

Early Scholars of Asia and Buddhism in Connection with oriental Studies in Italy

By Oscar Botto

The most significant contributions which mark the progress of Buddhist studies in Italy have been reviewed in a recent article I published in memory of Giuseppe Tucci¹, The purpose of the present article is to survey the accomplishments of Italian scholars before the: 19th century who worked in the emerging fields of Tibetan, Sinologic and Indian studies.

Accurate knowledge of Tibet in the West dates back to an historical date: 1624, the year when the Portuguese Jesuit Antonio d' Andrade, the first European, arrived in the capital of West Tibet. In the following years his travel accounts, collected in the *Novo descobrimento do Gram Cathayo*, aroused great curiosity for those inaccessible lands. News reached the West about Tibet from other Christian priests as well, such as Father Cacella, Father Cabral, and Father Griiber whose journey took him from Peking to Lhasa and to Nepal. Curiosity about these Himalayan lands still persists today in the West, more alive than ever. Since the time of these early missionaries, Tibet has become the privileged destination of the Catholic missions in Asia. And to a missionary who was sent to those lands to continue Andrade's work, the Jesuit Ippolito Oesideri from Pistoia (1684-1733), we owe the beginning of Tibetan studies in Italy.

Desideri's ability to penetrate the most mysterious secrets of the Tibetans' faith, to undertake the most strenuous paths of thought and to interpret the schemes of a complex theology² was unequalled. He acquired a deep knowledge of the **bKa'agjur (Kanjur)** and of the **bsTan agjur (Tanjur)**; he was one of the first interpreters of Buddhist philosophy and of the enlightened truths expressed by this doctrine; he acutely investigated the secrets of its dogmas and the great values of its spirituality; he knew how to dialectically refute the theory of transmigration and the Buddhist metaphysics. As Tucci wrote, he was the first to reveal in the "scolastiche architetture logiche delle sue relazioni," the secrets of the speculations in Mahāyāna Buddhism³.

The 18th century was a creative period of great scientific importance for Tibetan studies, above all in the field of linguistics and lexicography. In fact, the Capuchin Cassiano Beligatti from Macerata lived during that period (he died in 1791). He supplemented and extensively corrected the **Thesaurus linguae indiana**e of the Capuchin Francesco Maria da Tours and wrote the **Alphabetum brahmanicum seu indostanum universitatis Kasī** (Roma, Propaganda Fide, 1771; reprinted in 1787). On the basis of several documents brought to the Library of the Collegio di Propaganda Fide by various Capuchin missionaries⁴, he compiled the **Alphabetum Tanguticum**⁵, which served as a basis for the famous **Alphabetum Tibetanum**⁶ by the Augustinian friar Antonio Giorgi (San Mauro di Romagna, 1711-1797). Giorgi's monumental work deals with a large variety of

topics going from a detailed exposition of the alphabet to the orthography of words, from the syntax – systematically explained with examples taken from the manuscripts discovered in 1721 "non longe a fontibus Irtis" – to an actual history of Tibetan literature, as well as some studies on the etymology of the name "Tibet." In his **Alphabetum Tibetanum**, Giorgi includes some information on the chronology of the local kings and of the great Lamas, on Tibet's geography, on cosmogony and on the basic elements of the Tibetan religious thought. He succeeds in demonstrating that the Tibetan manuscripts Bayer published by order of Peter the First Alekseevic the Great and inserted in the **Acta Eruditorum** under the title of **Tabula Tibetana e voluminibus non longe a fontibus Irtis repertis excerpta**, contained religious precepts and superstitions. Giorgi's work, an imposing collection of original information, of new, leading and revealing ideas for acquiring an exact impression of Buddhism, is an exceptionally deserving contribution, also on account of the masterly grouping of the subject, as long as we disregard the criticism of those who assert that everything stated therein goes probably back to a single source of information, the one Father Cassiano Beligatti⁷ left to us.

Sinologic studies may be traced back to the end of the 16th century and had a passionate promoter in the renowned missionary Matteo Ricci da Macerata (1552-1610), the founder and organizer of the Jesuits' missions in China, author of some fifteen works in Chinese, among which is the famous Catechism Thien-ciu-sci-i "Cod's true doctrine."⁸ In all his works Ricci has shown to have a perfect knowledge of Chinese. His absolute mastery of every nuance of this language and the elegance of his style won the admiration of the native men of letters, to such a point that his Catechism was included in the famous Collection of Chinese classical works in 160 volumes, ordered by Kh'an-lung. Together with Father Lazzaro Cattaneo da Sarzana, who completed and perfected the part that Ricci had initially edited, Ricci also compiled a Chinese dictionary that became a point of reference for the subsequent works of Western Sinologists. It was actually Father Cattaneo, extremely skillful in musical theories and practices, who gave him valuable and incomparable help in the field of phonetics, since he taught him, using the musical notes, all the tonal modulations which Chinese words are subject to in their pronunciation⁹. Ricci devoted himself to manifold topics on science and culture; he wrote about arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and geography;¹⁰ he wrote a dialogue on friendship, a treatise on Christian moral philosophy and – a fact that is particularly significant for the topic of this paper – a collection of controversial arguments against Buddhists.

On the subject of Chinese lexicography, the Franciscan Basilio da Gemona (born as Mattia Andrea Brollo, 1648-1704) is worthy of note. He was initially a theology teacher in Padua, who in 1680 became a missionary in China (he was in Canton in 1684) and then a vicar-apostolic in the province of Chen-si. Father Basilio compiled two dictionaries. The minor one was arranged according to the phonetic system of the native lexica and therefore was of little practical use for the teaching of Chinese to missionaries. The other one, set up according to more practical criteria and arranged along the lines followed by other dictionaries previously edited at the Chen-si mission, was completed in 1699 and was

considered by Abel-Remusat and Montucci as the best of all lexica published up to their times¹¹. A century later another great Italian Sinologist, Antonio Montucci from Siena (1764-1829), contributed significantly to Oriental studies by compiling, after seventeen years' work, a Chinese dictionary that was conceived according to quite innovative criteria, making the search for the characters easier and the varieties of writings and printing of the Chinese language perspicuous to beginners. This lexicon was judged to be a masterwork "of which it would be difficult to imagine a better one,"¹² but, in spite of the willingness of the King of Prussia, Frederick William the Third, to sponsor its printing, the political events of those years prevented its publication. The large number of works left to us by Montucci¹³ is evidence of his intensive scientific activity and above all shows the extreme skillfulness he attained in the field of lexicographic methodology, as proved as well by his **A Parallel Drawn between the two intended Dictionaries of the Chinese Language by the rev. Morrison and A. Montucci**¹⁴, where Montucci debates critically and comparatively the methodological dissimilarities that clearly distinguish his lexicon from the one of the English Sinologist.

While Italian Sinological studies of the 19th century lie outside the chronological boundaries of this survey, it is important to note that they grew more and more intensive and significant in that century. To name only three important 19th-century scholars, there is Giuseppe Maria Calleri from Turin (1810-1862)¹⁵, author of **Dictionnaire encyclopedique de la langue chinoise** (Tome 1, Macao-Paris, 1844), of the **Mémorial des rites de Confucius** (1853) and of a large number of other works, of which two, the **Journal** and the **L'Insurrection en Chine**, still have historical interest¹⁶. Two other noted 19th-century sinologists are Carlo Puini and the great scholar Antelmo Severini (born at Arcevia, Marche, in 1828), whom the eminent Sinologist Julien considered as the most excellent of his many pupils.

It is, however, in the cultural areas of the Indian subcontinent and of the Indian Major that great interest by Italian scholars was shown for Buddhism, Indology and Pāli language. The beginning of Indological studies goes back to the end of the 16th century when the Florentine merchant Filippo Sassetti, the first among the Europeans to learn Sanskrit, tried to translate from this language a dictionary of medicine and left to us in his famous **Lettere dall'India**¹⁷ precious and subtle linguistic observations on this "sacred" idiom. We may say that Italian Indology originates with him.

Here we must observe that since its beginnings Indology has encouraged an immediate and rigorous methodology, one which used primary documentation, firsthand investigations and a careful, scientific approach. As an eloquent example of this methodology, we can mention the letters of the Jesuit Giovanni Pietro Maffei and his large and well-documented collection of **Historiae indicae**¹⁸, which spread far and wide and was often reprinted. A second example is the masterly exposition of the basic elements of Hinduism written with scientific accuracy by the Jesuit missionary Jacopo Fenicio (Capua 1558-1632), a work used extensively in the writings of the Dutch scholar Filippo Baldeo (1632-1671), who plagiarized a great deal of its contents¹⁹. At that time there was a

growing sensibility for a world which still had to be discovered and a lively and more objective intellectual curiosity for the theological structures and for the philosophical doctrines of India, whose real contents conveyed a quite different image than the one which had described it as a "land of barbarians and idolaters."

It is under this new point of view that we have to place the work of the Jesuit missionary Roberto de' Nobili from Montepulciano (1577- 1656), a leading figure in the history of Italian Indianistic. His treatise **De Brachmanum Theologia**²⁰ is a document revealing a surprising mastery of the topics he handles, a thorough knowledge of the logical structures of the Nyaya system, a self-assured familiarity with the technical language that he was able to adapt to the actual meanings of the Christian concepts, managing to debate with the Brahmans the most exacting concepts of their faith. His eagerness to attain a well founded knowledge of the problems involving a culture different from his own and of which he realized the great complexity was for de' Nobili a decisive motivation to engage himself in the study of the regional Indian language idioms. De' Nobili learned and mastered Tamil and Telugu, writing such a large number of apologetic works as well as other kinds of works in these languages to take up – according to his contemporaries – twenty volumes of palm leaves. Faithful to the purposes of his mission and aware that the reasons and the justification of traditions and of ritual and pagan practices were entrusted to texts written in Sanskrit, de' Nobili wanted to have an absolute mastery in this language. He acquired through it an extraordinary knowledge of the ancient Indian literature, from the **Vedas** to the **Gṛhyasūtras**, from the Purāṇas to the epic texts, from Sanskrit texts on social and religious law to treatises on the **ars amatoria** and on medicine.

Compared with the great personality and scholarship of de' Nobili, the Venetian travellers Angelo Legrenzi (17th century) and Giovanni Borghesi (end of the 17th century and beginning of the 18th century) appear to be lacking in consistency and their contributions, although factual and offering pleasant travel accounts with some information on local usage and custom, do not add greatly to serious knowledge of an historical, scientific or cultural nature.

We should assign a quite different place in the history of Indological studies to the missionary Gemignano da sant'Ottavio (around the middle of the 17th century), to whom a catalogue compiled by Paolino da San Bartolomeo ascribes several doctrinal and linguistic works²¹ and a collection of excerpts, including translations, from the **Upaniṣad**, from the **Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra** and from other texts²².

Some missionaries contributed with their "mission reports" information regarding specific geographical and cultural areas and topics of India. These missionaries tended to abandon the rigid Christian rhetoric of some of their predecessors and contemporaries, that tone of militant apologetics which we can find in the Vaticana Library books, rigidly aimed to propagate those topics of evangelization identifying themselves with the "**sanctorum patrum traditiones, vitae, gesta et miracula**."²³ In these accounts, on the contrary, everything is

directed to favor a better documented knowledge of the social background, a more objective approach to the historical reality, to the religious beliefs of the local people and to a better acceptance of the local customs provided, of course, that they are not against the principles of the Christian faith. Among these new and more inspired missionaries we would mention the Jesuit Leonardo Cinamo (born in Naples in 1609), who was the first to bring the Christian religion to Mysore and to describe that region, giving us information about its inhabitants and their beliefs. He was one of the first Westerners to define the **māyā** concept, using concise and clear notions that made his definition among the best available²⁴. A second missionary, the Carmelite Vincenzo Maria di Santa Caterina da Siena (born in Bormio as Antonio Murchio, 1626-1673)²⁵, in the five books recording the experiences of his **Viaggio all'Indie Orientali**²⁶ surprises us with his sharp observation, the rigorous critical choices of the sources of information and the precise descriptions of India, of its geography, castes, religions and religious feasts. Finally, we have to mention the observant Franciscan Friar Minor Giovambattista Maoletti from Serravalle Vercellese (1669-1725)²⁷, who was sent to China in 1702 by Clemente XI. He authored an "Itinerario" [Italia-China]: the part of this work concerning the Indian subcontinent contains many exact geographical descriptions, precise accounts of historical events and of political situations during Aurangzeb's time, accurate remarks on usage, customs, religious beliefs and superstitions of the native population. His writings are clear evidence of the high level reached by this kind of document, considered today as a source of scientific value that contributed to the progress of Indological studies.

Also contributing to this progress were the writings of Father Antonio Ceschi from Trento (17th century). His competence in Sanskrit enabled him to achieve the first transliteration of some rock inscriptions in **devanāgarī** characters, which he sent to Kirker to be published, accompanied by a translation. Unfortunately his work was not published because Kirker felt that, as he did not know either those unusual types nor that language, he deemed it better to leave them in their chaos than waste time in the useless effort of giving an acceptable interpretation²⁸.

A very well-known personality, almost mythical today in Tamilnadu was the Jesuit Giuseppe Costantino Beschi (Castiglione delle Stiviere, 1680-1742), who deserves to belong to the classical authors of the Tamil literature. In the over forty years he spent in India, Beschi learned Persian, Hindustani, and Sanskrit as well as various South Indian Languages. He learned Tamil so perfectly that he wrote many of his works directly in Tamil and is considered as the founder of the Tamil philology. He became famous with the composition of a kind of **Rāmāyaṇa** (in St. Joseph's honor) in 36 cantos and 14,000 verses and with some short stories with a biting and satirical flavor (**Paramārtha guru vin kadei**), which were then translated into French, Italian and German. But the most important contribution that Beschi gave to Indological studies were his writings on linguistics and lexicography²⁹. His Tamil-Latin dictionary and his grammars of the Tamil language are still among the most complete and basic models in the history of this language, praised both for their "vernacular" aspect³⁰ and for their "literary" and elegant form³¹.

It would hardly be possible to mention here all the missionaries who, with different abilities and degrees of success, have followed the way opened by Beschi. We must, however, mention Father Ildefonso della Presentazione, of whom Paolino da San Bartolomeo says that he lived for many years on the Malabar coast and mastered the Malabaric language³². Besides a learned **Alphabetum Samscrdamicum (litteris granthamicis cum latina pronunciatione earum)**, supplemented by a Malabaric lexicon with sectorial information on various pathologies, therapeutical herbs, poisons, divinities and religious festivities, we also owe him a book about Hinduism and especially about the popular Malabaric superstitions³³.

In the 18th century the number of the treatises on Indology increases, the discussed topics broaden, the vagueness of the analysis begins to disappear, the critical ability improves and, despite inevitable shadows, Indology gradually emerges and qualifies as a separate discipline. An illuminating example of the improved 18th-century scholarship is the work of the missionary Capuchin. Marco della Tonaba (born as Pietro Girolano Agresti at Castel Colonna in 1726), who lived in India, where he had been sent to the mission in Bettia (between Patna and the Nepalese borders), from 1757 to 1773³⁴. He returned to Italy for a short time and went back to India in 1783, where he died in 1803. Although we have to agree with De Gubernatis that Marco della Tonaba was not "very familiar with philology and ...linguistics,"³⁵ we must also say that if the large amount of textual material he sent from India and brought back with him when he returned to Rome had been made public, it could have revealed to European scholars as early as the end of the 18th century a large part of the literary and religious history of India. It is in this light that his works on **Diversi sistemi della religione dell'Indostano e regni circonvicini**³⁶ and the one titled **Libriindiani**³⁷ acquire a particular and original documentary value. In these works he gives information, among other things, about the **Vedas**, the six **Śāstras** and the 18 **Purāṇas**³⁸. Moreover, we find in them a summary of the **Rāmāyaṇa** (even with some anomalies in the subdivisions of the **kāṇḍas**) and details about the Indian dynastic chronology, according to the native system. Finally he summarizes some parts of the **Lankā-kāṇḍa** (final chapters of the **Sundara-kāṇḍa**), an **Arjuna-gītā**, and some other texts.

To these works we can add those of other missionaries, for example Carpani, Mantegazza, Sangermano, whose contents are more interesting for Buddhist studies. Melchiorre Carpani da Lodi, author of the **Alphabetum Barmanum seu Bomanum**, the second edition of which had been added to by Father Gaetano Mantegazza da Monza, was criticized by Burnouf and Lassen on account of its scanty acknowledgment of Pāli. Burnouf and Lassen complained that there was no discussion of the relation between Pali and Sanskrit³⁹. This criticism appears, however, unfair. Carpani was, on the contrary, among the first Western scholars to be interested in pall studies and enlarged the Library of Propaganda Fide with several manuscripts written in pall (among others, the **Pāṭimokkha**, a text which is generally considered as the original nucleus of the **Vinaya-piṭaka**). In his **Alphabetum**, Carpani included a facsimile of the beginning of the **Kammuva**

(**Kammavācā**); and later on (1776) the translation he had been entrusted with by cardinal Borgia⁴⁰.

On the other hand, Burnouf and Lassen, the two strict critics of Carpani, speak with much respect and esteem of rev. Vincenzo Sangermano (1758-1819), whom they consider one of the first Europeans who thoroughly learned the pali language and to whom they expressed their gratitude because, thanks to his translation (or paraphrase) of the **Kammuva**, they were able to make "quelques progres dans la connaissance de la langue, sous le double rapport de la grammaire et de la terminologie." Their praise is even higher when, on the subject of Dr. Buchanan's book, they observe that this author offers a picture of the Brahman mythology and religion based on three treatises in Latin written by Sangermano and add: "Ces traités avaient été compilés sur des livres pālis par ce missionnaire." Furthermore, according to what the English Ambassador Symes said after his visit in Rangoon in 1795, Sangermano had a perfect knowledge of the Burman language. He made Symes a present of some of his works and translations, among which there was apart of his Latin translation of the **Kammuva**. Symes passed it on to Chambers who included it, in English, in his *Asiatic Researches*. This version was then used by Burnouf and Lassen for their studies on pali⁴¹.

The last great missionary of this time, before the more strictly scientific period of Italian Indology, is the barefoot Carmelite Paolino da San Bartolomeo (born as Filippo Weszdin). He was born in Hof, near Mannersdorf on the Leitha, in 1748, but his cultural education and his literary activity were quite Italian, and indeed, he liked to regard himself as an Italian. He was sent to Malabar by the Propaganda Fide in 1776 and went back to Rome in 1790, when he became one of the advisers to the Congregazione dell'Indice and then Inspector Studiorum at the Collegio Urbano of the Propaganda Fide. He died in Rome on the 17th January 1806. He learned Sanskrit with the help of some Brahmans in Malabar and during the fourteen years he stayed in India he enlarged his knowledge with an encyclopedic erudition so that when he went back to Rome he could write a large number of works – often controversial – on the language, geography, civilization, culture and religion of India⁴². Two Sanskrit grammars are among his most significant works for Indological studies. For these works Paolino da San Bartolomeo found a useful source in the unpublished grammar of the Dutch Jesuit Giovanni Hanxleden. One of these grammars⁴³, after a very learned and well documented introduction on the name, origin, excellence, antiquity and extension of Sanskrit, deals with various forms of Indian writings, gives an essential but clear exposition of the morphology and syntax, and finally offers, as a conclusion, an explanatory essay of a Sanskrit text – with Tamil characters instead of devanāgarī – and a Latin translation. The second grammar, published under the title of *Vyacaraṇa*⁴⁴, supplements and rationalizes the first one from a methodological point of view and makes it easier to consult.

Yet, the most appreciated work by Paolino da San Bartolomeo and for a long time the most significant and useful contribution among the works this missionary has left to us is undoubtedly his **Viaggio alle Indie Orientali**⁴⁵, which stands out for its rich and exact information on geography, culture, religions, mythology,

customs and social organization of India. Bumouf and Lassen, who had been harsh judges towards Carpani, showed quite different respect towards Paolino da San Bartolomeo. They observed that in his catalogue on the Museum of Velletri he had stated that it is impossible to understand the Pali language without knowing Sanskrit⁴⁶ and had demonstrated the close connection binding these two languages together. In this catalogue he demonstrates his scientific approach by explaining his opinion using quotations from appropriate examples⁴⁷ and by giving precise information about some Pāli texts kept at the Museum of Velletri, which probably would have remained unknown to most scholars if Paolino da San Bartolomeo had not reported on them. Yet, Paolino's abilities remained largely unknown. As De Gubernatis commented⁴⁸, it is regrettable that this learned Indologist, "of whom we admire the doctrine, the talent, the independence of judgment, instead of following the way traced by Wilkins and Jones" isolated himself into an obstinate methodological personalism that prevented him to exploit fully the undeniable treasures deriving from his exceptional erudition.

After Paolino's death in 1806, there is a period of several decades of little activity for Italian Indology. Only the Abbe Gaspare Gorresio, glory and pride of Sanskrit studies in Italy during this period⁴⁹, has the merit of raising Italian Indology to overall European levels, which were very high and dominated by leading personalities in the scientific field, from Chesy to Burnouf, from Colebrooke to Wilson, from Bopp to Schlegel and to Christian Lassen.

In these years the Library of Copenhagen was enlarged with a great number of Pāli and Sanskrit manuscripts that Rask had brought back from his travels. And also in these years some of the basic works for the development of the studies on Buddhism and on the Pāli language were being published in Europe. Klaproth published his book on Buddha's life (1823) and E. Burnouf and Christian Lassen published their *Essai sur le Pāli*. Burnouf wrote his **Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhism Indien** (1844), so exemplary in its completeness and in its linearity to be considered by Mohl as a beam of light projected on the chaos of the Buddhist teaching where it restores order. It is also in this period that Burnouf publishes his marvius translation of the **Lotus de La Bonne Loi (Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra, 1852)**, R. Spence Hardy writes his important **Manual of Buddhism** (London 1853), followed after a few years by Wassilief's own manual (1860), while Barthelemy Saint-Hilaire with **Le Buddha** (1858) starts a series of useful popular handbooks. In the meantime the documentation was gradually enlarged: the interpretation of Asoka's inscriptions (1834-1837) by Prinsep, the discovery of the Nepalese Buddhist texts by Hodgson (1821) and the translation of the Mahāvamsa by Turnour (Ceylon 1837), open new fields of Buddhist research.

It will only be in the period following these heroic moments of Buddhist studies in Europe, at a still more advanced stage of this fascinating scientific evolution of Buddhology, that in Italy also interest arises for advanced and sophisticated research in Buddhism. It is undeniable that in the scholarship of Italy's largely early missionary literature there are the essentials of Buddhist and Pāli studies, as is shown in the works of Desideri and Giorgi, Ricci and Carpani, Mantegazza, and Paolino da San Bartolomeo. Above all the work of sangermano is exemplary; it is a work that Burnouf acknowledges as the forerunner of the

studies on Pāli, stating publicly that he could draw his own knowledge of this language from Sangermano's translation of the **Kammuvā**. However, interest in Buddhist studies in Italy, so flourishing in other European lands, has started very late. And yet, there is no doubt that the echo of that ferment of ideas has reached us, too. It is inconceivable, in fact that Gorresio, back from his long stay in Paris, remained completely outside the flowering of this new and fascinating discipline. On the contrary, it is very likely that he brought back with him to Turin stimulating information about that fertile cultural world. In Italy, however, the awareness of these new ideas was rather slow and the beginning of a path that was to widen and flourish in our century, continued to be marked for many years by an uncritical and superficial approach to the many problems that, through the history of the Buddhist thought, involve the religious history, the philosophy, the literature, and the pressing social needs of such a large part of Asia.

Notes

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- ¹ O. Botto, "Appunti per una storia degli studi buddhisti in Italia," in **Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata**, vol. I (Roma 1985): 175-189
- ² See Giuseppe Tucci, "Le missioni cattoliche e il Tibet," in **Le Missioni Cattoliche e la Cultura dell'Oriente** (Roma 1943) 224-225
- ³ See A. De Gubematis, **Matériaux pour servir à l'Histoire des Études Orientales en Italie** (Paris-Florence-Rome-Turin 1876): 367-373 and G. Tucci, "Le missioni cattoliche e il Tibet," above quot.: 227. On the interpretation that Desideri gave to Buddhism see Giuseppe M. Toscano, "Contributo del Desideri alla conoscenza dell'Asia nell' sec. XVIII," in **La conoscenza dell' Asia e dell' Africa in Italia nei secoli XVIII e XIX**, volume 1, tomo 1, ed. U. Marazzi (Napoli 1984): 295-299.
- ⁴ Among these is Father Francesco Orazio della Penna de' Billi, author of a **Breve notizia del regno del Tibet** (1730), to whom we owe the sending from Tibet of the Tibetan types for the printing office of Propaganda Fide.
- ⁵ **Alphabetum Tanguticum, Sive Tibetanum** (Roma 1773).
- ⁶ **Alphabetum Tibetanum missionum apostolicarum commodo editum; praemissa est disquisitio qua de vario litterarum ac regionis nomine, gentis origine, moribus, superstitione ac Manichaeismo fuse disseritur, et Beausobrii calumnie in S. Augustinum, Aliosque Ecclesiae Patres Refutantur** (Romae 1762).
- ⁷ See A. De Gubematis, **Materiaux pour servir**, above quot.: 375-376.
- ⁸ The work was reprinted in Tonchino by Father Giuliano Baldinotti da Pistoia (1730).
- ⁹ See A. De Gubematis, **Materiaux pour servir**, above quot.: 411, note 1.
- ¹⁰ In 1585 he could state the exact geographic position of the land, the disposition of the natural resources, the course and navigability of the rivers, the location of the urban centers and the characteristics of the most important towns.
- ¹¹ Matteo Ripa, appointed by Clemente XII, prepared in 1731 a Roman edition of the **Dictionarium Sinico-Latinum** by Father Basilio; this edition, however, was not printed, but is kept in the Record Office of the Superior Curia of the Grey Friars Order (Hankou Missions). The original manuscript brought to Paris and kept there at the National Library, was entrusted to Hager for the publication in 1802 by Napoleone Bonaparte but the work was interrupted five years later because of some unexpected difficulties. Father Basilio's dictionary could only be brought to light in 1813 under the title **Dictionnaire Chinois-Français-Latin** (publié d'après l'ordre de sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi Napoleon le Grand), printed by Deguignesfils as his own work.

About the above mentioned Matteo Ripa, founder of the Collegio dei Cinesi, see two excellent, very learned works by Michele Fatica, **Matteo Ripa, Giornale (1705-1724)** (Napoli 1991) and "Prolegomeni ad un discorso storico su Matteo Ripa," in **La conoscenza den' Asia e den' Africa in Italia nei secoli XVIII e XIX**, above quot.: 171-209.

¹² Klaproth, **Annales Encyclopédiques di Millin**, tome V (1817): 19.

¹³ Among the most important ones are *De studiis sinicis in imperiali Athenaeo Petropolitano recte instaurandis* (Berlin 1808); *Remarques Philologiques sur les voyages en Chine de M. Deguignes fils* (Berlin 1809); *A complete history of Chinese Calligraphy from about 2700 years before Christ down to the present period* (London 1814); and *A full account of the Shingin or sacred edict and the translations of M. Milne and Sir Georges Staunton.*(London 1823).

¹⁴ Berlin-London 1817.

¹⁵ G. Bertuccioli, **Giuseppe Maria Calleri: Un Piemontese al servizio della Francia in Cina**, "Pubblicazioni di Indologica Taurinensia," Collana di Biografie e Saggi ed. Oscar Botto, v. 2 (Torino 1986).

¹⁶ J. M. Callery, **Journal des Operations diplomatiques de la Légation française en Chine** (Macao 1845) and MM. Callery et Yvan, **L'insurrection en Chine depuis son origine jusqu'a la prise de Nankin** (Paris 1883).

¹⁷ Filippo Sasseti, **Lettere indiane**, a cura de Arrigo Benedetti (Torino 1942; repr. *ibid.*, 1961).

¹⁸ Giovanni Pietro Maffei, **Selectarum apistolarum ex India libri quattuor** (Venezia 1588), and **Historiarum indicarum, libri XVI** (Venezia 1589 and Bergamo 1590).

¹⁹ See G. Messina, "Un plagio scoperto dopo tre secoli: il gesuita Fenicio e il pastore (calvinista) Baldaeus," in **civiltà Cattolica** III (1934): 475-488. Jarl Charpentier who discovered – with the help of the Jesuit missionary G. Schurhammer – the plagiarism and identified the true author of the work, expresses an enthusiastic opinion on Fenicio's work. Charpentier considers Fenicio worthy of being placed among the most eminent pioneers of the knowledge of India in Europe. He writes: "altogether, F. Fenicio well deserves a place amongst the many eminent forerunners of the present knowledge of India in Europe." See Jarl Charpentier, "Preliminary report on the<<Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientai>>" (Brit. Mus. Ms. 1820), **Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies**, vol. II, Part 4 (1923): 748.

²⁰ Mentioned by Atanasio Kirker in his **China illustrata** (Amsterdam 1667). De' Nobill was so acquainted with Sanskrit that he could fluently read even difficult handbooks, like the sūtras by Apastamba, and also write texts in this language. On R. de' Nobill, see w. Caland, "Roberto de' Nobill and the Sanskrit Language and Literature, *Acta Orientalia* III (1904): 38 ff. P. Dahmen, **Robert De Nobili, S.J., Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Missionsmethode und der Indologie** (Münster 1924); **Un Jésuite Brahme, Robert de Nobili, S.J., 1577-1656, Missionnaire au Maduré** (Bruges 1925); and A. Ballini, "Il contributo delle Missioni alla conoscenza edelle lingue e della cultura dell'India", in **Le Missioni Cattoliche e la cultura dell'Oriente**, above quot.: 243-251.

²¹ Among these, a **Grammatica mogolitana alienigenarum Maurorum in India**, an **Alphabetum indostanum suratense**, an **Alphabetum linguae Javae**, a **Grammatica Talinga integra** and two treatises on catechesis, a **Doctrina christiana minor in lingua manilensi** and a **Doctrina christiana minor in lingua persica**.

²² The attribution of this collection is, however, dubious. The author could actually be Father Ildelfonso della Presentazione. See A. De Gubernatis, **Matériaux pour servir**, above quot.: 320.

- ²³ **Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificium**, vol. VIII (Napoli 1883): 842.
- ²⁴ "Some people state that the whole world is nothing but a mere appearance, neither human beings nor animals, nor other beings or elements do exist: everything is only a dream and an appearance of reality."
- ²⁵ He was sent back to Malabar in 1656 where he stayed until 1658, when he was called back to Italy to assume important appointments of the Barefoot Carmilltes' Order. See Amat di S. Filippo, **Biografia dei viaggiatori italiani** (Roma 1882): 423 ff. and P. Fr. Ambrosio a S. Teresia, **Bio-Bibliographia Missionaria Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum (1584-1940)**, vol. I (Roma 1940): 125, no.359.
- ²⁶ Padre F. Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina da Siena, **II viaggio all'Indie Orientali** (Roma 1672).
- ²⁷ On Maoletti see Alberto Faudella, **Descrizione dell'India secondo Giovambattista Maoletti, tratta dall'«Itinerario» Italia-Cina (1702-1705)**, "Memorie dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino," Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, Serie 4a, no.30 (Torino 1974).
- ²⁸ "Verum cum nec literarum inusitatos ductus, neque linguam nossem, eos in suo chao relinquendos consultius duxi, quam vano labore iis enodandis, magno temporis dispendio oleum operamque perdere," See **China illustrata**, above quot.:165ff.
- ²⁹ Paolino da San Bartolomeo; in his **Sidharubam seu Grammatica Samscredamica, cui accedit Dissertatio historico-critica in Linguam Samscredamicam, vulgo Samscret dictam** (Roma 1790): 176, remembers him as "rerum Inditarum et linguae Tamulicae peritissimus vir", adding (ibid., 177) that "in ora Coromandelica diu vixit et rerum indicarum ac linguarum apprime peritus fuit." On G. C. Beschi see L. Besse, **Father Beschi of the Society of Jesus. His Times and his Writings** (Trichinopoly 1918) and J. C. Houpert, **Constantinus Beschi S.J. Missionary and Scholar (1680-1747)** (Trichinopoly 1925).
- ³⁰ Giuseppe Costantino Beschi, **Grammatica latino-tamulica, in qua de vulgari lingua tamulica fusius tractatur ad usum Miss. Soc. Jesu** (Tranquebar 1738; English trans. by Horst, 1806).
- ³¹ Giuseppe Costantino Beschi, **Grammatica latino-tamulica, ubi de elegantiori linguae tamulicae dialecto cui adduntur tamulicae prosae rudimenta** [English trans. Benj. Gay Babinton, **A grammar of the High dialect of the Tamil language, termed Shea Tamil, with an introduction to Tamil poetry** (Madras 1822)].
- ³² Paolino da San Bartolomeo, **Sidharubam seu Grammatica Samscredamica**, above quot.: 177: "per plures annos in ora Malabarica versatus est et linguam vulgarem Malabaricam bene callebat."
- ³³ "et praesertim de superstitionibus gentilium Malabarium." Charpentier, however, not only considers this book a narrow derivation but a questionable translation of Fenicio's work. See L. Ambruzzi, "Il contributo dei missionari cattolici alla conoscenza delle religioni, dei costumi e della geografia dell' India (dalla seconda metà del '500 alla metà del secolo XVIII)", in **Le Missioni Cattoliche e la Cultura dell'Oriente**, above quot.: 276-277.
- ³⁴ See M. della Tomba, "Introduzione al viaggio per l'India," in **Gli scritti del padre Marco della Tomba**, collected, arranged and illustrated by A. De Gubernatis, (Firenze 1878): 1-30. On Marco Della Tomba see L. Petech, **I Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal, in 11 Nuovo Ramusio**, ed. by G. Tucci (Roma 1950-73), vol. II, part I: **I Cappuccini Marchigiani** (Roma 1952): XCIX, CXVII and CXVIII. C. Silvi Antonini, "Della 'Piccola descrizione dell'India Orientale o Industan' di Marco della Tomba," in **La conoscenza dell' Asia e dell' Africa in Italia nei secoli XVIII e XIX**, above quot.: 397-409.

- ³⁵ See Gli scritti del padre Marco della Tomba, "Introduzione," pp. XIII-XIV.
- ³⁶ See Gli scritti del padre Marco della Tomba, 69-98.
- ³⁷ Among them: Sāmaveda, Rāmāyaṇa, Brahma-purāṇa, and so on. See *ibid.*, 99-127.
- ³⁸ We have to remark that the Baodda (Buddha) puran appears as the 13th Purāṇa della Tomba deals extensively with this Purāṇa "that deals with the incarnation of Baodda (Nona incamazione di Bisnu in Baodda, Dio Muto)." See "Libri indiani," in Gli scritti del padre Marco della Tomba, 117-120, particularly 117.
- ³⁹ E. Bumouf-Chr. Lassen, *Essai sur le pāli, ou Langue sacrée de la presqu'île au delà du Gange, avec...la notice des mss. pālis de la Bibliothéque du Roi* (Paris 1826): 9.
- ⁴⁰ *Kammuva, o Trattato sulla istituzione ed ordinazione dei Talapoini* ("quod monachorum genus est": *Alphab. Barmanum*, ed. altera, 10). Some copies of this text are kept at the library of Propaganda Fide and at the Museo Borgiano at Vallettri. See Francesco Predari, *Origine e Progresso dello studio delle Lingue Orientali in Italia* (Milano 1842): 48, no.4.
- ⁴¹ In Italian it is included in another work of Sangermano, the *Relazione del regno barmano* that Galazzi published in Rome in 1833.
- ⁴² Among others see *De veteribus Indis dissertatio, in qua cavillationes auctoris Alphabeti Tibetani castigantur* (Roma 1795); *De antiquitate et affinitate linguae Zendicae, Samscrdamicae et Germanicae* (Padua 1799); and *De latini sermonis origine et cum Orientalibus linguis connexione* (Roma 1802). For a complete bibliography of Paolino da San Bartolomeo's works, see L. Wetzl, *Der österreichische Karmelit Paulinus a S. Bartholomeo* (Wien 1926) and *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, vol. IX (1952): 704.
- ⁴³ *Sidharubam seu Grammatica Sanscrdamica*, above quot., was the first Sanskrit grammar published in Europe.
- ⁴⁴ *Vyacarana, seu locupletissima Samscrdamicae linguae institutio in usum fidei praeconum in India Orientali, et virorum litteratorum in Europa adomata* (Roma 1804).
- ⁴⁵ Paolino da San Bartolomeo, *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali* (Roma 1796). The work was translated into German by Foster; it was translated into French by Marchsen; of the three volumes composing it, the third one contains only Foster's and Anquetil-Duperron's observations, in addition to Sacy's notes.
- ⁴⁶ Paolino da San Bartolomeo, *Musei Borgiani Velitris, codices mss. Avenses, Peguani, Siamici, Malabarici, Indostani, animadversionibus' historico-criticis castigati et illustrati* (Roma 1973): 16.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 2 ff. The frequent references to the Visnuitic avatāra of the Buddha – that he makes in his *Grammatica* – and to some evident identities being revealed though indirectly between the nativity of Jesus and that of Buddha, prove that Paolino not only was attracted. by the study of pali, but also by the Buddhist religious world. (See in this regard, *Sidharubam*, 180).
- ⁴⁸ A. De Gubernatis, *Materiaux pour servir*, above quot.: 332-333.
- ⁴⁹ On Gaspare Gorresio see the excellent work by Irma Piovano, *Gaspare Gorresio*, "Pubblicazioni di Indologica Taurinensia," Collana di Biografie e Saggi ed. Oscar Botto, v. 1 (Torino 1983). See also its English version published in *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, Prefaces by Gaspare Gorresio, trans. Oscar Botto (Madras 1986): XV-XXIV.