ila(γ)un / tögüstün üleqsen / nigütlesküi-tü

F. 10 verso



eke: bi kigēd kızār / ügei xamuq amitani: / xoyor tüyidker / arilyan xoyor cuul= / ʧani ötür  
 tögüs= / ken: dousuqsan burxani / xutuqgi olıyulun / soyirxo: [ix] töüni / oltolo xamuq  
 töröl / tutum: tenggeri kümüni / dēdü jıryalang / olod xamuqi medeq= / čı-yi бүтэн үйлед=  
 / küi-dü: zedkerle= / küi ada todxor / kijiq ebečin teri= / gütiten: [x] caq busu- / yin ükıl  
 bolxui / eldeb kigēd / mou zödütin mou belge

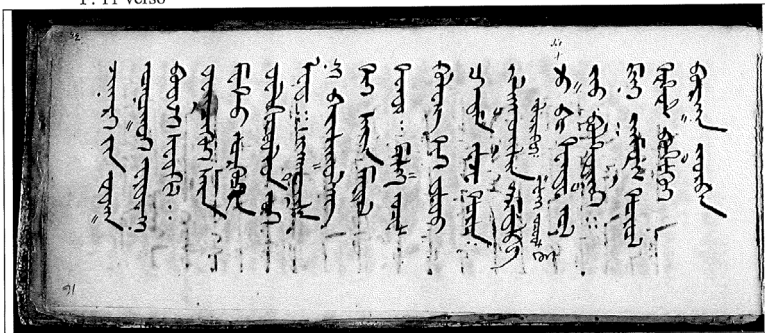
F. 11 recto



11

nayiman ayoul terigüü= / ten күнöl нойуди: / ötör amur(1)julun / ügei bolγon<sup>5</sup> soyirxo: / [xi] yertüncü kiged / yertüncü-ēce nōq= / <so> čiqsōn: ölzöi / sayin amuyulang / xotolo tögüs / noyoud: {örgüjin} delge / xamuq üyile noyou= / di: kicēl ügei jib= / xulang-tai бүтэн / soyirxo: [xii] бүтэл- / dū kecēn dēdū nom / örgöjülküi kiged: / nasuda čimai бүтэ= / ji dēdū gegēni / üzen: xōsun

F. 11 verso



činari=yin udxa / onoxui erdeni / bodhi sedkil: / deqjikiüi sara / metü örgüjin / delgeröülün üyi= / led:: [xiii] ilayuşa= / ni bayasxulang- / tai sayin maᅇdal / tende: maši üzes= / küleᅅg-tei dēdū / padma-ēce törön: / ilayuşan amidābha / {ilerkei: eši üzütül=küi} / cū bi tende ol= / xu bolγyai: / [xiv] mini xamuq töröl / tutum бүтөктіi / burxan: γurban

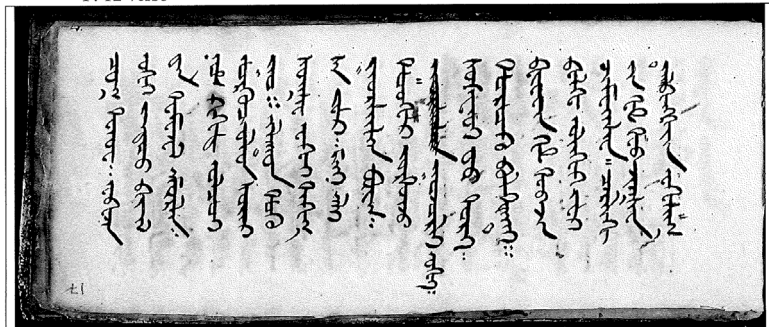
<sup>5</sup> This word and the following one are written in such a way that they look like one word. Apparently, the scribe did not clearly understand the text he copied.

F. 12 recto



12 cagiyin xamuq / burxa=diyin tüle= / či eke: kütü noyön / nige niyour xoyor / yar-tai  
 türgen bā= / tur: udpala bariq= / či ekeyin ölzöi / orošituyai:: / [xv] getülgeççi däre eke /  
 tani beye yambar k(i)gēd / gegēn nasuni kemzē tarā= / langgiyin oron tani / dēdū sayin  
 belge im= / bar bügösü: bida / tere metü imaqtā / bolxu boltuşai:: / [xvi] tandu maqtan  
 zalba= / riqsani ktücün-yēr: / bida xamiyā oro= / šiqsön yazaryin

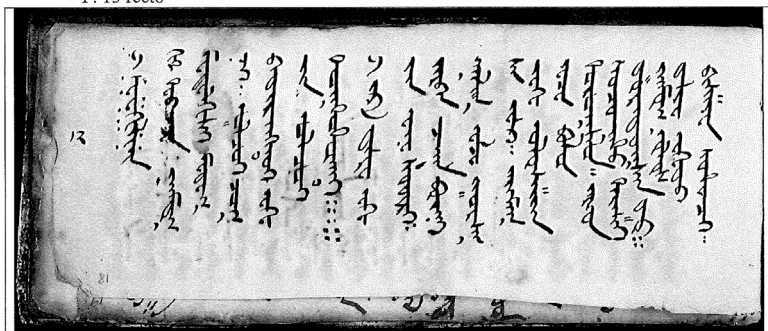
F. 12 verso



zūq tende: ebeçin / ügei yadou bayıl= / dān temecel amurlin: / nom kigēd ölzöi / örgüjülün  
 soyir= / xo:: [xvii] ilayun tögü= / süqse(n) ekei takıq= / san-yēr: mini ali / xurāqsan buyan:  
 / töüger yertüncü / <xurāqsan> xocorlı ügei: / sükvadi-du tori / töröktü boltuşai:: / [xviii]  
 beyeyin gem tebçin / belge ülliger-yēr / çimeqsən: zarlıgi= / yin gem tebçiqsən /  
 yalibingyayin egeşiç /



F. 13 recto

12  
(sic)

<cekeleyin> / gem tebđin xamuq / medelgeši medeq= / či: ölzöi coq / badarangyui  
 eke- / yin ölzöi / toqtotuyai:: : : / [colophon: I] arya däre eke- / yin ene suduri: / arban  
 cayan buyani / aqlaq-ěce xurāq= / san-yēr: ayimaq / yeke ulušyin / ezen bolun /  
 töröqsön: ariun / süzüqtü tayiši / duraduqsan-du:: / [II] xamuq ulus / däre ekedü /  
 bišren šütüji

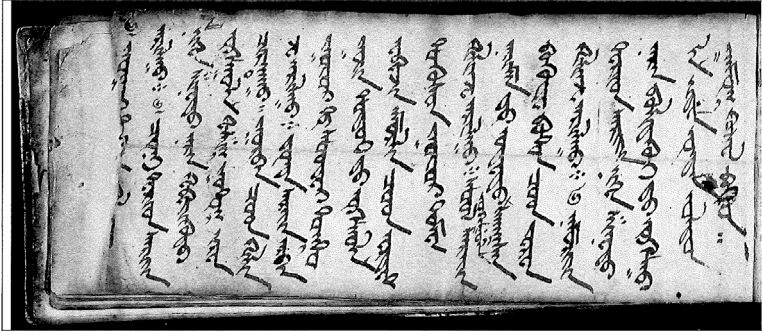
F. 13 verso



xara zügiyin dörbön / šumnuši daruyād: / xaril ügei burxani / dörbön beye olxuyin / tula:  
 yayixamšiq / töbödi-yin kelen- / ěce mongyölöilo= / bui toyin cecen / rab jam pa:: / öün-yēr  
 ölzöyin / coq badaraji / zambutibiyin ěimeq / boltuyai:: : :

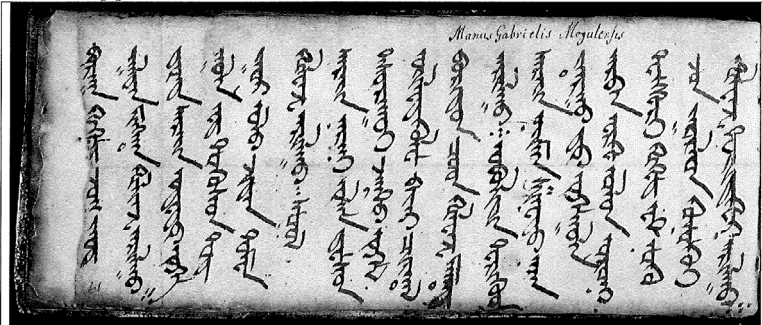
*Text 3. An instruction on ritual washing ("Manus Gabrielis Mogulensis")*

F. [1] recto



x(g?)oxoi t<...>n(a?) <?>|<...> / arilxu :: zuni teriŋn sariyin / nigen ūinedŋ naran kebeyikŋdŋ / uqaxulā keūiŋ xutuq iren / jiryaxu:: ɣurban zoun kilin= / ce arilxu:: dunda sarayin arban / xoyor-tu sŋdŋr toqto= / xuyin tŋdŋi-dŋ uqaxulā / ebeċin amurlin zoun erdem / tŋgŋsŋn xoyor tŋmen / kilince arilxu:: sŋtŋl sarayin / nayiman-du ŋdedŋ {uqaxulā} sanaqsan / bŋgŋdŋ bŋttŋn zoun yeren / kilince arilxu:: namuriyin / teriŋn sariyin nigen ūinedŋ / naran bŋlidkŋi-dŋ uqaxu= / lā idŋn undān oldon / xamuq kŋsel bŋttŋn: /

F. [1] verso



burxan kigēd coq xod / xaldan mingyan kilince arilxu:: / dunda sarayin ŋdedŋ uqā= / xulā ed tŋgŋsŋn tod= / xor tŋlŋ ċidan tŋmen / kilence arilxu: sŋtŋl / sarayin narani ulān dŋstŋn / tasuraxui caqtu uqāl / ŋyiledkŋlŋ bayar jiryal / bŋridŋn zoun kilence mayad / arilxu:: ŋbŋlŋyin terigŋtŋn / sarayin nayiman ūinedŋ naran / ɣarxu-du uqaxulā / arban erke olun oroni / tenggeri kigēd em nŋktŋ= / cŋn xorlon kŋnŋdŋkŋi / kilence tŋyidker arilxu:: /

APPENDIX 2

Tibetan and Oirat alphabets

a. The plates published in BAYER 1722

ad pag. 391.

*Elementa Linguae Tangutanae seu litterarum Delbergin dictarum a Gabriele quodam Mogulensi tumultuarie scripta, et a F. S. Bayero in hunc ordinem redacta.*

Vocales sunt *Ad vocales refero*  
 i, gigu dicta *Wa* quod aequo ut aqua *Cinax*  
 e, fengu *Aleph*, filicrum *otwale*  
 o, nerro *3 a*  
 u, schawon *Wa*, cupus sonus *singula vocis*

Ex utroque vocalibus fit quomodi *compositio*

W	i	i	E	ü
W	e	e	E	ie
W	o	o	E	io
W	u	u	E	iu

*Consonantes simplices sunt.*

ga in princ. *Sa* h da *pa* *la*  
 ga in fine *ta* *Qu* *ma* *cha*  
 xa *E* *sa* *na* *ba* *sa*  
 na penult *na* *wa* *ra* *cha*

Huc refero litteras ex his ortas

W	cha	W	cha	W	nra	W	pri	W	schru
W	da	W	ta	W	bra	W	mra	W	sra

*utrumque est W*

*Composita seu vocalibus animata sunt.*

W	gi	W	si	W	ni	W	ni	W	mi	W	shi
W	ge	W	se	W	ne	W	ne	W	me	W	sche
W	go	W	so	W	no	W	no	W	mo	W	scho
W	gu	W	su	W	nu	W	nu	W	mu	W	schu
W	ki	W	ki	W	di	W	wi	W	ri	W	si
W	ke	W	te	W	de	W	we	W	re	W	se
W	ko	W	to	W	do	W	wo	W	ro	W	so
W	ku	W	tu	W	du	W	wu	W	ru	W	su
W	ni	W	ti	W	pi	W	li	W	chi		
W	ne	W	te	W	pe	W	le	W	che		
W	no	W	to	W	po	W	lo	W	cho		
W	nu	W	tu	W	pu	W	lu	W	chu		

Huc refero

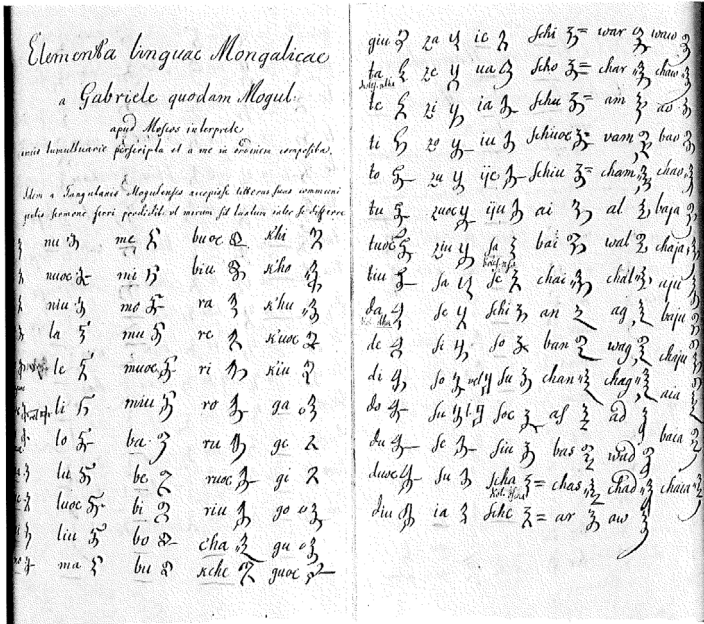
W	shi	W	nri	W	tri	W	pri	W	schri
W	sche	W	nre	W	bre	W	pre	W	schre
W	scho	W	nro	W	bro	W	pro	W	schro
W	schu	W	nru	W	bru	W	pru	W	schru

*est nota finalis aut initialis.*

v	O			v	..	~	~
iii	~	~	~	iii	~	~	~
~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~
~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~

*Book in se.*

b & c. Undated Bayer's autographs of the Oirat and Tibetan alphabets preserved in Glasgow, inside MS Hunter 213: courtesy of the University of Glasgow Library Archives & Special Collections



chafcha <sup>2</sup>	babi	Lurshan Dany significat.
aba	chabi	
baba	awu	
chaba	bawu	
abi	chawu	

1. Nota hoc Lurshan Dany uerba de dicitur  
me dny accent

2. Nota hoc signum me dny scribitur me dny  
sunt signo

*Elementa linguae Tanguianae  
a Gabriele quodam Mogulensi  
amico Inuicelluarie scripta et a me in ordinem compo-  
sitae sunt ut uocales, vel consonantes. Vocales sunt:  
a. quam gigu uocant      o. quam narro  
c. quam fangu      u. quam schangse  
vocalis refero.      nomant et litterae adiuuant.*

W a. quae sequi ne i quae ibi uocant ut quae uocales ad  
B a. quae sequi ne i quae ibi uocant ut quae uocales ad  
u. quae sequi ne i quae ibi uocant ut quae uocales ad

W i    B i    u i    i e et u  
W c    B c    u c    i e et u  
W o    B o    u o    i o et u  
W u    B u    u u    u i i

*Consonantes*  
Sunt ut simplices vel uocalibus suis animatae et  
compositae.

*Simplices sunt.*

(Siddhos) (Siddhos) (Siddhos)

ga in p... ga in fac ka na p... Ja	h... sa... na... da... ta...	h... E... na... da... ta...	na... wa... pa... ba... ma...	na... wa... pa... ba... ma...	na... wa... pa... ba... ma...
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Huc refero litteras ex his oras

S... da... S...	h... re... bra...	pr... re... sehra	S... re... sehra
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*Compositae sunt*

gi ge go gu hi he ho hu	ni ne no nu	ti te to tu	li le lo lu	hi he ho hu	mi mo mu
--	----------------------	----------------------	----------------------	----------------------	----------------

Hic scribitur a quodam Walthauro mercatore in  
India, qui postea Francis ad Romanam venit  
et misit ad W. Menzies in Angliam  
cum Sillibungensibus.

*Litterae Bongalicae*

Signum incipendi est. Scribitur a...  
De...  
S...







e. The copies of the Oirat and Tibetan alphabets compiled by Samuel Köleseri von Keres-Eer, preserved in Glasgow, inside MS Hunter 213, courtesy of the University of Glasgow Library Archives & Special Collections

