

BIBLIOTHECA MALABARICA

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BIBLIOTHECA MALABARICA

BARTHOLOMÄUS ZIEGENBALG'S TAMIL LIBRARY

AN ANNOTATED EDITION AND TRANSLATION

BY WILL SWEETMAN

WITH

R. ILAKKUVAN

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For Karti Chidambaram

in grateful recognition of his friendship, hospitality, and support

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Will Sweetman

Abbreviations

- BM *Bibliotheca Malabarica* (1708)
References are to the numbered entries in the third section, the “Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Bücher.”
- HB *Hallesche Berichte* (1710–72)
The letter which accompanied the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* to Europe in 1708 was printed in Halle in 1710 under the title *Herrn Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalgs, Koenigl. Daenischen Missionarii in Trangebar auf der Kueste Coromandel, Ausfuehrlicher Bericht wie er nebst seinem Collegen Herrn Heinrich Pluetscho Das Amt des Evangelii daselbst unter den Heyden und Christen fuehre: in einem Sendschreiben an einen Vornehmen Theologum unserer Evangelischen Kirchen ertheilet den 22ten Augusti 1708*. This work was later incorporated in the so-called *Hallesche Berichte*, edited at first by August Hermann Francke and published as *Der Königlich Dänischen Missionarien aus Ost-Indien eingesandte ausführliche Berichte von dem Werck ihres Amts unter den Heyden*. Instalments were added over many years at irregular intervals until the final work consisted of 108 instalments in nine large volumes. The first volume, consisting of twelve continuously paginated instalments, was complete by 1717. The second (instalments 13–24, 1719–29) and third (instalments 25–36, 1727–32) volumes, edited in part by Francke and later by his son Gotthilf August Francke, were not continuously paginated, so references here are given to both the instalment and the page number.
- MH *Malabarisches Heidenthum* (1711)
References are to the edition by Willem Caland, *Ziegenbalg's Malabarisches Heidenthum* (Amsterdam: Uitgave van Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, 1926).
- GMG *Genealogia der malabarischen Götter* (1713)
References are to the manuscript in the Royal Library, Copenhagen (Ledreborg 424).

Introduction

The *Bibliotheca Malabarica* is an annotated catalogue of Tamil texts collected by Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, a Protestant missionary in Tranquebar, between July 1706, when he arrived in India, and August 1708, when he sent the catalogue to Europe. The catalogue consists of 165 entries in four sections, covering Protestant, Catholic, “heathen,” and Muslim works respectively. The third section is by far the longest, containing 119 entries for works of Hindu or Jaina provenance. After compiling the catalogue, Ziegenbalg continued to collect and a survey of his other works and letters reveals that he mentions in total no fewer than 170 Hindu and Jaina texts. We can be reasonably confident that Ziegenbalg had access to about 130 of the works he mentions, although it is possible—even probable—that he had other works too. Ziegenbalg’s fame as a pioneering scholar of Tamil Hinduism is based almost entirely on his detailed study of these texts. Although he conversed, and corresponded, with many Hindus, and travelled to a limited extent within the Tamil region, it is above all his study of these “heathen” texts which sets him apart from his contemporaries among European writers on Hinduism.

It is the third section of Ziegenbalg’s *Bibliotheca Malabarica* which has also been of most interest to other scholars. Kamil Zvelebil, the great Czech scholar of Tamil literature, describes this section of the work as “a relatively complete account of Tamil literature.”¹ By contrast, Hans-Werner Gensichen, a leading historian of mission, characterised it as a jumble of “grammatical and mythological works, songs and stories, philosophy and pornography, astrology and theology.”² The truth, perhaps, lies somewhere between the two. Ziegenbalg’s collection is not representative; he has few early works and was only minimally aware of the canonical works of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava tradition, the *Tirumurai* and *Nālāyira-Tivyappirapantam*. The character of his collection was to some degree determined

¹ Kamil V. Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature*, A History of Indian Literature X.1 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974), 2.

² Hans-Werner Gensichen, “B. Ziegenbalgs Rezeption der Tamil-Spruchweisheit”, *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 45, no. 2 (1989): 86.

by happenstance—Ziegenbalg states that he acquired whatever books he could and certainly there were works he acquired without having read, so that he would have had to rely on others' accounts of their content. Nevertheless the collection is not entirely eclectic either. It was driven both by his own interests, and—as shall be argued here—by the nature of his connections with the Tamils who provided texts for him. If we are to evaluate Ziegenbalg's understanding of Tamil Hinduism it is crucial to be able to identify and to understand the nature of his sources. One of the problems, exemplified by the contrasting assessments of Zvelebil and Gensichen, is that scholars of Tamil literature have for the most part been relatively uninterested in Ziegenbalg's pioneering efforts, and historians of mission have lacked sufficient knowledge of Tamil literature to make an accurate assessment of them. It is our hope that, by collaborating, we have been able to overcome this problem—at least to some extent. We provide here a new translation into English of Ziegenbalg's account of Tamil literature in the third section of the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*, which is also the first to include all 119 entries. Following the translation of each entry, we identify the work, comment on Ziegenbalg's characterisation of it, and provide details of published editions, translations, or manuscript holdings. In the final chapter, we collect also his comments on other texts he mentions in works written after 1708.

In this introduction, we discuss Ziegenbalg's study of Tamil and his acquisition of Tamil texts. We attempt also to determine the character of the library by considering—under the heads of the major genres of Tamil literature—both the works it contained and those which it might have been expected to contain but in fact did not. After considering the fate of Ziegenbalg's library—and his catalogue of it—after his death, we assess the likely sources of his collection, and conclude by discussing the significance of his library for his account of Hinduism.

Ziegenbalg's encounter with Tamil

Ziegenbalg is renowned as the pioneer of Protestant mission in India. What has been obscured by the host of mostly hagiographical works which recount his life is how little prepared he was for that role. In August 1705 Ziegenbalg was asked whether he would accept a commission from the Danish king, Frederik IV, to go to the West Indies as a missionary. At the time he was acting as a temporary curate in a small town close to Berlin, and intending to return to university to continue the studies that had been interrupted a year earlier by his poor health and the death of his sister. Three weeks later, when in Berlin to attend a wedding, he was surprised to discover that his initial and somewhat equivocal response had been

taken as an acceptance.³ In early October, as he set out for Copenhagen—together with his fellow missionary, Heinrich Plütschau—to be ordained, he wrote to August Hermann Francke to say that they were now to be sent to another of the Danish overseas territories in Guinea, West Africa.⁴ By the time they embarked, on 29 November 1705, the destination had changed again, now finally to the “East Indies.”⁵ These details are mentioned here in order to demonstrate how little prepared Ziegenbalg was for India and its religions. There is no evidence of his having made any study of what was known of India in Europe prior to his being sent there and during the seven-month voyage the only language Ziegenbalg was able to study was Danish.⁶ Ziegenbalg mentions only one European work on Indian religion which he had read in 1706, Philippus Baldaeus’s *Beschreibung der ost-indischen Küsten Malabar und Coromandel ... benebenst der Abgötterey der ost-indischen Heyden* (1672).⁷

It is, then, perhaps unsurprising that, on his arrival in India, Ziegenbalg fully expected to find barbarians. While underway to India he wrote that he was being sent to “the barbarous peoples”⁸ and in 1708 he wrote that when he first came among the Tamils, he shared the opinion of most Europeans that they were a “truly barbaric people” without learning or morals.⁹ What is striking is how quickly his view changed, within months of his arrival in Tranquebar. Just over two months

³ Ziegenbalg to Christian von der Linde, Tranquebar, 5 September 1706, in Arno Lehmann, ed., *Alte Briefe aus Indien: Unveröffentlichte Briefe von Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg 1706–1719* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1957), 32–3. Both here and in an earlier letter (Ziegenbalg to friends in Germany, Cape of Good Hope, 30 April 1706, in *ibid.*, 25), Ziegenbalg emphasizes his reluctance.

⁴ Ziegenbalg to Francke, Berlin, 7 October 1705, in *ibid.*, 21.

⁵ Ziegenbalg to von der Linde, Tranquebar, 5 September 1706, in *ibid.*, 33.

⁶ Ziegenbalg to Francke, Tranquebar, 1 October 1706, in *ibid.*, 43. Cf. Ziegenbalg to friends in Germany, Cape of Good Hope, 30 April 1706, in *ibid.*, 25.

⁷ Baldaeus’s work, first published in Dutch in 1672, was translated into German the same year. The third section, on the “Idolatry of the East-Indian Heathens” (edited by Albertus Johannes de Jong, *Afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen door Philippus Baldaeus opnieuw uitgegeven en van inleiding en aantekeningen voorzien* (s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1917)), is taken almost entirely from two earlier works, one by a Portuguese Jesuit, Jacobo Fenicio (Jarl Charpentier, *The Livro da seita dos Indios orientais* (Brit. mus. MS. Sloane 1820) of Father Jacobo Fenicio, S.J. (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1933), lxxxiii–lxxxiv), and the other by a Dutch artist, Philips Angel (Siegfried Kratzsch, “Die Darstellung der zehn Avatāras Viṣṇus bei Philippus Baldaeus und ihre Quellen”, in *Kulturhistorische Probleme Südasiens und Zentralasiens*, ed. Burchard Brentjes and Hans-Joachim Peuke (Halle: Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1984), 105–19). Ziegenbalg’s use of Baldaeus’s work is discussed further below (31, 44).

⁸ Ziegenbalg, Cape of Good Hope, 30 April 1706, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, 25.

⁹ Willem Caland, ed., *B. Ziegenbalg’s Kleinere Schriften*, Verhandelingen der Kon. Akad. der Wetensch., Afd. Letterkunde. Nieuwe Reeks, XXIX/2 (Amsterdam: Uitgave van Koninklijke Akademie, 1930), 11.

after his arrival, Ziegenbalg is already describing the Tamils as “a very intelligent and rational people,”¹⁰ who lead a “quiet, honorable, and virtuous life,”¹¹ on the basis of their natural powers alone. The initial catalyst for the change in Ziegenbalg’s view of the Tamils seems to have been his conversations with them, carried out in Portuguese.¹² While Ziegenbalg reports that many people sought the missionaries out for such discussions, a key figure in shaping his early impressions was an elderly schoolmaster. From early September he held his classes in the missionaries’ house, Ziegenbalg and Plütschau sitting with the children and tracing Tamil letters in the sand. While the schoolmaster spoke only Tamil, Ziegenbalg nevertheless reports daily conversations with him from before the time he began learning Tamil.¹³ The impact was immediate: “I must confess, my seventy-year-old schoolmaster often poses such questions that I can clearly see that not everything in their philosophy can be so irrational as is fondly imagined of the heathen at home.”¹⁴ Ziegenbalg emphasizes, however, that it was his reading of Tamil literature which completed the transformation in his view of the Tamils:

When at last I was entirely able to read their own books, and became aware that the very same philosophical disciplines as are discussed by scholars in Europe are quite methodically taught among them, and also that they have a proper written law from which all theological matters must be derived and demonstrated; all this astonished me greatly, and I developed a very strong desire to be thoroughly

¹⁰ Ziegenbalg, Tranquebar, 16 September 1706, in Joachim Lange, ed., *Merckwürdige Nachricht aus Ost-Indien Welche Zwey Evangelisch-Lutherische Prediger Nahmentlich Herr Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg ... Und Herr Heinrich Plütscho ... den 30. April 1706. aus Africa ... Und bald darauf aus Tranquebar von der Küste Coromandel, an einige Predige und gute Freunde in Berlin überschrieben.... Die andere Auflage* (Leipzig and Franckfurt am Mayn: Joh. Christoph Papen, 1708), 14.

¹¹ Ziegenbalg to Francke, Tranquebar, 1 October 1706, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, 44.

¹² Ziegenbalg’s servant Mutaliyāppan, who knew Portuguese and Tamil and was learning German from Ziegenbalg, translated from Ziegenbalg’s rudimentary Portuguese in these early exchanges (Ziegenbalg, Tranquebar, 16 September 1706, in Lange, *Merckwürdige Nachricht*, 14). By 12 October 1706, Ziegenbalg and his colleague had the services of a former translator to the Danish East-India Company named Alakappan who, in addition to Portuguese and Tamil, knew Danish, German, and Dutch (Kurt Liebau, ed., *Die malabarische Korrespondenz: tamilische Briefe an deutsche Missionare; eine Auswahl*, Fremde Kulturen in alten Berichten (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1998), 20).

¹³ Ziegenbalg, Tranquebar, 2 September 1706, in Christian Gustav Bergen, ed., *Herrn Bartholomäi Ziegenbalgs und Herrn Heinrich Plütscho ... Briefe, Von ihrem Beruff und Reise nach Tranquebar, wie auch Bißhero geführten Lehre und Leben unter den Heyden ... An einige Prediger und gute Freunde ... geschickt, Jetzund vermehret, mit etlichen Erinnerungen, und einem Anhang unschädlicher Gedancken von neuem herausgegeben von Christian Gustav Bergen. Die dritte Auflage* (Pirna: Georg Balthasar Ludewig, 1708), 21.

¹⁴ Ziegenbalg, Tranquebar, 25 September 1706, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, 40.

instructed in their heathenism from their own writings. I therefore obtained for myself ever more books, one after the other, and spared neither effort nor expense until I have now—through diligent reading of their books and through constant debating with their Bramans or priests—reached the point where I have a sure knowledge of them, and am able to give an account.¹⁵

Thus it was that Ziegenbalg, less than two months after his arrival in India, began to acquire Tamil books, at first by having the schoolmaster copy them out for him.¹⁶ Within two years he had assembled a collection of well over a hundred Tamil texts.

The importance Ziegenbalg placed on his study of Tamil literature is clear from an account of his daily routine in a letter dated 8 August 1708. The letter was sent, with a copy of the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*, to Franz Julius Lütkens, the court preacher in Copenhagen, through whom Ziegenbalg had been recruited for the mission.¹⁷ From eight o'clock until noon, Ziegenbalg read works new to him, in the presence of “an old poet”—most likely the same schoolmaster—who commented on and explained them. A scribe noted phrases or words new to Ziegenbalg, and a further hour each day (from seven to eight in the morning) was devoted to rehearsing the lists of words and phrases thus collected. In the afternoon, from three until five, Ziegenbalg studied systematically the works of individual authors, going through each one thoroughly before moving on to another. Once the light had faded, from six thirty to eight, Ziegenbalg had read to him—“often a hundred times”—the works of authors whose style he sought to imitate in his own works. The remainder of the day was taken up with prayer, catechising, and rest. Although the routine was interrupted almost every day by discussions with Tamil visitors—many, according to Ziegenbalg, poets who came from a distance to meet him—the fruits of this intensive engagement with Tamil literature are clear. In the same month that he finished the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*, Ziegenbalg completed also his translation of *Ulakanīti* (BM 100), *Konrai vēntaṇ* (BM 102), and *Nīti venpā*

¹⁵ Caland, *Ziegenbalg's Kleinere Schriften*, 111.

¹⁶ Ziegenbalg, Tranquebar, 2 September 1706, in Bergen, *Ziegenbalgs ... Brieffe*, 19. Cf. Ziegenbalg's comment in a letter written a fortnight later: “Ich muß bezeigen, daß mir mein 70. Jahriger Schulmeister oft, solche Philosophische Fragen fürleget, daraus ich abnehmen kan, daß in ihren Büchern schon solche Sachen würden angetroffen werden, daran die Gelehrten in Europa ihrer Curiosität ein Genügen thun könnten. Ich suche mit Fleiß dahinter zu kommen, und lass sie mit grossen Unkosten abschreiben.” (Ziegenbalg, Tranquebar, 16 September 1706, in Lange, *Merckwürdige Nachricht*, 16).

¹⁷ Versions of the letter were published in both German and English. The following summary is taken from the full transcription in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, 77.

(BM 105), three short didactic works. Ziegenbalg had already begun to translate into Tamil as early as 1707, but in October 1708 he began what was for him the other primary reason for his intensive study of Tamil—his translation of the New Testament (HB 6: 226, 246). This work was interrupted in November when Ziegenbalg was imprisoned as the result of a dispute with the Danish Commandant of Tranquebar, Johann Siegmund Hassius.¹⁸ Although he was released after a little more than four months, Ziegenbalg's relationship with the Commandant remained difficult, and the issue was only finally resolved with the appointment in 1716 of another Commandant, Christen Brun-Lundegaard.

The first section of the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* includes a list of Ziegenbalg's own early compositions in Tamil, including sermons, dialogues, and letters. These and other early works, intended for distribution among the Tamils, were copied onto palm leaves, and a number of them are preserved in that form in the Halle archives.¹⁹ Once the mission obtained a press, in 1712, they began printing tracts of this sort in larger numbers,²⁰ followed by the New Testament in Tamil, printed in two parts in 1714 and 1715.

Soon after completing, in early 1711, the first draft of his translation of the New Testament, Ziegenbalg began a "cursory" re-reading of his Tamil library, noting the elements of religious doctrine they contained and compiling them into a German treatise on "Malabarian heathenism."²¹ In this book, Ziegenbalg mentions more than sixty Tamil works, and cites from a number of them at length.

¹⁸ This incident arose from Ziegenbalg's intervention on behalf of the widow of a Tamil barber, over a debt between her late husband and a Catholic who was employed by the Company as a translator. Hassius regarded Ziegenbalg's repeated intervention in the case, including his advice that she kneel before him in the Danish church, as inappropriate and sent for Ziegenbalg to appear before him. When Ziegenbalg demurred, requesting a written summons, he was arrested and, because he refused to answer questions, imprisoned. For more detailed accounts of the episode, see Anders Nørgaard, *Mission und Obrigkeit: Die Dänisch-hallische Mission in Tranquebar, 1706–1845* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus/Gerd Mohn, 1988), 41–48 and Ulla Sandgren, *The Tamil New Testament and Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg: A Short Study of Some Tamil Translations of the New Testament. The Imprisonment of Ziegenbalg 19.11.1708–26.3.1709* (Uppsala: Swedish Institute of Missionary Research, 1991), 91–95.

¹⁹ See Daniel Jeyaraj, *Erschliessung der Tamil-Palmblatt-Manuskripte* (Halle: Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2001).

²⁰ The first Tamil work to be printed, in 1713, was a tract on *akkiyānam*, "heathenism." Cf. Will Sweetman, "Heathenism, Idolatry and Rational Monotheism among the Hindus: Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg's *Akkiyānam* (1713) and Other Works Addressed to Tamil Hindus", in *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, ed. Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss and Heike Liebau (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2006), 1249–75.

²¹ HB 6: 283. Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, *Ziegenbalg's Malabarisches Heidenthum*, ed. Willem Caland, *Verhandelingen der Kon. Akad. der Wetensch., Afd. Letterkunde*. Nieuwe Reeks, XXV/3 (1711; Amsterdam: Uitgave van Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, 1926).

He cites most often from the *Arupattunālu tiruvilaiyāṭal purāṇam* (BM 106) and *Civavākkīyam* (BM 51–53), the latter often together with *Kapilar akaval* (BM 97). He also quotes often from two works he ascribes to Kuru Namacivāyar—*Īṇā venpā* (BM 48) and *Paramarakaciya mālai* (BM 64)—and several times from the *Viruttācala purāṇam* and the *Kanta purāṇam*, neither of which is listed in the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*. Many of the quotations have to do with aspects of ritual.²² He also provides very substantial summaries of three narratives—the stories of the demoness Nīli (BM 35), and of the kings Hariścandra (BM 13) and Maṇu (BM 77)—and gives an almost full translation of the *Tirikāla cakkaram*, which is the subject of a long entry in the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* (BM 110). It was this latter work—together with the *Puvaṇa cakkaram*—which, it will be argued,²³ provided the structure and central idea of Ziegenbalg's second and final work on Tamil religion, the *Genealogia der malabarischen Götter*, which he wrote in 1713.

While the *Genealogia* mentions—for the most part, briefly—the names of some eighty Tamil works,²⁴ it draws also on a large number of letters written by Tamils in response to questions sent by Ziegenbalg. A little over forty percent of the text of the *Genealogia* consists of direct quotation from these letters. Ziegenbalg had been engaged in correspondence with a number of Tamils for several years, in part because of the political and practical restrictions on his ability to travel. Although travel along the coast was possible, and he made a number of journeys to the English and Dutch settlements at Nagapatnam, Madras, and Pulicat, an attempt to travel inland in September 1709 was aborted after only fifteen kilometres when he was informed that he would be liable to arrest and imprisonment if he travelled in Tanjore without the permission of the king, Shahji II. When he was able to travel, for example to Nagapatnam in July 1708, and to Madras in January 1710, he distributed copies of the letters and tracts in Tamil, and collected names of potential correspondents (HB 2: 93, 97; 6: 243). Although he records having sent a letter to the Brahmins of Nagapatnam,²⁵ this correspondence seems first to have been taken up in earnest in August 1712, beginning with a letter to a group of Brahmins in Tiruvorīyūr, near Madras, who Ziegenbalg had found to be

²² *Ācārakōvai* (BM 44) is often quoted in this regard, see also the works listed below, 129.

²³ See below, 38–40.

²⁴ On a number of occasions, Ziegenbalg cites the titles of sections of larger works. Jeyaraj's higher estimate of eighty-seven Tamil works mentioned in the *Genealogia* results from his taking each of these as a separate work. Thus he lists separately *Tiruvācakam* and "Vālāppattu," the twenty-eighth poem of *Tiruvācakam*. See Daniel Jeyaraj, *Genealogy of the South Indian Deities: An English Translation of Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg's Original German Manuscript with a Textual Analysis and Glossary* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 202, 330.

²⁵ Ziegenbalg to Lange, Tranquebar, 22 December 1710 in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, 173.

more learned than others.²⁶ The following month he and his colleague Gründler reported having extracted and translated an account of Tanjore from twenty-six letters received from two Tamils they had sent there with instructions to report what they were able to observe.²⁷ By November, this “Malabarian Correspondence” was going well, and the missionaries began to think of translating some of the letters and sending them to Europe.²⁸ In January, fifty-eight letters dated between October and December 1712, had been translated and provided with explanatory notes, and were sent to Anton Wilhelm Böhme in London.²⁹ Fifty-five of the letters were published as the seventh instalment of the *Hallesche Berichte* in 1714. A further forty-six letters were sent to Halle in August 1714, of which forty-four were published as the eleventh instalment of the *Hallesche Berichte* in 1717. Selections from each collection were published in English translation in 1717 and 1719 respectively.³⁰

By 1714, the mission’s relations with the Danish authorities in Tranquebar had deteriorated to such an extent that Ziegenbalg decided to return to Europe in order to resolve the question of the mission’s privileges with the king and the directors of the Danish Company. While underway, he set down in Latin a grammar of Tamil, closely following a Tamil accidence, the *Arte Tamulica*, written by Balthasar da Costa SJ, and printed at Ambalakad around 1680, which he had been given by Hassius in 1707.³¹ The grammar was published in Halle in 1716.³²

²⁶ HB 6: 315. Ziegenbalg spent six months (July 1711 to January 1712) in and around Madras.

²⁷ Ziegenbalg and Gründler to Anton Wilhelm Böhme, Tranquebar, 16 September 1712, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, 236. *Pace* Brijraj Singh, this was never printed, although it was sent to Europe (Brijraj Singh, *The First Protestant Missionary to India: Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1683–1719)* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 168).

²⁸ Ziegenbalg, Gründler and Jordan to Francke, Tranquebar, 17 November 1712 in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, 276.

²⁹ Ziegenbalg, Gründler and Jordan to Böhme, Tranquebar, 5 January 1713 in *ibid.*, 283–84.

³⁰ A much later mission report stated that the letters were, “for the most part,” written by Ziegenbalg’s early translator, Alakappan (HB 25: 149). This, however, is in the context of explaining why the missionaries at the time (Nikolaus Dal, Martin Bosse, Christian Friedrich Pressier, and Christoph Theodosius Walther) had been unable to engage any Tamils in correspondence and the source of their knowledge is unclear, as none had been in India during Ziegenbalg’s lifetime and Dal, the most senior of the four, had arrived only six months before the death of Gründler. On the evidence of the letters themselves, including the letters quoted in his *Genealogia*, and of Ziegenbalg’s broader correspondence, it is not implausible to think that a number of other authors were involved.

³¹ Ziegenbalg to Michaelis, Bergen, 5 June 1715; Ziegenbalg, Tranquebar, 22 September 1707, in *ibid.*, 421, 59. For identification of this work see Will Sweetman, “Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, the Tranquebar Mission, and ‘the Roman Horror’”, in *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, ed. Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss and Heike Liebau (Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2006), 802).

³² A facsimile reprint with brief introduction by Burchard Brentjes and Karl Gallus appeared

Ziegenbalg returned to India in August 1716, bringing with him the woman he had married while in Europe, Maria Dorothea Saltzman. Although he continued to work on translation into Tamil—of the Old Testament and of works of Christian theology—his letters in the years leading up to his death are full of accounts of other work: preaching, printing, establishing schools, constructing a new church building, and defending the mission against its critics. Investigation of “heathenism” was delegated to a converted Tamil scholar, who was to draw up a lengthy book on the doctrines of the “heathen poets” which was to be kept in the mission rather than sent to Europe for publication.³³ In 1718, Ziegenbalg prepared for publication transcripts of twenty dialogues with Hindus and Muslims, which were published after his death (HB 15, 16, 17). He died on 23 February 1719.

The *Bibliotheca Malabarica*

The full title of Ziegenbalg’s catalogue reads “Bibliotheca Malabarica, consisting of various Malabarian Books, dealing I. with the pure Evangelical religion, II. with the impure Papist religion, III. with the Heathen religion of the Malabars, IV. with the Mahometan religion of the Moors, collected and in part written himself by Bartholomeo Ziegenbalg, missionary to the Malabarian heathen at Tranquebar on the Coromandel coast by appointment of His Royal Majesty of Denmark and Norway.”³⁴ The first section has fourteen entries and covers his own writings in Tamil, including sermons, hymns, letters and dictionaries as well as translations of the catechism and other theological works.³⁵

in 1985: *Grammatica Damulica von Bartolomaeus Ziegenbalg*, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg Wissenschaftl. Beiträge, 44 = I 32 (1716; Halle: Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1985).

³³ Ziegenbalg and Gründler to the Mission Board in Copenhagen, Tranquebar, 20 November 1717, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, 421, 59. This scholar was Kaṇapati Vāṭṭiyār, who took the name Friedrich Christian at his baptism. He had earlier been an important source of books for Ziegenbalg’s collection (see below, 32f.). There is no trace of his book, although an earlier manuscript by him survives (AFSt/M TAM 87).

³⁴ *Bibliotheca Malabarica, bestehende in unterschiedlichen malabarischen Büchern, so da handeln I. von der reinen Evangelischen Religion, II. von der unreinen Papistischen Religion, III. von der heynischen Religion der Malabaren, IV. von der Mahometanischen Religion der Mohren, gesammelt und zum Theil selbst geschrieben von Bartholomeo Ziegenbalg von Seiner Königl. Majestät zu Dennemarck und Norwegen etc. verordneten Missionario unter den malabarischen Heyden auf der Küste Coromandel zu Tranquebar.*

³⁵ The letter which accompanied the text of the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*, together with descriptions—taken from the first section of the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*—of Ziegenbalg’s sermons, and of the two dictionaries he compiled, was printed in Halle in 1710 in a work later incorporated in the *Hallesche Berichte*. The full text of the remainder was published by Wilhelm Germann in 1880

Catholic and Muslim works

The second section of the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* has twenty-one entries and covers works produced by Catholic missionaries. Ziegenbalg first reports acquiring these books in a letter dated 22 September 1707, in which he notes that although the works are “full of dangerous errors” they nevertheless enabled him to develop “a proper Christian style” in which to express himself on spiritual matters “in a way that did not smack of heathenism.”³⁶ He goes on to say that by reading these works—and in particular the translations from the Gospels—he was able, within eight months, “to read, write, and speak,” and to understand others, in Tamil. This would place his acquisition of the Catholic books in February 1707 at the latest, seven months after his arrival in Tranquebar in July 1706.³⁷ In the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* itself, Ziegenbalg states that the library had belonged to a Jesuit “who went about among the heathen in the dress of a Brahmin.” During a time of “severe persecution” of Christians in Tanjore, when all who wanted to save their lives had had to flee to the European coastal settlements, this Jesuit had left his library for safe-keeping in Tranquebar, where it had “long remained hidden,” until “it was wonderfully arranged” that Ziegenbalg should come upon it.³⁸ To the best of our knowledge, there is no specific reference to the loss of this library among the letters of the Jesuits of the Madurai and Carnatic missions but, as Neill notes for this period, they are “full of tales of persecution, often valiantly endured.”³⁹ The most recent severe persecution in Tanjore had taken place in 1701, under Shahji II.⁴⁰ It is possible that the library was made available to Ziegenbalg by Hassius, as we know that by 1707 he had also given him a Jesuit work on Tamil grammar in Portuguese.

(“Ziegenbalgs *Bibliotheca Malabarica*”, *Missionsnachrichten der Ostindischen Missionsanstalt zu Halle* 22 (1880): 1–20, 61–94).

³⁶ Ziegenbalg, Tranquebar, 22 September 1707, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, 59.

³⁷ As Ziegenbalg had reported just three days earlier, that “preaching and catechising in public” in Tamil was still “a little too hard” for him (Ziegenbalg to Frederik IV, Tranquebar, 19 September 1707, in *ibid.*, 55) we can assume that he means within eight months of acquiring the Catholic works in Tamil, not within eight months of his arrival in Tranquebar.

³⁸ Germann, “*Bibliotheca Malabarica*”, 9–10.

³⁹ Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India*, vol. I: *The Beginnings to AD 1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 304.

⁴⁰ A brief account in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (Guy Tachard to Père de la Chaise, Pondicherry, 16 February 1702 in Charles le Gobien, ed., *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrit des missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 34 vols., Paris (Chez Nicolas Le Clerc, 1702–76), 3: 212–16) reports that many Christians were driven out of Tanjore, and two Jesuits were imprisoned. Although one of many, at the time of Shahji’s death in 1712 this event was recalled as particularly severe—and as resulting in the exclusion of missionaries from Tanjore until 1712 (Louis de Bourzes, *Litterae Annuae Missionis Madurensis*, 1712).

The catalogue concludes with a fourth section listing eleven Muslim works.⁴¹ The most important of these is the *Āyira Macalā* of Vaṇṇapparimaḷappulavar.⁴² Ziegenbalg comments on the high regard in which this work—the oldest extant Muslim work in Tamil—is held, but notes that he found it difficult to understand due to its Arabic vocabulary.

“Heathen” works

Although a systematic identification of the Catholic and Muslim works in Ziegenbalg’s collection is to be desired, it is without doubt the third, and longest, section of the catalogue which is of most interest. In a later edition of the catalogue, prepared by Christoph Theodosius Walther, it was this section that was placed first, and it is also the section which has most often been copied.⁴³ Its greatest significance, however, is that it allows us to identify the primary sources of Ziegenbalg’s works on Hinduism. One work of particular importance in this respect will be discussed below, but here we attempt to give a summary picture of the character of Ziegenbalg’s collection by considering the works he had—and did not have—in some of the important genres of Tamil literature. Works which Ziegenbalg mentions, but probably did not possess, are also mentioned here, as they are relevant to assessing the depth of his knowledge of Tamil literature.

Grammar, poetics, and lexicography

Ziegenbalg had copies of both *Tolkāppiyam* (BM 1) and *Naṇṇūl* (BM 3), but found them “hard beyond all measure.” As noted, his initial knowledge of Tamil grammar came instead from the Jesuit *Arte Tamulica*. On poetics, he has Amitacākarar’s *Yāpparuṅkala kārikai* (BM 2) and another work (BM 20) which may be *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*, but not earlier works such as Iṟaiyaṇār’s *Akapporuḷ* or Aiyaṇār Itāṇār’s *Purapporuḷveṇṇāpāmālai*. Nor did he have Nampi’s *Akapporuḷ viḷakkam*, although he did have a copy of the *ilakkiyam* illustrating its principles, the *Tāṇcaivāṇaṇ kōvai* (BM 61). Works on lexicography were an important aid to Ziegenbalg’s attempts to identify and make sense of the Hindu pantheon. Of the three earliest such works in Tamil that are extant, Ziegenbalg had the first, *Tivākaram* (BM 4), and last, *Cūṭāmaṇi nikaṇṭu* (BM 5). Walther’s catalogue includes two further lexicographic

⁴¹ We are grateful to Torsten Tschacher for his comments on these works.

⁴² Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 98–128.

⁴³ See below (23–27) for details of two partial copies of this section (the Sloane and Mackenzie Collection manuscripts) and of Walther’s edition of Ziegenbalg’s catalogue.

works, *Akarāti nikaṇṭu* and a copy of *Amarakoṣa* in Grantha script, but there is no evidence that either was in the mission library during Ziegenbalg's lifetime.

Early didactic literature

Ziegenbalg never mentions the *caṅkam* anthologies and the only older works in his collection—other than *Tolkāppiyam*—are didactic works from the eighteen minor classics, the *Paṭiṇeṅkil-k-kaṇakku*. He had both the *Tirukkuraḷ* (BM 7) and a commentary on it which he ascribes to Naccinārkkīṇiyar (BM 8), although no such commentary is now known to be extant. It seems likely that he also had *Ācārakōvai* (BM 44), although in his entry on it he confuses the author with a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century commentator. It is possible that he also had *Palamoli nānūru*, or a later work of similar content (BM 16). Walther's catalogue lists also *Tirikaṭukam*, although there is no evidence that Ziegenbalg himself knew this work.

Later didactic literature

Ziegenbalg had a high regard for the morality of the Hindus, and showed considerable interest in later didactic literature in Tamil. In his entry on *Mūturai* (BM 104), he states that their morality exceeded even that of the virtuous pagans of European antiquity. Ziegenbalg had three other works which he ascribes to Auvaiyār, *Nalvali*, *Ātticūti*, and *Koṇrai vēntaṇ* (BM 101–3). The last of these he translated into German, together with two other similar works he also possessed: *Ulakanīti* (BM 100) and *Nīti veṇṇpā* (BM 105). Few of Ziegenbalg's missionary successors in the eighteenth century shared his interest in collecting other genres of Tamil literature, but they did continue to show an interest in didactic literature. The very few non-Christian palm-leaf manuscripts remaining in the mission archive are almost all didactic texts, and the missionary Christoph Samuel John (1746–1813, in India from 1771) translated a number of works ascribed to Auvaiyār.

Canonical works

Perhaps the most surprising gap in Ziegenbalg's collection, given his interest in religion, is the almost total lack of works from the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava collections which form the acknowledged canon of Tamil religion. Although Ziegenbalg mentions the twelve Ālvārs in the *Genealogia* (GMG 83r) as those who had propagated the religion of Viṣṇu, he never mentions the *Tivyappirapantam* and has no sense of its importance. He does have one work he ascribes to Tirumaṅkai

Ālvār (BM 66), but it appears that this is a work about the Ālvār, rather than by him. Most of the Vaiṣṇava works in his collection are folk works on themes drawn from Vaiṣṇava mythology. In general, there is a pronounced emphasis on Śaiva works, both in Ziegenbalg's collection and in his other comments on Tamil literature. Nevertheless, the only section of the *Tirumurai*, the Śaiva canon, which Ziegenbalg has is *Tiruvācakam* (BM 6). He notes that "this book is regarded as very holy," and he quotes from it several times in his works on Hinduism, particularly the *Malabarisches Heidenthum*. Ziegenbalg was aware of *Tēvāram*, which heads the list given to him by the author of a letter in the *Malabarische Correspondenz* in response to a question about the books in widest use among the Tamils (HB 7: 374–76). A work entitled *Tēvāram* is also listed in the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* (BM 29), but Ziegenbalg's very brief comment on it hardly suggests the importance of *Tēvāram* and may indicate that he had, at most, a short section of it. In the light of Ziegenbalg's connections—discussed below—with the Śaiva *maṭams* at Tiruvāṇṭūṭurai and Tarumapuram, it is perhaps notable that, according to Kay Koppedrayar, the scholastic tradition of these centres "paid little attention" to the works of the *nayanmār*,⁴⁴ but their omission from Ziegenbalg's collection remains remarkable. Ziegenbalg's correspondent also mentions *Periya purāṇam*, which Ziegenbalg glosses as "the greatest of their eighteen history-books" (HB 7: 375). Although he knows folk versions of some of the stories of Śiva's devotees, for example the *Ciruttoṇṭar katai*, it seems unlikely Ziegenbalg had a copy of *Periya purāṇam* itself. In the *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, he mentions a work called *Tirumantiram* (MH 136), but his description suggests a small work initiating disciples into the *pañcākṣara* (*nama civāya*) mantra rather than Tirumūlar's lengthy treatise, the tenth book of the *Tirumurai*.

Translations from Sanskrit

Ziegenbalg was aware of Sanskrit, which he usually refers to as "Kirentam or the Malabarian Latin" (e.g., BM 105), but he seems never to have considered it important to have access to works in Sanskrit. The chapter on Śiva in Ziegenbalg's final work on Hinduism, the *Genealogia*, includes a list of the books about him which begins with a reference to the stories "collected in twenty-four [*sic*] books called āgamas," and then adds the four "books of the law," the six śāstras or "*Systemata Theologica*" (i.e., the *śaddarśanas*), and the eighteen purāṇas. The source of this is probably another answer in the letter from the *Malabarische Correspondenz*

⁴⁴ Kathleen Iva Koppedrayar, "The Sacred Presence of the Guru: The Velala lineages of Tiruvavatuturai, Dharmapuram, and Tiruppanantal" (PhD diss., McMaster University, 1990), 163.

just mentioned, which in addition to *Tēvāram* also names the four Vedas.⁴⁵ Here the missionary comments that while “the Brahmins make much of [the four Vedas]” they do not allow others even to see, much less to read, them. Instead the “idolatrous worship” of the Malabarians is established on the purāṇas, together with the āgamas and śāstras, which are found “in all sorts of languages” among the common, non-Brahmin, people.⁴⁶ Of these, Ziegenbalg had access only to the purāṇas, which he identifies with the major Tamil purāṇas (GMG 51r–53v). But Ziegenbalg was aware that a number of the other works which he had were based on Sanskrit originals. Among these are everything from the tantric *Cavuntariya lakari* (BM 84) to the *Pañcatantra* (BM 30) and a manual on housebuilding (BM 49), as well as some purāṇas and of course the epics.

Epics and epic episodes

Of the early Tamil “epics,” Ziegenbalg possessed only *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* (BM 9), and his comments suggest that it is unlikely that he read much of it. By contrast he was very familiar with the various Tamil versions of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He had both Villiputtūr Ālvār’s *Pāratam* (BM 10) and a commentary (BM 11) on it which he claims to have read “from beginning to end.” He also had several other Mahābhārata branch stories,⁴⁷ including the *Nalā veṇpā* of Pukaḷēnti (BM 86) and *Naiṭtatam* (BM 60), which he attributes to Ativīrarāma Pāṇḍya but calls simply *Nalaṇ katai*. In the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*, Ziegenbalg lists separately three chapters (BM 31, 42, 62) of the Yutta kāṇṭam of Kampan’s *Irāmāvatāram*, but despite the separate listing he attributes them all to Kampan and was aware that the full work consisted of 12,000 stanzas. Ziegenbalg also attributes to Kampan a folk version of an episode from the Uttara kāṇṭam entitled *Kucalavaṇ katai* (BM 65). He

⁴⁵ “*Sāmaśēdum, Urūkkūśēdum, Edirwārnawēdum und Adirwēdum*” (HB 7: 374).

⁴⁶ The letters published in the seventh and eleventh instalments of the *Hallesche Berichte* as the “Malabarische Correspondenz” are often assumed to have been chosen, translated, and annotated by Ziegenbalg. In his edition of some of these letters, Kurt Liebau argues that in fact the translation and annotations are substantially the work of Gründler (Liebau, *Malabarische Korrespondenz*, 26–27). However, as Liebau acknowledges, Gründler used Ziegenbalg’s works on Hinduism for the annotations and they repeat many details which are to be found in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum* and *Genealogia* which were written just prior to and just following, respectively, the annotation of the first batch of letters. We can therefore assume that Ziegenbalg would have identified himself with the position of the annotations, although he might not have been responsible for the way in which that position was expressed. We therefore do not attach importance to the question of which of the missionaries was responsible for the annotations and refer to the author of the annotations only as “the missionary,” intending thereby to indicate their joint agency and to avoid the problem of distinguishing their precise contribution.

⁴⁷ On the concept of the “branch story” (*kīlaikkatai*) in Tamil literature see Paula Richman, *Women, Branch Stories, and Religious Rhetoric in a Tamil Buddhist Text* (Syracuse: Maxwell School of Citizenship & Public Affairs, Syracuse University, 1988), 37–39.

also had several folk ballads and narratives based on the epics or episodes within them. Among these are *Ariccantiraṇ katai* (BM 13), *Pārata ammānai* (BM 18), *Aṇumār ammānai* (BM 43), and *Vaikuṇṭa ammānai* (BM 117).

Purāṇas

Ziegenbalg had several Tamil purāṇas and they were important sources for his own works on Hinduism. By far the most significant in this respect is Parañcōti's *Arupattunālu tiruvilaiyāṭal purāṇam*, which describes the sixty-four acts of Śiva in Madurai. Ziegenbalg had a copy of both the purāṇa (BM 106) and a commentary on it (BM 107) and states that he went through it very closely. In the *Malabarisches Heidenthum* he refers to no fewer than thirty of Śiva's "sports" in Madurai, many of which he summarizes at some length.⁴⁸ In 1708 he had a commentary on the *Kanta purāṇam* (BM 12), but noted that he had not yet been able to obtain a copy of the purāṇa itself. He seems later to have obtained one, for in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum* he quotes at length sections of the *Kanta purāṇam* dealing with the myths of Dakṣa/Takkaṇ and Cūrapatmaṇ, and in the *Genealogia* he refers at several places to other myths found in the purāṇa.⁴⁹ Ziegenbalg also quotes several times from the *Viruttācala purāṇam* and the *Piramōttara kāṇṭam*, although neither is included in the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*. In both cases he refers only to the titles of sections of these works, and may not have realised they were parts of a larger whole. In his lists of Śaiva texts Ziegenbalg also mentions the titles of some purāṇic works (for example the *Tiruveṇkāṭṭu purāṇam* and the *Kāci kāṇṭam*) which are neither included in the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* nor cited in his other works. There must be some doubt as to whether he had actually read these works or whether his knowledge of them came only from his informants.

Caiva cittānta

Of the fourteen *Caiva cittānta cāttiraṇkal*, the only one Ziegenbalg may have had was the *Neñcu viṭutūtu* (BM 93) of Umāpati Civācāriyar. He did have some later Caiva cittānta works, notably the *Tattuva viḷakkam* (BM 59) of Campanta caraṇālayar (Kaṇṇuṭaiya Vaḷḷālār), but it is perhaps surprising that Ziegenbalg did not have

⁴⁸ MH 24–26, 29–33, 50, 52–56, 58–62, 68–69, 74, 78–79, 102, 144–48, 151–52, 161–63, 169–71, 204–5, 221–22, 249–51. The text of Ziegenbalg's manuscript seems to have differed slightly from that found in most published editions of Parañcōti's work. Although the order of episodes is mostly the same—and certainly follows the later, chronological, ordering of the episodes—from chapters 13 to 28 Ziegenbalg consistently numbers the episodes one lower, and from 30 to 38 one higher, than Parañcōti. The early episodes he cites (2–4) are also numbered higher, but from 48 to 64 his numbering is the same as that in published editions of the purāṇa.

⁴⁹ See the section on Śaiva purāṇams in the *Genealogia* below (131).

more works of this kind. He describes *Tattuva viḷakkam* as very difficult, and states that books like it are no longer written.

Cittar works

Ziegenbalg was greatly impressed by the writings of the *cittars*. When first reading them, he thought the authors might have been Christians (MH 42). Even when he realised they were not, he thought that their conception of the divine as formless and unitary, together with their contempt for caste and for temple ritualism, could provide a bridge for the introduction of Christian ideas of the divine. There is no standard list of *cittars* or their works,⁵⁰ but among the works in Ziegenbalg's collection which might be included in this category are Paṭṭiṇattār's *Uṭalkurru vanṇam* (BM 57), *Caranūl* (BM 73), Tanvantiri's *Uḷlamuṭaiyān* (BM 75), and the works which Ziegenbalg names as *Akaval* and *Uṭalkurru tattuvam* (BM 98 and 99). Above all, however, Ziegenbalg was impressed by *Civavākkiam*, which is quoted repeatedly in his works, especially the *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, and which he possessed in no fewer than three separate manuscript copies (BM 51, 52, 53).

Prabhanda and *cirrilakkiyam*

Tamil manuals of literary genres (*pāṭṭiyal*) produced from the twelfth century onward attempt to classify the literature which proliferated from about the eighth to the eighteenth centuries into genres which are usually labelled *prabhanda* (Tamil *pirapantam*, "composition") or *cirrilakkiyam* ("minor genre"). While the idea that there were ninety-six such genres was conventional from the sixteenth century, the actual number varied greatly and the total number of such genres identified may be twice as many,⁵¹ indicating that this is perhaps best thought of as a residual category. Genres are defined according to a wide range of criteria, relating to the form, length, and content of the works. The lack of consistency in definition and application of the criteria is such that Zvelebil, in his "Blueprint for a History of Tamil Literature," identified this simply as "The problem of *prabandhas*."⁵² The wealth of works produced in these genres, and the state of scholarship on them, means that we will restrict ourselves here to only those genres where Ziegenbalg

⁵⁰ See the discussion in Richard S. Weiss, *Recipes for Immortality: Medicine, Religion, and Community in South India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 47–50.

⁵¹ Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature* (HIL), 193; V. Murugan, *A Dictionary of Tamil Literary and Critical Terms* (Chennai: Institute of Asian Studies, 1999), s.v. *cirrilakkiyam*.

⁵² Kamil V. Zvelebil, *Companion Studies to the History of Tamil Literature* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 271.

has a number of relevant works, and make no attempt to comment on what works he did not have in these genres.

The most productive of all the *prabandhas* is the *pillaitamiḷ*, in which a deity or hero is addressed as a child; more than 250 works in this genre are known.⁵³ Ziegenbalg had three *pillaitamiḷ* poems, only one of which can be securely identified (BM 39). Another productive genre is *ulā*, in which some seventy works are known, the majority from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries.⁵⁴ The title *ulā* refers to the procession of a deity or hero around a city and the intense, unrequited longing this arouses in women of seven different age-groups. Ziegenbalg has two later *ulā* works (BM 23, 37), another (BM 45) which appears now to be lost, and two (BM 27, 89) in the similar genre of *maṭal*.⁵⁵

The host of smaller devotional works in Ziegenbalg's collection include many in genres defined on purely formal grounds. Among these are *antāti*,⁵⁶ *vaṇṇam*,⁵⁷ and *catakam*.⁵⁸ Notable in Ziegenbalg's collection in these genres are the *Apirāmi antāti* of Cuppiramaṇiya Aiyar (BM 25) and the *Aruṇakiri antāti* of Kukai Namacivāyar (BM 83); the *Aṇṇāmalainātar vaṇṇam* of Cērai Kavirāca Pillai (BM 56) and an *Uṭalkurru vaṇṇam* (BM 57) which may be either the work of Aruṇakirinātar, or of the *cittar* Paṭṭiṇattār; and the *Nārāyaṇa catakam* of Maṇavāla (BM 85). Ziegenbalg also has a number of devotional works in the "supergenre"⁵⁹ of works called *mālai* ("garland"). Notable here are Pillaipperumāl Aiyāṅkār's *Tiruvēṅkata mālai* (BM 34), Kulacēkara Pāṇṭiyan's *Ampikai mālai* (BM 63), Kuru Namacivāyar's *Paramarakaciya mālai* (BM 64), and a *Citampara mālai* (BM 33) which Ziegenbalg attributes to Kukai Namacivāya.

There are also isolated examples of other *prabandha* genres in Ziegenbalg's collection, notably Cayaṅkoṇṭār's *Kalīṅkattu paraṇi* (BM 19), Aruṇakirinātar's *Kantar-anupūti* (BM 24), Pillaipperumāl Aiyāṅkār's *Tiruvāṇkakkalampakam* (BM 28), Poyyāmoḷi pulavar's *Taṇcaivāṇaṇ kōvai* (BM 61), Kapilar's *Akaval* (BM 97), and a *Virali viṭutūtu* "messenger" poem (BM 94).

⁵³ Paula Richman, *Extraordinary Child: Poems from a South Indian Devotional Genre* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 238.

⁵⁴ Crispin Branfoot, *Gods on the Move: Architecture and Ritual in the South Indian Temple* (London: British Academy / Society for South Asian Studies, 2007), 128.

⁵⁵ *Maṭal* refers to the jagged stem of a palmyra leaf on which a man vows to die by riding like a horse if his beloved will not accept him.

⁵⁶ "A poem in which the last syllable or foot of the last line of a stanza ... is identical with the first syllable or foot of the following stanza" (Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature* (HIL), 195).

⁵⁷ Short, sophisticated poems in eight stanzas.

⁵⁸ Poem of one hundred stanzas.

⁵⁹ Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature* (HIL), 216.

Folk works

Ziegenbalg's library contains a large number of works in varied genres—ballads, dramas, prose narratives—which have in common that they are either folk works or they make use of metres, themes, and characters drawn from folk works. As many as one in five of the works in his collection would fit this description. Some of these works are—if they can be dated at all—very old, or at least have their origins in the earliest layers of Tamil (or other Indian) literature. Among these are versions of the stories of the demoness Nili (BM 35), and of the kings Hariścandra, Nala, and Maṇu (BM 13, 60, 77).⁶⁰ Indira Viswanathan Peterson argues, however, that the eighteenth century witnessed “a new interest [on the part of] elite poets and patrons in representing the ‘folk’” driven by the need of “strangers” such as the Maratha kings of Thanjavur “to negotiate anew their relationship with the ‘folk,’ i.e., tribes, lower castes, and marginal social groups ... vital to the economic well-being of their kingdoms.”⁶¹ Ziegenbalg's collection, made at the very outset of the century, mostly predates this development, but the prevalence of such works in his collection may reflect the trend identified by Peterson as well as the fact that such works were probably more easily accessible to Ziegenbalg. Thus in addition to older works of this kind such as Ṇāṇappirakācar's sixteenth-century *Tiyākarāca paḷḷu* (BM 90) and a work ascribed by Ziegenbalg to Pukaḷēnti but probably of similar date named *Alliyaracāni mālai* (BM 119), we have a number of others which are hard to date, at least in the versions that Ziegenbalg had. These include “tales” (*katai*) such as the *Ciruttoṇṭar katai* (BM 87) and a work Ziegenbalg calls *Tamiḷarivāḷ* (BM 108); *ammānai*⁶² ballads such as those on Valli (BM 36), Viṣṇu (BM 41), and Hanumān (BM 43); and *terukkūttu* works performed as ritual re-enactments of episodes from the epics such as *Kiruṣṇaṇ tūtu* (BM 70) and *Arccuṇaṇ tavacu nilai* (BM 114).

Not only were the stories presented in these works often reported in Ziegenbalg's works on Hinduism,⁶³ but their use of direct, colloquial language almost certainly influenced Ziegenbalg's language in his translation of the Bible into Tamil.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ See also the reference above to folk works in Ziegenbalg's collection which represent episodes from the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*.

⁶¹ Indira Viswanathan Peterson, “The Evolution of the *Kuṛavañci* Dance Drama in Tamil Nadu: Negotiating the ‘Folk’ and the ‘Classical’ in the *Bhārata Nāṭyam* Canon”, *South Asia Research* 18, no. 1 (1998): 48–49.

⁶² *Ammānai* is the name given to “a ballad-like narrative genre” of poems which “had in each verse *ammānāy* as refrain” (Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature* (HIL), 195).

⁶³ For details, see the entries for the works below.

⁶⁴ Hephzibah Israel, “Protestant Translations of the Bible in Indian Languages”, *Religion Compass* 4, no. 2 (2010): 88.

Astrology and divination

Finally, we should note the presence in Ziegenbalg's collection of a relatively large number of works on astrology (e.g., BM 75, 81) and on various forms of divination, for example, from the calls of animals (BM 82), observation of the breath (BM 73), or physiognomy (BM 113). Ziegenbalg has little to say about these works, noting in the case of one such work (BM 113) that "I would not have taken the trouble to have read through it had it not been for the words and turns of speech it contains which were still unknown to me." Shu Hikosaka and G. John Samuel estimate that some 20% of extant Tamil manuscripts are works of this kind,⁶⁵ which likely accounts for their prevalence in Ziegenbalg's collection. Ziegenbalg himself notes that there are many Tamil works on divination (MH 237).

The character of Ziegenbalg's library

Despite Zvelebil's description of the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* as "a relatively complete account of Tamil literature,"⁶⁶ Ziegenbalg's library is by no means representative of Tamil literature as a whole. Most obviously he had very few of the oldest Tamil works and his collection has a relatively high proportion of folk narratives and ballads. Ziegenbalg's location, restrictions on the accessibility of some types of texts, his method of collecting manuscripts and his own special interests all played a role in giving his collection its particular character. Thus it is clear that the relatively large number of texts dealing with ethics reflect his high estimate of Tamil ethical writing and his interest in using the ethical sense of the Tamils as a starting point for Christian apologetics. On the other hand, the fact that he has about the same number of texts dealing with astrology or divination of various sorts more likely reflects the predominance of these texts in Tamil manuscript culture than any particular interest in them on Ziegenbalg's part.

Despite the gaps in his collection, Ziegenbalg's knowledge of Tamil literature is nevertheless vastly better than almost any of his contemporaries, especially if we include works—such as *Periya purāṇam*—whose importance he acknowledges but which he himself had not been able to acquire. His only rivals in this respect are the Jesuit missionaries, some of whom likely had a similarly wide knowledge of Tamil literature and often of Sanskrit literature as well.⁶⁷ Ziegenbalg remains

⁶⁵ Shu Hikosaka and G. John Samuel, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Palm-Leaf Manuscripts in Tamil*, 5 vols. (Madras: Institute of Asian Studies, 1990–97), 1: xvi.

⁶⁶ Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature* (HIL), 2.

⁶⁷ The catalogues of manuscripts which the Jesuits sent to Paris in the 1720s and 1730s offer ample evidence for their knowledge of, and access to, Indian literature. See, for example, the catalogue of manuscripts sent in 1729–35 (Bibliothèque nationale NAF 5442), printed in Henri Auguste

unique, however, in the extent to which we are able to *document* his use of Tamil literature, based not only on his catalogue but also the references to texts given in his writings on Hinduism. Where other writers might report “one of their books says,” Ziegenbalg not only typically gives the title of the book, but not infrequently also the chapter and verse. Even Jesuit authors rarely make explicit reference to particular texts.⁶⁸

Although on occasion Ziegenbalg enables us to fix a new, and secure, *terminus ante quem* for a particular text,⁶⁹ for the most part he does not tell us anything about Tamil literature that we did not already know. While it does provide some insight into the kinds of texts that were in circulation in and around the colonial enclave of Tranquebar, ultimately his account of Tamil literature is of most use in enabling us to evaluate Ziegenbalg’s own works on Tamil Hinduism.

Ziegenbalg’s library after 1708

The *Bibliotheca Malabarica* ends with Ziegenbalg expressing the hope that he would be able to buy or to copy many more Tamil works. It seems that he was in fact able to do so, for in a letter written the following year he notes that his library contains “300 Malabarian books.”⁷⁰ This total probably includes Protestant, Catholic, and Muslim works, but nevertheless represents a near doubling in size of his library in a little more than a year since the despatch of the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*. No comprehensive listing of these later works by Ziegenbalg himself is extant, but an effort is made below to identify Hindu works not included in the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* but mentioned in Ziegenbalg’s later writings. Nineteen such works are identified here, although we cannot be sure that he owned copies of all of them—only eight are actually quoted in his own writings.⁷¹

Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Imprimerie nationale: Paris, 1902), 1179–92.

⁶⁸ See, for example, the *Relation des erreurs qui se trouvent dans la religion des gentils malabars de la Coste Coromandelle*. This work—which has been variously attributed to Roberto de Nobili, João de Brito, and Jean Venant Bouchet—opens, much like Ziegenbalg’s *Genealogia*, with a discussion of Hindu conceptions of the divine. Unlike Ziegenbalg, however, the author makes only the most general of references to his textual sources: “dans un endroit de leur doctrine . . . ils disent que Dieu est une substance spirituelle et immense, et quelques lignes apres ils assurent que l’air est Dieu” (Willem Caland, ed., *Twee oude Fransche verhandelungen over het hindoeïsme*, Verhandelungen der Kon. Akad. der Wetensch., Afd. Letterkunde. Nieuwe Reeks, XXIII/3 (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1923), 3).

⁶⁹ For example, *Apirāmi antāti* (BM 25) or *Ulakanīti* (BM 100).

⁷⁰ Ziegenbalg to Michael Weitzmann, Tranquebar, 7 October 1709, in *Alte Briefe*, 120.

⁷¹ *Civārccanā pōtam*, **Apīṣekappalan*, *Snānaviti*, *Tirumantiram*, *Cāmuttirikā laṭṭaṇam*, *Kanta purāṇam*, *Viruttācala purāṇam*, and *Piramōttara kāṇṭam*.

Ziegenbalg died in 1719 and his library did not long survive him. In 1726 the missionary Christian Friedrich Pressier reported that most of the manuscripts collected by Ziegenbalg had been stolen and sold. A schoolmaster recalled being present as a boy during the cold season when a box containing the books had been opened and the books used to light a fire.⁷² In 1731 Walther repeated this story and added that in the intervening five years worms had taken still further toll of the collection.⁷³

Thus Ziegenbalg's library finds a place within a long history of the catastrophic loss of Tamil manuscripts,⁷⁴ stretching back to the legends of the first two Tamil academies consumed by the sea, and including the loss of virtually all of the supposed 102,000 original *Tēvāram* hymns to white ants,⁷⁵ the deliberate destruction of *cittar* manuscripts by Śaiva zealots,⁷⁶ the reverent but thoughtless burning of manuscripts which so frustrated U. V. Swaminathaiyar,⁷⁷ and the destruction by

⁷² Christian Friedrich Pressier to Francke, Tranquebar, 10 January 1726:

H. Walther hat schon geschrieben, daß die von Sel. Pr. Ziegenbalg mit großer Mühe verfertigten Göttergenealogie uns hier fehlt. Ew. Hoch-Ehw. wollen doch Sorge tragen, daß uns dieselbe übersandt werde. Es muß nach dem Tode deßelben nicht recht nach den Büchern gesehen worden seyn. Er hatte viele kostbare Malabarische Bücher angeschafft, selbige sind meistens distrahiert, und haben diejenigen die was davon erhalten können, es zu sich genommen und verkaufft. Ein Schulmeister, der damals noch Schulknabe gewesen erzehlt; Als es mahl etwas kalt gewesen, so hätte da ein Kasten mit dergleichen Olesbüchern gestanden, den hätten sie in Gegenwart des Schulmeisters geöffnet, von den Büchern ein Feuer angezündet, und sich dabey gewärmet.... Solte der Sel. Zieg. vorher gewußt haben, daß sein Ende so nahe, so würde er ohne Zweifel den Successoribus zum besten noch alle dergleichen dingen in bessere disposition gebracht und davon Nachricht hinterlassen haben.

Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen/Missionsarchiv (AFSt/M) 1 B 2 : 41.

⁷³ Christoph Theodosius Walther, *Bibliotheca Tamulica, consistens in recensione librorum nostrorum, mscr-torum ad cognoscendam et linguam & res Tamulicas inseruientium*, 1731, Royal Library, Copenhagen, Ny. Kgl. Saml. 589c, 3.

⁷⁴ Zvelebil, *Companion Studies*, 43–91. On this trope see also Herman Tieken, “Blaming the Brahmins: Texts Lost and Found in Tamil Literary History”, *Studies in History* 26, no. 2 (2010): 227–43.

⁷⁵ Norman Cutler, *Songs of Experience: the Poetics of Tamil Devotion* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 55.

⁷⁶ In 1857, William Taylor wrote “I was told some years ago that the *ascetics* (or *Pandārams*) of the *Saiva* class seek after copies of this poem with avidity, and uniformly destroy every copy they find. It is by consequence, rather scarce, and chiefly preserved by native Christians” (William Cooke Taylor, *A Catalogue Raisonnée [sic] of Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of the (late) College, Fort Saint George, now in charge of the Board of Examiners*, 3 vols. (Madras: Printed by H. Smith, 1857–62), 3: 26); cf. Zvelebil, *Companion Studies*, 47.

⁷⁷ Zvelebil, *Companion Studies*, 44–46.

fire of the Jaffna Public Library in 1981.⁷⁸ It is perhaps because of a pervasive and ongoing anxiety about the fate of Tamil manuscripts arising from this history of loss, that Ziegenbalg's collection is often thought to have been sent back to Germany.⁷⁹ It is therefore perhaps important to underline that although there is a collection of about a hundred Tamil palm-leaf manuscripts in Halle, most of these are Christian texts.⁸⁰ Only eight of the manuscripts in Halle are works mentioned by Ziegenbalg in the third, "heathen," section of the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*. Of these, six are didactic works, much favoured by both Ziegenbalg and later missionaries. They were copied in 1735, long after Ziegenbalg's death, and are bound together with one of the other two works (*Paramarakaciya mālai*; BM 64). The other work is *Cittiraputtiranayinār katai* (BM 109). All of these works have been published—there is no treasure trove of lost Tamil literature in Halle.

What the fate of Ziegenbalg's library demonstrates, as much as anything, is the lack of interest in Tamil literature on the part of Ziegenbalg's successors in the mission he founded. There are some exceptions to this general statement, but the catalogues they produced reveal the limits of their interest in Tamil literature. Benjamin Schultze, who arrived in Tranquebar in September 1719—seven months after Ziegenbalg's death—drew up a catalogue of Tamil literature in the year after his return to Europe in 1743.⁸¹ It lists thirty-one Tamil works, only three or perhaps four of which are not among those in Ziegenbalg's collection. Unlike the corporate effort of his Jesuit contemporaries and rivals, Ziegenbalg's was a personal

⁷⁸ Rebecca Knuth, *Burning Books and Leveling Libraries: Extremist Violence and Cultural Destruction* (Westport: Praeger, 2006), 80–87. Perhaps the closest analogy however is the fate of the manuscripts collected by Francis Whyte Ellis. Like Ziegenbalg, he died prematurely and, according to Walter Elliot, a cook is said to have used his manuscripts to light the kitchen fire (Thomas R. Trautmann, *Languages and Nations: The Dravidian Proof in Colonial Madras* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 77, 107). Evelyn Masilamani-Meyer notes that "professional singers use palm leaf manuscripts as fire wood to cook their meagre portions of rice" ("The Changing Face of Kāttavarāyan", in *Criminal Gods and Demon Devotees: Essays on the Guardians of Popular Hinduism*, ed. Alf Hiltebeitel (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 98).

⁷⁹ At a conference in 2006 marking the tercentenary of Ziegenbalg's arrival in India, one scholar argued that the manuscripts, like the Elgin marbles or the Rosetta stone, represented a stolen patrimony that should be returned to Tamil Nadu.

⁸⁰ Jeyaraj, *Tamil-Palmblatt-Manuskripte*.

⁸¹ This catalogue, exists in a number of forms: in German under the title "Katalog der in Madras, Tranquebar, Kopenhagen und Halle vorhandenen Bücher in telugischer und tamilischer Sprache," dated 17 December 1744 (AFSt/M 2 B 7 : 13); in Latin under the title "Catalogus. Librorum et Tractatum, quos partim in Tamulicam, Telugicam, Hindostanicam, Lusitanicam etc. linguas transtulit, partim ipse conscripsit. 1720-1748," dated 17 December 1744 (AFSt/M 2 B 7 : 14a); and in Tamil characters under the Tamil title "Tamilpottakaṅkaḷuṭaiya aṭṭavaṇai" and with a note in German "Verlangtes Verzeichniß unserer Malabarischen Bücher," undated (AFSt/M 2 B 7 : 14b). See also the earlier catalogue by Walther, discussed below (25).

collection, undertaken at his own initiative, and without any intention of sending it to Europe. When he did send a Tamil palmleaf manuscript to Halle, it was not a Hindu text but an extract from the Gospels in Tamil, and it was sent not for the library but for the curiosity cabinet.⁸²

Manuscripts of the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*

The Sloane manuscript

Ziegenbalg's catalogue of his library fared better than the library itself. There are three relatively complete manuscript copies still extant. The first, now in the British Library (Sloane 3014), was bought for Hans Sloane at auction in Copenhagen in 1726, from the library of Frederik Rostgaard, a collector. It consists only of the first 112 entries in the third section of the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*, entitled "Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Bücher." Rostgaard's manuscript is likely to have been copied from the version of the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* sent by Ziegenbalg to Franz Julius Lütken, the court preacher in Copenhagen.⁸³ The manuscript was translated by Albertine Gaur,⁸⁴ who appears not to have been aware of the manuscript in Halle, published by Wilhelm Germann in 1880.⁸⁵ Gaur discusses and includes a partial transcription of Walther's later catalogue of the mission library—which includes also extended versions of the other sections of Ziegenbalg's catalogue—but the condition of the manuscript at the time prevented her from entering into a detailed discussion of its relation to the Sloane manuscript.⁸⁶ Although Gaur "tried to follow the German original as closely as possible," her translation is in places quite free, perhaps because she found Ziegenbalg's German "cumbersome and at times rather vague."⁸⁷ Gaur provides modern transcriptions of Ziegenbalg's phonetic transcription of Tamil titles, and comments occasionally

⁸² Ziegenbalg to [J. J. Breithaupt, P. Antonius, A. H. Francke], Tranquebar, 15 October 1709, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, 120.

⁸³ Lütken died in 1712, but although it is possible Rostgaard acquired the whole catalogue after his death, the fact that the other sections are missing, and the "thin ornate hand" in which it is written, suggests the Sloane manuscript is more likely to have been a copy made in Europe (Albertine Gaur, "Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg's *Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Bücher*", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1967): 63).

⁸⁴ Gaur, "Ziegenbalg's *Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Bücher*".

⁸⁵ See the closing comments in Gaur's earlier article describing the Sloane manuscript, which suggest she thought the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* to have been something other than the "Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Bücher" (Albertine Gaur, "A Catalogue of B. Ziegenbalg's Tamil Library", *The British Museum Quarterly* 30, nos. 3/4 (1966): 104).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 88–95.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 67.

on the accuracy of his attributions, but in general makes no systematic attempt at identifying the texts.⁸⁸

The Halle manuscript

The manuscript of the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* in Halle (AFSt/M 2 C 1) is a draft copy of the version sent to Lütken which, although it bears the same date, may have been kept in Tranquebar slightly longer for it includes an additional seven entries in the third section and otherwise differs slightly from the Sloane manuscript.⁸⁹ The text was published almost in its entirety in 1880 in a Halle missionary magazine, but without any attempt at identification of the works listed. This manuscript was also described in a brief article which appeared in an East German journal in 1959, when a new catalogue was made of the Halle archive. The author noted that “It is impossible to determine from Halle whether that part of Ziegenbalg’s reading which is unpublished, or not mentioned in the literature, still exists somewhere in the form of old palm-leaf books, or is known at all. In order to establish this, one would have to consult manuscript catalogues and archive holdings on the spot in India.”⁹⁰

In 1716, this manuscript was lent—together with a number of Ziegenbalg’s other major works—to Mathurin Veyssière de La Croze, the Librarian Royal at the Prussian court.⁹¹ La Croze, a former Benedictine who had converted to Protestantism in 1696, made substantial use of Ziegenbalg’s works on Hinduism in the account of “l’Idolâtrie des Indes” in his *Histoire du christianisme des Indes*, published in 1724. In an earlier short tract on the same subject, La Croze had been forced to rely predominantly on sources emanating from the Catholic missions, above all those of the Jesuits. Although La Croze protested in his preface that he had no hatred for the Jesuits, and that he was motivated to combat their “pernicious errors” only by his desire to defend the truth, the virulently anti-Jesuit tone of his work makes clear how much it pained him to have to rely on their reports as sources.⁹² He therefore seized upon Ziegenbalg as a reliable Protestant

⁸⁸ Several of Gaur’s comments are helpful; others reveal a limited knowledge of Tamil literature, notably her identification of the sixteenth-century *Ariccantira purāṇam* as “a poem from the Saṅgham period” (Gaur, “Ziegenbalg’s *Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Bücher*”, 72).

⁸⁹ Where the differences are significant, they have been noted in the translation below.

⁹⁰ Arno Lehmann, “Bibliotheca Malabarica: eine wieder entdeckte Handschrift”, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe* 8 (1959): 905.

⁹¹ Christian Benedict Michaelis to Ziegenbalg, Gründler and Johannes Berlin, Halle, 1 December 1717 (AFSt/M: 1 C 10: 43).

⁹² “Recherches Historiques sur l’Etat ancien & moderne de la Religion Chrétienne dans les

source, arguing that he was to be preferred to Catholic authors for the care with which he reported not only what he had seen, but also what he had read.⁹³ La Croze translated the substance of several entries in the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*,⁹⁴ as well as some of the extracts from Tamil works given by Ziegenbalg elsewhere in his writings including *Arupattuṇālu tiruvilaiyāṭal purāṇam* (BM 106),⁹⁵ *Tirikāla cakkaram* (BM 110),⁹⁶ and *Puvana cakkaram* (BM 111).⁹⁷ La Croze's work was a sensational success, widely reviewed, and quickly translated into German.⁹⁸ In it, at least a part of Ziegenbalg's account of Tamil literature was made available to European readers.⁹⁹

The Copenhagen manuscript

In 1731 Christoph Theodosius Walther compiled a new catalogue of Tamil works in the mission library. The manuscript, now in the Royal Library in Copenhagen (Ny. Kgl. Saml. 589C), restructures the catalogue, placing "the late Ziegenbalg's recension of his Malabarian-heathen books" first. The sections listing "Moorish or Mohamedan books" and "Malabarian Roman books" follow. There are now thirteen Muslim works and twenty-nine Roman Catholic, but the greatest increase is in the fourth section, listing works produced by the Tranquebar missionaries themselves. Fifty-two such works on palm-leaves "some large, some small" are listed, all but one in Tamil.¹⁰⁰ The final section lists fourteen works on paper, either in Tamil or "relating to Malabarian literature, religion, and philosophy."

Indes", Tome premier, in *Dissertations historiques sur divers sujets* (Rotterdam: Chez Reinier Leers, 1707). Cf. Sylvia Murr, "Indianisme et militantisme protestant. Veyssière de La Croze et son *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*", *Dix-huitième siècle* 18 (1896): 303–23.

⁹³ Mathurin Veyssière de La Croze, *Histoire du christianisme des Indes* (La Haye: les frères Vaillant et N. Prévost, 1724), 445.

⁹⁴ *Tolkāppiyam* (BM 1), *Tivākaram* (BM 4), *Kāraṇai viḷupparaiyaṇ vaḷamaṭal* (BM 27), *Civavākkīyam* (BM 51–3); *ibid.*, 494–96.

⁹⁵ The story of the devadāsi Ponnaiyāl, *ibid.*, 486–87.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 470–73.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 467–68, 473–75.

⁹⁸ Friedrich Wiegand, "Mathurin Veyssière La Croze als Verfasser der ersten deutschen Missionsgeschichte", *Beiträge zur Förderung Christlicher Theologie* 6, no. 3 (1902): 97; Georg Christian Bohnstedt, *Herrn M. V. La Croze, Abbildung Des Indianischen Christen-Staats* (Halle im Magdeburgischen: Spörl, Grunert, 1727).

⁹⁹ Urs App argues that prior to the Voltaire's discovery of the *Ezour-Vedam*, and the works of the English deists, J. Z. Holwell and Alexander Dow, it was the extracts from Ziegenbalg in La Croze which provided Voltaire's primary evidence of an ancient Indian monotheism which served his attack on established Christianity (*The Birth of Orientalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010)).

¹⁰⁰ The exception is a translation into Telugu by Schultze of a hundred rules on conduct.

This includes grammatical and lexicographic works, but also Ziegenbalg's *Genealogia der Malabarischen Götter*, Gründler's *Medicus Malabaricus*, and a translation into Tamil of Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*.

Of most interest here is the first section, which has an additional thirty-three entries for "heathen" works. Some of these may have been works purchased by Ziegenbalg, others are explicitly said to have been acquired after his death. Although each of the additional thirty-three catalogue entries seems to refer to a different manuscript, it is not clear that each entry represents a distinct work. Thus, for example, Walther himself notes that a work he calls "*Uppillācumaraṇ katai* or *Viramāraṇ katai* belongs as one piece with the book *Tamilarivāḷ katai*,"¹⁰¹ and he also lists separately the *piramāttira paṭalam* which is from the Yutta kāṇṭam of Kampan's *Irāmāvatāram*, other sections of which appear in the catalogue.¹⁰² A further eight entries represent copies of works listed in the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*, but not included in the list of the twenty-six works which Walther lists as those remaining from Ziegenbalg's library. They are, then, most likely manuscripts purchased after Ziegenbalg's death, although not explicitly identified as such.

In any case, the additional works listed by Walther do not by any means represent the whole of Ziegenbalg's purchases during the years he was in India after 1708, but rather only those works that were still in the mission library in 1731. Walther states that many of the works purchased by Ziegenbalg, including many of those described in the 1708 catalogue, had been lost, destroyed, or damaged.¹⁰³

The Mackenzie Collection manuscript

Finally there is a fourth, partial, version of the third section of Ziegenbalg's catalogue, in the Mackenzie Collection.¹⁰⁴ This is an English translation of the first forty-three entries. It is dated September 1802 and is entitled "An Account of some of the most esteemed Works in the Malabar or Tamul Language copied from a Paper communicated by Mr. Cockburne." A few entries are abbreviated, and there are some annotations, including one which indicates the translator knew the list had been prepared by Ziegenbalg, but it is otherwise a straightforward translation. The probable source, and perhaps translator, of this version is Thomas Cockburn, who had been Commissary-General to Cornwallis during the Third Mysore War and was later a member of the Board of Revenue. In September 1802 he left Madras for Calcutta and from there went on to Britain in December. In 1812 he

¹⁰¹ Walther, *Bibliotheca Tamulica*, 68.

¹⁰² Ibid., 69.

¹⁰³ Walther, *Bibliotheca Tamulica*, 3.

¹⁰⁴ British Library, Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections, Mss Eur Mack Gen 21 ff.147–60.

mentioned the “Danish missionaries” when giving evidence to a select committee of the House of Commons on the renewal of the East India Company’s charter, speaking against the idea that the Company had a duty to propagate Christianity in India.¹⁰⁵ A scholarly interest in India is perhaps indicated by the appearance of his name in the list of members in the first issue of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1834. He is thus likely both to have known Mackenzie and to have been disposing of papers in September 1802, on the eve of his return to Britain. What is not clear is how he came by Ziegenbalg’s catalogue, or why he had only the first part of it. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century the missionary Christian Samuel John had collected Tamil works to augment the remnants of Ziegenbalg’s library still in the mission’s possession, and may perhaps have had a copy of the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*.¹⁰⁶ John, an honorary member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,¹⁰⁷ and a fellow missionary with similar scholarly interests, Johann Peter Rottler, were in direct contact with Mackenzie,¹⁰⁸ but to the best of our knowledge there is no evidence that they were in contact with Cockburn.¹⁰⁹

Ziegenbalg’s collection

One of the standard tropes of early European writing about Indian literature is the idea that the Brahmins were unwilling to allow access to the Vedas or to teach Sanskrit. As early as 1651, the Dutch chaplain Abraham Roger reported that only Brahmins were entitled to read the Veda,¹¹⁰ adding that it was written in Sanskrit

¹⁰⁵ These details of Cockburn’s life are taken from the account in Charles Lawson, *Memories of Madras* (London: Swan, 1905), 179–90.

¹⁰⁶ NHB 42: 554. John translated *Koṇṇai vēntaṇ* (AFSt/M 1 C 29b: 106) and *Ulakaniti* (AFSt/M 2 B 7: 7), as well as *Ātticūṭi* and *Mūturai* (AFSt/M 2 B 7: 5–6) into German. His English translations of *Koṇṇai vēntaṇ*, *Ātticūṭi* and another work of Auvaiyār, now lost, entitled *Kalviyolukkam* were published in the *Asiatick Researches*.

¹⁰⁷ Hanco Jürgens, “Forschungen zu Sprachen und Religion”, in *Geliebtes Europa / Ostindische Welt: 300 Jahre interkultureller Dialog im Spiegel der Dänisch-Hallesche Mission*, ed. Heike Liebau (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2006), 131.

¹⁰⁸ Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonné* 3: 298.

¹⁰⁹ On the scholarly work of John and Rottler see Andreas Nehring, “Natur und Gnade: Zu Theologie und Kulturkritik in den Neuen Halleschen Berichten”, in *Missionsberichte aus Indien in 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Michael Bergunder (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 1999), 220–245. Nehring rebuts the charge, levelled by several nineteenth-century mission historians that the “enlightened” temper of John and Rottler contributed to the decline of the mission, arguing that they ought instead to be seen as responding to intellectual developments by seeking a new model for mission among Tamils (242–44).

¹¹⁰ Abraham Roger, *De Open-Deure tot het Verborgene Heydendom Ofte Waerachtigh vertoogh van het Leven ende Zeden; mitsgaders de Religie, ende Godsdienst der Bramines, op de Cust Chormandel, ende*

like all the “hidden things” (*verborghentheden*) of their heathenism. As late as 1776, Nathaniel Halhed complained that the pandits were “to a man resolute in rejecting all his solicitations for instruction” in Sanskrit and that the “persuasion and influence of the Governor-General [Hastings] were in vain exerted to the same purpose.”¹¹¹ Jawaharlal Nehru, in his *Discovery of India*, made much of William Jones’s supposed difficulties in finding a Sanskrit teacher.¹¹² Nevertheless Europeans had in fact begun learning Sanskrit much earlier, as early as the late sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century, the Jesuit Roberto de Nobili had mastered Sanskrit and even Roger was able to include translations from the Sanskrit works of Bhartṛhari, albeit only at one remove, from the Portuguese version prepared by his Brahmin informant.

Although a handful of Europeans had acquired manuscripts of Indian religious literature during the seventeenth century, and some even published versions of these texts in European languages, acquisition of manuscripts on a large scale did not begin until the eighteenth century. The first systematic, state-sponsored programme of this sort was undertaken in the 1720s by French Jesuits in the Carnatic mission at the behest of the royal librarian in Paris.¹¹³ At his own initiative, Ziegenbalg had begun having copies made of Tamil texts some two decades earlier, and within two months of his arrival in India. At the time he could barely have been able to communicate in Tamil, much less to read literary works. He was nevertheless convinced that the “secrets,” or “arcana of the Tamils’ theology and philosophy,” were contained within them, and therefore had them copied “at great expense” at a time when his letters are full of appeals to Christians in Europe for financial support.¹¹⁴

A key target for Jesuits’ collections on behalf of the French royal library was acquisition of the Vedas, which was achieved—at least partially and after much difficulty—in the early 1730s.¹¹⁵ While Ziegenbalg shows little interest in either

de Landen daar ontrent, ed. Willem Caland, Werken Uitgegeven door De Linschoten-Vereeniging (1651; ’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1915), 20.

¹¹¹ Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, *A Code of Gentoo Laws, or Ordinations of the Pundits: From a Persian Translation Made from the Original, Written in the Shanscrit Language* (London: n.p., 1776), xxxvi.

¹¹² Nehru’s comments are cited by Cannon (Garland Cannon, *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones: Sir William Jones, the Father of Modern Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 229), who notes that “no evidence for this account has been found” and suggests the reasons had more to do with the time of year that Jones sought a teacher, than any reluctance on the part of the Brahmins.

¹¹³ Jean-Marie Lafont, “The Quest for Indian Manuscripts by the French in the Eighteenth Century”, in *Indika: Essays in Indo-French Relations, 1630–1976* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2000), 90–118.

¹¹⁴ Ziegenbalg, Tranquebar, 25 September 1706, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, 40. Cf. Ziegenbalg to Michael Weitzmann, Tranquebar, 7 October 1709, in *ibid.*, 120.

¹¹⁵ P. Dahmen, “Lettres de Père Calmette”, *Revue d’Histoire des Missions* (1934): 109–125.

Sanskrit or the Vedas, like Roger he does suggest that the doctrines of the Hindus are somehow secret or hidden. Although at this early stage he does not seem to have had difficulty obtaining texts to copy, he attributes this to his personal relationship with those who provided him with texts: “If they did not have such a great regard for me and also feel my genuine love for them in return, they would not let me have these at all, even if I were to give them a gold piece for every page.”¹¹⁶ Sascha Ebeling notes that in the pre-modern period Tamil manuscripts were

a deeply personal medium unlike the “publicly” circulating book, which was a saleable commodity. Since for centuries the ultimate goal of scholarly activity was to know a text by heart and be able to explicate and elaborate on every aspect of it, a manuscript served mainly as an *aide-mémoire*, or as a kind of textbook for teaching young pulavar apprentices. Of course, manuscripts were copied and re-copied, and teachers often dictated texts to students so that several copies could be made simultaneously, but these copies then belonged to the individual student or teacher, and they would not generally be lent to anyone.¹¹⁷

Ebeling goes on to note that there were few manuscript libraries, and that only a few elite scholars would have had access to those which did exist, such as at the Śaiva *maṭams* (Sanskrit: *maṭha*) at Tiruvāṇṭūrai and Tarumapuram. The Tarumapuram *maṭam* is quite close to Tranquebar, now about thirty kilometres by road, and the Tiruvāṇṭūrai is another twenty kilometres to the southwest. Although Ziegenbalg never explicitly mentions either *maṭam*, there is reason to believe that at least a part of his manuscript collection was derived from the libraries at the Tiruvāṇṭūrai and Tarumapuram *maṭams*.

The sources of Ziegenbalg’s collection

At first Ziegenbalg obtained books from those who instructed him and his colleague in Tamil, among them the elderly schoolmaster who, according to Ziegenbalg, was able to recite the whole of *Tirukkural* and “many other difficult books

¹¹⁶ “Wenn sie nicht eine so große Liebe zu mir hätten und von mir eine aufrichtige Gegenliebe verspürten, so würden mir sie diese nicht zukommen lassen, wenn ich ihnen gleich für ein jedes Blatt einen Dukaten geben wollte.” Ziegenbalg, Tranquebar, 25 September 1706, in *ibid.*, 40.

¹¹⁷ Sascha Ebeling, “The College of Fort St George and the Transformation of Tamil Philology during the Nineteenth Century”, in *The Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South India*, ed. Thomas R. Trautmann (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 238.

accurately from memory.”¹¹⁸ Ziegenbalg first mentions having this schoolmaster copy out books for him in a letter dated 2 September 1706. Like most of the very earliest of Ziegenbalg’s known letters, the manuscript of this letter is not extant,¹¹⁹ but a number of printed editions exist. Most often cited is an abbreviated version, published in the 1708 in the second edition of Ziegenbalg’s early letters edited by Joachim Lange under the title *Merckwürdige Nachricht*.¹²⁰ An English translation of this version by Anton Wilhelm Böhme was published in the following year, under the title *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*. A much fuller version of the letter had already appeared in German in 1708 in a kind of unofficial third edition of the *Merckwürdige Nachricht*, edited by Christian Gustav Bergen.¹²¹ The letter is roughly twice as long in Bergen’s edition which, together with other material included in Bergen’s edition but not available elsewhere, suggests he had access to the letters in manuscript. The letter includes an account of Brahmā’s revelation of four books, one of which was lost along with one of Brahmā’s heads when he contested Śiva’s supremacy. In the version edited by Lange, we read that while Ziegenbalg asked the schoolmaster to transcribe the remaining three of these for him: “he could not bring himself to do it, for it would be against their law to allow a Christian to have access to them.”¹²² In Bergen’s version, however, we read that the three books *are* being written out in Tamil for Ziegenbalg. Ziegenbalg states only that this had never before been done for any Christian, adding that they would not have done it for him either, had it not been for his familiarity and friendship with them.¹²³ The account of their revelation by Brahmā suggests that the four books in question—one being lost—are the four Vedas, but this is very

¹¹⁸ Germann, “*Bibliotheca Malabarica*”, 63.

¹¹⁹ Of the letters printed in Lange and Bergen only one is extant in manuscript.

¹²⁰ The first edition, which appeared already in 1706, contained only one letter, written from the Cape of Good Hope.

¹²¹ The second edition edited by Lange appeared in 1708. A further edition by Lange in 1709 was described as a third edition on the title page although Bergen’s edition, also described as the third on the title page, had already appeared in 1708.

¹²² “Ich war vor einigen Tagen bey einem alten Schul-Lehrer, und hat, daß er mir die drey letzten für gute Bezahlung in ihrer Sprache abschreiben möchte: Aber er konte sich dazu nicht *resolviren*, indem es wieder ihr Gesätze wäre, einem Christen dergleichen zukommen zu lassen.” (Lange, *Merckwürdige Nachricht*, 11); cf. “Dergleichen ungereimte Erzehlungen haben die *Malabaren* in ihren Versen trefflich annehmlich zu lesen gemacht, wollen sie aber keinen Christen zukommen lassen, wenn man ihnen gleich viel Geld anbiethet” (ibid., 12).

¹²³ “Die drey letzten lasse ich mir anitzo mit grossen Unkosten in Malabarischer Sprache abschreiben, damit ich von deren Inhalt eine rechte Gewißheit bekommen möge. Wiewohl sie solches noch keinem Christen gethan haben, und würden es auch mir nicht thun, wenn ich mich nicht, als die Apostel, in die durch Freundlichkeit wohl zu schicken wüste, und täglich mit ihnen *familiarissime* umginge” (Bergen, *Ziegenbalgs ... Brieffe*, 19). Cf. the comments in Ziegenbalg, Tranquebar, 25 September 1706, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, 40, cited above, n.116.

probably a detail taken from Baldaeus,¹²⁴ on whom Ziegenbalg later admits to having relied in this letter (MH 14). Ziegenbalg's description of the content of the books¹²⁵ suggests that the schoolmaster had identified some Tamil works which he regarded as in some sense equivalent to the Veda.¹²⁶ While it is impossible to identify these three books with any particular works in Ziegenbalg's later collection, we can identify with some confidence other works which he would have obtained from the schoolmaster.

Ziegenbalg's collection of Tamil texts probably began with those which formed the core of the curriculum of Tamil village schools, the so-called *tiṇṇai* or *pyal* schools named for the verandah on which lessons took place.¹²⁷ According to one nineteenth-century account,¹²⁸ these would have included works on ethics and collections of proverbs,¹²⁹ devotional works,¹³⁰ and *Tirukkural* in addition to

¹²⁴ The loss of one of the four Vedas, due to Śiva having cut off one of Brahmā's four heads, is found in Baldaeus, *Wahrhaftige ausführliche Beschreibung*, 556.

¹²⁵ "Das erste handle von der Göttlichkeit und den *primis principiis omnium rerum*, welches aber mit dem einen Haupte, als er einmahls mit Ispara um die Ober-Stelle gezancket, wäre verloren wordern. Das andre Buch handle von den Gewaltigen, welchen die Herrschaft und *Metamorphosi omnium rerum* zugeschrieben wird. Das dritte soll lauter gute *Moralia* in sich begreifen. Das vierde handle von den schuldigen Pflichten ihres Götzen=Dienstes" (Bergen, *Ziegenbalgs ... Brieffe*, 19).

¹²⁶ The idea of a "Tamil Veda," that is, a work or works in some sense equivalent to the Sanskrit Veda but not a direct translation from it, is widespread and found among both Śaivas (Indira Viswanathan Peterson, *Poems to Śiva: The Hymns of the Tamil Saints* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 57) and Vaiṣṇavas (John Braisted Carman and Vasudha Narayanan, *The Tamil Veda: Piḷḷāṇ's Interpretation of the Tiruvāymoli* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 4). Cf. on the development of this idea Cutler, *Songs of Experience*, 7–10.

¹²⁷ For a nineteenth-century account of the *tiṇṇai* or *pyal* schools see Charles E. Gover, "Pyal Schools in Madras", *The Indian Antiquary* 2, no. 14 (1873): 52–56. See also D. Senthil Babu, "Memory and Mathematics in the Tamil *Tiṇṇai* Schools of South India in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", *International Journal for the History of Mathematics Education* 2, no. 1 (2007): 15–37, Bhavani Raman, "Disciplining the Senses, Schooling the Mind: Inhabiting Virtue in the Tamil *Tiṇṇai* School", in *Ethical life in South Asia*, ed. Anand Pandian and Daud Ali (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 43–60, Sascha Ebeling, *Colonizing the Realm of Words: The Transformation of Tamil Literature in Nineteenth-Century South India* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010), 37–39.

¹²⁸ John Murdoch, *Classified Catalogue of Tamil Printed Books with Introductory Notices* (Madras: The Christian Vernacular Education Society, 1865), 215–17.

¹²⁹ *Ātticūṭi*, *Uḷakanīti*, *Koṇṇai vēṇṭaṇ* and *Mūturai* are among those mentioned explicitly by Murdoch. To these we can probably add *Nalvali* and *Nīti vēṇṭā*, which are listed together with *Ātticūṭi*, *Uḷakanīti*, *Koṇṇai vēṇṭaṇ* and *Mūturai* in the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* (BM 100–105).

¹³⁰ Murdoch mentions two *catakam* texts, the *Aṟappallicura catakam* of Ampalacāṇa Kavirāyar and the *Nārāyaṇa catakam* of Maṇavāḷa. The former may be later than Ziegenbalg (cf. Kamil V. Zvelebil, *Lexicon of Tamil Literature*, Handbuch der Orientalistik. Abteilung 2: Indien, 9 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 34); the latter is in his collection.

poetical vocabularies¹³¹ and “local purāṇas.” To these another nineteenth-century account adds *Nannūl*, Tamil versions of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*,¹³² the *Pañcatantra*, and a collection of folk narratives (*katai*).¹³³ Virtually the whole of the *tiṇṇai* curriculum—at least as it is reported in these two nineteenth-century accounts—is represented in Ziegenbalg’s library.

Ziegenbalg maintained six Tamil scribes in his household¹³⁴ and would thus have been able to acquire copies of all of these works in the traditional manner described by Ebeling, that is, by having the schoolmaster dictate them to the scribes. The schoolmaster may also have provided other texts, and Ziegenbalg directly ascribes one book, a work on the human body (BM 98), to him. There were limits to this method, however. The schoolmaster had a copy of Kampan’s *Irāmāvatāram*, but it was too large to be copied¹³⁵ and he was unwilling to sell his copy to Ziegenbalg. In the letter that accompanied his catalogue when he sent it to Europe, Ziegenbalg also notes that having books copied was expensive, and that he therefore sent his scribes “many days’ journey” into the hinterland of Tranquebar where they were able to buy books cheaply from the widowed wives of Brahmins.¹³⁶

Ziegenbalg also mentions that the schoolmaster’s son, whom he names as Kaṇapati Vāttiyār, “obtained very many books for me.”¹³⁷ Vāttiyār, the Tamil form of the Sanskrit *upādhyāya*, refers to a teacher and scholar and Ziegenbalg

¹³¹ Murdoch does not name any particular works, but among those in Ziegenbalg’s collection, *Tivākaram* and *Cūṭāmaṇi nikaṇṭu*, would fit the description. Gover mentions “the Nighantu” among the works forming “the grammatical portion of study” (Gover, “Pyal Schools in Madras”, 54).

¹³² Gover mentions explicitly the *Kirūṣṇaṇ tūtu carukkam* (an episode from the Uṭṭiyōka paruvam of Villiputtūr ālvār’s *Pāratam*) and Kampan’s *Irāmāvatāram*. Ziegenbalg had the former, and three chapters of the Yutta kāṇṭam of the latter.

¹³³ Ebeling (*Colonizing the Realm of Words*, 38) notes that Gover’s “Kada Chintamani” (*Katacintāmaṇi*) could refer to any one of a number of such collections assembled in the nineteenth century. These anthologies postdate Ziegenbalg but he had perhaps a dozen works of the sort they contained, including the *Pañcatantira katai* (BM 30) which he notes is “much used in schools.”

¹³⁴ Ziegenbalg to Lütken, Tranquebar, 22 August 1708, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, 79.

¹³⁵ Germann, “*Bibliotheca Malabarica*”, 71.

¹³⁶ Ziegenbalg to Lütken, Tranquebar, 22 August 1708, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, 80.

¹³⁷ Germann, “*Bibliotheca Malabarica*”, 84. The sentence reads in full: “Dieses kleine Büchlein hat mein alter Schulmeister gemacht, den ich anfänglich in Erlernung der malabarischen Sprache gebrauchte, dessen Sohn ein guter Poet ist, und mir sehr viele Bücher verschaffet hat, und oftmals mit mir von erbaulichen Sachen zu disputiren pfelet.” See also Ziegenbalg [to Anton Wilhelm Böhme], Tranquebar, 19 October 1709, in *Propagation of the Gospel in the East: Being a Further Account of the Progress made by Some Missionaries to Tranquebar ... together with Some Observations relating to the Malabarian Philosophy and Divinity: and concerning their Bramans, Pantares, and Poets*, Part II., 2nd ed., trans. [Anton Wilhelm Böhme] (London: J. Downing, 1711), 30.

states that Kaṇapati exceeded his father's scholarship (HB 6: 263). Kaṇapati is much discussed in the mission archives because of the storm created by his conversion in 1709, which almost certainly brought Ziegenbalg's relationship with his father to an end (HB 6: 264–65). Ziegenbalg describes at length the attempts made by his parents and friends to dissuade Kaṇapati from conversion, at first with pleas and promises and finally "with violence."

Ziegenbalg had already noted the previous year that once they knew he was using their books against them, the Tamils became reluctant to provide him with copies of them.¹³⁸ It is nevertheless perhaps significant that in a letter written at the height of the storm over Kaṇapati's conversion, just a few days prior to his long-awaited baptism, Ziegenbalg again notes the difficulty of obtaining Tamil books.¹³⁹ For it is possible that Kaṇapati's father was not the only member of his family who helped Ziegenbalg to obtain books.

One of those who tried to prevent Kaṇapati's conversion was his father-in-law, a *maṇiyakkāraṇ*.¹⁴⁰ We can perhaps identify him with a *maṇiyakkāraṇ* called Kaḷiyapillai whom Ziegenbalg describes variously as "revenue officer" (Zöllner) and headman among the Tamils.¹⁴¹ Kaḷiyapillai is also said by Ziegenbalg to have provided him with "various of his books," including one which Ziegenbalg ascribes to Kaḷiyapillai's father (BM 91). This is a *varukka kōvai* on Nākappaṭṭiṇam,¹⁴² and is one of several works in Ziegenbalg's collection relating to Nākappaṭṭiṇam.¹⁴³ While we cannot be sure that the *maṇiyakkāraṇ* called Kaḷiyapillai is the same *maṇiyakkāraṇ* who was Kaṇapati's father-in-law, Kaṇapati may well have had familial connections with Nākappaṭṭiṇam. Some time after 1717, Kaṇapati converted to Catholicism and by 1727, when two Tranquebar missionaries met him, he had reverted to Śaiva practice and was living in Nākappaṭṭiṇam (HB 29: 496).

Whether we have here one *maṇiyakkāraṇ* or two, the fact that some of Ziegenbalg's books were supplied by a *maṇiyakkāraṇ* points to an intriguing possible connection with the manuscript culture of the *maṭams* at Tiruvāṇṭuṭurai and Tarumapuram. The term *maṇiyakkāraṇ* can, as Ziegenbalg notes, refer to a village

¹³⁸ Germann, "Bibliotheca Malabarica", 87.

¹³⁹ Ziegenbalg to Michael Weitzmann, Tranquebar, 7 October 1709, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, 120.

¹⁴⁰ Ziegenbalg to Joachim Lange, Tranquebar, 23 October 1709, in *ibid.*, 143.

¹⁴¹ Germann, "Bibliotheca Malabarica", 83. cf. Ziegenbalg's description of Kaṇapati's father-in-law as a "headman over twenty villages" (Ziegenbalg to Lange, Tranquebar, 23 October 1709, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, 143).

¹⁴² *Varukka kōvai* is a genre of poems in which a town is celebrated in a series of verses each of which begins with a successive letter of the Tamil alphabet (Zvelebil, *Lexicon*, s.v. *varukka-k kōvai*).

¹⁴³ The others are *Kāraṇai viḷupparaiyaṇ vaḷamaṭal* (BM 27), *Kāyārōṇar ulā* (BM 45), *Kiḷvēḷūr kalampakam* (BM 46), and *Varunakulātittan maṭal* (BM 89).

headman, one who has *mānya*, or tax-free, rights in land, but the term is also used by the Śaiva *maṭams* to refer to those who collect rent on their behalf.¹⁴⁴ It is at least possible, that this was the position of Kāḷiyapillai and/or Kaṇapati's father-in-law. Despite their importance for Tamil literary culture in the late medieval¹⁴⁵ and modern periods,¹⁴⁶ there are relatively few studies of these *maṭams*.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Glenn Yocum, "A Non-Brahman Tamil Saiva Mutt: A Field Study of the Thiruvavaduthurai Adheenam", in *Monastic Life in the Christian and Hindu Traditions: A Comparative Study*, ed. Austin B. Creel and Vasudha Narayanan (Lampeter: Edwin Mellon Press, 1990), 268.

¹⁴⁵ Zvelebil's discussion of the literary tradition associated with the *maṭams* is contained in chapter 10, "Late medieval period (A. D. 1200–1750)" (Kamil V. Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Zweite Abteilung, Indien; 2. Bd., 1. Abschnitt (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 198–232.

¹⁴⁶ Ebeling (*Colonizing the Realm of Words*, 57–62) notes the *maṭams*' connections with Miṇāṭci-cuntaram Pillai, U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar, and Ārumuka Nāvalar, and their role in educating many other Tamil scholars of the nineteenth century.

¹⁴⁷ By far the most detailed study of the two older *maṭams* and the Tiruppaṇantāḷ *maṭam*, established in the early eighteenth century, is Koppedrayar's doctoral thesis (cited above, 13). Parts of this work have been published in a series of articles ("Are Śūdras Entitled to Ride in the Palanquin?", *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 25, no. 2 (1991): 191–210; "The *Varnāśramacandrika* and the Śūdra's Right to Preceptorhood: The Social Background of a Philosophical Debate in Late Medieval South India", *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 19, no. 3 (1991): 297–314; "Remembering Tirumālikaittēvar: The Relationship between an Early Śaiva Mystic and a South Indian Maṭam", *East and West* 43, nos. 1–4 (1993): 169–83; "Putting the Picture Together: Ati Amāvācai at Dharmapuram", *East and West* 49, nos. 1–4 (1999): 195–216; "The Interweave of Place, Space, and Biographical Discourse at a South Indian Religious Centre", in *Pilgrims, Patrons, and Place: localizing sanctity in Asian religions*, ed. Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2003), 279–96). In addition there is a helpful study of the contemporary Tiruvāṭuturāi *maṭam* by Glenn Yocum ("Non-Brahman Tamil Saiva Mutt"). Geoffrey Oddie provides information, drawn from revenue records, about the temples controlled by the *maṭams* in the nineteenth-century and other information from legal records of disputes between the Tarumapuram and Tiruppaṇantāḷ *maṭams* ("The Character, Role and Significance of Non-Brahmin Saivite Maths in Tanjore District in the Nineteenth Century", in *Changing South Asia: Religion and Society*, ed. Kenneth Ballhatchet and David D. Taylor, vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Published for the Centre of South Asian Studies in the School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London, by Asian Research Service, 1984), 37–50, reprinted with some revisions in *Hindu and Christian in South-East India* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1991), 98–118). K Nambi Arooran provides brief details about the history of the *maṭams* in two short articles ("The Origin of Three Saiva Mathas in Tanjavur District", in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies, Madurai, Tamil Nadu, India, January 1981*, ed. M. Arunachalam, vol. 2 (Madras: International Association of Tamil Research, 1981), 12–77–87; "The Changing Role of Three Saiva Maths in Tanjore District from the Beginning of the 20th Century", in *Changing South Asia: Religion and Society*, ed. Kenneth Ballhatchet and David D. Taylor, vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Published for the Centre of South Asian Studies in the School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London, by Asian Research Service, 1984), 51–58). Ebeling (*Colonizing the Realm of Words*, 307) cites a recent short history in Tamil of the Tiruvāṭuturāi *maṭam* (Ci. Makālinṅkam, *Tirukkayilāya paramparait Tiruvāṭuturāi ātīnam varālarruc curukkam*. Tiruvāṭuturāi: Tiruvāṭuturāi ātīnam Caracuvati Makāl Nūlnilāya Āyvu Maiyam, 2002).

Maṭams, paṇṭārams, and Ziegenbalg's library

Although the institutional form of the *maṭam* is referred to in inscriptions from the Tamil region from as early as the ninth century,¹⁴⁸ the Tiruvāṇṭūrai and Tarumapuram *maṭams* were established only in the sixteenth century.¹⁴⁹ Kay Koppedrayar distinguishes these institutions—together with the Tiruppanantāl *maṭam*, an eighteenth-century subsidiary of the Tarumapuram *maṭam*—from others designated with the same term,¹⁵⁰ and argues that the usual gloss of *maṭam* in English as “monastery” or “seminary” is unhelpful in understanding their character and their role in Tamil society, preferring instead the more neutral “centre” or “institution.”¹⁵¹ She argues that they are best characterised as institutions housing lineages. The *maṭams*' conception of themselves as lineages, descending ultimately from Śiva himself on Mount Kailasa is, as will be seen below, important in establishing a link between the *maṭams* and one Tamil text which was of formative importance for Ziegenbalg's understanding of Hinduism.

Crucially, Koppedrayar also clarifies the term “paṇṭāram,” which is much used in Ziegenbalg's own writings as well as in later mission reports and histories of the Tranquebar mission.¹⁵² In the secondary literature this term is usually glossed “non-brahmin Śaiva priest.”¹⁵³ Koppedrayar notes that in Cōla and other inscriptions the term refers to a temple's treasury and, by extension, to officials concerned with the financial affairs of the temple or the management of temple endowments. As these inscriptions also imply these temple agents were ascetics, or “members

¹⁴⁸ R. Champakalakshmi, “The *Maṭha*: Monachism as the Base of a Parallel Authority Structure”, in *Religion, Tradition, and Ideology: Pre-colonial South India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 286–318.

¹⁴⁹ Koppedrayar, “Sacred Presence”. Ebeling states that the Tiruvāṇṭūrai *maṭam* “traces its history back to the fourteenth century” (*Colonizing the Realm of Words*, 61), but this refers only to the lineage of teachers in which the first head of the *maṭam*, the sixteenth-century Mūvalūr Nama-civāyamūrtti, located himself (cf. Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature* (HdO), 206).

¹⁵⁰ R. Champakalakshmi provides evidence of the wide range of institutions referred to as *maṭam* (Champakalakshmi, “The *Maṭha*”). The institutions at Tiruvāṇṭūrai and Tarumapuram may also be referred to using the term *ātiṇam*, to indicate that they are autonomous. The Tiruppanantāl *maṭam*, being subordinate to Tarumapuram, cannot be referred to as an *ātiṇam*. The use of *ātiṇam* can be traced only from the eighteenth century, more than a century after their foundation (Koppedrayar, “Sacred Presence”, 11–13).

¹⁵¹ Koppedrayar, “Sacred Presence”, 42–51.

¹⁵² Ziegenbalg first uses the term as early as 1707, see below (36).

¹⁵³ “Asketen und nichbrahmanische [sic] Priester der niedrigen Kasten, oft im Dienst der Śiva-Tempel” (Liebau, *Malabarische Korrespondenz*, 298). Cf. Gita Dharampal-Frick, “Malabarisches Heidentum: Bartolomäus Ziegenbalg über Religion und Gesellschaft der Tamilen”, in *Missionsberichte aus Indien in 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Michael Bergunder (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 1999), 137.

of spiritual lineages,” Koppedrayar suggests that the term “paṇṭāram” came to be used for members of lineages of the sort institutionalised in the Tiruvāṇṭur and Tarumapuram *maṭams*.¹⁵⁴ She notes, however, that although the term is used in relation to the *maṭams* in later inscriptions, court records, and newspaper articles, the term is not used in the *maṭams*’ own literature, or by employees or supporters of the *maṭams*. It is, then, an outsider’s term for the members of the *maṭam* lineages. She suggests two reasons for this: first, that the term retains, in the eyes of the members of the lineage, a suggestion of a primarily administrative rather than religious role. Second, she notes that the same term is also used to refer to “members of a low-caste grouping who are traditionally involved in the maintenance of goddess shrines [who] sometimes officiate as low-caste priests, serving an even lower caste clientele,” with whom members of the *maṭam* lineages would not want to be associated.¹⁵⁵ The two senses of the term—lineage member and low-caste priest—are often conflated in the historiography of the Tranquebar mission,¹⁵⁶ obscuring what is probably the primary referent of the term in Ziegenbalg’s writing.¹⁵⁷

At a number of points Ziegenbalg refers to “the paṇṭārams” in terms which suggest he thought of them as the keepers of Tamil literature. Thus he notes that a commentary on the *Arupattunālu tiruvilaiyāṭal purāṇam* “is found only among the Brahmins and Paṇṭārams.”¹⁵⁸ In December 1707, Ziegenbalg records his attempt to obtain manuscripts from a “prominent” Hindu and Muslim who were visiting him. When assured by his visitors that he would form a much better opinion of the Hindus and Muslims if he had read through their books, Ziegenbalg immediately called for one of his scribes and had him write out a list of “a considerable number of [Tamil] books” and lay it before them. While admitting that they themselves possessed only very few of the listed books, his visitors promised to help him secure them from their “paṇṭārams, brahmans and schoolteachers.”

¹⁵⁴ Koppedrayar, “Sacred Presence”, 74–75.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 76–77.

¹⁵⁶ See, e.g., Daniel Jeyaraj, *Bartholomäus Ziegenbalgs “Genealogie der malabarischen Götter”: Edition der Originalfassung von 1713 mit Einleitung, Analyse und Glossar*, Neue Hallesche Berichte: Quelle und Studien zur Geschichte und Gegenwart Südindiens (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2003), 427, following the *Tamil Lexicon* and *Hobson-Jobson*, and Liebau, *Malabarische Korrespondenz*, 298, cited above, n.153.

¹⁵⁷ Jean Venant Bouchet—a Jesuit contemporary of Ziegenbalg—indicates a further referent of the term when describing the severe austerities undertaken by a Brahmin who “prit la résolution de parcourir le pais en habit de *Pandaron* [pénitent des Indes], & de s’attirer par l’austérité de sa vie des aumônes abondantes” (Gobien, *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* XI, 21).

¹⁵⁸ BM 107. Similarly, when commenting on a text he names as *Uṭalkurru tattuvam* (BM 99), Ziegenbalg notes that it is “little known and can be understood neither by Brahmins nor by Paṇṭārams”.

They added, however, that in order to understand the books he had listed, it would be necessary to wake their authors from the dead.¹⁵⁹

Ziegenbalg had a number of works directly connected with the *maṭams*. These include two works which he ascribes to “Nānappirakācar Paṇṭāram,”¹⁶⁰ the preceptor of Nāṇacampantar, founder of the Tarumapuram *maṭam*. Another work in Ziegenbalg’s collection, *Pullirukkuvelūr muttukkumārācāmi pillaittamil* (BM 39) on Murukan at Vaitīcuvaraṅkōyil, ascribed by Ziegenbalg to “Kumarakuruparar Paṇṭāram,” is a known work of Kumarakuruparar, who was a disciple of the fourth head of the Tarumapuram *maṭam*, Mācīlāmaṇi Tēcikar.¹⁶¹ The Vaitīcuvaraṅkōyil temple was managed by the Tarumapuram *maṭam*.¹⁶² Ziegenbalg has a work of the *Neṅcu viṭutūtu* or “messenger poem” genre which he ascribes to “a Paṇṭāram whose name I have not been able to find out” (BM 93). The best-known example of this genre is of course Umāpati Civācāriyar’s early fourteenth-century work but, given that Ziegenbalg has none of the other fourteen Caiva cittānta *cāttiravikal*, it seems more likely that this is a later work in the messenger poem genre by an author associated with one of the *maṭams*.

There are a number of other works in Ziegenbalg’s collection which have more indirect links to the *maṭams*.¹⁶³ He had a number of temple purāṇas and, as Shulman notes, most of the temple purāṇas written from the sixteenth century

¹⁵⁹ HB 8: 531. “Sie antwortet: Hättet ihr unsere Bücher durchlesen, so würdet ihr gantz anders von uns Malabaren und Mohren urtheilen. Ich sprach: Gut, wolt ihr mich als denn besser hören, so will ich gerne die Mühe auf mich nehmen und eure Bücher durchlesen. Lasset mir nur die Besten zu kommen. Sie antwortet: ja, gantz gerne. Darauf ließ ich gleich einen Malabarischen Schreiber ein Verzeichniß von einer ziemlicher Anzahl Bücher aufschreiben, und legte ihnen selbiges vor. Sie sprachen: Wir haben die wenigsten von diesen Büchern; jedoch wollen wir unsern Pantaren, Bramanen, und Schulmeistern Befehl geben, daß sie umher suchen sollen, ob dergleichen ausgeforschet werden können: Unterdessen würde man diejenigen Autores, die solche geschrieben, wieder vom Tode auferwecken müssen, wenn man dergleichen Bücher recht verstehen solte. Ich sagte: Es hat mir dieser Schwierigkeit nichts zu bedeuten. Vielleicht ist anjetzo die Zeit, da sie sollen aufgelöset werden: schaft ihr mir nur fein viele, ich will sie entweder bezahlen, oder mir abschreiben lassen. Sie versprachen mir solches, und nahmen ihren Abschied.”

¹⁶⁰ *Tērūrnta vācakam* (BM 77), *Tiyākārāca pallu* (BM 90). Only the latter is known to be ascribed to Nānappirakācar in other sources, but Nānappirakācar is associated with Tiruvārūr, where the former is set. Tarumapuram also administered the “rājan kaṭṭalai” endowment at the Tiruvārūr temple (Rajeshwari Ghose, *The Lord of Arūr. The Tyāgarāja Cult in Tamiḻnāḍu: A Study in Conflict and Accommodation* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1996), 255).

¹⁶¹ The temple is also linked with the Tiruvāṇṭuṭuṭuṭuṭu *maṭam*, in that the *linkam* worshipped by Namacciṇṇamūrtti was named Vaidyanātha, Śiva at Vaitīcuvaraṅkōyil (Yocum, “Non-Brahman Tamil Saiva Mutt”, 255).

¹⁶² The Amṛtaghaṭeśvara temple in Tirukkaṭavūr, very close to Tranquebar, from which Ziegenbalg had the *Apīrāmi antāti* (BM 25), was also managed by the Tarumapuram *maṭam*.

¹⁶³ Thus, e.g., *Uḷlamutaiyān* (BM 75), which Ziegenbalg links to the paṇṭārams, is ascribed by him to Taṇvantiri, a *cittar* who is said to dwell at Vaitīcuvaraṅkōyil. More indirectly still, Vīrai

“were composed by scholars associated with these institutions.”¹⁶⁴ More broadly, the *maṭams* were important repositories of Tamil religious literature going well beyond their own sectarian affiliation with Śaiva orthodoxy.¹⁶⁵ While we cannot be sure which of the other works in his collection were obtained from the *maṭams*, perhaps through his links with them through Kaṇapati and Kaḷiyapillai, many of the works in his collection are likely also to have been found in the *maṭam* libraries.¹⁶⁶

The *Tirikāla cakkaram* and the *Genealogia der malabarischen Götter*

There is one work in particular, of fundamental importance to Ziegenbalg’s account of Hinduism, which is closely linked to the traditions of the Śaiva *maṭams* and may well have been obtained by Ziegenbalg through his links with them. In the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* (BM 110), Ziegenbalg names this work as *Tirikāla cakkaram* and describes it as “a mathematical description of the seven underworlds and the seven worlds above, together with the fourteen seas which lie between the fourteen worlds. Likewise an account of their paradise, or Kailācam, which is the seat of Īcuvārī with many hundreds of thousands of idols.” He adds the remarkable claim that it is “virtually the basis of all other Malabarian books, since everything is based on the principles contained in it.” While the *Tirikāla cakkaram* is, to the best of our knowledge, unknown to the scholarship on Tamil literature¹⁶⁷ and is hardly the basis of all other Tamil books, it was formative in Ziegenbalg’s understanding of the Hindu pantheon, both in convincing him that Hindu theology—at its best—is essentially monotheistic, and in helping him structure his own account of the Hindu pantheon in his final work on Hinduism, the *Genealo-*

Kavirācapaṇṭitar’s Tamil version of the *Saundaryalaharī* (BM 84), is linked by Zvelebil to the *maṭams* as “centres of Sanskritization” (Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature* (HdO), 251).

¹⁶⁴ David Dean Shulman, *Tamil Temple Myths: Sacrifice and Divine Marriage in the South Indian Śaiva Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 32.

¹⁶⁵ Ebeling, *Colonizing the Realm of Words*, 60. Cutler notes that Mīṇāṭcicutaram Pillai “conducted classes on the Vaiṣṇava Kamparāmāyaṇam at Tiruvāṭuturai at the request of Cāminātaiyar and other senior pupils” (Norman Cutler, “Three Moments in the Genealogy of Tamil Literary Culture”, in *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, ed. Sheldon Pollock (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 279).

¹⁶⁶ The Institute of Asian Studies has published a catalogue of 1266 manuscripts kept at the Tiruvāṭuturai *maṭam* (Shu Hikosaka and G. John Samuel, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Palm-Leaf Manuscripts in Tamil*, vol. 3 (ed. A. Thasarathan) (Madras: Institute of Asian Studies, 1993)), and has also indexed 481 mss. at the Tarumapuram *maṭam*, but not yet published the catalogue.

¹⁶⁷ Jeyaraj mentions Ziegenbalg’s use of the work, but states that “This book is yet to be identified” (Jeyaraj, *Genealogy of the South Indian Deities*, 330). His account of Ziegenbalg’s use of it is discussed further below (43–44).

gia der malabarischen Götter. As Ziegenbalg writes in the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*, the *Tirikāla cakkaram* shows “the genealogy of the gods ... namely how all the other gods derive from the being of all beings, or the supreme God, and what their offices are, where their residence is, how long they live, how often each is incarnated, etc.” He adds:

I had intended to translate [the *Tirikāla cakkaram*], but nonetheless I found myself wondering whether this was altogether advisable, since many pointless speculations would be caused thereby, and keep [scholars in Europe] away from the things that are necessary. However, I leave it still to be determined, whether I might translate it into German or not, since I am now for this reason not really of one mind on it myself.

The importance of the *Tirikāla cakkaram* for Ziegenbalg’s conception of Hinduism has not been fully appreciated, in part because of the difficulty in identifying the text. The *Tirikāla cakkaram* is not an independent text, but a section of a work which appears under a separate heading as the next work in Ziegenbalg’s catalogue, the *Puvana cakkaram*.¹⁶⁸ In fact Ziegenbalg did provide an almost complete translation of the *Tirikāla cakkaram* in the second chapter of the second part of his *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, entitled “Of their calculation of years,” which Ziegenbalg attributes to “*Dirigālasākkarum* from p.1 to p.10.” (MH 189). Earlier in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum* he quotes what he takes to be an account of the creation, and attributes this to “*Dirugālasakkarum* ... vs. 11 seqq.” (MH 64–65). This passage, which is in fact—at least in the manuscript we consulted—the opening of the *Puvana cakkaram*, points to the real significance of the *Tirikāla cakkaram* and *Puvana cakkaram* for Ziegenbalg’s account of Hinduism.

The *Tirikāla cakkaram* culminates in a vision of Śiva as the supreme being, the transcendent, invisible, and unfathomable creator of all that exists. The *Puvana cakkaram* opens with an account of how from this supreme being the universe arises as the result of a process of differentiation which begins with the emergence of a single androgynous being, neither male nor female, but nevertheless beginning to unfold so that male and female elements are distinguishable within what remains a single entity. From these elements emerges the manifest form of

¹⁶⁸ There are a number of other cases where Ziegenbalg includes parts of larger works under separate headings in his catalogue, and in fact the relationship between these two works had already been noticed in an edition of Ziegenbalg’s catalogue prepared in 1731 by a later missionary Christoph Theodosius Walther. In this edition of the catalogue, there is an annotation, in a smaller hand, to the entry for the *Tirikāla cakkaram* which reads: “This book is inserted into the following one,” i.e., the *Puvana cakkaram* (Walther, *Bibliotheca Tamulica*, 53).

Śiva and then from Śiva, in turn, emerge Śakti and the five forms Sadāśiva, Maheśvara, Rudra, Viṣṇu and Brahmā. Quoting this account in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, Ziegenbalg comments that this is why “these heathens understand under the name Śiva both the supreme being and the highest God,” that is, both the unmanifest and the manifest forms of Śiva. The first part of the *Genealogia* is devoted to an explanation of this conception of Śiva’s unfolding. The second part deals with the five faces of Śiva which—according to Ziegenbalg—“signify the five great lords or gods, out of which they later make no more than three” (GMG 41r), i.e., Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Brahmā. Ziegenbalg here conflates five agents of Śiva—Brahman, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Maheśvara, and Sadāśiva (the Kāraṇeśvaras or lords of the five *kalās* “portions’ of the cosmos”¹⁶⁹)—with the more familiar *trimūrti* (or “Mummurtigöl,” in Ziegenbalg’s transcription of the Tamil *mum-mūrttikaḷ*). The third part of the *Genealogia* contains the account of village deities for which Ziegenbalg’s work is best known. With the exception of Aiyaṇār, these are all female and are said by Ziegenbalg to have their origin in the Śakti discussed in the first part of the *Genealogia* (GMG 128v). Although Ziegenbalg draws heavily on other sources for his account of these deities, his understanding of their position in the pantheon was thus drawn from the *Tirikāla cakkaram*. The fourth part of the *Genealogia* returns to follow the *Tirikāla cakkaram* more closely. It includes an account of the thirty-three crore devas, the forty-eight thousand ṛṣis, various celestial beings such as *Keṇanātar* (Sanskrit: *Gaṇanāthas*), *Kiṇṇarar* (*Kiṇṇaras*), and *Kimapurutar* (*Kiṃpurusas*), and finally the guardians of the eight directions. The attention paid to these mostly obscure denizens of Hindu cosmography is somewhat out of place in a work which is now cited, if at all, usually only for its ethnographic content.¹⁷⁰ Their place in the *Genealogia* is explicable only because of the account of them in the *Tirikāla cakkaram*, where they are mentioned in the calculation of the different lifespans of Rudra and the manifest form of Śiva.

The *Tirikāla cakkaram* and the Tiruvāṇṭūrai *maṭam*

The *Puvana cakkaram*, of which the *Tirikāla cakkaram* is a part, is a cosmographic work of a kind well-known in Sanskrit literature where it is more commonly titled *Bhuvanakośaḥ*. Although in modern times works of this sort have been published independently, it appears that they more commonly formed part of larger works, and served to establish the authority of the work by tracing a lineage back to Śiva.

¹⁶⁹ Richard H. Davis, *Ritual in an Oscillating Universe: Worshipping Śiva in Medieval India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 95.

¹⁷⁰ See, e.g., Isabelle Nabokov, *Religion Against the Self: An Ethnography of Tamil Rituals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 72.

In the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*, Ziegenbalg reports the provenance of the work as follows:

The secrets of this book were first revealed by Īcuvaraṇ himself to his wife Pārvatī. These were later revealed by her to Nantikēcuraṇ, who is Īcuvaraṇ's gatekeeper. He later made these secrets known to a great prophet called Tirumūla Tēvar. (BM 110)

According to *cittar* tradition, Tirumūlar, the early Śaiva mystic and author of the *Tirumantiram*, is said to have been the disciple of an alchemist named Nantikēcuraṇ.¹⁷¹ Tirumūlar is also closely connected to Tiruvāṇṭūṭurai, where he took physical form by entering the body of a cowherd and composed the *Tirumantiram*. It is, however, not clear that an ascription to this early Tirumūlar is intended in Ziegenbalg's account of the work.¹⁷² Zvelebil gives the briefest details of an undated Tirumūlatēvar,¹⁷³ ascribing to him three works: the *Tirumantiramālai*, *Tirumūlatēvar pātalkaḷ* and *Vālaippaṇcākkara viḷakkam*. *Tirumantiramālai* is in fact the full title of Tirumūlar's *Tirumantiram* and hence the distinction between the work which Zvelebil ascribes to Tirumūla Tēvar and Tirumūlar's own work is not clear. We have not been able to identify copies of the *Tirumūlatēvar pātalkaḷ* and *Vālaippaṇcākkara viḷakkam*, but the title of the latter suggests a work on the five-syllable *nama-civāya* mantra. There are a number of works of this kind, with different titles,¹⁷⁴ closely associated with the Tiruvāṇṭūṭurai *maṭam*. Whether Tirumūlar or Tirumūla Tēvar is intended, an association with Tiruvāṇṭūṭurai certainly cannot be ruled out.

Moreover, as noted above (35), Koppedrayar emphasizes the importance of the idea of a lineage, beginning on Mount Kailasa and transmitted through Nantikēcuraṇ, or Nantitēvar,¹⁷⁵ in the self-understanding of the Tiruvāṇṭūṭurai *maṭam*. She notes that when referring to themselves corporately: “the ascetics living in the matam at Tiruvavaturai ... use such phrases as the Tirukailai paramparai, the lineage [descending] from Mount Kailasa.”¹⁷⁶ Discussing the multiple accounts of

¹⁷¹ David Gordon White, *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 61.

¹⁷² There is still less reason to think that this work is as early as *Tirumantiram*; many later works were attributed to Tirumūlar.

¹⁷³ Zvelebil, *Lexicon*, s.v. Tirumūlatēvar.

¹⁷⁴ E.g., *Paṇcākkara taricaṇam*, *Paṇcākkara pakṛōṭai*, *Paṇcākkara parriya viḷakkam*, *Paṇcākkara mālai*.

¹⁷⁵ Ziegenbalg uses the form Nantikēcuraṇ, but the form Nantitēvar is also attested in a manuscript of the *Puvaṇa cakkaram* in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (GOML) in Chennai (TR-4231).

¹⁷⁶ Koppedrayar, “Sacred Presence”, 233.

the Tiruvāṇṭuturai kailasa paramparai, she notes that while they differ in their details “early references to the seminal figures simply cite Namaccivaya, Meykantar, and Nanti, yes, always Nanti on Mount Kailasa.”¹⁷⁷

While the catalogue of the Tiruvāṇṭuturai library does not list a copy of the *Puvana cakkaram*, there is one final piece of evidence suggesting a connection between works of this sort and the Tiruvāṇṭuturai *maṭam*. The catalogue of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library in Chennai records a copy of a work entitled *Puvana kōcam* which is clearly very similar in content to the *Puvana cakkaram*. The catalogue describes the work as “a treatise on cosmology as explained in the Śaiva Purāṇas,” and notes that it is part of a bundle purchased in 1938–39 from Sri Muttukkumārasvāmi Ōduvāmūrti of Tinnevely which includes also several of the works of Umāpati and “Ambalavāṇattamirānār of Tiruvāṇṭuturai maṭh.”¹⁷⁸

It is not our argument here that Ziegenbalg’s entire library was derived from the Śaiva *maṭams* at Tiruvāṇṭuturai and Tarumapuram. The lack of *any* explicit reference to the *maṭams* means there must be some doubt even about the evidence we have assembled above, most of which is circumstantial rather than direct. As noted, Ziegenbalg himself states that the scribes he sent inland purchased books from the Brahmin widows—although given the restrictions on his travel outside of Tranquebar, he cannot have known exactly the circumstances under which the books were procured. Given what Ebeling calls the “deeply personal” nature of Tamil manuscript culture, in assessing the sources of Ziegenbalg’s collection we should probably lay more weight on his more direct personal contacts with those who would have had access to manuscripts. Jeyaraj states that Aḷakappaṇ procured “several Tamil palm leaf manuscripts” for Ziegenbalg, but neither of the sources Jeyaraj cites indicate this, only that Aḷakappaṇ helped Ziegenbalg in *reading* Tamil books.¹⁷⁹ It is possible that Aḷakappaṇ also procured books, but we are not aware of any such claim in Ziegenbalg’s writings. The key figures are Ziegenbalg’s elderly Tamil tutor, his son Kaṇapati, and the *maṇiyakkāraṇ* called Kaḷiyapillai who may have been Kaṇapati’s father-in-law.

¹⁷⁷ Koppedrayar, “Sacred Presence”, 144.

¹⁷⁸ Syed Muhammad Fazlullah Sahib Bahadur and T. Chandrasekharan, *A Triennial Catalogue of Tamil Manuscripts Collected during the Trienniums 1934–35 to 1936–37, 1937–38 to 1939–40 and 1940–41 to 1942–43 for the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras*, vol. 8. Part 2, Tamil. (Madras: Government of Madras, 1949), 2238–52.

¹⁷⁹ Jeyaraj, *Genealogy of the South Indian Deities*, 17, citing HB 2: 82 and J. Ferd. [Johannes Ferdinand] Fenger, *Geschichte der Trankebarschen Mission nach den Quellen bearbeitet* (Grimma: Verlag von J.M. Gebhardt, 1845), 27f.

Ziegenbalg's library and his account of Hinduism

In his edition and in his translation of the *Genealogia*, Daniel Jeyaraj mentions many of the Tamil works used by Ziegenbalg, including the *Tirikāla cakkaram*.¹⁸⁰ Nevertheless in his account of Ziegenbalg's sources for the *Genealogia*, he gives more prominence to European works on India, and to other, more general, works on pagan mythology, than to Ziegenbalg's Tamil sources.¹⁸¹ Jeyaraj claims that "before his travel to Tranquebar, Ziegenbalg acquired one Latin and four German books about India."¹⁸² The works in question are Joannes Boëmus, *Omnium gentium mores, leges et ritus* (1562), Abraham Roger, *Offne Thür zu dem verborgenen Heydenthum* (1663), Baldaeus, *Beschreibung der ost-indischen Küsten Malabar und Coromandel* (1672), David Nerreter, *Der wunderwürdige Juden- und Heiden-Tempel* (1701), and Christoph Langhanß, *Neue Ost-Indische Reise* (1705). Jeyaraj cites Gita Dharampal-Frick, who in turn cites the printed 1714 catalogue of the mission's library.¹⁸³ This includes Boëmus, Nerreter, and Langhanß—as well as a further work by Christian Burckhardt, *Ost-Indianische Reise-Beschreibung* (1693), not noticed by Dharampal-Frick or Jeyaraj. As we have seen Ziegenbalg acknowledges having used Baldaeus, but there is no evidence that he knew Roger's work, except insofar as it is reproduced in Baldaeus and Nerreter. The catalogue makes no mention of Roger's *Offne Thür*, referring only to a Portuguese translation by Roger of a summary of Christian doctrine in dialogue form.¹⁸⁴ In the preface to

¹⁸⁰ Jeyaraj, *Ziegenbalgs "Genealogie"*, 286; Jeyaraj, *Genealogy of the South Indian Deities*, 255.

¹⁸¹ Jeyaraj begins his analysis of the Copenhagen ms. of the *Genealogia* with "Frühe europäische Werke über Indien" (*Ziegenbalgs "Genealogie"*, 270–76) and only later turns to "Ziegenbalgs Tamilstudium" (*Ibid.*, 280–90).

¹⁸² Jeyaraj, *Genealogy of the South Indian Deities*, 199.

¹⁸³ *Catalogo dos livros que se achão na bibliotheca da igreja chamada Jerusalem em Tranquebar* (Tranquebar: Na estampa dos Missionarios Reaes de Dennemarck, 1714). Dharampal-Frick writes: "Gewiß war Ziegenbalg bereits als Neuankömmling mit einem Teil der vorliegenden Literatur über Indien vertraut ... An Literatur mit thematischem Bezug auf Indien sind dort [in the 1714 catalogue] u.a. Werke von Roger, Baldaeus, Nerreter, Boemus und Langhanß (1705) aufgeführt" (*Indien im Spiegel deutscher Quellen der frühen Neuzeit (1500–1750): Studien zu einer interkulturellen Konstellation*, Frühe Neuzeit 18 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1994), 101–2).

¹⁸⁴ Abraham Roger, *Breviario de religião christão em maneira de dialogo pera ensino dos que tem contadide communion com a igreja de Deos. E justamenta passos de Sagrada Escritura que servem pera mostrar que a doutrina n'este breviario contenida esta conforme a Sancta Verdade pello R. P. Abrahamo Rogerio* (Amsterdam: dos erdeiros de P. Matthysz, 1689). The *Biographical Dictionary of the History of Dutch Protestantism* identifies this work as a translation, but not the author (Doede Nauta, ed., *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse protestantisme*, vol. 5 (Kampen: Kok, 2001), 433). The *Catalogo dos livros* identifies an edition published in Middelburg in 1662, but the earliest edition we have found (in the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek) is an edition published in Amsterdam in 1668.

his *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, Ziegenbalg states explicitly that he has at hand *only* Baldaeus and Nerreter, and the only European work on Hinduism which we know for sure to have been available to Ziegenbalg in his first years in India—the years which were decisive for forming his view of Hinduism—is Baldaeus. Moreover while Ziegenbalg mentions, in his *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, that he had read Baldaeus as early as 1706—and, later, Nerreter too—he stresses there that his work is independent of theirs and that he has relied primarily on his reading of Tamil texts (MH 14–15). Nevertheless Baldaeus is identified by Jeyaraj as the source of Ziegenbalg’s belief that the Tamils recognize a single supreme being.¹⁸⁵ The discussion above of Ziegenbalg’s dependence on the *Tirikāla cakkaram*—a work which, it should be recalled, he describes as “virtually the basis of all other Malabarian books” and showing “the genealogy of the gods”—demonstrates that in fact he derives this idea from the vision of the supreme being which the *Tirikāla cakkaram* culminates and the *Puvana cakkaram* begins.

Jeyaraj further suggests Ziegenbalg may have taken the idea of a “genealogy of the gods” itself from Giovanni Boccaccio’s fourteenth-century *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium*,¹⁸⁶ and that the table at the head of Ziegenbalg’s *Genealogia*, which structures the work in four parts, may follow a model suggested by Benjamin Hederich in a work on universal history which included an account of Greco-Roman mythology.¹⁸⁷ Not only is there not a scrap of evidence that Ziegenbalg knew Hederich’s work, which appears neither in his writings nor in the catalogue of the mission library, but the idea of a genealogy (“Geschlechts-register”) of the gods is already present in Ziegenbalg’s account of the *Tirikāla cakkaram* in the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*, which was written in 1708, the year before the publication of Hederich’s book. The idea of a genealogy of the gods is as old as Hesiod, and while Boccaccio’s work may well have been at the back of Ziegenbalg’s mind there ought to be no doubt that the structure of his *Genealogia der malabarischen Götter* is taken directly from the *Tirikāla cakkaram*, and that his discovery of Hindu monotheism was the result of his study of this and other Tamil texts.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ Ziegenbalgs “Genealogie”, 275; *Genealogy of the South Indian Deities*, 199.

¹⁸⁶ Ziegenbalgs “Genealogie”, 232; *Genealogy of the South Indian Deities*, 200.

¹⁸⁷ Ziegenbalgs “Genealogie”, 278–79; *Genealogy of the South Indian Deities*, 201–2.

¹⁸⁸ For discussion of other texts important for Ziegenbalg’s account of Hinduism, notably those of the *cittar*, see Will Sweetman, “The Prehistory of Orientalism: Colonialism and the Textual Basis for Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg’s Account of Hinduism”, *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 6, no. 2 (2004): 12–38.

A note on the format of the edition

The text of this edition reproduces the German text of the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* published by Germann in 1880. Germann's edition is not easily accessible and is printed in a blackletter typeface which is difficult to read. Where Germann's text differs significantly from that in the other manuscripts, this has been noted. In the translation which follows, we attempt to stay closer to Ziegenbalg's German than does Gaur in her translation, and we translate the full text. Ziegenbalg's transliteration of Tamil words and the titles of the texts is retained in the reprinted German text; the translation provides a transliteration which follows the most widely used conventions. In cases where no manuscript or published edition of the work in question has been identified, and the transliteration is therefore to some degree speculative, this has been indicated by an asterisk preceding the title of the work.

The translation is augmented by annotations which attempt identification of the work in question, comment on Ziegenbalg's characterisation of it, and summarise his use of the work and any further account he gives of the work in his other writings. Where two or more closely related works are listed together, the annotation follows the last work.

Where the work has been published, details of editions have been provided following the annotation. In identifying editions of works published many times we have tried to strike a balance between noting significant historical editions, accessibility, and quality of the published edition, but in many cases—particularly major works of Tamil literature—other editions could have been cited. Where translations into European languages exist, works which include full or substantial translations have been cited. Here the choice of works has been much more limited. Where translations into several languages exist, preference has been given to those into English. Where multiple translations into English exist, we have for the most part relied on the judgments of others in choosing to cite a particular translation. No systematic attempt has been made to cite other critical works on each of the texts in Ziegenbalg's collection except where these have been relied on in the annotations. References to these works are thus confined to the footnotes, rather than following the editions and translations cited in the main text.

The marginal references (BM) indicate the numbering provided by Germann in his edition. Where Ziegenbalg's entry is very short, only a single marginal reference is provided, but because in some cases his entry extends over more than one page, marginal references are typically provided for both the German text and the English translation.

Bibliotheca Malabarica: text and translation

Tolkabiam, worinnen die ganze malabarische *Poesie* enthalten ist nebst unterschiedlichen Wissenschaften, so diejenigen vonnöthen haben, die da in solcher weitläufigen Sprache recht mächtig und erfahren seyn wollen. Es ist das allergrößte Buch unter allen andern Büchern und auch das allerschwerste. Wer dieses wohl gelernt hat, wird unter den malabarischen Gelehrten für ein guter *Poet pas-siret*. Sie haben aber eben so viel Kopfsbrechen darinnin, als wie die europäischen *Philosophi* über des *Aristotelis* Schriften haben möchten. Der Autor, der es verfertiget, heißet *Tolkabiam* und ist ein König gewesen unter einer Art Volk, die die Malabaren *Schammaner* nennen und für Heiden halten. Wie denn alle dergleichen gelehrte Bücher von selbigen Heiden unter die Malabaren wollen keine Heiden heißen, sondern ein Volk, das da die uralte wahre Religion hätte. Das Alter dieses Buches ist nach Aussage der malabarischen *Poeten* über 1,000 Jahr. Es sind lauter *Praecepta*, Regeln und Exempel darinnen enthalten. Um einmal durch zu lesen sollte wohl ein Monat zugebracht werden, geschweige wenn man solches auswendig lernen sollte.

BM
I

Tolkāppiyam, which contains the whole of Malabarian poetics as well as the different arts required by those who wish to have a real command of, and familiarity with, this extensive language. It is the greatest book among all other books, and also the very hardest. Whoever has studied this book well may pass for a good poet among the Malabarian learned. They rack their brains over it just as much as the European philosophers do over the works of Aristotle. The author who composed it was called *Tolkāppiyam* and was a king among a sort of people whom the Malabarians call *camanar*, and regard as heathen. All similar scholarly books among the Malabarians in the same way have come from these same heathen. The

BM
I

Malabarians will not have it that they themselves are heathen, but rather a people who have the ancient true religion. According to the statements of the Malabarian poets, the age of this book is above one thousand years. Many precepts, rules and examples are contained therein. To read through it once could well take a month, to say nothing of learning it by heart.

Tolkāppiyam is probably the earliest Tamil work still extant, but the questions of both date and authorship are complicated by the different layers within the text. Nevertheless, few would dispute Ziegenbalg's dating of the text as above one thousand years old. Throughout his writings, Ziegenbalg consistently used the term *camaṇar* to refer to the Jains. There is some evidence for thinking that Tolkāppiyam, about whom little is known, was indeed a Jain, if not a king. An annotation to the *Malabarische Correspondenz* (HB 7: 412) repeats some of these details and adds "There are now very few among the poets and schoolmasters who properly understand this book and still fewer who can teach it."

Tolkāppiya Muṇivarāl iyarrappaṭṭa Tolkāppiyam, ed. Ci Kaṇṇēcaiyar (Cuṇṇākam: Tirumakaḷ Aluttakam, 1937–38)

Tolkāppiyam in English: translation, with the Tamil text, transliteration in the roman script, introduction, glossary, and illustrations, ed. V. Murugan and G. John Samuel (Chennai: Institute of Asian Studies, 2001)

- BM 2 *Karigei*, darinnen sechzehnerlei Art *Verse* gezeigt werden, wie man nämlich nach der Kunst, und nach ihren Grammatikalischen *Praeceptis* in *Versen* variiren könne, so daß ihre *Verse* zu singen unterschiedliche *Melodien* heraus kommen, eben als wie es in unsern Liedern zu geschehen pfeget. Der *Autor* dieses Buches ist *Ammada Sagarer*, welcher vor 6 hundert und etliche fünfzig Jahr gelebet und solches Buch verfertiget hat. Er soll ein Einsiedler gewesen seyn, und dergleichen Wissenschaft von einem großen Propheten gelernet haben, der da in einem Berg sich aufhält und annoch mit etlichen Tausend Propheten am Leben seyn soll. Es wird von diesem heiligen Manne Namens *Agastien* erzählt, daß er einstmals alle sieben Meer ausgetrunken und wieder durch den Urin von sich gegeben habe. Deswegen sagen die Malabaren, daß das Meer salzig wäre. Der Berg, darinnen sich solcher Prophet aufhält, heißt *Bodiamamalei* und ist 15 Tagereisen weit von hier gelegen. Dieses Buch *Karigei* ist erstlich von dem *Autor* in *Versen* geschrieben worden, nachmals hat es ein andrer erkläret, so, daß unter einem jedweden *Verse* die Erklärung zu finden ist. Jedoch ist es gleichfalls unter den malabarischen Bücher eines von den schwersten Büchern und wird allein bei den *Poeten* gefunden.

Kārikai, in which sixteen types of verse are demonstrated, that is, how the verses may be varied, artistically and according to their grammatical precepts, to bring out the different melodies for singing their verse, just as we do with our songs. The author of this book is Amitacākarar, who lived some 650 years ago and composed this book. He is supposed to have been a hermit, and to have learned this art from a great prophet who lives in a mountain, and is supposed still to be alive along with several thousand prophets. It is said of this holy man named Akattiyaṇ that once he drank up all seven seas, and then returned them through his urine. It is for this reason, say the Malabarians, that the sea is salty. The mountain in which this prophet lives is called Potiyamāmalai and lies fifteen days' journey from here. This book *Kārikai* was first written by the author in verse, and later explained by another so that a commentary is to be found beneath each verse. Nevertheless, among the Malabarian books, it is also one of the hardest books, and is only found among the poets. BM 2

Ziegenbalg's dating of Amitacākarar's *Yāpparūṅkala kārikai* is in accordance with that of Niklas, namely the second half of the tenth century. The commentator mentioned, but not named, by Ziegenbalg is Kuṇacākarar. Tamil tradition ascribes the first grammar of Tamil to Akattiyaṇ.¹

Yāpparūṅkala-k-kārikai mūlamum Kuṇacākarar iyaṛṛiya uraiyum, ed. Na. Mu. Vēṅkaṭa-cāmi nāṭṭār (Tirunelvēli: Tirunelvēli Teṇṇintiya caivacittānta nūrpattippuk kaḷakam, 1940).

The Verses on the Precious Jewel Prosody composed by Amitacākarar with the commentary by Kuṇacākarar [Yāpparūṅkala-k-kārikai], ed. Ulrike Niklas (Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry, 1993).

Nannul, ein poetisches Buch, darinnen gezeiget wird, wie man mit den Buchstaben, Sylben und Wörtern in *Versen* procediren soll. Desgleichen auch, wie man eine *Materie* nach den Kunstregeln erweitern und amplificiren kann. Dieses Buch ist nicht eben groß, aber über die Maßen sehr schwer; sintemal nicht nur allein die *Materie* sehr verdrießlich, sondern auch die *Verse* sehr *intricat* sind. Wiewohl auch hierzu eine Erklärung vorhanden, welche mir von einem malabarischen Poeten versprochen worden, und im Kurzen zu empfangen gedenke. Der *Autor* heißt *Bawanandi* und ist ein berühmter Prophet gewesen, nach ihren Aussagen das Alter dieses Buches ist 750 Jahr. BM 3

¹ On the complex figure of Akattiyaṇ in Tamil sources see Zvelebil, *Companion Studies*, 235–49.

- BM 3 *Nannūl*, a poetic book in which it is shown how to use letters, syllables, and words in verse. Likewise too, how a matter can be elaborated and amplified according to the rules of art. This book is not particularly large, but hard beyond all measure. For not only is the subject matter irksome, but the verses too are very intricate. A commentary exists, however, which I have been promised by a Malabarian poet and expect to receive shortly. The author is called Pavaṇanti and was a famous prophet. According to their statements, the age of this book is 750 years.

As Ziegenbalg's gloss on the title indicates, Pavaṇanti's *Nannūl*, deals with only the first two of the traditional topics of Tamil grammar namely *eluttu* "letters" and *col* "words." Ziegenbalg's dating is somewhat earlier than that accepted by most modern scholars (early 13th century). The work was widely used and there are numerous commentaries.

Nannūl mūlamum Kūlaṅkaiṭṭampirāṇ uraiyum, ed. A. Tāmōtarāṇ (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1980).

Henry Bower, *Introduction to the Nannul: the Tamil Text and English Translation* (Madras: Christian Knowledge Society's Press, 1876).

- BM 4 *Diwagaram*, ein poetisches Buch, so da *copiam verborum* in sich fasset, und am allerersten von der Jugend in ihrem 8. oder 9. Jahre gelernet wird. Der *Autor* dieses Buchs heit *Diwagaram* und ist einer von der *Schammaner Nation* gewesen, die Malabaren halten ihn fr einen sehr hoch gelehrten Mann. Er ist vor 5 hundert und etliche 40 Jahren gestorben. Dieses Buch lernen allein diejenigen, so da wollen Gelehrte werden, oder doch solche Leute seyn, die mit Gelehrten umgehen und ihre gelehrte Sprache verstehen wollen. Die gemeinen Malabaren verstehen kein Wort aus selbigen oder doch ganz wenig.
- BM 4 *Tivākaram*, a poetic book containing *copiam verborum*, and studied by the youth at the earliest in their eighth or ninth year. The author of this book is called Tivākaraṇ and was one of the *camaṇar* nation; the Malabarians regard him as a very highly learned man. He died some five hundred and forty years ago. This book is studied only by those who wish to become scholars, or those who interact with scholars and wish to understand their language. The common Malabarians understand not a word of it, or at least very little.
- BM 5 *Negendu*, ein poetisches Buch, so gleichfalls *copiam verborum* in sich fasset, als wie *Diwagaram*, ist aber heirinnen von jenem unterschieden, weil es in lauter *Versen* bestehet, jenes aber nur in *Prosa* geschrieben ist. Der *Autor* dessen heit *Wiramandalawen* und hat zur Zeit *Diwagaram* gelebet, und aus der *Diwagaram* dieses Buch verfertiget.

Nikaṇṭu, a poetic book which like *Tivākaram* contains *copiam verborum* but differs from it in that it consists only of verses, while the other is written in prose. The author of it is called Vīramaṇṭalavaṇ and lived at the time of Tivākaraṇ and composed this book on the basis of *Tivākaram*. BM 5

Tivākaram is usually dated somewhat earlier (9th century) than Ziegenbalg allows and the *Cūṭāmaṇi nikaṇṭu* by Maṇṭala (or Vīramaṇṭala) puruṭar is not contemporary with it but a much later work (16th century). Moreover, *Tivākaram*, and the long series of Tamil *nikaṇṭu* works which follow its twelvefold structure, were all written in verse. Ziegenbalg's own dictionary of literary Tamil² was based on these works and compiled over a period of four months with the help of his Tamil scribes.

Tivākaram, ed. Mu. Caṇmukam Pillai and I. Cuntaramūrtti (Cennai: Cennai palkalai kaḷakam, 1990–93).

Maṇṭala puruṭariṇ cūṭāmaṇi nikaṇṭu: mūlamum uraiyum, ed. Ārumuka Nāvalar (Tirunelvēli: Tirunelvēli Teṇṇintiya caivacittānta nūrpattippuk kaḷakam, 1996).

Diruwaschagom, das ist, eine heilige Schrift, so da das malabarische Sittengesetz in sich fasset. Dieses Buch wird für sehr heilig gehalten, und zeigt, wie man Gott solle erkennen und anbeten, item wie man vor Gott und Menschen solle leben. Es ist in lauter *Versen* geschrieben und daher sehr schwer zu verstehen, zumal weil oftmals in einem *Verse* eine sehr weitläufige *Materie* verborgen lieget. Solches Buch ist sehr rar zu bekommen. Der *Autor* dessen heißt *Manikkawaschager*, der von Jugend auf ein heiliger Mann gewesen sein soll, daher sein Name sehr berühmt ist. Es ist mehr denn vor tausend Jahr geschrieben worden, und ist eines von den größten und besten. BM 6

Tiruvācakam, that is, a holy scripture, containing the Malabarian code of conduct. This book is regarded as very holy, and shows how God should be acknowledged and worshipped, likewise how one should live before God and man. It is written entirely in verse and therefore very hard to understand, especially since a very substantial amount of material often lies concealed in one verse. The book is very scarce, and difficult to obtain. The author of it is called Māṇikkavācakar, who BM 6

² A description of this dictionary, taken from the first section of the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* (AFSt/M 2 C 1), is printed in August Hermann Francke, *Herrn Bartholomäus Ziegenbalgs, Königl. Dänischen Missionarii in Trancebar, auf der Küste Coromandel, Ausführlicher Bericht, wie Er, nebst seinem Collegen Herrn Heinrich Plütscho Das Amt des Evangelii daselbst unter den Heyden und Christen führe: in einem Sendschreiben an einen Vornehmen Theologum unserer Evangelischen Kirchen ertheilet den 22. Aug. 1708* (Halle: in Verlegung des Wäysenhauses, 1710), 32–33.

is supposed to have been a holy man from his youth, therefore his name is very famous. It was written more than a thousand years ago, and is one of the best and greatest.

Māṇikkavācakar is the last of the *nālvar*, the four Śaiva saints. With *Tirukkōvaiyār*, another work ascribed to Māṇikkavācakar, which Ziegenbalg appears not to have known, *Tiruvācakam* forms the eighth book of the *Tirumurai*, the Śaiva canon. In his *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, Ziegenbalg quotes several times from *Tiruvācakam* each time giving only the title of the hymn and no indication that it forms part of the *Tiruvācakam*.³ In the *Genealogia* (GMG 30r), he gives a similar account of the book, and explains the meaning of Māṇikkavācakar's name.

Tiruvācakam: oppulla upaniṣat mantrāṇḍaḥ inaiṅṅaḥ perruḷḷaṇa, 3rd ed., ed. Swami Chidbhanananda (Tirupparāyṭṭurai: Śrī Rāmakirūṣṇa Tapōvaṇam, 1975).

Tiruvaachakam: Tamil text and English translation, trans. T. N. Ramachandran (Chennai: International Institute of Tamil Studies, 2001).

- BM 7 *Tiruwalluwer*, ein moralisches Buch in *Versen*, so der *Materie* nach des *Seneca* Schriften ganz ähnlich ist, und sehr hoch unter den Malabaren geschätzt wird; wie es denn auch eines mit von den gelehrtesten und erbaulichsten Büchern ist, die unter ihnen mögen gefunden werden. Es pflegen viele hohe Malabaren solches zu ihrem Handbuch zu erwählen. Dahero wenn sie mit einem *disputiren*, führen sie all Zeit einige *Verse* daraus zum Beweisthum ihrer Rede an. Wie denn dieses unter den gelehrten Malabaren ganz gebräuchlich, daß sie alle Sachen mit diesen und jenen *Versen* wissen zu *confirmiren* und zu *demonstriren*, welches für die größte Kunst unter ihnen gehalten wird. Dahero werden dergleichen Bücher von ihnen nicht nur allein gelesen, sondern alle auswendig gelernet: wie denn derjenige *Poet*, den ich im Hause habe, dieses Buch nebst sehr vielen andern schweren Büchern *accurat* auswendig zu sagen weiß, uneracht daß er blind ist. Der *Autor* dieses Buches ist *Tiruwalluwer*, so da ein vornehmer *Poet* gewesen auf demjenigen Orte, wo der heilige Apostel *Thomas* gelebet und das Evangelium gelehret hat. Nach Aussage der *Poeten*, soll dieses Buch schon über anderthalbtausend Jahr alt seyn. Die *Verse* sind sehr kurz und tiefsinnig, so daß man bey einem einzigen *Verse* weitläufige *Materie* zu reden hat. In großen Schulen pfleget dieses Buch nur tractiret zu werden, sintemahl es auch für Jugend als [sic: all] zu schwer seyn würde.

³ Ziegenbalg quotes twice from the first hymn, “Civa purāṇam: Civaṇ’s ways of old” (MH 111, quoting 1: 1–16 and MH 167, quoting *Tiruvācakam* 1: 26–31), once from the twenty-fourth hymn, “Aṭaikkalappattu: The refuge decad” (MH 67, quoting *Tiruvācakam* 24: 1–4), and once from the twenty-eighth, “Vālāppattu: No joy in life” (MH 40, quoting *Tiruvācakam* 28: 1–2).

Tiruvalluvar, a book of morality in verse, which in content is very similar to the writings of Seneca and is very highly esteemed among the Malabarians. It is indeed one of the most learned and edifying books to be found among them. Many high Malabarians take it as their handbook. Thus when they argue with someone, they continually quote verses from it in support of what they say. This is so common among the Malabarians that they are able to confirm and prove everything with this or that verse, which is taken by them to be the highest accomplishment. Therefore books like this are not only read by them, but rather entirely learned by heart. Thus the poet I have at home is able to recite this and very many other difficult books accurately from memory, notwithstanding that he is blind. The author of this book is Tiruvalluvar, who was a distinguished poet from that place where the holy apostle Thomas had lived and preached the Gospel. According to what the poets say, this book is supposed already to be more than one and a half thousand years old. The verses are very short and profound, so that much is to be said on a single verse. This book is taught only in higher schools since it would be too difficult even for youths. BM 7

Ziegenbalg's comments on Tiruvalluvar's *Tirukkural* and its place in Tamil culture are entirely apt and his dating is again close to that accepted by most scholars. He would not be the last European scholar to compare Tiruvalluvar's works with those of Seneca, but unlike others he does not extrapolate from the connection with Mylapore to speculate about Christian influence in *Tirukkural*.

Tirukkural of Tiruvalluvar: in roman transliteration; with English translation, ed. and trans. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar (Madras: Adyar Library, 1949).

Tiruvalluwerurei, das ist die Erklärung des *Tiruvalluwers* bestehende in zwey großen Bänden. Dieses Buch ist sehr rar und uneracht daß es eine Erklärung seyn soll, so kann es doch von Niemand anders, als nur von gelehrten Malabaren verstanden werden: sintemahl darinnen lauter poetische Wörter und Redensarten enthalten seyn. Der *Autor* dieser Erklärung ist *Natschinarkiniar* der da ein vornehmer *Poet* gewesen: so da alle intricate Verse hat erklären können. Er hat einige hundert Jahr nach *Tiruvalluwer* gelebet und annoch viele andere Bücher erklärt, so da sowohl nach ihrer Schriftart als auch nach ihren vortragenden *Materien* schwer zu verstehen seyn. BM 8

**Tiruvalluvarurai*, that is, a commentary on Tiruvalluvar in two large volumes. This book is very rare and although it is supposed to be a commentary, nevertheless it can be understood by no-one except the learned Malabarians since it BM 8

contains only poetic words and turns of speech. The author of this commentary is Naccinārkkiniyar who was a distinguished poet, able to explain every intricate verse. He lived several hundred years after Tiruvalluvar and explained many other books difficult to understand because of both their style and the material they present.

In his introduction to Kōpālakruṣṇamācārya's edition of *Tirukkuraḷ* with the commentary of Parimēlaḷakar, Vai. Mu. Caṭakōparāmānujācārya quotes an oral tradition listing Naccinārkkiniyar among ten commentators on *Tirukkuraḷ*, but no such work is known to be extant. The *Toṇṭaimaṇṭala catakam*, a work roughly contemporaneous with Ziegenbalg's catalogue, also lists ten commentators on *Tirukkuraḷ* but these do not include Naccinārkkiniyar.⁴ Parimēlaḷakar—who did comment on *Tirukkuraḷ*—is mentioned in Ziegenbalg's next entry, on *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*—which was commented on by Naccinārkkiniyar, mentioned here. It is possible that Ziegenbalg has simply transposed the names of these commentators.⁵

- BM 9 *Tschintamani*, ein sehr großes Buch in *Versen* nebst weitläufiger Erklärung, handelnd von allerley weltlichen *Historien*, von Gleichnissen, von vielfältigen Begebenheiten der Gelehrten und Ungelehrten, von allerley weltlichen Wissenschaften und dergleichen. Es kann von Niemand, als nur von denen Gelehrten verstanden werden; der erste *Autor*, so die *Verse* gemacht hat, heißt *Dirudakkamamuni*, so da unter den *Schammaner* ein berühmter Einsiedler gewesen, und dieses Buch in Kupfer geschrieben hat. Dahero sagen auch die *Malabaren*, daß solches eines von den ältesten Büchern wäre, und daß der *Autor* dessen annoch am Leben seyn sollte, sich aufhaltend in dem Berg *Bodiamamalei* genannt nebst annoch andern 13 Propheten, so da niemals sterben können. Der andre *Autor* aber, so da die Erklärung zu den *Versen* gemacht hat, heißt *Barimelarager*, so da ein guter *Poet* gewesen ist. Die Malabarischen *Poeten* sagen, daß so oft als er ein Capitel mit der Erklärung verfertigt habe, so oft sey der Abgott *Ispiren* zu ihm gekommen und habe ihm eine güldene Kokonuß verehrt. Deßwegen halten auch die *Poeten* sehr viel von diesem Buche, unerachtet daß sie viel Kopfbrechens darinnen haben müssen.

- BM 9 *Cintāmaṇi*, a very large book in verse together with extensive commentary dealing with all kinds of worldly stories, parables, various occurrences among the learned and unlearned, all kinds of worldly sciences and the like. It can be understood by no-one except the learned. The first author, who wrote the verses, was called

⁴ François Gros, "Cinq fois cinq vint-cinq: Autour des commentaires du Livre de l'Amour de Tiruvalluvar", in *Genres littéraires en Inde*, ed. Nalini Balbir (Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1994), 350.

⁵ We are grateful to Eva Wilden for this suggestion.

Tiruttakkamāmuni and was a famous hermit among the *camaṇar*. He wrote this book on copper [plates]. For this reason the Malabarians go so far as to say that this must be one of the oldest books, and that the author of it is supposed still to be living, residing in the mountain called Potiyirmalai together with another thirteen prophets who can never die. The second author, however, who composed the commentary on the verses, is called Parimēlaḷakar and was a good poet. The Malabarian poets say that whenever he completed the commentary on a chapter the idol Īcuvaraṇ came to him and honoured him with a golden coconut. Therefore the poets to have a great regard for this book, even though they find a great deal in it which causes them to rack their brains.

Tiruttakkaṭēvar's *Civakacintāmaṇi* is the only one of the early Tamil epics to be mentioned by Ziegenbalg. Given the erotic nature of some of its content, it seems unlikely that Ziegenbalg had read much of it at the time he wrote the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*, for he rarely misses an opportunity to comment unfavourably on works he regarded as indecent. He does not quote or refer to *Civakacintāmaṇi* in any of his later writings and in fact—with the exception of *Tiruvācakam*—rarely quotes from any of the earlier Tamil works he possessed.

Tiruttakkaṭēvariyaṇṇiya Civakacintāmaṇi mūlamum Naccinārkkinīyaruraiyum, ed. U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar (Taṇcāvūr: Tamiḻ Palkalaik Kaḷakam Veḷiyīṭu, 1986).

James D. Ryan, *Civakacintāmaṇi: the Hero Cīvakan, the Gem that Fulfills All Wishes; Verses 1–1165* (Fremont: Jain Publications, 2005).

Paradum, ein großes Buch von sehr schweren *Versen*, welche die Malabaren *wirud-* BM
dum nennen. Darinnen ist die ganze *Historie* des Abgotts *Kischtnums* enthalten, IO
welche dem Leser sehr gelehrt und angenehm vorgestellt wird. Die *Verse* pflegen nach dem drittel Tact in einer sehr hoffärtigen Melodie gesungen zu werden. Der *Autor* dieses Buchs heißt *Willi puddur alwar*, so da ein *Poet* gewesen, der allein über die Abgötter *Verse* gemacht hat, und niemals über einigen König oder andere Personen *Verse* machen wollen. Dieses Buch ist zwar sehr schwer, aber gleichwohl in seinen künstlichen *Versen* sehr leiblich anzuhören. Die *Verse* bestehen in sechstausend Liedern.

Pāratam, a large book of very difficult verses, which the Malabarians call *virut-* BM
tam. It contains the full story of the idol Kuruṣṇaṇ, presented to the reader as very IO
learned and pleasant. The verses are sung in triple time to a very jaunty melody. The author of this book was called Villiputtūr Ālvār, he was a poet who only wrote verses on the idols and never wished to write verses on kings or other people. Al-

though this book is very hard, at the same time its fine verses are very charming to listen to. The verses consist of six thousand songs.

The extant editions of Villiputtūr Ālvār's *Pāratam*, a Tamil version of the *Mahābhārata*, include only some 4,300 verses, but Zvelebil notes that according to an ancient verse, Villiputtūr composed 6,000 stanzas, adding that the "main attraction of this work is the musical rhythm in which its verses, chiefly *viruttam*, are composed."⁶ Ziegenbalg also lists separately the *Kiruṣṇaṇ tūtu* (BM 70), an episode from the Uṭṭiyōka paruvam of Villiputtūr's *Pāratam*, and a work he calls *Arccuṇaṇ tavacu nilai* (BM 114), which is based on an episode in the Āraṇiya paruvam.

Villiputtūrār iyarriya Makāpāratam, ed. Vai. Mu. Kōpāla Kiruṣṇamācāryar, 10 vols. (Ceṇṇai: Vai. Mu. Kōpālakiruṣṇamācāriyar Kampeṇi, 1960–68).

- BM *Paradaurei*. Erklärung des *Paradums*, so aus den *Versen* von Worte zu Worte in
 11 das gemeine Malabarisch ist übersetzt worden. Die *Historie* hanget zwar in ihrer *Connexion* ganz richtig zusammen, aber hält sehr große Ungereimtheiten in sich. Ich habe es von Anfang bis zum Ende durchgelesen, und sehr viele *vocabula* und schöne Redensarten daraus gezogen. Der *Autor* dieser Erklärung ist ein *Bramaner* gewesen, so da eine Tochter gehabt, die da das Buch *Paradum* genannt in seinen *Versen* zwar lesen aber nicht wohl verstehen können; dahero soll sie den Vater gebeten haben, daß er ihr die *Verse* in das gemeine Malabarische übersetzen möchte, welches er auch gethan; so da in ganz kurzer Zeit geschehen sein soll.
- BM **Pārata urai*. Commentary on *Pārata* which translates the verses word for word
 11 into common Malabarian. The stories are connected to one another quite well, but they contain very great absurdities. I have read through it from beginning to end, and taken from it very many words and pleasing expressions. The author of this commentary was a Brahmin who had a daughter. As she could read the verses of the book *Pāratam* but not properly understand them, she is supposed to have asked her father to translate the verses into common Malabarian, which he did. This is supposed to have happened quite recently.

Gaur suggests that this "could be the amplified adaptation of Villiputtūrār's *Bhāratam* written by Madalambēḍu Nallā Pillai, who lived approximately at the same time as Ziegenbalg."⁷ Nallāpillai's *Makāpāratam* includes verses from Villiputtūrār's *Pāratam* and extends

⁶ Zvelebil, *Lexicon*, 798.

⁷ Gaur, "Ziegenbalg's *Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Bücher*", 70. Zvelebil notes "it seems that [Nallāpillai] was working on his version between 1732–1744" (*Tamil Literature* (HdO), 252).

it to the full eighteen *parvams* but is not really a commentary and unlikely to have been referred to as an *urai*. Nallāpillai's work is also in *viruttam* metre and it therefore seems more likely that Ziegenbalg is referring to another work, perhaps, given his reference to "common" Tamil, a folk version.

Kandaburanaurei. Erklärung des *Kandaburanums*, so da zwölftausend Lieder in schweren *Versen* in sich fasset, aber von mir noch nicht hat können erlanget werden, ohne nur allein deren Erklärung, so gleichfalls sehr lang und weitläufig ist, in sich fassend die *Historie* eines Königes, so 2,000 Jahr in der Wüsten strenge Buße gethan hat, und deswegen von Gott die Gewalt bekommen über alle vierzehn Welten, als ein *Souverainer* König zu herrschen und regieren. Nachmahls aber sey er hoffärtig und Gottabfällig worden, so daß Gott selbst mit ihm Krieg führen müssen. Da denn auf beiden Seiten ein solches großes Krieges-Heer gewesen, daß durch deren *Marschiren* alle sieben Meer vom Staube eingetrocknet sind, ihre Höhe soll bis an die Sterne gereicht haben. Zu Schleudersteinen haben sie sich der größten Berge bedienet und was dergleichen hoffärtige Vortstellungen mehr sind. Ich kann bezeugen, daß ich meine Tage keine handgreiflichere Lügen in so schöner Zusammenhängung und zierlichem *Stilo* gehöret oder gelesen habe, als darinnen anzutreffen sind, ich habe auch die allerbesten *Phrasen* daraus gezogen. Erstlich ist diese *Historie* in Malabarisch *Latein* geschrieben worden, so da der hohe Mann *Agastier* dictiret hat, welches vor 6 tausend Jahren geschehen seyn soll. Nachmals ist es in Malabarische *Verse* von einem *Bramanen* gesetzt und endlich ins gemeine Malabarische *Verse* versetzt worden. Es kommen viel hundert Personen der Abgötter darinnen vor, so da in dergleichen großen Kriege mit *impliciret* gewesen sind. Uneracht aber daß es eines mit von den ältesten Malabarischen Büchern ist, so bekennen doch viele Malabaren, daß nicht alles zu glauben darinnen wäre; jedoch die meisten sprechen, weil es in den vorigen Weltzeiten geschehen, so könne es wohl gläublich sein, indem dazumal ganz andere Menschen gewesen, nicht wissende, daß eben der *Autor* desto größere Freiheit zu lügen gehabt, weil er vorgegeben, als sey es in den vorigen Welten geschehen, da denn Niemand nach fragen kann, und er beweiset auch nicht das Geringste, sondern bleibt nur in der historischen Erzählung; solchergestalt haben sich die armen Malabaren auf viel tausendfältige Art von ihren klugen *Poeten* betrügen und verführen lassen bis auf heutigen Tag. BM
I 2

Kanta purāṇam urai. Commentary on the *Kanta purāṇam*, which consists of twelve thousand songs in difficult verses, but which I have not yet been able to obtain, except only for the commentary on it which is likewise very long and wide-ranging. It contains the story of a king who did severe penance in the desert BM
I 2

for two thousand years and therefore received from God power over all fourteen worlds, to rule and to reign as a sovereign king. Later however, he became haughty and dismissive of God, so that God himself had to go to war against him. The forces on both sides were so great that their marching dried up all seven seas, and their height is supposed to have reached the stars. For slingshot stones they used the largest mountains and more exaggerated fancies of this kind. I swear that in all my days I have never heard or read such palpable lies in so fine a framework and such a delicate style as are to be met here, and I have also taken the very best phrases from it. This story was first written in Malabarian Latin, as the great man Akattiyaṇ had dictated it, which is supposed to have happened six thousand years ago. After this it was set down in Malabarian verse by a Brahmin and then finally rewritten in common Malabarian verse. Hundreds of different identities of the idols appear within, as having been involved in the same great war. However, notwithstanding that it is one of the oldest Malabarian books, many Malabarians do acknowledge that not everything within it is to be believed. Still the majority say that since it took place in the previous age of the world, it could well be plausible as at that time there were quite different people, not realising that the author's freedom to lie is that much greater since he pretended that it happened in the former world, so that no-one may check what he says. Moreover he does not prove even the smallest thing but simply continues to relate a historical tale. In this way the poor Malabarians have been deceived in many thousands of ways by their cunning poets, and to this day let themselves be led astray.

There are several extant commentaries on the *Kanta purāṇam* but none is old enough to have been known by Ziegenbalg. He seems later to have acquired a copy of the *Kanta purāṇam* itself, as he quotes from it several times.⁸

- BM *Aritschandiren kadei*. Eine Historie eines Königes Namens *Aritschandiren*. Von
 13 selbigem wird erzählt, daß er niemals einige Lügen gesaget. Einstmals sey ein Prophet zu ihm gekommen mit einen Tanzmädchen; als dann nun dieser König an deren Tanzen ein sehr großes Wohlgefallen gehabt, so fraget er den Propheten, was er wohl von ihm verlangte, dieser bittet denn ein zulängliches Vermögen zu einem sehr kostbaren Opfer, verlangte es aber nicht zu nehmen, als bis er wieder komme. Nachdem denn nun dieser wieder kommt, so ist das verlangte Opfergeld nebst den verstandenen Zinsen so groß, als das ganze Königreich. Weil aber der König niemals eine Lüge geredet, so wollte er auch diesmal nicht lügen erfunden werden, und giebt ihm also sein ganzes Königreich und wird noch mit seinem

⁸ See below, 132.

Weibe und Kindern für einen Slaven verkauft. Da aber nach langwieriger Prüfung seiner Geduld endlich Gott selbst ist zu ihm gekommen und ihn mit seinem Weibe sichtbar gen Himmel genommen. Diese *Historie* ist in sehr fließenden *Versen* geschrieben, und wird von den Malabaren sehr werth gehalten. Dieser König *Aritschandiren* soll 2,000 Jahr regiert haben. Bey Anfang dieser Weltzeit, davon nunmehr schon fünftausend Jahr verflossen: sein Reich soll sich über die ganze Welt erstreckt haben.

Ariccantiraṇ katai. The story of a king named Ariccantiraṇ. It was said of him that he never told a lie. Once a prophet came to him with a dancing girl; since her dancing pleased the king so much, he asked the prophet what he wanted from him. He requested a considerable fortune, amounting to very costly sacrifice, but asked not to take it until he returned again. When he returned, the financial sacrifice together with the outstanding interest was so great that it equalled the whole kingdom. Since, however, the king never told a lie, he did not want to be found in a lie this time, and therefore gave him his whole kingdom, and even sold himself as a slave, together with his wife and children. However after extended trial of his patience, finally God himself came to him and took him to heaven with his wife. This story is written in very fluent verses, and is highly valued by the Malabarians. This king Ariccantiraṇ is supposed to have reigned for two thousand years. Since the beginning of the world until now, five thousand years have already passed. His kingdom is supposed to have extended over the whole world. BM 13

Hariścandra appears in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* but most influentially in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*. There are many later retellings of the story of Ariccantiraṇ/Hariścandra in both Tamil and Sanskrit literature, including folk versions in Tamil. Ziegenbalg gives a long summary of the story in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, and a shorter one in the *Genealogia*.

Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Veṅkiṭācala Mutaliyār, *Ariccantiramakārāṇ katai*, 2nd ed. (Ceṇṇai: Maṇṇmaṇivilāca Accukkūṭam, 1882).

Aritschandira Puranum. Dieses Buch fasset in sich die ganze Regierung des Königes *Aritschandiren* und der Tugenden, die er ausgeübet. Es ist aber in der Schreibart von jenem unterschieden, und weit schwerer zu verstehen, indem es eine sehr schwere Versart in sich fasset, welche *wiruddum* genennet wird. Ich habe den *Autor* noch nicht erfahren können, weder von diesem noch von jenem Buch, ohne daß ich gehöret, daß sie beide von zwei wohlerfahrenen *Poeten* sollen verfertigt worden seyn. BM 14

Sie werden wegen ihrer Moralität und zierlichen Versart allenthalben in Schulen gelesen und auswendig gelernt.

- BM 14 *Ariccantiraṇ purāṇam*. This book comprises the whole reign of king Ariccantiraṇ and the virtues which he practiced. It is different from the other in its style, and much harder to understand, for it uses a very difficult type of verse, which is called *viruttam*. I have not been able to find out the author of either this book or the other, I have only heard that both are supposed to have been written by two accomplished poets. Because of their morality and elegant style they are studied in schools everywhere and learned by heart.

A sixteenth-century work by Viraikkavirāyar (or Nallūr Vīrai Ācukavirāyar), based on an earlier Tamil work, the *Ariccantiraṇ venpā*.

Ariccantira purāṇam: mūlamum uraiyūm (Tirunelvēli: Tirunelvēli Teṇṇintiya Caivacitānta Nūrpattippuk Kaḷakam, 1976).

- BM 15 *Wetalakadei*. Das ist eine weitläufige *Historie* eines großen Teufels *Wetalam* genannt, so da bei einem Malabarischen Könige gedienet Namens *Wikkiramātitan* und sehr viele lustige Künste ausgeübet. Die *Verse* sind sehr wohl, aber die *Materie* kommt sehr abgeschmackt heraus. Denn der Teufel *Wetalam* soll erstlich Gottes Priester seyn gewesen in der andern Welt. Als denn nun die Göttin *Parwadi* einstmals mit dem Abgott *Ispuren* etwas absonderliches zu reden hatte, so versteckte sich dieser Priester und hörte nicht nur allein dasselbige Geheimniß, sondern brachte es auch aus unter andere, so daß deswegen *Ispuren* erzürnet wurde und ihn verfluchte, da sey er denn nachmals ein Teufel worden, auf die Welt gekommen und habe daselbst Possen getrieben.

- BM 15 *Vētāla katai*. This is a lengthy story of a great devil named Vētāḷam who served a Malabarian king named Vikkiramātittan and got up to many amusing stunts. The verses are very good, but the content turns out to be in very bad taste. For the devil Vētāḷam is originally supposed to have been God's priest in the other world. Then once when the goddess Pārvatī had something special to say to the idol Īcuvaraṇ, this priest concealed himself and not only listened to the secret but spread it among others, so that Īcuvaraṇ was enraged and cursed him so that afterwards he became a devil, came to the world and there played tricks.

The *Vētāla katai* is a section of the Tamil version of the popular Sanskrit collection of stories known as the *Vikramacarita*. The numerous Tamil versions of this collection appear under

different titles, but most often as *Muppattiraṇṭupatumai katai* or *Vikkiramātittan katai*.⁹ The latter title appears in Walther's 1731 catalogue and was also known to the eighteenth-century Jesuit missionaries who sent manuscript copies on paper and palmleaves to Paris in 1729 and 1730.¹⁰ Zvelebil describes the *Muppattiraṇṭupatumai katai* as "one of the most interesting collections of narratives ever composed in Hindu India,"¹¹ in part because of its use of emboxed or nested narratives on several levels. The *Muppattiraṇṭupatumai katai* consists of thirty-two tales told by the statuettes on the steps to Vikkiramātittan's throne when it is found by Pōjarājan (King Bhoja). One of the statues recounts the story of a *vētāḷa* caught by Vikkiramātittan and forced to serve him. Ziegenbalg's text probably included this story, and the emboxed set of twenty-four stories told by the *vētāḷa*. There are several published versions of the story but these date from the nineteenth century.

Kōkulāpuram Aruṇācala Mutaliyār, *Muppattiraṇṭupatumaikatai* (Ceṇṇai: Irattiṇa Mutaliyār aṇṭu Saṇ, 1882).

Aru. Rāmanātaṇ, ed., *Vikkiramātittan kataikal*, 3rd ed. (Ceṇṇai: Piremā piracuram, 1966).

V. A. K. Aiyar, *Stories of Vikramaditya (Simhasana dwatrimśika)* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1960).

Balagnana Tschori, ein Buch von unterschiedlichen heiligen Handlungen der See- BM
len, darinnen viele *Ceremonien* enthalten sind, so die Malabaren außer den *Pa-* 16
goden und in den *Pagoden* gebrauchen, nebst vielen Anrufungen der Abgötter, weisende auf ein sehr strenges und eingezogenes Leben, dahero als vor weniger Zeit ein Malabar allhier in *Tranquebar* solches Buch zu Händen bekommen und sich allzusehr darinnen vertieft hat, verließ er sein Haus, Weib und Kinder und ging in die Wildniß, darinnen den Göttern zu dienen. Als ich dann nun einstmals zwei von meinen malabarischen Schreibern ins Land schickete, um mir malabari-sche Bücher zu kaufen, so treffen sie eben diesen Mann an, dieses Buch habende unter seinen Armen: da ers denn endlich auf große Bitte diesen gegeben hat, be-zeigende, daß es ihn reute die Seinigen verlassen und dergleichen Leben erwählet zu haben.

**Palañāṇa cuvaṭi*, a book of various holy acts of the soul, containing many cer- BM
emonies which the Malabarians perform both within and without the pagodas, 16
together with many invocations of the idols, recommending a very strict and aus-tere life. Thus a short time ago this book fell into the hands of a Malabarian here in Tranquebar who immersed himself in it to such an extent that he abandoned his

⁹ Kamil V. Zvelebil, "The Tamil Vikramāditya", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117, no. 2 (1997): 294–305.

¹⁰ Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, 2: 839, 1188.

¹¹ Zvelebil, "Tamil Vikramāditya", 301.

house, wife and children and went off into the wilderness to serve the gods. Once when I sent two of my Malabarian scribes into the countryside to buy Malabarian books for me, they came across this very man, with this book tucked under his arm. After much pleading, he finally parted with it, admitting that he regretted leaving all that was his and having chosen this sort of life.

This work is not immediately identifiable. As the title is given in Ziegenbalg's own transcription from Tamil ("Balagnana Tschori") it can be taken to mean either a book of old wisdom (taking the prefix as *pala*, "old") or a collection of wisdom (taking the prefix as *pala*, "various," cf. *Pala kavi cuvaṭi* BM 118).¹² Ziegenbalg's entries often begin with a loose translation of the title, which would here support the second reading. Walther's 1731 catalogue, which gives titles in Tamil script, also has *palañānaccuvaṭi*. In the *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, however, Ziegenbalg places *Palañāna cuvaṭi* in a list of fifteen works on ethics which begins "*Tirukkural, Palañāna cuvaṭi, Ācārakōvai*." He here describes the work as an anthology "containing material both ethical and ceremonial collected from the works of other authors" (MH 234). This suggests the book may be something like *Palamoli nānuru*, a collection of four hundred proverbs on ethical behaviour. Ascribed to the Jaina Munṛuraiyaṇār, and dated c. 700 CE, it is one of the *Patineṅkilkkanakku*, or eighteen minor classics. The placement of *Palañāna cuvaṭi* in Ziegenbalg's list, between the only other two *Patineṅkilkkanakku* on his list (*Tirukkural* and *Ācārakōvai*) might support this, but there are also later works of this kind, such as the *Palamoli tirattu*, a collection of three thousand proverbs not unlike the book Ziegenbalg describes here.

Munṛuraiyayaṇār palamoli nānuru: mūlamum, uraiyum, ed. Mā. Irācamāṇikkaṇār (Ceṇṇai: Tennintiya Caivacittānta Nūṛpatippuk Kaḷakam, 1948).

- BM 17 *Tschinendira malei*, ein philosophisches Buch handelnde von dem Menschen und allen andern erschaffenen Creaturen, darinnen zugleich etwas von der *Ethica* mit begriffen ist. Den *Autor* und das Alter dieses Buches hab ich nicht erfahren können, zumal weil es sehr rar und nur bei den *Philosophen* gefunden wird. Es ist sonst in einer leichten Versart geschrieben; ohne daß es wegen der *Materie* ein wenig schwer und dunkel ist.
- BM 17 *Cinēntira mālai*, a philosophical book dealing with human beings and all other created beings, and at the same time tackling some aspects of ethics. I have not been able to determine the author and the age of this book, especially since it is

¹² Jeyaraj takes the prefix in a third manner, reading the title as given in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum* as *Pālarñānaccuvaṭi*, where *pāla* means "child," but nothing in Ziegenbalg's description of the work supports this (Daniel Jeyaraj, *A German Exploration of Indian Society: Ziegenbalg's "Malabarian Heathenism": An Annotated English Translation with an Introduction and a Glossary* (New Delhi: Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2006), 390).

very rare and only found among the philosophers. Otherwise it is written in an easy verse form but due to its content it is a little difficult and obscure.

There is a published *Ciṇēntira mālai* by Upēntirācāriyar, “mostly on Jaina philosophy, theology and ethics,”¹³ which fits Ziegenbalg’s description. Zvelebil tentatively dates it to the nineteenth century, but Ziegenbalg may give us an earlier *terminus ante quem*. There is also an older Jaina work on astrology entitled *Cinēntiramālai* quoted in an old commentary on *Cilappatikāram*.¹⁴ Although no manuscript of this text has been identified, the same work is quoted toward the end of the eighteenth century by Maridās Poullé, who suggests the text is more than 600 years old.¹⁵

Upēntirācāriyār ennum Caiṇamāmunivarceyta Ciṇēntira mālai: mūlamum uraiyum, ed. Ti. Cāmināta Jōciyar and Cūlai Muṇucāmi Mutaliyār (Ceṇṇai: Ātimūlam Piras, 1921).
Ciṇēntiramālai: āruṭa, calliya, kiṭṭir cāttiram, ed. Ci. Kōvintarācaṇar (Taṇcāvūr: Caracuvati Makāl Nūlakam, 1990).

Parada ammanar, ein großes Buch in sehr wohl-klingenden Versen, hält die *Histoire* des *Kischtnams* in sich und ist sehr angenehm zu lesen wegen der Zierlichkeit in Versen. Der Autor dessen heißt *Ambiabadi*, ein wohlerfahrener *Poet*, so dergleichen Buch vor fünfhundert Jahren verfertiget. BM 18

Pārata ammānai, a large book in mellifluous verses which gives the story of Kuruṣṇaṇ and is very pleasant to read because of the elegance of the verses. The author is called Ampikāpati, an accomplished poet who composed this book five hundred years ago. BM 18

Pārata ammānai, or *Pākavata pārataṁ*, is a long folk ballad, recounting the story of the *Mahābhārata* in 26,000 lines. It has not been published, but is extant in manuscript.¹⁶

Kallingaddubarani, ein historisches Buch von Kriegen, so zwischen zwei Malabarischen Königen geführt worden sind Namens *Kalinga Rascha* und *Tschorarascha*. Es ist alles in schweren Versen geschrieben. Der Autor heißt *Diruddukka mamuni*, so ein Einsiedler gewesen und vor 730 Jahr gelebet hat. BM 19

¹³ Zvelebil, *Lexicon*, 149.

¹⁴ Ibid., 148–9.

¹⁵ Jean-Baptiste Prashant More, *La Civilisation Indienne et Les Fables Hindoues du Panchatantra de Maridas Poullé* (Nirmalagiri/Pondicherry: Institute for Research in Social Sciences & Humanities/Léon Prouchandy Memorial Centre, 2004), 51.

¹⁶ IAS 1 (Hikosaka and Samuel, *Descriptive Catalogue* 4: 862–65; GOML R–562).

- BM *Kaliṅkattu paraṇi*, a historical book about the wars waged between two Malabar-
 19 ian kings called Kaliṅga raja and Cōḷa raja. It is all written in difficult verses. The
 author is called Tiruttakkamāmuni, he was a hermit and lived 730 years ago.

Ziegenbalg's dating of the *Kaliṅkattu paraṇi* is reasonably accurate, but the author is not Tiruttakkamāmuni (i.e. Tiruttakkatēvar, the author of *Civakacintāmaṇi*) but a twelfth-century court poet known as Cayaṅkoṇṭār (Ceyaṅkoṇṭār, Jayaṅkoṇṭār). The work celebrates the victory of the Cōḷa king Kulōttuṅka I (1070–1118 or 1122) over the Kaliṅga ruler Anantavarman. It provides an elaborate description of Kālī and the demons (*pēy*) who accompany her: “truly a sort of demonology of the Tamil imperial age.”¹⁷ Given Ziegenbalg's interest in the *pēy* it is perhaps surprising that he does not quote this work in the *Genealogia*. Ziegenbalg also had a copy of Cayaṅkoṇṭār's *Kāraṇai viḷupparaiyaṇ vaḷamaṭal* (BM 27), but he attributes it only to a “farmer.”

Cayaṅkoṇṭār aruḷicceya Kaliṅkattupparaṇi, ed. Vi. Kō. Cūriyanārāyaṇa Cāstiriyar (Ceṇ-
 nai: Tāmsaṅ Kampenī, 1898).

- BM *Alankara utaranum*, eine poetische Anweisung zu Versen mit allerlei Praecepten,
 20 Exempeln und Gleichnissen. Der Autor dessen ist *Alankaram*, so ein *Bramanen*
 gewesen und vor siebenhundert Jahr gelebet.
- BM *Alaṅkāra utāraṇam*, poetic instruction on verse with many rules, examples and
 20 comparisons. The author of it is Alaṅkāram, who was a Brahmin and lived seven
 hundred years ago.

Alaṅkāra (Sanskrit, “ornament”), together with *utāraṇam* (“example”), refers to the content of the book, rather than the author. There are several works of this type, the best known being the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*, i.e., Taṇṭi's work on *alaṅkāram*, a twelfth-century Tamil rendering of Daṇḍin's Sanskrit *Kāvyadarśa*. Examples illustrating the principles of ornamentation are contained in commentaries, rather than the Tamil text of the *Alaṅkāram* itself.¹⁸ A letter from one of Ziegenbalg's Tamil correspondents refers to advanced students studying “Letchana alankārum” (*laṭcaṇa alaṅkāram*) and “Létschena utārum” (*laṭcaṇa utāraṇam*) in schools alongside *Nāḷaṭiyār* and *Tolkāppiyam* (MC 139). Ziegenbalg glosses these as two works on poetry, but it seems more likely that two subjects, rather than two books, are referred to here.

Taṇṭiyācīriyar iyaṛriya Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram, ed. Ko. Irāmaḷiṅkattampirāṇ (Tirunelvēli: Tiru-
 nelvēli Teṇṇintiya caivacittānta nūrpattippuk kaḷakam, 1938).

¹⁷ Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature* (HIL), 209.

¹⁸ Anne E. Monius, “The Many Lives of Daṇḍin: The *Kāvyadarśa* in Sanskrit and Tamil”, *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 4, no. 1 (2000): 11.

Dirubugel, göttliches Lob. Darinnen des Abgotts *Ispirens* Sohn Namens *Subbira-*
manien sehr gerühmet und hoch gelobet wird von seinen vielfältigen Thaten und
 Wundern. Dieses ist in sehr schweren Versen geschrieben, und wird in den Schu-
 len von der Jugend auswendig gelernet. Der *Autor* dessen heißt *Arunakidnaden*, so
 da lange Zeit ein Trommelschläger gewesen, aber nachmals ein sehr heiliger Mann
 geworden, daß sich seiner Jedermann verwundert. Dahero sagen auch die *Poeten*,
 daß er dergleichen *Verse* nicht nach der Kunst geschrieben, als welche er niemals
 gelernet, sondern aus Eingeben des *Subbira-*
manien. Er hat gelebet in einer Stadt
Dirkaladdi und ist gestorben vor hundert und etlichen Jahren.

BM
 21

Tiruppukal, divine praise. The son of the idol Īcvaraṇ called Cuppiramaṇiaṇ is
 here very much lauded and highly praised for his many deeds and wonders. This
 is written in very difficult verses, and is learned by heart in schools by the youth.
 The author is Aruṇakirinātar, who was for many years a drummer, but later be-
 came a very holy man, to the surprise of all. Even the poets say that he wrote these
 verses not by art, which he had never learned, but by Cuppiramaṇiaṇ's inspiration.
 He lived in the town Tirukkālatti and died a hundred and some years ago.

BM
 21

Aruṇakirinātar is renowned for his metrical versatility. Ziegenbalg had a copy of his
Kantaranupūti (BM 24) and mistakenly ascribes to him also an *Aruṇakiriyantāti* (BM 83).
 He gives further details on the life of Aruṇakirinātar in the entries for these works, and at
 two points in the *Genealogia* (GMG 74r, 77v). Although elements of this account—his dis-
 solute life and the divine gift of his poetic talent—cohere with the evidence in Aruṇakiri-
 nātar's works and with the varied stories of his life,¹⁹ others are strikingly at odds with
 them. Aruṇakirinātar mentions more than 200 sites in his poetry, but he is particularly
 associated with Tiruvaṇṇāmalai rather than Kālatti (Kālahasti). In addition to Aruṇakiri-
 nātar's *Tiruppukal*, Ziegenbalg refers also to another work of the same title, "in which the
 majesty of Viṣṇu is described and praised" (GMG 97r) but this work has not been identified.

Murukavēḷ paṇṇiru tirumurai: Aruṇakirinātar aruḷiya Tiruppukalātiya nūlkaḷ: mūlamum
uraiyum, ed. Va. Cu. Ceṇkalvarāya Pillai (Ceṇṇai: Mīṇākṣikaliyāṇa cuntaram, 1952–55).

The Glory of Lord Muruga (Tiruppugazh) by Sri Arunagirinathar, trans. N. Gopala Sunda-
 ram, 9 vols. (Chennai: N. Gopala Sundaram, 2008–11).

Wadapuram, ein sehr altes Buch in *Versen* handelnde von den heiligen Wasser-
 flüssen, darinnen sich die Malabaren zu baden pflegen. Item von der Kuhaschen,
 damit sich die Malabaren zu überstreichen pflegen, desgleichen auch von den *Pa-*
goden und Figuren der Abgötter etc. Dieses ist eines mit von ihren Gesetzbüchern,

BM
 22

¹⁹ Clothey, *Quiescence and Passion*, 6–8.

wie es denn auch vor zweihundert Jahren aus dem Malabarischen *Latein* oder *Ki-rendum* ins rechte Malabarische durch einen *Bramanen* translatiret worden ist; der *Autor*, der solches anfänglich verfertigt, heißt *Tschugabrummarischi*, so da ein sehr erleuchteter Prophet gewesen sein soll, aus des *Bramans* Geschlechte. Die Göttin *Parwadi*, so des *Ispiren* Weib ist, soll dergleichen Buch dem *Autor* in den Griffel dictiret haben, welches vor etliche tausend Jahr geschehen ist.

- BM 22 *Tiruvātavūrār purāṇam*, a very old book in verse dealing with the holy bodies of water in which the Malabarians are in the habit of bathing. Likewise with the ashes of cow dung which the Malabarians are in the habit of painting on themselves, and similarly with the pagodas and the figures of the idols, etc. This is one of their law books, as it also has been translated from Malabarian Latin or *kirantam* into Malabarian proper by a Brahmin two hundred years ago. The author who originally composed it is called Cukapramma Riṣi, and is supposed to have been a very inspired prophet of the Brahmin caste. The goddess Pārvatī, the wife of Īcuvaraṇ, is supposed to have dictated the book to the author's pen; this happened some thousand years ago.

Ziegenbalg's "Wadar" or "Wadur" *purāṇam*, together with his description of the work here, does not immediately indicate the fifteenth-century *Tiruvātavūrār purāṇam*. In the *Genealogia*, however, he describes the "Wadūrpurāṇam" as "an old history book, containing several stories concerning Īcuvaraṇ, which are supposed to have happened in a town called Wadūr when he appeared in the form of a teacher and had a disciple called Tennavaṇ piramarāyaṇ who spent a vast fortune in building temples and tanks, and did great wonders by Isuren's power" (GMG 51r). Tennavaṇ piramarāyaṇ, "the minister of the Pāṇṭiyaṇ," is a title referring to Māṇikkavācakar, also known as Tiruvātavūrār, who, when minister to Arimarttaṇa Pāṇṭiyaṇ, took money given to him for the purchase of horses and spent it on temples instead.²⁰ The *Tiruvātavūrār purāṇam* is not a translation from Sanskrit, but it is based in part on the fifty-eighth chapter of Parañcōti's *Tiruvīlaiyāṭal purāṇam*, entitled "Vātavūraṭikaḷukku upatēcitta purāṇam" ("the instruction of Vātavūraṭikaḷ"), which in turn has a Sanskrit source, the *Hālāsyamāhātmya*.²¹ Ziegenbalg had a copy of the *Tiruvīlaiyāṭal purāṇam* also (BM 106), and quotes extensively from it in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, including the chapters on the life of Māṇikkavācakar.

²⁰ For the legend of Māṇikkavācakar, see Glenn Yocum, "Brahmin, King, Sannyasi, and the Goddess in a Cage: Reflections on the 'Conceptual Order of Hinduism' at a Tamil Śaiva Temple", *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 20, no. 1 (1986): 17–21. Taylor gives an account of the same story from a manuscript in the Mackenzie Collection entitled "Vādūr st'hala purāṇam" (*Catalogue Raisonné* 3: 135–39).

²¹ R. Dessigane, P. Z. Pattabiramin and Jean Filliozat, *La légende des jeux de Īva à Madurai: d'après les textes et les peintures*, Publications de l'Institut français d'indologie 19 (Pondichéry: Institut français d'indologie, 1960), ix, 91–94.

Māṇikkavācakareṇṇum Tiruvātavūrar-Purāṇam, ed. Tiruvaruṇai Capāpatisvāmi (Ceṇṇai: Ā. Irattiṇavēlumutaliyār, 1896).

Hilko Wiardo Schomerus, *Šivaitische Heiligenlegenden: Periyapurāṇa und Tiruvātavūrar Purāṇa* (Jena: Diederichs, 1925).

Egamburanaderula, ein Buch von einer sonderlichen Art *Verse*, darinnen eine *Historie* erzählt wird von einem Mädchen, so sieben Jahr alt gewesen, und große Liebe zu einer *Figur* eines Abgotts bekommen hat. Da sich denn allerlei Zufälle begeben haben. Es wird auch darinnen zugleich beschrieben der siebenfache Zustand einer Jungfer. BM 23

Ēkāmparanātar ulā, a book of a particular kind of verse, in which the story is told of a girl who at the age of seven developed a great love for the figure of an idol. As a result all sorts of strange things happened. It also describes the sevenfold condition of a young woman. BM 23

“A particular kind of verse” appears to be Ziegenbalg’s euphemism for works of an erotic character. *Ulā* is a genre of mostly Śaiva works in *kalivenṇpa* metre, “which describes how women of the seven age groups are love-stricken at the sight of a hero in procession.”²² *Ulā* was a productive genre in Tamil; more than seventy *ulā* works are extant,²³ and Ziegenbalg had two other *ulā* texts (*Tiruvārūr ulā*, BM 37, and *Kāyārōṇar ulā*, BM 45). He mentions *Ēkāmparanātar ulā* also in the *Genealogia*, where he adds that it describes the miracles performed by Śiva in the form of *Ēkāmparanātar*. The *Ēkāmparanātar ulā* in praise of Śiva in Kāñci is ascribed to the “twin poets” (Iraṭṭaiyar) Mutucūriyar and Iḷāñcūriyar, and dated to the fourteenth-century.

Kāñcīpuram Ēkāmparanātar taivīkavulā, ed. Aruṇācala Mutaliyār (Tañcai: Tēcāpimāṇiacukkūṭam, 1841).

Kanden anupudi, unterschiedliche Gesänge über den Abgott *Kanden*, so gleichfalls derjenige Trommelschläger gemacht, welcher *Dirubugel* aufgesetzt. BM 24

Kantanupūti, a variety of songs on the idol Kantaṇ, also composed by the drummer who wrote *Tiruppukal*. BM 24

²² Murugan, *Tamil Literary and Critical Terms*, 64.

²³ Anne E. Monius, “Love, Violence, and the Aesthetics of Disgust: Śaivas and Jains in Medieval South India”, *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 32, nos. 2-3 (2004): 137–8.

See the entry for Aruṇakirinātar's *Tiruppukal* above (BM 21).

Kantarānupūti, ed. P. K. Ṣaṇmukanātaṇ (Ceṇṇai: Akila Pārata Caṅkara Sēvā Samiti, 1967).

Fred W. Clothey, *Quiescence and Passion: The Vision of Arunakiri, Tamil Mystic* (Austin: Winfield, 1996).

- BM 25 *Abiramiantadi*, einige Lieder über eine Göttin *Abirami* genannt, so da eine Beschützerin ist einer Stadt *Tirukarawur* genannt, darinnen drei große *Pagoden* sehr *regulariter* beisammen gebauet sind, fast nach der Ordnung des *Tempels Salamonis*. Der erste Eingang ist allen Malabaren gemein, darinnen viel Abgötter stehen, in den andern Eingang dürfen nur diejenigen gehen, so von Sünden gereinigt sind, darinnen die allergrößten Abgötter stehen, der dritte Eingang ist gleich wie das Allerheiligste und hat ganz kleine Bilder in sich, darinnen wird denn der einige Gott ohne Bilder angebetet, welchen sie nennen *Barabarawastu* oder das Wesen aller Wesen. Ich bin selbst einmal in dieser Stadt gewesen, habe solche gesehen, und einen ganzen Tag daselbst mit etlichen hundert Malabaren, *Bramanen* und gelehrten *Pandaren* discouriret, welchen ich zugleich 26 malabarischen Predigten mittheilete, so ich in unserem Jerusalem gehalten hatte.

- BM 25 *Apirāmi antāti*, some songs on a goddess named Apirāmi who is the protectress of a town called Tirukkāṭavūr where three large pagodas have built together very regularly, almost in the manner of Solomon's temple. The first entranceway, where many idols stand, is open to all Malabarians. The second, where the biggest idols of all stand, is open only to those who have been cleansed of sins. The third is like the holy of holies and contains very small pictures. Here the only God is worshipped without pictures, whom they call Parāparavastu or the being of all beings. I myself was once in this town and saw this, and spent a whole day there in discourse with several hundred Malabarians, Brahmins and Pandarams. I also conveyed to them the twenty-six sermons which I held here in our Jerusalem.²⁴

Tirukkāṭavūr (now Tirukkaṭaiyūr) is only a few kilometres from Tranquebar. Ziegenbalg is likely to have been intensely interested in the worship without images of God conceived as Parāparavastu. In the *Genealogia* he identifies this as the best Hindu conception of the deity, and the one which most nearly approaches true monotheism. Cuppiramaṇiya Aiyar, also known as Apirāmi Paṭṭar or "the devotee of Apirāmi" was a contemporary of Ziegenbalg. The work is usually dated to the reign of Serfoji I (1712–27).

²⁴ The name of the church built by Ziegenbalg and Plütschau in Tranquebar.

Apirāmapaṭṭar aruḷiya Apirāmiyantāti: mūlamum uraiyum, ed. Cu. A. Irāmacāmi Pulavar (Tirunelvēli: Tirunelvēlit Teṇṇintiya Caivacittānta Nūrpattippuk Kaḷakam, 1966).

Francis X. Clooney, *Divine Mother, Blessed Mother: Hindu Goddesses and the Virgin Mary* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Gnanapostagam, ein Buch von der Heiligkeit, so da handelt von der Reinigung des Leibes und der Seelen, von den Anrufungen der Götter, und wie des Menschen Herz darzu müsse beschaffen seyn: *item* von unterschiedlichen Gebetsformeln. Dieses Buch ist sehr alt und rar, wird aber in großem Estim gehalten, weil die Malabaren in dergleichen Handlungen ihre Seligkeit suchen. BM 26

**Nāna puttakam*, a book of holiness, which deals with the purification of the body and soul, with the invocation of the gods, and how the heart of man must be prepared for this; also with different prayer formulas. This book is very old and rare, but is held in great esteem, because the Malabarians seek their salvation in these actions. BM 26

The title and description would fit many Tamil works and it is difficult to identify any particular work, although *cittar* works often have titles of this sort. Ziegenbalg glosses a reference to a book one of his Tamil correspondents names *Nānapōtakam* as “a book which contains the teaching of wisdom” (HB 7: 375).

Karanei wurubba tareien walamadel, ein recht atheistisches Buch, so da von einem Ackersmann gemacht, der da von sich selbst zu einem *Poeten* geworden und nichts anders als Gott spotten können. Sein Endzweck in diesem Buche gehet dahin, daß Niemand glauben solle, als sey ein Gott, oder als wäre dasjenige wahr, was die Alten von göttlichen, himmlischen und ewigen Dingen geschrieben hätten, sin-temal man ja weder Gott noch dasjenige sehen könnte, was von dem zukünftigen geschrieben und gesagt würde. Hingegen aber sollte ein jedweder glauben, daß die Wollüste dieser Welt und alles was damit verknüpft sey, wahre Glückseligkeit geben könne und weil man denn dieses könnte sehen, fühlen und empfinden, jenes aber nämlich das himmlische, weder sehen noch empfinden, so wären diejenigen ja rechte Narren und Thoren, so da dergleichen Wollüste und weltliche Glückseligkeit verließen und um des Himmlischen willen ein so strenges und miserables Leben führten. BM 27

Dieses Buch halten die Malabaren selbst für ein heidnisch Buch, so sehr schädlich zu lesen wäre.

- BM 27 *Kāraṇai vilupparaiyaṇ vaḷamataḷ*, a truly atheistic book, written by a farmer who by his own efforts made himself into a poet and could do nothing else except mock God. His purpose in this book is that no-one should believe that there is a God, or that it was true what the ancients wrote about divine, heavenly and eternal things, since one indeed can see neither God nor that which is said or written about the things which will be. Rather everyone should believe that the lusts of this world and everything that is connected with it can give true happiness, and that because these can be seen, felt and experienced but other things—that is, the heavenly—can be neither seen nor felt, those who abandon these lusts and worldly pleasures and lead an austere and miserable life to obtain the heavenly are really knaves and fools. The Malabarians themselves regard this book as a heathen book which is very damaging to read.

Two extant manuscripts ascribe this work to Cayaṅkoṇṭār. Archana Venkatesan argues that the attribution is supported by the numerous references to Kulōttuṅka I and stylistic similarities to Cayaṅkoṇṭār's *Kaliṅkattu paraṇi*, which Ziegenbalg also knew (BM 19).²⁵ Like other works in the maṭal genre, *Kāraṇai vilupparaiyaṇ vaḷamataḷ* asserts the supremacy of *inpam* (*kāmam*, sensual enjoyment) over the other *nāl-vakai-p-poruḷ* (the *puruṣārtha*: *aram*, *poruḷ*, *inpam*, *vītu*). Venkatesan suggests that Kāraṇai Viḷupparaiyaṇ, who is both the hero and patron of the poem, is to be identified as Ātinātaṇ, a Jain general in the service of Kulōttuṅka I, otherwise known from a thirteenth-century inscription.²⁶ As Ziegenbalg notes, the poem is critical of all religions and this, together with its low repute among Tamils, is perhaps the reason why he does not cite it anywhere in his own writings. By contrast he regularly cites those Tamil authors who, while critical of much in Hindu religious practice, nevertheless advocate the worship of a supreme being.

Maṭal tirattu, ed. Es. Cauntarapāṇṭiyaṇ (Ceṇṇai: Aracinaṇ Kīltticaic Cuvaiṭkaḷ Nūlakam, 1994).²⁷

- BM 28 *Koilkalambagam*, ein Buch von hundert Liedern über den Abgott *Wischtnum*, so da in einer *Pagode* gesungen werden, Namens *Schirankum*, welche drei Tagereisen von hier gelegen ist. Der Autor dieses Buches ist ein *Bramanen*, Namens *Bullei-perumalayankar*, so da vor etliche 40 Jahr gestorben ist.

²⁵ Archana Venkatesan, "Riding a Horse for Love: A Comparative Look at the Matal Poems of Tirumankaiyalvar and Ceyankontar", in *History and Imagination: Tamil culture in the global context*, ed. R. Cheran, Darshan Ambalavanar and Chelvanayakam Kanaganayakam (Toronto: TSAR Publications, 2007), 7.

²⁶ Venkatesan, "Riding a Horse for Love", 8. For the inscription see Zvelebil, *Lexicon*, 335.

²⁷ N. Ganesan has edited another manuscript, from the Pērūr Ātiṇam, and published it online: <http://www.tamil.net/projectmadurai/pub/pmoo60/valamatal.pdf>.

Kōyil kalampakam, a book of one hundred songs about the idol Viṣṇu, which are sung in a pagoda called Cīraṅkam [i.e. Śrīraṅgam] situated three days' journey from here. The author of this book is a Brahmin named Piḷḷaipperumāl Aiyāṅkār, who died some 40 years ago. BM 28

This is the *Tiruvāṇkakkalampakam* of Piḷḷaipperumāl Aiyāṅkār (also known as Maṇavāḷa Tācar or Aḷakiya Maṇavāḷa Tācar), of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Of the eight *pirapantams* composed by Piḷḷaipperumāl Aiyāṅkār, Ziegenbalg has this and one other, the *Tiruvēṅkaṭa mālai* (BM 34). In the annotations to the *Malabarische Correspondenz*, Ziegenbalg notes that, like other such works associated with temples, it is sung by devadāsīs (HB 7: 443). Jeyaraj identifies a palm-leaf manuscript in the mission archives in Halle (TAM 80A) as the *Tiruvāṇkakkalampakam*, but this is in fact the *Citampara kōyil purāṇam*, a Tamil version of the *Cidambaram Māhātmya*, which according to Walther's catalogue was acquired for the mission in 1730 by Schultze.

Kōyirkalampakam enkinṇa Tiruvāṇkakkalampakam, ed. Tiru Vēṅkaṭācala Mutaliyār (Ceṇnai: Carasvati Accukkūṭam, 1835).

Dewarum, ein Buch vom göttlichen Lobe, darinnen der Abgott *Ispiren* durch Gesänge sehr gerühmet wird. BM 29

Tēvāram, a book of divine praises, in which the god Īcuvāraṇ is greatly lauded in songs. BM 29

Although Ziegenbalg twice refers briefly to *Tēvāram* in the *Genealogia* (GMG 30r, 251v), his comments do little to suggest the importance of this work, an anthology of Śaiva poems written during the sixth to eighth century by Tiruṇānacampantar, Tirunāvukkaracar and Cuntaramūrtti, which together form the first seven books of the *Tirumurai*. There must therefore be some doubt about whether he had a copy of the entire *Tēvāram* or only a part of it.

Tēvāram. Hymnes śivaïtes du pays tamoul, ed. T. V. Gopal Iyer and François Gros (Pondichéry: Institut Français de Pondichéry, 1984–91).

V. M. Subramanya Aiyar, Jean-Luc Chevillard and S. A. S. Sarma, eds., *Digital Tēvāram* (Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry/École française d'Extrême Orient, 2007).

Banschadandirakadei, fünf listige *Historien* von klugen Thieren. Dieses Buch ist der Fabel *Aesopi* gleich, sintemal es durch das Beginnen der Thiere viele moralische Lehren vorstellt. Es bestehet in einer leichten Art von *Versen*, und wird in Schulen sehr gebraucht. BM 30

- BM *Pañcatantira katai*, five crafty stories of cunning animals. This book is similar to
30 Aesop's Fables since it presents moral lessons through the actions of animals. It is composed of an easy type of verse, and is much used in schools.

There are several translations of the *Pañcatantra*, a well-known Sanskrit work, into Tamil. Ziegenbalg's description fits the verse translation by Vīramārttāṇṭatēvar, but this is usually dated to the 19th century. In 1803 August Friedrich Cämmerer, the last of the missionaries of the old Danish-Halle mission, translated the *Pañcatantira katai* into German (AFSt/M 2 A 2: 14).

Vīramārttāṇṭa Tēvar, *Pañcatantira Pāṭarkatai*, ed. Mē. Vī. Vēṇukōpālap Pillai (Cenṇai: Puks (Intiyā) Piraivēṭ Liṭ, 1958).

- BM *Naga Pascha badalam*, Kriegshistorie des *Wischtnums* und *Indirutscheiddu*, wel-
31 cher von Jenem mit einem giftigen Pfeil geschossen worden, ohneracht, daß er ein großer Riese und tapferer Held im Streit ist gewesen. Dieses Buch fasset in sich 300 *wiruddum* oder Versstrophen, und ist sehr schwer zu verstehen. Der *Autor* ist *Kamben*, so ein vornehmer *Poet* gewesen, und den Krieg zwischen dem Abgott *Wischtnum* und dem mächtigen Riesen *Rawanen* sehr weitläufig beschrieben hat, in zwölftausend *wiruddum*, welches Buch von meinem alten *Poeten* als ein Abgott veneriret wird, so daß ich ihn einstmals fragte, ob er mir solches wohl verkaufen wollte, er mir darauf antwortete, daß er mit solchem Buch zugleich seine Seligkeit verkaufen würde. Jedoch wollte ers mir zum Abschreiben *communiciren* oder sonst zu kaufen verschaffen, weil es wegen seiner Größe nicht könnte abgeschrieben werden.

- BM *Nākapāca paṭalam*, story of the war between Viṣṇu and Intiracittu, who was shot
31 by the former with a poisoned arrow although he was a huge giant and courageous hero in battle. This book contains 300 *viruttam* or stanzas and is very hard to understand. The author is Kampan, a distinguished poet, who has described at great length the war between the idol Viṣṇu and the mighty giant Rāvaṇa, in twelve thousand *viruttam*. My old poet reveres this book like an idol, such that when once I asked him if he would be willing to sell it to me he replied that with this book he would sell his salvation at the same time. Nevertheless he is willing to give it to me to copy, or otherwise arrange for me to buy it because it cannot be copied due to its size.

The nineteenth chapter of the Yutta kāṇṭam of *Irāmāvatāram*, Kampan's translation of the Rāmāyaṇa. Ziegenbalg lists two other chapters (the sixteenth, "Kumpa karuṇa paṭalam," and the twenty-eighth, "Intiracittu paṭalam") of this kāṇṭam in the BM (42 and 62). In

his list of Vaiṣṇava books in the *Genealogia*, he lists separately each of these three chapters and then goes on to list “Rāmāyaṇam,” as a book of 12,000 verses, and the “Pālakāṇṭa-rāmāyaṇam” which he ascribes to Vālmikī.

Kaṃparāmāyaṇam, ed. Vai. Mu. Kōpālakirūṣṇamācīriyar (Ceṇṇai: Vai. Mu. Kōpālakirūṣṇamācīriyar Kāmpēṇi, 1962–67).

Kamba Ramayanam, trans. P. S. Sundaram, 6 vols. (Madras: Government of Tamil Nadu, 1989–94).

Walliammeiwenpa, zweihundert und fünfundneunzig Lieder über die Göttin *Walliammei*, so des *Subbīramanien* Weib ist. Der *Autor* heißt *Bugelendi*, so ein wohl-
erfahrener *Poet* gewesen, so da vor mehr denn hundert Jahr gelebet, und sehr viel
andere Bücher verfertigt hat. BM 32

**Valliyammai venpā*, two hundred and ninety-five songs on the goddess
Valliyammai, the wife of Cuppiramaṇiaṇ. The author is called Pukaḷēnti, an ac-
complished poet who lived more than a hundred years ago and composed many
other books. BM 32

Neither this nor the other work on Valliyammai in Ziegenbalg’s possession (*Valli ammānai*, BM 36) is readily identifiable.²⁸ There is a manuscript in Paris entitled *Valliyammai purāṇam* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Tamoul 309) and dated 1736, most likely collected by a Jesuit. Hikosaka and Samuel record several manuscripts, and a published edition, of a *Valliyammai katai*, and note that the story, from the *Kantapurāṇam*, is a very popular subject for folk ballads.²⁹ In ascribing this and other works to Pukaḷēnti, Ziegenbalg follows Tamil tradition closely; Zvelebil notes that “the absolute majority of Tamil folk-narratives,” amounting to “hundreds if not thousands of the most diverse poems and prose-pieces dealing with the most variegated topics,” are thus ascribed.³⁰ Zvelebil attributes the huge number of such ascriptions to the immense popularity of Pukaḷēnti’s *Naḷavenpā*, a work which Ziegenbalg has (BM 86), but does not ascribe to any author.

²⁸ Walther lists a third work on the subject of the marriage of Cuppiramaṇiaṇ and Valliyammai under the title *Ponṇina kaṇapati*: “The tale of how Cuppiramaṇiaṇ went after Valliyammai, and what tricks he used, to persuade her to comply with his wishes, and how finally he married her. In prose, like an *ammānai*.” Although the work has not been identified it is clear from Walther’s description that it is probably a folk version of the story. Zvelebil notes that the main theme of such works is Valli’s attempts to avoid marrying Murukaṇ and the battle of wits between them (Kamil V. Zvelebil, “The Valli-Muruga Myth—Its Development”, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 22, no. 2 (1980): 126).

²⁹ Hikosaka and Samuel, *Descriptive Catalogue* 5: 454–58.

³⁰ Kamil V. Zvelebil, *Two Tamil Folktales: The Story of King Maṇakāma, the Story of Peacock Rāvaṇa* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987), xiii.

BM *Tschidambaramalei*, ein Buch von hundert und zwei Liedern, so da über *Ispiren* zu
33 singen sind, und fast nichts denn lauter Gleichnisse und metaphorische Redens-
arten in sich fassen. Der *Autor* heißt *Koganamatschiweier*, so da ein sehr heiliger
Mann gewesen sein soll und etwa vor hundert Jahr gelebet haben.

BM *Citampara mālai*, a book of one hundred and two songs to be sung about Īcu-
33 varan which contains almost nothing but similes and metaphorical expressions.
The author is called Kukai Namacivāya, who is supposed to have been a very holy
man and to have lived about one hundred years ago.

Kukai Namacivāyar is a sixteenth-century poet of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, the author of *Aruṇa-
kiri antāti* (BM 83). Kerala University holds a manuscript (2254) entitled *Citampara mālai*.

BM *Wenkidamalei*, ein Buch von hundert Liedern, so über *Wischtnum* zu singen sind.
34 Der Autor dessen heißt *Bulleiperumalayankar*.

BM *Vēṅkaṭa mālai*, a book of one hundred songs to be sung about Viṣṇu. The author
34 of it is called Pillaipperumāl Aiyaṅkār.

Pillaipperumāl Aiyaṅkār's *Tiruvēṅkaṭa mālai* consists of 104 verses in praise of Viṣṇu at
Tirupati. Ziegenbalg had also the same poet's *Tiruvarāṅkakkalampakam* (BM 28).

Tiruvēṅkaṭamālai, ed. Tiru Vēṅkaṭācala Mutaliyār and Pākkuppēṭṭai Maturai Mutaliyār
(Cennai: Muttamiḷ Viḷakka Accukkūṭam, 1863).

BM *Nilinadagam*, das Felddtanzen, darinnen 132 Lieder sind, so die Felddtänzer und
35 Tänzerinnen bei ihrem Felddtanzer zu singen pflegen.

BM *Nili nāṭakam*, country dancing, containing 132 songs which the male and female
35 country dancers sing during their dance.

Ziegenbalg's account of this work in the *Genealogia* (GMG 174v) and Walther's catalogue,
which gives the title as *Palaiyaṇūr nili katai*, leave no doubt that this is a version of the
story the demoness (*pēycci*) Nili.³¹ Nili's story goes back at least as far as *Tēvāram*, and
there are many later versions. Barbara Schuler surveys the many versions of the story in

³¹ The Roja Muthiah Research Library records an incomplete manuscript (024759) with the title
Nili nāṭakam.

Tamil literature and argues that the Nili tradition has diverged into two primary lines.³² Based on the details in Ziegenbalg's account of the story in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum* (MH 154–58), it would appear the version he had belonged to the northern line. The southern line is associated with performances of the text as a *villupāṭṭu* or “bow song.”³³

Palaiyaṇūr Nili katai, ed. Cu. Caṇmukacuntaram (Madras: Maṇimēkalao Piracuram, 1978).

Barbara Schuler, *Of Death and Birth: Icakkiamman, a Tamil Goddess, in Ritual and Story* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009).

Walliammanar, ein Buch von sehr angenehmen Versen über die Göttin *Walliammei*, darinnen ihre ganze Historie enthalten ist. BM 36

**Valli ammānai*, a book of very pleasant verses on the goddess *Valliyammai*, in which her whole story is contained. BM 36

Valli is the subject of at least two works in the *ammānai* genre, but both are too late to be the work in Ziegenbalg's catalogue.³⁴ In the *Genealogia*, Ziegenbalg briefly recounts *Valli*'s story on the basis of a letter from one of his correspondents (GMG 79v-80v).³⁵

Diruwarurula, eine sonderliche Art *Verse*, gemacht auf den Abgott, so da in einer Landschaft *Diruwarur* seine *Pagoden* haben soll, sein Name heißt *Diagarascher*, dessen Bild vom Himmel soll gefallen sein, aus purem Golde verfertigt, so an- noch daselbst in seiner *Pagode* verwahret stehet, und angebetet wird. BM 37

Tiruvārūr ulā, a particular kind of verse, written about the idol who is supposed to have his pagodas in the *Tiruvārūr* region; his name is *Tiyākarācar*; an image of him, made of pure gold, is supposed to have fallen from heaven, and to still be kept standing and to be worshipped in his pagoda. BM 37

³² Barbara Schuler, *Of Death and Birth: Icakkiamman, a Tamil Goddess, in Ritual and Story* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009).

³³ Kamil V. Zvelebil, “Some Tamil Folklore Texts: Muttupāṭṭan Katai, Kāttavarāyaṇ Kataippaṭal, Palaiyaṇūr Nili”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, no. 2 (1989): 297–302. On the different versions of the story see also Vijaya Ramaswamy, “Chaste Widows, Cunning Wives, and Amazonian Warriors: Imaging of Women in Tamil Oral Traditions”, *Asian Ethnology* 69, no. 1 (2010): 129–57, esp. 137–42.

³⁴ Ki. Mu. Ārumuka Nāṭar, *Valli nāyaki ammānai* (Virutupaṭṭi, 1923); Em. Pālucāmi Nāyūṭu, *Murukan tirumaṇam purinta valli ammānai* (Maturai: Vivēkāṇantā Piras, 1932).

³⁵ See also the entry for *Valliyammai veṇpā* *Valliyammai veṇpā* (BM 32).

A work by the seventeenth-century blind poet Antakakkavi Virarākava Mutaliyār. Ziegenbalg also has another work (BM 94) which he ascribes to him.

Antakakkavi Virarākava Mutaliyār iyarriya Tiruvārūrulā, ed. U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar (Maturai: Tamiḷc caṅka muttirā cālai, 1925).

- BM *Bullei damel*, einige Lieder, darinnen die Art der kleinen Kinder abgemalt wird,
38 um Gott dadurch zu preisen, der so wunderbarlich mit den Menschenkindern zu spielen pfleget.

- BM *Pillaittamil*, some songs, in which the ways of small children are portrayed,
38 in order thereby to praise God who plays so wonderfully with the children of men.

Pillaittamil is the name of a very productive genre of texts and while Ziegenbalg's characterisation of the genre is apt it is too vague to permit identification of a specific work. Of the three *pillaittamil* works (BM 38, 39, 66) in Ziegenbalg's collection, only one can be securely identified.

- BM *Komarar bulleidirunamum*, hundert Lieder über *Ispiren's* Sohn, *Komarar* genannt,
39 so da die Macht über alle Teufel hat, und sie unter seiner *Direction* hält, daß sie denn Menschen ohne seinen Willen nichts Böses thun können. Der *Autor* dieser Lieder heißt *Komara Kurubam pantarum*, so ein sehr gelehrter Mann und annoch lebet. Er soll dergleichen *Verse* in seinem sechzehnten Jahre gemacht haben, und nachdem von dieser Küste *Cormandel* nach *Bengalen* gegangen sein, allwo er bis hieher viele Bücher in *Versen* verfertigt hat.

- BM *Kumarar pillai tirunāmam*, a hundred songs on Īcuvaran's son called Kumarar,
39 who has power over all the devils and keeps them under his direction so that they are not able to do any evil to humans unless he wills it. The author of these songs is called Kumarakurupam paṇṭāram, a very learned man who is supposed still to be alive. He is said to have written these verses in his sixteenth year, and later to have left this Coromandel coast and gone to Bengal, where up to the present he has written many books in verse.

This is *Pullirukkuvēlūr muttukkumārācāmi pillaittamil* on Murukan at Vaiticuvaran̄kōyil, some 20 kilometres north of Tranquebar, one of the best-known of the many *pillaittamil* works. Kumarakuruparar in fact died in 1688, twenty years before Ziegenbalg's catalogue, but the hagiographic details he records are otherwise accurate.

Muttukkuṁārācuvāmi piḷḷaittamiḷ: mūlamum uraiyum, ed. S. Rangaswami (Tiruccirāppalli: Yūnaiṭṭeṭ papliṣars, 1970).

Kanschen ammanar, ein sehr großes Buch in angenehmen und wohlfließenden *Versen*, darinnen die ganze *Historie* des *Wischtnum* enthalten ist, so sich mit ihm in seiner sechsten Verwandlung auf der Welt zugetragen hat. Dieses Buch wird sehr hoch aestimiret, und ist sehr wohl zu verstehen. Sein Alter ist über zweihundert Jahr. BM 40

Kaṁcaṇ ammaṇai, a very large book in pleasant and fluent verses, containing the whole history of Viṣṇu and all that happened in connection with him during his sixth transformation in the world. This book is highly esteemed, and very easy to understand. Its age is over two hundred years. BM 40

Kaṁcaṇ (Kaṁsa) is the brother of Devakī, Kṛṣṇa's mother, who attempts to prevent Kṛṣṇa's birth and is eventually slain by him. Although Ziegenbalg's lists of *avatāras* in both his major works on Hinduism have Buddha as the sixth and Kṛṣṇa as the ninth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, he was aware of the variations in order in different texts (GMG 85r), and in these later works appears to have chosen to follow the order given in a letter to him by one of his Hindu correspondents.

Kaṁcaṇammaṇai, ed. Ki. Kōtaṇṭapāṇi (Taṁcāvūr: Taṁcai Caracuvati Makāl Niruvāka Kam-iṭṭi, 1976).

Perumal ammanar, ein weitläuftiges Buch in wohlklingenden *Versen*, darinnen die vierte Verwandlung des großen Abgotts *Wischtnum* enthalten ist, mit allen seinen Begebungen. Diese und dergleichen Bücher sind bei den *Wischtnumianern* das Fundament ihrer Religion, daraus alle andere Bücher geflossen sind und darauf gründen. BM 41

Perumāḷ ammaṇai, a lengthy book in mellifluous verses, containing the fourth transformation of the great idol Viṣṇu, with everything that happened to him. This book and others like it are the foundation of their religion for the Vaiṣṇavas, from which all other books are drawn and on which they are based. BM 41

No edition has been published, but there are manuscripts with this title in the Sarasvati Mahal Library (Vol. III, no. 1124) and the Tamil University (accession no. 850), both in Taṁcāvūr.

BM 42 *Komba Karana padalam*, ein weitläufige *Historie* von den Kriegen eines Riesens *Komba karunen* genannt, so des *Rawanen* Bruder gewesen. Diese *Historie* bestehet in *Versen*, welche zugleich mit gemeinen Malabarischen erkläret sind für diejenigen, so die *Verse* nicht verstehen können, wie denn unter den *Malabaren* sehr viel Bücher gefunden werden, die da in *Versen* anfänglich geschrieben, und nachmals erkläret worden sind, und zwar so accurat, daß man sich darüber verwundern muß. Der *Autor* dieser *Historie* ist der vorgemeldete *Kamben*, der sich sonderlich in *Historicis* unter den *Malabaren* bekannt gemacht. Diese Kriege sind in der ersten Weltzeit gehalten worden, welche die *Malabaren Kiredaujum* nennen, darauf nachmals *Diredaujum* und *Duawuraujum* erfolgt ist, welche drei Weltzeiten nach ihrer Rechnung schon verflossen sind, diejenige Weltzeit aber nennen sie *Kaliujum*, so da 4480 Jahr gestanden haben soll.

BM 42 *Kumpa karuṇa paṭalam*, a lengthy history of the wars of a giant called Kumpa karuṇa, who was the brother of Rāvaṇa. This history is told in verse and at the same time explained in common Malabarian for those who cannot understand the verse. There are very many books like this found among the Malabarans which are first written in verse and later explained, and that so accurately that one can only wonder at it. The author of this history is the aforementioned Kampan, who has made a name for himself among the Malabarians for history in particular. These wars took place in the first age of the world, which the Malabarians call Kirētāyukam, after which came the Tirētāyukam and the Tuvāparayukam. According to their reckoning, these three ages of the world have already passed, and they call the present age of the world the Kāliyukam, of which 4480 years are supposed to have passed.

The sixteenth chapter of the Yutta kāṇṭam of Kampan's *Irāmāvatāram* (BM 31).

BM 43 *Annumār amandār*, ein sehr großes Buch in sehr leichten und angenehmen *Versen* in sich fassende die *Historie* eines Affens *Anumar* genannt, der da mit seinem Affenheer in dem Kriege zwischen *Wischtnum* und *Rawanen* unzählige große Thaten und Wunder gethan, so daß er deswegen unter die Zahl der vornehmsten Abgötter gerechnet wird und sehr großen Ruhm in der Welt hat. Dieses Buch bestehet aus 4284 *Versen* und ist sehr erudit eingerichtet. Der *Autor* dessen heißt *Bugelendi*, so viel andere Bücher in dergleichen Versart gemacht hat. Dessen Alter ist ungefähr 300 Jahr, aber die *Historie* soll sich vor viel tausend Jahr zugetragen haben, und zwar auf der Insel *Ceylon*, allwo *Rawanen* seine Residenz und Castel gehabt hat.

**Aṇumār ammāṇai*, a very large book in very easy and pleasant verses, comprising the story of a monkey called Hanuman who with his monkey lords did innumerable great deeds and wonders in the war between Viṣṇu and Rāvaṇa so that he is reckoned among the foremost idols and his fame in the world is very great. This book consists of 4284 verses and is laid out in a very erudite manner. Its author is called Pukaḷēnti, who wrote many other books in the same metre. Its age is about 300 years, but the story is supposed to have happened many thousands of years ago, on the island of Ceylon where Rāvaṇa had had his capital and fortress. BM 43

This work is not immediately identifiable, but Hanuman's exploits in the war against Rāvaṇa are a popular subject for folk narratives.³⁶ On the ascription to Pukaḷēnti see the comments above (on BM 32).

Aschara Kowei, ein Buch von hundert Liedern oder *Versen* handelnd von allerlei *Ceremonien*, so unter den *Malabaren* gebräuchlich sind, in ihrem Umgang der Götter und Menschen. Der *Autor* heißt *Kankaddu maragnana Pandarum*, so da 8 Tagereisen von hier gewohnt hat und stets seine Augen mit einem Tuche verbunden hat, um daß er die Eitelkeiten der Welt nicht anschauen möge, noch von selbiger sich verführen ließe, als einstmals sein Priester, der da nahe allhier gewohnt hat, unversehener Weise ein Bein gebrochen, so hat er solches dieselbige Stunde wissen können, uneracht daß er sehr weit von ihm gewohnt hat. Er wird von den *Malabaren* sehr heilig gehalten, sintemal er auch nebst diesem Buche noch viele andere moralische Bücher geschrieben hat. Er ist gestorben vor etliche 40 Jahr. BM 44

Ācārakōvai, a book of one hundred songs or verses dealing with various ceremonies which are in use among the Malabarians in their intercourse with gods and humans. The author is called Kaṇkaṭṭi maṛaiṇāṇa paṇṭāram, he lived eight days' journey from here and always had a cloth tied over his eyes in order that he might not look upon the vanities of the world, or let himself be led astray by them. Once when his priest, who lived near here, suddenly broke a leg he was able to know about it the very same hour even though he lived far from him. He is regarded as very holy by the Malabarians especially as apart from this book he has also written many other books of morality. He died some 40 years ago. BM 44

Ācārakōvai, one of the *paṭiṇenkiḷkkaṇakku*, is ascribed to Peruvāyiṇ muḷḷiyār and dated to the eighth or ninth century. The author mentioned by Ziegenbalg is Kaṇkaṭṭi Maṛaiṇāṇa Paṇṭāram, who wrote a number of small Śaiva works in the sixteenth or seventeenth

³⁶ For example, the *Aṇumār Kataippāṭal* (IAS 257; Hikosaka and Samuel, *Descriptive Catalogue* 5: 152).

century. Gaur suggests Ziegenbalg may refer to a commentary by Kaṇkaṭṭi Maṛaiṇāṇa Paṇṭāram on the *Ācārakōvai*. Although no such work by Kaṇkaṭṭi Maṛaiṇāṇa Paṇṭāram is known, there is a commentary by an unknown author. Ziegenbalg several times quotes from *Ācārakōvai* in his *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, mainly on matters relating to ritual.

Ācārakkōvai, ed. T. Celvakkēcavarāya Mutaliyār (Madras: Diocesan Press, 1923).

- BM *Kaiaronerulā*, eine Beschreibung des Abgotts *Kaiaroner*, so in der holländischen
45 Stadt *Nagapatnam* angebetet und verehret wird von den *Malabaren*. Darinnen werden die großen Thaten und Wunde desselbigen Abgotts erzählet und sehr hoch gerühmet. Wie denn in diesem Lande eine jedwede Stadt und ein jedwedes Dorf seinen sonderbaren Abgott hat, der vor andern sich ihnen insonderheit geoffenbaret und große Hülfe geleistet hat. Der *Autor* dieses Buchs heißt *Ralamega nainār*, so ein *Bramanen* gewesen und ungefähr vor 50 Jahr gelebet hat.
- BM **Kāyārōṇar ulā*, a description of the idol Kāyārōṇar, who is worshipped and ven-
45 erated by the Malabarians in the Dutch town Nākappaṭṭiṇam. The mighty deeds and wonders of this god are described in it, and very highly praised. For in this country each town and each village has its particular idol who, more than the others, has revealed him or herself and offered special help. The author of this book is called Kāḷamēkam nayingār, he was a Brahmin who lived about fifty years ago.

Nākappaṭṭiṇam is referred to as Nākaikkārōṇam, “in token of Civaṇ’s taking souls into Himself at the time of His destruction of the world.”³⁷ Kāḷamēkam is a prolific fifteenth-century Brahmin poet. Although there is no *Kāyārōṇar ulā* among Kāḷamēkam’s known works, he is the author of a work in the *ulā* genre (the *Tiruvāṇaikkā ulā*, on Tiruvanaikkaval near Srirangam). One of those who procured books for Ziegenbalg seems to have come from Nākappaṭṭiṇam (cf. the entry for a *Varukka kōvai* BM 91) and he has other works connected with the town (*Kīlvēḷūr kalampakam* BM 46 and *Varuṇakulātittan maṭal* BM 89). Ziegenbalg quotes (GMG 203) from a letter, perhaps from the same person, recounting how Puṇṭarika Makāriṣi, having performed arduous austerities at the Kāyārōṇar temple, was taken up into the *linkam*.³⁸

³⁷ G. John Samuel, ed., *Encyclopedia of Tamil Literature* (Madras: Institute of Asian Studies, 1990), 1: 294.

³⁸ The story is given in three *paṭalams* of the mid-nineteenth-century *Tirunākaikkārōṇa purāṇam* by Mīnāṭcicuntaram Pillai (*Tirunākaikkārōṇa purāṇam* (Cennai: Ēsiyāṭic accukkūṭam, 1869), 56–73).

Kilwelur Kalambagam, eine Beschreibung der Landschaft *Kilwelur*, darinnen gezeigt, was für *Pagoden* oder Kirchen daselbst sind, was sich mit den Göttern und heiligen Leuten daselbst sind, was sich mit den Göttern und heiligen Leuten zuge tragen hat, was für Wunder daselbst geschehen sind etc. Dieses Buch fasset hundert Versstrophen in sich und ist von einem Ackermann gemacht worden Namens *Nainaddamodali*, so da vor 40 Jahr gestorben. BM 46

**Kīlvēlūr kalampakam*, a description of the Kīlvēlūr region, describing what pagodas or churches are there and which gods and holy people are connected with them and what happened with the gods and holy people, what wonders took place there etc. This book consists of a hundred stanzas and was composed by a farmer named Neynāṭa [or Nainappa] Mutali, who died forty years ago. BM 46

Kalampakam is “a rather untidy and bizarre” but “immensely productive” hypergenre in which one hundred poems about a deity, temple or guru in fourteen or eighteen different genres are compiled in *antāti* arrangement.³⁹ Neither the text nor the author mentioned by Ziegenbalg has been identified; Jeyaraj suggests the *Puḷḷirukkuvēlūr kalampakam*, but Puḷḷirukkuvēlūr refers to Vaitṭicuvaraṅkōyil (see BM 39) and not to Kīlvēlūr, which is near Nākappaṭṭiṇam. In the *Genealogia*, Ziegenbalg identifies this as a Vaiṣṇava work, but the main temple in Kīlvēlūr is Śaiva, as the reference to Murukan’s spear (*vēl*) in the name of both town and text suggests. In his entry on another text connected with Nākappaṭṭiṇam, a *Varukka kōvai* (BM 91) Ziegenbalg states that Viṣṇu rules the Nākappaṭṭiṇam region.

Nidischarum, ein Büchlein von der Sittenlehre, so da im *Kirendum* oder der malabarischen Sprache geschrieben ist, nebst der Erklärung in der *tamulschen* Sprache. Es bestehet in hundert Versstrophen und also auch in hundert Sitten-Lehre. Der *Autor* dessen ist ein *Bramanen* gewesen. BM 47

Nīti cāram, a booklet of moral philosophy, written in Kirentam or the Malabarian language⁴⁰ together with explanation in the Tamil language. It consists of a hundred stanzas and thus also a hundred points of moral philosophy. The author was a Brahmin. BM 47

³⁹ Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature* (HIL), 200. Cf. David Shulman, “Notes on *Tillaikkalampakam*”, in *South Asian Horizons: Felicitations Volume for François Gros on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, ed. Jean-Luc Chevillard and Eva Wilden (Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry/École française d’Extrême Orient, 2004), 157–76.

⁴⁰ Gaur translates here “the Malabari Latin,” which is indeed how Ziegenbalg usually refers to texts written in Grantha characters, but Germann reads “der malabarischen Sprache.”

This is the Tamil adaptation of a Sanskrit didactic anthology, the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaki (seventh-eighth century). In the *Genealogia*, Ziegenbalg lists *Nīti cāram* together with *Nāna venpā* (BM 48), *Civavākkīyam* (BM 51–53) and *Tirukkuraḷ* (BM 7) as the most important works of the *ñāṇikaḷ*, those who annihilate (“vernichten”) all idolatry, worship the single divine being without images, and whose books prescribe a virtuous life as worship of the only God.⁴¹ In *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, he writes that on first reading these works he thought that “their authors were perhaps Christians” (MH 42). A later missionary scholar, Robert Caldwell, argued that the ideas of *cittar* writers like Civavākkīyar were the result of Christian influence.⁴²

Vākkunṭām, Nalvali, Nanṇeri, Nīticāram, ed. Kā. Namaccivāya Mutaliyār (Cennai: Tamilkkaṭal Āpis, 1931).

BM 48 *Janawenba*, ein Büchlein vom gottseligen Leben nebst unterschiedlichen Gebetsformeln. Der Autor dessen heißt *Kurunamatschiweier*, so viele dergleichen Bücher geschrieben hat.

BM 48 **Nāna venpā*, a booklet on the life that is pleasing to God, together with various prayer formulas. The author is called Kuru Namacivāyar, who has written many books of this kind.

As Ziegenbalg writes, the sixteenth-century Kuru Namacivāyar wrote several works in *venpā* metre. No single work entitled *Nāna venpā* is among those ascribed to him, but the title may well have been used for a collection of such works. Several manuscripts of this sort are in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (GOML R-3417, 4241, 4799). R-3147 deals with the *pañcāṅgāra* mantra and the four paths (*pātanāṅku*) leading to liberation. Ziegenbalg quotes from the *Nāna venpā* several times in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, notably in the third chapter of the first part, where he seeks to demonstrate that Hindus have a genuinely monotheistic conception of God as the Supreme Being.

BM 49 *Maneisastiram*, die Wissenschaft zu bauen, darinnen gezeigt wird, was man beim Bauen zu observiren hat; ist nur eine ganz kleine Anweisung von lauter Aberglauben.

⁴¹ GMG 15r. In his recent translation of the *Genealogia*, where Ziegenbalg writes “Gnanigöl oder Weise,” Jeyaraj gives “Jains.” Although Ziegenbalg was aware of the Jains, he does not refer to them here.

⁴² K. Kailasapathy, “The Writing of the Tamil Siddhas,” in *The Sants: Studies in a Devotional Tradition of India*, ed. Karine Schomer and W. H. McLeod (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987), 386.

Maṇaicāstiram, the art of building, showing what is to be observed when building; just a very small manual full of superstitions. BM 49

Though “mostly astrological in character,” the *Maṇaicāstiram* also gives “some information about the timber to be used in the construction of houses and about the manner of construction for the accommodation of people of different castes.”⁴³

Maṇai nūl, ed. Pū. Cuppiramaṇiyam (Ceṇṇai: Ulakat Tamilārāycci niṟuvaṇam, 1981).

Uddira podagam, ein Lied über den Abgott zu Sanct Thomas, dessen Name *Mailabburischen* heißt. BM 50

Uttara pōtakam, a song about the idol at San Thome, the name of which is Mayilāppūrican. BM 50

Mayilāppūrican, “the Lord of Mylapore” is a form of Śiva. There are two manuscripts of a Śaiva work with this title in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (D-1227 and 1228). The work, which has not been published, consists of 49 stanzas on the role of a guru in achieving salvation, in the form of a conversation between a guru and his disciple.⁴⁴

Tschiwapaikkiam, die Glückseligkeit des Lebens darinnen lauter artige *moralia* begriffen sind, bestehend in 48 Versstrophen. Der *Autor* hat sich selbst den Namen *Tschiwapaikkiam* gegeben, welches so viel heißt, als die Glückseligkeit des Lebens, er hat noch sehr viele andere Verse gemacht von der Sittenlehre. Er ist zwar ein Malabar gewesen, hat sich aber zu keiner Religion bekannt, allein weisend auf ein tugendsames Leben. Wie er denn die Thorheit der Menschen sehr artig weiß vorzustellen und selbige zu *corrigiren*. Er hat sehr viele Anhänger annoch heutiges Tages, die nichts anders als nur seine Schriften lesen, wenig achtend die äußerlichen *Ceremonien* der Abgötter und so da in den *Pagoden* geschehen. Mit dergleichen Personen habe ich sehr vielfältig geredet, da sie denn in alle demjenigen mit mir eingestimmt haben, was ich ihnen von den Tugenden gesaget; aber wie sie von ihren Abgöttern und den Streitigkeiten in ihrer Religion nichts halten, so wollen sie denn auch von Christo und von dem Unterschied der christlichen Religion wenig hören. Dergleichen Leute habe ich auch unter den Mohren und Mahometanern BM 51

⁴³ S. Kuppaswami Sastri, *A Triennial Catalogue of Tamil Manuscripts Collected during the Triennium 1913–14 to 1915–16 for the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras*, vol. 2. Part 2, Tamil. (Madras: Government of Madras, 1917), xiv.

⁴⁴ Na. Ci. Kantaiyāpillai, *Tamil ilakkiya akarāti* (Ceṇṇai: Tamilmaṇ patippakam, 2003), 22.

angetroffen. Sie sind von einem eingezogenen Leben und werden immerdar von Tugenden reden.

- BM 51 *Civavākkīyam*, the blissfulness of life, which contains nothing but articles of good morality, in 48 stanzas. The author gave himself the name *Civavākkīyam*, which means the blissfulness of life, and he has written many other verses on moral philosophy. Although he was a Malabarian, he confessed no religion but advocated only a virtuous life. He knew very well how to portray the blindness of humanity, and how to correct it. To this day, he has many followers, who read nothing but his work and show little regard for the outward ceremonies of the idols which take place in the pagodas. I have very often spoken with people of this sort, who agree with me in everything in all that I say of the virtues but just as they think nothing of their idols and the disputes in their religion, so they will not hear either of Christ and of the uniqueness of the Christian religion. I have also met with the same type of people among the Moors and Mahometans. They lead a very austere life and are forever talking of virtue.
- BM 52 *Tschiwapaikkiam*, die Glückseligkeit des Lebens, bestehend in hundert und drei Versstrophen, gemacht von jetztgedachten *Autor*.
- BM 52 *Civavākkīyam*, the blissfulness of life, consisting of 103 stanzas, by the author just mentioned.
- BM 53 *Tschiwapaikkiam*, die Glückseligkeit des Lebens, bestehend in 65 Versstrophen. Dergleichen Theile von dem *Tschiwapaikkiam* findet man sehr viele unter den Malabaren und nachdem des *Autors* Schüler wissen, daß ihres Lehrmeisters Namen unter den Malabaren sehr gültig ist, so machen sie selbst sehr viele *moralia* und geben sie unter dessen Namen heraus, wie dergleichen auch oftmals in Europa zu geschehen pfeget.
- BM 53 *Civavākkīyam*, the blissfulness of life, consisting of 65 stanzas. Sections of *Civavākkīyam* like this are very often found among the Malabarians, and once the disciples of an author know that their teacher's name has some currency among the Malabarians, they make many moral precepts themselves and bring them out under his name, just as often happens in Europe.

No Tamil work is quoted more often in Ziegenbalg's own writings, especially the *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, than *Civavākkīyam*. Although Ziegenbalg describes *Civavākkīyam* as having confessed no particular religion, it was precisely his advocacy of an austere mono-

theism, devoid of outward ceremonial and superstitious observances such as caste, which attracted Ziegenbalg to his work. Civavākkīyar's style, using forms found in speech, influenced Ziegenbalg's own style in Tamil in his translation of the Bible and other works.

Patineṇ cittarkal periya ṇānakkōvai, ed. Vā. Caravaṇamuttup Piḷḷai (Cennai: B. Irattina Nāyakar, 1975).

Kumarerperil wannam, ein musicalisches Lied über *Ispiri* Sohn, so sehr künstlich gesungen wird. BM 54

**Kumarar pēril vaṇṇam*, a musical song on Īcuvaraṇ's son, which is sung very artistically.

Wischtnum dewannam, ein Lied über *Wischtnum*, so allein von den Musicis gesungen werden kann. BM 55

**Viṣṇu mēl vaṇṇam*, a song about Viṣṇu, which can only be sung by musicians.

Annamalei nader wannam, ein Lied über *Ispiren*. BM 56

Aṇṇāmalainātar vaṇṇam, a song about Īcuvaraṇ.

Uḍelkuddu wannam, ein Lied über die Beschaffenheit des menschlichen Lebens. BM 57

Uṭalkurru vaṇṇam, a song about the nature of human life.

**Schuwami perile wannam*, zwei Lieder über Gott. BM 58

Cuvāmi pēril vaṇṇam, two songs about God.

Vaṇṇam is a genre of short but sophisticated poems in eight stanzas, which flourished from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Of the five works here, only *Aṇṇāmalainātar vaṇṇam* and *Uṭalkurru vaṇṇam* can be identified with confidence. Cērai Kavirāca Piḷḷai's *vaṇṇam* on Śiva as Lord of Aṇṇāmalai is one of the most accomplished of the genre. Of the several *Uṭalkurru vaṇṇam*, the best known are those of Aruṇakirinātar and the fifteenth-century *cittar* Paṭṭinattār, both of which are reflections on the vanity of human life.

"Aṇṇāmalaiyār Vaṇṇam", in *Palavittuvāṇkal pāṭiya Vaṇṇattirattu*, ed. Kā. Ra. Kōvintarāja Mutaliyār (Cennai: Māraṇ Accukkūṭam, 1926), 29–31.

Vā. Caravaṇamuttup Piḷḷai, ed., *Patineṇcittarkal periya Ṇānakkōvai* (Cennai: Vittiyārat-nākara Accukkūṭam, 1927).

BM *Dadduwa wilakkam*, ein philosophisches Buch, darinnen gezeiget wird die ganze
 59 Beschaffenheit des Menschen Leibes und der Seelen, sammt alle demjenigen, was
 zu dem Wesen des Leibes und der Seelen gehört, da dann nachmals von dem Er-
 kenntniß des Menschen gezeiget wird, wie Gott zu erkennen sei. Es ist ein sehr
 schweres Buch sowohl seiner *Materie* nach als auch wegen seiner Versart. Diese
 und dergleichen Bücher werden anietzo nicht mehr von den *Malabaren* geschrie-
 ben, sondern sind alle vor uralten Zeiten von denjenigen geschrieben worden, die
 sie Propheten nennen. Dergleichen philosophische Wissenschaften haben sie 96,
 deren ich mich aber noch nicht recht erkundigen können.

BM *Tattuva viḷakkam*, a philosophical book, in which the whole nature of the human
 59 body and soul is described, together with all that which pertains to the nature
 of the body and soul. Afterward it is shown how recognition of human nature
 should lead to recognition of God. It is a very difficult book both with respect to
 its content, and because of the type of verse. Books like this are now no longer
 written by the Malabarians, rather they have all been written in the olden days by
 those they call prophets. They have 96 philosophical sciences of this sort, but I
 am not yet able to give a proper account of them.

There are several works with this title, but Ziegenbalg's entry suggests that what he had was
 the *Tattuva viḷakkam* ascribed to Campanta caraṇālayar (fifteenth century, also known as
 Kaṇṇuṭaiya Vaḷḷalār), a Caiva Cittānta work in 51 verses. The work is listed in Walther's
 catalogue in 1731 as "Parāparatattuvam or Tattuvaviḷakkam" and was one of only 20 works
 in the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* still remaining in the mission library in 1754.

Tattuva viḷakkam: mūlamum uraiyum, ed. Irāma Kōvintacāmi Pillai (Tañcāvūr: Caracuvati
 makāl nūl nilaiyam, 1990).

BM *Nalenkadei*, eine weitläufige Historie eines berühmten Königes *Nalen* gennant, so
 60 da mit seinem Bruder die ganze Welt soll beherrscht haben. Es ist solche *Historie*
 in schweren *Versen* geschrieben, und hält solche Sachen in sich, die die neugierigen
 Malabaren gerne hören mögen. Der *Autor* dessen heißt *Adiwiraramen*, so da
 ein König gewesen und die *Poesie* wohl verstanden haben soll.

BM *Naḷaṇ katai*, a lengthy story of a famous king called Naḷaṇ, who together with
 60 his brother is supposed to have ruled the whole world. This story is written in
 difficult verses and includes the sort of things which the curious Malabarians like
 very much to hear. The author is called Ativīrārāmaṇ, who is supposed to have
 been a king and to have had a good understanding of poetry.

An episode from the *Mahābhārata*, the story of Naḷaṇ and his queen Tayamanti. There are several Tamil versions, including the fourteenth-century *Naḷaveṇṇā* of Pukaḷēnti, of which Ziegenbalg also had a copy (BM 86). The sixteenth-century version ascribed to Ativīrārāmaṇ Pāṇṇiyaṇ is known as *Naiṭatam*. There is a manuscript entitled *Naḷaṇ katai* in Paris (Tamoule 562), and David Shulman describes “an undatable Tamil folk version printed in chapbook form as the *Naḷaccakkiravartti katai*.”⁴⁵

Naiṭatam: mūlamum uraiyum (Tirunelvēli: Tirunelvēli Teṇṇintiya Caivacittānta Nūrpattipuk Kaḷakam, 1962).

Wanen Koweī, eine historische Beschreibung des Königreichs *Tanjour*, allwo ehemals ein König Namens *Wanen* regieret hat, darinnen ist enthalten die Art der Weibspersonen daselbst, wie sie nämlich geschminket und gekleidet gingen, item die schönen *Situationes*, die wohl liegenden Berge und deren Einwohner etc. Dieses alles ist sehr zierlich in 400 Versstrophen verfasset worden, und wird von den Einwohnern daselbst gesungen zum Zeitvertreib. Der *Autor* heiſt *Ambiabadi*, so ein sehr vornehmer *Poet* gewesen und über alle alte Könige *Verse* gemacht hat. Es werden sonst von ihm sehr viel *Historien* erzählt, die aber allhier nicht können angeführet werden. Er ist des berühmten *Poeten* Kamben Sohn gewesen. BM 61

Vāṇaṇ kōvai, a historical description of the kingdom of Tañcai [Tañcākkūr] where once there reigned a king named Vāṇaṇ. It includes the ways of women, that is, how they were made up and dressed, also beautiful scenes, the well-located mountains and their inhabitants, etc. This has all been composed very elegantly in 400 stanzas, and is sung by the inhabitants themselves to while away the time. The author is called Ampikāpati, a very distinguished poet who wrote verse on all the old kings. Many stories are told of him besides, which however cannot be recited here. He was the son of the famous poet Kampan. BM 61

Tañcaivāṇaṇ kōvai is a thirteenth-century panegyric on Vāṇaṇ (Cantirvāṇaṇ), a Pāṇḍya chieftain of Tañcākkūr in the far south of Tamil Nadu. Tañcai is the short form of both Tañcākkūr and Tañcāvūr, the region surrounding Tranquebar, and Ziegenbalg’s interest in the work might have been prompted by a confusion of the two. *Tañcaivāṇaṇ kōvai*, one of the most famous *kōvai* works, is ascribed to Poyyāmoḷi pulavar and designed to illustrate the principles of Nārkaṇṇaṇampī’s *Akapporuḷ viḷakkam*, a work on *akam* poetics.

⁴⁵ David Shulman, “On Being Human in the Sanskrit Epic: The Riddle of Nala”, in *The Wisdom of Poets: Studies in Tamil, Telugu, and Sanskrit* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 133. Hikosaka and Samuel record a manuscript with this title (IAS 244; *Descriptive Catalogue* 4: 719).

Taṅcai vāṇaṇ kōvai mūlam, ed. Kuṇṛattūr Aṭṭavatāṇi Cokkappa Mutaliyār, Tirumayilai Teyvacikāmaṇi Mutaliyār and Tirumayilai Caṇmukam Piḷḷai (Cennai: Amerikan Accuk-kūṭam, 1893).

- BM *Indira tscheiddu bāralam*, eine Historie von den Heldenthaten des *Indiratscheiddu*,
62 so des *Rawanen* Sohn gewesen. Dieses Buch ist in schweren *Versen* geschrieben: dessen *Autor* ist der oft gedachte *Kamben*.

- BM *Intiracittu paṭalam*, a history of the heroic deeds of Intiracittu, who was the son
62 of Rāvaṇa. This book is written in difficult verses; the author of it is the oft-mentioned Kampan.

The twenty-eighth chapter of the Yutta kāṇṭam of Kampan's *Irāmāvatāram* (BM 31).

- BM *Ambigeimalei*, ein Schulbüchlein von 30 Versstrophen, darinnen das Lob der Göt-
63 tin *Pārbadi* enthalten ist, die da angerufen wird, daß sie bei ihrem Manne, dem großen Abgott *Ispiren*, stets gute *Intercession* einlegen soll. Dieses Büchlein ist vor hundert Jahren von einem *Bramanen* gemacht worden.

- BM *Ampikai mālai*, a little schoolbook of thirty stanzas, containing the praise of the
63 goddess Pārvatī, who is implored always to intercede with her husband, the great idol Īcuvaran. This booklet was written a hundred years back by a Brahmin.

Kulacēkara Pāṇṭiyan's *Ampikai mālai*, thirty verses on Ampikai (the goddess Mīnāṭcī at Madurai) is indeed thought to have been written about a century before Ziegenbalg was writing.⁴⁶

Maturāpuri Ampikai mālai, ed. El. Ē. Veṅkucāmi Aiyar (Maturai: Vivēkapānu Acciyantir-acālai, 1914).

- BM *Bamarāschiamalei*, Anrufung des *Ispiren*, bestehend in 100 Liedern. Der *Autor*
64 heißt *Kuru namatschiweier* dessen oben gedacht worden.

- BM *Paramarakaciya mālai*, an invocation of Īcuvaran, consisting of a hundred songs.
64 The author is Kuru Namacivāyar, who has been mentioned above (BM 48).

Ziegenbalg quotes a dozen of the hundred verses of Kuru Namacivāyar's *Paramarakaciya mālai* in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, repeating two of them in the *Genealogia*.⁴⁷ The mission archive in Halle holds a palm-leaf manuscript (TAM 89G) of *Paramarakaciya mālai*

⁴⁶ Clooney, *Divine Mother, Blessed Mother*, 251.

⁴⁷ MH 40, 68, 76, 107, 168, 172, 176, 235; GMG 161.

copied in 1735, most likely from the copy in the mission library in Tranquebar recorded in Walther's 1731 catalogue.⁴⁸ It is one of only eight works in Ziegenbalg's original collection which are still held in manuscript in the mission archives in Halle.⁴⁹

Paramarāciyamālai mūlapāṭam, ed. Kōkulapuram Caravaṇa Paṇṭitar and C. Virācāmi Nāy-
uṭu (Ceṇṇai: Vityāviṇōta Accukkūṭam, 1880).

Kuschalawen kadei, eine Historie von des *Wischtnum* Sohne dem *Kuschalawen*, so da von der Göttin *Tschidadewi* geboren worden, und mit seinem eigenen Vater, dem *Wischtnum*, Krieg geführet hat, nicht wissend, daß er sein Sohn sey, indem er in der Wildniß von einem Propheten auferzogen worden. Diese Historie bestehet in 400 Versstrophen, so da von *Kamben* gemacht worden. BM 65

Kucalavaṇ katai, a history of Viṣṇu's son, Kucalavaṇ, who was born of the goddess Sītā Devī, and waged war upon his own father, Viṣṇu, not knowing that he was his son as he had been raised in the wilderness by a prophet. This history consists of 400 stanzas, written by Kampan. BM 65

This is a folk version of the story of Kuca and Lavā, the sons of Rāmā, but it is not by Kampan, who did not include the Uttara kāṇṭam in his *Irāmāvatāram*. Oṭṭakkūttar translated the Uttara kāṇṭam into Tamil. A manuscript (IAS 22) and a published edition are available, but Hikosaka and Samuel note that the story in this manuscript differs from Oṭṭakkūttar's version. Sita gives birth first to one son, Kucalavaṇ, and a second, Acalavaṇ, is created by Vālmiki (*Descriptive Catalogue* 4: 369–70). The editor of the edition published by the Saraswati Mahal Library ascribes it to Viṇaitīrttāṇ.

Kucalavaṇ katai, ed. Ca. Tilakam (Tañcāvūr: Tañcāvūr Makārājā Carapōjjiyṇ Caracuvati Makāl Nūl Nilaiyam, 1983).

Tschamanda bullei dirunamum, die Beschaffenheit des Menschen nach seinem unterschiedlichen Alter bestehende in 100 Liedern, wie denn von den Malabaren alle Verse gesungen werden als Lieder, der *Autor* dieses Buchs heißt *Dirumankeialwar*, so da lange Zeit ein König gewesen, aber nachmals sein Königreich verlassen hat, und sich nur der Weisheit beflissen im Leben, Reden und Schreiben, welches alles in der ersten Weltzeit geschehen seyn soll. BM 66

⁴⁸ Jeyaraj, *Tamil-Palmbblatt-Manuskripte*, 284.

⁴⁹ Most of the others are didactic works, much favoured by the missionaries, copied in the same year and bound in the same volume (TAM 89): *Ulaṇāṇi*, *Nalvali*, *Koṇṇaivēntaṇ*, *Atticūṭi*, *Mūturai*, *Nīṭivenpā* (BM 100–105). The exception is *Cittiraputtiranayinār katai* (BM 109).

- BM 66 **Camanta pillai tirunāmam*, the nature of a man through the different periods of life, consisting of a hundred songs. All poetry is sung by the Malabarians as songs. The author of this book is called Tirumaṅkai Ālvār, who for a long time was a king, but later renounced his kingdom and devoted himself to wisdom in life, speech and writing. This is supposed all to have taken place in the first age of the world.

This work is difficult to identify. *Pillaittirunāmam* is another name for the *pillaittamil* genre, which usually consists of one hundred verses in ten sections. Jeyaraj suggests the title be taken as a reference to Camantakam, a jewel worn by Kṛṣṇa around his neck, but there are only 20 verses in *pillaittamil* style in Tirumaṅkai Ālvār's works and none refer to Camantakam.⁵⁰ Ziegenbalg's description of the work coheres with the traditional account of Tirumaṅkai's life, suggesting that this could be a work about him, rather than by him, based on autobiographical details in his poetry.

- BM 67 *Egateschipuranum*, ein altes Buch von den Fasten der Malabaren, so alle halbe Monden geschiehet. Es ist darinnen enthalten eine Historie eines Königes Namens *Rukkuman Kuden*, der allezeit nach Verfließung eines halben Mondes gefastet hat, und von *Wischtnum* deswegen in die Seligkeit aufgenommen worden. Dahero weil alle Malabaren gerne wollen selig werden, so pflegen sie allezeit dieselben 2 Tage im Monat zu fasten.
- BM 67 **Ēkātaci purāṇam*, an old book on the Malabarians' fast which takes place every half-moon. It contains the history of a king named Rukmāṅkatan, who fasted at the passing of every half-moon and was therefore granted salvation by Viṣṇu. Thus since all Malabarians keenly want to be saved, they are in the habit of fasting on the same two days of the month.

There is an *purāṇam* on the Ēkātaci fast observed by Vaiṣṇavas by Varata Paṇṭitar, an eighteenth-century Brahmin from Jaffna, who also composed a *Civarāttiri purāṇam* on a similar fast observed by Śaivas.⁵¹ Ziegenbalg has a *Civarāttiri purāṇam* (BM 95) but the works by Varata Paṇṭitar are probably later than the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* and Ziegenbalg does not mention him in connection with either of them. Ziegenbalg summarises the story of each *purāṇam* in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum* (MH 86–87, 89).

⁵⁰ The title might instead be taken to refer to Campantar, and there is a work by Mācilāmaṇitecikaṛ entitled *Tirunānacampantar pillaittamil*, but Ziegenbalg makes clear in his reference to this work in the *Genealogia* (GMG 97v) that this is a work on Viṣṇu.

⁵¹ A. Varatarāja Paṇṭitar, *Yalppāṇattuc Cūṇṇakappatiyil eḷuntaruḷiya Kāci A. Varatanācapaṇṭitar iyarriya Ēkātaci purāṇam* (Cennai: Paṇṭita Mittira Acciyantiracālai, 1898).

Kerudabanschatscharam, abergläubische Anbetung eines Vogels *Keruden* genannt, darauf *Wischtnum* als auf einem Wagen fahren soll. Vermöge dieser abergläubischen Gebetsformeln soll einer mächtig seyn alle Schlangen zu greifen, ohne daß er von ihr gestochen wird. Dieses Büchlein soll *Wischtnum* selbst gemacht haben, daher wird es denn auch als ein großes Heiligthum gehalten von den *Wischtnumianern*. Mein Poet, den ich anjetzo bei mir habe, hat selbst vermöge dieser Hexerei viele Schlangen gefangen und kann noch alle Schlange angreifen, ohneracht daß er blind ist.

BM
68

Karuṭa pañcāṭcaram, superstitious worship of a bird called *Karuṭa* on whom Viṣṇu is supposed to travel, as on a vehicle. By virtue of these superstitious mantras one is supposedly empowered to handle all snakes without being bitten by them. Viṣṇu himself is supposed to have written this little book, for which reason it is regarded as very holy by the Vaiṣṇavas. My poet, who I have with me now, has caught many snakes by this sorcery and can handle all snakes despite the fact that he is blind.

BM
68

Hikosaka and Samuel record a manuscript of this work in 57 verses (IAS 377; *Descriptive Catalogue* 4: 319) which “reveals the methods to make antidotes for [snake] poison through mantras.”

Tschiran kareier ammanei, ein sehr weitläufiges Buch in sehr wohlklingenden und fließenden *Versen*, darinnen die ganze Historie des *Wischtnum* enthalten ist. Der *Autor* dessen ist ein vornehmer Kayser gewesen, so über alle Königrieche und Fürstenthümer das Oberhaupt gewesen. Sein Name heißt *Tschirankureier*, von dessen Familie annoch einer allhier auf dieser Küste *Coromandel* den Titel eines Kaisers führet, aber dergleichen Herrschaft nicht mehr hat; sintemal der große Mogul ihm nur ein Land von zwei Tonnen Goldes eingeräumt hat, davon er seinen Staat führen muß.

BM
69

Ciraṅka rāyā ammānai, a very lengthy book in very mellifluous and fluent verses, containing the whole history of Viṣṇu. The author of it was a noble emperor, the overlord of all kingdoms and principalities. His name was Ciraṅkarācā, and his family here on this Coromandel coast still bear the title of emperor, but no longer have the same power for the great Mogul has only ceded to him land worth two tonnes of gold from which he must sustain his state.

BM
69

Three emperors of the Aravidu dynasty of the Vijayanagara empire bore the name Śrīraṅka, but none is known to have composed an *ammānai*. There is however a manuscript with this title in the Sarasvati Mahal Library (SML Vol. III 491).

BM *Kischtnen Tudu*, ein historisches Buch von dem Abgott *Kischtnen*, darinnen von
70 lauter Kriegesfachen gehandelt wird. Es bestehet in 260 Versstrophen nebst Erklärung eines jedwedens Verses. Der *Autor* dessen heißt *Willipuddualwar*, so da ein Ackermann gewesen, dessen Sohn annoch am Leben ist, und sich durch seine *Poesie* sehr bekannt gemacht hat.

BM *Kiruṣṇaṇ tūtu*, a historical book on the idol *Kiruṣṇaṇ*, dealing with topics of war-
70 fare. It consists of 260 stanzas together with commentary on each verse. The author is called *Villiputtūr Ālvār*, he was a farmer. His son is still alive, and made himself very famous through his poetry.

“The Embassy of *Kiruṣṇaṇ*” is an episode from the *Uṭṭiyōka paruvam* of *Villiputtūr Ālvār*’s *Pāratam*, in which *Kiruṣṇaṇ* unsuccessfully attempts to mediate between the warring parties. The episode is performed as a *terukkūttu*, a ritual theatre performed in villages, the most important of which re-enact the *Pāratam* over eighteen days. “Although the episode is presented and interpreted as a *terukkūttu*, the text of the composed portions is drawn almost entirely from the *Villiputtūr Pāratam*.”⁵² The episode is popular and has been published separately. According to Tamil tradition, *Villiputtūr*’s son completed his unfinished work, but *Villiputtūr* lived perhaps 400 years before *Ziegenbalg*’s time.

Śrīvilliputtūrālvār aruḷiya Śrī Kiruṣṇaṇ tūtu mūlamum, Kāñcipuram kumārācuvāmi Tē-cikaravarkaḷ iyarriya polippuraḷiyum (Ceṇṇai: Pūmakal vilāca accukkūṭam, 1934).

BM *Nellemalei*, ein Buch von Liebesversen oder Liedern, welches den unzüchtigen
71 Versen des *Ovid* nicht unähnlich ist.

BM *Nellai mālai*, a book of erotic verse or songs, not without resemblance to the un-
71 chaste verses of *Ovid*.

Taylor records a manuscript with this title in the Mackenzie Collection (Vol. III, p. 63), but makes no comment on erotic content although he seldom fails to do so with other works. There are a series of works about *Nellaiyappar* (*Śiva* in *Tirunelvēli*) which make reference to the myth of *Śiva* as *Bhikṣāṭana*, the beggar whose beauty seduced the wives of the ascetics in the forest.⁵³ *Ziegenbalg*’s text is most likely the *Nellai varukka kōvai* (or *varukka mālai*) of *Virai Vētiyaṇ Ampikāpati*.

⁵² Richard Armando Frasca, *The Theater of the Mahābhārata: Terukkūttu Performances in South India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1990), 156.

⁵³ For a detailed study of this cycle of myths and in particular of the *Tārūkāvāṇa carukkam* of the nineteenth-century *Tirunēlveli talapurāṇam* of *Nellaiyappa Pillai* or *Kavirāyar*, see Don Handelman and David Shulman, *Śiva in the Forest of Pines: An Essay on Sorcery and Self-Knowledge* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Ampikāpati iyarriya Nellai varukkak kōvai, ed. L. Ulakanātapillai (Tañcai: Kūṭṭuravup Pattipakam, 1936).

Keschendiramodschem, die Seligkeit eines Elefanten Namens *Keschendirum*, welcher von einem Krokodil gefangen, aber von *Wischtnum* wieder erlöst und in die Seligkeit eingeföhret worden. Diese *Historie* wird in *Versen* sehr artig vorgetragen, hat aber lauter Ungereimtheiten in sich. Es ist dieses Buch anfänglich in *Kirendum* geschrieben worden von *Barāschara brummarischi*. Nachmals aber in *malabarische Verse* versetzt von *Kischtnamarascha*, so da ein vornehmer Edelmann gewesen, und sehr viele andere poetische Bücher geschrieben hat. Er ist gestorben vor 60 Jahren. BM 72

Kajēntiramōṭcam, the salvation of an elephant named Kajēntira, who was caught by a crocodile but then freed again by Viṣṇu and granted salvation. This story is set out in verse very well but is full of absurdities. This book was originally written in *kirantam* by Paraca Pirammariṣi. Later it was translated into Malabarian verse by Kirusṇamarācar, a distinguished nobleman who wrote very many other poetic books. He died sixty years ago. BM 72

Viṣṇu's rescue of the elephant Kajēntira (Gajendra) appears in many Sanskrit sources, but was especially popular in the south. Paraca Pirammariṣi (Parāśara Brahmarṣi) is the speaker of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* which, however, does not include the story of Kajēntira. Ziegenbalg's Kirusṇamarācar cannot be identified, but Shulman notes that "Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore (1614–33), the great poet-king, composed a Telugu dance-drama (*yakṣagāna*) on this theme."⁵⁴ There is a Tamil version of the story entitled *Kajēntira mōṭcam* ascribed to Tiruvaṭitācar.

Tiruvaṭitācar aruḷicceya Kajēntiramōṭcam: mūlapāṭam, ed. Ū. Puṣparata Ceṭṭiyār (Ceṇṇapaṭṭanam: Kalāratnākaram Accukkūṭam, 1890).

Tscharanul, ein Buch von der Wahrsagerkunst, so in 52 Versstrophen besteht, welche alle erkläret sind. Es fehlen einige *Verse* am Ende, wie viel aber kann ich nicht wissen. Diese Geheimnisse soll *Ispiren* seinem Weibe entdeckt haben der *Parbadi*, welche nachmals dergleichen Buch einem Propheten in den Griffel dictiret, so daß solche Wissenschaft nachmals unter die Menschen gekommen. BM 73

Caranul, a fortune-telling book, consisting of fifty-two stanzas, all of which are explained. Some verses are missing at the end, but I am unable to find out how BM 73

⁵⁴ David Shulman, "Remaking a Purāṇa: The Rescue of Gajendra in Potana's Telugu *Mahābhāgavatamu*", in *Purāṇa Perennis: Reciprocity and Transformation in Hindu and Jaina Texts*, ed. Wendy Doniger (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 128.

many. Īcuvaraṇ is supposed to have revealed these secrets to his wife, Pārvatī, who then dictated the same book to a prophet so that this science would later be known to humanity.

This is a short text on predicting a person's future by observing their breathing. It is set in the form of an answer by Śiva to Pārvatī's question. There are several manuscripts and editions, all about the same length as Ziegenbalg's manuscript, suggesting that not many verses, if any, were missing from his copy. It is included among the works of the *cittar*.

Vā. Caravaṇamuttup Pillai, ed., *Patineṇṇittarkaḷ periya Nāṇakkōvai* (Ceṇṇai: Vittiyārat-nākara Accukkūṭam, 1927).

- BM 74 *Madananul*, ein sehr unflätiges Hurenbuch, darinnen der Hurengeist mit rechten Farben abgemalet ist, der unter diesen heidnischen *Malabaren* die Herrschaft hat, sintemal sie zu keiner Sünde mehr geneiget sind als zu der Sünde wider das sechste Gebot, wozu sie sowohl ihr eigen sündlich Fleisch und Blut, als auch sonderlich die *Historie* ihrer Abgötter verleitet, als welche alle dergleichen Sünden ergeben sind, dahero wird dergleichen Sünde nicht eben für eine große Sünde gehalten.

- BM 74 *Matananul*, a very obscene book of whores, in which the spirit of whoring which rules among these heathen Malabarians is shown in its true colours, for they are inclined to no sin more than the sin against the sixth commandment, to which they are led not only by their own sinful flesh and blood but also especially by the stories of their idols, all of whom are given over to the same sins, and thus these sins are not even regarded as serious.

A translation of the *Rati rahasyam*, a Sanskrit work on erotics attributed to Kokkōkar. The editor of the edition cited here attributes the Tamil translation to Varatuṅkarāma pāṇṭiyaṇ.

Kokkōkamum matanalilaiyum, jalakkirūtaiyum aṇaṅkiyirukkiṇṇaṇa, ed. Pālakkāṭu Cupputaliyār (Cintātarippēṭṭai: Vivōtaya Accukkūṭam, 1909).

- BM 75 *Ullamudeian*, die Wahrsagereikunst, so von den *Bramanen* und *Pantarum* gelernet wird, die da nachmals von andern gemeinen Leuten dessen befraget worden, wenn sie etwa etwas bauen wollten oder sonst etwas Wichtiges vorhaben, daß sie möchten erfahren, ob es möge gut oder böse sein, und ob es wohl oder übel von Statten gehen würde, sie sagen, daß wer dergleichen Buch recht verstünde und nach selbigem alles wohl ausrechnen könne, der würde befinden, daß niemals einige Wahrsagung fehlschlagen würde. Es ist aber dergleichen Kunst in sehr intricaten Versen vorgetragen, so daß man sie ohne Anweisung von sich selbst schwerlich erlernen

kann; wie sie denn auch eine von Gott verbotene Kunst ist, so da mehr Schaden als Nutzen in der Welt hat angerichtet. Der *Autor* dessen heißt *Daumandiri*, so ein berühmter *Poet* gewesen und sehr viel dergleichen Bücher geschrieben hat.

Uḷlamuṭaiyān, the art of fortune-telling, as learned by the Brahmins and paṇṭārams who are then questioned by the other common people when they want to build something or otherwise plan something important so that they may know if it will turn out well or badly and whether it will go to plan or not. Thus whoever understands this book properly and is able to make calculations according to it will find that his prophecies never fail. This art is, however, set out in very intricate verses, so that without instruction it is very hard to learn on one's own. Moreover this is an art forbidden by God, and has caused more harm than benefit in the world. The author is called Taṇvantiri, he was a famous poet and has written very many books of this kind. BM
75

As Ziegenbalg makes clear in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, *Uḷlamuṭaiyān* is an astrological work (MH 232). There are two works entitled *Uḷlamuṭaiyān Cūṭāmaṇi* (or *Cūṭāmaṇi Uḷlamuṭaiyān*). One is ascribed to Maṇṭalapuruṭaṇ, the sixteenth-century Jaina author of *Cūṭāmaṇi nikaṇṭu*. The author of the other is known only as *Uḷlamuṭaiyān*; Zvelebil assigns him to the twelfth or thirteenth century. Ziegenbalg also attributes another astrological work (BM 81) to Taṇvantiri. Taṇvantiri is a *cittar*, said to dwell at Vaiticuvaraṇkōyil.⁵⁵ Germann reads the Halle ms. here as “Daumantiri” and at BM 81 as “Danmantiri.” Gaur similarly reads the Sloane ms. as “Daúmandiri” and “Danmandiei,” and my own examination of the mss. suggests they are correct to read the fourth character as “m.” Nevertheless, no Taṇmantiri is known and it seems likely that Taṇvantiri is intended, even if Ziegenbalg wrote something like “Danmantiri.”

Maṇṭalapuruṭaṇ aruḷicceya periya uḷlamuṭaiyān eṇkīra, cūṭāmaṇi uḷlamuṭaiyān: mūlamum uraiyum, ed. Citamparam Poṇṇucāmi Mutaliyār (Ceṇṇai: Vittitāviṇōta accukkūṭam, 1890).

Cōṭṭakiraka cintāmaṇi, eṇṇum, Vīmēcura uḷlamuṭaiyān: mūlamum uraiyum, ed. Ci. Taṅka-velu Mutaliyār (Ceṇṇai: Saṇ āp Intiyā Piras, 1923).

Nimidda Tschutamani, ist gleichfalls ein Wahrsagerbuch, so eben fast als wie die Punctirkunst eingerichtet ist, und von allen *Malabaren consuliret* wird, wenn etwas Wichtiges soll vorgenommen werden. Es gehöret eine sonderbare Rechenkunst darzu, außer welcher sonst Niemand dergleichen verstehen kann. Solche Wahrsagebücher findet man unter dergleichen Heiden sehr viel; wie solches denn auch ihr Aberglaube mit sich dringet, daß sie nichts anfangen zu thun, sie haben BM
76

⁵⁵ Kamil V. Zvelebil, *The Poets of the Powers* (London: Rider, 1973), 132.

sich denn befraget, ob's ein guter oder böser Tag sey, item, ob's ein gut oder böses Zeichen sey etc.

- BM 76 *Nimitta cūṭāmaṇi*, is also a fortune-telling book, set out almost like divination by dots, and is consulted by all Malabarians when something important is to be undertaken. A special form of counting is involved without which no-one can understand this book. One finds very many fortune-telling books of this sort among these heathens. Their superstition means they do not begin anything without having asked whether it is supposed to be a good or evil day, whether the omens are good or evil etc.

In the *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, Ziegenbalg describes another work of divination, *Cāttira muṭṭi*, which involves mathematical manipulation (MH 240, see also below, 131), but it is not clear whether this is the same as the “special form of counting” which he mentions here. Like other works of this sort (including *Kevuḷi katal*; BM 82), *Nimitta cūṭāmaṇi* is traditionally ascribed to Cakātēvar, the fifth Pāṇḍava.

Cakātēva nūl, eṇṇum, Cakātēva nimitta cūṭāmaṇi: ārūṭa cāttiram, ed. Ciṇṇaiyā Kōvin-tarācaṇār (Tañcāvūr: Tañcāvūr Makārājā Carapōjiyīṇ Caracuvati Makāl Nūl Nilaiyam, 1986).

- BM 77 *Torundawaschagum*, eine *Historie* von einem Könige Namens *Tschorarascha*, so da in allen Dingen sehr genau nach Gerechtigkeit verfahren, so daß er auch seinem eigenen Sohn das Leben hat nehmen lassen, als er nur etwas Geringses gethan, so da wider seine Gerechtigkeit gelaufen. Der *Autor* dessen heiet *gnana boragaschapantarum*.
- BM 77 *Tērūrnta vācakam*, the story of a king named Cōḷarāja, who conducted himself in all things strictly in accordance with righteousness, so that he even had his son's life taken when he did even the least thing which ran counter to his righteousness. The author is called Nāṇappirakācar Paṇṭāram.

Ziegenbalg recounts the story of Maṇunītikaṇṭacolaṇ at some length in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum* (119–23), as an example of the idolatrous veneration of the cow. The story appears first in *Cilappatikāram*,⁵⁶ and is expanded in *Periya purāṇam*.⁵⁷ Kamalai Nāṇappirakācar (sixteenth century) is associated with Tiruvārūr, where the story is set, and Ziegenbalg had another work of his which is also set there (the *Tiyākarāca paḷḷu* or

⁵⁶ *Cil.* 20.53–6, cf. Shulman, *Tamil Temple Myths*, 376.

⁵⁷ See the summary from *Periya Pūrāṇam* in David Shulman, *The Hungry God: Hindu Tales of Filicide and Devotion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 10–13.

Tiruvārūr pallu; BM 90), but no *Tērūrnta vācakam* by Nāṇappirakācar is known. There are several mss. entitled *Tērūrnta vācakam* in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (D-410 to D-415).⁵⁸ The story is well-known and there are other later retellings, for example, a *Tērūrnta cōḷan kaṭai*.⁵⁹

Barada Sastirum, die Musikkunst in Singen, Tanzen und Spielen, darinnen alles nach sonderlichem Tact eingerichtet ist. Dieses Büchlein wird in Schulen von der Jugend gelernet, sonderlich von denjenigen Mädchen, so da in den *Pagoden* vor den Abgöttern dienen und vor selbigen singen und tanzen sollen. Sintemal diese allein die malabarische Sprache lesen und schreiben lernen, da man sonst unter den *Malabaren* keine Frauenspersonen siehet, die sich sonst dessen beflissen, ohne allein königliche und fürstliche Personen. Ich aber habe im Hause eine malabarische Schule eingerichtet, darinnen mehr Mädchen als Knaben sind, davon ich gute Hoffnung habe, daß sie mit den Knaben werden gleich fortkommen können. BM 78

Pārata cāttiram, the art of music in singing, dancing and performing, each of which has a particular rhythm. This booklet is learned by the youth in schools and especially by those young girls who serve before the idols in the pagodas and are supposed to sing and dance before them. They alone learn to read and write the Malabarian language; apart from them one sees no women among the Malabarians occupied with this, with the exception of royal or noble people. In my house, however, I have set up a school in which there are more girls than boys and I am hopeful that they will soon be able to hold their own with the boys. BM 78

The Tamil *Pārata cāttiram* of Arapatta Nāvalar dates from the sixteenth century. While Ziegenbalg displays the usual missionary disgust for those he calls “dancing whores” (see the entry on *Pala kavi cuvaṭi* below), when commenting on *Pārata cāttiram* in the *Malabarische Correspondenz* (HB 7: 442) he has the grace to acknowledge that his Tamil contemporaries in turn regard European dancing as “unchaste” because men dance with women.

Parata cāstiram: uraiyuṭaṇ, ed. Cantiracēkara Paṇṭitar (Ceṇṇai, 1876).

Madumei malei, ein Liederbüchlein über die Göttin Madumei genannt, so da eine von den größten Göttinnen ist. Der *Autor* dessen ist *Kannappar pataram*, so da vor wenig Zeit gestorben. BM 79

⁵⁸ Cf. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonné* 3: 145.

⁵⁹ Manuscript in Kerala University Library, no. 2092.

- BM **Mātumai mālai*, a little book of songs on the goddess called Mātumai, who is
79 one of the greatest goddesses. The author of it is Kaṇṇappa paṇṭāram, who died
a short time ago.

Mātumai is, as Ziegenbalg notes in the *Genealogia* (GMG 59v), a form of Pārvatī. The work has not been identified. Although, with Germann, we read the Halle manuscript as “Kannabbar pataram,” or “pātaram,” this is probably a mistake for “paṇṭāram.”

- BM *Banscha patschi*, Wahrsagerkunst von fünf Vögeln, deren Fliegen, Essen und Schla-
80 fen wohl observiret werden muß.

- BM *Pañcapaṭci cāttiram*, fortune-telling from five birds, whose flying, eating and sleep-
80 ing must be observed closely.

This sort of divination is based on correlations between five birds, five states (eating, walking, ruling, sleeping, dying) that they may be in during five periods of the day, and which of the lunar mansions the moon was in on the day of a person’s birth.⁶⁰ The work is variously ascribed to Akkatiyar or to Pōkar, and has a Caiva Cittānta orientation. A manuscript in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library in Chennai (D–1996) notes that it was formerly in the possession of “the relatives of one ‘Kaliṅga Rāya Pillai of Tayangambadi’ (probably Tranquebar).”

Pañcapaṭci cāstiramūlamum atarḱiyainta cakkaraṇkaḷum. Caṇkaraṇār Umāmayēsvaṛik ku-patēcitta Nāṇacaranūlmūlamum uraiyum, ed. Ka. Pi. Ātamrāvuttar (Ceṇṇai: Meyññāṇa-cūriyōtayavilāca Accukkūṭam, 1867).

- BM *Nawakkiraga tschintamani*, Wahrsagerkunst nach den Planeten, so da in sehr intri-
81 caten Versen geschrieben ist. Der *Autor* dessen heißt *Danmandiri*, der viele der-
gleichen Bücher geschrieben hat und ein guter *Astronomus* gewesen.

- BM *Navakkiraka cintāmaṇi*, fortune-telling by the planets, written in very intricate
81 verses. The author of it is called Taṇvantiri, who has written many books of this
sort and was a good astronomer.

On Taṇvantiri, to whom Ziegenbalg ascribes also another work in his collection, see above (BM 75). Like other works of astrology, this text is traditionally ascribed to Cakātēvar, the fifth Pāṇḍava.

⁶⁰ P. V. Jagadisar Ayyar, *South Indian Customs* (Madras: Diocesan Press, 1925), 101–7.

Navakkiraka cintāmaṇi eṇṇum Cātaka cūṭamaṇi, ed. Cuppiramaṇiya Cuvāmi (Ceṇṇai: Sri Patmavilāsa Accukkūṭam, 1892).

Kewulikadei, Wahrsagekunst aus dem Rufen der Vierbeine, der Schlangen und dergleichen Thiere. BM 82

Kevuḷi kātāl, fortune-telling from the calls of lizards, snakes, and the like.

Divination based on the direction and timing of noises made by house lizards.⁶¹

Kevuḷi cāstiram, ed. I. Mā. Kōpālakiruṣṇak Kōṇ (Maturai, 1946).

Arunāgiri antādi, hundert Lieder über den großen Abgott *Ispiren*. Der Autor dessen heißt *Arunagiri nāden*, so da anfänglich ein Trommelschläger gewesen an der *Pagode*, und ein sehr hurisches und gottloses Leben geführt, wird aber nachmals bekehrt, da er dann desto größere Buße gethan, je ärgerlicher er vorher gelebet hatte, so daß ihm deswegen der Abgott *Subbiraṇian* große Weisheit gegeben, nach welcher er nicht nur allein ein sehr eingezogenes Leben geführt, sondern auch sehr viele Liederbücher in schönen *Versen* angefertigt hat. Dergleichen Bücher werden in Schulen von der Jugend gelernet, und in allerlei Zufällen gesungen. BM 83

Aruṇakiri antāti, a hundred songs on the great idol Īcuvaraṇ. The author is called Aruṇakirinātar, who was originally a drummer in the pagodas and led a very lascivious and godless life. Later, however, he was converted and his subsequent penances were as great as his former life was vexatious. As a result that the idol Cuppiramaṇiaṇ gave him great wisdom in accordance with which he not only led a very austere life but also wrote very many songbooks in beautiful verses. These books are learned in schools by the youth, and sung on all occasions. BM 83

This is the *Aruṇakiri antāti* on Śiva as Aruṇakirinātar, or Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyār, in a hundred verses by the sixteenth-century Kukai Namacivāyar of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. Ziegenbalg appears to have taken the reference to Aruṇakiri (the hill at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai) in the title to refer to the author (Aruṇakirinātar, whom Ziegenbalg describes in similar terms in his entry on *Tiruppukal*) and not the subject of the poem (Śiva as Aruṇakirinātar, Lord of Aruṇakiri). Ziegenbalg did, however, know of Kukai Namacivāyar, and ascribes a *Citampara mālai* (BM 33) to him.

Teyvattanmai viḷaṅkiya Kukainamacivāyatēvar arulicceyta Aruṇakiriyantāti mūlam, ed. Vē. Ārumuka Mutaliyār and Tirumayilai Caṇmukam Pillai (Ceṇṇai: Mīnāṭciyammai Kalāniti Accukkūṭam, 1887).

⁶¹ Ibid., 108–11.

BM 84 *Schawundara lágari*, die Trunkene Schönheit, bestehend in hundert Liedern über die Göttin *Baramesuri*, so da von einem *Bramanen Putpatenden* gemacht worden. Dieser *Autor*, als er in zwanzig Liedern die Brüste dergleichen Göttin so hoch gerühmet und sehr unzüchtig davon geschrieben hatte, so wird er zur Stelle stumm, als er aber deswegen sich das Leben nehmen will, so erscheinet ihm die Göttin *Baramesuri*, ihn fragend, warum er doch so unkeusch von ihr geschrieben hätte? Er giebet zur Antwort, daß Solches die Manier der *Poeten* wäre, und daß er von seinem Lehrmeister also wäre angeführet worden. Darauf saget sie, solches würde ihr zum großen Schimpf und Verachtung gereichen, wenn unzüchtige Leute dergleichen *Verse* lesen würden; schneidet also die zwanzig *Verse* auf kleine Stücken, und machet selbst an deren Statt andere zwanzig *Verse*.

BM 84 *Cavuntariya lakari*, the intoxicating beauty, consisting of one hundred songs on the goddess Paramēcuvari written by the Brahmin Puṭpatantam. When this author wrote twenty very obscene songs in which the breasts of this goddess were highly praised he was struck dumb on the spot. He was about to take his own life because of it when the goddess Paramēcuvari appeared to him, asking him why he had written so unchastely about her? He answered that this was the manner of the poets and that he had been taught this way by his mentor. To this she replied that if unchaste people should happen to read these verses they it would bring her into great disrepute and contempt. She therefore shredded the twenty verses into tiny pieces and wrote another twenty verses herself to replace them.

The Sanskrit *Saundarya Laharī* is known widely and is popular especially in the south. The Tamil translation is ascribed to Vīrai kavirācapaṇṭitar (Nallūr Vīraṇ Ācukavirāyar). Stanza 75 refers to the “Draviḍa child” becoming a master poet after tasting “the ocean of the milk of poesy,” which flowed from the goddess’s breasts,⁶² and Brooks notes a version of the text’s origin myth which involves a *yakṣa* named Puṣpadanta (Puṭpatantam) who overheard the text being sung by Śiva⁶³ but this and the other details reported by Ziegenbalg are not part of the Sanskrit tradition surrounding *Saundarya Laharī*, which is traditionally, if implausibly, ascribed to Śaṅkara.

Cauntariya lakari, ed. S. Aṇavaratavināyakam Pillai (Cenṇai: Matarās Rippan Acciyantir-acālai, 1916).

⁶² *The Saundaryalaharī or Flood of Beauty*, ed. and trans. W. Norman Brown (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 26.

⁶³ Douglas Renfrew Brooks, *Auspicious Wisdom: The Texts and Traditions of Śrīvidyā Śākta Tantrism in South India* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 47–8. Another *stotra*, the *Mahimnastotra*, is likewise ascribed to Puṣpadanta (W. Norman Brown, ed. and trans., *The Mahimnastava or Praise of Shiva’s Greatness* (Poona: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1965), 3).

Naraiana tschadagom, hundert Lieder über den Abgott *Wischtnum*, so sehr künstlich zu singen eingerichtet. Der *Autor* heißt *Karimara pirau* so da in seinem sechszehnten Jahre Vater und Mutter verlassen und sich in eine *Pagode* zu leben gegeben hat. Da er dann ein sehr strenges Leben geführt und dabey viel Bücher geschrieben hat. Er ist vor sehr kurzer Zeit nicht weit von hier gestorben. BM 85

Nārāyaṇa catakam, a hundred songs on the idol Viṣṇu, arranged to be sung very artfully. The author is called Kārimāraṇ pirapu, who left his father and mother in his sixteenth year and gave himself up to life in a pagoda. There he led a very austere life and thus wrote many books. He died a very short time ago, not far from here. BM 85

Kārimāraṇ pirapu refers to Nammālvār and, except for the statement about his recent death, the account given of the author's life also fits Nammālvār. There are several texts with this title, and it is difficult to be certain which one Ziegenbalg had. It is perhaps most likely to be the *Nārāyaṇa catakam* of Maṇavāla, a sixteenth century work consisting of a hundred verses in praise of Viṣṇu which was widely circulated and used in schools by older children. Ziegenbalg had many such texts, perhaps because his first Tamil teacher was a former schoolmaster.

Veṇmaṇi Nārāyaṇa Pāratīyār arulicceyta Maṇavāla Nārāyaṇa catakam, ennum, Tiruvēṅkaṭa catakam, 3rd ed., ed. Kāṇṇipuram Irāmayōkikaḷ (Ceṇṇai: Matarās Rippaṇ Acciyantira-cālai, 1921).

Nalenwenpā, eine Historie von einem Könige, so da in sehr fließenden Versen geschrieben. BM 86

Naḷa veṇpā, the story of a king written in very fluent verses.

The *Naḷavenpā* of Pukaḷēnti, a fourteenth-century poet, is widely admired.⁶⁴ Ziegenbalg has two other works which he ascribes to Pukaḷēnti (BM 32 and BM 43), but he seems to have had little interest in this work. When one of his correspondents (HB 7: 432) mentions the story of Naḷa, Ziegenbalg refers to the later version ascribed to Ativīrāraṇ Pāṇṇiyaṇ (BM 60).

Pukaḷēntip Pulavar iyaṛriya Naḷavenpā: mūlamum, ed. Ce. Re. Irāmacāmi Pillai (Tirunelvēli: Tirunelvēlit Teṇṇintiya Caivacittānta Nūrpattippuk Kaḷakam, 1963).

⁶⁴ See, most recently, David Shulman, "Nala Unhinged: Pukalentippulavar's *Nalavenpā*", in *Damayanti and Nala: The Many Lives of a Story*, ed. Susan S. Wadley (New Delhi: Chronicle Books, 2011), 283–315.

- BM 87 *Tscherudunda Kadei*, eine Historie von einem Ackermann, der sehr strenge gelebet and viel Wohlthaten gethan aber von Göttern sehr versucht worden, so daß einstmals seinen eigenen Sohn hat schlachten müssen, welchen er aber nachmals wieder lebendig bekommen, und deswegen sehr begnadigt worden.
- BM 87 *Ciruttoṇṭar katai*, the story of a farmer who lived a very strict life and did many good deeds but was severely tried by the gods, so that once he had to slaughter his own son. Afterwards however he received him back alive and because of this was greatly blessed.

Ciruttoṇṭar, the “little devotee” is mentioned by the *Tēvāram* poets Campantar and Cuntarar but his story is first elaborated in *Periya purāṇam*.⁶⁵ The story is well-known and there are many later versions, including a *Ciruttoṇṭapattar katai* which has been reprinted several times.⁶⁶ There is also an incomplete manuscript of a folk ballad entitled *Ciruttoṇṭar katai* (IAS 252).

- BM 88 *Markanda puranum*, eine Historie von einem *Bramanen*sohn, dessen bestimmte Lebenszeit nicht länger als sechszehn Jahre gewesen, als er denn nun von dem Könige des Todes soll abgeholt werden, so nimmt er seine Zuflucht zum Zeichen der Abgötter in einer *Pagode*, da er denn nicht hinweg genommen werden kann. Da aber der König des Todes an ihm Gewalt brauchen will, so kommt *Ispiren* selbst aus demselbigen Zeichen und tödtet den König des Todes. Darüber kommen alle dreiunddreißigmahlhunderttausend kleine Abgötter zusammen und legen *Intercession* ein wegen des Königs des Todes, sagend, daß er ja selbst dem Knaben nicht mehr als sechszehn Jahr zu leben bestimmt hätte. Er aber, nämlich der *Ispiren*, sagt, daß er dem Knaben hätte die Macht gegeben immer sechszehn Jahr alt zu seyn und niemals zu sterben, wecket endlich den König des Todes wieder auf und giebet ihm einen scharfen Verweis, daß er hinführo die tugendsame Leute nicht so bald antasten sollte, wenn er nicht vorhero einen ausdrücklichen Befehl hätte.

Dieses ist geschehen in einer Stadt, so eine Meile Weges von hier gelegen, darinnen ich selbst einmal gewesen und mir solches erzählen lassen.

⁶⁵ It is translated in George Hart, “The Little Devotee: Cēkkaḷār’s Story of Ciruttoṇṭar”, in *Sanskrit and Indian Studies: Essays in Honour of Daniel H. H. Ingalls*, ed. M. Nagatomi et al. (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1980), 217–36.

⁶⁶ See e.g., Shulman, *Hungry God*, 86.

Mārkkāṇṭha purāṇam, the story of the son of a Brahmin whose preordained lifespan was no more than sixteen years. When the King of Death came to take him away, he took refuge in the sign of the idol in a temple, so that he could not be taken away. As the King of Death was going to use violence on him Īcuvaraṇ himself emerged from the same sign and killed the King of Death. Then all 33,000,000 minor idols came together to intercede on behalf of the King of Death, saying that he himself had preordained that the boy should not have more than sixteen years to live. But he, that is, Īcuvaraṇ, said that he had given the boy the power always to be sixteen years old and never to die. Finally he reawakened the King of Death and ordered him sharply that henceforth he should not so quickly apprehend virtuous people without having previously received an explicit order.

This happened in a town situated just a mile distant from here. I myself have been there once and had this story told to me.

The town mentioned by Ziegenbalg is Tirukkaṭavūr (now Tirukkaṭaiyūr), close to Tranquebar, where the Tamil versions of the myth place Mārkkāṇṭēyaṇ.⁶⁷ The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* was translated into Tamil by Toluvūr Vēlāyutamutaliyār, but this is a nineteenth-century work, and cannot be the version Ziegenbalg knew. Na. Ci. Kantaiyāpillai refers to another Tamil version, by Kuḷantai vēlu kavirāyar, but gives no date.⁶⁸

Warunakuladidden, eine sonderliche Art Verse über einen Ackermann *Warunakuladidden* genannt, so eine Kayserstochter gemacht hat, als welche durch sonderlichen Zufall nebst andern zwei Frauenspersonen an einen Ort drei Meilen von hier kömmt und um sich zu ernähren, auf dem Markte Holz verkauft. Da denn nun dieser Ackermann sich in einem *Palanquin* tragen lässet und vor dieser Holzträgerin vorübergehet, so bekommt er große Geneigtheit zu ihr, läßt sie zu sich rufen, und da er vernimmt, daß sie von Kaisers Abkommen sey, so nimmt er sie zu sich und giebet ihr gute Unterhaltung, als aber der Kaiser vernimmt, daß seine Tochter weit von ihm gekommen und in dergleichen Elend gerathen, so läßt er sie alsbald wieder zu sich rufen und verheirathet sie an einen König, weil sie aber eine gute *Poetin* war und die Wohlthaten nicht vergessen konnte, die ihr der Ackermann gethan, so machet sie diese *Verse* über ihn. Hiernebst hat sie auch sehr viel andere Bücher gemacht, deren sich die *Poeten* in ihren *Versen* sehr bedienen, sintemal ihresgleichen nicht gewesen.

⁶⁷ The story of Mārkkāṇṭēyaṇ and Yamaṇ is recounted in the Tirukkaṭavūrpurāṇam 9-14, but also in other works (Shulman, *Tamil Temple Myths*, 374).

⁶⁸ Na. Ci. Kantaiyā Pillai, *Tamiḷ ilakkiya akarāti: ilakkiya akara varicai* (Ceṇṇai: Ācīriyar Nūrpattippuk Kalakam, 1952).

- BM 89 *Varuṇakulātittan maṭal*, verses of a particular kind about a farmer called Varuṇakulātittan, written by the daughter of an emperor who by strange chance is supposed to have ended up, together with two other women, in a place three miles from here where they sold firewood to support themselves. It happened that this farmer was being carried in a palanquin and when he passed before this wood-seller he conceived a great liking for her and called her to him. Learning that she was of imperial descent he is supposed to have taken her to himself and given her a good upbringing. However when the emperor heard that his daughter had been taken far away from him and fallen into such need he immediately had her called back to him and married her to a king. But because she was a good poetess, and could not forget the good deed which the farmer had done for her, she wrote these verses about him. Besides this she wrote very many other books, which the poets make great use of in their verses, since they are without equal.

Varuṇakulātittan maṭal ascribed to both Kālimuttu and Ammaicci, both of whom are said to have been *devadāsīs*. It is one the best known and most popular *ulāmaṭal* poems, a genre of poems in *kalivenṇā* metre in which a man falls in love with a woman he dreams about or chances to meet and vows to ride a horse of palmyra leaves (a revival of a *caṅkam* trope). Varuṇakula Āttitaṇ Kāttān, the hero of this poem, is said to have been a wealthy man from Nākappattinam. Zvelebil suggests it owes its great popularity in part to its explicit eroticism,⁶⁹ here signalled by Ziegenbalg's euphemistic description of it as "verses of a particular kind."

Varuṇakulātittanulāmaṭal, ed. Tillaiyampūr Cantiracēkara Kavirāja Paṇṭitar and Tampucāmi Mutaliyār (Cennai: Ilakṣmīvilāsa accukkūṭam, 1875).

- BM 90 *Diaga rascha pallu*, ein Büchlein vom Landleben und Ackerbau, darinnen allerlei Lieder sind, welche die Pflüger, die Säemänner, die Schnitter, die Kuhhirten und alle diejenigen Leute zu singen pflegen, die da im Felde oder in Wäldern etwas zu arbeiten haben; je nachdem einer dieses und jenes zu thun hat, so ist auch sein Gesang darauf eingerichtet. Der *Autor* dessen ist der obengedachte *Gnanaboragā-scha pantaram*, der sich alle Zeit auf einem *Palanquin* hat tragen lassen und zwar solcher Gestalt, daß nur an einer Seite der *Palanquin* von einigen Männer ist gehalten worden, die andere Seite ist durch seine Kunst gehalten worden, als wenn sie von Leuten getragen würde.

⁶⁹ Zvelebil, *Lexicon*, 746.

Tiyākarāca paḷḷu, a little book on country life and farming, containing all sorts of songs which the ploughmen, sowers, reapers, cowherds and people of that kind sing when they have work to do in the fields or forests; whatever one has to do, there is a song for it. The author is the above-mentioned Nāṇappirakācar Paṇṭāram (BM 77), who always had himself carried about in a palanquin, moreover in such a manner that only one side of the palanquin was held by men, the other side being held up by his power, just as if it were born by people. BM 90

Paḷḷu is a somewhat satirical genre of literature about the Pallas, an agricultural caste. Dramatis personae are a Paḷḷaṇ man and his two arguing wives, one Śaiva and one Vaiṣṇava, and their landlord, of a Vellāḷar or other high Śūdra caste, also presented satirically. The nominal hero is often a god, in this case Tiyākarācar at Tiruvārūr. Kamalai Nāṇappirakācar's *Tiyākarāca paḷḷu* (or *Tiruvārūr paḷḷu*) is the one of the earliest of the genre which flourished from the sixteenth century. Through his disciple, Kuru Nāṇacampantar, Kamalai Nāṇappirakācar founded the Tarumapuram *maṭam*. The right of the heads of the *maṭam* to be carried in a palanquin is an important symbol of their status.⁷⁰

Tiruvārūr paḷḷu, ed. Ca. Cōmacuntara Tēcikar (Madras: B.N. Press, [194-?]).

Varukka Kowei, allerlei Lieder von der Beschaffenheit der *Nagapatnamischen* Landschaft sammt deren Einwohnern. Diese Lieder werden *Wischtnum* zu Ehren gesungen, weil er für den Regierer desselbigen Landes gehalten wird. Der *Autor* dessen ist gewesen der Vater des hiesigen *Manniakaren* oder Zöllners *Kaliabbullei* genannt, welcher mir unterschiedliche sein Bücher verschaffet, sintemal er allhier gleichsam das Oberhaupt ist unter den *Malabaren*, und mir also wohl noch zu vielen mehrern können behülflich seyn, wenn er nicht von Andern deswegen sehr angefeindet worden. BM 91

**Varukka kōvai*, all sorts of songs about the Nākappaṭṭiṇam region and its inhabitants. These songs are sung in honour of Viṣṇu, as he is regarded as the ruler of that country. The author was the father of the Maṇiyakkāraṇ, or tax collector, called Kāḷiyapillai, who provided me with various of his books. Since he is also the headman among the Malabarians he could well be useful to me in many other things too, if he did not encounter so much hostility from others on this account. BM 91

Varukka kōvai is the name of a genre of poems, usually about a town or temple, in which verses are arranged alphabetically. No *Varukka kōvai* on Nākappaṭṭiṇam has been identified. The *Tirunākaikārōṇa purāṇam* records a myth in which Śiva grants Ādiśeṣa's request that Nākappaṭṭiṇam be named after him, which may perhaps be the source of Ziegenbalg's idea that Viṣṇu is the ruler of the Nākappaṭṭiṇam region.

⁷⁰ Koppedrayar, "Are Śūdras Entitled to Ride in the Palanquin?", 195.

- BM 92 *Tschiwa Kamaschawundirimalai*, hundert und zwei Gesänge über die Göttin *Tschiwa Kamaschawundiri*.

Civakāmacavuntari mālai, 102 songs on the goddess Civakāmacavuntari.

Civakāmacavuntari, “Śiva’s lovely beloved,” is the goddess Pārvatī at Chidambaram. In the *Genealogia*, Ziegenbalg notes that Civakāmacavuntari is a form of Pārvatī, but does not mention her connection to Chidambaram. No edition has been identified, but there is a manuscript with this title in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (R-8392).

- BM 93 *Nenschu wurutudu*, ein Lobbüchlein über *Ispiren*, darinnen gezeigt wird, daß er weder von den übrigen kleinen Göttern, noch von den Engeln oder Menschen in seiner hohen Vortrefflichkeit könne erkannt und begriffen werden, aber gleichwohl wollte er stets bei einem solchen seyn, der stets mit seinem Gesetz umginge, und mit ihm Gemeinschaft haben. Dieses Büchlein ist vor dreihundert Jahren geschrieben von einem *Pantaram*, dessen Namen ich nicht recht erfahren können.
- BM 93 *Neñcu viṭutūtu*, a little book in praise of Īcuvaraṇ which shows that his excellence cannot be known or comprehended either by the other minor deities, nor by the angels or humans but that nevertheless he will always be with those who continually abide by his law, and will be in communion with him. This little book was written more than three hundred years ago by a Paṇṭāram whose name I have not been able to find out.

Viṭutūtu is a genre of messenger poems in which lovers communicate through an intermediary, in this case the personified heart (*neñcu*). Given his description and dating of the work, there is perhaps reason to think that Ziegenbalg here refers to the earliest important poem of the genre, the *Neñcuviṭutūtu* of Umāpati Civācāriyar (early fourteenth century). If so, however, it is the only one of the fourteen *Caiva cittānta cāttiraṅkaḷ* to which Ziegenbalg refers, and it is also possible that he had a later work of the same genre by an author associated with one of the *maṭams*.

Neñcuviṭu tūtu: telivuraiyūṭaṇ, ed. K. Sundaramurti (Tiruppāṇantāl: Śrīkācīmaṭam, 1981).

- BM 94 *Wiraliwurutudu*, unzüchtige Liebeshistorie, gemacht von einem wohlgelehrten aber sehr unflätigen *Poet* Namens *Wiraruguwamodelei*, welcher zugleich auch ein Büchlein *Verse* über den König *Kandi* auf *Ceylon* geschrieben hat, der ihm einen schönen Elephanten und tausend *Perdous* zum Trankgeld gegeben. Sein Sohn ist annoch am Leben und wohnt nicht weit von hier, ahmet auch seinen Vater ziemlich nach.

Viṛali viṭutūtu, indecent love story, written by a learned, but very obscene, poet named Viṛarākavamutaliyār who at the same time also wrote a small book of verse about the King of Kandy in Ceylon, who in recognition gave him a beautiful elephant and a thousand *perdous*. His son is still alive and lives not far from here; he also imitates his father a good deal. BM 94

Another type of poem in the messenger genre, in which a man sends a *viṛali*, a dancer or courtesan, to conciliate his wife. There are many works with this title, but none ascribed to Antakakkavi Viṛarākava Mutaliyār is known. Viṛarākavamutaliyār was a blind poet who lived in the seventeenth century, so his son could well have been Ziegenbalg's contemporary. He received an elephant and money for his *vaṇṇam* in praise of Pararājasin̄kam, a ruler on the Jaffna peninsula.

Tschiwaraddirei puranam, eine historische Nachricht von einem in der Wildniß wohnenden Menschen, der da auf sonderbare Weise durch Fasten und Wachen selig geworden, daher pflegen alle Zeit die Malabaren denselbigen Tag zu fasten und dieselbige Nacht zu wachen, in Hoffnung, daß sie auch dadurch werden selig werden. Dieses Büchlein bestehet in sehr schweren Versen, und ist von einem Könige geschrieben worden *Muschu Konda Sakkaraweddi*, der da vor mehr als zweitausend Jahr regieret hat. BM 95

Civarāttiri purāṇam, a historical account of a man who lived in the wilderness who achieved salvation in an unusual way through fasting and watching. Hence the Malabarians always fast on that day and watch on that night in the hope that thereby they too will be saved. This little book consists of very difficult verses, and was written by a king, Mucukuntaṇ cakkaravartti, who reigned more than two thousand years ago. BM 95

Gaur suggests this is the *Civarāttiri purāṇam* of Varata paṇṭitar but this is unlikely for the reasons noted above (see BM 67). There is another *Civarāttiri purāṇam* by Nellainātar. Mucukuntaṇ cakkaravartti is supposed to have been a king who installed images of Śiva as Tiyaṅkarācar in Tiruvārūr and six other nearby temples (Tirumaṅaikkaṭu, Tirunaḷḷāru, Nākappaṭṭiṇam, Tirukkāṛāyal, Tirukkuvaḷai, Tiruvāymūr). Although he is not mentioned in either *Civarāttiri purāṇam*, or in Ziegenbalg's summary of the *purāṇam* in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum* (MH 89), he owed his royal birth to his actions in a previous rebirth as a monkey in which he had dropped *vilva* leaves on a Śiva *liṅkam*, a story very similar to those in the *Civarāttiri purāṇam*.

Civarāttiripurāṇam, ed. Cu. Nārāyaṇacāmi (Tēvakōṭṭai: Vāra valipāṭṭu kaḷakam, 1966).

- BM 96 *Kurandei antādi*, ein Lob des *Wischtnum* nebst Anrufung seiner Hülfe, bestehend in lauter *Versen*. Der *Autor* dessen heißt *Ramainschier*, so ein *Bramane* gewesen, und sehr viele Verse geschrieben.

- BM 96 *Kuṭantai antāti*, praise of Viṣṇu together with invocation of his assistance, in many verses. The author is Rāmānuca cīyar, a Brahmin, who wrote very many verses.

There is a *Kuṭantai antāti* on Viṣṇu as Āravamutam or Cāraṅkapāṇi in Kumpakōṇam (*Kuṭantai*).⁷¹ The editor states that the author is unknown.

Kuṭantaiyantāti, ed. S. Rāmaliṅkam Pillai (Taṅcai: Caracuvati Makāl Nūlakam, 1968).

- BM 97 *Kawiler agawel*, einige *Verse* von der Nichtigkeit des menschlich Lebens, geschrieben von *Kawilen*, so da ein vornehmer *Poet* gewesen, und viele dergleichen *Verse* gemacht.

- BM 97 *Kapilar akaval*, verses on the vanity of human life by Kapilar, who was a distinguished poet and wrote many verses of this sort.

The *Kapilar akaval* is a short work, described by Zvelebil as a “violent attack on [the] caste-system and the ‘establishment,’ almost unique in medieval Tamil literature except for some poetry of Cittar.” Ziegenbalg quotes several times from it in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum*.⁷² The author lived in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. There are several other Kapilars in the Tamil tradition; in his description of Kapilar in the *Genealogia* (GMG 208r), Ziegenbalg confounds the author of Akaval with a mythical *ṛṣi*.

Kapilar akaval, ed. Tirumayilai Vi. Cuntara Mutaliyār (Ceṇṇai: Vikṭōriyājūpili Accuk-kūṭam, 1892).

The Song of Kapila: Being a Translation in Blank Verse of the Tamil Poem Known as Kapilar Agaval, ed. and trans. R. Sivalingam Pillai (Coimbatore: Literary Sun Press, 1901).

- BM 98 *Agawel*, eine artige Vorstellung des menschlichen Leibs und Gemüths mit einem Castell nebst seinen Thoren und Wächtern. Dieses kleine Büchlein hat mein alter Schulmeister gemacht, den ich anfänglich in Erlernung der malabarischen Sprache gebrauchte, dessen Sohn ein guter *Poet* ist, und mir sehr viele Bücher verschafft hat, und oftmals mit mir von erbaulichen Sachen zu disputiren pfleget.

⁷¹ Jeyaraj (*Ziegenbalgs “Genealogie”*, 410), identifies this as a Śaiva work, but several Ālvārs sang in praise of Viṣṇu as lord of Kuṭantai, and Ziegenbalg twice describes the *Kuṭantai antāti* as a work in praise of Viṣṇu.

⁷² MH 34, 63, 160, 165, 199.

**Akaval*, a fine depiction of the human body and mind as a castle together with its doors and guards. This little booklet was composed by my old schoolmaster, who I made use of when first learning the Malabarian language. His son is a good poet and has obtained many books for me, and often engages in debate with me on edifying subjects. BM 98

Akaval is the name of a genre of poems, composed entirely in the *akaval* metre, and the work in Ziegenbalg's collection is therefore difficult to identify with certainty. There is an *Akaval* manuscript in the collection of the International Institute for Tamil Studies (352) which fits his brief description. Moreover it advocates the pursuit of *meyñānam* ("pure knowledge," i.e., knowledge of god) and not *aññānam*, an important theme in Ziegenbalg's own Tamil compositions.⁷³ In a list of ethical works in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, Ziegenbalg mentions a work which he calls "Akaval or Uṭalkūru," describing it as follows:

the body and soul of man is compared to a palace with nine doors which are the two ears, the two eyes, the two nostrils, the mouth, and the two holes through which excrement and urine pass. The author describes the will as a commandant; representing the understanding, reason and all other powers of reasoning as privy counsellors. He assigns the role of door-keepers to the five senses. He makes the seventy-two thousand arteries in the body into soldiers, and in this way he names everything which exists in the body and mind and assigns a definite function to each. He mentions also the many enemies and thieves who wish to attack or loot the palace. (MH 234–35)

While this description would fit the work Ziegenbalg calls simply *Akaval* in the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*, *uṭalkūru* ("body part") is part of the title of the next work he mentions in the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*. It is possible that he separates two parts of a single manuscript, as he does with the *Tirikāla cakkaram* and *Puvaṇa cakkaram* (BM 110, 111).

Udelkurudadduwam, ein sehr artiges philosophisches Büchlein von den Elementen und fünf Sinnen, und von alle demjenigen, was mit den Elementen und fünf Sinnen einige Verwandtniß hat, darinnen sind ihre *Principia physica* und *ethica* enthalten gleichsam wie in einer *Sciagraphia*. Ich hatte in willens [*sic*] solches Büchlein ins Deutsche zu *vertiren*, konnte aber alle philosophische *Terminos* nicht recht verstehen, und hatte auch keinen *Philosophum* zur Hand, den ich *consultiren* können, daher habe ich solches lieber wollen anstehen lassen, bis ich in ihren philosophischen *Terminis* gründlichere Nachricht bekommen möchte, als daß ich etwas ungewisses hätte schreiben sollen. Dieses Büchlein ist wenig bekannt und kann weder von *Bramanen* noch von *Pantarum* noch von Poeten verstanden werden, als nur einzig und allein von den *Philosophis*, deren anjetzo unter den *Malabaren* sehr wenig sind, die mir bekannt wären. BM 99

⁷³ Sweetman, "Ziegenbalg's *Akkiyānam*", 1265–70.

- BM 99 **Uṭalkurru tattuvam*, a very fine little philosophical book on the elements and the five senses, and everything that is related to the elements and the senses, including the principles of their physics and ethics in outline. I had intended to translate this little book into German, but I was not able to understand properly all the philosophical terms, nor did I have on hand a philosopher whom I could consult. Therefore I would rather leave this aside, until such time as I might get a sounder account of their philosophical terms, than risk writing something uncertain. This book is little known and can be understood neither by Brahmins nor by Paṇṭārams but only by philosophers and by them alone. There are very few of them now among the Malabarians known to me.

As well as Ziegenbalg's description, quoted above, of the work he calls "Akaval or Uṭalkūru," in the *Malabarische Correspondenz* he refers to "uṭalkūru" and "tattuvaṅkaḷ" as two sciences, each dealing with matters both medical and ethical:

Uṭalkūru is the science of the human body, which is brought into a regular discipline among these heathens, and studied very accurately by many among them, but especially by the yogis. For the most part this discipline is in line with what is contained in ethical works and in medical works on the constitution of the body.

Tattuvaṅkaḷ are the philosophical teachings on physics, including also different matters from ethics and medicine. *Tattuvam* actually means the essence of a thing. They differentiate 96 such philosophical matters and each requires its own treatment and practice. (HB 7: 381)

There are several manuscripts of works of this type,⁷⁴ of which *Uṭalkūruvilakkam tattuvakkattalai*, "explanation of the parts of the body, true principles,"⁷⁵ seems most similar to the work Ziegenbalg describes.

- BM 100 *Ulaganidi*, die bürgerliche Gerechtigkeit, darinnen feine moralische Regeln gegeben werden zur Unterlassung der Untugenden und Ausübung der Tugenden. Dieses kleine Büchlein hab ich ins Deutsche vertiret, um zu erkennen, was dergleichen Heiden vor *Moralien* unter sich haben. Dieses Büchlein ist das erste, das in Schulen von der Tugend auswendig gelernet wird, aber gleichwohl werden ihr dergleichen Regeln nicht recht erkläret, also, daß wenn ich bin in Schulen gekommen und die Jugend gefragt, was Dieses und Jenes sey, haben sie mir nichts darauf antworten können. Also gehets auch mit den übrigen *moralischen* Büchern, die

⁷⁴ For example, *Uṭalari viḷakkam* (IAS 508a; Hikosaka and Samuel, *Descriptive Catalogue* 4: 250), which mentions "the 96 philosophies, the base of which lie in five elements signify [*sic*] the power of the five sense organs" and *Uṭarkūrriyal* (IAS 638; *ibid.*, 5: 68–70), which "explains philosophically the components of the human anatomy."

⁷⁵ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Tamoul 31.1.

da zwar auswendig gelernet werden, aber ohne Verstand, eben als wie der *Catechismus* bei uns Christen gemeiniglich ohne Erklärung und ohne Verstand auswendig gelernet wird.

Ulakanīti, right living in the world, in which fine moral rules are given for the avoidance of vice and the practice of virtue. I have translated this little book into German so as to know what moral principles these heathen have among themselves. This little book is the first on ethics to be learned by heart in schools, but nevertheless these rules are not properly explained so that when I have visited schools and asked the youths about one matter or another they were not able to say anything in answer to me. The same also happens with the other books on morality; they may be learned by heart, but without understanding, just as with we Christians the catechism is commonly learned without explanation and without understanding. BM 100

The author, *Ulakanātan*, is often dated to the eighteenth century but Ziegenbalg's possession of this work suggests he must be somewhat earlier. *Ulakanīti* is one of three didactic works (with *Konraivēntan* and *Nīti venpā*, mentioned below) translated by Ziegenbalg into German in 1708.⁷⁶ In the foreword to his translation, Ziegenbalg names the author and states that according to his Tamil informants, the book is supposed to be over a thousand years old. Despite his positive view of its contents, in his own works Ziegenbalg does not quote from *Ulakanīti* (or the other two works he translated), perhaps because he anticipated that his translation would be published. Two *ōlai* manuscripts are available in Halle (TAM 89 B; TAM 100); both date from after Ziegenbalg's lifetime.

Verrivērkai; Ulakanīti; Nīti venpā, ed. Kā. Namaccivāya Mutaliyār (Ceṇṇai: Tamiḷkkaṭal Āpīs, 1931).

Nalwari, ein moralisches Büchlein von Meidung der Laster und Ausübung der Tugenden, welches in den Schulen von den kleinen Kindern auswendig gelernet wird. Solches Büchlein soll die Göttin *Aweiar* gemacht haben, als welche des *Brumma* Weib gewesen in der andern Welt, aber wegen eines Verbrechen in diese Welt kommen und daselbst ihre Schuld durch Verlustigung ihrer Herrlichkeit büßen müssen, als sie sich denn nun unter den Menschen aufgehalten und allenthalben in der Welt herumgegangen, so soll die dieses Büchlein nebst den folgenden dreien gemacht haben; daher halten die *Malabaren* auch so gar viel von selbigen sagend, daß deren Tiefen der Weisheit nicht könnten ausersorschet werden, obgleich alle Schulmeister und *Poeten* solches erklärten. Dieses Büchlein ist nebst anderen vor siebenhundertfünfzig Jahren geschrieben. BM 101

⁷⁶ Caland, *Ziegenbalg's Kleinere Schriften*.

- BM 101 *Nalvali*, a little moral book on the avoidance of vice and the practice of virtue, which little children learn by heart in school. The goddess Auvaiyār is supposed to have written this book. She was Brahmā's wife in the other world but because of some crimes had to come to this world and through forfeiting her glory do penance for her guilt. While she spent time among human beings and went around in the world she is supposed to have composed this little book, together with the three following. It is precisely for this reason that the Malabarians think so much of them, saying that the depths of their wisdoms can never be fathomed even were all schoolmasters and poets to explain them. Together with the others, this little book was written seven hundred and fifty years ago.
- BM 102 *Kondeiwehnten*, ein moralisches klein Büchlein, so gleichfalls die Göttin *Aweiar* gemacht hat, und von der Jugend in Schulen auswendig gelernet wird. Dieses Büchlein hab ich ins Deutsche versetzt und denjenigen *communiciret*, die da begierig sind die *moralische Praecepta* dergleichen Heiden zu wissen.
- BM 102 *Konrai vēntan*, a little book on morality, also composed by the goddess Auvaiyār and learned by heart in school by the young. I have translated this little book into German, and sent it to those who are curious to know the moral precepts of these heathen.
- BM 103 *Atitschudi*, ein moralisches Büchlein von sehr feinen *Praecepten*, ist gleichfalls von der Göttin *Aweiar* geschrieben worden, und wird in den Schulen als das Fundament der Weisheit von der Jugend gelernet. Es bestehet weder in *Versen* noch in gemeiner Rede, sondern es sind alles schwere und tiefsinnige Redensarten, die darinnen enthalten sind, daher findet man sehr mancherlei Erklärung darüber.
- BM 103 *Ātticūṭi*, a little book on morality of very fine precepts, also written by the goddess Auvaiyār and learned by the youth in schools as the basis of wisdom. It consists neither of verses nor ordinary speech, but rather the contents are all difficult and profound sayings, for which one finds many varied explanations.
- BM 104 *Mudirei*, ein moralisches Büchlein von sehr schönen Gleichnissen aus der Natur. Wie man denn aus diesen und dergleichen Büchern ganz genau abnehmen kann, daß den Heiden annoch nach dem kläglichen Sündenfall das Gesetzeswerk im Herzen geschrieben sey, welches sich auch durch dergleichen Schreiben geoffenbaret hat. Wie ich denn wahrhaftig bezeugen kann, daß ich weit bessere *moralia* in ihren Büchern gelesen und aus ihrem eigenen Munde gehöret, als wohl ehemals die griechischen und lateinischen Heiden geschrieben haben. Daher, wenn man auch ein gottseliges und tugendsames Leben unter ihnen treibet, so sind sie mit

uns Christen ganz einig und lieben denjenigen sehr, von welchem sie einen heiligen Wandel sehen. Aber wenn man ihnen von Christo, von der Nothwendigkeit der heiligen Taufe und von dergleichen zur Erlangung der Seligkeit höchst nöthigen Mitteln saget, so streiten sie zwar nicht darwider, aber gleichwohl wollen sie solches nicht eben für nöthig erkennen, sagend wer gut und tugendsam lebe, der würde eine gute Stelle nach seinem Tode erreichen, wer aber übel lebte, würde nach seinem Tode eine böse Stelle zu seiner Wohnung bekommen, er möchte im Uebrigen seyn wer er wolle, Heid, Türk, Jud oder Christ, weswegen es eine sehr schwere Sache ist, ihnen diese und dergleichen falsche Gründe zu benehmen und ihnen die Nothwendigkeit des Glaubens an Christum zu zeigen.

Weiset man aber ihnen die Ungereimheit ihrer Götter sagend, wie sie doch an solche glauben könnten; so werden sie gemeiniglich anfangen zu lachen, damit zu erkennen gebend, daß sie eben keinen großen Glauben an sie haben, wie sie solches oftmals auch mit Worten deutlich heraussagen, und zwar manchmal wenn viel Andere zugegen sind, die solches hören können. Wie man denn fast eben Denjenigen unter diesen Heiden befindet, was man in dem Neuen Testament von Jesu lieset, nämlich, daß gleichwie wenn er unter einer großen Menge gelehret hatte, nachmals all Zeit unter selbigen eine Zwietracht wurde, indem einige solches für wahr hielten; einige aber selbiges lästerten, also gleichfalls, wenn man unter diesen Heiden in aller Bescheidenheit von der Wahrheit der christlichen Religion und von der großen Ungereimtheit ihrer heidnischen Abgötterei geredet hat, so werden unter ihnen zwei Parteien, einige halten es für verführisch, was man ihnen saget, einige aber nehmen es in großer Bescheidenheit auf, und können niemals müde werden, dergleichen zu hören und dessen sich zu befragen. Gleichwie aber unter denjenigen, von welchen in den Evangelien gesaget wird, daß sie an Jesum geglaubt haben, wenige dazumal sich wollten taufen lassen, sehend, wo es doch mit der Lehre Jesu hinaus wollte: also gleichfalls muß man sehen, daß, ob zwar viele *Malabaren* eine gute Meinung von unserer christlichen Religion haben, dennoch sich anjetzo die allerwenigsten zur Annehmung der h. Taufe bequemen wollen.

Mūturai, a little book on morality of very beautiful similes from nature. It can quite clearly be gathered from this and other books of this type that even after the terrible fall into sin the heathen have the work of the law written in their hearts, which is also apparent from similar writings. Thus I can truly bear witness that I have read in their books and heard from their own mouths a morality far better even than that written in the past by the Greek and Latin heathen. Hence if one leads a pious and virtuous life among them they are in total accord with us Christians, and love greatly those in whom they see a life of holiness. Nevertheless if one speaks to them of Christ, of the necessity of holy baptism and of other

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things most necessary for obtaining salvation, while they have no quarrel with these things, at the same time they still will not acknowledge them as necessary. They say that whoever leads a good and virtuous life will reach a good place after his death, but whoever lives wickedly will receive an evil place as his residence after death, be he otherwise what he will: heathen, Turk, Jew, or Christian. For this reason it is a very difficult thing to counter this and similar false reasons and demonstrate to them the necessity of faith in Christ.

If one mentions the absurdities of their gods, saying how can they still believe in them; they often begin to laugh, as if to acknowledge that they do not in fact have any great faith in them, which they often even say explicitly, usually when there are many others present who can hear what they say. Thus one finds among these heathen almost exactly that which one reads of Jesus in the New Testament, namely, that just as when he had taught among a great multitude afterward there would be division among them insofar as some would take it to be true, but others would blaspheme him. In the same way among these heathens, when one has spoken in all modesty of the truth of the Christian religion and of the great absurdity of their heathenish idolatry, two parties emerge among them; some regard what one says to them as misleading, but some accept it with great humility, and never tire of hearing this and asking questions about it. However, just as among those who are described in the gospels as having believed in Jesus there were few who desired baptism at that time, even though they saw that was the aim of Jesus' teaching; thus likewise it has to be seen that although many Malabarians have a good opinion of our Christian religion, nevertheless at present only the very fewest are content to accept holy baptism.

Zvelebil identifies at least four Tamil authors referred to as Auvaiyār ("mother"), dating the author of these four ethical works (*Nalvali*, *Konṛai vēntan*, *Ātticūṭi* and *Mūturai*, BM 101–4) to the tenth or twelfth century. In the *Malabarische Correspondenz*, Ziegenbalg's Tamil correspondent lists these works, together with another work ascribed to Auvaiyār (*Vēlamukam* or *Pillaiyārcintu*),⁷⁷ as the first books learned by heart in schools along with the Tamil letters (HB 7: 410–11). An *ōlai* manuscript in Halle includes these four works of Auvaiyār and the other two ethical works (*Ulakanīti* BM 100 and *Nīti veṇṇā* BM 105) translated by Ziegenbalg (TAM 89: *Ātticūṭi*, *Ulakanīti*, *Konṛai vēntan*, *Mūturai*, *Nalvali*, *Nīti veṇṇā*) which appear with them in the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*. Around 1789 Christoph Samuel John, one of Ziegenbalg's successors in the Danish-Halle mission re-translated *Konṛai vēntan* (AFSt/M 1 C 29b: 106) and *Ulakanīti* (AFSt/M 2 B 7: 7), as well as *Ātticūṭi* and *Mūturai* (AFSt/M 2 B 7: 5–6) into German. His English translations of *Konṛai vēntan*, *Ātticūṭi* and another work of Auvaiyār entitled *Kalviyolukkam* (now lost) were published in *Asiatick Researches*.

⁷⁷ In the *Genealogia*, Ziegenbalg describes it as "a prayer-book in which Vikkiṇēcuvāṇ is praised and petitioned" (GMG 68v).

Auvaīyār aruḷiya Nalvali, ed. Naṭukkāvēri Mu. Vēṅkaṭacāmi Nāṭṭār (Tirunelvēli: Tirunelvēli Teṇṇintiya Caivacittānta Nūrpattippuk Kalakam, 1950).

Auvaīyār aruḷicceyta Koṇṛaivēntan, ed. Naṭukkāvēri Mu. Vēṅkaṭacāmi Nāṭṭār (Ceṇṇai: Tirunelvēli Teṇṇintiya Caivacittānta Nūrpattippuk Kalakam, 1925).

Auvaīyār aruḷicceyta Ātticuṭi, ed. Naṭukkāvēri Mu. Vēṅkaṭacāmi Nāṭṭār (Ceṇṇai: Tirunelvēli Teṇṇintiya Caivacittānta Nūrpattippuk Kalakam, 1937).

Auvaīyār aruḷicceyta Mūturai, ed. Naṭukkāvēri Mu. Vēṅkaṭacāmi Nāṭṭār (Ceṇṇai: Tirunelvēli Teṇṇintiya Caivacittānta Nūrpattippuk Kalakam, 1925).

T. N. Ramachandran and T. V. Srinivasan, *Niti Sastras in Tamil with Sanskrit and English Translations* (Thanjavur: Kala Samrakshana Sangam, 1996).

Nidiwenpā, ein moralisches Buch von lauter Gleichnissen und Sittlenlehre. Dieses Buch ist anfänglich vor siebenhundert und etliche vierzig Jahren von einem *Brahmanen* in dem *Kirendum* oder malabarischeh Latein geschrieben, aber nachmals von einem Poeten in malabarische *Verse* gesetzt worden. Dieses Büchlein habe ich gleichfalls in die deutsche Sprache versetzt, und zwar ganz accurat nach den *Versen* und nach deren Erklärung, die mit zugleich darbei stehet. Dergleichen feine Büchlein findet man unter den *Malabaren* sehr viel, habe aber selbige noch nicht alle bekommen können. Denn nachdem dergleichen Heiden sehen und hören, daß ich ihre Bücher nur wider sie selbst gebrauche und immer aus ihren eigenen Büchern ihre Ungereimtheiten zu beweisen suche, so sind sie mit ihren Büchern ein wenig neidisch und wollen mir sie nicht zukommen lassen. Sintemal ein jedweder seine Bücher zusammengebunden und ganz verborgen verwahret hat, so daß sie können sagen, sie hätten keine Bücher, wenn ich dergleichen verlangen möchte. Jedoch kann man durch Geld und durch Anthuung einiger Ehre alles von ihnen haben, wenns auch noch so köstlich wäre. BM 105

Niti venpā, a book of morality full of parables and moral instruction. This book was originally written in Kirentam or the Malabarian Latin by a Brahmin some seven hundred and forty years ago, but then later translated by a poet into Malabarian verse. I have also translated this little book into the German language, closely following the verses and the accompanying commentary on them. Very many fine little books of this sort are to be found among the Malabarians, but I have not yet been able to acquire all of them. For once these heathen see or hear that I only use their books against themselves and always seek to demonstrate their absurdities from their own books, they become a little jealous of their books and do not want me to get hold of them. Since then each of them has bundled his books up together and kept them quite hidden, so that they can say they have no BM 105

books if I should happen to ask about them. Nevertheless with money and a little tact one can get anything from them, however precious.

Like other popular collections of moral aphorisms (e.g., *Nīti cāram* BM 47) in Tamil, *Nīti venpā* draws on sayings collected in many Sanskrit works on *nīti*. In his edition of Ziegenbalg's translation, Caland identifies some parallels with the *Hitopadeśa*, *Pañcatantra* and *Bhartyāhari*, noting also that Ziegenbalg's translation of the difficult text relies heavily on the commentary.⁷⁸

Nīti venpā: mūlamum uraiyum, ed. Vē. Ārumuka Mutaliyār (Ceṇṇai: Tirumakaḷ Vilāca Accukkūṭam, 1876).

BM 106 *Arubāddu diruwileiadel puranum*, ein großes Buch in Versen, darinnen vierundsechzig Erscheinungen des Abgotts *Tschokkanaiaigers* enthalten sind. Dieses Buch habe ich sehr accurat durchgegangen and etliche Tausend *Vocabula* und schöne phrases daraus gezogen. Die *Malabaren* halten solches Buch sehr werth und verwundern sich sehr, wo ich zu solchem Buch gekommen. Die Erscheinungen sind sehr ordentlich nach ihren Zeiten und Umständen aufgeschrieben, aber wenn man sie recht examinirt, so wird man keine Eigenschaften einer göttlichen Erscheinung darinnen antreffen, sondern kann ganz gewiß aus allen Umständen schließen, daß es entweder Lügen seyn müssen, oder daß es des Teufels Gaukelspiele gewesen, was darinnen erzählet wird. Dieses Buch ist vor mehr als tausend Jahren von einem *Bramanen* in *Kirendum* geschrieben, aber nachmals in malabarische *Verse* gesetzt worden.

BM 106 *Arupattunālu tiruvilaiyāṭal purāṇam*, a large book in verse, containing the sixty-four manifestations of the idol Cokkanāyakar. I have gone through this book very closely, and extracted several thousand words and beautiful phrases from it. The Malabarians regard this book as very valuable and wonder very much where I got it from. The manifestations are set out in a very orderly way according to the time and circumstances, but when examined properly there are no properties of a divine manifestation to be found among them. Rather, it may be concluded with certainty from all the details that what is described here must either be lies, or have been deceptions of the devil. This book was written in Kirentam by a Brahmin more than one thousand years ago, but then later translated into Malabarian verses.

There are several different versions, in both Tamil and Sanskrit, of the “sports” of Śiva in Madurai, some of which date from the beginning of the second millenium CE, but the

⁷⁸ Caland, *Ziegenbalg's Kleinere Schriften*, 5.

Arupattunāṅku tiruvilaiyāṭal purāṇam is much later. Zvelebil describes this work as “no doubt ... the most important and valuable *purāṇa* of the later medieval period ... the final and definitive version of the legends which had been growing for many centuries.”⁷⁹ Most scholars date the author, Parañcōti Muṇivar, to the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. It closely resembles a Sanskrit work, the *Hālāsyamāhātmya*, in its chronological ordering of the “sports” of Śiva and other respects. Ziegenbalg’s comment that he went through the *Arupattunāṅku tiruvilaiyāṭal purāṇam* closely is borne out by the fact that in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum* he refers to no fewer than thirty of Śiva’s “sports” in Madurai, many of which he recounts at some length.

Tiruvilaiyāṭal purāṇam, ed. Na. Mu. Vēṅkaṭacāmi Nāṭṭār (Ceṇṇai: Tirunelvēli Tenṇintiya caivacittānta nūrpattippuk kaḷakam, 1927).

Arubāddu diruwileiādelurei, die Erklärung von den vierundsechzig Erscheinungen des Tschokkanaiaigers. Dieses Buch ist von Wort zu Worte aus den Versen in das gemeine Malabarische versetzt worden, und wird allein bei den *Bramanen* und *Pantaren* gefunden, sintemal es zu dem Gesetz mit gehöret, als welches niemand anderes, als dergleichen Priester lesen dürfen. BM 107

Arupattunāḷu tiruvilaiyāṭal urai, explanation of the sixty-four manifestations of Cokkanāyakar. This book has been translated word for word out of the verses into common Malabarian and is only found among the Brahmins and Paṇṭārams since it is a part of the law that no-one other than these priests may read it. BM 107

The Kōvilūr mutt in Kāraikkuṭi holds a manuscript commentary on the *Arupattunāṅku tiruvilaiyāṭal purāṇam* (ms. 43).

Damulariwāhl, eine Historie von einer gelehrten Jungfrau, Namens *Damulariwāhl*, welches so viel bedeutet, als eine, die alle Wissenschaften versteht, so da unter den gelehten *Malabaren* zu finden sind. Ich habe aus diesem Buch sehr viel schöne *Vocabula* und *Phrases* colligiret. So ferne es wahr wäre, was darinnen von dergleichen Jungfrau gesaget wird, so könne sie wohl für eine von den gelehrtesten Jungfrauen *passiren*, aber nicht für eine von den gottseligsten, als davon sie keine *Profession* gemacht. Ihrer Schöne und Gelehrsamkeit wegen sind von Königen große Kriege geführt worden. In der *Poesie* hat sie kein *Poet* übertreffen können. Wie sie denn ein Versprechen gethan, daß sie diejenige Person heirathen wollte, die sie in *Versen* übertreffen könne. Diesertwegen haben viele *Poeten* mit ihr *concertiret*, sind aber mit Schanden bestanden. Endlich verkleidet sich einer von BM 108

⁷⁹ Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature* (HdO), 245.

geheimen Räthen der königl. Residenzstadt *Madret* in einen Holzträger, kömmt in ihre Residenz und rufet Holz zu verkaufen aus, in sehr schweren *Versen*; verlangt demnach mit dieser gelehrten Jungfrau zu concertiren. Und da solches geschah, mußte sie sich endlich von ihm überwinden lassen und ihn zur Heirath nehmen. Die *Verse*, die sie nach der Länge mit einander gewechselt haben, stehen alle mit beigeschrieben. Die *Historie* soll sich vor vierhundert Jahren zugetragen haben. Den *Autor* aber habe ich nicht erfragen können.

- BM 108 *Tamiḷarivāḷ*, a story about a learned maiden named Tamiḷarivāḷ, which means one who understands all sciences which are to be found among the learned Malabar-ians. I have collected very many beautiful words and phrases from this book. If what is said of this maiden in this book were true, she could well pass for one of the most learned maidens, but not for one of the most pious, for she makes no profession of this. Great wars were fought by kings due to her beauty and learning. In poetry none could surpass her. She therefore made a vow, that she would marry he who could surpass her in verse. As a result many poets competed with her, but ended up disgraced. Finally one of the privy council of the royal capital Madurai disguised himself as a wood-carrier, came to her house and, in very difficult verses, began to offer wood for sale. After this he demanded to compete with this learned maiden. When this took place, she finally had to concede defeat and take him in marriage. The verses, which they exchanged at length with one another are all given in the text. The story is supposed to have taken place four hundred years ago. I have not been able to ascertain the author.

There are several versions of the story of Tamiḷarivāḷ (*Tamiḷarimaṭantai katai*, *Tamiḷariyum perumāl katai*), an anonymous folk narrative. It is not clear exactly which one was available to Ziegenbalg, but his account of the story is broadly accurate. Ziegenbalg cites the story of one of Tamiḷarivāḷ's previous births to illustrate the belief in reincarnation (MH 168).

Tamiḷariyum perumāl katai, ed. I. Mā. Kōpālakiruṣṇak Kōṇ (Cennai: Saṅ āp Intiyā Piras, 1924).

- BM 109 *Tschiddira Buddira kadei*, ein historisches Buch in sehr fließenden und zierlichen *Versen* von des *Ispuren Kannakappel* oder Schreiber, Namens *Tschiddira Buddiren* genannt, dessen Amt ist alles aufzuschreiben, was in der ganzen Welt zu geschehen pleget, von den Menschen. Der guten Leute Werke schreibet er auf die rechte Seite, der bösen Leute Werke auf die linke Seite. Dieses Buch bestehet in 2400 *Versen* und wird von dem malabarischen Weibsvolk auswendig gelernet, und sehr zierlich gesungen. Ich habe aus diesem Buch sehr feine *Phrases* gezogen und mich höchlich

verwundert, über die sonderbare Einfälle des *Autoris*, sintemal die ganze *Historie* nur ein *figmentum* ist, aber gleichwohl so analogice eingerichtet, daß immer aus den praesuppositis richtige Schlüsse gemacht werden, und das zwar in seiner richtigen *Connexion*. Nachdem aber sehr ungereimten *Principia* zum Grunde liegen, so werden auch immer aus selbigen lauter ungereimte *Conclusiones* gemacht. Ich muss mich aber indessen höchlich verwundern, daß sie gleichwohl eine Sache so nett vorgetragen, und nach dem *Antepredicamenten* und *Postpredicamenten* so schön *amplificiren* und *demonstriren* können, uneracht, daß ich keine *Logica* unter ihnen angetroffen, daraus zu schließen, daß man auch ohne *Logica*, vermöge der natürlichen Kraft des *Ingenii*, und vermöge der steten Uebung des *Judicii*, eine Sache schicklich und ordentlich vortragen kann. Wie denn nicht nur allein die Gelehrten unter den Malabaren, sondern auch die Gemeinen, so gar auch die Weibspersonen sehr wohl geübet sind in der mündlichen *Oratorie*; ohneracht, daß sie formaliter keine Anweisung zur *Oratorie* haben.

Cittira puttiran̄ katai, a historical book in very fluent and elegant verses about Īcuvārāṇ's kaṇakkapillai or scribe, named Cittira puttiran̄, whose office is to record everything in the whole world done by human beings. The works of the good he writes on the right, the works of the evil on the left. This book consists of 2400 verses and is learned by heart and very elegantly sung by the Malabarian womenfolk. I have taken very fine phrases from this book and have wondered greatly at the strange notions of the author, since the whole story is only a figment, but at the same time is arranged analogically in such a way that the correct conclusions can be drawn from the presuppositions, and moreover by proper reasoning. Since, however, it is based on very illogical principles, only illogical conclusions can ever follow. I can only wonder greatly, that they nevertheless present the matter so well, and can argue so well by induction and deduction according to ante-predicates and post-predicates notwithstanding that no formal logic is to be met with among them. Thus even without formal logic one can give a fit and proper account of a matter simply by virtue of the natural powers of intellect and the constant exercise of judgement. For not only the learned among the Malabarians, but rather also the common people and even the women are very well practiced in oratory, notwithstanding that they have had no formal instruction in oratory.

BM
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Cittiraputtiranayinār katai is a folk ballad in simple language about Cittiraputtiran̄ (or Cittirakuptan̄), who is Yaman̄'s scribe. An *ōlai* manuscript of this work is held in the mission archive in Halle (TAM 78).

Cittiraputtira nayinār katai kavuttukkāran katai, ed. Nā. Pālacuppiramaṇiyan (Cennai: Amani Paplikesans, 2008).

- BM *Dirigala Sakkaram*, eine mathematische Beschreibung der sieben Unterwelten und
 I 10 der sieben Oberwelten, nebst den vierzehn Meeren, so zwischen den vierzehn
 Welten liegen. *Item* eine Nachricht von ihrem *Paradies* oder *Kailaschum*, welches
 der Sitz *Ispuri* ist, mit viel hunderttausend Abgöttern; desgleichen auch von *Maga-*
meru, welches ein güldener Berg ist, so durch alle vierzehn Welten gehet, darinnen
 sich alle heilige Propheten aufhalten sollen. Hiernebst so wird auch in diesem Bu-
 che das Geschlechtsregister der großen Abgötter gezeiget, wie nämlich von dem
 Wesen aller Wesen oder von dem allerhöchsten Gott alle andere Götter herkom-
 men und was diese für Aemter haben, wo ihr Wohnsitz sey, wie lange sie leben,
 wie oft ein jedweder verwandelt werde etc. *Item* von den verflossenen Jahreszeiten
 und von dem zukommenden Jahreszeiten, was diese Welt mit den andern Wel-
 ten für eine Bewandniß habe, wie lange eine jedwede Welt stehen soll, und was
 mit deren Verwandlung für eine Bewandniß habe etc. Dieses Buch ist fast der
 Grund aller andern malabarischen Bücher; sintemal auf die darinnen enthaltenen
Principia alles übergegründet ist. Sollten es die Gelehrten in Europa zu lesen be-
 kommen, würden sie viele seltsame und unerhörte Dinge zu wissen bekommen.
 Ich hatte es in Willens zu vertauschen, aber gleichwohl befand ich mein Bedenken
 darbei, ob es auch wohl rathsam sey, sintemal dieses bey vielen unnütze Specula-
 tiones verursachen würde, und sie von den nöthigen Sachen abhalten. Jedoch laß
 ichs noch dahin gestellt seyn, ob ichs möchte ins Deutsche *vertiren* oder nicht, sin-
 temal ich deswegen anjetzo mit mir selbst nicht recht enig bin. Die Geheimnisse
 dieses Buches sind erstlich von Ispuren selbst seinem Weibe der *Parbadi* endecket
 worden. Diese hat sie nachmals dem *Nandigéschuren* endecket, so da des Ispuren
 Thürwächter ist. Dieser hat solche Geheimnisse nachmals einem großen Prophe-
 ten kund gethan, *Dirumula dewer* genannt. Dieser hat sie nachmals der ganzen
 Welt kund gemacht. Solches ist geschehen in der ersten Weltzeit. Und uneracht,
 daß die Welt nachdem dreimal soll untergegangen seyn, so sagen sie doch, daß
 alle zeit vierzehn Propheten übrig geblieben, die zugleich dieses Buch mit vielen
 andern in Kupfer geschrieben verwahret und der Nachwelt überliefert hätten.
- BM *Tirikāla cakkaram*, a mathematical description of the seven underworlds and the
 I 10 seven worlds above, together with the fourteen seas which lie between the fourteen
 worlds. Likewise an account of their paradise, or Kailācam, which is the seat of
 Īcuvārī with many hundreds of thousands of idols. Likewise too of Makāmēru,
 which is a golden mountain supposed to go through all fourteen worlds and in
 which all holy prophets are supposed to reside. Besides this the genealogy of the
 gods is also shown in this book, namely how all the other gods derive from the
 being of all beings, or the supreme God, and what their offices are, where their
 residence is, how long they live, how often each is transformed, etc. Likewise
 of the seasons that have passed and of the seasons to come, how this world is

supposed to be connected to the other worlds, how long each world should stand, and what the reason for their transformation is supposed to be, etc. This book is virtually the basis of all other Malabar books, since it is on the principles contained in it that everything is based. Should it become available to the learned in Europe, they would come to know many strange and unheard of things. I had intended to transpose it, but nonetheless I found myself wondering whether this was altogether advisable, since many pointless speculations would be caused thereby, and keep them away from the things that are necessary. However, I leave it still to be determined, whether I might translate it into German or not, since I am now for this reason not really of one mind on it myself. The secrets of this book were first revealed by Īcuvaraṇ himself to his wife Pārvatī. These were later revealed by her to Nantikēcuraṇ, who is Īcuvaraṇ's gatekeeper. He later made these secrets known to a great prophet called Tirumūlar Tēvar. He later made them known to the whole world. This took place in the first age of the world. And despite the fact that afterwards the world is supposed to have been destroyed three times, yet they say that at all times fourteen prophets were left, who are supposed to have preserved this book with many others written on copper and to have handed them on to the next world.

This is a section of the *Puṇa cakkaram*, described in the following entry. In Walther's edition of the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*, this is noted in an annotation, in a smaller hand, to the entry for the *Tirikāla cakkaram*: "This book is inserted into the following one."

Buṇa Sākkaram, Beschreibung des Weltkreises, darinnen gleichfalls sehr viele seltsame Dinge gefunden werden, so noch nie in Europa sind erhöret worden. Diese Welt soll von *Nandigēschuren* genau seyn abgemessen worden; da es denn nachmals von *Wischtnum* den *Muladewer* zu wissen gemacht worden, wie weit, wie breit, wie lang und wie dick die Welt sey in allen ihren Sphären, Landschaften und Meeren. Dieser hat solches alles aufgeschrieben und der ganzen Welt mitgetheilet, so gleichfalls geschehen ist in der ersten Weltzeit, von welcher nunmehr nach ihrer Rechnung vielmal hunderttausend Jahr verflossen sind. BM
I I I

Puṇa cakkaram, description of the world, in which likewise many strange things are found which have never been heard of in Europe. This world is supposed to have been measured out precisely by Nantikēcuraṇ; then afterwards it was made known to Mūlar Tēvar by Viṣṇu how wide, how broad, how long and how thick the world is supposed to be in all its spheres, regions and seas. He wrote all this out and transmitted it to the whole world, which also took place in the first age of the world since when, by their reckoning, many hundred thousand years have passed by. BM
I I I

Several manuscripts of this *Puvana cakkaram*, a number of which include as a preliminary section the *Tirikāla cakkaram*, have been identified. The manuscript which most closely resembles Ziegenbalg's translations of excerpts of this text (MH 64–65, 186–89) is held in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library in Chennai (R-10750–2). The importance of this work for Ziegenbalg's account of Hinduism is discussed at length in the introduction to this volume.

- BM *Wāgada Tschuwari*, ein medicinisches Buch, handelt von dem Ursprung der
112 Krankheiten und von dem Kennzeichen einer jedweden Krankheit von dem Fühlen des Pulses und andern dergleichen medicinischen Lehrthümern.
- BM **Vākata cuvati*, a medical book, dealing with the origin of illnesses and the
112 symptoms of each illness, of taking the pulse and other similar medical doctrines.

The title, which means simply “medical book,” could of course be applied to many texts and it is therefore difficult to identify precisely which text was in Ziegenbalg's collection, unless the long extract from this work in *Malabarisches Heidenthum* (MH 217–220) can be traced to a particular manuscript.⁸⁰ Given their prevalence in Tamil manuscript collections, it is perhaps surprising not only that this is the only medical text in Ziegenbalg's early catalogue, but that he does not mention any other texts on medicine in his later writings. The reason may perhaps lie in the arrival of Johann Ernst Gründler in 1709. In 1712 he completed a work entitled *Malabarischer Medicus*, compiled from several Tamil medical manuscripts,⁸¹ and it may be that after 1709 Ziegenbalg himself made no effort to acquire or to comment on Tamil medical literature. No medical texts appear in Walther's 1731 catalogue of the mission's Tamil library.

⁸⁰ There is, for example, a manuscript in the Saraswati Mahal Library entitled simply *Vākata cuvati* (Vol. 22, ms. no. 525, row no. 1127).

⁸¹ *Der Malabarische Medicus, welcher kurzen Bericht giebet, theils was diese Heyden in der Medizin vor Principia haben; theils auf was Art und mit welchen Medicamenten sie die Kranckheiten curieren. Denen Herren Medicis in Europa zu dienlicher Nachricht aus den Medizinischen Büchern der Malabaren zusammen getragen von J[ohann]. E[rnst]. G[ründler]. nebst einer Vorrede, darinnen eine Sciagraphia Medica eines Bramanen mit eingeführet ist, in welcher er die Ordnung zeigt, wie ihre Medici das gantze studium Medicum in ihren Schulen tractieren.* AFSt/M 2 B 11. Cf. Josef N. Neumann, “Malabarischer Medicus—eine ethnomedizinisch-historische Quelle des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts”, in *Mission und Forschung: translokale Wissensproduktion zwischen Indien und Europa im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Heike Liebau, Andreas Nehring and Brigitte Klosterberg (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2010), 195–203.

Kei Sastiram parkira Tschuwari, ein Wahrsagerbuch aus den *Lineamenten* des Menschen. In diesem Büchlein werden alle äußerliche Zeichen an einem Menschen beschrieben, deren sie vornämlich zweiunddreißig zählen, die am allermeisten in dieser Kunst müßten observiret werden. Nachmals wird gezeigt, wie man alle *Signa* und *Linimenta* mit einander conferiren müßte und alsdann daraus einen Schluß machen, worzu dieser oder jener Mensch am meisten geneigt sei, welche Laster oder welche Tugenden er an sich habe. Auch was für fata ihm begegnen würden. Dieses Büchlein wurde mir von einem Poet als ein großes Heiligthum überschicket, mit Bitte, daß ichs ja nicht möchte gemein machen. Der *Materie* wegen aber würde ich mir nicht die Mühe genommen haben und es durchgelesen wenn ich es nicht um die darinnen befindlichen mir annoch unbekannten *Vocabeln* und Redensarten gethan hätte.

BM
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**Kai cāttiram pārkkira cuvaṭi*, a fortune-telling book from distinctive features of a person. In this little book all the external signs of a person are described, of which they count thirty-two as the most important to be observed in practicing this art. It is then shown how all these signs and features have to be compared with one another so that from them a conclusion can be drawn as to what tendencies a particular person is most likely to have, which inherent vices or virtues and likewise what fate he will encounter. This little book was conveyed to me as highly sacred by a poet who asked that I should not make it common knowledge. Due to the content I would not have taken the trouble to have read through it had it not been for the words and turns of speech it contains which were still unknown to me.

BM
113

Ziegenbalg's title seems to refer to a work on palmistry, for which there are many candidates, such as the *cittar* Kamalamuṇi's *Irēkai cāttiram*. The description he offers of the work, however, suggests a wider work on physiognomy. In the *Malabarisches Heidenthum* he quotes at length from such a work, which he calls *Ilaṭṭaṇam pārkkira cuvaṭi* but which is otherwise known as *Cāmuttirikā laṭṭaṇam*.⁸²

Cāmuttirikā laṭṭaṇam, eṇṇum, Kamalamāmuṇivar irēkai cāstiram mūlamum viruttiyuraiyum, ed. K. M. Teyvacikāmaṇi and A. Muttuvaṭivēl Mutaliyār (Ceṇṇai: Pūmakalvilāca Accukkūṭam, 1939).

Attschunen dawaschinilei, eine Beschreibung der sehr strengen und harten Buße, die *Attschunen* in der Wildniß ganzer zweitausend Jahr gethan haben soll, darauf er denn von den Abgöttern sehr hoch begabet und zum allgemeinen Könige der ganzen Welt eingesetzt worden. Solches ist in einer sonderlichen *Versart* den

BM
114

⁸² See the section below on works on divination in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum* (131).

Lesenden sehr beweglich vorgestellt worden. Wie man dann auch heut zu Tage viel tausend solche Leute unter den Malabaren findet, die alles verlassen und in Einöden ein sehr strenges Leben führen, so daß einigen wegen stetes Beten, die Hände kreuzweis über einander gewachsen sind, deren ich selbst unterschiedliche Weibspersonen gesehen habe; einige sind ganz krumm gewachsen, über ihre Beugung vor ihren Abgöttern. Daraus man erkennen kann, daß sie weit eifriger um die Seligkeit bemühet seyn, als wohl die meisten Christen, die nicht einmal diejenige leichte Ordnung eingehen wollen, die uns Gott zur Erlangung der Seligkeit gesetzt hat, geschweige denn, daß sie ihren Leib also kreuzigen sollten, als wie dergleichen blinde Heiden thun.

- BM *Arccuṇaṇṇ tavaṇu nilai*, a description of the very severe and hard penance which
 114 Arccuṇaṇṇ is supposed to have performed in the wilderness for a whole two thousand years. As a result he received great gifts from the idols and was set up as the common king of the whole world. This is presented very movingly to the reader in a particular type of verse. Even today many thousand people of this sort are to be found among the Malabarians, who abandon everything and lead a very austere life in the wastelands. Thus there are some whose hands, through constant prayer, have grown crossed over one another, among them some women, as I myself have seen. Some have grown quite bent from their bowing before the their idols. From this it can be seen that they exert themselves far more zealously for salvation than most Christians, who will not accept the light order which God has determined for the achieving salvation, not to mention bending their bodies as the blind heathen do.

“Arccuṇaṇṇ’s penance” is an episode from the Mahābhārata, summarized by Ziegenbalg in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum* (MH 82), in which Arccuṇaṇṇ performs a penance to acquire a weapon from Śiva. It appears in the first chapter (“Arccuṇaṇṇ Tavanilai Carukkam”) of the Āraṇiya paruvam of the Villiputtūr’s *Pāratam* (BM 10) but the episode was also performed in *terukkūttu*⁸³ ritual re-enactments of the *Pāratam* and many manuscripts exist which were produced for the use of performers. Given Ziegenbalg’s description of his copy and the fact that he does not attribute it to Villiputtūr (as he does with another manuscript dealing with an episode from the *Pāratam*; BM 70), it seems likely that his manuscript was a *terukkūttu* text. Many such *terukkūttu* manuscripts were collected and published in the early twentieth century, but “with scant regard for detail and continuity.”⁸⁴

Arcuṇaṇṇ tapanilai, ed. Iratiṇa Capāpati Nāṭār (Nāakai: Penṇiṇṇaṇ Accukkūṭam, 1894).

⁸³ Frasca, *Theater of the Mahābhārata*, 150–54.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 40.

Ramascheam, ein großes Buch in Versen von Lob des großen Abgotts *Wischtnum* genannt. Es werden darinnen seine neun Verwandelungen und seine großen Thaten angeführet und höchlich gerühmet. Die *Verse* sind sehr zierlich, aber darbey sehr schwer zu verstehen. BM 115

Rāmaceyam, a large book of verses in praise of the great idol named Viṣṇu. His nine transformations and his great deeds are recounted and highly praised. The verses are very elegant, but therefore very hard to understand. BM 115

A manuscript with this title (“Rāma’s victory”) is available in the Saraswati Mahal Library (Old vol. III, part II, no. 256.)

Ehreruwadu, ein Büchlein vom Lob des Ackerbaus wie nämlich dergleichen *Profession* unter allen die beste und ehrlichste sey, auch von allen andern großes Vergnügen mit sich führete. Es ist in wohlklingenden *Versen* geschrieben und wird von allen Liebhabern des Landlebens gesungen. BM 116

Ērelupatu, a little book in praise of farming; how among all others this profession is the best and most honourable, and more than any other leads to great pleasure. It is written in mellifluous verses and is sung by all who love country life. BM 116

This work, associated with the Kārālar Vellālar subcaste, praises the agricultural castes as the support of all others. A number of Ziegenbalg’s informants were Vellālars, and the chapter on agriculture in his *Malabarisches Heidenthum* is almost entirely taken up with a quotation from *Ērelupatu* (MH 208–10). The work is ascribed to Kampan “in accordance with the tendency to ascribe minor works of unknown origin to celebrated authors.”⁸⁵

Makākaviyākiya Kamparārceyyappattā Ērelupatu, *Tirukkaivalakkam mūlamum*, ed. T. Vēlāyutamutaliyār (Madras: Memorial Press, 1886).

Maga Windum, eine weitläufige historische Beschreibung von fünf Brüdern, die ihr Königreich verlassen und sich in die Wüste den Göttern zu dienen begeben haben, ihre Namen sind folgende: 1. *Janmer*. 2. *Wimer*. 3. *Attschuner*. 4. *Nawulen*. 5. *Tschaga dewer*. Diese fünf Brüder sollen nur ein Weib gehabt haben, *Trobadei* genannt. Nachdem sie denn nun von den Göttern auf vielfältige Art und Weise geprüft und versucht worden, so wird aus ihnen der älteste Bruder leibhaftig gen Himmel genommen, die andern aber, als sie ein großes Wehklagen führen, daß die Götter sie nicht gnädig ansehen wollten, so starben sie endlich alle insgesamt BM 117

⁸⁵ Zvelebil, *Lexicon*, 319.

und sollen der Seelen nach nur allein in die Seligkeit eingegangen sein. Diese *Historie* wird sehr glaubwürdig dargestellt. Wie ich denn in solchen heidnischen Schriften insgesamt befunden, daß obgleich ihre *Autores* eine recht lüderliche und lügenhafte *Materie* geschrieben, sie dennoch in ihrem Schreiben recht ernsthaftig seyn, so daß es nachmals als eine göttliche *Historie* aufgenommen wird. Dergleichen Ernsthaftigkeit bezeugen sie auch in ihrem *Disputiren* und *Discurriren* und würden sehr unwillig werden, wenn man ihnen eine Sache mit Lachen vorträge; worinnen sie uns Christen sehr beschämen, als die wir oftmals unter den allerheiligsten Materien lächerhaftige argumenta und Scherzreden vorzubringen pflegen.

- BM 117 *Makāvintam*, a lengthy historical description of five brothers, who left their kingdom and devoted themselves to serving the gods in the wilderness. Their names are as follows: 1. Tarumaṇ. 2. Vīmaṇ. 3. Arccuṇaṇ. 4. Nakulaṇ. 5. Cakātēvaṇ. These five brothers are supposed only to have had one wife, named Tiraupati. After having been tested and tried by the gods in many different ways, the oldest brother among them was taken up alive into heaven. The others, however, set up a great lament that the gods had not been gracious enough to grant them salvation and finally they all died together, and only their souls were granted entrance into salvation. This story is very convincingly told. As I have found in these heathen writings as a whole, although the authors write what is quite ludicrous and full of lies, they are nevertheless so earnest in their writing that it is later taken to be a divine history. They show the same earnestness in their disputes and discussions, and become very indignant if one should present a thing with laughter. In this they shame we Christians greatly, for we often introduce the most comic arguments and jocular speech into the most holy matters.

Also known as *Vaikuṇṭa ammānai*, this is a large work on the Pāṇṭavas' entry to Vaikuṇṭa. There are at least three versions, one ascribed to Pukaḷēnti, and versions by Paracurāma Mutaliyār and Cēturāyan, both nineteenth-century authors.

Mākavintam eṇṇum vaikuṇṭa ammānai (Ceṇṇai: Patmanāpavilāca Accukkūṭam, 1901).

The Measure of Eternity / Vaikuṇṭa ammānai, ed. and trans. G. John Samuel, Ki. Jeyakumār and K. Mohan Ram (Chennai: Institute of Asian Studies, 1999).

- BM 118 *Bala Kawi tschuwari*, ein Buch von allerhand musicalischen Gesängen über die Abgötter. Solche Lieder sind nicht nur allein sehr schwer zu verstehen, sondern auch sehr schwer zu singen, also daß sie nur allein von denjenigen können gesungen werden, die bey der Poesie ex professo auch die *Vocalmusik* gelernet. Ich habe einen dergleichen einmal bei mir gehabt, der mir unterschiedliche Lieder aus

diesem Buch vorsingen müssen, da ich mich denn höchlich verwundern müssen über die wohlklingenden und erwecklichen *Melodien*, darinnen dergleichen Lieder gesungen wurden. Wie denn die malabarischen *Verse*, wenn sie wohl componiret sind, eine sonderliche Macht haben, die *Affecten* bei den Menschen zu bewegen, wodurch viele von den Christen bethöret werden, also daß sie zum großen Aerger- niß der Schwachgläubigen oftmals ganze Nächte bei dem heidnischen Götzendienst sitzen und die Tanzhuren in ihren unzüchtigen Liedern singen anhören, hiermit solches Teufelswerk billigend; ja ihnen wohl gar für ihre schöne Gesänge feine Kleider geben, oder sie in ihre Häuser kommen lassen, daß sie vor ihnen nicht nur allein singen, sondern auch auf ihre heidnische Art tanzen müssen: welches bisher eine große Hinderniß gegeben an der Heiden Bekehrung, als welche sich mit ihrem Götzendienst viel einzubilden wissen, gedenkend, auch uns wohl gar in die Augen sagend, daß ihre Religion gleich wohl etwas sonderliches müsse an sich haben, weil auch die Vornehmsten unter den Christen ihre Ceremonie mit großem Belieben ansehen und Gefallen dran hätten. O Gott wolle solches Aerger- niß bald hinweg thun.

**Pala kavi cuvati*, a book of all sorts of musical songs about the idols. These songs are not only very hard to understand, but are also very hard to sing so that they can only be sung by those who in addition to their profession as poets have also studied vocal music. Once I had one such person with me to sing different songs from this book to me and I could only wonder greatly at the mellifluous and lively melodies in which these songs were sung. Thus the Malabarian verses, if well composed, have a special power to move the affections of the people. Many of the Christians are blinded by this, so that to the great vexation of the weak in faith, they often spend whole nights sitting at the heathen idol worship and listening to the dancing whores sing their indecent songs thereby condoning this work of the devil. They even give them fine clothes for their beautiful singing, or have them come into their houses and not only sing in front of them, but also dance in their heathen manner. Up to now this has formed a great hindrance to the conversion of the heathen who think so much of their idol worship, thinking, and even saying to our face, that there must be something special about their religion, if even the most prominent among the Christians love watching their ceremonies and take so much pleasure in them. O would that God would soon remove this vexation. BM 118

Ziegenbalg gives a short quotation from the invocation to the gods for protection at the beginning of this work (MH 108), but no copy of it has been identified.

BM *Alli areschanimaliidu*, eine weitläufige Beschreibung in *Versen* von der Heirath
 119 und Hochzeit einer Königstochter, *Alli areschāni* genannt, mit dem großen Könige *Atschunen*. Dieses Buch, weil es von einem wohlerfahrenen Poeten gemacht worden, so hat es sehr feine Redensarten in sich, um welcher Ursache willen ich es allein durchlesen.

BM *Alliyaracāni mālai*, a lengthy description in verse of the marriage and wedding of
 119 a king's daughter named *Alli aracāni* to the great king *Arccuṇaṇ*. Because this book was written by an accomplished poet it has very fine turns of speech in it, for which reason alone I was willing to read through it.

In the *Alliyaracāni mālai*, a folklore ballad ascribed to Pukaḷēnti, *Alli* is the only child of an unnamed Pāṇḍyan king, who ascends the throne after his death and rules alone until tricked into marriage by *Arjuna*.⁸⁶ Despite the conventional ascription to Pukaḷēnti, the work is probably later, and *Mu. Aruṇācalam* dates the group of ballads on *Alli* to the end of the sixteenth century.⁸⁷

Pukaḷēntippulavar iyaṛriya Alliyaracāni mālai (Ceṇṇai: B. Irattiṇa Nāyakar, 1932).

The text of the third section of the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* ends with the statement: “These then are those Malabarian books which I have been able to obtain up to now in one year, with great effort and expense, hoping that in future very many more will be bought and copied.”⁸⁸ It appears that Ziegenbalg was able to do so, but he drew up no further catalogue of his collection and thus relatively few of these works are identifiable. In the final section, we attempt to distinguish between works which Ziegenbalg knew of, and mentions by name, and those which we can be sure he actually possessed.

⁸⁶ Ramaswamy, “Chaste Widows, Cunning Wives, and Amazonian Warriors”, 144–49.

⁸⁷ Samuel, *Encyclopedia of Tamil Literature*, 2: 438.

⁸⁸ Germann, “*Bibliotheca Malabarica*”, 94.

Tamil works in Ziegenbalg's later writings

Malabarisches Heidenthum

Works on ritual

At several points in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, Ziegenbalg describes Hindu rituals and either quotes from or refers to Tamil works which specify how the rituals are to be performed. There are six such works, none of which is referred to at any other point in Ziegenbalg's writings, although the rituals they concern are also described in the *Genealogia*, mostly in the chapter on offerings with which the book ends (GMG 245v–262v). All are Śaiva, and none has been published, although four are extant in manuscript. They are discussed here in the order they appear in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum*.

The first three—*Civārccaṇā pōtam*, **Apiṣēkappalaṇ*, and *Snānaviti*¹—are related by Ziegenbalg to the four paths of Caiva Cittānta, noting that “only the Cariyaikkārar and, still more, the Kiriyaikkārar, put much stock in these offerings. The Yōkikaḷ, however, place very little stock therein, and still less the Nānikaḷ” (MH 100). He adds two verses from *Civavākkīyam* critical of temple ritual.

Ziegenbalg quotes at some length instructions from *Civārccaṇā pōtam* for performing a fire ritual which he says is called “*ekkiyam*, *ōmam*, or also *yākam*” (*yajña*, *hōma*, *yāga*; MH 97–99). Zvelebil dates the *Civārccaṇā pōtam* to the fourteenth century and states that the text is known only through quotations in Śaiva commentaries,² but there are two manuscripts on Śaiva ritual with this title in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library.³

¹ “*Tschiwatschineipódum*” (MH 97), “*Abischégabalen*,” (MH 99) “*Stānawidi*” (MH 103).

² Zvelebil, *Lexicon*, s.v. *Civārccaṇā pōtam*.

³ One (R-1296) is in poor condition, but the other (R-4013) consists of 33 leaves in good condition.

Ziegenbalg then quotes at length a description of different offerings and the rewards arising from them (MH 99–100) which he attributes to **Apīṣēkappalan*. The references to *cālōkam*, *cāmīppiyam*, *cārūpam*, *cāyucciyam* in Ziegenbalg's quotation again indicate that this is a Caiva cittānta work, albeit one that we have not been able to identify. The *Apīṣēkamālai* of Cokkaliṅkam, in praise of the seventeenth-century saint Kumāratēvar, refers to Caiva cittānta practices and doctrines of this kind, but may be too late to be the work to which Ziegenbalg refers.⁴ From *Snānaviti*, we have another lengthy quotation describing a morning ritual bath. There are manuscripts entitled *Snānaviti* in the Institut Français de Pondichéry (Vol. 3: 324.26) and the Saraswati Mahal Library (Old Vol. 2: 659).

In a chapter dealing with gurus and the initiation of disciples, Ziegenbalg writes: “they have written a small booklet about taking disciples in this way, called *Tirumantiram*,” and quotes an account of how the guru should explain the *nama civāyā* mantra. Jeyaraj identifies this work as the *Tirumantiram* of Tirumūlar,⁵ but this is a large work, supposed to consist of 3,000 stanzas (hence its alternative title *Tamilmūvāyiram*) and in fact exceeding this number in modern editions. Given his description and the fact that Ziegenbalg nowhere else cites this work, despite his special interest in the *cittars*, it seems more likely that this is a smaller ritual text on the *nama civāyā* mantra. There are many examples of such works, such as *Pañcākṣaram* which deals “with the religious efficacy and importance secured by the repetition of the five-syllabled prayer-formula relating to God Śiva.”⁶

Finally, in a chapter intended to show how Hindus exemplify the error of worshipping creatures rather than the creator explained in the first chapter of the epistle to the Romans, Ziegenbalg mentions two further works on ritual, *Cūriya pūjai aṭṭavanai* and *Civa cūriya tōttiram*.⁷ He writes that both give detailed prescriptions for worshipping the sun. Manuscripts of works with both these titles are held in the Saraswati Mahal Library.⁸ Similar works are also held in the library of the Tiruvāṭuturai ātiṇam.⁹

⁴ Cf. Samuel, *Encyclopedia of Tamil Literature*, 2: 274. There is also a seventeenth century *Apīṣēka mālai*, but this is a Vīraśaiva work (Hikosaka and Samuel, *Descriptive Catalogue* 2: 18ff. Samuel, *Encyclopedia of Tamil Literature*, 2: 266).

⁵ Jeyaraj, Ziegenbalg's “Malabarian Heathenism”, 402.

⁶ Kuppuswami Sastri, *Triennial Catalogue Vol. 2. Part 2, Tamil*, 2: 361.

⁷ “*Tschuriapuschei addawenei*” and “*Tschiwatschuria Istottrum*” (MH 204).

⁸ The *Cūriya pūjai aṭṭavanai* (vol. 25. 1927–h, 1941–b, 1941–f) consists of fourteen poems describing the morning ritual for Brahmins after bathing, and is ascribed to one Nāṇappirakācar. The *Civa cūriya tōttiram* (Old vol. 4, no. 1004c) consists of five poems in *viruttam* and there is also a *Cūriya tōttiram* (Old vol. 4, no. 1976).

⁹ *Cūriya pūcai* (Hikosaka and Samuel, *Descriptive Catalogue* 3: 532) and *Civa cūriya pūcai vitiyūm niyācamum* (ibid., 3: 327).

Works on divination

The *Bibliotheca Malabarica* includes several works on divination by various means (BM 17, 73, 75, 76, 80, 82, 113). Given Ziegenbalg's sharp comments on such "superstitions," among both "heathens" and Christians (e.g., MH 206), the number of such works in his collection is, as noted above, probably a reflection of the prevalence of such works in Tamil literature rather than any special interest in them on his part. Ziegenbalg devotes a chapter of the *Malabarisches Heidenthum* (MH 239–41) to divination, where he cites three works mentioned in the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*,¹⁰ as well as a fourth which is not.¹¹ This is followed by a chapter on chiromancy and physiognomy (MH 242–47) which is almost entirely taken up with an extended quotation from a book Ziegenbalg calls *Ilaṭṭaṇam pārkkīra cuvaṭi*, which is otherwise known as *Cāmuttirikā laṭṭaṇam*.¹² None of these works are mentioned elsewhere in Ziegenbalg's writings, and none remained in his collection when it was catalogued by Walther.

Genealogia der malabarischen Götter

Śaiva purāṇas

Toward the end of the chapter on Śiva in the *Genealogia*, Ziegenbalg addresses the question of books describing Śiva.

Concerning the books which these heathens have written on *Īcuvaraṇ*, very many of these are to be found. For as already reported above, each of his appearances has been written up in a proper history in the place where it happened, so that there are as many historical books written about him as there are great temples built to honour him. All these histories have been collected in twenty-four books which are called the *ākamaṇkaḷ*. Likewise the four books of the law, the six *cattiraṇkaḷ* or *Systemata Theologica* and the eighteen purāṇas are mostly written about this *Īcuvaraṇ* alone. Among such purāṇas and other similar books the following are the best-known. (GMG 50v–51r)

¹⁰ *Pañcapaṭṭi cāttiram* (BM 80), *Ciṇṇentiramālai* (BM 17), and *Caranūl* (BM 73).

¹¹ **Cāttira muṭṭi*, no manuscript or edition of this text has been identified.

¹² *Kamalamāmuṇivar, Cāmuttirikā laṭṭaṇam, eṇṇum, Kamalamāmuṇivar irēkai cāttiram mūlamum viruttiyuraiyum*.

Ziegenbalg would not have been able to read the āgamas or the other Sanskrit works he mentions (the Vedas, the śāstras and the mahāpurāṇas) and, as noted above (13), he appears here to be following the account of them he was given by one of his correspondents in the *Malabarische Correspondenz* (HB 7: 374). Of the twenty-two Tamil works in the list of the “best-known” Śaiva books which Ziegenbalg goes on to give here, all but six are included in the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* and have been described above.¹³ The six are *Periya purāṇam*, *Viruttācala purāṇam*, *Kanta purāṇam*, *Tiruvenkātṭu purāṇam*, **Mūtura purāṇam* and *Kāci kāṇṭam*.

The Tamil *Kanta purāṇam*, in six books, was composed by Kacciappa Civācāriyar in Kāñcipuram.¹⁴ It is not related to the Sanskrit *Skanda purāṇam*,¹⁵ but represents “a rather independent, Southern tradition of the Skanda-Murugan myth,”¹⁶ of which it is the canonical statement. The *Kanta purāṇam* is quoted several times in Ziegenbalg’s works and there is good reason to think he had, or had access to, a copy of it.¹⁷ His description of it in the *Genealogia* emphasizes two of the myths he quotes in the *Malabarisches Heidenthum*—Pārvatī’s rebirth as the daughter of Dakṣa/Takkaṇ (MH 51–52) and the story of Cūrapatmaṇ (MH 83–84):

Kanta purāṇam, which contains various stories, such as the marriage of Īcuvaraṇ with his Pārvatī, who was born as a daughter to Takkaṇ, the monarch over all fourteen worlds, and named Makātēvī. Also the history of the severe penance of Cūrapatmaṇ, who thereby achieved great power from Īcuvaraṇ but later became very tyrannical so that on account of it a great war broke out against him by the gods, in which the tyrant was eventually killed, etc.¹⁸

¹³ Most of the titles refer to complete works, but the penultimate title, *Vālā-p-pattu*, refers to one part of *Tiruvācākam* (BM 6).

¹⁴ Kacciappa Civācāriya Cuvāmikal arulicceya *Kanta purāṇam*, ed. Tī. Paṭṭucāmi Ōtūvār, 3 vols. (Tiruppanantāl: Makāliṅkat Tampirāṇ Cuvāmikaḷ, 1952–53). Zvelebil dates it to approximately the fourteenth or fifteenth century (Kamil V. Zvelebil, *The Tamil Skandapurāṇam*, Archív orientální supplementa, VI (Prague: The Oriental Institute, 1992), 8), Handelman and Shulman, equally tentatively, to the fifteenth or sixteenth century (*Śiva in the Forest of Pines*, 2).

¹⁵ Don Handelman, “Myths of Murugan: Asymmetry and Hierarchy in a South Indian Puranic Cosmology”, *History of Religions* 27, no. 2 (1987): 134. There is, however, a Sanskrit *Śrīskāndamahāpurāṇa* (or *Śivarāhasyakhaṇḍa*) which Shulman regards as “the prototype for Kacciappa’s composition” (Shulman, *Tamil Temple Myths*, 30) while Zvelebil thinks it “a later imitation, far inferior and much abridged, of the Tamil poem by Kacciappa” (Zvelebil, *Tamil Skandapurāṇam*, 12).

¹⁶ Zvelebil, *Tamil Skandapurāṇam*, 12.

¹⁷ The longest quotations are found at MH 51–52, 83–84 and GMG 148v–151r, 176r–177r. The latter quotations are presented as summaries drawn up from the *Kanta purāṇam* by a “heathen” and sent to Ziegenbalg in a letter, but the former cite page and verse numbers.

¹⁸ “*Kandapurāṇam*, welches unterschiedliche Historien in sich enthält, als die Hejṛath des *Isurens* mit seiner *Parwadi*, die dem *Tetschanen*, als dem *Monarchen* über alle 14 Welten als eine Tochter geboren war, und *Magadewi* genannt wurde. *Item*, die Historie von der strengen Buße des *Tschu-*

Ziegenbalg gives a much briefer account of the sixteenth-century *Viruttācala purāṇam*,¹⁹ which is ascribed to Ṇāṇakkūttar: “stories which are supposed to have taken place in a town called Viruttācalam.”²⁰ He quotes several times from the *Viruttācala purāṇam*, but refers only to the titles of the sections he quotes, and it is not clear whether he knew that they formed part of the *Viruttācala purāṇam*.²¹

The other four works are mentioned in only one other place in Ziegenbalg's writings, in the letter from the *Malabarische Correspondenz* just mentioned. Here the six works, with the exception of *Kāci kāṇṭam*, are listed in the same order as in the list in the *Genealogia* mentioned above (GMG 51r–53r). The annotations to the letter include brief descriptions of each work very similar to those in the *Genealogia*. There must be some doubt about whether he owned copies of these texts, as he neither quotes from them, nor mentions them anywhere else.

Periya purāṇam, the last book of the *Tirumurai*, describes the lives and legends of the sixty-three *nāyanārs* or Śaiva saints. It is attributed to Cēkkilār and dated to the twelfth century.²² While Ziegenbalg probably did not have a copy of the *Periya purāṇam*, his brief description of it as “the greatest history book, containing many stories about *Īcuvaraṇ*”²³ is apt, and he was familiar with—and even had folk versions (e.g., *Ciruttonṭar katai* BM 87)—of some of the stories it contains.

The remaining three purāṇas are briefly described in very similar terms:

Tiruvenkāṭṭu purāṇam, which tells at length the story of what is supposed to have taken place with *Īcuvaraṇ* in a town called Tiruvenkāṭu.

**Mutura purāṇam* is also a history book of the wonders of *Īcuvaraṇ* which are supposed to have occurred in a town called Mūtūr.

rapadbama, der da durch selbige große Macht von *Isuren* erlanget, aber nachmals sehr tyrannisch worden, also daß ein großer Krieg, von den Göttern wider ihn deswegen entstanden, darinnen endlich der Tyrann erlegt worden ist, etc.” (GMG 52r)

¹⁹ *Viruttācalapurāṇam*, ed. Muṇiyappa Mutaliyār (Pālaikkāṭṭuccēri culuttānpēṭṭai: Meyññāṇa villakkav accukūṭam, 1861).

²⁰ “*Weruttāschelpurāṇum*, welches diejenigen Historien in sich faßt, die an einem Ort, Werut-taschel genannt, sich zugetragen haben sollen.” (GMG 51v).

²¹ Ziegenbalg quotes from the Vipūti carukkam (MH 118), Uruttirāṭca carukkam (MH 75, 110, 114–15, 133) and (Civa)kīrtti carukkam (MH 42, 70 and GMG 18), that is, the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth chapters of the *Viruttācala purāṇam*.

²² *Periyapurāṇam: eṇṇu vaḷāṅkukiṇṇa Tiruttonṭarpurāṇam*, ed. Ārumuka Nāvalar (Ceṇṇai: Vitiyāṇupāḷaṇa yantira cālai, 1951); *The History of the Holy Servants of the Lord Siva: A Translation of the Periya Purāṇam of Cēkkilār*, trans. Alastair R. McGlashan (Victoria, British Columbia: Trafford Publishing, 2006).

²³ “*Periapurāṇum*, welches das größte Historien-Buch ist, darinnen lauter Geschichte von *Isuren* enthalten.” (GMG 51v)

Kāci kāṇṭam is a history book in which are told the wonders which Īcuvaran̄ is supposed to have done in a town called Kāci.²⁴

The *Tiruvēṅkāṭṭu purāṇam*²⁵ and the *Kāci kāṇṭam*²⁶ are both sixteenth-century works, the former ascribed to Caiva Ellappa Nāvalar, and the latter composed by Ativīrārāma Pāṇṭiyaṇ on the basis of the Kāśī Khaṇḍa of the Sanskrit *Skanda purāṇa*. Mūtūr, “first town,” is a description applied to Eyiṇaṇūr and Karuvūr in *Periya purāṇam*, but no work entitled **Mutura purāṇam* has been identified.²⁷

A seventh Śaiva purāṇa, quoted several times by Ziegenbalg but mentioned neither in the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* nor in the list of Śaiva works in the *Genealogia*, is the *Piramōttara kāṇṭam*. The *Piramōttara kāṇṭam* is the third part of the *Piramāṇṭa purāṇam*, itself part of the *Skanda purāṇam*. A Tamil version was written by Varatūṅkarāma Pāṇṭiyaṇ in the sixteenth century.²⁸ It is the only additional work listed in Walther’s 1731 edition of the *Bibliotheca Malabarica* which we can be certain that Ziegenbalg himself knew. Walther’s entry reads:

Piramōttara kāṇṭam. An account in verse of the various types of sacrifice and worship through which the people seek to achieve salvation. Such as penances; about a *vēṭaṇ* or wildman, who made offerings to a *linkam* in a forest to the north in Kālatti, carrying water in his mouth and using it to perform the *apiṣekam*, and finally even offering one of his eyes; he is supposed to have been taken into heaven.²⁹

²⁴ “*Diruvenkatupuranum*, welches weitläufig diejenige Geschichte erzehlet, die sich mit *Isuren* an einem Orte, *Diruvenkatu* genannt, sollen zugetragen haben.... *Muturapuranum* ist gleichfals ein *Historien*-Buch von des *Isuren*s Wunder, die an einem Orte, *Mūtūr* genannt, sich sollen begeben haben.... *Kaschikāntum* ist ein *Historien*-Buch, darinnen diejenigen Wunder erzehlet werden, die *Isuren* in einer Stadt, *Kaschi* genannt, soll gethan haben.” (GMG 52–53)

²⁵ *Tiruvēṅkāṭṭupurāṇam*, ed. Citamparam Pillai and Te. Ci. Turaiccāmp Pillai (Ceṇṇai: Paṇṭit-amittira yantira cālai, 1905).

²⁶ *Kāci kāṇṭam*, ed. Cūlai Cupparāya Nāyakar (Ceṇṇai: Vivēkaviḷakka Accukkūṭam, 1884).

²⁷ Jeyaraj suggests *Maturai purāṇam* (Jeyaraj, *Ziegenbalgs “Genealogie”*, 421; Jeyaraj, *Genealogy of the South Indian Deities*, 328), but there is no work of this title either and, when referring to the *Aṟupattunālu tiruviḷaiyāṭal purāṇam* here (GMG 53r) and elsewhere, Ziegenbalg writes “Madurei,” not “Mūtūr.”

²⁸ *Piramōttara kāṇṭam*, ed. Virācāmi Nāyūṭu (Ceṇṇai: Pāṇumati accukkūṭam, 1926).

²⁹ “*Brumōttirakāṇḍam*. Ist eine Erzählung in Versen von mancherley Opferarten und Verehrungen, wodurch die Leute die Seligkeit erlangen haben. Als von fasten: von einen Wöden oder Wilden, der zu Kālāstri Nordwärts in einem Walde ein Lingam geopfert und dabey in seinem Munde Wasser gebracht und damit des Abischegam Verrichtet endlich auch gar sein ein Auge geopfert, derselbe sey in die Seligkeit aufgenommen worden.” The 17th chapter or “*Vēṭam civapūcai kṛtaip-piṭṭa attiyāyam*” recounts the story of Kaṇṇappaṇ, who is associated with the temple at Kālāhasti in southern Andhra Pradesh.

Although Ziegenbalg quotes twice from the *Piramōttara kāṇṭam*, he gives only the name of the attiyāyam.³⁰ The title *Piramōttara kāṇṭam* itself is mentioned only in the *Malabarische Correspondenz*.³¹

Finally there are four further works mentioned in the *Genealogia*, all of which are said to be praise books addressed respectively to Civaṇ, Cakti and Caracuvati: **Civapōtakam*, *Civa kavacam*, *Tēvi kavacam*, and *Caracuvati antāti*. The last of these, mentioned very briefly by Ziegenbalg in the chapter on Caracuvati and described by him as the best-known of the books sung in praise of this goddess,³² is the only one readily identifiable with a particular work.³³ The *Caracuvati antāti* is ascribed to Kampan and while the ascription is probably only conventional, Hikosaka and Samuels suggest this may be the earliest of the Tamil eulogies on Caracuvati.³⁴

Kavacam ("armour") is a popular class of texts containing mantras associated with different deities which are invoked to protect the person who chants it. There is a Sanskrit *Śivakavaca*,³⁵ which forms a part of the *Brahmottarakāṇḍa* and is also included in the Tamil *Piramōttara kāṇṭam*. There is also Sanskrit text entitled *Devīkavaca*,³⁶ but no Tamil work with this title has been identified.

Ziegenbalg compares **Civapōtakam* to *Tiruvācakam* and *Tēvāram* (BM 6, 29), saying that it "is a book of the same sort, containing many praise-sayings on Civaṇ, and also in verse, again like the others."³⁷ These three works, together with *Civa kavacam* "which likewise consists of verses or dialogues with Civaṇ,"³⁸ are the only four works listed in the chapter of the *Genealogia* on Civaṇ, that is, Śiva conceived as the male power of the immaterial, invisible supreme being Parāparavaṣṭu. *Tēvi*

³⁰ "Tirupuṇṭaramakimai," i.e., "Tirupuṇṭaram uraitta attiyāyam," (MH 43–44) and "Uruttirāṭcamāṇmiyam," i.e., "Uruttirāṭca makimai uraitta attiyāyam" (MH 115).

³¹ "Brumōddirakāṇḍam" (HB 7: 388).

³² "Sie hat aber Lob-Bücher, die von ihr gesungen werden, unter welchen das bekannteste *Saraschudiandadi* heißet." (GMG 124v)

³³ *Makākavi Kampar iyarriya Caracuvatiyantāti, Caṭakōparantāti, ērelupatu, cilaiyelupatu, tirukkai valakkam: mūlamum, uraiyum*, ed. Vai. Mu. Kōpālakiruṣṇamācāriyār (Ceṇṇai: Vai. Mu. Kōpālakiruṣṇamācāriyār Kampenī, 1969)

³⁴ Hikosaka and Samuel, *Descriptive Catalogue* 1: 330.

³⁵ There are four manuscripts with this title in the Institut Français de Pondichéry (34.1, 42.1, 213.1, 213.2)

³⁶ Two manuscripts are available in the Institut Français de Pondichéry (88.5 and 206.6).

³⁷ "Tschiwapōdagum ist gleichfalls ein solches Buch, darinnen lauter Lob-Sprüche über Tschiwien enthalten sind und zwar in Versen, gleichwie auch die anderen." (GMG 30r) Given this comparison, it seems unlikely that Jeyaraj's identification of *Civapōtakam* as *Civañānapōtam* (Jeyaraj, *Ziegenbalgs "Genealogie"*, 457), one of the fourteen foundational works of Caiva Cittānta, is correct.

³⁸ "Tschiwakavaschum, welches ebenermaßen gebundenen Reden oder Gesprächen mit Tschiwien besteht." (GMG 30r)

kavacam is likewise the only work listed in the parallel chapter on Cakti, the female power of Parāparavaṣṭu, and is said there to be a parallel to the four works on Civaṇ: “And just as they have books in praise of Civaṇ, so also to be found among them are books which deal with Cakti; of which the principal one is called *Tēvi kavacam*, which contains many praises and forms of worship of this goddess Cakti.”³⁹

We should perhaps not make too much of this. Of the known works here—*Tiruvācakam* and *Tēvāram*—neither has a particularly abstract conception of the deity. It seems rather that the basis for listing these five works (*Tēvāram*, *Tiruvācakam*, **Civapōtakam* and *Civa kavacam*, with *Tēvi kavacam* as a parallel work on the goddess) together is again the list of books in widest use among the Tamils in the letter from the *Malabarische Correspondenz* (HB 7: 374–76) quoted above (13). The list begins as follows: *Tēvāram*, *Tiruvācakam*, **Civapōtakam*, *Viḷakkoli*, *Tiruvalluvar*, *Nānapōtakam*, *Civa kavacam* and *Tēvi kavacam*. The first chapter of the *Genealogia*, on Parāparavaṣṭu as immaterial, invisible supreme being, describes *Tiruvalluvar*, i.e., the *Kural*, together with *Civavākkiam*, *Nīti cāram* and *Nāna venpā*, as the most important of the books of the *nāṇikaḷ*, those who reject idolatry and worship only a single divine being without images. *Viḷakkoli* and *Nānapōtakam* are not mentioned anywhere else by Ziegenbalg, but his annotations in the *Malabarische Correspondenz* suggest they are similar works. The remaining five works from this list are those in the final two chapters on the male and female aspects of Parāparavaṣṭu, namely, *Tēvāram*, *Tiruvācakam*, **Civapōtakam*, *Civa kavacam* and *Tēvi kavacam*. If then Ziegenbalg, in his account of these works, is simply following closely the information he received from his correspondent, there is perhaps no reason to think that he had copies of these works, which he does not otherwise refer to or quote.

³⁹ “Und gleichwie sie von *Tschiuwen* einige Lob-Bücher haben, so findet man auch einige Bücher unter ihnen die von der *Tschaddi* handeln, darunter das vornehmste *Dewikāwischum* genannt wird, welches lauter Lob-Sprüche und Anbethungs-Formeln dieser Göttin *Tschaddi* in sich enthält.” (GMG 37v)

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