

TAMIL GRAMMARS BY GERMANS: GRAMMATICA DAMULICA (1716) AND ITS SUCCESSORS

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Introduction

In 1991, I had the privilege of holding in my hands a hard copy of the *Grammatica Damulica*, the first Latin-Tamil Grammar that was printed in Germany. The Francke Foundation in the city of Halle (Saale) in Germany printed it in 1716! It marked an important milestone, though often overlooked and forgotten, of the Tamil-German relationships. Its beautiful Tamil fonts were drawn and drafted in *Taraṅkampāṭi* (தரங்கம்பாடி, known to Europeans as Tranquebar); but they were cut and formed in Halle (Saale). The colloquial nature of this grammar captured my attention because it sought to teach the everyday language of the people and not of lofty literary writings. I longed to translate this grammar from Latin into English so that a much wider circle of readers could engage with it. My knowledge of Latin was (and still is rusty) as I have never studied it formally. With the help of Dr. Rachel Harrington, a Sister of the *Notre Dame* Order in London, England, I translated the text and had it published in 2010 as *Tamil Language for Europeans*. Immediately thereafter, I was invited to present a paper on this grammar at the first *World Classical Tamil Conference* in Coimbatore (23–27 June 2010). The following essay is a modified version of this paper.

Tamil grammar governs morphology, syntax, and semantics on the one hand and the proper use of nouns, verbs, voices, and their meanings on the other. It reflects aspects of Tamil society, culture, history and religions. Young children learn it as they grow among the Tamil people. By contrast, adults belonging to a different cultural or national background learn Tamil differently. Their nuanced understanding combines elements of their native upbringing and of their new language. Merchants engaged in trade transcending cultural boundaries, families with relatives living or working in different cultural settings, travellers, religious missionaries, and few colonial administrators have been in the forefront of learning and propagating the languages and customs of other people. The following examples demonstrate how Germans, mostly Christian missionaries, learnt, perceived and presented Tamil grammar to their contemporaries from the sixteenth century onward.

1) Different conceptions of a grammar

There is a difference between the meanings of a grammar in Tamil and European languages. The Tamil noun *ilakkaṇam* (இலக்கணம்) refers to more than letters and literatures. It defines and describes how a language should be spoken, written, developed and communicated. It includes various characteristics, symbols and elegance. Its basic elements consist of *eḷuttu* ('letter', எழுத்து) *col* ('word', சொல்), *poru!* ('content, meaning', பொருள்), *yāppu* ('compilation', யாப்பு) and *aṇi* ('decoration', அணி). Each of these five elements have much nuanced subdivisions. Tamil is also diglossic: the *centamiḷ* ('chaste Tamil', செந்தமிழ்) is used to write formal texts or to deliver formal speeches. On the other hand, the *vaṭṭārat amiḷ* ('regional, local Tamil', வட்டாரத் தமிழ்) is normally spoken; each of these two forms possesses its own grammar. While the former is fairly standardized, the latter has numerous variations reflecting geographical locations, social conditions and other factors of the speakers. The *Grammatica Damulica*, the main subject of this essay was meant to teach chaste Tamil to Europeans; however, its words, meanings and examples reflect the regional Tamil spoken by the fishing communities on the Fishery Coast.

Latin grammar normally begins with introducing alphabets and their sounds. Secondly, they describe inflections: nouns, adjectives and pronouns are declined. Different types of conjugations are

elaborated. Thirdly, importance is given to particles, especially to adverbs, prepositions and interjections. Fourthly, the methods of forming words (nouns and adjectives, verbs and adverbs, and compounds) follow. Fifthly, syntax takes the most central place in Latin grammar. This section deals with various types of sentences; the position of nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections in simple and complex sentences are introduced and expanded. Ever since the Christian Church from the western parts of the Roman Empire spread into Europe, Latin was the preferred language of the educated classes in Europe. Particularly, the Carolingian Kings from the ninth century onwards promoted the study of various subjects in Latin. At that time, the study of national or vernacular languages such as German, French and Spanish was not at the forefront.

In the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, two types of grammatical study were known in Western Europe: *Arte* and *Grammatike*. The word *Arte* has now become obsolete; but in the 17th century, for example, *Arte* was understood as a science of acquiring theoretical and practical skills in a specific field of inquiry, especially in humanities and social sciences. *Arte* as a grammatical study specifically dealt with the customary rules that governed that particular language in that particular place and time. It was true also for the Christian missionaries from Europe, who used their knowledge to compose an *Arte* of the Tamil language which was spoken by converts in Tamil churches. Hence, they did not create a grammar for the Tamil language as such; rather, their grammar was meant to help their fellow Europeans to learn the 'Church Tamil'. The more they became familiar with the Church Tamil, the better they could communicate with their Tamil Christian partners.

In the course of time, Latin was increasingly used not only by the church priests but also by academicians and professionals in Europe. As a result, the study of Latin grammar was a prerequisite for higher education, reputable jobs in the church and public offices. It also facilitated mobility of educated people across social, national and geographical boundaries. The linguistic study of Latin grammar was known as *grammatica*. This Latin noun has its etymological roots in the Greek noun *grammatike* (γραμματική). The primary goal of both *grammatica* and *grammatike* was to study Latin literature and create Latin texts. Ultimately, the Latin noun *grammatica* came to mean the linguistic study of Latin only.

In this socio-cultural and intellectual environment, the title *Grammatica Damulica* was revolutionary. Ziegenbalg understood the study of Tamil grammar to be as significant as the study of classical Latin. It is truly astonishing that by using the Latin noun *grammatica* for the study of Tamil grammar, he introduced the Tamil language as a classical language on par with Latin with a difference: Tamil is not merely a classical language of the past, but it is also a living and active language.

2) European Tamil Grammars before Grammatica Damulica

As far as we know, the first Tamil text printed in Europe was a 38-page long primer entitled *Cartilha* ('manual', brochure, and guide). In February 1554, it appeared in Lisbon, Portugal. A copy of this publication is kept in the Ethnological Museum in Belem, Lisbon. After obtaining special permission from the Portuguese King John III (1502–1557), three Tamil Diaspora Christians in Lisbon, namely Vincente de Nazareth, Thome da Cruz and Jorge Carvalho, seem to have first translated Roman Catholic doctrines on salvation into Tamil; then, they transliterated their Tamil texts using Roman scripts. Finally, they gave the meaning of their Tamil texts in Portuguese. They created this manual for the benefit of other Portuguese-reading fellow Tamils in Diaspora living in either Portugal or Portuguese colonies overseas. This manual reveals the desire and resolve of the Tamil diasporic

communities to keep their Tamil alive, active and well among them. Their Tamil would have reminded them of their mother land and strengthened their roots of origin.

Roman Catholic missionaries, mostly Jesuits from Portugal and Spain, who worked among the Tamil people in the Portuguese colonies in southern India, might have been aware of this *Cartilha*. To serve the Tamil people more effectively, all of them learned the art of speaking, reading and writing Tamil. Only a few of them ventured to write grammars for the Tamil language that they knew; this was mostly the 'Church Tamil', which the Tamil members of their congregations situated along the *Fishery Coast* from modern *Tūttukkuṭi* (தூத்துக்குடி) to Tranquebar spoke. The following three grammars, compiled before the appearance of the *Grammatica Damulica* in 1716, can be considered as representative Jesuit examples.

The first Jesuit grammarian of the Tamil language was the Spanish Jesuit Henrique Henriques (1520–1600). He served the people of *Tūttukkuṭi* (தூத்துக்குடி) from 1546/7 to 1576. To communicate the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church to the Tamil, he learned their spoken language and began writing treatises: in 1577/8, he printed in Quilon a 16-page booklet entitled *Tampirāṇ Vaṇakkam* ('Worshipping God', தம்பிரான் வணக்கம்). It explains the prayers, which the Tamil Catholic Christians needed for various occasions. In 1579, Henriques published another 120-page long catechism entitled *Kirīcittiyāni Vaṇakkam* ('Christian Worship', கிரீசித்தியானி வணக்கம்); he translated the key doctrines of the Catholic Church into Tamil and presented it in the format of questions and answers. Seven years later, in 1576, he printed a 669-page long Tamil prose text, which he had translated from *Flos Sanctorum* ('Lives of the Saints'). The text of this *Aṭiyār Varalāru* ('History of Saints', அடியார் வரலாறு) was carved into wooden planks which were used as printing plates. The Jesuit priest S. Rajamanickam, who had studied Henrique's contributions to Tamil studies, rightly called him the 'Father of Tamil Printing Press'.

Another major contribution by Henrique, which is often overlooked in scholarly writings, is his Tamil-Portuguese grammar entitled *Arte da Lingua Malabar* ('Grammar of the Tamil Language', ca. 1549). A manuscript copy of this grammar is kept in the National Library of Portugal in Lisbon (Call number: Code 3141) According to Father Xavier S. Thaninayagam (1913–1980), Henrique based his Tamil-Portuguese grammar on the model of João de Barros' Portuguese grammar entitled *Grammatica da lingua portuguesa* (1540). In 1982, Hans Josef Vermeer and Angelika Morath published Henrique's Tamil-Portuguese grammar entitled *The First European Tamil Grammar*. In 2013, Jeanne Hein and Rajam Ramamurthy (popularly known as V.S. Rajam) translated this manuscript into English and published its critical edition as *The Earliest Missionary Grammar of Tamil. Fr. Henriques' Arte da Lingua Malabar*. It covers almost every aspect of the spoken Tamil, which Henriques heard among his Tamil adherents.

The second Jesuit who wrote a Tamil grammar was Gaspar de Aguilar (1588–1648). He spent his time in Jaffna and Mannar in modern Sri Lanka, Cochin, Punnaikayal and other places in Tamil Nadu and Kerala. By 1639, he taught Tamil to other Jesuits. Though his original *Arte Tamul* remains lost, a manuscript copy made by Philippus Baldaeus, is kept in the *State and University Library of Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky* (Call number: Cor. Orient 283). According to Christina Muru, who has studied this grammar, it "is structured as a grammar book followed by translations of prayers, a manual for confession and some texts which present the Tamil letters and orthography rules as well the pronunciation." As mentioned below, Baldaeus utilized this grammar in his own work.

The third Jesuit who compiled a Tamil grammar for Europeans was Balthazar da Costa (1610–1673). He was a member of the famous *Madurai Mission*, founded in 1606 in Madurai by the renowned Roberto de Nobili (1577–1656). On 4 July 1640, da Costa had his ears pierced to indicate his

obedience to his superiors and began wearing a *kāvi*-robe. Thereafter he left Karūr and worked among the Tamil Catholic Christians hailing from *Ādi-Dravidar* communities. People called him the “apostle to the low castes.” He relied heavily on Aguilar’s Tamil-Portuguese grammar; within eight months, he learned to read, speak and write Tamil.

I had the great honour of finding and identifying an incomplete 35-page long manuscript copy of his Tamil-Portuguese grammar entitled *Arte Tamulica* in the British Library (OC Sloane 3003). In 2021, Christina Muru identified more copies of the same manuscript in libraries in Rome, Italy and Panaji, India. My research has shown that Da Costa’s grammar formed a decisive source for Ziegenbalg’s *Grammatica Damulica*. For example, both grammars decline the verb *vicuvācit-tal* (‘to believe’) according to gender, number, present, past and future tenses. In this sense, Ziegenbalg did not create a new Tamil-Latin grammar on his own; rather he based his work on pre-existing Tamil Grammar by Jesuits.

The fourth European, who was aware of the Tamil grammars by the Jesuits, was Philippus Baldaeus (1632–1672), a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in Jaffna, Sri Lanka. He also visited Quilon and Nagapatnam in southern India. He gratefully acknowledged the help that he had received from his assistant and interpreter in Jaffna, namely Francis de Fonseca. De Fonseca was a former Roman Catholic Christian, who had then embraced Reformed Christianity. He would have been familiar with the Tamil writings of the Jesuit missionaries and introduced them to Baldaeus. In 1672, his most famous publication appeared simultaneously in The Netherlands and Germany. The chapter in its German version entitled *Kurze Anleitung zu der Malabarischen Sprachkunst* (‘Short Introduction to the Science of the Tamil Language’, pp. 186–189) mentions Baldaeus’s reliance on De Aguilar’s *Arte Tamul*. Pages 190–191 contain examples of cases and verbs. The cases are demonstrated with the singular and plural forms of the noun *vaṇṇār* (‘washer’, *வண்ணார்*); positive and negative forms of the verb *vicuvācittal* (‘to trust’, *விசுவாசித்தல்*) and its past tense are conjugated. Based on these examples, Baldaeus concluded that Tamil, with its rich vocabulary was a difficult language to learning. At the same time, he acknowledge the dignified and respectful behaviour of the Tamil people which repudiated the wrong views of Europeans, who assumed that the Tamil people were a wild people and put them to shame. Page 192 contains an interlinear version of the *Lord’s Prayer* and the *Apostle’s Creed* in transliterated Tamil and Latin. The following pages with the Dutch title *Korte Malabaersche Letter-Konst* (‘Short Tamil Orthography’) Tamil alphabets. They illustrate the twelve *uyir eḷuttu* (‘life letters, vowels’, *உயிர் எழுத்து*), eighteen *mey eḷuttu* (‘body letters, consonants’, *மெய் எழுத்து*) and *uyirmey eḷuttu* (‘alpha-syllabic letters’, *உயிர்மெய் எழுத்து*). Finally, Baldaeus cites another interlinear version of the *Lord’s Prayer* in Tamil and Latin. Thus, Baldaeus became the first European to print texts using Tamil fonts in Europe, especially forty-four years before the publication of *Grammatica Damulica*.

3) The compiler of Grammatica Damulica

Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682–1719), the compiler of the *Grammatica Damulica*, landed in the Danish colony of Tranquebar on 9 July 1706. He brought with him a copy of Baldaeus’ book and thus familiarized himself with his portrayal of the Tamil language. Tranquebar had a legal treaty that permitted the safe practice of Lutheranism. In November 1620, King Ragunatha Nayak of Tanjore and Ove Gjedde, a representative of the Danish King, signed this treaty. This treaty became the legal base for King Friedrich IV of Denmark to authorize and send Ziegenbalg and his companion Heinrich Plütschau (1677–1746) as missionaries to Tranquebar; they were to invite the non-European inhabitants of Tranquebar, whom the Danes viewed as Danish subjects, to embrace Lutheranism. The Danish administrators and traders in Tranquebar perceived Christian missionary activity as a

threat to their business; both Danish trade and the welfare of the colony depended on the goodwill and cooperation of the Tamil workers and partners, whom the Danes had employed as soldiers, spies, intermediaries of trade and countless other services. These Tamils followed either Tamil *bhakti* traditions or Islam. The Danes were afraid that Ziegenbalg and Plütschau would persuade at least a few Tamil inhabitants to embrace alternative methods of thinking, organising their life and to become baptized members of the Lutheran Church named Jerusalem. Therefore, the Danes created so many problems that Ziegenbalg was unable to handle them alone. In 1714, he realised that he should seek help from the Danish king to settle the matter. Therefore, he sailed from Tranquebar to Denmark. During his voyage from the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa on 15 February 1715 and till his arrival in the *Ascension Island* in the South Atlantic Ocean, he compiled his *Grammatica Damulica*. On 5 June 1715 he sent his manuscript for printing from Bergen in Norway to the mission authorities at the Francke Foundation in Halle (Saale).

It is astonishing that Ziegenbalg compiled his Tamil-Latin grammar within four months! It also raises a few questions. Obviously, his knowledge and practical use of Tamil improved over the period of ten years (1706–1716). He willingly befriended a few Tamils, who taught him the Tamil language. Secondly, he lived among the Tamil people in Tranquebar, who willingly disclosed to him different aspects of their language, culture and religions. Thirdly, church members, students and staff of the Tamil schools for girls and boys he had established in 1707 helped him develop his language skills. Fourthly, he founded a Tamil Library in Tranquebar, which was actually the first public library in India. In 1708, this library had 119 pieces of Tamil literature, various Tamil writings on Roman Catholicism and Islam and several books imported from Europe. Alakappan (அழகப்பன்), a former interpreter with the Danish East India Company in Tranquebar, procured various Tamil writings for this Tamil Library. Among its holdings were copies of Tamil grammatical and lexical works such as *Tolkāppiyam*, *Kārikai*, *Nanṇūl*, *Tivākaram* and *Cūṭāmaṇinikaṇṭu* (தொல்காப்பியம், காரிகை, நன்னூல், திவாகரம் and சூடாமணிநிகண்டு). Ziegenbalg read these works and summarized their contents.

Ziegenbalg's comment about *Tolkāppiyam* can be paraphrased as follows: it contains rules about Tamil poetry and all other sciences that are associated with it. Those who wish to master this rich and extensive language must study this work. It is also the most significant and the most difficult book. Those of the educated Tamil, who have learnt it, can be considered poets. This book is as difficult to understand as the European philosophers seek to grasp Aristotle's writings. According to the Tamil scholars, whom Ziegenbalg knew, its author *Tolkāppiyar* was a king over the Jains and he must have lived about 1000 years ago. One would need a month just to read through the *Tolkāppiyam* and one can then imagine how long it would take to memorize it. Ziegenbalg gives similar summaries of the other grammatical and lexical works that he had in his Tamil Library.

Fifthly, Ziegenbalg regularly invited Tamil guests and visitors to his home for discussions on diverse themes ranging from religious faith to social customs to agriculture. Their conversations expressed their memories and perceptions of histories, socio-cultural habits and the Tamil language. Sixthly, he entertained letter correspondence with learned Tamil scholars living not only in the Kingdom of Tanjore, but also in distant places such as *Tiruverriyūr* (திருவெற்றியூர்) in *Chennai* (சென்னை). Ninety-nine such letters are available in their German version. They clearly show Ziegenbalg's consistent efforts to understand the roots and meanings of Tamil thoughts and customs. Seventhly, he translated parts of the Holy Bible and other Lutheran devotional literature (e.g. catechism, systematic theology, and the like) into Tamil.

Eighthly, Ziegenbalg produced treatises on the Tamil and their socio-cultural life. For example, in 1708 he translated three minor works on morality, namely *Koṅṛai Vēntaṅ*, *Ulaka Nīti* and *Nītivenṇpā* (கொன்றை வேந்தன், உலக நீதி, நீதிவெண்பா) from Tamil into German so that his readers would appreciate the civility of Tamil public behaviour. In 1711, he prepared a monograph on *Tamil Society* (literally: *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, 'Malabarian Heathenism'); and two years later in 1713, he compiled his well-known work entitled *The Genealogy of the Malabarian Gods*. In these works he included Tamil quotes from various writings. Ninthly, in 1712, Ziegenbalg installed the first mechanised printing press in Tranquebar and began printing small Tamil works such as *Nirupam* (open 'letter', நிருபம், 1712), *Aññāṇam evvaḷavu aruvaṛukkattakatu* ('how detestable spiritual ignorance is', அஞ்ஞானம் எவ்வளவு அருவறுக்கத்தக்கது, 1713) and *Aintu Vēta Puttakam* (the 'Five Vedas', i.e. the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles from the New Testament, ஐந்து வேத புத்தகம், 1714).

All these admirable activities and works enabled Ziegenbalg to indeed acquire a deep knowledge of the Tamil language. At the same time, it is doubtful whether this knowledge was sufficient to compile a grammar within four months. Ziegenbalg did not mention the sources for his grammar. One of the most decisive sources was definitely a Portuguese-Tamil grammar, which he had received from the Governor of Tranquebar. My research has demonstrated that this grammar must have been Balthazar da Costa's *Arte Tamulica* and identified several resemblances between them. As mentioned below, Ziegenbalg had even translated certain parts of the *Arte Tamulica* (e.g. the entire chapter on Verbs) from Portuguese into Latin. This was probably the main reason that he could compile his grammar within four months!

4) Purpose of Grammatica Damulica

On 16 September 1706, i.e. two months after his arrival in Tranquebar, Ziegenbalg introduced the Tamil language and Tamil alphabets to his readers in Europe. In that letter, he urged the necessity of learning and teaching the Tamil language like other oriental languages (i.e. Hebrew, Greek and Latin) in European academic institutions. He urged European kings and rulers to come forward in support of this idea because the Tamil people were of great number; they needed to know the good news about the Lord Jesus Christ and their language would help Europeans to understand the secrets of their theology and philosophy. Ziegenbalg opined that these secrets are hidden deeper in wise Tamil narratives than in the classic Greek and Latin writings. European students of Tamil would also discover more rational phrases for logic, rhetoric and metaphysics that they could find in the writings of much-studied Aristotle. Particularly, by studying Tamil European scholars would gain newer insights to satisfy their academic curiosities. When this letter was printed in 1708 in Leipzig & Frankfurt/Main in Germany, it created a sensation. Ernest desire to learn Tamil was born! On 22nd August 1708 Ziegenbalg informed Franz Julius Lütken, his superior in Copenhagen, Denmark, that in 1707 he had already sent to his leaders in Europe his manuscript entitled *Praecepta Grammatica* ('Grammatical Principles') of the Tamil language. This manuscript is now lost.

The year 1711 was important for Tamil studies in Germany. Heinrich Plütschau took with him to Germany a young Tamil man named Timothy Kuṭiyāṇ (திமோத்தி குடியான்). After Plütschau had become a pastor of a church in Beidenfleth near Hamburg, Timothy Kuṭiyāṇ went to Halle. His presence there increased the desire of some Germans to study Tamil properly and he offered Tamil classes. In 1713, Plütschau came to Halle (Saale) for six months. Both he and Timothy Kuṭiyāṇ taught Tamil; two of their students, namely Professor Christian Benedict Michaelis (1680–1764), who since 1712 was in charge for the missionary work in Tranquebar, and Heinrich Julius Elers (1667–1728), who was in charge of the printing press in the Francke Foundations, were well-known.

Eventually, Elers would oversee the printing of the *Grammatica Damulica*. He received Ziegenbalg's *Grammatica Damulica*, arranged for the casting of the Tamil fonts and printed a draft version. After reaching Halle (Saale) in October 1715, Ziegenbalg and his Tamil companion, namely Pēturu / Peter Malaiyappaṇ (பேதுரு மலையப்பன்) from Tranquebar, proofread this draft text and suggested a few changes. Before this grammar was printed, Ziegenbalg and Malaiyappaṇ left and travelled to London in England. Elers got it printed in November 1715 and gave the year 1716 as the year of its publication. He mailed fifty copies of this grammar to Ziegenbalg and Malaiyappaṇ in London and attached an accompanying note with a Tamil saying, which in modern Tamil reads as follows: *cakōtararē, ippō nām unkaḷai caruvēcuraṇukkum avaruṭaiya kirupaiyiṇ tiruvacaṇattukkum nampikkaiyāka oppukkoṭukkirōm* ('Brethren, we commit you to God and his gracious holy Word'. சகோதரரே, இப்போ நாம் உங்களை சருவேசுரனுக்கும் அவருடைய கிருபையின் திருவசனத்துக்கும் நம்பிக்கையாக ஒப்புக்கொடுக்கிறோம்.). The fact that Elers could construct a flawless Tamil sentence shows the impact of *Grammatica Damulica* on him. This Tamil sentence was probably the first one written by a German who had learnt Tamil in Germany!

Besides popularising the knowledge of Tamil among his readers, Ziegenbalg also expected that this grammar would help recruit at least a few Germans to become missionaries to the Tamil people in Tranquebar. He entertained this wish even long before he conceived compiling *Grammatica Damulica*. For example, as early as 19th September 1707 he informed King Friedrich IV of his intention to write a Tamil grammar for his European successors and requested him to require all prospective missionary candidates to learn Tamil by using his grammar. Though he sent the first principles of Tamil grammar to his authorities in 1708, his *Grammatica Damulica* became the first text that was accessible to more people in Europe, especially in Germany. This grammar is primarily concerned with the Tamil language, which Ziegenbalg knew and which the Tamil Lutheran Christians in Tranquebar customarily used. Hence, it differed from Tamil grammars such as *Tolkāppiyam* and *Naṇṇūl* (தொல்காப்பியம் and நன்னூல்). These focused on rules that govern the composing, understanding and interpreting of literary works. By contrast, Ziegenbalg's *Grammatica Damulica* offers a grammar for learning and understanding the 'Church Tamil' of the Tamil Lutherans of that time.

5) Contents of *Grammatica Damulica*

The title of this 128-pages long grammar claims that it provides "the shortest route" to learn the Tamil language that was until then unknown in Europe. It focuses not on literary Tamil, but on religious Tamil as used by Tamil Christians in Tamil country. It is dedicated to five leading officers in the service of the King of Denmark who showed interest in the missionary work in Tranquebar. One of them was Lord Johann George von Holstein who functioned as a modern Prime Minister.

The preface of this grammar explains how Ziegenbalg worked hard to gain the knowledge of the Tamil language in speaking, reading and writing: he studied it day and night and familiarized himself with Tamil words and their correct usage. When he got stuck in not knowing how to proceed, he requested the help of certain Tamil scholars (e.g. Kaṇapati Vāttiyār or Aḷakappaṇ, கணபதி வாத்தியார், அழகப்பன்), whom he had employed for the purpose of learning Tamil. The more he learned the Tamil language, the more he marvelled at its vocabulary, structure, and significance. He concluded that

The "Tamil language deserves from now on to be included by the learned in Europe among the Oriental languages that are worth learning. [...] This] language has many features which will please lovers of language and these features illustrate to no small degree the divinity in which more

outstanding languages rejoice. I do not hesitate to include this language among the more remarkable, nor will any person [lit. he] who has obtained even a moderate degree of skill in it and has been able to compare it with other languages. If we are looking for a wealth of vocabulary, it is among the best and incredible, to the extent that it can compete with the richest. Nor is it inferior in elegance, age and gravitas and also in exaggeration; seeing that, where emphasis is required, it can be expressed by the weight of individual words. And it commends itself too to farmers by its simplicity which of its nature it needs and promotes. Among other things it also has this property that it uses no punctuation [marks], nor even spaces by which different words [lit. voices] can distinguished from one another. Yet nothing is lacking to [its] fluency and clarity; but the order of words and ideas is very clear” (page xii).

The first chapter (pages 1–8) is on Letters. It explains Tamil alphabets: the twelve vowels and eighteen consonants and their variations. It states that earlier Europeans viewed the Tamil language (incorrectly) as *Malabarian* (in association with *Malaiyālam* மலையாளம்). Tamil was the most important language on the Coromandel Coast besides Sanskrit, Telugu and Sinhalese. This chapter elaborates a few rules for the proper use of vowels in the beginning, middle or end of a Tamil word. It also states that children in Tamil schools write these alphabets with their finaglers in the sand spread in front of them. As they write and learn the vowels, consonants and their combinations, they chant them melodiously (e.g. *a-ṅṅā*, *ā-vanṅā*, *i-ṅṅā*, *ī-yanṅā*, and the like; அ-ன்னா, ஆ-வன்னா, இ-ன்னா, ஈ-யன்னா) and commit them to memory. This chapter ends with Tamil numerals containing one, two, three and four digits (i.e. க for 1, உ for 2, ஊ for 3, ட for 10, ற for 100 and ள for 1000).

The second chapter (pages 9–14) introduces correct Reading and Pronunciation of Tamil words and phrases. It emphasizes that one should read Tamil from left to right; because the written form of Tamil at that time did not use any punctuation marks such as the full stops, colons, semi-colons, question marks and exclamation marks, the ligatures short and long vowels were not always clearly identified, the reader should possess a significant body of vocabulary. Words such as *mātā*, *pitā* *makimai* ('mother, father, glory', மாதா, பிதா மகிமை) are easy to pronounce. Many nouns such *kaṅ*, *makaṅ*, *maka!* and *tākam* ('eye, son, daughter and thirst', கண், மகன், மகள், தாகம்) end with consonants. Some nouns have the consonants in the middle: *irakkam*, *vaṅakkam* and *kāṅru* ('mercy, adoration, wind', இரக்கம், வணக்கம், காற்று). Then this chapter cites examples of words that change the vowels and consonants in the middle and at the end. It concludes with certain short phrases which the Christians often used in their conversations: e.g. *Caruvēcuraṅ namakkuk koṭutta piracātam* ('the grace, which God has given us', சருவேசுரன் நமக்குக் கொடுத்த பிரசாதம்), *nammaip paṭaippitta āṅṅavar* ('the Lord, who has created us', நம்மைப் படைப்பித்த ஆண்டவர்). With patience and practice anyone can learn the Tamil language.

The third chapter (pages 15–29) is devoted to Nouns. It asserts that all Tamil nouns are declined and inflected in the same way as in Latin. Depending on the ends of each noun and whether they are singular or plural, Tamil nouns follow same patterns of declensions. Genetic nouns are formed from singular or plural nominative nouns. The Tamil language uses three kinds of ablatives, namely of place, instrument and accompaniment. This chapter declines four distinct sets of nouns; it highlights how, when nouns are combined, certain vowels change either in the middle or at the end. It gives a list of eighty-six nouns for further practice.

The fourth chapter (pages 30–44) is on Adjectives. It rightly affirms that all Tamil adjectives are indeclinable and have only one form. Gender, number or case do not affect them; these can be seen only in their nouns. Adjectives are always placed in front of their nouns. Normally, adjectives can be formed in three ways: if we remove the final 'm' (ம்) from certain nouns, they become adjectives: e.g. *pāvam* ('sin', பாவம்) becomes *pāva* ('sinful', பாவ). *Cattiyam* ('truth', சத்தியம்) becomes *cattiya*

(‘true’, சத்திய). Secondly, specific suffixes such as *-yulla*, *-āṇa*, *-yuṭaittāṇa* and *-illāta* can be added to finouns and turn them into adjectives: e.g. the noun *mariyātai* (‘respect’, மரியாதை) becomes *mariyātaiyulla* (‘respectful’, மரியாதையுள்ள) or *mariyātaiyillāta* (‘disrespectful’, மரியாதையில்லாத). Thirdly, if we change the long vowel ‘ā’ (ஆ) in the verbs of present and past tenses of the third person singular with a short ‘a’ (அ), an adjective will emerge: e.g. *collukirāṇ* (‘he says’, சொல்லுகிறான்) becomes *collukira* (‘saying’, சொல்லுகிற). *Conṇāṇ* (‘he said’, சொன்னான்) becomes *conṇa* (‘having said’, சொன்ன). This chapter elaborates further ways of making adjectives. Finally, it ends with certain numbers (except numbers 1 and 2) that serve both as nouns and adjectives: e.g., the numbers *mūṇṇu*, *nāṇku*, *nūru* and *āyiram* (‘one, three, one hundred and one thousand’, மூன்று, நான்கு, நூறு and ஆயிரம்) are both nouns and adjectives.

The fifth chapter (pages 44–59) introduces Pronouns (i.e. noun phrases) and explains their nature, singular and plural forms, declensions and their usage. It states that Tamil pronouns are declined in the same manner as in Latin. These pronouns refer to the person (e.g. I, we, you, he, she and they) or a thing (e.g. it, they) in any discourse. This chapter highlights the importance of honorific first person singular *nām* (‘I’, நாம்) and honorific second person singular and plural *tēvarīr* (‘You’, தேவரீர்); mostly inferiors or younger persons address their superior (e.g. God, a priest, any higher authority) respectfully with the honorific second person singular. The honorific third person singular for male and female person is *avar* (‘he’ or ‘she’, அவர்). This chapter also explains with examples the pronominal use of demonstratives such as *itu* (‘this’, இது), *ivaika!* (‘these’, இவைகள்), *atu* (‘that’, அது) and *avaika!* (‘those’, அவைகள்). The rules and examples found in this chapter are taken from Da Costa’s *Arte Tamulica*. It is evident that Ziegenbalg translated Da Costa’s Portuguese text into Latin.

The sixth chapter (pages 60–107) is the longest in this grammar and it can be considered its ‘heart.’ Without acknowledging its source, it simply translates every aspect of Da Costa’s *Arte Tamulica* into Latin. It asserts that apart from a few exceptions, Tamil verbs can be conjugated according to their tenses, voices, and moods; it correctly states that prepositions, conjunctions and other parts of speech are suffixes to the nouns and verbs. Ziegenbalg was surprised that the Tamil language does not have either a present or a past perfect tense, which is important for Latin. Exactly like the verbal examples in Da Costa’s *Arte Tamulica*, this Latin-Tamil grammar conjugates the verb *vicuvācittal* (‘to believe’) in many different forms. A few examples demonstrate these conjugations in present tense: *nāṇ vicuvācikkirēṇ* (‘I believe’, நான் விசுவாசிக்கிறேன்); *nāṇ vicuvācikkavillai* (‘I do not believe’, நான் விசுவாசிக்கவில்லை); *nāṅka! vicuvācikkirōmillai* (‘we do not believe’, நாங்கள் விசுவாசிக்கிறோமில்லை).

The seventh chapter (pages 108–117) is on Particles: it explains the formation, placement and use of prepositions, adverbs, interjections and conjunctions. For example, all Tamil prepositions are actually ‘postpositions’; they are suffixed to nouns, pronouns and verbs. For example, the *caruvēcurāṇōṭē* (‘with God’, சருவேசுரனோடே); *caruvēcurāṇiṭattilē* (‘in God’, சருவேசுரனிடத்திலே). This chapter focuses on two types of adverbs: some are derived from nouns, adjectives and verbs (e.g. *aṇēka nāṭkaṭāy*, ‘since/for many days’, அனேக நாட்களாய்); others stand by themselves (i.e. *mukkāttal*, ‘formerly’, முக்காலத்தில்; *iṅkē*, ‘here’, இங்கே). This chapter proceeds to explain various interjections that are formed with nouns or verbs (e.g. *Caruvēcurā!* ‘Oh God!’, சருவேசுரா!). When *-um* (உம்) is suffixed to verbs and nouns, we can have conjunctions (e.g. *pāvamum puṇṇiyamum*, ‘sin and virtue’, பாவமும் புண்ணியமும்). This chapter further expands more nuanced examples of positive and negative conjunctions.

The last chapter (pages 118–128) is on Syntax and is completely unique to *Grammatica Damulica*. Firstly, it focuses its attention on the right use of masculine, feminine and neuter gender in constructing Tamil sentences. For example, all names for God and men are masculine; identities and names of women are feminine; names of all animals, trees, minerals, stars, virtues and vices are neutral; angels can be either masculine or neutral. Secondly, adjectives are indeclinable and they stand before nouns. Thirdly, verbs are never placed at the beginning or in the middle of a sentence; they are always at the end of a phrase or sentence. Fourthly, the answer to the question ‘whose’ defines the genitive case. Fifthly, the answer to the question ‘to whom’ is always in dative. Sixthly, active, transitive verbs or the question ‘what’ require an answer in the accusative case. Likewise it further explains other cases. Seventhly, it has identified six gerunds, which spoken Tamil often uses in relation to other main verbs: *irukkīratu* (‘being, existing’), *pōṭukīratu* (‘throwing’), *koḷḷukīratu* (‘obtaining, buying’), *paṇṇukīratu* (‘doing’), *varukīratu* (‘coming’) and *pōkīratu* (‘going’, correspondingly இருக்கிறது, போடுகிறது, கொள்ளுகிறது, பண்ணுகிறது, வருகிறது, போகிறது). Additionally, this chapter explains how names of persons and places outside of Tamil parts of India are called. Finally, *Grammatica Damulica* ends with an exclamation: ‘Let every tongue [i.e. people] praise God!’

6) Impact of Grammatica Damulica

The publication of *Grammatica Damulica* created a short lived sensation among certain Germans. German Lutheran missionaries, who came to the Tamil people, read this grammar and acquired the basics of the Tamil language. These included Benjamin Schultze (1689–1760), Nikolaus Dal (1690–1747), Christian Friedrich Pressier (1697–1738), Christoph Theodosius Walther (1699–1741), Johann Philipp Fabricius (1711–1791) and Christian Friedrich Schwartz (1726–1798). Some German intellectuals such as Friedrich Rückert (1788–1866) engaged with this grammar and learned Tamil. Professor Michaelis reviewed this Latin-Tamil Grammar for the scholarly monthly journal *Acta Eruditorum* (1717, pages 253–255): He recollected how Ziegenbalg and his colleagues served the Tamil people. He also underlined the importance of this grammar for all interested people. The fact that the editors of the highly acclaimed journal published this review shows how highly they valued this new grammar.

Ziegenbalg received the fifty copies of *Grammatica Damulica* which Elers had sent to him. He then distributed them his friends associated with the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (SPCK) in London. They all rejoiced over it. Henry Newman († 1743), the general secretary of this organisation donated copies of this grammar to public libraries at Lincolns Inn, the Middle Temple and Zion College in London.

Grammatica Damulica had some effect on a few people living in the Tamil country as well. Constanzo Giuseppe Beschi (1680–1747) seems to have obtained a copy of this grammar and found it wanting. He compiled a more extensive grammar Latin-Tamil grammar. Its English title reads as *A Grammar of the Common Dialect of the Tamul Language* (1848). Since the Roman Catholic missionaries in Tamil country did not have any printing facility at that time, Beschi requested the Lutheran missionary C.T. Walther of Tranquebar to print it in 1739. Walter examined Beschi’s grammar and felt that he should add his own grammatical observations. His *Observationes Grammaticæ* (‘Observations of Grammar’) still awaits further research.

Gradually, the knowledge about *Grammatica Damulica* faded away among the Tamil people mostly because other Tamil grammars were printed in English. Carl Theophilus Ewald Rhenius (1790–1838) broke away with other European scholars by not following Latin method of writing Tamil grammars

(1836). Instead he chose the conventional methods of the Tamil grammar. When Bishop George U. Pope (1820–1908) re-edited his *Hand-Book of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language* in 1883 he confessed that the “early Missionaries of Tranquebar are said to have published a Tamil grammar” and he did not “meet with any account of it”.

7) Successive Tamil grammars written by German nationals

Ziegenbalg’s *Grammatica Demulica* remains an important piece of Tamil cultural heritage. Since its publication in 1716, 284 years have passed and it has not yet been studied fully. My English version has recovered it from its forgotten past; though *Grammatica Damulica* was forgotten, German interest in the Tamil language continued. Scholars of German origin (but not German nationals) have also written Tamil grammars that are truly great indeed; however, they fall outside the scope of this essay. The following part of this essay explores six Tamil grammars written by German nationals.

Ziegenbalg’s *Grammatica Damulica* inspired the famous Jesuit missionary Constantine Joseph Beschi to come with his own Latin-Tamil Grammar for the spoken Tamil entitled *Grammatica Latino-Tamulica ubi de Vulgari Tamulicæ Liguæ Idiomate கொடுந்தமிழ் dicto ad usum Missionarium Soc. Iesu* (‘Latin-Tamil Grammar for the Common Dialect of the Tamil Language for the Use of the Missionaries of the Society of Jesus’). He completed it 1728 and waited for another eleven years to print it. At that time, the Jesuits in the Tamil region did not have their own printing press. Hence, he approached the Lutheran missionary Christoph Theodosius Walther (1699–1741) in Tranquebar (from 1725 to 1740) and requested him to publish his grammar. Walther himself was a Hebrew scholar with a doctoral degree. He re-translated Matthew’s Gospel in 1728 and had a positive view about the Tamil people, their language, society and capabilities. He saw many parallels between the Hebrew society and Tamil society. After reading Beschi’s grammar, he felt compelled to write his own *Observationes Grammaticae, quibus Linguae Tamulicæ idioma vulgare, in usum operariorum in messe Domini inter gentes vulgo malabares dictas* (‘Observations on Grammar of the Common Dialect of the Tamil Language for the use of the labours in the service of the Lord among the people commonly called Tamil’) and published both grammars in 1739. Obviously, Beschi was unhappy about this addition; by contrast, his bishop in Chennai (then: Madras) was delighted because Walther’s Observations had clarified several grammatical principles in Beschi’s grammar. When the Jesuits printed Beschi’s grammar first in 1818 in Chennai and then in 1845 in *Puducherry* (then: Pondicherry), they omitted Walther’s observations. Its English translator George William Mahon also left out Walther’s Observations in his *A Grammar of the Common Dialect of the Tamul Language, called Kodun Tamil, composed for the use of the Missionaries of the Society of Jesus, by Constantius Joseph Beschi* (Madras, 1848). Thus, until now Walther’s *Observations* remained hidden for the Tamil public and it still awaits a scholarly examination.

Walther’s 58-page long grammatical *Observations* contains four brief chapters. The first chapter (pp. 3–15) describes the correct use of Tamil letters in the beginning, middle and at the end of words and word combinations. The second chapter (pp. 15–21) discusses important aspects of nouns and pronouns. The third chapter (pp. 22–38) discusses the nature and use of verbs and several verbal forms (e.g. gerunds, passive voice, etc.). The final chapter (pp. 38–58) is long and is devoted to syntax.

Secondly, in 1778, two German Lutheran missionaries, namely Johann Philip Fabricius (1711–1791) and Johann Christian Breithaupt (1719–1782), who worked in Vepery, Chennai (then: Madras) printed their brief Tamil grammar entitled *A Grammar for the learning the Principles of the Malabar Language properly called Tamul or the Tamulian Language*. In all probability, its main author was

Fabricius, who had already re-translated the passages of the Bible prepared by predecessors like Ziegenbalg and Benjamin Schultze; when the entire Bible was printed in 1798, some Tamil Lutherans praised it as their Golden Version of the Bible. His hymnbook came to be known as *Neñcurukki Nūl* ('heart-melting book', நெஞ்சுருக்கி நூல்). In 1779, he published his *A Malabar and English Dictionary, wherein the Words and Phrases of the Tamulian Language, commonly called by Europeans the Malabar Language, are translated in[to] English*; Fabricius dedicated this dictionary to the Honourable Court of Directors of the English East India Company as a token of gratitude for their protection during the French Siege of Chennai (1746–1748).

While these publications were well known, Fabricius' Tamil grammar remained least known. It contains nineteen uneven chapters. Each one reads much better than the *Grammatica Damulica*. In fact, there is no reference to either Ziegenbalg or his grammar at all. It contains more examples and elaborates the grammatical rules better. It explains 1) Letters, Syllables and Pronunciation (pp. 3–11), 2) Noun Substantive (pp. 11–14), 3) Nouns Adjective (pp. 14–16); 4) Pronouns (pp. 16–22), 5) Use of the Cases of the Nouns and Pronouns (pp. 22–24), 6) Conjugation of Verbs (pp. 24–30), 7) Verbs Neuter and Verbs Passive (pp. 30–31), 8) Conjugation of Verbs in the Negative Way (pp. 24–33), 9) Expressing Preter-Imperfect, Preter-Pluperfect, Substantive and Optative (pp. 34–36), 10) Verbal Nouns (pp. 36–37), 11) Defective Verbs (pp. 37–39), 12) Conjoining Verbs together (pp. 39–41), 13) Further Observations on Verbs (pp. 41–45), 14) Construction (of sentences, pp. 45–48), 15) Some Particles (pp. 48–52), 16) Usual Terminations of Words that signify persons (pp. 52–53), 17) Numbers (pp. 53–56), 18) Days, Weeks, Months and Years (pp. 56–58) and 19) A Collection of [seventy-eight] Malabar Proverbs (pp. 58–63). This grammar awaits further research.

Thirdly, the grammar by Charles Theophilus Ewald Rhenius (1790–1838), a missionary of the Church Missionary Society among the people of Tirunelvēli (திருநெல்வேலி) can be mentioned. Its title reads as *A Grammar of the Tamil Language: with Appendix* (1836). Posthumously, it underwent two more editions (1845 & 1846). He found the existing grammars by Europeans deficient in syntax and mixing vulgarisms with chaste Tamil. He learnt Tamil grammar just as the Tamil would learn it from fellow Tamil scholars. His Tamil teachers had no training either in English or any other European languages; they were also not 'flatters' of Europeans. Finally, he constructed his Tamil as follows: its first section deals with Tamil Orthography (pp. 7–35) that "treats of the forms, names, sound, number, and division of letters; also of their transmutation, omission, and augmentation" (p. 7). Its second section portrays Tamil Etymology (p. 36–116); its third section is on Syntax (pp. 117–218); its Appendix (pp. 219–272) highlights the most peculiar aspects of the Tamil language (e.g. lack of articles 'a' and 'the' as in English, etc.). Its final section is entitled 'Miscellanea' (pp. 273–294) and engages with Tamil notions of the measures, time (days, months and years), directions, 'terms of consanguinity', 'on figures' and 'Specimen of Nannul' (i.e. the fourth rule of Collatikāram/ சொல்லதிகாரம்).

Fourthly, the works of Karl Graul (1814–1864), the director of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission in Leipzig/Germany, deserve to be mentioned. In fact, Professor Arno Lehmann called him a Dravidologist. From 1854 to 1865, four volumes of his works were published under the title *Bibliotheca Tamulica sive Opera praecipua Tamulicorum* ('Tamil Library or the Chief Works of the Tamil'). The first two volumes examine Tamil perceptions of the Vedānta philosophy. The last two volumes deal with Tirukkural in German and Latin. Thus far scholars have not paid adequate attention to his *Outline of Tamil Grammar accompanied by Specimens of Tamil Structure and Comparative Tables of the Flexional System in other Dravida Dialects* (1855). As the title reveals, Graul was the first German to employ the concept of Dravia as a group of non-Sanskrit languages. He came to this conclusion a year before Bishop Robert Caldwell (1814–1891) published his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages* (1856). Unlike Caldwell,

Graul did not elaborate the meaning of the adjective 'Dravida'; nevertheless, on pages 97–100, he compared the flectional system two nouns *malai* and *maram* ('mountain' and 'tree') in five Dravidian languages, namely *Malaiyālam*, *Telugu*, *Kannṇaṭam*, *Tuḷu* and *Paṭukā* (மலையாளம், தெலுங்கு, கன்னடம், துளு and படுகா). It is possible that Graul got his idea of 'Dravidian' linguistic identity from Francis Whyte Ellis (1777–1819), a British civil servant of the English East India Company, who wrote about it in 1816. Ellis himself did not use the word 'Dravida' for south Indian languages; instead, he posed the idea that Tamil and other South Indian languages formed a separate group of languages that are not based on Sanskrit. The fact that Graul used the adjective 'Dravida' before Caldwell is noteworthy.

Fifthly, eighty-eight years later in 1943 another German grammar for the Tamil language appeared in Germany. The author, Hermann Beythan (1875–1945?), was a missionary of the same Evangelical Lutheran Mission in Leipzig, which Karl Graul had established; he worked as a missionary in *Erode*, *Chennai* and *Kumbagonam* (ஈரோடு, சென்னை and கும்பகோணம்) from 1902 to 1909. On his return to Germany, he taught Tamil in Berlin. His grammar is entitled *Praktische Grammatik der Tamilsprache—in Umschrift* ('*Practical Grammar of the Tamil Language in Transliteration*') and was published in Leipzig. Though this grammar follows the same pattern of Ziegenbalg and Graul, it is more extensive and easier to understand. It seems that the Tamil people who knew him, lovingly nicknamed him *Beythan Cāstiriyār* (பைத்தான் சாஸ்திரியார்).

Finally, Thomas Lehmann's *A Grammar of Modern Tamil* (1989), published by the Pondicherry Institute of Linguistics and Culture, can be mentioned; its second edition appeared in 1993. It claims to provide a "comprehensive description of the morphological and syntactic of the literary variety of Modern Tamil. The principal emphasis is on syntax" (p. viii). The main sections of this grammar the following: Morphology (pp. 1–89), Syntactic categories (pp.90–170), Clause structure (pp. 171–238), Complex construction (p. 239–358) and Miscellaneous topics (359–378). This grammar is technical and those who teach Tamil or wish to understand the various peculiarities of Modern Tamil will find this grammar useful.

Conclusion

Christian missionaries such as Henrique Henriques, Balthazar da Costa, Philippus Baldaeus, and Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg were among the few Europeans who learned Tamil. They recorded their understandings and observations; twenty-first century readers might find them somewhat limited or defective. Yet their linguistic achievements are truly admirable. Their records of Tamil grammar formed the basis for learning Tamil by numerous Europeans both in Europe and in southern India. By highlighting the importance of spoken (and written) Tamil as they heard it among the people of the Coromomandal Coast, they tried to build ongoing cultural bridges between Europeans and the Tamil people. Professors Hilko-Wiardo Schomerus (1879–1945) and Arno Lehmann (1905–1973) at the Martin-Luther University Halle–Wittenberg contributed to strengthen these cultural bridges between Germans and the Tamil people. Professors Klaus-Ludwig Janert (1922–1994), Dieter Kapp (1941–), Ulrike Niklas and Dr. Thomas Malten at the Department of Indology and Tamil Studies at the University of Cologne did yeomen services to maintain Tamil Studies in Germany. The scope and impact of the cross-cultural transfer of Tamil knowledge from South India to Germany, first made possible through grammars compiled by various missionaries and then by numerous Tamil scholars from India, forms a fascinating field of study, which still awaits fuller exploration. This transfer of Tamil knowledge and culture to Germany remains an important part of the Tamil heritage both at home and abroad. In this transfer, the role and contributions of Ziegenbalg's *Grammatica Damulica* remain exemplary.

