

Christophe Vielle

**JOHANN ERNST HANXLEDEN S.J.
(1681-1732) AND
ST. THOMAS CHRISTIANS:
FROM MALAYĀḤAM POETRY TO SYRIAC
LITURGY AND PHILOLOGY**

Introduction

The recent rediscovery in Italy of manuscripts containing lost works of Father Johann Ernst Hanxleden (1681-1732) allows to better understand the pioneering scholarly linguistic achievements of this Jesuit missionary, both in MalayāḤam and Sanskrit. However, 'Father Ernst' is also famous in Kerala for his

poetical contributions to the devotional literature of St. Thomas Christians, who remember him under the name of Arnos Padiri (Mal. *arṇṇōsū pātiri*, from the Portuguese *Ernesto Padre*) and who adapted the music style of the Chaldeo-Syrian liturgy for singing his popular religious epic known as the 'New Hymn' (*Puttaṇ pāna*). Moreover, less known letters by Hanxleden, esp. one written in 1715, bear testimony of his knowledge of Syriac language and his interest in Syriac manuscripts, providing also noteworthy details on the role he played in the history of Malabar Christianity in the beginning of the 18th century.

A team of scholars, including the present author (Oriental Institute, Louvain-la-Neuve), Toon Van Hal (Center for the history of linguistics, Leuven) and Jean-Claude Muller (Luxemburg), have started a collaborative philological research project on Hanxleden, planning the critical edition, English translation and thorough study of his unedited works. First of all, there is his Sanskrit grammar (*Grammatica Grandonica*), the autograph manuscript of which Toon Van Hal found in the Discalced Carmelite monastery of Montecompatri, near Rome, in May 2010 (Van Hal

2010), viz. 25 years after Jean-Claude Muller's own enquiry about (Muller 1985: 131-34). This important discovery was announced in several newspapers and e-medias (see <http://belgianindology.blogs.lalibre.be/>).

In coming here back in Kottayam, I plan for this project to extend the collaboration to scholars from Kerala, who would be interested to share their knowledge of Arnos Padiri's poetic and literary works in Malayālam and their survey within St. Thomas tradition, and I hope also to find the possibility to organize an International workshop or conference devoted to Hanxleden somewhere in Kerala (why not at the S.E.E.R.I.) within the next coming years. A preliminary updated bibliography on the subject is given at the end of the present paper.

Life

Let us start this paper with a short biographical presentation of Father Hanxleden. His life has already been sketched in several works.¹ The main historical

¹ De Backer e.a. 1859 (1893³), Huonder 1899: 48, 89, 175 (2nd ed. 1930, unpublished typescript ms., pp. 925-36 according to Hambye 1990/1997, and Mundadan 1989: 41 fn. 10), & 1910, Streit 1929:

testimony on Hanxleden was given by the Discalced Carmelite Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo (i.e. the Austro-Croatian Filip Vezdin, 1748-1806) in his *De manvscriptis codicibvs indicis R. P. Joan. Ernesti Hanxleden epistola* of 1799.² 'Father Paulinus', who had been active as a missionary during the years 1776 to 1789 in the same (Malabar) area as Hanxleden (where he was himself remembered as 'Paulinus Padiri'), is chiefly credited for having published the first grammar of Sanskrit ever printed in Europe: *Sidharubam seu Grammatica Samscrdamica* (1790), which is very close to the grammar composed by Hanxleden, both being based on the same Sanskrit

222-23, Kizakkethayil 1937, Ferrolì 1951: 315-32, Tōmassū 1961²: 97-108 (1989³: 109-21; 1935¹; the young P.J. Thomas had already published a very first study on Hanxleden in the *St. Joseph's College Magazine*, vol. 4, Sept. 1915), Maṭṭaṃ 1957, Jōsū 1982, Ulakamthara 1982, Neill 1985: 88-9, Mundadan 1988 (reproduced as/in Id. 1994, and 1997: 237-63) and 1989 (expanded version of 1988), Hambye 1990, 1997: 95-6, and 2001, Bautz 1990, Maṇavālan 1990: 270-322, Ulahannan Māppiḷa 1993: 13-53, Pallath 1994, Palackal 1995: 50-6, Kumpaḷakkulī 2002: 8-17.

² Cf. the English translation of the letter by Dr. M. Luke in Pallath 1994: 21-33 – see already Paulinus 1792: 51, 1793 and 1794 *passim*. A list of references to Hanxleden by Paulinus is given in Rocher 1977: 201.

model (i.e. the *Siddharūpa*). Paulinus had met in Kerala some last surviving disciples of Hanxleden (among whom a certain 'Barida Cathanar'/Father George – *kattanār* being the Mal. word for a Syrian 'priest'); he also found several of Hanxleden's manuscripts (some of them had already reached Rome, some were brought back from Kerala by Paulinus himself), that he quotes extensively in his own works. In addition to Paulinus's account, there are two letters on Hanxleden's life which were published just after his death, among other Jesuit missionary-reports, by Joseph Stöcklein in *Der Neue Welt-Bott* (no. 601, Augsburg, 1732, pp. 19-20 & 122), the first one, of 27 July 1732, written by his junior companion Father Bernhard Bischofinck (b. 1690-2 in Borken, Westphalia/Germany, d. c. 1746 in Mangalore), the second one of 26 September 1732, by Father Jakob Hausegger (b. 1700 in Schemnitz, Hungary, d. 1765 in Travancore).³ Finally, the old Goan catalogues (now in

³ Cf. their notices by J. Lederle in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 20 (2002), pp. 213-14 (http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/b/bischofinck_b.shtml), 719-20 (http://www.kirchenlexikon.de/h/hausegger_j.shtml).

the Jesuit Archives in Rome) give some biographical information (cf. Mundadan 1989: 41 fn. 10). Beside these ecclesiastical testimonies, there survived in Kerala, until the 20th century, an oral, partly legendary, tradition on Arnos Padiri, attached to the places where he lived.⁴

Johann Ernst Hanxleden was born in 1681 in Osterkappeln, near Osnabrück (Lower Saxony, Germany). After doing philosophical studies (in Latin) in his native town, Hanxleden came to Augsburg where he volunteered for Jesuit mission in India and was accepted as a 'candidate' for the Society. Together with the elderly Jesuits Wilhelm Weber and Wilhelm Meyr, and a doctor (barber), Franz Kaspar Schillinger (who left us an account of their perilous voyage, published in 1707, and epitomized in *Der Neue Welt-Bott* no. 93, 1726, pp. 58-101), he set forth (30 October 1699) on a long journey to India, travelling through Italy, (then by ship to) Turkey, Syria, Armenia, and Persia, and, after

⁴ The remains of this tradition were at first collected by P.J. Thomas (Tōmassū); cf. Thankappan Nair [1973-74¹] 1994, who quotes a written legendary biography (fn. 26 below), Pallath 1994, and Wikipedia s.v. Hanxleden.

embarking (in Bandar Abbas, on the Gulf of Persia) on a French ship, set foot in India at Surat (in contemporary Gujarat) on the 13th of December 1700. During the journey, Hanxleden was formally accepted as a member of the Society of Jesus, starting his novitiate with Father Weber as his master. But the latter and Father Meyr died at sea before reaching Surat. He then proceeded to Goa, where the main Jesuit community in India was settled (at St Paul's College).

After completing his spiritual formation (novitiate) in Goa, during which he learnt Portuguese language, Hanxleden was sent to the Jesuit seminary at Ambalakad/Ampazhakkad⁵ in Kerala (the 'Serra', as called in Portuguese), where he did theological studies in immediate preparation to his becoming a priest (c. 1702-4). He took time to initiate himself to the local vernacular language, viz. Malayāḷam, and also to the liturgical language of the St. Thomas Christians, viz. Syriac. He was ordained priest in 1705 or 1706. The

⁵ Ampalakate or Ambalacotam in earlier sources (Diocese: Irinjalakuda, Thrissur Distr.), on which Jesuit seminary, see Ferroli 1951: 286-97, Perumthottam 1994: 75-8.

manuscript of his final vows professed in 1714 (*professus quattuor votorum*), lying in the Jesuit archives in Rome, has been recognized as autographic by Jean-Claude Muller.

Kerala, and more precisely the inner-central part of the country (viz. outside the coastal territories under the Dutch rule), will remain the field of Hanxleden's activities: beside Malayālam and Syriac, he got also a good command over Tamil. Moreover, after having moved to Pazhur⁶ (c. 1704-11), he learnt Sanskrit and improved his (high) Malayālam ought to two Nambudiri (*nampūtiri*) brahmins from the Trichur traditional Sanskrit Academy (I presume the Trichur Brahmasva-maṭham, where young brahmins were trained).⁷ From 1707 to 1711-12, Hanxleden served as secretary to João Ribeiro (a Portuguese Jesuit who had become the

⁶ Pazhur (cf. '*paḥur* Pashur seu Palur... in templo Parulensi', Paulinus 1792: 51) in earlier sources = Pazhuvil, 19 km s-w from Trichur (Mundadan 1989: 45 fn. 29), distinct from Palayur (*pālayur*) in the same Thrissur Distr.

⁷ Cf. the double anecdote quoted by Ferrroli 1951: 329 fn., Thankappan Nair [1973-74¹] 1994: 50, and Mundadan 1989: 40, about his proficiency in both languages (from an oral tradition collected by P.J. Thomas), and Mundadan 1989: 45 fn. 30 (cf. also Mackenzie 1906: 193) on these two brahmins referred to by Paulinus.

'Padroado' Archbishop of Cranganore/Kodungallur, 1701-16).⁸ During this time he travelled through the country for various tasks such as preaching and catechesis. It is recorded that he served as the vicar of the main church in Malabar, viz. the present Mother of God, *Mater Dei*, Cathedral Church of the Diocese of Calicut. Hanxleden moved to Velur (Vēlur), a small village about 20 km north of Trichur, at the end of 1712, 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 protected monument of Kerala (Pillai 2001: 108-10); among various exhibits in his home⁹ are his bed and the *caturangam* columns marked on the floor – Hanxleden used to play this early form of chess with Nambudiri brahmins (who were traditionally fond of that game). He also still worked in the Jesuit seminary in Ampazhakkad, from where, according to the library-marks, come at least

⁸ Cf. Perumthottam 1994: 78 and *passim*, Hambye 1997: 22-5, Sobhanan 1981: 224-7.

⁹ Cf. Ferroli 1951: 329, Mundadan 1989: 49, Thankappan Nair [1973-74¹] 1994: 51.

two of his preserved autograph manuscripts in codex form, viz. the Sanskrit grammar of Montecompatri and (as noted by Muller 1985: 134) the Vocabulary of Coimbra presented below (cf. Paulinus 1793: 120, on the portion of his *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* ms. lost 'in collegio *Ambalacattensi*'; and Mundadan 1989: 53 fn. 66, on the end of this library).

He spent his last days in Pazhur, where he died on the 20th of March 1732 (from a snake-bite according to Pallath 1994: 13); he is buried there, near the church dedicated to St. Antony.

Philological works

It is not here the place for stressing on Hanxleden's qualities as a Sanskrit and Malayāḷam philologist and grammarian. It is enough to mention that he copied, introduced or annotated several Malayāḷam and Sanskrit manuscripts (e.g. one of the three *Amarasīṃha* mss. used by Paulinus 1798, cf. Id. 1790: 63, 1792: 76 fn., no. 1 item 3, 1793: 60, 1799: 6, 1804: xx, no. 1, De Gubernatis 1877: 47, no. xxii item 45, Mundadan 1989: 55; the original *Siddharūpa* itself, Paulinus 1799: 6, De Gubernatis 1877: 46-7, no. xxii

item 44; another *vyākaraṇa* with additional gnomic *ślokaś*, Paulinus 1790: 65, 1792: 77 fn., no. 4, 1799: 6, 1804: xiii-xiv & xx, no. 5), and that he commented on a few works in these languages (esp. the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*, Paulinus 1792: 77 fn., no. 6, 1793: 120-1, 1799: 6-7, 1804: xx, no. 2; ms. Bibl. Naz. Rome, cf. Balzani *apud* Müller 1899: 219, Muller 1985: 134).¹⁰

He composed two dictionaries according to Father Hausegger, who had described them before Paulinus (cf. Paulinus 1792: 56, 1799: 5-6). A (high or Sanskritized) Malayāḷam - Portuguese dictionary preserved in a manuscript kept in Rome (Bibl. Vat.)¹¹ is attributed to him by the colophon, possibly by the hand of Hausegger himself (Guptan Nair 1988 = 1994: 43; cf. Mundadan 1989: fn. 79), which adds that since Hanxleden's dictionary was not finished it was

¹⁰ The list of four other (philosophical) Sanskrit texts on which he would have commented as found in Uḷḷūr 1990⁴ (1955¹): 244 (cf. also in Unithiri 1981: 209 = 2004: 139), comes from an unproven conjecture made by De Gubernatis (1876) and reported by Müller 1899: 218.

¹¹ On this ms. *Borgiano Indiano* 10, having 128 folios, see Vallavanthara 1984: 52-5 (description) and 92 (reproduction of the first folio, cf. Ulahannan Māppiḷa 1993: 75, and 77 for the reproduction of the last folio).

completed by borrowing from another vocabulary composed by Archbishop Antonio Pimentel.¹² This manuscript corresponds to the *Dictionarium* or *Vocabularium Malabarico-* or *Malabarico-Samscrdamico-* or *Samscrdamico-Malabarico-* [= 'Sanskrit-Malayāḷam', viz. Sanskritized Malayāḷam] *Lusitanum* in the Library of the *Propaganda Fide* such as described and used by Paulinus (1792: 55-56, no. x;

¹² Successor of Ribeiro (1721-52; Perumthottam 1994: 78-9 and *passim*, Hambye 1997: 26). It is to be noted that Paulinus (1792: 55; and, referring to it, a note on the front-page of the Vatican ms., Vallavanthara 1984: 53) declares, differently, that it was Pimentel himself who completed Hanxleden's dictionary (cf. 1799: 5; the item 8 in Paulinus [1789-90?]'s preliminary list given by De Gubernatis 1877: 49, no. xxix: '*Dictionarium... con aggiunte di Ant. Pimentel*'; and the reference in 1798b: xlv: 'Pimentel... in appendice Lexici Hanxlediani'), and who would have even (1792: 56) then augmented it and published this new work in his own name (cf. Rocher 1977: 212, Mundadan 1989: fn. 78). I prefer to trust the colophon of the Vatican ms. and to view Paulinus's statement as only testifying for the existence of another (Malayāḷam, rather than Sanskrit-Malayāḷam, - Portuguese) dictionary (Paulinus thus says in comparing them: 'duo dictionaria', 1792: 56) written by Pimentel ('cuius aliqua exemplaria manuscripta in Malabarica circumferuntur', and which 'verborum copia & varietate praestat', according to Paulinus *ibid.*, who already in 1790: 57, clearly presented it as distinct from Hanxleden's one, ascribing it the no. 3 in the Library of the *Propaganda Fide*; cf. 1790: 30, 1793: 124) and which was thus used by Hausegger for completing Hanxleden's one. Pimentel's dictionary remains untraced in manuscripts.

cf. 1791: 267, 1794: 191, 1799: 5).¹³ Its edition, with an English translation by P.V. Ulahannan Mappila (from

¹³ See Paulinus 1792: 56 fn. 1: 'Dictionarium hoc inscribitur: *Vocabulario da lingoa Malavar*' ('Malabar' more precisely, according to photography of the Vatican ms., and not 'da Lingua Malavar' as written by Vallavanthara 1984: 53); 1799: 5: 'Libri lemma est: *Vocabularium Malabarico Lusitanicum* [cf. also the note on the front-page of the Vatican ms.]; sed pleraque nomina sunt Samscrdamica, saepe literis Gr., id est, vocabulum *Granthamicum* notantur' (on the use of this abbreviation, cf. the colophon of the ms. and Ulahannan Māppiḷa 1993: 78); 1790: 30, 55 ('in suo [viz. Hanxleden's] dictionario Samscrdamico Lusitano'), 57, 1791: 8, 64, 109, 114, 121, 138, 248, 280, 304, and 1798: vi ('ex manuscripto dictionario *Malabarico-Samscrdamico* P. I. E. *Hanxleden*'), for the 'Sanskrit' quotations and references from this dictionary. The ms. was previously listed under the no. 9 (e.g. 1790: 57, 75, 1791: 64 fn.) as explained by Paulinus (1792: 56 fn. 1), and under the no. 8 in his preliminary descriptive list (1789-90? see below fn. 17) reproduced by De Gubernatis (1877: 49, no. xxix). That the Vatican ms. comes from the Library of the *Propaganda Fide* is confirmed by its library-mark as given by Ulahannan Māppiḷa 1993: 79. This manuscript had reached the Library of the *Propaganda Fide* before the coming back of Paulinus from Malabar, according to the testimony of the Spanish (ex-Jesuit) Father Hervás y Panduro, who, already in 1785, saw in the same Library a 'dizionario MS. Malabarico-Portoghese in foglio con 140, e nell' ultimo notasi, che è opera del Gesuita Giovanni Ernesto Hankleaden (...) famoso Maestro delle lingue Malabare, e Tamulica' (cf. 'R. P. Joao Ernesto Hanxleaden da Companhia de Jesus, grande Mestre na lingoa Malabar commua alta e tambem grandonica' in the colophon of the Vatican ms.) that he called also 'dizionario Grandonico-Malabare' (cf. Van Hal 2010: 447), and also according to the commentator to Paulin(us) 1808 (vol. 3: 296) who perfidiously says that 'toute la science du Missionnaire [Paulin(us)] est tirée du

St Berchman's College, Changanacherry), has been published by the Kerala Sahitya Academy (see Arṇṇōṣū Pātiri 1988). Another manuscript, entitled *Vocabulario Malavarico* (dated 1st of september 1730, 'in templo Parulensi'), which is in this case a Portuguese - (common and high) Malayālam ('Lingoa Vulgar and Lingoa Alta' being distinguished; Muller 1985: 134) dictionary, is kept in Portugal, in the Coimbra University library; this manuscript, which is clearly an autograph (see its reproduction on-line),¹⁴ appears to be close to the *Dictionarium Trilingue, Lusitano-Latino-Malabaricum ac Grandonicum* such as referred to by

dictionnaire du P. Hanxleden, qu'il a copié à Rome, depuis son retour de l'Inde : tout le monde pourrait en faire autant'. Beside this exemplar, another (unaugmented?) exemplar belonging to Paulinus (cf. Paulinus 1792: 77 fn., no. 12 – see below fn. 16; De Gubernatis 1877: 46, no. xxii item 38: 'P. Joh. Ern. Hanxleden Vocabularium Malabarico-Lusitanum continens paginas 113 in fol.') appears to have reached the Bibl. Naz. (cf. De Gubernatis 1877: 44, no. xxi; Balzani *apud* Müller 1899: 218, S.M.S. 33), where there is also to be found a 'Dictionarium Malabaricum (in portoghese) cui addita multa vocabula samscredamica a P.F. Ernesto Hanxleden descriptum a P. Franco Carmel. Disc. Malab. Miss. anno 1785' (De Gubernatis 1877: 48, no. xxvii; cf. Balzani *apud* Müller 1899: 218, S.M.S. 25).

14

<http://almamater.uc.pt/referencias.asp?f=BGUCD&i=18080100&t=ERNESTO, JOAO, %3F-1732>.

Paulinus (1799: 5-6), at least according to the quoted examples.¹⁵ However, the copy that Paulinus had in hand was clearly a different manuscript, constituting an augmented version of the former: with the Sanskrit vocabulary ('Granthamicum vocabulum', viz. the Sanskritized Malayālam of the last column) marked with an additional asterisk, and a Latin translation added after the Portuguese words (of the first column) by Father Bischopinck,¹⁶ according to the statement of

¹⁵ Compare the sequences quoted by Paulinus 1799: 6: '[Lusitanicum] Absorto, [Latinum] absorptus, a sensibus abstractus, Malab. *Paravashen*, (*) [= Granthamicum] *Asvatantri*', and the Coimbra ms. f° 3 r: *Absorto paravaśaṇ asvatantri*; 'Abastado, rico, affluens, opulentus Malab. *Sambanen*, (*) *Vanaván, pushta*', and ms. f° 1 v: *Abastado, rico sampanaṇ dhanavāṇ puṣṭa*; 'Ajuntamento, conjunctio, congregatio, Malab. *Kútam, yógam*, (*) *Samgamana, Sangam*', and ms. f° 11 v: *Ajuntamento kūṭṭam yogaṁ saṁgamanaṁ saṁgaṁ*. Cf. Also Paulinus 1791: 15, and the ms. f° 206 r: *Sacrificio para os forasteiros brahmanes* (*sacrificium pro Brahmanibus exteris) *mānuṣayajñaṁ*.

¹⁶ See Paulinus 1804: xx, no. 6, on his use of two different 'Dictionaria Malabarico-Samscrdamica[, the Sanskrit-Malayālam - Portuguese dictionary, undertaken but not completed, by] P. Hanxleden [viz. the *Vocabularium Malabarico-Lusitanum*, often simply quoted as 'Dictionarium R.P. Hanxleden' by Paulinus, e.g. 1790, 1791 *passim*, 'Dictionarium ms. Hanxledianum', 1804: xiv], et [the Hanxleden's reverse-lexicon transformed into a Portuguese - Latin - Malayālam - Sanskrit dictionary by] P. Biscopring ['dictionarium Samscrdamico Malabarico Lusitanum R.P. Biscopring', 1791: 15], in quo ultimo

Paulinus himself. Three other lexical mss. from Rome (AG OCD and Bibl. Naz.) remain to be examined, among which could be found this (augmented) *Dictionarium Trilingue* used by Paulinus, beside one or two copies/versions of the other dictionary (under the titles *Dictionarium* or *Vocabularium Malabarico-Lusitanum* or *Dictionarium Malabaricum*, see before fn. 13).

As it was said before, Hanxleden composed a Sanskrit grammar (written in Latin with the Sanskrit in Malayāḷam script), the autograph ms. of which is now retrieved and in course of publication. He also wrote a Malayāḷam Grammar: an *Arte Malavar*, in Portuguese, has been edited as being Hanxleden's one by Antony Joseph in 1993 (with an introduction by P.V. Ulahannan Mappila and an English translation by Miss

vocabula pura Samscrdamica asterisco notantur, et distinguuntur.' See also the note to Paulin(us) 1808 (vol. 3: 296) which refers to 'le dictionnaire *grandam* du P. *Hanxleden*' as distinct from 'celui du P. *Biscopig*'. Contra Mundadan (1989: 55-6 and fn. 81, following Huonder and Sommervogel), I thus understand Paulinus' statement about the manuscripts he had of his own (1792: 77 fn., no. 12): 'dictionarium Malabarico-Samscrdamico Lusitanum P. Hanxleden, D. Pimentel, & P. Biscopig. Codices chartacei [plural] in fol.', as referring to three *different* dictionaries (cf. also such triple references in 1790: 30, 1793: 148-9, 1794: 10, 1798b: xxxiii; on the lost Pimentel's dictionary, see fn. 12 above).

Pinto; see Arṇṇōṣṡ Pātiri 1993) from a London (SOAS) anonymous ms. (cf. Mundadan 1989: 54 fn. 68, and 56 + fn. 72-5), of which, however, only the first paradigm corresponds to the short description by Paulinus (1799: 4); the 'true' original work written by Hanxleden is rather to be found in Rome (AGOCD), in the same ms. as the *Dictionarium Trilingue* (cf. Hambye 1990: 313).¹⁷

¹⁷ The following ms. description with works variously ascribed to Hanxleden (Hambye 1997: 95 fn. 9), Bischofinck (Streit - Dindinger 1931: 85 no. 311; Hambye 1997: 96 fn. 18; Lederle 2002, quoted fn. 3 above) or both of them (Ferroli 1951: 294): 'Dictionarium Malabaricum et Samscredamico-Lusitanum, cui praefixa est grammatica P. Ern. Hanxleden, et in fine addita catechesis Christiana lingua Malabarica, Roma, Bibl. Propaganda Fide', could refer to the same ms., despite the title of the dictionary (which could be confused with the 'Hanxleden', or Sanskrit-Malayālam – Portuguese, one; see thereon fn. 16 above) and corresponds precisely to the wording of the item 41 in the autographic list of manuscripts belonging to Paulinus (De Gubernatis 1877: 46, no. xxii; cf. fn. 13 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 ms. in the Library of the *Propaganda Fide* later on (before it went to the AGOCD). Cf. the problematic case of Hanxleden's Sanskrit grammar, described (in 1790-91? since there is a reference to the printing of Paulinus' own Sanskrit grammar, see below) in the same list (item 39; De

Poetical works

It is recorded that Hanxleden composed a few Christian verses in pure Sanskrit (cf. the reference from the Goan catalogue given in Hambye 1997: 96 fn. 14). The only hitherto preserved poetical stanza in Sanskrit, in honour of the Mother of God, is given (in Malayāḷam script, with a Roman transliteration) by Paulinus (1790: 17; cf. 1799: 3: 'Quare meae etiam curae fuit in *Grammatica Samscrdamica* pag. 17. carmen P. Hanxleden, non Malabaricum, sed Samscrdamicum, in

Gubernatis 1877: 46), as if it had been brought back from Kerala by Paulinus himself, and thereafter as belonging to the Library of the *Propaganda Fide* (1792: 51-2, no. ii; cf. already the list entitled 'Paulini a S. Bartholomeo Recensio historico-critica codicum indicorum bibliothecae S. Congregat. de propaganda', item [1], which list should date of 1789-90 since the *Sidharubam* of Paulinus, which will become the no. 1 in 1792, is not yet mentioned and replaced, as the no. 2, by a preliminary version of Paulinus' grammar in manuscript form, dated 1778); however, from the sentence 'et cum Gramatica samscrdamica P. Paulini a S. Barthol. conveniens, quamvis hic has [viz. Hanxleden and Roth's respective grammars] Romae primum repererit et viderit, cum suam Gramaticam a Brahmanibus acceptam jam Romae typis edidisset' (Gubernatis 1877: 46), it is possible that the ms. of Hanxleden's Sanskrit grammar was somewhere in Rome before the coming back of Paulinus (but apparently not in the Library of the *Propaganda Fide*, where Hervás saw only the dictionary, cf. fn. 13 above, and Van Hal 2010: 447 fn. 6, where 'grammar' is a mistake for 'dictionary').

honorem *Matris Dei* ab eo conditum proferre, ut Samscrdamici idiomatis elegantia et venustas ex versibus pateret') in this (corrupt) form (cf. Rocher 1977: xxv-xxvi):

paramabhuvaneśvarī narakula<rs>śivaṃkarī
bhavatu tava vr̥thuśaviguṇoraṃ? [I]

Parama buvanēshvari naragula shivangari
 bhavadu tava vr̥thusha vigunòram,

vadasi yadi kiñ cid api dantarucikaumudī harati
yarātimiramatighoraṃ? [II]

Vadasi yadi kincida bidanda ruci gau
 mudīharati yaratimira madi ghòram.

puṇyaśīle prasū puṇyaśīle / *Punya*
 shilè prasù punya shilè.

'[O You, viz. Mary, who are] the Supreme Lord of the World, the one who cause Happiness to the Human Race, may your [?] be (corr. *pr̥thu-gavi guṇaugham?*: 'the abundance of your virtues be in/spread on the wide [or Pr̥thu's, milk-cow as] earth'). It is enough if you say one word: the bright moonlight of [your] teeth removes [?] (corr. D. Goodall *yama-timiram atighoram*: 'the extremely terrible darkness of death'). O virtuous

Mother, O Virtuous one (or corr. Id. *punyaśīla-prasū*.
'O virtuous Mother *of the* Virtuous one')!

This unidentified type of metre (2 x 16 + 12, and then 10 syllables) is followed by a 'Sanskrit Malayāḷam' verse by Paulinus himself.¹⁸

¹⁸ Paulinus 1790: 17, bottom of the page: 'Aliud carminis Samscrdamico-Malabarici exemplum, quod [in Mal. script:] *parvvaṁ* [in Roman script:] *parvam* dicitur, tale dari potest'; and 18, after the quotation in Malayāḷam script, its transcription and translation: 'in vita S. Theresiae Virginis versibus scripta'. The stanza is transcribed again with a slightly different translation by Paulinus 1804: 241-2 fn. (see Rocher 1977: xxvii-xxviii), who adds: 'in carmine de S. M. Theresia, olim a me in *Malabaria* condito'. Here is an edition of the verse:

bālakapriye daivamakuṭamaṇiguṇā śālinī cāruśīle vatsalā maṭiyame |
(-prīye scrib. P) (-maṭī- scrib. P)
kanyake lokanāthe duḥkhitajanaśoka--hananī mama pīḍāhāriṇī
mahāśubhe ||

(-hārinī

mahāśśubhe scrib. P)

Another verse from the same work is given in Mal. script by Paulinus 1790: 167:

ahaha mahādīrghaṁ narakanityakālaṁ aha mahābhīmaṁ
durjjanaśikṣasthalaṁ |

This type of verse with 14 syllables in each *pāda* looks like the Malayāḷam *stimita* metre (despite the fact that the number of 20 mores which should be constant to the *pāda* is lacking). The complete text of the Life of (the Carmelite) St. Therese (of Avila) composed by Paulinus (1792: 77 fn., no. 14, referring to his own manuscript: 'vita S. Theresiae versibus Malabaricis a me conscripta'; cf. Ullūr 1990⁴ [1955¹]: 672, quoting two other extracts, and the few comments by

However, Hanxleden is above all remembered for his compositions in Malayāḷam, which were in common as well as in highly Sanskritized language (*maṇipravāḷam*). While his poems were written works, some also had a strong oral tradition ('carmina, quae omnia in Malabarica vulgo canuntur', Paulinus 1794: 191), at least until the middle of the 20th century for the most famous of them. They were published in Kerala several times (see the references below). A critical edition has been recently published (Arṇṇōṣū Pātiri 2002), with substantial introduction and study, by N. Sam e.a. Here is a short overview of each work.

Chandanappally 1981: 152, and Hambye 1997: 101) is to be found in the Bibl. Naz. ms. no. xxiii of 'Miscellanea indiana' in De Gubernatis 1877: 48: '(...) auctore P. Paulino a S. Barthol. – Sequitur Vita S. Theresiae Virginis carmine scripta ab eodem auctore (versibus samscrdamico-malabaricis) del 1783'; cf. Balzani *apud* Müller 1899: 219, S.M.S. 8 ('Scala 65. – 8', in Streit - Dindinger 1931: 190, no. 24). One copy more is in London, SOAS (Mundadan 1989: 54 fn. 68, no. 6: 'Marthresyastriyude Charitram' = *māf-trēsīyā-strīyūṭe caritraṁ*, on palm-leaves), and two other are located in Madras, GOML (Subrahmanya Sastri 1940: 304-6, no. 315 on paper which appears to be the transcript of the no. 316 on palm-leaves).

• *Puttaṇ pāna* (the 'New Hymn'), a devotional epic on the life of Christ, is his most popular poem. It bears the alternative titles of *Kūtāsappāna* ('Hymn of the Sacraments', cf. *kūdāśa* from Syriac *qudsha* = Hebrew *qōdeš*), *Misihācarit(ṛ)am* ('Story of the Christ'), or *Rakṣākara-vēda-/carita-kīrttanam* ('Poem on the Evangel/Story of the Saviour'). Paulinus knew it as *Misihāṭe pāna* ('Hymn of the Christ'), that he explains as 'Vita Jesu Christi' (ms. of 1782, De Gubernatis 1877: 48, no. xxix), or 'de doctrina & verbis Christi' (1790: 167), or 'Vita Christi Servatoris, seu 4. Evangelia metro facili et eleganti composita' (1794: 191), or '*carmina de Vita, doctrina et verbis Christi*' (1799: 3), and he quotes an extract (1790: 167) corresponding to the seventh canto, vv. 26-34,¹⁹ in the critical edition (2002: 176-7). The beginning of the first canto (*pādam*) tells that the poem is written at the request of Antonio

¹⁹ Here is Paulinus' quotation, with variant readings (from the critical text) marked in non-italics:

ekanāthaṇ ullayeṇa buddhiyāl
 tavakalpitam *keḷkkaṇam* *kevalam* | = 26
 nṛpaṇmāruṭe ājñaye *keḷkkaṇam* (? ≠ 27a)
 pitākkaṇmāre sneham uṇṭakeṇam | = 31a
 iṣṭaṇmāre prīyam uṇṭāyālporā
 dveṣam ullōre sneham uṇṭakeṇam | = 34

Pimentel (*māṛantōnīs*, v. 13); since the latter held the Archbishop-office from 1721 (to 1752; cf. Hambye 1997: 26-7, 96, Perumthottam 1994: 78-9, and fn. 12 above), the poem must have been composed between 1721 (Maṇavāḷan 1990: 283) and 1727 which is the date (given by the colophon) of one of the mss. (Kumpaḷakkulī - Sāṃ 2002: 41-3, 87; cf. the date of 1728 ascribed to the work by Paulinus 1782's own manuscript, De Gubernatis 1877: 48, no. xxix). The poem in its critical edition has only thirteen *pādaṃs* (in the *sarppīṇi* 'metre', *ṛittam*; or *pāna* itself as the popular name of the metre according to Veluthat 2009: 255), because the 12th *pādaṃ* (87 verses, on the lament of the Virgin Mary at the crucifixion of Jesus), which is differently composed in the *natōṇṇata* metre (*upajāti* according to Veluthat), has been considered as a separate poem (cf. Maṇavāḷan 1990: 311-2) and thus edited thereafter, under the title *Ummāṭe duḥkham*, the 'Sorrow of the Mother' (Arṇṇōsū Pātiri 2002: 289-300, with the alternative title of *Dēvamātāvinṭe vyākula-pralāpaṃ*, to be not confused with the next work bearing a similar title). However, this is against the manuscripts and previous editions; already

Paulinus introduced the work in his own manuscript (transcribed in 1782) as having 'capita xiv' (De Gubernatis 1877: 48, no. xxix, cf. Balzani *apud* Müller 1899: 219).²⁰

These *pādamṣ* 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 evenings preceding funerals (see Palackal 1995: 75-83, Veluthat 2009: 256). In his musical study of the work, J. Palackal (1995: 84-133) explains how the music style of the Chaldeo-Syrian liturgy was adapted for singing the Dravidian traditional metres of the poem. There are also several literary analyses of the work, e.g. by P.J. Thomas (Tōmassū 1961²: 104-6, 1989³: 117-9), M. Ulakamthara (1982: 79-108) and P. Maṇavāḷan (1990: 283-92, 323-79 *passim*). Against Paulinus (manuscript-note in De Gubernatis 1877: 48)

²⁰ Mundadan 1989: 58-9, declares that the work is divided into 12 sections on the basis of Paulinus 1799: 3 ('in duodecim capita'); cf. already Paulinus 1792: 77 fn. (which is a short description of his own manuscripts), no. 18: 'Pāna seu vita I. C. versibus malabaricis in 12. capitulis'. If it is not a mistake by Paulinus, it may mean that the other copy of the work belonging to him, viz. the one transcribed in 1780 (see below for the references), has 12 cantos only.

who declared it to be an 'opus praeclarum cujus mss. exemplaria nunc jam vitio amanuensium corrupta plura in Malabar existant', K. Veluthat (2009: 256) stress on 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'.

The work has been published several times (see Arṇṇōsū Pātiri 1844, 1862, 1888, 1889, 1895, 1896, 1932, 1937, 1948, 1954, 1954-55, 1960, 1965, 1982). The editio princeps appears to be the printing by the Church Missionary Society in 1844. The critical edition of 2002 is based on one palm-leaf ms. from Rome, Bibl. Vat. (Vallavanthara 1984: 80-81; *Borgiano Indiano* 60, with the title *Misihācaritaṃ pāna*), two palm-leaf mss. from the University of Kerala, ORI&ML (the first one with the title *Misihācaritraṃ pāna*; the other one, dated *kollam* era 902 = 1726-27 AD, and having the title *Kūtāśappāna*, already used for the 1960 edition), and on the 1895 and 1982 previous editions.

There are at least two mss. more in Madras, GOML (Subrahmanya Sastri 1940: 306-7, no. 317 on paper

wich appears to be the transcript of the no. 318 on palm-leaves, with the title *Miśśihācaritraṃ pāna*), another to be found in Rome, Bibl. Naz. (ms. no. xxix of 'Miscellanea Indica a P. Paullino [sic] Collecta' in De Gubernatis 1877: 48, cf. Balzani *apud* Müller 1899: 219, S.M.S. 34), with two copies of the work (the first one made in 1782 and the other in 1780, corresponding to the items 16 and 16bis in the autographic list of manuscripts belonging to Paulinus, De Gubernatis 1877: 44-5, no. xxii; cf. Sommervogel e.a. 1893: 81), one in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek-Preußischer Kulturbesitz (on palm-leaves, dated *kollam* era 1010 = 1835 AD; Janert e.a. 1979: 479 no. 1769), one in Bonn, Jesuit Missionsmuseum (on palm-leaves, described as 'Vita D.N. Jesu Christi e quatuor Evangeliiis desumpta, et versibus malabaricis adornata'; Muller 1985: 134), one in London, SOAS (on palm-leaves, with the title *Miśihācaritraṃ pāna*; Mundadan 1989: 54 fn. 68, no. 8), and finally one in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (on palm-leaves, dated 1774; Veluthat 2009: 254-5, who also notices another BnF ms. with a kind of 'extremely abridged rendering' of

the work, 261-2 fn. 32), which allows to plan a new critical edition.

- *Dēvamātāvinṭe vyākulaṣṭabandhaṃ*, the 'Poem on the Distress of the Divine Mother', is a variation in 63 stanzas on the same theme as of the 12th canto of the previous work (cf. Maṇavālaṇ 1990: 312-3; and Ullūr 1990⁴ [1955¹]: 244, who distinguishes between *Vyākula-ṣṭabandhaṃ* and *-yōgaṃ*). It is found appended in the same mss. and editions as the ones used for the critical edition of the *Puttaṇ pāna* (Arṇṇōṣṭ Pātiri 2002: 301-16, cf. also the popular editions such as Arṇṇōṣṭ Pātiri 1965: 107-14). This is probably the work to which Paulinus refers as 'De tristia B.M.V. [Beatae Mariae Virginis, i.e. the Blessed Virgin Mary] carmen *Umāde dukham* dictum' (1794: 191; cf. 1799: 2: 'hymnis aliis in laudem B.M.V. compositis', viz. poems which are different from the 'Hymnus *Ave Maris Stella*' described below), and the one that the London (SOAS) ms. referred to above, gives under the title *Ummāduḥkhaṃ* (Mundadan 1989: 54 fn. 68, no. 7). One more transcript of the poem (and/or of the previous 12th canto, or of the next

work), under the title *Litaniae Beatae Mariae Virginiae* ('Litanies of the Blessed Virgin Mary'), with Roman transcription and Latin translation, could be found in Rome, Bib. Vat., within the same manuscript as (and just before) the Malayālam version of the hymn *Ave Maris Stella* (Perumthottam 1994: 81-2 fn. 214; *Vat. Ind.* 14, pp. 220-33).

- *Ummā-parv(v)aṃ*, the 'Epic song on the [Divine] Mother', is the work referred to by Paulinus in his list of personal manuscripts ('Elenchus manuscriptorum', De Gubernatis 1877: 44, no. xxii item 1a) as 'Cantus de B.V.M. idiomate Malabarico et Samscrdamico' according to the *incipit* he gives, which corresponds to the first *pāda* in the editions (Arṇṇōsū Pātiri 1863, 1873 *bis* [1878², or 1906², 1950³], 1931, 1982). The printings bear the alternative title of *Dēvamāṭṛsaṃkṣēpacariṭ(r)aṃ*, 'Condensed story of the Divine Mother' – the work has 477 stanzas only (see Maṇavāḷan 1990: 308-11). The critical edition, with the second title of *Dēvasukanyakācaritragānaṃ*, the 'Song on the Story of the Divine Blessed Virgin', is based on the Rome (Bibl. Vat.) ms. referred to above (*Borg. Ind.*

60), plus one transcript on paper and the 1873 edition (entitled *Pañcaparvvaṃ*, for it joins this work to the next one which is in four *parvaṃs*). The London (SOAS) ms. appears to contain the work under the title *Dēvasukanyakā[-caritraṃ]* (Mundadan 1989 fn. 68, no. 5).

- *Caturantyaṃ* is a mystic epic on the 'Four Ends' of man, to each of which corresponds a different *parvaṃ*: *Maraṇa*- 'Death', *Vidhi*- '[Universal] Judgement', *Naraka*- 'Perdition', and *Mōkṣa*- 'Paradise', *-parvaṃ*; the whole work being thus sometime called *Nālu-parvvaṃ* or *-parvarīra*, the 'Four *parvaṃs*', as Paulinus knew it (1792: 77 fn., no. 17: 'Nāla parvam, seu de quatuor novissimis'; 1794: 191: 'Quatuor insignes cantus seu tractatus metro Malabarico scripti de quatuor novissimis *Nālaparva* dicti'; 1799: 3: 'opusculum, quod Malabarenses Indi *Nāleparvam* vocant. Sunt hi quatuor cantus de *quatuor novissimis*'), quoting twice the same *incipit* (= vv. 1-2) of the *Vidhi-parvaṃ* ('cantus' or 'carmen de Iudicio Universali',

1790: 167, in Malayāḷam script; 1799: 3, in Roman transcription).²¹

Parts of the poem were sung on occasions similar to the *Puttaṇ pāna* recitals, especially the *Maraṇa-parvaṃ* according to Paulinus (1799: 3: 'Canuntur etiam haec carmina a Christianis, et quidem vocis modulatione placida, sed moesta, et ad compunctionem cordis accommoda; praesertim carmen de *Morte*'). The work is commented by Thomas (Tōmassū 1961²: 100-4, 1989³: 113-7), Ulakamthara (1982: 108-11), Maṇavāḷan (1990: 292-308, 323-79 *passim*) and Veluthat (2009: 258-9). The critical edition is based on the same three manuscripts as for the *Puttaṇ pāna*, and on the 1873 (*Pañcaparvvaṃ*) and 1982 editions. The two Madras mss. (GOML) which have the *Puttaṇ pāna*, give at first the *Caturantyaṃ* (Subrahmanya Sastri 1940: 303-4, no. 313 on paper and no. 314 on palm-leaves). The palm-leaf ms. in London (SOAS) has also these four *parvaṃs* (Mundadan 1989 fn. 68, no. 1-4) and remains thus to be compared. The ms. of the work owned by Paulinus, who introduces it as a 'codex

²¹ In which extract the only variant-reading is *ellāvaruṃ* (P) instead of *ellāruṃ* (crit. ed.) in the verse 2.

corticeus descriptus a Iosepho mapulla, ex oppido Cenòtta' (1792: 77 fn., no. 17), is now lost.

• *Janōva-parv(v)am*, the 'Epic song of [St.] Genevieve [of Brabant]',²² in Sanskritized Malayālam, has been published in Kerala a few times (see Arṇṇōsū Pātiri 1892, 1929-30, 1982 *bis*). It was referred to as *Janovēva-puṇyacaritaṃ* by Paulinus ('Inscribitur haec vita [S. Genovévae, Comitiss Brabantinae]: *Genovéva punya tscharidaṃ*', 1799: 1; cf. 'Cantus de S. Genoveva Germaniae comite', 1794: 191) who according to his own words, when looking at a fragmentary palm-leaf manuscript of the poem presented to him in Rome, describes the original work (as thus known to him from

²² The subject comes from the popular work by the French Jesuit René de Cériziers (*L'innocence reconnue, ou la Vie de Sainte Geneviève de Brabant*, 1st publ. Paris: L. Boulanger, 1634, numerous other editions and translations in European languages), through either 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 Caspard Bencard], 1660).

another source)²³ as having the following versified initial colophon ('Incipit ab his versibus') by the author himself (given in Roman transcription by Paulinus, here followed by my tentative reading with the help of E. Francis):

Maritscha nálighéra kramuca sambannamám,
 Kérala rágiatunkel acchalen tabódhanen
 Parama gnána shástram bódhipicuna néram,
 Páradíshyangheláya vártaghel arrivánái
 Páramágraham púndu *Védáshen* enu vidván.
 (*id est.*)

= *marica-nālikēra-kramuka-sampannam āṃ?*

²³ *Contra* the translation by Dr. M. Luke in Pallath 1994: 21-2, the proper meaning of Paulinus' words to Father Alexius Mary of St. Joseph is indeed: 'In your palm leaf these verses (= 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 one half-verse separated from the others. The ensuing verses [i.e. 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 dimidiatus, et ab aliis se junctus versus indicat. Sequentia carmina sunt: ...', Paulinus 1799: 1).

kēraḷa-rājyattin̄kal acalaṇ? [añcalaṇ? accalaṇ?]

tapōdhanan̄ |

parama-jñāna-sāstraṃ bōdhippikkunna nēraṃ

pāradēśyañnaḷ āya? *vārttakaḷ* arivānāi? |

pāram āgrahaṃ pūṇṭu vēdāśan̄ en̄nu vidvān̄ (?)

Paulinus translates: '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', i.e. 'When in the Malabaric kingdom abounding in pepper, palmes and arecanuts, I, a foreigner, a religious man, was devoting myself to the task of promulgating the celestial wisdom, [a sage called] *Védáshen*, much eager of foreign wisdom, came to me for the purpose of learning it.'

After which, the poem is starting with the following two (2 x 14 syllables) verses (the first one already quoted in Mal. script, as extracted from the 'Vita S. Genovefae', in 1790: 166-7):

Canyaga manní tánum etréyum manóhará

Svánana Yógyam condu tschandrane tólpitschídum

Akschiguel nókum néram teligna viómatunghel

Nakshatram minnum vannam adyandam

shóbhicunu. (*id est.*)

= *kanyaka-maṇi-tānuṃ etrayum manōharā*

[*mano*- 1790]

svānana-yogya-koṇṭu candrane-t-tolpiccīṭum? |

akṣikaḥ nōkuṃ nēraṃ telīñña vyōmattirikal

nakṣatraṃ minṇuṃ vaṇṇam atyantam

śōbhikkunnu |

Paulinus translates: 'Erat haec virgo (Genovéa) tam praecellentis formae, [virgo pretiosa & valde amabilis, 1790] / Ut faciei suae decore ipsam lunam vinceret; [suae faciei dignitate et splendore lunam superat, 1790] / Dum oculi ejus lucidum spectant caelum, / More micantium stellarum et ipsi radiant', i.e. '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 problem is that the verse (and the preceeding colophon) is not found in the *Janōva-parv(v)aṃ* published in Kerala, the metre of which is also different! It as been suggested that the extract quoted

by Paulinus was by another (indigenous) poet (Ulakamthara 1982: 113, Mundadan 1989: 58). The critical edition of 2002, having 1504 stanzas, is based on the editions of 1873 and 1982 (by Father S. Thermadam), plus one transcript on paper. The work is commented by Maṇavāḷan (1990: 314-8) and Veluthat (2009: 259-61). Beside the manuscript used, and the palm-leaf one seen, by Paulinus in Rome and now lost,²⁴ another, fragmentary, manuscript of the work is in the Hermann Gundert-Museum in Calw (near Stuttgart), Germany (on palm-leaves; Janert e.a. 1980: 809-10 no. 2249, cf. Frenz 1993: 475); it has the same beginning as in the editions and cannot thus be of any help for solving the problem of the origin of the *incipit* given by Paulinus.

24 There is a possibility to find at least the *incipit* referred to by Paulinus, in the Bibl. Naz. (Rome) ms. no. xxix of 'Miscellanea Indica a P. Paullino Collecta' in De Gubernatis 1877: 48 (cf. Balzani *apud* Müller 1899: 219, S.M.S. 34), after the *Miśihāṭe pāna* transcribed in 1780 'cui annectuntur varii cantus de sanctis', which corresponds to the item 16bis in the autographic list of manuscripts belonging to Paulinus (De Gubernatis 1877: 44-5, no. xxii): 'Mishihade Pana seu Vita Jesu Christi, cui annexi sunt varii alii cantus de sanctis ab eodem P. Hanxleden compositi'. The other, fragmentary, palm-leaf ms. could be somewhere in the Bibl. Vat.

• 'Set with twelve Stars' ('*Dvādaśhbha srkr* [corrupt form = *dvādaśa-bha-saṃskṛta?*], id est, *duodecim stellarum sertum* inscripsit') is, according to Paulinus (1799: 2), the title of the 'Sanskrit-Malayālam' 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 Mariamé
 Ananda Dévane pétta genavhié
 Anaradéshane pūgitscha nédié
 Andaram cúdáde nirmala canyaghé. (*id est.*)
 = *ambudhi-tārame vālka mariyamé*
ananta-dēvaṇe peṭṭa jananiyē |
anarakēśaṇe pūjicca nētriyē
antaraṃ kūṭāṭe nirmala kanyakē |

Paulinus adds the translation: 'Ave Maria, maris stella, / Dei mater alma, / Tu aeternum Dominum coluisti domina, / Tu fuisti semper sine labe virgo', i.e. 'Hail Mary, Star of the sea, Pure Mother of God; You took

care of the eternal Lord, O Lady; Always you was without stain, O Virgin.'

The work is considered lost. However, as hinted by Hambye (1997: 101), a manuscript in Rome, Bibl. Vat., bearing prayers apparently copied (rather than composed) as an appendix to his Malayāḷam grammar (Pallath 1986: 53, Perincherry 2006: 267) by the Discalced Carmelite Stephen of SS. Peter and Paul, who was in Verapoly between 1712 and 1723,²⁵ gives under the title *Hymnus* a Malayāḷam version of the hymn *Ave Maris Stella*, together with a Roman transcription and the Latin version (*Vaticano Indiano* 14, pp. 234-8; cf. Vallavanthara 1984: 86-7, Perumthottam 1994: 81-2 fn. 215). This could be the lost poem.

25 It is not clear if Stephanus a SS. Petro et Paulo (1692-1767) stayed in service in the Malabar Mission less than two years only, in 1721-23, as stated by Perumthottam (1994: 56, 59, and 59 fn. 100, 160, on his coming back to Rome that he reached in September 1727), or about 12 years, arrived in Verapoly already in December 1712, according to Perincherry (2006: 268, following Pallath 1986: 53). The prayers, songs and litanies in Malayāḷam at the end of another grammatical ms. of Stephen of SS. Peter and Paul dated 1747 (*Vat. Ind.* 12; Vallavanthara 1984: 84-5, Pallath 1986: 54, Perumthottam 1994: 82 fn. 217, Perincherry 2006: 266) should also be checked.

• *Ātmānutāpaṃ* is a poem listed among Arṇṇōsū Pātiri's works by Uḷḷūr (1990⁴ [1955¹]: 244), who simply presents it as the 'description of the sinner's repentance' (*pāpiyuṭe paścāttāpattiṇte prapañcanam*, 245). A work bearing this title was published by A.B. Elija Cyriacus in 1871 at the Disc. Carmelite printing press of Koonammavu (see Arṇṇōsū Pātiri 1871). A. Gaur (1971: 70) describes it as 'a Roman Catholic devotional tract, in verse', but does not ascribe it to Hanxleden. The work is no longer given as Hanxleden's poem in the most recent studies (e.g. Tōmassū 1989³: 233-4, who lists it among Kūryākkōs Accan's own works), except by Thankappan Nair ([1973-74¹] 1994: 54), and was thus not re-published, even not discussed, in the critical edition.

According to Thankappan Nair ([1973-74¹] 1994: 51), two boxes containing copper-plates ('four or five' ones, as noted by Ferroli 1951: 329, 'where, I was told, are written out the grants of land which the good Father got in favour of the church') and palm-leaf manuscripts, worm-eaten and weather-beaten, were found out, in December 1972, from a secret chamber

in the wall of Hanxleden's house in Velur. Unfortunately, it is not known what happened to these 'priceless' manuscripts, possibly containing works of the Father, for they are declared by the same author to be (definitively?) 'lost to posterity'.²⁶

I am myself not able to give any literary appreciation of these poetic works by Arnos Padiri. A survey of a few such evaluations was made by Mundadan (1989: 60-3), to which one can add the short comments by Parameswaran Nair (1967: 82), Chaitanya (1971: 201), George (1972: 58) and Dēvasya (2008: 9-15), the extensive studies by Maṇavāḷan (1990: 323-79) and Kumpaḷakkulī (2002: 17-83), and the good comparisons with classical Sanskrit models by Veluthat

26 Thankappan Nair also refers to 'an imperfect palm leaf manuscript now in possession of one of the residents of Velur (Chiriyalkandath Thavunni Ouseph, 63)' (1994: 47, and 58 fn. 13 giving the source: 'Express, April 10, 1973 - News with photo of Thavunni Ouseph', also referred to p. 59 fn. 16), which looks like a kind of legendary Life (hagiographic *vita*) of Arnos Padiri (narrating why he came to India and then to Kerala in the footsteps of St. Francis Xavier, *loc. cit.* 47-48, or the medical reason why he settled in Velur, 49). It could be interesting to track this manuscript, if it is still preserved in the Chiriyalkandath Thavunni Ouseph's family, who appears to have had some historical links with the Father (*ibid.* 49).

(2009: 257-61). I can nevertheless add here that the main topic of Hanxleden's poems (no less than four of them dedicated to the Blessed Virgin) testifies for his a devotion to the Divine Mother, which is confirmed by the fact that, according to J. Pallath (1994: 16), '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: 109]. The folk tradition at Velur and Pazhuvil speak of him as a person of the Rosary'.

Letters

We possess three letters written by Hanxleden, one dated of the 4th of October 1713 (Archiven der Himmelfahrtkirche, Köln, now lost but a copy was with, and translated by, Ferroli 1951: 323-8), one of the 7th of January 1715, and one of the 3rd of August 1715 (the text of the two latters, and only a portion for the second one, being preserved within letters by another, French, Jesuit, which are now in the Archives Prov. Paris s.j.; Hambye 1990: 313, Ulahannan Māppiḷa

1993: 34-43).²⁷ These letters are interesting for the history of Christianity in Kerala at the beginning of the 18th century. From Hanxleden's letter of 1713 (to a colleague in Germany), we know that (*dixit* Mundadan 1989: 48) 'he began to tour Southern Kerala when the St Thomas Christians were in the grip of a new crisis: the Padroado-Propaganda rivalry had been going on for years, to this was now added another disturbing element, namely, the presence in Kerala of an East-Syrian Metropolitan named Mar Gabriel. The main object of Hanxleden's tour was to wean the Christians from this Metropolitan whose credentials were, to say the least, doubtful. He tried his best to bring all the Christians of Kerala under the jurisdiction of Archbishop Ribeiro but without success' (cf. Ferrolì 1951: 322, 330-2, Hambye 1997: 22-6).

The letter of the 7th of January 1715 bears additional testimony about Hanxleden's knowledge of Syriac language and his interest in Syriac manuscripts. Let us

27 These two manuscript letters seem to have been previously in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève (Paris) according to Sommervogel e.a. (1890: 81), followed by Ferrolì (1951: 330) and Thankappan Nair ([1973-74¹] 1994: 47, 58 fn. 11).

quote three extracts (for the full translation in English, see Pallath 1994: 93-5; and in Malayāḷam, Ulahannan Māppiḷa 1993: 34-7) as a conclusion fitting with the object of this Conference.

'It is to be noted that the Syriac and the Chaldean languages are different only in minor details (*accidentaliter*) since the Syrians or Assyrians who live towards the west use a Chaldean that is less pure, whereas those who live on the eastern side use a purer form of it. It is this Chaldean that is in use here. But both groups understand each other. (...)

Here there is the full text of the sacred Scripture in the Chaldean language, although it cannot be found in its entirety with any single individual. With one you can find Deuteronomy. With another the book of Kings and so on. Among these priests copies of the New Testament are more widely available. Some paraphrases (of the Bible) also are to be found. But these are very rare and of unknown authorship. (...)

It is extremely difficult to obtain these books because they are in manuscript form, requiring a

long time and much labour to produce and also very expensive. That is the reason why so few of them are to be found here. As for the missal and breviary which the schismatics use they are not what they were using before. Those have been burnt by order of the Synod of Diamper and of Archbishop Alexis Menezes. Breviary is the same for Catholics and non-Catholics alike. Missal is hardly any different. These missal and breviaries can be more easily bought, because they are many *Kathanars* (this how the Priests are called) who need them, although they will certainly demand a big price. I don't think it will be possible to buy a breviary for anything less than two or three ducats. I am enclosing the alphabet. (...)'

Christophe Vielle
Université catholique de Louvain
Institut orientaliste
Place Blaise Pascal 1
B - 1348 Louvain-la-Neuve
Belgium
christophe.vielle@uclouvain.be

References

- Arṇṇōsū Pātiri. *Arṇṇōsupātiriyuṭe kāvyarīṇaḥ: pāṭhavuṃ paṭhanavuṃ*, [critical edition by] En. Sām [N. Sam], Kuryāsū Kumpaḷakkulji, Ḍi. Bañcamin [D. Benjamin]. Kōṭṭayam: Current Books, 2002.
- . *Malayāḷa vyākaraṇam*, [preliminary study by] Pi. Vi. Ulahannan Māppiḷa, [introduction and edition by] Aṇṭaṇi Jōsaphū [Antony Joseph], [English translation by] Miss Pinto. Māmmūṭṭu [Changanacherry]: Ranjima Publications, 1993.
- . *Vocabularium Malabarico Lusitanum - Malayāḷam pōrccugisū nighaṇṭu*, [edition introduced by] S. Guptan Nair. Trichur: Kerala Sahitya Akademi, 1988.
- . *Arṇṇōsupātiriyuṭe padyakṛtikal*, [edition by] Phā. Esū. [Father S.] Tērmaṭham, Kunnaṃkuḷam: Immānuvēl Prassū, 1982.
- . *Janōvaparvvaṃ*. Alappuḷa [Allepey]: Vidyāraṃbham Prassū, 1982.
- . *Puttaṇ pāna, athavā rakṣākaravēdakīrttanam*, [with a new introduction by] Jēkkabū Velliṃyān [Jacob Vellian]. Mānnānam: St. Joseph's Press, 1965 [date of the *re-imprimatur* by M. Kavukatt, the Syro-Malabar Archbishop of Changanacherry; several later reprints].
- . *Kūtāsappāna*, [edition by] K. Rāghavaṇṭpīḷa [Raghavan Pillai]. Tiruvananthapuram: Kerala University Oriental Manuscripts Library, 1960.
- . *Puttaṇ pāna (rakṣākaravēdakīrttanam)*. Alappuḷa [Allepey]: Vidyāraṃbham Prassū, 1954-1955.
- . *Puttaṇ pāna (rakṣākaravēdakīrttanam)*. Tēvara [Kochi]: Cerupuṣpamudrālayam, 1954.
- . *Puttaṇ pāna (rakṣākaravēdakīrttanam athavā rakṣācaritakīrttanam)*. Maññumal, 1948.

- . *Miśihācaritaṃ allerikil puttaṇ pāna*. Ernākuḷaṃ[:?], 1937 [2nd edition by Thomas J. Puttarikkan, according to Gaur 1971: 99].
- . *Miśihācaritaṃ allerikil puttaṇ pāna*. Kunnaṃkuḷaṃ: Bhāratabhūṣaṇaṃ Prassū, 1932.
- . *Parvvarīa! aīcuṃ kūṭiyatū*. Tr̥ṣūr [Trichur]: Bhāratavilāsaṃ Prassū, 1931.
- . *Janōva*, [edition by] Ī. Em̃. Jōsaphū. Vaṭakkāñcēri [Trichur]: Kṣēmōdayaṃ Prassū, 1929-1930.
- . *Puttaṇ pāna, athavā rakṣākaravēdakīrtanaṃ*, [edition by] Ṭi. Je. Paili. Mānnānaṃ: Senṭū Jōsaphū Prassū [St. Joseph's Press], 1896 [reprinted 1937].
- . *Miśihācaritaṃ athavā puttaṇ pāna*. Varāppuḷa: Metrāpōlittā Accukūṭaṃ, 1895 [3^d Verapoly printing, with 35 pp. glossary, etc.; the edition is by Fr. Aloysius a Sancta Maria according to Gaur 1971: 98].
- . *Janōvaparvvaṃ*. Kocci [: OFM], 1892.
- . *Miśihāte pāna*. Varāppuḷa [: OCD], 1889 [2nd Verapoly printing, with a glossary of 35 pp., according to Sommervogel 1900: 456].
- . *Miśihācaritaṃ allerikil puttaṇ pāna*. Kocci: Sentāmāsū Accukūṭaṃ, 1888.
- . *Narakaparvvaṃ atāyatū narakattiṇte viśēṣaṃ*. Kocci: Western Star Press, 1878.
- . *Pañcaparvvaṃ*. Varāppuḷa [Verapoly: OCD], 1873 [Ernākuḷaṃ 1906² according to Bautz 1990; Mānnānaṃ: St. Joseph's Press, 1950³].
- . *Ummāparvvaṃ atāyatū dēvamāṭṛsaṃkṣēpacaritaṃ*. Kocci: Sarkkār Prassū, 1873, Western Star Press, 1878.
- ? ——. *Ātmānutāpaṃ*, [published by] A.B. Elija Cyriacus. Cunemau [Koonammavu, near Verapoly]: Typ. Immaculatae Virginis [OCD], 1871.
- . *Caturantyavum devamāṭṛsaṃkṣēpacaritavum*. Veḷiyanāṭū, 1863.
- . *Vidhiparvvaṃ narakaparvvaṃ*. Veḷiyanāṭū [Ernakulam Distr.], 1863.

- . *Puttaṇ pāna (Miśihācaritraṃ)*. Kocci: Īnāśū Accukūṭaṃ, 1862.
- . *Miśihācaritraṃ*. Kōṭṭayaṃ: C.M.S. [Church Missionary Society] Press, 1844.
- Bautz, Friedrich Wilhelm. "HANXLEDEN, Johann Ernst." In *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 2: 521. Hamm: BBKL, 1990. http://www.kirchenlexikon.de/h/hanxleden_j_e.shtml.
- Castets, J. "Pioneers in European Sanskrit Scholarship." *The Indian Review* 32 (1931): 345-351.
- Chaitanya, Krishna. *A History of Malayalam Literature*. Bombay: Orient Longman, 1971.
- Chandanappally, S. "Fr. Paulinus and the Malayalam Language." In John & Kelanthara eds 1981: 148-153.
- Chummar, T. M. "Malayalam Literature and Thomas Christians." In Menachery ed. 1973:159-165.
- De Backer, Augustin, and Aloïs De Backer. "Hanxleden, Jean Ernest." In *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus ou Notices bibliographiques*, Cinquième série: 275-276. Liège: L. Grandmont-Donders, 1859 [cf. *sub* Sommervogel for the 3^d expanded edition].
- De Gubernatis, Angelo. "Le carte di Paolino da San Bartolommeo." *Bollettino italiano degli studii orientali* 2 (1877): 42-50.
- Dēvasya, Pi. Pi. *101 malayāla kavikaḷ*. Changanacherry: Pratibha Publications, 2008.
- Ferrolì, Domenico. *The Jesuits in Malabar*, 2 vols. Bangalore: Bangalore Press / The National Press, 1939-1951.
- Frenz, Albrecht ed. *Hermann Gundert. Brücke zwischen Indien und Europa. Begleitbuch zur Hermann-Gundert-Ausstellung im GENO-Haus Stuttgart vom 19. April bis 11. Juni 1993*. Ulm: Süddeutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1993.
- . "Johann Ernst Hanxleden (1681-1732)." In Frenz ed. 1993: 211-212.

- . "Bibliographie der Schriften Hermann Gunderts." In Frenz ed. 1993: 471-476.
- Gaur, Albertine. *Catalogue of Malayalam books in the British Museum*. London: British Museum, 1971.
- George, K. M. "Der Beitrag deutscher Gelehrter zum Malayalam." In Frenz ed. 1993: 263-266.
- . *Western influence on Malayalam language and literature*. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1972 [1998²].
- Guptan Nair, S. "Introduction." / "Einfuehrung." In Arṇṇōṣū Pātiri 1988: 1-10 / 11-20.
- . "Introduction to Portuguese Malayalam Dictionary." In Pallath ed. 1994: 34-45.
- Hambye, Edouard René. "Hanxleden, Johannes Ernst." In *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, edited by Roger Aubert, vol. 23: 312-314. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1990.
- . *History of Christianity in India*, vol. 3: *Eighteenth Century*. Bangalore: The Church History Association of India, 1997.
- . "Hanxleden, Johannes Ernst." In *Diccionario histórico de la compañía de Jesús, biográfico-temático*, edited by Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquín María Domínguez, vol. 2: 1877-1878. Roma / Madrid: Institutum Historicum S.I. / Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001.
- Huonder, Anton. *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Missionsgeschichte und zur deutschen Biographie*. Freiburg im Breisgau - München [u.a.]: Herder, 1899.
- . "Johann Ernest Hanxleden." In *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 7: 131. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910 [1966², *New CE*, vol. 6: 918].
<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07131a.htm>
- Janert, Klaus Ludwig, and Narayanan Narasimhan Poti. *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in*

- Deutschland*, Bd. II: *Indische Handschriften*, vol. 5-6. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979-1980.
- John, K. J. and Joseph Kelanhara eds. *Christian heritage of Kerala: L.M. Pylee felicitation volume*. Cochin: G. Veliparampil on behalf of L.M. Pylee Felicitation Committee, 1981.
- Jōsaphū, Antaṇi [Antony Joseph]. "Arṇōsū pātiriyuṭe malayāla vyākaraṇaṃ." In Arṇōsū Pātiri 1993: 1-28.
- Jōsaphū (Neṭuṅkunnaṃ), Eṃ. O. [M. O. Joseph]. *Paulinōsū pātiriyuṭe kṛtikaḷ*. Tēvara (Kocci): Janatha Book Stall, 1973.
- Jōsū, En. Ke. [N. K. Jos]. *Arṇōsū pātiri (jīvacaritraṃ)*. Kōṭṭayaṃ: Prakasam Publications, 1982.
- Kizakkethayil, J. "A Sanskrit Scholar and Malayālam Poet, Ernst Hanxleden." *The New Review, A Catholic Journal* 6 (1937): 127-138.
- Kottarathumkuzhi, Thomas Matthew. "Malayalam Language and Foreign Missionaries." In Menachery ed. 1973:166-167.
- Kumpalakkuḷi, Kuryāsū. "Kuriṣil viṭarna kavita." In Arṇōsū Pātiri 2002: 1-83.
- Lederle, Julia. *Mission und Ökonomie der Jesuiten in Indien: Intermediäres Handeln am Beispiel der Malabar-Provinz im 18. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009.
- Mackenzie, G. T. "History of Christianity in Travancore." In *The Travancore State Manual*, by V. Nagam Aya, vol. 2: 135-223. Trivandrum: Government Press, 1906.
- Maṇavālan, Poḷ. *Kēraḷasaṃskāravuṃ kraistava miṣanarimāruṃ*. Kōṭṭayaṃ: D.C. Books, 1990.
- Mattam, Si. Ke. [C. K.]. *Arṇōsupātiri*. Perunna [Changanacherry]: Ajantha Press, 1957.
- Menachery, George ed. *The St. Thomas Christian Encyclopaedia of India*, vol. 2. Trichur: The St. Thomas Christian Encyclopaedia of India, 1973.
- Müller, F[riedrich] Max. *The Science of Language: founded on lectures delivered at the Royal Institution in 1861*

- and 1863. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1899.
- Muller, Jean-Claude. "Recherches sur les premières grammaires manuscrites du sanskrit." *Bulletin d'études indiennes* 3 (1985): 125-144.
- Mundadan, A. Mathias. "John Ernest Hanxleden (Ārnos Pāthiri): His Contribution to the Sanskrit and Malayalam Languages and Literatures." In *Jesuit Presence in Indian History. Commemorative Volume on the Occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the New Madurai Mission, 1838-1988*, edited by Anand Amaladass, 171-181. Anand: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 1988.
- . "An 'unknown' Oriental scholar: Ernst Hanxleden (Arnos Pathiri)." *Indian Church History Review* 23, no. 1 (1989): 39-63. [corr.: fn.-ref. 71-74 = fn. 78-81, fn.-ref 75-81 = fn. 71-77]
- . "John Ernest Hanxleden (Arnos Pathiri): His Contribution to the Sanskrit and Malayalam Languages and Literatures." In Pallath ed. 1994: 61-92.
- . *History and Beyond*. Aluva: Jeevass Publications, 1997.
- Neill, Stephen. *A history of Christianity in India*, 2 vols. Cambridge [u.a.]: Cambridge Univ. Pr., 1984-1985.
- Palackal, Joseph. *Puthen pāna: a Musical Study*. New York: Hunter College, City of New York University, 1995.
- Pallath, J. J. (s.j.) ed. *Arnos Padiri (Joannes Ernestus Hanxleden, S.J., 1681-1732): the first Malayalam Poet, Scholar, Orientalist*. Kozhikode: Arnos Padiri Publications, 1994.
- . "Introduction." In Pallath ed. 1994: 9-19.
- Pallath, John Francis (o.c.d.). *Miṣanarimāruṭe sāhityasēvarinīḥ*. Kalamassery: Jyothir Dharma Publications, Historical Series, 1986.

- Pallipurathkunneel, Thomas. *A double regime in the Malabar Church, 1663-1716*. Alwaye: Pontifical Institute of Theology and Philosophy, 1982.
- Parameswaran Nair, P.K. *History of Malayalam Literature*. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1967.
- Paulin de s. Barthélemy. *Voyage aus Indes orientales*, 3 vols. Edited by Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron, J[ohann] R[einhold] Forster, and Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy. Paris: Tournaisen, 1808. <http://books.google.com/books?id=J1cBAAAAQAAJ> / [zIQBAAAAQAAJ](http://books.google.com/books?id=zIQBAAAAQAAJ) / [h1oBAAAAQAAJ](http://books.google.com/books?id=h1oBAAAAQAAJ)
- Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo. *Sidharubam seu grammatica samscrdamica cui accedit dissertatio historico-critica in linguam samscrdamicam vulgo samscret dictam*. Romae: Ex Typographia Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1790. <http://books.google.com/books?id=ClxFAAAAYAAJ>
- . *Systema Brahmanicum liturgicum mythologicum civile*. Romae: Apud Antonium Fulgonium, 1791. <http://books.google.de/books?id=LyoVAAAAQAAJ>
- . *Examen historico-criticum codicum Indicorum Bibliothecae Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*. Romae: Ex Typographia Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1792. <http://books.google.de/books?id=WFIFAAAAAYAAJ>
- . *Musei Borgiani Velitris codices manuscripti Avenenses, Peguani, Siamici, Malabarici, Indostani animadversionibus historico-criticis castigati et illustrati. Accedunt monumenta inedita, et cosmogonia Indico-Tibetana*. Romae: Apud Antonium Fulgonium, 1793. <http://books.google.com/books?id=zW0oAAAAAYAAJ>
- . *India Orientalis Christiana continens foundationes ecclesiarum, seriem episcoporum, missiones, schismata, persecutiones, reges, viros illustres*. Romae: Typis Salomonianis, 1794. <http://books.google.de/books?id=uwMQAAAAIAAJ>

- . *Amarasinha, sectio prima: de caelo, ex tribus ineditis codicibus indicis manuscriptis curante P. Paulino a S. Bartholomaeo*. Romae: Apud Antonium Fulgonium, 1798.
<http://books.google.com/books?id=fehDAAAAYAAJ>
- . *De antiquitate et affinitate linguae zendicae, samscrdamicae, et germanicae dissertatio*. [Patavii: Seminarius], 1798[b].
<http://books.google.de/books?id=ZOUJAAAAQAAJ>
- . *De manuscriptis codicibus indicis R. P. Joan. Ernesti Hanxleden epistola ad R. P. Alexivm Mariam a S. Joseph Carmelitam Excalceatum*. [Vindobonae], 1799. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5804322s>
- . *Vyâcarana seu locupletissima Samscrdamicae linguae institutio in usum fidei praeconum in India orientali, et virorum litteratorum in Europa*. Romae: typis S. Congreg. de Propag. Fide, 1804.
<http://books.google.com/books?id=pHkNAAAAQAAJ>
- Perincherry, Primus. "Carmelite Missionaries - Pioneers in Malayalam Grammar." In *Kerala Spectrum: Aspects of Cultural Inheritance - Dr. K.J. John Felicitation Volume*, edited by Charles Dias, 262-268. Cochin: Indo-Portuguese Cultural Institute, 2006.
- Perumthottam, Joseph. *A period of decline of the Mar Thoma Christians (1712-1752)*. Vadavathoor (Kottayam): Oriental Institute of Religious Studies India, Publications no. 171, 1994.
- Pillai, R. Chandra. *A Handbook on protected monuments of Kerala*. Thiruvananthapuram: Government of Kerala, Department of Archaeology, 2001.
- Platzweg, Carl. *Lebensbilder deutscher Jesuiten in auswärtigen Missionen*. Paderborn: Druck und Verlag der Funtermann'schen Buchhandlung, 1882.
<http://www.archive.org/details/lebensbilderdeut00pl/at>

- Purushothaman Nair, M. M. "Contribution of Christian Missionaries to the Grammatical Theories in Malayalam." In John & Kelanthara eds 1981: 134-140.
- Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V. "Eighteenth-Century Malayālam Prose written by Christians." *The New Indian Antiquary* 2-3 (1940-1941): 322-337, 387-397, 429-436.
- . "The Malayalam of the Missionaries." *The Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute* 9 (1941): 1-10.
- Rocher, Ludo. *Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, Dissertation on the Sanskrit language: A reprint of the Latin text of 1790, together with an introductory article, a complete English translation, and an index of sources*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1977.
- Sām, En. [N. Sam]. "Pāṭhasaṃskaraṇaṃ." In Arṇṇōsū Pātiri 2002: 84-88.
- Schillinger, Franz. *Persianische und Ost-Indianische Reis, welche Frantz Caspar Schillinger, von Ettlingen der Marggrafschaft Baaden, mit P. Wilhelm Weber und P. Wilhelm Mayr, aus der Societät Jesu, durch das*. Nürnberg: Johann Christoph Lochner, 1707 [1709²].
- Sobhanan, B. "Glimpses into the Disputes Between the Carmelites and the Jesuits During the Dutch Period." In John & Kelanthara eds 1981: 223-231.
- Sommervogel, Carlos, and Augustin & Aloïs De Backer. "Hanxleden, Jean Ernest." In *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. 4: 80-82, vol. 9: 456. Paris: A. Picard - Bruxelles: O. Schepens, 1893, 1900.
- Streit, Robert. *Bibliotheca Missionum*. vol. 5: *Asiatische Missionsliteratur 1600-1699*. Aachen: Franziskus Xaverius Missionsverein, 1929 [Rom - Freiburg - Wien: Herder, 1964²].
- Streit, Robert, and Johannes Dindinger. *Bibliotheca Missionum*. vol. 6: *Missionsliteratur Indiens, der*

- Philippinen, Japans und Indochinas 1700-1799*. Aachen: Franziskus Xaverius Missionsverein, 1931 [Rom - Freiburg - Wien: Herder, 1964²].
- Subrahmanya Sastri, P.P. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Malayalam Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library Madras*, vol. 1. Madras: Government Press, 1940.
- Thankappan Nair, P. "Father Hanxleden - Pioneer Indologist." In Pallath ed. 1994: 46-60 [1st publ. 1973-74].
- . "Malayalam Grammars by Carmelites." *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* 2 (1973): 127-140.
- . "Malayalam Grammars by Carmelite Missionaries." *Indian Ecclesiastical Studies* 12 (1973): 59-72.
- Tōmassū, Pi. Je. [P. J. Thomas]. *Malayālasāhityavum kristyānikaḷum*. Kōṭṭayam: Sāhitya pravarttaka - National Book Stall, 1961² [1st publ. Atirampulā: St. Mary's Press, 1935], D.C. Books, 1989³ [revised and enlarged edition by Scaria Zacharia].
- Ulakamthara [or Ulakanthara], Mathew. *Arṇṇōsū pātiri*. Ernākuḷam / Tiruvananthapuram: Kerala History Association / Kēraḷabhāṣā Institute, 1982.
- Ulahannan Māppiḷa, P. V. "Arṇṇōsū - vyākaraṇaparyantaṁ." In *Arṇṇōsū Pātiri* 1993: 1-81.
- Uḷḷūr Es. Paramēśvarayyar [Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyer]. *Kēraḷasāhityacaritraṁ*, vol. 3. Trivandrum: University of Kerala, 1955¹ [1990⁴].
- Unithiri, N. V. P. "The Christian Contribution to the Sanskrit Literature of Kerala." In John & Kelanthara eds 1981: 211-214 [reprinted in Unithiri, N. V. P. *Studies in Kerala Sanskrit Literature*. Calicut: University of Calicut, Sanskrit Series no. 23, 2004: 139-143].
- Vallavanthara, Antony. *A catalogue of the Malayalam manuscripts in the Vatican Library*. Mannanan: Research Institute for Studies in History, Tools for scientific research series no. 1, 1984.

- Van Hal, Toon. "A la recherche d'une grammaire perdue: Johann Ernst Hanxleden's *Grammatica Grandonica* retrieved." *Historiographia Linguistica* 37/3 (2010): 445-457.
- Velayudhan, S. "Foreign Missionaries and Malayalam Lexicography." In John & Kelanthara eds 1981: 141-147.
- Veluthat, Kesavan. "Use of 'Hindu' Idioms in Christian Worship and Propaganda in Kerala." *Studies in History* 25/2 (2009): 253-266.