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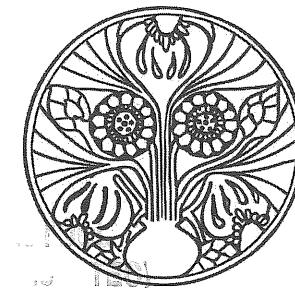
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TRANSPOSITION AND TRANSFORMATION,
CONTROVERSY AND DISCOVERY
ON THE CHRISTIAN ENCOUNTER WITH THE RELIGIONS OF
EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY INDIA

Edited

by

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CHRISTOPHE VIELLE

Devotional Christianity and Pre-Indology
in Early Eighteenth-Century Kerala:
Johann Ernst Hanxleden, S.J., alias Arnos Padiri,
Scholar and Poet

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*I Missionari assai periti di Samscrit furono il P. Roberto Nobili,
il P. Costanzo Beschi, il P. G. E. Hanxleden,
il quale fin' ora superò tutti gli Europei*
(Paulinus 1796, p. 306)

The aim of this condensed essay is to present the figure of a Jesuit who became famous in Kerala as a Christian Malayāḷam poet, and who also showed a deep interest for the Sanskrit and Hindu traditions of the local brahmins which he was able to understand and transpose into indigenous words fitting his own faith. Western scholars of church history have written on him, as well as Indian scholars in Malayāḷam literature, sometimes in a rather hagiographic manner. A critical synthesis of the results of both approaches remains to be done. The author hopes that this preliminary essay, composed strictly from a philological perspective and on the basis of several field trips, by presenting a complete bibliography and pointing out materials still to be exhumed and published, will serve as the starting point for a broader diffusion of these poetically valuable and scientifically pioneering works through critical editions cum translations and studies in world languages.

1. LIFE

The life of Johann Ernst Hanxleden, remembered in Kerala under the name of Arnos Padiri,¹ has been sketched in several works.² The main historical source

¹ Malayāḷam *arṇṇōsū pātiri*, from the Portuguese *Ernesto Padre*, “Father Arnos.”

² De Backer & De Backer 1859; Sommervogel et al. 1893, Huonder 1899, pp. 48, 89 and 175, and 1910; Streit 1929, pp. 222–223; Kizhakkethayil 1937; Ferroli 1951, pp. 315–332;

for this biography remains the testimony of the Discalced Carmelite Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo, the Austro-Croatian Filip Vezdin (1748–1806), especially in his *De manuscriptis codicibus indicis R. P. Joan. Ernesti Hanxleden epistola* of 1799,³ which is entirely devoted to the subject. This testimony is supplemented by his other Indological writings,⁴ where Paulinus often refers to Hanxleden's works and manuscripts.⁵

Paulinus, who had been active as a missionary during the years 1776 to 1789 in the same area as Hanxleden, namely Malabar, where he is remembered as Paulinos Padiri (*paulinōsū pātiri*), had met a disciple of Hanxleden in central Kerala, a native priest “ex oppido Mapránata,”⁶ viz. of Mapranam,⁷ called Vareethu Kathanar,⁸ from whom⁹ he bought several manuscripts of Hanxleden's personal library. This purchase is confirmed by Paulinus' friend, the Spanish ex-Jesuit Father Hervás y Panduro.¹⁰ In Kerala, Paulinus probably acquired a few more manuscripts containing Hanxleden's works from elsewhere, for example from the library of the Jesuit seminary in Ambalakad, as already suggested by Mundadan,¹¹ which was at that time not yet closed despite the subsequent Portuguese and then universal suppression of the Jesuit Order in

Tōmasū 1961, pp. 97–108 (1989, pp. 109–121, with additions by Zacharia pp. 367–374 and 386–387; see previously Tōmasū 1931 and Thomas 1935); Mattam 1957; Wicki 1966 (copied by Bautz 1990); Jōsū 1982; Ulakamtaṅa 1982; Neill 1985, pp. 88–89; Mundadan 1988 and 1989; Hambye 1990, 1997, pp. 95–96, and 2001; Maṇavāḷaṅ 1990, pp. 270–322; Ulahannan Māppiḷa 1993, pp. 13–53; Pallath 1994; Palackal 1995, pp. 50–56; Bevans 1999; Kumpalakkūḷi 2002, pp. 8–17 (= 2011, pp. 14–24); Jōsū 2009, pp. 11–37.

³ See the English translation of this letter by Dr. M. Luke in Pallath 1994, pp. 21–33. A preliminary list of references to Hanxleden by Paulinus is given in Rocher 1977, p. 201.

⁴ See, e.g., Paulinus 1792, p. 51.

⁵ See below, *passim*.

⁶ Paulinus 1792, p. 76, footnote; cf. Paulinus 1796, p. 181: *a Magnapre*.

⁷ Māprāṇam, near Irinjalakuda, in Thrissur District.

⁸ From an original *vaṛitū kattanār*, “Priest George,” *kattanār* being the Malayāḷam word for a Christian “priest.” See “Sacerdos Barida Catanar, seu presbyter Georgius Mapránatensis” (Paulinus 1792, p. 51), “B. Sacerdos” (*ibid.*, p. 76, footnote) and “B. Cassanar” (Paulinus 1796, p. 181).

⁹ See Paulinus 1792, p. 76, footnote, with reference to B.: “aliquos codices ... distraxit.”

¹⁰ See Hervás 1801, p. 132.

¹¹ See Mundadan 1989, p. 53, n. 66.

1759 and 1773,¹² and brought them all back to Rome.¹³ However, other manuscripts containing Hanxleden's works had already reached Europe by different ecclesiastical ways.¹⁴

In addition to Paulinus' account, there are, as primary sources, three letters written by Hanxleden himself in 1713 and 1715,¹⁵ and two letters on Hanxleden's life. The latter were published among other Jesuit missionary-reports soon after his death by Joseph Stöcklein in *Der Neue Welt-Bott*.¹⁶ The first one, of July 27, 1732, written by his junior companion Father Bernhard Bischofinck,¹⁷ the second one of September 26, 1732, by Father Jakob Hausegger.¹⁸ Finally, the old Goan catalogues, now in the Jesuit Archives in Rome, give some biographical information.¹⁹

Beside these church testimonies, an oral, partly legendary, tradition on Arnos Padiri, attached to the places where he lived, survived in Kerala until the twentieth century.²⁰

¹² See n. 24 below.

¹³ See below, p. 10ff., and nn. 62, 64, 67, 72, 79, 85, 136 and 201 for the manuscripts owned by Paulinus.

¹⁴ See below, nn. 61, 75, 85 and 190ff., and the testimony for the same in Hervás 1785, p. 93.

¹⁵ See below, p. 9.

¹⁶ No. 601, Augsburg 1732, pp. 19–20 and 122.

¹⁷ B. 1690 or 1692 in Borken, Westphalia (Germany), d. ca. 1746 in Mangalore.

¹⁸ B. 1700 in Schemnitz, Hungary, d. 1765 in Travancore. On Bischofinck and Hausegger, see Lederle 2002a and 2002b, with further references; see also Lederle 2009, p. 128. Paulinus relies on information from Hausegger, who had been Rector at Ambazhakad (see Ferrol 1951, p. 294), beyond the information provided in the latter's letter (see Paulinus 1792, p. 51: “Hoc de eo [i.e., Hanxleden; Ch.V.] memoriae prodidit [the then late; Ch.V.] R. P. Iosephus Hausegger Hungarus eiusdem S. I. in Malabar Missionarius & eius laborum Apostolicorum socius”). It is derived from the colophons of Hausegger's copies of Hanxleden's manuscripts acquired by Paulinus (see below, p. 14), and also (“nec non,” *ibid.*) from the oral testimony of the German ex-Jesuit Father Mathias Scherpenzel or Matthias Scherpenseel (Wicki 1967, p. 332), who was then nominated as one of the three vicar-generals for the region of Cochin and Cranganore (Neill 1985, p. 126), who must have known Hausegger in Ambazhakad.

¹⁹ Relevant portions are quoted in Ferrol 1951, p. 329; Pallipurathkunnel 1982, p. 122; Jōsū 2009, p. 193.

²⁰ The remains of this tradition were first collected by P. J. Thomas (Tōmasū). More recent-

Johann Ernst Hanxleden was born in 1681 in Osterkappeln, near Osnabrück in Lower Saxony, Germany. After studying in the Jesuit Gymnasium Carolinum in Osnabrück, Hanxleden volunteered for the Jesuit missions in India in 1699. A document of the Hanxleden file in the Diocesan Archives of Osnabrück (checked by Jean-Claude Muller), written in the Gymnasium Carolinum in 1699, clearly states how Hanxleden had been lured to the Malabar mission by one Father who had returned from that land: "Quidam Societatis nostra Missionarius ex Malabaria huc delapsus studiosum aliquem gymnasii nostri, Hanxleden dictum, eximiis natura, ex gratia talentis instructum, ex Societatis Candidatum [...] secum sumpsit in Malabariam." This unnamed Jesuit had thus come back from Malabar, which does not seem to be the case with Father Weber, presented as Hanxleden's recruiter by Domenico Ferroli.²¹ He may have been Father Stephan Joseph Brem(m)er.²² In any case, Hanxleden went to Augsburg, where he was accepted as a "candidate" for the Society. Together with the elderly Jesuits Wilhelm Weber and Wilhelm Meyr, and a doctor (i.e., barber), Franz Kaspar Schillinger,²³ he set forth on October 30, 1699 on a long journey to India, travelling through Italy, then by ship to Turkey, Syria, Armenia, and Persia. After embarking in Bandar Abbas, on the Gulf of Persia, on a French ship, he set foot in India at Surat in contemporary Gujarat on December 13, 1700. On the island of Cyprus, Hanxleden was formally accepted as a member of the Society of Jesus, starting his novitiate with Father Weber as his master. However, the latter and Father Meyr died at sea before reaching Surat. Hanxleden then proceeded to Goa, where the main Jesuit community in India was settled at St. Paul's College.

After completing his spiritual formation in Goa, during which he acquired the Portuguese language, Hanxleden was sent to the Jesuit seminary of Ambalakad

ly, see Thankappan Nair (1994), who relies on the oral testimony of John Kalliath, a resident of Velur, and refers to the now lost manuscript of a legendary biography of Arnos Padiri (see n. 218 below). See also Pallath 1994 (see n. 225 below) and Wikipedia (English) s.v. "Johann Ernst Hanxleden" and (Malayālam) *arṇṇōsū pātiri*.

²¹ See Ferroli 1951, pp. 316–317. Cf. Mundadan 1988, p. 186, and 1989, pp. 43–44.

²² On Bremmer and on his preserved Malabar correspondence, see Ferroli 1951, p. 294; Wicki 1967, pp. 312 and 393; Hambye 1997, pp. 15, 24 and 489; Lederle 2009, pp. 118, 122, 128, 190–191 and 289.

²³ Schillinger left us an account of their perilous voyage, published in 1707 and epitomized in *Der Neue Welt-Bott* no. 93, 1726, pp. 58–101.

(Ambazha(k)kad)²⁴ in Kerala, called the "Serra" in Portuguese, where from ca. 1702 to 1704 he pursued theological studies in immediate preparation to become a priest. He also took time to initiate himself to the local vernacular language, viz. Malayālam, and to the liturgical language of the St. Thomas Christians, viz. Syriac. He was ordained priest in 1705 or 1706. The two manuscript exemplars of his final vows professed in 1714 (*professus quattuor votorum*), preserved in the Jesuit Archives in Rome,²⁵ were identified as autographs by Jean-Claude Muller.

Kerala, more precisely the inner-central part of the country, that is, the area outside the coastal territories under Dutch rule, will remain the field of Hanxleden's activities. Beside Malayālam and Syriac, he also acquired a good command of Tamil. Moreover, after having moved to Pazhur²⁶ where he stayed from 1704 to 1711, he started to learn Sanskrit and improved his High Malayālam thanks to two Nambudiri (*nampūtiri*) brahmins from the traditional Sanskrit academy in Trichur.²⁷ Hanxleden's instruction by two brahmins from

²⁴ This is Ampalakate or Ambalacotam in earlier sources, i.e., *ampalakkātū* in Thrissur District, between Mala and Chalakkudy. On this important Jesuit seminary, where Father Beschi died, see Ferroli 1951, pp. 286–297 and *passim*; Neill 1985, pp. 87 and 102; Perumthottam 1994, pp. 75–78; Hambye 1997, pp. 41–42; Bincy 2007; Lederle 2009, pp. 125–131. According to Ferroli (1951, p. 296), "Some Jesuits ... seem to have carried on in Ambalakad, even after the Suppression of the Society; in fact, as late as Tippu Sultan's Malabar raid, when the College of Ambalakad was destroyed." This is in agreement with Paulinus who declares that the last Rector in Ambazhakad, the Portuguese Father Faraz (Emmanuel Ferraz in Hambye 1997, p. 97), remained there until 1789–1790 and Tipu Sultan's invasion (Paulinus 1792, p. 52; see De Gubernatis 1877, p. 49). The old buildings of the seminary were located in the area of the present church of Sampaloor (*sampalūr*, "St. Paul's place," sometime transcribed Chempalur or Chembalur; see Menachery 1973, pp. 156, 194 and 217). The place takes its name from the name of the seminary; see Kizhakkethayil 1937, p. 128, and Thankappan Nair 1994, p. 48, and 55. Nair reminds us, like Huonder (in Huonder 1910) and Bischofinck himself in his letter of 1732, that in India the Jesuits were called the "Paulists." See Vielle 2013 for a map of Hanxleden's Kerala and the precise location of this place.

²⁵ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Lusitania 17, fols. 297r–298r, and 317r–318r.

²⁶ Pazhur (see "*palūr* Pashur seu Palur ... in templo Parulensi" in Paulinus 1792, p. 51, and 1799, p. 2), which is Pazhayur (*paḷayūr*) in earlier sources, is Pazhuvil (*paḷuvil*), 19 km south-west of Trichur (Mundadan 1989, p. 45, n. 29), near Irinjalakuda. It should not be confused with Palayur (*pālayūr*) in the same Thrissur District.

²⁷ This *academia* can be identified with a group of three *maṭha*-s, or traditional Sanskrit colleges, that still exist in the center of Trichur.

Trichur²⁸ is mentioned by Paulinus: “assistentibus duobus Brahmanibus academiae Triciurensis, quos sibi devinxerat.”²⁹ However, their names remain unknown.³⁰ Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro reports that Hanxleden bribed one of these brahmins with money to obtain his knowledge: “Hanxleden logró con dinero corromper el zelo de un brahman, que le comunicó la dicha grammática y libros.”³¹ However, this seems to be an exaggeration of what Paulinus wrote,³² unless the latter, declared by Hervás to be his only source in the matter,³³ may have actually told him that.

From 1707 to 1711/1712, Hanxleden served as secretary to João Ribeiro, a Portuguese Jesuit who was the “Padroado” Archbishop of Cranganore (Kodungallur) from 1701 to 1716.³⁴ During this time he travelled through the country for various tasks such as preaching and catechesis. It is recorded that for several months he served as the vicar of the present Mother of God (*Mater Dei*) Cathedral Church of the Diocese of Calicut. At the end of 1712, Hanxleden moved to Velur (*vēlūr*), a small village about 20 km north of Trichur, where he built a church dedicated to St. Francis Xavier. Velur will be his abode for most of his remaining life. His house is still preserved there, near the church, under the status of a protected monument of Kerala.³⁵ Among the few exhibits in his home³⁶ are his bed and the *caturangam* columns marked on the wooden floor; Hanxleden, it is reported, used to play this early form of chess with Nambudiri brahmins who are traditionally fond of this game.³⁷ He also continued to work

²⁸ See Mackenzie 1906, p. 193.

²⁹ Paulinus 1792, p. 51; see also Paulinus 1799, p. 2: “tractis ex vicina *Tritshuricensi* academia aliquibus *Brahmanibus*, quos ille sibi munusculis devinxerat.”

³⁰ The names given in Tōmasū 1961, p. 98 (1989, p. 110), Kizhakkethayil 1937, p. 130, or Thankappan Nair 1994, p. 49, result from a misunderstanding of what Paulinus says just afterwards about two other brahmins from whom he got the copy of a Sanskrit grammar (Mundadan 1989, pp. 45–46, n. 30).

³¹ Hervás 1805, p. 132.

³² See Paulinus 1799, p. 2: “with little gifts.”

³³ See Hervás 1805, p. 132.

³⁴ See Perumthottam 1994, p. 78 and *passim*; Hambye 1997, pp. 22–25; Sobhanan 1981, pp. 224–227.

³⁵ See Pillai 2001, pp. 108–110.

³⁶ See Ferrolì 1951, p. 329; Mundadan 1989, p. 49; Thankappan Nair 1994, p. 51.

³⁷ See the recently retrieved *Caturangāṣṭaka* of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa.

in the Jesuit seminary of Ambazhakad. According to their shelf marks, at least three of his preserved autograph manuscripts in codex form come from there, namely, the Sanskrit grammar of Monte Compatri, and, as already noted by Muller,³⁸ the Vocabulary of Coimbra (1730) and his partial copy of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*,³⁹ introduced here below (pp. 11, 15 and 18).

Hanxleden spent his last years in Pazhur, from 1726 onwards according to the local tradition which also claims that he moved away from Velur because his life was threatened there. He died in Velur on March 20, 1732⁴⁰ and was buried there within the church dedicated to St. Antony.⁴¹ His remains were moved outside the church when it was renovated from 1950 to 1970, and placed within a memorial built beside it in 2000.

2. WORKS

2.1 Letters

We know of three letters written in Latin by Hanxleden, one dated October 4, 1713,⁴² one of January 7, 1715,⁴³ and one of August 3, 1715.⁴⁴ The text of the two latter letters, and only a portion of the second one, is preserved in the letters of the French Jesuit Father Louis Noël (or Natal) de Bourzes, Hanxleden’s correspondent; they are now in the archives of the Jesuit province of Paris.⁴⁵ These letters are interesting for the history of Malabar Christianity in the beginning of

³⁸ See Muller 1985, p. 134.

³⁹ See Paulinus 1793, p. 120, on the initial part of the manuscript unfortunately lost “in collegio *Ambalacattensi*.”

⁴⁰ See Van Hal & Vielle 2013, p. 5, n. 8; according to tradition, he died from a snake-bite (Pallath 1994, p. 13).

⁴¹ See Paulinus 1792, p. 51, and 1799, p. 2, following Hausegger.

⁴² Archiv der Himmelfahrtskirche, Köln, now lost. However, a copy was with Ferrolì who translated it into English, see Ferrolì 1951, pp. 323–328.

⁴³ Translated into English in Adappur 1995, pp. 200–202 (cf., without mention of the latter’s name, Pallath 1994, pp. 93–95) and into Malayāḷam in Ulahannaṅ Māppiḷa 1993, pp. 34–37.

⁴⁴ Translated in Adappur 1995, pp. 205–206, and Ulahannaṅ Māppiḷa 1993, pp. 41–42.

⁴⁵ See Hambye 1990, p. 313; Ulahannaṅ Māppiḷa 1993, pp. 34–43, Adappur 1995, pp. 198–199. Previously, these two manuscript letters were preserved in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève (Paris) according to Sommervogel et al. (1893, p. 81), followed by Ferrolì (1951, p. 330) and Thankappan Nair (1994, pp. 47 and 58, n. 11).

the eighteenth century, especially the first one.⁴⁶ The one of January 1715 bears testimony to Hanxleden's knowledge of the Syriac language and his interest in Syriac culture.⁴⁷ The Latin text of these letters remains to be edited.⁴⁸

2.2 Philological and Linguistic Works

Hanxleden copied several Sanskrit lexical, grammatical and poetical indigenous works from palm-leaf manuscripts written in Grantha-Malayāḷam *scriptio continua* and annotated them, which at the least proves his accurate understanding of what he was reading:

Ex foliis palmarum lectu difficillimis hanc immensam et implexam vocabulorum congeriem, nullis punctis, nullis disjunctionis signis distinctam, eamque versibus peregrinis exaratam more Europaeorum in tabulas referre, res est humanas quasi vires excedens.

[To copy] from palm leaves which are very difficult to read, this immense and complex accumulation of words, characterized by no punctuation marks, no separation signs, and written in alien poetical forms, [and] to arrange it in tables according to the European fashion, this is something which exceeds human strength.⁴⁹

Of these autograph manuscripts in codex form, the ones acquired and owned by Paulinus contained the following works: the *Amarasimha*,⁵⁰ the *Siddharūpa* (44 pp.),⁵¹ another, longer work on grammar (*vyākaraṇa*) (210 pp.), to which were appended 12 pages of gnomic stanzas (*śloka-s*),⁵² and a portion of the *Yu-*

⁴⁶ See Ferrolì 1951, pp. 322 and 330–332; Mundadan 1989, p. 48; Adappur 1995, pp. 207–212; Hambye 1997, pp. 22–26.

⁴⁷ See Vielle 2016.

⁴⁸ An edition by Muller is underway (status of information: November 2021).

⁴⁹ Paulinus 1799, p. 6, translated by M. Luke in Pallath 1994, pp. 30–31, with some slight emendations by the present author.

⁵⁰ Paulinus 1798a, p. vi, cf. Paulinus 1790, pp. 13 and 63; 1792, pp. 30–31 and 76, footnote, no. 1, item 3; 1793, p. 60; 1796, p. 395; 1799, p. 6; 1804, pp. xx, no. 1, 209 and 301; De Gubernatis 1877, p. 47, no. xxii, item 45; Mundadan 1989, p. 55. Paulinus knew and used two other copies of this work.

⁵¹ Paulinus 1799, p. 6; De Gubernatis 1877, pp. 46–47, no. xxii, item 44. Further on this basic grammar, see below, p. 18, and n. 92.

⁵² Paulinus 1790, p. 65; 1792, p. 77, footnote, no. 4; 1796, pp. 251–254; 1798a, p. [iv]; 1799, p. 6; 1804, pp. xiii–xiv, xx, no. 5, and 125.

dhiṣṭhiravijaya,⁵³ a poem (*kāvya*) of the *yamaka* type which is very popular in Kerala.⁵⁴

Father Bischoepinck, in his letter of 1732 referred to above, writes about Hanxleden:

Seine Kenntnisse der Malabarischen- und Grandonischen Sprachen, in welchen er viele geistvolle Bücher in der gebundenen und ungebundenen Redens-Art geschrieben, ja zwei vollkommene Grammatiken und Wörterbücher verfasst, hatte etwas ganz ausnehmendes, in dem maßen er in dem Begriff beider Sprachen auch die Heidnischen Lehrer weit übertroffen hat.

His knowledge of Malabaric (i.e., Malayāḷam) and Grandonic (i.e., Sanskrit) languages, in both of which he wrote many genial works in prose and verse, and even composed two perfect grammars and dictionaries, was something outstanding, in the sense that in the mastery of both languages he has also far surpassed the Pagan teachers.⁵⁵

This precise reference to two grammars⁵⁶ and, presumably, two dictionaries⁵⁷ composed by Hanxleden is important.

⁵³ Paulinus 1792, pp. 30 and 77, footnote, no. 6; 1793, pp. 120–121; 1799, pp. 6–7; 1804, p. xx, no. 2. The manuscript is now in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome; see Balzani *apud* Müller 1899, p. 219, S.M.S. 17; Zachariae 1926, pp. 228–229; Muller 1985, p. 134; Ragha-va Varier 2012, pp. 18–19 and 82 (no. 17 [194]).

⁵⁴ See Kunjunni Raja 1980, pp. 19–27. A list of four other (philosophical) Sanskrit texts on which Hanxleden is supposed to have commented is found in Tōmasū 1931 (see Kizhakkethayil 1937, p. 132) and Ullūr 1990, p. 244 (see also Unithiri 1981, p. 209 = 2004, p. 139). However, this list comes from an unproven conjecture made by De Gubernatis (1876) and reported by Müller (1899, p. 218). It is based on a reference made by Paulinus to a commentary on the brahminical sacrifice (*yāga*): “Il P. G. E. Hanxleden nei suoi libri ha spiegato alcune circostanze di questo sacrificio Brahmanico” (Paulinus 1796, p. 306). This appears to simply refer to Hanxleden's dictionary (see Paulinus 1796, p. 133, footnote), on which see below, p. 12. The same is the case with Paulinus' reference to additional information he obtained on Indian medicine: “Tengo anche la Medicina Brahmanica tradotta dal Samscrda dal P. Giovanni Alvarez, ed accresciuta dal P. G. Ernesto Hanxleden Gesuita” (Paulinus 1796, p. 355); see also Paulinus 1796, pp. 357 and 366–367, and the commentator to Paulinus(us) 1808, vol. 3, p. 477.

⁵⁵ An alternative English translation is provided in Pallath 1994, p. 13; see also Mundadan 1989, p. 51.

⁵⁶ Paulinus 1799, p. 5: “duas P. Ernesti grammaticas.”

⁵⁷ See below, p. 14.

2.2.1 Dictionaries

A Malayāḷam–Portuguese dictionary preserved in a codex manuscript kept in Rome⁵⁸ is stated in the colophon to be an unfinished work by Hanxleden, completed by way of borrowings from another vocabulary compiled by Archbishop Antonio Pimentel, the successor of Ribeiro (1721–1752).⁵⁹ This augmented version of the original work according to its own testimony was edited with an English translation by P. V. Ulahannan Mappila, of St. Berchmans' College, Changanassery, and published by the Kerala Sahitya Academy as the work of Arnos Padiri alone.⁶⁰ The manuscript matches the *Dictionarium Malabarico–Lusitanum* which was once in the Library of the *Propaganda Fide* and was described by Paulinus,⁶¹ who rightly attributes it to Hanxleden up to the letter T,

⁵⁸ Biblioteca Vaticana, *Borgiano Indiano* 10. On this manuscript with 128 folios, see Vallavanthara 1984, pp. 52–55, for a description, and 92 for a reproduction of the first folio. For the reproduction of the last folio, see Ulahannan Māppiḷa 1993, pp. 75 and 77.

⁵⁹ See Paulinus 1794, p. 67; Neill 1985, pp. 59–60; Perumthottam 1994, pp. 78–79 and *passim*; Hambye 1997, p. 26.

⁶⁰ Arṇṇōsū Pātiri 1988; cf. Guptan Nair 1988 = 1994; Müssatū 1995; Zacharia 1995, pp. 189–192.

⁶¹ Paulinus 1792, pp. 55–56, no. x; see also Paulinus 1799, p. 5. See especially Paulinus 1792, p. 56, n. 1: “Dictionarium hoc inscribitur: *Vocabulario da lingoa Malavar*.” More precisely, one should read “Malabar” instead of “Malavar” on folio 1 of the Vatican manuscript, and not “da Lingua Malavar” as in Vallavanthara 1984, p. 53. The title *Dictionarium Malabaricum Lusitanum*, which corresponds to the title in Paulinus' description, is found in an introductory note added on the front-page of the manuscript (Vallavanthara *ibid.*). The manuscript was previously listed as item no. 9 (e.g., Paulinus 1790, pp. 57 and 75, and 1791, p. 64, footnote), as explained by Paulinus (1792, p. 56, n. 1), and as item no. 8 in his preliminary list of manuscripts in the Library of the *Propaganda Fide*, which he compiled in 1789 or 1790 (see below, n. 85). This list is reproduced by De Gubernatis (1877, p. 49, no. xxix [c]: “Paulini a S. Bartholomeo Recensio historico-critica codicum indicorum bibliothecae S. Congregat. de propaganda”) and preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome (S.M.S. 22). The provenance of the Vatican manuscript from the Library of the *Propaganda Fide* is confirmed by its shelf mark as reported in Ulahannan Māppiḷa 1993, p. 79. According to the testimony of Father Hervás, the manuscript had reached the Library of the *Propaganda Fide* before Paulinus' return from Malabar. Already in 1785, Father Hervás saw in the same Library a “dizionario MS. Malabarico–Portoghese in foglio con 140 [see Sommervogel et al. 1893, p. 80; Ch.V.], e nell' ultimo notasi, che è opera del Gesuita Giovanni Ernesto Hankleaden [...] famoso Maestro delle lingue Malabare, e Tamulica” (cf. “R. P. Joao Ernesto Hankleaden da Companhia de Jesus, grande Mestre na lingoa Malabar commua alta e tambem grandonica” in the colophon of the Vatican manuscript). Hervás also called the

the words being arranged in Roman alphabetical order. However, he wrongly declares, against the precise wording of the colophon, that the rest was “added” by Pimentel himself (“reliquas addidit” Pimentel).⁶² Beside this manuscript,

work a “dizionario Grandonico–Malabare” (1785, p. 93; cf. Van Hal 2010, p. 447). The commentator to Paulin(us) confirms that the manuscript had reached the Library of the *Propaganda Fide* before Paulinus' return; he perfidiously, and partially uncorrectly, says that “toute la science du Missionnaire [Paulin(us); Ch.V.] est tirée du dictionnaire du P. Hanxleden, qu'il a copié à Rome, depuis son retour de l'Inde: tout le monde pourrait en faire autant” (Paulin 1808, vol. 3, p. 296). The anonymous colophon of the Vatican manuscript was attributed to the hand of Hausegger by Guptan Nair (1988, p. 9 = 1994, p. 43), without good reason (cf. Mundadan 1989, p. 57, n. 79), probably because of some confusion with Paulinus' statement about the other manuscript of the dictionary he owned.

⁶² Cf. the corresponding statement, with the same wording as in Paulinus 1792, p. 55, written as a descriptive note on the front-page of the Vatican manuscript (Vallavanthara 1984, p. 53). See also item no. 8 in Paulinus' preliminary list of manuscripts in the Library of the *Propaganda Fide* provided in De Gubernatis 1877, p. 49, no. xxix [c] (“*Dictionarium ... con aggiunte di Ant. Pimentel*”), and, less explicitly, Paulinus 1798b, p. xlv (“Pimentel ... in appendice Lexici Hanxlediani”). It may well have been that such an augmented dictionary circulated in Malabar under Pimentel's name, and Paulinus, who was aware of this, therefore concluded that it was Pimentel himself who, after having completed Hanxleden's dictionary (see Paulinus 1799, p. 5: “Hoc dictionarium Hanxledianum auxit et absolvit”), extended it and then published this new augmented work under his own name. See Paulinus 1792, p. 56: “Auxit deinde hic ipse dictionarium R. P. Hanxleden & suo nomine novum hoc opus protulit, cuius aliqua exemplaria manuscripta in Malabarica circumferuntur ... aliud vero D. Pimenteli verborum copia & varietate praestat” (cf. Rocher 1977, p. 212, Mundadan 1989, p. 56, n. 78). Paulinus appears to have owned an exemplar of this “Pimentel's dictionary” (see Paulinus 1792, p. 77, footnote, no. 12, and n. 79 below), even though it is not found in the list of Paulinus' personal manuscripts copied in De Gubernatis 1877, pp. 44–47, no. xxii; it seems to be lost (however, see here, below). He refers to this dictionary several times (see Paulinus 1792, p. 30; 1793, pp. 114, 124 and 132; 1796, pp. 270, 281, 397–398 and 400), beside the one by Hanxleden (see especially 1792, p. 56: “duo dictionaria”). The reference in Paulinus 1790, p. 57, where he clearly presents it separately from “Hanxleden's dictionary” as item no. 3 of the Library of the *Propaganda Fide*, whereas no. 9 is allotted to Hanxleden's dictionary (see n. 61 above), is problematic: either item no. 3 is a mistaken entry and should be ignored because the work is not given elsewhere as part of this library, especially not in Paulinus 1792, or the name “Pimentel” is wrong here and the dictionary referred to is in fact the Malayāḷam dictionary (“dictionarium vulgaris linguae Malabaricae”) of Father Faraz (see below, p. 18, and n. 24 above), which is the correct item no. 3 in the catalogue of the Library (see Paulinus 1792, p. 52; De Gubernatis 1877, p. 49). Anyway, if we believe the colophon of the Vatican manuscript, there must have been a different dictionary composed by Pimentel, a Malayāḷam dictionary rather than a Sanskrit–Malayāḷam or

Paulinus owned and used another exemplar of Hanxleden's dictionary that he had acquired in Kerala. This exemplar had been copied, and in this case left incomplete, by Father Hausegger: "a P. Hausegger descriptum correctissimum est."⁶³ This codex manuscript belonging to Paulinus⁶⁴ and having a short biographical colophon at the end,⁶⁵ appears to have reached the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome.⁶⁶ At the same library, there is also a still to be examined "Dictionarium Malabaricum (in portoghese) cui addita multa vocabula samscrdamica a P. F. Ernesto Hanxleden descriptum a [i.e., copied by; Ch.V.] P. Franco Carmel. Disc. Malab. Miss. anno 1785."⁶⁷ This codex manuscript may be another, third copy or version of Hanxleden's dictionary, unless it is the so-called Pimentel's dictionary made on the basis of Hanxleden's materials according to Paulinus.⁶⁸ This first of the two dictionaries composed by Hanxleden, left unfinished due to the author's premature death according to Hausegger's own words,⁶⁹ is equally called *Dictionarium* (or *Vocabularium*) *Malabarico*⁷⁰–*Lusitanum* by Paulinus,⁷¹ who used it mainly as a Sanskrit dictionary since the Sanskrit words commonly used in high Malayāḷam are well marked there.⁷²

Sanskrit–Portuguese dictionary, which also remains untraced.

⁶³ Paulinus 1792, p. 56. See also Paulinus 1799, p. 5: "quod R. P. Hausegger vero accurate et diligenter descripsit."

⁶⁴ See Paulinus 1792, p. 77, no. 12 (see n. 79 below), and De Gubernatis 1877, p. 46, no. xxii, item 38: "P. Joh. Ern. Hanxleden Vocabularium Malabarico–Lusitanum continens paginas 113 in fol." (cf. "Libri lemma est: *Vocabularium Malabarico Lusitanicum*" in Paulinus 1799, p. 5).

⁶⁵ See Paulinus 1799, p. 2, on Hausegger "qui ad calcem Dictionarii Samscrdamico–Malabarici Hanxlediani haec pauca de illo memoriae prodidit."

⁶⁶ See De Gubernatis 1877, p. 44, no. xxi, who gives the text of Hausegger's colophon; Balzani *apud* Müller 1899, p. 218, S.M.S. 33 (now 30); Mackenzie 1906, p. 193; Raghava Varier 2012, p. 82 (no. 30 [274]).

⁶⁷ De Gubernatis 1877, p. 48, no. xxvii, 299 pp.; see Balzani *apud* Müller 1899, p. 218, S.M.S. 25.

⁶⁸ See n. 62 above.

⁶⁹ "Cui ultimam imponere manum mors praematura non sivit," De Gubernatis 1877, p. 44; cf. the colophon of the Vatican manuscript and Paulinus 1799, p. 5.

⁷⁰ Alternatively, *Malabarico–Samscrdamico*, or *Samscrdamico–Malabarico*, that is, "Sanskrit–Malayāḷam," viz. high or Sanskritized Malayāḷam.

⁷¹ See Paulinus 1791, p. 267; 1794, p. 191; 1796, p. 221; 1799, pp. 2 and 5.

⁷² See Paulinus 1792, p. 56: "nam illud R. P. Hanxleden [as opposed to the so-called Pimen-

Another codex manuscript entitled *Vocabulario Malavarico* is kept in Portugal, in the Coimbra University library;⁷³ dated September 1, 1730, "in templo Parulensi," that is, Pazhur,⁷⁴ where it was completed before it reached the seminary of Ambazhakad. This manuscript is clearly an autograph.⁷⁵ Unlike the former codex, it is a Portuguese – (common and high)⁷⁶ Malayāḷam dictionary, which corresponds to Hanxleden's *Dictionarium Trilingue, Lusitano–Latino–Malabaricum ac Grandonicum* described by Paulinus,⁷⁷ at least according to the examples quoted there.⁷⁸ Yet, the manuscript that Paulinus had in hand was clearly a different one, being an exemplar again copied by Hausegger and presenting an augmented version of the original work, with the Sanskrit vocabu-

tel's dictionary; Ch.V.] [...] genuinis vocabulis Samscrdamicis ex vocabulario Brahmanico *Amarasinha* desumtis refertum". See also Paulinus 1799, p. 5: "Libri lemma est: *Vocabularium Malabarico Lusitanicum*; sed pleraque nomina sunt samscrdamica, saepe literis Gr., id est, vocabulum *Granthamicum* notata [...] P. Hanxleden samscrdamica vocabula ex purissimis fontibus, nempe ex Brahmanico Dictionario *Amarasinha* dicto, hausta tradat, Malabarica a Granthamicis rite distinguat, et ambiguas dictiones explicet." On Paulinus' use of the abbreviation "Gr.", see the colophon of the Vatican manuscript: "Gr. significa Grandaom" (not *Grandão* "Grand," as read in the 1988 edition), and Ulahannan Māppīla 1993, p. 78. See further Paulinus 1790, pp. 30, 55 ("in suo [viz. Hanxleden's; Ch.V.] dictionario Samscrdamico Lusitano") and 57; 1791, pp. 8, 64, 109, 114, 121, 138, 248, 280 and 304; 1792, pp. 29 ("ait R. P. Hanxleden in dictionario Samscrdamico") and 53; 1793, pp. 4, 15, 19, 27, n. 1, 65, 88, 126, 128, 159 and 191–192; 1794, p. 156; 1796, pp. 133, 222, 240, n. 277, 283 ("dice il P. Hanxleden nel suo Dizionario Granthamico") and 293; 1798a, p. vi ("ex manuscripto dictionario *Malabarico–Samscrdamico* P. I. E. Hanxleden"); 1804, pp. xiv and 275, for the Sanskrit quotations and references from this dictionary.

⁷³ Ms. 1090. When and by which way it reached there remains to be explored.

⁷⁴ See above, n. 26.

⁷⁵ See the online reproduction at https://digitalis-dsp.uc.pt/bg3/UCBG-Ms-1090/UCBG-Ms-1090_item1/index.html (accessed June 19, 2020).

⁷⁶ The "Lingoa Vulgar and Lingoa Alta" are distinguished here; see Muller 1985, p. 134.

⁷⁷ Paulinus 1799, pp. 5–6.

⁷⁸ Compare the sequences quoted in Paulinus 1799, p. 6: "[Lusitanicum] Absorto, [Latinum] absorptus, a sensibus abstractus, Malab. *Paravashen*, (*) [= Granthamicum; Ch.V.] *Asvatantrī*", and the Coimbra ms. f. 3r: *Absorto paravaṣaṇ asvatantrī*; "Abastado, rico, affluens, opulentus Malab. *Sambanen*, (*) *Vanaván, pushta*", f. 1v: *Abastado, rico sampannaṇ dhanavāṇ puṣṭa*; "Ajuntamento, conjunctio, congregatio, Malab. *Kútam, yógam*, (*) *Samgamana, Sangam*", and f. 11v: *Ajuntamento kūṭṭaṇ yogaṇ saṅgamanam saṅgaṇ*. Cf. also Paulinus 1791, p. 15, and the Coimbra ms. f. 206r: *Sacrificio para os forasteiros brahmanes* (*sacrificium pro Brahmanibus exteris) *mānuṣayajñam*.

lary ("Granthamicum vocabulum," i.e., the original Sanskrit-Malayālam in the last column) marked with an additional asterisk and a Latin translation added after the Portuguese words (in the first column) by Father Bischofinck, according to the description of Paulinus himself who distinctively refers to this dictionary as "Bischofinck's one."⁷⁹ This *Dictionarium Trilingue* used by Paulinus has been traced by Edouard René Hambye⁸⁰ and Toon Van Hal in the Archives of the Discalced Carmelites in Rome (ms. 294f) and should be closely compared with the autograph.

2.2.2 Grammars

Hanxleden wrote a Malayālam grammar and, for the same practical reasons, he chose the western vernacular language of Malabar at that time, viz. Portuguese.⁸¹ An anonymous *Arte Malavar*, in Portuguese, was edited in facsimile and transcription as Arnos Padiri's work by Antony Joseph in 1993, with an introduction by P. V. Ulahannan Mappila and an English translation by Miss Pinto,⁸² from a codex manuscript preserved at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.⁸³ The first nominal paradigm (*villu*, "bow")

⁷⁹ See Paulinus 1804, p. xx, no. 6, on his use of two different "Dictionaria Malabarico-Samscredamica [i.e., the Sanskrit-Malayālam-Portuguese dictionary, started but not completed by; Ch.V.] P. Hanxleden [viz. the *Vocabularium Malabarico-Lusitanum*, often simply quoted as the "Dictionarium R. P. Hanxleden" by Paulinus, *passim*; Ch.V.], et [Hanxleden's reverse lexicon transformed into a Portuguese-Latin-Malayālam-Sanskrit dictionary by; Ch.V.] P. Biscopio [see Paulinus 1791, p. 15: "dictionarium Samscredamico Malabarico Lusitanum R. P. Biscopio"; cf. Paulinus 1796, pp. 158 and 182; Ch.V.], in quo ultimo vocabula pura Samscredamica asterisco notantur, et distinguuntur." See also the note to Paulin 1808 (vol. 3, p. 296, cf. also pp. 339 and 342) which refers to "le dictionnaire grandam du P. Hanxleden" as distinct from "celui du P. Biscopio." *Contra* Mundadan (1989, pp. 55–56 and n. 81, following Huonder and Sommervogel), I thus understand Paulinus' important statement about the manuscripts he owned (Paulinus 1792, p. 77, footnote, no. 12), namely, "dictionarium Malabarico-Samscredamico Lusitanum P. Hanxleden, D. Pimentel, & P. Biscopio. Codices chartacei [plural; Ch.V.] in fol.," as referring to three different dictionaries. Cf. also the similar triple references in Paulinus 1790, p. 30; 1791, p. 310; 1792, pp. 22 and 46; 1793, pp. 148–149 and 171; 1794, p. 10; 1796, p. 214, n. 1, 366; 1798b, p. xxxiii. On the so-called Pimentel's dictionary, see n. 62 and p. 12 above.

⁸⁰ See Hambye 1990, p. 313.

⁸¹ See Paulinus 1794, p. 191: "Grammatica Malabarico-Lusitana."

⁸² See Arṇṇōsū Pātiri 1993.

⁸³ See Mundadan 1989, pp. 54, n. 68, and 56 with nn. 72–75.

and the general frame of this grammar match the short description given by Paulinus.⁸⁴ Yet, the exemplar of the work that was used by Paulinus is rather to be found in Rome, in the Archives of the Discalced Carmelites, in the same manuscript copied by Hausegger as the *Dictionarium Trilingue*.⁸⁵ Moreover, a "Jesuit" Malayālam grammar in Portuguese dated 1792, also preserved in

⁸⁴ See Paulinus 1799, p. 4.

⁸⁵ *Arte Malavarica* in thirteen chapters, together with a *Dictionarium Trilingue Lusitano-Latino-Malabaricum ac Grandonicum (cujus vocabula asterisco, seu stellula notata sint)*, according to its description in Hambye 1990, p. 313 (checked by Van Hal). The following manuscript description, with works variously ascribed to Hanxleden (Hambye 1997, p. 95, n. 9), Bischofinck (Streit & Dindinger 1931, p. 85, no. 311; Hambye 1997, p. 96, n. 18; Lederle 2002a, p. 214) or both Hanxleden and Paulinus (Ferrol 1951, p. 294), must refer to the same manuscript: "Dictionarium Malabaricum et Samscredamico-Lusitanum, cui praefixa est grammatica P. Ern. Hanxleden, et in fine addita catechesis Christiana lingua Malabarica, Roma, Bibl. Propaganda Fide." The description matches precisely the wording of item no. 41 in the autographic list of manuscripts belonging to Paulinus (De Gubernatis 1877, p. 46, no. xxii; see nn. 62–64 above): "Dictionarium Malabaricum et samscredamico-lusitanum R. P. Biscopio [...] in fol., cui praefixa est grammatica Malabarica P. Ernesti Hanxleden, et infine addita catechesis christiana lingua malabarica. Omnia descripsit accurate P. Josephus Hausegger [...]. Dictionarium est insigne." Although it is not described in his catalogue of 1792, Paulinus may have deposited this manuscript in the Library of the *Propaganda Fide* later on, before it went to the Archives of the Discalced Carmelites in Rome. This may be compared to the problematic case of Hanxleden's Sanskrit grammar, which was described in 1790–1791 (because of a reference to the printing of Paulinus' own Sanskrit grammar, on which see below) in the same list (item no. 39; De Gubernatis 1877, p. 46) as if it had been brought back from Kerala by Paulinus himself, and which was thereafter described as belonging to the Library of the *Propaganda Fide* (Paulinus 1792, pp. 51–52, no. ii, and 1793, p. 30, footnote). The grammar appears as the first item (no. 1) in Paulinus' preliminary descriptive list of manuscripts in the Library of the *Propaganda Fide* given by De Gubernatis (1877, pp. 48–49, no. xxix [c]), which list should date from 1789–1790 since the *Sidharubam* of Paulinus, which will become item no. 1 in Paulinus 1792, is not yet mentioned and replaced, as item no. 2, by a preliminary version of Paulinus' grammar in manuscript form, dated 1778. However, from the sentence "et cum Grammatica samscredamica P. Paulini a S. Barthol. conveniens, quamvis hic has [viz. Hanxleden and Roth's respective grammars; Ch.V.] Romae primum repererit et viderit, cum suam Grammaticam a Brahmanibus acceptam jam Romae typis edidisset" (De Gubernatis 1877, p. 46; cf. also Paulinus' statement in Paulinus 1794, p. 191, that Hanxleden's grammar is "prima quae apparuit in Europa"), one may conclude that the manuscript of Hanxleden's Sanskrit grammar was somewhere in Rome before Paulinus' return, but apparently not in the Library of the *Propaganda Fide*, where Hervás saw only the dictionary; see n. 61 above and Van Hal 2010, p. 447, n. 6 (where "grammar" is a mistake for "dictionary").

Rome,⁸⁶ may be identical with the one described by Paulinus in the Library of the *Propaganda Fide* as having been “copied from Hanxleden” (“Grammaticam [vulgaris linguae Malabaricae; Ch.V.] quam exhibet, descripsit a R. P. Hanxleden”) by Father Faraz.⁸⁷ This implies that there may be three extant copies of this grammar.

The second grammar authored by Hanxleden is a Sanskrit grammar, entitled *Grammatica Grandonica*. Its autograph codex manuscript⁸⁸ was retrieved by Van Hal, along with a manuscript diary of Paulinus, in the Discalced Carmelite Monastery of San Silvestro in Monte Compatri, near Rome,⁸⁹ and is now published.⁹⁰ It is written in Latin, with the Sanskrit in Grantha-Malayāḷam script. Hanxleden’s manuscript and grammar is well described by Paulinus.⁹¹ However, the latter, who is generally credited for having published the first grammar of Sanskrit ever printed in Europe, namely, his *Sidharubam seu Grammatica Samscrdamica* issued in 1790, omits to mention that a significant portion of his grammar, and also of the one published in 1804, is a mere copy of Hanxleden’s work. The common use of the same Sanskrit model, viz. the *Siddharūpa*,⁹² cannot explain such a close similarity, for Hanxleden presents his own arrangement both for the declension and the conjugation, in which numerous additional irregular forms are listed, and further devotes special sections to the use of the cases, the gender of nouns, adverbs and compounds, syntax and euphonic rules (*sandhi*). In addition to the *Siddharūpa*, Hanxleden used at least

⁸⁶ Biblioteca Vaticana, *Borgiano Indiano* 25A, together with a dictionary, 25B; see Vallavanthara 1984, pp. 68–69.

⁸⁷ Paulinus 1792, p. 52; cf. De Gubernatis 1877, p. 49, no. xxix (c), item no. 3. On Father Faraz see n. 24 above.

⁸⁸ Paulinus 1792, p. 52: “ex caractere tamen manus propriae aliisque evidentibus indicis R. P. Hanxleden esse dignoscitur.”

⁸⁹ See Van Hal 2010.

⁹⁰ See Van Hal & Vielle 2013. An annotated French translation is under preparation.

⁹¹ Paulinus 1792, pp. 51–52; 1799, pp. 4–5. See Muller 1985, p. 133, and n. 85 above.

⁹² See Paulinus 1790, p. 55; Hervás 1801, p. 132. The *Siddharūpa* is an elementary manual consisting in a simple list of nominal and verbal paradigms that is traditionally used in Kerala for learning basic Sanskrit; see Unithiri 2004, p. 178. An edition has been published by the Kerala Sahitya Akademi in 2010. Several other editions are available in Malayāḷam script.

one more complex grammar in Sanskrit⁹³ and one *Dhātupāṭha*; he also was aware of the Pāṇinian categories.

2.3 Poetical Works

A double anecdote collected from the oral tradition by P. J. Thomas⁹⁴ well illustrates Hanxleden’s proficiency in both Sanskrit and the Malayāḷam language.⁹⁵ The anecdote belongs to the living Keralese tradition of “good sayings” (*subhāṣita*) or, more precisely, of *nimiṣa-* or *āśu-kavita* (Malayāḷam, from the Sanskrit), “instant poetry,” which often consists of verses where a proponent answers to an opponent’s challenge. The great Sanskrit and Malayāḷam poets were, and still are, popularly remembered through such poetry.⁹⁶ In the case of Arnos Padiri, the tradition runs as follows. Once a brahmin teased Arnos Padiri about his cat-like eyes, addressing him with the Sanskrit compound *gaṇapati-vāhana-ripu-nayana*, viz. “Oh you, with eyes like the enemy of Gaṇapati’s vehicle [i.e., the rat],” to which the Father replied in Sanskrit: *daśarathanandana-dūta-mukha*, viz. “Oh you, with the face of the messenger of Daśaratha’s son [i.e., Rāma],” that is, having a face like Hanumān or being monkey-faced. At another time, a member of the Brahmin caste called *īlayatū*, a word literally meaning “the young(er),” said to him, with a double-meaning: *pātiri villinu bahu-viśeṣam āñū*, viz. “*pātiri* is well-fitted for [making] a bow (*villu*).” In Malayāḷam, *pātiri* means (1) a kind of tree and (2), as a loanword from Portuguese, “Father,” while the word *villu*, which refers to a bow, serves as the first paradigm in Hanxleden’s Malayāḷam grammar. To this, the Father replied: *īlayatāyāl ēṭṭam nannū*, viz. “If it is the young [tree] (or: ‘an *īlayatū*’), it is very good.”

⁹³ See above, p. 10, for the grammar he copied, which appears now to be Dharmakīrti’s *Rūpāvatāra*.

⁹⁴ Tōmasū 1961, p. 99 (1989, p. 111). Cf. Ferrolì 1951, p. 329, footnote; Thankappan Nair 1994, p. 50; Mundadan 1989, p. 40.

⁹⁵ See Bischoffinck quoted above, p. 11; Paulinus 1792, p. 51: “non solum linguae vulgaris Malabaricae, sed etiam sacrae Samscrdamicae peritissimus fuit.” See also, following Paulinus, Hervás 1805, p. 132: “llegó á hablar la lengua malabar, y á entender la samscreda con mayor perfeccion que los brahmanes.” Cf. Kizhakkethayil 1937, pp. 131–132.

⁹⁶ See the specimens of such stray verses attributed to Kāṅkaṣṣeri Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa or Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in Kunjunni Raja 1980, pp. 86–89 and 121ff. Similar verses by vernacular poets writing in Malayāḷam are found in Uḷḷūr 1990 *passim*.

2.3.1 Sanskrit Poetry

It has been recorded that Hanxleden composed a few Christian verses in pure Sanskrit.⁹⁷ His only hitherto preserved poetical stanza in Sanskrit, in honour of the Mother of God, is quoted, in Malayāḷam script with a Roman transliteration in corrupt form,⁹⁸ by Paulinus:⁹⁹

Quare meae etiam curae fuit in *Grammatica Samscrdamica* pag. 17. carmen P. Hanxleden, non Malabaricum, sed Samscrdamicum, in honorem *Matris Dei* ab eo conditum proferre, ut Samscrdamici idiomatis elegantia et venustas ex versibus pateret.

*paramabhuvaneśvarī narakula<rś>śivaṃkarī bhavatu tava vṛthuśavigu-
ṇoram(?)* [||]

Parama buvanēshvari naragula shivangari bhavadu tava vrthusha vigu-
nōram,

*vadasi yadi kiñ cid api dantarucikaumudī harati yarātimiram atigho-
ram(?)* [||]

Vadasi yadi kincida bidanda ruci gau mudīharati yarātimira mādi ghō-
ram.

pūṇyaśīle prasū pūṇyaśīle |
Punya shīlè prasū punya shīlè.

The stanza may be translated as follows:

Oh You (viz. Mary), who are the Supreme Lady of the World, the one who causes happiness to the human race, may the abundance of your virtues be [spread] on the wide earth (?).¹⁰⁰

It is enough if you say one word: the bright moonlight of [your] teeth removes the extremely terrible darkness of death (?).¹⁰¹ Oh virtuous Mother, oh Virtuous one!¹⁰²

⁹⁷ See the sole reference (still to be checked) from the Goan catalogue given in Hambye 1997, p. 96, n. 14, which matches the one in Mundadan 1989, p. 47, n. 35.

⁹⁸ Cf. the transcription in Rocher 1977, pp. xxv–vi, without identification of the author. I did not succeed in identifying the peculiar type of metre used here, i.e., 2 x 16 and 12 syllables, followed by 10 syllables.

⁹⁹ Paulinus 1790, p. 17; cf. Paulinus 1799, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ Or: “be [spread] on the milk-cow Pṛthu,” conceived as the earth. Both translations follow the correction of *vṛthuśaviguṇoram* to *pṛthugavi guṇaugham*.

¹⁰¹ This translation follows the correction of the text to *yamatimiram atighoram* suggested

It is worth the mention that the stanza is followed by a “Sanskrit Malayāḷam” verse composed by Paulinus himself who states: “Aliud carminis Samscrdami-co-Malabarici exemplum, quod *parvvaṃ*¹⁰³ *parvam* dicitur, tale dari potest.” After its quotation in Malayāḷam script, its transcription and translation, he says: “in vita S. Theresiae Virginis versibus scripta.”¹⁰⁴ The stanza is transcribed again, with a slightly different translation, by Paulinus at a later occasion,¹⁰⁵ where he adds: “in carmine de S. M. *Theresia*, olim a me in *Malabarica* condito.”¹⁰⁶ The verse may be edited as follows:

bālakapriye daivamakuṭamaṇiguṇā śālinī cāruśīle vatsalā maṛiyame |¹⁰⁷
*kanyake lokanāthe duḥkhitajanaśokahananī mama pīḍāhārīṇī mahā-
śubhe* ||¹⁰⁸

Another verse from the same work is given in Malayāḷam script in Paulinus 1790, p. 167:

*ahaha mahādīrghaṃ narakanityakālaṃ aha mahābhīmaṃ durjjana-
śīkṣasthalaṃ* |

The complete text of the Life of (the Carmelite) St. Therese (of Avila) is to be found in Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, in Paulinus’ own manuscript which also contains his Malayāḷam “Poem on the Six Signs of God.” This poem is described by Paulinus as “*devasya ṣaṣu cihna gānaṃ Dēvasya shashta cinha gānam*, cioè, *un canto in versi sopra li VI. Principali attributi di Dio*”¹⁰⁹ and referred to as *dēvaṣaḍguṇaṃ* by Uḷḷūr Es. Paramēśvarayyar¹¹⁰ and Pi. Je. Tōmasū.¹¹¹ This manuscript is ms. no. xxiii of “Miscellanea indiana” in Angelo

by D. Goodall.

¹⁰² Alternatively, one may follow D. Goodall’s correction of the text to read *pūṇyaśīlaprasū* and translate: “Oh virtuous Mother of the Virtuous one.”

¹⁰³ This word is printed in Malayāḷam script.

¹⁰⁴ Paulinus 1790, pp. 17–18.

¹⁰⁵ Paulinus 1804, pp. 241–242, footnote. See Rocher 1977, pp. xxvii–xxviii.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Paulinus 1796, p. 141.

¹⁰⁷ *-priye* : *-prīye* scrib. P; *-maṇi-* : *-maṇī-* scrib. P.

¹⁰⁸ *-hārīṇī mahāśubhe* : *-hārīṇī mahāśśubhe* scrib. P.

¹⁰⁹ Paulinus 1796, p. 141.

¹¹⁰ Uḷḷūr 1990, p. 672.

¹¹¹ Tōmasū 1989, p. 127.

De Gubernatis' list: "De sex divinis attributis carmen sermone Malabarico-Samscrdamico contra Polytheistas Indos auctore P. Paulino a S. Barthol.¹¹² – Sequitur Vita S. Theresiae Virginis carmine scripta ab eodem auctore (versibus samscrdamico-malabaricis) del 1783."¹¹³ Both works have been introduced and edited from this manuscript by Em. O. Jösaphü (Neṭuṅkunṇaṃ) in 1973.¹¹⁴ A further copy of the Vita is preserved in London at the School of Oriental and African Studies,¹¹⁵ and two other are located in Madras at the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library.¹¹⁶

2.3.2 Poetry in Malayālam

However, Hanxleden is definitively much more remembered in Kerala for his compositions in Malayālam, which were in common as well as highly Sanskritized language (*maṇipravāḷaṃ*). Even though his poems were written works, some of them were also transmitted orally¹¹⁷ at least until the middle of the twentieth century in the case of the most famous among them. They were published several times in Kerala.¹¹⁸ In 2002, a critical edition was published, with substantial introduction and study, En. Sām, Kuryāsū Kumpaḷakkulī¹¹⁹ and Di. Bañcamin.¹²⁰ In the following, I will present a short overview of each work.

¹¹² Cf. nearly the same title in Paulinus' autographic list of manuscripts (De Gubernatis 1877, p. 44, no. xxii, item 15), and in Paulinus 1792, p. 77, footnote, no. 14.

¹¹³ De Gubernatis 1877, p. 48. Cf. Balzani *apud* Müller 1899, p. 219, S.M.S. 8 ("Scala 65. – 8," in Streit & Dindinger 1931, p. 190, nos. 23–24; no. 8 (65) [parts] vii–viii in Raghava Varier 2012, pp. 81–82).

¹¹⁴ Cf. Uḷḷūr 1990, p. 672, quoting two extracts of the Vita from another source, with an abridged beginning. Cf. also the few comments in Chandanappally 1981, p. 152, and Hambye 1997, p. 101.

¹¹⁵ See Mundadan 1989, p. 54, n. 68, no. 6: "Marthresyastriyude Charitram" = *māṭrēsiyā-strīyude caritram*, on palm-leaf.

¹¹⁶ See Subrahmanya Sastri 1940, pp. 304–306, no. 315, on paper. This manuscript appears to be a transcript of the palm-leaf ms. no. 316.

¹¹⁷ See Paulinus 1794, p. 19: "carmina, quae omnia in Malabarica vulgo canuntur."

¹¹⁸ See the references in the bibliography.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Kumpaḷakkulī 2011.

¹²⁰ Arṇṇōsū Pātiri 2002.

2.3.2.1 "The New Hymn"

Puttaṇ pāna ("The New Hymn"), a devotional epic on the life of Christ, is Hanxleden's most popular poem. It bears the alternative titles *Kūtāśappāna* ("Hymn of the Sacraments"),¹²¹ *Miśihācarit(r)aṃ* ("The Story of the Christ") and *Rakṣākaravēdakīrttanam* ("Poem on the Evangel") or *Rakṣākaracarita-kīrttanam* ("Poem on the Story of the Saviour"). Paulinus knew this hymn as *Miśihāṭe pāna* ("Hymn of the Christ") and explains it as "Vita Jesu Christi,"¹²² "de doctrina & verbis Christi,"¹²³ "Vita Christi Servatoris, seu 4. Evangelia metro facili et eleganti composite,"¹²⁴ or "*carmina de Vita, doctrina et verbis Christi*."¹²⁵ He also quotes an extract¹²⁶ which corresponds to verses 26–34 of the seventh canto in the critical edition:¹²⁷

ekanāthaṇ uḷḷayeṇa buddhiyāl
tavakalpitaṃ keḷkkaṇaṃ kevalaṃ | (= 26)
nṛpaṇmāruṭe ājñaye keḷkkaṇaṃ (?) (≠ 27a)
pitākkaṇmāre sneham uṇṭākeṇaṃ | (= 31a)
iṣṭaṇmāre prīyam uṇṭāyālpōrā
dveṣaṃ uḷḷore sneham uṇṭākeṇaṃ | (= 34).¹²⁸

The beginning of the first canto (*pādam*) indicates that the poem is written at the request of Antonio Pimentel (*māṇṇāntōnīs*, v. 13). Since the latter held the office of Archbishop from 1721 to 1752,¹²⁹ the poem must have been composed between 1721¹³⁰ and 1727, which is the date given in the colophon of one of the manuscripts.¹³¹ The poem in its critical edition has only thirteen *pādam*-s, in

¹²¹ Cf. *kūdāśa* from Syriac *qudsha* = Hebrew *qōdeš*.

¹²² Paulinus, manuscript of 1782, De Gubernatis 1877, p. 48, no. xxix (a).

¹²³ Paulinus 1790, p. 167.

¹²⁴ Paulinus 1794, p. 191; cf. "in versi sciolti la vita di *Gesù Cristo*" in Paulinus 1796, p. 140.

¹²⁵ Paulinus 1799, p. 3.

¹²⁶ See Paulinus 1790, p. 167.

¹²⁷ Arṇṇōsū Pātiri 2002, pp. 176–177.

¹²⁸ Variant readings adopted from the critical text are set in Roman type face.

¹²⁹ Cf. Hambye 1997, pp. 26–27 and 96, Perumthottam 1994, pp. 78–79, and above, p. 12.

¹³⁰ Maṇavāḷaṇ 1990, p. 283.

¹³¹ Kumpaḷakkulī & Sām in Arṇṇōsū Pātiri 2002, pp. 41–43 and 87. Cf. the date of 1728 ascribed to the work in Paulinus' own copy of 1782 (De Gubernatis 1877, p. 48, no. xxix [a]).

the *sarppini* “metre” (*vṛttam*) or *pāna*, as this metre is popularly known,¹³² because the twelfth *pādam*, with eighty-seven verses on the lament of the Virgin Mary at the crucifixion of Jesus, which is composed in the *natōnnata* (“depressed and elevated”) metre,¹³³ has been considered a separate poem¹³⁴ and thus edited thereafter, under the title *Ummāṭe duḥkham* (“The Sorrow of the Mother”).¹³⁵ However, this is against the evidence of the manuscripts and previous editions, and already Paulinus introduced the work in his own manuscript (copied in 1782) as having “capita xiv.”¹³⁶

The *pādam*-s of *Puttaṇ pāna* were sung by St. Thomas Christians on various solemn occasions, such as Holy Thursday, Good Friday, and other days of Holy Week and Lent, and on evenings preceding funerals.¹³⁷ In his musical study of the work, Joseph Palackal explains how the musical style of the Chaldeo-Syrian liturgy was adapted for singing the traditional Dravidian metres of the poem.¹³⁸ There are also several literary analyses of the work, for example, by Tōmasū,¹³⁹ Mātyu Ulakaṁṭara,¹⁴⁰ Kumpaḷakkuḷi,¹⁴¹ Poḷ Maṇavāḷaṇ,¹⁴² Bañcamin,¹⁴³ and Palackal.¹⁴⁴ Against Paulinus¹⁴⁵ who declared it to be an “opus prae-

¹³² Cf. Palackal 1995, p. 67; Veluthat 2009, p. 255.

¹³³ See Palackal 1995, pp. 68 and 85.

¹³⁴ In this, the editors follow the textual analysis in Maṇavāḷaṇ 1990, pp. 285–292 and 311–312. On this controversial question, see Palackal 1995, p. 60, n. 85.

¹³⁵ See Arṇṇōsū Pātiri 2002, pp. 289–300, with the alternative title *Dēvamātāvinṭe vyākula-pralāpaṁ*. This is not to be confused with the next work which bears a similar title.

¹³⁶ De Gubernatis 1877, p. 48, no. xxix (a); cf. Balzani *apud* Müller 1899, p. 219. Mundadan (1989, pp. 58–59) declares that the work is divided into twelve sections on the basis of Paulinus 1799, p. 3 (“in duodecim capita”); cf. already Paulinus 1792, p. 77, footnote (which is a short description of his own manuscripts), no. 18: “Pāna seu vita I. C. versibus malabaricis in 12. capitulis.” If this is not a mistake by Paulinus, this may mean that the other copy of the work belonging to him, viz. the one copied in 1780 (see below, n. 153, for the references), had twelve cantos only.

¹³⁷ See Palackal 1995, pp. 75–84; Veluthat 2009, p. 256.

¹³⁸ See Palackal 1995, pp. 84–138.

¹³⁹ Tōmasū 1961, pp. 104–106 (1989, pp. 117–119).

¹⁴⁰ Ulakaṁṭara 1982, pp. 79–108.

¹⁴¹ Kumpaḷakkuḷi 1989.

¹⁴² Maṇavāḷaṇ 1990, pp. 283–292, 323–379 and *passim*.

¹⁴³ Bañcamin 1995.

clarum cujus mss. exemplaria nunc jam vitio amanuensium corrupta plura in Malabarica exstant,”¹⁴⁶ Kesavan Veluthat stresses the oral dimension of the work, which explains that the “versions show significant variations, which are too serious to be dismissed as errors caused by individual copyists.”¹⁴⁷

The work has been published several times.¹⁴⁸ The *editio princeps* appears to be the printing by the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) in 1844. The critical edition of 2002 is based on a palm-leaf manuscript in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana,¹⁴⁹ two palm-leaf manuscripts from the University of Kerala, Oriental Research Institute & Manuscripts Library,¹⁵⁰ and on the previous editions of 1895 and 1982.

There are at least two more manuscripts of the *Puttaṇ pāna* in Madras at the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library,¹⁵¹ one (or two) codex manuscripts of Paulinus in Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale,¹⁵² with two copies of the work,¹⁵³ one manuscript in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz,¹⁵⁴ one in Bonn at the Jesuit Missionsmuseum,¹⁵⁵ one in London at the School of Oriental

¹⁴⁴ Palackal 1995, pp. 57–74.

¹⁴⁵ See the manuscript note in De Gubernatis 1877, p. 48.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Paulinus 1799, p. 4: “Habebatis [...] suos amanuenses, qui opera describebant, et populo gratis distribuebant, aut modico pretio vendebant.”

¹⁴⁷ Veluthat 2009, p. 256; cf. Kizhakkethayil 1937, p. 138.

¹⁴⁸ See Arṇṇōsū Pātiri 1844, 1862, 1888, 1889, 1896, 1932, 1937, 1948, 1954, 1954–1955, 1960, 1965 and 1982b.

¹⁴⁹ *Borgiano Indiano* 60, with the title *Miśihācaritaṁ pāna*. See Vallavanthara 1984, pp. 80–81.

¹⁵⁰ The first manuscript has the title *Miśihācaritaṁ pāna*. The second, dated *kollam* era 902 = 1726–1727 AD, has the title *Kūtāśappāna* and was already used for the 1960 edition.

¹⁵¹ Subrahmanya Sastri 1940, pp. 306–307, no. 317, on paper. This manuscript appears to be a transcript of the palm-leaf ms. no. 318 with the title *Miśihācaritaṁ pāna*.

¹⁵² Ms. no. xxix (a) and (b) of “Miscellanea Indica a P. Paullino [sic] Collecta” in De Gubernatis 1877, p. 48; cf. Balzani *apud* Müller 1899, p. 219, S.M.S. 34.

¹⁵³ The first copy (with 92 pp.) was made in 1782, the second (with 107 pp.) in 1780. They correspond to items 16(a) and 16(b) in the autographic list of Paulinus’ manuscripts in De Gubernatis 1877, pp. 44–45, no. xxii; cf. Sommervogel et al. 1893, p. 81.

¹⁵⁴ Janert & Poti 1979, p. 479, no. 1769, palm-leaf, dated *kollam* era 1010 = 1835 AD.

¹⁵⁵ This is a palm-leaf manuscript, described as “Vita D.N. Jesu Christi e quatuor Evangeliiis desumpta, et versibus malabaricis adornata.” See Muller 1985, p. 134.

and African Studies,¹⁵⁶ and one in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.¹⁵⁷ A new critical edition is therefore feasible.

2.3.2.2 The "Poem on the Distress of the Divine Mother"

Dēvamātāvinīte vyākulaprabandham, the "Poem on the Distress of the Divine Mother," is a variation in sixty-three stanzas on the same theme as of the twelfth canto of *Puttaṇ pāna*¹⁵⁸ and found appended to the manuscripts and editions used for the critical edition of the *Puttaṇ pāna*.¹⁵⁹ This is probably the work to which Paulinus refers as "De tristitia B.M.V. [Beatae Mariae Virginis, i.e., the Blessed Virgin Mary; Ch.V.] carmen *Umāde dukham* dictum,"¹⁶⁰ and the one given under the title *Ummāduḥkham* in the London manuscript referred to above.¹⁶¹ One more copy of this poem, and/or of the preceding twelfth canto of *Puttaṇ pāna*, or even of the next work addressed below (2.3.2.3), under the title *Litaniae Beatae Mariae Virginiae* ("Litanies of the Blessed Virgin Mary"), with Roman transcription and Latin translation, could be found in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, within the same codex manuscript as the Malayālam version of the hymn *Ave Maris Stella*¹⁶² referred to below (2.3.2.6).

¹⁵⁶ Or. 5055, palm-leaf, with the title *Mīśihācaritraṃ pāna*; see Mundadan 1989, p. 54, n. 68, no. 8.

¹⁵⁷ Cabaton Cat. *Indien* 765, palm-leaf, dated 1774; see Veluthat 2009, pp. 254–255 and 261–262, n. 32, on another manuscript at the same library, *Indien* 778, with a kind of "extremely abridged rendering" of the work. Cf. Raghava Varier 2012, pp. 25–26.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Maṇavālaṇ 1990, pp. 312–313; Tōmasū 1995 for its commentary; Uḷḷūr 1990, p. 244. Uḷḷūr distinguishes between *Vyākulaprabandham* and *Vyākulayōgam*.

¹⁵⁹ Arṇṇōsū Pātiri 2002, pp. 301–316; cf. also the popular editions, such as Arṇṇōsū Pātiri 1965, pp. 107–114.

¹⁶⁰ Paulinus 1794, p. 191; cf. Paulinus 1799, p. 2: "hymnis aliis in laudem B.M.V. compositis," viz. poems which are different from the "Hymnus *Ave Maris Stella*" addressed below (2.3.2.6).

¹⁶¹ See n. 156 above and Mundadan 1989, p. 54, n. 68, no. 7.

¹⁶² Perumthottam 1994, pp. 81–82, n. 214; *Vaticano Indiano* 14, pp. 220–233. The *Litaniae Beatae Mariae Virginiae* immediately precede the hymn *Ave Maris Stella* in this manuscript.

2.3.2.3 The "Epic Song on the [Divine] Mother"

Ummāparv(v)am, the "Epic Song on the [Divine] Mother," is the work referred to by Paulinus in his list of personal manuscripts¹⁶³ as "Cantus de B.V.M. idiomate Malabarico et Samscrdamico" according to the *incipit* he provides, which corresponds to the first *pāda* in the editions.¹⁶⁴ The printings bear the alternative title *Dēvamātrsaṅkṣēpacarit(r)am*, "The Condensed Story of the Divine Mother," relating to the fact that the work has 477 stanzas only.¹⁶⁵

The critical edition, with the second title *Dēvasukanyakācaritragānam*, "Song on the Story of the Divine Blessed Virgin," is based on the Rome palm-leaf manuscript of the Biblioteca Vaticana referred to above,¹⁶⁶ a Kerala copy on paper, and the 1873 edition, which is entitled "Five *parvaṃ*-s" because it joins this work to the one described next here (2.3.2.4) which is in four *parvaṃ*-s. The London palm-leaf manuscript at the School of Oriental and African Studies appears to contain this work under the title *Dēvasukanyakā(caritraṃ)*.¹⁶⁷

2.3.2.4 "The Four Ends"

Caturantyam ("The Four Ends") is a mystic epic on the four ends of man, to each of which corresponds a different *parvaṃ*, namely, the *Maraṇaparvaṃ* on death, the *Vidhiparvaṃ* on (universal) judgement, the *Narakaparvaṃ* on perdition, and the *Mōkṣaparvaṃ* on paradise. The whole work is thus sometimes called *Nālaparvaṃ* or *Nālaparvaṇṇaḥ*, "The Four *parvaṃ*-s," as Paulinus knew it,¹⁶⁸ who twice quotes the *incipit* (= vv. 1–2) of the *Vidhi-parvaṃ* ("cantus" or "carmen de Iudicio Universali")¹⁶⁹ and furthermore verse 50 of the same, mistakenly ascribed to the *Maraṇaparvaṃ* ("in carmine de Morte").¹⁷⁰

¹⁶³ De Gubernatis 1877, p. 44, no. xxii, item 1(a), on palm-leaf.

¹⁶⁴ Arṇṇōsū Pātiri 1863b, 1873a, 1873c, 1875, 1906, 1930, 1931, 1939, 1950 and 1982b.

¹⁶⁵ See Maṇavālaṇ 1990, pp. 308–311.

¹⁶⁶ *Borgiano Indiano* 60; see n. 149 above.

¹⁶⁷ See Mundadan 1989, p. 54, n. 68, no. 5.

¹⁶⁸ Paulinus 1792, p. 77, footnote, no. 17: "Nāla parvaṃ, seu de quatuor novissimis"; Paulinus 1794, p. 191: "Quatuor insignes cantus seu tractatus metro Malabarico scripti de quatuor novissimis *Nālaparva* dicti"; Paulinus 1799, p. 3: "opusculum, quod Malabarenses *Indi Nāleparvaṃ* vocant. Sunt hi quatuor cantus de *quatuor* novissimis."

¹⁶⁹ Paulinus 1790, p. 167, in Malayālam script; Paulinus 1799, p. 3, in Roman transcription. The only variant reading in this extract is *ellāvaruṃ* (P) instead of *ellāruṃ* (crit. ed.) in

According to Paulinus, parts of the poem were sung on occasions similar to those of the *Puttaṇ pāna* recitals, especially the *Maṇapaṇvāṇam*.¹⁷¹ The work, published several times as a whole¹⁷² and in parts,¹⁷³ has been commented upon by J. Kizhakkethayil,¹⁷⁴ Tōmasū,¹⁷⁵ Ulakaṇṭara,¹⁷⁶ Maṇavāḷaṇ,¹⁷⁷ Sāṁ,¹⁷⁸ Sāmuval Nellimukaḷ,¹⁷⁹ Jōsū¹⁸⁰ and Veluthat.¹⁸¹ Its critical edition is based on the same three manuscripts as were used for the edition of the *Puttaṇ pāna*, and further on the complete 1873 edition as well as the 1982 edition. The two Madras manuscripts of the *Puttaṇ pāna* at the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library first give the *Caturantyaṇ*.¹⁸² The London palm-leaf manuscript at the School of Oriental and African Studies also has these four *parvaṇ-s*¹⁸³ and thus remains to be compared. The palm-leaf manuscript of the (complete) “Nāla parvam” owned by Paulinus, who describes it as a “codex corticeus descriptus a Iosepho mapulla, ex oppido Cenōtta,”¹⁸⁴ and his copy of the *Vidhi-parvan*¹⁸⁵ appear to be among the palm-leaf manuscripts of the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome, according to the draft-list made by Raghava Varier: “[no.] 10.

verse 2. The “Cantus de Iudicio Universali” is also listed alone by Paulinus among his personal manuscripts; see De Gubernatis 1877, p. 44, no. xxii, item 2 (a), on palm-leaf, with the same *incipit* (v. 1a).

¹⁷⁰ Paulinus 1804, p. 148, in transcription.

¹⁷¹ Paulinus 1799, p. 3: “Canuntur etiam haec carmina a Christianis, et quidem vocis modulatione placida, sed moesta, et ad compunctionem cordis accommoda; praesertim carmen de *Morte*.”

¹⁷² See Arṇṇōsū Pātiri 1863b, 1873a, 1904a, 1906, 1930, 1931, 1939, 1950 and 1982b.

¹⁷³ See Arṇṇōsū Pātiri 1863a, 1873b, 1878, 1904b and 1905.

¹⁷⁴ Kizhakkethayil 1937, pp. 134–136.

¹⁷⁵ Tōmasū 1961, pp. 100–104 (1989, pp. 113–117).

¹⁷⁶ Ulakaṇṭara 1982, pp. 108–111.

¹⁷⁷ Maṇavāḷaṇ 1990, pp. 292–308, 323–379 and *passim*.

¹⁷⁸ Sāṁ 1995.

¹⁷⁹ Nellimukaḷ 1995.

¹⁸⁰ Jōsū 2009.

¹⁸¹ Veluthat 2009, pp. 258–259.

¹⁸² Subrahmanya Sastri 1940, pp. 303–304, no. 313, on paper, and no. 314 on palm-leaf.

¹⁸³ See Mundadan 1989, p. 54, n. 68, no. 1–4.

¹⁸⁴ Paulinus 1792, p. 77, footnote, no. 17.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. n. 169 above.

Arnos Padre’s Chodyaparvam [...] Copied by Kodiyan Cheryan Uthuppu (= Joseph) dated, 955 Dhanu 23 (1779 A.D.); [no.] 13. (iv) Continuation of vidhi-parvam.”¹⁸⁶

2.3.2.5 The “Epic Song of [St.] Genevieve [of Brabant]”

Janōvapav(v)am, the “Epic Song of [St.] Genevieve [of Brabant]”¹⁸⁷ in Sanskritized Malayāḷam, has been published a few times in Kerala.¹⁸⁸ It was referred to as *Jenōvēvapūṇyacaritam* by Paulinus.¹⁸⁹ According to his own words, he had a look at a fragmentary palm-leaf manuscript of the poem presented to him in Rome and thus could describe the original work, up to then known to him from another source,¹⁹⁰ as having the following versified initial colophon (“Incipit ab his versibus”) composed by the author himself:

Maritscha nālighēra kramuca sambannamām,
Kērala rāgiatunkel acchalen tabōdhanen

¹⁸⁶ Raghava Varier 2012, pp. 80–81. The title Chodyaparvan can be explained by the fact that Mal. *cōdyaṇ* means “question,” including juridical question, and also “punishment.”

¹⁸⁷ This subject comes from the popular work by the French Jesuit René de Cériziers with the title *L’innocence reconnue, ou la Vie de Sainte Geneviève de Brabant*, which was first published in 1634 in Paris by L. Boulanger, followed by numerous other editions and translations in European languages. It was known to Hanxleden either through its German translation (*Genovefa, Oder die Von den Menschen erkante Unschuld*. Dillingen: Joannes Casparus Bencard, 1685) or the previous German version by Michael Staudacher (*Genouefa, d. ist wunderl. Leben u. denckwürdige Geschichten d. h. Genouefa, geborner Hertzogin aus Brabant*. Dillingen[: Johann Caspar Bencard,] 1660).

¹⁸⁸ See Arṇṇōsū Pātiri 1892, 1929–1930, 1982a and 1982b.

¹⁸⁹ Paulinus 1799, p. 1: “Inscribitur haec vita [S. Genovévae, Comitiss Brabantinae; Ch.V.]: *Genovéva punya tscharidam*.” Cf. Paulinus 1794, p. 191: “Cantus de S. Genoveva Germaniae comite.”

¹⁹⁰ *Contra* the translation by Luke in Pallath 1994, pp. 21–22, the correct meaning of Paulinus’ words to Father Alexius Mary of St. Joseph is as follows: “In your palm leaf, these verses (i.e., the quoted colophon/*incipit*) and the ensuing lines are missing; the first stanza [in your fragmentary manuscript] is the one telling that St. Genevieve was endowed with rich gifts by her husband when she was to be united in marriage: this is indicated there by a half-verse separated from the others. The ensuing verses (i.e., the verses at the beginning which is missing in your manuscript) are [the following]: [...]” (“Desunt itaque in tuo folio palmae hi et sequentes versus, primaque strophæ ea est, quæ S. Genovévam amplissimis donis a sponso ornatam, ac matrimonio jungendam esse narrat: quod ibidem unus dimidius, et ab aliis se junctus versus indicat. Sequentia carmina sunt: [...]”). See Paulinus 1799, p. 1.

Parama gnána shástram bódhipicuna néram,
 Páradishyangheláya vartaghel arrivánái
 Páramágraham púndu Védáshen enu vidván.

This may be read as follows:¹⁹¹

marica-nālikēra-kramuka-sampannam āṃ (?)
kēraḷa-rājyattiṅkal acalaṇ (?) [añcalaṇ, accalaṇ?] tapōdhanan |
parama-jñāna-śāstram bōdhipikkunna nēram
pāradēśyaññāḷ āya (?) vārttakaḷ arivānāi (?) |
pāram āgraham pūñtu vēdāśaṇ ennu vidvāṇ (?).

Paulinus translates into Latin:

Dum in Malabaridis regno, pipere, palmis, et nucibus *areca* dictis,
 affluente, peregrinus ego vir religiosus caelesti sapientiae promulgandae
 operam navarem, peregrinae sapientiae valde cupidus *Védáshen* ad me
 venit ejus cognoscendae causa.

When in the Malabaric kingdom abounding in pepper, palmes and are-
 canuts, I, a foreigner, a religious man, was devoting myself to the task of
 promulgating the celestial wisdom, [a sage called] *Vēdāśaṇ*, much eager
 of foreign wisdom, came to me for the purpose of learning it.

After this, the poem starts with the following two verses:¹⁹²

Canyaga manní tánun etréyum manóhará
 Svánana Yógyam condu tschandrane tólpitschídum
 Akschiguel nókun néram teligna viómatunghel
 Nakshatram minnum vannam adyandam shóbbhicunu.

This may be read as follows:

*kanyaka-maṇi-tānuṃ etrayum manōharā*¹⁹³
svānana-yogya-koṇṭu candrane-tolpiccīṭuṃ (?) |
akṣikaḷ nōkun nēram telīñña vyōmattinṅkal
nakṣatram minnum vaṇṇam atyantam śōbhikkunnu |

¹⁹¹ I gratefully acknowledge the help of E. Francis with this tentative reading.

¹⁹² The first one is already quoted in Malayāḷam script, as extracted from the “Vita S. Genovefae,” in Paulinus 1790, pp. 166–167. Each verse has 2 x 14 syllables.

¹⁹³ The extract in Paulinus 1790 has *manoharā*.

Paulinus translates into Latin:

Erat haec virgo (Genovéva) tam praecellentis formae,¹⁹⁴ / Ut faciei suae
 decore ipsam lunam vinceret;¹⁹⁵ / Dum oculi ejus lucidum spectant
 caelum, / More micantium stellarum et ipsi radiant.

This virgin (Genevieve) was of such exquisite form, that by the beauty of
 her face she would even surpass the moon; when her eyes look at the clear
 sky, they are shining [excessively, with the brilliancy] like the sparkling
 stars.

The verse, as well as the preceeding colophon, is not found in the *Janōva-*
parv(v)am published in Kerala, which furthermore is written in a different
 metre. To solve this problem, it has been suggested that the extract quoted by
 Paulinus was by another, indigenous poet.¹⁹⁶

The critical edition of 2002, which has 1504 stanzas, is based on the edition of
 1982 by Father S. Thermadam and the transcript, on paper, of some manuscript.
 The work has been commented upon by Maṇavāḷaṇ,¹⁹⁷ Kumpaḷakkuḷi,¹⁹⁸ Eṇ.
 Ke. Jōsū¹⁹⁹ and Veluthat.²⁰⁰ Beside the manuscript used by Paulinus in Rome
 and now lost,²⁰¹ and the palm-leaf manuscript seen by him, there is another,
 fragmentary palm-leaf manuscript of the work preserved in the Hermann

¹⁹⁴ Paulinus 1790, p. 167: virgo pretiosa & valde amabilis.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.: suae faciei dignitate et splendore lunam superat.

¹⁹⁶ See Ulakamṭara 1982, p. 113, and Mundadan 1989, p. 58.

¹⁹⁷ Maṇavāḷaṇ 1990, pp. 314–318.

¹⁹⁸ Kumpaḷakkuḷi 1995; 2002, pp. 71–82, and 2011, pp. 82–94.

¹⁹⁹ Jōsū 2009, pp. 163–172.

²⁰⁰ Veluthat 2009, pp. 259–261.

²⁰¹ The manuscript owned and used by Paulinus is maybe not lost after all. It may be identi-
 cal with the codex manuscript of “Miscellanea Indica a P. Paulino collecta” in the Biblioteca
 Nazionale, Rome, already referred to above (n. 152); cf. Balzani *apud* Müller 1899, p. 219,
 S.M.S. 34. In this codex, the concerned work could possibly be found after the *Miśihāṇe*
pāna copied in 1780; see “cui annectuntur varii cantus de sanctis” (De Gubernatis 1877, p.
 48, no. xxix [b]) and “cui annexi sunt varii alii cantus de sanctis ab eodem P. Hanxleden
 compositi” according to the description of item 16 (b) in Paulinus’ autographic list of manu-
 scripts given in De Gubernatis 1877 (pp. 44–45, no. xxii). The other, fragmentary palm-leaf
 manuscript may be preserved somewhere in the Biblioteca Vaticana.

Gundert-Museum in Calw near Stuttgart, Germany.²⁰² This manuscript has the same beginning of the text as seen in the editions and thus cannot be of any help for solving the problem of the origin of the *incipit* given by Paulinus.

2.3.2.6 “Set with Twelve Stars” and the *Ave Maris Stella*

“Set with Twelve Stars” (“*Dvādāśbhā srkr* [a corrupt form going back to *dvādaśabhasaṃskṛta*? Ch.V.], id est, *duodecim stellarum sertum* inscripsit”) is, according to Paulinus,²⁰³ the title of the “Sanskrit–Malayāḷam” rendering (“in versus samscrdamico malabaricos convertit”) made by Hanxleden when he was still young (“in primo suae juventutis flore”), of the famous Latin hymn to the Divine Mother, *Ave Maris Stella* (“Hail, Star of the Sea”). Here is the beginning of this poem as quoted by Paulinus:

Ambudhi tārāme vāszca Mariamē
Ananda Dēvane pēṭṭa genavhiē
Anaradēshane pūgitscha nēdiē
Andaram cūdāde nirmala canyaghē. (*id est.*)

This may be read as follows:

ambudhi-tārāme vālka marīyamē
ananta-dēvane peṭṭa jananiyē |
anarakēśane pūjicca nētriyē
antaraṃ kūṭāṭe nirmala kanyakē |

Paulinus adds his Latin translation:

Ave Maria, maris stella, / Dei mater alma, / Tu aeternum Dominum colui-
sti domina, / Tu fuisti semper sine labe virgo.
Hail Mary, star of the sea, Pure Mother of God; You took care of the eter-
nal Lord, O Lady; Always you were without stain, O Virgin.

The work is considered lost. However, as indicated by Hambye,²⁰⁴ a codex manuscript in Rome in the Biblioteca Vaticana, which contains prayers appar-
ently copied, rather than composed, as an appendix to the Malayāḷam gram-

²⁰² See Janert & Poti 1979, pp. 809–810, no. 2249. Cf. Frenz 1991, pp. 224 and 494, and 1993, p. 475; Frenz & Zacharia 1993, p. 235.

²⁰³ See Paulinus 1799, p. 2.

²⁰⁴ Hambye 1997, p. 101.

mar²⁰⁵ authored by the Discalced Carmelite Stephen of SS. Peter and Paul, who was active in Verapoly between 1712 and 1723,²⁰⁶ gives a Malayāḷam version of the hymn *Ave Maris Stella* under the title *Hymnus*, together with a Roman transcription and the Latin version.²⁰⁷ This could be Hanxleden’s complete poem.

2.3.2.7 Possible Further Poetic and Literary Works

Beside these works, the poem *Ātmānutāpaṃ* has been listed among Arṇṇōsū Pātiri’s works by Uḷḷūr,²⁰⁸ who introduces it as the “Description of the Sinner’s Repentance” (*pāpiyūṭe paścāttāpattiṇṭe prapañcanam*).²⁰⁹ However, the poem with this title, which was published at the Discalced Carmelite printing press of Koonammavu in 1871,²¹⁰ was authored by “Cyriacus Elija,” viz. Kūryākkōsū Ēliyāsū (*-accan*, “Father”) of Chavara (*cāvara*), the founder of the Congrega-
tion of the Carmelites of Mary Immaculate,²¹¹ as is confirmed by Tōmasū.²¹² P. Thankappan Nair is the only scholar who still ascribes this work to Hanx-

²⁰⁵ See Pallath 1986, p. 53, and Perincherry 2006, p. 267.

²⁰⁶ It is not clear if Stephanus a SS. Petro et Paulo (1692–1767) stayed in service at the Malabar Mission only for less than two years, from 1721 to 1723, as stated by Perumthottam (1994, pp. 56, 59, and 59, n. 100; see also p. 160, on his return to Rome which he reached in September 1727), or for about twelve years, arrived in Verapoly already in December 1712, as stated by Perincherry (2006, p. 268, following Pallath 1986, p. 53). The prayers, songs and litanies in Malayāḷam appended to another codex manuscript with a grammar by Stephen of SS. Peter and Paul, dated 1747 (*Vaticano Indiano* 12; Vallavanthara 1984, pp. 84–85; Pallath 1986, p. 54; Perumthottam 1994, p. 82, n. 217; Perincherry 2006, p. 266), should also be checked to see if there are not some quotations from Hanxleden’s poetry. The same should be done with the yet untraced Malayāḷam grammar of Ildephonsus a Praesentatione C.D. (cf. Paulinus 1792, p. 76, and 1794, p. 186; Streit & Dindinger 1931, p. 220, no. 748; Hambye 1997, p. 99), because according to Paulinus (1799, p. 4) its exam-
ples were taken from Hanxleden’s works.

²⁰⁷ *Vaticano Indiano* 14, pp. 234–238; cf. Vallavanthara 1984, pp. 86–87; Perumthottam 1994, pp. 81–82, n. 215.

²⁰⁸ Uḷḷūr 1990, p. 244.

²⁰⁹ Uḷḷūr 1990, p. 245.

²¹⁰ Cf. Gaur 1971, p. 70, who describes it as “a Roman Catholic devotional tract, in verse.”

²¹¹ See Kūryākkōsū 1871.

²¹² See Tōmasū 1989, pp. 233–234.

leden,²¹³ as he does also wrongly for two other later Christian works: the poem entitled *Niṣiddhaparvvaṃ*, correctly ascribed to “Giacco Mappulla,” viz. Chacko Mapilla (*cākkō māppiḷa*), by Paulinus,²¹⁴ and the *Varttamānappustakam*, actually a prose travelogue from the end of the eighteenth century.²¹⁵

According to Thankappan Nair,²¹⁶ in December 1972 two boxes containing copper-plates and palm-leaf manuscripts, worm-eaten and weather-beaten, were discovered in a secret chamber in the wall of Hanxleden’s house in Velur. Feroli notes that there were “four or five” copper-plates, “where, I was told, are written out the grants of land which the good Father got in favour of the church.”²¹⁷ Unfortunately, it is not known what happened to the “priceless” manuscripts, for they are declared by Thankappan Nair to be “lost to posterity.” However, even if these supposedly lost palm-leaf manuscripts would have once belonged to Hanxleden’s personal library, it is unlikely that they would have contained unknown works by him. It is interesting that Thankappan Nair also refers to “an imperfect palm leaf manuscript now in possession of one of the residents of Velur,”²¹⁸ which seems to be a kind of legendary Life (hagiographic *vita*) of Arnos Padiri in Malayālam, narrating why he came to India and then to Kerala in the footsteps of St. Francis Xavier. The manuscript also addresses the medical reason why Hanxleden settled in Velur.²¹⁹ We have tried to track this manuscript in January 2012, but it appears to be no longer preserved by the family of its last (and late) owner.

²¹³ See Thankappan Nair 1994, pp. 52 and 54.

²¹⁴ See Paulinus 1796, p. 140. Cf. Tōmasū 1989, pp. 171 and 173, and Zacharia 1989, pp. 373 and 501.

²¹⁵ Cf. Chaitanya 1971, pp. 207–209, and Tōmasū 1989, pp. 156–166.

²¹⁶ Thankappan Nair 1994, p. 51.

²¹⁷ Feroli 1951, p. 329.

²¹⁸ See “Chiriyalkandath Thavunni Ouseph, 63.” Thankappan Nair (1994, pp. 47 and 58, n. 13) gives as his source “Express, April 10, 1973 – News with photo of Thavunni Ouseph.” Thankappan Nair refers to this source also on p. 59, n. 16. Thavunni Ouseph is no longer alive. His family appears to have had some historical link with the Father; cf. Thankappan Nair 1994, p. 49.

²¹⁹ Cf. Thankappan Nair 1994, pp. 47–49.

2.3.2.8 Literary Appreciation of Hanxleden’s Poetic Works

It is not easy for a western Sanskrit scholar who is not a Malayālam speaker to give a valid literary appreciation of Hanxleden’s poetic works which are mixing so intimately both languages. A survey of a few such evaluations was made by A. Mathias Mundadan,²²⁰ who, for instance, refers to Ulakaṃṭara’s comment that Hanxleden wanted to do for the Christians what the famous sixteenth-century Malayālam *bhakti* poet Tuṇṇacattū Eḷuttacchan did for the Hindus.²²¹ A similar remark had previously been made by Kizhakkethayil,²²² and Krishna Chaitanya²²³ pointed in the same direction by indicating some of Hanxleden’s verses that echo passages in Eḷuttacchan’s poems. For example, the description of the birth of Jesus in the *Puttaṇ pāna* recalls that of Rāma’s birth in the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇam*. Similarly, like in the case of the veneration of Rāma or Kṛṣṇa, the devotee pays homage to (the Son of) God by enumerating his countless names “in a mood of *nāmajapayaḥ*.”²²⁴ It should be added here that Hanxleden pays homage to the Mother of God like a Hindu to the Goddess.²²⁵ Arnos Padiri’s *Puttaṇ pāna*, the “New Hymn,” also challenges the Hymn *par excellence*, viz. the popular devotional *Jñāna pāna* of Pūntānaṃ Nampūtiri,²²⁶ a contemporary of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa.²²⁷ As Veluthat remarks on the alternative title of the *Kūtāsappāna* (“Hymn of the Sacraments”), “the Padre seems to have thought that the function of *jñāna*, which he took as the best of

²²⁰ See Mundadan 1989, pp. 61–63.

²²¹ Ulakaṃṭara 1982, p. 115ff.; cf. also Ulakaṃṭara 2011.

²²² Kizhakkethayil 1937, pp. 133–134.

²²³ Chaitanya 1971, pp. 201–202.

²²⁴ Veluthat 2009, p. 258.

²²⁵ No less than four of Hanxleden’s poems are dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and a very special role is ascribed to her in the *Puttaṇ pāna*. She can thus be considered the main topic of his poems which testify to his intense devotion to the Divine Mother. This is confirmed by the fact that, as noted by Pallath, “two out of six paintings in the sanctuary of the church in Velur which he personally supervised are dedicated to virgin Mary [see Pillai 2001, p. 109; Ch.V.]. The folk tradition at Velur and Pazhuvil speak of him as a person of the Rosary” (Pallath 1994, p. 16). There is also the fragment of a statue of Mary, of a type pointing at its function as an object of personal devotion and most probably of Goan origin, in the local museum above the church in Pazhuvil (seen by the author in January 2012) that could have belonged to Hanxleden.

²²⁶ See Parameswaran Nair 1967, p. 82.

²²⁷ See Kunjunni Raja 1980, pp. 135–136.

the ways of realizing God in the Indian tradition, had its counterpart in the sacraments.²²⁸ Such a comparative remark can also be made about the *Caturantyaṃ* ("The Four Ends") and Hanxleden's conception of the "four ends" of man from a Christian perspective, in contrast to the "four goals" of life in Hinduism.

Leaving aside the short comments by K. M. George,²²⁹ Eṃ Līlāvati²³⁰ and Pi. Pi. Dēvasya,²³¹ and the extensive studies by Maṇavālaṇ,²³² Ceṛiyāṇ Kuniyantōṭattū,²³³ Ṭi. El. Jōsū²³⁴ and Kumpaḷakkūḷi,²³⁵ I would like to conclude here with the fruitful comparison with classical Sanskrit models initiated by Veluthat.²³⁶ The direct borrowings from the Sanskrit literary tradition are indeed numerous in Hanxleden's poems: narrative forms, especially the epic *parvam*, types of verse, conventional vocabulary, literary ornaments, traditional concepts and even sayings, namely, *smṛti* and *nīti* aphoristic verses, stanzas ascribed to Bharṭṛhari or Śaṅkara, and other anonymous stray verses, which are slightly, and meaningfully, adapted in order to become acceptable to Christians when they are too much Hindu in their original meaning. Examples are particularly striking in the case of the *Janōvaparvaṃ*. The pattern of the legendary story of St. Genevieve in itself already displays several features in common with Indian stories of unfortunate heroic girls like Damayantī. It therefore looks rather like a real "Indian" tale full of traditional Indian categories, for example in the episode of the education of the prince. Of course, these reinterpretations can be judged in terms of missionary "propaganda," as termed by Veluthat, but, with regard to the last-mentioned case, they can also be viewed, less polemically, as purely literary recreations, aiming to provide the local Christian community with works as beautifully carved as the Sanskrit compositions of the Brahmin elite.

²²⁸ Veluthat 2009, p. 257.

²²⁹ George 1972, p. 58.

²³⁰ Līlāvati 1980, pp. 98–99.

²³¹ Dēvasya 2008, pp. 9–15.

²³² Maṇavālaṇ 1990, pp. 323–379.

²³³ Kuniyantōṭattū 1995.

²³⁴ Jōsū 2009.

²³⁵ Kumpaḷakkūḷi 2002, pp. 17–83, and 2011, pp. 24–104.

²³⁶ Veluthat 2009, pp. 257–261.

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