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A hitherto unknown Jesuit confessionary in Japanese language and script (ca. 1595) kept at Utrecht University Library¹

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Each of the extant titles of the Jesuit Mission Press in Japan qualifies as a bibliographical rarity. Few of these so-called *kirishitanban* have been preserved in more than three copies, and every other one is known in a single copy only. Hardly any new additions to the list of extant titles have been possible in recent decades, so that the only print not already listed in Johannes Laures' standard reference in its 1957 edition is the *Compendium manualis Navarri* (1597) found in 1985.² All other findings during recent decades involved either further copies of already known titles, or the resurfacing of previously known prints whose exact whereabouts had however become unknown over the course of time. *Fidesno quiŏ* (Book of faith; 1611), for instance, only became readily available to scholars after its rediscovery in Harvard's Houghton Library in 2009. Similarly, in 2016 the whereabouts of the *Exercitia spiritualia* (1596) became clear once more; it is now found at the Biblioteka Śląska in Katowice. The copies of the *Compendium spiritualis doctrinæ* (1596) and the *Spiritual xuguiŏ* (Spiritual exercises; 1607) that have come into the possession of Sophia University in 2018 belong to this category as well.³ In terms

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Johannes Laures, Kirishitan Bunko: A Manual of Books and Documents on the Early Christian Mission in Japan. Third, Revised and Enlarged, Edition (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1957).

See Kawamura Shinzo, "After More Than 400 Years, Rare Kirisitan-ban Volumes Have Been Returned to Japan," Sophia magazine 7 (2018): 31. Judging from the photos these are the former

of further copies of known prints, recent years have seen the discovery of a copy of the *Contemptus mundi* (1596) at Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel (2017), a copy of the *Vocabulario da lingoa de Iapam* (1603) at the Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro (2018), and a copy of the *Sanctos no gosagueô* (Acts of the saints; 1591) at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (2021).

In November 2021, a hitherto unknown Jesuit print from Japan could now be identified, shortly after the present author noticed the following entry in a mid-18th century library catalogue from Utrecht:⁴

"Compendium Christianæ Doctrinæ, lingua & charactere Japonico, ex Christian. Ravii donatione."

[A compendium of Christian doctrine in Japanese language and script, from a donation by Christian Raue.]

Initial research on the book behind this most promising entry soon led to a recent publication by Bart Jaski, keeper of manuscripts and curator of printed books (rariora) at Utrecht University Library, stating in a footnote that "Ravius also donated [...] V oct 852 rar, a compendium of Christian doctrine printed in Japan, which Reland studied, as he added its title in Latin." A short email exchange later, several photos of the book made clear that V oct 852 rar constitutes a confessionary in Japanese language and script, printed by Jesuits in late 16th century Japan.

The Utrecht confessionary

The printed text spans 50 double pages of circa 12.8×19 cm (the first unnumbered, the rest counted as 1-49), preceded and followed by a single unprinted leaf. The overall structure of the volume is as follows:

- 1 unprinted leaf, with a handwritten dedication of the book to the library on the recto
- 1 unnumbered leaf, containing the words "Salvator mundi" and the monogram "IHS" on the recto in print
- 1–40: main text of the confessionary, ending with an imprimatur on fol. 40v

Manila copies, kept there in the Augustinian Convent and Franciscan Convent respectively, as first described in Johannes Laures, "Neue Funde zur japanischen Jesuitendruckerei" [New discoveries concerning the Jesuit Mission Press in Japan], *Monumenta Nipponica* 4, no. 2 (1941): 613 and 614. The copy of *Spiritual xuguiŏ* was later presumed lost in Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, 76.

⁴ Auctarium catalogi bibliothecæ Trajectino-Batavæ (Trajecti ad Rhenum: Apud Joannem Broedelet, 1754), 30.

Bart Jaski, "The Manuscript Collection of Adriaan Reland in the University Library of Utrecht and Beyond," in *The Orient in Utrecht*, ed. Bart Jaski et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2021a), 322, fn. 5.

- 41–45: first appendix, a glossary of Chinese characters in the main text, arranged in the order of their appearance
- 46–49: second appendix, a glossary of Christian terminology (Latin and Portuguese loanwords) as used in the main text
- 1 unprinted leaf, containing the handwritten signature "Joao" (and again "J")
 on the recto

The first printed page here corresponds to the first printed page in the previously known confessionary printed in 1598, which has been preserved in a single copy at the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome (call no. CCC M.VIII 41) that also served as the basis for Bernard Petitjean's (1829–1884) *Toganozoki kisoku* (Rules for confession) in 1869.6 The words "Salvator mundi" found on that page have commonly been treated as the title of the later confessionary. The next page, however, which is occupied by an actual title page in the 1598 edition, containing in Latin the simple title of *Confessionarium*, as well as an indication of its time and place of publication, is left empty here. The main text beginning on the following page reads largely the same in both editions, but it is clearly not the same in terms of page layout, printing types and script choice, for instance.

Now, the output of the Jesuit Mission Press in Japan is typically divided into an earlier and a later stage, which in the case of prints in Japanese script corresponds to ca. 1591–1593 and 1598–1611 respectively. While several prints dating from the years in-between have been preserved, they are all printed in the Roman alphabet throughout. The Utrecht confessionary now may help to fill this gap of several years to some extent.

In terms of printing, the Utrecht confessionary clearly still belongs to the earlier type. The printing types appear to be same as those seen in the only two works in Japanese script representing the earlier stage: the *Doctrina* of 1591 and the volume of 1593 commonly referred to under its incipit, *Bauchizumo no sazukeyō* (On administering baptism). Thus, the confessionary comprises, besides *hiragana* syllabograms, relatively few Chinese characters (less than 200 in total), no ligatures apart from ones for *taru* and *tamō*, no examples of *kana* with added diacritics for initial *p*- (*handakuten*), 8 no repetition marks with added diacritics for voiced obstruent initials (*dakuten*), and only a single repetition mark used for *kana* and Chinese characters alike. The three early prints in Japanese script also share

⁶ See Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, 57–58, no. 19, and 140–141, no. 69.

⁷ See, e.g., Toyoshima Masayuki, ed., *Kirishitan to shuppan* [The early Christians in Japan and publishing] (Tōkyō: Yagi shoten, 2013), 137.

The still earlier non-cursive printing types (*katakana* and a handful of Chinese characters) that are only attested in a small number of fragments (see Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, 35–36, no. 6) did actually already feature *handakuten*. See, e.g., *poroshimo* from Portuguese *próximo* 'neighbor' for such a case in the fragments preserved in the binding of the 1598 confessionary.

another characteristic, namely the lack of a title page and any explicit indication of their respective time and place of publication. In all likeliness this is not due to text loss, as has sometimes been assumed, but rather it appears that there were no title pages to begin with. The Japanese-language imprimatur following the end of the main text of the confessionary (40v) is reminiscent of its counterpart in the volume of 1593 as well.

The above-mentioned features of the earlier confessionary are in stark contrast to the later one printed in 1598, which belongs to the later stage both in terms of the printing types used and in that it has a title page giving among others the time and place of publication. The confessionaries in Utrecht and Rome are textually very close to each other, but they represent different stages of what may be considered to be the same work. In fact, from the annual letters of the Jesuits it had long been known that 1598 was not the first time a confessionary was printed in Japan. An earlier print is already mentioned in letters dated 1595 as well as 1594. It is thus likely that the Utrecht confessionary represents such an earlier edition, dating either from 1595 or somewhat earlier – and whatever the exact date may be, this copy constitutes the only surviving one of that particular edition.

There is further a number of stylistic changes, arguably as an attempt to polish the text – making it less colloquial and more conservative. Thus, certain verb forms resulting from sound change are avoided in the later version, e.g.: おはつて (34v) \rightarrow をはりて (22r), さぐつて (38v) \rightarrow さぐりて (24v), or also のぞんで (19r) \rightarrow 望みて (12v), つきしんで (39v) \rightarrow っとしみて (25r). This similarly applies

The manuscript copy of the 1591 *Doctrina* kept at the University of Tokyo (General Library, call no. A00:X25) has no title page either.

Thus e.g. in Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, 38 and Kōso Toshiaki, *Kirishitanban seisen, Santosu no gosagyō no uchi nukigaki, kaisetsu* [A selection of Jesuit prints from Japan, *Excerpts from the acts of the saints*, Explanatory remarks] (Tōkyō: Yūshōdō, 2006), 3.

See Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, 58 for a reference to a 1595 letter by Luís Fróis. Toyoshima, *Kirishitan to shuppan*, appendix, 10 additionally refers to a 1594 letter.

to verbs with secondary y stems formed by analogy in post-classical times: $\langle l \downarrow \psi (6v) \rightarrow \langle l \downarrow \psi (4v) \rangle$. Another post-classical feature is avoided as well, with attributive forms being changed to final forms before interrogative -ya, as it was originally supposed to be in Classical Japanese grammar: にくじきしたるや $(18v) \rightarrow$ 肉食したりや (12v). The latter two changes were, however, executed in an inconsistent fashion. Finally, tokoro-no to end a prenominal relative clause as a loan translation from Literary Chinese $su\check{o}$ 所 is omitted in the single instance it is seen in the older version (4v; cf. 3r) in the 1598 edition).

Leaving grammatical and stylistic revisions aside, one of the most notable amendments is certainly when the Buddhist term *nyūmetsu* 'entering Nirvana; death (esp. of Buddha)' (fol. 33r, 33v) to refer to the death of Jesus Christ is replaced with the neutral and thus in this context arguably more appropriate term *shikyo* 'passing away; death' in 1598 (fol. 21v). A parallel change is also observed between the earlier editions of the *Doctrina* (1591/92) and the later ones (1600).¹² In both works, the change is best interpreted as a change in interpretation, as the glossaries appended to several Jesuit prints up to the mid-1590s attest to a neutral understanding of the term, ¹³ whereas a clear-cut Buddhist understanding is only found later on. ¹⁴

Substantial deletions or additions are only rarely seen between the two versions. A notable exception is a passage reading in translation: "First, those who are going to receive it [= the Eucharist], must <u>not blacken their teeth beforehand and</u> abstain from drinking and eating from the preceding midnight." The underlined portion is left out in the later edition.¹⁵

The early history of the confessionary in Utrecht

The dedication by Christian Raue (or Ravius; 1613–1677) on the first, unprinted leaf sheds some light on the provenance of the confessionary. It runs as follows:

Kamei Takashi, Hubert Cieslik, and Kojima Yukie, Nihon Iezusukaiban Kirishitan yöri [The Christian catechisms printed by the Jesuits in Japan] (Tökyö: Iwanami shoten, 1983), 137.

There are at least three cases translating *nyūmetsu* as 'to die, dying': *Doctrina* (1592), p. 110 ("Nhǔmet. Xisuru. Morrer."), *Fides no dŏxi* (1592), fol. Ss6 v ("Nhǔmet. i. Xinuru coto."), and *Contemptus mundi* (1596), fol. Ff3 v ("Nhǔmet. Xisuru coto.").

¹⁴ See, e.g., *Vocabulario da lingoa de Iapam* (1603), fol. 182r for its understanding as 'the death of Buddha': "Nhŭmet. *Morte de Fotoque*."

¹⁵ Mazu kore o sazukari-tatematsuran hito wa sono <u>mae ni ha o kuromuru koto naku</u> mae no yonaka jibun yori nomimono shokubutsu o tatsu beshi まつ是を授り奉らん人は其<u>前にはをくるむる事なく</u>前のよ中時分よりのみもの食物をたつべし (11r), as opposed to just mazu kore o sazukari-tatematsuran hito wa sono mae no yahan jibun yori nomimono shokubutsu o tatsu beshi 先是を授り奉らん人は其前の夜半時分よりのみもの食物をたつべし in the 1598 edition (7v).

In nomine DEi. | Codicem hunc Chinensem | impressum | Florentissimæ Bibliothecæ Publicæ | VLTRAIECTINAE | ex suå | æternæ sui affectus erga hanc | Academiam memo- | riæ | L. M. Q. D. D. D. [= libenter meritoque dat, dicat, dedicat] | Christianus Rauius Berli- | nas. | 15 Jan. 1644. [In the name of God. This printed Chinese book gives, devotes and dedicates with pleasure and as a favor to the most prosperous public library of Utrecht out of his own [library] to the eternal remembrance of his affection towards the university here – Christian Raue of Berlin. 15 January 1644.]

At the time of this dedication, Raue was giving lectures on Oriental languages in Utrecht. From the many other stages of his career, two later ones are of special interest here: ¹⁶ In 1649 he became fellow and librarian at Magdalen College, Oxford, whereafter Queen Christina of Sweden appointed him professor of Oriental languages at Uppsala University. Later he became royal librarian in Stockholm. Incidentally three of the most substantial Jesuit manuscripts from Japan came into the collections of Magdalen College and of Queen Christina at some point, the latter by 1650 at the latest. ¹⁷ Their exact provenance remains uncertain, but the fact that Raue was owner of a Jesuit print from Japan no later than 1644 now opens up the possibility that he was also in some way involved in the acquisition of these Jesuit manuscripts.

While it is uncertain how Raue came into the possession of the confessionary, it seems most plausible to assume that he purchased it in the Netherlands. In fact, a large number of Jesuit prints and some manuscripts can be demonstrated to have been in Dutch collections in the 17th century, many of which were auctioned at some point. Their owners included Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609), Reinier Pauw (1564–1636) and his son Adriaan Pauw (1585–1653), Ernst Brinck (1582–1649), and especially Leiden professor Jacobus Golius (1596–1667) – under whom Raue had studied Arabic in 1637–38. Note also that John Selden (1584–1654), one of the few known English owners of Jesuit prints from Japan at the time, also happens to have been a supporter of Raue. It was also Selden who redeemed the manuscripts and books which Raue had left with a London merchant when leaving for Sweden.

Coming back to the text of the dedication we note that the language of the confessionary was misidentified by Raue as being Chinese. Recall that, unlike the confessionary of 1598, this edition does not have a title page in Latin indicating

On the life of Raue see especially G. J. Toomer, "Ravis [formerly Raue], Christian [Christianus Ravius] (1613–1677)," in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹⁷ The manuscripts from the collection of Queen Christina are now at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. One contains a Latin version of the Jesuit *Compendia* of philosophy, theology and cosmology (Reg. lat. 426), the other a miscellany by Manoel Barreto (Reg. lat. 459). Ms. 228 at Magdalen College is a Japanese version of the same *Compendia*, lacking however the part on cosmology.

its geographical origin. The situation is different in the brief explanation following the dedication and written in a different hand, which Jaski has identified as being that of Adriaan Reland (1676–1718). It reads as follows, corresponding perfectly with the description provided in the 1754 catalogue:

"Compendium doctrinae | Christianae | lingua et charactere Japonico." [A compendium of Christian doctrine in Japanese language and script.]

Interestingly, the language of the text is correctly identified as Japanese here for the first time. The Christian contents as such, regardless of the language of the text, may have been easy to tell owing to the first printed page, with the monogram "IHS" in the center being sufficient to identify it as a Jesuit print. However, Reland was almost certainly also capable of identifying the *hiragana* in the text as what they are. He may even have been able to decipher at least, e.g., some of the Latin and Portuguese loanwords written in *hiragana* and found throughout the volume.

Specimens of writing from Japan had been known in Europe since the 16th century. The first appearance of a handful of *hiragana* in a European print dates back to the Jesuit *Cartas* of 1570. Inventories of *hiragana* in the form of the *iroha* poem appeared shortly afterwards in the works of Blaise de Vigenère (1523–1596) and Claude Duret (died 1611), with Andreas Müller (1630–1694) in the late 17th century pointing out some of the errors in these earliest sources. ¹⁹ Another, somewhat fuller overview of the Japanese syllabaries was provided by Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716) – but this was printed only in 1727 and thus too late for Reland. While he was certainly aware of at least some of these publications, judging from his long-known interest in Japanese, ²⁰ Reland was more importantly also himself in the possession of some prints and manuscripts in, and on Japanese. For one, he was the owner of the later of the two grammars of Japanese written by João Rodriguez (ca. 1561–1633), the *Arte breve da lingoa Iapoa* printed in 1620.²¹ On

¹⁸ Jaski, "The Manuscript Collection," 322, fn. 5.

On the work of Müller in particular, but also of his predecessors, see Sven Osterkamp, "The Japanese studies of Andreas Müller (1630–1694)," *Kyoto University Linguistic Research* 29 (2010): 77–151.

See Adriaan Reland, Dissertationum miscellanearum pars tertia, et ultima (Trajecti ad Rhenum: Ex Officina Gulielmi Broedelet, 1708), especially 103–119. For a study, see Yoshimachi Yoshio, "Reirando zatsuroku shō" [An excerpt from Reland's Dissertationes miscellaneae], Onsei no kenkyū 7 (1951): 229–244, and now also Otto Zwartjes and Paolo De Troia, "André Palmeiro's Epistola (Macau 8/V 1632) cum paradigmate Orationis Dominicae," in Missionary Linguistics VI, ed. Otto Zwartjes and Paolo De Troia (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2021), 14–22.

See the auction catalogue Pars magna bibliothecae clarissimi & celeberrimi viri Hadriani Relandi (Trajecti ad Rhenum: Apud Guilielmum Broedelet, 1718), 48, entry no. 485: "Arte breve de Lingo [sic] Japoa dello Padre Rodrigues. 1625. [sic] — Catechismus lingua Tunchensi [sic]

fol. 7r–v it provides an overview of *hiragana* together with Romanizations, both in *iroha* order and in the form of a 'table of fifty sounds.' A manuscript deriving from Reland's collection likewise contains the *iroha* poem in both *hiragana* and *katakana*, together with another incomplete *iroha* poem in *hiragana* only.²² All *kana* and Chinese characters in this manuscript are accompanied by Romanizations. It seems plausible that it is these sources that Reland relied on when he gave several *hiragana* and *katakana* together with Romanizations in a letter addressed to Mathurin Veyssière de La Croze (1661–1739).²³ He could thus have simply compared the confessionary with the specimens of Japanese (as well as of Chinese) he had at his disposal in order to correctly identify the script and language of the confessionary.

The fragments seen in the binding

At times, fragments of the products of the Jesuit Mission Press in Japan also figure as waste paper in the bindings of other books. Incidentally, known cases include the copy of the 1598 confessionary kept at the Biblioteca Casanatense, which is especially notable as it features fragments preserving otherwise unattested prints.

The Utrecht confessionary is of interest in this respect as well. It features two related fragments, one each in the front and back cover. Of these, the fragment

scriptus Romæ." The second title refers to Alexandre de Rhodes, *Cathechismus pro ijs, qui volunt suscipere baptismum in octo dies diuisus* (Romæ: Typis Sacræ Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1651), with which it is still bound together. The volume is now found at the Biblioteca Nacional da Ajuda (call no. 50-XI-3).

Now at Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. or. fol. 429. The author would like to thank CrossAsia and its digitization on demand service for making the manuscript available online in November 2018.

The manuscript corresponds to *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum* [...] *quibus omnibus quondam usus est* [...] *Hadrianus Relandus* (Trajecti ad Rhenum: Apud Guilielmum Kroon, et Gisb. Tim. a Paddenburg, 1761), 4, no. 42 of the manuscripts in folio: "Varia Specimina Literarum & Scripturæ apud orientales, aliosque populos usitatæ." Also see Bart Jaski, "Appendix 2: The Manuscript Collection of Adriaan Reland," in *The Orient in Utrecht*, ed. Bart Jaski et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2021b), 443, A fol 42.

The incomplete version incidentally provides us with another example of the last verse of the *iroha* being followed by the characters *kyōjō* 京上, on which cf. Sven Osterkamp, "Onmon iroha zakkō" [Miscellaneous thoughts on the various *iroha* in *han'gŭl*], in *Ryūkyū shogo to kodai Nihongo* [Ryukyuan and pre-modern Japanese: Toward the reconstruction of Proto-Japanese-Ryukyuan], ed. Takubo Yukinori, John Whitman, and Hirako Tatsuya (Tōkyō: Kurosio, 2016), 57–63.

²³ Johann Ludwig Uhl, ed., *Thesauri epistolici Lacroziani tomus I* (Lipsiae: Impens. Io. Frid. Gleditschii, 1742), 315–316, no. 257 (dated 17 February 1715).

found in the back cover coincides entirely with a portion of text on fol. 41r of the *Doctrina* in its 1591 edition, from a passage on the Ten Commandments, as a comparison with the single extant copy kept at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (call no. Barb.or.153.pt.A) shows. It even contains exactly the same misprint in line 4 (giving *adari* for expected *atari*). Most of lines 1–8 and 11 are legible, while lines 9–10 are barely visible due to folding. In the transcription below portions of text supplied on the basis of the Vatican copy of the *Doctrina* are given in square brackets.

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科を知事専也
  御おきてのまんだめんとは何ヶ条[有や]
弟
  十ヶ条也 是即二に分る也 初の三ヶ[条は]
師
  でうすの御いくはうにあだ[sic]り奉り[今七]
  ヶ条はほろしもたがひの徳の[為也]
                              5
  第一御一体のでうすをうや[まひ]た[つと]
     ひ奉るべし
  第二貴き御名にかけてむな[しき]ち[かひ]
    [すへからす]
  [第三どみんごいはひ目をつとめまもるべし]
                              10
   第四汝の父母にかう / \す「べし]
  [第五人をころすべからず]
  [第六じやいんをおかすべからず]
  [第七ちうたうすべからず]
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The fragment found in the front cover is of even greater interest. It is again closely related to the 1591 edition of the *Doctrina*, coming from its chapter on the sacraments, specifically about the Sacrament of Penance. However, while the visible portion of text is similar to fol. 68r (lines 1–8) of the *Doctrina*, it is not entirely identical with it. The text as such is the same, but the first three line breaks occur in different places, and the exact choice of *kana* is different as well in several instances. This may either mean that there were several variant editions already in 1591, or that we are dealing here with a fragment from another (presumably slightly later) edition of the *Doctrina*, which however was still mostly identical to the 1591 edition. In either case the fragment gives us a glimpse of an otherwise unknown edition of this key text published by the Jesuit Mission Press in Japan.²⁴ Again, portions of text in square brackets are supplied here on the basis of the Vatican copy.

According to Laures, "Neue Funde," 288, Joseph Schütte found a fragment covering pages 40r-v of the 1591 *Doctrina* at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu in 1940. It might be worthwhile to compare this fragment with the 1591 edition once more to see whether they fully coincide or not.

へにてんしやのさからめんと也是即[ばう] 舗 ちずもをさづかりて以後あにまのやま[ひ] となる科をなをさるくすひりつある[の] らうやく也 へにてんしやはいくつにきはまるや 弟 5 三にきはまる也一にはこんちりさんと[て心] 中のこうくはい也二にはこんひさんと[てこ] とはにてざんげする事也三にはさ[しち] [はさんとて所作をもて科をくりをするこ] [と批] 10 真実のこんちりさんをば何と様に持べ] 「弟 [きぞ] でうすに対し奉りておかしたる科を真] 「師 [実にくい悲み時分をもてこんひさんを申]

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