LEGACY OF BASEL MISSION & HERMANN GUNDERT

in Malabar

EDITED BY; K.K.N. KURUP, K.J. JOHN

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Preface

The nineteenth century laid the foundation of modern Malabar on a secure footing. Politically the northern district of this peninsular strip had sttled down more or less to British rule. Many new developments taken place in the 19th century Malabar had been studied, though somewhat cursorily and not too exhaustively. Even in these studies, we are able to see a defenite pattern and a direction emerging in which Christian Missions helped in their own way. In spite of the challanges and vicissitudes, Christian Missions contributed largely to the social life and cultural activities in the region. European nationalism and liberalism as well as the dominant ideas of the French Revolution and Protestant Reformation had their belated impact on Malayalee mind. The results at the end of 19th century were an increased interest in our past; spouting and spreading of scientific education, transfer of advanced technology and emergence of Malayalam prose writing, printing and journalism contributing largely to the renaissence in Malabar in the 19th century.

The outstanding Christian Mission contributed for the overall development of Malabar region was the Basel Mission Society which had its humble footing in Malabar through the dedicated efforts of the German Missionary - Scholar, Dr. Hermann Gundert in the first half of 19th century. The objective of this volume is to provide an insight into the colourful and multidimensional personality of Dr. Gundert, his illustrius grandsons Dr. Wilhem Gundert and Hermann Hesse and also to enquire into the origin, development and contributions of Basel

Mission Society which opened and provided a fertile field for life - long dedicated services to Dr. Hermann Gundert. This volume is the result of the initiative taken by Rt. Rev. Dr. P. G. Kuruvilla, the Bishop of North Kerala C. S. I. Diocese along with some prominant Pastors and laymen of the Basel Mission Community of Calicut and the Faculty members of the Department of History, University of Calicut. We express our heart - felt thanks to the learned contributers, the real architects of this humble souvenir, and also to the sponsors without whose assistance the printing of this work was impossible.

We gratefully dedicate and place this boquet of scholarly articles at the feet of the sacred memory of the scholar missionary from Germany who lives in the hearts of Malayalam speaking people as their teacher and guide, on the occasion of his death Centenary.

Calicut
18th April 1993

K. J. JOHN
K. K. N. KURUP
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Hermann Gundert as a Man (1814 - 1893)

Albrecht Frenz

Whenever we think of Hermann Gundert we connect him with various surroundings. In Kerala he is remembered as a German of the last century. Hardly anybody realises that Germany of the recent day is completely different from Germany at Gundert's time. When Gundert was a four-or five-year-old boy, there was a severe famine in the kingdom of Wuerttemberg which was an independent small state at that time. A lot of children starved to death due to default of medical facilities. The industrialisation had not yet taken place in Germany and therefore the towns still had the character of large villages. Higher education was available only for a small elitist group, The educational methods were characterised by authoritarian methods.

Gundert is virtually unknown in his native country. If you ask some body about Gundert he or she will not know his name, let alone his works. If some body happens to know his name, his grandson, Hermann Hesse is the reason for this. Sometimes this knowledge of Hermann Hesse extends to Gundert's works which are mainly written in Malayalam. Only a few specialists know that Malayalam is the language of Kerala and some others are aware that Kerala is a country in the south-west of India (Baden-Wuerttemberg is located in south -western Germany). Gundert is well-known in Kerala but his roots are in Germany. He connects both countries like a bridge connects two banks.

If you ask a scholar about Gundert he may tell you that

Gundert was a missionary. i.e. a theologian. If you ask a clergyman he may say that Gundert was a scholar and of little interest for the Church. The clergyman argue that Gundert was never ordained and never sent to India by a missionary society- he went to Madras as a tutor with an Englishman in order to teach his two sons. When Gundert returned to Germany and settled down at Calw he became a merchant and was entrolled at the Royal Higher Regional Court (3 - 3- 1866) as the Proprietor of the "Vereins - Buchhandlung" (Book - Society) of Claw. Others claim that Gundert was a school inspector but add that Gundert founded congregations and a church in Malabar and in addition to this preached almost every sunday in one of the churches at Claw or in the surroundings. His publications prove that he was very much interested in theology. All these and other arguments are correct to a certain extent but at the same time they are incorrect. Hermann Gundert was a scholar and personality who had the general view of specific subjects but simultaneously he had enthusiasm to extend his knowledge of things which he came across in his daily life and duties. Despite his great achievements in the field of research and despite his manifold interests, the extraordinary linguistic genius of Gundert is considered to be the most prominent component of his character which also has greatly influenced his work.

Hermann Gundert was born on February 4th, 1814, in the centre of Stuttgart, the capital of the Kingdom of Wuerttemberg at that time and the capital of the present country of Baden - Wuerttemberg . His father, Ludwig Gundert, was a merchant and his mother, Christiane nee Ensslin, was a very gifted merchant's daughter who inherited the shop from her parents. This young couple started their business at the time when many changes were taking place in Europe. Only a few months after the battle of nations near Leipzig Christiane Gundert gave birth to her third child and second son who was named "Hermann"- the name of the German hero of freedom who defeated the Romans in the year 9 A.D. Hermann Gundert was born one year after the death of his eldest sister who died at the age of less than two years when his mother

gave birth to her tenth child, called Ernst, in the year 1830, six sisters and brothers of Hermann Gundert had died already. Already as a child Hermann Gundert was confronted with severe grief. He faced death himself at the age of ten when he had an inflammation of the throat. Several times he had to stay away from school because of illness, We also ought to remember that during Gundert's childhood numerous famines plagued Germany, especially during the years 1816/17 when people starved to death even on the countryside.

Hermann Gundert had, nevertheless, a lot of joy and happiness in his childhood, The narrow Church street ran from the Market place to the Stiftskirche (Cathedral) with its old houses, pubs, hotels, shops and trading companies. The young boys of the neighborhood used to run and to play in the streets and yards. Young Hermann liked to slip into the role of Napoleon I. and to play a great general. Very often he and his brother stayed in the nearby Bible house where they played behind the reams of paper or around the printing press. Sometimes they helped their father in his office and got acquainted with his work as a Bible secretary. Hermann Gundert was informed about the events in foreign countries much earlier than other boys. Together with his father he was very much impressed by some of the many people who visited the Bible house and their family. The most outstanding personality who visited Stuttgart thrice and influenced the Gundert family profoundly was Stephan Grellet, a former catholic and French nobleman who had to flee his country and had become a Baptist of North America.

Because Ludwig, the fourteen months older brother, did not want to go to the Gymnasium (high school, teaching Latin , Greek, Maths, History, Music etc.) without a companion, Hermann was sent along with him when he was only five and a half years old. They got their primary education from a famous toutor who prepared them well for the Gymnasium. When Hermann Gundert was thirteen years old he wrote a poem for his mother's thirty - fifth birthday (on September 1st, 1827).

"Cordially beloved mother!
Yet another year you have lived, most beloved mother!
The last year, however, brought you much pain.
Severe this pain was, because a tender child has left you for ever
And a sister, who loved us and was loved by all,
Unreplaceable indeed is the loss of the beloved
Therefore she was taken by a God who is ruling mankind.
Did not he- because of his caring - call her into death?
To release her from pain and form terrible torture?
Received was now the redeemed child by her redeemer,
Received by him in his heavenly abode.
Always do keep in your mind, if you think of the loss
With pain: that the all-benevolent did it.
To try her and us, he sends woe to the poor,
But was she not rich, being confident in God?
Much, very much was loaden on you, that you might educate
Your other children and also might care for them.
Oh, how I could have helped you in many respects.
And yet I did not do what the law commands
But even more, not only sins of omission I committed:
Weakness and malignity tore me away very often.
Some time I was not obedient, obeyed with an opposing mind.,
and a sinful spirit had pierced though my heart
Oh, forgive me, I will improve, will not any longer
Obey him who has been a betrayer from the beginning.
So much good you did for me, oh loving mother!
Always you gave me the wanted in need
But not only for the needs of our dear ones you cared, mother
Pleasure you often gave us during the past year.
Out of my inner heart shall I thank you
For this, further more as your son give you support.
Concerning the future, We'll have to see
What God determines, if I have to leave you, or not:
You can firmly believe that I shall always try hard,
To be a worthy son to his worthy parents.
This to his mother
her
obedient son Hermann."

Only a few weeks later after writing this poem Hermann Gundert was admitted to the Cloister., also called the Seminary, at Maulbronn - an old Cistereian cloister founded in 1146. After the reformation this cloister was converted into a school to educate boys in the old languages Greek, Latin and Hebrew as well as in other subjects to prepare them for their higher- especially theological - studies at university. The traditional aim of the so-called Seminary was to make the students familiar with the above mentioned languages and to teach them a special way of life i.e. obedience, discipline and modesty. Hermann Gundert's class was an outstanding one and was called the "genius-class", in which Gundert could not be counted to the top of the class but always to the better half. The class was outstanding not only in the intellectual sense but also in doing nonsense: they even managed to provoke a teacher to such an extent that he had to quit the school. But when the talented disciple of Hegel, David Friedrich Strauss, joined the Seminary as a teacher the whole class got excited and became even better in their intellectual endeavors. This changes of teachers inspired Gundert so much that he achieved the first rank in the entrance examination for the so-called Protestant stift (a charitable institution by the king of Wuerttemberg for mainly theological students where they had free board and lodging) at Tubingen, which he entered in autumn 1831.

Meanwhile Strauss had also moved to Tubingen and had become a professor at the local university. Gundert studied successfully, he even did more than he was expected to. He studied philosophy and theology and also visited lectures of the medical faculty. In addition to their academic work the students had discussions that often lasted the whole night. A few students including Gundert regularly met with Strauss privately for special discussions. Gundert was soon known as a person with whom, it was possible to discuss hard problems and difficult questions. If a student was despaired Gundert looked after him. He even saved the life of a friend of his who was at the verge of committing suicide.

More than two years went by. Then Gundert's mother fell

seriously ill and died on January 20th, 1833. Gundert was innermost touched by this event. He began to think in a different way about his life and the summer of the same year can be considered to be a kind of turning point in his life. He broke away from Strauss and his circle and tried to establish contacts to the so-called pietists. He even changed the room within the Stift - but did not obtain what he had expected from his new surroundings.

There is a poem - still available in Gundert's own handwriting (Steinhaus Calw) - that illustrates the conflict between the principles he was taught by his parents and the new ones he came across later on. This poem clearly manifests that Gundert's roots were Hegelian and that he expressed himself in a respectve language. The poem which Gundert composed one day before his father's fiftieth birthday goes as follows:

"On August 12th 1833
That it becomes evening
shall I lament it?
That the sun sets,
Tired of his day's work,
That the clouds around
Dark shadows draw,
That the stars do twinkle
Down into the night's stillness?

Through autumn's withered firstlings, Outside you are stepping
Fallen a victim of cold nights!
But around you at the hill
Mild wine is boiling
In a ample drive,
Ripening fruits are sucking
Motherly vigours,
Flowers are still alive,
Like a child, satisfied-
And a peaceful star
Greats gratefully nodding

Flowers and garlands of vine
And leaves and fruits
And the earnest man's face,
Which enjoys all these,
And the ear-shaken wagon,
Which moans towards the barn.

These are pictures taken
From God's free world.
But they change
In colorful phenomenons.
Only a single one always returns to me,.
Man's eye, which absorbs them all!

Was it not you who was the flower
Dreaming at mother's breast?
Was it not you the ripening fruit
In the summer of life?
Are you not still the boiling berry,
Awaiting the presser,
To measure its vigour and mildness?
Also the ear you might be
On the dry rut,
Which looks at its sisters
In the grip of the cutters,
And bowing down in pain.

When it sees the horses,
Carrying its closest
Into unknown chambers.

But out of the changing earthen birth
You look up towards the everlasting heaven!
And if leafage is hovering near you
'In the evening wind
Withering on withered hair,
You do not attention to wind and clouds:

Rather you will look through tired branches
Towards the blooming starlight.
For the day has ended,
In which the lad's flaming vigour,
Standing on mountain's hight,
To become sun, swore by himself,
With infinite spirits.
Now as he sees that evening drew near,
Covering the sun of life
Against the deeply rutted valley of earth,
To resemble the stars only he wishes,
For ever to see the sun,
And in union with the lights above
Competing in shining like her.

On the threshold you stand
Of your century!
Here is the cradle, in which you wept,
There are the worlds expecting you!
And the accomplished ones up there,
Pointing at happier doings
And the entrusted ones down here,
Swaying in sincere endeavor!

Raise up your right hand,
Which once you had given her,
May she who was tried in combat
Give help for the last pace!
To the ever beloved one!
But your left hand keep
And your admonishing eye
And love's flame of reminding
For the younger pilgrims!"

At that time the idea of going to India came up. Not even Gundert himself could explain where this enthusiasm came from. He suggested that the impressions he had got during his

childhood at home culminated in that very idea. But the ideas concerning India took concrete form when his friend Oehler from Basel asked Gundert to take a tutor's post for the two sons of an Englishman, A.N. Groves, who had been a former missionary to Persia and now wanted to travel to India. Gundert accepted the offer and prepared himself for the journey. He took his Doctor's degree in philosophy. Then he completed his theological examination at the University of Tubingen. Stayed a few days with his father (who had remarried meanwhile) and set out for England. There he had to stay and wait till Groves was ready to leave. They left Southampton on board of the "Perfect" on April 1st, 1836, and reached Madras on July 7th, after a journey of more than three months. After some days the two sons of Groves arrived but were not at all willing to learn Greek and Hebrew. Therefore there was no work for Gundert in Madras and he was sent to Rhenius, a German missionary of Church Missionary Society at Sinduponturei, Tirunelveli, in order to see how things were going on there.

Hermann Gundert left Madras on august 5th, 1836, and reached Sinduponturei on August 21st. On the way he visited the Meenakshi Temple in Madurai. He was very much impressed and wrote home: "At the beginning, I think, it (the concept of the temple) was a system full of spirit: the manyfold effects of God were traced in the nature." Unfortunately most of the letters that he wrote home at that item were lost. Later he recollected this trip and also mentioned that he had collected folk songs which he had come across in the Cauvery-plains and on their boardering hills. The most important part of Gundert's visit to Tamilnadu was his stay with Rhenius form August 1836 to March 1837.

It would be highly interesting to go deeper into the quarrels that the Church Missionaries and the Anglican Bishop had, concerning Rhenius and his work. But we know that Gundert described the consequences of Rhenius' sacking by the Church Missionary Society in his letters to Groves. These letters have not yet been evaluated in a Church history of Tirunelveli. For our purposes

it is much more interesting that the main foundations for Gundert's later work were laid during his stay at Sinduponturei.

Gundert arrived at Sinduponturei on a bright Sunday morning, and the very next day he started teaching the catechists in the seminary. They learned from each other - the catechists English, Gundert Tamil. It is astonishing in what a comparatively short time Gundert started to compose a Greek-Tamil and a Hebrew-Tamil dictionary for the use of the catechists. He carefully observed Rhenius' schoolwork and his missionary activities. Every month Gundert went with the catechists or other missionaries for a week's missionary excursion visiting close and distant villages. Gundert was greatly interested in and impressed by the various schools and their system of supervision. In the rapid growth of the Shanar congregations he became aware of the positive role played by lay people within the Church. On the other side he saw the destructive influence of the episcopal rules and powerful structures represented in the institution and personified in the bishop.

Along with Rhenius, Gundert studied the Tamil classics of the Sangam-Period as well as the Tamil writings of the early and contemporary catholic and protestant missionaries. Gundert got to know the revision of Rhenius' grammar which was just published. So he became familiar with Tolkappiam, the old authority in Tamil grammar as well as with the Saturagaradi, the Tamil- ABC, composed by the Jesuit missionary Joseph Beschi. In a biography of early Tamil missionaries Gundert rendered Beschi's pamphlet against the Lutherans, especially against the Lutherans of Tranquebar. Gundert did nor comment this anti-protestant pamphlet but translated the key words literally. So "Petrus" becomes "Steinvater" (stone-father) and represents all Popes. "Paulus" becomes "Kleinvater" (little-father) and represents Martin Luther and all Protestants. Gundert quotes what Beschi had said about Luther who once did a sermon on Paul's letter to the Galatians. By this Gundert shows that Beschi had misinterpreted Luther. Gundert's strength was his usage of language. He was very objective. He criticized Beschi but he also said: "He stands

before our eyes as an important gift of the Christian civilization to the Tamilans, because he - like no other European - obtained a firm place in the pantheon of Tamil sages". (Hermann Gundert, Quellen Zu seinem Leben und Werk, Ulm 1991, p. 289). Gundert even calls himself a "grateful student" of Beschi. These statements are the more important, the clearer, we understand the pietistic attitude towards the Jesuits. Gundert stood far above the emotional evaluation of a person and concentrated on what a person said, wrote and did in order to arrive at an objective conclusion. Further more Gundert never hesitated to say his opinion frankly.

It was not only the scholarly life of Rhenius that attracted Gundert. Rhenius' whole life became more and more unique in Gundert's eyes. From the very first day Gundert got lively impressions of Rhenius' manner of educating the children in his house. Gundert wrote to Grove: "Br. Rhenius came to call me for breakfast: before breakfast prayers. He questioned the children about the prophet whom he who about to read (Horea),about the state and King of Judia at that time, and many other little things;the children answered cheerfully. All was done in great simplicity." (Letter 6 - 9 -1836). In the same letter Gundert described his impression: "I trust the Lord has revealed some of his beauty to me and to others." Also Gundert characterizes Rhenius: "Rhenius is the 'Peria ayer' (great divine)." By these few quotations Gundert drew a good picture of Rhenius which later to some extent - might have been applied to Gundert himself.

At the end of January 1837, while Gundert was staying at Sindupontueri, Rhenius, the founder of the Bible society in Madras, founded two new societies at Nagercoil: Satyaputtaka Sangam, a society for publishing religious books, and Samadna Sangam, a society for peace with the aim of avoiding conflicts in the villages. In the beginning of March 1837 Gundert was called back to Madras. He travelled via Tuticorin and then took the boat from Manar to Madras where he arrived at the end of March. Only after a few weeks - together with two catechists form Sinduponturei - Gundert set out for Chittoor where he arrived on May 1st. He

was heartily received by Mrs. and Mr. Lascelles, a judge in Chittor court. Mrs. Lascelles came to be like a mother to Gundert and finally arranged Gundert's marriage with Julie Dubois from Neuchatel, Switzerland, who also belonged to the party of Groves.

At Chittor, Gundert put into practice what he had learned with Rhenius. Every month he visited villages in the vicinity and in the distant surroundings trying to establish schools. He sought contact with the villagers and often ended up having discussions with them. Gundert started keeping a diary on September 1st , 1837, and made the following entry on September 5th: "I began an exploratory tour in the western valley of Chittor on the palmaner road, taking Andrew and Vedamuttu with me in the bullock bandy. Stopped first at Iruvaram, a village of Telugu Cettis, rich people it seems, who have great desire for a school.... walked from them to the Pariar village at the foot of the Mountains, behind Iruvaram. These are all Tamiler; as none knows to read. I had offered them a school already several weeks ago.... Sat under the big tree, under which their 8 stone idols - roundshaped stones, without any human resemblance, of different sizes between 1/2 and 2 feet height anointed with oil- are placed. We had lively conversation about them". Through these contacts Gundert acquired the trust of the people in many villages and managed to establish more than ten schools in less than one year.

In the field of missionary work Gundert achieved a lot. In August he held his first service and sermon in Tamil in the newly - erected small church at Chittoor. Baptisms followed. But Gundert never showed pride - the opposite. After having baptized some people of Chittoor he expressed the wish to receive bread and Wine form their hands as soon as possible. Gundert himself took measures to provide the Indian Christians with adequate positions within the church. Once he asked his catechist Andrew to baptize two children. Because of this he was opposed by many. Gundert's answer to his opponents reveals secular vision of an independent Indian church. Gundert reports: "I let Andrew baptize two other children of a female Christian teacher in my presence. This caused

some tittle-tattle because they say that a baptism executed by a brown hand is not as effective as by white one. But, I think that this is exactly what we have to oppose, otherwise it will take an eternity before the Indian Christians will become independent of the whites." (Letter 3- 2- 1838). Gundert sometimes prayed the lord to humiliate him - humiliate him to become lower than the lowest.

It seems that Gundert's success caused suspicions and rivalry with Mr. and Mrs. Groves. Gundert's daily life became therefore more and more difficult. When it became clear that he was going to marry Julie Dubois there was no chance for reconciliation. During that time Gundert studied his heart carefully and at the same time he learned to cast all his anxiety on God. Once he prayed: "Lord, let me not be captured by flying thoughts and the inward struggle but let me continue to be free and look upon thy countenance." This inward struggle came to an end only on Illikunnu, Thalassery, as Gundert prayed: "You, oh Lord, you know me and you look through me! I do not know myself - and I come to know myself only by and by. Let me know you, let me experience you in your name, in your kingdom....teach and educate me, make me happy in your knowledge!" (Diary, January 1840). During the time between these two prayers Gundert's life had completely changed.

The marriage took place on July 23rd, 1838, at Chittoor. "Marriage; Lascelles read the prayer, Mr. Brett and Mr. Casamajor present." (Diary 23 - 3- 1838). After this event Gundert prepared himself for the farewell. On July 30th Hermann and Julie Gundert set our for Palayankottai in order to join the Mission there. When they came to Tiruchirapally they found a letter by the missionaries in Palayamkottai saying that they did not want to have Gundert as a permenent missionary because Rhenius had died. Gundert immediately changed his mind and decided just to visit the place. After their arrival in Palayankottai Gundert applied to the Basel Mission at Mangalore through his friend Hermann Moegling. At the same time Moegling got to know that Gundert had left

Chittoor. For this reason he arranged a missionary conference at Mangalore which decided to invite Gundert to join the Basel Mission at Mangalore. When Gundert received these news he and his wife were very much relieved and happy.

On October 1st, 1838 - Julie Gundert's birthday -, they decided to leave Palayankottai and took leave immediately. On their way to Mangalore they passed Nagercoil. There Gundert entrusted his Tamil manuscripts which were ready for print to a printer who promised to publish the manuscripts (until this day these manuscripts have not been found). Some days later he reported: "October 6th, tiresome Journey through Neyyatingiri, the boarder point of the Tamilnad Malayala- ('mountainous land") Language, where we cooked our lunch, then went on the Thiruvananthapuram, the capital of the Travancore - or Malayala - kingdom." (Letter, 18-11-1838). through the backwaters they came to Kochi, where they took a small pattimar to Manglore. Off the Chetwa coast they faced a sudden and heavy storm which almost wrecked the boat. On October 28th the boat was lying in the harbour of Thalassery but Gundert remained on board. Finally they landed at Manglore on November 2nd, 1838. They were cordially received, especially by Moegling.

Julie Gundert took care of the household of the missionaries who were all bachelors at that time. Gundert himself became a teacher at the mission school and started to learn Kannada. Very soon he was going to write a comparative grammar of Dravidian languages of the Peninsula. By the end of January 1838 he was sent to Anjarakandi for redeeming his promise - given before he had left the missionaries at palayankottai - by visiting catechist Michael. At Kannur he stayed with postmaster West who himself had formerly been associated with Rhenius at Tirunelveli. Gundert tried to get into contact with as many people as possible. After some days he rode to Thalassery where he stayed with Mrs. and Mr. Anderson, a judge at the Thalassery court. People of Thalassery asked him to live there permanently as a missionary. But Gundert could nor decide anything without the permission of the Basel Mission Society which he had just joined.

At this time one of the owners of the Anjarakandi estate, Mr. J Brown, visited Thalassery for business purposes. When Brown returned to Anjarakandi he was accompanied by Gundert. They were nicely welcomed there. Gundert examined the school children and had a sermon in Tamil which was translated into Malayalam by Michael. Gundert saw the dreary living conditions of the cinnamon labourers but did not complain about it for the moment. He went back to Kannur, saw West again and returned to Mangalore. His enthusiasm for Malabar was so great and convincing that Moegling immediately wrote to Basel recommending a mission station in Malabar. At the end of February a letter of T.L.Strange, a Judge reached Mangalore offering his Bungalow and the fields around it to the mission as a gift with the only condition that the Basel mission should establish a mission station there. Now things were progressing fast. The missionary conference decided to send Gundert and his wife along with missionary Dehlinger to Illikunnu, Thalassery,. They arrived there on Friday evening, April 12th 1839.

Gundert's inner struggles had all come to an end. He felt like coming home. Gratefully he looked back on the intricated ways of the last three years. It was stated by Gundert several times that often one has to wait and wait, sometimes for months or even years - and suddenly things start to run smoothly. Thanks to his experiences Gundert became patient; he learned to wait for the things to ripen, preferred observing to quick action, disciplined himself till the opportunity came. Gundert had passed a time which he would never have wished to return but which had given him strength and experience by which he became that outstanding personality at Thalassery.

When we read Gundert's diary we get to know that he founded schools, visited families and authorities, preached on Sundays or looked after the sick. If we read his letters carefully we shall notice that he also studied Malayalam intensively, learned to speak Sanskrit fluently and scrutinized history of Kerala. He worked together with his munshis - for some time he had five

munshis to inform him about various subjects. With his Malayalam munshi he cooperated closely, so that he was able to complete his first Malayalam grammar already in June and the Malayalam syntax in November 1839. In March 1840 he wrote that he had studied Malayalam only for the last eight months. We know that he was a hard-working man. He visited people and conversed with them. Sometimes they called on him to get medical assistance. Gundert's working capacity and speed seems almost unbelievable to us. His ability to grasp new things and to create new methods and structures is admirable. Moreover he was always keen on getting feedback from people of all castes, creeds and positions.

Studying the comment of Keralolpathi which Gundert wrote in 1839/1840 we have to ask, how it was possible for him to write such a detailed treatise on such a complicated matter- in addition to his other work and study which was more than sufficient. His most important work in the Christian and in the inter- religious field was his first Bible tract dealing with the creation according to Genesis 1-11 of the Old Testament as well as to apocryphical and old Indian sources. Gundert's aim of indigenizing Christian thoughts became very clear - so clear that the mission board in Basel forbade this type of approach. The following six tracts of the Old Testament were composed strictly along the biblical line. Only when Gundert completed his "Nala Charitam Saram" from Mahabharata more than ten years later he discussed the inter religious dialogue again - much more effectively than in his first Bible tract "Satyaveda Itihasam".

It seems that the longer Gundert stayed in India the more he got convinced of the necessity of the inter religious dialogue. He even confessed that the "Indians have all what we have", i.e. all terms like grace, forgiveness, humility, patience, faith and the concepts connected with these terms. At the same time, however, he was aware of the fact that each religion needs a non-inter-changeable identity. We can observe that the more deep-rooted the spirit behind the religious faith the wider and opener the heart and mind become towards other creeds and religions. The main

reason for such an attitude is love - love of God and love of the fellow beings. How far and how deep Gundert's love was, is manifest in many occasions. One incident may be taken as an example. Once a Mappila joined the Mission on Illikunnu. After some time he was baptized and got married. Shortly after this he was offered 500 Rs- a lot of money at that time - if he returned to the mosque. Instead of going to the service one Sunday morning he ran to the mosque with three young men where he was kept and made Moslem again. Gundert was shocked by himself that he had misinterpreted the situation and the person. But instead of lamenting or accusing these young people Gundert serutinized literature of the Mappilas in order to understand them better. Gundert's love survived severe disappointments - and it revealed itself as true love.

Not only did he love the Malayalees but also their language and the land of Kerala. Gundert strove to acquire knowledge and was never satisfied in this regard. The best examples of this are his edition of Keralolpathi- mentioned above -and the publication o Keralapazhama and, of course, his grammars as well as his dictionary. Form the very beginning on Illikunnu until the moment he left India, he collected linguistic material everywhere from ordinary peasants, royal families and Brahmins, from folk-literature and high Malayalam poetry. He never had prejudices against informants but always judged form the linguistic point of view instead.

Gundert's scientific approach and human openness became relevant in the linguistic filed. Thanks to the rediscovery of his manuscripts at the University of Tubingen, we can draw a clear picture of Gundert's way of working. Let us take the grammar as an example: In June 1839 he completed his first grammar and in November of the same year the syntax. Afterwards he supplemented his manuscripts so plentyful that it became necessary to prepare a fair copy. This was done by Margarete Will, one of the Indian lady teachers who even knew German, and it was presented to Gottfried Weigle, a well-gifted missionary, linguist

and translator in Managlore and on the Nilagiris. Since Margarete Will's copy is preserved well we have a fix point of Gundert's grammatical work in 1843/44.Later on Gundert continued supplementing his fair copy, especially the part of the syntax. Seemingly he almost stopped entering new features and roles after 1856 when he was ordered to move from Chirakkal to Mangalore. However, we can find many entries inserted into his manuscript between 1850 and 1853, as he had almost lost his voice.

During this illness Gundert's personality can be studied very well. At first, when he noticed that he could not speak any more and that all work strained his breast, he was struggling with God and mankind - but only for a short time. He became patient and rested. Whenever he could, he read and wrote Malayalam. He sent a letter to Basel asking for the permission for a new Bible translation. The Basel Mission committee in Basel was convinced and allowed Gundert to go ahead with the translation which he had already started. Before translating the New Testament form Greek into Malayalam he transformed, the manuscript of his Malayalam-English grammer into a Malayalam-Malayalam grammar and had it edited at Thalassery in 1851. Only for the second edition Diez, who was the editor, asked Gundert for English headings and English explanations. It is quite astonishing that Gundert wrote his "Malayala bhasa vyakaranam" at the same year as "Malayalavyakarana chodyottaram", the manuscript of which is kept at the Achieve of the Basel mission, Basel. The latter one became the school grammar and was edited several times by L.Garthwaite and was also translated into English. It would be interesting to compare the English parts of Gundert's grammars with his original unpublished English-Malayalam manuscript.

Gundert's studies are so unique that the following generations have been using his treatises, too. He followed - consciously or unconsciously -the old Indian saying : "He who says 'I', 'I' and 'mine', 'mine' is not firm in his mind". Gundert usually stressed that he had predecessors and that he will have successors who will do things better. All those who try to create rivalries among

the Malayalam forefathers will be ashamed of their own jealousy. Gundert may very well be compared with others and also be criticized but he can never be played off against another missionary or scholar. Gundert's personality and integrity are so unique that it is difficult to give justice to his life and work.

Gundert's magnum opus, his "A Malayalam and English dictionary", has to be seen in this context. The dictionary is the high point of Gundert's immense diligence and comprehensive ability. In addition to this it was fortunate that he got hold of the books written by the Jesuit and Carmelite fathers in the 18th century, and that Benjamin Bailey's Malayalam Dictionary was too much dependent on Sanskrit and the literal Malayalam of Central and "South Kerala. Gundert united in his dictionary all features of a unique linguistic encyclopedia. For years when he was composing the final draft of this dictionary at Calw he got up early in the morning long before the other members of the house woke up. This was not a strain but a pleasure for Gundert. Once always he took some days free- and enjoyed working on the dictionary all day long . For Gundert discipline turned into pleasure- something we can notice with admiration.

So far we have dealt almost exclusively with Gundert's earlier years, his stay in Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh and Malabar. Now we want to have a look at him as the head of his family and as a manager of a famous publishing company. His works in German are also important., because they give a clear picture of the society at Calw and Southern Germany at his time, and also of his family affairs. When Gundert had to leave India in April 1859 he planned to stay in Europe for a couple of months to get well. The longer he had to wait for recovery the more the hope to return to India was fading. The Basel mission Committee took the opportunity to arrange Gundert's transfer to Calw, where Dr. Ch. G. Barth, the chief editor of the Calwer Verlagsverein (Calw publishing house) needed assistance because of old age and illness. Gundert became Barth's assistant in managing the publishing house form 1860 till 1862 when Barth died. After Barth's

death Gundert had the full responsibility as publisher, editor and writer. More than ten years of immense work load followed, and Gundert experienced the second summit of his life.

Gundert edited five periodicals, amongst them the famous "Missions - Magazine" of the Basel Mission and the wide-spread "Folios for the Youth" (Jugendblaetter). He told one of his printers never to mention his name, otherwise people might call him a scribbler. Therefore Gundert's name is hardly ever mentioned as the composer and publisher of essays, treatises etc. And he published many of them,. His way of expressing himself is so compact and lively that it fascinates even the reader of today. Gundert took many topics from his time in India, e.g. his series of biographies on Xavier, de Nob ili, Beschi, Ziegenbalg, Fabricius, Schwartz, Rhenius, Anderson and Graul or the very long life sketch of Hebich. Once he received an extremely long manuscript. Gundert corrected and shortened it, so that it cold be printed in three volumes. This caused a lot of difficulties with the author who didn't accept Gundert's correction, yet he finally agreed with the abbreviations. Later on Gundert complained that the author, who had been prejudised,had lacked a scholarly approach . The result was that Gundert himself wrote the fourth volume which deals with "History 1815 - 1878".Gundert f rankly expressed his opinion. Due to this characteristic he lost some friends but won others.

Gundert had to spend most of his time in the publishing work. Whenever he could, he continued his Malayalam work, translating the Bible, compiling the dictionary, raising the grammar and os on. On Sundays he was asked to preach either at Calw or some neighboring village. In this way he remained in contact with the common people. His house was open to many visitors who came from all countries and all walks of life. Very often they sought Gundert's advice. Gundert was able to spend only a small fraction of his time with his family.

In India the Gunderts had their children only for the first three to six years with them. Then they had to leave for Europe

to be educated there. In Calw they were finally able to lead a normal family file. The two eldest sons, Hermann and Samuel, were already at the mission school in Basel, when Gundert returned to Germany in May 1859. But it took almost one more year before the family was united at Calw for the very first time! Gundert enjoyed the growing up of the younger boys - Freidrich, Paul and David and the daughter Marie. Usually Gundert saw the children in the morning before they went to school and sometimes in the afternoon. If possible he took some hours free in t he evening to play chess or other plays with them. The after noon or evening walk was almost compulsory. Often Gundert was accompanied by Paul or later by David and he used to tach them Latin, Greek or Hebrew while walking. When his son Samuel was asked to become a Missionary in Malabar, Gundert took him along to his walks and taught him Malayalam. Gundert was very fond of discussions on linguists and spiritual matters. It seems that communication during his walks was so relaxed that his children as well as other people were pleased to accompany Gundert. In summer 1862 Gundert's elder son Hermann (born at Illikunnu in 1839) had left for USA to work as a pastor. Gundert wrote two or three or even more times per month to him. Form these usually long letters we learn something about Gundert's way of l.ife. Sometimes Gundert was recalling his time at Maulbronn or Tubingen and his studies on Hegel, Pestalozzi and others.

Gundert's second son, Samuel (1840 -1880), was trained in Basel to be a missionary and was sent to Malabar in 1864. Gundert never gave orders to Samuel but gave advice form his long experience in south India. Gundert sent the first parts of the manuscript of the dictionary to Samuel - later on he posted them, via Basel to missionary Stolz in Mangalore. Samuel Gundert died in Manglore in 1880 - just before he intended to go on furlough with his family.

In 1864 Gundert's daughter Marie (1842 -1902) got engaged to Charles Isenberg, who was to become a missionary in India in Bombay in 1859. In September 1865 Marine Gundert left for

India, got married on Illikunnu and proceeded with her husband to Hyderabad in Sindh. They lived there until autumn 1869, when they had to return to Germany because of the illness of Charles Isenberg. He died in February 1870, leaving a widow and tow sons. Marie and her children moved to Calw, where Marie became the first female teacher for English in the kingdom of Wuerttemberg.

In autumn 1868 Gundert's son Friedrich (1847 - 1925) left Basel to go to Mangalore in order to become an accountant and merchant there. But very soon it became obvious that he could not stand the climate and therefore he had to return about one year later. At Calw Friedrich married a young lady and became the manager of the bookshop of the Calw Publishing House. Friedrich admired his father very much and collected everything concerning him. This is how the Hermann Gundert collection of the Steinhaus came into being, and it still exists.

Gundert's most gifted son, Paul (1849 -1871), followed almost exactly the same paths as his father. Paul was admitted to the Seminary at the cloister Maulbronn. While studying theology, Paul became very seriously ill and had to be admitted to the hospital in Stuttgart where he died in February 1871. Although Gundert took this death as a fate in accordance with God's plans, he grieved much and for quite a long time.

The youngest son, David (1850 - 1945), was for a long time an apprentice in a printing house in Stuttgart. After this he gained new experiences in Switzerland, Northern Germany, France, and England. Then he established a printing and publishing House in Stuttgart of his own and founded abranch of the Calw Publishing House there - nowadays the Calwer Verlag Stuttgart (Calw Publishing House of Stuttgart). The eldest son of David Gundert was called Wilhelm.

Shortly after Samuel's death Hermann Gundert noted that they had eight children, now "four on earth and four in heaven" (one son had died in 1844 and was buried on Illikunnu and one

daughter died in 1848 in Stuttgart). Gundert accompanied his children in his thoughts and was very often pleased with their progress, but he also had to face many grievances - till his death. In the course of time Gundert got more and more involved in family matters, especially at the time when his children got married. Gundert wrote wonderful letters to his grandchildren, sympathizing with them, joking with them, and also admonishing them. Almost all of his letters - to his children as well as to grown-ups - show Gundert as a very talented teacher. Sometimes he insisted on a problem to be settled, at other times he waited patiently until he could argue convincingly. He had something useful or significant to say to all his children and grandchildren.

Since he had the burden of being the publisher and editor of five periodicals he became tired in the course of time. He asked Basel to send relief, at least somebody who could edit the Mission Magazine. No sooner than at the end of 1872 there was a little hope for help, when the missionary Johannes Hesse returned from India. But it took quite a long time before Hesse, a Russian citizen of Reval, got acquainted with the situation at Calw and the role as a publisher. He married Gundert's daughter Marie in 1873. The second child of Johannes Hesse and Marie nee Gundert was the famous poet Hermann Hesse, born on July 2nd, 1877, at Calw and died on August 9th, 1962, at Montagnola, Switzerland.

In addition to his engagement as a publisher and editor, as head of the family and comforter of his children and grandchildren, Gundert's interest in Malayalam continued undiminished. He read and revised news and books form Kerala whenever he could get hold of them. As late as in 1884 he completed his translation of the prophets of the Old Testament. He translated inscriptions which he got from India and commented on them. After the death of his wife in 1885 Gundert apparently got his satisfaction from literary works. Although he gave away many manuscripts to the library of Tubingen University, he kept Malayalam palm-leaf manuscripts and other Malayalam scriptures to himself. He was very pleased when he got Logan's Malabar but also criticized it sharply.

In his last years Gundert was often ill and had to stay in bed for long periods of time. At this time one of his grand daughters had to read aloud from Platon's works on Socrates or from Homer's Illiade and Odyssey. On April 25th, 1893, he left this world.

The longer I deal with the literary heritage of Hermann Gundert the more I am convinced, that he was a born teacher, endowed with a linguistic genius and an enormous capacity for working. His personality became so outstanding because he sought to avoid quarrels whenever it was possible and preferred to deal with linguistic problems instead. His linguistic talent was so genuine that he soon regained his inner balance whenever he had to deal with a serious problem. Although he was a missionary and translated the Bible and many Christian scriptures, his Malayalam language stands far above the narrow boarders of a certain type of faith or creed. His mission was a linguistic one and continue to be such. In this way he came to be a bridge between India and Europe, between Kerala and Wuerttemberg, between the Southwest of India and the Southwest of Germany.

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A Short History of the Basel Mission

Paul Jenkins

The whole of Church history is a struggle between our human tendency to reduce everything to rules and regulations - to make the Gospel serve man's interests - and the Holy Spirit, who can never be confined in a human organisation. Even the Reformation is a good example of this. It was started by individual Christians of great spiritual power. But within a century it fell to being Churches controlled by the State, with dull, formal services, and long academic sermons in the Protestant Churches. In the seventeenth century the Holy Spirit found peoplewho were prepared to start afresh listening to the will of God. They are called Puritans in Great Britain, and Pietists on the continent of Europe. Pietists and Puritans were sure that God speaks directly to each one of us, and calls us to a higher life than that lived by our neighbors. They believed that in the events of our lives, in the words of the Bible, and especially in our feelings as we pray and read the Bible, God speaks to us. And so they tried to build up fellowships which were like islands in the broad seas of their non-pietist neighbors; island not only of stricter puritanical behavior, but also of intensive individual piety and Bible - Study, where people encouraged each other to feel the love and forgiveness of God in their hearts.

Naturally there was real tension between people living in such "islands" and the world outside. Pietists and puritans could often seem to be "looking down" on their neighbors (though this is not a Christian attitude!). And since they believed God was speaking directly to them as individuals, they were not always

prepared to obey the state. In many places in Europe, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Pietists and Puritans were more or less harshly persecuted. They had to meet secretly, for instance, of knew that, if you declared your loyalty to a Pietist group, you became second - class citizen. (In Britain, for example, members of the Free Churches were not able to vote in parliamentary elections until 1929).

Many Pietist and Puritan groups travelled to places where they could live in freedom and without persecution. Many people have heard of the "Pilgrim fathers", a Puritan group who crossed the Atlantic to settle in what is now the U.S.A. But many such groups travelled from one place to another in Europe, too , in search of peace. In some areas in Europe, infact. Puritans and Pietists really became the yeast which leavens the whole lump. In the South German state of Wurttemberg, for example, the government passed a law called the Pietist Rescript in 1743, which guaranteed Pietists freedom from persecution if they stayed within certain limits. The pietist groups in Wurttemberg grew and became very influential in the life of the Protestant Church there.

However even though Pietists and Puritans could also fall into being groups which only followed their own rules and regulations, wherever this tradition was at work, there was always a channel for a new burst of Christian energy to enter the history of mankind. In 1780, for instance, small number of people found the "German Society for the Promotion of Christianity" in Basel. Its first objective was to publish good Christian literature. It made contact quickly with a wide net work of Pietists groups in the German speaking world, especially Wurttemberg, who had already been in contact with one another to build each other upon the faith. From about 1800 this Society began to publish German transilations of the reports of the works of the new British missionary societies (like the Baptist Missionary Society) which were being founded at that time as part of what is called the "Evangelical Revival, another name for this Pietist/Puritan traditions it made its presence felt in England around 1800. Very quickly German-

speaking pietists began to consider starting a missionary society themselves. And so the Basel mission came to be founded in 1815, in the city where the German Christianity Society also had its headquarters. Its first president was Rev. Nicolaus von Brunn, and its first "Inspector" (we would say, "Director") C.G.Blumhardt.

The Basel Mission's First Century: 1815 to the beginning of the first World War (1914): its Mission Fields

The first intention in Basel was to open a College which would train men as missionaries; but who would actually work overseas for other organisations. The first students were accepted in the College in 1816, and already in the 1920s were at work in the field. A number of Basel-trained men went to serve as pastors to German emigrants, especially in the U.S.A and Southern Russia. More important for the history of world mission were those who, in the first half of the nineteenth century, went to work for the English Church Missionary Society (CMS). These include some famous names: Samuel Gobat, a missionary to Ethiopia who became the second Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem: J.L. Krapf and J. Rebmann, who worked for many decades in East Africa, and were the first Europeans to see the snow covering Mount Kilimanjaro; J.G. Pfander, who was an expert on evangelisation among Muslims in the nineteenth century; and W.S. Koelle and J.F. Schon, who as CMS Missionaries in Sierra Lenone played an important part in the early study of African cultures. Koelle collected one of the first vocabularies of Cameroonian languages from the freeds laves of Cameroonian origins he met in Sierra Leone.

Very soon, however, the Mission's Committee in Basel began to plan missionary work of its own. Its first attempt was in the caucasus region of Southern Russia, partly among the non-Christian peoples there, but also among the American Orthodox Christians. The Russian empire at the time was, however, a dictatorship which feared foreigners. After 15 years of struggle the Basel missionaries were expelled from Russia by the Tsar.

The Basel Mission's next projects were in West Africa. In the late 1820's there was a short-lived attempt to start a mission in Liberia. This was followed in 1828 by the despatch of the first party of missionaries to the Gold Coast (now the state of Ghana). The history of the Ghana mission is one of stubborn determination on the one side, and tragedy on the other. Three times, at the beginning, in the late 1820's & 1830's parties of missionaries were almost completely wiped out by illness. It was only in the 1840's that a new generation of missionaries and their wives (supported by a group of black Christian ex-slaves especially brought over form the West Indies) could consolidate the work. In this way the beginning of the Basel Mission in Ghana was very like the beginning of the Baptist Missionary Society in Cameroon where freed slaves returning from the West Indies as Missionaries also played a very important role. Like the beginning of the Baptist Missionary Society in Cameroon southern Ghana is now the Third World area with the longest unbroken contact with the Basel Mission. The Presbyterian Church of Ghana is the senior among the Basel Mission's Partner Churches. But right up to 1914 the death-rate among the missionaries and their wives remained serious: 141 of them died in Ghana between 1828 and 1913 - and none of us have ever counted their dead children.

If you want to describe the work of the Basel Mission in Ghana before 1914 you need two sentences:

-they worked to build up a Christian Village culture among the farmers of Southern Ghana

-they also concentrated on building up church life and education in the vernacular languages.

In fact, in the nineteenth century the Basel Missionaries tried in many ways to strengthen farming in southern Ghana, they were one of the important groups which introduced cocoa to Ghana, for instance. And in the nineteenth century they also ran Ghana' for real school system, from the village primary school

to a Teacher's Training college. Vernacular languages were especially important in their school plans, and two Basel missionaries, J.G. Christaller and J. Zimmermann, put together dictionaries of the Twi and Ga-Adangme languages which are in use to this day.

The second oldest field with which we are still in contact is in South India, where the Mission started work in 1835, and which became the old Basel Mission's area of strongest concentration. In 1913 there were 196 members of the Basel Mission working in parts of the modern Indian states of Karnataka and Kerala, and using the Kannada and Malayalam languages. As in Ghana the Basel Mission put a lot of effort into building up Church life and schooling in vernacular languages, but to African eyes, especially, the strange thing about the Mission's history in South India is the importance of the "Mission industries". At the beginning these were small-scale projects, workshops for spinning and weaving in cotton, and for tile-making. By 1900, however these workshops were turning into factories with a labor-force of several hundred people each, and all the familiar problems of factories - tension between workers and management, even strikes.There is a link between the Basel mission's care for village life in West Africa, and its factory policy in India. But the factories also developed because of the problems which came up because Indian Christians lost their "caste" when they became Christian.

In India society is divided into literally thousands of different "castes". Each has its own rules, its own traditional appearance, its own culture and tradition, its own taboos. There is no way of moving out of the caste into which you have been born into, another. Each caste has its own way of earning a living; the caste of the palm-wine tappers, for example, many different casts of farmers, weavers, of fisher man and traditionally no-one was allowed to exercise the profession or do the work of another caste. By becoming Christian, Indian Christians lost their way of making a living, and so the Mission tried to find alternative employment for them. This was one main reason why the Basel Mission founded

workshops in India which later developed into real Mission Industries.

The third Basel mission field to be opened was in China - in Hong Kong and the area inland from Hong Kong, in what is now Guangdong province, among the peasants speaking the Hakka dialect of Chinese. This is the only traditional Basel Mission field which was never part of a German or English colony, and the Basel Mission field which was never part of a German or English colony, and the Basel Mission experienced a lot of difficulty because of the opposition of the Chinese people and their Government. But this opposition wasn't fundamentally unfair, and when we look back at our history we have to admit that missionaries in general were far too slow to understand and resist the kind of things done to China by Western Governments in order to force the Chinese to open their borders to Western trade and Western travellers. In a series of wars in the nineteenth century the Chinese were forced to accept much more contact with the West than they wanted. One of the man items of new trade brought into China then was the drug opium, grown in British India and exported to China largely by British ships. And we, in the modern West, who have learned to dread the impact of drugs like opium, heroin and marihuana on our own youth, have learned to understand why there was so much Chinese resistance to any Western presence, including that of the Missions.

Characteristically the Basel Mission worked among a poor peasant population in often remote villages. As in Ghana and India the Mission once again built up a school system, and provided a road to social advancement. Many Hakka Christians of the Basel Mission - Church were among those Chinese who emigrated to other parts of south-East Asia and beyond, in the hope of finding a better basis for their lives. Many churches founded by "overseas Chinese" remember the Basel mission Church as one of their ancestor churches, and there is one Chinese church in the East Malaysian state of Sabah which still calls itself the Basel Christian Church of Malaysia (BCCM).

When we add to this list of the three oldest major fields of the Basel Mission - Ghana, South India and China - the fourth, Cameroon, where the Basel Mission took over the work of the Baptist Missionary Society at the beginning of the German colonial period in 1886, we have a picture of the extension of the Basel Mission work before the First World War. Of the surviving "old" Basel Mission fields, only one does not belong this first century: the Indonesian part of the island of Borneo, now known as Kalimantan, where the Basel Mission took over the Dayak-language work of the Rheinland (or Barmen) Mission after the First World War.

But if we are trying to understand the history of the Basel Mission , it is not enough to list its fields and sketch some of the main highlights of its work there. We must also ask what the Basel Mission was, what it intended, how it went to work, and what its main difficulties were. And we turn to this sort of question now.

The Basel Mission's First Century:
What the Basel mission was like

To begin with, it is no accident that the Basel Mission was founded in the Swiss city of Basel. Basel was - and is - a city - state, a member - canton of the Swiss confederation. Before its industries grew up it was a trading city. It originally developed where many trade routes met at one of the few ancient bridges across the river Rhine.

Basel also has a tradition of serious Christianity. The city fathers decided to organise their own Reformation in 1529. And to this day the city has had an open ear for the kind of Pietism and Revival we described at the beginning of this essay. Both of these -trade and pietism - came together in the founding of the Basel Mission.

In a trading city, which a was also a city-state in a republic, there were people who were used to taking initiatives and building up their own organisations. There was no feeling that a king must

act first and issue instructions. People who had the skills and self-confidence to build up an organisation for trading - a company or a bank - could also start a religious organisation like a hospital, a school - or a missionary society. These organisations would not have been started if some of the merchants, traders and bankers in nineteenth century Basel had not been serious Christians. But many of them were, in fact, interested in a Pietist kind of faith, and had an open ear for the Pietist ideas which were coming to them from regions to the North, in what is now Germany; and especially from Wurttemberg.

In the nineteenth century you only had to look at the Basel Mission committee (the Home Board) to see how important the city of Basel was for the Mission. Few people from the city went abroad as missionaries in the nineteenth century. But the committee, composed of pastors and business men form Basel, met usually once a week to discuss the latest reports from the mission fields and to take the decisions necessary for the development of the work. So great was the committee's power in the nineteenth century, that it knew the names of all the paid local employees (pastors, catechists, teachers etc) of the Basel Mission in Ghana, South India, China and Cameroon, and received reports on their work whenever the missionaries on the spot wanted to promote someone form one salary class to the next.....

There was one area in Germany which came to have a much importance for the Basel mission as the city of Basel, and that was Wurttemberg. Wurttemberg is the region around the city of Stuttgart. In the nineteenth century it had a population of about 2 million people. Until 1871 it was a Kingdom in a very loose German Confederation. In 1871 it became part of the new and more strongly unified German Empire headed by the King of Prussia. Wurttemberg is traditionally a mixed area of Protestants and Catholics; among the Protestants Pietists have always been a strong element- it was in Wurttemberg that the pietist Rescript was issued in 1743 (see above) which strengthened their position in church and society.

Wurttemberg had two significance for the Basel Mission in the nineteenth century. To begin with, all the directors of the Basel Mission and most of the theological lecturers in the Mission College were recruited from Wurttemerg. Perhaps even more important: more than half of overseas staff were recruited there. (Missionaries of Swiss origins were only a minority in the Basel Mission before 1914). This had two results. The theology and piety of the Basel Mission was clearly Pietist. And most of the missionaries had grown up in our central European traditional village, which was to he typical community in Wurttemberg at this time.

Did their village upbringing influence the way these missionaries worked abroad?

-they came from villages which grew most of their own food, and which knew that, if the harvest was bad, they were in danger of going hungry. Although village people produced for trade (in many families someone worked in the house as a weaver, for example) the village community had to rely for most things, including food, on its own production.

-agriculture was made possible by the traditional European village crafts - carpenter, basket - maker, mason etc. - using local materials like stone, wood, leather, straw, linen and the kind of iron which can be worked by a blacksmith.

As Pietists the fathers and mothers of the Basel Missionaries form Wurttremberg were in the village community. They were fully committed to a life close to the soil, and thought about this kind of life as Christians: "The first missionary command is, 'Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it'. According to this ancient word of God every human being has the right to possess land, to raise a family and build a homestead", wrote one of their missionary children.

They were, however, not of the village community. They

attempted a higher standard of conduct than their neighbors. Most of the Basel Missionaries from this area tell the story of how, when becoming adults, they and put aside a loose life to take their Christian faith more seriously. They had given up drinking in the bars, skimping their work, and so on, to join the Pietist group in the village in their weekly work, and so on, to join the Pietist group in the village in their weekly meetings for prayer and Bible study. And it was after this that they began to feel the call to join the Basel Mission .

Pietists like those in Wurttemberg knew that they wanted to build up at home; the Christian village community, working the land as farmers, and praising God together. They took this aim with them onto the Mission field. Their struggle to build up separated Christian communities was not just a missionary objective in Asia or Africa, but the proper objective for all Christians, at home and abroad.

Many people, when they hear the word, "missionary" think of the power of industrial Europe. But it is the Basel Mission field, which proves to us that these old Basel Missionaries not only had grown up in villages, but still valued village life in their mission work, and were prepared to fight for it even against their own colonial government.

German colonial policy in Cameroon encouraged the development of large plantations for tea, cocoa, coffee, oil palms and so on, all run by German firms. Laws were passed which enabled the government to deprive Cameroonian tribes and families of most of their land, and sell it cheaply to the plantation companies. Families had to pay taxes, too. People were forced to find some new source of income - i. e were forced to go to the plantations to find work. By 1900 the Basel Missionaries had begun to protest about this kind of policy. They argued that African farmers should be encouraged to go on farming their own land under their own management,. And that they were perfectly capable of growing the new colonial crops. The task of the

Mission was to encourage the growth of a strong class of Christian farmers in Cameroon. So right up to the end of this first century of the Basel Mission , their village of policy and village ideals were more than just words

Can we say then simply that the old Basel Mission was a mission of village pietists, made possible by the organisational talents and faith of Basel business men? This would be a good one - sentence summary. But many of us would want to add, however: "The Basel Mission was also ecumenical in character and ambition".

It is certainly true that the Basel Mission was never an organisation of merely one denomination or church or confession. Form the beginning the Basel Mission brought together people from the more Reformed (Calvinistic) tradition of the Swiss protestant churches and the Lutheran tradition of many South German protestant churches, like the one in Wurttemberg. It is often difficult for people outside Germany and Switzerland to grasp this point, but the differences between these two traditions have been at times, deep and bitter, and the Basel Mission found ways of working with people from both sides.

This ecumenical picture is broader, however; as we have already seen, in the first half of the nineteenth century Basel-trained men worked for the Anglican Church, and one of them was even consecrated bishop of Jerusalem. Later , at the first World Mission Conference (in Edinburgh in 1910) at which the International Mission Council (IMC) , one of the two ancestors of the World Council of Churches, was born, there was a strong Basel Mission delegation, which included number of missionaries on furlough.

However - we have to darken this ecumenical picture, too. The Basel Mission brought Lutheran and Reformed Christians together, and for some years after 1815 was supported by Protestant Christians from the whole German - speaking world. But

very quickly other regional missionary societies developed in Germany, often out of local groups originally founded to support the Basel Mission . One main reason for this was that circles in Lutheran churches in Northern Germany wanted to organise more "purely" Lutheran missions, for example the "Leipzig Mission", founded in 1836, which later did important work in Tanzania. Or again: the Basel Mission may have had close contacts with the Anglican CMS, but theological disagreements and the increasing enmity between Britain and Germany or broke this special relationship between the two societies. Or yet again: in Cameroon the old Basel Mission had bitter conflicts with Roman Catholic missionaries. (These are now , thank God, a thing of the past. The Catholic Bethelhem Mission of Immensee, in Switzerland, is one of our most treasured and valued sister-organisations).

Finally and most tragically of all: four years after the world Mission Conference in Edinburgh the first World War broke out. German Christians linked to the Basel Mission were just as convinced that God was on their side in the war as most English Christians were sure he was on their side. Whatever growing sense of Christian unity there may have been before the war was swept away once fighting started, and earnest Christians were just as much involved in the hatred and bloodshed as everyone else., No less that one-third of the young Germans who were in training in the missionary college in Basel when the war broke out lost their lives while on military service.

This all brings us to the point where we can say that in the Basel Mission an openness between Christians from different traditions existed. But there was always the danger that the different groups would struggle against each other. And this is typical for our Christian organisations. It would be wrong to think that people in an organisation like the Basel Mission agree easily, even today. They do not. There have often been struggles in the Basel Mission. People have often pulled in different direction about this or that decision, and although we, too, are not without our tribalism, there have often been very serious questions of policy

at stake, where we have to struggle with one another to find out what the will of God is for the Basel Mission and the Churches.

Of course , in its first hundred years the Mission met many difficulties. Some of them very serious. One of of them we have already mentioned - the death-rate among its workers. This was highest in Ghana, but really effective European medical help against tropical diseases was only being discovered right at the end of the nineteenths century, so many Basel people died on the other fields as well; not least, of course, in Cameroon.

Again, their difficulties with indigenous political leaders were not confined to China (see above). It is a mistake to think that European colonial rule was strong in Ghana in the nineteenth century, or even in the remoter parts of German Cameroon. The missionaries had to negotiate continually with the local polictal authorities & win their confidence and friendship if they were to work successfully. They could to simply issue orders, and expect to have them obeyed.

The missionaries also had great difficulties everywhere with tradition and custom. Their congregational rules were very exact, and very Western. They wanted to build up model villages, just like the ones at home; with African and Asian Christians living in the kind of marriage and household they themselves had grown upin, seeing the world through European Pietist eyes. The difficulties here are known to everyone; how can one link the Christian life to polygamy, for instance? Yet the dangers are also clear. As we said at the beginning of this short history, an impulse which begins as an expression of the Holy Spirit can easily fall into merely holding on to human rules and regulations. And when, as was happening by `1900, colonial control became firmer, the temptation to insist on European rules and regulations was very strong indeed.

But if there were severe difficulties, there was progress, and the difficuilties became less of a burden towards the end of

this first centaury. The missionaries had better medicine then and new simple machines, like the bicycles, to help them. Although they did not always agree with colonial governments the peace they imposed made missionary work easier, and as the governments themselves became stronger there was more assistance of Basel Mission school programmes, usually. Their work became easier. And, in fact, the number of Basel Missionaries and their wives in the field reached a peak just before 1914 with more than 300 people in service abroad. At the same time the numbers of Christians were beginning to increase rapidly, as well. The roots of the history of the Basel Missions's partner Churches go back to this early period of mission history. In spite of the difficulties on both sides,! Indeigneous people in the Basel Mission churches are more and more understanding what the Christian messagecould mean for them and how to translate it into their own lives and thinking.

Four decades of weakness and crisis, 1914 to the mid - 1950's

The Basel Mission's first century was a time of slow growth but gathering strength. The next forty years were a time of weakness and almost continual crisis.

This began with the outbreak of the First World War. This was an extraordinary event, if you think about it from a nissionary point of view - the Christian nations which had carried the gospel abroad fought each other so bitterly, that they had no ear for the idea of reconciliation or peace until ten million of their young men had been killed.

The Basel Missions was severely damaged by the war, as well. Many of its own German young men were killed, as we have seen. The economic poverty and breakdown caused by the war in central Europe made it difficult to pay for the workwhich could continue. And, in any case, it was not just the Basel Missions's German workers who were expelled from Ghana, Cmeroon and south India by the British and French Governments. By the end

of the war the whole Basel Mission had been forced to leave all territory under British and French control, although as a Swiss organisation the Basel Mission should legally have been treated as a neutral and been protected by the colonial Governments. Of all the Basel Missions's fields only that in China was able to continue without interruption.

After the war was over it took almost 10 years before the Basel Mission was allowed to return to its old fields under British control. (It never returned to French Cameroon: its old stations there were taken over by the Paris Mission). It was during this time that it took over the work of the Rhineland mission form Germany among the Dayak- speaking people of Borneo (Now Indonesian Kalimantan).

When the Basel Missions was allowed back to work in Ghana, West Cameroon and South India this was partly because the local people demanded their return. But it was never the same as before 1914. The War has so weakened the economies of Germany and even Switzerland that the Mission could never re-establish the strength to its pre-war presence. And the local churches had gained a much clearer sense of their own strength during the Var. They had to carry on their own work for several years with little or no foreign help, and had done very well. Indeed, in Ghana and parts of South India the few British missionaries who had moved over to work with the Basel Mission Churches suggested that these Churches should set up the full structure of an African or Indian Church, with regular Synods, a Moderator and head-quarters staff. The missionaries who returned had to accept that they were co-operating in, rather than directing, the life of the Church.

A newperiod of difficulty and crisis began in 1933, when the notorious dctator Adolf Hitler with his Nazi party took over the governmen in Germany. This new government forbade the transfer of Geman money abroad for missions, which weakened the Basel Misson directly. Its attack on Christian values created

a crisis for the German Churches (the "Kirchenkampf"), which weakened the Basel Missions still more, if indirectly. The government wanted to stop the churches being more than organs of Government propaganda. It tried to build up something called "German Christianity", which was rightly seen as heathenism by many Christians. And it put into operation its terrible policy of genocide against the Jews and other despised groups (even the very old and sick), which has come to be known as the "Holocaust".

When, in 1939, quite deliberately, Hitler's nationalism led to the Second World War, a time of even more acute weakness set in. Most German workers of the Basel Mission in British colonies were interned. And the relatively few remaining Swiss workers had to work on, more or less cut off from home, doing the best they could with the few resources at their disposal.

It is sometimes difficult for people who did not experience the Hitler years themselves in Germany to realise how difficult it was for Christians to respond to the Nazis, especially at the beginning, when people had not yet learned just what they intended. Certainly it was difficult for the Basel Missions to find a unanimous response to what was happening. In India ,for example, the Basel Mission Press actually printed the nagazine put out by the Nazi organisation for Germans working in India. And this was not an isolated case of people with a Basel Mission background supporting Nazi objectives, at least in the 1930's. One of the early leaders of the "German Christian" movenent was a former Basel Missionary.

But there were other people linked to the Basel Mission who were part of resistance to the Nazis. And who therefore risked their lives, because the Nazis kept Germany under control with a very harsh and cruel secret police system. One example is Alfred Dilger and his wife Luise, who were part of a networl which kept a Jewish couple in hiding in Wurttemberg until the end of the War. Another is the Rev. Karl Goebels of Frankfurt who during the war was part of resistance group within the Protetant Church

in Frankfurt and later played an important part as leader of the supporters of the Basel Mission in Germany.

In those tragic years the headquarters of the Basel Missions - the Mission House in Basel played a very important role. As soon as the War broke out the then Director of the Basel Mission, Dr. Karl Hartenstein, resigned, because he was of German nationality. This was partly to return to his own people in their coming time of suffering, but also to make it clear that the Basel Mission was under Swiss and not German leadership. His successor was Rev. Alphons Koechlin, who was already President of the Church in Basel, and well-known to Church leaders all over Europe and North America. Being based in neutral Switzerland, which could send post both into Germany and into the lands of Germany's enemies, Koechlin could keep in touch with Christians on both sides, and was in a good position to explain to Christian leaders on the other side what German Christians were thinking and doing. The result was that good relations between both sides after the war could be established much more quickly among church and Mission leaders than was the case in other fields. A series of meetings was called in which Koechlin took part, which led to the German church leaders signing the Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt on behalf of their Churches and people for the crimes and cruelties of he Nazi years and a new period of ecumenical-operation began. The World Council of Churches was founded in Amsterdam in 1948.

In spite of this return to normal in relations between the two sides it was many years before Central Europe began to recover economically form the War, and the Basel Mission could re-find its old strength as an organisation. In Germany who be districts of the major cities were destroyed by bombing - just outside Stuttgart, there is a sizeable hill, the Birkenkopf, built after the war from the rubble which had to be cleared out of the centre of the city before re-building could be begun. The economy of Germany was destroyed , and for several winters after 1945 there were big shortages of food and fuel. For this reason it is no

exaggeration to write about 40 years of crisis and weakness lasting into the early 1950's, when what is still called the "economic miracle" began in West Germany, and brought new prosperity there and in Switzerland, which is a trading neighbor of West Germany.

Of the two main themes in our description of the old Basel Mission is less important in these years. Basel Missionaries were no longer people form traditional villages, because traditional villages had disappeared in Central Europe. More and more people were living in towns, and things produced in factories - clothes, tools etc. - were becoming more and more important even in village life. The old emphasis in mission work on the Christian village community became less important. Instead the Mission emphasised building up the church, its organisation, and its pastors; it also emphasised the social work of the church, which now came to include more and more medical work. The first Basel Mission doctors were sent out in the generation before the first World War, and medical work became steadily more important form then on.

The other main theme in our description of the old Basel Missions the ecumenical theme, goes on and becomes more and more important. There were two World Mission Conferences between the wars- the successors to the Edinburg World Mission Conference of 1910 - at Jerusalem in 1928, and at Tambaram, near Madras in India, in 1938. The Basel Missions was represented at both. But its relationship to the ecumencial movement went deeper. After that conference in Edinburgh the International Missionary Council (IMC) was formed, with an office in London. The IMC was able to negotiate with the British Colonial Office about mission in British colonies, and both after the First and the Second World war was able to press the British government to allow the Basel Mission to go on with its work in British colonies. Not surprisingly, perhaps, loyalty to a new concept of mission being worked out in the IMC (and in the World Council of Churches, which absorbed the IMC at its New Delhi Assembly in 1967) came to be an important part of Basel Missions policy.

One aspect or this openness to ecumenical ideas in the modern Basel Mission can be mentioned already here. Probably the most important Third World ecumenical project of the mid-twentieth century was the creation of the Church of South India. This happened in 1947, and brought together into one Church organisation about a million Christians form different mission churches: Anglicans, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists and members of Reformed Churches. The different districts of the Basel Mission church in South India joined at different times,but with the full support of the Basel Mission, which saw in the Church of South India a most important affirmation of our unity as Christians in our Lord.

One last event needs to be mentioned which was very important for the Basel Mission in the years: the expulsion of all Christian missionaries form China after the communist seizure of power there by Mao Tse-Tung in 1949. For many years this seemed like a disaster to Christians in the West. Far more missionary energy had been poured into China than Africa, for example; and it looked as if there work had been wiped out when they were expelled. Where could we see the power of God in China after 1949?

In fact, as we now know, the Church in china survived bitter persecution, not least because after the expulsion of the missionaries and the cutting- off of funds from foreign sources the Church really had to be Chinese. But if we look at the history of the Basel Mission the expulsion of the missionaries form China had a very important effect on its policy. It made Basel Mission people self-critical, and made them ask if our mission work in China had been properly conducted. We have already written about the early links between mission and the opium trade. And it began to be realised how, even in this century, missionary work was too Western in character, and had allowed too little room for the growth of a truly Chinese way of living out the Gospel. It had been far too slow to speak out aganist the evils of the Opium Trade, or of the Republican Government, which Mao ousted in 1949. The Republic's president, Chiang Kai-Shek, was a Christian,

but this did not make his government any less corrupt or brutal. If our modern Basel Mission is prepared to take up an uncomortable position in political questions and to ally itself with poor and underprivileged groups it is because we have come to see the expulsion form China as a judgement. And the same applies to our modern opennes to forms of living out the Christian faith which clearly grow out of indigenous cultures.

The Modern Basel Mission

After the Second World War economic recovery came to Western Europe, and the Basel Mission could grow once more in size and strength. We have already written that the Basel Mission had more than 300 workers overseas just before the First World War. There were the same numbers working overseas in the early 1960s, but this modern situation was very different form the years after 1900. For one thing, life was much more comfortable, The missionaries of the 1960s had many advantages their predecessors had not known. Air travel had replaced slow steamships; cars and motor-boats had replaced ox-carts, bicycles and canoes. Refrigerators, electric lights, telephones and radios were new resources which earlier generations of missionaries had not dreamed of possessing. And medical care against tropical diseases was much more effective in 1960 than it had been in 1900.

Oddly enough, however, the 300 or so overseas workers in the time of greater hardship around 1900 had committed themselves to lifelong work for the Mission overseas. Those who have gone out under the much more favourable circumstances of the 1960s and since have been workers on limited contracts. Indeed, the Basel Mission closed its College for young men wanting to become life-long missionares in the 1950s on the grounds that the organisation could no longer offer a life -long career in overseas mission. It now recruits only people with a completed professional training - lay or pastoral - and some professional experience, putting them through a three-month "Preparatory Course for work overseas" in Basel as a special introduction to

work in a Partner Church. This change in the way we work is one sign of the impact of the World Council of Churches on Basel Missions practice and polices. It is one result of the principle of partnership in action.

Partnership between a Third-World Church like the PCC and a Western organisation like the Basel Mission means that the third World Church is independent, and that however much the advantages of money and education may lie on the side of the Western partner, the Third World Church takes its own decisions about its own Church life.Partnership is more than just a Declaration of Independence for Third World churches, however, important as that was in the 1950s and 1960s as more and more Third World states became independent themselves. There is also the recognition in the idea of Partnership that indigenous Christianity must grow out of a dialogue between the Gospel and indigenous cultures; that the churches of the thired World each have a different indentity, a different way of doing things from that of their missionary pioneers; and that they must have every freedom to develop their identity.

In its own fields, therefore, the Basel Mission is part of a broad movement among many older protestant missionary societies to introduce the idea of Partnership into the way it does its work. In some partner Churches, like those in Ghana and Kalimantan, where synodal government was introduced before the Second World War, this had meant mostly phasing missionaries out of the work of the Church headquarters. In some others - like the PCC, which dates its independence from 1967, change since the Second World War has had to be faster and more marked. But everywhere now the Basel Mission recognises certain principles of Partnership. Missionaries are called Fraternal Workers, because the Partner Churches have clearly taken over responsibility for the work of mission themselves. And Fraternal Workers are only sent by the Basel Mission on the Church's invitation. Their work is always the responsibility of the indigenous Church - they have an indigenous boss, and a Job Description given them by the Church.

This explains the change for Missionaries with a life-long commitment to work overseas to Fraternal Workers who serve an overseas church for a limited period of time and have particular job to do there. It was felt that the presence of a group of life-long missionaries would, with the best will in the world, slow down the development of an indigenous Partner Church under indigenous leadership. Not that the new concept asked Fraternal Workers to jump into mission for a few years, and then jump out again. The idea is that proper partnership between Christians in Europe and Christians in the Third World, with all the difficulties we have with one another, needs committed and well-informed people in our churches at home. So Fraternal Workers are asked to be ambassadors for a Church like the PCC when they return home. They are asked to bring home with them what they have learned about the Gospel, about Christian life and Christian fellowship in their partner Church - for a church like the PCC is much more spiritually and socially alive than our European Churches, at the moment. We go sofar as to say that the period of work overseas is one main part of our education to take up the work of mission - whether as laymen or pastors - in our own churches when we return home.

One other idea form the Ecumenical Movement has been important for the modern Basel Mission. The New Delhi Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1961 called for missionary societes and churches to be joined together in the west- to be integrated. Mission should be a task of the Churches and of all Christian people and not just a matter for specialists. This is why the Basel Mission has helped to form two institutions in Europe which sometimes puzzle people in our partner Churches - EMS (The Association of Protestant Churches and missions in South-West Germany) and KEM (The Association of Protestant Churches and missions in German speaking Switzerland). Both, as their English names suggest are organisations linking a number of missionary societies, including the Basel Mission, with the main Protestant Churches in the two main home regions of the Basel Mission. The Basel Mission has handed over important respon-

sibilities to both. For example, they are responsible for almost all our publications and publicity, and they run a finance office for all the mission which are members of the organisation. They also recruit our overseas workers. Through them both the link between mission work and our Churches in Switzerland and Germany is growing.

This broadening of the work of mission typical for our time. Traditionally, "mission" was carried on by European specialists, backed by their special European supporters, among the "heathen" in Third World countries like Cameroon. Nowadays we see mission as the task of the whole church, and of all Christians. So mission is something we carry out in fellowship, you with us and we with you. Fundamentally, we believe now that you are as much called to be missionaries of the Gospel among us, as we are among you. And so, helped by that quick and easy air-transport I mentioned above, the Basel Mission, The KEM and EMS and their partners overseas like the PCC are a network helping us on both sides to live out our Christian calling, and to show signs of the presence of the Kingdom of God to our neighbors. Mission has become two-way traffic, and is no longer a one-way street. We may still be able to use some of our specialised skills and resources help you to find "life more abundantly". Cameroonian visitors, and missionaries to us form the Third world, certainly help us to find more life in the Gospel, in a word, to find renewal as individuals and as Christian fellowships.

Of course, even in the last 25 years the Basel Mission and its work has changed. There may have been more than 300 Fraternal Workers abroad in the early 1960s : now there are only one-third of that number. You, our Partners, are becoming more and more capable maintaining the lives of your own churches without outside help. And, indeed, those fewer Fraternal Workers now are more widely spread than they were some time ago. The modern Basel Mission entered into new partnerships - for example with the Nigerian Church of the Brethren (in the Gongola and Bornu States of Nigeria); with the Protestant Church of Sabah (Church

of the indigenous Kadazan people in the Malaysian state of Sabah); with the Presbyterian Church in the (southern) Sudan. In recent years we have taken up Spanish-language work in Latin America, too. With these new partnerships the Basel Mission fellowship has become even more varied, ecumenically. Some of our Latin American partners are Pentecostalists. And our brothers and sisters of the Nigerian Church of the Brethren practise Adult Baptism and have a church constitution which is more "congregationalist" than "Presbyterian" in character.

But we can by returning to the word "renewal" in the paragraph before last. The old Basel Mission may have been a "mission of village Pietists made possible by the organisational talents of Basel business-men". Since 1914 this has been less and less true as a description. We have no traditional villages left in Central Europe, and only one Basel businessman sits on the Basel Mission Committee. At the beginning of this essay, however, I tried to show that the Basel Mission was a product of Pietism. If you travel to Europe you can ask people supporting the Basel Mission what Pietism was and is, and you will hear many different replies, some favourable, some less so. For me, however, Pietism (like my native Puritanism) is first and foremost the seed of revival. Wherever this tradition lives "there is a channel for a new burst of Christian energy to enter the history of mankind". Of course, there is a danger that pietism and the work of the Basel Mission, gets reduced to observing a set of rules and regulations, like anything else which we human beings try to get under our own control. But Pietists and Puritans believe that God and his Holy Spirit reach down into our human life to call people into new ways of doing things. And where people really believe this, and seek to hear the voice of God and obey it, they will break out of what ever regulations are hindering the new directions into which God is calling us.

To hundred years ago the Holy Spirit began to call people in Switzerland and Germany to think as Christians about relations between Europe and the Third World; to realise what relations

between Europe and the Third world would be like if they were arranged in a Christian way; and to allow this kind of thinking to change the plans they had for their lives. It is the same today. Relations between our continents, our nations, our cultures and our churches are gifts God has given us. Through them he has messages for us on both sides. We, in the Basel mission, and you, our partners overseas, are a fellowship of people encouraging each other to hear God's messages for us, and not act accordingly.

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The Basel Mission and Social Change in Malabar with Special Reference to Dr. Gundert

K.K.N. Kurup

The German Basel Evangelical Mission was one of the prominent Christian Missions which had participated in the human resource developmental activities in south India during the 19th century. The Mission was a result of Wurtemberg Pietism rooted in a society largely rural and pre-industrial. It was founded in 1815 with an intention to open a college that would train men as missionaries who would work overseas for other orgnisations [1]. However very soon the Mission's Committee in Basel planned its own Missionary work abroad. The Charter Act of 1933 of the British Parliament further facilitated the European missionaries to carry out evangelical work in the territories governed bythe English East india Company. This new historical situation introduced the Mission in south India by 1835. Malabar which had been governed directly by the British and where no evangelical activities were undertaken formerly by any other mission, opened new venue for pormoting the Gospel. Although its work was too western in character, the circumstances made it to ally itself with poor and under privileged, living in a caste-oriented and traditon-bound rural society. That was why the Mission became a movement in itslef in Malabar. The first station of the Mission in Malabar was opened by Dr. Hermann Gundert at Nettur, nearby Tellicherry, as early as in 1839.[2]

The Colonial Society

For centuries, the Indian society had been divided by innumerable castes and each had its own rules, culture, tradition and taboos. Each caste had its own profession or way of earning a living, and no one can move out of one's caste. The members belonging to depressed or lower castes supplied the labour force necessary for agricultural production. Some of them turned to be artisans and participated in the manufacture of handicrafts. In brief the caste was an omnipotent institution which controlled the entire socio-economic relations of society. Even under the colonial system there was no drastic change in the existing social set-up and its social relations during the 19th century. The British policy in Malabar and other rural districts was not in favour of structural transformation of society through industrial development and popular education. Therefore there was no development of human capital, one of the essential features of economic growth also. In brief, the social transition was not accelerated in rural areas by the British. It was against this social background, that the Basel Mission had acted as a catalytic agent that introduced changes and social progress.

Education, an Instrument of social change:

Education plays an important role in the social progress and modernisation.(3) However the colonial system in India failed to introduce a system of public instruction among the rural population and even neglected the town centres like Tellicherry, Cannanore and Calicut. The despatches of Charles Wood, a major document on Indian Education, gave emphasis to University education, particularly in the metropolitan centres like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The Company's policy of public instruction was still on the anvil. Although the industrial revolution had articulated the governmental measures for popularising public instruction with a motivation of economic growth in Great Britain, such aspects were totally neglected by the colonial masters. Therefore public instrucion in its modern sense was given least priority by the British in India during the 19th Century. When the Basel Mission concentrated on its programme at Tellicherry, they

found it essential to start primary educational institutions as part of their activities. Their reports and correspondences had also apologised that their motivation was to give deep impression of Christian children so that they would later convert themselves to Christianity. As such, primary education was also considered by them as a matter of priority in spreading the gospel in a region like Malabar.

Dr. Gundert along with Mrs. Gundert played an important role in the educational activities of the Basel Mission over a decade in Malabar. As it was a formative period which had gradually interrelated to the British educational polciy, the seminal role played by the Gunderts became a legacy in this region. Under their direct supervision day schools, female schools, and boarding schools were started by the Mission. They were categorised as Malayalam school and English free school. Although the instruction imparted through these institutions were not strictly secular in the modern sense, they contained some of the modern trends of English education which were incorporated in the modern educational policiy of the British in India. The Mission education gave an emphasis to catechetical instruction including Bible history, geography as taught by the Greek, but it included English, Malayalam, Arithmetic and particularly needle work for girls. (4)

Dr. Gundert, as a seasoned linguist and lexicographer, shouldered the entire responsibility of wiritng reading material and other text books in Malayalam for the students newly enrolled in the Basel Evangelical Mission schools. It was a turning point in the life and career of Dr. Gundert. The missionary under the pressure of circumstance turned to be an educationalist, text book writer, grammarian, journalist, folklorist, historian and geographer. Further by 1850 he was suffering form an inflamation of the lungs and not able to preach or speak loudly. The situation led him to fully exploit his pen and lay the foundation of the modern education. The Gunderts were the architects of the modern primary educational system in Malabar

However the Mission had its difficulties also in the field of education. Their reports stated that "many of the higher caste people were afraid of the School". (5) One of the mission despatches recoded the native character:

"They mistrust the zeal and liberality of Padrees and much dislike the idea of having the doctrines of their shastras contradicted by European Geography, and Astronomy...." (6)

However the intermediary castes like the Tiyyas sent their boys and girls to these institutions. Most of them were drawn to the school by "the hope of worldly advancement to be obtained by a little proficiency in English". (7)

The pupils from Mohamadan religion did not genrally attend the school as they could not agree to reading the Bible as a class book. Although propagation of the Gospel was the primary objective of the Mission, a good number of B.E.M. educational institutions, both primary and secondary, attracted the native children towards education from all sections of society. They had even organised schools for children exclusively belonging to the depressed castes. During the last quarter of the 19th century, the educational activities of the Mission culminated in the establishment of Malabar Christian College at Calicut.

Dr. Gundert who was an School Inspector for some time under the East India Company was responsible to co-ordinate the curriculam of the modern primary education in Malabar on the basis of teaching material prepared by the Basel Mission. His experience in the mission institutions guided him properly to fulfill his responsibility as an official. The text books prepared by the Mission were used in all schools and the practice had standardised the primary education. The Mission schools had been opened even in backward areas and the net work of these centres later greatly subscribed to the development of education among all castes in Malabar. The attention given by the Mission to teachers' training and female education was also praise-worthy. As pioneers in the field, the Mission had also frustrations and set

backs. They felt much distress on account of the "irregularity, the carelessness, and idleness of many boys" of the first generation in these educational centres. It was reported:

> The aspect of these schools is not very promising. However we have no other way of giving influence upon the rising generation. Many a song learning carelessly at school, what may in future rouse his conscience and change his mind. The sower must sow in hope or he will never reap. (8)

This sowing was responsible in the later years to initiate the trends of modernisation in society. In fact education and conversion were two major historical forces in this region which acted aganist the traditional and caste-oriented social system. They were even responsible for eliminating the feudalistic social relations.

Anti-Caste Ideology

The colonial culture in its content and practice, was against the traditional caste system of Indian society. However, any radical reform against caste rules was believed to be a dangerous programme and as such, the British policy mainly depended on *status quo*. But for the Mission, it was absolutely necessary to ridicule the caste system, as its ideology was more closely related to an egalitarian system originated form the philosophy of Christ. Such an element of social philosophy, embracing the whole humanity form Paraya to Brahmin, made the missionaries to destroy the barriers of caste in Malabar society. In the long run "Padrimadam", a Malayalam term (religion of Christian fathers) became a symbol of anti-caste ideology. The conversion to Christianity, organisation of common schools for different castes, starting of new work centres and systematic propaganda of Christian values, all together strengthened the anti-caste feelings in Malabar society.(9) The colonial culture and the missionary activities reduced the intensity of caste rules. In the 20th century

more radical movements were initiated by native social reformers and nationalists against the institution of caste, The Basel Mission was a pioneering agency in Malabar that eleminated caste-rigidity thorough its various programmes. The rural poverty and pauperisation made many of the natives to convert themselves into Christianity and give up their traditional caste. The sporadic epidemics also eroded their faith in the Hindu gods and goddesses. Further the compassionate actions of the missionaries attracted many natives to Christianity. This new confrontation from a humanitarian religion weakened the traditional roots of Hinduism [10] It was this social background that bred the reforming tendencies for the future by Narayana Guru, Brahmananda Sivayogi and others.

The Mission and the Industry

One of the major areas of Mission activities was industrial development of Malabar. Although it had intiated some experiments in textile and tile manufacture in Malabar. It was the starting point of the modern industries in Malabar. The mission even organised an industrial mission to provide the converts a living - wage through profitable employment. The traditional society even denied them occupational facilities. Although weaving and tile industries were largely prevalent in Malabar, no new technology was introduced and those industries were more or less similar to that of cottage industry. The mission introduced an improved technology and started these industries in the form of modern factories. The Basel Mission patent of tile was entirely different form that of traditional tiles in the form of chips. Further steam was applied in the manufacture. The new mission factories at Feroke and Manglore became immediatley world famous. The native pit-looms were modified with new designs and the shuttles were driven by manpower. Dyeing in a scientific way was also introduced in weaving Industry. The Common Wealth factories in Malabr still continue as the best manufactures in tiles and textiles. In the present century, these Basel Mission industries acted as new models for native capitalists and co-operative societies to join the venture and provide job opportunities for

thousands. There is a debate whether the Mission had introduced an intermediate technology or an advanced one. Considering the Malabar factors including the non-availaility of electricity etc, it was an advanced technology.[11]

Christian Values and Individualism

Dr. Gundert as a missionary and educationalist had propagated the Christian values and the contemporary European social and ideological aspirations for Malabar society. Morality and ethics were reiterated in the literacy material for school children. Equality between wife and husband was strongly advocated even in his grammar or proverb-collections. Malabar mostly consisted of joint matrilineal families in which he desired to introduce the dignity of labour and the ideology of individualism. He was staunch advocate aganist monopolistic land system, including absentee land lordism. His writings and compositions had reflected the neineteenth century European concepts of liberalism and socail change.[12] Although there was no immediate impact of these ideals on Malabar society, in all its future development and social transition, these ideals played an important role.

An analysis of these developmnets in the 19th century reveals that the Basel Mission had greatly helped to unleash the historical forces of social change and modernity in Malabar for the last 150 years. The Mission was popularised in this region mainly through the dedicated activities of Dr. Gundert who was a pioneer in many fields including literature, history, art, language and culture. For a Malayalee Dr. Gundert was even a synonym for the Mission. The Mission came into the hearts of non-christians through him alone. In brief he became a part of the cultural legacy of Kerala and was more respected and revered in this region than anywhere in the world.

References

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4. Ibid P.7.
5. Eleventh Report of the German Mission (Mangalore, 1851), P 32
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12. See K.K.N. Kurup "Heritage of Herman Gundert" in Malayalam Literary Survey (Trichur, Jan - June 1987). This was originally presented at the World Malayalam Conference, Berlin, October 1986.
13. See. K.K.N. Kurup "Basel Mission in Malabar" in his Peasantry nationalism and Social Change in India (Allahabad, 1991), pp. 113-122.

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Dr. Hermann Gundert's Contribution to Kerala Historiography

K. J. John

Dr. Hermann Gundert was one of the most outstanding missionaries of the Basel Mission Society in Malabar and was famous for his great zeal in preaching the Gospel and his unique scholarship in theology, philosophy, linguisties and history. He was German by birth and worked with the British missionaries in the Tamil district of Tirunalveli and joined the Basel Mission Society in 1838. From the very first, he settled down at Nettur, a suburb of Tellicherry in Kerala in a beautiful bunglow, which had been gifted to the Basel Mission by the English judge, Mr. Strange. That bunglow still stands and the historic rooms used by that famous scholar can be seen by any one who cares to visit the place.

Though most of the earlier days of Dr. Gundert were spent exclusively for evangelistie work, the idea struck him that the field of Malayalam literature and history lay practically sealed to a large section of Malayalees, particularly to Malayalee Christians. This turned his attention to Kerala Studies and a comparative study of Malayalam language and literature with the help of his many Hindu friends especially the Uracheri Gurukkals of Chokli near Tellichery. He commenced the work of collecting original sources and authentic manuscripts of Malayalam poets and prose writers scattered in palm leaf manuscripts, copper plate inscriptions, rock inscriptions etc in different parts of Malabar. It is said that the collection he made was both unique and precious. He mastered the ancient script of Kerala, *Vatteluthu* and brought to light many interesting details of Kerala history hidden behind the obsolete script.

While this work was going on, he wrote for use in schools books on vernacular alphabet, history, science, nature study and grammar, all in Malayalam. He also translated several portions from the Holy Bible. The extraordinary foresight and practicability of the new missionary are seen in his founding a lithographic press, where he printed and published some of his pioneering works. What is more, he edited few outstanding magazines heralding the renaissance in Kerala in the 19th Century.

After years of study and research he brought out the famous Malayalam - English dictionary, the like of which has not been published in Malayalam as yet. The uniqueness of the book sets not so much upon the meanings of words and their explanations - which by themselves are excellent - but for the infinite care and patience with which the root of every word is traced and the uses of the words and phrases are located in standard works. This dictionary is a masterpiece of deep erudition and discriminating scholarship and inevitable patience and stands as a monument to the love and affection of a foreign missionary for the people of Kerala.

After working for long in the fields of literature, history and education and in the larger field of service to humanity for 20 years this great missionary returned to Germany when he grew old and spent his last years even in the service of the Malayalam language and culture which he loved so well.

Contribution to Kerala Historiography

For many, Gundert's contribution to Kerala Studies is very much limited to the fields of linguistics and lexicography. Some make a vague glance at the educational enterprises and net-work initiated by him in Malabar through the Basel Mission for the formation of a vigilant self respecting community. But the pioneering attempts and efforts made by him in revolutionizing the historiographical outlook in the region is totally neglected. A product of Tubingen University, Gundert was very much influenced by Hegallean concepts of history. For him Kerala was a distinct region which has its

own characteristic principles or 'genius which reflects itself in all the phenomena associated with it, and it is with this objective of understanding the personality of Kerala, Dr. Gundert inaugurated 'Keralology' in the first half of the 19th century. As soon as he settled down in the Malabar coast as early as 1840's, he began to think in terms of compilation of the history of this land. Till his time the conceptions of Kerala's past, especially the nature of the origin of the land and its historical formation were inextricably woven into the legend of Parasurama and there were no writings of Kerala history except the traditions of *Keralolpthy* and *Kerala Mahatmya* which were hardly free form the trammels of myths and legends. Gundert started the study of Kerala history by analyzing the contents of *Keralolpathy* and *Kerala Mahatmyam.*, the first ever sources which he came across in Malabar. He also collected various versions of *Keralolpathy* prevalent in the region. While compiling his own version of *Keralolpathy,* Dr. Gundert took care to incorporate the Parasurama legend in the body of his text as it is an integral part of Kerala tradition. This book throw considerable light on the aryanization of the land, the rule of the Perumals, emergence and growth of Zamorins, the arrival of the Portuguese and brief description of the political organization of the petty principalities which Kerala was divided in to and of feudal lords.[1] He had printed his version of *Keralolpathy* as a part of his attempt to publish the original sources for the compilation of scientific Kerala History.

Epigraphist:

During to his stay in Tellicherry, Dr. Gundert mastered the obsolete script of medieval Kerala as many of its earliest documents were composed in *Vatteluthu* character. In his search for source materials this Hegallean deciple encountered with the Tarisappally copper plates of the 9th century Jewish Copper plates of the 11th century and Veera Raghava Pattayam of the 13th century in 1843. He deciphered the script and translated the contents of these basic documents of Kerala History into English and published the same for the first time as early as in 1844 in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, with the title: "Translation and Analysis

of the Ancient Documents engraved on copper in possession of the Syrian Christians and Jews of Malabar".[2] Careful study and analysis of these Copper Plate Inscriptions by Gundert together with the historical lore of "the Payyannur pattu", "the oldest specimen of Malayalam Composition", a portion of which he has published in M. J. L. S, provide us with great insight into the early Judeo-Christian settlements and their trade relations in the Malabar Coast. How many of us know that it was Dr. Gundert who suggested the identification of Muziris as Kodungallore for the first time? Dr. Gundert has even complied the history of pre-Portuguese Christians of Kerala based on the above documents, and it was brought to light recently in the Hermann Gundert series. It is commendable that the rare insight of this erudite scholar picked up the historical truth of Nestorian heresy which infected the early Kerala Church and which now is universally recognized.

In the absence of proper documents, Gundert recognized the importance of myths and folklore of the land to supplement the reconstruction of Kerala History. In this direction he has collected ever so many Northern Ballads, folksongs and proverbs form the region and even initiated toponymical analysis for eliciting historical information. Myths and folklore contain people's memories woven into dream and fantasy. Some times these fantasies so overwhelm the memory picture that we tend to forget that myths and folklore enshrine a bit of narration , a bit of experience and a bit of history. Though most of the Malabar folklore literature collected and copied by Dr. Gundert are yet to be published, their historical value is not at all minimized.[3] Many of the Malabar ballads collected by him were copied and were ready for a lithographic print, but some how they eluded the ink of the printer. But the proverbs collected by him got through the press since 1847. The significance of these collections has yet to be examined by future scholars.

Dr. Gundert was basically a teacher; his mission was education, to educate the ignorant and sharpen the mind of the gloomy with every branch of knowledge and prepare them to realize the eternal truth . When the scholar missionary started *'Paschimodayam,* one

of the earliest news magazines of Kerala, his objective was to educate the Malabarians about their past through it. He has serialised the history of Malabar form 1498 to 1631, which can be described as the Portuguese hegemony in Malabar, in the magazine from 1847 and compiled them into a comprehensive volume and published in 1868. The contents of this book was completely based on original Portuguese sources. It is very obvious that Dr. Gundert has made use of *Lendas da India* by Gasper Correa, *'Asia Portuguesa* of Faria Souza.E, 'Decads da Asia a of Joao De Barros and many other works. Though *'Historia do Malavar* in Portuguese by Diogo Gonslaves compiled in the 17th century stands out as the earliest history of Malabar, Gundert's *Kerala Pazhama* (History of Malabar) is the first scientific historical treatise on the history of Malabar people, in Malayalam language. The book highlights the activities of the Portuguese on the Malabar coast to the minutest detail.

It is not my objective in this short paper to present the historian in Gundert but only to highlight some significant and obvious contributions made by him to the historiography of Kerala. As a historian he was a scientist and an artist rolled in to one. He was a true investigator and his chief merit is sobriety and causation - the most important qualities of a historian who has to dig deep into the obscure past. He knew a number of South Indian and foreign languages which exceptionally equipped Gundert for research in the field of Kerala History. By his painstaking investigation of contemporary documents, he satisfied the austere standard of historian's duty. His narration had the vigor and picturesqueness of a literary style providing flesh to the skeletons of facts. Gundert was a historian to work from primary sources and hence had frequently to combat generalisation which had crystallised into hard and fast tradition. *"Kerala Pazhama"* of Gundert is a monumental work embodying that rare quality of unpretentions historical scholarship. Without any hesitation we can attribute the title of 'Father of Keralology' to this German Missionary Scholar.

'Let us now praise famous men'
Men of little showing-

For their work continueth,
And their work continueth
Broad and deep continueth,
Greater than their knowing!

With this stanza from Rudyard Kipling, I signalize my humble tribute to Dr. Hermann Gundert in grateful acknowledgement of his abiding service to Kerala historiography. Kipling's lines aptly sums up the noble charecter and profound scholarship of the German Polyhistor.

Notes and References

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2. *I bid,* Vol. XIII, No.31 pp. 11-17 and 115-146.
3. Gundert Manuscripts which I have discovered from Dharwar were handed over to Dr. Albrecht Frenz of Stuttgart for onward, transmission to Gundert collection in the University of Tubingen on September 11th, 1990 when Dr. A.Frenz visited me in my home. The manuscripts included the following:

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2. Fragments of Proverbs
3. Kerala Mahatmyam
4. Kerala History
5. Brahmanda puranam
6. Vyavaharamala
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8. Summary of Kerala History
9. Malayala Stories
10. Anjadikal
11. Gnanapana
12. Kanakkusaram

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Contribution of the Basel Mission to the Socio - Cultural Life of the West Cost of India

Wilma John

The Basel Mission Society is the child of an old order or society under the name 'Der Dentschen Christenthums Gesellschaft,' meaning Christian Society of People of the German Tongue[1]. The parent society was founded on 3rd Augest, 1730 at Basel through the influence of Dr. Urlsperger[2]. It undertook as a kind of union, to collect and impart information far and near respecting the Kingdom of God and to defend Christian truth against the attacks of emerging rationalism in the 18th century. The secretaries of this society had from the begining been young graduates in theology of the University of Tubingen in Wurttenberg, and one among them, Rev. K. F. A. Streinkopf, was destined to play an omportant part in the foundation of the Basel Mission Society. Through him the interest in foreign mission, which was always the ideal part of the work of the Christian society, received a new impetus in its sphere of work[3]. "The Magazine for the lovers of Christian Truth and godliness", the official monthly organ of the Society, did whatever it could to stimulate the love for the work of foreign missions. Rev. Nicholas Von Brunn, the rector of St. Martin Church at Basel and Rev. O. G. Blumhardt, the clergyman of Wurttenberg were the other two who championed the cause for foreign missions. The views expressed by both these preachers attracted a number of kindred spirits in Germany and Switzerland[4].

At that time C. F. Spittler, who had become the successor of Steinkopf, became so interested in foreign mission that he proposed

to go to Berlin and enter a training mission school founded by Johan Janicke in 1800. The Janicke mission since its inception had been providing missionaries for the British and Dutch Societies at that time[5]. The Basel Mission Society attempted to persuade Janicke to shift the training centre from Berlin to Basel. On his declining to comply with this offer, it became more and more evident that Basel should begin a work of her own. In May 1815, Rev.Nicholas Von Brunn met a young man who offered himself for missionary service. Encouraged by the sudden enthusiasm expressed by the young people, Von Brunn at once suggested to Spittler the possibility of educating young men at Basel itself and of training them as missionaries under the Christian Society. He also suggested that they could be recommended for service to the other English and Dutch Societies. Spittler, whose heart had long been given to the cause of foreign missions was only too glad to lay the matter before the Committee. After deep consideration and consultation with Steinkopf in London, on 25th September, 1815 the new missionary society was constituted. Its body of Directors were Von Brunn (President), Rev. Wenk (Secretary) and a merchant Mr. Manan Kerder (Treasurer)[6]. The inception of the Basel Missionary Society was surrounded by a certain amount of romance. Situated close to the frontiers of Germany and France, the city of Basel was threatened to be bombarded by Napoleon. The devout Christians of Basel pledged to found a seminary for the training of missionaries, if the Lord spared the city from entire destruction. Fortunately, Basel did escape desolation and Napoleon met his doom at Waterloo. "In gratitude to God these Christian friends obtained permission to erect a Christian institution where men of whatever denomination or rank, but of an acknowledged irreproachable and Christian character might obtain a suitable education in order to go out to the innumerable multitude of heathens as useful missionaries to proclaim to them the saving Gospel of Christ according to His Commandment."[7]

In the begining, the missionary committee had no aim of sending out missionaries under a separate missionary body of their own. All they meant to do was to train men, whose service they could offer to the British and Dutch missionary societies[8]. The first few years were very difficult. The year 1817 was a year of famine. But soon the society was strengthened by the accession of a number of auxiliaries, the first of which was formed in Wurttenberg. The Society then for the first

time took the name, the German Missionary Society and subsequently the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society[9]. In the course of some years a number of auxiliary societies spread in quick succession over the German and French cantons of Switzerland and Protestant parts of Germany. In France also some ground was gained. The number of young men presenting themselves for the service of the Mission increased from year to year and larger numbers were recieved into the seminary. As early as 1821 it began to send out missionaries under its own direction. The following missions were sent: (1) to south Russia in 1821 (it was suspended by an imperial Ukase and dissolved in 1830); (2) to Liberia in 1827 and 1848 (of the eight sent, four soon died and the remaining four settled in other regions); (3) to Gold Coast in 1828[10]; and (4) to India in 1834 under Hebich, Greinier and Lehner.

Basel Mission in India

The Basel Mission Society reached India soon after the renewal of the Charter in 1833 of the British East India Company. Until 1833 the British did not give permission to the non-English missionaries to start missionary work in India[11]. But in 1833 the English Parliment renewed the Charter of the Company and put in it a provision allowing the right of entry into India to all Europeans and also gave permission to buy and hold property in India. Basel availed this opportunity and thought of sending its first batch of missionaries to the westcoast part of India. The reason for starting mission stations there was mainly based on the reports sent by former students of the Basel Seminary who had the privilage of coming to India and knowing the work of the other missinary societies in India[12]. At that time the Church Missionary Society was working in the extreme south of Travancore and Cochin. From there to Bombay along the West Coast, a distance of over 500 miles, there were no Protestant mission centres. There were mission stations in Belgaum, Bangalore and Bellary but they were about 200-250 miles away from Mangalore. So the Committee at Basel decided to send its first batch of three missionaries, Hebich, Greineir and Lehner, to the west coast region of India. These three sailed in a ship called 'Malabar' and reached Calicut in the evening of 14th October, 1834[13]. Though they came to Calicut, they did not take up missionary work in Malabar. They had definite instruction from the Home committee to begin work in Cananra district. So they

went to Mangalore after getting permission to start work there from the sub-collector, Mr. Findley Anderson. (This Christian official was one of the best friends of the Mangalore Mission for the next twenty years.) Soon after reaching Mangalore, the missionaries bought a home and began the study of Canarese and Tulu, the native languages of South Canara. Two years later a second batch of missionaries joined them at Mangalore. In order to become an efficient missionary, Hebich had, for a long time, been corresponding with the English missionaries in Canarese territory. He longed to see their work to learn from them how best he could reach the masses with the Gospel mesage of salvation. On 23rd October, 1835, he left Mangalore and went to Cannanore, a military station at that time.Cannanore later became his chief centre of missionary work. From Cannanore he proceeded to Mysore and on the way stopped in the mountainous country of the Coorgs and conferred with Col. Fraser about establishing a new mission there. (The Coorg Mission was begun in 1853 by Dr. Moegling soon after the visit of Director Josenhans from Basel to the Nilgiris.[14]) Hebich being the first missionary sent from Basel, toured throughout South India in search of proper stations for the Society to start work in.

After a begining was made at Mangalore, on the west coast of India, a second station was founded at Mulki and a third at Udipi. As a second sphere, South Maharatta country was chosen in 1837, where also Canarese was the ruling tongue as in south Cananra.Dharwar and Hubli were occupied in 1837 and 1838 respectievely. Later in the wake of relief operations in a time of famine and taking advantage of a local religious conflict, the missioneries could create stations at Guledgudd in 1851 and Betigeri in 1853. Simultaneously the narrow strip of Malabar coast, to the south of South Canara, was taken possession of and stations were created at Tellichery in 1839, Cannanore in 1841, Calicut in 1842, Codacal in 1857 and Palghat in 1858[15]. Special circumstances compelled the opening of a mission in Coorg in 1853 and led to the location of a station at Anandapur and Ketti[16]. A further attempt of the Basel Society to gain a foothold at Dacca and Comilla, in Eastern Bengal, between the years 1847 and 1850, failed owing to the secession of the missionaries sent there to the ranks of the Bapists in 1850.

Thus in the course of little more than two decades the field of the Basel Missionary Society spread all over the west coast region in India. In this field there were only two main language groups, Canarese and Malayalam. The Basel Society produced during its first twenty-five years quite a number of distinguished men, such as that original and impressive personality Samuel Hebich, the acute and versatile Dr. Moegling, the scholarly Dr. Gundert and Dr. Kittel and others. From the establishments of its first station at Mangalore in 1834 to the begining of the I World War, there were 73 foreign missionaries (41 men and 32 women), 465 Indian workers consisting of pastors, evangelists, Bible women, Colporteurs, Christian school masters and non-Christian teachers. Besides the eight major stations there were 39 out - stations; there were 63 schools including one college and five high schools[17]. The Great War which broke out in 1914 arrested the progress pf the mission's work. It was considered by the Government to be a German Organisation. Most of the missionaries, being Germans, had to leave for the internment camp, and all properties which belonged to the Basel Mission were taken over by the Custodian of Enemy Property[18]. This caused considerable alarm in all the centres in South Canara, South Maharatta and Malabar. The work of the Mission was, however, continued for three years under the guidence of the General Local Committee of the Mission, composed entirely of Swiss missionaries. When the Government intimated its decision to remove all missionaries of the Basel Mission, the General Local Committee was forced to request other missionary societies in India to shoulder the entire responsibility for some parts of their extensive field of work. The mission organisations and churches on the Nilgiris were handed over to the Wesleyan Mission, and some parts of North Canara were entrusted with the National Missionary Society[19]. The General Local Committee thought it could confine its activities to South Canara and South Maharatta, where help was being given by a new organization which had its headquarters at Lausanne, in the French speaking part of Switzerland. This mission thus constituted, which was known as the Canarese Evangelical Mission, was recognised by the Government of India, and had on its staff an English missionary appointed by the National Missionary Council. As for the Malabar Church, the General Local Committee advised the Malabar Church to be incorporated into

the South India United Church. On 1st April, 1919, the S. I. U.C., acting under a mandate from the Government through the National Missionary Council, assumed responsibility for the whole work carried on by the Basel Mission in Malabar. From this time untill the return of the Basel Mission in 1926, the work in Malabar was carried on under the joint direction of the Malabar Church Council and the representative of the S. I. U. C. Soon after their return in 1926, the mission stations in South Cananra, South Maharatta and Malabar were once again reunited. In 1932 the United Basel Mission Church was founded. Very soon discussions were once again being made for the formation of a Union of all the Churches in South India. Earlier in 1919 most of the representatives put forward this idea at a meeting at Tranquebar. After much labouring and working the vision of a church union in South India was transformed into a reality on 27th September, 1947. Its inaugural function was held at the St. George Cathedral in Madras. Thus after 28 years of toiling the Church of South India was formed. 15 Dioceses and numerous churches under them were enlisted into the C. S. I. Basel Mission Church is one among the many of its member Churches. At present the Basel Mission Church in Malabar consists of fourteen pastorates.[20]

The Mission's Social Concern

When the Basel Mission missionaries came to South Canara, they were shocked and grieved to see the degraded state of a big section of the population as out-caste people. They were serfs on the land, with no rights and social status. They had no right even to pass by a high caste man or to enter or appear before a public place. The missionaries found that two most effective fields of operation to undermine this caste system were schools and industries.

Liberation through Education

When the pioneer missionaries arrived in South Canara, there were hardly any schools in the district, except the indigenous 'pial' schools. It was the primary object of the Basel Mission to place education within the reach of the masses, and to impart a thorough elementary education in the people's vernacular[21]. On their arrival in India in 1834, the missionaries set to master the vernacular and opened

their first school for Hindus on 9th May, 1836 at Mangalore which may be deemed as a landmark in the history of education in South Canara[22]. Although it was not the object of the Basel missionaries to educate the higher classes in English on the lines adopted by Dr. Duff, Dr. Wilson, Mr. Anderson and Dr. Miller, they did not lose sight of the value of English as the best channel for communicating western arts and science : for the first English school in the Cananra district was the Mission school at Mangalore (now the B. E. M.High School). As the Basel Mission had in view the general education of the masses, the missionaries had first to carry out this aim within the ranks of their congregations by making elementary school education compulsory for every Chriatian child under the age of 14[23]. This involved the establishment of a number of vernacular schools and of a normal school for the training of teachers, which was the first of its kind on the West Coast. To ensure that efficient and progressive work is being done in these schools the Home Committee of the Mission has, since 1861, appointed a special missionary for the inspection of these schools. Realising that the caste system was one of the main hindrance to the progress of this country, the Basel Missionaries steadly fought against it from the begining, and their schools in which chilren of all castes sit side by side and recieve instruction, had done much to break down the barriers of caste. The schools brought children of several castes together under one roof, which was in itself a matter amounting almost to a social revolution. Again the caste of the teacher was a matter of considerable importance because it was believed that only a high caste teacher would be able to influence and gather the children together. But Hebich appointed a sudra teacher named Timmappa, when the first Canarese school was opened at Mangalore in May 1836[24]. Hebich thought that he could attract the heathen mass of Mangalore to know about Christianity with the aid of schools. At first he got only four students. He persuaded the parents continuously to send their children to the school. He had to make frequent visits to their homes to encourage them to educate their children. In the midst of these visits he had to face much opposition from the non-Christian parents of the students. They spread the rumour that the missionaries would convert their children to Christianity. Scared of this 'danger' many stopped sending their children to the school. Being

convinced that it was only a rumour, the students once again started coming to the school. Encouraged by the enthusiasm shown by the increase in the number of students, the missionaries laid the foundation for another school the next year (1837). The missionaries had in view the training of native workers for evangelistic purposes. To this end the children entrusted to the care of the missionaries were instructed in a boarding school, from which the whole system of the Mission parochial school was developed. Since education of Chriastians was made compulsory, elementary Schools were opened in all the mission stations and instruction offered gratis[25]. Promising pupils were selected to become teachers and catechists, and sent to a preparatory school, to recieve a course of instruction in arithmetic, geometry, algebra, history, geography, science and relegion (which was taught in vernacular), as well as in English, Greek, and Sanskrit, before being trained in special seminaries [26]. This school was at Udipi. From the year 1836 Basel Mission also established a number of schools for non-Christians and took over under their management at the request of the people, schools already existing. In Malabar on 14th May, 1839 the first school was started at Tellichery under the guidence of Dr. Gundert. In the beginning there was only one master with twelve students but very soon the number increased to forty[27]. A school was started at Nettur too. Gundert spent one hour each in these schools for giving Bible lessons to the students. Apart from this he also began separate boarding schools for both boys and girls. The Basel Missionaries were pioneers in the education of women. Not only was education made cumpolsury for the girls in their congregation, but a number of Girls' schools were opened in almost all the important towns like Mangalore, Mulki, Udipi, Kasargode, Karkul, Condapoor, Moodibidri, in the Cananra District and in Kannore,Tellichery, Calicut, Palghat. etc. in Malabar and in Mercara and Anandapur in Coorg district [28]. The success and popularity of the Basel Mission schools depended a great deal upon the personalities of two great men, Hebich and Gundert.

Dr. Hermann Gundert and Rev. Samuel Hebich, the two pioneer missionaries, who blazed the trail for the Basel Mission in Malabar were both men of outstanding personality. Though differing

in the range of their scholarship, endowed with rare spiritual influence and talents, these two gentlemen proved to be an uncommonly happy combination, and have left behind a lasting impression upon the Malabar Church. Together they inaugurated certain lines of activity which have been successfully carried on by the missionaries upto the present time. The open air sermons which Samuel Habich delivered, often amidst much opposition, at crowded fairs and festivals, and the coverage as well as unexpected triumph with wich he carried the Gospel to the homes of military officers at Kannore, won for him an almost mythical halo in these parts.[29] Dr. Gundert, a brilliant scholar from the Tubingen University, on the other hand gave his life to the literary and educational work of the Mission. As the author of the first standard dictionary and grammar in Malayalam and several textbooks on history, geography and other subjects for mission schools, he has laid Malayalees under a deep debt of gratitude [30]. The Christian community in Malabar will, however cherish his memory especially for some of the earliest translations from the Bible into their mother tongue [31].

Mention should be made about two more missionaries, Dr. Moegling and Dr. F. Kittel. Dr. Moegling's work was centred in the Nilgiris. His *'cooly mission'* became one of the influencing factors leading to the conversion of many Coorgees into the society. Like Dr. Gundert in Malabar, Dr. Kittel is remembered in Karnataka for his scholarly contribution to the Kannada language. He was the first man to write a grammer and a dictionary in Kannada and he also translated and published many tracts from the Bible into Kannada.

Evangelistic Policies of the Mission

The emphasis on the social aspects of Christianity had its origin in the thinking and activities of the missionaries even before they came to India. The 'Social Gospel' was defined by the theologians at that time as "the application of the teachings of Jesus and the total message of Christian Salvation to the society, to the economic life and to the social institutions as well as to the individuals."[32] Social Chriatianity expressed itself in concrete forms in the enlarged social activities of the Basal Mission churches. A vast literature consisting of books, magazines, essays and study courses, was prepared for

educating the people about the social aspects of Christianity. The movement for the uplift of the depressed classes gradually gathered momentum in progressive Hindu circles. The work of the missionaries among the outcastes gave Hindu reformers an inspiring idea and practical guidance. Since 1898, the Prarthana Samaj was engaged in efforts for the social uplift of these classes in Mangalore, while the Brahmo Samaj was active in East Bengal[33]. The whirl wind of changes was unleashed by Sri.Vagbhatanda in Malabar for reform in Hinduism through his Atmavidya Sanga in the beginning of this Century. As Julius Richter rightly puts it, a good four-fifths of the entire success of the missionary work in India between 1880-1905 was realised among the Panchamas (the depressed classes)[34]. The circumstances connected with conversion have often exercised a very farreaching influence upon the economic development of Christian Communities. According to Dr. J. R. Mott, about eighty percent of the Protestants are the products of mass movements. The remaining 20% consist of those who embraced Christianity either as individuals or as families, and their descendants[35]. From the very beginning converts have entered the Basel Mission Church in Malabar in isolated families or as individuals. And except in the case of two new stations opened by the Basel Mission at Madai and Mattul, after the Great War, converts have been uprooted from their home and village to begin life at a common centre under new conditions. The converts fron Hinduism at Udipi in south Canara were also drawn out from their homes for joining Christianity. Missionaries believed that a day will come when the Hindus could join Christianity without being sent out from their homes[37]. Although the most progressive Hindu families have now begun to make a concession in the matter of interdining, such a free and unfettered social intercourse between Chirstian converts and the member of the castes to which they previously belonged, is not known anywhere in Malabar today; it would have been unimaginable in the last century. On the other hand, physical contact with a convert is considered in these parts to make an orthodox Hindu ceremonially unclean[38]. Converts have been regarded as outcastes and even their nearest relatives gave up all intercourses with one who embraced Christianity[39]. The 'Marumakkathayam system' of family organization and inheritance prevalent in Malabar made the convert's fate all the

more precarious. Under this system a mother and her children, grandchildren by her daughters, all her brothers and sisters and the descendants on the sisters' side, live together, and enjoy all her property and share it after her death in common with one another[40]. When a member belonging to such a joint-family embraced Christianity, the penalties decreed by caste made it impossible for him to continue in their midst and banished him at once from home and kindred. Many examples might be quoted from missionary reports published in the last century to illustrate the attitude taken by the average Hindu family towards a member who intended to accept Christianity[41]. As a rule till the Marumakkathayam Act of 1933 came into force, it was impossible for a member converted from a Marumakkathayam joint-family to obtain his share of the common property. The opposition from the local janmi or landlord usually added to the convert's helplessness. Mr. Weismann of Chombala made repeated attempts to induce the Hindu landlords to allow converts to remain in their rented houses and compounds; but again and again his entreaties met with the depressing retort, "for those who forsake their ancestral caste and customs, we have neither houses nor gardens[42]." Till the Madras Act No. 1 of 1900 (Malabar Compensation for Tenant's Improvements) came into effect, tenants in Malabar were completely at the mercy of the land lords. Legal provision for security and tenure and fair rent did not make its appearances in Malabar till 1930.Early Christian missionaries hoped for the day when the Hindu community in Malabar would cease to disown Christian converts as they had done. It was the policy of the Mission to do their best for the converts, in the meantime to make the Church a self-reliant and self-supporting Society[43].

Industrial Establishments

In the early days caste prejudice was so strong that people desiring to embrace Chriatianity had to make heavy sacrifices. They were regarded as outcastes by their community, lost their employment from their landlords, as well as all peuniary help from relatives and friends. The missionaries were thus compelled to find alternative means of livelihood for their converts[44]. They bought land at convenient centres and established the Basel Mission Industries. First they experimented with the Agricultural Mission. It proved to be a failure.

They sold most of the lands and thought of staring Industries[45]. A beginning was made in 1840 when Rev. Weigle, who was in charge of the Mangalore congregation, went to Bombay to study the art of printing. In the course of his study he was presented with a lithographic press for the Mission, by some English friends. This was the nucleus of the new press which developed into a fairly large industry called the Basel Misssion Press. In 1843, it was possible to print Bible portions of both the Old and New Testatement in Tulu, Canarese and Malayalam. In 1851 the Mission brought the first printing press from Europe[46]. Since then the work has developed to such an extent that it supplied the demands of the various schools and colleges of the Basel Mission and other corporations in the Canarese and Malayalam speaking districts and also undertook work for such publishing houses as Macmillan &Co. and the Madras and Bangalore Auxilieries to the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Another start along industrial lines was made in the year 1844 when weaving was introduced, in accordance with the tastes and habits of the people living on the west coast at that time[47]. Weaving was a popular industry carried on by certain people on the west coast,named 'Calico' is said tobe called after the town of Calicut, in the west coast. Along with weaving, dyeing work was also started and the 'khakki dye' which is now very popular is said to have been first invented by Mr. Haller, who was in charge of the Basel weaving establishments since 1851[48]. The missionaries also carried on works like book-binding, tailoring, blacksmithing, carpentry, watch making and clock and time-piece repairing etc. for the benefit of the young converts. In the year 1865, still another industry, tile making, was begun at Jeppoo in Mangalore[49]. As these industries developed, the necessity for a mechanical workshop was keenly felt to meet the needs of the various factories. Accordingly a Mechanical Establishment was opened at Mangalore in 1874. Of the several industries started, only the weaving establishments, tile manufactories and the mechanical establishment continued to exist and were being more fully developed year after year.

These factories (three weaving establishments with their branches, seven tile factories and the mechanical establishment) gave

employment to 3600 Indians of whom 2800 were Christian and the others non-Christians[50]. All factories had Provident Institutions such as Saving Fund and Sick Fund. These facilities for depositing savings from their wages were offered for the purpose of encouraging among them the invaluable quality of thrift. There were also hostels maintained in some of the factories for young men and girls. Those who had no homes were admitted into these hostels and were cared for by persons appointed as house-fathers or house-mothers. In several factories,houses had been built for the accommodation of families and these were rented to them at nominal rents. Thus, the converted Christian population tended to congregate around weaving or tile establishments and in mission compunds which provided the converts with quarters as well as cultivable lands.

The Basel Mission industries have been the means of fostering a spirit of self-reliance among many of the members of the congregations on the west coast. For instance, one of the earliest industries, that of book binding, had been handed over to an Indian Christian and like-wise, the carpentry establishments, weaving and tile factories. These industries not only contributed their net profits to the general work of the Basel Mission carried on in India but have also given substantial help to other permanently useful institutions. For example the Malabar Christian College and Y. M.C.A.at Calicut were constructed out of funds contributed by the Basel Mission Industries.

The Basel Missionaries employed men and women of high as well as low castes in their different establishments and made them work with cooperation. Thus they tried to undermine the caste prejudice among the people[51]. They were aware of the danger of caste prejudices and they took sufficient care to see that caste distinction should never creep into the Church- "From the begining of our work in India, to the present day, we have its lead in our churches, and our strict loyalty to the principle of love in this respect has been crowned with success[52]." In 1892 at the mission festival at Udipi a common meal was served without any distinction of colour or caste to express their oneness in Christ[58].This "misra bhojan" revolution initiated by the missionaries was adopted as a tool for social change by Hindu reformists of Ke:ala at a later date, is known to history.

Temperance Movement

The Basel Missionaries who were products of Wurttemberg Pietism, tried their best against alcoholism prevalent among the people in the regions they worked in. In 1883 an attempt was made to tackle this age old habit by the crusade of the 'Blue Ribbon Soldiers' who publicly renounced drinking and took a pledge not to touch alcohol. As a sign of the pledge, they fixed a piece of blue ribbon on their shirts and encouraged others to do the same[54]. In consequence, the Basel Mission Committee suggested that all the employees of the mission should completely renounce alcohol[55]. This had a great effect in the churches' struggle against alcoholism. In 1907 a Temperance League was formed in Mangalore. The whole congregation of Mangalore supported this and even the Roman Catholics and the Muslims contributed towards building a Temperance Hall, near Jeppu church in 1909[56]. This Hall was used for relaxation and games. The Report of the Mission for the year 1910 says that "this attempt was proved much more successful than the crusade of the 'Blue Ribbon Soldiers'.

Medical Works

Medical mission was intoduced in India by an American Dr. Bacheller in 1840. In 1862 South Kanara District requested to the Home Board at Basel for missionary doctors because at places where medical aid was not available, the missionaries were already helping the people with their limited knowledge which they acquired in the Basel Mission Seminary[57]. In 1866 another appeal was made and in 1875 Malabar got a missionary doctor, by name E. Leibendorfer. After his arrival a hospital was built at Calicut in 1892. In 1894 South Maharatta secured medical stations in Guledgudd and Bettigeri. In 1905, the Mission bought a huge property at Maroli in Mangalore, and built some houses and a dispensary for the treatment of lepers. In 1906 a Leper Asylum was opened with 15 in mates. It was superintended by a senior missionary because there was no medical missionary to take the charge. The lepers were looked after by Mr. Barnabaz, a former school master at Udipi, himself a lerosy patient. Because of the shortage of a trained doctor, the inmates of this Asylum were sent to the Chevayur Leper Asylum at Calicut in 1910[58].

The regular medical work of the Mission started only after

the I World War. In 1923 a hospital for women and children was established at Udipi. In 1923 new wards were attached and in 1937 a dispensary was opened at Malpe.In 1945 X-ray was installed at the Udipi hospital[59]. This hospital proved to be a great blessing to the Christians as well as to the non-Christians of South Canara and the neighbouring places[60]. Many other hospitals and dispensaries were started in places like Vaniyamkulam, Codacal etc. in Malabar where the medical missionary was brought very close to the multitudes who seek relief[61].

Work among Women

In 1880 Inspector Schott came to India from Basel and in his presence the Genral Conference, held in 1881, resolved in favour of intensified work among non-Christian women. For this task the conference suggested the help of the wives of the missionaries. In addition to this,the request was sent to Basel Home Board to sent single lady missionaries[62]. So by 1902 Women's work was an established fact in South Canara. In 1901, Special Society for Women's Mission was founded at Basel, with the purpose of sending women missionaries, as co-workers with the native Bible women. These sisters and missionaries came in several categories_teachers and sisters for schools and orphanages and nurses and Bible sisters. They visited especially non-Christian homes and proclaimed the Christian Gospel. In some places they taught the women knitting, stitching, and sewing. In 1910 Rev. Schosser started the Home Industries for the benefit of the Balmatta Congregation's women and girls. A good number of women and girls joined and they were paid fair wages for the articles made by them. The missionaries opened many such Home Industries in almost all the centres of their work. This turned out to be one of the means for attracting the non-Christian population to join the Church. This venture not only helped the Society to become more popular but also helped to raise the standard of living of the people and also to make them understand moral values like the dignity of labour, honesty etc. In spite of the great amount of success achieved, sometimes the missionaries themselves watched their industrial and mercantile establishments with some sort of misgiving. The misionaries stated several times that they would be exceedingly glad if they could discontinue

these works and devise some other methods by which the Christians might be made independent of Mission's support. "If the immense amount of labour, love and care that is now being extended on our establishments, could be diverted to evangelistic work, how much greater progress could be made in the propagation of the Gospel"[63].

Translation, Literature, Journalism and Printing

Translation of the Bible and other Christian literature was undertaken by the Basel Missionaries to aid missionary attempts to spread the knowledge of Christianity throughout India. They were convinced that the availability of vernacular translations would make it possible "to give Indians the true shastra in place of false", for the missionary to command a degree of respect and reverence; to provide substitutes for missionary preaching; to make converts more knowledgeable about their faith; and to enable the convert to show the foundation of his faith to others. Many had tried to translate the Bible into the vernacular languages, but the translations of Dr. Gundert and Dr. Kittel, into Malayalam and Kannada respectively, recieved the appreciation and admiration of many Christians and non-Christians. Even today these translations are in circulation with certain minor alterations.

Of all Gundert's works, the translation of the Old and New Testaments deserve pride of place[64]. Even though he was appointed as the President of the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society for the Malayalam Bible in 1849, he realised that the committee was not functioning properly[65]. He withdrew from it and started work by himself. He consulted the original works in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German and English for this venture[66]. As the publication of the translations reached the people continuously, nobody noticed or realised the time gap between each publication. Among his many literary works,[67] the Malayalam-English Dictionary and the Malayalam Grammer are very important. Though Gundert had worked in many other evangelical fields, his name is remembered even today, by the Malayalees, for his splendid work of the Dictionary. Although it has completed hundred years since it came to the lime-light, still there is no other dictionary of its kind in Malayalam.

Like Gundert in the Malayalam language, Kittel had dedicated

himself for the Kannada language and literature[68]. The whole Canarese speaking population of India has granted the sole credit to Kittel for compiling a Canarese-English dictionary, which is really a monumental work. It has its counterpart in Malayalam in Dr. Gundert's dictionary. Apart from Dr. Kittel, the names which are worth mentioning are that of Dr. H. Moegling, G. Weigle, G. Wurth, H. Kaundinya, F. Ziegler etc., who have also contributed a considerable amount of books to the Canarese language. The Cananrese Bible, which was chiefly the work of Rev. G. Weigle, is a masterpiece from a linguistic point of view. A series of studies of the people, their thoughts and their usages have also been written and edited by the Basel Missionaries of which perhaps, the best is the book of the Rev. N. Dilger on 'Salvation in Hinduism and Christianity'.

The Basel Missionaries also published magazines; in Malayalam there were 'Rajya Samacharam' and 'Paschimodyam' published under the supervision and guidance of Dr. Gundert. The spreading of the Christian Gospel was its main aim. In Kannada, there were 'Kannada Samachara', 'Sabhapatra' and 'Satyadipika'. All this literature and the magazines were printed and published from the Basel Mission Press at Mangalore. The Basel Mission Press had it origin on the verandah of the Gundert Church at Nettur near Tellichery but later on it was shifted to Mangalore and was called the Basel Mission Press. Most of the Basel Mission Publications were printed at this press. It met the demands of most of the agencies and served all their needs satisfactorily. Since the printing establishment grew rapidly, a new building was constructed in 1913.[69]

Estimate

The Basel Misssionaries, though an external force, provided an impulse towards social reform in the west coast of India similar in many respects to that supplied by individuals and by voluntary societies in Europe in the early 19th century. Conversions came very largely from among the pariahs and the lowest castes, but the effects of the missionaries' work were felt among the higher castes in various ways; particularly in the field of social development. The increasingly important part played by Indians themselvles in the new reforming movements also meant that the exclusive reliance upon external in-

fluences which characterized the pioneer stage of development was steadily replaced by an intermixture of indigenous ideas with foreign theories and methods. Then, it was possible for the missionaries to make fuller use of their position, midway between the Government and its Indian subjects to foster the most valuable features of Indian civilization and to mingle them judiciously with their Christian teaching . This tendency became an increasingly important factor in all branches of the missionaries' work, and was, indeed, essential to the mature development of the missionaries' plans for evangelisation and reform. The early Basel Missionaries, through their educational work as well as through their attacks on caste ridden Hinduism, helped to release forces which helped in the gradual westernization of meterial conditions and the modernisation of the traditional Hindu society. The World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 admitted that there was no other religion other than Hinduism which needed to be so carefully studied by the missionary.[70] The zesalous missiolnaries who never failed to point their finger of scorn at many religious and social institutions, were educators as well as crusaders.[71] Through schools, industies and medical works they aimed at producing a real change in the lives and thought of the people. The Basel missionaries showed a renewed concern for the welfare of the people as a community --"No man could be content with his own salvation and ignore the welfare of his brethren". The command "to love thy neighbour" took on a new meaning. As a result, social service became much more prominent in Christian activity. Group conversions to Christianity were inaugurated in which dipressed classes of South Indian society were converted and programmes for their social uplift were taken up. The social activities of the Y.M.C.A, Y.W.C.A., Sunday Schoools, Student Volunteer Movement etc were begun and vigorously promoted. An impressive and diversified educational plant, from the primary to college stage, was built up. Industrial and agricultural training was introduced into Mission schools and some specific institutions were founded for this purpose.

An inclusive evangelism with a special stress on the alleviation of human suffering was inaugurated by the Basel Missionaries. Medical missions with hospitals and dispensaries became very prominent. The work of women medical missionaries began a new era in

the history of the medical care of Indian women and children. As a selfless area of Christian love, the kindly care of lepers was carried on. The sacrifice made by some missionaries for the cause of lepers was superb and heroic. As fighters against calamity and human suffering, the Basel Missionaries contributed their mite whenever India was in the grip of famines, epidemics and natural calamities. Last but not least, the Basel missionaries engaged in welfare and social reform activities. They established widow-homes, orphanages, and temperance reform associations. They reduced the evils of child marriage, caste system, intemperance and extravagance among their Christian converts. Nobody could deprive the Mission of its credit for having been, with the support of several English sympathisers, the pioneer in introducing various industries and educational institutions on the West Coast of India. They were the harbingers of renaissance and social change in Malabar and Canara in the 19th century.[72]

Notes:

1. **26th Report of the Basael Evangelical Mission of the Western Coast of India for the year 1865**, *Mangalore,1866, p2*
2. **Encyclopedia of Missions** *(secodnd edition), New York, 1910,p.71*
3. *Rev.S. Schosser, 'Foundation of the Society'*, **Harvest Field,** *Vol.XXXV, Oct.1915,. No 10 p.373.*
4. **18th Report of the Baasel Evaangelical Mission on the Western Coast of India**, *Mangalore, 1858,p.26*
5. *Rev. William Richy Hogg*, **Ecumenical Foundations**, *New York, 1952, p.13*
6. **Encyclopedia of Missions***(Second edition) New York, 1910 p. 71*
7. **18 and 26 Reports of the Basel Evangelical MIssion on the West Coast of India for the yeatrs 1857and 1865** *respect ively- introductory paragraphs, Mangalore, 1858 and 1866.*
8. *Rotterdam Missionary society and the Church Missionary Society were the first with whcich connections were formed. Six years later similar connection was formed with North German Missionary Society at Bremen.*

9. **18th Report of the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society.** *Maangalore,1858, p.8.*
10. **Ibid.,** *p.5. In the year1827 the state of the Negro population on the western coast of Africa was specially brought under the notice of the Basel Society by invitations from Mr.Ashmun and Mde Richclien,Governor of the Danish settlement on the Gold Coast.*
11. **C.B.Firth, An Introduction to Indian Church History,** *Mysore, 1961, p.153.*
12. *Rev. Schosser,* **A Hundred year Basael Mission** *Mangalore 1913, p.4.*
13. *Thomssen, G.N* **Samuel Hebich of India-- The master Fisher man of Men.***Cuttack,1905, p.26. W. Schalatten,* **Geschite Der Basler Mission,** *Vol.1, Basel,1916, p.7.*
14. *Rev.G.Weiland,* **A short history of fifty years' work of the Basel Mission on the Nilgiris,** *Mangalore, 1896, p.14.*
15. *Richter , Julius,* **History of Indian Missions,** *Edinburgh and London, 1908, p. 196*
16. *Krishnayya, D. N.,* **'Spread of Protestantism in Coorg by the B. M. Society'** *in* **Santhi Church, Centenary Souvenir,** *Coorg, 1971.*
17. **74th Annual Report of the Basel Mission Evangelical Mission in South Western India for the year 1913,** *Mangalore, 1914.*
18. **Minutes of the Malabar Church Council** *which met in August, 1920, speech by Dr. J, J,Banninga.*
19. *Arangaden, A. J.* **Church Union in South India,** *Mangalore, 1947, p. 18*
20. *These pastorates are: Pappinissery, Cannanore, Chowa, Nettur, Tellichery, Chombala, Calicut, Puthiyara, Feroke, Codacal, Chalissery, Vaniyamkulam, Palghat and Melparamba.*
21. **Harvest field,** *"Basel Mission", p. 318 (Aug. 1895).*
22. **A retrospect of the work done by the Basel Mission for the Educational, Material and Social progress of the people of south Canara,** *Mangalore, 1970, p. 5.*
23. **Annual Report of the B. E. M. S. for the year 1911,** *Mangalore, 1912, p.47.*
24. **Annual Report of the B. E. M. Society for the year 1837,** *Mangalore, 1838, p. 62*

25. **Annual Report of B. E. M. S. for the year 1874,** *Mangalore, 1875, p. 33.*
26. **Annual Report of the B. E. M. S. for the year 1872,** *Mangalore, 1873, p. 39,* **Report of the B. E. Mission Theological Seminary for the Year 1962-63,** *Mangalore, p. 2.*
27. **History of the Basel Mission,** *Centenary Publication (Malayalam), Mangalore, 1934.*
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36. **64th Report of the Basel Evangelical Mission for the Year 1906,** *Mangalore, 1907, p. 76.*
37. **35th Report of the B. E. M. S. in S. W. India for the year 1874,** *Mangalore, 1875, p. 11.*
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45. *G. N. Thomsenn,* **Samual Hebich of India, Master Fisherman of Men,** *Cuttack, 1905, p. 281.*
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A mediator between east and west

Irmgard Yu-Gundert

In the beginning of this paper the question should be raised, why in the context of study on work and life of Hermann Gundert, important linguist and missionaries in India during the 19th century, attention should also be paid to the work and life of his two grandsons, of the poet Hermann Hesse and of Wilhelm Gundert. The latter was an outstanding scholar in the field of Japanese language and culture, whose main work is a translation with commentary of about half of the Bi-yan-lu, the Chinese main source for Zen-Buddhism. The answer to that question is basically one and the same in the case of both cousins. Therefore the nature of the relation between the two cousins needs some attention first.

Wilhelm Gundert, born in 1880, was three years younger than Hermann Hesse. Whist the poet spent eleven years of his childhood and early youth in the same town or even the same house as his grandfather, the younger cousin grew up in nearby Stuttgart, but came regularly year after year as a frequent visitor to his grandfather's house. (1) Having lost his mother in early childhood and becoming estranged from his own father, the boy Wilhelm Gundert after the death of his grandfather became a likewise frequent visitor in the house of Hermann Hesse's parents whom he loved and admired and in the house of whom he found the warmth and spirituality, he missed in his father's house. (2). A close bond of friendship tied together the later poet, the latter's two sisters Adele and Marulla, Wilhelm Gundert and a fifth cousin Hermann Gundert in 1876, who was later to become a parson and to marry

H.Hesse's sister Adele. That bond of a close special friendship between the five cousins lasted throughout their lives. It was so strong, that it was difficult or may be impossible for any other person to enter the inner circle, that seemed to enclose the cousins - a difficulty, experienced by and causing suffering to the third wife of H. Hesse, Ninon Hesse - Auslander, as well as to the wife of W. Gundert, Helene Gundert-Bossert [3], two women with different personalities and of different social backgrounds, but who were both intellectually gifted, faithful and loving companions to their demanding husbands.

In one letter to his wife, written 1922 in Japan [4] W. Gundert speaks about the above mentioned problem, which he calls "Sondergeist" of the Gundert family. He explains it as an "aftereffect of the individuality of the grandfather in a generation of less creative epigonous sons" and declares himself as having grown up with "that epigonism". As Hermann Gundert, the linguist and missionary, has become a nearly forgotten person after his death, nobody nowadays studying the lives of his sons would ever think of speaking about epigonism with regard to them - they seem to have been quite normal and successful members of human society. Yet the grandchildren possibly knew better and there also is an intra familiar tradition about an everlasting devotion of two sons against their father, one of whom is W. Gundert's father (founder and owner of a publishing house for children's books). The same devotion is evident in the case of the daughter, Marie Hesse Gundert[5]. According to the testimony of W. Gundert, the personality of the grandfather also left an everlasting impression on a group of some of his grandchildren, aged from thirteen to eighteen years at the time of his death.

To return to the question raised in the beginning the answer is found in several statements of H.Hesse. In his essay on "mien Glaube" [6], written in 1931, the poet says, that his grandfather, father and mother, all of whom had been protestant missionaries in India, had not only owned a rich and thorough knowledge of the diverse religions of India, but had also felt an only half-admitted

sympathy with these non-Christian religions. Of this sympathy H.Hesse was aware even as a child - we may add, not only he but also W. Gundert and others. The poet seems to regard it as a natural consequence of this influence, undergone during childhood, that in 1931 he himself and "one of his cousins" - namely W. Gundert had since years ago come to realize the fact, that there exists no "order of priority amongst religions", id est, that all religions are equally true. Though protestant Christian belief had remained overwhelmingly strong in the family, in the year 1931 H.Hesse and W.Gundert were scarcely the only ones amongst the grandchildren to acknowledge the above quoted statements as true, but they were the only ones, who acknowledged it and who at the same time had kept religion as a main subject of their thought and feeling. In 1931 both of them had already published works influenced by or directly concentrated on ideas out of the vast field of Far Eastern religious thought.[8]

Years later, in 1960, when the poet had published all his main works, whilst W. Gundert had just finished the first half of his translation of the Bi-Yan-Iu, H. Hesse again speaks about the affinity between him and his cousin and about the dependence of both of them on the example, given by their grandfather's life and work [9]. Both cousins have inherited as a dominant feature of their whole disposition the susceptibility for Eastern thought, culture and religion. Both have in very different ways by their main works contributed much to the on running discussion between Christian religion and Far Eastern religions and philosophy - they have much furthered mutual understanding. By doing so they seen to have accomplished the task, once begun by their grandfather, though the latter himself might have not openly, but only inwardly and half-admittedly approved the work of his two grandsons.

In 1968 W. Gundert himself speaks in a similar way about the legacy, transmitted to him by his grandfather. [10] But he also adds a somewhat different and more direct statement: the basis for all his ability, to approach the difficult esoteric teachings

of Zen-Buddhism with real and deep understanding has been laid by the Christian faith and piety of his family, which was influenced by and depended on the example of the grandfather. W. Gundert goes on to comparative study on main concepts of Zen-Buddhism and Christian religion, which though short is extremely interesting and meaningful, but can hardly serve as an explanation for the above quoted statement. For W. Gundert does not explain, in how far the world of his grandfather contained the germs for his very free and unorthodox views on main concepts of Christian faith and his ability to recognize similarity between these Christian concepts and the main ideas of Zen-Buddhism.

Before I attempt a more intruding discussion of the various relations between W. Gundert's work and thought and the work and thought of his grandfather as well as of his cousin, I have to undertake a short review of his life. For it is evident and he himself says so [11] that the translation of the BI-Yan-Iu is the fruit of a long and complicated life, which contained not only repeated unexpected turns, but also deep error.

At the christening ceremony for the newborn child in 1880 the grandfather expressed his wish, that the newborn might become a missionary instead of his second son, who had died a week ago in India. At the age of fifteen the youth knew about this wish of his grandfather and had made it his own. [12] Having studied theology and philosophy and having passed his final examination to become a parson in 1904, W. Gundert to Japan as a missionary. This decision was influenced by the early reading of a booklet of Kanzo Uchimura [13], the famous Japanese Christian writer and preacher, who taught his followers to a accept the gospel without any ecclesiastical institutions and to remain Japanese whilst accepting Christian faith or to become an even better Japanese than before (in as much as a true Japanese Christian, following the example set up by Jesus, has to warn his country against any wrong doing as warfare or politics of conquest and colonialization [14]. Contrariwise to his grandfather, but possibly fulfilling secret ideals and wishes of the latter's early days [15], W. Gundert did not join

any missionary society, but went as an independent missionary to Tokyo after having contacted K.Uchimura. He was supported as far as necessary by a private group of friends in Germany from his first year in Japan, 1906, until 1914. Still in 1906 in Tokyo he married Helene Bossert, daughter of a Swabian parson and outstanding scholar in the field of ecclesiastical history. During the first years under the influence of K.Uchimura, who had become his friend and mentor, W. Gundert did not do much preaching, but taught German language as a lecturer at a college in Tokyo, worked with K. Uchimura's disciples in spreading the gospel and studied Japanese language and Japanese ways of life, the latter by directly practising them. According to his idealistic youthful belief he had to follow the famous advice of Paulus and to become a Japanese for the Japanese, to be able to fulfill his task as a missionary in Japan.

After the death of his first child W. Gundert gave up teaching language. He moved then, in 1910, to a small rural town and there worked as a missionary together with a follower of K. Uchimura until the outbreak of World War I. The principles then followed by him were teaching Christian belief in the way of the first followers of Jesus, namely speaking with single people, avoiding preaching to crowds,paying no attention to dogmatics, setting up an example of Christian love by one's own behaviour, avoiding organization through church [16].

In 1915 W. Gundert dropped his missionary work and become again a lecturer at a Japanese college, this time in Kumamoto. The five years spent there were a time of second study: Zen - Buddhism, Lao-tse, a lot of European literature. After the end of the war in 1920 the whole family returned to Germany, but W. Left his home country again for japan in 1922. His wife followed one year later with two of the four children. Entering Europe W. had (nearly) first met amongst all friends and relatives his cousin H. Hesse in Montagnola and leaving Europe he saw him last: the friendship between the two cousins had reached its peak. [17]. By 1920 W. had stopped to believe, that it was the main mission of

his life to preach Christian faith to the Japanese. During the two years spent at home he decided to get his doctor's degree in Japanology in Hamburg. Partly under the influence of Richard Wilhelm, the famous sinologist - whom he had met and who like him had once been a missionary [18] - he found himself a new life-task in serving as a kind on mediator between Eastern and Western culture. Yet he still had not entirely dismissed the idea of missionary work, instead for the first time of his life he joined an established missionary society (the so called "allgemeiner evangelisch - protestantischer Missionsverein").

Having returned to japan in the beginning he therefore worked not only as a lecturer at a college in Mito near Tokyo, but also as a missionary of that society and as a parson of the German community at Tokyo. This lasted only for a few months: in the end of 1992 W. Gundert Just reading Nietzsche and being deeply impressed declared himself unable to preach Christian faith and renounced any official activity in that direction [19]. In 1925 his doctoral thesis about Shintoism in No-Drama was printed, he gave up teaching German, as he was chosen as an executive director of the newly founded Japanese-German Cultural Institute in Tokyo.

During W. Gundert's second stay in japan W. Gundert and K.Uchimura, who lived in Tokyo until his death in 1930, unavoidably drifted apart [20] The feeling of friendship had remained, but W. Gundert's thought and belief was developing some - how into the opposite direction of Uchimura's standpoint. K. Uchimura had as a Japanese become Christian, his thought always remained concentrated on the wisdom of the New Testament. W. Gundert Westerner and Christian opened himself to the truth, contained in Far Eastern religion and philosophy. During this period in Tokyo W. Gundert wrote two important books, a history of Japanese literature, printed in 1929, and a history of Japanese religion, printed in 1935. He waited for a nomination as a professor of Japanology at the university of Hamburg. To be eligible for professorship in National - Socialist Germany he joined the

National Socialist party in 1934 in Japan, but afterwards became in many respects a blind follower of National - Socialist ideology.

In 1936 he was appointed a professor in Hamburg and returned with his family to Germany. 1937 he became Dean of the Faculty from 1938 until 1941 he served the universities Rector. After the collapse of national- Socialist Germany he lost his professorship and had at first no income at all, later got a pension. In 1946 he moved to his real homeland, namely southern Germany. The manuscript of a Book about Japanese culture and history, written between 1936 and 1949 remained unprinted.

W. Gundert shortly after the end of the war began to study and to translate the Heki-gan-roku or Bi-yan-Iu; he took some lessons in modern Chinese. This study had to be postponed as he had to work for another book: in 1952 a collection of Chinese and Japanese poemes, edited and largely translated by W. Gundert, was printed as a part of larger anthology of Eastern poems. In 1954 for the first time after 25 years of separation W. Gundert met his cousin. H. Hesse at the latter's home in Montagnola (Correspondence between the two had been slowly reviving since 1947) Similar short visits of W. Gundert in Motagnola continued annually until the poet's death in 1962. Also in 1954 W. Gundert met Daisetsu S.Suzuki, who encouraged him to continue his work of study and translation of the Bi-yan-Iu. In the beginning of 1955 W. Gundert was given the position of regularly retired professor of the Hamburg-University which meant he could now live at ease for his studies. Evidently in repentance his involvement in the National-socialism W. Gundert during these years supported German pacifistic movements in various ways. In 1960 the first part of his translation of Bi-yan-Iu with commentary was printed, in 1967 the second followed. Now at the age of 87 years he had translated only half of the important Chinese work. He continued his efforts until his death, which occured in 1971 after a light illness. A small supplementary volume of the translation was edited in 1973.

The writer is of course unable to fully interpret, appreciate

and value a complicated and rich life as the one just describe. But special attention can be paid and should be paid to at least three main aspects of that life, each of them belonging to one of the three main periods of it.

The first of those special aspects to be discussed should be the change of inner attitude towards Japanese culture and thought or Far Eastern culture and thought in general, which occured during the first fifteen years spent in Japan. The first of two abrupt breaks, we can observe in W. Gundert's life, is his moving to Japan in 1906 and the sudden immersion into a wholly Japanese life-style, if one reads his unpublished work on Japanese culture, written perhaps between 1940 and 1945 - a charming and strongly idealizing description , the author of which sometimes seems to identify himself with his subject and sometimes retains the remote stand point of an observing member of another culture- One comes to the conclusion, that W. Gundert in 1906 must have with some pleasure and delight got rid of the life-style of the bourgeois society of southern Germany, he had grown up with [21]. Different from his famous cousin he had been a well adapted and obedient child and youth, yet scarcely a more happy one. The willingness of leaving behind the old and embracing a new life-style did not mean also a direct and thorough understanding of the new one from the beginning. This fact is shown by the sharp and vivid contrast between his first descriptions of Japanese life (to be found in the letters, written during the first nine years in Japan)[22] and the descriptions contained in the above quoted unpublished manuscript on Japanese culture. In the beginning W. Gundert was scarcely able to notice and certainly not able to judge on features, he later knew and understood very well.

According to his own report the main change happened during the years of World War I. He confesses in 1921 [23] to have been contaminated for a short time by the war fever raging in Germany at the beginning of the war, but to have repented quickly. This wartime experience seems to have come as a shock to him, that drove him forever out of his earlier beliefs. As puts it himself,

it loosened his one-sided commitment to Christian religion. He came to understand himself not as a simple follower of Christ, comparable to the early Christians of the first century A.D., but as a German of the twentieth century. Accepting himself as a German of modern times he rid himself of the narrow view of a missionary, he was able to view the surrounding Japanese world without prejudice, to accept it and respect it just "as it was". The descried change is in some respect not uncommon. If one loves immersed in a totally strange culture one will at some moment began to reflect upon one's own position as a member of another culture. The other side of W. Gundert's change is much less common, namely ridding himself of a missionary's view of a non Christian culture. In the first years of his life in Japan W. Gundert had uttered negative judgements on the different Buddhist sects, he met in japan[24] - at the end of his life he compared Amida-Buddhism to Christian religion [25] and had become a teacher of the main principles of Zen-Buddhism himself. But it was not only the narrow view of a Christian missionary, he had lost. He also freed himself of the special view of a European in general. When W. Gundert describes Japanese life and culture in the early letters, written during the first eight years of his stay in Japan, he comments on single features of Japanese life, which evidently differ from European ways and which according to our western way of thought are shortcomings of the foreign culture - for an example the lack of communication between parents and children [26]. Such observations were true and still hold true regarding to most of the Far-Eastern societies, yet noticing them is not an adequate way of coming to real insight into the innermost nature of a foreign culture. In his unpublished book on Japanese culture. W. Gundert shows not the slightest interest into criticizing - he only describes the Japanese culture as different and does his utmost to make it transparent and understandable to the reader, even to show the beauty, abundance and depth of it. The Japanese culture, which W. Gundert had been able to observe in the first half of our century, has become a phenomenon of the past, yet his unpublished description of it sheds clear light on many still existing features of everyday life in a Far Eastern society.

In his books and papers, written in Japan and Hamburg between 1922 and 1945, W. Gundert repeatedly says [27], that we should study foreign ways of thought and life (foreign "Art") in order to understand our own ways (own "Art") better. This is quite a normal concept for everybody, who studies foreign culture remote in terms of space or time. It is often interpreted as becoming aware of the limits and shortcomings of one's own culture. W. Gundert in his history of Japanese religion stresses a slightly different point [28] the insights, we get in studying phenomena of a foreign culture, we may later use whilst examining similar phenomena of our own culture and this may help us to discern transcendent truth from transitory opinions in our own traditional beliefs. Yet at that time the author restrained himself form respective comparative studies, he concentrates on pure description. After the second sharp break in his life, the downfall of National - Socialist Germany, his tone changes. At the end of his collection of Chinese and Japanese lyrical poetry he says, that - if Western readers are touched by Far-Eastern poetry in their innermost hearts - there must evidently be a depth, which is not reached by all inner strife of the world, a place, where mutual understanding is possible. Similarly through the whole of his commentaries on the chapters of the Bi-Yan-Iu there runs the belief, that transcendental truth is basically one of all religions in spite of all great differences and that studying one religion may therefore improve understanding of other religions. In this last work in Buddhist religion the author no longer refrains himself form comparing - and though some readers may prefer to over look a lot of those comparisons, yet on the whole it is true, that this last work of his old age may serve as an open passage to the world of Buddhist thought, whilst the history of Japanese religion gives mere scholarly information. The main gifts and therefore achievements of W. Gundert lie in the field of synopsis, not of analysis.

The second aspect of W. Gundert's life, that requires attention in the context of this paper, is his national-socialist phase, closely connected with his return to Germany. It was a general impression

spread amongst friends and relatives of the old couple of Wilhelm and Helene Gundert, that the personality of both of them was deeply touched and changed by their life in Japan: even their appearances had assumed some Japanese features [29]. It is odd, that somebody who had understood and loved a non-European people so well as to have become assimilated to it, should have afterwards been a follower of National socialist ideology. There exists a published letter of H.Hesse, in 1951, [30] in which the poet tries to explain the attitude of his cousin. He stresses two points. One is the well-known fact, that the social class, his and his cousin's family had belonged to, had been used to accept political authority without ever criticizing it and had been unprepared to accept democracy, when it was suddenly introduced. The other point is, that his cousin had spent his life in the midst of a small German community in a remote foreign country and that this was not a milieu where to learn independent political judgement, if one had not acquired the principles of such judgement already during adolescence. We should add a third point: W. Gundert had not spent so much time in the small German community, but he had lived in the large Japanese society surroundings it. This society was at that time decidedly not a place, where to become acquainted with and to be influenced by example of democratic and critical political thought. W. Gundert's unpublished manuscript about Japanese history does not contain National Socialist idea, but it does reflect what we may call Japanese ideology, dominant during the years of war and before. He admired the political unity of Japan under the leadership of the emperor, descendant of an old imperial family, reigning since the dawn of history. He seems to have thought a similar degree of political unity to be desirable for his own country, the political development of which he had never been able to observe at close range until 1936, yet had judged as a period of unhappy strife between numerous political parties [31]. Furthermore W. Gundert was assimilated to Japanese culture, but not totally integrated in it. He had complained at times about his situation of living as an outsider in a foreign society, being neither a total stranger to it, nore a real full member of it. [32]. He therefore was prone to be seduced by National Socialist propaganda of "Deutsche Volksgemeinschft" and the like and dreamt about serving his own

German nation by acting as a member of the National Socialist Movement.

In 1945 W. Gundert like many other Germans found himself at the edge of an abyss: National socialist ideology had collapsed like a house cards: he had lost one child in war and was shortly afterwards to lose one more in tragic consequences, induced by the breakdown of national Socialism: he had lost his property and income. Understanding of his own guilt and errors came slowly. He continued writing his planned history of Japan. The narration breaks off with the year of 1869, idealist with the beginning of the Meiji-era. Only having arrived at that point - in 1943 [33] the author finally became aware of the fact, that he was unable to give a true picture of Japan's recent history, as he was unable to give a true picture of Japan's recent history, as he lacked the necessary insight and knowledge himself and also lacked apt and truthful Japanese sources.

There is no direct mentioning of his errors during the national Socialist reign in his later published writings- if one knows, one easily recognizes indirect mentioning at several places [34]. In 1959 he speaks about his past. In a letter addressed to a follower of K. Uchimura: he had been an unfaithful servant and had neglected his chances for doing good deads. These words show, that he had done some analyzing of his personal behaviour - but it is unlikely, that he has also ever done much analyzing of the general political developments, that had led to the disastrous war. He was not gifted for that kind of historical analyzis. The quoted words further show, that he later judged, he had moved too far away from Christian belief. Indeed he overcame the breakdown of 1945 by returning to religion. He immediately began to read regularly the New Testament in Greek, a habit he kept until his death. He also studied and learned by heart the poems of Rilke. Finally - in the weeks after the death of his fourth child - he turned to a Japanese edition of the Bi-Yan Iu. The main point, to be understood here is perhaps the following: the experience of a smilar process of being stripped of all one's belongings, material and not material, as undergone by W. Gundert even if personal guilt is involved -

open to the human mind an access to the truth beyond the realm of intellect, that lies in the centre of Zen-teaching.

The third aspect of W. Gundert, I wish to focus upon, is the meaning of the renewed friendship between H.Hesse and his cousin. Dealing with this aspect means returning to the question of the sources of W. Gundert's last work in his remote childhood, passed under the influence of the grandfather.

When W. Gunderts cousin in 1954 in Montagnola, he carried with him parts of the manuscript of his new work, to read them to his hosts, a practice to be continued through all further visits. H.Hesse writes [35], that during this visit his part was the one of receiving and W. Gundert's the one of giving - but that is not the whole truth: only ten days after having returned W. Gundert decided to begin his work a fresh rejecting all hitherto done translations of 32 chapters of the Bi-yan-Iu [36]. H.Hesse says, that the coming of W. Gundert, that the "whole of the East" was brought to him and communicated to him by means of a special German idiom. This idiom he and his cousin had inherited form the milieu, they had grown up within; it was understandable only to a few other people [37]. Id est, the poet recalls the special bond, that existed between some of the grandchildren of Hermann Gundert. But the poet did not only experience a combination of Eastern thought and special South-German Suebian spirituality during the visit of his cousin. He had before known little about Zen-Buddhism. Becoming acquainted with parts of the Bi-Yan-Lu meant something more important: Zen-Buddhism is understood as a combination of Indian Buddhist thought and old Chinese philosophy. H.Hesse had studied Buddhism and Chinese philosophy separately, now he saw their different religious and philosophical concepts fusing into one single entity.

The poet explains, what fascinated him in Chinese philosophy[38] it is a kind of harmonious coexistence of high spiritualization and simple enjoying of everyday life, a phenomenon, he could nor discover in the teachings of the seemingly more ascetic

Indian Buddhism. Everyday life and nature are present of every page of the BI-yan-Iu just as in other Chinese philosophical literature. H.Hesse's stressing of harmony between spirit and nature can be approached from two sides. Recalling his childhood the old poet speaks about a conflict between two principles of life, that weighed upon it as dark shadow: there was pleasure, beauty and charm in the everyday life of his gifted family, but it could be enjoyed only with a bad conscience. All this was in the eyes of the pietistic parents only worldly pleasure, not the heavenly one, to be alone aimed at by a pietist [39]. According to pietistic thought the in - born natural inclination of human beings are sinful and must not be indulged in. Evidently Chinese philosophy helped the poet to overcome this schism, which dominated his childhood. His cousin had to free himself form the same overwhelming concept of the inborn sinful nature of man. We find evidence for that process in a letter written to Marulla hesse in 1920. There he defines sin in a new way, neither pietistic nor perhaps Christian: sin is acting without conformity with one's own heart, one's innermost feeling. He too seems to have found help in Chinese philosophy. When reading the end of chapter 62 of the Tao-te-king ("the guilty one will escape bythe finding of Tao") in 1920 he remarks: "here we find no remission of sins, no expiation by the blood of the Lamb" and so on, "there is no need for such concepts". In a very a characteristic way he goes on: "yet the experience is the same as expressed in psalm 103 (he who forgiveth all thy sins)".

The other way to approach H. Hesse's stress on the Chinese ideal of harmony between spiritual life and everyday life is of course comparing that ideal with the contents of some parts of his works. Every reader will remember passages of "Siddharata" or of "Glasperlenspiel" about learning to perform the most simple and most basic tasks, necessary for maintaining everyday life, in an easy pleasant and at the same time careful and concentrated manner. [40] We are told that the poet regarded performing a simple task like weeding in his garden a fine occasion for meditation[41]. This remark recalls a story, contained in chapter 38 of the Bi-YanIu and explained at length by W. Gundert, about how the later

master Feng-hsua whilst silently practising gardening became ready to comprehend the meaning of "anutpattika-dharma-kshanti" (willing compliance with reality not born", as translated by D. Suzuki) [42]. Since the middle of his life H.Hesse seems to have had to some extent a personal understanding of what harmony between spiritual life and everyday life might mean, what it could be like. This understanding is not simply a result of influence of Chinese philosophical thought. The figure of Leo, the servant, in "Morgenlanfahrt" shows , that the careful compliant attitude against the phenomena of the surrounding world in H.Hesse's thought is also an extension and variation of the old Christian ideal of loving and serving [43]. W. Gundert directly compares "anutpattika-dharma-kshanti' with Christian love, but does so only to underline the difference of both conceptions [44]. Yet he had a deep understanding for the of them, the Eastern as well as the Western one.

Having read the first volume of W. Gundert's on translation of the Bi-yan-Iu H.Hesse composed three charming poems about Zen-Buddhist motives. Two of them lay emphasizing the fact, that truth is beyond words, without name. [45] This knowledge was since a long time present in H.Hesse's works. One may remember the end of "Siddharta" - truth is transmitted by a gesture, not by words. Shortly before his visit in Montagnola in 1954. W. Gundert expresses deep uneasiness and doubts about adding any explanations, commentaries of his own to the enigmatical Chinese texts, translated by him [46]. The translator's and commentator's restraint form adding too many words of his own can be vividly felt throughout the final text of the first volume of his translation. In the second volume this restraint seems to become weaker. The aged author speaks more openly about his innermost understanding of the subject of the chapters. Yet even in the second volume W. Gundert commentaries are far from covering each aspect of the contents of a chapter just translated. An outstanding example is the central simile of the image of the round full moon reflected on the surface of water. We find some short remarks, but nowwhere explanations filling a page [47]. H. Hesse's and W. Gundert's awareness of the insufficient nature of speech with regard to truth seems to be

opposed to their grandfather's attitude. Hermann Gundert believed in preaching. As he once says, he felt the living spirit within himself and was driven to pour it out in words to revive the dead surrounding world. [48] He was of course highly gifted for expressing himself in words, gifted for finding new metaphors, gifted for poetry. Both grandsons had inherited that gift. They had also inherited in some way or other the inclination for pouring out thoughts and feelings in many words. By studying Eastern philosophy and religion they were taught the inadequacy of language. The contrast between speaking and non-speaking is present in the Bi-yan-Iu as well; we may remember the following sentence:" In itself Tao is without words, but through words Tao makes itself known" [49].

Leaving the subject of interpretation of W. Gundert's life we now return to the direct and simple question for the bonds connecting his last main work with the bygone world, he came from, (he came from) The outstanding quality of W. Gundert's translation of the Bi-yan-Iu is made up by three different factors. These are: brilliant philological scholarship, mastery of expression by means of the German language, deep understanding of the remote and strange original Chinese religious text [50]. As for philological scholarship the first thing to be remarked is, that textual criticism, that main domain of all philology, is totally undeveloped, nearly absent in W. Gundert's work. Where then lie the philological qualities of his translation and commentary? First W. Gundert has undertaken the laborious task of translating the whole of the traditional Chinese text. This text is a threefold entity, written by different authors. Normally in modern editions one third is omitted, namely most of the commentaries of Yuan -wu. Yet a western reader trying to approach the meaning of the teaching may find great support in these commentaries. Second there is a saying, that a philologist cannot directly explain the contents of a difficult text, but only remove obstacles against understanding. W. Gundert has with infinite patience and enthusiasm removed such obstacles by endlessly explaining various traditional Buddhist and Chinese religious or philosophical ideas, by unfolding historical or geographical facts related to Buddhism or China and relevant for a full under-

standing of the text. It has been said, that such abundance of explanation is unnecessary and useless for understanding the truth, that lies in the centre of Zen and therefore of the Biyan-lu[51]. Yet the Bi-yan-Iu teaches on nearly every page, that one must learn to view things from two opposite standpoints. There is no speaking about spiritual things without using metaphors. Metaphors need explanation, if a text crosses the borders of the culture, within which it has originated. Furthermore, whilst all Zen-masters teach one and the same truth, yet different masters have different personalities and different ways of teaching [52]. The attention, paid by W. Gundert to these differences, is not meaningless. Of course W. Gunder's broad interest into every aspect of the culture of the Far-Eastern world, the Bi-yan-Iu has originated from, is similar to his grandfather's broad interest into India's culture. There was also direct transmission of such an attitude: for the child in his grandfather's house in Calw the culture of remote India was present as a manifold and complex living entity, not as a mere subject of philological studies[53].

The main philological merit of W. Gundert's translation of the Bi-yan-Iu is to be found in a third aspect: his love for the single word - or better single Chinese character - of the original text and for the structure of the sentences. As a translator he does the utmost to keep the original figurative meaning of words. I quote two examples. The first line of an often mentioned poem says: "'Geist' (spirit) is the root, 'Dingliches' (every real existing object) is dust". W. Gundert had first translated: "'Geist' is the root of consciousness (or mind)", but had later dropped the explanatory addition and only retained the pure original metaphor "root"[54]. Chapter 46 begins with the sound of rain, falling in drops. The master says in that situation: "It nearly causes me not to deviate from Self" . Later in his commentary W. Gundert offers a more exact figurative translation: "It soaks me, so that I nearly don't deviate from Self" [55]. This tendency to retain the original figurative meaning of expression also leads to the translation of most of the names of persons or places - a remark of Yuan wu shows, that such translation of names is not superfluous for understanding

[56]. The same tendency further manifests itself in the striving for an accurate translation of the names of plants. W. Gundert of course knew better then we, that knowing name and nature of a plant once mentioned doesn't not mean understanding the utterance of a Zen-master[57]. Yet he strives for accuracy, and his cousin H.Hesse most likely would have understood him [58].

Careful rendering of the original meaning of Chinese characters is only one side of W. Gundert's translation, the other one is the floating of translation. The same sentences and the same words are by no means always translated in exactly the same way. If one sentence occurs again, the translator may try a new approach from another side, the realize his purpose of a truthful translation. In such cases the reader understands, what is happening: he is guided by the context and by frequent quoting of parts of the original Chinese wording of the text [59].

To translate a Chinese text into German means to cross an abyss, that separates the two languages. W. Gunderts is only too well aware of the greatest danger, involved in doing so: the loss of ambiguity, contained in the original wording. He often explains the ambiguity of the Chinese sentences to his readers and he tries to retain it, as far as possible. One way to retain it some how is to avoid inserting a verbum finitum into the translation's's sentences. If this can't be done, W. Gundert some times seems to follow a principle of "translatio difficlior" (similar to the philological principle of lectio difficlior), id est amongst all possible translations he choses the strangest one, example is found in chapter 27. Ambiguity is retained by W. Gundert also in cases, where a true and apt interpretation of the text seems to make possible a translation without ambiguity: excellent examples can be found in his translations of the poems [60]. We may ask, why he is doing so. The answer is obvious: the translated text aims at transcendental truth; there is no speaking about transcendental truth without ambiguity. In the case of such texts making meaning transparent may in reality mean making disappear.

Of course the careful philological attitude of W. Gundert against the Chinese language with its single words or characters and its structures is again much the same as his grandfather's attitude against Malayalam. There also must have been a strong direct influence. The grandfather was translating the Bible into Malayalam and he read with his grandson the beginning of St. John's gospel in Greek, long before the later began studying Greek in school [61]. For teaching his grandson Greek the grandfather had chosen one of the most beautiful and enigmatical passages of the New Testament. In all probability he did not teach only Greek, but also the difficulty or impossibility of an apt translation of a foreign-language text of deep transcendent meaning.

The old Hermann Gundert has once said, that without being gifted for poetry nobody will ever be able to translate all parts of the Bible aptly into another language, even if he undertakes every possible philological effort [62]. He further recommends to use in translating biblical texts not only words of contemporary everyday language, but also elements of older literary and poetical texts, which the translator has to study before beginning his task [63]. This recommendation of course flows out of the insight, that neither are the ideas, conveyed through biblical texts, subject of modern everyday conversation, nor is the style of many biblical texts the style of such everyday conversation. The translator therefore should seek expression apt in idea and style in the broad realm of the whole literary and oral tradition of the language he is translating into, not restrict himself to the one small sector of contemporary everyday idiom. W. Gundert followed his grandfather's recommendations for translating the Bible in translating the Bi-yan-Iu. His translation often excels by the choice of special words. - I do not go in to details here [64]. At least as important or perhaps more important is W. Gundert's gift for rhythmical shaping of sentences, be it prose or verse. Again I avoid going into details of the translation of prose. Yet the translation of the poems, contained in the text of Bi-yan-Iu, handed down to us, seems to require some remarks.

W. Gundert has translated the poems of Hsua-dou into

German verses, using various poetical means of expression. His translation of the poems has received praise as well as some rebuke[65]. Some readers might have preferred a translation in to rhythmical prose. Judgement here must naturally depend largely on the individual taste of the single reader. Yet the reader should be aware of some facts. W. Gundert in his commentaries on the chapters constantly says, that the poems of Hsua-dou are extremely difficult to understand, but are as well an extremely important and meaningful part of the text. Their function is not identical to that of the Zen-anecdote, written in prose, which stands in the centre of each chapter. As Yuan-wu, the author of the old Chinese commentaries being part of the traditional text of the work, says [66], these poems - though being Zen poems - serve the same main purpose as all lyrical poetry of all times, namely to express what is inside, to a large extent emotion. W. Gundert' rendering of these poems always results in what is still a truthful translation, not a mere adaptation of the contents of the Chinese poem to German verses. In the case of the poems he normally renders one Chinese character by one arsis (stressed syllable)[67]. Therefore in his translations the length of the lines varies exactly in the same way as the length of the lines of the original. If one reads Yuan-wu's commentaries carefully, one quickly understands, that changing length of lines often means an abrupt change of content, meaning. Where content together with length of lines changes W. Gundert in his translation often change rhythm as well. Where lines become longer, he tends to use dactlylic (anapaestic rhythm) instead of the normally used iambic (trochaic) one. Also in such cases he tends to use alliteration [68]. The change of content is stressed by his rendering and it seems to me, that it is often stressed in quite an apt way.

We finally return to the question , in how far W. Gundert's deep understanding of the contents of the strange Chinese work, he has translated, many depend on the pietist surroundings, he grew up with, - on the Christian religiosity, represented mainly by his grandfather. W. Gundert himself points to the well-known connection between pietism and the old deep and broad stream of

christian mysticism. It is commonly accepted and was accepted as a fact by W. Gundert[69], that Zen-Buddhism and Christian mysticism have many common features - though one may ready opposite statements as well[70]. Traces of influence of German pietism and mysticism are perhaps deeper and more important in W. Gundert's translation than in his commentaries. The translator himself mentions the most important example [71]: he has translated the fundamental Zen-Buddhist term, which is pronounced in Japanese Ko-jo, by the German word "Oberwarts". This word he has found in a poem of Gerhard Tersteegen (pietist, mystic, preacher, living 1697 - 1796) - in a poem, which had become a well-known hymn of the protestant church. The translation into everyday language would have been "aufwarts" (upwards). Tersteegen's poem contains ideas not unrelated to Zen-Buddhism. Yet how extremely fitting this translation of W. Gundert is, can be understood more easily, if one reads the epigrams of Angelus Silesius (=Johannes Scheffler), a somewhat older and more famous German mystic and poet, known, but not well known to W. Gundert. "Uber" is one of the most important terms occuring Angelus Silesius' epigrams and evidently expresses an idea much similar to the Zen-Buddhist term, perhaps simply the same one, namely that of transcending [72]. The opposite Zen-Buddhist term translated by W. Gundert as "unterwarts" or "niederwarts" - both words occur in Luther's translation of the Bible, one also in another poem of G.Tersteegen[73], the normal German expression is "abwarts" (downwards).

In W. Gundert's commentaries parallels out of the gospels, out of the psalms, out of the extant writings of Paulus are often quoted. W. Gundert loved Paulus, though he rejected all Christian dogmatism, which is said to be based on Paulus' teachings. It is easy to understand why: behind the utterances of the Apostle Paulus evidentlies personal religious experience [74]. Special allusions to pietist or mystic thought don't occur often. Once W.Gundert compares the important Zen-Buddhist term, which is pronounced in Japanese mu-I, to the pietist concept of "stille Tatigkeit" (activity, which is at the same time tranquillity, calmness, absence of intention)[75]. Behind the one pietistic poet mentioned by W. Gundert stand

generations of western mystics with a similar nation of "Stille", comparable to the Zen-Buddhist concept.

Did Hermann Gundert's the grandfather's religious attitude have anything in common with the world of mystic thought as represented by the just quoted concepts? Were there any impulses coming form him, stimulating in to that direction? H.Hesse should most likely have said yes. He has described his grandfather as a magician, a wise man , a personality of unfathomable depth [76]. He also must by some way or other have inherited form the world of his childhood the subject of the wise man, the holy man, the ascetic, (be he Christian, Buddhist or whatsoever) that is dominant in his works. W. Gundert once very hesitatingly mentions in his commentaries the central pietistic notion of "Bekehrung" [77] id est of a decisive turning of one's whole heart to god. Hermann Gundert had experienced a "Bekehrung". The notion of the "new heart", result of the "bekehrung", remains, as A. Frenz says [78], the fundament of his thought and belief. Though worlds may lie between pietisim and Zen-Buddhism, the concentration on he heart of the single "Mensch" (human being) in both religious movements makes them comparable up to a certain degree. The heart must comprehend its own smallness and poorness, it must become totally void - these words of Hermann Gundert [79] remind us of main teachings of the mystics. One trace is also preserved in Marie Hesse's, the daughter's diaries. She tells about a Sermon of her father, that had been scarcely understandable to most of the listening people: God will after death give a new name to each of us , which once heard will all a sudden solve all the riddles of our bygone existence and life [80]. This is a description of one aspect of awakening, though projected into life after death.

W. Gundert in his last work has freely compared ideas of Christian religion with ideas of Buddhism, especially Zen-Buddhism. Yet he has carefully avoided identifying both religions - he has kept them apart [81]. Repeatedly it has been said, also by himself, that personally he had remained a Christian - though in his last writings and lectures he often seemed to teach Zen-Buddhist ideas.

There is a strangely severe and explicit utterance of his about religion, to be read in the second volumes of his translation with commentary: temporary and makeshift expression is everything, whatsoever we believe to be part of any religion - teaching, similes, myths, sacraments, rituals, feasts, customs even morals [82]. In the Bi-yan-Iu we often read about the necessity of going to and fro into two exactly opposite directions, namely "Uberwarts" and "niederwarts" (upwards and downwards) - about the necessity of living every moment of our life with the tension, that exists between these two opposite poles [83]. Possibly such necessary tension can express itself in very different ways in any given single person's life. In W. Gundert's life the necessary tension seems to some extent to have been represented by the contrast bewteem Christian religion and Buddhist religion - he was able to go to and fro between the worlds of the two religions, as required bythe moment, to live with the tension between these two worlds. Behind this ability lay the knowledge about a unity beyond all form and expression and therefore also beyond all differences.

Notes

For full titles and years of works referred to by the author's name alone (or with abbreviated titles) see list of literature and sources.

1. Hermann Gundert, Calwer.....P. 535 - 670 passim.
2. Helene Gundert, P. 10, 15
3. Ninon Hesse once spoke about the problem to the author besides see Helene Gundert, p. 108.
4. Helene Gundert, p. 104f
5. Helene Gundert, p. 10 Adele Gundert, p. 158, 229 f
6. Hermann Hesse, and 10, p. 70
7. Two younger half-brothers of w. Gundert had also somehow left the family tradition
8. H.Hesse, Siddharta, 1922. - For W. Gundert see bibliography, Bi-yan-Iu, Band 3, p. 15ℰ

9. H.Hesse, Zen - Privatdruck 1961, St. Gallen 1961 (Brief an W. Gundert, first published 1960, 10th 3rd in "Neue Zurcher Zeitung")
10. Helene Gundert, p. 9, 179 - Bi-yan-Iu, Band 3, p. 111
11. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 2, p.8 ff; Band 3, p. 111
12. Helene Gundert , p.1, 13, - Compare Hermann Gundert, Calwer.... p. 535 (16. Mai 1880)
13. Helene Gundert, p. 16
14. G. Maeda, p. 104 f
15. A. Frenz, p. 55, 70
16. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 2, p.8 - W. Gundert, Den Freunden meiner fruheren Arbeit in Japan - Als Manuskript gedruckt, Stuttgart 1921 (kept by the family) p.1
17. H.Hesse, Band 6. p. 296 f (Besuch aus Indien 1922) - Compare dedication of siddarta, Zweiter Teil, 1922, to W. Gundert)
18. Helene Gundert, p. 109
19. Helene Gundert, p. 128
20. Helene Gundert, p. 117
21. W. Gundert , Japan und.....,p. 151
22. W. Gundert, Nachrichten aus.....,passim
23. W. Gundert, den. Freunden meiner fruheren Arbeit in Japan - Als Manuskript gedruckt, Stuttgart 1921, p. 2 f - Compare helence gundert p. 87.
24. W. Gundert , Nachrichten aus..... 10,1913, p.6
25. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 3, p. 13
26. W. Gundert , Nachrichten aus....10, 1913, p. 4 f, 6- Compare Helene Gundert, p. 64
27. W. Gundert, Jap. Religionsgeschichte. . gesch., p. V, VIII.
28. W. Gundert, Jap Religionsgeschichte.. . gesch, p. V, VIII.
29. H.Hesse, Band 10, p. 387
30. H.Hesse, Band 10, p. 575 f
31. W. Gundert, "An die verwaltung der Hansestadt Hamburg, Schulverwaltung - Hochschulwesen", letter 1945, Nov. 15th, p. 3f
32. Helene Gundert, p. 133
33. Helene Gundert, p. 199
34. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 3, p. 111
35. H.Hesse, band 10, p. 386 (Rundbrief aus Sils-Maria 1954)
36. Helene Gundert, p. 211

37. H.Hesse,Band 10, p. 388
38. H.Hesse, Band 11, p. 369 f (Eine Bibl. der Weltliteratur)
39. H.Hesse, Band 10, p.212 ff (Erinnerungen an Hans)
40. H Hesse, Band 5, p. 435 f(Siddharta, Teil 2) Band 9, p.139 (Glasperlenspiel, "Alterer Bruder")
41. Bruno Hesse, Erinnerungen an meine Eltern - Privatdruck nach 1966, p. 15
42. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 2, p. 107 f, 119ff - D. T. Suzuki, Studies in the Lankavatara - sutra, London 1930, p. 287, 126 f
43. Compare H. Hesse, band 10. p. 72 (Mein Glaube)
44. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 3, p. 122f
45. H. Hesse, band i. p. 147f, 149 (Die spaten Gedichte)
46. Helene Gundert, p. 209
47. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 2, -p 327 and e.g. 131, 140 f
48. A. Frenz, p. 236
49. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 1. p. 429
50. Compare Bi-yan-Iu, Band 3, p. 155 (Dietr. Seckel, Wilh, Gundert Zum Gedenken, 1971)
51. Achim Seidl, p. 15 f (Vorwort)
52. Compare Bi-yan-Iu, band 3, chapter 51, p. 15 ff
53. Fr. Pfafflin, H.Hesse 1877 - 1977, Stationen seines Lebens, des werkes und seiner wirkung - catalouge of an exhibition marbach 1977, p. 64
54. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 1. p. 202, band 2, p. 30, 326
55. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 2, p. 263
56. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 1, p. 48
57. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 2, p. 2243, note 2
58. H. Hesse, Band 11, p. 1933,(Beim Lesen eines Romans)
59. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 1, p. 62, Band 3, p. 78
60. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 1, p. 418, 170, 169, 135 (poems) - compare A Seidl, p. 163, 65, 67, 54 (W. Gundert's translations varied)
61. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 3, p. 111 Helene Gundert, p. 9, 179
62. A. Freenz, p. 446
63. A. Frenz, p. 445
64. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 3, p.10 (G. debon, Vorwort)
65. R.R. Wuthenow is Frankfurther Allgemeine Zeitung, 1968, Nov. 12th, No. 264, p. 11 L.

66. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 1, p. 46, 111
67. Exception poem of chapter 36, second half
68. E.g. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 2, p. 258, Band 1, p. 151, 65 f, 110, 455 (poems)
69. Helene Gundert, p. 213
70. Compare Jean Gebser, Vorwort, in : Die Zen-Lehre des chinesichen Meissters Huang po, Weilheim/obb. 1960, p. 8
71. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 3, p. 112 f (Zur Ubertragung.....), Band 2, p. 20
72. Angelus Silesius (Joh. Scheffler), Cherubin, wandersmann, Stuttgart 1984, epigrams 1, 7, 12; V 364 - and elsewhere.
73. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 1, p. 59, 87 f, 113. - Compare Luther's translation of "Spruche" 15, 24 and G. Tersteegen's poem" Mein Erloser, schaue doch..."
74. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 2, p. 189
75. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 2, p. 177 note 4
76. H.Hesse, Band 6, p. 376 (Kindheit des Zauberers)
77. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 2, p. 40
78. A. Frenz, p. 34, 238
79. A. Frenz p. 238 f (Compaare p. 57)
80. A. Gundert. p. 158
81. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 2, p. 20
82. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 2, p. 326
83. Bi-yan-Iu, Band 1, p. 369, 383, 439

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❑

Hermann Hesse

Mohamed Elias

One of the major figures in modern German literature, Hermann Hesse (1877-1962) belongs to a rich literary milieu with ramifications in many farflung cultures beyond the borders of Germany. His relationship with Hermann Gundert is indeed well known to us. But the author of the first Malayalam dictionary was not the only distinguished person of cosmopolitan interests in whose orbit Hesse's creative imagination developed.

The grandfather of Hermann Hesse, though domiciled in Estonia, was of Russo-German descent, and a subject of the Czar. Hesse's maternal grandmother was a French-speaking citizen of Switerland. His father too was a Swiss national and had spent some time abroad as a Protestant missionary in India. He was later employed by a publisher in the German town of Calw, in the historical region of Swabia, a medieval duchy containing the Black Forest. Hesse spent most of his childhood in Calw under the benign influence of his parents who led a simple quite, pious life. The environment was such that it fostered in the growing genius a humanistic love of learning and a cosmopolitan experience of many countries and cultures.

Hesse was educated in Protestant schools in Germany and Switerland. But he was not suited to a religious or academic career, and turned out to be a rebellious student. He suffered form periods of deep depression. On one occasion , he made an attempt at suicide. Moving to the city of Tubingen, he made an unsteady start as an apprentice to a clockmaker and then to

a bookseller. During this period he was also writing in his spare time.

In 1904, Hesse married and settled with his wife on a farm near Lake Constance which is on the Swiss frontier. Here he devoted his time to agriculture and writing. He was also able to find company among the cosmopolitan writers and artists who found the place congenial. Hesse became editor and contributor to a weekly magazine Marz in 1907. The liberal and anti-militaristic policy of the magazine suited his own independent nature. But it was sharply opposed to the climate of war hysteria prevailing in the imperial Germany under the Kaiser William II. Not surprisingly, Hesse found it expedient to go on a long voyage in 1911, visiting the Far East, Ceylon. Singapore and Malaya. His travelogue, Aus Indien (1913), shows that the tour was successful in rekindling the interest in the Orient which Hesse had inherited from his father, the missionary who had worked in India.

During the First World War, Hesse was able to get exempted form active service on medical grounds. He did contribute to the German cause by taking up an assignment in his country's embassy at Berne, the Swiss capital looking after the interests of German prisoners of war. But, as time passed, it became increasingly difficult for idealist in him to suppress his anti-war feelings. His writings became increasingly outspoken in demanding peace, though he knew that most of his German readers did not share his views. His only consolation was the sympathy and support he received form fellow pacifists like Romain Rolland, the French author and philosopher.

This was a trying time in the author's private life as well. The illness of his son, the death of his father, and the insanity of his wife were causing Hesse severe anxiety. He was forced to take psychiatric treatment for himself. This helped in more ways than one. The Jungian analyses he underwent attracted his attention as a literary artist towards the pschoanalytic insights and imagery, which began to find expression in his writing.

Hesse settled in Switzerland after the war, living in

a small town named Montagnola, on the banks of Ticino river, closer to the Italian frontier. He gave up his German citizenship in 1923, and resumed his Swiss nationality. He also divorced his wife in the same year. His second marriage was not successful either. But a third in 1931 provided him with happiness and tranquillity in his old age. However, many members of his wife's family were exterminated in Hiter's concentration camps during the Second World War. Only after the war was over did Hesse find literary recognition in Germany. In the rest of the world his popularity rose steadily. In 1946, Hesse received the Nobel Prize for literature.

Literary critics have noted the significant change that had taken place in Hesse's writing after the First World war. His earlier work was largely in the nineteenth - century mode of romantic fiction. Thus, Peter Camenzind (1903) and Knulp (1915) are impressionistic novels about youthful wanderers who seek escape from disagreeable societies. But the novels written after the war reveal a maturing of talent and originality of percep tions. The hero's search acquires immense seriousness as it becomes involved with his efforts at integretion of personality. This is the underlying theme in Demian (1919), Siddartha (1922), Steppenwolf (1927), Narcissus and Goldmund (1930), and The Bead Game (1942).

Siddartha has justifiably come to be regarded as an important masterpiece of cultural eclecticism worthy of a creative writer belonging to the country of Max Muller and the family of Hermann Gundert. What the scholarly forerunners found in aboriginal India inspired them to probe deeper and decipher logical and linguistic complexities. What the imaginative descendant experienced on the psychiatrist's coach in war-torn Europe provoked aesthetic longings for the realization of Buddha's Lotus, the supreme device in Carl Jung's Science for the integration of self. This explains the phenomenal appeal of Hesse's novel in postwar Japan, independent India, and even the killing fields of Vietnam from where American marines returned to seek refuge in Dharma.

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Mission and Education Policies in Travancore 1930s

Dick Kooiman

I. Introduction

In the summer of 1991 the Indian state of Kerala proudly announced one of its most successful developmental achievements: its efforts in the field of education had resulted in situation that was officially described as total literacy. This achievement did not come about completely unexpected. Already at the beginning of this century the Princely States of Cochin and Travancore, which after Independence merged into the new Kerala state, were famous for their enlightened educational policies. Both states invested large sums in school buildings and teachers' salaries and in turn headed the list of most literate states and provinces of British India. Especially in the 1930's remarkable progress was made and a solid groundwork was laid on which after, Independence, total literacy could be attained.

As almost inevitably in Kerala public life, this achievement has become a subject of political strife. Opposition parties have dismissed the total literacy claim as a politically motivated hoax and pointed out that the many thousands of neo-literates who are now able to read and write their names can not find suitable employment. Yet, education has always been a bone of contention and the history of Travancore, now largely coinciding with the southern part of Kerala, abounds with fierce disputes about education. Its high level of literacy, already more than 55% in 1941, is often

attributed to the progressive policies pursued by its erstwhile rulers or to the ancient mother-right tradition, which offered women comparatively favourable opportunities at intellectual development. There is also a strong conviction that the educational growth in Travancore is the result of the activities of numerous missionary societies.

In this contribution I will not discuss the question who should be honored as the main agency responsible for the high level of literacy that has given Travancore and Kerala their exceptional place within (British) India. It has been done before and I think it rather a futile endeavor. Rather, I will deal with the missionary contribution as such, especially the educational work of the Protestant mission in the south of Travancore. The spectacular jump in literacy, from 30% in 1931 to 55% in 1941[1], may justify a strong emphasis on the period of the 1930s. Our main question I will also deal with the interaction between official policies as documented in government records and local developments as observed and reported by missionary agents. A case-study like this may give no explanation but at least offer some background to Kerala's present high level of educated unemployment.

The main missionary archives are those of the London Missionary Society (LMS), now incorporated in the archives of the Council for World Mission and on deposit at the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and those of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), available for research at the Selly Oak colleges Library, Birmingham. Unfortunately, a cursory exploration of these files turns out to be quite disappointing. That disappointment is not caused by any complexity or intransparency in the structure of the collections. All the incoming letters and reports - and those are the most important for our purposes - are neatly arranged and kept in a sequence numbered for each year according to the missionary district concerned. However, most of these papers deal with the health of the missionaries' families, the division of work and responsibilities and the problems of fundraising and church building. A study of the minutes and resolutions produced by multitude of

councils, boards and committees may produce interesting information of the history of the Christian mission, but far from satisfies our need for information on developments in local society. And in so far as the missionaries did report on local society, many of them lacked the subtlety of mind and intellectual equipments necessary to give a reliable picture of their social environment. Their references to "dark heathenism with its ignorance and superstitions" strongly reflect the feeling of western superiority inherent in the imperial situation.

We have to bear in mind, however, that every historical source has its own particular bias and limitations. And as far as missionary societies are concerned, we should realize that the missionaries were hard pressed by demands for success, i.e a growing number of baptisms and a steadily increasing church - membership. Some times,, missionaries themselves warned the authorities at home that their reports (with subscribers in view) were giving rather too hopeful an impression of the state of affairs in their districts. But even their personal letters often were half conscious defenses, primarily meant to assure the same missionary authorities that their money was well spent.

Therefore, when using these files of correspondence, we have to read between the lines and often against the grain. In that way, I studied the active involvement of christian converts and their missionaries in the commercial cultivation of coffee, on which the official records keep a deliberate silence, as well as the continual flow of converts to and from Christianity, especially during famines, which the missionary sources almost unwillingly disclose [2]. So, the patient and careful scrutiny of the missionaries' correspondence often closely resembles the seeking of gold in a desert: heaps of sand must be washed to isolate a few glittering particles. And even information thus gained is much in need of corroboration from other sources, like anthropological field studies or Government records.

In this respect, the study of education seems to be different. Right from the beginning, education formed an important and

legitimate part of the missionary endeavor. Therefore, the missionary archives abound with reports on schools, teachers and timetables and create the impression that the preaching of the Gospel and the spread of literacy were almost synonymous. There can be no doubt that this strong emphasis on schooling has largely contributed to the opinion, shared not only by missionary quarters, that Christian missions have to be credited with the high rate of literacy in Travancore. However, also in the field of education, we have to examine all these papers closely and critically in order to ascertain what missionary education really was like.

2. The Travancore Educational System, the 1930s

Travancore state had a wide-spread educational network. Because of the prevailing caste rigidity, not the number of schools but their accessibility was the main problem. In the 19th century the Government preferred the support of private schools open to all castes and creeds to admitting untouchables to its own schools with all the concomitant social tensions. In the 1870s it had started the distribution of educational grants-in -aid to private agencies and missionary societies working among the lower castes were most quick to respond. In the 1890s the grant-in -aid scheme was revised and grant was given to all private schools which imparted sound secular education and sowed a prescribed minimum attendance. Apart form that, special grants were sanctioned to schools opened for untouchable castes, later officially designated as the depressed classes[3].

In the 1920s the Government of Travancore claimed that it had opened all its schools to all communities. Nevertheless, an official inquiry in 1933 disclosed the existence of a large number of schools in which attendance was almost entirely confined to the depressed classes. It also found a considerable number of schools which were nominally open to the depressed classes, but had seldom, if ever, any depressed class pupils on their register. It also noted as a significant fact that four times as many depressed class pupils were

reading in privately-managed schools as there were in government or departmental schools[4].

In 1933 the state numbered altogether 3699 recognized, educational institutions. Of these 3699 institutions, 1077 were managed by the Government and the remaining 2622 institutions were run by private agencies, like churches and caste associations, 2441 of which were receiving grant-in-aid. The heavy financial burden this involved can be seen from the distribution of state expenditure in these years : more than a fifth of state revenue was spent on education5. The system of budgeting, however, was defective and large sums of money granted by the Government to private institutions remained inadequately checked and supervised.

The Travancore educational system was a three-tier structure and consisted of primary, middle and high schools. This pyramid-shaped structure found its base in 3072 vernacular primary schools (1933), which offered a four year course and were meant for children from the age of five to ten. Actually, many of these schools did not have the number of classes that was officially required and their level of instruction remained restricted to the first or second class only. From the 19th century, churches and missions administered a large number of these primary schools. The large majority of these privately-managed schools were in receipt of government grants-in-aid. In 1926 the CMS, to give one example, had 285 vernacular primary schools and no less than 281 of them were receiving grants form the Government.

The same applied to the vernacular middle schools which had classes up to the seventh, but often no classes below the fifth standard. In 1933 they numbered 285 and a large number of them were privately managed. In 1933 the Roman Catholics managed 425 vernacular primary and middle schools, the LMS 315, the CMS 250 and the Mar Thoma Church 159, both for boys and girls. Finally, there were eight vernacular high schools with classes up to the ninth standard, some of them with preparatory classes in English. Three of them were privately managed[6].

English education was becoming increasingly more popular. From 1913-1933 the number of English middle and high schools had quadrupled and the largest increase was in English middle schools for boys. In 1933 the total number of English middle schools both for boys and girls was 187 and the number of high schools 75. The majority were privately managed and did not stand in need of grants, as they were running at a profit. The general lack of supervision by the Educational Department gave rise to the suspicion that some private managements were not making any regular contribution at all towards their own education or were even profiting out of the amount sanctioned by the Government by way of grant-in aid.

Finally, at the top of the pyramid stood seven English colleges, from the Maharaja's college of Science and Arts in Trivandrum to the CMS College at Kottayam and the LMS College at Nagercoil, all of them affiliated to the Madras university. Five colleges were directly maintained by the Government and four of them were in receipt of grant-in -aid.

The number of schools was high and so was the number of pupils on the rolls[7]. Statistics of the Educational Department showed that 80% of the children from 5 to 10 years were visiting a primary school. The Travancore Education Reforms Committee rejected these statistics and reported 52% of the children as actually reading in the primary classes[8]. Even then, literacy was high and increased form 10 % in 1891to 55% in 1941, four times the Indian average and on a par with a contemporary European state of comparable size like Portugal.[9]

This high literacy rate should not obscure the fact that education was very unevenly spread among the population. In 1941 68% of the men were literate as against 42% of the women. Among the Brahmins more than 50% could read and write in the vernacular against only a few percntages of Pulayas, a Hindu depressed class. the differences between religious communities were also striking

: in 1941, 65% of the Christians were literate against 53% of the Hindus and only 35% of the Muslims[10]. Among those literate in English these differences were even more striking.

3. Educational Policies of the Protestant Missions

The missionary effort in the field of education is not difficult to explain. Schools proved to be of invaluable service to all missionary activities. The general idea was that before people could acquire the knowledge of the Chrisitan truth, their mind had first to be cleared of all superstition and ignorance. Education recommended itself for reasons of prudence and already in the 19th century Protestant missionaries concluded that "intelligence is the basis of our work"[11].

As mentioned above, the main Protestant missions in Travancore were the CMS and the LMS, which both had started their operations at the beginning of the 19th century. Whereas the CMS, an organization of the Church of England , was working in the northern area between Quilon and Cochin, the LMS, the missionary association of the British Congregationalists, had concentrated its efforts on the south form Quilon to cape Kanyakumari, India's land's end, Both missions drew numerous adherents from the depressed classes, but gained converts also form emerging middle groups like Syrians and Ezhavas in the north and Nadars in the south.

Virtually all the churches established by the LMS - on which from now on we will focus our attention - had the benefit of a so-called village school. As part of its Indianization policy the mission had transferred responsibility for this primary education, including its finance, to the local congregations. These schools began and closed with singing and prayer and Biblical instruction took a prominent place on the time-table. The LMS missionary in Attingal reported in 1932 that 6 of the 13 primary schools under his charge had a majority of Hindu pupils and he proudly proclaimed that through these schools the gospel was made known to the rising generation. His attitude was entirely in line with LMS policy to

close educational institution that could not be used for the spread of Christian knowledge [12].

When in the 1930s the Ezhava caste threatened to leave the Hindu body in disgust, several missions tried to benefit from this caste's restlessness. Education was thought to be the main device and a LMS missionary expressed his firm conviction that without substantial educational assistance there was no hope for a mass movement towards Christianity among the Ezhavas [13]. Education was the idiom of conversion.

The large number of missionary organizations and the concomitant rivalry further increased the urge to spread education. In the 1920s and 1930s LMS missionaries' reports, especially form Quilon and Trivandurm, abounded with complaints of Seventh Day Adventists and Pentecostals who "were doing a lot of harm to our work", Baptists and Plymouth Brethren who were "making unwise appeals to the indisciplined emotional nature of our simple folk" and irresponsible Roman Cahtolics who bought away LMS converts by offers of financial help. In Attingal, the rivalry between LMS and the Salvation Army tended to crystallize into caste churches, when both were working among different groups of untouchables[14]. As poor and illiterate people could easily be tempted away by offers of material aid, missionaries like those of the LMS only continued their drive for schooling with even more determination.

This rivalry was not restricted to Christian agencies only. In the 1930s a Kerala Hindu Mission, popularly known as the "Congress Mission", was working for the improvement of the social and economic conditions of the depressed classes. It also tried to reconvert Hindus that had associated with the Christian mission and in pursuance of that purpose it offered facilities for education free of charge [15]. Missionaries reported processions of depressed class children led by caste Hindus who were not heading for a temple or sacred place, but for a library to public reading room. These processions were partly meant to reduce the need for Christian education [16].

4. Education And Employment

The rivalry for education can also be explained by the employment situation. There were a only few modern industrial esablishments in Travancore, producing yarn, mats, cloth and tiles, and there were plans for more. Yet most people working in industries (about 20% of the labouring population) were processing the produce of coconut palms and plantations, thus remaining close to agriculture which was the largest employer. The growth of commerce, particularly in the sectors of banking and plantation agriculture, was considerable but insufficient to accommodate a rapidly increasing labouring population.

This situation was made even worse by the world-wide economic depression. The falling prices for raw materials caused the disbandment of a large part of the plantation labour force and in consequence many people working with industrial and commercial firms, both skilled and unskilled, were also losing their jobs. The only people, not or not in the same way affected by the depression, were those working on fixed money incomes, like government servants. A vernacular school leaving certificate (after the seventh class) made pupils eligible for appointment to the subordinate ranks of the public service, while an English school leaving certificate made them eligible for university course and the higher administrative positions. In 1931 60% of the educated worked for the government [17].

However, the benefits of official employment were far from equally shared by all communities. Nayars and other high castes were clearly over represented in the public administration. More than half of all public appointments were held by the Nayar caste alone, whereas the depressed classes were almost completely restricted to agricultural labour. Emerging castes like the Ezhavas and Nadars and several sections of Christian community like the LMS and CMS Protestants showed a more mixed occupational pattern, but were also under represented in the administrative services [18]. This under representation served as a strong incentive

to these groups to improve their educational standard in order to claim a larger share in Government patronage.

Now unfortunately, the whole trend in the vernacular educational system was towards a purely literary type of education and not towards any technical instruction or vocational training. The same trend could be observed in the English middle and high schools, that offered a literary course, dominated by the requirements of the university entrance examination. There were only a few technical institutes in the state, but the high schools did not even prepare for any of the technical courses recognised at the intermediate stage by the Madras university.

Therefore, the inevitable result of a run on the existing educational institutions was not only a spectacular rise in the rate of literacy but also an alarming increase in the level of educated unemployment. The limited channels of professional occupations became overcrowded and there arose an acute bitterness over the difficulties of securing employment especially in government services. Unemployment was the highest amongst the communities with the greatest amount of education, Nayars, Brahmins and Syrian Christians.. Yet, the distressing feature was that the less literate communities, some of them with the active assistance of missionary societies, were working very hard to obtain the necessary educational qualifications for entering Government service and thereby only swelled the ranks of the educated unemployed.

Yet, at the beginning of the 1930s the number of high schools was still increasing and so was the number of students. In 1931 a college principal expressed the hope that the economic depression would have some effect on college admissions, but to his regret the number of applications turned out to be double that of the previous year. The expenses involved did not curb the inflow of students[19].

The missionary correspondence testifies to the same problem. Trowel, who was in charge of the LMS college at Nagercoil, wrote

that there was much talk of stopping the senseless manufacture of B.A's for whom no proper work existed. Yet, parents still clamoured for admission even for students who had spent more than six years doing the last three years of high school. Therefore, he endorsed the Government policy to raise the standard of admission to college education. At the same time, he observed that students in the 1930s were not so keen on their studies as those of twenty years ago. "There are enough students to fill the leading positions ten times overr. For the vast majority there are only ordinary jobs ahead"[20].

A missionary society like the LMS had also little employment perspectives to offer. The annual grant from home was reduced, the economic depression had affected the sale of mission products like lace and paddy, and with salaries falling in arrears there was no scope for the employment of more agents or teachers. Earlier it had been difficult to find female teachers, but in the 1930's there were far more girls qualified to teaching than the mission was able to employ. The medical schools and the training institutes for hospital nurses also had long waiting lists of applicants.[21]

The fierce fight for employment opportunities even wrecked a proposed scheme of union with the Anglican churches in South India. The proposals for this union had been carefully studied and considered from the early 1920s, but were eventually rejected by the LMS churches. This rejection was couched in doctrinal and organizational objections, but the main reason seems to have been the chances of employments. A Government Order had recognised the LMS Protestants as a separate community entitled to a certain proportion of appointments to the administrative services [22]. If union were effected with the CMS Anglicans in northern Travancore, it was feared that the plums of office and appointment would be taken by the most advanced section of that church which was Syrian. The decision was a purely Indian affair and the missionaries could only complain that their converts were becoming more and more communal in outlook and were thinking in terms of political power rather than of Christian unity[23].

5. Differential Response to Educational Opportunities

The 1941 Census report stated that the public in Travancore had come to realize the importance of education and actively cooperated with Government both in the spread of literacy and the development of higher education[24]. This comment confirms missionary intelligence to the effect that the people had an eager desire to place themselves under (Christian) instruction. Missionaries wrote that churches were demanding more school and the LMS archives contain many optimistic progress reports which must have been intended to encourage the LMS Directors to allot more money to that lofty purpose.

Yet, a careful reading of these reports reveals that the demand for schools and education was not as universal as suggested. In general it was not difficult to maintain a primary school of one or two classes, since village congregations regarded such schools as a matter of communal prestige. But to encourage the children to extraordinarily discouraging task. At some places one and two class-schools had remained the standard of missionary vernacular education since the early 19th century. "Needless to say", a missionary confided, "the value of such is exceedingly slight"[25]

Therefore, illiteracy was still wide-spread among many Christian congregations. Most of the existing primary schools had only one or two classes. A number of children had been given scholarships, but a few only passed examinations and only in exceptional cases was English education successful[26]. An Indian agent in Quilon district wrote that the majority of his people were illiterate. The parents had no wish to educate their children and "with great difficulty we bring the children to school". Therefore, the Indian chairman of the district concluded, that his district could not claim the praise given in the Census report that Christians have made marked progress in the matter of education [27].

In girls' schools also, it was reported to be very difficult to get regular attendance. The teachers often felt discouraged by the

apparent lack of interest on the part of some of the children and the indifference shown by many parents who regarded education as a necessary evil and kept their girls at home for all sorts of reasons, especially during harvest, when most of the poor children went out with their little baskets to pick up the dropped ears of the rice[28].

In keeping with these reports, LMS missionaries, especially when travelling between Quilon and Trivandarum, were struck by the poverty and backwardness of many village congregations. The majority of the converts in these northern LMS districts came form the depressed classes like Pulayas and Pariahs. These former slave castes still belonged to the poorest and most despised communities of the state and were working as filed labourers and coolies.

Their situation showed a marked difference with that in the more southern districts, especially Neyoor and Nagercoil. There the great majority of converts came form the Nadar caste with later additions form the depressed classes. The introduction of private property in land and the increase in trade had led to the rise of a new middle class and in the south Nadars were an important element of that middle class, just like the Ezhavas more to the north. It were especially these groups which responded to the new situation by claiming education, official employment and political power. Missionary Lefever, who in the mid-1930s had extensive discussions with leading Ezhavas, reported that the chief thing these people were asking was, whether the LMS would give them a high school if they became Christians[29]. The Ezhavas wanted to improve their position in society and for them education was the idiom of social progress.

Whereas nadars dominated the congregations in the south, Ezhavas were only a small minority in the northern LMS districts. Although the churches in Quilon Mayyanad, Attingal and other large towns consisted mainly of Ezhava Christians and a few Syrians, the many village congregations were almost exclusively composed of depressed class people. In spite of that, Ezhavas and a few Syrians occupied

virtually all the leading positions in the church and served many village congregations as pastors and teachers. One missionary quite bluntly summarized the position by saying that 95% of the Quilon Protestants belonged to the depressed classes, but were being bossed over by the other 5% of Ezhava origin[30].

The exact number of Nadars in the southern congregations is not known. But all observers agree that Nadars formed a large majority among the local Christians. They dominated in the larger towns but also in many village congregations. Their economic well-being enabled the churches in the south to contribute to a large extent to the maintenance of their own pastors. Several rich Nadars became deacons and proudly contributed to the building of new churches. In the northern districts there was no progress towards self-support except by the method of merely reducing expenditure in order to balance the budget. Missionaries from the north, probably also with LMS grants in view, emphasized that their districts were 50 years behind the southern ones.

This regional differentiation was still more reinforced by a linguistic borderline, which divided the Malayalam-speaking districts Quilon, Attingal and Trivandrum in the north form the Tamil-speaking district Neyoor, Parassala and Nagercoil in the south. In 1936 representatives from the Malayalam-speaking districts submitted an appeal to church and mission authorities to split the Travancore Church Council into two separate councils, one Malayalam and the other Tamil. In support of their plea they not only referred to the wide difference in language and mentality, but also to the preponderance of southern interests in the existing Church Council which, in their view, had led to the enforcement of rules regarding self-support without proper consideration of the economic condition of the people in the northern districts[31].

This compound difference of economic condition, social status, region and language had resulted in a situation within the LMS area with at one end of the scale many educated members of the Christian community gathered in the larger towns with their schools

and hospitals and at the other end the persistence of an appalling degree of poverty and illiteracy in numerous villages especially north of Trivandrum. This fundamental imbalance was a constant menace to the stability and cohesion of the church organization. It is the same imbalance that is reflected in the differential response to educational opportunity. Most people living in towns and big villages were eager to have their children, both boys and girls, educated and the classes in the local primary, middle and high schools were generally full. But in small villages it remained difficult to convince the parents of the need of education, attendance was usually irregular and, as quoted before, with great difficulty the children were brought to school [32].

However, it would be wrong to assume that all members of the depressed classes were satisfied with the existing state of affairs. In 1935 a large number of depressed class Christians form Quilon district submitted a printed memorial exposing the many disabilities they had to endure within the Christian church. Only 13 among them, two of them being women , had acquired a vernacular school leaving certificate, the lowest examination in Malayalam, and only three from among them had received the chance to acquire an English school leaving certificate. They called this poor educational record "pathetic indeed", when compared with the strength of their community and the educational standard of the state.

The memorial further argued that there were agents in their community in a position to satisfy the conditions for ordination. Nevertheless, the district had not had so much magnanimity as to confer priesthood on any member of the depressed classes. Neither did even one of them enjoy the privilege of representing their community in the District Council's sub-committee which had unquestioned authority in all administrative matters.

The memorialists did not blame the missionaries for this sad situation. On the contrary, one of their female SSLC's had got a job after two years only with the help of a European missionary. But they made it perfectly clear that they felt hindered by the intrigues and selfish intentions of the other communities. The

positions of leadership were dominated by friends and family members of caste Christians who favoured each other with appointments and scholarships. The greater part of the scholarship money intended for the backward communities, they alleged, was spent for the benefit of others. Therefore, they urged for more educational opportunities and appointments for members of their community[33]. Here again, education was seen as the idiom of progres.

6. The Statham Report and Village Schools

In 1932 the Government of Travancore appointed an Education Committee presided by Mr. Statham, Director of Public Instruction. At that time the air was full of demands for political reform and the Committee's terms of reference were to enquire into the state's educational system and to advise the Government as to the reforms that might be introduced in that field.

The Committee's report was published the following year and contained more than a hundred major recommendations ranging from improvements in the administrative structure to special concessions to certain communities. As far as the literary bias in education was concerned, the committee acknowledged the lack of modern industries in Travancore. But it rightly argued that local economic possibilities could not be fully explored and developed, unless there was sufficient training in the application of scientific knowledge to productive purposes[34]. Therefore, it recommended the abolition of vernacular middle and high schools and their reorganization as vocational training centres.

Not all recommendations were accepted or actually taken up for implementation. But some that were had important effects on missionary education. The Committee discovered that over one-half of all primary schools (1680) had only one or two classes and that the large majority of these incomplete schools (1606) were under private management, especially LMS and CMS. It also found a considerable wastage in aided schools which it partly attributed to the fact that many of the incomplete schools had no

third or fourth class and usually only one teacher, viz. the local catechist. When MacAlpine, the former Director of Public Instruction, inspected missionary education in Nagercoil, his comment was: "Whenever I look at a village school, I wonder anyone ever came out literate" [35]. For that reason, the Statham Committee thought it improper that public funds should pay over 90% of the costy of catechists who were maintained by the mission for religious purposes but made no significant contribution to the increase of literacy in the state. Local LMS missionaries who came to protest this point of view, were referred by Statham to a confidential report by their own missionary society in London. That report contained the warning that sooner or later the Government would become alive to the fact that these incomplete single teacher elementary schools were of no value[36].

To improve matters in this field the committee recommended that the primary stage was to be lengthened to five yeas and that only the standard primary school with five classes remained entitled to official recognition and grant-in-aid. This couldn't but have a great impact on the education organised by the mission. And in view of the differences within the LMS area described above, we may expect this impact to work out quite differently in the northern and the southern districts.

Most missionaries agreed that the incomplete primary schools were a "most wastèful form of expenditure". Yet, they regarded it also as "the best investment", since no work contributed so much to the spread of Christianity. Apart from hat, the financial burden was light, since teachers in aided schools were usually paid by the Government and managements were also in receipt of some fee income[37]. Therefore, the threat that the annual grant-in-aid might be gradually reduced or even with held in case of incomplete schools greatly alarmed missionary circles. We will briefly review the situation in the LMS districts.

7. Differential Impact of Educational Reforms

When the Statham Committee was appointed, Quilon district

numbered 40 primary schools, but only four of these were complete. Nine schools had only one class and were kept running for the sake of children from the most backward communities. Poverty prevented them from schooling beyond the first standard, but an Indian pastor hastened to emphasize that these children were receiving continued education at home, in the night schools and even in Sunday schools until they were able to read the scriptures for themselves[38].

In 1935 the situation of schools in Quilon had become very serious. A fair number of small, incomplete schools had lost the grant and were closed and many others were going to follow. This process, prompted by the Statham report and financial stringency on the part of the Government, could not but promise trouble for the remaining schools in these northern districts. The Education Inspector had intimated that nine incomplete schools in Kottarakara *taluq* would have their grant withdrawn, if the number of classes was not raised in the new year. The local missionary agreed that in some schools it would certainly be difficult to get children for higher classes. But in all cases, he wrote home:

"We cannot pay additional teachers, for no grants for new classes have been awarded by government for some years. We cannot afford to put up the new buildings required or repairs demanded. I am quite aware that many of these schools are poor from an educational point of view. We cannot afford to improve them. But the rapid closing of our schools is having a most depression effect upon our whole church in the north. In the case of the nine schools mentioned above , [we try] to raise money but people cannot do it. They may make a great effort here and there and fob off the Inspector a bit longer by some partial improvement. But in the end they will have to go. And as each school is closed comes a sense of defeat"[39].

The European missionary might have preferred to close all schools with the exception of a few really good ones, but the Church councils would not agree to it. They held on to each little school

till the last, carrying it on even after grant had been irrevocably lost, paying the teacher a mere pittance. But in the end, when it had to be closed, there was again that sense of defeat.

In the Malayalam district of Attingal the situation was the same. The obligation to have five classes or at least a kind of feeder system to a complete school made many schools close their doors, as owing to poverty classes higher than the second class could not be kept going. In 1935 grant was not being received or any school except the one in Attingal town itself.

In the Tamil area south of Trivandurm the situation was less gloomy, as we already expected in view of our foregoing discussion. Earlier, we quoted a report from Neyoor saying that for a hundred years one and two class- schools had remained the standard of mission vernacular education in the villages. Yet, already in the 1920's and long before the appointment of the Education Reforms Committee, considerable improvements are made, initiated by the local congregations themselves. In 1930 all permanent one class-schools had been abolished and the number of schools with only two classes had been decreased by a third. After one or two schools with much difficulty had succeeded in adding higher classes, another important change took place. Every village wanted to get ahead of its neighbours and started adding classes. The local churches even established five vernacular schools up to class seven, all within a radius of 6 or 7 miles. When the new decade started in 1930, vernacular education in Neyoor LMS district was almost self-supporting and, to quote the report, "full of vitality and promise for the future" [41].

Finally, in the extreme south, Nagercoil had its own special problems. The district numbered several recongnised middle schools, but had much trouble to keep the number of pupils in the sixth and seventh class at the prescribed level. Statham's recommendation to introduce vocational bias and therefore to extend the course with an eighth class only added to the trouble[42].

As far as primary education was concerned, one-class schools

seem to have disappeared from nagercoil before the 1930's and LMS sources only refer to two class-schools. Having gone over the records of a number of two class-schools, the local missionary was struck with the poor quality of the schools in depressed class villages compared with those in *Nadar* ones. No wonder most of the worst schools, concerning which there was no hope, were in these pariah villages. As it was very easy for the District council with its strong *Nadar* majority to incur the suspicion of being anti-depressed class, the same missionary reported that the Council often chose to carry on a few schools among that community, in spite of their poor quality.

Even apart from these considerations, Church Councils were extremely reluctant to close any school. They were convinced that a village church which lost its school would never see its grant restored. District ministers were unable to change that attitude. If they enforced the closure of school, the local church would stop contributing to the district fund and use the money for its school. Only the loss of Government grant and recognition could make a council decide to close a school, like a two-class school in Nagercoil district numbered less than five Christians among its 60 pupils.

The LMS Christians did not want to unite with other Christians in joint representations to the Government. They were afraid that any association with the Syrians, who at that time were pursuing a vigorous opposition policy, might bring down Palace displeasure. Instead, they thought it to be more profitable to coax and flatter local subordinate officers than to appeal against them to higher authorities. As an Indian district minister put it: "In times of trouble people worship the village deities, not Vishnu and Shiva"[43].

It remains difficult to say how far this worship of petty officials bore fruit. There are indications that the officials' firm attitude over the inefficiency of two-class schools was softened and in 1936 Nagercoil regained grant for nearly one-half of its two-class schools[44]. Nevertheless, the main gain seems to have been in transformation more than in accommodation. The local congregation made it a principle to develop all two-class schools into complete primary schools. That meant the raising of large sums

for new buildings and additional teachers. Although villagers were reported to come forward with handsome contributions, the problem was that these were insufficient to meet all costs, whereas new grants for additional classes could not be expected.

In spite of that, the LMS missionary in Nagercoil concluded in 1937 that Statham had rendered them a valuable service in getting a number of inefficient two-class schools closed. That year had seen the end of the two-class schools which were deprived of Government grants and in point of organization the education programme had become much stronger. Only three of 20 two-class schools had regained their grant and those that still survived were run by unpaid volunteers[45].

This fundamental readjustment of LMS village education, however painful it was especially in the northern districts, perfectly suited the policy of the LMS Directors. When the local missionaries applied to London for salvation from their financial predicament, the Directors were not moved by their urgent appeals that village education was the best investment for future progress. Instead, they wrote a stern letter reminding the missionaries that the large number of schools was not the result of any thought-out plan but of the desire of each local congregation to have a school of its own however poor.

"The government Department has acted rightly in not permitting this state of things to continue, and this is the time for the Church and Mission to set its educational house in order. The Directors will not attempt to prop up a faulty educational system which they themselves repeatedly asked to be renovated"[46].

8. Summary and Conclusions

The LMS Directors did not praise but actually blamed the missionaries for the large number of schools in Travancore and the inefficiency of the existing educational system. Wher we look

at the past, that charge does not seem to be entirely unfounded. Wherever the mission had opened new posts, schools were established almost at the same time. The rivalry with other missionary bodies in the field, both Christian and Hindu, had served as another incentive for the building of schools, especially among the depressed class communities. The result had been the proliferation of a large number of small village schools which often contained no more than one or two classes. However, local congregations did not appreciate these schools only for their educational effectiveness. They also held on to them as a source of communal pride. Even when white maintenance was becoming too heavy a burden., especially after the gradual withdrawal of Government grants, Church councils and managements proved extremely reluctant to close any school.

Missionaries should certainly share the blame for that state of affairs. Right from the beginning there had been a close association between church and school, the same building often serving both for worship and teaching. Yet, we should also remember that as part of the Indianization of the mission, so strongly urged by the LMS Directors, the management of the village schools had passed from the hands of the mission to the local churches and their Councils. Missionaries might have come to prefer the closure of most of these inefficient schools - and a few expressed themselves very clearly to that effect - but in the end they had to comply with the policy of the local churches. And in most cases, that meant the continuation of schools, even when means were lacking and the number of Christian pupils was dwindling in to insignificance.

Studying this educational history, the LMS archives confront us with paradoxical information. On the one hand, there are many reports testifying to t he apathy of children and parents with regard to education and the continuing illiteracy in the villages. At the other hand, there are frequent reports of a consistent demand for more schools and a fierce rivalry for the available places in institutes of higher learning. This paradox can be explained by referring to a differential response to educational opportunity which as

largely determined by communal background and economic position. For a many poor and depressed class Christians a school meant status, even when it did not turn out any literates. Therefore, they may have clung to their schools, but could not afford education to interfere too much in their daily struggle for life. The case was different for emerging communities like the Nadars in the south. They crowded the educational institutions and were asking for more. Even the economic depression did not deter these parents from paying the high entrance fees required for his school or college.

The reforms proposed by the Statham committee dealt a serious blow to many of the small village schools. From 1935-1937 the recognition of 758 primary schools was withdrawn and as a result most of these schools closed [47]. Thus, what the LMS Directors had been unable to achieve, was enforced in a short time by Government reforms turning off the financial tap. For the northern congregations, with their majority of depressed class Christians on the register, the Government measures implied the painful process of school closure, since there were no resources available to keep them open. In the south, where Nadars dominated the churches, the adding of new classes had already been started by the people themselves. Here also, poor people clang to their one or two-class schools, which sooner or later had to fall victim to the reform. However, in the larger villages there were church members ready to contribute to school extension. Communal prestige even led one congregation after another to add more classes to existing schools. In the end, the southern districts came out with a more consolidated educational structure, thanks to Statham and their own efforts.

It might be suggested that the missionaries were prejudiced in favour of the more well-to do communities. A betting on the strong could have been a attractive policy for missionaries eager to show results in the field of education. However, I have found no evidence in the sources for this period that such a deliberate preference existed. What comes out most clearly is the appalling

poverty which prevented depressed class children form visiting school more regularly and which made their parents unable to contribute anything in the way of educationalt-self support. They remained dependent on Government grants for the poor education that was available and had to lose it when grants were withheld. There are indications that some depressed class Christians did want more and better education, as can be seen from an occasional memorial. Yet, they did not blame the missionaries for their educational backwardness, but attributed their disadvantages to the selfish disposition of caste Christian who kept all educational benefits for themselves.

Finally, the lack of industrial employments and the effects of the economic depression seriously restricted the possibilities of employment. The higher educational institutions had a strong literary bias and prepared most of their students for the Madras University examination and Government service. The result was a fierce rivalry for entrance in to the administrative services and, because of their modest growth, an alarming increase in educated unemployment. Many parents who paid all they had for the education of their children made the unpleasant discovery that literary attainment did not guarantee a career. That situation reminds us very strongly of the present situation in Kerala, where a sate of total literacy is not accompanied by anything near a state of full employment.

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Notes :-

1. In these percnages, derived from the Census of Travancore, the population below five years of age is excluded.
2. Dick Kooiman 1989: 117 ff. 1991
3. Government of Travancore, Gant-in-Aid Notification 10-12-1984 in CRR R/2 (879)43)
4. Travancore Education Reforms committee, 1933:287
5. In 1931 the percentage was even 23,6%, see Travancore adminis tration Report 1930-31: 16-17 191 ff.
6. Travancore Education Reforms committee 1933:38, 153
7. The number of pupils in all recognized educational institutions had risen form 159. 831 in 1911 to 588.098 in 1931 and 764.544 in 1941, Census 1941 II: 217
8. Travancore Education Reforms Committee 1933:75
9. In these percentages, derived from Census 1931 and 1941, the population below five years of age is excluded. See also Chiriyankandath 1985:9
10. Census 1941 1:155, 159
11. Stokes 1982:32; the quotation is from S. Matter, LMS missionary, Annual Report from Trivandrum 1884:22, LMSA Odds, Box 17
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17. Economic Depression Committee 1931: 13-21; Chiriyankandath 1985: 218
18. Census figures used by Sivanandan 1979; 477; Travancore: the Present Political Problem 1934:20
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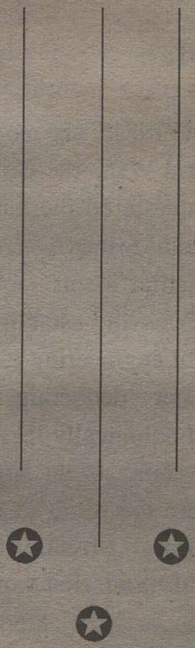
HOMAGE TO Dr. HERMANN GUNDERT



A WELLWISHER

Basel Mission Industries and Transfer of Technology

Jaiprakash Raghaviah

On November 22nd, 1919, ie. six months after the Armistice which ended the First World War, the Governor General of India by a special ordinance sequestered the entire industrial assets of Basel Mission Industires in India to the Custodian of Enemy Properties. At that time these industrial assets included 13 units - seven modern tile factories, five weaving establishments with branches, a dye unit and a mechanical engineering establisment. The value of assets of these units after deducting for liabilities was then estmiated at $4,00,000. Technologically these units were comparable to any similar unit in Europe. Waht is more interesting is that the above undertakings were the result of an industrial endeavour of Christian mission - the Basel Mission- which considered these industries not just as an aid to mission work, but as mission work itself.

Several aspects stand out in respect of the industrial activities of Basel Mission. In terms of the total strength, in terms of numbers of converts or members of converts or members of the church, it was relatively small. For example for the year 1913, total number of the church members were 19762, but in the same year the number of Christian workers in Basel Mission factories were 3633[1]. In other words one out of five memebrs were directly

making a living from the Basel Mission factories. In India many missionary groups had taken up some industrial activity to settle their converts. But none of such activity resulted in setting up of large industries as in the case of the Basel Mission. The lace industry established by the London Missionary Society in South Travancore was at best taught by missionaries and practised in houeholds[2]. The industrial schools established by the same society were at best centres of training activity.

The Basel Mission on the other hand appear to have taken up industrial activity in a planned and deliberate manner ofcapitalistic industries. Basel Mission attmepted several economic activities: agriculture, traditional crafts, trade, modern crafts and finally large industry. Faliure in some of these activities gave rise to setting up of other activity. These endeavours resulted in the Basel Mission making significant developments in weaving and tile making. The localisation of export oriented type handloom industry in North Malabar area and tile factories in the three regions, ie Mangalore (South Canara) Calicut and Trichur are direct fall out of technologies demonstrated by the Basel Mission in these parts.

The first missionaries landed on the Malabar coast in 1838 but the first factory, the weaving unit at Mangalore was started only in 1851. The industrial activities of the Basel Mission starts from 1851. It ends with the out break of the First World War in 1914. This period roughly coincides with the first phase of industrial activity in India. The second half of the 19th century was marked by exploitation of India as a raw material base for and also as a sphere of investment of British capital [3]. Industries established during this period were largely connected with processing of raw material for export. eg. cotton ginning, cotton pressing and jute pressing industries. This period also witnessed British investments in plantations. The beginnings of heavy industry investments in coal was mainly menat for export. At the same time britain was India's sole supplier of manufactured goods including cotton textiles. Hence custums duties were totally exempt.

At the turn of the century new export orienented industries appeared which produced mangaese, mica and natural rubber. Affected by the growing competition in the world market, some of the earlier industries notably the cotton industry started to catering increasingly the domestic market.

The social and economic conditions of Malabar and South Canara districts are often described as consisting of 'institutional barriers to growth. (4) It was charactersied by a rigid caste system which was carried to grotesque limits of unseeability' and 'shouting distances'. Lower castes were precluded from entering schools. These factors limited social communication and naturally transfer of technology. There was concentration of land ownership in the hands of a few joint families. Members of such families could claim subsistance form these joint families, but claiming of their share involved consent of all adult members. Enterprising members of these families would have found it difficult to raise capital. British interpretation of land tenres of Malabar made the position of the tenant who actually cultivated the soil a very vunerable one. He was pressed between the demands of the government and that of his landlord. Frequent evictions led to socail violence. Between the two districts (Malabar and south Canara) the latter appears less stratified.

The evolution of industrial activites within the Basel Mission is discussed here. Mission's early experiments with crafts are important from the point of transfer of technology.

It is often asked what prompted the Basel Mission to take up economic activities form beginning of its activities in India. We have to search form several sources for an answer. Calvinist theology which emphasises on organised, routinised and calculated laour was the basic theology of all Protestant churches in Europe. (5)In Basel, the influence of Calvinism must have been stronger because it was the city in which Calvin lived and worked for several years. Most of the early missionaries had backgound

in crafts, small business or trade. For example the first missionary Samuel Hebich was a baker and small tradesman. Missionaries like Moegling and Gundert were ascetic and vegetarian. Hermann Gundert came to India after extensive studies in various branches of humanities and theology. Another factor which favoured taking up of economic activities by theBasel Mission was the loss of occupation by converts on account of their conversion.

The initial experiments of the missionaries were in the area of agriculture and native crafts. In 1941 the missionaries at Mangalore started an industrial school by employing a native weaver to teach weaving to converts. Their idea was to create independent craftsmen. This did not succeed. It is not clear as to how these independent craftsmen were to be incorporated into the wider market. There could have been problems in marketing because traditionally these crafts were practised by certain castes with their traditional channels of marketing. It is also possible that traditional weavers had some other supplementary source of income and was thus not fully dependent on weaving. Still another explanation is that weaving as a traditional crtaft was dying in the latter part of the 19th century during which the Basel Mission made these experiments. Following this, Basel Mission started a carpentry shop at Calicut. Calicut was the centre of timber industry. This activity was successful, but carpentry being a local craft practised in Malabar, keen competition appeared. This resulted in the carpentry shop being handed over to a convert.

Basel Mission also experimented with agriculture with a view to settle converts in that profession. At two places ie. at Codacal and Mangalore. In both places the Mission purchased good wetland and leased it to converts for cultuvation. This experiment was not successful. Missionary sources complained that the lessess of wet land were lazy and did not take interest in agriculture. We have to seek an explanation elsewere. A quick look at the former caste background of converts reveal that in most centres

the majority of them came from the 'Thiyya' caste or its equivalent 'Billava' cast in Malaabr and South Canara respectively. The traditional occupation of this caste is as menders of cocount trees and workers in garden lands. Wet land labour as required for paddy cultivation was the speciality of the Cheruma caste in Malabar and its equivlent 'Holaya' caste in south Canara.

Following its failure in trying to rehabilitate the converts in some of the traditional occupations, the Mission attempted to introduce a new occupation that was popular in Europe - manufacture of watces and clocks. This was done despite a warning by some missionaries that "in the land of indolence clocks are not wanted" This activity suffered form a severe demand crisis form the very beginning. A predominantaly agriculture based system has limited need tohave a precise knowledge of time. It is the need of an industrial system in which labour of a large number of people will hve to be precisely synchronised with the working of machines.

The Mission had learnt its lessions. As Karl Pfeiderer who was the head of the industrial Mission expressed it succiently: "We were gradually conviced that we had to reckon with facts and that, as in other countries, so in India, the days of the samll tradesmen were numbered. The single individual cannot go aganist general competition and it was only the system of improved machinery and combined labour by which success could be attained".(6)

This led to the developmet and technical upgradation of two lines of manufacture, weaving and tile making which was to have far reaching consequence in the economics of Malabar ans South Canara districts. We shall follow each of these lines tosee how technological improvements were achieved and transfer of technology affected.

Weaving Industry

Malabar and South Canara districts have the same geographic

and climatic characteristics like a long, monsosn, rich foliage and no extremes in temperature. The dress requirments of people are hence limited. Most people wore a white piece of cloth with a dash of colour. The only exception were the muslim population in these regions whowore colourful 'lungis' mainly brought from neighbouring states. Richer classes wore longer full length'mundu' made of higher counts of yarn. Malabar and South Canara districts were not cotton producing regions. Cotton was however cultivated in the neighbouring states of districts S. Mahratta (the present Uttar Kannada) and in Coimbatore regions. Two types of weaving was done in the districts of Malabar and South Canara districts were not cotton producing regions. Cotton was however cultivated in the neighbouring states of districts. S. Mahratta (the present Uttar Kannada) and in Coimbatore regions. Two types of weaving was done in the districts of Malabar and South Canara: One was the coarse cloth (Thuvarthu of Malabar), usually woven by the 'chailya' community of weavers. These weavers were scattered in communities in several parts of the district like Taliparamba, Panniyankara etc. In Cannanore there is a street called 'Chaliya Street' where there was a predominant concentration of weavers. Weavers of superior garments, ie the long 'mundu' with higher counts of yarn were concentrated in urban centres like Calicut and met the demands form the aristocratic classess.

The Chaliya weavers used primitive type of pit looms. The weavers of superior counts also had used this type of looms. We do not have sufficient insight as to how the production of both type of weavers were incorporated in the larger market. During the latter part of the 19th century there was free import of Lancashire mull cloth, which by its fineness and cost effectiveness became increasingly popular with the middle class, government servants, etc During this period, from ll accounts the weaving industry in the region was dying. For example the District Gazetteer of Malabar and Anjengo (1908) states:

"Chaliyans or weavers especially have been hit by the introduction of machine made goods from Europe but they still struggle without thought of improving their time honoured methods or deserting their hereditary trade for more remunerative employment.

"A missionary source noted in 1893:

"Even the native industry in many branches (for instance weaving) struggles for existance and is dying gradually. This is chiefly due to the English - colonial system, at the bottom of which we see the anxiety that English productions should have a great run in the colonies. The country is over flown with cheap English weaving, all formerly done by native industry."[8]

The story of technological upgradation of weaving industry attempted and achieved by the Basel Mission is significant. With a view of improving the technology of handweaving the Basel Mission, in 1851 sent to India a Master Weaver called Johannes Haller. Haller started his experiments at the weaving Establishment at Mangalore. He first introduced the European Loom and Fly Shuttle. Fly shuttle improved the productivity of a weaver from 50% to 200% depending upon the width of the cloth[9]. During the same periods the Government of Madras Presidency as well as some other missionary organization called the Salvation Army had also made attempts to propogate the use of the Fly Shuttle.For the Basel Mission the introduction of Fly Shuttle provided the basis for all future innovation in weaving. Growth of Basel Mission's weaving industry in Malabar is given in the following table:

Growth of Weaving Industry in Malabar and SouthCanara Under Basel Mission

Nature of Industry	Place of Establishment	District	Year of Establishment
Weaving	Mangalore	S. Canara	1851
	Moolky (branch of Mangalore)	S. Canara	1853
	Cannanore	Malabar	1852
	Tellichery	,,	around 1860
	Chombala (Branch of Cannanore)	,,	1860
	Calicut	,,	1859
	Codacal (branch of Calicut)	,,	1860
Dye House	Quilandy	,,	1880

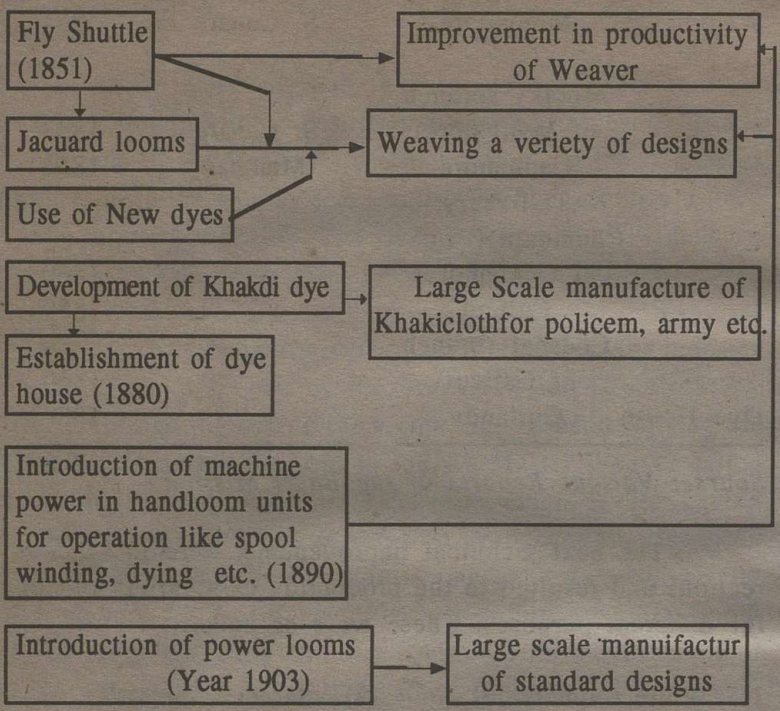
Sourse: Various Reports of the Basel Mission.

The next technical improvements were in other directions and resulted in the production of a variety of cloth for different purposes. These were as under:

1) White roomals
2) Sarees
3) Coloured linen sheets
4) Carpets
5) Webster's Shikkari
6) Abyssinian Shirting
7) Damask Table Linen
8) Counterpanes
9) Coating
10) Jersy Clothing
11) Cinghams
12) Banians and Undewares

In order to achieve a high level of dversification of products the Basel Mission weaving industrioes underwent a seies of technological improvements. These are : explained in the following flow chart.

WEAVING INDUSTRY



One thing that emerges from the above flow chart is that introduction of new technology was gradually directed at increased mechanisation.

A casual look of the range of the products of these weaving units are indicative of their market. Most of the products like Damask linen, trouserings,banians, table cloth were part of the dress requirements of Englishmen in India and that of the urban Indian elite who imitated the Englishmen in dress. The products of these weaving industries were sold throughout

India, Burma, Celyon, Malaya, and occassionally to Australia. In other words the Basel Mission industries avoided competition with Lancashire cloth at the same time they used British trade channels.

Here it is necessary to remember the names of some of the technocrat missionary managers of the Basel Mission Industries who contributed most to the technical improvements in weaving. These are:

1) Johannes Haller 2) Karl Pfeiderer
3) Th. Diegel 4) Gottlob Scoch

Tile Industry

In Malabar and south Canara houses had thatched roofings during the 19th century. There was objection to common people using tiled roofing for their houses. This was permitted only for the houses of chieftains. Temples however had tiled roofs.

Traditional tiles were of a simple design and were produced by potters using their wheels. Their method of production was quite simple. Potters made a hollow cylindrical structure. This was cut into four to give a uniform curved design. This was dried to remove moisture. It was subsequently burnt in a traditional kiln like other items of pottery. These tiles were thin and small. Therefore 3 or 4 tiles were placed atop each other to give the roof sufficient strength. Using this type of roofing requires a heavy super structure made of wooden beams and reapers. This made the traditional tile roofs a costly proposition.

By the latter part of 19th century there was a dicernible change in the demand pattern for tiles at a national level. With the stabilisation of British administration after 1857 there was investment in railways, telegraph, roads and government buildings. Therefore a demand existed which traditional potters could not have met.Machine made flat tiles being stronger, and bigger require lesser superstructure than the potter's tiles.

Technology of Tile Making

Raw material for making tiles is clay (otherwise known as felspar).Clay is mixed with water and pressed into shape using a press. It is dried to remove moisture and burnt in a kiln at temprature ranging from 800°C to 1000°C

The first experiment in making tiles was done by engineer George Plebst at Mangalore. Plebst tested the clay found on the banks of the river Netravati tested at Germany and Switzerland and with the help of a native potter established the first tile factory at Jeppo in 1864. This unit employed 2 workers and produced 360 tiles a day. The growth of this unit was phenomenal. By 1880 this unit employed 131 workers and produced 10 Lakh tiles a year Establishment of other tile units are given in chronological order.

Year of establishment	Location	Employment
		(as on 31-12-1913)
1865	Jeppo (Mangalore)	381
1873	Calicut	257
1882	Kudroli (Mangalore)	442
1886	Malpe	91
1887	Codacal	282
1887	Palghat	278
1905	Feroke	317

Source: RBM 1913 p. 20

Jeppo factory which had a gas kiln was a centre for product development. A great deal of product development was achieved under 'Master Potter' Jacob Bauman who succeded George Plebst.

Technological Changes Effected By Basel Mission Tile Factories During The Period 1865--1914

Activity	Changes	Results
Mixing of clay	Bullock power to Steam power	Continous operation Higher capacity Increased output
Transportation at semi finished level	From manual use of conveyr belts	Synchronised with higher capacity of pug mills
Burning	Introduction of Hofmann continuously firing kiln	reduced downtime
	Introduction of gas fired kiln	Uniform temprature for burning. Reduction in breakages, useful for high value Products

Extent Of Market

In the case of Basel Mission weaving industry at least in the early stages it was catering to the local market. In the case of tile industry from the begining a major part of demand came from outside. Its linkages with the local economy was limited. Apart from supplying to PWD etc., these tiles were exported to Ceylon, Burma, Straits of Malacca, Aden, Basra

and even up to Camaroon in Africa and to Australia.

Products Of Tile Factories

1) Roof tiles
2) Ridge tiles, plain and ornamental
3) Skylights and ventelators
4) Ridge and hip terminals
5) Filials
6) Grooved sphire tiles
7) Hanging wall tiles
8) Ceiling tiles
9) Hourdies
10) Salt glazed pipes
11) Drainage pipes
12) Archetectural terra cottaware.

Mechanical Establishments

The needs for a mechanical establishment was keenly felt after Basel Mission started establishing factories. There was a need to undertake repair and fabrication of machnery for tile works and weaving establishments. This was established in Mangalore by engineer Karl Huttinger in 1874. This institution later on took up production of water pumps, night soil carts, safes and iron bridges. Skills of fitters, welders, mechanics and draftsmen were imparted in this institution.

Transfer Of Technology

A technology is a product of economic and social environment like the level of productive forces, the level of education and a number of social or cultural factors. The technologies introduced by Mission was post Industrial Revolution and the then latest production technologies of Europe. These technologies were demonstrated in the economic and social environment which did not have any preconditions of growth, particularly in the case of Malabar and to a lesser extent to south Cananra. Therefore it is important to observe how and to what extent these technologies were transferred. The following chart gives

a picture of transferof technology by the Mission industries. Focus of our analysis will be the transfer of technologies in the two line of weaving and tile making which were predominant lines of activity of Basel Mission Industries.

INDUSTRY	TRADITIONAL-TECHNO-LOGY	TECHNOLOGIES INTRODUCED BY MISSION	ADOPTED IN LATER YEAR 0R NOT
Weaving	Pit Loom	Frame loom	Adopted
	Ordinary Shuttle	Fly Shuttle	,,
	Non- Existent	Jacquard Weaving	,,
	Very limited dyeing was done	Improvised dyeing using different	,,
	not used	coloured dyes	,,
	not used	Khaki dye	,,
	Limited to a few products	Use of mercerised yarn	
		New products like twill cotton etc.	Some were produced but not all verieties produced by Basel Mission
	Non- existent	Introduction of hosiery	Housiery articles started to be produced in Tellichery, Cannanore area in 1930s
	Non-existent	Power loom	Use of power as well as use of power looms can notbe treated as a fall out of German Technology. Power looms were introduced in some factories later

Tile-making	Testing by experience	Selection of clay by scientific testing	adopted
	Manual	Mixing of clay using machine process	adopted
Tile making	Traditional tiles manufactured by potters did not use presses	Pressing to shape using presses	Adopted
	Traditional Kilns Breakages heavy	Roasting process using a continuously firing kiln	Adopted
		Use of steam power for operation	Machine power was adopted in later year
Mechanical Establishment	Non-existent	Trade of fitters, welders, mechanics etc. Skill in machine drawing	These traders are useful for a number of activities
Printing and Book-binding	Non-existent	Typographical printing	Was Adopted
	Open binding, calico binding etc.	Non existent	Adopted

Weaving

Though weaving was started by Basel Mission in Mangalore, greater number of units were established in Malabar. During the year 1913 employment in weaving units of the Mission in the two district were as under:

Malabar

Name of centre	Employment
Calicut	631
Codacal	42
Cannanore	462
Chombala	88
Tellichery	71
Total	1294

South Canara	
Mangalore	160
Moolky	12
Total	172

We do not have sufficient insight intothe reasons which prompted the mission having only very few weaving units in Mangalore. Apparently there was some difficulty in mobilising labour in south Canara.

In Malabar, Calicut and Codacal are in the present Kozhikode district and the remaining three centres in the present Cannanore district. Out of the two districts, Cannanore district became particularly known for the type of weaving developed by Basel Mission. The real growth appear to have taken place particularly during the inter war period when some of the social and economic constraints were removed. During the inter war years Cannanore became well known for handloom dress and suit material - Cannanore checks- which was exported to Bombay and reexported to several parts of the country[10] Similarly hosiery industry was unknown to Malabar. During the inter war years a number of such small units were established in Tellichery and even today the place is known for its hosiery industry.

From all the above evidence it is clear that the handloom weaving industry has grown in Malabar exactly on the lines initiated by the Basel Mission.

Tile Industry

The major differences between handloom Industry and tile industry are as under:

1. Highly skilled labour is required for handloom industry. Most of the labour component in tile industry is unskilled.
2. Tile industry requires a much higher initial capital.
3. Handloom industry can be located anywhere depending upon the availability of labour. Tile industry has to be based in areas where clay is available, or at convenient points for transportation of row materials as well as finished products.

The Mission established it's first tile factory at Mangalore, and opened two more later. The Mission started four tile factories in Malabar district. Hence the technology was demonstrated in both the districts. But, in Mangalore, tile industry appear to have localised so quickly that Mission faced competition locally. As early as 1868 Alex Albuquerque Pai had started a tile factory in Mangalore. By 1895 according to manual of south canara there were 20 tile factories in Mangalore. [10] By 1900 there were 11 tile factories. Even now roofing tiles are known as Mangalore tiles[11].

We do not have a clear picture of the sources of capital for these units. Available indications show two sources. These are:

1) Trading capital
2) Planting capital.

At present there are about 70 tile factories in South Canara. Most of these units represent investmasnt of local capital.

Basel Mission tile units were continuously undergoing technical upgradation. But the Mangalore tile units which subsequently came up showed very little product diversification or technical improvement. They continued to produce mainly roofing tiles for which there was adequate demand. These units adopted Hoffmann type kiln as well as machine power sufficiently early. But technological improvements appear to have stopped there. Even in the present time when high tech ceramic products are being produced in several parts of the country, Mangalore tile industry survives mainly on roofing and flooring tiles.

In Malabar tile industry got localised mainly in Feroke near Calicut. By 1962, there were 30 tile factories in Calicut employing in all 6000 workers [12]. Annual prodiction of these units were ranging form 800 to 900 lakhs. Three large tile factories were established in Feroke during the first decade of this century represented outside investments.

A third centre where there is agglomaration of tile units is Trichur. Here the first tile factory was set up in1930. When

Shoranur-Eranakulam railway line was being built,.the soil dug out from the pits was observed by a supperviser of a Basel Mission factory who had gone to attend a festival at Trichur. He encouraged his host, a trader Chakkola Kunjuvarid Devassy to start the first tile factory at Trichur. Later on the Chaldean church and many private individuals took interest in establishing tile factories. At present there are 150 tile units in Trichur. A perticulr facet of these are is that in terms of size they are smaller than the other two centres,but these represent local capital almost entirely.

Before concluding it is worth examining the extent to which Basel Mission Christians who had exposure in Mission factories started units of their own on the lines of the Mission's weaving and tile making. The only examplle which is worth noting is that of the Aaron family. Two weaving units and one tile unit were started by this family. Basel Mission christians were like greenhouse plants. With assured employment and social security they could not have turned entrepreneurial. More over having come away from their traditional moorings they lacked capital. We do not have a clear picture of the entrepreneurs who started hosiery industry in Cannore and Tellichery. From a cursory observation it looks as though they came predominantly from the Thiyya caste and had background in trading or money lending.

Notes And Refrences

1. Report of the Basel MIssion published in the year 1914. Such reports are hereafter referred as RBM. RBM 1914 etc.

2. For a detailed account of the activities of the London Missionary Society (LMS) in Tranvancore, see: C.A Agur, 'Church History of Travancore', SPG press, Madras.1902.

3. For a detailed write up on the position of industrial activity in India before the First World War see: A.K. Bagchi, Private Investment in India 1900-1931, Orient LOngman, New Delhi, 1975, Section 3.1

4. See Thomas W Shea Jr., "Barriers to Development in Traditional Socities, Malabar A Case Study", Journal of Economic History, Vol.XIX, No. 4, Dec.1959. Also see: T.C Varghese, 8 'Agrarian change and Economic Concequences', Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 1970.

5. John Calvin(1509-1564), lived in Geneva, was a leader of the Reformation movement and preached ethics as established in the concept that the ability to live the Christian law is the evidence of probable selection(Salvation).

6. L. Johanbnas Frohnmeyer, "Industrial Mission' Basel MIssion Press, Mangalore, 1893, p.7.

7. C.A. Innes, Gazateer of Malabar District, Government Press, Madras, p.249.

8. L.Johannes Frohnmyer, op.cit., p.7.

9. A.K. Bagchi, op cit, p.222.

10. The perticular aspect of the handloom industry in Cannanore is that even now it is oriented towards exports, and hence produces a wide variety of designs of bedsheets, furnishing material, towels, etc, all of which were pioneered by the Basel Mission.

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Lutheran Pietism and Calvinistic Discipline in the Formation of the Basel Mission Community in Malabar.

E.P. Vijayan

Pietism is a movement originated as reaction to seventeenth century intellectualism and formalism of Protestant orthodoxy. Historically its beginning could be seen in Philip Jakob Spener of Germany who was pastor in Frankfurt. He found danger in following the then existing rigid doctrinal and sacramentarian forms of Lutheranism and Calvanism with its dogmatic legalism. The heartfelt personal religion which was the emphasis of the reformation has become a matter of bygone days. In order to revive this original emphasis leaders such as Johann Arndt (author of True Christianity -1606) and Theophilus Grossgebauer (author of Alarm Cry-1661) began to have informal devotional meetings and studies of scripture. Spener began to have these meetings in his house and later arranged a definite platform for the purpose. Without delay Spener founded the university of Halle, from where with the assistance of his Colleagues, August Hermann Francke and Christian Thomasius, Pietism spread through Germany, Scandinavia and Switerland. Insisting up on individual regeneration and emotional warmth pietism obtained steady growth. This new spirituality found expression in Philanthropic institutions and missionary organizations. One of the two first protestant missionaries to India Ziegenbalg and Plutschau were the products in this movement. Although themselves German, they were sent as 'Royal Danish Missionaries' at the direction of King Frederick IV of

Denmark in 1706. Paul Gerhardt composed his famous hymns under the influence of pietism. Such revival hymns became the means whereby pietism grew and spread out quickly. The founder of Moravian church movement was a German pietist, Zinzendorf, who was the godson of Spener and a product of Halle university. Pietism effected a genuine and widespread spiritual revival in Europe and its course was checked by the enlightenment of the eighteenth century. The decay of the movement stared when it took course of extreme fanaticism, asceticism, and separation from organized church. The term "Pietistic' thus came to have the derogatory connotation of religiosity with more heat than light.

The system of theology and church organization which grew out of the work of Calvin is known as Calvinism. Theologically it is marked by the acceptance of the supreme role of scripture in the faith of the believers and the interpretation of the scripture under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. The basic doctrine is the total sovereignty of God.To do God's will is man's first duty. In Adam this was possible, but by the fall of Adam, this power was destroyed and therefore all of humanity stands condemned before God. God in Christ redeems whom he wills, i.e. the elect; the redeemed line by faith on union with Christ. God's purpose moves through history to its distinct end. The Church, the sacraments (baptism and the Lord's supper) and the civil government are divine institutions. It was Calvin who had given the intellectual frame work for Protestant theology. It is in Basel he published the first edition of the Institutes of Religion in the year 1536. This elaborate work of theology which contains the guide lines for Protestantism is well known all over the world. In this important work he adopted the Trinitarian formula of the Apostles Creed as its basic structure. In the 'General syllabus' to the Institute' Calvin announces that he "strictly follows the methods of the Apostels' Creed as being most families to all Christians. For as the creed consists of four parts, the first relating to God the Father, the second to the Son, the third to the Holy Spirit, the fourth to the Church; so the author distributes the whole of this work into four Books, corresponding respectively to the four parts of the creed. A compend

to the institutes of the Christian Region by John Calvin edited by Hugh Thompson Kerr, Jr. P. IV). Another important theological insight of Calvin is made explicit in his teachings on predestination. Although controversial, he insisted on God's sovereignty and grace. To him it was stereological and not metaphysical doctrine. The doctrine of divine providence has always stood in a close relation to the teaching on predestination. It is designed in order to give doctrinal expressing to the religious conviction that man is altogether dependent upon god for his salvation.

The work and leadership of Calvin was the source of inspiration for the formation of Reformed churches. From Switzerland the reformed Church spread far and wide into the countries of Europe and beyond the seas into other Continents. The reformed churches belong to the Alliance of the Reformed churches throughout the world holding the Presbyterian system.

The Basel Mission which was originated in Basel, Switzerland, has greatly influenced by the theology and polity of Calvin and thus the churches formed in India and elsewhere in the world by the Mission belong to the reformed church tradition and the Presbyterian system. Since its missionaries to India came both form Switzerland and Germany from the background of Calvinism and Lutheraan pietism, the churches formed in India by the work of the Basel Mission have become the heirs and beneficiaries of both systems. Some of those traits which are characteristics of the Basel Mission Community in Malabar are discussed below:

1. Academic excellence:- Calvin was a model for higher learning and accurate thinking. He distinguished himself as a youth by his studious and serious temper. At the age of fourteen he went to Paris, where he enjoyed superior facilities for education in the classics and scholastic philosophy. He next devoted himself to the study of law at Orleans, where his remarkable intelligence and astonishing memory soon gained for him the honour of Doctor of Laws. Soon he changed his interest to the study of the Bible. For better understading of the Old and New Testaments he sought

a mastery of Greek and Hebrew, which he gained quickly. The study of the word of God convinced him to stand for the cause of Protestanitism. He published the first edition of his Christian Institutes at Basel for the instruction of the essential principles of protestant theology. He wrote commentaries on the Bible which distinguished for lucidity and depth of thinking.

These characteristics of Calvin as a person have been transmitted to Calvinistic system as a whole. This has been reflected in the work of the Basel Mission and in the life of Basel Mission community in the beginning. Basel Mission schools and seminaries were considered to be institutions of higher academic standards. General public as well as the government had great appreciaton for the standard of learning maintained in the mission schools. As a token of this appreciation government of Madras appointed one of the Basel Mission Missionaries i.e. Dr. Hermann Gundert as inspector of schools in Malabar and Canara.

Dr. Hermann Gundert was a genius whom to be counted in the line and tradition of Calvin. As Calvin, his interest in literature, writing and publishing has been made explicit in Malabar, where he was serving the Basel Mission. He endeared himself to the Malayalam speaking people as pioneer research scholar and writer and especially as author of the first dictionary in Malayalam language. The great Malayalam poet laureate Ulloor Parameswara Iyyer had remarked that this dictionary had eternal validity. A living Malayalam scholar, Prof. Sukumar Azhikode, wrote it was a playing pool for him in the study of Malayalam literature in his early days. Dr. Gundert's children and grand children were also known to be true followers of Calvinism as far as their fervency in Protestantism and love of learning were concerned. His grandson, Hermann Hesse, was a well known poet in Germany. He received the Nobel prize for Literature in 1946.

The Old Basel Mission Community in Malabar was greatly influenced and benefited by the Calvinistic approach to learning. Missionaries, such as Dr. Moegling, Rev. Fritz, Dr. Rosel, Dr.

Lorsch, Rev. Streckeison, Dr. Carl A. Keller and Dr. Wagner were persons of higher learning and leaders of the mission work in Malabar. Their contribution to the field of education and administration can never be forgotten.

As true followers of Calvin, most of the missionaries wrote books on instruction of faith for the community. DR. Gundert wrote the famous instructions to students of confirmation, instruction to the church members, Luther's first Catechism, Heart of man (Manushya Hridhayam) translation of Old and New Testaments etc. Dr. Lorsch was principal of Malabar Christian College, Calicut for sometime. Dr. Carl A. Keller was a linguist and theologian. He taught old Testament in the Kerala United Theological Seminary, Trivandrum and was its Principal for some years. Dr. Wagner was tutor of German language and college Chaplain in the Malabar Christian College. The late personalities such as Principal Thaddaeus, Rev. A.J. Arangaden, Dr. Hermon, Rev. Thayyil, Rt. Rev.V. William, Dr. Pavamani were some of the many men of learning and leaders of the Basel Mission Community.

2. Missionary Fervour - Lutheran pietism is known for its indomitable enthusiasm for world mission. If Dr. Hermann Gundert was a scholar from Tubingen University and model for Calvinistic learning and Pietistic honesty, Rev. Samuel Hebich was a representative for true Pietism and unsweraning spirit of gospel preaching. He was a simple man with deep Christian conviction and commitment for Gospel preaching. It was he who laid the foundation for the Basel Mission Community in Kannur. Basel Evangelical Mission had established itself in Malabar and south Canana during his time and of Gundert i.e., the middle of the 19th century. Many missionaries from Germany and Switzerland came forward to serve the Mission. Among them a great number of missionaries, eventhough not university educated, were great preachers of the Gospel and committed pastors.

Systematic Gospel work had become a constant pattern of the mission activity. Both missionaries and local evangelists

had taken part in the Gospel preaching intinaries. Individual preachers had to keep a record of their work who had taken part in Gospel preaching intnaries. Individual preachers had to be submitted for scrutiny and inspection by the authorities. Witnessing Christ in life activities had become a mark of a Christians in those days. Schools, hospitals and factories were began to function with the basic principles of evangelism. The purpose of evangelism was the general life style of the Basel Mission community till very recently. In the early days, mission industries began the days work with prayer. Like wise schools and hospitals had the practice of conducting devotional meetings and scripture classes. Christian teachers had monthly gathering for retreats. The so called mission fields of Madai, Mattul Mannur and Wynad were areas for special prayers with the financial support of the community.

A general evaluation:-

The present day life of the above mentioned community is at the Cross roads. The amalgamation with the Anglican Church under the banner of church of south India had given a new impact and change of polity. Yet the original characteristics of the community in church worship, music, care for the widows, community fellowship etc. remain more or less the same. It is a casteless community. One of the important achievements of this Basel Evangelical Mission group is forgetting their ethnical and religious identity of the past and uniting themselves into the new faith and freedom which is received in Christ. They enjoy freedom of expression in their group meetings. The poor and the affluent in the community keep no distinction or distance in their relationships. Marriages are done according to the merits of the individuals. No other considerations are given priority in the settlement of marriage alliances. Dowry is totally disregarded and considered to be a shameful act in human relationships. Equal rights for children in the he property of parents has been an accepted practice in the community. They are neatly dressed people, keep their self respect, but generally backward in higher education. Attempts are being made by he Basel Mission (now EMS) and other

private agencies within the community to establish scholarships and aids in order to encourage the youths to obtain higher educational and technical qualifications.

Although slow thecommunity is in good progress, in the right direction towards obtaining the heritage of academic excellence and discipline of Calvinism and also the missionary fervour of Lutheran pietism for the service of the people living around them.

The Genius of Malayalam

Cheriyan Kunianthodath

A genius of a rare type, Dr. Hermann Gundert, the grandfather of the Nobel prize winner Dr. Hermann Hesse, is the Father of modern Malayalam language. As linguist, lexicographer and prose writer of the 19th century of Kerala, he has a number of works to his credit. Although he spent only 20 years in Kerala as a German missionary of Basel Mission, his hard and dedicated work enriched Malayalam language contributing the first systematic Malayalam lexicon, the first systematic Malayalam grammar and the first systematic books in Malayalam prose. Imbibe with a special talent for learning languages, Dr. Hermann Gundert could make use of 18 different languages including most of the renowned Indian languages.

How can one call Dr. Gundert the father of modern Malayalam language? A language has the foundation of lexicon and grammar. Before Gundert there were Malayalam lexicons and grammar books. But they were neither scientific nor systematic. The authors tried to present words and rules by not going deep into the genius of Malayalam language. They were just a help and guide. But Dr. Gundert went deep into the genius of the language by hard work and deep thought. He collected words form original Malayalam writings and from the conversations of the people of Kerala. As a genius he could prepare scientific and systematic lexicon, grammar, and prose books.

The prose style in Malayalam language finds its origin almost in the 15th century. But its progress was neither scientific nor

systematic. Although Dr. Gundert was a German missionary he did not mould Malayalam in the German style. Every language has its genius and Dr. Gundert could easily find it out. As a matter of fact the structure of German language is quite different form Malayalam. Dr. Gundert did not even introduce German words into Malayalam. The Portuguese who came to Kerala introduced a number of Portuguese words into Malayalam. Dr. Gundert could very easily coin words from German to make use of them in Malayalam. But he tried to keep the language in its original format.

Dr. Gundert was really research-minded. He tried his best to go into sources of Malayalam literature. It is a wonder that he could collect most of the unknown books in Malayalam written in thaliolas. Some of these books are not traced even now. For preparing the lexicon he collected all the words which came across and also from old writings. When one word is referred he finds out wherever that word is made use of. Also he quotes proverbs whenever necessary. It is not easy even now to go into the original texts for the natives of Kerala. But Gundert who came from Germany could refer these thaliolas and find out words and phrases necessary for the development of Malayalam language.

The Major contribution

The most important contribution of Dr. Gundert to Malayalam language is his renowned lexicon - a Malayalam and English Dictionary. For the last one and a half centuries this has been the companian of the lovers of Malayalam. It is the authentic hand book of Malayalam students till now. Although it is not the first Dictionary in Malayalam the scientific approach of Dr. Gundert made it the first of its calibre. Dictionaries were written before in Malayalam with special purpose of teaching missionaries who came from other countries. They had to learn Malayalam to preach their religion. The purpose was too meagre, and systematic study of Malayalam was not promoted.

Dr. Gundert had prepared Greek-Tamil dictionary as well as Hebrew Tamil dictionary, before he came to Kerala. He entrusted them to his friends at Nagarcoil for printing. Then he travelled to Mangalore through Kerala. He had collected Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Bengali and Kannada dictionaries for his studies. Dr. Gundert made use of the dictionaries from Verapoly (v1 & v2) for his Malayalam and English Dictionaries. The other dictionaries he made use of are Malayalam Portuguese dictionary and Portuguese Malayalam dictionary. The Malayalam English Dictionary of Benjamin Baily (1946) also was very useful. Baily published the English Malayalam dictionary in 1849 but Dr. Gundert did not make use of it. Dr. Gundert could collect words form Kottayam and surroundings closely following Baily's Malayalam English dictionary. The Sanskrit English dictionary of H.H. Wilson was of great use to Dr. Gundert. He made use of Amarakosa also to a great extent. He quotes Rev. J. P. Rotler (1934) for explaining Tamil words. Dr. Gundert might have made use of Kannada English dictionary (1832) by William Reeve. There is similarity in the production of Gundert's work to that of William Reeve. The Telugu English dictionary by Campbell (1821) also has influenced Dr. Gundert. Rev. Earnest Diez also was of great help to Gundert to find out new words and added them in the first edition of the dictionary.

When the Malayalam English Dictionary was published in 1872, having taken decades to complete it, it was quite different from other dictionaries. Some scholars thought that Malayalam is the daughter of Sanskirt. Dr. Gundert catagorically denied it. As he had studied Tamil, Kannada, Telugu etc., he could easily comparative those languages to Malayalam. Dr. Caldwell who wrote a Coparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages also prompted him to come to his conclusion. He began writing the dictionary and grammar only with that conclusion.

It was in the year 1845 Dr. Gundert decided to write the dictionary. First of all he collected words form common people than form the Sanskrit dictionary of Dr. H.H. Wilson. He could

easily distinguish between the languages of Brahmins and Harijans. There were differences in spoken and written languages. He travelled in Malabar, Thiruvithamcore, Palakkad, Eranad, Malappuram and other places to collect regional words and phrases.

He not only referred old Malayalam writings but also Govt. Records and court judgments. Among them, the Tellecherry Records are of great importance. He did research in stone engrave ments and copper plate inscriptions. Ancient Malayalam alphabets were totally different form the modern alphabets of Malayalam. Dr. Gundert had to go deep for finding out the real meanings of the words in ancient alphabets.

The enormous work of 25 years could do wonder in completing the first scientific and systematic dictionary in Malayalam. In 1859 he left India for good but continued the work in his native land for ten more years. After the first impression in 1872 he wanted to improve the lexicon and continued his work for the same. But unfortunately he could not see the second impression of the dictionary. The revisions he proposed are not yet realised till now.

A Grammar of the Malayalam language

Dr.Gundert's contribution to Malayalam language secondly rests on his grammar of the Malayalam language. When it was published in 1851 it was really a new step in the field of the study of Malayalam.

Although it was incomplete at that time there was novelty in its presentation. The complete version of the Malayalam Grammar was published in the year 1868. The syntax in Gundert's Grammar (342-878) is unique when compared to any other Malayalam Grammar ever published. For preparing the Malayalam Grammar Gundert took special interest to consider Joseph Beschi (1860-1747) as his master. Beschi was a Tamil Scholar. He had a more perfect acquaintance with Tamil literature than any foreigner whoever undertook the study.

Dr. Robert Caldwell wrote his book on comparative study of Dravidian Languages. Dr. Caldwell has mentioned his indebtedness to Dr.Gundert in the second impression of the book. He, very generously accepted the differences of opinions suggest by Dr. Gundert.

For the benefit of Malayalam studnets in schools Dr. Gundert prepared text books of Malayalam Grammar which were later revised, rearranged and enlarged by Dr. Garthwate who was the successor of Dr. Gundert as school-Inspector.

Dr. K. M. Prabhakara Varrier in his studies on Malayalam Grammar (University of Madras 1979) extols Gundert's Grammar: " The credit for producing the first complete grammar of Malayalam language goes to Gundert. A major defect of this grammar is that many of his examples which are taken from earlier literary works, have become obsolete in contemporary Malayalam and as such the rules given to account for such forms have no relevancy from a synchronic point of view. Neverthless, it is to be emphatically admitted that the numerous citations from earlier texts found in this work serve as extremely valuable materials for tracing the historical development of the language of the West Coast. His achievement in producing a grammar of the vernacular, of such exhanstiveness as this, is remarkable, and later grammarians including the most eminent of them, A.R. Rajaraja Varma, have expressed their indebtedness to this".

Dr. Gundert - Pioneer of Malayalam Prose Writers:

Medieval Malayalam literature was mingled with poetry in all levels. The prose style of Malayalam was a later development . Dr. Gundert's Malayalam works depict mostly the modern prose style of Malayalam. The Book 'Kerala Pazhama" was the first of its kind in Malayalam. It adds rays of light to Kerala History especially of Portuguese period. It was first published in Paschimodayam, a magazine which shed new light in the history of periodicals in Kerala. The arrival of the Portuguese in Calicut,

in the year 1498 is colourfully depcited in the first chapter of Kerala Pazhama. The captain of the Portuguese fleet was Vasco Da Gama. He had his visit to the King of Kozhikode, the Samoothiri (Zamorin). Dr.Gundert referred all the Portuguese materials and wrote the book which is even now read by the lovers of Kerala History with great enthusiasm.

The book is not just a type of history but a history which is written in a novel style. All who read the book will be fascinated by the style and depiction of the history of Kerala of the Portuguese period by Gundert.

Dr. Hermann Gundert was the pioneer in the publication of Kerala periodicals too. Rajya samacharam and Paschimodayam were the first two periodicals published in Kerala. Although the real editor of the periodicalswas not Dr. Gundert, it washe who contributed to the success of the publication.

Translation of the Holy Bible

Dr. Gundert translated the whole Bible from Hebrew to Malayalam without the help of any other persons. He knew Herbew very well and could translate form the original text. Although for the modern Keralites the translation may not taste good, the other translations were really based on this pioneer work. We cannot but wonder at the great task of translating the Holy Bible into Malayalam, as one man job.

Malayala Rajyam

The first geography book in Malaylam was written by Dr. Gundert: Malayala Rajyam. It is a scientific book prepared according to the western conception of geography. It is the geography of Malabar with its historical setting. The students of geography could inbibe much form the book of that time.

Religious Works

Dr. Hermann Gundert wrote a number of religious books in Malaylam, some are translations form German and English. Advices

for confirmation, answers by God to human problems, essence of bibilical history. History of Christianity, Reformation in Germany, Art of dying happily, Heart of Man, Judgment on religion, Judgment of God, Diamond Needle, Abridgement of Gospels, Pilgrim's progress, History of Samuel Hebieh are some of his books written in religious settings. These books helped to propagate faith which was his main mission in India.

The book on confirmation contains 73 questions and their answers. The heart of man is a book mainly connected with the sense of sin. Art of dying happily contains the life hereafter and is well and convincingly pictured. The book connected withChristianity show the development of Christianity as well as the reformation of the same.

The translation work worth-mentioning is the Pilgrim's Progress. Although there is doubt of its authenicity, Dr. Gundert should be remembered with regard to this translation. The original book is by John Buniyan and the work may be considered as a novel, a religous novel, containing the fundamentals of Christianity.

Christian Hymns

Dr. Hermann Gundert wrote a number of Malayalam hymns to be sung in the congregation. Although these hymns were written to fit the German tunes, most of them became popular. Some of the hymns are just translation fromGerman language.

The Hymn Book used by the Basel Mission contains 350 hymns, of which 211 were written by Dr. Gundert. Those hymns could really influence people in their cultural formation. The hymns were classified as for sundays, Christian feast days, sacraments, funerals, praises and prayers. There are hymns for children also. These hymns seem not to be strictly in the style of orginal Malayalam hymns. The metre is selected according to the format of western hymns. As a matter of fact, these hymns are repelete with deep meaning and devotion.

The contributions of Dr. Hermann Gundert cannot be valued in a small article like this. It needs elaborate study as well as

proper evaluation. His dedication to Malayalam language, literature, prose writing as well as in the field of evangilisation are worth mentioning.

Evaluation

1. Dr. Hermann Gundert, although he was in Kerala only for 20 years, worked hard for Malaylam language and literature and gave his contributions to Malayalam language and religious thinking.

2. Although he was a foreigner he tried his best not to give a foreign touch to Malayalam language. After learning a new language and writings scientific grammar and lexicon in this language shows his love towards Malayalam language.

3. He loved Malayalam as his mothertongue. He never tried to write Malayalam in the system of German language. Both are quite dissimilar.

4. Although Dr. Hermann Gundert knew almost 20 languages he gave prominance to Malayalam and continued his work in Malayalam, evenafter he left India till the end of his life.

5. The prose style of Malayalam initiated by Dr. Hermann Gundert is different and original than those of other missioneries who came to Kerala.

6. Even the erudite who have analysed the contributions of Dr. Gundert to Malaylam language has not understood adequately the real merit of this great Malayalam Scholar. Kerala Panini who wrote Kerala Panineeyam imbibing much from the Malayalam Grammar of Dr. Gundert forgets to mention his real worth in the field of Malayalam language.

7. The first Scientific Malayalam lexicon is that of Dr. Hermann Gundert.

8. The first Scientific Malayalam grammer is that of Dr. Gundert.

9. It was Dr. Gundertr who first prepared text books to be taught in school classes.

10. It was Dr. Gundert who first mentioned about "Payyannur Pattu".

11. The first Scientific history and Geography in Malayalm were written by Dr. Gundert.

12. Keralolpathi, though not originally written by Dr. Gundert points to the research scholar in him.

13. The first scientific compilation of Malayalam proverbs was by Dr. Gundert.

14. The Malayalam words from Malabar was first collected by Dr. Gundert.

15. He codified the oldest Malayalam words.

16. The first Malaylam hymns were codified by Dr. Gundert

17. The first Malayalam translation of the Holy Bible, without anyone's help comes from Dr. Gundert.

18. Dr. Gundert introduced "full stop" by dot system in Malayalam, as in foreign languages.

19. It is not correct that Dr. Gundert served Malayalam only for the purpose of propagating the Gospel. He wrote books on Hindu literature, he wrote the story of Muhammed Nabi also.

20. Dr. Gundert made use of "thaliolas" (Palm-leaves) for the deep study of Malayalam language.

21. The first periodicals in Malayalam were initiated by Dr. Gundert.

22. He was a genius in learning languages.

23. Dr. Gundert wrote a book on translation work which is very useful for translating other languages into Malayalam.

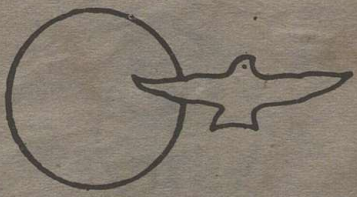
In short, the name of Dr. Gundert is immemorable in the history of Malayalam languae and literature. He has a place in the annals of Kerala History as a great scholar and lierary genius. It is certain that his contributions to Malaylam language and literature will be remembered down through ages.

❐

മലയാള അക്ഷരങ്ങൾക്ക്
അനശ്വരത നൽകിയ
ജർമൻ മിഷനറി

ഡോ. ഹെർമൻ ഗുണ്ടർട്ട്

മലയാണ്മ ഉള്ള കാലത്തോളം
അദ്ദേഹം ഓർമിക്കപ്പെടും



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