

FATHER HEINRICH ROTH, S.J. (1620—1668)
AND THE HISTORY OF HIS SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS

by Arnulf Camps, O.F.M.

The Mogul mission of the Jesuits in northern India counted several scholars among its members. There were, for example: ANTONIUS MONSERRATE, the historian of the first Mogul mission (1580—1583) and also a geographer; HIERONYMUS XAVIER, the founder of the third Mogul mission (1595—1803) and an eminent expert in the Persian language, the Koran and the Hadith; the astronomer ANDREAS STROBL (at the court of the Raja of Jaipur 1740—46); and the geographer, astronomer and historian JOSEPH TIEFFENTHALER (the second half of the eighteenth century)¹. HEINRICH ROTH was not the least among these scholars. He was the first to transmit knowledge of the Sanskrit language to Europeans. The description given here of his recently discovered Sanskrit works² will be preceded by detailed information about the life of Roth and the history of the Sanskrit works.

*I. The Biography of Heinrich Roth*³

Roth was born on Dec. 18, 1620, at Dillingen (Schwaben). He studied at Dillingen and Innsbruck and entered the Society of Jesus on Oct. 25, 1639, at Landsberg am Lech. He was ordained a priest on May 29, 1649, and was, at his own request, sent to the missions in 1650 by the General of the Society, Francisco Piccolomini. His destination was the Ethiopian

¹ Cf. E. MACLAGAN, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London 1932); A. SANTOS HERNÁNDEZ, *Jerónimo Xavier, S.J., Apostol del Gran Mogol y Arzobispo electo de Cranganor, en la India 1549—1617*, s.l., s.a.; A. CAMPS, *Jerome Xavier, S.J., and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire* (Schöneck-Beckenried 1957).

² A. CAMPS, „Die Wiederentdeckung der ersten abendländischen Sanskrit-Grammatik des P. Heinrich Roth S.J.“: *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 23 (Schöneck-Beckenried 1967) 141—143; B. ZIMMEL, „Die erste Sanskrit-Grammatik wiederentdeckt“: *Biblos* 16 (Wien 1967) 219—222.

³ Biographies of Roth: S. EURINGER, „P. Heinrich Roth S.J., von Dillingen“: *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Dillingen* 31 (Dillingen a.D. 1918) 1—40; L. KOCH, *Jesuiten-Lexikon: Die Gesellschaft Jesu einst und jetzt* (Paderborn 1934) 1569; E. MACLAGAN, o.c. 109—111; A. VOGEL, „Heinrich Roth“: *Lebensbilder aus dem Bayerischen Schwaben*, Bd. 7 (1959) 239—259.

mission. In November of 1650, he sailed from Livorno to Smyrna with Franz Storer, S.J. They reached Ispahan in Persia by the overland route⁴. However, because the way to Abyssinia was closed for Catholic missionaries, they traveled to India in accord with a previous arrangement, following the land route from Ispahan to Ormuz and sailing from Ormuz to Surat. They arrived at Goa in 1652⁵.

Roth started his pastoral work at Salcette, Goa. Afterwards he was transferred to the Empire of the Great Mogul, first to the town of Srinagar in Garhwal and then, in 1654, to the Jesuit college at Agra. He learned the language of the people, Hindustani, and the language of the court, Persian, in a remarkably short time⁶. For a period of six years, he studied the sacred language of the Brahmins, Sanskrit⁷. Referring to his activity in the Mogul Empire, he wrote,

"In dem Reiche Mogol seynd nicht gar zu viel Mahometaner sondern unendlich viel Heyden welche ab dem Alcoran ein nicht geringeres Abscheuen haben als wir Christen. Dern Brachmännern gibt es eine grosse Menge. Nachdem ich derselben Schul- und Kirchen-Sprache (so sie die heilige oder sanscetanische heissen) erlernet, fienge ich nach meiner Wenigkeit an mit ihnen nicht ohne Frucht zu disputieren"⁸.

⁴ A letter of Roth (Ingolstadt July 9, 1650) to Fr. Francisco Piccolomini, S.J., Praep. Generalis, Rome, published by C. BECCARI: *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti*, vol. XIII (Romae 1913) 350—351; a letter of Roth (Trent on Aug. 8, 1650) to Fr. Francisco Piccolomini (Rome): *ibid.* 354—355; *Ex litteris P. Henrici Rott ex itinere in Athyopia instituto, Smyrna: Bayer. Hauptstaatsarchiv* (Munich) Jesuitica in genere, 17, no. 293f; *Synopsis Franciscus Storer et Henricus Rott, Smyrnae in Graecia 22 et 23 Januarii 1651, Brusiae in Bithynia 27 Februarii 1651*, quoted from a letter of Fr. Matthias Ram (Ingolstadt, April 25, 1651) to M. Thomas Wilhelm, S.J. (Landsberg): Bayer. Hauptstaatsarchiv, Jesuitica in genere, fasc. 17, no. 293f; a letter of Roth (Ispahan, Sept. 21, 1651): Brussels, Archives du Royaume de Belgique, Jes. Varia, Cart. 4 (quoted from B. ZIMMEL, *Die erste abendländische Sanskrit-Grammatik des P. Heinrich Roth S.J.* [Wien 1957] 21).

⁵ A letter of Hieronymus Froes, S.J. (Goa, Oct. 27, 1652) to Fr. Goswin Nickel, S.J. (Rome): Archivum Romanum Soc. Jesu (ARSI), Goa 46 I, 169. The letter reports that Fathers Roth and Storer arrived at Goa and that Roth was appointed to Salcette.

⁶ A letter of Antonius Ceschi, S.J., written from Delhi in 1654: Bayer. Hauptstaatsarchiv, Jesuitica in genere, fasc. 17, no. 293f.

⁷ "Primo totis viribus incubuit ad linguam sacram gentilibus, quam sanscetanam appellant, hactenus nulli Europaeo notam, et solum Gentilium sacrificulis, quos Brachmanes vocant, familiarem, nec ab illis facile extorquendam et addiscendam. Quod ingenti labore, ac patiencia sex annorum spatiis assecutus est, non solum linguam illam et pronuntiationem, sed et fabulosos errores, superstitionesque." Quoted from the necrology of Roth, written by Joannes GRUEBER, S.J., in Tyrnavia on Jan. 30, 1670: Bayer. Hauptstaatsarchiv, Jesuitica in genere, fasc. 13, no. 215, 4.

⁸ Quoted from a letter (Rome, March 1664), published by J. STÖCKLEIN, S.J., *Der Neue Welt-Bott* (Augsburg-Graz 1726) 114.

The former Mogul missionaries had stressed the importance and the difficulties of the work among the Muslims. Roth, however, was convinced that the Islamic faith was followed almost exclusively by the upper echelons of the Mogul society and that the majority of the people were Hindu. He had discovered also the eminent position of the Brahmins; and, therefore, he did his utmost to study the sacred language and the holy books of Hinduism. The results were the composition of a Sanskrit grammar and the transcription of two Sanskrit texts⁹.

Unfortunately, no letters of Roth dealing with his activities in India from 1652 to 1662 have come down to us. We know only that he was appointed rector of the college at Agra about 1659¹⁰ and that he practised medicine among the people and among the nobles of the court¹¹.

The year 1662 was one of great importance in the life of Roth, for on March 30 or 31, 1662, two Jesuits, Johann Grueber, an Austrian, and Albert d'Orville, a Fleming from Belgium, arrived at the college in Agra. They had been ordered by the General of the Society of Jesus, Goswin Nickel, to discover an overland route from China to Europe. MACLAGAN gives us the following information concerning this great venture:

"The scheme originated in the fact that owing to the Dutch command of the Eastern seas the Jesuits of Pekin were no longer able to communicate with Rome as easily by sea as in former times. Fathers Grueber and d'Orville of the Society of Jesus were accordingly despatched in April 1661 from Pekin by land, and they travelled by the Koko Nor route to Lhasa, which they succeeded in reaching in October of the same year. With the possible exception of Friar Odoric of Pordenone in 1328, they were the first Europeans to reach that city, and the fact is one of which the Society may justly be proud. Their stay in Lhasa was, however, short and they proceeded by way of Katmandu to Patna and thence to Agra, where they met Roth and Busi. Here on April 8, 1662, on the afternoon of Saturday in Holy Week, Fr. d'Orville died — 'media Europæam inter et Chinam via' — and he was buried in the Padres Santos Chapel, where we can still read on his grave: 'Aqui iazo Pe. Alberto Derville; faleceo aos 8 d'Abril, 1662.' His place was taken by Roth, and Grueber with his new companion reached Rome in 1664"¹².

⁹ A. KIRCHER, *China monumentis qua sacris qua profanis necnon variis naturae et artis spectaculis aliarumque rerum memorabilium argumentis illustrata* (Amstelodami 1667) 80, 156; cf. also H. ROTH, *Pro via terrestri in Regnum Sinarum*, written from Rome on March 2, 1664, to the Vicar General of the Society of Jesus: ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico, Vol. 722, fasc. 3, no. 5, 7.

¹⁰ EURINGER, o. c. 22, n. 91.

¹¹ Necrology of Roth written by Fr. J. Grueber, Tyrnavia, Jan. 30, 1670: Bayer. Hauptstaatsarchiv, Jesuitica in genere, fasc. 13, no. 215, 5.

¹² E. MACLAGAN, o. c. 357f. There are three errors here: 1. According to A. VAN DER WYNGAERT, O.F.M.: *Sinica Franciscana* I (Firenze 1929), LXXXI, n. 6 and 383, n. 1, it is improbable that Friar Odoric of Pordenone visited Lhasa; 2. Fr. Busacus was staying at Delhi at the time of the arrival of Grueber and d'Orville (cf. the letter quoted in note 13); 3. d'Orville was first buried in the old Jesuit church at Agra and was then later transferred to the Padri Santos Chapel

However, it took quite a long time before Henricus Busaeus and Roth decided that Roth should take the place of d'Orville. Sixteen days after the death of d'Orville, Busaeus wrote a letter from Delhi to Grueber in which he agreed that someone had to travel with him to Rome, but he also informed Grueber that he did not know who should be sent because there were in the mission only two Jesuits priests, Roth in Agra and Busaeus himself in Delhi¹³. The question was decided in September of the same year, when Busaeus wrote another letter (this time to Roth) in which he took note of the death of d'Orville and then appointed Roth to take d'Orville's place¹⁴. On Sept. 4, 1662, they left Agra and traveled via Lahore to Tattah and from there by ship to Bender Congo, a Persian harbor. They took the overland route to Ispahan and continued through Armenia and Asia Minor to Smyrna, sailed to Messina and reached Rome on Feb. 20, 1664¹⁵.

Their first task was to report to the Jesuit authorities at Rome on the overland route from China to Rome. They made this report in the form of three memoranda: the first on the overland route, the second on Nepal and the favorable prospects of opening a mission there, and the third on the Chinese town Sining¹⁶. These three documents were written by Roth and were signed by both Roth and Grueber. A fourth document on the overland route was signed by Roth alone¹⁷. The reaction to their

in 1710 (cf. H. HERAS, "The Tomb of Fr. Albert D'Orville, S.J.": *Arch. Hist. S.J.* 2 [Rome 1933] 17—24). For the stay of Grueber and Roth at Lhasa, cf. also B. ZIMMEL, "Johann Grueber, die erste Durchquerung Tibets": *Österreichische Naturforscher, Ärzte und Techniker* (Wien 1957) 11—14 (edited by Fr. Knoll) and *Johann Grueber in Lhasa* (Wien 1953).

¹³ Letter of H. Busaeus, S.J. (Delhi, April 24, 1662) to Grueber (Agra): ARSI, Jap. Sin. 124, fol. 233. The date 1622 is a mistake. Cf. C. WESSELS, *Early Jesuit Travelers In Central Asia: 1603—1721* (The Hague 1924) 203.

¹⁴ A letter of Busaeus (Agra, Sept. 2, 1662) to Roth: ARSI, Jap. Sin. 124, fols. 246, 250.

¹⁵ A letter of Roth (Messina, Jan. 18, 1664) to Joannes Paulus Oliva, S.J., Vicar General: ARSI, Goa 9 I, fol. 262; and another letter of Roth's (Rome, Feb. 23, 1664) to Fr. Schorer (Munich): Staatsbibl. Munich, Clm. 26472, fol. 72. Cf. also B. ZIMMEL, *Die erste abendländische Sanskrit-Grammatik des P. Heinrich Roth S.J.* (Wien 1957).

¹⁶ H. ROTH and J. GRUEBER, *Primum Memoriale Ad Adm. R.P.N. Vicarium Generalem circa iter terrestre in Regnum Sinarum* (Rome, March 18, 1664): ARSI, Jap. Sin. 124, fol. 242, published by C. WESSELS, "New Documents Relating to the Journey of Fr. John Grueber": *Arch. Hist. S. J.* 9 (Roma 1940) 298f; *Secundum Memoriale Ad Adm. R.P.N. Vicarium Generalem circa Regnum Nepal, in quo missio utilis institui potest* (Rome, March 18, 1664): ARSI, Jap. Sin. 124, fol. 243, published by WESSELS, o. c. 300f; *Tertium Memoriale ad Adm. R.P.N. Vicarium Generalem circa Sining urbem Sinarum* (Rome, March 18, 1664): ARSI, Jap. Sin. 124, fol. 244, published by WESSELS, o. c. 301f.

¹⁷ H. ROTH, *Pro via terrestri in Regnum Sinarum* (Rome, March 2, 1664): ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico, Vol. 722, fasc. 3, no. 5.

reports was not positive. Roth wrote that his superiors were ungrateful and that some made a stand against the overland route from China to Europe¹⁸. The fear of Portugal prevailed, and it was decided that the overland route should not be made use of, except in the case that the sea route be closed. Roth and Grueber, however, were allowed to return to their mission by way of the overland route¹⁹.

There was one person in Rome, however, who did listen to Roth and Grueber with great attention. This was Athanasius Kircher, S.J., who was engaged in writing a book on China. During the two months that Roth and Grueber stayed in Rome, he obtained a great deal of information from them about China and the Mogul Empire which he incorporated in his book²⁰. The part of the book entitled, *Decem fabulosae Incarnationes Dei, quas credunt gentiles Indiani extra et intra Gangem ex interpretatione P. Henrici Roth*, is actually a literal quotation from a manuscript of Roth²¹. Kircher, however, was still more interested in the Sanskrit grammar which Roth had brought along with him. Kircher understood fully the scientific and missionary importance of this manuscript. He needed the assistance of Roth, however, in order to get the manuscript printed. Because the brief two-month stay of Roth and Grueber in Rome was not sufficient for this purpose, Kircher could incorporate into his book only the Sanskrit alphabet and a short description of its characteristics²². The models used by the printer were prepared by Roth himself²³.

Soon after Easter in 1664, Roth and Grueber left Rome for the East by the overland route. A letter written by Roth from Venice on May 7, 1664, to Kircher proves that they had decided to keep in touch with one another²⁴. While in Venice, Roth and Grueber made their plans to travel through Poland and Russia, but first they were to separate for a few months and then meet again at the end of the summer. Roth and Joseph Nasira, an Indian Christian who had accompanied him from Agra to Rome, went to Trent, where Roth, on May 24, composed a eulogy on Fr. Antonio Ceschi, S.J., for the relatives of Ceschi. Ceschi had been with Roth in the Mogul mission for two years and died at Agra in 1656²⁵. After this, Roth visited his homeland, Bavaria. In June, he was in Neuburg and lecturing at the court of Count Philipp Wilhelm on his

¹⁸ A letter of Roth (Rome, Feb. 23, 1664) to Fr. Schorer (Munich): Staatsbibl. Munich, Clm. 26472, fol. 72.

¹⁹ B. ZIMMEL, o. c. 7. ²⁰ Cf. note 9. ²¹ A. Kircher, o. c. 157—162, 156.

²² Ibid., Chapter VII, Tab. Yy, Yy2, Zz, Aaa and Bbb. ²³ Ibid. 162.

²⁴ Arch. Univ. Gregoriana, 562, P. Kircher, Miscell. Epist. VIII, 113.

²⁵ H. ROTH, A Eulogy of Fr. Ceschi, S.J. (Trent, May 24, 1664). Cf. F. A. PATERNOTO, *Estratto e Registro di lettere spirituali con breve narratione della vita del M. R. Padre Antonio Ceschi* (Trento, circa 1683) 231—233 (Latin text) and 233—235 (Italian text).

observations in the Mogul Empire²⁶. The next two letters of Roth were sent from Vienna. The Emperor, Leopold I, wanted to meet him and Grueber, who had already arrived in the city²⁷. It seems that they wanted to travel via Moscow to Persia. The company was composed of Grueber and his Chinese servant, Matthew, Roth and his Indian servant, Joseph Nasira, and Fr. Philipp Zefferin, S.J., an Austrian who had been appointed for the China mission. Passing through Prague and Danzig, they went as far as Mitau, where they then learned that the road through Russia was closed²⁸. They returned to Vienna, and from there Roth wrote another letter to Kircher on May 16, 1665²⁹.

The next attempt to travel to the East was by way of Turkey. They joined the embassy sent by the Austrian Emperor to Constantinople under the leadership of Count Walter Leslie. Leaving Vienna on May 25, 1665, the ambassadorial party reached Constantinople on September 7, 1665. The group of Jesuits was lodged in the Jesuit residence in Galata, where Zefferin remained behind due to illness. The other members of the company crossed the Bosphorus and arrived at Skutari in the beginning of October. Their plan was to join a Turkish caravan, but before they could do so Grueber also got sick. As the caravan was on the point of leaving, it was decided that Roth should start the journey alone. The decision was made at the last moment and the luggage had to be divided in a hurry. Due to the rush, the Sanskrit grammar and texts of Roth were accidentally put with the luggage of Grueber. Roth traveled through Asia Minor, Armenia and Persia and reached the Indian harbor of Surat in May, 1666³⁰.

We have no clear information as to Roth's movements after his arrival in Surat. In a letter sent from Surat on Oct. 9, 1666, he informed Fr. Veihelin, the Jesuit provincial in Munich, that he was being sent to Nepal in order to discover a road leading to China³¹. He reached Agra before

²⁶ *Relatio rerum notabilium regni Mogol in Asia ex variis narrationibus Reverendi patris Henrici Rott Societatis Jesu collecta, dum Sermo Principi, Neoburgico, Duci Julio adesset Neoburgi, Neoburgo submissa a Patre Raij Juniorum principum confessorio*: Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, 6828—6869, 415—417. B. ZIMMEL refers to the Aschaffenburg edition (1665) o. c. 12, n. 28.

²⁷ A letter of Roth (Vienna, Sept. 5, 1664): Staatsbibl. Munich, Clm. 26472, fol. 59; and another letter (Vienna, Sept. 7, 1664) to Fr. Kircher (Rome): Arch. Univ. Gregoriana, 563, P. Kircher, Miscell. Epist. IX, 281.

²⁸ A letter of Roth (Prague, Sept. 29, 1664) to Fr. Seb. Deiniger: Bayer. Hauptstaatsarchiv, R. M. Jesuitica in genere, fasc. 19, no. 320, 60; and another letter (Memel, Jan. 10, 1665) to Fr. Lyprand: *ibid*, fasc. 49, no. 875, 156. Cf. also ZIMMEL, o. c. 14.

²⁹ Arch. Univ. Gregoriana 563, P. Kircher, Miscell. Epist. IX, 78.

³⁰ B. ZIMMEL, „Johann Gruebers letzte Missionsreise: Ein Beitrag zur oberösterreichischen Biographie“, *Oberösterreichische Heimatblätter* 2 (1957) 161—180.

³¹ A letter sent to Fr. Veihelin, Provincial in Munich: Bayer. Hauptstaatsarch., R. M. Jesuitica in genere, fasc. 17, no. 293f, 94.

Christmas. It would seem most probable that he went to Nepal, fell ill on the way and had to be brought back to Agra³². In 1667, he wrote a report on the Mogul mission³³. On June 20, 1668, Roth died in Agra³⁴. MACLAGAN described the circumstances surrounding his death as follows:

"His death, unfortunately, gave occasion to a scandalous example of official intolerance. On the night on which he expired and while his body was still at the door of the Father's residence, the Kotwal with thirty attendants made a forcible entry into the house on the pretext of ascertaining the effects left by the deceased, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the Fathers, who had secreted their church plate and pictures in the house, were able to prevent the pillage of the premises. Roth appears in the circumstances to have been given but maimed rites at his funeral, but his loss was greatly felt by the mission. He was a kindly man and one whose ideals of work were high. In spite of the fact that, owing to his infirmities, his life had been one of continual suffering, he had covered more ground both in travel and in linguistic study than any of his colleagues, and they looked with admiration on his unceasing industry. In describing the strenuousness of his sixteen years of hard service in the climate of Agra, the chronicler employs an appropriate Latinity: 'Sexdecim totos annos impiger ibidem desudavit'"³⁵.

II. The History of the Sanskrit Grammar and Text

Roth wanted to introduce a new approach to the Mogul mission, because he understood that the majority of the people followed Hinduism and only a minority of court officials followed Islam. Therefore, in contrast to the former Mogul missionaries, he decided to pay much more attention to the Hindus than to the Muslims. For six years he studied Sanskrit taking lessons from a Brahmin, and as a result he wrote a Sanskrit grammar and transcribed two Sanskrit texts. When he left India for Europe in 1662, he took both manuscripts with him, which we know because he showed them to Kircher in Rome. We know also that Roth arrived in Agra in 1654 and that he stayed there until his journey to Europe in 1662. Since his study of the Sanskrit language lasted six years, we may suppose that he was busy with it from 1654 to 1660. Thus, the composition of the grammar and the transcription of the Sanskrit texts must have taken place between 1660 and 1662.

The first time the Sanskrit grammar is explicitly mentioned is in a report Roth wrote in Rome for the Vicar General of the Society of Jesus, Johannes Paulus Oliva in 1664. In this report, Roth mentioned the language of the Brahmins and observed that the study of it was absolutely necessary for the conversion of that people. He added that he had brought along a grammar of the language which he himself had composed

³² Cf. EURINGER, o. c. 34f; MACLAGAN, o. c. 358; B. ZIMMEL, "P. Heinrich Roths SJ Expedition nach Nepal", *Jahrb. d. Hist. Vereins Dillingen* (1968) 64—78.

³³ *Brevis relatio de statu missionis Mogorensis Societatis Jesu ad annum 1667*: ARSI, Goa 35, 59f.

³⁴ *Carta annua 1668*: British Mus., Addl. Ms. 9855, 82. ³⁵ o. c. 110f.

with great difficulty³⁶. Kircher also made mention of this Sanskrit grammar in his work on China. Referring to his contact with Roth in 1664, he wrote in 1667 that the knowledge of the sacred language of the Brahmins, Sanskrit, is kept secret by them. He continued,

"Etsi P. Henricus Roth eam a Brachmane Legi Christianae valde addicto Magistro usus, intra sexennium perfecte didicerit, ejusque grammaticam conscripserit, quae utinam suo tempore lucem videret"³⁷.

Elsewhere Kircher says again that Roth possessed a perfect knowledge of the language, the literature and the philosophical thought of the Brahmins³⁸. The next mention of the Sanskrit grammar is found in a letter of Roth (Sept. 7, 1664) to Kircher in Rome. The letter was sent from Vienna where Roth showed his grammar to the Emperor, Leopold I. Roth wrote,

"Grammaticam Brahmanicam Augustus Imperator omnino volebat ut suis sumptibus curarem typis mandari, sed in mea absentia non video quomodo fieri possit"³⁹.

From this letter, then, it is clear that Roth had the Sanskrit grammar with him on his way back from Europe to the Mogul Empire. He was still in possession of it at the beginning of October in 1665 when he was staying at Skutari, where he had to leave Grueber and where the Sanskrit grammar and texts were unintentionally packed with the luggage of Grueber, who wrote on Oct. 20, 1665, from Galata to Kircher in Rome,

"I am returning either by land or by sea. I don't know if it will be to Rome, though I would like to do that. I have the complete treasure of the Indian language with me which during that confusion was left with me out of forgetfulness by Fr. Henricus. When we meet, I will give it to your Reverence"⁴⁰.

Grueber received orders from Rome to return to Europe. He sailed by ship to Livorno, where he got instructions to proceed directly to Austria. Thus, he could not meet Kircher in Rome, but he wrote on Feb. 26, 1666, from Görz to Kircher,

"I promise that at the first opportunity I will send to your Reverence, together with some Chinese books which will no longer be of any use to me, all the writings of Fr. Henricus which were left in my hands. ... The German assistant, to whom I wrote from the hospital in Livorno about those books, informed me there that, when the opportunity comes, I should send them to Rome so that they may be either at the disposal of your Reverence or might be used by the many Fathers who one day will go to India. So that these books will not be detained in the Professed house, your Reverence may address himself to the Fr. Assistant to prevent them, after their arrival, from passing

³⁶ H. ROTH, *Pro via terrestri in Regnum Sinarum* (Rome, March 2, 1664): ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico, Vol. 722, fasc. 3, no. 5, 7.

³⁷ Cf. KIRCHER, o. c. 80. ³⁸ Cf. KIRCHER, o. c. 162.

³⁹ Arch. Univ. Gregoriana 563, P. KIRCHER, *Miscell. Epist.* IX, 281.

⁴⁰ Arch. Univ. Gregoriana, P. KIRCHER, *Miscellanea Epistolarum* VIII, 137. Translation from the German text given by ZIMMEL in *Die erste abendländische Sanskrit-Grammatik des P. Heinrich Roth SJ* (Wien 1957) 15.

through too many hands and to have them given directly to your Reverence. I shall send them to Fr. Koller”⁴¹.

Apparently, in 1671 Kircher planned an edition of a Sanskrit philosophical text along with a Latin translation⁴². We may conclude from this that the Sanskrit manuscripts arrived safely in the hands of Kircher. This appears even more clearly from a list of objects preserved in the Museum of Kircher (in the Roman College of the Jesuits). The list was drawn up in 1678 by Georgius de Sepibus, and he mentioned, “1. Exactissimum opus totius Grammaticae Brahmanicae, cujus et rudimenta is primus Europae communicavit. 2. Opus eximium et subtile Apophthegmatum cujusdam Brachmani Philosophi, Basext nomine”⁴³. The next time mention is made of the Sanskrit grammar is in 1800, when the famous linguist, Lorenzo Hervás, S.J., discovered the grammar in the library of the Collegio Romano, where Kircher had been living, and recommended its publication⁴⁴. The next scholar to search for the Sanskrit manuscripts was Th. Zachariae. He asked Matthias Reichmann from Luxemburg to look for the grammar in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele (Biblioteca Nazionale) in Rome. In 1870, the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele was started in the building of the ancient Collegio Romano and the library of the Collegio Romano was incorporated in the Biblioteca Nazionale. The inquiries made in 1908 at the instigation of Zachariae received a negative answer, and Zachariae concluded that the manuscript had probably been lost⁴⁵. SEBASTIAN EURINGER, who wrote a biography of Roth in 1918, relied upon the statements of de Sepibus and Hervás and thus supposed that the grammar was still to be found in the Collegio Romano or Biblioteca Nazionale, but he did not investigate the matter. He expressed the hope that the grammar could be printed on the occasion of the third centenary of the birth of Roth in 1920⁴⁶. In 1920, inquiry was again made into the whereabouts of the Sanskrit grammar. After having read the biography of Roth by EURINGER, F. Joseph Linder, S.J., asked a confrere in Rome to search for the grammar in the Biblioteca Nazionale. The result was once again negative⁴⁷. In 1956, Richard Hauschild, who made a study of the

⁴¹ Ibid. 79. Translation from ZIMMEL, *ibid.* 15f.

⁴² “Accessit hisce Mogoris cujusdam Philosophi Apophthegmatum Syntagma Brachmanico-latinum, quod subtilitate sententiarum nec Senecae nec Epicteto cedit.” From a letter of Fr. Kircher (Rome, July 11, 1671) to Lucas Schrökius, Jr., published by H. A. LANGENMANTEL, *Fasciculus epistolarum Adm. R. P. Athanasii Kircheri S.J.* (Augsburg 1684) 18f.

⁴³ GEORGIUS DE SEPIBUS, *Romani Collegii Societatis Jesu Museum Celeberrimum* (Amstelodami 1678) 65.

⁴⁴ *Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas*, II (Madrid 1801) 133.

⁴⁵ Hanscrit: *Wiener Zeitsch. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes* 22 (Wien 1908) 86—103, esp. 97, n. 2.

⁴⁶ EURINGER, o. c. 21f.

⁴⁷ “P. Heinrich Roth SJ von Dillingen — der erste deutsche Sanskretist”: *Zeitsch. f. kath. Theologie* 44 (Innsbruck 1920) 172, notes 1 and 2.

Sanskrit alphabet of Roth, as it was published by Kircher, had to say that the grammar had disappeared without leaving any trace⁴⁸. The most searching investigation, however, was done by BRUNO ZIMMEL, the results of which were published by him in 1956. We have repeatedly made use of many of the details he collected. He was able to conclude that the manuscript was not to be found in the following places in Rome: the Biblioteca Nazionale, the Museo Nazionale Preistorico-etnografico "Luigi Pigorini", the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus, the Archives of the Pontifical Gregorian University, the Vatican Archives and the Vatican Library. His final suggestion was that a more thorough research into the history of the Jesuit collections of the Collegio Romano might be helpful in tracing the lost grammar⁴⁹.

I myself have been occupied with doing research into the history of the Mogul mission of the Jesuits since 1953. Up until the very beginning of the year 1967, I was not able to trace the Sanskrit grammar, even though I visited all the likely libraries and archives where it might be found. In the beginning of 1967, I was again in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome. I was informed of the existence of a typewritten catalogue of Oriental manuscripts. The *Inventario Orientali* had been recently drawn up. Reading through the catalogue, I arrived at Mss Orientali 171: *Grammatica linguae sanscietanae Bramanum Indiae Orientalis, cart. sec. XVIII prov. Collegio Romano* and Mss Orientali 172: *Testo Indiano (sanskrito?) cart. sec. XVIII prov. Collegio Romano*. Though the author was not indicated, our first investigation of the precious manuscripts revealed that the Sanskrit works of Roth had finally been brought to light again.

III. A Description of the Sanskrit Grammar and Texts

The Sanskrit grammar of Roth, Mss Orientali 171, measures 28½ by 21 cm. By comparison with some of the letters written by Roth himself, it would appear that the grammar is an autograph. As we have already concluded, the grammar was written between 1660 and 1662. The notation on the typewritten catalogue (that the manuscript was written in the eighteenth century) must be incorrect. The manuscript is beautifully written and undamaged. The Sanskrit grammar consists of 50 folios. Folios 49 and 50 have been left blank. Two important notes are written

⁴⁸ "Die erste Publikation der indischen Nāgarī-Schriftzeichen in Europa durch Athanasius Kircher und Heinrich Roth": *Wissenschaftl. Zeitsch. d. Friedrich-Schiller-Univ. Jena, Gesellschafts- und sprachwiss. Reihe* 5 (1955—56) 505.

⁴⁹ B. ZIMMEL, "Die erste Sanskrit-Grammatik": *Biblos* 5 (Wien 1956) H. 2, 48—63. Cf. also the enlarged edition: *Die erste abendländische Sanskrit-Grammatik des P. Heinrich Roth S.J.* (Wien 1957) 18f. See also: A. CAMPS, "Die Schriften der Jesuiten-Missionare Johann Grueber, Heinrich Roth und Antonio Ceschi": *NZM* 13 (Schöneck-Beckenried 1957) 231—233.

on the first folio. The first is in Italian and the second in Latin. The handwriting in both cases is different than that of the manuscript. We are informed by the first note that the book has been put in the deposit of the secret library of the Roman College and that it has not been incorporated into the library so that it could be withdrawn from the library when this might please the superiors of the Society⁵⁰. The second note gives us the name of the author and may have been written by the linguist, Lorenzo Hervás, S.J. The note says that the real name of the author is not Roa but Roth. We may observe, however, that Roa is a common latinization of Fathers Roth's name⁵¹.

Mss Orientali 172 measures 25½ by 17 cm. It was also written by Roth himself, which a comparison of its handwriting with that of Mss Orientali 171 shows. There is a note on folio 1r informing us that this manuscript has also been put in the deposit of the secret library of the Collegio Romano⁵². The folios 2r—17v contain a Sanskrit text. Here and there in the margin are short Latin notations. Folios 18r—34r, however, contain a Sanskrit text that is surrounded by marginal notes and a running translation into Latin. The folios 34v—35v have been left blank. Since the handwriting is Roth's, it must be concluded, in opposition to the type-written catalogue, that the manuscript dates from the seventeenth century.

⁵⁰ Questo Libro stà in deposito nella Libreria segreta del Collegio Romano alla quale non è stato applicato per poterlo estrarre quando piaccia a i Superiori della Compagnia.

⁵¹ "Auctor hujus libri est P. Roa soc. Jesu, de quo loquitur Franciscus Bernier, voyages etc. Amsterdam, 1709, tome seconde, p. 147. Verus auctor est P. Henricus Roth, non Roa, ut dicit Bernier. Legatur China illustrata P. Kircheri, qui fatetur alphabetum Sanscret suscepisse, sicut alia plurima de religione brahmanum, a p. Roth. V. China illustrata: Pars 3, cap. ultim." The mentioned work of FRANÇOIS BERNIER is: *Voyages de François Bernier etc. contenant la description des États du Grand Mogol, etc.*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam 1709). For KIRCHER's work, cf. note 9.

⁵² "In Deposito nella Libreria segreta del C(ollegio) R(omano)."

ZUM INHALT DER DREI HANDSCHRIFTEN ROTH'S

von Richard Hauschild

I. Sanskrit-Grammatik (= Mss. Orientali 171)

Die ganze Grammatik¹ ist in lateinischer Sprache abgefaßt, die Roth glänzend handhabt. Die Schrift stimmt mit der seiner Briefe völlig überein. Die indischen Lettern, in Nāgarī- oder Devanāgarī-Schrift gehalten, sind mit Sorgfalt und — fast durchgehend — in großem Format gezeichnet und so am deutlichsten zu erkennen; der in mittelalterlicher Rechtschreibung erscheinende lateinische Be-

¹ Grammatica linguae Sanscretanae Brahmanum Indiae Orientalis (Titelblatt).