Jewish Malayalam

Women's Songs

Part I

Thesis submitted for the degree of "Doctor of Philosophy"

By

Ophira Gamliel

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University

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This work was carried out under the supervision of

Prof. David Shulman
Acknowledgements

This research was nourished by the love and affection of many people, in Israel and in Kerala. Their trust in my ability to read and interpret songs in a language I was not familiar with when I started my work was a continuous source of inspiration and drive. I wish to express my deep gratitude to them, and acknowledge their contribution to the present study.

David Shulman, my guide and mentor, is the first to have taught me how to read texts and cultures. His love and curiosity in the study of south Indian civilization propels us, his students, into an ongoing journey of revelation and fascination. It was a rare privilege to be under his guidance and to discuss my work with him in depth.

Scaria Zacharia is the first to have introduced me into Kerala culture with the Keralite welcoming warmth reserved for unexpected guests that suddenly appear at your doorstep. His sensitive reading of Kerala Jewish culture and literature is at the basic core of this study.

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materials in the later phases of this work leading me to relate to the living traditions of Jewish language speakers. Margret Frenz edited and commented on large portions of this work with loving patience and meticulous attention.

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## List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adv.</td>
<td>Adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS</td>
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<td>B</td>
<td>bride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>bridegroom</td>
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<td>HH</td>
<td><em>huppāt havatanim</em>, Kastiel, 1756, Rahabi, 1769 and Rahabi, 1916.</td>
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A Note on Transliteration

Transliteration of Malayalam generally follows Narayana Rao and Shulman (1998) for Tamil and Telugu. It is important to note that transliteration adheres to the non-standardized orthographic presentation of Jewish-Malayalam in the manuscripts, unless a standard Malayalam term is used (as in etymological remarks).

Vowels:

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◌/ml_anusvara: מ
◌/ml_visarga: נ
◌/ml_chandrakkala: ר

Transliteration of Hebrew represents the Mizrahi conventional pronunciation of liturgical Hebrew.

Consonants:

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Vowels:

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<td>/גָ</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ג</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/גֲ</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>ג</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/גִי/גִ</td>
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<td>ג</td>
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<tr>
<td>/גֹא /גוֹ/ גֹ</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>ג</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/גוּ / גֻ</td>
<td>gu</td>
<td>ג</td>
</tr>
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Note that some Malayalam and Hebrew phonemes are represented by the same symbols despite their different phonetic values. For example:

<table>
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<th>Symbol</th>
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<td>(aspirant)</td>
<td>ה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ש</td>
<td>(retroflex)</td>
<td>ע</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ר</td>
<td>(alveolar)</td>
<td>ר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ך</td>
<td>(short e)</td>
<td>ע</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ו</td>
<td>(lengthened o)</td>
<td>ה</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly, in transliteration of Hebrew words, the symbol /'/ represents the H guttural נ.

In transliteration of Malayalam words it stands for an elided vowel (usually a final ü) between Malayalam words only when the word division is certain, e.g. kaliccū + anū → kalic'cū anū. When the vowel elision is due to compounded verbs or nouns it is not represented by the symbol /', e.g. nārū + ālcā → nārālca; kūrū + ittū → kūrītū.

1 Followed by the vowel /a/ which is unmarked after a consonant.
2 An in-depth study of the Hebrew pronunciation of Kerala Jews was recently taken up by Forsström(2006).
3 Preceded by the consonant /g/.
Contents

Acknowledgements I
List of Abbreviations IV
A Note on Transliteration V

Chapter One: Introduction 2
1.1 The Social Context of Jewish Malayalam Literature 3
    1.1.1 The History of Kerala Jews 7
    1.1.2 Medieval Sources and the Shingly Myth 10
    1.1.3 Contacts of Medieval World Jewry with Kerala 15
        1.1.3.1 Medieval Accounts of Jewish History in Kerala 19
    1.1.4 Cultural Expressions of the Shingly Myth 26
    1.1.5 Cultural History through Literature 29
1.2 Research of the Corpus 30
    1.2.1 A Critical Evaluation of Existing Studies 32
1.3 Studying the Corpus 37
    1.3.1 Methodological Problems 39
    1.3.2 Methodological Approaches and Deciphering 44
    1.3.3 Theme and the Context of Performance 45
    1.3.4 Content-Layer Analysis 47

Chapter Two: Intertextuality 51
Illustration 1: Jewish Malayalam Corpus 54
Illustration 2: A Comparative List of Features 54
2.1 The Notebooks 55
    2.1.1 Textual Presentation in the Notebooks 57
        Illustration 3: Classification of Notebooks 61
2.2 Affinities to Malayalam Literature 61
    2.2.1 Vaṭṭakkanpāṭṭukal – The Northern Songs 67
    2.2.2 Torrampāṭṭukal – Possession Songs 71
    2.2.3 Kaikōṭṭikkalippāṭṭukal – Clapping Songs 75
    2.2.4 Kalyāṇapāṭṭukal – Wedding Songs 80
        2.2.4.1 Ḍoppānappāṭṭukal – Muslim Wedding Songs 82
Chapter Three: Weddings as Performative-Ritual Space

3.1 The Grand Cultural Participation
3.2 Molding the Universal into the Local
3.3 The Wedding Rituals of Kerala Jews
3.4 Performative Occasions during Weddings
3.5 The Wedding Ritual Complex
   Table 2a: Pre-Wedding Rituals
   Table 2b: Post-Wedding Rituals
   Table 2c: Post-Wedding Rituals
   Table 3a: Pre-Wedding Rituals
   Table 3b: Post-Wedding Rituals
   Table 3c: Post-Wedding Rituals
3.6 Kerala Jewish Weddings as a Grand Cultural Participation
3.7 The Literary Corpus as Inherent in the Ritual Complex
3.8 Wedding Ritual Complexes: A Comparative Glance

Chapter Four: The Wedding Songs of Kerala Jews

4.1 An Overview of the Corpus
4.2 Rhyming Songs
   4.2.1 The Rhyming Song 'Dear Ones!'
   4.2.2 The Rhyming Song 'The Birth of Moses'
4.3 Formulaic Songs 196
   Table 4: Generic Features in Rhyming and Formulaic Songs 199
   4.3.1 The Formulaic Song 'Esau and Jacob' 199
   4.3.2 The Functionality of the Formulaic Frame 205
4.4 Formulaic-Rhyming Songs 209
   4.4.1 Variation Formulas 212
   4.4.2 The Formulaic-Rhyming Song 'One Lord!' 214
4.5 Detached Verses and Conglomerates 223
   4.5.1 Detached Verses 224
   4.5.2 Conglomerates 228
4.6 Translation Songs 231
   Table 5: Translation Approaches in Jewish Malayalam 237
   Illustration 4: The Influence of tamsir Vocabulary 239
4.7 Composer Songs 242
4.8 Refrain Songs 248
   4.8.1 Textual Genres and Musical Genres 250
   4.8.2 Generic Overlap and Hybrid Forms 256
4.9 Parrot Songs 257
4.10 Some Postulations and Some Reservations 278

Chapter Five: A Closer Look at the Verse Rhyming Känarvē Songs 288
5.1 The Modular Structure of the Känarvē Songs 291
5.2 The Song 'Vigil Night Song' 294
5.3 Intermediary Verses 299
5.4 Introductory Verses 306
5.5 Fragmenting and Retelling 313
   5.5.1 The Kāppurātri Songs 314
   5.5.2 Song for Puṟappēṭunna Šabat 328
5.6 Re-fragmentation of Retellings 333
5.7 A Summary 342

Chapter Six: Jewish Malayalam 346
6.1 Jewish Malayalam Defined 348
For Forty-Five Songs 416

Appendix B: The Kīnāvē Songs, Annotated Texts and Translations

For Thirteen Biblical-šātīm 510


Hebrew Abstract —
Jewish Malayalam
Women's Songs
Chapter One

Introduction

The coastal strip of southwest India, also known as Malabar,¹ attracted western traders from times of antiquity. The Western Ghats separate this area from the mainland and detain the monsoon clouds for a considerable part of the year. The lavish rainfall renders Malabar a country rich with water and abundant with tropical yield of the land. This long and narrow tropical strip of land below the Western Ghats borders the Arabian Sea and faces the eastern shores of the Arab peninsula. Greek, Roman and Arab seafarers pursuing trade travelled via the Arabian Sea to the shores of Malabar that became their gateway to India and the Far East.² Malabar was a lively commercial center for at least two millennia, with seaports and international markets spread all over its coastline.³ Among the many West Asian traders and migrants who settled in Malabar during the medieval period, there were also Jews. Jews became integrated in Kerala society while developing a distinct cultural tradition and speaking in their peculiar Malayalam dialect. The literary corpus produced and preserved in this Jewish Malayalam ‘caste-lect’ is the subject matter of the present study.

The literary culture in Jewish Malayalam belongs to a small marginal community of Jews in Malabar, or the modern state of Kerala. This Jewish community is marginal to the significantly larger minorities of Muslims and Christians among a majority of Hindus of many castes and creeds. It is also marginal to other Jewish communities in the Jewish Diaspora. Marginal as it may be, its history is long and continuous and unique in many respects. The Jewish community of Kerala is the only Jewish community in the world that enjoyed

¹ In medieval accounts of merchants and travelers, the Malabar region is taken in its broader sense stretching from Kollam to Goa. Here I refer to Malabar as the area more or less parallel to the area of the modern state of Kerala.

² During the fifteenth century also the huge Chinese fleet of Zheng-he reached Malabar several times. The scribe of the fleet left precious historic records about the area before the colonial era. See for example the descriptions of Calicut in Levathes, 1994: 100—2.

religious freedom and high social status for a long period. It is also the only Jewish community that existed in a land governed by non-Monotheistic rulers. The eventual decline of this ancient community was brought about by the mass migration to the modern state of Israel, where the remnants of this unique Jewish culture are retained against all odds.

1.1 The Social Context of Jewish Malayalam Literature

The society of Malabar is cosmopolitan. It absorbed the traits and trends of south Indian civilization - Buddhism and Jainism during the first millennia and Brahminic Hinduism during the second. It also absorbed West Asian trader communities, officially welcoming Christian, Muslim and Jewish migrants since the last two centuries of the first millennium. At the same time, the people of Malabar had their own peculiar traditions to maintain - traditional systems of kinship and socio-political organization, folk traditions and ancient rituals and art forms. The society of Malabar is a pluralistic conservative society, ever open to outside influence and at the same time preserving inner socio-cultural peculiarities. This cosmopolitan traditional society produced immensely rich and diverse cultural expressions in literature, folklore and the fine arts.

Kerala society is minutely segregated into social categories and sub-categories. The major distinction is between ambalakkār, 'temple people' and pallikkār, 'monotheistic shrine people', referring to Hindus and monotheists respectively. These two socio-religious categories are further divided into castes and sub-castes forming a complex web of socio-cultural relations that evolved over a long period.

Jews (jūtar) are a sub-category of pallikkār divided in turn into distinct communities and castes. Communal divisions are based on geographical and historical distinctions. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there were five

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4 There are only two Jewish communities in polytheistic Asia, the Jews of Kaifeng in China and the Bene-Israel from the Bombay area. However, these two communities were assimilated in their home countries, retaining only a loose connection with Jewish lore, whereas Kerala Jews were a distinct Jewish community by any standards (see Johnson, 1994: 33).
Jewish localities in Kerala – Pārūr, Ĉennamaṇ̄nalam, Māla, Kocci and Ernakulam – represented by the categories köccionites, pārukār, 'Pārūris' and so forth. In Kocci and Ernakulam there are further communal distinctions based on synagogue communities – tēkkumbhāgakkār, 'Southists', katavumbhāgakkār, 'Dock People' and paradeśī, 'foreigner', the latter is only in Kocci. The Jews of Māla, mālakkār, are also nicknamed palāsakkūttam, 'the Polish folk', by Malayalam speaking Jews in Israel.

These sub-categories reflect socio-historical developments. The Paradeśīs are associated with western foreigners arriving during the colonial period, and the palāsakkūttam are believed to have a common Polish ancestor. The tēkkumbhāgakkār and katavumbhāgakkār are associated with earlier settlement patterns somewhere else, where synagogues existed in the remote past on the southern side or the riverside at the landing place. There is a further sub-caste within the Paradeśī community, ōrumakkāran or ǔmakkāran, 'freed people'. Note that the Paradeśī and the ǔmakkār are not terms that refer to a synagogue community, but rather mark endogamous groups in relation to the other communities. At some point in the mid-nineteenth century, the katavumbhāgakkār from Kocci were excommunicated by the other communities, and they too became

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5 The ending –kkār (plural, -kkāran, singular) is an agent noun marker. For example, it may be agglutinated to the noun pani, 'work', to form the agent noun panikkāran, 'worker'.
6 Tēkkumbhāgam means 'the southern side', and katavu means 'the side of the dock, landing place'. For the ending –kkār, see footnote above.
7 The majority of Jews migrating from Kerala resettled in five places in Israel: Mesillat Zion, Taoz and Aviezer near Jerusalem, Nevatim in southern Israel and Kfar Yuval in northern Israel. Interestingly, these settlements became a communal point of reference, somewhat parallel to the old communal divisions in Kerala, though not entirely identical. The old communal divisions are still known to the second generation of migrants, now in their fifties and sixties.
8 Note that a similar distinction exists among Christians from Kerala. See Kollaparambil, 1992: XXIII; Visvanathan, 1993: 13.
9 In contemporary spoken Jewish Malayalam the word is ŭmakkāran, perhaps derived from ulamakkāran, 'farmer'. However, it is understood as parallel to the tamsīr word for 'freed people' (בֵּן חוֹרִין, ōrumakkāran). See Pirqey ‘Avot, undated, 15.
a separate endogamous group. Consequently, their social contacts with the Paradeśi and ulmakkār became closer. These social and regional divisions are reflected in the Jewish Malayalam corpus, affecting repertoires and lines of transmission. As shown below in Chapter Two (see Illustration 3).

There are further caste-like divisions expressed in Hebrew terminology - məyuḥasim, 'those of pedigree', hâʾeynam məyuḥasim, 'those lacking pedigree', ləbānim, 'white' and mašuhrarim, 'manumitted'. The division into məyuḥasim and hâʾeynam məyuḥasim first appears in a Hebrew document dated 1520, a religious query sent from Malabar to the rabbinate in Egypt for clarifying the Halakhic (Jewish code of conduct) status of 'those lacking pedigree'. These two terms do not have parallel Malayalam terminology. Note that the Hebrew terminology is confined to endogamous groups, while the Malayalam terminology is mainly concerned with communities and their localities.

It is only later, during the eighteenth century that the Hebrew term ləvānim (white) surfaces. It refers to a community established in collaboration with Jews who migrated to Kocci following the expulsions from Spain and Portugal (1492 and 1496). The origin of the category, 'white' appears first in Portuguese, in the records prepared by De Paiva, a Jewish emissary from Amsterdam who reached Kocci in 1686. In listing the household names of the Paradeśi community, he notes whether a certain individual is branco, 'white'. Interestingly, not all members were noted brancos. As their names suggest, they arrived from different places in Europe and West-Asia, though some of them may have been previously natives of Kerala affiliated with one of the other communities. It is unclear on which basis this

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10 The query regards the status of those 'lacking pedigree' as equal Jews in respect to inter-marriage and certain ritual privileges. See Johnson, 1975: 24—6. See also Feinstein, 1889: 142; Mandelbaum, 1975: 170—3.

11 Katz and Goldberg, 1993: 142—143.

12 The major families as described to Jacob Sapir (1866) in the nineteenth century were Zakkay, Kastiel, Ashkenazi, Rothenberg, Rahabi and Hallegua. Except for the name Zakkay, all family names reflect western origins in Spain, Germany and Syria. The Paradeśis claimed that the Zakkay family were descendants of an ancient Malabari royal dynasty. It might be that the Zakkays
group of people was divided into brancos and non brancos. Was this De Paiva's way to note mayuḥasim and hāʿeynām mayuḥasim? The term moṣuhrarim is a later coinage, but it does have a parallel Malayalam term, ulmakkār, 'the freed ones'. Both the Hebrew and the Malayalam terms refer to a sub-caste within the paradeśi community.

Twentieth century scholars studying Kerala Jews simplified this complex multi-layered social stratification and created the categorical dichotomy of Malabaris and Paradeśis, with the sub-category of 'manumitted slaves' referring to the moṣuhrarim. It should be stressed that this division too reflects endogamous groups, where Malabaris are by far the largest, while the communal division into groups based on synagogue localities is not expressed in the Hebrew or English categories. The categories mayuḥasim and hāʿeynam mayuḥasim are associated in the nineteenth century Hebrew sources with inner divisions between Malabaris, despite the fact that it has no Malayalam equivalent, nor any social category of endogamous groups within the Malabari communities.

The present study focuses on the literary culture of all Kerala Jews. Regardless of the internal divisions, the Jewish community culture and literature in Kerala show a certain degree of cohesion, of 'Jewishness' as maintained by jūtar, a sub-caste of pallikkār. The Jewish Malayalam corpus is an oral literary production. Much of it was preserved in writing, in texts linked to certain locations and

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13 For the categorical distinction branco, see Segal, 1993, 42—43; Katz and Goldberg, 142—144.
14 See Mandelbaum, 1975.
15 It is not clear whether Malabari Jews were divided into mayuḥasim and hāʿeynam mayuḥasim. Feinstein claims that the Katavumbhāgakkār in Kocci were regarded hāʿeynam mayuḥasim (Feinstein, 1889: 189). However, some Kerala Jews in Israel still remember the scandal that led to excommunicating the Kocci-Katavumbhāgam community during the second half of the nineteenth century (Yosi Oren, personal communication). Mandelbaum tells a somewhat different story behind the rejection of the Kocci-Katavumbhāgam community (Mandelbaum, 1975: 189). For the social category of mayuḥāsim as recorded after migration to Israel, see Walerstein, 1987: 54—61.
communities. On the basic level of textual presentation, the texts are bound to peculiar social and ritual literary expressions. In Chapter Three, the ritual performative background of the corpus is described and analyzed with respect to the Jewish Malayalam corpus.

1.1.1 The History of Kerala Jews

Jewish history in Kerala runs parallel to the evolution of Malayalam language, from Early Old Malayalam inscriptions to modern Malayalam. Two inscriptions, from the ninth and eleventh centuries, are important evidence for the study of the evolution of Malayalam\(^{16}\) and of Jewish history alike. These inscriptions are royal grants given by the Hindu rulers to West-Asian individuals, possibly traders. The inscriptions contain signatures in foreign languages - Syriac, Kufic, Pahlavi and Hebrew - reflecting the religious identity of the beneficiaries and witnesses to the insessional grants.\(^{17}\)

The history of Malayalam language and literature is intriguing and unique. It manifests the richness and diversity of the conservative type of pluralism discussed above. However, marginal literatures such as the literary corpus in Jewish Malayalam are left unaccounted for in the standard descriptions of Kerala's literary and linguistic heritage.\(^{18}\) The history of Kerala Jews, on the other hand, received much attention ever since the beginning of the colonial era. Unfortunately, the reconstruction of this history is difficult due to fragmentary evidence. Moreover, the reconstruction of the history of the Jewish community is complicated by the ongoing internal disputes and claims on pedigree and prestige between the Paradeśis and all the other Jewish communities.

The historical reconstruction of Jewish history in Kerala depends on the selection and interpretation of the available evidence. Selection in turn affects

\(^{16}\) See Sekhar, 1951: 3.

\(^{17}\) Narayanan, 1972: 23—37.

\(^{18}\) In the past decades there has been growing interest in documenting and studying marginal literary corpora delivered in non-standard caste-lects. However, such research is largely premature. For some standard descriptions of Malayalam linguistic and literary history, see Ayyar, 1993; Namboodiri, 2004; Freeman, 1998, 2003; Ulloor, 1955; Leelavathy, 1980; George, 1958.
interpretation, which depends on one's attitude towards the materials and his or her motivation to reconstruct the past. The scarcity of materials surviving from the medieval period contrasted with the abundance of records from the colonial period have had the consequence of relying too heavily on the later sources for reconstructing the earlier past. The available sources are written in various languages. The evidence concerning medieval Jewish history in Kerala is mainly in Malayalam, Arabic and Hebrew. In the colonial period, Hebrew, Portuguese, Dutch and English are the major languages of the sources. A critical evaluation of the sources, their period and their linguistic medium is always necessary.

As mentioned above, the sources from the colonial period are mostly concerned with the rivalries between the Paradeśis and those whom they considered as lacking in Jewish pedigree and consequently ineligible for marriage and equal Jewish status. This set of materials is mainly delivered in foreign languages: Hebrew, Portuguese, Dutch and English. Most of it represents the small minority group of Paradeśis and their place in the history of the majority group of Malabaris, a history that goes back as far as the ninth century. Thus, the bulk of the materials for reconstructing Jewish history in Kerala is entangled in details that mostly concern the status claims of the Paradeśis and the attempts of Malabaris to refute them.19

The sources concerned with the origin of Jews in Kerala depend on ethno-histories provided by community members, mostly Paradeśis. In other words, origin myths current among the Paradeśis during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries play an important role in the reconstruction of Kerala Jewish history. In addition, the sources in foreign languages that may be less involved in the Jewish dispute can hardly be termed impartial or exhaustive. European travelers had no access to the majority of Jewish Malayalam speakers that were hardly distinguishable from the 'natives', be they Muslims, Hindus or Christians. They too depended on data concerning mainly the Paradeśi Jews.

19 The best example for that is the narration provided by Jacob Sapir (אבן ספיר, 1874) in favor of the Paradeśis, and the one refuting it by Feinstein (משhiba מלחמות, 1889). See also Walerstein, 1987: 4.
Because of the problematic evaluation of sources and processing of data, there are two conventional notions originating from the colonial sources that are integrated into the reconstruction of medieval Jewish history in Kerala. One is the unsubstantiated notion that Kerala Jews were ‘isolated’ from the pan-Jewish world until the arrival of the Europeans in the sixteenth century. The second is the notion of an ancient Jewish settlement in a place called Shingly, its total ruin leading to a second exile and the consequent formation of scattered, smaller Jewish settlements around the older one. Let me term these two notions as the ‘isolation myth’ and the ‘Shingly myth’ respectively.

The ‘isolation myth’ has its variations in European historiography of the Far Orient in general, and it is not surprising to see its workings also on the historiography of ‘exotic’ Oriental Jews such as Kerala Jews. The ‘Shingly myth’ is a variation on the central Jewish concepts of destruction and exile (הרס, חרבן), where the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem and the subsequent exile of the nation play a significant role in shaping Jewish culture and thought. These two notions led to generalizations and quasi-factual observations about Kerala Jews, their history and culture. However, if we analyze linguistic evidence of the spoken and written language of Kerala Jews, some inaccurate postulations about Jewish history in Kerala become apparent. In Chapter Seven (7.1—7.1), Kerala Jewish history is reexamined in light of such linguistic evidence in written and

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20 Fischel (1960: 91) goes as far as to claim that the arrival of the Portuguese to India caused the re-discovery of Kerala Jews. See also Bar-Ilan, who maintains that Kerala Jews were so isolated from other Jews, that they retained some form of pre-Rabbinic Judaism (1992: 84, 86). Katz and Goldberg carefully rephrase the ‘isolation’ terminology in terms of ‘stalement’ and ‘refreshment’ offered to Kerala Jews by contacts with Dutch Jewry, implying that until the Dutch period, Kerala Jewish culture was ‘stale’ (Katz and Goldberg, 1993: 23). However, they amply deal with the problems of reconstructing Jewish history in Kerala (ibid., 1—7).


22 See for example Chakravarti, 2001, regarding the historiography of trade and maritime in India; see also Lopez, 1998, in respect to the ‘isolation myth’ about Tibet.

23 There are also notions of ‘secondary’ destruction and exile, like the expulsion from Spain in 1492.
contemporary spoken Jewish Malayalam. For example, the Jewish Malayalam term *mōlyāṟū* and its relation to the role of rabbis undermine the postulation that Kerala Jews had no rabbis or rabbinical authority.

There seems to be general agreement that Jewish settlement in Kerala must have started around the beginning of the eleventh century, when an individual named Joseph Rabban received a copper plate grant from king Bhaskara Ravi Varman in Kodungallur.\(^2^4\) Joseph Rabban was a merchant from West Asia, who sought the alliance of the local Hindu ruler for securing prosperous trade relations. Trade relations with West Asia have started as early as the Hellenistic period. Jews might have arrived to the Malabar Coast already during the Hellenistic and Roman times.\(^2^5\)

While, written medieval sources on Jewish life in Kerala are scarce and sporadic, it is possible to attempt a reconstruction of medieval Jewish history by using these sources and roughly outline the history of Jewish settlement in Kerala. The medieval sources, whether in Hebrew, Arabic or Malayalam depict a picture of Jews actively involved in the formation of trader communities scattered all over the Malabar coast, especially in North Malabar. Furthermore, they contain occasional, casual references to Jews in Malabar suggesting that Jewish presence in Malabar was taken for granted by medieval Jews from West Asia. This portrayal contradicts the 'Shingly' and the 'isolation' myths. The medieval sources, scarce as they may be, deserve re-evaluation and reassessment as opposed to sources from the beginning of the colonial era onwards.

**1.1.2 Medieval Sources and the Shingly Myth**

The copper plate grant with dates and names of places and individuals is the basic evidence for medieval Jewish presence in Kerala. However, it does not tell us much about Jewish settlement in Kerala. It does give us information on a certain West Asian trader, possibly a Jew. He formed an alliance with the king of Kodungallur in

\(^2^4\) The place name in the Malayalam copper plates is *muyyirikkoṭu*. *Kōṭunkallūr* is another Malayalam name for the town, and in Sanskrit it is called Mahodayapuram. In Greek and Latin it was called Muziris. In the colonial era it was called Cranganore. See Johnson, 1975: 31—36.

\(^2^5\) For circumstantial evidence supporting this possibility, see Weinstein, 2000.
the tenth century. Most probably, this alliance was approved, or at least supported, by other traders from West Asia, for there are Kufic, Pahlavi and Syriac signatories who witness the award of the grant.

However, the copper plate grant does not tell us whether the Jewish trader was a permanent resident of Kodungallur, or whether he was the only Jew to have formed alliances with Hindu rulers. Neither do we know if the grant was perceived by the beneficiary, the benefactor and their witnesses as validating a permanent Jewish settlement. The copper plate grant might have been an official agreement to establish trade centers and relations, possibly one of other such agreements that did eventually lead to permanent settlements, but not necessarily with that objective in the first place. Most traders during the medieval period came for limited periods, as is evident from the Geniza letters of medieval Jewish traders involved in the India trade. We shall return to the evidence suggested by the Geniza letters in a little while.

Some stories and reports from the colonial period refer to Joseph Rabban as the founder of a Jewish settlement in Kodungallur, designated in Hebrew by the name 'Shingly' (שינגלי). According to Jewish ethno-historical accounts from the colonial period, Jews fled to Kodungallur after the first (or second) destruction of the temple in Jerusalem. They enjoyed freedom and prosperity, and established an autonomous kingdom headed by Joseph Rabban and his descendants. In the fourteenth century, the community suffered a major blow that led it to abandon Kodungallur and scatter around different places, establishing the major Jewish communities of Kerala that survived until the twentieth century.

The nature of the disaster leading to the exile from Kodungallur is obscure. Some accounts relate to fratricide and civil war between the Jewish subjects of the Rabban 'royal dynasty'. Others attribute the calamity to attacks by enemies, usually Muslim adversaries of the Jews. Paradeis often claim that the

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26 For the discovery of the Geniza documents and its impact on the study of Jewish history in West Asia, see Ben-Sasson, 1997. For the letters of medieval Jewish traders involved in the India trade, see Goitein, 1973, and Goitein and Friedman, 2008.

27 This is probably an anachronistic reflection on the attacks led by Tippu Sultan in the eighteenth century.
Malabaris brought about the destruction of Shingly, in their attempts to subvert the 'rightful' Paradeśi superiority. In these narrations, Kodungallur is usually termed Shingly, a foreign word that has several orthographic representations in Hebrew, Arabic and Latin sources from medieval sources. None of them clearly identifies Shingly with Kodungallur. Only some may be understood as places in and around Malabar, and that too very loosely. I examine these medieval sources in more detail below.

The word ‘Shingly’ is probably not a Malayalam word. Malayalam sources hardly mention Jews, Jewish settlements or Jewish kings. In Malayalam and other Indian languages such as Tamil, Sanskrit and Pali, medieval and ancient sources do not distinguish between the foreign traders and communities. They are collectively referred to as paradeśś, ‘foreigners’ or yavanāś, ‘Greeks’. Even the copper plates do not specify Joseph Rabban as a Jew, but rather affiliate him with a distinct community or merchant guild called añcuvannāṃ. Añcuvannāṃ is often contrasted with manigrāmam, denoting Jews and Christians respectively. It is uncertain whether the terms reflected communities, guilds or even place names associated exclusively with Jews or Christians. The terms añcuvannāṃ and manigrāmam appear in the medieval Malayalam Payyannūrpāṭṭū, denoting foreign merchant guilds in North Kerala, again, with no distinction of their respective religion.

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28 For the fratricide story, see Johnson, 1975: 84—89; for the Malabari ‘betrayal’ story, see ibid., 89—93.
29 For a survey of the sources where the word Shingly appears, see Weinstein, 1971: 503. Weinstein quotes also two Syriac texts with the word Shingly. The one which specifically ‘identifies’ Shingly with Cranganore is from the early colonial period. See also Yule, 1914: 75 n. 1.
30 See Zwelebil, 1973: 35 and n. 1; 54. Even today Muslims are referred to as Jonakas, a term derived from yavana. In Jewish Malayalam a Muslim is termed ‘yonān’.
31 See Gundert, 1884. Note that these merchant guilds are mentioned in medieval Malayalam sources associated with three localities in medieval Kerala. The ‘Christian’ copper plates from the ninth century were granted to Mar Sapir Iso in Kollam (South Kerala). The ‘Jewish’ copper plates from the eleventh century were granted to Joseph Rabban in Muyyirikotū (Kodungallur in Central Kerala). The Payyannūrpāṭṭū, dated to the thirteenth century, is by definition associated with Payannur, a coastal town some fifty km north of Kannur in North Malabar. Narayanan derives the term añcuvannāṃ from Persian, 2006: 498. See also his discussion of añcuvannāṃ in respect to manigrāmam, 1972: 33—37.
The multi-lingual signatories in the Christian and Jewish copper plates are in harmony with evidence from the Geniza records, where the dealings of merchants, regardless of their religion, are carried in cooperative financial and seafaring enterprise. Muslims, Christians and Jews living in the Arab world had Arab names, not always betraying their religion. In other words, there is no evidence in the medieval sources to account for a distinct autonomous Jewish settlement. The medieval sources, however, supply sufficient evidence for Jewish individuals settling here and there all over the Malabar Coast, possibly forming small and compatible social units that were located and relocated along the seaports of the Malabar Coast.

Do we have any evidence from sources in Jewish Malayalam? Jewish Malayalam literature and language can be traced to the medieval period by certain literary trends and linguistic items preserved in the written corpus and the spoken language alike. Chapter Four deals with an overview of the corpus and establishes a major division between the medieval period of composition and later literary phases from the sixteenth century onwards. Chapter Five deals with literary trends that must have been current before the sixteenth century, possibly around the fifteenth century. Chapter Six deals with contemporary spoken Jewish Malayalam and some linguistic residues from the medieval period. These materials provide a glance into the cultural life of the community before the colonial period, as well as the social and historical changes brought upon the Jewish culture in Kerala during the sixteenth century. These materials also provide some historical evidence for the existence of a distinct Jewish entity in medieval Malabar. The word ‘Shingly’ is not mentioned once in the Jewish Malayalam corpus, at least in the portions examined in the present thesis. Some ‘historical’ terms associated with the Shingly myth, like Joseph Rabban, añcuva am and references to Kodungallur, do appear in a few

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32See Goitein and Friedman, 2008: 142—152.
songs. Nevertheless, these 'historical' songs are exclusively possessed by the Paradeśis, and they all belong to later, post-sixteenth century trends in the corpus.\textsuperscript{33}

The 'isolation myth' depicts medieval Kerala Jewry as disconnected from the Jewish world, and lacking in Jewish literary and cultural activity.\textsuperscript{34} In contrast to this myth, I argue that medieval Kerala Jews were well up-to-date with pan-Jewish traditions, which are reflected in their ritual and Jewish Malayalam literature. In Chapter Five, I discuss the oldest layer of the Jewish Malayalam corpus, the biblical pāṭṭū, and its substratum of Hebrew literature composed of biblical and post-biblical literature. These biblical pāṭṭus depict a high level of acculturation. They are generically molded like classical Malayalam pāṭṭu and at the same time, the contents are typically Jewish, constantly drawing upon Hebrew sources.

Kerala Jews were not 'discovered' in the sixteenth century by the Jewish world. Neither were they 'refreshed' by contacts with European Jews. Surely, their culture and society was significantly reformed during the colonial period, as the trade contacts with the Jewish world shifted from the Arab peninsula to Europe and Asia Minor.\textsuperscript{35} We have to imagine a marginal community that had constant, even if only occasional, contacts with Jews from Jewish centers, especially from Aden, all through the medieval period. The scarcity of medieval sources is no evidence for the situation postulated by the 'isolation myth'. Certainly, the Jewish Malayalam corpus suggests vibrant cultural activity in the medieval Malabar Jewish community, which was quite up-to-date with, albeit marginal to, the medieval Jewish milieu in West Asia.

\textsuperscript{33} These songs are conventionally termed 'The Copper Plates Songs' (See Zacharia, forthcoming). 'Historical' terms like Joseph Rabban and variations on the name 'Kodungallur' are very rare in the corpus except for the 'Copper Plates Songs' genre.

\textsuperscript{34} See Fischel, 1970. See also Bar-Ilan, 1992: 84.

\textsuperscript{35} The arrival of the Portuguese in 1498 marked the beginning of the colonial era and had a strong impact on other communities in Kerala. For the impact of the Portuguese on the Christians of Kerala, see Zacharia, 1994. For the growing impact of the European 'super-powers' on the economy and politics from the sixteenth century onwards, see Frenz, 2003.
1.1.3 Contacts of Medieval World Jewry with Kerala

There are two major types of sources from the medieval period that testify for contacts between Kerala Jews and foreign Jews. Medieval travelogues written in Hebrew, Arabic and other foreign languages are one type of source. Letters exchanged by Egyptian Jewish merchants during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are another type. The medieval travelogues are accounts in foreign languages, especially Arabic, beginning in the tenth century. Among the medieval travelers who mention Jews are Al-Idrisi from the eleventh century and Ibn Battuta from the fourteenth century. Jews are also mentioned in the Latin travelogue of Friar Odoric who travelled along the medieval trade route passing through Malabar (1286—1331).\footnote{Johnson, 1975: 35—36; Fischel, 1981, 25; Katz and Goldberg, 1993: 35—36; Segal, 1993: 10—11.} Lastly, there is a travelogue written in Hebrew during the mid-twelfth century, by the Jewish traveler, Benjamin of Tudela.

The accounts of medieval travelers in Semitic and European languages are fascinating and informative. However, they are impressionist depictions of 'exotic' lands directed at specific audiences. Moreover, the travelogues are edited by others, transmitted in writing and subject to orthographic and textual transformations that yield different readings. Many such texts are co-authored, orally transmitted by the traveler upon his return home, and written down by a scribe, who can also function as a co-author. The oral narrator may have more listeners while he dictates the story of his travel. Both authors – narrator and scribe/s - wish to satisfy the interest of their listeners in trivial details about distances and the trade route geography, as well as delight them with juicy details about the people and landscape of distant 'exotic' lands.\footnote{For the textual circumstances of composing Ibn Battuta's travelogue, see Gibb, 1929: 1—15. See also Yule, 1914: 18—27, for Friar Odoric's travelogue, and Signer, 1983: 13—33, for Benjamin of Tudela's travelogue.} The medieval travelogues depend not merely on the experience of the traveler-narrator, but also on the knowledge of the editor-scribe. Later editions depend on the way in which scribes transmit the manuscript in writing. Furthermore, they are not always based on first-hand encounters with the places and people that the narrators describe.
These medieval travelogues belong to a literary genre, rather than historiographical writing. As such, they need critical evaluation before using them as a source. The travelogues afford a glimpse into the medieval perception of the world in and around the Christian and Muslim civilizations. Geography becomes less and less comprehensive when it comes to places far from the cultural centers of the occasional observers, the traveler-narrators and their scribe-editors. The itinerary of the medieval traveler is not easily traced in the geography of medieval Malabar, as we know it today. Place names often changed in the course of time and transition from one language to another. Moreover, the geography of the trade route was adjusting to changes in socio-economic and natural circumstances. Place names might be subject to hypothesis and inference based on several sources, like the place names 'identified' with Shingly. Some, however, are easily identified, like Kollam, Pantalayāni-Kollam and Calicut.

Since Malabar was an international trade center already during the times of medieval travelers, each traveler reported the whereabouts of merchants and communities of his coreligionists. For example, Ibn Battuta mentions the Muslims all over the lands of Malabar, Friar Odoric tells us of Christians, and Benjamin of Tudela informs us about the whereabouts of Jews. However, it seems that at times it was not very simple for the foreign traveler to draw a clear picture of the monotheistic communities of pallikkār in Kerala, even if he did reach the place and stayed there for some time. For example, Friar Odoric refers to Jews and Christians living in Malabar, "the pepper forest that extendeth for a good eighteen days' journey", where the two cities Flandrina and Cynglin are located.

"In the city of Flandrina some are Jews and some are Christians; and between those two cities there is always internal war, but the result is always that the Christians beat and overcome the Jews." 

38 For the medieval socio-economic circumstances, see Champakalakshmi, 2001. For the problem of localization of medieval South Indian seaports, see Deloche, 2001.

The place name Flandrina is identified with Pantalayāni-Kollam in North Malabar, an important medieval seaport that declined later on giving way to the rise of Calicut. The presence of Jewish and Christian communities elsewhere in Malabar is verified by the copper plate grants given in southern and central Kerala a few centuries earlier. Interestingly, Odoric is silent about the Muslim communities that are so conspicuous in Ibn Battuta’s narrations, just a few decades later.

The identification of Cynglin with Kodungallur is questionable. It rests mainly on cross-references with obscure place names in other travelogues and on data originating from the colonial period. Whenever the travelers mention Jews, they refer to medieval seaports such as Kollam, Pantalayāni-Kollam and Calicut. We can safely assume that during the medieval period Jews inhabited Malabar, and Jewish traders frequented its seaports in Kollam, Pantalayāni-Kollam and later on Calicut. From the travelogues that mention Shingly, or a similar name, it is unclear where exactly the place is. Unlike the other place names such as Malabar, Flandrina and Kollam, its derivation and etymology can hardly be traced in Malayalam. A Jewish settlement, or maybe even a few, might have existed around Kodungallur at some point. However, there is no 'hard' evidence for medieval Jewish settlements in central Kerala, either Kodungallur or Shingly, in sources from the medieval period.

Nevertheless, Shingly became the most prominent point of reference despite its obscure identity. The medieval travelers’ accounts concerning Kerala Jews hardly mention Shingly or place names that may be identified with it. For example, the place name Al-Gingaleh in Benjamin's travelogue may be loosely identified with a place name in central Kerala.

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40 Flandrina is alternatively spelt Fandarina, Fandarāyana in other secondary sources.
41 Weinstein lists many orthographic representations of the word 'Shingly' in several languages – Latin, Hebrew, Arabic and Syriac (Weinstein, 1971: 502—503). However, he finds definite proof only in one document in Syriac dated to the early colonial period, without giving any details about the context of mentioning Shingly. Syrian Christian traditions in Kerala never refer to Kodungallur as 'Shingly', which makes this Syriac document a questionable exception in this regard.
42 Jussay derives Shingly from caṇṭhalāṭi, "the original name for the estuary in Cranganore" (2005: 23, 62).
connected with the word Shingly. However, in Benjamin of Tudela’s travelogue it does not even refer to Malabar, while his reference to Kollam is explicitly associated with Malabar and with Jewish communities all around that country. While the name ‘Shingly’ may have originated in the medieval period, as is evident from the travelogues, it does not appear at all in the letters of medieval Jewish traders, the only definite first-hand medieval accounts of Malabar. Contrarily, Kollam, Flandarina and Mangalore are well-known places to the medieval Egyptian Jewish traders. Why, then, is it necessary to incorporate the ‘Shingly myth’ of the later sources into the reconstruction of medieval Jewish history in Malabar? The available materials in the medieval sources are sufficient for portraying diffused and scattered Jewish settlement in Malabar, with no marked Jewish identity.

Only the ethno-histories and travelers’ accounts from the colonial period describe Shingly as ‘origin place’ and ‘Jewish kingdom’ and identify it with Kodungallur. Arguably, in order to ‘identify’ Shingly we should not search for linguistic etymologies or geographic locations based on the medieval itineraries. We should rather think in terms of a conceptual location in the imagined geography of the ‘exotic Orient’ as reflected in the narrations of medieval travelers and their scribes. All evidence from both the medieval times and colonial period leads to trace Shingly in the imagined and obscure map of the far orient as perceived in South Europe and Arabia. The ‘real’ Shingly is an imagined, legendary and perhaps utopian place. In that sense, yes, it is ‘isolated’.

In the existing literature, incorporation of the Kodungallur ‘Shingly myth’ is often supported by the fact that indeed Kodungallur was an important financial and political center from ancient times, mentioned in Greek and Roman historiographies. It was the capital of the Cera kings, and also Christians and Muslims depict this city as one of the important and old settlements in Kerala. Furthermore, a tsunami like flood destroyed the ancient port of Kodungallur in the fourteenth century, depriving it of its long standing importance as a trade center.

44 Adler, 1907: 58—61 (H), and 67 f.n. 1 (E).
At this point ethno-history and historiography merge to form the 'Shingly myth' including, perhaps unconsciously so, the notion of 'isolation'. The problem is that the medieval sources are hardly accounted for offering other possibilities of reconstructing medieval Jewish history in Malabar. The dazzling stories about Kodungallur became dominant in all historical reconstructions, ignoring scarce and dry data from the pre-colonial period that is strikingly silent about Kodungallur or any Jewish kingdom in Malabar. Again, Kodungallur may have been populated by Jews for some time, but so may have been other places in Kerala. Indeed, any Jewish settlement in Malabar must have been marginal to the Jewish world of the West. However, the medieval sources testify that Jews frequented several places on the Malabar Coast all through the medieval period. Let us see what exactly the medieval sources tell us about Kerala Jews in this regard.

1.1.3.1 Medieval Accounts of Jewish History in Kerala

The reference to Malabar Jews in Benjamin of Tudela's travelogue (twelfth century) is often cited as evidence for Jewish settlement in medieval Kerala. The text refers to a few thousand Jews in Malabar, dark in complexion and with little knowledge in post-biblical literature (פָּה-תּוּרָה שֶׁבֶל-מֶשֶׁךְ). It is not necessarily a first hand account, but it is certainly based on some sort of information about medieval Malabar, possibly gathered from Jewish traders who were acquainted with the place. In the scarcity of evidence from that period, it is a valuable account in spite of its questionable reliability.

46 But see Lesely, 2000, who focuses on slightly different evidence from the early colonial period, they too in foreign languages and by foreign observers.

47 Katz and Goldberg, 1993: 38; Segal, 1993: 6, 10. Johnson (1975: 23) identifies Al-Gingaleh (אל גנגלה) with Kōtun날לū. However, it is unrelated to Malabar or to Jews in Benjamin's narration. Adler admits that he can not identify Al-Gingaleh (1907: 67). Weinstein identifies Shingly with Kodungallur on the basis of loose etymological connections between the Arab, Hebrew and Latin representation of the word in Medieval travelogues. He does not consider the problematic obscure geography of the 'exotic Orient', neither the textual problems of the texts, their editing and transmitting. Adler's position seems to be much more substantiated.
The audiences of Benjamin's travelogue were Jews in Medieval Spain. They were fluent in Arabic, and they may have relished similar travelogues written by Muslims. Like other travelers, Benjamin includes details that may be of interest to his target audience. The travelogues abound in descriptions of seaports, trade routes, foreign markets, the prices of goods and import products. Traders were in the audience too, and these travelogues were their source of information about distant places. They were meant to assist merchants in their trade enterprises, and guide them on their journeys through foreign and far off places. In addition, they aim at pleasing their audience with exotic, picturesque portrayals. Benjamin writes in Hebrew, especially for Jews, and he takes special notice of the size and nature of Jewish communities all around the places he describes. He does this in order to supply his audience with tips about possible places to lodge in and receive the assistance of their co-religionists. Keeping this background in mind, let us accompany Benjamin of Tudela on his journey in Malabar:

"And from there [Katifa in the Persian Gulf?], it is seven days journey to Kollam (קאולם), where the kingdom of the sun worshippers begins. They are descendants of Kūs (כוש), divinizing by stars and they are all black and trustworthy in their dealings. When the merchants from abroad reach their harbor, three of the royal scribes approach them, write their names and present them to the king. The king is responsible for their wealth, so that they can leave it outside unattended. A clerk sits in one shop, and any lost items that a man finds on the road, he brings before him. The owner describes the lost items, and the clerk returns it to him. This is the custom in that kingdom.

And from Passover until New Year all through the summer, no one leaves home because of the sun. Since there is such heat in that country, three hours after sunrise they all hide in their houses until evening, and go out only later on. They light candles in all the markets and streets and conduct their business and trade during the night. They turned night into day due to the excess of the heat of the sun.

There is pepper, they plant pepper trees in the fields, and each citizen knows which is his own orchard. The pepper trees are small, and the pepper is snow white, but when they pluck it they put it in barrels and pour hot water on it to make it stronger, then

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48 For a detailed introduction to the background of Benjamin of Tudela the man and to his travelogue and audience, see Signer, 1983: 13—33.
they take it out, dry it in the sun and it turns black. In addition, cinnamon, ginger and many
types of perfumes are found there. And the people there do not bury their dead, but rather
mummify them with all kinds of herbs and seat them on benches and cover them with
cloth. And each family has houses to keep their ancestors inside. The flesh dries on their
bones and they look alive. And everyone knows who are his ancestors and family many
years into the past.

They worship the sun. They have big altars everywhere around half a mile away
from the town. Every morning they run towards the sun, because on each altar there is a
sun-disc that they create by using all kinds of magic, and during sunrise, the [sun] disc rolls
around with loud noises. Each person has his own vessel of burning incense for the sun.
This is the conduct of men and women, silly as they are.

And among them are several thousands of Israelites in all these places. All the
landlords of that country are black, and so are the Jews. They are good Jews observing the
commandments. They possess the Mosaic law, the books of the prophets and little of
Talmud and Halakha.\footnote{For the Hebrew text, see Adler, 1907: 58—59 (H) 64—65 (E). Unless otherwise mentioned, all
translations from Hebrew and Malayalam are mine.}

This description of Malabar is clearly a mixture of facts and fanciful imagination. It
is true that the month following Passover (March-April) is the hottest season in
South India, but soon after, the monsoon season begins, when the sun is hardly seen
until the Jewish New Year. Pepper does not grow on trees but on creepers, it is
green when it is plucked, and if boiling water is poured on it, it will be spoilt.\footnote{Ibn Battuta refutes this belief a few decades later: "[…] and thus [pepper] is dried by the sun. As
to what some have said that they boil it in order to dry it, it is without foundation." (Quoted in
Logan, 1887: 289—90).} The
Hindus, or in Benjamin's terminology 'sun-worshippers', do not mummify their
ancestors, at least not in the twelfth century. Benjamin of Tudela seems to have
heard many stories about South India, but did he really get there?

Nevertheless, this vivid account should not be dismissed too lightly. While
Benjamin might exaggerate his descriptions of the place and the population, he
carefully provides the potential medieval Jewish merchant with precise information.
Kollam was indeed an important trade center during Benjamin of Tudela's time.
Ships heading to Kollam and referred to as 'Al-Kulāmi' in the Geniza records did set sails from Aden to Malabar during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.\(^{51}\)

The rulers of Malabar and its markets had a very high reputation for their hospitality and honesty, thus forming the ideal trade partners.\(^{52}\) Benjamin finds it significant enough for his account, and gives it prominence. The mention of the Jews living in Kerala seems reliable too; the Hebrew signatures on the copper plates from the ninth and eleventh centuries support it. Interestingly, his account refers to several Jewish settlements around Kollam, rather than a Jewish kingdom in Kodungallur, quite far to the north.\(^{53}\) Since his account is probably based on second hand information, we cannot rule out the possibility that the many states where Jews lived in do not necessarily refer to Kollam and its vicinity. One of them may be in Kodungallur or anywhere else in Malabar.

Benjamin does not glorify Jewish presence in terms of a 'kingdom' or even a Jewish center, as he does in respect to some strikingly flourishing other Jewish communities, like the community in Baghdad. What is important for Benjamin is to note that the Malabar Jews are "good Jews observing all the commandments" and that they possess Halakhic and Talmudic literature. Why was it necessary to qualify the Jews of Malabar in this way? Arguably, Benjamin was informing his audience about the exact branch of Judaism to which Malabar Jews belonged. Since Benjamin wrote about a century after the Jews divided into the Rabbinic and Karaite sections, it is reasonable that he specified these Jews as Rabbinic Jews. He wished to stress that though far away, they are not Karaites; they are Jews like 'us' in Muslim Spain, adhering to rabbinic institutions and authority. In this way, he widens the scope of

\(^{51}\) See Goitein and Friedman, 2008: 24.

\(^{52}\) Zheng-He and Ibn Battuta are also full of praise about the tolerance and integrity of the Malabar people. See Levathas, 1994: 100 about Calicut and Gibb, 1929: 237—238 about Calicut and Kollam.

\(^{53}\) It is not clear whether Kollam in the travelers' accounts always refers to Kollam in South Kerala, or rather to Pantalāyani-Kollam north of Calicut.
possible places of refuge for Jews in case the need arises to flee from a troubled area or persecution, as it often happens in Jewish history in the monotheistic world.\footnote{See Signer, 1983: 26—33, for suggesting that Benjamin of Tudela was also motivated by the need to describe possible places of refuge.}

According to the letters of West Asian medieval Jewish traders, they reached Kollam in the south and Mangalore in the north (in the modern state of Karnataka, not very far from the northern border of Kerala). They remained in the Malabar region for considerable periods. They needed a constant supply of wheat, wine and paper for ritual purposes, as these products are not to be found in Malabar. These merchants belonged to one of the most influential Jewish centers of that period, to which the famous Maimonides belonged in the heydays of trade with India. His younger brother died in a shipwreck on route to Malabar. Probably, Malabar Jews had ongoing cultural, religious and economic contacts with these merchants all through the medieval period.\footnote{See Goitein and Friedman, 2008.} It is likely that the trade route served also those interested to migrate from Europe or West Asia.

The discovery of the Geniza letters of medieval Jewish traders to India is considered a miracle by scholars studying medieval West Asian Jewry.\footnote{For the importance of Geniza records to Jewish historiography, see Ben-Sasson 1997: 8—10; For studies of the Geniza letters concerning the trade with India, see Goitein, 1973: 177—271; Goitein and Friedman, 2008.} Among the many vistas it opens up for researchers, it provides evidence for the wide scope of trade relations with India undertaken by West Asian traders of different places and communities, Jewish and Muslim alike. These letters are but remnants of a much larger scale of interactions between West Asia and India, especially Malabar. How many more people of different places, and maybe different motives other than trade, must have traveled the same route leaving no traces in history.

It is however striking that the traders whose letters did survive do not mention any distinctively Jewish settlement in Malabar. What they do witness is a certain degree of social activity that is particularly Jewish and that requires communal infrastructure. Such is, for example, a Jewish court deed found in the documents left by Ben-Yiju, or his dealings with Jewish managers and workers for
his bronze factory in Mangalore. Ben-Yijū also married a local woman called Aṣu, who is referred to in the letters as a proselyte and a manumitted slave girl. She stayed in Malabar after Ben-Yijū returned to West Asia, taking with him their son and daughter. I suspect that Ben-Yijū, who married Aṣu just a few months after his arrival to Mangalore, actually established marital bonds with local influential people for securing cooperation in his factory enterprise and other trade interests. His referring to his wife as a slave girl might be a technical coinage concerning Halakhic rules about proselytes. Aṣu might have been a woman of a higher status, perhaps of the matrilineal Nair ruling class.

The arbitrary glance into the letters of one merchant who was established in Malabar is evident for some social Jewish infrastructure nascent in Malabar society. No such letters survived from any other Jewish community. However, many personalities, especially from the Jewish community in Aden, are mentioned in the Geniza letters. It is very likely that Adenese merchants and Yemenite Jews were closely involved in the India trade. They might have interacted with Malabar and contributed in many ways to the nascent Jewish presence as depicted in Ben-Yijū’s letters. Aden was the gateway to Malabar, even as late as the British period. Benjamin of Tudela refers to Aden as an Indian port: "from [Al-Gingaleh?], it takes

57 Goitein and Friedman, 2008: 58—59, 644—647.

58 Her name in the letters, Aṣu, sounds like a common 'pet-name' in Malayalam, often ending in /u/, e.g. śṛkkutta > śiku, śṛḷakṣmi > śilu. It might be an abbreviated form of Āśūrāda, 'blessing'. Interestingly, Ben-Yijū gave her a Hebrew name, Baraḵāh, with exactly the same meaning.

59 He did encounter a fierce debate brought before the Jewish court of Yemen regarding the legal Jewish status of his children. See Goitein and Friedman, 2008: 73—78.

60 In one of his letters, Ben-Yijū mentions his brother-in-law 'Nair'. See Goitein and Friedman, 639 and n17, who speculate about the name and its meaning. In another letter sent to Ben-Yijū and urging him to leave India, the correspondent in Egypt assures Ben-Yijū that he should not fear being chastised for something he did in haste. Could this be referring to his marrying Aṣu? The same letter urges Ben-Yijū to leave India lest he dies and his children are joined to the "ward of the state" (ibid., 362—363). From this correspondence it is quite clear that the medieval Jewish traders were not considering Malabar as an integral part of their Jewish milieu.
eight days to reach India which is on the mainland and called Aden.”\textsuperscript{61} Aden had a big prosperous Jewish community, well up-to-date with the great Jewish centers in Babylonia and Egypt. The Jewish community of Malabar might have been the eastern branch of Yemenite Jewry during the heyday of trade relations with medieval Arabia. How many more Jewish merchants must have reached Malabar, leaving no traces in recorded history, but undoubtedly contributing to the Jewish community in Malabar, not only knowledge but possibly also migrants and refugees.

In light of the medieval sources, the Jews living on the Malabar Coast during that time were scattered among many places, especially seaports. Some of these Jews were traders, and some were permanent residents of Malabar. Some were proselytes, perhaps especially women like Asus, Ben-Yijū’s wife. Some may have reached Malabar with the wealthy merchants, looking for economic opportunities, say working in a factory owned by Jews. Some may have escaped regional conflicts, which occasionally erupted in West Asia and Europe at that time. Until the sixteenth century, a Jewish kingdom or a sizeable Jewish community is not mentioned along the India trade route. Moreover, the Jewish traders take it for granted that Jews live on the Malabar Coast, on the margins of the Judeo-Arab world to be sure, but not at all 'isolated' or unknown.

It is only after the arrival of the Portuguese to Kerala in 1498 that the 'exotic' and 'unidentified' Shingly begins to be 'identified' with Kodungallur, and only in foreign languages like Hebrew, Portuguese and Syriac. All references to Shingly from the medieval period can only be loosely related with 'identified' or 'unidentified' places in South Asia.\textsuperscript{62} Only after the sixteenth century, Shingly becomes the code name for a 'lost' Jewish oriental kingdom, an 'isolated' Jewish community, the mythic origin of Kerala Jews.

\textsuperscript{61} Adler, 1907, 61 (H). See also Ibn Battuta’s reference to Aden as an Indian port, in Gibb, 1929: 110, and Adler’s note in this regard (Adler, 1907: 67).

\textsuperscript{62} Some scholars suggested that Shingly may be derived from Simhala (Ceylonese), a possibility that Weinstein rules out. Others suggested that a place with a similar name may have been in the Persian Gulf or the eastern shores of Africa. See Weinstein, 1971: 503.
1.1.4 Cultural Expressions of the Shingly Myth

The Shingly myth is indeed appealing, and much was written on the issue. Though some other myths of origin may have existed among Kerala Jews, the Shingly myth dominates. More than locating Shingly on Kerala’s map, it is important to locate it in its cultural environment. The 'Shingly myth' grew and assumed its shape in the late medieval period and around the traumatic expulsion of Jews from Spain. It was a part of Jewish eschatological narratives, ever looking for the lost tribes and forgotten Jewish kingdoms, where Jews defeat their enemies. It is only during the mid-eighteenth century that we find its expression in the literary culture of Kerala Jews, in the Hebrew poem 'nomar śirāḥ', often cited as evidence for a 'lost' Jewish kingdom called Shingly.

I travelled from Spain,
I heard of the city of Shingly.
I craved for an Israeliite king,
And saw him with my own eyes.

The song is an acrostic bearing the initials of the name Nissim. The poet's full name is Nissim Ben Sanji. He was born in Constantinople in the seventeenth century, and due to troubles, took off to India, like others during that period. It is the poetic persona of Ben Sanji who hails from Spain in the song. It is a poetic persona of a Jewish king that he meets, and not an actual king or sovereign.

The earliest textual appearance of Ben Sanji's poem is in 1756, where it is only mentioned by title and scheduled for one of the wedding ceremonious occasions. The full text appears in a publication from 1769, again, for the same

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63 Johnson lists the earliest origin stories gathered from Hebrew and other non-Malayalam sources (1975: 52f.). All these sources are from the sixteenth century onwards, and most of them originate from the Paradeši community. See also Walerstein, 1987: 27—28, 39—40.
64 See Aescoly, 1993: מִסְּפַרַד הָלַכְתִּי נָסַעְתִּי.
67 Kastiel, 1756: כְּבָדָה.
wedding function.\textsuperscript{68} This means that a few decades after the time of composition, the poem became a part of the Hebrew para-liturgy in Kocci. However, it also became a part of the repertoire of other communities, perhaps much later. Kerala Jews in Israel still preserve this Hebrew poem, and sing it during the Saturday before or after the holiday of \textit{tu bi\textbar\textbar bat} (January-February).\textsuperscript{69} This means that the poem is related to the wedding ritual and its performative context only in the Paradeši tradition.\textsuperscript{70} A closer reading of the full text reveals its relation to the wedding:

Let us sing poetry with songs
Like the praise of the Song of Songs.
Your eyes are like the eyes of doves,
Blessed be the one blessed by God.

You are close to my heart,
Like silver and gold,
By the merit of Moses the prophet,
Who is the son of God.

You are as precious as my soul,
I am Your slave, I am not free.
Like a black man I was sold,
Let me bless the name of God.

The poem is addressed to a female addressee, explicitly drawing upon the Songs of Solomon, "songs like the praise of the Song of Songs". Following this statement, the poet draws upon the famous metaphor for a beautiful woman as having "dove-

\begin{itemize}
\item Rahabi, 1769: פ.
\item See Barbut, 2005: 40; Arešet Safatenu, 1980: 258.
\item Contrarily, some songs in the para-liturgical repertoire for weddings of Kerala Jews are consistently represented as wedding songs, e.g. \textit{yāpāh kabhānāh}, in all repertoires, Paradeši and Malabari alike.
\end{itemize}
like eyes”.71 Once the Song of Songs is invoked, a whole range of allegoric associations comes to the mind of the Jewish listener, where the female beloved is taken as a token for the holy Torah or, alternately, for the Jewish congregation (כנסת ישראל). The mention of Moses as the mediator between the speaker and his beloved makes the allegoric association even more explicit.

Following this poetic imagery and allegory, the last verse condenses the imagined biography of the poet. Why does he say that he comes from Spain and not from Turkey, his real homeland? That is possibly because the poet wishes to stress his prestigious descent from a family of Spanish origins.72 He hails from one Jewish kingdom to another Jewish kingdom, Shingly, in an imaginary utopian world where Jews have sovereignty and kings. The reference to a Jewish king may hint at a rich influential Jew, who may have given shelter and livelihood to the poet, a refugee from central Asia. Alternatively, the image of a king may hint at a bridegroom, that the Paradešis associate during the wedding with Joseph Rabban, their mythical primordial king.73

The poet must have reached Kocci during the Dutch rule after 1663. The poem is oriented towards the Paradeši congregation, with its ethno-historical sense of Shingly as their lost ancient kingdom, and a Jewish king as their primordial ancestor embodied in the person of the bridegroom. This imaginary world must have been alien to the Malabari Jews. They finally adapted the poem into their repertoire in a later period and only loosely related to a marginal ritual occasion.

The poem can be taken as evidence for the reputation that Kocci had in the Jewish Diaspora in Central Asia as a place of refuge for Jews during the seventeenth century. The reference to Shingly is no evidence for a medieval Jewish kingdom, but rather evidence that the legend of Shingly was a living tradition for Jews in the seventeenth century.

71 Songs of Solomon, 1: 15, 4: 1.
72 Jews of Spanish, or sefaradi, origin sustained a distinct Jewish identity even centuries after expulsion from Spain.
73 See Johnson, 1975, 69—70, 154—159.
Let me stress once more that for reconstructing Jewish history in Malabar, medieval sources should be treated separately from sources from the sixteenth century onwards. Moreover, the generic mode of a certain source should be considered in the historical reconstruction. Travelogues cannot be taken on par with data from the Geniza letters. Similarly, literary sources such as the poem cited above cannot be treated regardless of their context and poetic concerns.

I do not attempt here an alternative reconstruction of Kerala Jewish history, but rather a background for surveying the literary culture, especially in Jewish Malayalam, and outlining the history of Jewish Malayalam literature. For doing so, it is necessary to be open minded, and to imagine a marginal Jewish community that had close relations with the Jewish world all through medieval times. It is necessary also to see how the Jewish culture had different centers and settlement patterns that altered according to political and economical changes in the larger frame of Kerala society.

1.1.5 Cultural History through Literature

Kerala Jews preserved an impressive body of literature in two languages, Hebrew and Malayalam. Besides the obligatory Jewish body of scriptures – Bible, Talmud and liturgy – Kerala Jews possessed a large collection of Hebrew para-liturgy composed by indigenous poets. In Malayalam, Kerala Jews preserved an impressive literary corpus orally transmitted and preserved in writing too, possibly only partially so. The language of Kerala Jewish literature is a Malayalam ‘hybrid’ or caste-lect, composed of colloquial Malayalam with Hebrew loanwords and literary influences. I treat this language hybrid, namely Jewish-Malayalam, in Chapter Six, arguing that even its contemporary faded variant, currently spoken among Kerala Jews in Israel, reflects linguistic data that challenge the Shingly myth and the notions of a ‘rediscovered’ and ‘isolated’ Jewish community.

The language ‘hybrid’ of the Jewish Malayalam corpus is not merely a colloquial dialect. It is above all a literary language of aesthetic formulations and cultural expressions. It does reflect the spoken language, but no speaker of Jewish
Malayalam can easily read the corpus.\textsuperscript{74} This is because the language ‘hybrid’ of the corpus is far from being homogeneous; it has regional and historical variations that require careful inspection and analysis. Jewish Malayalam reflects movements and changes in place and time during the long history of Jewish settlement in Kerala. The Jewish Malayalam literary corpus is outlined in Chapter Four. The history of the corpus is sketched out in chapter Two, supplying the historical typology of linguistic and literary inter-relations with Hebrew and Malayalam literary histories.

The present study is above all a typological excursion into a yet unexplored literary realm. It is also the study of the way, in which a marginal small community established socio-cultural bonds through literature. How it recreated its cultural self by conversing with the larger literary entities of Hebrew and Malayalam literary cultures. Thus, this study is also a pragmatic analysis of literature as a socio-cultural expression, taking the various types of literary expressions as speech acts anchored in socio-cultural non-verbal activity, mainly ritual.

\textbf{1.2 Previous Research of the Corpus}

The study of the Malayalam songs of Kerala Jews took off in the second half of the twentieth century. Several scholars collected manuscripts and audio recordings and indexed their contents.\textsuperscript{75} Only some songs were translated and published in English and Hebrew, sometimes with Malayalam transcriptions.\textsuperscript{76} Though many of the songs are unintelligible to varying degrees, the language of the corpus was not analyzed so far. This does not come as a surprise given the general limited volume of in-depth studies into Malayalam language and literature. Therefore, a thorough analysis of communal linguistic variations and literary corpora such as the Jewish

\textsuperscript{74} See Johnson, 1975: 122; 2006: 522.
\textsuperscript{75} The manuscripts are hand-written notebooks. Xerox copies of all the notebooks in the collection are kept in the Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem, and audio recordings are kept in the Phonoteque of the National library in Jerusalem. For more about the collection, see Johnson, 2001.
\textsuperscript{76} Simon, 1947; Daniel, Dekel and Isenberg, 1984; Daniel and Johnson, 1995; Jussay, 2005; Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005; Johnson, 2005.
Malayalam corpus is still to be undertaken. Such literary corpora are usually classified as folksongs and rather neglected scholars of language and literature.

Many ‘folksongs’ in communal regional linguistic variations were collected and published with annotations in Kerala, but they have not been investigated systematically with respect to their language and contents.\textsuperscript{77} The existing publications of ‘folksongs’ are based on the folk knowledge of community members including explanatory notes of colloquial and obscure lexemes.\textsuperscript{78} However, these notes are fragmentary, the main focus of the authors being the collection, publication and introduction of the materials. A systematic linguistic study of the language variations that examines Malayalam ‘folksongs’ is still a desideratum.

Since literary corpora of Malayalam ‘folksongs’ are categorized as folk literature, their study is usually focused on folkloric analysis inspired by western scholars in the field. This approach is misleading, for in fact, there are several literary corpora in regional and communal linguistic variations of Malayalam, and these literary corpora have their own sense of literary aesthetics and concerns. However, such literary trends have not yet been properly classified and analyzed. Indeed, folksongs (nātanpāṭṭu) are always acknowledged in Malayalam literary histories. They are roughly classified as ‘folksongs’ of unknown periods and authorship, briefly described and appreciated for their expressive voicing of the common folk of olden times.

The present thesis argues for a more nuanced approach towards corpora in Malayalam language variations, while closely examining the Jewish Malayalam women’s songs as a typical corpus of Malayalam nātanpāṭṭus. The complexity of the Jewish Malayalam literary corpus does not allow for a simple classification as a corpus of ‘folksongs’. As is illustrated throughout the thesis, it is multi-layered and polyphonic, folksongs \textit{per se} being but one of its components.\textsuperscript{79} It is a corpus with

\textsuperscript{77} The only in-depth study I know of is by Varier, 1982, who examined the corpus of the northern songs (vatakkanpāṭṭukal) in detail.
\textsuperscript{78} See for example Nambuthiri, 1998; Nath, 1971; Pankajkshan, 1989; Vallikkunnu and Tharamel, 2006.
\textsuperscript{79} The term ‘folksongs’ denotes a wide range of literary forms, from epics and ballads to work songs and lullabies. I restrict the term ‘folksongs’ to account for the Malayalam term nātanpāṭṭu,
unique literary trends and genres that are not necessarily 'folksongs', as is shown in Chapter Four.

Scholars studying the literary corpora in Malayalam language variations must relay on the living knowledge of community members for their research. In the case of the Jewish Malayalam corpus, this productive exchange can no longer take place. The Jewish community of Kerala left its living linguistic and literary environment fifty-five years ago, just when their literary production started attracting the attention of scholars. Therefore, it is impossible to find community members, who would be able to comment on and clarify obscure lexemes and unintelligible lines. This fact proved to be one of the great challenges of the present study.

1.2.1 A Critical Evaluation of Existing Studies

A. I. Simon was the first to have brought the corpus to the attention of scholars. He was a Paradeši Jew who took on the role of a community spokesperson to propagate the segregation of the Jewish community and sense of superiority of his own community. In 1947, Simon published a small pamphlet in English with annotated Malayalam texts of several songs. His position is polemical, pointing at the songs as 'historical' evidence for reconstructing the historical narrative of the Paradeši community. Thus, the first publication and description of the songs was not motivated by literary concerns, but rather by the desire to sustain the political arguments of the author.\(^80\) It was Simon, who actually laid the foundation for the 'functional' attitude pervading the study of these songs ever since. According to Simon, the importance of the songs is their 'historicity', and their contents are definable through their themes. Thus, the themes of the songs were taken as the main point of reference to the whole corpus.

Following Simon, a thematic index was gradually prepared by P. M. Jussay, Shirley Isenberg and Barbara Johnson with the help of community

\(^80\) Simon, 1947.
members. They selected songs from the index and roughly translated them to debate issues with respect to gender, history, communal life and other topics. None of these studies analyzes the songs as linguistic and literary phenomena. These aspects were taken up for the first time when Scaria Zacharia started to work on the corpus.

Zacharia was the first scholar to have considered textual issues such as orthography, lexicon and grammar. He also addressed literary concerns such as genres and figures of speech. His work is based on the thematic index, which guides the classification of texts and translations in his publication of the songs. As a folklorist and a scholar of Malayalam literature and language, he was interested in the performative aspects of the songs, and encouraged Johnson to write about them.

In my research, it has however become clear that performative aspects sometimes stand in contrast to textual evidence recorded in the notebooks. Therefore, an examination of the Jewish Malayalam corpus has to take into account all aspects of analysis: linguistic, literary, performative and textual features of the songs. For example, the song 'The Oil Jar Hanukkah Miracle' (III87) is indexed as biblical, for the main theme is a midrashic tradition connected with the holiday of Hanukkah. The song was performed during a Hanukkah celebration in Taoz, a modern Israeli settlement of members mainly from the Kócci-Kaṭavumbhāgaṇ community. Informants associated this song with Hanukkah parties in their community. However, in all written variants of this song, it is listed among songs to be performed during the kāppurāṭī, a pre-wedding ceremony that was conducted in Malabari communities before the migration. In this instance, performative and textual observations provide contradictory evidence.

82 Jussay, 2005: 77—92, 105—117.
84 Johnson, 2005; Zacharia, 2003a.
Occasionally the notebooks include performative instructions for songs, either in the titles or in their table of contents. In a notebook from Pāṟūr (B9), for example, there appears a separate list of songs to be sung during specific wedding occasions. In many notebooks, there are occasional performative instructions with respect to certain occasions, but a reference to Hanukkah is rare. It appears once in S14 in the title of the III20, anukkāṭe pāṭṭu (song of Hanukkah), while ‘The Oil Jar Hanukkah Miracle’ (III87) is consistently listed for the pre-wedding ritual kāppurāṭri. Most performative instructions have to do with a pre- or post-wedding occasion, with the exception of minor life cycle events such as birth (בָּרִית-מִילָה; בָּרָה) and maturity (רֶב-מִיתוּח). It is certainly possible that a song shifts from one performative context to another, but the complete silence in ethnographic accounts about the previous performative context of 'The Oil Jar Hanukkah Miracle' (III87) shows how carefully ethnographic data is to be evaluated. An informant, especially a Malayali Jew in modern Israel, might be diffident to give too many details about such issues. It might seem silly to sing a Hanukkah song during an engagement ceremony, so why bother the researcher with such unnecessary confusing details.

A problematic issue of the existing studies is the tendency to present a neat picture of Jewish ideal via the songs. Researchers emphasized the 'Jewishness' of the corpus to support the claim that Kerala Jews were well informed about Jewish law and tradition. This is partly due to historical inter-communal rivalries over prestige, but also due to the suspiciousness of the religious establishment in Israel towards 'exotic' Jewish communities. This leads to an invention of tradition, when informants emphasize certain aspects but do not talk about others to fit into convenient communal representation in contemporary Israel. Consequently, contradictory ethnographic accounts exist. For example, an informant said that the

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85 Most notebooks contain a table of contents with titles of songs and their page numbers. The table of contents may appear in the beginning or the end of the notebook.
86 For the diffidence to speak openly about internal communal matters, see Walerstein, 1987:16—21. Kerala Jews in Israel claim that only KK women sang Malayalam songs during Hanukka parties.
88 For the dubious nature of information from 'informants', see Moskowitz, 1986: 17—28.
song of Evarayi was performed during the Namya Mutta Memorial Day, and her friends retorted that no songs were sung during that solemn occasion.

Another problematic issue of previous studies is the ‘cleansing’ of the index. At some point, I was asked to index a newly found notebook. To my utter surprise I found a whole section running up to some twenty pages, titled Kali-pāṭtu (play songs), which contained about two dozens of Hindu devotional songs. I was asked not to tell anybody about this, lest people be humiliated, and was further told that during the years of indexing the notebooks, such distinctly non-Jewish songs were left out.

The one-dimensional perspective and selective indexing of the notebooks pose a challenge for a philologist wishing to inspect the corpus. The index must be used carefully, existing data must be taken with a grain of salt and previous translations (if available) must be examined critically and compared with the originals.

The performers of the songs and the owners of the notebooks were mainly women. This has implications on the study of the songs. It is especially attractive for gender studies, and many of those studying the songs did emphasize, perhaps over-emphasize, this aspect. It is ostensibly a corpus of Jewish women folksongs, which requires a focus on women’s voices and first-hand understanding of the songs. Unfortunately, fifty odd years after migration, it is rather difficult to find people who understand the songs. Luckily, the corpus is a written corpus, and available for philological scrutiny. Furthermore, since the corpus is written it can not perfectly fit into the definition of ‘folk’ literature, nor can a whole variety of concerns and voices that are not necessarily particular to Jews or women, be ignored.

89 Johnson, 2005.

90 Devotional songs are the usual subject matter of classical Indian music. Two or three pieces in the notebook were purely musical notations. It is reasonable to assume that the owner of this notebook studied classical music.

91 See for example the difficulties in studying the songs as described by Zacharia, who was disappointed to find old performers too feeble physically or mentally to collaborate with him and work on the songs. See Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 15 (M).
Had the performative and linguistic aspects of this corpus been taken into consideration, the data, its collection and the classification of notebooks would be different. For one, the thematic index classifying songs as historical, biblical and so forth is misleading. The corpus is generically multilayered being composed of diverse literary types including translations from Hebrew to Malayalam and songs attributed to composers. For understanding the corpus and its functional implications on the folklore, history and culture of Kerala Jews, it is necessary to see first what exactly it contains. Good and reliable translations are vital to facilitate the first steps towards such an understanding.

The available translations are mostly ascribed Barbara Johnson and Ruby Daniel.\textsuperscript{92} They rendered rough translations for about one hundred and fifty songs, some of which were published with Daniel’s remarks on the songs.\textsuperscript{93} However, the majority of these translations annotated with Daniel’s comments and remarks are yet unpublished and unavailable.

The first Malayalam publication was by A. I. Simon without translation and annotations. The translations that were published in Daniel and Johnson (1995) do not render the Malayalam text or annotations. Daniels’ unpublished comments will offer much data useful for conducting folkloric and ethnographic study once they are published. Daniel provides a well informed inside view, albeit limited to the Paradeśi milieu. Daniel could not translate many of the songs that were not a part of the oral repertoire of her family, and her translations of many songs are rough. Daniel was not following a systematic method of critical reading, though she must have had the frequent need to compare whatever notebooks were presented to her by Johnson.\textsuperscript{94}

P. M. Jussay had translated occasionally in his papers songs or verses for discussing certain points. His translations are rough too, without any systematic reference or annotation, neither textualization. The need for a closer reading and

\textsuperscript{92} See Daniel and Johnson, 1995: xiii—xiv, xvii—xix.

\textsuperscript{93} See ibid., 124—125, 130—131, 152—154, 176—189.

\textsuperscript{94} See Johnson, 2006.
acquaintance with the texts was not satisfied until Zacharia was introduced to the field.\(^\text{95}\)

Zacharia brought a new approach to the field in stressing the importance of noting the performative and 'Malayalam-specific' aspects of the songs. Zacharia’s interest combined with Johnson’s diligent efforts to maintain scholarly inertia for studying the songs bore fruit in the form of published annotated textualizations and Hebrew translations for about fifty songs.\(^\text{96}\) For this publication, Zacharia had textualized selected songs according to the index categories, paying attention to a wide range of textual presentation and distribution of songs. He was also particular about demonstrating neglected aspects of the songs such as multiple tellings and formulaic repetitions.\(^\text{97}\) He was mainly aiming at satisfying a very particular audience, the Kerala Jews and their Israeli offspring living in contemporary Israel.\(^\text{98}\) He insisted on publishing translations to Hebrew with his Malayalam textualization and annotation, wishing it would encourage the Kerala Jews in Israel to relate to and be proud of their Malayali-Jewish identity.

This publication is the first publication that focuses more on textualization than on translation. In spite of a certain degree of scholarly interaction and interdisciplinary guidelines, this publication too is subject to the old approaches dictated by the thematic index (of 'functionalism' and 'cleansing'). The publication did, however, benefit greatly from Zacharia’s fresh folklorist approach that prompted Johnson into studying and illuminating some performative aspects of the songs.\(^\text{99}\)

1.3 Studying the Corpus

The corpus of Jewish Malayalam songs preserved in some thirty-five notebooks (henceforth ‘the corpus’) is a difficult object for study in many respects. Since the

\(^{95}\) See Ibid., 2006: 522.

\(^{96}\) Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005.

\(^{97}\) See for example Zacharia’s comments on the songs, ibid., 125—139 and especially on 'Song about Ruth’, 176—179.

\(^{98}\) Ibid., 10—11.

corpus contains texts designed by and for a living ritual context, one must adopt, or at least adhere to, both linguistic-philological and folklorist-ethnographic methodologies.

The corpus challenges the philologist, as it is composed and written in a colloquial dialect of Malayalam, with phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon unaccounted for in contemporary linguistic studies. In fact, the language of the corpus represents layers of Jewish Malayalam spoken and written by Kerala Jews until the mid-twentieth century, and a thorough linguistic description of Jewish Malayalam is still a desideratum. Chapter Six deals with some initial observations about Jewish Malayalam based also on contemporary Jewish Malayalam, still spoken by a few hundreds of people in Israel.

The corpus challenges the folklorist too, for the ritual life and living context of the corpus died out before being properly documented by scholars. Descriptions of occasions for performing songs are arbitrary and scattered between several anthropological and historical studies.\(^\text{100}\) The first attempt to address the performative context of the songs was taken up in a rather late stage of fieldwork.\(^\text{101}\) Fieldwork among Kerala Jews necessary for ethnographic data is limited in its scope. Until Zacharia's entering the field, it was conducted mainly in English or Hebrew, and when the importance of gathering ethnographic data in Malayalam was recognized, most of the speakers were too young to remember their cultural past. Even knowledgeable informants such as Ruby Daniel were still quite young when they left Kerala.\(^\text{102}\)

The parents and grandparents of those who migrated must have carried a richer and fuller communal knowledge that was lost with their generation. For example, while some songs could still be recorded during the seventies, many more songs were doomed to oblivion, possibly much before migration to Israel.


\(^{101}\) Johnson, 2005.

\(^{102}\) Ruby Daniel was an authority in regard of the songs’ tradition. Knowledgeable as she might have been, a single informant from the smallest Jewish sub-community ( shemale, משמלאת משלוחים) is far from being sufficient to supply the overall data about the corpus.
As the work of a philologist depends on translating and analyzing the texts in their cultural context, the lack of detailed linguistic and folklore studies leaves one heavily dependent on the texts for linguistic and extra-linguistic data. Hence, the following study of the songs is based on extra-linguistic textual data such as titles, sequence and selection of songs, as well as linguistic data such as orthography, grammar and literary genres. In addition to the Jewish Malayalam texts, much linguistic and extra-linguistic data can be drawn from other texts that are either in Malayalam or are Jewish. Chapter Two deals with intertextuality for drawing as much as possible data from neighboring textual environments. It should be stressed that translation and analysis of many songs rely on semantic-pragmatic data drawn from the songs themselves. The reliance on linguistic data requires much decipher work, and consequently has its own shortcomings. The next section deals with the shortcomings of the philological methodology and with their possible remedies.

1.3.1 Methodological Problems

Language is the toughest challenge in reading Jewish Malayalam texts. Their language is a peculiar caste dialect, represented by non-standardized orthographic systems. This caste-lect as reflected in the songs has its own unique lexicon and morphology. This language variation evades the dictionaries and the grammar books of the Malayalam language, and the only way to overcome its evasiveness is to read large portions of the corpus.

Peculiar usages are not restricted to the Jewish Malayalam songs, which are after all a minor branch of Malayalam literature. Therefore, a certain degree of acquaintance with related branches of Malayalam literature is necessary for obtaining more linguistic data. Initial observations in this regard are dealt with in the fifth section for Chapter Two. Malayalam literature is decentralized between the literary and cultural centers of the different castes and creeds in Kerala. As an outcome, it is composed in manifold linguistic layers resulting from a long history of languages in contact: Dravidian-Prakrit interrelations; contacts with Semitic languages via the Monotheist traders from the West; interrelations with literary and scientific Sanskrit; contacts with European languages, mainly Portuguese and
English. Whenever linguistic or cultural phenomena can be used for explaining any aspect of the corpus, such a comparative approach is utilized.

Another obstacle is posed by the unstandardized systems of orthography that reflect phonological and linguistic phenomena peculiar to different caste-lects. Such colloquial uses are transparent to native speakers, who relish the particular literary composition, while other Malayalam speakers might be reluctant to read it, as it will require much deciphering work on their part.\textsuperscript{103}

Literary corpora in Kerala, such as of Muslims and tribal people of North Kerala, are excluded from contemporary studies of Malayalam,\textsuperscript{104} but as the tradition is still alive it produces annotated modern publications and public discussion in the media and in academic circles. When the old speakers of Jewish Malayalam left en masse the linguistic milieu of Malayalam, they also left behind the living and meaningful essence of their literary tradition, which is crucial for linguistic analysis and philological interpretation.

These two factors – the largely unexplored and richly varied Malayalam colloquial literatures and the gap between the existing materials and the living context – pose the main difficulty in reading the corpus. As a result, approaching the corpus relies on intertextual analysis not only in respect to languages in contact – Malayalam and Hebrew – but also on intertextual analysis of the notebooks themselves. The first section of Chapter Two deals with the intertextual relations inside the corpus. For that matter, we must also consider the interrelations of the texts with their performative context, an inter-contextual analysis, if you will, to enable tracing the literary and pragmatic trends designing the corpus as a whole. Chapter Three is thus dedicated to studying the wedding ritual complex and its extra-linguistic inter-relations with the corpus as the basis for over viewing the corpus in Chapters Four and Five.

\textsuperscript{103} For example, northern Keralites might not enjoy reading South Kerala story-songs (\textit{kathappattuka}) because of too many unfamiliar lexical items (Thampi, 1999: 26).

\textsuperscript{104} The study of Malayalam language and literature is mainly focused on the standard language and on classical literature. The study of marginal literary corpora in the various caste-lects is mainly focused on folkloristic aspects.
The notebooks were collected and copied by Shirley Isenberg and Barbara Johnson. They noted down the owners of the notebooks, as well as any piece of information they could gather from informants on the contents, and collaborated with P. M. Jussay in compiling the index for the songs and translating some of them. They also started collecting tunes, and so far, out of two hundred and fifty odd songs in the corpus, only fifty songs were recorded. This means that the notebooks contain many songs, about eighty percent, to which nobody remembered the tunes soon after migration. Furthermore, not all communities or individuals had notebooks, and consequently not all songs were recorded in writing, so that only certain individuals had textualized portions of the corpus. No one ever seriously enquired who transcribed a specific notebook, why it was transcribed, which songs were performed by whom and in which circumstances, why specific songs were selected and why anybody would own a notebook with songs that are either known by heart or are out of use. It was taken for granted that Kerala Jewish women own such notebooks, and that these notebooks are performance manuals. However, while working on the notebooks some discrepancies with the available data appear time and again. These discrepancies along with the burning and yet unaccounted for questions about these textual phenomena pose further obstacles in studying the songs.

Another problematic issue is the tendency to label the songs of this corpus as ‘Jewish women’s Malayalam Folksongs’. This label is also behind the title of the present thesis, somewhat inherited from previous scholars. However, the notions of language and literature offered by this label should be questioned: what is this Malayalam of the songs, which at times frustratingly avoids the glossing of any Malayalam dictionary? How much of the language of the songs is peculiar to the Jewish community/ies of Kerala? To which extent can we evaluate the songs as ‘Jewish’, when alongside typical Jewish themes, there are peculiar Kerala oriented imagery and thematics? Moreover, to which extent can we evaluate them as Malayalam literature, when structures typical of both Hebrew and Malayalam literature may appear in the same song? One must also question the label ‘folk’, which Kerala scholars swiftly attach to almost anything written in non-standard
Malayalam, from the *torram pattus* performed in the Têyyam possession ritual to Arabi-Malayalam literature.

As already suggested above, much attention was devoted to the fact that the songs were performed and transmitted by Jewish women. Nevertheless, more often than not it was a man who copied a notebook. Men formed an integral part of the audience, and there are a few songs attributed to men. Thus, one should avoid labeling these songs as 'women's songs'. The reasons for women being held as the bearers of this tradition are manifold. First, there might be a historical reason for that; the corpus obviously was anchored in dynamic ritual complexes, and performance must have been subject to these ritual dynamics. The Malayalam songs as the role of women in the ritual complex are mentioned as early as 1756, in the liturgy manual for weddings published by the Paradeši community (*סדר החופה*). However, the earliest layer of the corpus must have originated much earlier, possibly before the sixteenth century, and the role of women as performers in this early stage is far from being certain.

There might be a social reason behind the women’s performance too, having to do with the 'great tradition' versus the 'little tradition' and the role of women in Kerala society as a whole. In any case, despite the fact that women were performing and preserving the songs, men did take part in various aspects of this tradition, though the role they played was probably small when compared with the role of women. Thus, it is important to take into account the complex nature of the songs in relation to gender issues, the ambivalence of voice and audience.\(^{105}\)

The corpus is intricate and multi-layered, it expresses various concerns and voices in various literary genres. It expresses Jewish concerns designed in Malayalam literary aesthetics, it gives voice to women as well as men, and it embraces typical folk compositions as well as compositions written by individuals and compositions rooted in the classical tradition. This corpus requires an

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\(^{105}\) Perhaps the best example for this ambivalence is the song 'Joseph Sold to Egypt' (III52) performed during the pre-wedding *kăppurātri* ritual. Both the bride and groom are present at this function as well as relatives from the extended family.
approach that will consider all possibilities, just like the literary corpus of any community in any language requires.

Malayalam literature is unique in many ways. It is complicated by the relationship between orality and literacy, low and high caste language usages, performance and ritual, Malayalam and the ‘classical’ languages of Tamil and Sanskrit. It expresses a vast range of voices, trends and themes. The dialectics of ‘classical’ versus ‘folk’ do not apply here. The corpus is in many ways a minor branch of Malayalam literature requiring a sensitive reading that reaches beyond the established labeling as ‘Jewish women Malayalam folksongs’. Let me demonstrate this point by relating the origin story of the *Krṣṇa-gātha*, a famous fifteenth-century Malayalam composition:

Once the poet Cerussery and the king of Kolattiri were playing chess. The king was just about to loose, when he happened to hear his wife, rocking their baby in the cradle and singing a lullaby. She sang: "untuntuntuntuntuntuntunt untu". The king realized it was not merely a senseless string of syllables, and divided it to make out a meaning: "move, move, move, move the pawn". He looked at the chessboard, and managed to win the game according to his wife’s advice. Then he ordered the poet Cerussery to compose a poem about Lord Krṣṇa, with verses in the meter of the lullaby.106

This story demonstrates that Malayalam literature does not lend itself to dichotomic definitions. So, is the *Krṣṇagātha* a classical text or a folk composition? Does it have its origin in the feminine (the king’s wife) or in the masculine (the poet), in the authoritative power of the king or rather in the power of the slightest, smallest soldier? Does it aim at the Lord, or perhaps at a small baby in a cradle, the most perfect embodiment of the Lord, who is famous for his infantile might? Or maybe, it is the combination of all these, and this is just what makes the composition so appealing and lovable.

All these questions have to be asked in respect to the Jewish songs. What is the most adequate generic definition of a certain song? Whom does it give a voice

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106 I am indebted to my colleague and friend Sumi Joy Oliapuram for drawing my attention to this story. The story is quoted in Kumaran, 1984: 6—7.
to? Whom does it address? How does it fit into the context of performance? How is it performed? Repeatedly asking these questions is necessary in all the stages of the work on which this thesis is based - from transliterating, textualizing and deciphering, to translation and analysis. To find answers to these questions seems to me the best way to tackle the problematics of a multi-layered, complex and cryptic body of literature.

**1.3.2 Methodological Approaches and Deciphering**

As already stated, during the sixty-odd years since Simon published his monograph, the songs were being referred to by a thematic index, which hardly takes into consideration the performative context of the songs, not to mention generic features of any sort. As for the notebooks, there is an index listing the (assumed) original owners, the donor, their address and details (if they exist), the collector, the place of copying, the place of preserving and the (assumed) community of origin (out of eight possibilities). Not all communities are represented in this collection, and those that are represented are not represented to the same degree. Some notes that were taken by the collector are attached to each notebook. Though immensely vital for preparing a critical edition and for inter-textual comparison, all these details are of very little use for the study of the songs themselves and for the study of the relationships between the notebooks, and can not even form a reliable basis for determining the age and circumstances of copying a specific notebook.\(^{107}\) To avoid the functional thematic approach of the index, I have based my critical edition on one single notebook (S14), so that the selection, textualization, translation and classification of the songs are based on the actual textual environment of the songs, namely, the notebooks.\(^{108}\)

The folklorist approach, though immensely useful, is not sufficient for understanding and analyzing the language of the corpus, which renders much of its contents almost impossible for reading, let alone translating. According to

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\(^{107}\) There are delicate relations between a researcher and an informant, the latter having his/her own agenda in the information exchange. It is quite possible that issues such as community pride, family prestige and personal motivations of different kinds influenced the data collected.

\(^{108}\) For the critical edition of the songs that are most difficult to translate, see Appendix C.
Zacharia, the study of the songs is solely dependent on the 'folk knowledge' (nāṭṭ-arriva), such as Daniel’s. But the bearers of this knowledge, valuable as it may be, are either too old or long gone. It is evident that many songs in the notebooks were beyond the full understanding of the scribes themselves, who struggle with various possibilities of glossing, corrections and hyper-corrections. There are quite a few songs which Daniel simply refused to translate, and would repeatedly advise Johnson to find a Malayalam scholar to decipher them.

Due to the linguistic difficulties and to the 'museum-piece' nature of most of the songs, the only safe ground to land on in this field is the philological ground, despite its stumbling blocks. Arguably, the major obstacle is a certain degree of inadequacy of traditional philology when it is taken as a tool to decipher the songs of the corpus. In many cases, a philological interpretation contradicts the 'insider's' knowledge, where the latter cognizes a certain linguistic form intuitively. For example, Daniel in her translation of the song 'When Moses Received Knowledge' (III15), derives the word kambena from the Hebrew qəbêḏāh 'heavy' (כבדה), whereas a Malayalam philologist would derive it from Sanskrit kampena 'due to shivering'. Moreover, philology might produce a synthetic text and derive the meanings based on it without considering the interpretations and understandings of the consumer audience. It is necessary then, to combine the folklorist approach with philological tools when studying the corpus.

1.3.3 Theme and the Context of Performance

One of the greatest contributions of Zacharia to the research of the corpus is his insistence on considering the performative aspects of the songs. As mentioned above, this aspect of the songs was hardly taken into consideration until Zacharia’s appearance on the scene. Though there is barely any research about the performative context, there are some extra-linguistic textual clues, such as song titles and song sequences in the notebooks. Other clues might be there too, such

109 Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 13 (M).
111 See Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 171—172 (M).
as the word *nērcca*, 'a vow', in the song 'Song of Evarayi' (I12), or the word *vēli*, 'silver', in the song 'Joseph Sold to Egypt' (III52). Such keywords are clues in respect to the performative context; the song 'Song of Evarayi' (I12) is connected with the memorial day of Namya Mutta, when vows (*nērcca*) are performed, and the song 'Joseph Sold to Egypt' (III52) is connected with the engagement ceremony marked by a ceremonial presentation of silver before the future bride. Unfortunately, due to detachment from the living linguistic context, the texts are the only reliable source for further performative clues on specific songs, though they too must be carefully handled.

To study songs sung during Jewish rituals, it is necessary to consider the performative context of Malayalam literature in general. For a moment, let us take a step back from the texts, from the themes, and from what we know of Jewish life in Kerala. Let us consider the literary milieu of Kerala in general, which has produced an impressive body of literature in many genres, and in fact in more than one language, for the past millennium. Even before that, there was a well-spread literary production in both Sanskrit and Tamil produced in Kerala.

This body of literature has a close affinity to the stage, and the stage in turn is also a ritual space.\footnote{Nair, 1971: 56—57.} That is true for the classical theatrical genres *Kutiyattam* and *Kathakali*, as well as for histrionic performances such as *Mutiyerrū* and *Tēyyāttam*. The stage is an arena where merit is obtained and purification, magical protection and pacification of Goddesses and Gods are sought after. The performers worship the performance ground and the drums, the faithful companions for each performance.

Performance is always accompanied by textual entities, be it a Sanskrit drama elaborated in Malayalam performance manuals (*āṭṭapракāram*), or an oral text in a certain caste-lect accompanying possession rituals, such as the *torram pāṭṭu* accompanying the *Tēyyāttam* performance. Such texts are often multi-layered with contents incorporating different thematic contents, ideologies and aims.\footnote{Menon, 1993: 207ff.}
Keeping this in mind, I suggest that the Jewish Malayalam corpus originated in a ritual space provided by weddings and their manifold sub-rituals. The wedding ritual complex is aimed at guaranteeing protection and prosperity for a couple about to start a new family in a very small community. In addition, weddings are a dramatic *rite de passage*, celebrated with the utmost pomp and grandeur.

Hebrew poetry too owes its creation to ritual space, that of the synagogue. By the tenth and eleventh centuries, Jewish communities in the Diaspora had prayer books, with obligatory prayers as well as poems of famous and anonymous poets specifically composed to be inserted in liturgical 'stops'. They selection and appreciation was left to the tastes and aesthetical concerns of each praying community. Any Jew is very well acquainted with the length and elaboration of Hebrew prayer and liturgy during the many year-cycle events scheduled in the Jewish calendar. Perhaps for this reason new festive ritual occasions such as the kāppurāṭri had to be created around life-cycle events, so that new ritual space might be formed to imbibe elaborate poetical and aesthetic creation according to the Kerala standards and tastes. Chapter Three analyzes the textual texture of the corpus as anchored in the wedding ritual complex.

Once it became clear that the corpus is anchored in ritual, the Jewish Malayalam songs could be analyzed differently. Their sequence, fragments, genres and language depict layers of time in the evolving Jewish culture and history in Kerala. Their meanings can be realized on the basis of pragmatic language uses such as pronouns, modes, aspects and so forth, while the semantic basis of the themes is realized through the semantics of ritual.

### 1.3.4 Content-Layer Analysis

Let me summarize the problematic issues that require an extremely careful and sensitive working scheme. On the one hand, it needs to be free from the

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114 See Fleischer, 1975: 54—55, 59—60.
115 There are about one thousand Jewish traders known to have travelled to or traded with the Malabar coast from the Geniza records. As mentioned above, some of them would stay for many years overseas, and requested wheat, wine, paper and other substances required for their ritual in their letters to the Middle East. See Goitein, 1973: 177f. These traders might very well be the founders of the Jewish community in Kerala.
constraints that limited previous studies, and on the other hand, it needs to benefit from the valuable information and insights put forward by those studies. The working scheme may be outlined according to seven principles as follows:

1. **Textual Presentation**: the index represents most notebooks in the collection. Two communities are absent, and two communities are relatively over represented: the Paradeši (KP) and Kocci-Kaṭavumbhāgaṃ (KK) communities. When reading a song, one must always take into consideration its range of distribution in the different notebooks (how many communities are represented) and the textual environment of a song (such as title, position in a sequence of songs etc.). In short, a song might be textually presented only in the KP and KK notebooks. Textual presentation bears implications on textualization, analysis and translation.\(^{116}\)

2. **Indexical Organization**: To avoid the pitfalls of 'functionality' and 'cleansing', I have avoided using the thematic index to select songs for study, and based it on the textual presentation as reflected in the notebooks. The thematic index is in any case an efficient tool in locating song variants in the manuscripts.

3. **Thematic versus Pragmatic Concerns**: The index was guided by thematic concerns, which gives the wrong impression that the songs relate to each other via subject matters such as Biblical heroes and themes or historical events. Thus performative units are being disengaged from each other, songs to be sung during a wedding are scattered between different thematic categories, while their intricate affinities are being ignored to the extent of rendering the song unintelligible. Thematic concerns are an important analytical and heuristic tool, as long as pragmatic data, whether linguistic or extra-linguistic, are considered to account for performative concerns.

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\(^{116}\) For example, KP and KK notebooks have the tendency to present songs in longer variants, possibly with verses added at a later stage. For more on this issue, see 2.1.
4. **Textualization and Translation**: the usual practice is either to textualize into Malayalam script a song with some type of annotation, or to translate songs or parts of songs, leaving the textualization process undocumented. For the sake of a thorough philological examination, my work is based on a critically annotated textualization of a selected notebook (rather than songs) Thus, S14 (KK) serves as a 'base source' for selecting songs and textualizing them with translations and comparative critical notes reflecting orthographic, linguistic, grammatical, lexical and representational phenomena in the different tellings. The annotations include linguistic data and extra-linguistic evidence supporting, or otherwise undermining, the synthetic textualizations and translations that form the philological source base of my thesis.¹¹⁷

5. **Analytic Accessories**: The textualization and translation must be based also on extra-linguistic data and on a certain degree of interpretation. The extra-linguistic data is any kind of information associated with a song and its performance. 'Performative' titles, information in secondary literature regarding the performative context, textual presentation and so forth are extra-linguistic data. The interpretation is based on inter-textual comparative study and on performative analysis of linguistic markers in studying the 'content layers' of songs and genres in the corpus.

6. **Content Layer Analysis**: the contents of songs in this corpus (and possibly in any corpus) are a combination of themes, performative interests, poetic concerns, social pragmatics and generic molding. A song is sung about a theme, motivated by performative interests and perceived as an art form with certain poetic concerns among a certain audience subject to the pragmatics of speaker-hearer relationships. The song finally has its expression designed by generic molding. The contents of a song can be analyzed by classifying their layering according to these variables. Thus, there are several content layers: narratival and dramatical content layers.

¹¹⁷ The data in the critical edition are incorporated in the section dedicated to textualization and translation (Appendices A and B). The full critical text is given only for the most complicated songs, the rhyming songs, in Appendix C.
The structural features guided by poetic concerns and the generic molding of songs finally lead to the generic classification offered in Chapter Four.

7. **Textual Liquidity:** alternative readings might result in two significantly different meaningful textualizations and consequent translations. Such instances are the outcome of an ongoing process of composition, of which the notebooks are frozen traces. It is important to note them and to follow their patterns. If significant alternative readings are given, they prompt the reader to examine the process of textual evolution that occurs when a living tradition is still actively generic, and its implications on understanding a song, group of songs, and eventually the whole corpus. Often, textual liquidity is on the micro level of words and morphemes, blurred by inconsistent word division and spelling in the manuscripts. In such cases, the textual coherence is decreased, and textualizing is complicated.

To avoid the pitfall of thematic classification, the songs are selected first from a notebook. Then the index is consulted for the sake of preparing a critical text. Thus a song is read in relation to a whole sequence of songs, divisions of lines and verses, titles, comparative examination of textual positioning in other notebooks and so forth. When the performative context might be established for a certain song (e.g. the *kāppurātri* songs), extra-linguistic data too is consulted for analysis.

Thus, the study of the Jewish Malayalam corpus involves a multi-dimensional methodology. A certain song can not be isolated and examined only on the basis of its contents. Textualization and translation advances through examination of intertextual relations between songs and other songs, text and context and comparative view of linguistic and extra-linguistic data. For relating my findings to the reader, I am obliged to present them in a linear manner of chapters and sections. The view of the corpus I wish to present is panoramic, embracing various dimensions of analysis and advancing by exploring this dimension or the other. The next chapter zooms in on the textual environment of the songs by addressing the issue of intertextuality.
Chapter Two

Intertextuality

Intertextuality is the foundation on which this thesis rests. It is impossible to read even a single song in Jewish Malayalam without repeatedly resorting to intertextual analyses to examine the multi-layered fabric of textual, linguistic and semantic relations between texts within and around the corpus. Moreover, intertextuality stands for the affinities of the texts with non-textual media; the context of performance and the people who consume the texts. The texts converse with other texts and interact with non-verbal con-texts - the variety of socio-cultural icons, connotations and meanings that compose the cultural entity of Kerala Jews.

For many years, the corpus was terra incognita. Occasional pioneers like P. M. Jussay, Ruby Daniel or Scaria Zacharia studied it from different perspectives. Jussay was interested in the relations of the corpus to history, or in other words, the intertextual relations of the texts with real, historic, socio-cultural contexts. But there are only a few details of verisimilitude that can be loosely interpreted as historical data, like the mention of proper and place names, e.g. Joseph Rabban in the song 'Māla Synagogue Song' (I22), Pērumbaṭappū in the song 'A Green Bird' (I36) or Pālūr in the song 'Dear Parrot Song' (I7). Jussay also examined the relations of some songs with wedding songs of the Knānaya Christians, and pointed out mutual borrowings of ready-made lines in the songs 'Dressed in Gold' (I8), 'Blessing Song' (I11) and 'Song of Evarayi' (I12).

Daniel's approach is different. She must have felt comfortable reading some of the songs, those in which the language is closest to the colloquial Jewish Malayalam that she herself spoke. Yet, she had to apply in her translations much knowledge in Hebrew language and literature to understand obscure lexemes and passages. She could tap into a vast reservoir of oral traditions in the language of

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119 Ibid., 112—128. See also Weil, 1986.
the songs, Jewish Malayalam, and in the language of two important sources of inspiration, Malayalam and Hebrew.\textsuperscript{120}

Zacharia approaches the corpus as a Malayalam scholar of culture and literature. The intertextual data available thanks to his predecessors guide him in this unknown Jewish Malayalam literary realm. Additionally, he brings forth new observations about the intertextuality between the corpus and Malayalam colloquial, marginal literary corpora. He is also the first to analyze the texts in their context – traditional folk performance of a marginal Jewish community in Kerala.\textsuperscript{121} However, no one as yet has attempted a systematic intertextual analysis of the corpus in any sense of the term 'intertextuality'.

The corpus has intertextual connections with several textual circles. The wider circle is composed of Hebrew texts – Bible, Midrash and Hebrew liturgy and para-liturgy. Malayalam literature forms a narrower, more intimate, textual circle. The texts themselves with their peculiarities of genre, repertoire, and linguistic register form the innermost circle. The corpus further has explicit intertextual relations with certain rituals, especially with the wedding ritual complex.

The work on the corpus confronts many philological obstacles to coherent textualization and reliable translation. Obviously, the scribes too were struggling with word meanings and orthographic presentation. Apparently, transcribing a notebook entails a compromise between oral and written transmission systems, for the scribes were engaged in many types of editorial choices based on both oral and written texts.

Some notebooks adhere to orthography based on the spoken language, for example, the omission of word initial velar and palatal stops (e.g. \textit{eri} < \textit{keri}, \textit{erum} < \textit{cerum}). At times, the scribal errors seem to be the result of copying from one notebook to another. For example, the same scribal errors such as word or line omissions may occur in two notebooks. Additionally, often ostensibly transparent readings are misleading, while unintelligible readings are more reliable. When an

\textsuperscript{120} See Johnson, 2006.

\textsuperscript{121} See Zacharia, 2003.
unintelligible reading is deciphered, the line or verse as a whole is more coherent. Thus, the innermost circle of intertextuality is within the corpus itself – between notebooks, variants and readings.

Leaving aside for a moment the issue of pragmatic intertextuality (text-context), let me illustrate the two domains of intertextuality relevant for reading the corpus. One is the literary domain, where Jewish Malayalam literature interacts with other texts. Illustration 1 below is a diachronic scheme of genres in the corpus and of the most relevant genres in Hebrew and Malayalam literature. The left and right columns roughly present the sources available to Jewish Malayalam speakers during their history in Kerala. The central column illustrates the major genres in the corpus, and their position in relation to Hebrew or Malayalam sources. The position of a Jewish Malayalam genre is determined according to its degree of affinity to one of the categories in the right or left columns. Thus, translations approximate the Hebrew sources, and refrain songs approximate the Malayalam sources. The terms in the right and left columns correspond to the terminology accepted by scholars of Hebrew and Malayalam literature. The terms in the middle column are ad hoc coinages for the major literary forms in the corpus that are explained in Chapter Three.

Illustration 2 depicts the intertextual relations of the literary language of the corpus with the literary languages of Hebrew and Malayalam. The terminology on the left and right columns (Hebrew and Malayalam respectively) depicts the major phases of language evolution for each language as reflected in the relevant literary sources. In the middle column, we have linguistic categories that reflect intertextual relations with sources in Hebrew or Malayalam. Chapters Four and Five deal with these linguistic categories in more detail.

What makes the corpus of Jewish Malayalam a unique literary entity is the interweaving of literary generic features with certain linguistic categories, the warp and weft of Hebrew and Malayalam literary traditions on the loom of Jewish Malayalam. It is necessary to consider the major interacting textualities before reading the corpus. Some relevant Hebrew and Malayalam literary and linguistic categories are presented in the illustrations below and discussed in more length in 2.2—3 and whenever the need arises.
**Illustration 1: Generic Intertextuality**

- **Jewish Malayalam Corpus**
  - Hebrew Sources
  - Malayalam Sources

  - Bible
    - First *Pāṭṭu* Movement
    - Biblical *pāṭṭu* Second *Pāṭṭu* movement

- Midrash
  - Formulaic Songs
  - Verbatim Translations
    - Bhakti Movement

  - Religious Rhyming Songs
    - *Kilippāṭṭu*
    - *Vāṭakkanpāṭṭukal*

- Liturgy
  - Redemption Songs
  - Parrot Songs
  - Conglomerates

  - Translations (*artṭham*)
    - *Nāṭanpāṭṭukal*

  - Translations (*tamsir*)

- Para-liturgy
  - Synagogue Songs
  - Refrain Songs
    - *öppanappāṭṭu*

  - Composer Songs
    - *kalyāṇappāṭṭu*

**Illustration 2: A Comparative List of Features**

- **Jewish Malayalam**
  - Hebrew
  - Malayalam

  - Biblical
    - Archaic Forms
      - Old Malayalam

  - Mishnaic Allusions and Contents
    - Obscure Lexemes

  - "*Tamilisms*"
    - Modern Malayalam

  - Lexemes
    - Rhymes
    - Figurative Devices

  - Mediaeval
    - Phrasal Attributives
      - Colloquialisms
      - Contemporary

  - Syntactic Peculiarities
    - Hypercorrections
    - Standardization
Apart from that, the innermost circle of intertextuality between the manuscripts plays an important role in fixing coherent texts and determining the relation between them and the people who consume them by analyzing the context of performance. The intricate intertextuality between the notebooks is crucial for evaluating the evolution and nature of the whole corpus. Its analysis is essential for rendering a coherent text out of several incoherent variants, translating it and analyzing its place in the corpus and in performance. Thus, intertextual examination should start with the innermost circle of 'intertextualizing' texts - the notebooks.

2.1 The Notebooks

There are about thirty-seven notebooks in the collection. The number is an estimate, because from the year 2000 and onwards several new notebooks arrived at the Ben-Zvi Institute and it is yet unclear whether two or three of the manuscripts are not in fact several notebooks put together.

The index numbers of the notebooks are composed of serial numbers and a letter signifying the name of the collector; S for Shirley Isenberg, J for PM Jussay, B for Barbara Johnson and Z for the Ben-Zvi Institute. Two notebooks reached a private collector, Yosef Turjeman, and they appear in the index as T1 and T2 accordingly.

As mentioned above, the critical edition of the textualized and translated songs in the present research is based on notebook S14. Selecting this notebook as a base source was somewhat arbitrary, for it was difficult to tell what to expect and how to appreciate the nature of notebooks. Still, there are three good reasons to start with S14: it is a relatively large volume containing one hundred and three songs and two hundred and thirteen pages; the copy and hand-writing are relatively clear; it is not a Paradeši notebook. This last point might seem odd. It results from an initial hypothesis that Paradešis have a repertoire different from that of the majority of Kerala Jews. Since the research about Kerala Jews, starting with ethnographic accounts about the corpus, was heavily dependent on Jews
from the Paradeší community. A fresh look at the songs in a non-Paradeşi textual environment seems necessary.

Two notebooks collected from the Kōcci-Paradeší community, B3 and Z4, stand in sharp contrast to all other notebooks. While most notebooks in the collection are performance manuals, B3 and Z4 are anthologies that were not meant for performance. These anthologies give thematic titles and serial numbers to the songs. In some notebooks, the songs have performative titles or instructions. In other notebooks, the songs have no specific performative instructions. Thus, there are performative repertoire notebooks like B9 and S13, selection repertoire notebooks like S1 and B8, and the anthologies B3 and Z4.

The eight historical Jewish communities of Kerala are not equally represented in the collection. There are no notebooks yet from the Ernakulam-Kaṭavumabhāgam and Māla communities. Except for Kōcci-Paradeshi (KP) and Kōcci-Kaṭavumabhāgam (KK) communities, there are only two to three notebooks from each of the other communities. The KP community is over-represented in the collection – nineteen notebooks, more than half, originated in this community. This cannot be accidental. It is, I believe, due to a keen sense of prestigious ethno-history peculiar to this community. The Paradeşi community is also over-represented in historical documents and in the secondary literature about Kerala Jews, so it is not surprising that KP community members were eagerly preserving and transmitting in writing the heritage of Jewish Malayalam literature.

It is also noteworthy that of the nineteen KP notebooks, six originated in the Japheth family. Johnson’s collaborator in her research work, and one of the most knowledgeable readers of the corpus, Ruby Daniel, was a member of this family. Daniel’s family belonged to a sub-caste in the KP community (ulmakkār, משוחררים) and had intense social bonds with KK community members. The acute

122 S6, S7, S9, J2, B1—B8, B10, B13, B29, Z4—Z8.
123 See for example Daniel’s reference to Joseph Hallegua as an eager collector of books, in Johnson, 2005: 521.
124 S6, S7, S9, B2, B8, B10.
sense of historical prestige must have deeply influenced this family for a few
generations. The zeal with which Daniel collaborates with Johnson is explicitly
motivated by her wish to preserve and transmit her tradition for future
generations:

"Then the following year my mother died, and then Aunt Dolly died […] and their only
brother, my uncle Daniel died […] all in the same year. […] I am sitting in my house
alone with not a single soul to say a word of consolation […]. Then I thought I should do
something for posterity."¹²⁵

Still, one has to remember that Daniel's knowledge and approaches to knowledge,
rich as they may be, mainly represent her family tradition. In certain matters
regarding the song tradition, she was clarifying many difficult points as an
'insider' reading the corpus. Nevertheless, when a song is not a part of her family
repertoire, or has obscure lexemes and parts, she becomes an 'outsider' reader,
resorting to analytical intertextual tools – the Malayalam-English dictionary and
stories she heard from her senior relatives.¹²⁶

A comparative view of the notebooks reveals that there are different
traditions of textual presentation, possibly reflecting separate textual traditions
and lines of transmission. The most striking difference is in song selection. While
some notebooks include a certain group of songs, say the kāṇavvē songs, others
have only a verse or two of these or even none at all. It is important then to group
the notebooks according to their song selection, and note the relations between
selection and textual presentation.

2.1.1 Textual Presentation in the Notebooks
Textual presentation in the notebooks can be divided into three categories: song
selection, readings and orthographic style. Many songs appear only in certain
notebooks, while other songs are widely distributed. Moreover, the order of songs
selected for a notebook may be repeated in certain notebooks while others present

a different order. Generally, the selection of songs and their order is closely related to performative factors that are altered according to the ritual dynamics, especially the complex structure of the wedding rituals. On the micro level, the variants and alternative readings of lines and verse order are important for intertextual analysis.

Orthography is subject to historical developments in the Malayalam language and script. There are two major traits of orthography; both of them are typical of the dialectics between standardized versus non-standardized language. One orthographic trait is the choice between *talbhava* and *talsama* forms of Sanskrit words. For example, the word *buddhi* ‘wisdom’, a Sanskrit loanword, may be written as *putti* (*talbhava*) or as *buddhi* (*talsama*). The choices of *talsama* forms mark a standardized language, typical of the modern scribal style. Hence, it is likely that notebooks with a larger percentage of *talsama* forms (e.g. B9 and B5) are later than those with more *talbhava* forms (e.g. S13 and B3).

Seemingly, at some point Hebrew lexemes were also subject to standardized orthography. Interestingly, there is no unanimity in the transcription of Hebrew words. For example, KP and KK scribes usually render the Hebrew word *miqaddās* (ܵܡܳܩܕܕܶܐ), 'temple' by Malayalam *mikadoś* and *mikadōś*, while the other scribes prefer *mihadś* or *mikadāśū*. Such conflicting systems of orthography may reflect two traditions of Hebrew pronunciation. It is a matter of future study to describe such peculiarities of Jewish Malayalam and analyze them. For the present discussion, it is sufficient to note the phenomena as another matter for intertextual examination while reading the corpus and deciphering its language.

Similarly, the orthographic distinction between the short and long diphthongs [ə]/ [ɛ] and [ō]/ [o] marks the standardized script. Some notebooks (e.g. S13 and B3) hardly ever depict the long diphthongs [e] and [o], while others

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127 A Sanskrit loanword might be spelt according to Dravidian or Sanskrit phonology. When orthography adheres to Dravidian phonology, the lexeme is called *talbhava*, 'similar to that', and when orthography is loyal to Sanskrit pronunciation, it is called *talsama*, 'identical with that'. For more on this issue, see Freeman, 1998: 49—50.
(e.g. B9 and B5) consistently do. Again, this is a matter of later developments in Malayalam script and language, and those notebooks that do distinguish between short and long diphthongs were probably compiled in a later period than those that do not.

Standardized orthography is no evidence for the age of contents of a certain repertoire. For example, the scribe of B9 from Pārūr (P) was very likely a modern educated individual, who standardized colloquial forms and distinguished between long and short diphthongs. The scribe goes as far as to distinguish between \([u]\) and \([\dd]\), normally presented as \([u]\) or \([a]\) in the oldest notebooks, such as, say, S13 from Kōcci-Tēkkumbhāgam (KT) and B3 (KP). Nevertheless, the repertoire of B9 includes some of the oldest songs in the corpus, sharing its repertoire with S13 rather than with B3.

The selection of songs, when similar in several notebooks, depicts a distinct repertoire. At least two distinct repertoires can be identified when the sequence and selection of songs in the notebooks are compared. When the scribes group certain songs under performative headings (e.g. käppurātri cēllunnatū, ‘to be sung during the Vigil night’), the selection is anchored in performative occasions that mostly relate to the wedding ritual complex. Thus, we can classify performative repertoire notebooks, or performative manuals if you will, like B9 (P), S14 (KK), and B11 from Chenamangalam (Ch).128

The performative repertoire stands in contrast to notebooks with only a sporadic, non-sequential presentation of songs for wedding rituals and other occasions, such as S1 (KK) and J1 (P). Furthermore, the selection also represents a generic division between the two repertoires – the performative repertoires favor the archaic biblical pāttu (song), and the selection repertoires prefer the formulaic biblical songs. Furthermore, the selection repertoire is not as fixed as the performative one. While the latter includes several songs repeated in all performative manuals, the selection repertoire is not homogenous. If S1, for

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128 Note that B11 has very few performative instructions or headings. It is nevertheless a performative manual, for its repertoire is similar in selection and sequence to other performative manuals, especially B9.
example, favors the biblical formulaic song, J1 prefers liturgical religious songs, translations and even the transliteration of Hebrew para-liturgy.

The division of notebooks according to song selection represents different traditions of performance possibly affected by historical, geographical and communal variables. To fully describe and study these traditions, and there may be several of them, it is necessary to prepare at least two more critical editions for other notebooks. Based on the data collected from S14, I can currently identify distinct traditions of both repertoires, which further divide between Malabaris, KK community members and Paradeśis. To this, we may add the two anthologies, B3 and Z4 (both from KP), that depict an altogether different scribal approach.

The intertextual examination of readings further assists in the identification of traditional lines of transmissions. When certain notebooks share a certain distinct reading, it is likely that they also share a certain distinct line of transmission. For example, some biblical pāṭṭus such as the songs 'Vigil Night Song' (II61), 'Selling Joseph' (III52) and 'Joseph in Egypt' (III55) have additional verses only in the KK notebooks and in B3. The editor of B3, unlike the scribes of the KP notebooks, was probably aware of the KK variant and separate line of transmission, and wished to incorporate it too in an all-embracing anthology. Thus, we can divide the notebooks into groups of distinct traditions and lines of transmission based on intertextual examination of repertoire and variants.

To summarize, the notebooks can be divided into three categories – performative, selection and anthology; each further branches into three lines of transmission – Malabaris, KK and KP notebooks (Illustration 3). The place of the anthologies in this scheme is ambiguous, but it may be treated as a group that does not represent any repertoire, at least not one designed for performance. These observations are based on a general acquaintance with the notebooks via the critical edition of S14, and are presented here to outline the interrelations of certain notebooks to a certain distinct repertoire. Illustration 3 is offered here as a point of reference to certain songs and genres in the corpus when dealing with an overview of the corpus in Chapter Four.
Illustration 3: Classification of Notebooks

Performative Manuals

Malabar: B9, B11, S13, Z1
KK : S14, S2, T1
KP : B1, B4, B5, S9, B7, J2

Selection Repertoires

Malabar: J1, S12, S3, S4, S10, B12
KK : S1, T2
KP : S6, B6, B8, B10, B13

Anthologies

KP : B3, Z4

For the sake of brevity, I do not elaborate here the subject of intertextuality between the notebooks. In fact, the issue pervades every stage of my work, from textualizing to hermeneutics, and is addressed repeatedly as the need arises. However, the reader must keep in mind the complexity of the issue, and remember that any generalizations about the corpus are biased towards the performative repertoire as presented in S14. In order to do justice to other possibilities of reading and interpretation, I often refer the reader to other notebooks. For the reader who wishes to be better acquainted with the background of the manuscripts, an annotated list of the notebooks mentioned in this work appears in the bibliography.

2.2 Affinities to Malayalam Literature

Kerala’s literature is as lush as its landscape, and folksongs (nātanpāttukal) are a cherished part of it. It is difficult to draw a clear line between folk and classical literature, especially when it comes to Indian literary traditions, for some of the

129 An earlier version of this section was published in Gamliel, 2008.
130 Keralites seem to view folksongs as expressions of the oppressed people in pre-modern era. Since communist ideology is very influential in modern Kerala, folksongs and folk arts receive much attention and respect, from scholars and laymen alike.
parameters determining whether a text is folk or classical literature seem to be inadequate.

Two of the parameters defining orality are especially problematic - anonymous authorship and oral transmission. Many folksongs in Kerala have been transmitted in writing, such as the songs of Muslims and Jews, or many of the ritual songs of South Kerala.\footnote{See Thampi, 1999: 14—16. On the relations between oral and written forms in Indian culture see Ramanujan, 1999: 538—541; See also Wadley, 1998.} Literary compositions might have dubious authorship, such as the Jñāna-pāṇa, which some attribute to the famous Pūntāna, whereas a recently recovered text suggests it is of anonymous authorship.\footnote{Kuroor and Zacharia, 1996: 54—56.} Moreover, the intricate relations between literature, music, drama and ritual are especially evident in Malayalam literature. If we consider context to be the crucial factor in the definition of a song as a typical folk composition, we might end up with a mere handful of literary compositions that were not meant for some kind of temple performance or ritual as far as it concerns the pre-modern era. Regardless of these problematics, the term nātanpāṭṭukal is applied to overwhelmingly diverse and large literary corpora, from which I draw out some relevant materials for describing the literary environment of Jewish Malayalam.

The term 'nātanpāṭṭukal' is a modern coinage compounded of nātan, 'regional' and pāṭṭukal, 'songs' (pāṭṭu in singular). Pāṭṭu is in fact an old use denoting a literary composition. The titles of many songs are compounded by 'pāṭṭu' as the second member, e.g. bhadrakāliippāṭṭu 'Song about Bhadrakāli'. It is also used in denoting classical compositions, e.g. Rāmāyanakilippāṭṭu, 'The Ramayana Parrot-Song'. Not all nātanpāṭṭukal have the term 'pāṭṭu' in their title. For example, some of the oldest Māppila (Muslim) songs from the seventeenth century are titled 'māli', e.g. 'muhyiddînmāli'. The term nātanpāṭṭukal (literally: regional songs) is a modern coinage to denote 'folksongs'. However, it is most unlikely that the actual audiences of nātanpāṭṭukal ever thought of them as 'folk' or 'regional' compositions.
At the outset, each folksong fits into several categorical definitions according to region, caste, performative context and theme. The definitions are mostly modern analytical categories, not necessarily in agreement with the generic concepts, or ethnic genres, of the consumers of a specific song. There are different layers of definitions and classifications ranging in usage from the actual consumers of songs to modern researchers and audience.

Apart from the problematics of terminologies and taxonomies, there remains the problem of differentiating a folk *pāṭṭu* from a classical *pāṭṭu*. *Nāṭanpāṭṭus* often implement poetic devices such as rhyming, metrical schemes, figures of speech and alliteration along side typical folk narratival techniques such as repetitive patterns and ready-made lines. A *nāṭanpāṭṭu* might strike the reader as a stylized and sophisticated composition, apparently composed by a skilled and talented poet-bard. This is hardly surprising for performers were in many cases professional poets practicing their art in 'folkloric' contexts such as weddings.

After literary devices and narratival techniques, language is another formal issue to consider. Malayalam literature is prone to language hybrids. In the classical literature, the Sanskrit-Malayalam hybrid dominates over the older Tamil-Malayalam hybrid of the first *pāṭṭu* movement. K. M. George discusses folksongs under the heading of 'the branch of pure Malayalam' (*suddhamalayālasākha*), suggesting the linguistic hybrid factor as crucial in distinguishing folksongs from the classical literature. Still, it is quite impossible to find a folksong totally devoid of any Tamil or Sanskrit words or usages. In folksongs, the linguistic factor is inherently related to the region, religion and caste of the community in which a song is performed and transmitted. Any

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133 For the distinction between ethnic genres and analytical categories, see Ben-Amos, 1969.

134 See for example the lament over the lost glorious past of the Pāṇars as poets during the Caṅkam period in Pillai (2001: 23—34), or the reference to poet-bards, imported and local, composing songs during Māppilla weddings in Vallikunnu (2006: 193).


136 See George, 1958: 73. For this reason, he is forced to discuss the southern ritual songs composed in a Tamil-Malayalam hybrid under the heading of *Tamilmiśrasāhityam* (literature mixed with Tamil), though he does treat them as folksongs (Ibid, 1958: 179—180).
Malayalam folksong involves varying degrees and characteristics of linguistic hybrids (*bhāṣāmīśra*). In folksongs, contrary to the classical literature, a most common hybrid would be of Tamil-Malayalam, where the Tamil lexicon and morphology crop up in the Malayalam substratum.

Though Malayalam is considered an offspring of Tamil, its morphology and phonology were clearly distinctive enough in literature to afford its description in the treatise on poetics the *Lilātilakam* composed during the fourteenth century.\(^{137}\) Still, forms adhering to Tamil morphology and phonology, or 'Tamilisms', were used in literature in much later periods, mainly for stylistic reasons. When it comes to folksongs, it may not necessarily be a stylistic matter. Songs from certain regions may display a higher rate of 'Tamilisms', especially from regions bordering on the Tamil-speaking area, simply because they reflect the spoken language. Sanskrit too plays an important role in those language hybrids, mainly in providing lexemes and, rarely, morphemes. In many folksongs, however, Sanskrit words tend to be adapted to Tamil phonetics, e.g. *sarasvati* (name of a Goddess) may end up as *tarattōti*.

Another type of language hybrid involves a language altogether different from Tamil and Sanskrit. Such language hybrids belong solely to the Semitic communities of Kerala: the Māppilas composing in Arabi-Malayalam, and the Christians and Jews spicing up their Malayalam with Syriac and Hebrew respectively. Malayalam folksongs are not transparent and may require some deciphering even when the reader is a native speaker. This is not only due to language hybrids, but also due to the significant role that tunes and rhythms play in composition, performance and transmission. The meanings may be overlooked, or even confused, to allow for an uninterrupted musical flow.\(^{138}\)

Some songs may strike the contemporary Malayalam reader as a language altogether different from Malayalam, such as the Aṭiyārs’ songs, dominated by Kannada lexicon and morphology.\(^{139}\) Lastly, folksongs are normally transmitted

\(^{137}\) Ezhuttachan, 1975: 61—129.

\(^{138}\) George, 1958: 140.

\(^{139}\) Pankajakshan, 1989: 263—364.
in the spoken language, often in writing too, using dialectical forms and phonetically 'enmeshing' standard forms as is normally done in spoken Malayalam. The Jewish Malayalam corpus is certainly a part of the nātanpāṭṭukal continuum, which represents literary corpora of marginal communities in their unique literary linguistic hybrids. It is for this reason that the orthographic system of Jewish Malayalam is inconsistent.

Let us return to the issues of definition and structure. The earliest known definition of pāṭṭu is found in the Lilātilakam.  

Cryptic and insufficient as this definition may be, it provides some elementary structural features essential for analysis. A pāṭṭu has two types of rhyme (mona and ētuka), is composed in Dravidian meters (rather than Sanskrit meters), and adheres to Dravidian phonology (samghāṭāksara). To fit into the metrical scheme, vowels may be shortened or lengthened, and last but not least, there is a relatively high degree of 'Tamilisms'. Malayalam scholars note time and again that this pāṭṭu is different from the nātanpāṭṭus "current among the people and it is of a sophisticated variety."  

140 Pillai, 1985, 1:11.
141 The Lilātilakam aims at analyzing and describing Manipravālam literature, and its definition of pāṭṭu is for excluding non-Manipuravālam compositions (Freeman, 1998: 54—55). Hence its cryptic and insufficient nature in regard to pāṭṭus. Apart from the disinterest of the author in pāṭṭus, it is also doubtful how far he was acquainted with specimens of that genre (see Pillai, 2001: 14).

142 These are originally Tamil terms: monai is the repetition of the same phoneme at the beginning of each half line, and ētukai is the rhyming of the second syllable of each line. The latter, becoming very prominent in Malayalam literature, was later called in Malayalam dvitiyāksaraprāṣa. There are many more types of rhyme in Malayalam literature. In Malayalam folksongs, the rhyming of the last syllable of each line is very common usually with matching grammatical endings (negations, tense markers etc.) and repetition of lines in intervals. These rhyming patterns are also accepted in classical poetry, and they are called antyaprāsam and lātanuprāsam respectively (Varma, 1902: 88—89).

143 Pillai, 1985: 58—61.
144 Ezhuthachan, 1975: 76.
If we strictly follow this definition, there are only two known compositions that may be termed *pāṭṭu*, the Rāmacaritām and the Tirunālāmāla, both dated around the thirteenth century. However, if we consider the evolution of Malayalam literature during and after the time of the Lilātilakām, we are bound to disregard the factor of *samghātāksara*,\(^\text{145}\) as Malayalam language (especially the script) was swiftly conforming to the phonetic system of Sanskrit. Thus, the first and second *pāṭṭu* movements are differentiated by the *samghātāksara* factor.

Additionally, there were many more literary innovations that shaped Malayalam literature in general and *pāṭṭus* in particular. More metrical and rhyming schemes evolved and new genres were developed, some affiliated with Sanskrit literature, others with Tamil, and there was always a place for combining both. This period of the fifteenth century is recognized as the later phases of the *pāṭṭu* movement (*pāṭṭuprasthānam*), such as the ‘parrot songs movement’ that produced many well known classical compositions.\(^\text{146}\)

The typology of classical Malayalam literature is discussed in many studies, starting from the monumental *History of Kerala Literature* by Ulloor.\(^\text{147}\) It is important to note how some features attributed to classical literature, such as the *pāṭṭu*-mold, appear in folksongs and demand explanation, for they are somewhat ignored when it comes to *nātanpāṭṭus* that have these rhyming and metrical features partially or fully.

Malayalam folksongs form an integral part of Kerala’s literary culture. They are compositions formed in marginal circles of a decentralized literary milieu, and each distinctive corpus of *nātanpāṭṭukal* deserves to be treated as the central literary corpus of a certain marginal literary milieu. In this sense, the term

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\(^\text{145}\) Leelavathy, 1980: 60.

\(^\text{146}\) The ‘second *pāṭṭu* movement’ started with the Niranām poets in the fifteenth century, and the ‘parrot songs movement’ with Ėluttacan and his sixteenth-century renderings for the Ramayana and Mahabharata (George, 1958; Pillai, 1966; Chaitanya, 1995; Leelavathy, 1980; Rajasekharan, 2005: 112)

\(^\text{147}\) For the typology of Malayalam literature in English, see Chaitanya (1995); See also Freeman (2003).
nātanpāṭṭukal, ‘regional songs’, seems quite accurate. It is necessary to view the
Jewish Malayalam literature in the larger context of nātanpāṭṭukal. For the sake of
brevity, I describe below only a few types of nātanpāṭṭu corpora to view Jewish
Malayalam corpus in its immediate literary context.

2.2.1 Vaṭakkanpāṭṭukal - The Northern Songs
The epic songs of north Malabar are sung even today among the workers in the
paddy fields and hill cultivations of the Malabar region in north Kerala. Some
scholars date these songs to the Modern Malayalam period, after the sixteenth
century. The performers and audiences of the songs refer to them by titles such
as nāttippāṭṭu (planting song), kalappāṭṭu (weeding song), or tōrampāṭṭu (work
song). In some northern districts, people call the songs cāranpāṭṭu ‘loud songs’.149

Most of these songs tell the stories of the valorous deeds of men and
women. Battle scenes are most favored, often portrayed without providing any
background as to why the violence erupted. Frequently, a story would describe
how a local chieftain was craving a low caste woman, and how she resisted him
bravely only to end up dying a violent death.150 Women in the northern songs are
far from being helpless victims. They are strong and expressive, and some are
fighters who can surpass men in their military skills like Uṇṇiyārcca, the heroine
of the Cekavar saga.

Figurative language is not as elaborate and sophisticated as it is in the
classical literature. Figures of speech are used to enhance the emotional impact of
a scene or description without loosing track of the story line or the main theme.
The most frequent figures of speech are similes, metaphors and hyperboles. An
especially favorite device is the mālopama, 'simile string'. For example, when

150 See Varier, 1982: 17—18. Varier gives a detailed analysis of the structure of the northern
songs, focusing on different types of ready-made lines and on literary appreciation. He found that
these tōrampāṭṭukal (work songs) are similar in structure and themes to the tottampāṭṭukal,
possession ritual songs, which are widely circulated in North Malabar (1982: 44—45).
Pūmāteyi is described by the local ruler who lusts for her, she is "like the red lotus blooming in the river", "like the gem of a necklace on the chest". Eventually, as she does not yield to him, he accuses her of adultery, bribes false witnesses and sets her on fire. Writhing and screaming in pain, she throws herself at the chieftain "like an arrow shot at the target", "like a beheaded snake coiling around the man".¹⁵¹

Namboodiri attempts several classification schemes for the northern songs. According to him, some songs are interrelated in the sense of forming a full-fledged cyclic song (pāṭṭukathācakraṁ), while others form a loose cycle of story-song (śīthilakkathāgānacakraṁ). Such are the Tiyya and Nāyar sagas of the Cekavar family (a full-fledged saga), and of the Taccoli House (a loose saga).¹⁵²

There are also shorter songs and thematic diversity. The themes can be the exploits of royal dynasties, human heroes, maidens in trouble, miraculous animal and ghosts and divine beings.¹⁵³ These classifications imply that the songs represent a rich literary tradition that is not only voluminous, but also generically diverse – there are sagas, epics, myths and fairy tales.

Varier wanders why such songs were preserved among workers and performed during work in the fields. He suggests that the songs had a social-pragmatic function of encouraging individuals to contribute their share to the collective effort. This was enabled by the ideology conveyed in the songs as a whole as well as by the tunes and rhythms to which they are sung.¹⁵⁴ Ulloor summarizes his discussion of the northern songs in saying that "if we ignore Malayalam compositions that depict puranic stories, whether repeated or altered, lengthened or shortened, we are left with almost nothing. Therefore, such songs are precious gems in Malayalam literature."¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 51—54.
¹⁵² For an English summary of the Cekavars saga see Chaitanya, 1971: 36—41.
¹⁵⁴ Varier, 1982: 36.
¹⁵⁵ Ulloor, 1953: 269. In Ulloor’s time there were only about thirty-five known songs, whereas Namboodiri (2006: 12) testifies to have read about four-hundred of them.
Ulloor's statement implies that the northern songs represent an independent literary tradition parallel to classical Malayalam literature, a vātakkanppāṭṭu-prasthānam, if you will. They have some peculiarities of style and language and a reservoir of themes and contents that can be juxtaposed with that of the classical literature.

Most of the northern songs are typical folk compositions of anonymous authorship. However, there is at least one northern song that is considered the work of a skilled single poet. The Matilerikkanni, ‘The Maiden of Matileri’, is by style, meter, themes and language an inherent member of the vātakkanppāṭṭukal. It was orally transmitted among other northern songs in certain families. However, at the same time its narrative complexity and sophisticated figurative and descriptive language reveal that it was composed by a poet with attentive literary concern. Below is a summary of the song in prose:

Matilerikkanni was the princess of the Matileri house in the northern Kolattiri land. She fell in love with the king of Venāṭu in the South. After their marriage, he went to fight a battle that lasted for a long time. As she was very well trained in the martial arts, she dressed up like a Nāyar warrior called Pōnnan, pretended to be a soldier in her father’s armies, and managed to achieve victory for the Venāṭu forces. The sister of the king fell in love with Pōnnan-princess in disguise, and he-she realized that it was time to go home and back to her true identity, so she returned to her kingdom in the north.

Soon after, the king of Venāṭu, who became very attached to Pōnnan, returned north to Kolattiri (and consequently to his wife). On the way, he went through the Cīrakkara land, and was spotted out by the princess of the Cūriyamaṇi house, which had kinship relations with the Matileri house. She fancied him, and decided to win him over and get him married to her. Pretending to be a friend of Matilerikkanni, she spent some time in her palace, but all her attempts to charm the Venāṭu king failed. She finally conspired with a servant, and managed to poison Matilerikkanni. The princess died in agony in her husband’s arms. Both her husband, king of Venāṭu, and her father died of a broken heart.

156 Kumaran, 1979: 26, 42.
158 Kumaran, 1979: 10—16.
Varier and Kumaran find this story to be atypically complicated when compared to the standard northern songs. Varier points out formulaic ready-made lines shared by the northern songs and the Matilerikkanni. He also shows the figurative use of speech, the simile-string (mālopanā), typical of the northern ballads and widely used in the Matilerikkanni. See for example the description of the Veñāṭu princess as she welcomes the princess-warrior Pōnnan:

Like a goddess during procession,
Like cascading waters,
Like mirror smooth cheeks,
Like a bud with fresh water drops…

According to Varier, it is highly unlikely to find in the northern songs figurative speech as elaborate as in classical poetry. Nevertheless, in the Matilerikkanni the two aesthetic ideologies are combined, and one finds figures of speech typical to classical poetry, for example this utprekṣā, describing the break of dawn after the Tiruvāṭira night festival for Kāma (Love):

The rooster crowed to pull the anklet off
The sun mounting on the stage of dawn.

It is doubtful whether the Matilerikkanni is genuinely an oral composition. Soon after Varier published his monograph about the vatakkappattukal and the Matilerikkanni, he claimed that Kumaran, the poet who published the Matilerikkanni, was actually the author rather than the editor of the text. Kumaran did not approve nor deny the accusation.

Nevertheless, the ability of a poet to compose refined poetry modeled after nātanpāṭṭu genres depicts the fluid boundaries between the classical and the folk

159 Varier, 1982: 82.
162 M. G. S. Narayanan, personal communication.
literary realms. If the text is indeed Kumaran’s consciously poetic composition, the poet simply joins a long tradition of composers in colloquial language variations, experimenting with different types of literary blends and combinations. Even great classical composers such as Ėluttacan and Cērusşery must have derived inspiration and techniques from folk literary corpora to compose retellings of the pan-Indian myths in Malayalam, combined to this or that extent with techniques and features of the vast Sanskrit literature.

2.2.2 Torrampāttukal - Possession Songs

The word *torram* is derived from the verb *torr*- 'to cause to appear'. It denotes the performative function of the *torram* songs - possession rituals called *tēyyāttam*, 'the dance of god'. In these, a performer embodies a certain deity to fulfill various ritual purposes such as propitiation of the deity, protection against disease and divination - hence the need to cause the local deities to 'appear'.

The *torram* or *tēyyam* songs can be short and simple or long and elaborate. No one, as far as I know, tried to date them. Their performance is during ritual complexes, with their style and language similar to the *vatakkānpāṭṭukal*. The *torrampāṭṭus* involve a delicate interplay between speech and ritual media incorporating poetry in pragmatic ways and formulating the semantics of ritual in literary patterns. The interplay between ritual and literature is at work also in other 'regional' literary corpora.

The origin of the *torram* deities is in a human being, either a low caste or a woman, who has suffered a violent death at the hands of an unjust cruel man of higher status. In order to take revenge, the victim turns into a fierce deity and wreaks havoc on the offender and his family. The latter realizes through the agency of a wise person, a Brahmin or a fortune-teller, that his trouble came about by the apotheosized hero or heroine, and is advised to construct an annual ritual, namely the *tēyyāttam*, for propitiating the new deity. In north Malabar, where this form of worship is common, there are about four hundred deities worshipped each year in *tēyyāttam*. These deities have personal names such as Tōntacan and Pōṭṭan, and at the same time, they are perceived as one of the
well-known pan-Indian ‘ruling’ gods. Tōntaccan and Pōṭṭan for example are considered to be incarnations of Śiva.

The performance usually takes place in a shrine specified for that purpose and belonging to a Nāyar taravātu, ‘ancestral home’, and the performers come from one of the laboring castes traditionally subservient to the Nāyars. As the performance is meant to propitiate a deity on behalf of the Nāyar taravātu, the expenses are met with by the Nāyar taravātu, which also pays the performers their fees.

The performer is dressed up in a chamber especially built for that purpose, aniyara, ‘dressing room’. The dress and make-up, including an elaborate impressive headgear (sometimes also a mask) is part of the process of getting the performer into a trance. It may take a few hours to dress up the performer. When he is ready, he is brought out into an open space before the shrine for conducting a series of rituals to transform him into the deity. Songs play a substantive role in the rituals; a group of people plays percussions and wind instruments to accompany the tēyyam oracle in his song, a narration of the circumstances of the apotheosis.163

The ritual texts are long and complex, reflecting the duration and complexity of the ritual in which they are performed. The narration of the heroic deeds of the tēyyam conveys social criticism and subversive ideologies. The ‘ready-made’ lines and verses are further enriched with sections improvised by the oracle-performer, who starts mocking and scolding the Nāyars at the height of possession.164 In this sense, the tēyyattam as dramatic performance is linked to the theatrical heritage of Kerala - from kūtiyattam to ōṭṭantullal.165 The torrampattus,

164 For some social and anthropological studies of tēyyam worship see Menon, 1993; See also Freeman, 2003a.
165 Kūtiyattam is the last surviving ancient Sanskrit theatre in the world. It crystallized in something like its present form around the start of the second millennium. Ōṭṭantullal is a satirical monopolylogue invented in the eighteenth century by Kuṇcan Nambiyār.
on the one hand, are linguistically and stylistically linked to the vatakkanpāṭṭus, and on the other hand, they have historical links with classical theatre.

Many torrampāṭṭus involve different generic registers, ready-made lines and rhyming schemes typical to folksongs. They may encapsulate a creation myth,\textsuperscript{166} and most, if not all, incorporate hymns and praises (stutis and aṇcatis) in various stages of the performance. Some are composed in the pāṭṭu-mold, like the long and complex Bālitorrām, which is a unique retelling of the Ramayana, featuring the underdog Bāli (= Vālin) as a tēyyam invoked in the north Malabar ritual system.\textsuperscript{167} Shorter torrampāṭṭus too may be composed in the pāṭṭu-mold. Here are for example the opening verses of Munnāyiriśvaran song:\textsuperscript{168}

\begin{verbatim}
kariyūru vātivu pūnda/ kaṟakkaṇtya puttirantān//
varam arul tarikay ēnnil/ vāymakaḷ devi tānum//
aravāṇasayanan devan/ ājñāyē cēykay ēnnil//
gurujanam irupattōnum/ gunamōṭu tunakk ēnkkû//
\end{verbatim}

Graced with elephant beauty You are, son of Śiva!
Give me the boon of eloquence! Also You, Goddess of speech!
God, who sleeps on the serpent couch, guide me!
Great Guru! Help me with the twenty-one qualities.

The corpus of torrampāṭṭus includes compositions in the classical pāṭṭu-mold and formulaic constructions typical of oral literature. Often, a genre is defined in ethno-generic terms. An example is the pōlippāṭṭu, ‘prosper song’, transgressing boundaries of context and region. It is used in agriculture songs, leisure songs, praises of deities and, as with the torrampāṭṭu, in ritual. The Jewish Malayalam corpus has some intertextual relations with this genre, from borrowed

\textsuperscript{166} Namboodiri, 1981: 137—138.
\textsuperscript{167} Ibid., 25—94.
\textsuperscript{168} Ibid., 95.
formulas to a full-fledged pölippāṭṭu (‘Multiply Multiply’, II16). The model is named after the verb pölika 'prosper, multiply', which appears at least once in the text (even if only in a suggestive manner). It is used by various groups in different regions in Kerala and, possibly, is peculiar to Kerala. The opening section of the torrampāṭṭu of Tōṇṭaccan is a pölippāṭṭu.

Song of Tōṇṭaccan

vālōṇam vālōṇam vālōṇam taivōme/ ātiyum vālōṇam antavum vālōṇam/
bhūmitōṭṭakāsam vēyenəm davome/ nīrum nilattālam vēyenəm davome/
ātiyil vēccul/ āriyālum vālōṇam/ antattil vēccā vilakkālam vālōṇam/
vilakkil amarnulla divam pōliyānam/ dīpam pōlikā tiriyālum vēyenəm/
mūlam pōlikā muti torram vēyenəm […]

Thrive! Thrive and thrive! Oh God!
Thrive at the beginning, Thrive at the end!
Thrive on earth up till heaven, Oh God!
Thrive by waters and land, Oh God!
Thrive by the rice offered before!
Thrive by the lamp, which stands in a lamp!170
May the lamp prosper! Thrive by its wick!
May the root prosper, and the head! Torram thrive!171

Note the use of the verb vāl-, 'to be prosperous, to rule' (vālōnam vēyenəm < vālanam in the desiderative). The same verb is used in the formulaic expression sealing the biblical formulaic songs in the Jewish Malayalam corpus: vāluka vāluka eppoḷum vāluka erramāyi vālunna tambirānē (Blessed, blessed, be always blessed, God who rules forever!). Compare this formula with a song collected from a

169 Narayanan, 2006b: 653, 662.
170 Note the lamp motif. The lamp is a cultural icon appearing also in several Jewish Malayalam songs.
171 Namboodiri, 2005; Balakrishnannair, 2005. I have synthesized the readings in the translation.
village in the southern Aleppy district, far away from north Malabar and its
torrampāṭṭukaḷ:

nāṭu vāḻuka nagaram vāḻuka/ vīṭu vāḻuka virutum vāḻuka/
kāṭu vāḻuka kaṇṭam vāḻuka/ […]
vēḷlam vāḻuka vāyuvum vāḻuka/ kallu vāḻuka pullum vāḻuka/
pūvu vāḻuka maṇavum vāḻuka/ pāṭṭu vāḻuka īnām vāḻuka/
araṇnu vāḻuka pantalum vāḻuka/ nāṭ orunēn pōliyuka pōliyuka/
kāvil amme kaniyuka kiniyuka/

May the land thrive! May the city thrive!
May the house thrive! May reputation thrive!
May the forest thrive! May the field thrive!

....
May the water thrive! May the wind thrive!
May stones thrive! May grass thrive!
May flowers thrive! May odor thrive!
May the song thrive! May the tune thrive!
May the stage thrive! May the festive shed thrive!
Prosper, prosper to adorn the land!
Oh goddess Kāvilamma! Have mercy and appear!\(^{172}\)

2.2.3 kaikōṭṭikkalippāṭṭukaḷ - Clapping Songs

The definition kaikōṭṭikali refers to the manner of singing: kaikōṭṭi means
'clapping', and kali means 'play'. There are kaikōṭṭikali songs in different
corpora, including that of Jews. Some Jewish Malayalam songs that bear the title
kalippāṭṭu, 'play-song', were performed in the manner of kaikōṭṭikkali.\(^{173}\) The
term is associated with an upper caste female milieu (Hindu or Monotheist), with
adjustments to communal literary trends and linguistic hybrids. In what follows, I
focus on Hindu clapping songs.

\(^{172}\) Narayanan, 2006b: 659.

Hindu clapping songs were performed by women and for women during life and year-cycle events. Traditionally, the performance would be held at the inner courtyard of Nambūtiri women, who were not aloud to be seen outside. Women of other high caste families would form a circle around a lamp and dance to the rhythm of songs while clapping hands, stamping feet and swaying the body.

The corpus of Hindu clapping songs is rich and eclectic. There are songs composed by famous poets as well as songs that enter through the 'back door' by means of servants and low caste people. Stories of the puranic tradition are integrated and altered to fit into the living context of the women’s performance. Many songs are defined by the manner of dancing. For example, a kummi is a song performed by couples of dancers and requires some skill. During the dance, dancers of inferior skill would sit down and watch. Another type is a kurattippātu, 'gypsy song', accompanied by the rhythmic snapping of fingers.\footnote{174}

The corpus is oriented towards performance. Praises and hymns (stutis) are used for opening performative sections. The bulk of the materials may be classical episodes or stories integrated with songs in 'folk manner' (nātanmaṭṭil). Verses may be borrowed from the kathakali theatre repertoire,\footnote{175} disjoined from the contextual complex meaning of the play, and altered in their emotional charge (bhāva). Besides the verses, there are songs that include a complete story or a complete episode. A story may proceed through several songs differentiated and organized by quasi-metrical rhythmic conventions in accordance with dance steps.\footnote{176}

\footnote{174} As far as I am aware of, no one studied the dance genres, if any, of the Jewish Malayalam kalippātu. They certainly have some performative logic that affects their place in the corpus.

\footnote{175} Kathakali is a dramatic genre that developed during the seventeenth century. The actors perform with elaborate eye, facial and hand gestures, which are the meaningful 'pulp' of the play. Behind the actors, who never utter a single word, there are two singers chanting the verses forming the verbal 'skeleton' of the play. Drummers accompany the whole play following the gesture sign language of the actors. Unless the spectator has some acquaintance with the story and sign language 'vocabulary', it is very difficult to follow the play. For more on Kathakali, see Zarilli, 2000.

\footnote{176} Madhavan, 2004: i—xxxiv.
Many of the stories are told via the agency of a parrot as the implied narrator, similar to the classical genre of kilippāṭṭu (parrot song). A particularly charming mode of parrot songs is formulated as a dialogue between Goddesses Lakṣmi and Pārvati. One group of women would perform Lakṣmi’s voice, and the other Pārvati’s. The song is stylized by second syllable rhyming (ētukā), and implements refined figurative language in the fourteenth verse (aprastutapraśamsā). Note that the last two verses are not part of the dialogue. One is uttered by a parrot, the implied narrator of such incidents happening in worlds beyond the human sphere, and the other by the actual narrator addressing the women present. Each verse encapsulates some mythical incident or detail related to the husbands, Śiva and Viṣṇu. The first couplet out of two is always spoken by Lakṣmi, and the second by Pārvati:

"Tell me, is it for the lack of oil that your husband
Smears his head with ashes?"178

"Thieves had just broken in and robbed us,
And all our camphor is gone."

"Lovely lady, did he kill an elephant
Just to rip off its skin?"179

"Beauty, mind you, your husband killed
An elephant for its tusk!"180

"Bless your luck! You were almost widowed
When that mortal Arjuna got really angry…"181

"And who was the driver of that same hero,

177 This is a development of the pāṭṭuprasthānam initiated by Īḷuttaccan in the sixteenth century to renarrate puranic stories (Rajasekharan, 2005: 159—188). Songs addressing or addressed by a parrot are common among the many different communities, one more link between folk and classical literature corpora.

178 Pārvati’s husband, God Śiva, is depicted smeared in ashes.

179 Śiva is dressed in a loincloth made of elephant skin.

180 Krṣṇa, an incarnation of Lakṣmi’s husband Viṣṇu, killed a war elephant with its own tusk (Bhāgavatapurāṇa).

181 Alluding to the encounter between Śiva and Arjuna (Mahābhārata).
Arjuna, surely out of great fear…”

“Well, your husband didn’t hesitate to strike
And kill even your own father Dakṣa!”

“...to escape patricide
He killed his own maternal uncle!”

“And your shameless husband - didn’t he
Guard the city of the demon Bāna?!”

“And your shameless husband - didn’t he
Lift up on his shoulder his lover Rādhā?!”

“Madam! What about the kids of you two -
One with elephant face, the other with six faces!”

“When sixteen thousand women give birth,
There are countless children, isn’t it?”

“My man is so sexy that even your husband
Was once attracted to him, right?!”

“Even if myriads of stars shine in the sky,
They won’t be as bright as the sun and moon…”

“Gorgeous woman! Do I see one girl playing
In the matted locks of your man?!”

“Didn’t your husband happily live with that
Hunchback woman after straightening her up?!”

182 Kṛṣṇa refused to take side in the war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, and instead became Arjuna’s charioteer in the battles (Mahābhārata).

183 After Īśvā’s first wife, Sātī, committed suicide in her father’s, Dakṣa, sacrificial fire, Īśva killed him in a fit of anger (Śivapurāṇa).

184 Kṛṣṇa killed the evil king Kaṁsa, who was his mother’s elder brother (Bhāgavatapurāṇa).

185 Īśvā interferes on behalf of the demon king Bāna against Kṛṣṇa (Śivapurāṇa).

186 Kṛṣṇa had a mortal lover, Rādhā (Gītāgovinda).

187 The sons of Īśvā and Pārvatī are the elephant headed God Gaṇapati and the six-headed God Kārttikeya (Śivapurāṇa).

188 Kṛṣṇa had sixteen thousand women (Bhāgavatapurāṇa).

189 Viṣṇu once became an enchanting goddess, Mohini, to help Īśvā deceive the demons, and they fell in love with each other (Mahābhārata, Kūrmapuruṇa, Śivapurāṇa).


191 Referring to the river Goddess Gaṅgā, the co-wife of Pārvatī.
"Now your dear husband is so attractive
With his lovely voice rising from his black throat!"  
"Well, if you already mention black throats,
Look! Your man’s body is black all over!"

"It’s really bad the way we quarrel,
Talking like that about our husbands…"
"Yeah, I also felt like that deep inside.
Dear friend, let us stop now."

"Like that these two were talking to each other,
And finally remained there happily ever after."
And you, keep in mind these true matters that
The parrot spoke about,
And be happy.

Note that this female-oriented genre brings out the female voice loudly and clearly. These women, who would not dare criticize their own husbands, certainly not in public, playfully mock the famous divine husbands that their own human husbands worship as a daily matter. There are other less stylized forms of this song model (goddesses quarreling over divine husbands).

Like a typical kaikōṭṭikkal song, the song is a web of allusions to mainstream Hindu texts, such as the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. The Jewish Malayalam generic terms, kalippāṭtu (play song) and ninnukali (group dance) connote the Jewish Malayalam corpus with the female oriented kaikōṭṭikkalippāṭtus. Only KK women report the performance of play songs (kalippāṭtu) in a manner similar to kaikōṭṭikkali.

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192 Krṣṇa once straightened up the crooked body of an old woman (Bhāgavatapurāṇa). Pārvatī sarcastically suggests that he did that out of lust.

193 Śiva has a black throat because he once swallowed poison to protect the world (Mahābhārata, Śivapurāṇa)

194 Viṣṇu has a body dark as monsoon clouds.

195 Malayalam text in Madhavan and Gopalkrishnan, 2004: 56—57. One such song was found in a palm leaf manuscript in the Gundert collection preserved in Tübingen university library (Kuroor and Zacharia, 1996: 91).

196 See Kuroor and Zacharia, 1996: 91.
Nevertheless, the Jewish Malayalam songs defined as 'play songs' are common to all communities and are usually a part of the selection repertoire.

2.2.4 Kalyānappāṭtukal - Wedding Songs

Wedding songs are a rather marginal category among the Hindu castes of Kerala. Though some castes did have wedding songs, they have not been collected and printed as such. Ulloor refers to wedding songs in passing, without mentioning their respective communities. Some wedding songs from south Tiruvitāṅkūr and some Parayar and Atiyar wedding songs were published in a series on Malayalam folksongs, Keralabhāṣāgītāntiṇ, by the Kerala Sahitya Academy.

However, three non-Hindu communities cherish their wedding songs. The best known are the Knānaya Christians, mainly residing in South Kerala. Their wedding songs were published in 1910 by P. U. Lukas in the anthology Purātanappāṭtukal that had its tenth edition reprinted in 2002.

The period of composing the Knānaya wedding songs (kalyānappāṭtukal) is unknown. It is difficult to tell how loyal Lukas’ text is to the non-standard language of the songs. The texts display Sanskrit lexemes (including maniravāḷa forms) and ‘tamilisms’ typical of Modern Malayalam. They also have many peculiar lexemes, often derived from Syriac. The Knānaya songs are relatively easy to read, perhaps because they are not very old, perhaps because the editor, Lukas, 'standardized' their language.

There is at least one genre of Knānaya literature that exists also in the Jewish Malayalam corpus, the pallippāṭtu, 'Synagogue song'. The Knānaya church

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197 In fact, wedding ritual complexes, necessary for developing a significant volume of wedding songs, did not develop in most Hindu castes of Kerala until the twentieth century. See Thurston, 2002.
198 Ulloor, 1953: 245.
200 Lukas, 1910. There are also attempts to preserve the songs in performance on DVDs and CDs by Jacob Vellian and Hadusa, the All India Institute for Christian Performing Arts, Diocese of Kottayam. The name of the CD is Purathana Pattukal, and the DVD - Knānaya Samgrītika.
(pall) songs are more homogenous than the Jewish ones, that can be either narratival or descriptive, formulaic or rhyming. It is therefore difficult to evaluate their respective generic place in the Jewish corpus. Contrarily, the Knānaya pallippāṭtukal share a similar style and mode of narration. For example, they often begin with a narration of the creation of Adam and Eve.

Also very well known and documented are the Māppilla wedding songs, óppanappāṭtus. They are famous for their enchanting tunes (ištāl), and appreciated as a branch of Arabi-Malayalam literature. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were professional bards (Pulavar) summoned to entertain the guests at Muslim weddings. They were replaced by community members, male and female, during the second half of the eighteenth century. This might explain why many of the óppana songs are in the pāṭṭu-mold. Jews too had a large corpus of wedding songs, with biblical songs in the pāṭṭu-mold, possibly composed by professional bards as well.

Weddings are an oxymoron of sorts. They are flamboyant public celebrations of an intimate physical affair. Wedding songs, at least in Malayalam, aim at a resolution of the oxymoronic nature of the wedding. One has to keep in mind that in traditional society the marriage is arranged by the elders of the family, while the bridal couple may briefly meet just once before the wedding. Especially delicate is the position of the bride, who is in most cases bound to leave her house and start a new life in the house of her in-laws. In the wedding songs that I have read, this seems to be a major concern. Wedding songs are thus an

201 The oldest compositions of Arabi-Malayalam literature are from the beginning of the seventeenth century. The oldest Arabi-Malayalam songs are devotional hagiographies in the pāṭṭu mold (malapāṭṭu and kisappāṭṭu). During the eighteenth century there evolved a genre of battle songs, patappāṭṭu. Many of these compositions are of known authorship, and they were transmitted both in writing and orally (Fawcet, 1899; Kunhali, 2004:26—31; Vallikkunnu and Tharamel, 2006:7—23).


203 A few verses of these songs in the pāṭṭu-mold were published in Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 91—92, 109 (M) and 90—2, 111 (H), and a few songs were published and discussed in Gamliel, 2006. For a detailed discussion about the biblical pāṭṭu, see Chapters Four and Five.
opportunity to voice otherwise submissive voices, largely perhaps female oriented voices, to address delicate issues such as sexuality and intimacy, and to intertwine these personal concerns with issues of communal interest such as religion and origin myths.

2.2.4.1 Óppanappāṭtu – Muslim Wedding Songs

The Óppana songs were performed in the past after a small ritual called arayilkuttal, 'meeting in private', when the bridal couple gets a few minutes of intimacy alone in a room. When they emerge from the room, the Óppana songs are sung. The performers would be elderly ladies; at times, they would replace names of characters in the songs with names of guests present in the wedding, for a nominal fee paid by the guests. Today women sing cinema songs in Muslim weddings, and the Óppana songs have become a staged performance by professional singers on the day prior to the wedding itself.²⁰⁴

The Calicut poet, Māṭṭummal Kuññikoya Sāhib still composed Arabi-Malayalam songs in the pāṭṭu-mold during the nineteenth century. Though scholars identify the poet and his legacy, performers and audiences often learn and hear his work as an anonymous oral composition. The verses might be dismantled and reconstructed with other, not necessarily related, Óppana verses during performance. The following song, 'Veneration Song', was sung when the groom would set off to the bride’s house. Friends and groups of singers would gather around him and sing it.²⁰⁵

Veneration and welcome to the honorable followers of the Prophet,
To the most exalted venerable followers of the Prophet present here.
Veneration to the most excellent One, the child born to Amina Bi.
On the day of the Musammil’s birth, light descended
To cover the whole world in a golden body.

²⁰⁴ Shamshad Hussain, personal communication.
²⁰⁵ Kutty, 2006: 45.
The grandeur of the child who descended with fever,\textsuperscript{206}
Is praised from morning till evening in heaven and on earth.
Welcome, welcome to the most venerable Prophet!

The night when our Prophet Muhammad was born
Became the gift of the Lord of heaven and beyond
To cover the world with the hidden majestic light.
The king of prophets came as that child. Pure
White silk, good for the blissful,
When the shiny radiant garments came,\textsuperscript{207}
The door of might opened, and all descended in beauty,
Denizens of heaven, angels and their master Rilwān.\textsuperscript{208}

The compassionate King - by his word
Muhammad the Prophet was born. In that night
The Lord’s word became the Prophet of God,
Blazing light cutting through deep darkness,
Transforming countries and towns,
Novel silk from the heaven called Eden,
Magnificent cloth, miracle caskets descended,
Descended marvels, so many, and limitless gems.

Green gems vying with lotuses in the ponds,
Red gems rending them worthless,
By the glitters of whirlpools in the heavenly lake,
Odors and delicacies descended on the world,
The grand followers lined up, all of them,
They were welcomed with so many marvels -
Good Gabriel, the king of immortals,
And with him all angels with good Rilwān.\textsuperscript{209}

\textsuperscript{206} According to the belief, Muhammed had high fever on the night of his enlightenment (Shamshad Hussain, personal communication).

\textsuperscript{207} Note the metonymic expression denoting either celestials or guests in the wedding.

\textsuperscript{208} < Rilwān.

\textsuperscript{209} The translation is based on the printed and annotated text in Vallikkunnu (2006: 195—196). In a publication by a Calicut performance group the readings are different (Karuvarakund, p.7). Kutty (2006) gives only the first verse.
These metaphysical descriptions of the contact between heaven and earth magnify the present moment, the assembly of guests with their best clothes and jewelry on. The singers invoke divine forces to bless the newly-weds and their community with their presence, recalling an event in the pan-Muslim tradition that is very relevant for the wedding - the birth of a child, or the Child. The point here is not to relate or re-narrate that historical event, but to describe in fantastic terms the event of the wedding and its merits (hopefully resulting in the birth of good Muslim children).

The syntax of these verses is loose, as often happens in the Jewish Malayalam corpus too. In fact, it does not really matter what exactly happened that night; what really matters is to list and describe riches, blissful, shiny devotion, and to repeat semantic items denotative of the wedding: welcome (marhabah), veneration (tasrif). Through such keywords the semantics of ritual are built into the pragmatics of poetry; a metaphoric metonym connotes heaven with wedding and celestials with guests. Poetry has a role to play in stylizing the ritual and transforming its mundane context into divine interaction.

Arabi-Malayalam is nicely presented in this song with Arabic lexemes (mubārakk, 'blessing', nabi, 'prophet') 'Tamilisims' and archaisms (vantu = vannu; ēnikalē = nammuṭē), Sanskrit talsama and talbhava forms (ādaravāya < ādaram + āya, 'honorably'; suvarkkattinu < svargam + colloquial ablative, 'from heaven'). Note the classical figure of speech (vyatireka) in the first two lines of the last verse. This flamboyant verbal construction is one aspect of the function of wedding songs in context aiming to mold universals of the 'great tradition' (pan-Islam) in particulars of the 'little tradition' (the Māppilla wedding).

Like the Jewish Malayalam wedding songs, the Arabi-Malayalam wedding songs form an eclectic body of compositions anchored in performance. Along side the 'Veneration Song', there are secular love songs or verses that are integrated into the repertoire. They refer directly to the performative occasion and voice the concerns about the bride and her emotions. They address her for supporting her in this rite de passage and encourage her to feel at ease towards the (possibly intimidating) imminent physical contact with a complete stranger:
The lips utter an ḍoppana verse,
The hips crave for a child,
The golden lotus girl smiles in her heart,
And a thousand dreams glitter in her eyes.
   You flower petal! You joy of the heart!
   You are a pearl of Love!
   Dear, it is time to fulfill your wishes.
   Kāma is laughing in the wedding shed.²¹⁰
The day has come for the beauty,
   Fair as a golden coconut,
   To join the handsome man.²¹¹

Note the use of keywords here, directly pointing at the bride and at the wedding. This explicit description of performative occasion contrasts the obliqueness in the 'Veneration Song'. It seems that the eclectic nature of wedding songs in Ḍarabī and Jewish Malayalam has to do with tensions between the profane and sacred semantics of the ritual. To put it in other words, wedding songs are nourished by the oxymoronic tensions of the ritual they are anchored in.

2.2.4.2 Kalyāṇappattuka – Knānaya Wedding Songs

The Knānaya Christians' weddings are a complex of rituals with an inherent textual repertoire.²¹² Some songs are sung with gestures and hand clapping.²¹³ The form of dancing around a lamp as in 'clapping songs' is common among Knānaya men (mārgganthal). Many of the songs invoke Mār Tommān (Saint Thomas) and Jesus, similar to the invocation of the Prophet and divine forces in the ḍoppana song and Moses and Joseph in the Jewish Malayalam songs. In this song, the association with the wedding is explicit.

²¹⁰ pantal, a keyword in many wedding songs.
²¹¹ Karuvarakund, undated, 17.
²¹³ Nair, 1980: 249.
Mar Tomman's Blessing

Mar Tommān we begin by Your blessing,
It should come about nicely today!
The will of the excellent Messiah
Should proceed into being.
The virtuous man walked
Into the camphor wedding shed (pantaḥ).
With folded hands I offer thee
The girl I have brought forth and raised.
Shoulders and thighs, face and lovely breast
Perfectly beautiful.
As I carry this pawn of a girl,
My heart is frightened.
As I carry the rice and water,
My heart is satisfied.
I can say the woman has the color of a chambaka flower.
She is a virtuous woman.
All who see the woman say:
"There is no one equal to her in this world!"
When stepping into the wedding shed at the happy occasion,
May it be favorable.
All the lords have gathered,
Give us goodness!
The Lord Alāḥa, and the loving Messiah,
Together help these people.²¹⁴

The speaker is the mother of the bride, who gives her as an offering to the bridegroom, kantiśānāyana, 'the virtuous man'. First, the mother invokes the Saint and Jesus, and the presence of the groom is almost at a par with them. She reveals her anxiety, for raising a daughter is a burden, and now that the marriage is executed, she can be relieved of that 'pawn', giving it to its true owner. She praises her daughter almost as a commodity - how fit are her limbs, how praised she is by all who see her. The mother of the bride is extremely submissive to the groom.

²¹⁴ Nair, 1980: 248.
She says she is relieved to give her daughter to that 'virtuous' groom, but is she, really? Doesn't her humble approach suggest apprehension and fear?

Compare this song with the following one, performed three nights after the wedding. This song is sung when the friends of the bridal couple get the newly-weds into a wedding chamber (maṇavāra) constructed in the groom’s house. They close the door behind them, and one by one the bride’s paternal aunt, sister and other relatives knock on the door. Finally, the mother of the bride comes to bribe the groom with all sorts of goods and get him and her daughter out of the room.

Open the Door!

The bridegroom shut the door of the chamber
With the girl inside.
Oh praised Lord! Oh my bridegroom!
Auntie and relatives stand around the closed chamber.
Grandmother wearing a necklace knocked,
Auntie decorated with a pearl ring knocked,
Sister decorated with a flower ring knocked,
All close friends strongly knocked on the door,
Auntie stood with a crystal lamp and knocked.
I will give you a round cup, I will give you a round plate,
I will give you silk cloth, a wonderful canopy,
I will give you a lamp so you may see,
I will give you fine property more than you wish for,
As much as you like, without any flaws, I will give you.
My son, bridegroom, open the door of the chamber!
So much I have pleaded to you - did you hear anything at all?
A marvelous man and a desirable woman -
You two have got to know each other by now.
Open the door! Come out now!
It’s time to bathe, come out!
Come out! It’s time to bathe.\(^\text{215}\)

\(^{215}\) Nair, 1980: 259—260.
The mother is eager to take her daughter out of the intimate sexual space,\textsuperscript{216} just three days after she humbly gave her daughter to that same man who now holds her captive. In comparison to the Knänaya songs, the Jewish Malayalam wedding songs prefer the oblique reference to the wedding, perhaps more similar to the \textit{öppanappättukal}. However, as Jussay points out, there are similarities. I will not repeat his observations, but refer to them when the need arises.

\textbf{2.2.5 On Voicing and Addressing}

Regardless of the different circumstances, \textit{nätanpättukal} of various communities form diverse literary corpora with their own ideological, aesthetic and generic concerns, not necessarily in opposition to, or in compliance with, classical Malayalam literary currents. To the best of my knowledge, there is no single study devoted to any of these corpora as such, or to their affinities with and divergence from classical Malayalam literature.\textsuperscript{217} The slot of folksongs is the usual point of reference, for their compositional methods and narratival techniques are typical of folk literature. At the same time, there are aesthetic guidelines that accord the poetic standards of Malayalam literature.

I prefer to treat \textit{nätanpättukal} as autonomous, though not at all disparate, literary entities. Some are more closely interrelated, like the \textit{vatakkanpättukal} (northern songs) and the \textit{torrampättukal} (possession songs). These two corpora, for example, abound in local heroes and heroines, who are not drawn from the pan-Hindu puranic repertoire of characters. This is rare in Malayalam classical literature, as Ulloor notes. Another common feature, which contemporary scholars assign to \textit{nätanpättukal} in order to differentiate them from classical \textit{pāṭṭu} is the simple and direct style of narration. At times, though, the narration is multi-layered and may become complex in several ways.

\textsuperscript{216} The phrase ‘Got to know each other’ (\textit{buddhiyöttor iruvurum}) resonates with the biblical connotation of sexual relationships associated with the verb, especially in the story of Adam and Eve, Genesis, 3.

\textsuperscript{217} Only the \textit{vatakkanpättukal} were described in detail as a literary corpus in its own right in Varier’s \textit{Vatakkanpättukalutè Paniyāla} [The Workshop of the Northern Songs] (1982).
The de-centralized political situation in Kerala over history and its social conditions of a highly stratified society with extremely rigid rules of 'pollution' are reflected in an equally 'decentralized' literary climate resulting in literary corpora highly diverse and polyphonic.\textsuperscript{218} Kumaran, the editor (or shadow composer) of the Matilerikkanni, complains that historians of Malayalam literature are wrong in following a linear evolution in time without considering the regional variation.\textsuperscript{219} The label 'regional songs' thus stands for, at least to my understanding, literary entities that voice diverse socio-religious entities (some of the lowest social substratum). These literary entities address issues that may be marginal to, or even subversive of, neighboring literary entities in the pluralist matrix of Kerala society.

2.2.6 A Literary Tapestry

Malayalam folksongs are polyphonic literary corpora deeply embedded in ritual and dramatic performance and intricately affiliated with classical literature. When classifying groups of songs by communal association, one finds in them expressions of worldviews and ideologies as varied as the social matrix of Malayalam society. When examining generic features in different types of \textit{nātanpāṭṭukal}, their interrelatedness becomes evident, one class of folksongs being generically related to several 'neighboring' classes. Heroic songs, for example, cross over regions and performative contexts: they may be sung during work in the field (\textit{vaṭakkanpāṭṭu}), temple festival (\textit{tēkkkanpāṭṭu}), possession rituals (\textit{tottampāṭṭu}) or times of social revolt (Māppilla’s \textit{patappāṭṭu}, 'battle songs').

While on the one hand associating \textit{nātanpāṭṭus} with certain communities calls for folkloric and ethnographic analysis, on the other hand their

\textsuperscript{218} For references to the social and political situation in pre-modern Kerala see: Logan, 1887: 108—152; Menon, 1967: 196—216; Narayanan, 1996: 141—155; Gurukkal and Varier, 1999: 249—266. Chaitanya portrays the multiple currents of Malayalam literature of the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries as a river delta, and endows its 'frightening' quantity and its diversity to the socio-economical situation maintained by caste hierarchy and feudal agriculture (1971: 126—127).

\textsuperscript{219} Kumaran, 1979: 26.
interrelatedness calls for comparative philological and literary study. In surveying the history of Malayalam literature, the scholars dedicate at least one chapter to nātanpāṭtukal (or nātoṭippāṭtukal). Classifications, sub-categories and their definitions vary from one author to another. Māppilla songs in particular resist classification accepted by all authors, perhaps because, like the Jewish Malayalam songs, they are a literary corpus to be studied on its own merit, folksongs per se being but one of its many expressions.  

Nātanpāṭtukal are also related to other ‘non-folk’ compositions in Kerala’s literary ‘ecosystem’. Songs in the pāṭṭu-mold may be sung in different communities, for example, torṭampāṭṭus in possession rituals or ṭoppaṇapāṭṭu of Māppillas and songs of Jews during weddings. Motifs, structures, formulas and figures of speech freely roam between disparate literary realms. A parrot might cross over from the classical literature and turn up in a folksong, or maybe vice versa. In other words, Malayalam folksongs even as communal, folk corpora may be divided into generic groups within each corpus and within Malayalam literature as a whole.

The richness of this literary tapestry enables an aesthetic voicing of socially silent entities like women and members of the lower castes. Expressing these voices involves addressing issues too delicate to be explicit in social discourse, such as sexuality or criticism of social customs and norms. Often, these voices poignantly address us in the first person, while subduing the implied third person narrator.

I end this discussion with one such song sung by Parayars (traditional basket weavers and agricultural laborers), perhaps only among the women (but who knows?), when plucking out weeds. As it is so plainly expressive, it hardly needs any commentary. A few words about the style and aesthetics are

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220 On the shortcomings of the classifications of Māppilla songs in literary histories, see Hussain, 2004.
221 This is not to suggest that such voicing and addressing is alien to the classical literature, especially in Kerala which seems to favor ‘down-trodden’ characters such as Karna, Vālin, Rāvana and Śūrpanakha.
nevertheless in place. Dialectical forms abound, especially the forms of the first person, ān for ūān, and nakku for ēnikku; nasals, especially /m/ pervade the song with pleasant soft alliterations; and, finally, repeated after each line there is a refrain that I have left out of the translation: mālan mālōr ēyyā. The refrain is a string of meaningless syllables, a generic feature of certain Jewish Malayalam songs like the songs 'In the Ship' (II65) and 'Dear Parrot Song' (I7). The song revolves around the flowering tree motif, an icon mostly associated with female sexuality in Indian culture.222

There are weeds in the field.
"When I was plucking out weed,
The Mango tree was sprouting.
It is called Mailāppū.
At that time, it had its first blossoms.
At that time, I had my first purifying bath.
Accan, I have such a craving
For the fruit of the Mailāppū!
When I went there, I saw the mango flower.
When I came here, I saw the mango fruit.
Accan, I crave so much for the mango fruit,
For the fruit of the Mailāppū!
But no way to climb the Mango tree.
If I am to go on living,
You must come now, Mañnalattaccan!"
Saying this, she went inside.
Then Mañnalattaccan came in.
"No way to climb the Mango tree."
A ladder was tossed here and there.
Different ladders were brought in vain.
There was no way to approach the tree.
"Let me give you a small advice, Accan.
I will stand for you near the tree.
Step on my feet, step on my breasts,
Step on that shoulder and on this shoulder.

222 Ramanujan, 1999: 423.
Jump and climb from this branch to that.”
Like that, he got on top of the tree.
One by one, he swiftly shook the mangoes.
He jumped from branch to branch and shook.
Tar ram, tar ram, the mangoes dropped.
Running and jumping the woman gathered them.
Mangoes fell on her round breasts.
"Running and jumping my Accan comes down."
Ayyo! The woman fell on her back!
Ayyo! He grabbed and lifted her.
Alone they reached that house.
There he pierced the woman.
"When I was weaving a small basket,
Maññalattaccan spoilt my period.
Why, Accan, did you deceive me so?"223

2.2.7 Some Essentials about Nātanpāṭṭukaḷ

The Jewish Malayalam corpus cannot be approached without significant consideration of its place in relation to Malayalam regional and caste-oriented literary corpora or nātanpāṭṭukaḷ. Since the standard definitions for folk literature seem short of fully describing this literary scene, I suggest defining a Malayalam nātanpāṭṭu corpus by five essential criteria. First, it implements diverse generic features ranging from classical pāṭṭu-mold to formulaic pōlippāṭṭu. Second, it is conveyed in linguistic hybrids such as Arabic-Malayalam and other regional and caste dialects mixed with Tamil and Sanskrit. Third, it 'converses' with other corpora, classical and 'folk'. Fourth, it converses with a variety of non-Malayalam texts in Sanskrit, Arabic, Syriac or Hebrew to represent cross-communal pan-traditions – Hindu, Islam, Christianity and Judaism respectively. Fifth, a literary regional corpus is always anchored in ritual or performance.

To be a bit more specific, let me outline in the scheme below some remarkable intertextual relations between ethno-genres and sub-categories in

223 For the Malayalam text, see Nath, 1971: 80—81.
Malayalam nātanpāṭṭukal including Jewish Malayalam (JM) songs and classical Malayalam literature.

1. pāṭṭu-mold:
   ḍoppanpāṭṭu, torampāṭṭu, first and second pāṭṭuprasthānam (classical movements); JM biblical pāṭṭu,
2. kilippāṭṭu
   kaikkōṭṭikkalippāṭṭu, bhakti movement (Eluttaccan); JM kalippāṭṭu,
3. simile string:
   vatakkannpāṭṭu, torampāṭṭu, JM formulaic and formulaic-rhyming songs;
4. pōlippāṭṭu
   different kinds of nātanpāṭṭus; JM formulaic and refrain songs;
5. pallippāṭṭu
   Knānaya songs; JM formulaic and formulaic-rhyming songs;

The possibilities of intertextual analysis of nātanpāṭṭukal are far from being exhausted here. Since the Jewish Malayalam corpus was never fully studied, it is difficult to estimate at this point the full range of intertextual relations between Jewish Malayalam songs and the literary scene of Malayalam literature. Future studies may reveal many more aspects and layers of intertextuality between Malayalam and Jewish Malayalam literature.

2.3 Hebrew Sources Affiliated with the Corpus

Similar to the literature in diverse Jewish languages, also Jewish Malayalam literature derives much inspiration from Hebrew canonical sources. This is most obvious on the level of content. Allusions and references to the Bible and to post-biblical literature, the Midrash, pervade many songs in the corpus. It is also evident on the level of structure, form and style. Hebrew rhyming schemes and lexemes and explicit Jewish motifs are profusely used. Moreover, at the surface level of intertextuality, the corpus contains translations of Hebrew para-liturgy.
Four major categories of Hebrew literary genres inspire the corpus. Three of them—Bible, liturgy and para-liturgy—are easily traceable. It is simple to recognize phrases such as 'loaded ten camels' (דֶּתֶּנִּים בַּלָּד בַּלָּד מֵאָדְמָא) in the song 'Searching a Wife for Isaac' (IV111) as references to the Bible, even if the song is difficult to understand. Expressions, phrases and references to liturgy are also easily traceable. For example, the phrasal expression יֶּתֶר יֵאָבֶן, 'firm one' renders a common attribute to God in Hebrew liturgy, הָרְגָּר (the Rock). Many translation songs have a title that manifestly declares the relation of the song to a Hebrew poem by transcribing the Hebrew title in Malayalam, e.g. לְקָה דֹּדי for the Hebrew poem לְקָה דֹּדי (S13). Sometimes, the Hebrew title of the translation is rendered in the construct X-יןך אָרְתַּח (meaning of X), e.g. יְפֶּפֶּיָּאְךָ אָרְתַּח (meaning of Gorgeous), as in S14.

Such explicit intertextual relations are traceable to Hebrew texts that Kerala Jews used for study and performance during year and life-cycle events mainly in the synagogue, but also at home. However, allusions to Midrash are more complicated, since we do not know which Hebrew (or Aramaic) texts of the Midrash corpus were known to Kerala Jews. Several scholars have dealt with this issue, and they often refer to the mediaeval Jewish traveler Benjamin of Tudela. He states that Kerala Jews had in their Hebrew textual repertoire the Bible and some post-biblical literature. The last generation of Kerala Jews had for their standard curriculum the same Jewish texts recited and studied all over the Jewish world. Among these are certain portions of Talmud (second to seventh century), Mishna (third century) and Zohar (thirteenth century). Since it is difficult to clearly identify the post-biblical sources involved in inspiring allusions in the corpus, I generally refer to such allusions as 'midrashic traditions' and note the most likely sources to have inspired them.

The allusions to midrashic traditions in the songs are evidence for the long-term traditional use of post-biblical sources. However, due to textual ambiguities in the Malayalam songs, there may be some uncertainties in

224 Genesis 24: 10. See Appendix B for the Jewish Malayalam song.
225 Halakha and Talmud. See above, 1.1.3.
interpreting a certain line or phrase as alluding to Midrash. Furthermore, when a biblical story is the topic, there are also allusions to incidents that reflect oral traditions unrepresented in Midrash. For example, several songs narrating the story of Moses refer to an episode, where baby Moses sits in Pharaoh’s lap and pulls off the king’s beard, causing the royal body to tremble and shake. This episode replaces a parallel episode in the famous ordeal of baby Moses, where the child removes the crown off Pharaoh’s head, leading the king to have the child pass through the fire ordeal. The crown motif is replaced in Kerala by a beard, without diverging much from the well-known tradition in Midrash.226

Thus, there are three types of allusions to the Midrash. One type is of transparent allusions traceable to certain selected scriptures. A second type is of ambiguous allusions depending on interpreting the Malayalam texts but traceable in Hebrew sources. The third type is of *sui generis* references that maybe traceable to oral traditions unknown to us at the moment. While the biblical allusions are all transparent, allusions to Midrash need an elaborate treatment rather than a mere entry in the footnotes.

I wish to stress that, like the treatment of Malayalam literature and especially the *nātanpāṭṭukal*, also Hebrew literature – from Bible to para-liturgy – does not yield to the dichotomic division of classical versus folk literature. All these Hebrew sources are eclectic, representing different genres in poetry and prose and different phases of literary evolution. Oral traditions and literary features may be traced in all of them. Their effect on the Jewish Malayalam corpus is consequently complex and multi-layered.

### 2.3.1 The Bible

The Bible needs no special introduction. It was translated into almost every possible language, including Sanskrit and Malayalam, and gained worldwide distribution with the spread of Christianity over the past two millennia. For Jews, the Bible is a living source of inspiration nourishing a myriad of speech forms

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226 It might be, though, that this tradition is an independent ‘Midrash’ unrecorded elsewhere, and not necessarily a twist of the ‘original’ tradition.
starting with *belle-lettres* compositions and up to the shortest speech forms such as tokens of speech. It is the linguistic substratum on which Hebrew language and literature evolves for over two millennia, interacting with contemporary languages in contact (mainly Aramaic) up until the present day.

The traces of the Bible in the corpus are most evident on two groups of songs, the biblical *pāṭṭu* and the formulaic songs. As it is simple to refer the reader to the Bible itself whenever the need arises, a brief survey of the biblical contents and forms in the songs is sufficient.

The biblical *pāṭṭu* are songs in the archaic classical *pāṭṭu*-mold that re-narrate biblical stories. The biblical formulaic songs are prose-like renderings of extended biblical stories or stories not included in the biblical *pāṭṭu*.

In both types of songs, there are occasional allusions or references to Midrash, to be dealt with in the next section. Here I wish to refer to the biblical contents in the songs and their place in the Bible, in the pan-Jewish cultural context and in the corpus itself.

All the biblical *pāṭṭu* belong to the performative repertoire and carry the semantics of the wedding ritual complex. By way of contrast, the biblical formulaic songs belong to the selection repertoire, and only loosely relate to the semantics of weddings or other rituals, if at all. There are also noticeable generic differences between the two groups. The biblical themes and allusions differ between the two genres. Below is table 1, presenting a biblical story or episode, its reference in the Bible, and the index number of the songs, which re-narrate them.

From the table it is clear that the range of stories at the disposal of the biblical *pāṭṭu* is restricted in comparison to the formulaic songs. The latter parallel in contents all the biblical *pāṭṭu*, while adding more scenes and stories. The story of Esther, for example, is told in the song 'Story of Esther' (III18) only

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227 For a comparative table of the language and style of these two groups, see below.

228 There is one more biblical *pāṭṭu*, III6, which is unintelligible and hence left out. In B3 and Z4, there are extensions of the biblical *pāṭṭu* found in no other notebook, except for three that appear also in S13, where none of them is part of the wedding repertoire. Similarly, there are a few biblical formulaic songs that are rare, such as a song about Joshua that appears only in T1.
half way through, while 'Ahashverosh Song' (III11) not only repeats it but also completes it. The reason may be the tendency of the biblical pățțu to obliquely portray the semantics of the wedding by pragmatic twists of the narrations. The biblical pățțu 'Story of Esther' is sung during one of the post-wedding rituals, for which the story of a king's divorce, his second marriage with the heroine and her clever conduct with him are appropriate for portraying ideal matrimonial life. Furthermore, the character of Mordechai, the hero of the story, is invoked as the bridegroom before the marriage ceremony. In the formulaic song 'Ahashverosh Song', not only does the portrayal of the same story differ significantly, but also the completion of the story, in accordance with the biblical narration, ends with the victory of Mordechai over Haman, with no attempt to focus on any aspects of the story that may relate to the wedding.

Table 1: Generic Contents of Biblical Rhyming and Formulaic Songs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Story</th>
<th>Bible</th>
<th>Biblical Rhyming Song</th>
<th>Biblical Formulaic Song</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Isaac's birth, sacrifice and marriage</td>
<td>Genesis 17: 1—18: 19, 22, 24: 1—22</td>
<td>III12, IV111, II15</td>
<td>III14, III14a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumcision of Isaac, death of Sarah</td>
<td>Genesis, 21: 1—4, 23: 1—2</td>
<td></td>
<td>III14a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Rebecca’s home, Meeting Isaac</td>
<td>Genesis, 24: 28—67</td>
<td></td>
<td>III14a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob steals Isaac's blessing from Esau</td>
<td>Genesis 27: 1—28: 9</td>
<td>III48</td>
<td>III13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob in Laban’s house, Jacob escapes</td>
<td>Genesis, 29: 1—28, 30: 25—10</td>
<td></td>
<td>III13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob meets Esau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph's story</td>
<td>Genesis 57, 39—40, 42—45</td>
<td>III52, III55, III83, III55a</td>
<td>III30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moses's childhood story</td>
<td>Exodus, 1—2: 10</td>
<td>III19</td>
<td>III9, III2, III4, III65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moses on Mt. Sinai</td>
<td>Exodus, 19—20</td>
<td>III15, III26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moses forbidden from entering the holy</td>
<td></td>
<td>III23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David and Goliath</td>
<td>Samuel I, 17</td>
<td>III8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David and Saul</td>
<td>Samuel I, 19, 21—22, 24, 26</td>
<td>III72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonah</td>
<td>Book of Jonah</td>
<td>III86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruth and Boaz</td>
<td>Scroll of Ruth</td>
<td>III5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esther's story</td>
<td>Scroll of Esther, 1—5: 8</td>
<td>III18</td>
<td>III11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esther tricks Zeresh and Haman</td>
<td>Scroll of Esther, 3—8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Jews are rescued</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The selection of episodes and stories in the biblical pățțu is guided by pragmatic concerns in adapting the narration for ritual purpose and designing it in poetic structure. What, then, are the stories selected for the biblical pățțu?

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Most of the biblical páttus narrate certain episodes from the saga of the patriarchs—starting with Abraham and ending with Joseph. These stories are filled with family intrigues and personal conflicts that obliquely address difficult aspects of the marriage, especially in relation to the young bride. They focus on tensions between brothers, generations and genders and highlight scenes of personal conflict, alienation and resolution of all these for the benefit of the larger family or community unit.

Only two biblical páttus narrate stories from other parts of the Bible. One is the story of Moses’ childhood (III19), and the other is the story of Esther’s marriage (III18). While the patriarch’s saga is sung during the pre-wedding rituals, the stories of Esther and Moses are due to the second post-wedding Saturday afternoon, before the newly-weds are permitted to consummate their marriage. It is not surprising that the episodes chosen depict the relations between husbands and wives (‘Story of Esther’, III18) and the birth of a special child (‘The Birth of Moses’, III19), both with a happy end and explicit expectation for good and prosperous matrimonial life.

The selection of stories and episodes for the biblical formulaic songs is not only of larger volume, but also of larger diversity. It enables free expression for a variety of concerns, not necessarily related to kinship conflicts and intimate tensions. For example, the story of Esther retold in the song ‘Song of Ahashverosh’ (III11) involves many episodes and focuses on several types of conflicts, not necessarily concerned with matrimonial life as in the biblical páttu ‘Story of Esther’ (III18). The tensions and conflicts that are resolved in the narration are social and national rather than domestic and personal. Furthermore, many more narrations of biblical stories and episodes appear as separate independent narrations. There are many more songs about Moses encountering God on Mount Sinai (מען הר Sinai) and receiving the Torah grant (מתן תורה). There are songs about Jonah, Ruth, King David and possibly more figures that are not included in this survey.230 These portray a whole range of issues—

230 There are several more songs in B3 about Deborah, queen of Sheba, Abraham and others. Since they appear only in B3 (possibly also in Z4), I leave them out of the present discussion.
confrontation with destiny (Jonah), conflicts between the rich and the poor (Ruth), heroic deeds of national heroes (David) and so forth.

In any case, the biblical stories selected for both types of songs may be viewed from a folklorist’s point of view as typical specimens of folk genres – biographic legends (the patriarchs’ sagas), heroic legends (David), origin legends of national Leaders (Moses, Ruth), novellas (Joseph, Esther). The re-narration of these stories in the Jewish Malayalam songs is an expression of a widespread genre in the Jewish world from the beginning of the first millennium until late medieval times, the ‘extended biblical story’. 

Additionally, the formulaic songs add episodes from Midrash, often composing considerable narrative units, while the biblical pāṭṭus have only occasional allusions to Midrash. In any case, the ‘extended biblical story’ in written Jewish Malayalam is limited to these two song groups, which are in turn reserved for this Jewish genre. Of the rhyming songs in the pāṭṭu-mold, there are only two songs that are not biblical but rather religious-devotional – ‘Dear Ones!’ (IV59) and ‘Light and Sound’ (III89). Similarly, most formulaic songs are biblical. There are however a few generic hybrids of formulaic songs with traces of rhymes and religious contents, where there are only some biblical allusions such as ’The Feast of the Whale’ (II42) and ’Big Rooster Song’ (II48). It seems, then, that generic features, performative context and contents are all processed through the intertextual interaction with the Bible. In the large volume of the religious formulaic-rhyming songs in Jewish Malayalam, the Bible becomes a reference source for allusions and poetic expression, similar to compositional processes in Hebrew poetry (שיבוצי מקרא). Thus, when there are allusions to the Bible in the religious genres of the corpus, they are in fact 'second-hand' products derived from the influence of Hebrew liturgy and para-liturgy.

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231 For the genres and their expressions in the Bible see Yassif, 1999: 15—43.
232 See Ibid., 58—64, 93—104, 440—441.
233 See Fleischer, 103—104.
2.3.2 The Midrash

The term 'Midrash' stands for a vast body of Hebrew and Aramaic sources that were compiled over several centuries, from the Babylonian Talmud to anthologies such as Yalkut-Šim'on (ילקוט שמעוני). Most of the materials were edited and fixed by the seventh century, but some sources considered Midrash were compiled as late as the thirteenth and fourteenth century. The Midrash is of encyclopedic nature, embracing scholarly discussions of rabbis and scholars and folk narrations. The basic unit is the conversation, often polemic, between several wise men, 'our late wise men' (ל”חז, ול”חז) as they are often termed. The subject matters of these scholarly discussions are biblical passages and verses and their interpretations by means of various systems of knowledge.234

This encyclopedic corpus attempts to embrace all aspects of life, creation and God, from trivial affairs such as selling a ship to crucial issues such as exile and destruction. In handling these issues, the participants in the midrashic discourse resort to various discourse strategies, and they often become transmitters of typically folkloric oral knowledge. For example, in the chapter discussing selling the ship, the discussion turns into a tour de force of story telling.235 Several rabbis indulge in telling fantastic tales of sea travel, which are only very loosely related to the topic of selling a ship. Similarly, in the Midrash of lamentations (מדרש איכה), the discussion revolves around the destruction of the temple and the suffering in exile. While discussing the poignant biblical lamentations and dealing with post-biblical horror stories about the destitute nation, the scholars confront the question of divine interference and its role in the fate of the nation. In doing so, they often resort to a large cycle of riddles and enigmatic stories that must have been linked with folk literary traditions of the period.236

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234 In this regard, the Midrash is somewhat reminiscent of the ancient Hindu Upanisads, where teachers or fathers are engaged in scholarly discourse with their students, commenting on Vedic ritual and incorporating many narratival sections; at least some of them are of oral ‘folkloric’ origin.


236 See Hasan-Rokem, 1996; See also Yassif, 1999: 83—269, for the folkloric genres in Midrash.
Some midrashic texts form the study curriculum in the synagogue all over the Jewish world. Jewish men studied certain portions of Midrash to accompany the prescribed Bible readings (pārāṣah) on certain days and holidays, often with verbatim translations in the local language.

Just like 'our late wise men' had utilized oral literature in their scholarly discussions, in later generations their readers utilized the Midrash, the classical textbook, in folkloric contexts such as storytelling and song singing. In this regard, the most compatible genre of all in the Midrash is the 'extended biblical story'. Often, when a story from the Bible is retold in any speech medium, it includes extensions found only in Midrash, and often the hearers and tellers do not recognize a detail as arising from Midrash. A famous example is Abraham's slave, a nameless figure in the Bible. In Midrash, he has a name, Eliezer, and many stories are told about him. Any educated Jew knows the biblical story and the character, though the Midrash portions are less known. In any case, the name Eliezer, a later Midrashic detail, will be immediately associated with the character, without noticing its absence in the biblical text.

The Jewish Malayalam songs converse with Midrash in three ways – quotation, allusion and pseudo-quotation. A quotation may be short and concise, embedded in narrations of biblical stories, or it may be a full narration of a midrashic story as the main theme. Allusions are laconic references to episodic details in the Midrash. Pseudo-quotations are episodic details or an 'extended biblical story' that are not traceable to any known Hebrew source.

The song 'The Oil Jar Hanukkah Miracle' (III87) is an example of a full quotation. It narrates a story known in several midrashic sources and in Jewish oral literature as well. Below is the story according to the Babylonian Talmud. Note that the narration is plain and simple, swiftly proceeding in a series of actions and devoid of any descriptive units. This story seals a portion discussing

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237 Interestingly, in the biblical pāṭṭu (IV111) narrating Genesis 24: 1—22, the name Eliezer is absent, while it is mentioned in the parallel formulaic song, 'Song of Sara-Umma' (III14a).

238 See Appendix A for the song.
the rules and customs regarding fire and flammable substances uses for daily matters as opposed to ritual use:

For when the Greeks entered the temple, they desecrated all the oil therein, and when the royal house of Hašomnonai defeated them, they could not find but one jar of oil signed with the seal of the high priest. It had only enough [oil] to burn for a single day. Miraculously they could use it for lighting eight days. The following year they set these days as days of praise and thanksgiving.

The Malayalam narration is as swift and concise, and this type of narration must have been the model for reconstructing midrashic stories in Malayalam.

It is difficult to tell where exactly such stories come from. In the case of the song 'The Oil Jar Hanukah Miracle', several sources narrate the story, but upon close examination only the oldest, the Babylonian Talmud, fits perfectly as a possible source. There is one detail in the Jewish Malayalam narration that is peculiar, and only the above source mentions it too. Both in the Jewish Malayalam song and in the Babylonian Talmud, the small oil jar is sealed by the signet ring of the high priest. This is evidence for the widespread use of the text among Kerala Jews, and such evidence of strong textual affinities with certain Hebrew texts can shed more light on the repertoire of Hebrew texts used in olden times by Kerala Jews.

Examples for Midrashic allusions frequently appear in the biblical songs – whether rhyming or formulaic. For example, when Jacob escapes from his maternal uncle Laban's house back to Canaan, Laban attempts to kill him. The biblical verse states:

239 See ב כא שבת מסכת בבלי תלמוד.
It was told to Laban on the third day that Jacob escaped. He summoned his brothers, and chased him via a seven-day route and spotted him on Mount Gilad.

The midrashic commentary on these verses (בראשית רבא) interprets the expression ‘seven-days route’ (דְּרֵד שֶבֶט עִמָּו) as follows:

אָרָי אֲבֹהֵנוּ הַמָּשָׁל אֱבוֹנִי עוּקָב לָו יָמִים חַלֵּק לְבָנֵי אֲבֹתֵנוּ, יְנוֹד לְבָנֵי בָּוָא יָפִישָׁר, שִלְשָׁי לִבְרָחוּ, אָרָי אֲבֹחִי רַבָּה מַחְשִׁל אֱבוֹנִי עוּקָב לָו יָמִים חַלֵּק לְבָנֵי אֲבֹתֵנוּ, [...] והֵם חַלָּק עִקָּב כְּיָמִים חַלֵּק לְבָנֵי אֲבֹתֵנוּ.

לְבָנֵי לֶבֶן אֲבֹתֵנוּ.

R. Avihu said, “The distance which Jacob walked in three days, Laban walked in one day, “It was told to Laban on the third day” [Genesis, 31: 22], that is the third day since [Jacob’s] escape.” R. Hyya said, “The distance which Jacob passed in seven days, Laban passed in one day […] What Jacob had to walk for seven days, Laban passed in one day.”

This commentary on Genesis, 31: 22—23 is alluded to in the biblical formulaic song ‘Esau and Jacob’ (III3). While in the Midrash it is delivered in the form of a commentary incorporating two different interpretations, in the song it is intertwined as an integral, almost unnoticeable, part of the narrative (lines 96—97).

Lastly, there are pseudo-quotes that represent a unique oral tradition, perhaps from lost Hebrew sources, perhaps local developments in Jewish Malayalam. One such example is an episode depicting Moses the child challenging Pharaoh with childish mischief that Pharaoh interprets as threatening his throne. The episode leads to the famous fire ordeal of baby Moses. A plate is laid down before him with shining gold and glowing embers. Angel Gabriel comes and pushes the child’s hand towards the embers, lest the king realizes he is indeed a threat. The poor child takes an ember and puts it in his mouth. His tongue is burnt and he becomes a stutterer for the rest of his life. This story explains why the bible refers to Moses as a stutterer (פָּה-כַּבֵּד), and associates it with Exodus 2: 10:

240 See Appendix A for the song.
The child grew up, she brought it to Pharaoh's daughter, and he became like her son.

The Bible does not tell us much more about Moses' childhood, but in the Midrash, there are several stories that relate the origin of his speech flaw with an incident in his childhood:

Pharaoh's daughter was kissing and hugging him as if he was her own son, and she would not take him out of the king's court. Since he was beautiful, all wanted to pick him up and gaze at him. Whoever saw him would not remove his eyes from him. And Pharaoh would fondle him, and he would take the crown off Pharaoh's head and put it on his own, which indeed he did when he grew up. And so, God told Hir'am, "I shall ignite fire within you and it shall consume you" (Ezekiel, 28). And so, Pharaoh's daughter was actually raising the one who is to vanquish her father, also the king Messiah who is to vanquish Edom was dwelling with them in that city, for it is said, "There shall a calf graze, and there shall it lie down and consume the branches thereof" (Isaiah, 27). The wizards of Pharaoh said, "We fear this fellow who removes your crown and puts it on his own head." Some wanted to kill him, and some wanted to burn him. Jethro was sitting there too. He said, "This lad has no senses. Examine him; put before him a tray with gold and embers. If he reaches for the embers, then he has no senses and should not be put to death. If he reaches for the gold, then he knows what he is doing and you should kill him. Immediately they brought gold and embers, and he reached for the gold. Angel Gabriel
came, pushed his hand, put an ember in it, and shoveled it to his mouth with the ember. His tongue was burnt, and that is how he became a stutterer.\textsuperscript{241}

At the outset, the Midrash fills the gaps of the biblical narrative, which is silent about Moses’ childhood in Pharaoh’s court and about the reason of his stuttering too. However, the Midrash is not merely tying the loose narrative ends in the Bible; it uses the narration to dwell on certain metaphysical points associating biblical prophecies with the episode for asserting the divine providence towards the nation. This metaphysical hermeneutics is stitched into the story line by the discourse marker \textit{וכן, 'and so, thus'} and direct quotations from the Bible as supportive evidence for the association (\textit{שנאמר, 'as it is said'}). Thus, the processes of story telling and biblical hermeneutics are merged into an integral discourse. Similar methods of reintegrating elements from Bible and Midrash into the Jewish Malayalam biblical songs are incorporated in pseudo-quotations and allusions.

While other Midrash sources tell the same story about Moses,\textsuperscript{242} the Jewish Malayalam songs narrate a slightly different occurrence, where Moses sits in Pharaoh’s lap, grabs his beard and causes his limbs to shake. This episode is told in a verse that wanders around several songs in the corpus (III65, III19). Only one song, ‘You and the Prince’ (III9), though, associates this episode with the gold and embers ordeal. This episode may have had its origin in a local repertoire of oral traditions about Moses’ childhood. To the best of my knowledge, it does not appear in any Hebrew source. Still, its repetition as a 'wandering' verse is noteworthy. Could it be that Kerala Jews preserved an old tradition parallel to the midrashic one?\textsuperscript{243}

Pseudo-quotations are the outcome of integrating elements from different sources and frames of discourse. One more way to form a pseudo-quotatio
detaching a midrashic reference and relocating it in a slightly different context.

Following is a story narrated while commenting on Psalms 91:

About this the scriptures say, "Upon walking your pace shall not decrease, and if you run, you shall not stumble" (Proverbs, 4: 12). R. Avihu said on behalf of R. Yohanan, "the angels carried him, for it is said, "They will carry you on hands". Jacob's pace was not decreased, and his strength was not diminished, like a hero, he removed the stone-lid off the well, and the well became flooded with water gushing forth. The shepherds saw it and were amazed, for all of them together could not remove the stone-lid, and he, all by himself, did it, for it is said, "Jacob went forth and removed the stone" (Genesis, 29: 10).

This episode is quoted in 'Esau and Jacob' (III3, lines 61—66):

The same allusion becomes a pseudo-quotation in a slightly different context, where Rebecca is the one to perform the miraculous deed in the song 'Song about Mother Sarah' (III14):

244 Note these extra details – three hundred men and thumb - further exaggerating Jacob's strength.

245 See Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 60 (M), 60 (H).
Like the Midrash, the Jewish Malayalam corpus integrates elements of story telling, discourse and biblical quotations into its narrative texture. Thus, episodes such as Moses and Pharaoh's beard have the texture of a midrashic 'extended biblical story', even if they cannot be traced back to specific Hebrew sources.  

Quotations from Midrash are often found in the Jewish Malayalam 'extended biblical story' as expressed in the corpus. The formulaic songs like the song 'The Oil Jar Hanukkah Miracle', are relatively easy to understand. The biblical pāṭṭus are much less coherent, possibly because they are older. Thus, it is more difficult to ascertain the nature of quotes and allusions in the biblical pāṭṭus. However, when the Malayalam text is not very clear, midrashic quotations and allusions may help in understanding it, even if partially.

For example, in the biblical pāṭṭu 'Joseph Sold to Egypt' (III52: 5), Joseph's brothers discuss selling him to merchants passing by:

\[\text{cattu poyāl namakk ēnt or anubham/c/ caraticcu vaccāl cērippinoṭ ērum//d²//}\]

"If he dies - what shall we gain out of it? If [we] are careful, [it] will suffice for sandals."

The last part of the line (d²) is not very clear unless we consider the detail cērippū, 'sandals' in the context of Midrash, and accordingly reconstruct ērum < cerum, 'to fit'. In the Midrash, the detail 'sandals' is integrated in the story in the following manner:

\[
\text{ימכר את יושפ למשאולים בעשרים כסף כל אחוד חמוד נחל שני כספים לקוות לקוות לגרילהים שטורפ על מכרמ בכסף זכר וויבון בערב נעלים.}
\]

246 There are a few more pseudo-quotations in the songs. For example, when David aims his catapult at Goliath, a mosquito enters the latter's helmet and causes him to remove it to itch his forehead (III8). See Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 73 (M) 75 (H).

247 Initial /c/ is liable to drop in colloquial Malayalam, see 6.3.1, 6.

248 פמך דרבי אליעזר (הнее) - רוחב, ילקוט שמואל פרק קראק וויבון בערב נעלים. See also סنظم על מכרמ בכסף זכר וויבון בערב נעלים.
They sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty silvers. Each one of them took two silvers to buy shoes, for it is said, “For they sold a righteous man for silver, and a destitute for a pair of sandals” (Amos, 2: 6).

In this case, the Midrash helps in complementing the textual evidence and deciphering the obscure line. Yet, there are many more cases where the text is beyond decipherment, and it is difficult to distinguish between quotation, allusion and pseudo-quotation. For example, the third verse of the song 'Joseph Sold to Egypt' (III52) suddenly breaks off the main story line and turns into a quotation or a pseudo-quotation. The narrative splits when Joseph goes to search for his brothers:

If going to herd goats, it was God, who commanded Joseph to search. Do you follow?
The Jews were walking in the wilderness. [They] cast afar all their sins.
Exiled they were all joined. The mountain wittingly shook.
Fearlessly they approached. They faultlessly acquired wisdom. Behold!

At this point, Joseph leaves home not to return for many years to come. The narrator breaks off to comment on the metaphysical relation of Joseph’s exile with the exodus of the Israelites (jūtar) from Egypt. However, I could not find any such narration in Midrash, though there might be a relation of this type of association with different sources. See for example the mystical kabalistic Zohar (thirteenth century) commentary on Genesis 37:
I found in the ancient books that the sons of Jacob were obliged to control Joseph before he migrated to Egypt. If he had migrated to Egypt before they had subdued him first, the Egyptians would have subdued Israel forever. It came to pass that Joseph was sold for a slave, that he later became the king, that the Egyptians crowned him, and that thus Israel were the first to control everyone. See, Joseph was the supreme covenant; so long as the covenant existed, the divine presence existed properly and peacefully among Israel. Since Joseph the supreme covenant left the world, the covenant and the divine presence and Israel, all went to exile. For it is said, "A new king came to power, and he did not know Joseph (Exodus, 1: 8), and all is from God as it should be. The wise men said, "He met a man" (Genesis 37: 15), that is he met Gabriel, and they explained that it is written here (in Genesis) and there "And the man is Gabriel, which I previously saw in a vision" (Daniel, 9: 21). And he was going astray, he went astray in every sense, for he trusted his brothers and sought their brotherhood and could not find. He also searched them, and could not find them. Therefore, he went astray in every sense. Therefore, the man asked him, "What are you after?" (Genesis 37: 15).249

It is difficult to substantiate a direct intertextual relation between the pāṭṭu verse and the above source. Note that this source is in Aramaic, except for the biblical verses which are quoted in Hebrew. This Aramaic text, the Zohar (thirteenth century), is part of the curriculum for recitals during certain occasions among Kerala Jews, but there is no evidence that it was also a textbook before the sixteenth century, when the biblical pāṭṭus were a living productive tradition.250 In any case, the narratival split providing the metaphysical association of the fate of the individual Joseph with that of the nation is a remarkable trait in these two textual domains - the Aramaic Zohar and the biblical pāṭṭu.

249 א' ע קפד וישב (בראשית) א כרך זוהר , the Hebrew translation is based on the Sulam Hebrew commentary.

250 For establishing the period of composition of the biblical pāṭṭus, see Chapter Five (5.7).
2.3.3 Hebrew Liturgy

Contrary to the biblical pāṭṭu and biblical formulaic songs, Jewish Malayalam formulaic-rhyming songs, translations, composer songs and some refrain songs converse with Hebrew liturgy and para-liturgy rather than with the Bible and Midrash.

Hebrew liturgy crystallized between the seventh and twelfth centuries, and formed into several repertoires of prayers, blessings, praises and so forth fixed for the holiday rituals in the synagogue and at home.²⁵¹ When Jewish traders travelled to the Malabar Coast during those times, they must have brought with them prayer books, which were more or less similar in content to the liturgy still recited among Kerala Jewish communities, as well as other Jewish communities around the world.²⁵² Prayers such as the thanksgiving over food (ברכת המזון) or the seven marriage blessings (שבע ברכות) are part of the repertoire of Jewish liturgy since the middle of the first millennium AD. It is not surprising, then, to find their traces in the corpus.

The language of the Hebrew prayer formulates the certain speech acts prescribed for ritual, such as blessing, invocation, injunction, thanksgiving and so forth. These formulations are fixed by repetitions of formulas and their variations according to the corresponding speech act. The addressee and addressee are always Jews and God respectively. There are also several recurring themes regardless of the changing formulas and speech acts, such as redemption, the greatness of God, the divine covenant with the nation and the exodus from Egypt.

²⁵¹ There are three major repertoires of liturgy, known as siddur (prayer book) for all Jewish communities in the Diaspora: the Sepharadic siddur of most oriental Jewish communities, the Eshkenazi siddur of European Jews, and the Yemenite siddur peculiar to Jews from Yemen. Though they are similar in content and style there are various peculiarities reflecting differences in customs (מנהג) and historical textual developments unique for certain communities. For an overview of the genres in Jewish prayer books, see Fleischer, 1975: 23—40.

²⁵² One of the commodities mentioned in the letters of Jewish traders from the twelfth century is paper. The traders ask to send it over to the Malabar Coast, possibly for their ritual routines. See Goitein, 1973: 177f.
The prayer often borrows parts of biblical verses, and some prayers such as the *hallel*, are constructed of chains of biblical verses, preferably of Psalms.

See for example the blessing marking the passage of time between the Holy Saturday and profane Sunday. As a speech act it is a permissive. Its function is asking leave of or permission to quit the Saturday observances.\(^{253}\) The ceremony is called *habdalal*. It is a domestic weekly routine of several ritual acts accompanied by speech acts and their corresponding formulations.

Let me raise the cup of salvation and invoke God.  
See for example the blessing marking the passage of time between the Holy Saturday and profane Sunday. As a speech act it is a permissive. Its function is asking leave of or permission to quit the Saturday observances.\(^{253}\) The ceremony is called *habdalal*. It is a domestic weekly routine of several ritual acts accompanied by speech acts and their corresponding formulations.

The speech act opens with a declaration, "I hold the blessing vessel in my hand" and an invocation, "I call God", and it ends with the permissive injunction marking the first stage of the *habdalalah* ceremony. The invocation leads to a series of ritual actions, starting with drinking the wine from the cup that the speaker holds. Each ritual act is introduced by a corresponding blessing:

\(^{253}\) There are many rules regarding the observance of Saturday, basically banning the Jew from any type of work, including kindling fire.
Creator of all sorts of incense herbs.

[Speaker smells a bunch of herbs, and passes it on to participants]

Blessed are You, God, our God king of the world, creator of the fire lights.

[Speaker lifts a candle to observe his fingernails, and participants do the same]

Blessed are You God, our God king of the world, who segregates holy from profane, light from darkness, Israel from the nations, and the seventh day from the six days of work.

Blessed You are God, who segregates holy from profane.

[Participants answer with 'Amen', marking the end of the ceremony].

The first invocational part of this prose text is composed of prayer formulas, declaring the reasons for invoking God - for salvation, blessings, well-being and success, a mixture of national and personal interests. The second part, marked with the direct quotative marker, כֹּצֶּכְתִּב, 'it is written', is composed of biblical quotations to assess the right of speaker and participants to expect God to answer their concerns. The selected quotations connote the contents of the prayer formulas; Psalms 24: 5 deals with personal blessings, charity and salvation; Esther, 8: 16 deals with national well being, and Samuel I, 18: 14 deals with the character of David. The last verse, is taken out of the biblical narrative context to merge the concept of personal achievement, מָכָל, 'learned', with the concept of national redemption embodied in the character of David (suggestive of the Messiah).

The second part, the sequence of ritual speech acts, is composed of formulaic blessings and references to the biblical story of creation, thus establishing the habdalalah rite as recreating the process of creation. In fact, the term habdalalah is derived from the root b.d.l 'to segregate', that is used in Genesis, 1 for describing the series of divine acts while creating the world - the divine segregation of light from darkness and water from sky (Genesis, 1: 4—8). The connotations with creation are inherent in the concept of Saturday as a holy day, for God created the world in six days, and in the seventh day the world was perfected, hence the holiness of Saturday is primordial.
The first blessing is a blessing uttered at any festive meal and at the beginning of certain rites like the habdalah, a special blessing for drinking wine. The last blessing focuses on the segregation aspects of the ritual, the concrete occasion (segregating the Holy Saturday from profane weekdays), the cosmic historic occasion of creation (light and darkness) and the national historic occasion of establishing the bonds with the participants (Israel and the nations).

Hebrew liturgy is thus ritual-oriented, its language is formulated in certain types of speech acts, and the contents are drawn from the Bible in selected quotes associated with the ritual occasion. Both rituals and speech acts involve a pervasive transgression of the categories of the individual (יחד) versus the public (צבור). Jewish prayer is considered more valid if it is uttered in a crowd of ten men at least, a quorum (מנין), but if circumstances do not allow for it, the individual may pray in private, sometimes with slight phrasal changes. There is further a fixed set of concepts associated with the prayer, the foremost are salvation (ישועה), redemption (גאולה) and national bonds with the divine validated by historical precedents such as the divine covenant with the patriarchs (הברית), the exodus from Egypt (יציאת מצרים), and the Torah grant (מתן תורה).

Hebrew liturgy is the fertile ground for the growth of Hebrew para-liturgy and poetry. The formulaic Hebrew prayers accompany every rite in Jewish life, from daily private occasions to public prayers during holidays and festive occasions. They are obligatory and concrete. Some of these formulations find their expression in the Jewish Malayalam corpus. For rendering in Malayalam the blessing formula לך העולם אלהינו מ’ ברוך אתה ה (Blessed You are, God, our God king of the world), Jewish Malayalam borrows the formulas typical of the pōlippāṭṭu-mold with the verb vāḥ-, ‘to rule; to thrive’. Thus, both the Hebrew verb b.r.k. and the nominal phrase ‘king of the world’ are rendered into the imperative and participial forms vāḥuka and vāḥunna respectively.

Contrarily to Hebrew liturgy, Hebrew para-liturgy is an optional selection for elaborating festive public events. It accounts for aesthetic formulations of the

[^254]: See 2.2.2.
[^255]: For more about this formula, see 4.2.2.
ritual speech acts that are much less concrete and formulaic than Hebrew liturgy. It differs in two major respects from the prayer; it is in poetic language incorporating sound effects such as alliterations, meters and rhymes and it is performed only in public.

Still, para-liturgy is similar to the prayer in incorporating the pragmatics of ritual and resorting to the Bible for quotes, often formulaic in function. Moreover, it is anchored in the same conceptual world of the prayer with associations to redemption and so forth. Para-liturgical compositions, possibly from the earliest phases of Hebrew poetry, are meant for musical performance, they have tunes and they are never read but sung.\textsuperscript{256} Since para-liturgy is guided by musical and aesthetical concerns, it is open to innovations that the fixed, concrete and obligatory prose prayer does not afford. Still it functions as a speech act anchored in the ritual almost to the same extent of the liturgy. Para-liturgy never replaces the liturgy, but rather added to it in between 'liturgical stops', that is when a certain prayer and its corresponding ritual move from one phase to another.

Before we turn to discuss Hebrew para-liturgy, let us see one more example of a short liturgical passage meant for weddings. The point I wish to stress is that the same circumstances that led to the formation of Hebrew para-liturgy are behind the formation of Jewish Malayalam literature. It is literature anchored in the Jewish ritual and conceptual world. Both corpora, of Hebrew poetry on the one hand and of Jewish Malayalam on the other hand, adopted literary features in a certain way and developed their own genres, far beyond the concrete pragmatic concern of the prayer. Both resorted to other languages and literatures in contact while adhering to the oldest Hebrew scripture, the Bible.

Since it is likely that the Jewish Malayalam corpus is rooted in the wedding ritual complex, let us examine the customary blessing formulated for sanctifying the wedding and blessing the newly-weds and the participants in the occasion. This blessing is called 'The Seven Blessings' (שבע ברכות). It is first uttered at the heart of the marriage ceremony, after signing the wedding contract (תורת) and

\textsuperscript{256} See Tobi 2000; Fleischer 1975: 281.
revealing the face of the bride and before publically sipping the wine sanctifying the wedding rite. Jewish communities perform these ritual procedures according to various customs (מנהג), elaborating the basic procedures and proliferating with para-liturgy. In Kerala of the eighteenth century, the phase of signing the wedding contract was followed by women’s performance of Malayalam songs and public chanting of Hebrew para-liturgy.257 Thereafter follows the ceremonious removal of the veil from the bride’s face and the uttering of the seven blessings.258

The rite of blessing over wine and sanctifying the marriage is repeated on each of the days of the week following the wedding during festive meals in honor of the newly-weds. The blessing focuses on sanctifying the marriage and reassessing it on the following days, but it also acts as a spell to guarantee the success of this crucial rite de passage. The auspicious number seven is evidence for that – the blessing is constructed of seven statements that are repeated in turn for seven days.

Apart from the performative context, the blessing is in harmony with the major features of Hebrew liturgy discussed above. There are blessing formulas (1—4, 7), major concepts such as creation (2—4) and redemption (5, 7) and transgression of the categories individual versus public (5—7):

Blessed You are God, our God king of the world,
Creator of the grapevine fruit.
Blessed You are God, our God king of the world,

257 See Kastiel, 1756: 51b, כ משוררות הנשים כמנהגם עד שישלמו ואמר הקהל התובה ליד הכלה ואח' 'The rabbi hands the wedding contract over to the bride, and then the women sing according to their custom until they are done, and the audience chants the following praise…’.
258 See Ibid., p. 52b: "ומושיבין את האחות עם נשים ורואים ואת הכלה ואחד מפילים את הכלה והמשתיכים את הת豢ים את התף ומקס "אחת מנשים... Then they remove the veil and men and women see the bride and they lead her to the palanquin and seat her on the bed with women surrounding her, and the audience sings ‘Beauty as the Moon’ etc. [...] and then they bring two cups filled with wine, and hand over one to the groom and the other to the rabbi, and the rabbi utters the seven blessings."
That all was created on His behalf.
Blessed You are God, our God king of the world, Creator of man.

Blessed You are God, our God king of the world, who made man in His own likeness and image, and established for him out of himself an eternal structure.

May the barren woman celebrate the joyful assemblance of her sons unto her. Blessed You are God, who delights Zion with her sons.

Delight the beloved friends as You had previously delighted Your created being in the garden of Eden. Blessed You are God, who delights a groom and bride.

Blessed You are God, our God king of the world, who created celebration and delight, groom and bride, rejoicing, singing, happiness and delight, love and brotherhood and peace and friendship. Soon, God our God, the sound of celebration and the sound of delight will be heard in the towns of Judea and around Jerusalem, the sound of a groom, the sound of a bride, the sound of grooms cheering under the wedding canopy and of lads in musical feasts. Blessed You are God, who delights the groom with his bride.

Note that the wedding is associated with both creation and redemption, bearing implication not merely on metaphysical matters, but also on national interests (to celebrate in Jerusalem). Naturally, each time the seven blessings are uttered is also an occasion to sing other songs in Hebrew and in local languages.

2.3.4 Hebrew Para-Liturgy

The fixed repertoire of prayer is elaborated by para-liturgical chants (piyyut) that form dynamic repertoires changing over time and place. Para-liturgy is not as nearly as fixed as Hebrew liturgy. The selection of Hebrew poems for the synagogue service or festive and holiday meals at home is rather free, changing from one community to another and altering over time. In ancient times it was up to the ‘public representative’ (שליח ציבור) who conducted the service in the
synagogue to design the repertoire, often adding his own compositions. As liturgy became fixed and transmitted in writing, the unfixed repertoires of para-liturgy were also put in writing, either in separate collections or as part of a certain siddur, 'book of prayer'. Even today, Jewish communities in and out of Israel go on processing their repertoires of para-liturgy and printing their unique prayer books and anthologies.259

The first Hebrew poets composing para-liturgy lived during the seventh and eighth centuries in Palestine and Babylonia. Some of their compositions are still sung in different communities. During the golden age of Jews in Spain (ninth to thirteenth centuries), the corpus of para-liturgy was innovated and reformed with influences from Arabic literature that affected new genres, not necessarily of religious character. Medieval Hebrew poetry from Spain had an immense impact on the Jewish prayer repertoires, including the repertoires of Kerala Jews.

The para-liturgical repertoire of Kerala Jews reflects a literary community tuned into renovations and trends in the Jewish world. Edwin Seroussi defines their repertoire as a typical 'Spanish' repertoire composed of a small collection of poems from Medieval Spain by famous Hebrew poets such as Shlomo ibn Gabirol and Yehuda HaLevi, and a larger collection of Hebrew para-liturgy composed by local poets such as Elia HaAdani and Namya Mutta. Many of these poets were migrants or sons of migrants from Yemen, Turkey and Syria. According to Seroussi, their poems are simple. Most of them are structured in strophes of four-line metrical verses, often with refrains, and there are also many poems in couplets. The main subject matter of the poems is redemption, typical of Hebrew poetry in the Ottoman Empire.260

The first publication of a unique Kerala repertoire of para-liturgy was printed towards the end of the seventeenth century (1687) in Amsterdam (Sigmund Seeligmann Press). The author and editor is the poet Elia HaAdani, a migrant or a son of migrants from Aden, as his name suggests. The second and third publications appeared a few decades later, also in Amsterdam (Props) and

259 Recently the community of Kerala Jews in Ashdod published a new series of prayer books attempting to embrace all the Hebrew poems unique for Kerala Jewish repertoires.
during the second half of the eighteenth century (1756 and 1769). The first was compiled by David Kastiel (from Spain), and the second by Ezekiel Rahabi (from Syria). This literary activity – the integration of new poems by indigenous and world-famous poets alike – is evidence for a lively cosmopolitan literary milieu, which the Jewish Malayalam religious songs were an integral part of.

The first publication includes three long compositions (הזהרות) of the poet for the holyday of Pentecost. The second and third are almost identical, both focus on the performance of the unique para-liturgy (פיגוע) repertoire of Kocci, referring the reader to the fixed prayer in laconic notes, and textualizing the para-liturgical texts inserted between them. Sometimes the prayer or blessing too is fully given in the text, for example the 'seven Blessings'. These prayer books mainly represent the holiday of Simhat Torah (שמחת תורה) – forty-eight pages – and the wedding repertoire – sixty-two pages. They also have sections for Ḥabdalalah (הבדלה, seven pages), circumcision (מילת זכרים, six pages), circumcision for slaves (מילת גרים ועבדים, four pages), Purim (פורים, six pages), and the high holidays of the New Year (ראש השנה, three pages) and the Day of Atonement (יום כיפור, six pages). The relatively large volume that both the wedding and the Simhat Torah holiday occupy is striking.

A century later, in 1877, the first Kocci publication was printed with para-liturgy for the high holidays and verbatim Malayalam (תמסיר) translation. The publications of Kerala Jewish para-liturgy repertoire after migration to Israel maintain the same repertoire with additions and alternations, perhaps representing rival repertoires to the Kocci repertoire, perhaps adjustments of their unique repertoire to current trends in Israel. These first publications represent the volume of activity of local poets and the tastes of local audiences, at least for Kocci, where the seventeenth century Malabari poets Namya Mutta and Elia HaAdani composed, and where influential Paradeśis, namely Kastiel and Rahabi, toiled for collecting and editing a special anthology for the Kocci repertoire.

By and large, the repertoire of Kerala Jews contains three types of Hebrew poems. First, there are poems that appear in the repertoires of other Jewish
communities, whether widespread or poorly distributed. Second, there are poems exclusively included in the local repertoires, though composed by famous Hebrew poets such as R. Shmuel HaNagid, R. Abraham ibn Ezra and Israel Najara. Third, there are poems composed by local poets and unknown out of Kocci. Some of the local poems are by anonymous composers and others are of identified authors such as Namya Mutta and Elia HaAdani. If we examine the wedding repertoire from 1756, we see that out of thirty poems, twenty-three are indigenous compositions, mostly by nameless poets.

Thus, we can safely assume the existence of a lively literary milieu composing and consuming Hebrew poetry in Kocci already during the seventeenth century, possibly even earlier. This activity must have influenced the Jewish Malayalam corpus. As I argue below, the Jewish Malayalam genre of religious formulaic-rhyming songs must have originated during that period, directly influenced by the Hebrew vocabulary, form and style of the para-liturgical language. Hence, it is necessary to describe briefly the repertoire of Hebrew para-liturgy in relation to the Jewish Malayalam songs, especially the religious formulaic-rhyming songs.

Medieval Hebrew poetry is a huge corpus of poems written over centuries; many lost in oblivion or surviving only in the geniza records. It has its roots in the older phases of Hebrew piyyut that flourished in West-Asia from the seventh to the eleventh centuries. However, it is largely indebted to Arabic literature for adapting certain structural features; the most remarkable are metrical systems and 'girdle poems' (שירי אזור, מושח).

The beginning of this literary phase is in Muslim Spain, from where the new school of Hebrew poetry spread to Asian Jewish communities, including Kocci. The metrical system of Hebrew poetry is complex, reflecting the adaptation to Arabic conventions of prosody. The distinction between long and short syllables is crucial for Arabic meters, but in Hebrew, such a distinction does not exist. Hence, two systems of prosodic classification determine the Hebrew meters. One is the quantitative system, based on an arbitrary distinction between

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261 See also Seroussi, 2000, 241—243.
certain consonant clusters as composing a unit of long and short syllables, while all other syllables, whether open or closed, are considered one long syllable. This naturally opens the door for many inconsistencies. The other and more popular metrical system distinguishes only between syllables regardless of consonant clusters, which are considered one syllabic unit. This system produced several types of syllabic-phonetic meters. \(^{262}\)

The major structural features of the *piyyut* favored by Kerala Jews are end-rhymes, and 'girdle' or 'pseudo-girdle' poems, that is, songs with end-rhymes and refrains composed of repeating a line or a couplet. Many poems are acrostics, constructed of the Hebrew alphabet or of the poet’s name initials. Usually the first letters of each verse or strophe compose the acrostic. \(^{263}\) Most of the Hebrew poems from Kerala have syllabic-phonetic meters and four-line stanzas or couplets. There are further formal features inherent in the earliest phases of Hebrew poetry. The most remarkable of them is the weaving of biblical quotations into the texture of the poem (שהובץ מקרא).

Medieval Hebrew poetry is divided into two main branches, religious poetry (*שירת קדש*) and courtly profane, poetry (*שירת חול*). The first is designed for religious rites, whether during synagogue service or in special domestic occasions in accordance with year and life-cycle events. It naturally deals with religious issues related to the performance, such as the greatness of God, the relationship between God and his nation or the aspiration for redemption.

Generally, religious poems are invocative and injunctive – prayers, thanksgivings, praises, pleas, apologies and so forth. Courtly poetry deals with profane issues like courtly love, wine and, of course, poetry itself. Its emergence owes much to the new model of communal leadership in medieval Spanish Jewry – the noble man of high political and economical status, who became the patron

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\(^{262}\) See Fleischer, 1975: 333f.

\(^{263}\) See Barmut, 2005: 39–92, for some information about poets whose acrostics appear in *piyyutim* from Kocci.
of poets. These two poetic domains are far from being exclusive. They ‘intertextualize’ with each other.

One especially charming literary form that integrates religious and profane poetry is the allegoric dialogue, where the participants are the Lover-God and the Beloved-Israel (כנסת ישראל). Many such poems draw upon the famous biblical love poem, Song of Songs, for biblical references. Perhaps it is for legitimizing the theme of passionate love that the Songs of Songs is invoked, for it is traditionally interpreted as a religious allegory rather than a profane poem.

See for example the poem 'A Gate that was Shut' by Shlomo ibn Gabirol of Spain (eleventh century). In the Kocci prayer books, this *piyyut* is scheduled for the 'Vigil Night' (Kastiel, 1756: 41a) and for Simhat Torah holiday (Arešet Safatenu, 1980: 185). The song is in a quantitative meter of five syllables for each foot (עמד) of the shortened *mitpašet* metrical units _-'-'-'-' _/'-'-'-'_/'-'-'-'_/'-'/'-'/'-_. The fixed rhyme ends each couplet with the same prosodic unit –*héhu*. Except for the first couplet (the ‘grand opening’ תפארת הפתיחה), the first line of each couplet is free of rhymes. The song is in the form of the lovers’ dialogue, but its theme is redemption. Note the acrostic composed of the Hebrew consonants ș-l-m-h for denoting Shlomo, the poet's name:

\[
\text{סא’ר אֲשֶׁר נִסְגַּר קוּמָה פְּתָחֵוו}
\text{וּצְבִי אֲשֶׁר בָּרַח אֵלַי שְׁלָחֵהוּ}
\text{לְיוֹם בּוֹאֲךָ עָדַי לָלִין בְּבֵין שָׁדַי}
\]

264 See Fleischer, 1975: 333f. The ideal of the man of status can be compared to the ideal of the Paradeşi embodied in the rank holder *mutaliyār*. Malabaris had the *molyār* (rabbi) for their ideal figure of a leader. Much has been written about the Paradeşi *mutaliyār*, but none whatsoever about the Malabari *molyār*. However, some stories in Jewish Malayalam still remembered in Israel put the *molyār* in the centre, and often replacing the term with its equivalent Hebrew term, *rabbi*.

265 The stroke signifies any CV and CVC combinations. Combinations of CaCV and CaCV(C) are signified by the half moon sign.

266 This type of rhyme is called ‘girdle rhyme’ (חרוז מבריח), where each strophe has its last line ending in the same rhyme regardless of the rhymes ending its previous line. For girdle poems and rhymes see Hrushovsky, 1981: 63—64.
"A gate that was shut – come, open it.
A deer that escaped – to me send it.
Once you come,
And lie down between my breasts,
You will spread your fragrance there on me."

"Who is your lover, my lovely bride,
That you tell me – ‘come, send him’
"He is that handsome good-looking redhead.
He is my lover and friend.
Come! Anoint him!"

It is because of this allegorical interplay between metaphysical, religious love and passionate love that the song finds its place in both performative occasions – the wedding on the one hand and the Simhat Torah holiday on the other hand.

The poem 'Beautiful as the Moon' too is sung during two occasions, on the night following Simhat Torah (מציאת שמחת תורה), while leading the Torah scroll to the pulpit (תֶּבַּח, תיבה), and on the post-wedding ritual pallippoka (плавока, פליפוקא), the seventh night after marriage. It has an acrostic, Yishāq (y-ṣ-h-q), composed of the first phonemes opening each strophe. The poem is in the popular structure of a 'pseudo-girdle poem' (שיר מעין אзор). This type of poems has each couplet ending with the same rhyme (in this case, -rek), based on the last two feet of the opening couplet. The last line or foot of the opening couplet composes the refrain and is in turn composed of a biblical reference (שם מקראית, in this case, qumi 'ori ki bā′ 'orek, from Isaiah, 60: 1.

This poem is a variation on the dialogue format. Here, it is God who addresses the beloved nation, urging her to rise from exile and end the long
grievance over the national destruction. In this poem, the allegory is less sensual and poignant than in the above cited poem by ibn Gabirol. However, note the address in the opening line, with the metaphors for a beloved woman - moon beauty and dove - as an allegory to the nation. These expressions are metaphors borrowed from the Song of Songs.

Beauty as the moon,
Dove in its mansion,
Sing, for God built your city.
Rise and lighten up
For your light has come.
Be released from the nations’ grip,
Towards your ancestral land.
With a violin and a harp
I shall renew your song.
Hurry and sing
Turning towards the city of Hannah.

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267 Song of Songs, 6: 10.
268 Isaiah, 60: 1.
And safely look from the top of Mount Snir. \( ^{270} \)
Rise from the dirt, loosen your fetters, \( ^{271} \)
And pray to your God
Evening and morning.

The Jewish para-liturgy in Kocci is linked with the centers of Jewish literary production in Asia, and at the same time, it has its own unique repertoire formed of local trends and tastes expressed by indigenous voices. A view in depth of these trends and tastes requires a separate study. For the present discussion, it is important to formulate one generalization about the socio-historical background of the formation of the Hebrew corpus in Kerala.

Since the community was very small, any charismatic or influential individual could have affected trends and innovations on the repertoire. If we view the history of Jewish life in Malabar from medieval times onwards, many such individuals reached its shores as traders, travelers or migrants, carrying with them the latest innovations in ritual and literature in the prayer books of their own communities. In fact, the prayer books published during the eighteenth century in Amsterdam reflect such influence on the Kocci repertoire by individuals. The editors of these books attempted to regulate certain rituals, especially the wedding ritual complex, thereby fixing the literary corpus. Many more occasions for regulation and influence must have occurred during the centuries leaving no traces in documented history, but shaping the Kerala Jewish repertoire as we know it today. In this way, the Kerala repertoire includes several poems composed by famous medieval and later poets and performed only by Kerala Jews.

The following example is of a song with a relatively old literary device, the anadiplosis (שרשור), where each verse begins with the same word that ends the previous verse. Anadiplosis is a rare device in the Kerala repertoire, and not very common in Medieval Spanish poetry. It was more popular during the earlier

\[ ^{269} \text{Jerusalem, see Isaiah, 29: 1.} \]
\[ ^{270} \text{Song of Songs, 4: 8.} \]
\[ ^{271} \text{Isaiah, 52: 2.} \]
phases of Hebrew para-liturgy. Interestingly, there is at least one Jewish Malayalam song that incorporates the same technique, 'The Slaves were Created' (IV37). Exceptional poems with rare structural devices are evidence for the influence of individuals, whose identity is long forgotten.

The anadiplosis poem 'From my Captivity' appears in a modern collection of the Hebrew poems from Kerala, Areṣet Safatenu (AS) published in Israel in 1980. In AS, the poem is listed for Passover, a holiday left out of the eighteenth century publications by Kastiel (1756) and Rahabi (1769). The composer is Zachariah Al-Ṣahari from Yemen, who travelled around West-Asia, studied with great poets and scholars in Safed, and reached Kerala in 1569. He lived during the second half of the sixteenth century, and composed an anthology of poems in the anadiplosis structure. The earliest publications where the song appears are from Turkey (1545) and Amsterdam (1630). The poem might have reached Kerala with any trader, traveler or migrant from Yemen, Turkey or Amsterdam any time from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, and survived in one of the repertoires of Kerala Jews until the time of migration to Israel. However, it does not appear in any of the known publications from Kocci, perhaps because it was a part of repertoires from other communities, or maybe because of its performative occasion, Passover ( Greenwood) is excluded from the Kocci publications.

The inclusion of this poem in AS, which was published long after migration to Israel, raises doubts about the place of the poem in the older repertoires. However, the song is too rare to have been adapted into the corpus

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273 See Gaguin, 1934: 33.
274 See Amir, 2005.
275 According to Davidson, the poem has the acrostic y-w-s-s-p b-b-‘ (Yoseph Baba), and he thinks it might be Yoseph b. Babšát. Yehuda Amir (see f.n. above) recently found a huge collection of anadiplosis poems by Al-Ṣahari, Seper Ha’anāq, including the song mikṣha’ yōgoni, so it is likely that Davidson’s assumption was wrong. Davidson lists three publications with the song: Amsterdam (1630), Turkey (1545) and Tunisia (1911). According to Amir, Al-ṣahari travelled around West Asia between 1551 and 1561, so there is some incongruity between the data in Davidson and the biography of Al-Sahari according to Amir.
after migration. Furthermore, the textual presentation of the poem in AS is evidence that the editor had a tune in mind, for he transcribes certain particles and morphemes of the third line of each verse in repetitions that not only transgress the meter, but also deviate from the conventions of writing Hebrew. In the third lines of the fifth, seventh, eighth and ninth verses the morphemes of the infinitive *la-* and of the third singular masculine future pronominal prefix *ya-* are transcribed as if they were independent speech parts: *le, le, la, la, la, la, 'asot, la, la, 'ahod, ya, ya, ya, bi*.

The poem is a dialogue between the devotee and God in triplets, the first has two additional lines. The devotee praises God for salvation in the first five triplets, and God’s answer is in the sixth to the ninth verses. The last two triplets are again the devotee’s plea. The poem is textualized below according to AS (1980: 20), which textually represents the musical cycles, so that many of the word repetitions deviate from the metrical pattern (˘ ˘ / ˘ ˘). Note the two types of rhymes, the common end-rhymes, e.g. the first verse has each line ending in –ni, and the anadiplosis, the words repeated at the end and beginning of verses, and always rhyming with the first verse:

\[
\begin{align*}
mikolu' ma'ësår yagoni / & \quad \text{מכלאו מאסור ינני} \\
yâh podeni yâh podëni // & \quad \text{י פדיני י פדיני} \\
yâh podeni halbëni / & \quad \text{י פדיני חלבוני} \\
mimasana 'ay lôhâssëni / & \quad \text{מימסנה להסני} \\
mì mi màsuqatay pośni wà'ânëni // & \quad \text{ми, 미, מצוקתאי פסני, וני:} \\
wà'ânëni wà'ânëni nà' başâræh/ & \quad \text{וآنני וآنני נא’ベースרה:} \\
ki bôyâdâkâ hâggobûrah/ & \quad \text{כבי ביהדהקה חגבערה:} \\
lî li li heyeh bâsâr b'ezorâh sâgg bëni// & \quad \text{לק, לק, לך בוער בזאורח שבעני:} \\
sâgg bëni sâgg bëni milba'â'ilim/ & \quad \text{שבעני, שבעני מלבאים:} \\
târapù 'et haso'â'im// & \quad \text{טרופ אתי השואי:} \\
gam gam gam parâhim 'al sâyim pizorunî// & \quad \text{גן זון, גון פרהים על שピー פיזורי:} \\
pizorunî pizorunî bà'wëoni/ & \quad \text{פיזורי, פיזורי באהוני:} \\
yâm wâkëdâmâh mima`oni// & \quad \text{يوم Eğלח מפמעוני:}
\end{align*}
\]
"From my captivity of agony,
Jah, redeem me, redeem me, redeem me,
Rescue me from those who hate me,
Who oppress me,
From my dire straits
Release me and answer me.
Answer me in peril,
For You have the valor,
Be my help in danger. Raise me.
Raise me more than lions,
Be my help in danger. Raise me.

From my dire straits
Who oppress me,

From my captivity of agony,
Jah, redeem me, redeem me, redeem me,
Rescue me from those who hate me,
Who oppress me,
From my dire straits
Release me and answer me.
Answer me in peril,
For You have the valor,
Be my help in danger. Raise me.
Raise me more than lions,
Which devour gazelles.
Like flowers on mountain peaks, I was scattered.
Scattered for my crimes,
Eastwards and westwards away from home,
But it is the favors of my Master, trust me!
Assure me in Your faith,
Guide me in Your virtue too,
To assemble Your allies at the end of times."
"The end of times I shall swiftly reveal,
Your wishes I shall fulfil,
Poor man and miserable, rich and wretched welcomed me.
They welcomed me among the nations,
And I shall armor beasts
To avenge myself, for they cursed me.
They cursed me they cursed me in their hearts,
They left their Almighty
To worship their golden idols, they traded me.
They traded law and Torah
For despicable demigods,
He shall curse them, the Almighty of my home."'
"Almighty, Almighty of my home,
From Your heavens, bestow Your mercy upon us,
Jah! Redeem us in Your grace, from tormenting times.
From tormenting times, I have called Jah,
And He elevated me from captivity,
The son of David and Elijah too
Shall redeem me."

The poem revolves around the issues of exile, 'captivity of agony', redemption, 'end of times' and the Messiah, 'son of David'.

The intertextual relations of the Jewish Malayalam corpus with medieval Hebrew poetry are intricate and multi-leveled. They are not only explicit on the level of contents, but also on the level of structure. For concluding this section, let us read a Jewish Malayalam song that implements anadiplosis and addresses God
for bringing the Messiah, and is comparable with the Hebrew poem 'From my Captivity':

**The Slaves were Created**

IV37

aṭi aṭiyāru ār aṭi āra paticcu uṇṭākki kumbiṭuvān aṭimma ccēyān/

aṭimma ccēyān antiyum nīyum pēlarccayum uccēyum āyi niciyyamē/

miṃṭavēnē mīticca pērāṭa pēriyāvēnē/ kāṛṭt arulē pāteccāvēnē/

pāteccāvēnē kāṛṭt arul ēṭum āyi bāṭunōnē kāṛuṇanē kkalpākamnē/

kkalpākamnē kkalamē ccēnnu bērēyavēnām māśyāum ēliyōum/

ēliyō nōbi ṣōannuma sōpārum utsāvēnam ǒsartēnam nī lōkērēyām/

maṇnil palakiya pēriya lōkērēyum kāṛṭt arulē pēriyā pēriyāvēnē///1//

pēriyāvēnē pēripāma miḳadōs ētākkavēnām suticccēlluvān nusukkērippān/

tēlīvāyyttōlōr arivākka nālē tēlīvu ccēyvuva arīvu arivān/

arivākka nālupērkkum tākkammēnīnna tōnēyāvēnē tōnakkēnām nītiyāvēnē//

[You] have created the slaves of slaves for bowing down and worshipping,

For worshipping always – twilight, dawn and noontime.

Redeemer! Almighty abundant in redemption! Creator of the powerful Word!

Creator of the powerful word! Blessed by the Seven!276 Merciful [from antiquity]!

[From antiquity,] The Messiah must come soon with Elijah!

Elijah the prophet must blow the [first] Horn! You must raise the people!

Increase the ancient people on earth! Almighty, increase the powerful Word!

Almighty! Rebuild the temple of greatness for [us] to praise and pray.

The illuminated wise people are four for illuminating and knowing wisdom.

Oh Helper of the four wise men!277 Help [us], Oh Just One!

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276 Possibly alluding to the three patriarchs and the four matriarchs.

277 Possibly alluding to the four persona heralding the Messianic era: Elijah the prophet, the Messiah and the angels Michael and Gabriel.
Chapter Three

Weddings as Performative Ritual Space

The following chapter deals with non-verbal intertextual relations between the corpus and its performative context. The richest occasion for song performance is the wedding with its manifold rituals lasting for two weeks. It is also the best documented life-cycle event in primary and secondary sources. Therefore, inspecting it in pursuing the issue of text-context interrelations is a sound basis for further analysis of the pragmatics in the corpus. The wedding ritual complex occupies a prominent place among other, much more minor, performative occasions. Out of the two hundred and fifty-odd songs in the corpus, approximately fifty songs are explicitly related to the wedding, while only a few songs are specified by some other performative context. Over time and with the preferences of specific individuals, some songs might have been performed to satisfy other concerns. Furthermore, the wedding ritual complex is amply represented in the manuscripts, framing a distinct repertoire (the performative repertoire notebooks). It is simpler to understand a certain song in its performative occasion, when the occasion involves a single ritual activity such as circumcision or the naming of a daughter. Contrarily, the wedding is a complex of ritual actions occupying a good portion of ritual time. Its extra-linguistic relations with the corpus deserve close attention and analysis.

The wedding songs display a wide range of genres, themes and aesthetics. They may be formulaic-rhyming songs, biblical pāṭus, translations, 'play songs' (kalipāṭtu) and more. They may be thematically classified as biblical, historical, devotional, bridal or occasional in terms of the thematic index. They might further be classified according to the structural standards of Malayalam classical or folk poetry or of Hebrew devotional poetry. Wedding songs form a large,

278 Barbara Johnson (2005) lists several other occasions for performance. However, one must keep in mind that the information was given not only after migration, but also after the 'nationalist' phase in the life of the community, that must have radically altered the wedding rituals and the performative context of the songs.
polyphonic and multi-layered corpus to be discussed in detail below in Chapter Four.

At the outset, the wedding ritual complex of Kerala Jews is exceptionally rich in performative activity and literary expression in Malayalam and Hebrew alike. Many features in the weddings of Kerala Jews manifest cultural concerns that the year-cycle events with their fixed liturgy and ritual structure do not convey. The ritual complex of Kerala Jewish weddings is designed to answer two major socio-cultural concerns. The first concern is to participate in the cultural life of the non-Jewish surrounding. The second is to mold the universal into the local, or in other words: to render the pan-Jewish cultural contents into Kerala’s aesthetic and cultural patterns.²⁷⁹

3.1 The Grand Cultural Participation

To relate to the Jewish wedding ritual complex as a meaningful socio-religious activity, a word on Kerala's social matrix is in place. Pluralism was sustained in Kerala for many centuries by the cultural, religious and judicial autonomy of various communities. These communal autonomies had (and still have) socio-cultural bonds in spite of taboos on intermingling of castes concerning food habits, marriage and worship. This might be largely due to economical interests that matured into what M.G.S. Narayanan defines as cultural symbiosis.²⁸⁰ However, it seems that communal interrelations go beyond financial exchange and political organization. Many of these interrelations are cultural, having to do with dress, food, architecture and so forth, and their uniqueness lies in their double edged effect, so that they serve both as boundaries and as bridges segregating distinct cultural entities and at the same time connecting them.

²⁷⁹ In this section I treat the wedding rituals of Kerala Jews as a *sui generis* phenomenon, notwithstanding many features they have in common with Jewish weddings around the world as well as with Muslim and Christian weddings in Kerala. Some comparative descriptions may be found in the secondary literature (Jussay, 2005: 93—104; Johnson, 1975: 154—159; Walerstein, 1987: 96—123).

²⁸⁰ Narayanan, 1972: ii.
While Narayanan describes the multi-communal social matrix of Kerala in zoological terms (symbiosis), Zacharia suggests the concept of hyphenated society:

"A hyphenated society like a hyphenated compound has components with clearly marked boundaries, but it works like a single unit in bigger formations. So is the working of Kerala society, which has distinct local communities and distinct religious groups."

In what follows I wish to examine the nature of this 'hyphen', as it seems to affect the performative and literary manifestations of the collective cultural entity of Kerala Jews embedded in their wedding ritual complex.

Let me term the mechanism of interrelating varied communal entities in Kerala as 'cultural participation'. Cultural participation is the mechanism of interweaving a specific community into the matrix of multi-communal pluralist society. It is activated through certain trivial details in concrete daily life loaded with cultural meaning. When such cultural details cluster around a meaningful public occasion, they form boundary-bridge, or 'hyphenating' connections.

Take for example the codes of dress and food habits that define and differentiate religious and cultural boundaries within Kerala. At the same time they also define assimilation and mutual cultural space as peculiar to Keralites of all creeds. Communities may be differentiated by restrictions of food - vegetarian, non-vegetarian, halal or kosher defining each as Brahmin, non-Brahmin, Muslim or Jewish. But rice, coconut and curry leaves, the essential ingredients of the cuisine of all Kerala communities, define the cuisine of each community as typically Keralite. This is, of course, practical and natural in the specific climate and bio-system of a certain place. However, when specific details of this non-verbal cultural domain find their expression in a meaningful cultural verbal medium, namely ritual and literature, the item becomes a cultural detail of participation.

Zacharia, 2003a: 32.
When we examine Malayalam folksongs, we see that the combination of milk and banana recurs in ritual and literature to signify an auspicious food item. In this way banana and milk become a detail of cultural participation. Similarly lamps, which occupy a prominent place in rituals, one may observe their expressions as details of cultural participation even in modern secular rituals such as academic seminars and political gatherings. Lamps are not merely used for emanating light in the practical sense, they are conceived as divine presence in various rituals, and are referred to as such in literature. Trivial details like lamps or milk and banana may be loaded with cultural meaning in ritual and literature and incorporated as details of cultural participation in the overall cultural framework.

There are many such details produced by cultural relations and signifying aesthetic or ideological concerns common to all inhabitants of the land. They appear almost unnoticed in the course of daily life, and are certainly not a phenomenon restricted to Kerala. But at times such details cluster in a meaningful way to form a complex activity of cultural participation much beyond the limited space of daily living - the kitchen, street and market. Processions, festivals and occasions for histrionic arts are such complex phenomena of cultural participation. Let me term details such as banana and milk 'cultural detail', and their meaningful clusters 'grand cultural participation'. While 'cultural details' are a universal phenomenon, a 'grand cultural participation' occurs only in traditional pluralistic societies such as Kerala's.

Each temple in Kerala has a festival, usually lasting for a few days and involving parades with elephants, drums and trumpets and cultural activities such as a musical performance or, more typically, a dramatic performance like Tēyyāṭṭam and Kathakali. Hindus from central Kerala term the festivals puramahotsavam, 'grand festival of the abode', during which non-Hindus might

282 See for example the formulaic expression 'milk and banana' in 'Dear Parrot Song' (I7).
283 The lamp may appear as a symbol in various iconic designs (public buildings, logos and so forth), or mentioned in literature, for example, 'Open the Door!' (2.2.4.2); 'Song of Tōntaccan' (2.2.2); 'Multiply, Multiply', 'After the Bath' and 'Song of Sarah-Umma' (Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 118, 109, 61 (M), 123, 111, 61 (H)).
be seen in the temple precincts, watching and enjoying the performances. There are different types of temples allotted according to caste hierarchy. Until the reformation initiated by Shree Narayana Guru, most Hindus in Kerala were not admitted into the temples managed by the upper-caste Brahmins. Nevertheless, there were certain occasions allowing for a 'grand cultural participation' in specified ritual grounds for 'pure' and 'polluting' castes. In such occasions the higher castes, normally in 'safe' distance from the 'polluting' outcastes, would be sharing the same ritual space with the performers.

Christians celebrate church festivals, pérunnāl, 'great day', with processions of festive parasols and musical bands. More than often, there is a band of traditional temple drummers with their traditional dress and caste marks. Some Muslim communities used to celebrate mosque festivals in the past, the 'sandal pot festival' (candanakkutam), a noisy procession with a sandal pot symbolizing the socio-political bonds between Muslims and local rulers (nāṭuvālī).

In the dry season these festivals are scheduled for each community in a certain time, so that during the months of February, March and April manifold ritual spaces would be available for different types of 'grand cultural participation'. Cultural details such as drummers, royal parasols, processions and so forth would all cluster to design a festival as a 'grand cultural participation', which is allotted a special space (e.g. the church) and time (the dry season) beyond the religious life of the community and the social daily life it negotiates with other communities.

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284 To be a bit more specific, year-cycle events such as Onam and Vīšu and regional annual temple performances such as tēyyam in north Kerala and muṭiyaṟṟu in central Kerala are occasions for a 'grand cultural participation'.


286 These are cultural details not only due to their role in a meaningful ritual complex, but also because they are amply used as cultural details in literature.

287 Kerala’s pluralism may be termed in other ways to fit sociological and anthropological studies. As my interest is in literature and its performative context I am obliged to invent terms fitting my purposes. But see Visvanthan, who speaks of the 'private' vs. the 'public' in describing Kerala pluralism (1993: 1).
But not only community festivals may be termed a 'grand cultural participation'. Hindus have in addition to local temple festivals several occasions during year-cycle events for celebrating an event as 'grand cultural participation', the Onam festival is one typical example for that. Contrary to Hindus, Semitic communities retain their ritual activities inherited from West Asia in a relatively closed ritual space. Perhaps to compensate for that, it is the life-cycle events of Muslims, Christians and Jews that supply the occasion for a 'grand cultural participation'. Especially weddings are designed so as to provide an opportunity for clustering details of cultural participation. Muslim, Christian and Jewish weddings are constructed as complexes of ritual activity that enact the 'grand cultural participation', often accompanied by performance of wedding songs.

Other life-cycle events might also yield the enactment of a 'grand cultural participation' in literary or performative media, though to a lesser degree of intensity and complexity. In Basheer's novel 'A Childhood Companion', the description of a circumcision ceremony vividly portrays a 'grand cultural participation'. An elephant is brought to have the boy carried on its back with much grandeur and pomp around the village with music and fireworks. A meal is served to many guests (probably non-Muslims as well), and in the room where the actual ceremony takes place, there stands a ceremonial lamp, likely to serve deeper concerns rather than merely illuminating the room.  

Jews have a busy annual ritual calendar. During these rituals they either pray in the synagogue and chant Hebrew liturgy or celebrate at domestic rituals that are as replete with Hebrew prayers and songs as the synagogue rituals. The Jewish calendar was fixed in West Asia, and it has nothing to do with the climatic cycles of Kerala. There is only one occasion in which a Jewish festival finds its place in the larger frame of cultural activities in Kerala. This is Simhat Torah, which has also a Malayalam name, pērunnāl, 'big day', similar to the term for church festivals. Since the Jewish calendar and the Hindu calendar are both lunar, the Jewish pērunnāl is celebrated sometime around the Onam festival. At this

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time the rainy season would be mild, with occasional showers enabling a cool weather good for processions.

The Jewish *pērūnnāl* is celebrated at the end of the high holidays - days on end of praying in the synagogue. There is hardly any room left for a cultural display in the larger matrix of rituals 'out there' in the shared Kerala cultural space. It does involve processions around the *bimāh* with the Torah scrolls, *hakafōt*, like any other Jewish community all over the world. But the Jews of Kerala also have a procession *around* the synagogue, *sevivot*, with Hebrew songs composed especially for the occasion.° This celebration is extremely joyous, and marks the end of the day. The last phase of the *sevivot* (secondary circumambulations), when the Torah scrolls are seated on a bench facing the *heykāl*, has the quality of bridging over cultural boundaries. The women, normally confined to a separate space (‘azorah) in the synagogue, join in with the men at the main hall for praising the Torah scrolls, while the men remove the festive decorations from the *heykāl*.° In Kocci, some non-Jewish neighbors are admitted into the upper women’s gallery or the inner courtyard to watch the festivities inside. A huge oil lamp in the shape of a Christmas tree is placed out in the street before the main entrance way leading to the synagogue. By this time it is after sunset, and the lighted oil lamp (with dozens of small lamps) can be seen from afar.

In Israel, while the women approach the *heykāl* for kissing the Torah scrolls, the crowd moves in a procession from the synagogue towards the house of the *ōnnāṅkārṇṇorū, ‘first ancestor’ (the title given to the eldest male community member). There the family members of the *ōnnāṅkārṇṇorū* treat everybody with snacks and drinks, while the participants engage in singing Hebrew *piyyutim* and merry making.

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°° This description is based on observations during the holiday in Kocci (2004 and 2006) and in Mesillat Zion (2007 and 2008).
The Jewish *pērūnāl* as a ‘grand cultural participation’ is rather limited, though it does enable some sharing with the non-Jewish communities around.\(^{291}\)

Jewish weddings were in fact playing a much more significant role in this respect. It is remarkable that the two occasions are interrelated in many ways. For example, many Hebrew *piyyutim* are scheduled for both weddings and *Simhat Torah*, and both occasions occupy a considerable portion of the printed prayer books of Kerala Jews. Weddings in the Jewish community were celebrated for a fortnight, with rituals designed to the smallest details in the process of turning two people into a husband and wife. There are but few communities in pre-modern Kerala that had such an elaborate wedding ritual, these are Brahmins, Muslims, Christians and Jews. Māppila Muslims and Knānaya Christians are two communities, which may fit best for comparison with the Jews in their wedding rituals, for they kept the literary tradition of wedding songs alive either in ritual or in printed texts and recordings.

### 3.2 Molding the Universal into the Local

As noted above, the Jewish holidays are replete with prayers and Hebrew liturgy, leaving very little room for anything else. The themes, ideology and character of the Hebrew prayer and liturgy, *piyyutim*, come from distant cultural worlds; some are expressions of the sufferings in exile and the ongoing conflict with non-Jews, and many involve aesthetical values of Arabic literature like end-rhymes and ‘girdle poems’ that may not satisfy the aesthetic concerns of the local literature. There was naturally the need to handle and design the artistic expressions of the Jewish community in pluralistic Kerala.

Many *piyyutim* in prayer books used by Kerala Jews were written by local Hebrew poets in Hebrew, some of more or less refined literary standards.\(^{292}\) Though Hebrew poetry composed in Kerala does tend here and there to

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\(^{291}\) It might have been an occasion for a much more elaborate ‘grand cultural participation’ in the past.

\(^{292}\) See 2.3.4.
intertwine universal and local cultural patterns,\textsuperscript{293} it is far from being sufficient for molding the universal pan-Jewish culture, unrelated in many ways to the cultural experience of Jews in Kerala, into local cultural patterns.

Local Jewish cultural patterns are twofold. On the one hand they are typical of Kerala Jews as opposed to other Jewish communities in the world and to other non-Jewish communities in Kerala. On the other hand they are endowed with cultural patterns typical of non-Jewish communities in Kerala, especially Muslims and Christians (but not at all exclusively so), or of other Jewish communities around the world.

For molding the universal Jewish culture into local Kerala cultural patterns, it is Malayalam language, rather than liturgical Hebrew, that is the appropriate medium. Malayalam is different from Hebrew in its semantics, syntax and directionality. It expresses different conscious and sub-conscious trends and traits of the cultural collective. This complicated issue is much beyond the scope of the present research, yet its workings on the songs may be revealed by parcing and analyzing them in context. The adequacy of Malayalam as a verbal medium for molding Jewish identity into local cultural patterns is one reason for the evolvement of literature composed in Malayalam as an integral part of the elaborate wedding ritual complex. Thus Jewish Malayalam is assigned a role in designing a cultural collective rooted in two very different cultural realms.

There is another reason too, a formal one, for composing in Malayalam. Malayalam literature has patterns of tunes and rhythms for many types of songs - from classical compositions to folk songs. Hebrew phonology and literary aesthetics are inapplicable for articulating many aesthetic concerns related to

\textsuperscript{293} A typical example is the Hebrew poem 'Long live the King!' (AS, 1980: 390), which is still occasionally sung in Israel. It was a part of the repertoire for the önnäkörnorrä function concluding the festivities for the high-holidays in 2007. The poem 'Long Live the King!' specifically mentions the last king of Kocci, Rämavarma Mahäräja. However, cultural details may be incorporated in more subtle ways involving literary devices and certain ritual procedures.
prosody and alliteration. In this sense too Malayalam plays a formal role for incorporating local aesthetic concerns.294

It is remarkable in respect to the socio-cultural matrix in Kerala that Jews, Muslims and Christians are classified as pallikkār295 as opposed to ambalakkār (temple-people). This distinction is oriented towards the manner of worship rather than the content of belief; it classifies Semitic religions as a super-category in the framework of the historical caste system in Kerala. Turning to the issue of cultural participation, one may observe patterns of participation associated with this bi-polar caste distinction. The sub-castes of ambalakkār, normally kept away from the daily ritual lives of each other, created complexes of grand cultural participation during occasions of year-cycle events. Notwithstanding the annual festivals of mosques and churches, pallikkār created such complexes during life-cycle events, in particular weddings. The liturgical medium during year-cycle events was for many centuries a Semitic language in the case of pallikkār, whereas ambalakkār used Indian languages for their worship. Thus for ambalakkār the language medium used for molding the 'universal' pan-Hindu contents into the local cultural patterns is far more flexible.

The corpus of Hebrew prayer and liturgy for the Jewish year-cycle events is too dense to allow for liturgical activity in Malayalam. As said above, such liturgical activity is essential for articulating local aesthetic of a certain distinct community, in this case a Jewish community in multi-cultural Kerala. It is not surprising then, that pallikkār, regardless of the manifold caste distinctions among them, designed their wedding rituals so as to open up a space for a 'grand cultural participation'. By and large, they were leaving their liturgy and manner of

294 Music occupies a prominent place in the mechanism of 'grand cultural participation', and the linguistic medium is certainly linked to it through prosody, repetitions and alliterations. This issue is yet largely unexplored, though initial observations are incorporated in several studies on the tunes of Kerala Hebrew liturgy (Seroussi, 2000: 241—242, 245—246) and on the influence of Malayalam phonetics on the pronunciation of Hebrew texts (Förstrom, 2006).

295 The Malayalam term for monotheists. Today palli is a general term for the place where monotheists pray. It used to refer in the past to Buddhist or Jain vihāras.
worship in the *palli* to occasions celebrating annual events typical of their main subdivisions into Muslims, Christians and Jews.

The indigenous Hebrew poem had a role to play in molding the universal into the particular local community during annual events. But that must have been insufficient for the reasons specified above, and Malayalam poetry had to find its place in life-cycle events, elaborated enough to afford ritual space for its incorporation. And so, weddings being conducted mostly outside of the synagogue and extended by rituals and sub-rituals (as we shall shortly see) with their inherent literature, were the ideal ritual space for a 'grand cultural participation' and for molding the universal into the local.

### 3.3 The Wedding Rituals of Kerala Jews

With this theoretical model in mind, it is possible to account for the abundance of wedding songs in the corpus. It is further essential to outline the rituals, which these songs were associated with, for the evolution of the literary corpus is inherent in the development of rituals and sub-rituals. Jewish weddings in Kerala, apart from resembling the weddings of other *pallikkār* in Kerala, are also similar in their elaborate set of rituals and sub-rituals to Jewish weddings around the world. A brief comparative analysis of the Kerala Jewish wedding with Jewish weddings elsewhere and with non-Jewish weddings in Kerala is offered below (3.6).

There are several sources describing the weddings of Kerala Jews, none of them is exhaustive. All the sources refer to Malayalam songs either in passing or in a more detailed manner. There are variations and discrepancies in the different descriptions, possibly because there was no strictly fixed set of rituals. There are two sorts of sources: primary and secondary (including ethnographic accounts). The primary sources are the Malayalam notebooks and the Hebrew prayer books used by Kerala Jews.\(^{296}\) The secondary sources are two papers by Jussay (2005), a sub-chapter in Johnson’s MA thesis (1975), a chapter in the doctoral thesis of

\[^{296}\text{Kastiel, 1756; Rahabi, 1769; Rahabi, 1916; AS, 1980.}\]

All the secondary sources and ethnographic accounts depict a ceremony celebrated with elaborate rituals and sub-rituals composing the weddings. Turning to the textual presentation of wedding songs in the performative repertoire notebooks, it is possible to sketch the general outlines for the wedding rituals by analyzing the titles of wedding songs and their sequence of appearance in the notebooks. The largest and oldest notebooks contain a relatively large volume of wedding songs.

The Hebrew prayer books give scanty information about the wedding rituals mentioning their performative context only in passing. The ethnographic accounts and secondary literature relaying on them depend on the person, one's memory and one's community, so they too do not give the full picture. To understand the songs in their context of performance it is necessary to attempt a general reconstruction of the wedding rituals and sub-rituals based on all sources taken together. Before doing so, let us examine what the different sources have to say. Note that in the secondary sources there is a clear distinction between Malabari and Paradesi weddings. This distinction is null in the oldest Hebrew prayer books, and its expression in the notebooks only goes as far as mentioning or not the Vigil Night (kappurātri, see below). Moreover, it seems that in the notebooks the varieties of sub-rituals are too complex to yield a clear-cut Paradesi-Malabari dichotomy.

All the secondary sources agree that Paradesi weddings were held on Sunday, whereas Malabari weddings were held on Tuesday. As for the primary sources, the data in the notebooks further supports this sequence of events, and the data in the Hebrew prayer books reveals that up till the mid-nineteenth century all Kerala Jews used to celebrate the wedding itself on Tuesday, while Sunday night (ליל שני) was fixed for the kappurātri ritual. According to Rahabi (1916), some of the rituals, in particular the kappurātri, were cancelled so that the

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297 Sami Hallegua from Kocci recalls that Paradesi weddings were celebrated on Tuesdays (personal communication).
day for the main marriage rite (*qiddusim*) was shifted from Tuesday (ليل רביעי) to Sunday (ليل שני). He does not exclude this reformation to Paradešis alone, but it is clear from the notebooks (none is earlier than the mid-nineteenth century) and the secondary sources that indeed the *kăppurătri* was celebrated among Malabaris alone, for the term appears only in notebooks from Malabari communities.

Many appellations of some post- and pre-wedding rituals that appear in the notebooks are unaccounted for in the Hebrew prayer books or in the secondary sources. This, I believe, is partly due to the fact that the reconstruction of the wedding rituals is by and large done by men, while the notebooks are preserved by women. In the secondary sources there is only one exception to this, which is Ruby Daniel’s account. However, Daniel was born to a sub-community among the Paradešis (*ulmakkar*, מושחרים) and grew up during the twentieth century. Her account too falls short of clarifying the performative titles that appear in the notebooks (including Paradeši notebooks).

When it comes to Paradešis, there are more references in the secondary sources to the rituals performed by women alone, whereas for Malabaris they are scarce and causal. The gaps between the performative titles in the notebooks and the rituals described in the other sources may be explained by the somewhat separate spheres of ritual activity assigned to women and men, though in many ritual occasions they were joined into a common sphere.

The gaps between the song titles and the descriptions of the wedding have an additional reason. The occasions for singing Malayalam songs were not strictly fixed, but rather formed joints of a flexible structure subject to alternation according to the inclination of performers. Thus only some of the Jewish Malayalam songs in this thesis can be safely analyzed according to their performative context. It is, however, possible to chart the performative ritual complex of weddings, and locate the songs to be sung therein. One must always consider the flux of the times and diverse personal preferences. Such a 'map' is essential to account for the songs I examine in Chapters Four and Five; many of them were out of use by the mid-twentieth century, just before the songs and the
ethnographic accounts of weddings became the interest of the first scholars studying them.

Lastly, the language medium of the secondary sources and ethnographic accounts is also responsible for the gaps between their terminology of the wedding rituals and the performative titles in the notebooks. All the descriptions in the secondary literature are conveyed either in English or in Hebrew. Many of the Malayalam terms, especially those parallel to Hebrew terms, are lost. For example, in Daniel's description of weddings there appears the Hebrew term \( \text{t\textbf{a}b\textbf{i}l\textbf{a}h} \) (ritual bath), whereas in the notebooks it is rendered in Malayalam: \( \text{ma\textn{\textbf{a}v\textn{n\texttt{i}t\texttt{t}}\texttt{i} m\texttt{\textn{\texttt{u}n\texttt{n\texttt{b}}}}\texttt{\texttt{\texttt{b}}}} \), 'when the bride plunges in water'.

### 3.4 Performative Occasions during Weddings

Consulting the various sources it is possible to chart pre- and post-wedding rituals according to days and periods of days (e.g. Saturday morning before the wedding). Most of these rituals are occasions for performing Malayalam songs, and they often have Malayalam names (e.g. \( \text{n\textn{\textt{\texttt{a}t\texttt{k\texttt{\texttt{k\texttt{n}{\texttt{n\texttt{a}}\texttt{s}}\texttt{\texttt{a\texttt{\texttt{\texttt{b}}}}}}}} } \)). At the same time, as they relate to Jewish wedding customs, they might also have Hebrew names (e.g. \( \text{t\textbf{a}b\textbf{i}l\textbf{a}h} \)). Some of these performative occasions might not have a name at all, and some might be performative occasions of non-verbal ritual activity (e.g. procession of the bride to the synagogue). Locating a song in this complex set of rituals is in many cases conjectural. Unless the song is explicitly scheduled for a certain ritual, its location in the ritual complex depends on comparative analysis of the textual presentation of the song in a certain notebook, its appearance in other notebooks and data gathered from secondary sources.

Following is a list of the functions as gathered from the different secondary sources altogether, with specification of the community in brackets. This abstract is based on Jussay (2005), Daniel (1995) and Walerstein (1987) in their accounts of Parade\(\text{s}\)i and Malabari weddings. Jussay refers to both Malabari and Parade\(\text{s}\)i weddings, but occasionally it is not clear whether his description applies to both. Daniel must have described the weddings of Parade\(\text{s}\)is and Malabaris of the KK community. Walerstein bases her descriptions on informants from the Malabari
communities in Israel. She must have had informants from places other than Kocci, as she occasionally mentions place names such as Parur and Cennamangalam.

Some of the terms in this list are abbreviated: B = bride, G = groom, [P] = according to Paradesi accounts, [M] = according to Malabari accounts. The descriptions are as laconic as possible, as this list is to be taken as a small lexicon for clarifying the Malayalam and Hebrew terms signifying each ritual occasion. The terminology for the various performative occasions clarifies the extra-linguistic intertextuality relations between text and context. It is vital for analyzing and discussing the pragmatic concerns expressed in the songs.

**Pre-wedding Rituals:**

- **Betrothal, vellamkuti, vana'im** (a month or two before the wedding): B and G agree in the presence of elders to get married [P]. G is sent to a party with friends while the betrothal contract is fixed. Women utter ululation and light candles after the contract is signed [M].

- **Suit Cutting, Kappamurikkal** (Thursday afternoon): A tailor ceremoniously cuts cloth for G’s wedding attire. Women utter ululation and distribute sweets [P].

- **Construction of the Manara** (Thursday afternoon) Ladies celebrate the construction of the manara, 'bridal chamber' [M+P].

- **Naṭakkunna Šabat** (Friday night): G serves dinner and announces his best men. Hebrew and Malayalam songs are sung [P]. B’s father serves a

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298 Vellamkuti literally means ‘drinking water’. According to Pillai (2006: 1615), it means a feast for guests (virunnubhaksanam), especially a feast for the guests of a newly-wedded couple (ibid., 1584). Tana'im is the Hebrew term for the betrothal contract.

299 So is according to Daniel, but according to Walerstein the manara is constructed by men on Monday night, the night before the wedding (see below). Note that the term manara is also applicable for the special decorated booth constructed for the display of the Torah scrolls during Simhat Torah.
santoṣam (delight) feast to G and his attendants after the Saturday prayers [M].

- **Kuntali Ṛcāram, 'Cloth Gift'** (Saturday morning): Sister of G brings ṛcāraputava (cloth gift) and kuppāyam (bright colored traditional dress of a lungi and blouse) to B [M]. G is honored with ṣaliyah, ‘reading the Torah (from the pulpit)’ in the synagogue [M+P].

- **Naṭakkunna Śabat 2** (Saturday noon): G and his friends are served a meal at B’s house [M]. B is served a meal at G’s house [P]. Hebrew poems and Malayalam songs are sung.

- **Naṭakkunna Śabat 3** (Saturday evening): B puts a scarf on G and removes it, hands of B and G are tied [M]. 302 Procession of B to the house of a maternal uncle [M] or to the ‘wedding-house’ [P]. G is honored in the synagogue and joins for dinner with friends and relatives. Women gather and sing songs for B [P&M].

- **Cēmbukāyarral, 'Lifting up the Copper Vessel'** (Sunday before dawn): women gather to prepare resin wine and heat up water for B. 303 Malayalam songs are sung [P].

- **Nagaram Curral, 'Touring the Town'** (Sunday early morning): A procession along the street [P].

- **Preparing the tāli and ring** (Sunday morning): Relatives of G bring a silver coin, relatives of B bring gold. A goldsmith is summoned and ceremoniously receives the silver and gold to prepare the wedding ring and the wedding pendant (tāḷi) [P]. 304

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300 Literally: the entry Saturday. In Israel, the term is rendered כנה כלה, ‘Bride's Saturday’, into Hebrew.

301 Malabaris do not have a special performative occasion for selecting the best men.


304 Daniel (2006: 181) describes a typical Kerala ritual item – a sieve with coconut and rice and ‘other items’ – on which gold and silver were placed to hand them over to the silversmith.
• **Tōbilāh, 'Purification Bath'** (Sunday around ten o’clock): women take B to the *miqveh* ‘purification bath’. Malayalam songs are sung [P].

• **Procession of B** (Sunday before noon): B is led in a procession to the synagogue for kissing the Torah scroll, and receives blessings at each house on her way back. An elderly woman encircles betel leaves and coins around B’s head [P].

• **Cantam Cārttaal, 'Adorning'** (Sunday before noon) ceremonious decoration of G. A barber comes to give G a haircut. Women utter ululation [P].

• **Lunch** (Sunday noon): A fish lunch in B’s house [P].

• **Procession of B** (Sunday afternoon) B goes to the synagogue to kiss the Torah scrolls and receives blessings from the *paṭtakkaraṇ/hazan*, ‘cantor’ [M].

• **Tea Party** (Sunday afternoon) G is treated at B’s house. The best men arrive in procession. G is blessed by the elderly. Malayalam songs are sung [P].

• **Aṛēat,**

• **Engagement** (Sunday afternoon) G is led in a procession to B’s temporary residence. G gives the silver coin to B, while reciting the engagement formula. The silver coin is handed over to a silversmith for preparing the wedding ring [M].

• **Procession of G** (Sunday evening): G is led to the synagogue for the evening prayers. An elderly person encircles betel leaves and coins around G’s head [P].

• **Tying the tāḷi** (Sunday evening): B is dressed up. The mother of B, or her sister, ties the *tāḷi* around B’s neck. Women utter ululation and sing a special song [P].

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305 This practice of circling coins and betel leaves around the heads of the bridal couple is another ritual item typical for Kerala and performed as protective magic.


307 The first two words of the Hebrew engagement formula *harey āt* (הרי את).

308 So is according to Daniel. According to Jussay it is done after the *tobilah*, and by the closest married female relative of G.
• **The Wedding** (Sunday night): B is led to the synagogue and seated under a veil (עטוף). \( ^{309} \) G is also led in by the best men (טוטה, \( ^2 \)שושבינים), while chanting a biblical verse. \( ^{310} \) The eldest man of G’s family reads the seven blessings (שביע ברחות). A young boy from G's family reads the marriage contract (קוטבאה). The wedding ring is tied on a thread and dipped in a glass of wine. \( ^{311} \) G sips from the wine, pulls out the wedding ring and gives it to B. The cantor drinks a cup of wine, hands it over to G, who drinks and thrashes it to the ground. The mother of B lifts the veil off B \( ^\text{[P]} \).

• **Procession of B and G** (Sunday night): G covers B with one end of his praying shawl. B and G are led by the whole congregation in a procession; G and B are seated on a stage. A festive dinner is served with singing and dancing \( ^\text{[P]} \).

• **Entering the Manāra, 'Bridal Chamber'** (Sunday night): G and B are led to the bridal chamber. The women sing songs outside \( ^\text{[P]} \). \( ^{312} \)

• **Kāppurātri 'Vigil Night'** (Sunday night): A fish dinner is served while feasting and singing Malayalam songs \( ^\text{[M]} \).

• **Building the manāra** (Monday evening): Men gather to construct the bridal chamber (manāra, אפרים), usually in G’s house \( ^\text{[M]} \).

• **Ayini Feast** \( ^{313} \) (Monday night): G is shaved and dressed up with his best men. A festive meal is served while singing Hebrew poems \( ^\text{[M]} \).

\( ^{309} \) Hallegua stresses that this is not a veil covering the bride’s face, but rather a cloth hanging from a hoop above the bride and covering her completely. See also Walerstein, 1987: 106.

\( ^{310} \) Esther, 8: 15—16.

\( ^{311} \) Compare with Sabar, 2006: 192.

\( ^{312} \) Only Jussay mentions this custom, which is practiced by Knānaya Christians. Since there is no other evidence for this custom performed as he describes it, it might be that his description is based also on his acquaintance with the Christian ceremony. It is also important to note that in his description he does not use the word manāra.

\( ^{313} \) According to Pillai (2006: 187), ayani or ayini (१ aśani, 'food' in Sanskrit) is "an auspicious meal served on the day before marriage to the bride and her brother or to the groom and his relatives". Walerstein conjectures a doubtful derivation from the Hebrew word 'ayin, 'eye', led by Rahabi's
• *Cēmbitikkal, ‘Placing the Copper Vessel’* (Tuesday before dawn): B’s mother summons the women to prepare wine [M].

• *Tḇīlāh, ‘Purification Bath’* (Tuesday morning): Procession of B to the ritual bath, while singing Malayalam songs [M].

• **G Gets Shaved** (Tuesday before noon?): G goes to the purification bath and is ceremoniously shaved by a barber [M].

• *Varuttarūṭe Corū, ‘Food for Guests’* (Tuesday noon): A feast is served after the purification bath [M].

• **Tying the Ṭālī** (Tuesday afternoon): G’s married sister ties the marriage pendant around B’s neck. The ṭālī is tied on seven threads. Women utter ululations [M].

• **Procession of G to the Synagogue**: (Tuesday afternoon): G goes in an elaborate procession to the synagogue for the evening prayers (*mināḥāḥ*); White cloth is spread on the street leading to the synagogue. A coin is circled thrice around G’s head. The best men and the guests accompany G. G is honored in the synagogue [M].

• **Procession of B to the Synagogue** (Tuesday evening): After the evening prayers, B arrives to the synagogue in a procession. A coin is circled thrice around her head [M].

• **The Wedding** (Tuesday night): Both B and G have ashes smeared on their forheads.  

  B is seated below a veil hanging from the ceiling (עטוף). Biblical verses are chanted.  

  An antiphonal chanting between G and the congregation ensues. G dips the ring tied on a thread in a cup of wine, sips wine, pulls the ring out, puts it on B’s finger and hands the wine over to her. A child under twelve reads the *kəṭubāh* (the marriage contract). B is unveiled. The cantor sips from one cup of wine, B and G sip from another. The seven blessings are recited [M].

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314 Compare with Sabar, 2006: 231.

315 Among them, as with [P], Esther, 8: 15—16.
• **Entering the Manāra** (Tuesday night): G places his praying shawl over B’s shoulders. G and B enter the house with the bridal chamber. G and B receive blessings and entertainment (Malayalam and Hebrew songs) and break their fast. A feast is served. The best men (tōtē) guard B and G, and fine anybody who addresses them by name rather than by their titles *manavālan* 'groom' and *manavīṭṭi* 'bride'. People play cards. Professional entertainers are summoned [M].

**Post Wedding Rituals:**

• **Daily Festivities and Rituals** (during the week after the wedding): B and G are invited for lunch and dinner everyday. G goes in a procession every morning and evening to the synagogue [P]. The party of entering the manāra is repeated for the seven days following the wedding. The seven blessings are daily recited [M].

• **Gifts party** (Monday): Non-Jews are invited to a grand party and a feast. Malayalam songs are sung. The father of G or B distributes presents to guests according to the gifts they give to the couple [P].

• ** Sabbath Ḥatan, Purapēṭunna Sabat 1** (Friday night): The wives of the best men send sweets to B. Malayalam songs are sung [P].

• ** Sabbath Ḥatan, Purapēṭunna Sabat 2** (Saturday morning): B and G attend the synagogue. G is honored in the synagogue. The women throw sweets from the upper gallery [M]. G is honored in the synagogue with special songs, and reads ‘Avraham zaken’ [P].

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316 The Hebrew term שבט חתן, 'Groom’s Saturday’, denotes a pan-Jewish custom to honor the groom in the synagogue on the Saturday following the wedding. The Malayalam term means ‘The Exit Saturday’ and mirrors the term used for the Saturday preceding the wedding, ‘The Entry Saturday’. Community members render the Malayalam term natakkunna šabat into the Hebrew שבת כלה, 'Bride’s Saturday'.

317 Genesis, 24: 1—7.
• **Sabbath Hatan, Purapēṭunna Šabat 3** (Saturday noon): Lunch is served at B’s house [P]. Feast is served at G’s home [M].

• **Sabbath Hatan, Purapēṭunna Šabat 4** (Saturday evening): G goes in a procession to the synagogue [P].

• **Pallippoka, ‘Entering the Synagogue’** (Monday or Tuesday night?): A procession of B and G to the synagogue and back to the manāra. The display of the virginity proof [M].

• **Tōtē Šabat, ‘Saturday of the Best Men’** (second post-wedding Saturday): G reads the ḥāpatarāḥ. The best men are honored in the synagogue. The women sing Malayalam songs [M].

### 3.5 The Wedding Ritual Complex

The above list enables charting of the wedding ritual complex and comparing it with the web of performative titles that appear in the notebooks. Let us turn now to a schematic outline of the ritual complex presented below in two different tables, both divided into the main days of wedding festivities on the top row and into four different times of the day on the left. There is some confusion about the counting of days, for the Hebrew and Jewish-Malayalam division of a twenty-four hours unit (a day) is from sunset to sunset, rather than midnight to midnight. The night of the Hebrew and Malayalam day (ليل שבת, šanīyāla rātri) is the beginning of the unit ‘day’, but in English the parallel time will be the night of the previous day, in this case Friday night. The following tables are set so that the left column is divided according to periods in the day starting from night, the beginning of the Hebrew day, which parallels the night of the previous English day (e.g. ליל רביעי, budhanāla rātri = Tuesday night).

Table 2 portrays the various rituals in the wedding complex as described in the secondary sources and ethnographic accounts. The terms in table 2a—c

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318 Daniel claims that formerly the bride would memorize a long Malayalam composition for this occasion (Daniel and Johnson, 1995: 189).

319 Tōtē is derived from tofan, ‘a companion’, the role of the friend of the hero (or for the heroine the female toli) in classical Malayalam literature.
follow the terms summarized in the list above. Table 3 portrays the various
performative details according to the primary sources - notebooks and Hebrew
prayer books, along with the index numbers of the songs that follow each
performative title [e.g. II61] and references to some Hebrew poems as well. It is
important to note that the order of songs in a notebook does not necessarily
parallel the order of songs in performance. However, in the absence of extra-
textual data, one may take the order of songs in a notebook as a clue to their order
in performance. Explicit data about the performative functions of certain songs
whether based on the texts or on extra-textual accounts - was also taken into
consideration.

The performative titles in Table 3a—c are of three types: 1. The
Malayalam terms of certain festive occasions, e.g. töte šaniyāla 'Best Men
Saturday'. 2. The days and periods of days in Malayalam, e.g. nārāla rātri
collunna pāṭṭu, 'songs to be sung on Saturday Night (=ليلראשון'). 3. an
adverbial phrase in Malayalam referring to the ritual embedding a song, e.g.
tālikka pōnn i̱tumba, 'when laying down gold for the tāli'. There are many songs
that are not included in the wedding repertoire and are classified in the notebooks
as 'play-songs' (kalipāṭṭu), 'passages' (kurukkan), 'rooster-songs' (kolipāṭṭu) and
translations (artthaṇi) of Hebrew poems. In the wedding repertoire notebooks,
such songs occupy the last portion. The sequence of their textual presentation in
the notebooks suggests that many of them were performed during the multiple
performative occasions of the wedding. As they are not explicitly related to the
wedding rituals in any of the sources, these songs were left out of table 3a—c.
There are also songs that are explicitly meant for other life-cycle events such as
circumcision, birth of a daughter (ẓabah bat) and first reading of Torah (הפטורה).

320 Only a few of the many references to the Hebrew wedding poems are given in the tables. For a
more detailed discussion of the Hebrew wedding poems of Kerala Jews, see Caspi, 1981.

321 Note that the titles in the notebooks are written in non-standardized forms. For example, alca
may be written as ācca, alicca, rātri = rāṭtē, nāyarū = nārū, and so forth. Sometimes the terms used
in the notebooks are synonyms for terms in the left column, for example kālattē = rāvilē, and rāvū
= rātri.
The number of songs for these occasions is very limited relative to the volume of wedding songs.

Lastly, there are performative titles for wedding occasions in the Hebrew prayer books in the sections titled *hupat hātanim* (henceforth HH). They too are of three types: 1. A Hebrew title of a function, e.g. *qiddusin*, 'the marriage vow'. 2. A Malayalam title in Hebrew characters denoting a certain function, e.g. *פליפוכא* (*pa'llippoka*). 3. A Description of processions or feasts accompanying certain rituals, e.g. women wash B’s hair. Occasionally the author explicitly mentions the women’s (Malayalam) songs, but he does so only in passing, as he is mainly concerned in the Hebrew poems to be sung.

The term 'procession' in the tables signifies occasions for processions that are described in the secondary sources and in the Hebrew prayer books. However, there is no reference to processions in the notebooks. It may be that songs were not sung during the procession itself, for it involves movement and loud drumming. An informant from Cennamangalam told Walerstein that professional musicians – whether Hindu, Muslim or Christian – would volunteer to perform during these processions, as they would consider it an auspicious meritorious deed.\(^\text{322}\) Also Daniel recalls the massive participation of non-Jewish musicians during the wedding processions.\(^\text{323}\) Hallegua recalls that whenever the groom is to go to the synagogue for the morning prayers during the week following his wedding, a group of drummers would summon him and accompany him on his way.\(^\text{324}\) It is in between the processions that the Malayalam songs could be performed.

See for example the song 'After the Bath' (II23), scheduled in B5 for seeing off the bride to the synagogue (*pa'lli pokumbo*l). Daniel remembers that this song was,

\(^{322}\) Walerstein, 1987: 103.


\(^{324}\) Personal communication.
“sung to accompany the bride to the synagogue. [...] There is such a rush at this time, with different kinds of bands roaring outside, all the ladies inside talking at the same time, children running around, last-minute adjustment of the bride’s dress – that this song is scarcely heard or noticed by many. It is sung by the few ladies standing close to the bride.”

The processions would be further enacted with several performative activities such as carrying royal parasols and spreading white cloth on the street leading to the synagogue. These processions are of varying degrees of intensity, and the one leading to the marriage itself is the grandest of all.

The notebooks represented in table 3a—c are B5 (KP), S14 (KK), S13 (KT) and B9 (P). The Hebrew prayer books are Kastiel (1756) Rahabi (1769), and Rahabi (1916). The data given in table 3 is specified to each notebook, e.g. [B9], and the data collected from the Hebrew prayer books (HH) is taken collectively, as there are no noteworthy disagreements between the three. There are three types of terms in the tables: a reference in English to some ceremonious ritual (e.g. procession of G to the synagogue); Malayalam terms (e.g. manālana vāsattuna pāṭṭā, ‘a song for blessing the groom’) and Hebrew terms (e.g. ṭḥilāh) as found in the list above and in the primary sources accordingly. Each table is further divided into three; tables 2a and 3a list pre-wedding rituals (Saturday – Wednesday), 2b and 3b list the days following the wedding (Thursday – Monday) and 2c and 3c list more post-wedding rituals (second Tuesday – Saturday). Two pre-wedding rituals in the list above, the betrothal and the ladies’ party are

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328 There are several reasons for selecting these notebooks. First, they are relatively large. Second, they all have performative titles or instructions. Third, they are all wedding repertoire notebooks (see 2.1.1).
excluded from the tables since only Daniel mentions them. These two rituals are not specified in the notebooks. Nevertheless, they too might have been occasions for singing Malayalam songs.

Charting the data about the wedding ritual complex and the songs to be sung therein helps locating songs in their performative context and analyzing them accordingly (Chapters Four and Five). Furthermore, sketching the complex ritual structure of the wedding with its related songs reveals the framework of the 'grand cultural participation' and the way in which universals are molded into particulars. The tables are given here for orientation in the intricate ritual complex while analyzing the wedding songs in the following chapters. They are also helpful for a schematic overview of the performative ground for literary production in Jewish Malayalam. In tables 3a—2c songs which explicitly relate to the occasion in the notebooks are listed either in the table itself or in footnotes. The songs that appear in tables 2a—2c are declared as wedding songs in the secondary sources.

Johnson mentions performative details for some of the songs in the thematic index. These details collected during her work on the songs are often in disagreement with the details given in the notebooks or in other secondary sources. I have added these details in the footnotes, for it is important to be aware of possible alternations in the performative context.

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329 Also Christians in Kerala have such a party for building the pantal (wedding shed) on the pre-wedding Thursday. Their wedding ceremony would also be held on Sundays, like the Paradeśis (Jacob Vallian, personal communication).
**Table 2a: Pre-Wedding Rituals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Sani</th>
<th>Nāyārū</th>
<th>Tinkal</th>
<th>Cōvva</th>
<th>Budhan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rāvīlē</td>
<td>kutalā śācārami [M]</td>
<td>cēnpukayarā [I18, II6; nagaramcurral; preparing tali &amp; ring; tēbīlah,] procession of B; cantam cārta [P]</td>
<td>Cēmbhitkkal, tēbīlah, G gets shaved [M]</td>
<td>Procession of G to synagogue [P]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2b: Post-Wedding Rituals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>vyālam</th>
<th>Vēli</th>
<th>Sani</th>
<th>Nāyārū</th>
<th>Tinkal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rāvīlē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>purapēṭunna šabat [M+P]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uccaykkū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>purapēṭunna šabat [M+P]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaikittū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>purapēṭunna šabat [P]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2c: Post-Wedding Rituals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Cōvva</th>
<th>Budhan</th>
<th>vyālam</th>
<th>Vēli</th>
<th>Sani</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rāṭri</td>
<td>pallippoka; ševa’ boraŋkot [M]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rōṭi šabat I130 [M]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Sani</td>
<td>Nāyāru</td>
<td>Tinkal</td>
<td>Cōva</td>
<td>Budhan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uccaykku</td>
<td>tin kāyvunbol IV113 [B9]</td>
<td>G gets shaved; G &amp; best men dress up; H chants &amp; piyyut; blessing of G; yēmis [HH]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaikkū</td>
<td>I11; manālān erakkunna pāṭṭu I9; I150; IV43; II42112; II6 [B5]</td>
<td>vāsattunna pāṭṭa I9; sarvāttakkatt I111 [S13]; manavālān erakkumöl I9; manavālana pāṭṭuna pāṭṭu I10 [S14] kīdelasā mālhykkū manavālana irakkumöl I9; tāli kēttunbol IV111 [B9] procession of G [HH]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

110 II61; II16; II52; II55; III3; III48 [S13]; II61; II16; II52; II83; II55; II55a; II33; II20; II87; III48 [S14]; II61; II52; III83; III55; III; IV110; IV3; III87; I17; III48 [B9]

111 1. II3; 2. II61; II16; II52; III55; IV59; IV73; III59; IV61; IV62; II2; I3; I9; I10; I29; III76 [B5]

112 In the annotated index prepared by Barbara Johnson (2005a, henceforth BJ), the song is performed during circumcision.

113 “when the tāli is tied”: II39 (BJ: sung after III11); III11; III12; IV70; IV72; IV73; II48 (BJ: when copper is lifted); IV75.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Vëlam</th>
<th>Véli</th>
<th>Sani</th>
<th>Nayaṟṟu</th>
<th>Tinkal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rātri</td>
<td>Meal; H chants; séva’ borakat [HH]</td>
<td>Meal; H chants; séva’ borakat [HH]</td>
<td>cēnīḻaṭca rāva rātri416 [S13]</td>
<td>nāṟṟiḷēcca rāṭṭa pāṭṭa IV114;</td>
<td>zinukalī rāṭṭē pāṭṭa II69 [S13]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sēnīḻaṭca rātri cellunna pāṭṭo II4</td>
<td>rōntāpāṭṭa IV59; munnāṭ pāṭṭa III59 [S13]</td>
<td>Meal; H chants; séva’ borakat [HH]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IV114; IV66/10; IV59; III59 [B9]</td>
<td>H chants as of circumcision [HH]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravilē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cēnīḻaṭca kāḷaṭra III5 [S13] III5 [B9]</td>
<td>sēnīḻaṭca kāḷaṭra manāḷanē pāṭṭu pāṭṭu</td>
<td>VI12; G honored by H chants in synagogue; G reads ḫ Parenthood in synagogue; blessing of G&amp;B; H chants [HH]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>II10IV13 [B5]</td>
<td>H chants [HH]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>G reads Parenthood</td>
<td>H chants [HH]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>G reads Parenthood</td>
<td>H chants [HH]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uccaykkū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vēlīyaṭca vayiṭṭa III9 [S13]</td>
<td>Leading G to ḫ Parenthood</td>
<td>meal; H chants [HH]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaikaṭṭu</td>
<td>vēlīyaṭca vayiṭṭa III9 [S13]</td>
<td>vēlīyaṭca vaikunneram pāṭṭu pāṭṭu malavāḷan III15IV16 [S14]</td>
<td>katukēṟrinnata III2; pāṟṟicoṭirunna III89; rōntā pāṭṭa III19; munnā pāṭṭa III18 [S13] IV111; III89;</td>
<td>H chants for G [HH]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vēlīyaṭca vaikunneram manavāḷana pāṭṭu pāṭṭu</td>
<td>III1516 III9 [B5]</td>
<td>pāṭṭu pāṭṭu III12; sēnīḻaṭca vayiṭṭa cellunna pāṭṭukal III89; III19; III18; III93; IV4016 [B5]</td>
<td>H chants for G [HH]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vēlīyaṭca vayiṭṭu</td>
<td>H chants for G [HH]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

314 BJ: II4 – Saturday night song for B.
315 BJ: Happiness for G.
316 BJ: praise of G.
317 BJ: Friday evening song for G (paramitamān).
318 Heretofore there appear four ‘play-songs’ on pp. 93—7, three songs for first-born redemption (piarata) pp. 97—100, three songs for circumcision on pp. 101—7, three more ‘play-songs’ on p. 107, and five more songs for circumcision on pp. 108-117.
Table 3c: Post-Wedding Rituals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day Time</th>
<th>Covva</th>
<th>Budhan</th>
<th>Vêli</th>
<th>Şani</th>
<th>Nâyaṟū</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Râtri</td>
<td>פליפוגא processes B&amp;G to synagogue; G prays ליל ראשון, entering ביתה; meal; H chants; sêva’ berêkog blessing B&amp;G; [HH1]</td>
<td>vêśiva ṭättê [S13] pâṭu II2</td>
<td>tôtê cašaivo yâ ṭânum tânûmol cêllunan III9</td>
<td>tôtê cašaivo yâ ṭânum pâṭu IV20; rântâ pâṭu I2 [S13]; IV20; nâyar ašica râtri cêllunan III24 [S14]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6 Kerala Jewish Weddings as a Grand Cultural Participation

The wedding ritual complex is one of movement in which the whole community participates. It is a movement in time as much as it is a movement in space. The intensity of ritual occasions varies from day to day. While some days are more intensely occupied with progressive spatial movement, others are more relaxed. The spatial movement is from one ritual to another (e.g. procession of B to the ritual bath), and the more ritual occasions are there in a certain day, the spatial movement between them intensifies the ritual activity.

The ritual complex is dynamic. It leisurely starts with enacting the 'Entry Saturday' (natakunna schütz) by moving from the synagogue to the homes of the bridal couple and feasting in honor of the bride and groom (e.g. a cloth gift to B; honoring G in the synagogue). By the end of the 'Entry Saturday' (יים ראשו, nâyaṟ râtri) women gather to sing Malayalam songs around the bride. The singing fills up a ritual space signifying the bride's exit from home. As this Saturday is the day previous to the Paradeši wedding, it is further intensified by a band of drummers accompanying the groom to his evening prayers. This band would accompany the groom to his evening prayers during every afternoon of the wedding week days.
The movement in time and space becomes more and more intense as the time of the wedding approaches. There are more and more festivities and processions. The ritual movement in space and time is gradually relaxed towards the ‘Groom Saturday’ (שבת חתן, purappētunna ēbat) until the post-wedding Monday night, the pallippoka.\(^{339}\) Thereafter until the concluding ‘Best Man Saturday’ (tōtē saniyālca, see second post-wedding vēllirātri - nāyār rātri) there are no festive occasions. This last concluding festivity is less intense. Similar to the ‘Entry Saturday’, the spatial movement during the ‘Best Man Saturday’ is not accompanied by elaborate processions and rituals. During the ‘Best Men Saturday’, the bridal couple is being honored for the last time in the synagogue (groom reads from the Torah) and at home (women sing Malayalam songs).

The intensification of movement through time and space activates the mechanism of the ‘grand cultural participation’. There are ‘points’ of reference in time such as a certain feast or ritual to allow for the spatial movement generated by accumulating ‘cultural details’ such as drummers, festive parasols and so forth. The accumulation of ‘cultural details’ during the processions is repeated, though less intensely, during more intimate rituals, like the ritual bath, that serve as ritual stops leading into more processions.

Also Hindu temple festivals and Christian pērunāś involve intensification of movement through time and space over a fixed period of festivities that might last from three to ten days. Also their intensification is generated by accumulation of ‘cultural details’. In Christian churches there would be bands of drummers and trumpeters and royal parasols carried by the participants, while on each day there will be more and more participants and occurrences. In Hindu temples, elephants are decorated with gold, royal parasols and fans. One way for the Hindus to intensify the ritual complex is to add more and more elephants to the processions.

\(^{339}\) There is some disagreement about the time of performing the pallippoka between the primary sources. According to the only notebook that mentions the ceremony, S13, it is scheduled for Sunday night (ليل שני, tinukali rāttē), while the HHI as well as AS schedules it for Monday night (ليل שלישי).
It happens ever so often that some sort of dramatic performance stands as the highlight of the festive ritual activities. In such occasions the ‘grand cultural participation’ finds its most elaborate expression as verbal and literary ‘cultural details’ are combined with the performative ones. In the Jewish wedding ritual complex, the occasions for literary performance and allocation of certain songs to certain rituals or feasts serve for clustering ‘cultural details’ meaningful in both ritual and literature.\(^{340}\)

The process of molding universals into particulars is twofold. On the one hand there are aspects of the pan-Jewish culture that are handled and redesigned by the procedures of performative activities. On the other hand there are aspects of the pan-Kerala culture incorporated into the customs of the small and marginal Jewish community. For example, the Jewish ritual bath (טַבִּלָה, ṭabīlah) is preceded by a ceremonious bath (כֶּמְבִיָּתֵיקַל, kembiyayyatak). The ṭabīlah is done according to the Jewish lore, and the kembiyayyatak is celebrated with procession and feasting. Both performative occasions are occasions for singing Malayalam songs. The subject matter of the songs may not be directly related to the ritual. However, many songs interweave universals and particulars for conveying Jewish contents in the regional language variation and its literary codes.

Another example is the successive celebration of the engagement (אירוסין, arēcat) and the kappurātri. The engagement is performed with the Hebrew engagement formulas, but at the same time typical Hindu ritual items are offered before the Hindu silversmith on a sieve containing rice grains and coconut. Such ritual items are by no means perceived as Hindu by the pallikkār, but rather as tokens of social contacts or as universal cultural details loaded with ritual meanings. The kappurātri follows the Jewish engagement ceremony (arēcat). In the secondary sources, the kappurātri is described as a feast and occasion to sing

\[^{340}\text{For example, in the song 'Joseph Sold to Egypt' (III52), the item silver coin is loaded with literary meaning for signifying the twenty silver coins Joseph was sold for. The song is performed during the kappurātri, when the same item is ceremoniously presented for preparing the wedding ring. Another example is the item tāli signifying the wedding pendant in the song 'The Noble Bridegroom' (II26).}^\]
Malayalam songs. In the notebooks, a significantly larger number of songs are scheduled to this occasion, suggesting it was an important juncture in the wedding ritual complex.

The meaning of the word kāppū is uncertain. The Malayalam-Malayalam dictionary (Pillai, 2006) gives several definitions for the term, the first directly connotes Hindu weddings: "the thread which the officiating priest ties around the waist of the groom while chanting mantras before the marriage ceremony." Other meanings such as 'vigil', 'protection' and 'door' suggest that the word is derived from kākkuka, 'to protect'.

The kāppurātri occupies a ritual space and time somewhat parallel to pre-wedding hena ceremonies. Curiously, Kerala Jews did not perform the pre-wedding hena rite, although other pāllikkār and some Hindu castes do regularly perform it before the wedding. Moreover, the hena is very commonly performed before Jewish weddings all around West Asia. It is celebrated just a night or two before the wedding, similar to the kāppurātri, and designed as magical protection for the bridal couple against the evil eye. The meaning of the word kāppu too may be associated with protection. Hence I translate kāppurātri as 'Vigil Night'.

According to the notebooks, the bulk of songs sung during the kāppurātri are biblical pāṭus. However, the secondary sources and ethnographic accounts mention biblical formulaic songs and conglomerates as examples for songs sung during the 'Vigil Night'. Walerstein refers in passing to songs about Moses, which are not included in the repertoire of the kāppurātri as presented in the notebooks. This suggests that Walerstein's informants referred to the selection repertoire. However, the kāppurātri has a fixed repertoire of songs in some

341 Walerstein wrongly attributes a Hebrew etymology to kāppū, following the Hebrew spelling of the word in Rahabi (1916): hap (חַפָה). Rahabi was attempting to 'Hebrewize' the word kāppū by spelling it with the guttural /ḥ/ and the labio-dental fricative /ʕ/, both phonemes do not exist in Malayalam.

notebooks, which does not include the biblical formulaic songs about Moses. It seems that the performative repertoire was out of use by the time Walerstein interviewed her informants.

Jussay quotes the first words of one of the kāppurātri songs: atukōnt ōnnnum bhayappētavēnta, which is the sixth verse of III48, a biblical pāṭtu about Jacob deceiving Isaac to receive the blessing promised to Esau. This verse is the first of the conglomerate 'Fear Nothing' (II19), which appears only in S14, S11 and S2, all are notebooks from KK community. In the performative repertoire notebooks, this conglomerate is scheduled for the pre-wedding ritual of placing the silver. There is a similar conglomerate in S13 and B9 (II68), which S13 schedules for displaying the gold for the wedding pendant (tāli). Also this conglomerate is composed of biblical pāṭtu verses, starting from the fifth verse of 'Esther's Story' (III18). Jussay must have derived the performative information about II19 from informants in the KK or KP communities.

In any case, the performative repertoire notebooks schedule the conglomerates for minor rituals other than the kāppurātri. They present the biblical pāṭtu as members of a fixed repertoire, contrary to the conglomerates and formulaic songs. Furthermore, the Vigil Night is portrayed in the wedding repertoire notebooks as the richest and most stable performative occasion, possibly as elaborate as the wedding day itself.

3.7 The Literary Corpus as Inherent in the Ritual Complex

Tables 2a—c and 3a—c reveal the patterns of ritual as impregnating literary activity. On the basis of textual presentation in the notebooks, the tables show that each ritual has its allotted repertoire. Thus for the ritual held on the first Sunday night, kāppurātri in the Malabari notebooks and kayyētukkumbol (raising hands', i.e. blessing) in B5, the Paradešī notebook, there is a group of songs common to all (II61; IV16; III52; III55; III48). These songs, I believe, are the oldest in the corpus and they actually form an integral literary unit. I refer to them as the kānnavē songs because of the repetition of the word kānnavē at the end of each verse, which signifies their inherent relation to each other.
More *kānvvē* songs appear during other performative occasions (III18, IV111, IV114, II12, II11), but in a more casual and scattered manner. The more or less fixed repertoire of *kānvvē* songs for the 'Vigil Night' is suggestive of the oldest layer of both the ritual complex and literary corpus. The 'Vigil Night' might have historically been the basis for the evolvement of a 'grand cultural participation' through processes of molding universals into particulars. The *kānvvē* songs may be dated not later than the fifteenth century (see 5.7). The *kēppurātri* was already fixed before the mid-eighteenth century as prescribed in Kastiel, 1756 and Rahabi, 1769. However, according to Rahabi, 1916, the *kēppurātri* was cancelled. Indeed, in the Paradeşi notebook B5, the *kēppurātri* songs shift to another context - the wedding night itself.

The Paradeşi notebook adds to this group of *kānvvē* songs many more songs reflecting the alternation of performative context from the *kēppurātri* to *kayyētukkumbol*. The term probably refers to the post-wedding party, when the bridal couple enters the *manāra* and receives blessings from the elders by “alternately putting the right hand over their heads” 343 Some of these additional songs appear elsewhere in the performative repertoire of the Malabari notebooks (II22, I2, III59, IV59), others are peculiar to the repertoire of Paradeşi notebooks (I3, I9, I10). The textual presentation of the *kēppurātri* songs reflects regional varieties of the ritual complex and its inherent literature. The common core of songs for the 'Vigil Night' is evidence for the common history of ritual as depicted in the Hebrew prayer books. The change in the selection of songs and ritual context reflects the historical change in the ritual complex of the Paradeşi community.

That a specific repertoire reflects socio-historical changes is also true for alternations reflected in the Malabari notebooks. The oldest among them is S13 (late nineteenth century), and there is only one non-*kānvvē* song, 'One Lord!' (II33) slotted for the *kēppurātri*. The variation of song selection in S14 and B9 reflects, I believe, later developments of the ritual complex. In addition to the

κανανβέ songs and 'One Lord!' (II33) as in S13, each of these two notebooks has more songs performed during the καππυρατρι. The textual presentation is different in each of them. S14 is from the KK community, which was excommunicated en masse by the other Malabari communities during the late nineteenth century. Its song selection is the same as in other KK notebooks (S2, S11, S10), but different from non-KK Malabari notebooks (B9, B11, J1). The KK and the KP repertoires are very similar in song selection and readings. They reflect the close social relationship that these two communities had. Though notebook B9 (P) is relatively later than the other notebooks, it certainly depicts the performative occasions and their inherent songs according to older customs.

The selection repertoire (songs other than the κανανβέ songs) reflects a phase of ritual and literary evolution that occurred during the late nineteenth century. Contrarily, the performative repertoire with its fixed selection of κανανβέ songs for the καππυρατρι reflects an earlier phase of evolution of the corpus and the ritual complex as we know it today. It is important to keep in mind that the selection repertoire does not explicitly relate to the wedding ritual

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345 Daniel and Johnson, 1995: 146.
346 There are two historical developments relevant: 1. the change in the Paradeši ritual and, 2. the excommunication of KK community members. According to Yosi Oren from Taoz, a community member from Chennamangalam committed a grave offense, and as a result all his family was excommunicated from the community. They pleaded with the other Jewish communities to admit them, until eventually the KK members pitied them and accepted them. For this reason all the other Malabaris excommunicated the KK congregation in toto. The descendants of this Ch family are still bearing the nickname pάmβα, 'snake', that Oren interprets as rendering the Hebrew abbreviation שד, bearing the initials of רדיא, 'expulsion', זח, 'excommunication' and ח脸色, 'course', a threefold term for the most severe type of excommunication (personal communication). There are some other reasons given to the excommunication of KK members, some are oral and some are written. Feinstein, for example, writes that the καταυμβάχγακκά were considered הָּאֵיֶן מַיְרְעָהִים by the other Malabaris. They joined the Paradešis in 1887 against the other Malabari communities for the privilege of cantorship (חֵזְנָה, pattasthānam). See Feinstein, 1889: 81 [86].
complex. It is only from occasional references in the secondary sources that certain songs can be taken as wedding songs.

The relations of ritual to literature as reflected in examining the table cells of the kāppurātri Sunday night (tinKal-ātri) are also evident in the cells for other performative occasions. There are some songs consistently selected for certain rituals such as purapētunna śabat, cēmbukayārral and so forth. However there is a marked absence of songs for two important ritual occasions, the natakkunna śabat and the wedding night itself. Walerstein clearly states that Malayalam songs were sung during the natakkunna śabat, but no Malabari notebook explicitly mentions any song for this occasion. The Paradeśi notebook B5 does specify two performative occasions for that day (Saturday night, nārālca ātri). Possibly, the performative occasions during the pre-wedding Saturday form a later development in the ritual complex, which had not matured into a performative occasion with a fixed performative repertoire.

As for the wedding, it might simply be the case that no Malayalam songs were sung right after the wedding. However, it is clear from B5 and the Hebrew prayer books that Malayalam songs were indeed sung right after the wedding ceremony. Why is it that the kāppurātri is inherently and consistently related with a more or less fixed repertoire, while songs for the wedding night itself are not even prescribed in the notebooks? This, I believe, has much to do with the status of the peculiar ritual kāppurātri in relation to the Jewish wedding - the first is conceived as a secular celebration that is peculiarly Keralite, while the second is conceived as a religious function with its obligatory Hebrew repertoire. It further has much to do with the patterns of intensification.

The wedding ceremony (qidduśin) has too many religious procedures to enable further intensification of the 'grand cultural participation' dynamics. Although these dynamics relate to the wedding as their core, they can only be activated around it. The core of ritual is more or less static – it is allocated to a specified limited space, non-Jews do not attend it, and it is crowded with ritual and literary expressions that are too specific to allow for the 'grand cultural participation'. The Hebrew prayer books from Kerala do allot time for the
women to sing according to "their custom" right after the bride receives the marriage contract (כתובה). It is further stated by all the secondary sources that the bridal couple would be led to the bridal chamber in a procession, and a festive feast would follow with performance of Hebrew and Malayalam songs. Strangely enough, the first post-wedding occasion to perform Malayalam songs is hardly accounted for in the notebooks. Could it be that it was a later development relative to the kāppurāṭṭi? In other words: the repertoire for the wedding night is the selection repertoire, a later development in the history of Jewish Malayalam literature.

Also the two nights after the wedding (entering the maṇāra, שבית ברוכות) are unaccounted for in the notebooks, though it is very likely that Malayalam songs were sung during these occasions too. The subsequent ritual occasions (tables 3b–3c cōvva rāṭri) do have more or less fixed repertoires. If indeed the songs that appear in the notebooks without stating their related performative occasion form a repertoire for selecting songs ad hoc, it might very well be that they were selected for performance during the parties of entering the maṇāra on the wedding night and the consequent nights. It is noteworthy that many of these songs are translations or paraphrases of Hebrew piyyutim sung during the wedding and each night of the following week, like ישמח חתן and ארבעה כלילין ושם חתן. To a certain extent, genres evolve in the corpus according to ritual tempo-spatial availability. When the Jewish custom of the seven blessings (שֶׁבַע ברךוֹת) becomes subject to the dynamics of the 'grand cultural participation', a new genre of Jewish Malayalam literature is introduced – the translation songs.

3.8 Wedding Ritual Complexes: A Comparative Glance

The ritual complexes of weddings that call for comparison with Kerala Jewish weddings are weddings of Jews from the Muslim world, especially the Persian periphery (Iran, Afghanistan, Caucasus and Kurdistan) and weddings of pallikkār in Kerala. A thorough comparative analysis is not attempted here, though it might bear some implications on the study of the history of Kerala Jews. The
comparative analysis below is mainly for comparing the workings of cultural participation and molding the universal culture into the local.

For Jews in the Diaspora, life cycle events, and in particular weddings, were indeed occasions for incorporating local common cultural trends into their distinct socio-religious life. Wedding ritual complexes developed in practically every Jewish community in the Diaspora, with elements of aesthetics, literature and magic borrowed from their immediate surroundings. Jewish communities, which enjoyed good relations with their neighbors (most of them in the Muslim world) could, similar to Kerala Jews, celebrate the wedding as a dynamic complex of ritual occasions linked by public processions. In some of these occasions, especially in the processions that link them, non-Jews would also participate. Barbers, ladies expert in dressing brides and musicians assume ritual roles in occasions such as shaving the groom, bathing and decorating the bride and leading the bride or the groom in a procession.

In Kerala Jewish weddings 'cultural details' such as royal parasols, spreading white cloth on the street and conducting processions with drummers signify royalty, as stated by all secondary sources. Paradeśis claim that they enact the royalty rights that were given to Joseph Rabban, the historical recipient of the copper plates, while Malabaris incorporate them with a more general notion of royalty super-imposed on the bridal couple. The notion of the bridal couple as a king and queen is in fact pan-Jewish. However, its signification by 'cultural details' that are meaningful also in year and life-cycle events of non-Jewish communities in Kerala is striking. It depicts the socio-political bonds of the Jews with their hosting multi-communal society. In this sense, the notion of royalty is not enacted for the couple alone, but rather for the communal entity as a whole in celebrating the marriage.

A word is in place to account for some formal features of the wedding ceremony. According to Jussay, the Malabaris, unlike the Paradeśis, had two

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349 Jussay, 2005: 95.
separate functions for the engagement (‘erusin) and for the wedding itself (qiddušin). The Paradešis would celebrate both functions on the same day ever since the wedding ritual complex was altered during the mid-nineteenth century. The separation of ‘erusin and qiddušin is an earlier phase in the development of the Jewish wedding ritual complex. In Talmudic times, the engagement (qiddušin, or arēṭat in Jewish Malayalam) was the first ritual, performed up to a year before the wedding itself (nisu’in or qidduš in Jewish Malayalam). During the middle Ages, the qiddušin was combined with the nisu’in, and the engagement, ‘erusin, was introduced as a pre-wedding ritual.350 In the Malabari engagement ceremony, held just before the käppurāṭri on Sunday night (tinḵal-rāṭri), it is customary to have the groom pronounce the qiddušin formula ‘הרי את מקודשת לי וגו, and the name of the performative occasion is accordingly arēṭat. In this respect, the Malabari ritual structure reflects a reform of the ritual complex that took place sometime during the middle Ages, and it seems to be more conservative and less subject to reforms than the Paradeši one.

There are some more formal features peculiar to Kerala Jews and worthy for attention. One of these peculiar customs might have survived from Talmudic times. Walerstein notes that the bride and groom arrive to the wedding ceremony with ashes smeared on their foreheads. This custom is practiced by no other Jewish community. It echoes a custom mentioned in the Talmud to smear ashes on the head of the groom,351 apparently in order to deceive the evil eye by marking the occasion as an unfortunate one, a funeral.352 Kerala Jewish weddings share some formal features with Jewish weddings from Kurdistan and Caucasus. While enacting the qiddušin, the groom dips the wedding ring tied to a thread in a glass of wine. After sipping from the wine, he pulls the ring out, puts it on the bride’s finger and gives her the wine. Such a custom was practiced by Jews from Kurdistan and Caucasus, who also retained the separation of qiddušin and

351 בְּנֵי בָּתַי מַעֲרָב, עִבֵּר
nisu’în.\textsuperscript{353} In these communities, it was not performed as part of the wedding (nisu’în), but as part of the engagement ceremony, which they still refer to as qiddušîn.

One formal feature is peculiar to Kerala Jews, both Paradeśîs and Malabarîs. In Kerala Jewish weddings, a child under twelve reads the marriage contract (kotubâh), whereas the reading of the kotubâh is normally done by an authorized scholar. According to the secondary sources, Kerala Jews did not have rabbis to conduct the ceremony, hence the practical reason for this peculiar custom. But linguistic and textual data from primary sources show otherwise. While the lack of rabbinic authority might be true in regard to twentieth century Paradeśîs, it is unfeasible in regard to the Malabarîs.

Similar to other Jewish communities around the world, Kerala Jews had a recognized status of religious authority. This status is called mŏlyārû (<mutaliyār, leader) in Jewish Malayalam, denoting a person of profound scholarship and entitled to teach and advise on religious matters and to conduct ritual activities.

The mŏlyārû was a rank parallel to rabbi, even if the word rabbi was not used. This is supported by the description of the wedding in Kastiel,\textsuperscript{354} where the title rabbi appears time and again as the leader of the ceremony. It is a rabbi (רabi) that hands over the wine to the groom and that conducts all the ritual activities. But even then, it is not the rabbi that reads the kotubâh, but rather the "kotubâh is read according to the custom of the place (כמנהג המקום)." Kastiel was conscious of the Jewish publishers in Amsterdam who published the book. He must have been hesitant to specify the exact nature of the custom to have a child reading the marriage contract. The reason for this formal feature may not be practical at all. The Paradeśîs may have adopted this peculiar local custom to strengthen their Kerala Jewish identity and counter their stigma as Paradeśîs (that literally means 'foreigner').

\textsuperscript{353} Ibid., 192.

\textsuperscript{354} The word רabi, 'rabbi', appears in Kastiel 1756 for denoting the person in charge of most of the ritual procedures all through the wedding days, see pp. 39, 41, 43, 49, 51, 52, 54, 57—9, 61, 64, 66.
Turning to non-Jewish weddings in Kerala, one may observe similar patterns of the ‘grand cultural participation’ evident especially in Māppila and Knānaya Christian weddings. There is extensive documentation of Knānaya Christian weddings as a complex of pre- and post-wedding rituals very much similar to the Jewish wedding ritual complex. They too have a corpus of wedding songs inherent in the ritual complex. To the best of my knowledge, references to the wedding customs of other pallikkār in Kerala are rather casual and limited. There are some references to Māppilla weddings, but mainly in relation to the famous őppanappāttu (wedding songs) tradition as a major genre in Arabi-Malayalam literature. Some studies on őppanappāttus relate in passing to the performative occasions of these songs.

One example for a common formal feature is the performative occasion of entering the manāra, that is the emergence of the bride and groom as newly-weds. In Māppilla weddings the occasion is titled arayilkūṭṭal, when the bride and groom are brought together in a bridal chamber and the ladies (or professional performers) sing special Arabi-Malayalam songs. The Knānaya Christians have a song for similar performative occasions, ataccuturapāttu, where the Bride’s mother implores the groom to emerge from the closed bridal chamber with the bride. The wedding songs of these communities and their affinities with the Jewish Malayalam wedding songs are discussed in 2.2.4. For the present discussion, it is sufficient to conclude that other pallikkār in Kerala designed their weddings as ritual complexes enacting a ‘grand cultural participation’ with inherent literary compositions comparable to the Jewish wedding songs.

Chapter Four
The Wedding Songs of Kerala Jews

In Chapters Two and Three, I dealt in detail with the patterns of intertextuality and ritual dynamics that shape the corpus and their relations to pan-Jewish and local traditions. Viewed as a whole, these patterns interweave literature with the semantic texture of wedding rituals. One may observe the semantic textures of other rituals, say women's Hanukkah parties or other life cycle events. However, the semantics of weddings are the most prominent in this regard. First, the bulk of songs are scheduled in the notebooks for performance during pre- and post-wedding rituals. Second, the oldest layer of songs, the kānavē songs, lies at the core of wedding rituals. Third, the genres of Malayalam and Hebrew literature that the corpus is most closely affiliated with are wedding songs. The õppanappāṭṭukal in Aрабi-Malayalam and the kalyānappāṭṭukal of Knānaya Christians are literary corpora in Malayalam prominent among and peculiar to monotheistic communities in Kerala. In Hebrew, the collection of poems (piyyutim) for weddings occupies close to half of the first printed books in Kocci (1756 and 1769), following the section of poems for Simhat Torah, the most celebrated Jewish holiday among Kerala Jews. Weddings, then, provide a fertile ground for the growth of Jewish Malayalam literature, and it is most likely that the origins of the corpus are anchored in the wedding rituals.

The following chapter focuses on wedding songs as the subject matter of the whole corpus. It should be stressed that the critical edition for S14 serves as the prime textual reference to the corpus in this study. Notebooks other than S14 may present a selection of songs similar, even almost identical to S14, and yet contain songs that are not represented at all in S14. Moreover, some notebooks may present a selection altogether different than that of S14. Future research may reveal whether the wedding songs are indeed as all pervading in the corpus as they

357 Johnson, 2005.
358 This postulation is elaborated below.
359 For the guidelines in selecting S14, see 1.3.2 and 1.3.4.
seem to be at this stage of my research. To do justice to other possibilities of understanding the corpus, I also refer to songs specifically scheduled for other occasions and songs with no explicit performative context.

The present chapter deals with classifying songs in respect to their linguistic, literary and performative features.

4.1 An Overview of the Corpus

The songs in the corpus may be classified according to structural, formal and stylistic features. To a certain degree, these features reflect historical, literary and linguistic trends in the history of Malayalam literature. Some of these generic features of style and structure are found also in other corpora of Malayalam literature, especially among Muslims and Christians. The Arabi-Malayalam literature contains many rhyming songs, some of which were composed as late as the nineteenth century. The corpus of Knânaya Christians has songs similar to the Formulaic songs, and some songs with similar ready-made lines of some of the songs in the corpus. For the historical significance of these affinities, see 7.1. There are also features that reflect the affinity of the corpus with Hebrew literature as shown above (2.2).

Structural features modify the mold of a song. The basic structural features are the pāṭṭu-mold, mona rhymes, end-rhymes, refrains, and metrical units, which are often marked in the manuscripts (four-line verse, couplets and even triplets). The combinations of structural features or their absence is also a structural feature that affects the textual mold.

A formal feature is a device for formulation, such as framing formulas and motifs. A framing formula is composed of formulaic lines that fully or partially frame a song. A framing formula addresses God with certain selected attributives of the divine, such as tamburān (God), nāyēn (Lord), pēriyon (All Mighty), uṭēyon (Master). Such attributives are often affixed to words denoting exclusiveness, such as muyimbū (in front), mūti (top), mālam (root), mutal and āti (beginning), onnū (one, single). The most common formula is composed of the phrase tambirān muyimbu tōnayāyirikkēnam (God must be the first help) placed at the beginning

360 For the historical significance of these affinities, see 7.1.
of the song, and the phrase ēppōlum vāluka erramāyi tamburān tān ānnū (May God be blessed forever) sealing the song. This framing formula may be used fully or partially, so that a song may have only the opening or the closing part of the tamburān-vāluka formula. The less common formulas are different combinations of the divine attributives with markers of exclusiveness, e.g. muyimbāyi nikkunna tambirānē in the song 'Foremost Standing God' (II4) and āti mutal āya ṣāen in the song 'First God' (III20). These are mostly used in the beginning of a song.

Another formal feature is motifs. The most common motif is the redemption motif expressed by ready-made lines that deal with the arrival of the messiah. They are usually composed of certain Hebrew names and terms combined with certain Malayalam verbs in the desiderative form. The combinations are more or less fixed: ēliyā annōbī (Elijah the prophet), māsya (Messiah), mikāel (Michael), dāvīdū (David) are usually followed by varattēnam, 'bring' or kūṭṭēnam, 'join'. The Hebrew terms mikadōš/mikadāsā (temple) and ṣopār (horn) are followed by the desiderative forms ēttakkāvēnam (build) and ūtēnam (blow). There are also certain Malayalam expressions that allude to or 'translate' Hebrew terminology, e.g. tōppammāra mūvēra (שלשת האבות, the three patriarchs), mūticcēnā varuttēnam (קריב הגאולה, to bring redemption), isrāēl makkala kūṭṭēnam (阂ב ישראל, to join the children of Israel), nalla yērusalāyi (Zion).

Another motif, much less conspicuous, is the parrot motif: an address to or by a bird, usually a parrot. While the redemption motif formulates 'Jewishness', the parrot motif formulates regionality or 'Malayalamness', if you will. We shall get back to this issue a bit later. A few songs have also the motif of heaven, sēvarkkan < svarggan, a promise to obtain heaven in reward to a certain deed (IV19, 'By the Foremost Essence', III24, 'Single God', I2, 'The Jewish Religion', IV64, 'Foremost Lord of Happiness', IV132, 'The Holy Saturday'). Songs with the motif of heaven exist only in manuscripts from Kocci.

Lastly, there is an important formal feature that is extra-textual, and has to do with the dialectics between orality and the written text. While most songs in the
corpus are of anonymous authorship, some songs are attributed to composers, and many songs are marked as translations (arthaam). There are also songs that are typical specimens of oral composition, and interestingly they are often marked as such in the corpus by the title kurukkan (a short piece or a passage). They are formed either by detaching a verse and relocating it in different contexts, or by conglomerating verses or lines to form a new composition. Thus, the explicit marking of authorship, translation and performative fragmentation (kurukkan) plays an important role in classifying the songs.

Stylistic features mold the universal into the particular and vice versa, while processing verbal and conceptual contents. Songs may abound with Hebrew names and terms or may have none at all. Similarly, the language may be archaic and even unintelligible, or it may be relatively clear and coherent. Each song is an expression of a central theme meaningful to the ritual context. The semantics of the ritual and the pragmatics of its inherent literature determine the style of the song. A biblical theme, for example, may be fully spelt out as a story or merely alluded to and shaped like a prayer pervaded by religious emotion. The ritual itself may be the subject matter of the song, whether described or pervaded by religious emotion.

The stylistic features – lexical choices, coherency, contents and modes of narration – are discernible by content layer analysis. A story song has many forms in the past tense, a description abounds with present and habitual future forms, and prospective and modal forms (imperative, desiderative) convey the prayer mode. Thus there are several types of content modifications: bible-story, as in the song 'Joseph Sold to Egypt' (III52), bible-religious, as in the song 'The Vigil Night Song' (II61), wedding-description, as in the song 'Dressed in Gold' (II8), wedding-religious, as in the song 'One God' (II33), synagogue-story, as in the song 'Parur Synagogue Song' (I20) and synagogue-religious, as in 'Ernakulam-Tēkkumbhāga Synagogue Song' (I23). Additionally, many songs are straightforward prayers with no modifications of content, especially translations (e.g. IV1, 'Top Most God').
Considering all these parameters, we may arrive at a sevenfold classification of the songs in the corpus.\(^{361}\)

1. **Rhyming Songs:** Songs designed in the \(pāṭṭu\)-mold, sometimes also with verse end-rhymes. Many rhyming songs have their verses ending in the word \(kāṇavē\) (e.g. II61, 'Vigil Night Song'), some have the same phrase 'sealing' each verse (IV59, 'Dear Ones!'), and some lack any type of verse-end rhymes (e.g. III19, 'The Birth of Moses').

2. **Formulaic Songs:** Songs framed fully or partially by praise formulas, and lacking any type of rhymes. Some songs are fully framed by a \(tamburān-vāḷūka\) formula, e.g. 'Esau and Jacob' (III3). Some songs are only partially framed by a \(tamburān\) or a variation formula, and include the redemption motif, e.g. 'Big Rooster Song' (II48). There are also songs partially framed by variation formulas, e.g. 'Parur Synagogue Song' (I20).

3. **Formulaic-Rhyming Songs:** songs in verses or couplets, with praise formulas and motifs. Some combine the \(monā\) rhymes with the redemption motif (e.g. 'Single God!', II33); some have variation formulas and may rhyme according to various techniques, e.g. 'The Song Sung by Solomon' (III1).

4. **Detached Verses and Conglomerates:** These single verses are detached from fixed textual context, and are sometimes termed \(kurukkan\) in the notebooks. Several detached verses of the \(kāṇavē\) rhyming songs 'wander' around the corpus (e.g. 'Now It Is Done', IV16), sometimes clustering into a conglomerate (e.g. 'Fear Nothing', II19). A verse conglomerate may assume shape also by patching smaller units from half verse to half lines (e.g. 'Blessing Song', II11). There are also short rhyming songs or prayer-like songs attached either as the last verse or as a separate paragraph (<i>kurukkan, katāppū</i>) appended to a longer song (e.g. 'Oh Singing Bird',

\(^{361}\) The songs referred to in this chapter can be found in Appendices A and B. Otherwise, a reference to their publication is given in a footnote.
Such short songs often contain a formula or motif, e.g. 'Pure God' (IV45).

5. **Translation Songs:** These songs are free translations of Hebrew poems, prayers or biblical verses. They may incorporate rhyming techniques in verse or couplet structure (e.g. 'Gorgeous', II28). Some translations are unbounded by structural features and contain a formula or motif (e.g. 'The Four Crowns', II60). Some contain structural features oriented towards a certain tune, such as refrains (e.g. 'In Both Sides of the World', I24). Lastly, there are translations inherently related to the male-oriented tradition (e.g. 'Oh God!', IV120).

6. **Composer Songs:** These are songs attributed to composers, with various combinations of structural features, formulations, and stylistic modulations.

7. **Refrain Songs:** These are songs with explicit musical design, either by a musical refrain, e.g. I7, 'Dear Parrot Song', IV19, 'The Foremost Essence', or by word refrain, e.g. II8, 'Dressed in Gold'.

The distinction between these seven categories is not always clear cut. Certain features may overlap so that some songs become border-line cases, or generic 'hybrids'. 'The Noble Bridegroom', for example, is a wedding description formally designed as a dialogue between the bride and a bird. It does not perfectly fit any of the above categories. It may be correlated to different song types by its content (wedding-description) or by its dominant motif (parrot-story). For example, it may be compared to the refrain song 'The Just Child' (II20), for it too is a song describing the wedding. At the same time, 'The Noble Bridegroom' may be compared to II56, a translation song, for both are formally a dialogue between a woman and a bird.

Songs that belong to the translation and composer songs relate to each other in many ways. Translations consist mainly of female-oriented translations that are paraphrases on Hebrew para-liturgy. These translations have the generic title *arttham*, 'meaning', in contrast to the male-oriented genre of *tamsir*
translations - verbatim translation of para-liturgy. Unlike *tamsir* translations, *arttham* translations are free paraphrases, often creative in their own right.

Composer songs are attributed to an author, although authorship is a dubious matter. They have several features affiliated with Hebrew poetry. For example, they might have couplets with last-syllable rhymes. Such a rhyming technique, though not unknown in Malayalam literature, resembles, perhaps even consciously so, Hebrew sound aesthetics, at times combined with *mona* and *ētuka* Dravidian rhymes focused on words at the beginning of lines. The conscious attempt to resemble Hebrew poetry may also be expressed by the lexicon and morphology, e.g. the Hebrew word ʻabhā, 'love' (אהבה) as the theme of 'Song About Love' (II22), affects the gender of its predicates and attributives, e.g. ʻayaval 'she who is' (היא ראש), *perittavaḷ* 'she who is called' (היתה). This is in contrast to Malayalam morphology, where abstract substantives not specifically signifying animate beings (humans, gods etc.), are marked with inanimate endings derived from the pronoun *ātū*, a genderless ending.

In addition, songs often bear titles that define performative concerns, thematics or ethno-generic categories. Performative concerns and thematic interests are usually depicted by laconic references to the occasion of performance or to a keyword in the song (name or concept) respectively. For example, *kāppurātri pāṭṭu*, 'Vigil Night Song' is the performative title for II61. Thematic titles are, for example, ʻāśuvērosinē pāṭṭu, 'Song of Ahashverosh' (III11), ʻābāṭē pāṭṭu, 'Song about Love' (II22). Ethno-generic titles refer to the genre of the song: *kalippāṭṭu*, 'Play Song', *kurukkan*, 'Brief [passage]'. Another type of generic definitions expressed by titles is based on motifs and structures typical of certain genres in Malayalam folk literature, such as *kilippāṭṭu*, 'Parrot Songs' (songs addressed to or by a parrot); *vālappāṭṭu*, 'blessing song', and songs which refer to

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362 Note the distinction between *tamsir* translations, i.e. written verbatim translations of para-liturgy, and *tamsir* tradition, i.e. oral verbatim translations for Bible and Mishna.

363 Defined by Varma as *antyaprasam*, 1902: 87—88. End-rhymes, especially morphological rhymes, abound in Malayalam folksongs. See above, 2.2 footnote 142.

364 Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 103 (M) and 105 (H).
prosperity blessing by the word *polika* and its derivatives (*polippāṭṭu*, 'Increase Songs').

### 4.2 Rhyming Songs

All the rhyming songs are composed in the *pāṭṭu*-mold: rhyming the second syllable of each line (*cētuka*); rhyming the first phoneme of each half line (*mona*). Often the last word or half line of each verse also rhymes. Rhyming songs are always divided into four-line verses, usually also marked by dots or small strokes in the manuscripts. The rhyming songs are of a low level of coherency.\(^{366}\)

The largest group of rhyming songs is the *kāṇavvē* songs. They repeat the word *kāṇavvē* or *–avvē* at the end of each verse. The *kāṇavvē* songs possibly represent the oldest layer of the corpus, for they appear in the oldest and largest notebooks. Moreover, these songs are represented in notebooks from several communities, not necessarily from Kocci.\(^{367}\) At the outset, the *kāṇavvē* songs are retellings of biblical events, especially in relation to the patriarchs of the nation: Joseph and his brothers, Jacob and Esau, Abraham and Isaac. In Chapter Five, I examine these songs in detail, their deeper concern with the wedding and their pragmatic formulations of biblical themes. These songs obliquely deal with delicate and intimate issues related with marriage through narrations of biblical stories.

Similar to the *kāṇavvē* songs, also other rhyming songs for weddings are inherent in the wedding rituals. The content layers of the rhyming songs vary between invocational, narratival and injunctional. To exemplify the structure and

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\(^{365}\) See Narayanan, 2006b.

\(^{366}\) A few rhyming songs were published: 'The Word was Commanded' (II57) in Daniel and Johnson (1996: 188—9), 'After the Bath’ (II23) in Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 109 (M), and 111 (H).

\(^{367}\) As stated in 1.4, notebooks from Kocci, especially from KP and KK, exceed in their quantity notebooks from other communities. Since some songs appear only in notebooks from KP and KK, it is likely that they were composed later than songs of wider textual distribution.
content of rhyming songs other than the kānave songs, I have chosen two songs: IV59, 'Dear Ones', and III19, 'The Birth of Moses'.

4.2.1 The Rhyming Song 'Dear Ones'

Like the kānave songs, this song too belongs to a relatively older layer of the corpus; it needs much deciphering probably due to a longer period of transmission, and it is included in the oldest and/or largest notebooks S14, S13, B9, B5 and B3. Each verse of 'Dear Ones!' ends in the phrase: nuskkarippat örikkammē 'preparing for prayer'. This technique of rhyming is reminiscent of the medieval Hebrew poem known as šir ēzor (זֵה אֶזְוָר), 'girdle poem', so that the influence of Hebrew poetry is present in the oldest layers of the corpus. The Malabari notebooks S13 and B9 schedule this song for the post-wedding Saturday night (מוצאי שבת חתן), and the Paradesi notebook B5 schedules it for the wedding night itself.

Unlike the biblical narrations of most rhyming songs (the biblical pāṭṭu), this song is an invocation. In its first three verses, the frequent use of the second singular pronoun (ninñē, ninrē) in close proximity to the semantics of prayer (nuskkarippū) and blessing (vāluka) marks an invocation to God. Note also the voice of the poet-devotee expressed by the first person singular pronoun (ñān) in 2a².

Dear Ones!

1.

arima āyavar arika sāmavar/ aruli cēyārūtē ōnarvilē
pērimayāyavar pēriya sāmavar/ pēsakillātavār tēlivē
ōrimayāyavar ālīka sāmavar/ ōra cēyavarutē ōnarvilē

368 The derivation nuskkarippū is undocumented in Malayalam dictionaries. It is a verbal noun of the denominative nuskārik-, 'to pray' (<namaskārām). This verbal noun is further nominalized by –atū, perhaps functioning here as a definite article. The meaning of örikkammē is uncertain. The simplest reading is of a verbal noun (> ḥrakk-, 'to get ready, prepare') with an emphatic –e associated with locative force (Ayyar, 1993: 31).

369 See 2.3.4.
Dear ones! Know by the wisdom of the Peaceful [Lord] who ordains.
Mighty ones, be great by the clarity of the Peaceful [Lord] who is faultless.
United ones, be bright by the wisdom of the Peaceful [Lord] who commands.
Contemplate! The righteous people contemplate, preparing for prayer.

There was the first word for praising You and chanting.
Whatever [precious status] is wished for - [You] are able to grant it all.
I am devoid of any insight, and know nothing about praising
Utterly devoid of sin, [I am] preparing for praying to You.

Your power is infinite, all too much for even a sea of words,
All the heavenly flocks approach and worship in Your kingdom.
"I shall help all those who praise Me, even without sleep."
The shield of worshippers, the Peaceful [Lord], [we are] preparing for prayer.

The song 'Dear Ones!' has several meta-poetic statements, above all, but not exclusively so, the verse-end rhyme nuskarippät' öerrickammē, 'preparing for prayer'. The first meta-poetic statement is the 'apology' in 2a²-b², where the poet acknowledges his speech flaws. In the third verse, there are keywords suggestive
of meta-poetic imagery, cōnňā/collah kart 'see of words/sayings', suti cētyavar 'who praise'.

A particularly interesting meta-poetic image denotes a composition other than the song itself:

8.
čuttañmālē čtmbināl/a/ āuru nurrī naḷppatmn čttummnē/b/
aṭutta vanṇam camēccu vacciṭṭu/c/ avarīl erraṇ vaḷantavaa/d/
ṭitaṃkm ētum illāta ṅāyan/a/ tān ūkkam ākki alantavan/b/
naṭakkam āyi ēļunēṛṛta nēnna/c/ nuskarippāt 'ōrikkammē/d/

8.
With garlanded body,370 one hundred forty eight [verses]
Were jointly composed. Among them are the most perfect [verses].
The Lord has playfully allotted His strength [to it].
Rising with tremor, [I] prepare praying to You.

There is textual and extra-linguistic circumstantial evidence leading to the assumption that the quantifier ṣoru nurrī naḷppatmn čttummnē, 'one hundred and forty eight' signifies a poetic composition. Daniel describes the performative occasion of the post-wedding Saturday (שִׁבְתָּ חָתִין), when among others this song too is performed. She recollects,

"Many years ago the bride was expected to learn a Malayalam song with a hundred and forty stanzas, all translations from the Torah parashiot, which she would sing on the afternoon of Hatan Shabbat. Every stanza she sang was repeated by the ladies. When we grew up this custom was no more."371

The unspecified quantified referent in the song might be the 'stanzas' mentioned by Daniel. The lexical and grammatical items surrounding it further support this: the verb caměkkuka, 'to compose' and the plural pronoun ava- denoting

370 Or: with consonants in strophes.
inanimate entities such as 'verses'. Following these hints, I interpret mālē 'garland', and ṥṭambū 'body', according to their secondary metaphoric meanings for strophe and consonants respectively.

What composition then is in the corpus that may be the referent of both Daniel’s statement and the quantifier in the song? None of the notebooks has a single unbroken unit of such a large number of verses, except for the anthologies B3 and Z4. These notebooks include a sequence of 13—14 songs of eleven verses each with numerical sequential titles: onnām pāṭṭu, 'first song', ranṭām pāṭṭu, 'second song', and so forth. Ostensibly, all these songs are rhyming kāṇavvē songs, discussed in detail below (Chapter Five). However, while examining the performative repertoire notebooks that have the kāṇavvē songs as a broken and much smaller unit of forty-seven to sixty verses altogether, one wonders whether the editors of the anthologies recorded a text or whether they significantly proliferated it.

I believe that the editors or scribes of the two anthologies were in fact recreating texts attempting a longer textual presentation. Only some of these 13—14 kāṇavvē songs appear in notebooks from other communities. The kāṇavvē songs from the first to the sixth in B3, for example, appear only in the anthologies, and they significantly differ from the seventh, III48, scheduled in the Malabari notebooks for the kāppurātri. Ready-made lines or verses are very rare in the kāṇavvē songs that appear in the performance manuals. However, those that are unique to the anthologies abound with repetitions, and are most probably conglomerates. The tradition about a literary composition of one hundred and forty Malayalam verses for the post-wedding Saturday, as Daniel describes it, might have motivated the editors or scribes of the anthologies to proliferate the kāṇavvē songs in such a way.

Daniel writes that this tradition died out before she could learn it. The mention of this tradition in a song, and its attempted conscious reconstruction in the two anthologies, does not necessarily mean that there ever existed an integral unit of precisely one hundred and forty (or forty-eight) stanzas. It might be that with the dynamic evolution of the ritual complex, as the corpus was growing in
volume and variation, traditions regarding the corpus itself – whether pragmatic or legendary – evolved too. One may imagine poet-bards, who learnt the kānavvē songs, elaborated them and, added their own compositions modeled after the kānavvē songs.

Such poet-bards might have been aware of the difference in texture of literary layers in the kānavvē songs and in their own compositions. They might have felt the need to invoke a larger literary body than was actually at their disposal and, as it often happens in South India; they might have developed a tradition of an ancient heritage that was largely lost. The partitive locative of the inanimate plural pronoun, avarril (IV59: 8d¹), suggests that the successive (atutta vannam) quantified body (ōtambū) was split so that only some, -ava (those that…) are manifest (valante). Perhaps, indeed the kānavvē songs were of a much larger volume sometime in the past.

What Daniel describes and what the editors of B3 and Z4 take to be a successive integral unit of songs are songs thematically related to the Torah. In addition to the numerical titles, all fourteen kānavvē songs in the anthologies are also represented by thematic titles in Hebrew and in Malayalam, some of them appear regardless of the agglutinating nature of conglomerates that endow the song a devotional rather than a biblical character.

The extra-textual data from the three sources – Daniel, the anthologies and the song 'Dear Ones!' – gives a clue about a tradition of a biblical poetic composition of one hundred and forty-odd stanzas scheduled for a wedding ritual occasion and related to the biblical pāṭṭu, the kānavvē songs. The editors of the anthologies were trying to stitch the scattered kānavvē songs into a unified and coherent whole, which at the outset seems to be too diverse in style, grammar, theme and structure. The scope of the present study is too narrow to afford a scrutiny of the fourteen kānavvē songs in the anthologies, and examine their relation to the kānavvē songs as presented – modular and scattered albeit uniform – among the performance manuals. The echoes of a tradition about the corpus

372 See for example the origin myth regarding Tamil Čaṅkam literature (Zvelebil, 1973: 45–5).
and its history provide further evidence that the kännavvé songs are the oldest extant layer of the corpus.  

Lastly, apart from the structure, contents and style of 'Dear Ones', it is important to examine its relation to the wedding. Two verses may be associated with the post-wedding Saturday, dedicated to blessing the groom. The fourth verse addresses a divine blessing by God (ñāyan) in the first person (ñān) to the groom in the second person (nēnntōta, nēnnakk). The fifth verse refers to birth (pēra) and to life (jīvanattinu):

4.  

Ițavāt’ ŏru nāl illātē/a/ nēnnōta paţ’ arippōr illā/b/  
nātu vāľuka nēnnakk’ ěllātavum/a/ ñāyan āyē nēnnōtu ñān//d//  
pāta nālil ěrappēn ěnnutē/a/ pāvam āyat’ ŏtiruvān/b/  
nēti nērmmālara suticcu/c/ nuskkarippāt’ ŏrikkammē/l//d//

4. "With no single day of [quarrel] you shall not know misery.  
May the land be everywhere blessed for you. I am the Lord with you."  
[for many days], I beg for felling my sins,  
Praising the [righteous ones] and preparing for prayer.

5.  

ūri paţacca iruţ’ akatt’/a/ ŏru vātal āt’ ŏr anīpaṇa/b/  
alippam āyē ětatt’ irunnu/c/ pēra ppīṭcco/a/ ěllārīlum//d//  
tiruttam ākki naţatti ěnnutē/a/ jīvanattinu tannavan/b/  
natakkam āyi ělunēṟtu ninnē/c/ nuskkarippāt’ ŏrikkammē/l//d//

5. In unfolding darkness a door is the gift.  
In a tiny place, all achieve birth.  
Rising with tremor, [I] prepare praying to You.

373 The style and grammar of the kännavvé songs and their relation to Malayalam literary and linguistic history are discussed in Chapter Five.
Rhyming songs of all types share several features; the most striking is the *pāṭṭu*-mold. All rhyming songs relate to the semantics of wedding rituals whether they are pragmatically invocational, injunctional or narratival. All the songs of this group are difficult to understand. In other words, these songs can be differentiated as a separate song group on the basis of these three features, namely, the *pāṭṭu*-mold structure, their pragmatic content layers and their level of coherency. The last feature needs some clarification.

Many songs in the corpus resist translation and philological analysis. The scribes too could not make much sense of such songs. The less a song is coherent the more obvious is the attempt of the scribe to re-gloss the text and produce a coherent reading. The attempts by scribes to standardize or hypercorrect a word, line, verse or song, are junctures of textual evolution and composition through transmission. The written texts do not exclude the oral performance, they are closely intertwined with it, affecting the oral performance and being affected by it. The audio recordings of oral performance of the Jewish Malayalam songs are closely related to the written texts, and performers are often engaged in rewriting the oral text. Thus, oral and written transmission affect the design of the corpus as a whole.

Before the scribes whose texts survived, there were other scribes and performers too, who intervened one way or another with the transmitted text. Hence, the longer the process of transmission is, the more varied and 'liquefied' is the reading, producing at times two recensions or more. It is clear that the scribes were struggling with spellings and word divisions when transcribing the oldest songs. The more obscure a lexeme is, the more varied are its spellings. Morphemes of older linguistic layers might be blurred due to hypercorrections, uncertain word divisions and colloquialisms. In a way, the scribal work is similar

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374 The close relations between written text and oral performance in the Jewish Malayalam corpus are exceptional, and possibly reflect the high rates of literacy in Kerala. Studies on the relations between oral and written traditions show a significant gap between the two media of transmission. Often, the written medium falls short of transmitting the full volume of the oral text. See Lord, 1964: 124—138; Jensen, 1998; Wadley, 1998.
to the work of the philologist – 'ethno-philology' if you will - an attempt of conveying in writing an orally transmitted text as coherent as possible.

The process of transmission through performance is thus coupled by transmission through writing. Consequently, the composition is through writing as much as it is through performance. This twofold process yields peculiar compositions that are the mutual reworking of scribes and performers, thus producing genres peculiar to this type of tradition. However, it also affects the level of coherency of a song. The longer a song circulates between performers and scribes, the more it is affected by this two-fold process of transmission. It becomes less and less coherent confusing the scribes (and the philologists) and possibly loosing its appeal to performers.

The level of coherency can serve as a standard of comparison for determining the chronology of the corpus. It can be evaluated as 'high' or 'low' on the basis of linguistic factors, such as the use of archaic forms. The more archaic forms are in a given text, the less coherent it becomes. Archaic forms, sometimes called archaisms or 'Tamilisms', may be useful for roughly establishing the period of composition, at least in relation to other songs in the corpus itself.

There are two types of archaic forms. One is a form that belongs to a typically older stage of Malayalam evolution. Another is a conscious attempt to use poetic language by 'tamilizing' forms, e.g. adding PNG markers or reversing nasalization in verbal forms. Such 'tamilisms' are more conspicuous in relatively later compositions, even as late as the nineteenth century.

It is difficult to distinguish clearly between Old Malayalam forms and poetic, stylized archaisms. Ayyar acknowledges this difficulty with respect to the sixteenth century compositions of Ŭluttacchan, and associates it with the geographical and caste variations in the evolution of Malayalam. Very little is known about the linguistic evolution of non-standard Malayalam caste-lects, and almost no attempt was taken to describe their grammar and literature in a comprehensive manner. In spite of the difficulty in determining whether a form is

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375 See Ayyar, 1993, for the evolution of Malayalam morphology and its expression in literature.
an Old Malayalam or archaic poetic use, it might be helpful to list a few striking uses when discussing the songs.

See for example some archaic forms in 'Dear Ones':

**Archaisms:**

- *kōtukka* (2d¹), *pōlikkē* (9b²) – old infinitive forms with -a used as verbal nouns.
- *vallēnnavan* (2d³) – an old use of the defective verb *val*-,'to be able’, currently used only in the negative indeclinable form *vallā* to denote inability.\(^{377}\)
- *arippōr* (4b³) – present plural (+PNG), possibly connected with an old future participial noun.\(^{378}\)
- *avattīl* (8d¹) – the old oblique form of the plural inanimate pronoun *ava*.\(^{379}\)

**Tamilisms:**

- *palānta* (2c²), *valantava* (8d¹), *alantavan* (8b²) – reversed nasalization in the past marker –*nn* > –*nt*.
- *ēnnutē* (5a²) – the old form -*uṭē* of the later -*nṛē* genitive ending.\(^{380}\)
- *vāsattiyān* (10b²) – a PNG form still used in modern Malayalam literature.\(^{381}\)

When the scribes could not understand archaic forms any longer, they tried to make sense and standardize them. For example, the scribes of B1 and B5 correct *vāsattiyān* to *vāsattiyāl*, substituting the PNG marker –ān with the conditional –āl; the scribes of S13 and S14 standardize Old Malayalam *avattīl* to the modern Malayalam form *avattīl*, while J2 hypercorrects it to āvrtīl.

Another factor in evaluating the level of coherency is the amount of obscure lexemes, and the frequency of their appearance in other songs, for

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\(^{378}\) See Ibid, 117; see also Namboodiri, 2004: 112, 150.


\(^{380}\) See Ibid., 158, note 3.

\(^{381}\) See Namboodiri, 2004, 191.
example, the lexeme *nirumalarē* (III19: 4d², 9d²), which I interpret here as *ner* + *mahālokar*, 'the great righteous people'. An obscure lexeme such as this has several orthographic presentations, e.g. S14: *nirmālara*, B5: *nērmnālara* J2: *nirmnāllēra* S2: *nirmālara* B3, B1: *nērmnālāra*. In such instances of conflicting spellings, I prefer the spellings suggested by S13, in this case *nirumalarē*, and derive meaning by comparing the glossing of other scribes and by analyzing the syntactic and semantic context.

An obscure lexeme, say *nirumala*, may appear elsewhere in the corpus. The less frequent its use, the more difficult it is to understand it. The more obscure lexemes and archaic forms there are (whether archaisms or tamilsisms), the lesser is the level of coherency. When compared with other song groups in the corpus, rhyming songs are of a lower level of coherency, demanding elaborate reconstruction on part of philologists and 'ethno-philologists' alike.

Another factor affecting the level of coherency is the frequency of colloquial usage typical of Jewish Malayalam. Colloquial usages are often linguistic innovations agglutinating verbal roots with nominal endings and resulting in lexemes that are undocumented in Malayalam grammar books. The lexeme *nuskarippāt* in the verse-end rhyme of 'Dear Ones!' is such a peculiar construction.

To conclude the discussion about 'Dear Ones!' let us read the last two verses, while keeping in mind the peculiar features of the rhyming songs – *pāṭṭu*-mold structure, pragmatic content layers and low level of coherency. For depicting the last feature, archaic forms are underlined; obscure lexemes are bolded in the transliteration and offered in the translation in brackets.  

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382 These are the spellings for 4d². While S13 retains the same spelling also in 9d², the other notebooks have spelling variations for the same lexeme: S14: *nirmālēra* B5: *nērmnālara* J2: *nirmnāllēra* S2: *nirmālara* B3, B1: *nērmnālāra*

383 See Appendix B for notes on the peculiar morphemes.
9.

otuvān ōruvāyam ākkil/a/ ṧilī pāṭacca ōrī nālila/b/
pāṭṭu-pāṭṭu nirutti erram/c/ pāṭacca vac' ōru ṇāyēnē/d//
kūṭi nēnnil ōruttan illā/a/ ninna pōlikkēy illātavan/b/
pāṭi nirumalarē suticcu/c/ nuskarippāt' ōrikkamme/d//

9.

[You] created a method for chanting on the day light was created,
Oh Lord, who created while founding the [status of singing].
There is no one but You! There is none excelling You!
Singing and praising the Righteous, [I] prepare for prayer.

10.

ōtta ninna manasināl/a/ ōrumicca cēlavat' cēlārēyum/b/
sattiyēttina munnammē/c/ talē āka ninnatum sattiyan/d//
vāsattiyān avar pattuper/a/ patin ēnṇiya patin ēttumme/b/
puttī ōttavarōtu kūṭi/c/ nuskarippāt' ōrikkamme/d//

10.

Joining in one heart, singing together all [songs]
In front of the covenant. That which is top most is the covenant.
Ten people blessed in eighteen counting ten,
Joined with equally wise people, and prepare for prayer.

Despite the uncertainties in translation due to the low level of coherency, one may discern certain generic peculiarities in the song 'Dear Ones'. Among these are meta-poetic references (verses 1—3, 8—10), suggestive reference to the wedding, especially in relation to the groom (verses 4—5), structure and style of old Malayalam poetry and a pervasive atmosphere of devotion explicitly expressed by the verse-end rhyme 'preparing for prayer', possibly a structural feature borrowed from mediaeval Hebrew poetry.
4.2.2 The Rhyming Song 'The Birth of Moses'

This rhyming song is also scheduled for the post-wedding Saturday. The rhyming scheme of the pāṭṭu-mold is similar to 'Dear Ones!' and the kāṇavvē songs, but without verse-end rhymes. It starts with an invocation of God (karttāvū), and ends with a blessing (vāļuvō) addressed to an intimate addressee (ētō),\(^{384}\) possibly the groom. Again, obscure lexemes are bolded and peculiar archaisms are underlined.

1. 

õrikamōt’ õrikammōt’ ēnniyyē’al/ ōnarvu kārttavōtu āyika ninnu/b/
pērima kēli illāttavanē’c/ pēšum paṭimēyil arika cōnnāl/d¹//
urikum prakārattālē kuruṃēyū’al/ ālam ōnarvu cēyvān/b/
parumi tānum paṭima cēyvān/c/ vāļuvō ēnnakkum nikkuṃ ētōl/d²//

1. Formless, formless wisdom is of the Creator.
He granted knowledge in eloquence to the one devoid of grandeur and fame,
For awakening the world\(^{385}\) in emotion and wisdom,
For worshipping [Him] upon earth,
His blessings stand forever, sirs!

The rest of the song, nine verses altogether, narrates the story of Moses' birth and childhood.

The story of Moses as retold in the song starts with elaborate descriptions of the hardships inflicted upon the Jews in Egypt (verses 2—6). The birth of Moses is preceded by prayers and preparations of the oppressed people in Egypt (verses 7—8), and swiftly told in the first half of the ninth verse. The following two and a half verses retell the story of baby Moses concealed in a boat and rescued by the king's daughter. They allude to Midrashic traditions – how the

\(^{384}\) For ētō and its uses in Old Malayalam literature, see Ayyar, 1993: 32. I was told by Jewish Malayalam speakers in Israel, that this vocative pronoun was used by women for addressing their husbands, as some kind of 'intimate honorific'.

\(^{385}\) Note that the lexeme used here is spelt like an Arabi-Malayalam word, ālāṃ, rather than its Jewish Malayalam equivalent ālām.
king’s daughter was cured from leprosy upon touching the child,\(^{386}\) and how the child was playing in the king’s lap and pulling his beard, causing the king’s body to tremble and shake. To the best of my knowledge, this scene is unrecorded in Midrash.\(^{387}\)

The song ‘The Birth of Moses’ is even less intelligible in comparison to ‘Dear Ones’. For demonstrating the relatively low level of coherency, obscure lexemes and archaic forms appear in bold and underlined characters respectively. Note the repeated phrases and lines such as ka\(\text{nakkumitu}\), ‘calculated, added’ (3b¹, 5b¹, 5b², 9d¹) and c\(\text{elli pram\=aniccu}\), ‘ordered’ (5d¹, 6d¹, 6d²). Such repetitions, typical of orally transmitted songs, might replace obscure and archaic lines and phrases and assist the ‘ethno-philologist’ in rendering the song more coherent. However, they alter the syntactic, lexical or morphologic rationale, obscure as it may be, and pose further obstacles for the ‘academic philologist’.

There is one line (8a²), which is a typical ready-made line used in North Malabar folksongs (\textit{vatukanp\=ittuka\(\text{l}\)}): \textit{kunnatta vacc\(\text{e v\=elakkup\=ol\=e}\}, 'like a lamp on the mountain top'.\(^{388}\) In the context of Moses’ story, one may interpret it as a simile describing the anticipated coming of Moses. The whole verse is obscure, and I suspect it is borrowed from a North Malabar repertoire of ready-made lines or verses and slightly adjusted to fit the context. Furthermore, the lexeme \textit{tor\=ram}, ‘divination hymn; oracle’,\(^{389}\) in this verse seems out of place in the context of a

\(^{386}\) See: \textit{כג ה"ד א פרשה} (וילנא) \textit{רבה שמות} א, דו; \textit{שם נון} (וילנא) \textit{פרשת וידא} א, דו; \textit{ילקוט שמעוני} תורה \textit{פרשת קסוי}; \textit{פרק לéc קסוי}.

\(^{387}\) There are several traditions narrating how Moses removed the crown off Pharaoh’s head, but no tradition about pulling at his beard. The same story appears also in other songs, III4, III65 and III9. For the midrashic traditions, see: \textit{כג, א ה"ד א פרשה} (ויילנא) \textit{רבה שמות} א; \textit{שם נון} (ויילנא) \textit{פרשת וידא} א, דו; \textit{אידא} \textit{פה פרשת סימן} א, דו; \textit{חרר קסוי}. See also 2.3.2.

\(^{388}\) See Pillai, 2006: 602.

\(^{389}\) It is the verbal noun of the causative verb \textit{tor\=uka} (< \textit{tonnuka}, to appear, seem, be felt), denoting a revived super-natural entity in possession rituals such as \textit{t\=ey\=yan}. In popular etymologies, it is commonly derived from the Sanskrit \textit{stotram}, a hymn, and that may be the meaning that the performers of the song had in mind (see Namboodiri, 1981: 16). I am not aware...
Jewish song. It is an atypical word in the corpus, but very common in relation to ritual songs from North Malabar. Such borrowings reflect the affinity of the corpus to the larger body of Malayalam literary trends. It seems that more than the poetic interest in incorporating a simile, it is the bardic tradition that drives occasional borrowings from a common reservoir of Malayalam folksongs.

In the northern songs, such similes are often clustered in a simile string whenever the bard suspends the narrative and lingers on descriptive units. In the rhyming songs, such ready-made similes hardly exist. Figurative language is uncommon in the rhyming songs, which are similar to Malayalam bardic songs in this regard. However, their rhyming scheme is closely affiliated with classical Malayalam literary trends, whereas the northern songs do not adhere to a systematic rhyming scheme. It is as if the rhyming songs are placed somewhere in the centre of the literary spectrum between classical and folk Malayalam literature.

The major theme of this song, the birth and childhood of Moses, is the theme of other songs too, along with several common motifs and language uses. Moreover, the character of Moses is central to many more songs, not necessarily rhyming songs neither narratival, and it is a matter of a closer textual examination to describe the relations between songs about Moses and their place in the corpus.

Since the level of coherency is low, a few relatively more coherent verses will suffice to give an idea about the content, language and style of the song:

2.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čľuvatapēr} & \text{ missf cēnunu} \text{ pukka/a/ ēnnōratāru} \text{ parappāy/she/} \\
\text{piłakiya} & \text{ nāl anu} \text{ arišēnē/c/ eki kōlkā} \text{ panik/} \text{ avērē/t/dhe/} \\
\text{itakā} & \text{ nammakka} \text{ raştu} \text{ ūṛu ēnna/a/ kētamicct/} \text{ ōlla mēnakal cūtā/she/}
\end{align*}
\]

of another appearance of the word tru in the Jewish Malayalam songs. It does appear in the tamsir translation for the piyyut 'The Hands of the Meek' (ידיו רשים), where it is combined with the word isattam, 'wish', isattatāngē tru, to render the meaning āram, 'spirit' (1877: 37).

\footnote{See Varier, 1982: 51—54.}

\footnote{Walerstein states that Kerala Jews in Israel recollect a collective body of songs about Moses that were sung during weddings (Walerstein, 1987: 100).}
Seventy people migrated to Egypt and multiplied beyond count.

[After a long time], the king ordered them to work:

"[Build] for me two cities!" When the Jews suffered tormenting work,

Many bosses ordered them to work.

[[...]]

5.

They placed pregnant women under arrest and sorted them out.

"If a male is born – kill it!" The [king] decisively commanded.

"Do not hide any pregnant woman! Sort out all the born males,

[Whoever is found]." Listen to the great deeds of God!

[[...]]

7.

The foremost God – fearing him without committing [offense],

The perfected ones called him saying,

"Do not forsake us! Do not leave us! Have You forgotten us?

The wise people give birth to dear children

And we can not do anything." [God gave them a house with beauty.]

392 Perhaps an allusion to Genesis, 1: 21: "Since the midwives feared God, he made houses for them."
8. As children were born day and night and at all seasons in that kingdom, [A spirit called 'Vennuvo'] said, "Be faithful and know, When [he] shall wisely set forth like a lamp on a mountaintop, Even if the king ordered to murder [them]. This is certain."

9. The son who was born at the seventh month was taken and hidden. "Do not [skip a house]!" [they] said. They quickly counted [the male babies]. In a boat with [deep] bottom [the child] was carefully placed and set afloat. When coming with her maids, it was revealed to the eyes of Pharaoh’s daughter.

10. When she opened and looked, she relied on God, took the [child] and embraced him. All of her miserable [faults] were done with, and she became cured. "This is a child of the Law. It has on him [good signs]. The Lord of heavens gave it to me for a son." She said, and became fond of the child.

393 The subject is unclear, possibly the Egyptian authorities.
11.

kōnta pōyi kōvil akatta pukka/a/ kōnāra matiyil iranna pulla/h/
ānt' annu nōkki piticcār tāti/c/ ankannāl ōkka kulunniyappāl//d//
kaŋt' ann irunna arivōr cōnnā/a/ karuti irunnavan tānē ullu/b/
ōnt' ēnnu cēliya muyimbinālē/c/ ōppiccū tān munnī kāṭṭi tanna//d//

11.
She took it and entered the palace. The child sat in the King’s lap,
Climbed up, looked, and grabbed the beard, so that all the [king’s] limbs trembled.
The wise men who saw it said: "He believes himself to be You!"
Before he said "Indeed!" it was straightened and depicted before him.394

"The Birth of Moses’ obliquely addresses the participants of the post-wedding
ritual by narrating the birth of one special child in the pan-Jewish tradition.395 It
is after the post-wedding Saturday that the wedding rituals become directed
towards the validation of matrimonial life and their objective in procreation. The
concern is in blessing the couple, and especially the groom, for begetting a male
offspring who will lead a life after the model of the national and spiritual
leadership of Moses.

Songs in the pāṭṭu-mold conveying biblical stories and scheduled for
certain wedding rituals form the bulk of the rhyming songs. The pāṭṭu-mold is
hardly used in other song groups, and biblical stories are narrated in their own
right, with no oblique semantic relation to the ritual. Moreover, the impact of
Hebrew poetry becomes stronger. Parallel to plain narratival songs inspired by
the Bible and the Midrash, there are more and more songs focused on religious
poetry and designed in poetical structures, rarely also in the pāṭṭu-mold. It is
likely that the first observable historical phase in the corpus is the split of the

394 The verse renders a pseudo-allusion to Midrash. Compare with עלון (ייל), קוב, שומת רב, אוצר
שומת וילנה (איצנשטיינ), וילקוט שמעוני שומת רמז קסו. The last line is unclear.
395 Note a similar wedding song among Muslims, where the birth of the Prophet is described in
fantastic terms denoting heavenly celebrations suggestive of the wedding and its participants (see
2.2.4.1).
stylized ritual-oriented biblical composition into two different trends – formulaic biblical story-songs and stylized religious poetry.

4.3 Formulaic Songs

Formulaic songs are mostly retellings of biblical stories exceeding the range of stories told in the biblical pāṭus. These retellings differ significantly in structure, style and language from the biblical rhyming songs. They do not adhere to either mona or ētuka rhyming schemes. Verse division, if any, is not as consistent as in the rhyming songs, and they are more coherent with less archaic forms and obscure lexemes. Among the archaic forms, the most striking form is the past with the pronominal ending –ūṭe (neuter personal termination + emphatic particle), occasionally used for rhyming the end of lines, e.g. kaṇṭūṭe (=kaṇṭu), 'saw'. Their style of narration is swift, simple and oriented towards action in constant steady progress.

The formulaic songs usually have the full framing formula: the first line addresses God for poetic license, tambiraṁ muyimbu tōnāyāyirikkēnāṁ, 'May God be the foremost help!', and the last line seals the song with a blessing formula: vāḷuka vāḷuka ēppōḷum vāḷuka erram vāḷunna tambiraṁ tān ēnna, 'Blessed, blessed, always be blessed the God who is the most blessed.' Some formulaic songs lack one of these, and a few songs have variation formulas. Such formulaic lines sometimes also frame songs which belong to other song groups such as translation or composer songs (e.g. II22, 'Song about Love' and II60, 'The Four Crowns').

As stated above, many formulaic songs retell biblical stories, mostly told also in the biblical rhyming songs. They are recitative songs, and the context of their performance is not as explicit as that of the biblical rhyming songs.

396 See Table 1 for comparative analysis. Eight biblical formulaic songs were published and translated in Zacharia and Gamlziel, 2005: III14, III30, III26, III15, III23, III8, III72, III5.
397 See Ayyar, 1993: 52—54.
398 See also in relation to Hebrew prayer formulas, 2.3.3, and to Malayalam formulas of the pōḷippāṭṭu in 2.2.2.
Notebooks such as S13, B9, B5, S14 and B11 that contain the performative repertoire, have some formulaic songs presented only in the last third of the notebook. The formulaic songs appear more frequently in the selection repertoire of the KK and KP notebooks that do not contain the performative repertoire. In such notebooks, the formulaic songs occupy the first third, for example the KK and KP notebooks S1, S11, S9, S10 and S8. In contrast with the performative repertoire and the anthology repertoire, the notebooks abundant with formulaic songs represent the selection repertoire. The selection repertoires with their abundance of formulaic songs represent a stage of developing new literary trends.

Moreover, the fact that biblical narrations selected for the formulaic songs are, in many ways, retellings of stories already retold in the rhyming songs suggests that some circles among the literary milieu were interested in reforming the corpus. The main reason for that could be the reduced level of coherency due to the archaic language in the biblical rhyming songs. Furthermore, some people might have found the style and structure of the rhyming songs inappropriate for conveying biblical stories. The narration of biblical events in the rhyming songs involves processes of fragmentation, selection and pragmatization, while the prosaic style of narration in the formulaic songs follows the biblical narrative more closely in a straightforward chronotopic framework. Unlike the biblical rhyming songs that obliquely address the wedding rite and its participants, the formulaic songs ignore them. To the best of my knowledge, there is no grand communal event other than weddings, which might have been an occasion for singing such a large collection of songs. Hence, it is quite probable that some, perhaps even most, formulaic songs were performed during weddings, substituting for the repertoire of archaic, unintelligible biblical rhyming songs.

For depicting the narrative style of the formulaic songs and contrasting it to that of the biblical rhyming songs, I have chosen the song 'Esau and Jacob' (III3), which tells the same biblical story as that in the kānānvē rhyming song 'Jacob and Esau' (III48) discussed in detail below (5.5.1). When comparing the mode of narration in the two songs, a striking difference becomes apparent: in the

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399 See detailed discussion in Chapter Five.
song 'Jacob and Esau' (III48) the characters are nameless and universal, whereas in 'Esau and Jacob' (III3), many characters are specified by names and descriptive titles, e.g. ʾisākābin (יצחק אבינו) for Isaac, ʾālāʾ umma, 'mother Rachel'. Another significant difference is the detailed, steady progress of the story. While generalized hypothetic characters characterize III48, III3 is concerned with an accurate linear story. The biblical rhyming songs redesign the biblical stories according to the performative occasion, hence avoiding specific individuals. Contrarily, the biblical formulaic songs are focused on content rather than aesthetic formulations and pragmatic modulations. These different modes of narration may be contrasted as obliquely pragmatic for the rhyming songs and directly didactic for the formulaic songs.

Let me summarize the comparative criteria concerning the two song groups discussed so far and to argue that the rhyming songs represent a stage of literary evolvement earlier than the formulaic songs. The reader may refer to the schematic summary given in table 4 below whenever the need arises as more songs of these two types are encountered.

The comparative criteria are the level of coherency, structure, language, style of narration and performative occasions of the songs. Separately, none of these factors is sufficient for determining the time of composition of each song group as relative to the other. However, when holistically viewed, the separate criteria depict two different phases of literary history. At the outset, the bardic tradition of the rhyming songs gave way to the tamsīr tradition of the study gallery (ottumātām, בית-מורה) in the synagogue. The corpus seems to have gone through processes of Judaization, and the emergence of formulaic songs represents one of these stages, possibly a relatively early stage.

400 The ottumātām was a special space in the synagogue at the upper floor behind the women's gallery, where the mōlayru would teach the children Hebrew Scriptures and where their verbatim Malayalam translations, tamsīr, were recited in recitative manner.
### Table 4: Generic Features in Rhyming and Formulaic Songs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Biblical Rhyming Songs</th>
<th>Biblical Formulaic Songs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Level of Coherency</strong></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Structure</strong></td>
<td>Cycle of 5-10 verses of four lines each <em>mona</em> and <em>ēruka</em> rhymes</td>
<td>A string of 60-120 lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inconsistent end rhymes</td>
<td>Inconsistent end rhymes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Language:</strong></td>
<td>Wide-spread use</td>
<td>Very rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Varied use</td>
<td>Limited use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Common</td>
<td>Rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Common</td>
<td>Rare</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Common</td>
<td>Rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limited use</td>
<td>Common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Style of narration</strong></td>
<td>Retelling by fragmenting and suspension</td>
<td>Sequential retelling in steady pace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Obliquely pragmatic</td>
<td>Directly didactic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ready-made lines and phrases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Performative Occasion</strong></td>
<td><em>kāppurarā</em></td>
<td>Unspecified, possibly weddings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>purappētuṇna sābat</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4.3.1 The Formulaic Song ‘Esau and Jacob’

The text of the song ‘Esau and Jacob’ (III3), is based on S14, with some adaptations of other readings as the need arises. Since the language is more coherent compared to the biblical *pāṭṭu*, textualization is relatively simple. For the sake of convenience, I divide the song into paragraphs of five lines each, but note that the verse division is not based on the manuscripts. Some peculiarities about the song are noted in footnotes.

*tambirān muyimu tuṇay āyirikkēnānu/ tanṛē tuṇayālē irikkunna nērattu/2*
*tirivēllamāy ōri isākābin ēnna/3/ avaruṭē makkala esāvum yākōbum/4*
*ēsāvum yākkōbam ōrunnu prannūtē/5/ atu kōntu vāru tammil sōlōm ill’ annu/6/

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401 The PNG markers used in the rhyming songs are: the third singular masculine past -ān, the third plural past and future –ār, -ar, the third neutral singular and plural -atū, -ava and the first singular –ēn. The formulaic songs have mainly the third singular neutral used for all persons, and scarcely the third singular masculine for plural subjects.
May God be the foremost help! And so it was with His help;
Isaac our father abiding by His will had Esau and Jacob for children.
Esau and Jacob were born together. And so, there was no peace between them.  
Some time elapsed there and the father summoned his son Esau.
"My time has come in this way. You go and get a good meal for me."

Hearing this, Esau went hunting. The mother, she heard all the news.
The mother called the son Jacob. "Your father is about to confer blessings.
You go and bring a nice goat." [He] brought one young male goat.
[She] slaughtered [it] for the most favorite meal. [She] gave it to the good beloved son.
"Father, please get up and take your food." "Is it Esau or Jacob?" he asked.

This is an awkward expression to convey the idea of imminent death in Malayalam. In contemporary Jewish Malayalam, a similar expression means 'died': avanțe kalam povi, 'his time is gone'. The ninth line of III3 could be derived from a Hebrew idiom, דרך כל בשר, 'the path of all flesh' (i.e. death).
The mother called her son Jacob. "Don’t stay anywhere in this country.
Then Esau resolved to kill Jacob. The mother heard all the news.
Then Esau cried in misery: “Don’t you have one more blessing for me, father?”
The father was about to curse. God spoke to Isaac our father,
Then Esau cried in misery: “Don’t you have one more blessing for me, father?”
The father was about to curse. God spoke to Isaac our father,
Then Esau cried in misery: “Don’t you have one more blessing for me, father?”
The father was about to curse. God spoke to Isaac our father,
Then Esau cried in misery: “Don’t you have one more blessing for me, father?”
The father was about to curse. God spoke to Isaac our father,
Then Esau cried in misery: “Don’t you have one more blessing for me, father?”
The father was about to curse. God spoke to Isaac our father,
Then Esau cried in misery: “Don’t you have one more blessing for me, father?”
The father was about to curse. God spoke to Isaac our father,
Then Esau cried in misery: “Don’t you have one more blessing for me, father?”
The father was about to curse. God spoke to Isaac our father,
Then Esau cried in misery: “Don’t you have one more blessing for me, father?”
The father was about to curse. God spoke to Isaac our father,
Then Esau cried in misery: “Don’t you have one more blessing for me, father?”
The father was about to curse. God spoke to Isaac our father,
Then Esau cried in misery: “Don’t you have one more blessing for me, father?”
The father was about to curse. God spoke to Isaac our father,
Then Esau cried in misery: “Don’t you have one more blessing for me, father?”
The father was about to curse. God spoke to Isaac our father,
Then Esau cried in misery: “Don’t you have one more blessing for me, father?”
The father was about to curse. God spoke to Isaac our father,
Then Esau cried in misery: “Don’t you have one more blessing for me, father?”
The father was about to curse. God spoke to Isaac our father,
Then Esau cried in misery: “Don’t you have one more blessing for me, father?”
The father was about to curse. God spoke to Isaac our father,
Then Esau cried in misery: “Don’t you have one more blessing for me, father?”
The father was about to curse. God spoke to Isaac our father,
Then Esau cried in misery: “Don’t you have one more blessing for me, father?”
The father was about to curse. God spoke to Isaac our father,
Then Esau cried in misery: “Don’t you have one more blessing for me, father?”
The father was about to curse. God spoke to Isaac our father,
Then Esau cried in misery: “Don’t you have one more blessing for me, father?”
The father was about to curse. God spoke to Isaac our father,
Then Esau cried in misery: “Don’t you have one more blessing for me, father?”
The father was about to curse. God spoke to Isaac our father,
"My brother, Laban – go and live in his country."

[She] gave him the money she had at hand. When he departed and went, And as soon as he passed some distance, he saw Eliphas, the son of Esau. Then Jacob became frightened. "Oh, my God! What shall I do? May I be rescued from him, Lord!" [He] did not forget [his] father’s will.  

"Do not kill your paternal uncle!" He gave him the money he had. When he departed and walked for some distance and saw, He saw the arrival of passers-by. Jacob asked the passers-by: "Where is Laban’s place?" "Hey, look! Here comes Laban’s daughter!" When Jacob saw Mother Rachel, he approached the same place and stood there. The lid that takes three hundred men to remove – Jacob alone removed it.

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412 See Midrash Aaggadah (Buber) Genesis 28:20: מירככ לא היה לא מבר נבר מתום בשעה שיצא מבאר ויעקב לא היה לו אפילו בגדיו באodore אֶצְּבִי (אֶצְּבִי וְאֶתְלְטִפְּשִׁי) ואל תרומנה אֵל בָּרָב, ואל תרומנה אֵל בָּרָב וְאֵל בָּרָב שֵׁ lesbians, של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של 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של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של של 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413 The construction of a non-finite + atu + -um + illa to denote negative past is common in HaCohen, 1877 (pp. 9, 16, 22, 25). Here it must be in the sense of a negative imperative, and possibly an influence of tamsir language.  

414 = dey! A common interjection in contemporary spoken Malayalam.
With [his] thumb [he] removed the lid. When scarce water came gushing forth, He gave water to all the rivers to their fullest. The goats drank water to their fullest. Mother Rachel came and told her father: "One great scholar is there at the well."

"Father, meet him and bring him over." Laban met Jacob and brought him. "Why have you come here?" "There is no special reason. I just came here Because Esau and I had a quarrel. I got all of father's blessings. I got the first-born rights. That is why we had a quarrel."

"Will you herd [my] goats for seven years?" For seven years [he] herded the goats.

It was arranged for marrying mother Rachel, but mother Lea was married to him. Jacob didn't like it. "While the elder sister remains, the younger won't marry. In our land this is not [proper]. If you still desire her... All the property shall be retrieved to you." He herded the goats for seven years. He married mother Rachel, and gained much wealth and many children.

\[415 \text{ Read: } \text{takkam}.\]
God spoke to Jacob, "You must not stay anywhere in this country.
Go and live in the land of Canaan." Jacob, his wife and all his children -
When they were setting forth, Laban went through the seven-day route.
Laban resolved to kill Jacob.

God spoke to Laban, "You must not kill Jacob!"
[He] did not kill Jacob. A feast lasting one day [was received] from Laban.
When they were happily eating and drinking, he gave him his share to the fullest.
[He] saw travelers arriving. Jacob asked the passers-by:
"My brother, Esau – take it and give to Esau." [He] said.

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416 See Genesis, 31:23.
417 See Midrash: בְּרָאשִׁית רבּה (יוֹלָא) פרָשָּׁה דֶּרֶךְ: [אֶרֶץ אֲבֹתָם וְיַהוּ נַעֲבָדָה זֶה בְּרָאשִׁית רַבּ]. ... והָדוּר הָרָא, "אִרָּע אַנָּא רְבּוֹ בַּהָרָא הָקָרָב, הָדוּר הָרָא, [לָיִם] לִי אֲבֹתָם, לִי הָדֹר, לִי הָדֹר, לִי הָדֹר, לִי הָדֹר", אֱלֹהִים בְּרָאשִׁית רַבּוֹ. See also 2.3.2.
418 < upacram, 'friendly exchange', see Pillai, 2006: 442.
419 See Genesis, 31: 24: וְיָבֵא אוֹלוֹת אֵלָי נָא אוֹלוֹת בְּתוּלָמִים נָא אוֹלוֹת וְיָשָׁם בְּשָׁמָא הַיָּוָם, וְיִתֵּנֵו עָלָיו נָא אוֹלוֹת מְשֻׁמָּא: וְיָדְחָי אֵלָי.
When [they] gave it to Esau, "Who gave it?" asked Esau.
"Jacob, your brother. Jacob, his wife and all his children
Crossed over the Jordan river and wait there."
"Then I wish to see [him] at once."
[He] resolved to kill him in secret. [He] resolved to kill him by biting his neck.
Jacob's neck became like crystal. Esau's teeth became like wax.  
Jacob, his wife and all his children reached the kingdom of Canaan.
Blessed, blessed, always be blessed, the God who is the most blessed.

4.3.2 The Functionality of the Formulaic Frame

The tamburān-vāluka formula usually frames biblical songs, but at least two formulaic songs are not biblical, 'The Mala Synagogue Song' (I22) and 'Song of Evarayi' (I12).421 These songs certainly belong to the formulaic songs with respect to language and style, but instead of a biblical story, they narrate local history.

What is common about these two songs is the appearance of the synagogue motif, which is any mention of the term palla in relation to a synagogue. Songs with the synagogue motif vary in structure and style, and form a sub-category of songs.

However, the formulaic frame signifies narratival contents of Jewish history, even if it is a particular history of the local community.

The formulas in most of the songs are integral to the lines following or preceding them, but in some songs, they seem unrelated in structure. Such songs are generic hybrids, the outcome of new combinations of generic features. One such song is a typical wedding song describing the bride, 'The Decorated Maiden' (I114).422 It is divided into end-rhyming couplets with inconsistent mona rhymes.

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420 The same motif appears also in relation to Isaac who is about to be sacrificed in Song of Sara-Umma (III14): kāhattu appa palankopole āyte kattī appa melukopol āyte/. Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 59 (M); 58 (H). This is a pseudo-quotation, see 2.3.2.

421 See Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 40—1, 46—8 (M), 32—3, 39—42 (H).

422 Ibid., 110—1 (M) and 112—3 (H).
The inconsistency might be partially due to stitching the formula as a frame. As in the previous examples, the end-rhymes are based on morphemes like –tı and –um. Following are a few lines from 'The Decorated Maiden', with the peculiar grammatical forms of the formulaic song group underlined:

\[\begin{align*}
&\textit{tambirän móyimbū tōnayāyirikkaṇaṁ}/ \\
&\textit{alāṅkāramaṅkana ātariccu kāṭtenaṁ}/2 \textit{ālak’ uḷa celayum kēṭtivuṭuttutē}/ \\
&\ldots \\
&tāmara panaṇīrīl əṭiya maṅkayum/ cittira kallu paticc’ ṥūr mālayum/10/ \\
&\ldots \\
&munnil ṣūlaṇāṁ viḷaṇāṁ maṇavāḷa/ munnil ṣūlaṇāṁ viḷaṇāṁ maṇavāṭṭi/20/ \\
&avarutē camayaṇnaḷ paṭṭu salmantel/ pacca sakaḷattu pērakivannunnoṭtum/22/ \\
vāḷuka vāḷuka ḍṟḍpōḷum vāḷuka/ erramāyi vāḷunna tambirān tān annū/24/ \\
\end{align*}\]

May God be the foremost help!
Honor the decorated maiden and display her. She wears a lovely cloth.

\ldots

The maiden bathed in lotus dew water, and a necklace was set with precious stones.

\ldots

The groom glows in front. The bride glows in front.
Their dresses are [in pure] silk, increasing with green and scarlet.
Blessed, blessed always be blessed, the God who is the most blessed!

The 'Decorated Maiden' is in fact a hybrid of formulaic and formulaic-rhyming songs. Since some of its language uses are typical to the formulaic songs, the tamburān-vāḷuka formula seems to be in place. Still, the contents are atypically an explicit description of the wedding framed by this prayer-like formula, which is detached from the contents it usually signifies. Since apart from the formulaic frame there is nothing particularly Jewish in the song, I believe that it is an adaptation of a folk song into the corpus, where the formulaic frame is a device of oicotypification.
The formulaic frame may also function in 'reverse icotypification', in adapting a translation from Hebrew such as 'The Four Crowns' (II60).\footnote{Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 101—102, 190—191 (M); 103—104, 208—209 (H).} The Hebrew source appears only in prayer books from Kerala, and might very well be a composition by an indigenous poet.\footnote{See Davidson, 1924: 7477.} It is scheduled for summoning the 'Torah groom' (חתן תורה) on the day following the holiday of Simḥat Torah.\footnote{See Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 190 (M), 208 (H); see also AS, 1980: 169.} Nevertheless, the Malayalam translation of the song must have served for weddings, for the song appears in S14 between typical wedding songs, I16 and I119, the latter explicitly specified for the pre-wedding function of giving the silver (vellī vēkkumbōḷ cēllunna pāṭṭu).

Certainly, the song belongs to the group of translation songs, but it is formulated as a formulaic song by the most striking feature of the latter, the framing formula. There are other features too, which are common to the formulaic song group, above all the verbal ending –ūtē that affords a sequence of end-rhymes. For example, in the following lines selected from 'The Four Crowns', the end-rhymes are constructed by the morphemes –tē (PNG), -unna (present), -āvu (aorist), -pōlēyō, 'like'. In addition, the relatively high level of coherency of the song is noteworthy. There are relatively few obscure lexemes (marked in bold letters). Note the archaic form ēnnaṭē (= ʾanāna/zūṭē):

\begin{verbatim}
tamburān muyimbu tōnayā/viyikkanat/ unnaḥ/ tanrē tōnayālē irikkunna nērattu/ tān manuṣikal ākāsattunna irānītē/3/ tōrātē muṭi õnn mutā ḍuttutē/4/ kēunnaṭē muṭi õnnun ŏrōn ḍuttaṭe/5/ rājatāna muti õnnu ḍavīḍa ḍuttaṭe/6/ [...] patavia nalla ēnna pōlēv irikkunna/15/ patavutā nallaṇṇam pōlē irikkunna/16/ manavālāmārūṭe santōsām pērutāvū/17/ ēnnaṭē őtmēyālē savavīḷe valatāvū/18/ őtakkunna tananīrīl ārkal pōlēyō/19/ őtakāta tananīrīl ārkal pōlēyō/20/ [...]\end{verbatim}
May God be the foremost help. With His help,
Four crowns descended from the skies. Moses took the crown of Torah.
Aaron took the crown of priesthood. David took the crown of kingship.

Being like good soft oil, being like good soft food,
May the happiness of grooms increase! May [they] be great in our [devoted] assembly.\textsuperscript{427}
Like [rivers] of flowing water, like [rivers] of still waters

Fully observe the paths of God! Blessed, blessed, always be blessed,
The God who rules the highest! May Your holy name be forever blessed!

Thus, there are generic hybrids of formulaic songs combined with other song types, formulaic-rhyming and formulaic-translation, for example. This is one reason to assume that formulaic songs belong to a period relatively later than that of the rhyming songs. Theirs is a period of changing literary tastes and thematic concerns as the language and culture of the target audience were moving in new directions. This assumption is based on several reasons.

First, the grammar and level of coherency are evidence for a period of composition relatively later than the rhyming songs. Second, the expansion of themes to include the synagogue motif is evidence for a shift in thematic concerns among the connoisseurs. Third, the flowing straightforward style of narration is evidence for the change in literary tastes; the classical pāṭṭu-mold is abandoned in favor of simpler unbounded structures. Fourth, there seems to be a general tendency in this group of songs to emphasize and highlight the Jewish and Hebrew cultural elements. There are more uses of Hebrew lexemes and proper names, and there are structural stylistic patterns, which are reminiscent of Hebrew poetry (end-rhymes, couplets).

\textsuperscript{426} The text is a combination of Zacharia's text (2005: 101—2, M) and the text in S14.

\textsuperscript{427} The second part of the song is a translation of another piyyut, יִשְׁמָח חָטָן, see AS, 1980: 170.
Arguably, this group of songs evolved parallel to radical historical changes in the cultural life of the community, such that led to processes of Judaizing the corpus. The sixteenth century was indeed such a period with the formation of a new community in Kocci, the Paradeši community.

4.4 Formulaic-Rhyming Songs

Except for the pättu-mold that characterizes the rhyming songs, verse structure and various rhyming techniques are discernible in many more songs. There are several rhyming techniques applied in the corpus. Songs may have the structure of verses, couplets and even triplets with different types of rhymes – end-rhymes, verse-end rhymes and, very commonly, mona rhymes as well. Since diverse rhyming techniques are common in various types of songs, I add the criterion of formula to define a group of songs discernible by the combination of rhymes with formulas. Most of these songs also have the motif of redemption – a formulaic couplet or verse that pleads with God to redeem the nation.

Some, possibly the oldest, combinations of rhymes and formulas are simple generic hybrids, possibly heralding the emergence of the new genre. See for example the formulaic-rhyming song 'Building the Paradeši Synagogue' (I17). It is a short song in couplets with mona rhymes, a swiftly narrated origin story of the Paradeši synagogue framed by the same formulaic lines as those in 'Esau and Jacob' (III3).

The song appears in two notebooks, B2 from KP and B9 from Parur. In B9, it is scheduled for the kăppurătri, listed just before the rhyming song 'Jacob and Esau' (III48). Note that the song resembles the formulaic song group in its language usage, high level of coherency, linear narration and above all the formulaic line frame.

Some remarkable language usages are the past forms with –tē (e.g. pōkkite, 'lifted' and vacâtē, 'placed'), the Hebrew words (torâ, 'Torah', ēhâl, 'ark') and the absence of any PNG markers and old infinitive forms with –a. There are only two obscure lexemes, iccēyār and somitum, which I interpret as 'kinsmen' and 'this is the bliss' respectively. Note also the end-rhymes of the song - -enam (2–3), -tē
(5—8), -um (9—11), -mba (12 and 14) – all based on morphemic rhymes, and not very consistent.

Building the Paradeši Synagogue

I17

tambirān muyimbu tōniyiyirikkunnu/1/ tanrē tunayālē palli ētukkenam/2/ omena palli ētukkān tunnakkenam/3/ ōruppāyi vālaṇam tanna stutippān/4/ nāttilē rájāvū sthānam atu tannātē/5/ nāyanē kumbiṭuvēn mūnnunerattē/6/ iccēyār/7/ palli ētutt añnū pōkkīṭē/7/ imbamma ōll’ ōru vātalum vaccūṭē/8/ parisōṭē nalla paṇi nall’ orū ēhānum/9/ pativāyitū ul’ oru tora ipppānum/10/ curram vilakkukaḷ oliv’ uṭṭa sominum/11/ kūṭṭam vilakkukaḷ ōkkē ēriyumba/12/ kuravilla kūṭṭavum koppoṭe lokarum/13/ ākkē orumiccaṭṭu aviṭē aniyumba/14/ alaṅkāram āyōru parutesi palliyum/15/ āśēyil cēn’ añnū kumbiṭṭu vinute/16/ vāḷuka vāḷuka ēppōḷum vāḷuka/17/ ēṭṭammāyī vāḷunna tamburān tān ēnnū/18/

May God be the foremost help! May the synagogue be built with Your help! May [You] help to build the precious synagogue! Firmly thrive for praising Him!
The king of our land gave us this place for worshipping God thrice a day.
Then the [kinsmen] constructed the synagogue. [They] attached a lovely door And a good ark of fine proper craft for the Torah to remain inside.
This is the bliss of the luster of hanging oil lamps. When all lamps were blazing at once, When the flock with no one missing, all the decorated people together approached there, They enthusiastically entered the decorated Paradeši synagogue and worshipped there. Blessed, blessed, always be blessed, You, the Lord who rules the highest!

This song is classified in the thematic index as historical, and is one among a subcategory of synagogue songs (pallippāṭṭu). Such songs may be narrations of origin stories of synagogues in Kerala, or may be pervaded by religiosity in the indicative mood like the song 'Song of the Ernakulam-Tekkumbhāgam Synagogue' (I23). 430

428 < iccēcēcēn. Compare with III89: 1a2.
429 Read: sukham + itum.
430 Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 51—52 (M); 46—47 (H). See also Appendix A.
In the collection of Knānaya Christian songs, there is a section dedicated to *pallippāṭtukal* (church songs).

In terms of language and style, the Knānaya *pallippāṭtu* are somewhat similar to the Jewish Malayalam formulaic songs, but they tend to be longer and more complex in structure, and many of them contain long narrations of biblical stories beginning from Adam and Eve as a prologue.

Johnson (2005) lists some performative occasions for synagogue songs other than weddings or other life-cycle events, such as the dedication of Torah scrolls to the synagogue, erecting a new synagogue or renovating an old one. However, 'Building the Paradeśī Synagogue' is scheduled in B9 for the pre-wedding *kāppurātri* ritual. It is doubtful whether the song was composed for performance during a wedding function, but it certainly connotes the wedding by describing a crowd of devotees and the luster of burning lamps in the decorated *palli* (*alanākaram āyōru palli*).

Dealing with the construction of a synagogue, the song could have been selected for the wedding repertoire as an analogy for the construction of a new Jewish household in the community. It is striking that the synagogue in the song is specified as the Paradeśī synagogue, and it is unlikely that the Parur community members sing this song for commemoration of the synagogue of the Paradeśīs. For this reason, the connotation to weddings is likely to be the only reason for including this song in the wedding repertoire of B9. Weddings may have been the opportunity to allocate songs belonging to other communities and different contexts, and to preserve them in such a way.

### 4.4.1 Variation Formulas

The formulas used for the formulaic-rhyming songs become more and more innovative and diverse. Sometimes they are very similar, even identical, to the

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431 The term *palli* denotes any monotheistic shrine, mosque, church or synagogue. For the Knānaya church songs, see Lukas, 1910: 156—180. See also above, 2.2.4.2.

432 This description connotes *Simhat Torah* as well, for during this holiday the synagogue is profusely decorated, including a *manara* (wedding booth) for the Torah scrolls. The word *alanākaram*, 'decorations', is suggestive of the wedding, and particularly of the bride.
tambūrin-vaṭuṭa framing formula. Usually, however, there are variation formulas that might even be reduced to a mere mention of a divine attributive in the first line. See for example the first verse of I19, 'Torah by the Word of God', where the basic formula of addressing God is turned into a phrase subordinated to another substantive:

ōṭeyavan arulē ṣontāya tōrā/a/ oṭumēl ulla vāṣṇam it’ ḍonnun vaṣṇam unṭāyi/b/
mōśē ramba kōṇṭuvann’ oru tōrā/ mutaliya kōlattinum kaṇṭu sutippān/c/d/

The Torah which became by God’s speech, this [graceful] speech, born in speech,
The Torah which Moses our teacher found for the foremost nation to see and praise.

Though a variation formula may thus address God by complex phrases, it is usually associated with typical words such as arul (divine word) in the example above. Some variation formulas may include unexpected terms, such as suktam in the variation formula of 'Lord of the Foremost Happiness' (IV64):

āṭi tani mōtalē āyi suktam utēyōn
Lord of the first essential happiness!

The emergence of variation formulas is a mature stage of ripening from generic hybrids into a distinct genre. The formulas become more sophisticated and peculiar, and so do the rhyming schemes. Different kinds of rhymes are combined with the variation formulas, for example, verse-end rhymes resembling the Hebrew 'girdle poem' rhyming scheme and combined with mona rhymes, as in 'Foremost Standing God' (II4):

1.
mōyimbāyi nikkuṇna tambūrānē/a/ mōṭēl āyiṭṭa ोḷḷa isrāeliḷka/b/
vāḷa pēratt’ orī tambūrānē/c/ vastupōrr alló ēннаяl allō//d//
God existing before the foremost Israel!
God who is abundant with blessings – aren’t we blessed?
You who grant food and sleep incomparable with all other sights!
In height increasing blessings, bless [us] with the best praises.

2.

God who has no deficiency! We are slaves filled with defects.
The beings for whom [You] created the world in favor with strength -
Bless with no deficiency the [prayers] [You] gave them.

As generic hybrids like ‘Building the Paradeši Synagogue’ develop into distinct formulaic-rhyming songs, the contents become restricted to religious invocations or injunctions. The motif of redemption, a characteristic feature of the formulaic-rhyming songs, affects the religious mood of the genre.

4.4.2 The Formulaic-Rhyming Song ‘One Lord!’

Many formulaic-rhyming songs contain the motif of redemption, as the songs ‘One Lord!’ (II33) and ‘The Oil Jar Hanukkah Miracle’ (III87). The song ‘One Lord!’ has five neat verses in mona rhymes. Most formulaic-rhyming songs favor the simpler mona rhymes, and many of them also add end-rhymes, possibly

433 Note borrowed line from the rhyming song ‘The Vigil Night Song’ (II61: 2b⁴).
434 < ṭrāṇikālkk[u.].
influenced by the aesthetic conventions of Hebrew poetry. The song starts with a variation formula: ōnnāya ūnyēnē Ṝlma utayavēnē, ‘One Lord! Master of Grace!’ It is a relatively coherent injunctional song pervaded by religious devotion and scheduled for the pre-wedding kāppurāṭri ritual. Of its five verses, four concentrate on the theme of the purification bath prescribed for women. Therefore, the song is addressed to the bride, and probably also to the women present at the occasion. In contrast to the rhyming songs, the song ‘One Lord!’ directly addresses the wedding rite, explicitly denoting the theme of sexual purity. The last verse appears with variations in most of the formulaic-rhyming songs and conveys the motif of redemption.

One Lord!

1.

ōnnāya ūnyānē Ṝlma utayavēnē/ā/ Ṝlmayil ākki tān ūnyān atavōtē/ā/ tumēyil ūnyān arulappātū upṭāyil/č/ tumyīṭṭu sāvarkānna/ṭaūnakkū/ā/ mānivam ṣāyā kulīṭi kalippiccu/ā/ marāvī kūṭātē nāṭakkayum venamme/ā/ vēṟappu varttallē sōlōm ppēriyōnē/č/ vēntikkē āyīṭṭu arul cēyta kāryan/ā/ 1.

Single Lord! Master of faith! The Just One orderly created in faith.

In purity, the Lord spoke to the [praising] celestials.

[He] had ordained this dignified bath. [You] should conduct it without forgetting.

Don’t bring about hatred, Lord of peace! The deed was ordained for the woman.

2.

irulāy étattinn’ alppam ṣāy kānumbo/ā/ imbam ṣāyulā puruṣan anayumbo/ā/ ēkkam ṣāyoru kālam anayumbo/č/ ērē pērikē aṭakkallē ā nāliil/ā/ tumēyil nannāy vēlma ariyumbo/ā/ tumyāi pārkkēnam nāluka/ elolam/ā/

---

435 This lexeme may be connected to the obscure lexeme bētuma, vēlma and variations. See below 6.3.1, 6.

436 By and large the kāppurāṭri ritual is focused on the bride. It follows the nāṭakkunna šabat, הшен (bride’s Saturday).


438 The deed is the monthly purification bath after the menstrual period.
When [you] hardly see in a dark place, when the handsome man approaches,
When the proper time approaches - do not come too close that day.
When love is nicely in purity, stay with [praises] for seven days.
Don’t bring about [suffering], Lord of peace! When [she] lovingly obeys Your will.

Go separately and be alone. Stay below, [your] body turned away.
When your man does not approach [you], do not skip that bath that day.
You must bath during daytime. Decently, wait [there] for a while until the night.
Plunge all your limbs together. It should be in a spring.

It must be of thirty and ten size. It is designed for the foremost wives.
When you observe that custom, remain happily with no hindrance in that place.
When you take this precious bath, when silk and gold are so beautiful,
When you follow the will of the bright God, praise and sweetness are the brightest.

The Halakhic measure of water ordained for the purification bath.
The beautiful man and the sound of horn must reveal in splendor the good Messiah. All will gather in the Temple, where the bright God has stayed and graced [us]. Firmly perform the deed ordained for the people, whom the beloved God raised. The dear children should get together. Help us in praising [Him] faithfully.

The motif of redemption is amply used in formulaic verses of Coplas, the narratival songs of Ladino speaking Jews, where it is common to conclude a song with the motif of redemption. Such a formal feature in the Jewish Malayalam corpus might be historically related to Coplas. However, it is not necessarily a direct influence of Coplas on the Jewish Malayalam corpus. It might simply be an independent generic development, perhaps an outcome of the wide-spread Jewish messianic movements during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

It is remarkable that the formulaic motif of redemption does not appear in the rhyming or the biblical formulaic songs. However, it occurs in formulaic songs that are religious. See for example the following lines of the formulaic (hybrid) song 'Big Rooster Song' (II48), a song scheduled for the ceremonious warming of water for the bride to bathe before the wedding.

440 Referring to the Messiah.
441 Refael, 2004: 74—75, 112, 204, 221. The genre of Coplas was evolved after the expulsion from Spain (1492), and was used as late as the twentieth century. The first publications of Coplas date to the eighteenth century. For more about the Judeo-Spanish genre, see ibid. 12f.
442 See Aescoly, 1993: מֶה—סד.
443 See Appendix A for two versions of the song. The example above synthesizes the two readings.
Join the twelve tribes so they could be together!
Take [them] to Jerusalem in the proper manner!
Help [them] to build the ruined temple, God!
We wish to hear Thy word with superiority.
We wish to hear its voice, rise and hear [it], God!
We wish to hear the cries of the precious horn in loudness.
Join the children of Israel in the kingdom of Canaan!
Feed us with the sweetness of that kingdom!

The formulaic-rhyming songs are oriented towards Hebrew liturgy. Among their stylistic features are many Hebrew lexemes (e.g. mikadósū, másiyā, yērusalāyī, šophār) and a relatively few archaic forms and obscure lexemes. Some of these songs forsake the mona rhymes in favor of end-rhymes reminiscent of Hebrew liturgy, like 'The Song Sung by Solomon' (III1).444

'The Song Sung by Solomon' has the structure of ten verses of four lines, each ending with the same word. It deals with the ten biblical songs sung by biblical heroes starting with Adam, the first man, through to Moses, the children of Israel, Joshua, Deborah and Barak, Hannah, David the king, Solomon himself and finally the Jewish nation in posterity. Each verse begins with the serial number of a song, the name of the mythical composer and a description of the occasion for singing the song. See for example the first verse:

1.
śélomō mêlēha pāṭiya pāṭtu stuti pēṭta pāṭṭum it’ ōnnuṁ/a/
bhūmi cēlippīṭṟō pāṭtuka patti stuti vēṭta pāṭṭum it’ ōnnuṁ/b/
ādiyil cēliy ōru ādām āriśśōnnuṁ pāvaṁ pōrakkēnāṁ ēnnu/c/

444 The song belongs also to the performative genre kaikkottikāli, clapping song. See Johnson, 2006: 531.
Solomon sang songs, and this is one, a song of praise.
It is a song of praise, one of ten songs sung on earth.
In the beginning Adam, the first human, recited: "Please forgive my sin!"
May the living [God] be honored for the day he gave us.\(^{446}\)

Note that the formulaic expression lacks explicit reference to God. The reference to the divine, though implicit, is understood by the semantics of *stutikk-* , 'to praise'. The first line is nevertheless a formulaic expression, as it frames the proceedings of the song, and begins with the auspicious name of Solomon. All other verses begin with serial numbers, and the first verse is thus marked as the doorway, so to speak, to the song.

From the first verse to the ninth, all verses describe the occasions that have led famous Jewish characters to compose a hymn of praise. Moses and the Israelites sang God’s praises for splitting open the Nile (III1: 2, Exodus, 15). The Israelites praised God after attaining water in the desert (III1: 3, Numbers, 21). Moses sang at the time of his death (III1: 4, Deuteronomy, 32), Joshua in Gibeon (III1: 5, Joshua, 10: 12—13), Deborah and Barak after vanquishing their enemies (III1: 6, Judges, 5). Hannah the prophetess sang the seventh song after begetting a son (III1: 7, Samuel I, 2: 1—10), David the King sang for wiping off his sins (III1: 8, Samuel II, 22), and Solomon the king sang at his coronation (III1: 9).

While all verses refer to past events, the last verse is in the prospective mood (*pātuvān*), and the verse is formally signed with the date 1760 (5521 Hebrew year) in its second line. The date might very well be the date of

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\(^{445}\) A *tamsir* word rendering the H phrase קָהֲלָה (ka-hāly), 'the living'. See HaCohen, 1877: 35, 43, 50.

\(^{446}\) According to the Midrash, Adam composed Psalms, 92, which is a praise for Saturday. See בְּרֵאשֵׁית בְּרֵאשֵׁית (וילנא) כֶּבֶן. 
composition, and its mentioning in a wedding song is awkward. The occasion of performance is the post-wedding ritual *purappētunna ṣabat*.\(^{447}\)

10.

\begin{verbatim}
pattāmata pātvān kalpana āyōri sūtar gōlavum it' annu/
kālamē kalīṇṇattu ayyāyirattumē aṇṇūr irupatum ŏnnum/
māṣya varattēnam gōlattina kūṭṭēnam citariya dikkukalīnunu\(^{448}\)/
kalpicca māṣyana varattēnam paṭṭukal kēlppān tannel/
\end{verbatim}

The tenth is the song that the Jewish nation is destined to sing.
Five thousand and five hundred and twenty one [years] have passed.
Bring the Messiah! Gather the people from the scattered directions!
Order and bring the Messiah for hearing the songs!

The motif of redemption signifies a stage of evolution in the corpus that is relatively late to the rhyming songs. The date in 'The Song Sung by Solomon' may help in evaluating the period during which this motif was popular, perhaps also help to evaluate the periods of other trends observable in the corpus.

There is another dated song in the corpus, 'The Feast of the Whale' (II42), which appears in seven notebooks, six from KP and one from KK (S14). It opens with a slight variation on the *tamburān* formula, and ends with a couplet conveying the motif of redemption. There are many Hebrew words and terms in this song, and though the language is not too archaic, a few obscure lexemes reduce its coherency. The motif of redemption is suggested all through the song by certain terms and uses. In the first verses, the word *purusān*, 'The Man', may allude to the Messiah, in the second and third verses *gulattina mītuvēnam* (redeem the nation) and *makkalēyum mītāvēnam* (redeem the children) explicitly

\(^{447}\) The song is scheduled for the *purappētunna ṣabat* in S14 and, in B9, it appears among a group of songs titled *kalippāṭṭu*, 'play songs'.

\(^{448}\) T1 has a slightly different reading of this line: *ēliyō annōmbi māṣya mbēn dōvidu bīṭabhēnam ēnnaa ippal* 'Send to us now Elijah the prophet and the messiah son of David!'.

convey the redemption motif. In the fourth verse, the redemption motif is fully expressed:

\[
\text{töppammāra mūvēra pīnnyattu/ mūnnāmatē mikadōsa ētukkavēnam/}
\]
\[
iññiy ōṭṭum kālam vaikāṭeyum/ kāṭaka mūrukā miticcēnā varuttēnam//}
\]

By the merit of the three patriarchs, build the third temple. Do not delay even a little. Bring quick and [steady] redemption.

The first verse addresses God with a variation formula leading to the specific reference in time conveyed in the second line. It renders the Hebrew formulaic expression 'year X after creation' (\(\text{שנת X ליצירה} \)):

\[
\text{tambirānṛtē tuna āya gulattinnu/ olaka paticci unṭākki vēccūtē/}
\]
\[
kālam ayyāyiratti nānnūrum nāłpatuṃ pantiraṇtum āvītē/
\]
\[
aliṇṇa mikadāśīnṛ̃ nālīl pērunna puruṣāna pērayavēnam/
\]
\[
pōyā pūṭumba ónnuṃ bāyikkēnam/ kāla vēcca gōlattingē mūlam//}
\]

For the nation which has God's help, [He] created the world. Five thousand four hundred and fifty-two [years] passed. [Great be] the man born on the day the temple was ruined. [When praising, please play the trumpet because of our sin].

The Hebrew date in the Malayalam quantifiers is equivalent to 1691 CE. The song is a hybrid formulaic song, perhaps heralding the emergence of the formulaic-rhyming songs. It has no clear-cut verse structure, and no rhymes of the \textit{mona} type. There is a tendency towards end-rhymes, but it is not very consistent or refined. Unlike the formulaic songs, and similar to the formulaic-rhyming songs, this song is pervaded by religious emotion.

However, it is not exactly a prayer or a song of praise. The second verse portrays a utopian heavenly world, where Jacob and his sons feast on the flesh of the celestial whale. The imagery is conveyed by prospective forms (the
desiderative and the infinitive), and the heavenly scene is transferred into a temporary shed, pantal, a possible allusion to the Hebrew expression סוכת דוד הנופלת, but note that the word usually denotes a wedding shed. Atypically and in addition to the date, personal names are mentioned in the third verse:

\[\text{kärttu vëccu pałattinrë yäyin/ dävidinrë kaivil kötukkavënam}/
\]
\[\text{appōl atu kutikkunna nèrattu/ abrākinrë makan meyirna kūttēnam}/
\]
\[\text{kärtēn nōgamāgōkkīnē vālaⁿnēnam/ araśan dāvidinrē kaimēhum}/
\]
\[\text{ētumā tanrē putu bītu vēnam/ ēlavēra makkalēyum mētēvēnam}/
\]

The wine of the [powerful] fruit – give it to David.
When he drinks it, he should join Meir son of Abraham.
Surrender the [powerful] Gog and Magog to the hands of King David.
Gracefully we want Your own new house. Redeem the seven children.

The meaning of this song is unclear. The appearance of personal names suggests that the song was composed for a very specific, unique occurrence, and the specific individuals might have been honored by the mention of their names in a song. The meaning might be different in the song and its interpretation altered to fit into the wedding for performing and transmitting the song.

From the use of the redemption motif in a song, which is mid-way between the narratival formulaic songs and the religiously oriented formulaic-rhyming songs, I deduce that 'The Feast of the Whale' represents a relatively early use of the redemption motif, as well as the evolution from one trend to another, from prose-like songs back to rhyming structures.

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449 Honoring an individual by mentioning his name in a song is a common practice in Māppilla weddings (Shamshad Hussain, personal communication).
Thus, among the songs discussed so far, the rhyming songs represent the earliest generic layer in the corpus. This genre, the biblical \textit{pāṭṭu}, was generative and vivid possibly until the sixteenth century.\footnote{This assumption is based on several factors. First, the use of the \textit{pāṭṭu}-mold was popular in Malayalam literature from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. Second, there is linguistic evidence relating the rhyming songs with literary trends in Old Malayalam (until the late sixteenth century). Third, the arrival of the Portuguese and the consequent establishment of the separate Parađeşi community in Kocci took place during the sixteenth century, a time of social and cultural upheavals that was likely to affect the trend of Judaizing in the corpus.} In the next stage of literary evolution, the formulaic songs transgress the strict rhyming structure of the \textit{pāṭṭu}-mold and turn to a linear narrative of more or less the same biblical traditions narrated in the earlier, and less coherent, rhyming songs. This stage must have begun sometime before the maturation of the formulaic-rhyming songs around the mid-sixteenth century, perhaps in relation to the \textit{tamsır} tradition of studying the Bible and Midrash in Malayalam. More refined poetic devices resurface later by merging structure with form, rhymes with formulas and/or motifs. If 'The Feast of the Whale' represents the shift from the second stage of evolution to the third, then the trend of formulaic-rhyming songs arguably began to be popular towards the end of the seventeenth century.

Furthermore, the other dated formulaic-rhyming song, 'The Song Sung by Solomon', is evidence that the genre maintained its vividness at least until the second half of the eighteenth century. This song, I believe, heralds an even later trend that became very popular towards the end of the nineteenth century, the trend of translations. \textit{Mona} rhymes significantly dwindle during the phase of translations, and more and more rhyming schemes reminiscent of Hebrew poetry become popular. 'The Song Sung by Solomon' is one of the few formulaic-rhyming songs that have no \textit{mona} rhymes. On the contrary, it very consistently uses end-rhymes.\footnote{Many Hebrew poems repeat the same word at the end of lines, usually for the structure of 'girdle poems' (see 2.3.4).}
4.5 Detached Verses and Conglomerates

So far, songs were classified on the basis of their structural and formal features. Detached verses and conglomerates are classified only in respect to their fragmentary nature discernible mainly by textual presentation. For example, a certain verse might be detached from a song and ‘wander’ around the corpus (III55: 1, ‘By the Word of God’). Several such verses may even conglomerate to form a new song (II19, ‘Fear Nothing’). Short songs, often titled as kurukkan, behave like detached verses too. Some of them are additions to one or the other song (II26, ‘Oh Singing Bird!’), and some are conglomerates of ready-made praise lines common to other genres in the corpus (IV45, ‘Pure God!’).

It is to be expected that a corpus of orally transmitted literature includes such typical oral compositions. As such, they reveal patterns of composition, the way in which a reservoir of verses and lines gives rise to individual songs in the form of verse and line conglomerates, and the way in which these fragments and conglomerates develop over time into original compositions, at times even attributed authorship. Interestingly, the scribes often mark detached verses and conglomerates as a separate category of fragmented forms, kurukkan.

The ongoing dialectics between orality and literacy produce this type of songs, which do not adhere to specific structures or trends. Thus, there are rhyming songs as well as formulaic songs among the detached verses, and many line conglomerates affiliate with formulaic-rhyming songs and translations. Trends and features of all the genres in the corpus are manifest in detached verses and conglomerates. What characterizes these songs is their textual presentation and intertextual relations with other songs.

There are two major types of fragmented or patched-up compositions. Detached verses are either verses represented as a separate unit by their title kurukkan (or kaṭappu), or verses that ‘wander’ around the corpus from one textual context to another. Many verses of this type are kānvvet verses identical or similar to the kānvvet rhyming songs. Their textual presentation is modular in relation to the kānvvet songs, yet it is rather fixed in the sequence of songs set for the wedding rites. When examining the kānvvet songs, one can observe processes of
fragmentation and modulation brought about by adjustments to the proceedings of ritual activity. I examine the relation of detached kanaavē verses to the kanaavē songs in more detail below (5.5).

The phenomenon of fragmenting and conglomerating exposes a technique of composition typical to this corpus. This technique enables old literary forms such as the kanaavē songs, to maintain their generative vividness and produce smaller units of ready-made verbalisms, from the level of the phrase to the level of the whole verse.

Moreover, detached verses might also 'wander' around the corpus, attached to songs that do not necessarily have the same generic features. The 'wandering' verse phenomena might further lead to conglomerating two or three verses, sometimes by creating new combinations of ready-made phrases or lines. Thus, two major types of songs – detached verses and conglomerates – result from these two processes – fragmenting and conglomerating respectively.

4.5.1 Detached Verses

The most popular detached kanaavē verse is the first verse of III55, 'Joseph in Egypt'. The verse runs as follows, with minor orthographic alternations in its 'wandering' forms:

1. tambirān tann arulālē nī cēnnu/a/ tāne taniccē parasina kettu/b/
   pēmbulla pātiya pāṭtinē ketṭu/c/ pēšakātē yoseppū ōnarunu cēlī//d/1/
   imbam āy keṭṭū keṭṭū ēkannū irunnu/a/ inūnu vā ēnnu makaḷa vilīccu/b/
   tambirān tann arulālē nī cēnnu/c/ sākēlā ēnn′ ainqu västinār avvē///d/2//

"You have come by God’s blessing." Alone he listened to the child. He listened to the song a girl child sang. Calmly she said that Joseph has awakened. Listening again and again in delight, [He] rose and called the daughter, "Come here!" "You have come by God’s blessing. [You] shall not die." So he blessed [her]. Behold!
This is a typical kānavvē verse that implicitly refers to the performative occasion (blessing the newly-weds), fitting many types of ceremonies and rites. However, it is a fragment of a story, a scene detached from its narrative context as conveyed in the song 'Joseph in Egypt' (III55).

The verse appears as the last verse, or kurukan, of songs that are of the widest distribution in the corpus – 'Blessing Song' (II11), 'Blessing for the Bridegroom' (II9) and 'Happiness to the Bridegroom' (II10). While the song 'Blessing Song' is a song in the pāṭṭu-mold, the detached verse III55: 1 may seem integral to it. However, it is very different from the other two songs, and related to them only through the common general semantics of blessings.

Compare the structure and form of the detached verse III55: 1 with the first verses of 'Blessing for the Bridegroom', a formulaic song:

1.

1. May God be the first help!

God spoke to Abraham our father:

“I shall install you as a great nation.
I shall bless and increase your name.
I shall bless those who bless you.

---

452 I discuss this verse and the kānavvē song it precedes in 5.4 and 5.5.
453 For the full text and translation of II9, see Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 93—94 (M), 93—94 (H).
I shall curse those who curse you."\textsuperscript{454}

God who showers Manna\textsuperscript{455} from the sky

[Shall give you] food and drink through the flow of the land.

2.

God šadday shall bless you. You shall be the greatest among the nations.

He shall give you Abraham’s blessing.

The kingdom where you live shall be your property.\textsuperscript{456}

He shall give you the blessings of the Lord. The firm God shall bless you.

The blessings of the Patriarchs will be showered upon you.

Be the topmost like Joseph.

'Blessing for the Bridegroom' (II9) is a formulaic song with a variation formula. Its opening formula is an expanded form of the tamburān formula combined with a narrative unit - X\textsuperscript{-}inot aralappātunṭāyi (God spoke to X).\textsuperscript{457} However, except for the detached verse appended to it, there is nothing narratival in the song; it is a straightforward speech act of blessing.

'Happiness to the Bridegroom' (II10) is a unique formulaic song, for its opening formula addresses the bridegroom rather than God:

1.

\textit{santotam pērut' āyirikkum malavāla/a/ niti āya gōlattingē natuvil ākumē/h/ batuva vērut' āyirikka tōnakkaṇam/c/ ōlakka paṭice' ōri ņāyēnṛē mōyimbällē/d/}

Oh, Bridegroom abundant in joy! You shall be in the midst of the treasure nation.
Help to increase the blessing in front of the Lord Creator of the world.

\textsuperscript{454} See Genesis, 12: 3, 27: 29.

\textsuperscript{455} < H ṭp, food from heaven bestowed upon the Israelites while wondering in the desert.


\textsuperscript{457} The second part of conveying the divine command may appear right after the tamburān-formula or in one of the following lines. For example, the songs 'Sara-\textit{Umma}' (III14), 'Hunchback Sinai Mountain' (III26), 'Song of the Thirteen Torah Scrolls' (III23). See Zacharia and Gamilel, 2005.
Thus, a verse typical to the rhyming songs is detached from its generic context and appended to songs with formal and stylistic features common to another group of songs.

In addition, the linguistic register differentiates the detached verse from the songs to which it is attached. More Hebrew names and terms appear in the formulaic songs and the formulaic-rhyming songs, and as the corpus evolves with translations, Malayalam expressions are innovated for 'translating' Hebrew expressions common in prayers and para-liturgy.

After the period of the rhyming songs, Hebrew lexemes such as šaddāy (שדוי) and šilōm (שלום) become common, and in 'Blessing for the Bridegroom', the Hebrew vocabulary is rich enough to detect also the influence of translation and composer songs of the later stages in the corpus. Besides Hebrew names and terms typical of the formulaic songs like abrāmābinu, 'Abraham our Father' (אבraham אשר יבון), mōšē rabbēn, 'Moses our Teacher' (משה רוחני), tora, 'Torah' (תורה) and israēl, 'Israel' (ישראיל), it includes specific Hebrew terms: malāḥ, 'angel' (מלאך), sēvar, 'Torah scroll' (ספר) and šēkīna, 'divine inspiration' (שכינה).

Certain Hebrew expressions – especially attributives – are translated to Malayalam. Even in the first verse of 'Blessing to the Bridegroom', two such expressions appear. One expression, ʾolakka pātīc ʾōrī ṃāyēn, is a literal translation of בורא עולם, 'Creator of the world', a common attributive to God in Hebrew liturgy. The other is nīti ṣīya gōlam, a very common attributive for the Jewish nation, may be a translation of עם סגולה, 'a quality nation'. A third translated expression appears in the second verse of 'Happiness to the Bridegroom', ṥʾrpāya tambirēn, 'Firm God' (הatron, literally, 'The Rock').

The Hebrew substratum of the kānavvē songs, and consequently of the detached verse III55: 1, is much less transparent and consists mainly of names; these are of very limited use too. It is manifest in the deeper level of the phrase,

458 I derive the expression from nidhi (>niti), 'treasure', rather than from niti, 'good conduct', for arguably, due to hypercorrections the word is often understood by the scribes as the latter, and more common, word in Malayalam.
composed of an allusion to a biblical passage or to the Midrash. For example, the reference to Abraham and Isaac in the song 'Twice Seven Worlds' (II12) is made in the phrases *qyimbatum tōnnūrum .getProjectedAvārē*, 'upon becoming ninety-nine', and *nūru vayassil pērunna makanē*, 'the son born at the age of hundred', respectively.459

From the formulaic songs onwards, the Hebrew substratum becomes more apparent at the lexical level, and from the formulaic-rhyming songs onwards, the advance of para-liturgy and the *tamsir* tradition further enriches it. The biblical Hebrew substratum rises to the surface in the form of direct quotations, for example God’s blessings to Abraham in 'Blessing to the Bridegroom' (II9: 1), which renders the biblical verses Genesis 12: 2—3.

These differences in structure and content between the detached verse and the whole song are smoothened by a peculiarly Jewish thread connecting the large majority of songs in the corpus. Hebrew sources, whether alluded to, fragmented, quoted or translated, exist at the deepest and oldest layers of the corpus, and are essential for processing materials and designing patterns of composition and trends in the corpus. Thus, the same process leading to fragmentation carries on to become a process of conglomeration. Then, several detached poetical units – verse, line and phrase – start functioning like ready-made lines to form conglomerates and, consequently, new songs.

### 4.5.2 Conglomerates

The process of conglomeration reaches its peak in the popular song 'Blessing Song' (II11). Because of their agglutinative nature and performative motivations, conglomerates are occasionally very difficult to understand, as the song 'Blessing Song' is. The processes of fragmentation and conglomeration are manifest in lines, phrases, expressions and whole verses all through this composition. It proves to be a challenge to textualize and translate this song, as well as analyze it correctly. Below, I point out a few striking examples that illustrate the processes of conglomeration underlying the composition of this song.

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459 See Genesis, 17: 1, 17 and 24, where Abraham’s age is mentioned in relation to his biography.
'Blessing Song' has over twenty-five variants in its spelling, wording, line division and verse order. While preparing a critical edition of the song, it became apparent that it has two different versions. One of them appears in the KP notebooks, the other one in the Malabari notebooks including the KK notebooks. The KP version is published in Zacharia and Gamliel. For the present discussion, I choose the Malabari version.

1. vālu vālu vānāma nēnak' āyirikka/a/ makka lām sālōm pērūt' āyirikka/b/
vālu vāluka tānā valčurma būmi/c/ paṇkīṭṭu tinmakka kōlkēyum niyū/d///
vīra vālaka cōri vālaka vīriyam/a/ pikkāt' īraṭṭiccū ēllām kōlvanu/b/
cēticē nāvum nāvum vāṣṭirunnu/c/ cēyē savōṭākkā ni ōntār avvē/d/2//

Blessed One! Be blessed! May the children [of Israel] abound with peace!
Blessed be them! May the earth grow, for [your] children to divide and receive it.
Blessed be the seed! Blessed be the blood, the semen!
Multiply all without fragmenting!
All the [purified] tongues blessed. You prepared all the feast.

The intertextual interplay in this verse is multi-layered. At the outset, it converses with the Malayalam genre of polippāṭtu, where the imperative vāluka serves as the pivotal axis to compose a verse or a few lines. It is clearly a blessing song, and my reading has God (vāluvan, the blessed) as the first addressee.

The level of coherency of this song is very low, therefore, the translation is conjectural. I assume that the referent of the imperative forms alternates, progressing from vāluvan to makka, 'children' [of Israel], tānāl, 'they', bhūmi, 'land' and so forth.

Towards the end of the verse, the syntax becomes obscure and ambiguous, possibly because the last line is composed of bits and pieces of phrases typical of
the kānavvē songs.\textsuperscript{461} It converses with the last line of the ‘wandering’ verse IV16: applevar mūvērum cētyu savvēta/c arulālē ākkavēr ēlλām kānavvē, ‘The three patriarchs conduct the feast abiding by His word. Behold!’ It incorporates certain elements from this line with elements from the last line of the verse II62: 1, nāvum nāvum pāṭi cēyyān kānavvē. The last line of the third verse: tani āka karttāvu mnnnil, ‘In front of the sole Lord’, echoes the last line of III48: 1, another kānavvē song: mēyy āy īrunn ēru karttāvu mnnnil, ‘In front of the true Lord’. Two verses, the second and the sixth, end with a line identical to the last line of II61: 5: cīriyā\textsuperscript{462} vāluvēr ēlλām kānavvē, ‘They shall be blessed with glory. Behold!’ and II12: 1: vina tūkōlv ēnēnē ēnnār kānavvē, ‘Take [us] back forever and ever! Behold!’ respectively.\textsuperscript{463} Finally, two kānavvē verses are incorporated completely in the song ‘Blessing Song’ (II11); the fourth verse is identical to IV18, a detached verse, and the seventh is identical to III55: 1, discussed above.

As is shown below, the fragmentation processes the earliest songs of the corpus, the kānavvē songs, resulting in a modular, though integral, poetic unit to conform to the dynamic wedding ritual complex. In some notebooks, there are two or three conglomerates of kānavvē verses, resulting in new songs to fit to new performative circumstances. The conglomerate ‘Blessing Song’ (II11) is different; it is a hybrid of rhyming and formulaic songs. It may have assumed its shape while the kānavvē songs became less appealing for performers and composers, who added to the corpus new types of songs. At some point, the kānavvē songs began to disappear from the selection repertoires of performers and scribes, whereas the conglomerate ‘Blessing Song’ attained great popularity. In any case, also fragments from other songs, mainly variation formulas and ready-made lines

\textsuperscript{461} In some notebooks, mainly from Kocci, many kānavvē verses conglomerate with this song. In B7, the verse II61: 6 is added as the fifth verse, IV16 is inserted as the sixth verse, and the verse IV111: 1 is inserted as the eighth verse. In S11, S10 and B7, two or more verses of II12 are appended to II11.

\textsuperscript{462} <śirī?

\textsuperscript{463} Note that the fragments borrowed from the kānavvē songs are all from the last line of a verse. This betrays the mnemonic processes involved in conglomeration.
conveying the redemption motif, are recycled in short conglomerates of an indefinite performative nature, like the song 'Pure God' (IV45).

4.6 Translation Songs
Translations from Hebrew in the corpus are female-oriented translations, different in many ways from the male-oriented translations of Hebrew poetry. The male-oriented translations, which I shall henceforth refer to as tamsir translations,464 were printed in Jacob Daniel HaCohen press in Kocci towards the end of the nineteenth century (HaCohen, 1877). In some notebooks, translated songs are titled arttham, 'meaning', a term suggestive of the didactic motive behind the translation to teach the meanings of Hebrew poems.

There are about twenty-five translations in the notebooks; most of them are of limited circulation, at times only in one or two notebooks (usually J1 or B3). Only a handful of translations - those scheduled for life-cycle events such as a wedding and circumcision - are widely distributed in the manuscripts. It is probably for such occasions that the translations were designed and compiled. The translations seem to be intimately connected with the male-oriented tamsir translations albeit the many differences between the two. The translations are obviously influenced by Hebrew literary aesthetics and concerns, but unlike tamsir translations, they are not merely semantic, but rather cultural and pragmatic translations.465

For examining the affinities between male and female-oriented translations (tamsir and arttham) as well as the differences between them, I have chosen the translation of שעריך, ‘Thy Gates’ (IV11).466 The song has two different

464 Note the difference between tamsir translation and tamsir tradition (or simply tamsir). The latter term is used throughout my study in reference to the verbatim translations of Hebrew scriptures (Bible and Mishna), while the former denotes translations of Hebrew para-liturgy.
465 Some of the translations were discussed in Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 97—102, 188—191 (M), 98—104, 201—209 (H).
466 This popular poem was composed by the famous Spanish poet ibn Gabirol, and it is of the baqašah (בקשה) genre. According to Davidson, it appears in different versions in many collections. The Kocci version has seventeen verses, while other versions of this hymn consist of eight, five,
translations; one appears in notebooks from Kocci, S14, S1, S11 (KK), B6 and B8 (KP), and the other appears in an anthology of Hebrew poetry with Malayalam translations (HaCohen, 1877). Note the structure of couplets with syllabic end-rhymes, mostly with the vowel –ë.

**Thy Gates**

**IV11**

*yāha ninṛē vātil ŋān tatṭumboḷ turakkenāmē/

samakṣamattīṅkal ērakkunē akāṭikka puṟakkenāmē’1/

Jah! When I knock on Thy door, open [it]!
In [Thy] presence I beg, open for the destitute!

ēn namaskkāraṃ nimbakkal varēnamē/

āṭum pāṭārāvum kāḷcayum pōṭ’67 āṅēnamē’2/

My prayer shall reach You.
There should be a goat, a tenth part and a golden offering.

ēn kanninṛē vēliyyē ēn āḍharattē nī nokki sūkṣiccu/

ēn tappitattē karunayil nī pūrakkenammē’3/

The light of my eyes, my honor, guard it!
My mistake You must pardon in mercy!

ēn nayanaṁṇaḷum Ṇṭnuṭē manavum ŋān uyartannen/

cēvīkalē cāyiccu kaṇṇakal nī turkkenammē’4/

My eyes and my mind I have lifted up,
Lower Your ears and open Your eyes!

ēn ūśadṭēyum mōṛakalēyum nī keḷkkenammē’

________________________

and four stanzas. Davidson postulates that the original poem consisted of four stanzas, and that the seventeen stanzas version is a conglomerate of poems formed by the scribes. See Davidson, 1924: 2080 υ.

467 Read: pōlkālcayum.
ën namaskāravum kōrbbāna polē elkēnammē\(/5/\)
Listen to my voice and to my cries!
And my prayer – receive it as offering!

ën nilavilikkum mulfikalkkum\(468\) uttaram ākēnammē

dukhicca gōlattimmel nīnre kaṇṇukal tūrakkēnammē\(/6/\)
Let there be an answer to my cries and words!
You must open Your eyes to the suffering nation!

itā ēn gēti ēnre ullaṅil tānu poiyī

ēnre prānanum nannā āśiccū kṣīniccen\(/7/\)
Here, my volition is subdued in my innards,
And my spirit is diminished a lot and wasted.

karuṇa ēḷḷavanē nīnre mumbākē ūaṁal pēlaccu /
pūrkeṇaṁ sātakanē āśvāsatē ūaṁalkku nalkēnamē\(/8/\)
Merciful One! We have sinned before You.
Pardon, God, bestow relief upon us!

śēśiccū ariyalmel karuṇayil nī priyyam ākēnamē!

ñēṛukkattilinnavarē viṣṭārāvītilekka alēkkeṇamē\(/9/\)
Be compassionately affectionate towards the remnants of Ariel!
Release them from straits towards spacious width!

paṇṭe unṭāya mihāḍāś irippa stalattekku/

kareṇi cēnn′ avatē santoṣam kāṁmān ākenamē\(/10/\)
To the place where the temple was in ancient times
[We] shall enter and stay for seeing happiness.

sōnta stāla bhūmiyumel stāvikkenamē/

---

\(468\) Read: mōli.
Establish [them] in their own place on earth!
Lay them to rest there in happy devotion!

Wipe off all crimes, sins and faults!
By Your mercy, Jah, pardon our selfishness!

Towards You I lift my eyes and beg,
Release us off from straits towards spacious width!

Master of the world! Towards You I aspire.
Send Your protection to the helpless nation!

Rule forever over the constructed temple!
Let Your luster shine over Zion!

Let the dwellers of the two worlds be praising You.
Let them be saying, "Oh Lord! To You alone is the ruling of the world!"

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469 B8 reads: sukhabhaktiyil.
470 Read: marippū.
471 חַסְלָא, hall, a synonym for 'temple'.
äpeksa kelkkuna vätalukal turakkumär äkkenamē/
änanda santosam sōraññal īnaññalē kelppikkenamē/17/

Let the doors of hearing our plea be open!
Let us hear sounds of bliss and happiness!

The male-oriented *tamsir* translation differs in several ways from the female-oriented *arttham* translation. First, it adheres more closely to the Hebrew source – syntactically and even morphologically. See for example the first verse of the *tamsir* translation:

\[
\text{nīnrē} \quad \text{vätalkal} \quad \text{ēnrē} \quad \text{ṭatukēyil} \quad \text{yāē} \quad \text{tural/}
\]

your doors mine knocking Jah open

IInd sg. gen. noun + pl. Ist. sg. gen. verbal noun + loc. voc. imp. int.

\[
\text{nīnrē} \quad \text{tirumumbakē} \quad \text{cōtikkunna} \quad \text{ēliyavanikka} \quad \text{yāē} \quad \text{pōrā/}
\]

your sacred front asking for the poor Jah pardon

IInd. sg. gen. hon. adv. pres. part. m. + dat. voc. imp. int.

And compare it with the Hebrew source:

\[
\text{sōrēkā} \quad \text{bodopqi} \quad \text{yāh} \quad \text{pottahāh/}
\]

your Gates upon my knocking Jah open

pl. + IInd sg. m. loc. prep. + Ist sg. m. suff. imp. sg.

\[
\text{wolēdal} \quad \text{sōēl} \quad \text{lōpānēkā} \quad \text{yāh} \quad \text{sōlahāh/}
\]

and for the poor asking before you Jah pardon

conj. + dat. prep. + noun pres. part. dat. prep. + adv. imp. sg.

+ IInd sg. m. suff.

Except for the constraints of left-branching directionality, the *tamsir* translation closely follows the Hebrew syntax. In the *tamsir* translation, God’s name *yāh* appears right before the imperatives at the end of the verse, while the *arttham* translation begins with the auspicious word *yāhē*, ‘Jah’, implying the pragmatics of invocation.
Attempting to adhere to the Hebrew source, the *tamsir* translator profusely uses pronouns and morphemes that are redundant in Malayalam but indispensable in Hebrew, while the *arttham* translator omits them when redundant. For example, the plural marker –*kal* in the first line and the second person singular pronoun in the second line of the *tamsir* translation appear only to account for their Hebrew equivalents, while the *arttham* translator ignores them.

The *tamsir* translator often inserts a feminine or masculine pronoun to denote the gender of Hebrew nouns that are genderless in Malayalam. Thus, in the second verse the noun *nuskkāram,* 'prayer' (חֵלֶת), is marked by the feminine Malayalam pronoun *avāl varattē,* 'let her come' and, in the third verse, the phrase *kanninrē vēlivā,* 'eye light' (Mahār ʿaynī), is supported by a masculine pronominal nominalizer *āyavanē.* In the *arttham* translation, the word for prayer, *namaskkāram,* is unmarked, plainly followed by the desiderative *varenām,* 'must come'. The phrase *kanninrē vēli* is supported by the accusative marker -ē with no additional, and indeed unnatural, gender markers. The redundant and artificial uses of plural markers and pronouns render the language of the *tamsir* translation an artificial awkward style, while the language of the *arttham* translations is flowing and natural to Malayalam.472

Another strategy employed by the *tamsir* translator to reflect the Hebrew source is the preference of certain Malayalam forms over others. Thus, to reflect the Hebrew form *boddoqēq,* 'when I knock', the *tamsir* translator chooses the literary form of the verbal noun with a locative marker, *ṭattukēyil,* while the *arttham* translator chooses to construct the adverbial phrase *ṭattumbol.* Similarly, the choice of imperative forms, which are rather limited in Hebrew, is of the intimate imperative in the *tamsir* translation (*tura, pōrā), while the *arttham* translator chooses the desiderative with the emphatic particle –*e - turakkēnamē,* *purakkēnamē (< pōrakk-)*, possibly for producing the syllabic end-rhymes.

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472 Verbatim translations from Hebrew are one of the basic criteria to define a Jewish language, see 6.1.1.
Lastly, the selection of lexical items in the *arttham* translation is different from that in the *tamsir* translation. Compare a few examples of lexical choices and their orthographic presentation in the two translations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th><strong>Arthham</strong></th>
<th><strong>Tamsir</strong></th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hebrew</strong></td>
<td><strong>Arthham</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tamsir</strong></td>
<td><strong>Meaning</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>לפניך (1)</td>
<td><em>samaksa</em> <em>samati</em>&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt; <em>kal</em>&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt; (SAMKSAM + loc.)</td>
<td><em>nin</em> <em>tirumumb</em>&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt; <em>kal</em> (HON + ADV)</td>
<td>in front of You</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>שואל (2)</td>
<td><em>erakkunn</em>&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt; (IRACK + pres. part.)</td>
<td><em>coikkunna</em> (CODICK + pres. part.)</td>
<td>asking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>דֵל (3)</td>
<td><em>Akati</em>&lt;sup&gt;5&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><em>elyavan</em>&lt;sup&gt;6&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>a poor man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>פליטת אריאל (9)</td>
<td><em>sësëc</em>&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt; <em>ariyal</em> (SÉSÌKK + pa. part. + noun)</td>
<td><em>priyapp</em>&lt;sup&gt;8&lt;/sup&gt; <em>êri</em>&lt;sup&gt;9&lt;/sup&gt; (PRIYA + pass. part. + noun)</td>
<td>the remnants of Ariel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data in the table show that at times, the *arttham* translator prefers Sanskrit lexemes, e.g. *samaksa* *samati*<sup>1</sup> *kal* (SAMKSAM + loc.) versus *tirumumb*<sup>3</sup> *kal* (HON + ADV), *Akati*<sup>5</sup> versus *elyavan*<sup>6</sup>, and *nayanna*<sup>4</sup> (SAMKSAM + loc.) versus *nusk*<sup>7</sup> *a*<sup>8</sup> *ra*<sup>9</sup> (NUNKAL + conj.). The tendency to Sanskritize is even more striking in the orthography of the word *namaskar*<sub>a</sub>*ra*<sub>m</sub>, 'prayer', which in both cases is of Sanskrit origin. While the *tamsir* translator uses the Dravidianized spelling *nusk*<sup>7</sup> <sub>a</sub>*ra*<sub>m</sub> conforming to the spoken Jewish dialect, the *arttham* translator standardizes it to *namaskar*<sub>a</sub>*ra*<sub>m</sub>.

The *tamsir* translations are certainly related to the language of the *tamsir* tradition by syntactic strategies and lexical choices. This somewhat artificial language must have influenced the *arttham* translations as well. See for example the phrase constructed to render the Hebrew attributive to God, *חנן ורחום* (KARU6 *a*<sup>8</sup> *ullavan*<sup>9</sup> (KARU6 + pa. part. + voc)). Both translators construct a noun, *karu*<sub>a</sub>'compassion' with the nominalized verbal participle of *u*-<sub>a</sub> *ullavan*, 'he who has'. The only difference in

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<sup>1</sup> The number in parenthesis signifies the verse number where the word appears.
this case is that the *arttham* translator does not strictly adhere to the Hebrew source (*חנון ורחום*), while the *tamsir* translator is obliged to add also the noun *dēyav* to the title to account for the two consecutive attributives in the Hebrew source.

The language of the *tamsir* tradition must have had a growing impact on the corpus as its genres assumed shape and evolved. Little is known about this tradition for it was mainly retained by heart. However, the few texts that survived have a distinct vocabulary, and lexical items peculiar to it appear here and there in the corpus. Though the *arttham* translations have a larger number of such instances, the peculiar vocabulary is traceable even in the earliest *kănavvē* songs.

See for example the distribution of three peculiar lexical items, *pattanna*, 'truth' *tirišanan*, 'disciple' and *ōrappū*, 'strength'. The first item is in standard Malayalam, and its semantic field may include the sense of 'proof', as in examples a1 and a2 below. In the *tamsir* language, it is widened to include also the meaning of faith, or true faith, for rendering the Hebrew word *אמונה*, as in example a3 below.

The second item, *tirišanan*, 'disciple', is of uncertain derivation, and its meaning is obscure in the *kănavvē* song, 'The Vigil Night Song' (II61), where it first appears (example b1). It is definitely used to translate the Hebrew term *תלמיד*, 'disciple', in songs of a later period and in accordance with *tamsir* vocabulary.

The third item, *ōrappū*, 'strength', is used in the *tamsir* language both in its wider senses as a noun denoting strength and in its restricted sense as divine strength for constructing the Hebrew attributives for God as strong, *HaCohen*, 1877: 17, 26, 35, 47.


See Pirqey *avot*, undated, 2, 5, 10, 39, 42 (*tirišanmâr*).
(literally, 'the rock'), that are very common in Hebrew liturgy: *urappāyavan* (Ḳהוּפִּי, 1877: 6, 10, 26, 30, 34); *ōrappāyavan* (Ḳהוּפִּי, 1877: 13, 23).

### Illustration 4: The Influence of *tamsir* Vocabulary

**a. paṭṭānna, proof/faith**

1. IV11: 4 (*kānavvē?): paṭṭānna cēlli, 'The proof was pronounced.'
2. III14 (formulaic): ninrē paṭṭānna kantilla, 'I didn't see your proof'.
3. III24 (refrain): paṭṭānna kiṭṭum ḥammakku, 'we shall all attain the true faith'.

**b. tiriśānam, disciple**

1. II61: 2 (*kānavvē?): ōpp illa marrā ttiriśānakk, 'for the incomparable disciples'.
2. II4: 1 (formulaic-rhyming): ōpp illa marrā ttiriśānakk, 'for the incomparable disciples'.
3. II13: 3 (translation): yōşuḇabin num mōšēta tiriśēnam, 'Joshua, the disciple of Moses'.
4. III1: 4 (formulaic-rhyming): mōšēyi rabbēnum tānra tiriśēnum, 'Moses our teacher and his disciple'; tānum tiriśēnum vannu, 'and that disciple came'.

**c. ōrappū, orppū, urappū, 'strength'; 'limb':**

1. III48: 4 (*kānavvē?): nalla ōrappūnḵēl meni, 'good strong body'.
2. III14 (formulaic): urappukał nālum, 'all four limbs'.
3. III3: 3 (formulaic-rhyming): urappukał ťəka ŏrumiccu munneṭam, 'plunge all your limbs together'.
4. III90 (formulaic): ōrppāya mōšē, 'the strong Moses'.
5. II9 (formulaic): ōrppāya tambirān, 'the strong God'.
6. IV3: 3 (translation): urappāya ūra yērušālāyî, 'the strong place Jerusalem'.

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477 Unless otherwise mentioned, all song entries refer to Appendices A and B. The generic type of each song appears in parenthesis.

478 See Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 61 (M).
7. II13: 3 (translation): ṥarpaya创新型in, 'the strong Lord'.
8. II28: 2 (translation): ēnu urappayēvanē, 'my strong one'.
9. IV107: 5 (composer): ṣarpayē创新型atakanē, 'strong God'.

These few examples suggest a growing impact of the *tamsir* vocabulary on the corpus, since their use becomes more and more oriented towards Jewish terminology as we proceed from the old rhyming *kānāvvē* songs to the translation songs. Moreover, Hebrew names and terms are increasingly and more extensively used in the later genres. While the use of Hebrew lexemes is very limited in the rhyming songs, it becomes richer as the genres develop.

Arguably, the difference of style between *arttham* and *tamsir* translations is linked to their manner of performance. The *tamsir* translations are designed in the *ottumātam*, 'study hall', merely for scholarly purposes, while the *arttham* translations are meant to be sung during ceremonious occasions, mostly conducted outside the synagogue. Thus, the first is an artificial and precise verbatim translation, indifferent towards the target language, while the latter diverges from the source language aiming at the aesthetics of Malayalam language.

Only a few translations are widely distributed in the corpus. Many translations appear only in two or three notebooks, and some appear only in one. The textual presentation of translations suggests that it was a highly productive genre during the last phases of the corpus. Certain scribes seem to have been more actively involved in the production of translations for they include in their repertoire many of the least circulated ones (B9 and J1 from P and B3 from KP). Some translations appear only in KK notebooks, such as 'Thy Gates' (IV11). The textual distribution of translations, then, suggests that the three communities (P, KK and KP) formed centers of literary creativity. The *arttham* translations, unlike the *tamsir* translations, were not merely meant for education in Hebrew

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479 The most popular translations are II28 (שובתך), IV27 (יאשר יהוה), II13 ( än לוֹעַ), II21 (שוכנת בשדה), IV1 (יגדל אלהים). For the translation songs 'Gorgeous!' (II28) and 'Woman Dwelling in a Field' (II21), see Zacharia and Gamlil, 2005: 99—100 (M) and 101—102 (H).
vocabulary and meanings. They are often termed kalippāṭṭu, ‘play-song’, revealing their function as a performative genre.

Translation songs usually appear on the third part of the performative repertoire notebooks B9, B11, S13, S14 and S2. This is significant because the order of songs in the performative repertoire reflects, at least to some extent, the phases of evolution of the corpus. Thus, the kānāvvē songs are always clustered at the beginning of the performative repertoire, and their appearance becomes less conspicuous in the parts of the notebook that are not explicitly meant for weddings. The performance of kānāvvē songs is especially associated with the kāppurāṭri pre-wedding ritual, which the KP community did not perform anymore since the second half of the nineteenth century, and which ceased to exist among the Malabaris sometime after migration to Israel. Only two songs of other genres consistently appear in the kāppurāṭri repertoire, the formulaic-rhyming song ‘One Lord!’ (II33) and the formulaic song ‘The Oil Jar Hanukkah Miracle' (III87).

Similarly, there are certain songs selected for certain rituals, mainly, but not exclusively, associated with the wedding. Besides the fixed repertoire, each scribe might select and add songs of their choice. Translation songs belong to the latter group; they form an optional part of the wedding repertoire. Only three translations became part of definitive performative contexts – II13, אל עליון for circumcision, II51, סדר פדיון הבן, for the redemption of first-born males, and II56, סדר זבד הבת, for naming a newborn female. This suggests that translations became popular at a relatively later stage, so that only a few were suitable for special performative occasions and were incorporated in a fixed repertoire.

Translation songs represent a new phase of literary evolution, possibly during the nineteenth century, before tamsir translations were printed. A gradual process of assimilating the Hebrew substratum into the Jewish Malayalam corpus reaches its full-blown expression. The oldest stage consists of allusions to

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480 See Rahaby, 1916: 1—3.
481 The printing of translations might have been an attempt to standardize the translation movement.
biblical and midrashic sources, and it is discernable in the rhyming and the formulaic songs. In the next stage, the Hebrew elements in the linguistic register are enhanced and the contents are oriented towards religious devotion, so that the trend of judaizing characterizes the formulaic-rhyming songs. This stage must have evolved parallel to a growing influence of Hebrew para-liturgy in Kocci, where collections of Hebrew poems for religious rituals were printed since the mid-eighteenth century and indigenous Hebrew poets composed as early as the sixteenth century.\footnote{The oldest known Hebrew poet is the Malabari Namya Mutta (Walerstein, 2006), who lived in Kocci during the sixteenth century. To the best of my knowledge there is no study dedicated to the names of poets appearing in the Hebrew acrostic poems known only in Kerala, such as Elia HaAdani. Poets from the nineteenth century onwards are still remembered by their descendants.}

The next phase is discernible by intense assimilation of Hebrew into the corpus. Besides allusions and references to Hebrew sources and the growing impact of Hebrew para-liturgy, the corpus embraces complete units of content, rendered in flowing natural Malayalam. The language and the contents of the corpus become closer to the verbatim translation of the \textit{tamsir} tradition. \footnote{Audio recordings of a few \textit{tamsir} recitals are available in the Jewish Oral Traditions Research Center in the Hebrew University. The coinage \textit{tamsir} is suggestive of a relatively early period of composition. The word might be derived from the Judeo-Arabic word \textit{tafsir}, denoting the tenth century Judeo-Arabic translation of the Bible by R. Saadia Gaon. Later on, verbatim translations in Jewish languages are not called \textit{tafsir}.}

The \textit{tamsir} tradition is an oral tradition that is mostly forgotten today. Only a few written documents and audio recordings are available. It is a matter for future research to establish the period of the composition of the \textit{tamsir} tradition.

\subsection{4.7 Composer Songs}
Several songs in the corpus are attributed to composers, usually from the Kocci communities of KP and KK. Often, authorship is disputable. For example, the song ‘Song about Love’ (II22) is attributed to three different people: to Isaac Hallegua in B3, to Joseph Hallegua in B10, and to Eliyahu Japheth by Ruby Daniel. In most notebooks, however, authorship is not mentioned. Attributing
songs to certain authors is a common practice of the KP community, especially concerning three community members – Isaac Hallegua, Moshe Zarfati and Eliyahu Japheth.

Authorship must have been a matter of family prestige and communal rivalries. Names of individuals of the Hallegua family appear as composers in the Hallegua family notebook B3, and Eliyahu Japheth is considered a poet by his granddaughter Ruby Daniel. It is then rather dubious whether a certain person did in fact compose a certain song.

Songs attributed to composers are nevertheless subject to the mechanism of oral transmission, producing variants and diverse orthographic schemes. In spite of the questionable authorship and the oral transmission, these compositions depict conscious attempts to compose poetry in Jewish Malayalam. Hence, I treat them as a separate category labeled ‘Composer Songs’. They feature certain characteristics of style, structure, lexicon and themes. In this sense, composer songs resemble translation songs, and it is quite likely that they evolved along side the arththam translations, and in close affiliation with the male-oriented tamsir translations and tamsir tradition.

Take for example the two composer songs that were textualized and translated, 'Song about Love' (II22) and 'Hidden God' (III28). ‘Song about Love’ is composed in end-rhyming couplets adhering to the structural aesthetics of Hebrew poetry. It is pervaded by Kabalistic ideology. Feminine gender markers personify its subject matter, ābhā, 'Love' (< בהנה), according to the Hebrew feminine gender of the word 'love'. However, the lexical choices for this song are mainly Sanskrit loanwords, e.g. bhayankaram (terrifying), sṛṣṭiccu (created) sṛṣṭikal (creatures), daivam (god), tulyam (equal to), sundari (beautiful),

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484 Note that the Japheth-Daniel family lineage has its roots in the Hallegua family. For the family tree and details about Eliyahu Japheth, see Daniel & Johnson, 1996: 14—15, 27—29.

485 See also the dubious authorship of the song 'Hidden God' (III28), attributed to the Paradeši Moshe Zarfati. See also Zacharia’s comments (Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 192—193).

486 Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 103—106 (M), 105—108 (H).

487 See Zacharia’s notes, ibid. 191—192 (M).
śvāsam (breath), prānam (life). Thus, along with the conscious attempt to express Jewish concepts, there is also a conscious attempt to spell them out in the sanskritized language register, which is associated with the prestigious upper Hindu castes of Kerala.

The song 'Hidden God' has the structure of verses in four lines with mona rhymes adhering to Dravidian structural aesthetics. Its lexicon is abundant with Hebrew words, e.g. māsson (food, מזון), sēkut (right, זרכ), sitūkūt (righteousness, תחדק), ānēn (cloud, ענן) and esēnna (smoke, עשן). The theme of this song is the exodus from Egypt. Like the song 'Song about Love', this song, too, is firmly rooted in the Jewish domain of concepts and themes. Note that in the song 'Song about Love' the poet combines stylistic features inclined towards the Hebrew substratum with structural features inclined towards classical Malayalam poetry.

By integrating the local aesthetics with pan-Jewish materials, the poet reconnects his composition to the oldest substratum of the corpus, the rhyming songs. The rhyming songs, possibly written some three to four hundred years earlier, portray similar attempts of interweaving the local particulars with the Jewish universals, attempts that were later forsaken in favor of Judaizing the corpus. Though the authorship remains questionable, the composition is consciously poetic. The fact that some community members do tend to attribute specific poets to the song is further evidence for a separate trend in the corpus.

Another song attributed to a composer is the song 'God of Pleas!' (IV107). This song has two versions, one of five verses, and one of eleven verses. The song is structured in verses of three couplets each. There are syllabic end-rhymes usually of –ė and -ēn, the first being the vocative morpheme and the second the first person singular pronominal ending (PNG). Each verse ends with the refrain nērāya tambirānē ninnē ūnūn vilikkunuṅnē/ ēnṛē vilikalīl

488 The scribe of B3 attributes the song to Moshe Zarfati, while other scribes do not attribute it to any composer.

489 The short version appears in notebooks from KK - S14, S1, S11 and from ET - S10. The long version appears in the KP notebooks B3, B5, B7, J2 and in a notebook from Ch - B11. The above textualization is on the basis of the short version, with some adjustments according to the long one.
čennōtu uttiriyyê, 'Just God! I call You/ Answer me in my cries'. Though the end rhymes are not very sophisticated neither consistent, the repeated verse is in the model of 'pseudo-girdle poems'. It is a typical Jewish devotional song, which was possibly performed during weddings in the KP and KK communities.

God of Pleas!

IV107

1.
črakkunna tambirānē râšikkunna sâttakanē/a/
čnē nutukkāram nēmbakkal ŋān cintunnēn/b/
môrakal ēlārrilum ōriccu pěnnunnanavo nî/c/
čnē ŋērukkattil tanrē murikkattil/d/
nērāya tambirānē ninnē ŋān vilikkunnēn/e/
čnē vilikalil čennōtu uttiriyyê//f//

Oh, God to whom [we] beg! Oh, Lord who protects [us]!
I spread my prayers before You.
You are the firm protector in all woes!
In my distress, in Your steadfastness,
I call You, oh, just God!
Answer me in my cries!

2.
marappum pâpavum pûrakkunna tambirānē/a/
śuddhati ŏrakkappēṭṭa sâttakan ŋān annu/b/
čnē atarrattil nî tiriyallāyê/c/
atił untāyitōlavan ŋān ākunnu/d/
nērāya tambirānē ninna ŋān vilikkunnēn/e/
čnē vilikalil čennōtu uttiriyyê//f//

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490 Fleischer, 1975: 350—356. See also 2.3.4.
491 The song appears as part of the wedding repertoire in B5. Only two notebooks from other communities contain this song – S10 and B11.
Oh, God who pardons crimes and sins!
You are the steadfast Lord of holiness.
Do not turn away from me in my malice.
I am being immersed in it.
I call You, oh, just Lord!
Answer me in my cries!
3.

*pòrakkunna tambilânē tanna kūṭātē ārum illa/a/
tãnřē tirunāmmattē kuɾiccu ēnṛē pāpattē pōṛa/b/
ēnṛē kaṇnila kaṇṇuniruķala ni nökku /c/
ēṇnum ointment ēnṛē tamburānē/d/
neṛāya tambilänē ninna ūnā vilikkunnēn/e/
ēnřē vilikalil ēnnōtu uttiɾiyyē//f//

Oh, God who pardons! There is no one but You!
In Your holy name, pardon my sin!
Look at the tears in my eyes,
Oh, my Lord of the world forever!
I call You, oh, just Lord!
Answer me in my cries!
4.

śeṛddhāyī sātakan ēnnū tãnṛē tirunāmaṁ/a/
tãnṛē tirunāmaṁ kuɾiccu ēnṛē pāpam pōṛā/b/
ēnṛē cēḷukal pōlē ēṇna ni alakkallē/c/
ēnṛē rājāvāy ēnṛē ūuddhati āya sātakanē/d/
neṛāya tambilänē tanna ūnā vilikkunnēn/e/
ēnṛē vilikalil ēnnōtu uttiɾiyyē//f//

Your holy name is God Šaddai.
In Your holy name, pardon my sin!
Please do not measure me according to my deeds!
Oh, my holy Lord, my king!
I call You, oh, just Lord!
Answer me in my cries!
5.
ěmbakkêl tiriññu ēnnē gēranikkēnaṁ tambirānē/a/
yāe ēnōta uttariyē ŋān jīvippān uttariyē/b/
ēnnā nānañ kētattallē ēnṛē tamburānē/c/
ēnṛē pārappiyī irunna ēnṛē ǫrappāyē sātakanē/d/
nērāya tambirānē tanna ŋān vilikkunnēn/e/
ēnṛē vilikalīl ēnñoṭu uttiriyyē/è/

Oh, Lord! Turn towards me and mercy me!
Oh, God! Answer me! Answer for me to live!
Please do not despise me, Lord,
Because of my thoughts, strong God!
I call You, oh, just Lord!
Answer me in my cries!

The language of the song – its grammar and lexicon – is clearly affiliated with the tamsir tradition and translations. Certain forms are copious in the tamsir tradition and translations, and much less conspicuous in the older layers of the corpus. Examples for such forms are the first person singular PNG marker –ēn (e.g. cintunnēn, vilikkunnēn) and the peculiar imperative morpheme –yē (e.g. uttariyē, tiriyyallāyē).

A peculiar Jewish Malayalam form that is rare in Malayalam and in the corpus is the ablative ending constructed of the locative marker (-l omitted) + irunnu. This unique ablative appears in this song - pārappiyī irunna (IV107: 5d), and is common in the tamsir texts for expressing 'ablative ness', e.g. sināyī irunna, 'from Sinai' (משני, PA, 1); avaruṭē nātavi irunna, 'from their midst' (משניהם, PA, 4); dukhattirunna, 'because of poverty' (משנים, Hallegua, 1892: 1); vātalīyirunna, 'from the gate' (משנים, Hallegua, 1892: 17). There are also lexical items peculiar to the tamsir texts and translations, e.g. ataram/ atiram for 'malice' (רשע, HaCohen,
Composer songs are not uniform. They may have stylistic, structural and formal features typical of any of the song groups discussed above. Thus for example, there is a composer song in the pāṭṭu-mold typical of the rhyming songs, 'The World Is a Particle' (IV20), another song composed like a formulaic song 'The Document Box' (III12), and a song typical of the formulaic-rhyming songs, 'God of Pleas' (IV107). The composer songs represent a phase of generic diversity and literary maturity that led to introducing authorship into the corpus, possibly around the late nineteenth century. Possibly at the same time, another type of structural feature becomes popular; the refrain. However, it is difficult to ascertain when exactly it was first introduced to the corpus.

4.8 Refrain Songs

Refrains are syllabic units repeated at fixed intervals. This structural feature somewhat overlaps the 'girdle poem' verse refrain. For the sake of differentiating the two, I treat here as refrains only repeated strings of meaningless syllables (e.g. aayayya in I7) or of single words (e.g. nalla in II8). Refrains are often marked in the text, either fully represented or merely alluded to by marking double commas from the second instance of appearance onwards. Not all scribes mark the refrain in the text, and it might be that there are more refrain songs than those discernible by their textual presentation.

Songs with syllabic refrains are often typical Malayalam folk songs with nothing explicitly Jewish, for example, the song 'The Just Child' (II20). This song describes the wedding in couplets with inconsistent mona rhymes and the refrain sāveriya. It focuses on the pan-Keralite ceremony of tying the wedding pendant (tālī), so that also the ritual semantics of this song are not particularly Jewish.

1. nerum parassiyum pala tolimar ēllum/ nerē purappēṭtu kalānām kōlvān//
   cerāttat' ēllum cēriyatt' ākki kalāyanām/ cermēyil tannikk' ulla maṇēlam kōlluvān/
The just child and her many attendants set forth for attending the marriage. Disregard all disharmonies for attending your own marriage in harmony.

4.

tāśēyāl ọlla pērirāttānum vannu/ cippa pāni nalla cēppu turannutē//
 cēru pōỳnpūyūm cēcērāppūvum/ ā pāṭṭil irikkum ālak' ērum manaṭṭi//
sāveriya

A joyful master jeweler came and opened the jewel box [for] polishing.

Small golden flowers and tiny flowers – the bride has more beauty in that state.

7.

tāṭar manavālan tōlimārum kūṭa/ alakotē pēnvīṭṭil poya manavālan//
ōppēnaṅṭē tōrnammēl irittēṭ/ pōkaticcēṅtē avar tāliyum nūllummē//
sāveriya

It is the flowery groom and the bridesmaids too,

It is the groom who beautifully went to the woman's house,

[That] set the wedding pendant on the string

With decorations on gold.

8.

ēloṭē nall' oru keṭṭu kalinnūtē/ vāḷuka vāḷuka ēmmakal tāyārum//
ēmmakal vāḷuka ēnnavar tāyārum/ tamburēṇ vāḷuka ēnnavar tāyārum//
sāveriya

The marriage was happily accomplished.

Hail to my daughter and mother.

The mother blesses her daughter.

492 I omit a few verses. For the full text and translation, see Appendix A.

493 Perhaps the reference here is to engraving the silver coin as token of engagement.
The mother blesses God.

Several refrain songs appeared in print: 'Dressed in Gold' (II8) with the refrain nalla and 'In the Ship' (II66) with the refrain ye ye lo tta ttinttaka.\textsuperscript{494}

\section{4.8.1 Textual Genres and Musical Genres}

The typology of the corpus as it stands now is based on the textual presentation of songs. Since about a fifth of the corpus is also vocally presented in audio recordings, this textually based typology is bound to be limited. The category of refrain songs poses some problems regarding this limitation. Refrain songs can be affiliated with any of the categories mentioned above, from rhyming songs to formulaic-rhyming songs and even conglomerates. From a textual analysis point of view, they are left as a superfluous undefined category that can only be sorted out on the basis of an extra-linguistic criterion, an audio device that is not necessarily textually presented.

Furthermore, there are songs with audio versions that clearly belong to specific musical genres. Refrain songs are fairly well represented. The songs with the refrain ayyayya (I7, IV19) belong to the kaikköttikkali genre. Some refrain songs may have been performed during processions, as their subject matter suggests: 'Dressed in Gold' (I8) with the refrain nalla and 'In the Ship' (II65) with its syllable-string refrain. Some songs with no refrain and no typical structural features can only be subject to classification on the basis of their tunes. For example, the songs 'The Noble Bridegroom' (II7) and 'Multiple Multiple' (II16).\textsuperscript{495}

The song 'The Noble Bridegroom' is similar to the songs 'Dressed in Gold' (I8) and 'In the Ship' (II65) in that its subject matter, the procession of the bride and groom to the synagogue, may be in harmony with its context of

\footnotetext[1]{The latter was found scribbled on an official paper of the settlement Taoz attached to notebook S14, with no other textual presentation. Still, it has an audio version. This fact calls for attention, as the written corpus clearly only partly represents the oral tradition of singing. Visvanathan mentions a similar song that Jakkobites in Kottayam had for their wedding repertoire (1993: 105).}

\footnotetext[2]{See Johnson 2004 (CD).}
performance and, consequently, with a musical genre fit for procession. The song 'Multiple Multiple' too has no features characteristic of Jewish Malayalam literature. It is an antiphony between two groups of contesters typical of the genre vāśippāṭṭu, 'competition songs'. This song has no structural or formal features to conveniently fit into one of the generic categories in the corpus. It does utilize the formula device, but its formula is quite atypical of the formulas used in the sorpus. It is a loan-formula from Malayalam literature, the pōlippāṭṭu, that appears in its typical form only in the song 'Multiple Multiple', in spite of its wide distribution in Malayalam regional literature (see 2.2.2).

What complicates the matter is the fact that other textual features can be viewed as refrains, hence as generic musical features. Such are the verse-end rhyme kāṇavve in the rhyming songs and the 'girdle poem' couplet or line refrain that serves as a textual criteria in certain categories. There are at least two composer songs with a refrain, 'The World is a Particle' (IV20) and 'God of Pleas!' (IV107). The first has the refrain oḷi tulaḷ pēṭṭirippōrkkō ḍivērum mālika tān tārum, 'You shall give a shining palace for those who were exiled'. The second song discussed in detail above (IV107) has no audio version.

Similarly, two formulaic-rhyming songs with a 'girdle poem' refrain survived in audio versions. The song 'Foremost Standing God' (II4) has a half line rhyming each verse: erṛa pōkalcēyil vāstavēnam, 'bless with the highest praises'. It is a mature song of the formulaic-rhyming type fully incorporating the typical structural and formal features of the genre (mōna rhymes, redemption motif, and variation formula). Also the song 'Ernakulam-Tekkumbhāgam Synagogue Song' (I23) has a refrain: omēna palīḷ nuskkērippān/ uḷḷil ōḩarvū tā tambirān, 'for worshipping in the precious synagogue, give us inner wisdom, God!' This song, too, has features that adhere to the formulaic-rhyming songs group – mōna rhymes and a framing variation formula: āti mutēḷ āya āyān tannīl, 'in the Lord who is the foremost'. When the refrain is a part of a poetic structure, I treat it as a

496 See Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 199 (M).

497 The meaning is unclear. I read oḷiculaḷ, 'exclusion and whirling' as a metaphor for 'exile'.

loan-structure from Hebrew poetry, the verse-end rhyme of the ‘girdle poem’. Thus, the refrain as an essential structural feature is limited to songs that do not fit other classifications, and composes a somewhat superfluous category in the textual typology. It is a category that calls for a deeper study of the performative corpus of Kerala Jews, that only partially overlaps the literary corpus.

A musical typology of the genres in the corpus might very well yield an altogether different classification. Nevertheless, it will not be applicable to the large majority of songs in the corpus that have no audio versions. Since many songs, about seventy, do indeed have audio versions, it is possible to address the issue of musical genres at least partially, and to evaluate its implication on reading the corpus.

The issue of musical genres demands a different treatment. For one, musical genres are purely performative hence, much more liable to change over time than the textual genres. Unless documented over a period of time, it is practically impossible to evaluate their historical layers. Second, they may convey texts that are much older than their tunes. A good example is the Hebrew para-liturgy. The texts may have their origins in medieval Spain, but their tunes vary according to the regions where Jewish communities perform them. Kerala Jews pride themselves with the tunes of their Hebrew para-liturgy repertoires that the Paradešis term 'Shingly Custom' (מנהג שינגלי), and the Malabaris term 'Kollas'.

Third, even the oldest songs in the corpus were probably composed to fit into a tune that was popular during their time of composition. Of course, their tunes may have changed significantly over time or altogether forgotten. Songs that have an audio version, that is to say remembered until recently, are often songs composed according to tunes that were popular in the twentieth century.

\[498\] The derivation of the term is unclear. It might be a Malayalamization of the Judeo-Spanish term Coplas (pl → ll). The Judeo-Spanish term refers to a genre of narratival songs. There may be historical connection with Kerala, for Judeo-Spanish speakers were reported to be among the Paradešis as late as the nineteenth century. In a meeting with Kerala Jews in 2008, some recalled a nursery rhyme in broken incomprehensible language and reported it was in Judeo-Spanish (Ladino). Note that the redemption motif in the formulaic-rhyming songs resembles the use of formulaic verses in the Judeo-Spanish Coplas. See 4.4.2.
For example, the tune of the popular English song 'Darling Clementine' serves for a Hebrew poem composed in Kerala, 'Hail the King!' (יחי מלך, AS, 1980: 390) and for a Jewish Malayalam translation too, the song 'Daily' (IV27, וים ממיה, AS, 1980: 59).

The musical genres interact with the textual genres in producing new compositions. Of the seventy-odd audio recordings of Jewish Malayalam songs, approximately one-third of them are composed during the first half of the twentieth century, as their Zionist themes suggest. Translation and formulaic songs are each about a fifth of the recorded versions. This suggests that the translation and formulaic genres were still productive during the twentieth century, though their roots may have been older. Additionally, a new formal feature is introduced to the corpus, the Zionist theme. While it does not feature as a distinct generic marker in the corpus (at least not as reflected by S14), its prominent presence in the musical scene suggests it might have been a feature of a mature musical-performative genre.

There is one Zionist song that exemplifies the incorporation of productive textual genres into the musical scene. This song, 'Our Ancient Hope' (I24), is ostensibly an arttham translation of the Hebrew national anthem. However, of its seven verses, only four render selected verses of the Hebrew original. The rest are the work of a composer, whether Kakkicca (Isaac Moses Roby), as attested by Ruby Daniel and B10 or someone else. The conscious poetic investment is seen in the end-rhymes –mēn, the neat couplet structure and the language register, as we shall soon see. It further incorporates the redemption motif and a 'pseudo-girdle

499 Daniel attributed this song to Isaac Moses Roby (Daniel and Johnson, 1995: 92). In B10, a notebook which originated in Daniel’s family, the song is titled Kakkiccītē pāttu, 'Song of Kakkicca' (Roby's nickname). The Israeli national anthem was written in the late nineteenth century. It became immensely popular among Zionists all over the world by 1903, and achieved its formal status in 1933. Before 1903, it was known by the name 'Our Hope' (תקוותנו); maybe this is what the Jewish Malayalam translator had in mind. Its status as a popular kollas (Hebrew poem) is attested by its inclusion in the pīyyut repertoire of Kerala Jews for ספירת העומר (AS, 1980: 373—374). The Zionist movement was introduced to Kerala Jews as early as 1901 (See Walerstein, 1987: 65—67; Moskowitz, 1986: 42).
poem' verse refrain. The song, then, is a 'hybrid' incorporating features of the older layers in the corpus, while adjusting to musical genres and new thematic concerns of the contemporary audience. The theme of this song is the longing for a nation-state, conveying the aspiration of Jews to migrate to Zion (siyōn) from the Diaspora (kutiparil nattukal).

The linguistic register of this song shows the state of literary Jewish Malayalam in this period. The use of PNG markers still has some effect, but it is a matter of stylistic archaism. In this song, the first singular pronominal ending –ēn is used only for producing end-rhymes, ungrammatically affixed to finite verbs, e.g. kāṭṭēnam-ēn (desiderative), and even to verbal nouns such as pōkantatin-ēn (nominalized desiderative + dative). Neither does this pronominal ending have any relation to the speaker, implied or explicit, for it often joins predicates syntactically related to plural or third person subjects, e.g. pārikkunnēn, '[we] hope'; ŋammalē ēdevākkumēn, '[He] shall pity us'. In contrast to the ungrammatical use of –ēn, the archaic locative ending –kal is grammatically used, suggesting it was still productive in the literary Jewish Malayalam of the twentieth century.

The Hebrew substratum of Jewish Malayalam literature is also evident. Apart from the Hebrew loanwords on the superficial textual level, there are certain uses peculiar to the tamsir language, e.g. kutiparil (< kūti + puricciḥ),\(^{500}\) denoting exile (מַלְאָה) and ārabikk- (ārambhikk-) denoting cheering or adherence to something (נָמַר, נָמֵר).\(^{501}\) The tamsir language takes effect on the syntactic level, for instance, when the city of Jerusalem is referred to by the female anaphoric pronoun, avalil. The Malayalam syntax would prefer the genderless pronoun, aṭil, in this case. Also noteworthy is the fanciful use of the Hebrew word nēśar, 'eagle' (נְשָׁר). Unlike siyōn, yērusaṣelēm, yākkōbu and maṣīha, words that are common in many other songs, the word nēśar appears only in this song. Apart from repeating

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500 See HaCohen, 1877: 2, 10, 11, 26.
501 See Ibid., 29, 30, 34, 40, 45, 47.
the refrain, each line is repeated twice in accordance with the cycles of the tune.
From the fourth verse onwards, the song is an indigenous composition:

**In Both Sides of the World**

1. 

*lökam iribhägañnalil ullā jutar kulan jivan/a/
daivattoṭu ullārabikkubol siyönkal pārkkunnēn/b/

The soul of the Jewish nation is in both sides of the world.
When the heart speaks to God, [it] longs for Zion.

(kurkkan)⁵⁰²

*pantu pāratta ñammalлуṭē pārppa iniyum kēṭṭāṭilēn/
ñammalлуṭē daivattāl nalkiya nāttunkal kutē pōkantatinēn//

Refrain:
Our hope nourished for so long has not yet perished,
For going back to the land, which our God gave us.

2. 

*jutar manasil gula piriya umūppōl iniyum pārkkunnēn/a/
pāvattāl cīṭariya sādakkan iniyum ñammalē dēvākkumēn/b/

(pantu pārṛta)

While there is love for the nation in the Jewish heart, [we] still hope,
That the Lord who dispersed [us] because of [our] sins will pity us again.

3. 

*kutipārīl nāṭṭukalil uḷḷa utapurappē bhāvi pāṭṭu kēḷppin/a/
jūta avasāniyil mātrame ñammalųṭē pārppa avasānamēl/b/

(pantu pārṛta)

Oh, brothers of the Diaspora! Listen to the future song!
Only in the last of Jews, our hope be at its last.

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⁵⁰² This is the title for the refrain in the manuscript.
4.

\[
yērūsalēm paṭṭanam nēṣārīnā pōlē iniyum putut' ākkumēn/a/ 
ṣōbayum pukalcakkal nīraṅ’n’ ōrum rājiyam āvittu vassikkumēn/b/ 
(pantu pāṛtta)
\]

The city of Jerusalem, like an eagle [we] shall [reconstruct it].
We shall dwell in the kingdom auspicious and full of praise.

5.

\[
yākkobū avalil sūddham āya pīriyattāl inīniyum vassikkumēn/a/ 
dai tiruvallattāl maśiḥā rājāvu avalil vālumēn/b/ 
(pantu pāṛtta)
\]

Jacob shall dwell in her with the holy love.
The King Messiah shall rule her with the divine will.

6.

\[
ninnāl ŋanīnlka nalkiya pāṛppa nīvarttiy ākkōṇamēn/a/ 
pāṭi stutikkunā pāṭṭukarēyum kuṭē kāṭṭēnamēn/b/ 
(pantu pāṛtta)
\]

Fulfill the hope that You bestowed upon us!
Do it also for the singers who sing and praise\(^{503}\)

4.8.2 **Generic Overlap and Hybrid Forms**

It is important to note that classification according to structural, formal and stylistic features has its limitations. First, features that determine the definition of a certain generic group might appear in songs that belong to other groups. The categorical overlap of refrains and verse-end rhymes is one example. Another example is the \(\text{pāṭṭu}\)-mold, an essential structural feature of the rhyming songs. It

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\(^{503}\) S4 of KT adds a verse with the names of David Ben-Gurion and Moshe Sharet. B10 attributes the song to Kākkicca, Isaac Moses Roby’s nickname.
may appear also in formulaic-rhyming songs (e.g. I23), in conglomerates (II11) and in composer songs (IV20).

Second, the textual generic classification is internal to the corpus. It does not account for generic features observable in the literary corpora that inspire the Jewish Malayalam corpus, mainly Malayalam literature and Hebrew poetry. Such a generic feature is the motif. According to this internal classification, the redemption motif is essential to determine whether a song is of the formulaic-rhyming type. However, there are at least three other motifs noticeable in several songs: the parrot motif, the synagogue motif and the paradise motif. The latter is rather rare. If we define genres of parrot and synagogue songs in the corpus, the affinities of the corpus with Malayalam literature become more apparent, for there are productive genres of parrot songs (kilippāṭtu) and synagogue songs (pallippāṭtu) in the corpus.\(^5\)

The internal generic classification certainly has its advantages, especially in revealing historical trends and literary currents. To compensate for its main shortcoming in relating to external neighboring literary corpora, I shall next examine some songs with the parrot motif and their intertextual relations between each other and between the wide literary world 'out there' in Malayalam and in Hebrew.

### 4.9 Parrot Songs

The parrot motif is expressed by addressing a parrot or having a parrot as an addressor. Songs with the parrot motif are loosely affiliated with a literary trend (prasthānam) in classical Malayalam literature, kilippāṭtu (parrot song). Since the word kil in its broader sense denotes any kind of bird, the category kilippāṭtu may include songs with other types of birds. However, it is usually a kil in the narrow sense of 'parrot' that is the addressor or the addressee in a kilippāṭtu. The narrative agency of a parrot or bird is an important marker of several songs in the corpus justifying treating them as a sub-category of songs.

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\(^5\) See Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 42—55, 144—147 (M) 34—52, 145—147 (H).
The ethno-generic definition applied to parrot songs is suggested by the performative title attached to them in certain notebooks, *kalippäţtu*, 'play song', possibly an abbreviation for *kaikkottikalippäţtu*, 'clapping play song'. This title denotes the manner of performance – singing while moving in a circle, clapping hands and rhythmically stamping feet.\(^{505}\) Since this performative genre is closely related to musical genres, several parrot songs survived in audio recordings.\(^{506}\)

Women from the KK community used to perform some songs in the manner of performing Kerala 'clapping songs' during Hanukkah and wedding parties. Ethnographic data concerning the manner and context of such performances as well as textual data in songs or notebooks are yet insufficient for determining the nature of songs titled *kalippäţtu*. Women from other communities claim that only KK women were performing songs in such a manner, but songs titled *kalippäţtu*, not necessarily parrot songs, appear in notebooks of all communities. Moreover, the scribes are not in agreement concerning the titles of songs, and a song titled *kalippäţtu* in one notebook or more, may be titled *kurukkan* in another notebook.\(^{507}\) The data about the context of performance of the 'play songs' and about their ethno-generic classification in the corpus is scarce. What is clear is that some songs with the parrot motif have the title *kalippäţtu*, that some of them were performed during weddings, and that the women of one community used to perform play songs for their Hanukkah parties in the manner of clapping play songs.

There are relatively few parrot songs in the corpus, and they vary in their language, theme and structural features. Nine parrot songs were published in

\(^{505}\) The Hindu holiday of Tiruvātira is a famous occasion for women to perform Hindu texts as clapping songs, see above 2.2.3.

\(^{506}\) 'Dear Parrot Song' (I7); 'The Noble Bridegroom' (II7); 'Oh Green Bird!' (II26).

\(^{507}\) See for example the titles for songs in the KK notebooks S14, beginning with Hanukkah Song (III20): *ayyayyarē pāṭtu* (IV19), *kurukkan pālōţu*, 'Parrot Song' (I7), *kalippāţtu sarimān*, 'The Noble Bridegroom' (II7), *kurukkan antāli*, 'A Green Bird' (II26). The last three songs are parrot songs, and at least two of them were recorded in the clapping songs manner of performance.
There are just a few more parrot songs in the corpus, 'The Song of Māmūcci' (IV106) and 'Crown of the World' (IV76). The distribution of such songs in the corpus is rather limited to notebooks from KP and KK. There are only three parrot songs, which appear in notebooks from other communities – 'Parrot Song' (I7), 'Oh Singing Bird' (II26) and 'Naming Song for a Daughter' (II56).

Parrot songs may be classified under any of the categories discussed above, or alternatively may nicely fit into different thematic categories (as in the thematic index), performative occasions (weddings or Hanukkah parties), and ethno-genres (kalippāṭtu, kurukkan). Some songs with the parrot motif are often associated with weddings in addition to bearing the title kalippāṭtu, 'play-song'. As far as it concerns the parrot songs in this corpus, their arbitrary nature almost defies any criteria for a separate classification, for each may nicely fit into one of the other categories. Nevertheless, the parrot motif is dominant enough to justify their comparative analysis as a sub-category.

The parrot motif is not merely a literary device; it is a poetic icon, whose mere presence connotes a variety of issues at the heart of Kerala culture. These songs represent an interesting cultural ‘hyphen’ between the literary community as distinctly Jewish, and the literary medium as distinctly Keralite. The agency of the parrot/bird activates the ‘hyphenating’ process in the context of Jewish Malayalam literature. The parrot is also a cultural icon associated with women’s knowledge and often referred to as tattamma (parrot-she). The parrot songs that

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508 Zacharia and Gamlil, 2005: 'Parrot Song' (I7), 'Paradesī Pallī Song' (I18), 'The Noble Bridegroom' (I7), 'Oh Singing Bird' (II26), 'A Green Bird' (II36), 'Naming Song for a Daughter' (II56), 'One Place' (I38), 'Parrot in a Hole' (I6).

509 The notebooks found after 2000 are not yet fully incorporated into the song index, so that they may include be more parrot songs in them.

510 Among these issues, there are Hindu myths and epics narrated via the agency of a parrot or a bird (kilippāṭṭu prasthānam), a genre of lyrical poetry in Sanskrit and Malayalam (sandesāvya), and many folksongs addressing a bird or a parrot. A parrot motif often accompanies images of women in temple and palace art, and many houses have a living parrot as a pet at the inner quarters, the women’s domain, of the house.
were sung during Jewish weddings explicitly refer to the female gender of the parrot or bird in the song. This association with femininity also serves as a 'hyphen' between the Jewish and the Keralite – the particular Jewish women and their generalized Keralite femininity.

A good example for songs of this group is the refrain song 'Dear Parrot Song' (I7), in which a parrot is addressed to narrate a story:

\[
\begin{align*}
p\text{ālōtu pālām tārvēṅ/} & \ p\text{ayīṅkīlī nīnakk' ēkēn/} \\
p\text{āriccu tān tārvēṅ tāṅē/} & \ p\text{ayīṅkīlī nīnakk' ēkēn/}
\end{align*}
\]

Milk and banana I shall give,  
To you I shall give, dear parrot!  
I shall pluck myself and give,  
To you I shall give, dear parrot.\(^{511}\)

After establishing the parrot as the addressee, the song proceeds with the parrot as the addressor, narrating a tale of wandering and hardships. The song has two versions, one from KP and KK and the other (I7a) from Parur. Zacharia comments on this song at length, focusing on the Parur reading and pointing out certain elements, which make the song 'Jewish' and present the parrot/s as an analogy for Jews, such as the phrase \textit{pattu tatta}, 'ten parrots', suggestive of the quorum. He also argues that this song is a literary presentation of Jewish historical self-reflection, as the narration is concerned with wanderings and sufferings inflicted upon the parrot/s by a ruthless hunter.\(^{512}\) In addition, the mediation of the parrot is itself suggestive of historical narration, for there are parrot songs in classical Malayalam, where the subject matter is an \textit{itihāsa} (ethno-history) text.\(^{513}\) However, there is nothing explicitly Jewish in the song, its 'Jewishness' is merely a matter of interpretation.\(^{514}\)

\(^{511}\) For the full text and translation, see Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 37—39 (M) and 27—31 (H).
\(^{512}\) The KP and KK version has a happy ending, while the P version ends in desperate tones, see Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 138 (M).
\(^{513}\) Ibid., 135—140 (M).
Four parrot songs are explicitly Jewish (II26, II56, I18, I38); while more than half may only loosely be interpreted as Jewish, unlike most of the songs discussed so far. Except for the songs ‘Dear Parrot Song’ and ‘Paradesi Palli Song’ (I18), all of them have specific and explicit references to women (or female parrots), directly touching issues of femininity and especially concerning the state of being a bride. At the same time, they too depict several elements that are in harmony with the communal Jewish milieu in Kerala. The parrot in these songs connotes the general universal ‘outside’ socio-cultural world of Kerala with the actual participants in the performative occasion, Jewish women (especially in Kocci). It does so by its poetic and cultural iconic presentation as an emissary of knowledge associated with women and femininity.

Since the textual presentation of parrot songs in notebooks from KK and KP is significantly richer, parrot songs represent an evolution stage in the repertoire peculiar to these two communities.515 The processes of ‘hyphenation’ and literary evolution that effect formation and reformation are discernible in this sub-category. The analysis of these processes sheds light on the processes forming other categories and sub-categories of songs.

Two songs, ‘The Noble Bridegroom’ (II7) and ‘Oh Singing Bird’ (II26) demonstrate the evolution process that generates a new productive and distinct category. Examining their relation to each other shows how the parrot motif activates the ‘hyphenating’ process. These two songs are especially explicit about the wedding and concerned with the feminine aspects of the parrot medium, aiming at the bride.

The song ‘The Noble Bridegroom’ (II7) is a dialogue between the bride and a cuckoo bird urging the bride to go to the palli, naturally understood as ‘synagogue’. Nevertheless, palli can also denote a church or a mosque, and the

514 Ruby Daniel interprets the song as such, see Daniel and Johnson, 1995: 124—125.

515 This motif is even inserted in a kāṇavvē verse that must be a later addition to ‘The Vigil Night Song’ (II61: 7b): āntuka tōrum ppala mnōyinbat’ ōntu/a/ āntubtam ūyōru kili ppurttuuka/’There are many penances each year. There is a wonderful parrot outside.’ Additional kāṇavvē verses appear only in KK and KP notebooks.
whole song can just as well aim at a Muslim or a Christian bride. The mood of the song is love (śrīkāram), addressing the cuckoo bird as the herald of love (ciṅkāram cēḷum kuyil). The bride watches the groom approaching through the street, through the world outside:

**The Noble Bridegroom**

II7

1.

`sarimān talamuṭimānna kōṅkummā/ tālēn<sup>516</sup> ēṅkilum pāṭumē/
takāt<sup>517</sup> āya vīrana pāṭum/ māṅkēyuṁ palattulavan/
tirāvēl ēṅkilum kāṇṇēn ulakā/ tērushed talaṅkēl vannavan/
ēṭu palatu cēyta kūrmmā/ aṭilē itilē vaiyilūtē/

The noble man is the royal *kunkuma* groom with the flowing hair.

Even if so – sing!

He has many women singing of his splendid valor.

Even if he turns – I see [him].

He is the one coming towards the busy street,

With all sorts of wits he did told through this or that mouth.

2.

`ciṅkāram cēḷum kuyilum/ marakkārum varum talakkēlu/
ciṅkāram oṭi vārum/ cīṅkāram varum pallilē/
marattu<sup>518</sup> raṅṭētam pāṭeyōllētam/ maravīyēṅkīlūn/
pāṭumē cēkattu pōna parṅkiyōtu/ pāḷummu<sup>519</sup> pāṛēṭi paliyilē/

The love-humming cuckoo is at the quarter,

Where the *marakkārs*<sup>520</sup> come from.

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<sup>516</sup> *kunkumattin manavālan*, see Zacharia and Gamlil, 2005: 197 (M).

<sup>517</sup> *takrtē* 'profusion'; *takrtiyāy* = 'splendidly'.

<sup>518</sup> Read: *mariccu* (*marikk*).

<sup>519</sup> Or *putuma*.

<sup>520</sup> Muslim sea farers and traders.
Love comes running,
Love comes into the pallī.
Even if two places are reversed,
And the way is forgotten, Sing!
Tell the Portuguese who roam the world
Of the antiquity\textsuperscript{521} of the pallī.

The bride looks at the world outside, from where the groom arrives in a procession.\textsuperscript{522} Through her gaze, the world appears as if flooded with passionate love. She sees a world of busy streets (ulakā tēruvū) and a monotheistic shrine (pallī). Muslim traders (marakkār) and cosmopolitan Portuguese (pəraňki, perhaps a general term for Europeans) populate the world outside, where the groom cleverly interacts (cēyta kūrmma). This song could describe Kocci, and the road that stretches between, say, the KK and KP synagogues, running along the main road of a busy spice market, as Zacharia suggests.\textsuperscript{523}

However, the description is rather casual. It is a path curved through the narration leading to a lyrical description of a landscape and body overflowing with passionate love. The cuckoo answers from outside by describing a landscape suggestive of the bride’s inner world, and body parts metonymic of the bodies of the bride and the groom:

3.
āti āya mēkamuttu/ raṇṭu i raṇṭu vīllāñnumē/
āsam ēllām ēllām vanna/ kōnçēyil kulal kōllumē/
nāka muttu mēka muttu/ pacca nalla vayiravum/

\textsuperscript{521} Or majesty.

\textsuperscript{522} According to Zacharia, the narrative rhythm of this song reflects the pace of a procession (ghosayātra), in which the bride is accompanied to the ceremony of tying the tāli in the pallī. See Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 196—197 (M). See also 3.1—2 for processions as occasions for cultural participation and ‘hyphenating’ processes, and 3.5 for processions during the Jewish wedding.

\textsuperscript{523} See Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 196 (M).
atilē itilē itilē pōnam/ valī natēti pallīyilē/

The two marvelous cloud pearls –
These two will shine.
A fondling flute of all aspirations shall be [yours].
A sky pearl, a cloud pearl, a real emerald –
Walk my girl down the pallī road leading hither and thither.

4.
iti itikkuka malaka pōlika/ irālum mānam tēliyumē/
pasi aṭakka vaicca mīnum/ pārttu kēttēti pallilē/
kōccēnu kulaluva cōrā/ kulalum valayum kilanńumē/
kulalum vaḷayum pavaḷa cōrā/ kuṇkummakkulal viśumē/

Strike thunder!
Smash the mountains!
Darkness shall fade away off the sky.
Possess [your] self,
Tie the tāli in the pallī.
A bundle of small flutes, Blood tubes and bangles
Shall rattle.
Tubes and bangles, [of] coral and blood,
And a tube of kuṇkuma
Shall blow.

The theme of passionate love combined with the parrot motif endows the song with lyricism, which is rare elsewhere in the corpus. The theme of love is directly related to the context of performance, the wedding. Contrarily, most of the songs viewed so far convey the wedding in pragmatic ways (rhyming songs) or address it with Jewish didactic agenda (formulaic-rhyming, translation and composers songs). The song has an inconsistent structure of four-line verses with mona rhymes. However, it is embellished with figurative devices that are atypical of Jewish Malayalam literature – metaphors (cloud-pearl) and metonyms (e.g. blood
tubes and coral bangles for the bride's body). Additionally, the language register aims at literary, poetic language by applying forms such as kānnēn with the PNG marker –ēn and the future participles pāṭum maṅka, varuṁ tala, cēlum kuyil.

The absence of explicit markers of Jewishness suggests that the song was adapted into the corpus before it was subject to Judaizing processing. This may have motivated the addition of one more verse presented as a kurrakan and appended to the song ‘The Noble Bridegroom’, the detached verse 'Oh Singing Bird' (II26). Interestingly, this verse is more popular than the song it is appended to as evident by its significantly wider textual distribution. It is a verse structurally patterned like 'The Noble Bridegroom' in four lines with mona rhymes.

āntāli pāṭum kiliyē kēlu/ ānnēram ēnt' ŏru vartte ōllum/
cunṭum cukannum talayil pāṭum/ cūtakavatilē raṇtu vannam/
pantēlil pāluṁ paḷavum tēnum/ kaṇṭatil eram taruvān tattē/
nalla taram cēlli nēnna kaṇṭāl/ nalla taram cēlli tattapēnṇē/

Listen bird singing [in a swing]! What happened that time?  
Lips are reddened, silk on the head,  
There are two groves in the Jewish [quarters].  
In the wedding shed, there are milk, banana and honey,  
I shall give you more than is seen, parrot!  
Wish me good luck if we meet,  
Wish me good luck, she-parrot!

Apart from the oblique reference to the Jewish celebration (kavattū < kāmbolattē), there are also specific references to the context of performance, the wedding: wedding-shed (pantāl), milk and banana (pāluṁ paḷavum),\textsuperscript{524} and good

\textsuperscript{524} About milk and banana, their relation to the wedding and their uses as 'cultural details', see 3.1.
luck wishes (nalla taram celli). The derivation of the term kavattu is unclear.\textsuperscript{525} I suppose that the lexeme kavattu in this context denotes the ritual space, the wedding. The following term, rantu vanam, may stand for the two parties involved in the function, and the parrot motif is suggestive of the male and female participants that the bride addresses in the song.

It is likely that parrot songs were adapted into the Jewish Malayalam corpus as wedding songs during one of its phases of literary evolution. It probably happened relatively later than the phases of rhyming and formulaic-rhyming songs, after these song groups had matured into distinctively productive genres. The song 'The Noble Bridegroom' must have been adapted from a reservoir of wedding songs shared by monotheistic communities in Kocci. Contrarily, its appended kuyukkan is an attempt to expand its relevance to the Jewish milieu. The assumption that the song 'The Noble Bridegroom' is a native of Kocci integrated as it is into the corpus, is based on several observations:

- The textual presentation of the song is limited to notebooks from Kocci.
- There are keywords suggestive of Kocci (marakkar, piranki).
- The lexeme palli is not specified as a synagogue.
- It adheres to poetic devices otherwise rare in the corpus - metaphor, metonym, suggestion of passionate love (srinaram).
- There are textual affinities with Christian wedding songs (kuñcumattin manavālan, the friendliness to the Portuguese, the word palli).\textsuperscript{526}

\textsuperscript{525} Another possible derivation of kavattu may be from kāvū, 'forest shrine' (of non-Brahminic Hindus). It is atypical for Jewish Malayalam to use such a term, though it might have undergone semantic shifts that can explain its use. For semantic shifts in Jewish Malayalam, see 6.3.3.

\textsuperscript{526} Jussay (2005: 121—125) equated Jewish and Christian wedding songs based on similar ready-made lines. Among these are 'Dressed in Gold' (I8), a refrain song and 'Blessing Song' (II11), a verse conglomerate. A wedding song about a marriage procession in a boat is mentioned in Viswanathan, 1993: 105. It might be the same song as 'In the Ship' (II65), but unfortunately, no text is given. This suggests that there is a common repertoire of wedding songs that the monotheistic communities in central Kerala share.
• The language is in the register of modern Malayalam poetry (future participle profusely used, absence of PNG markers).

The second song, 'Oh Singing Bird' (II26), must be a composition by community members, a generic molding with explicit Jewish markers, formally conforming to its generic archetype. The word signifying its 'Jewishness' (cūta) is indispensable in rhyming the second line, which starts with the word cunțu. Nevertheless, unlike the previous song pervaded by suggestion and figurative language, the verse 'Oh Singing Bird' directly addresses the wedding occasion and invokes auspiciousness (nallataram). The advance from the song 'The Noble Bridegroom' to the song 'Oh Singing Bird' is a process of oicotypification activating the dynamics of the cultural 'hyphen' between 'Jewish' and 'Keralite'.

Two more parrot songs play a role in this process of cultural 'hyphenation': 'A Synagogue Song' (I18) and 'Naming Song for a Daughter' (II56). 'A Synagogue Song' appears in four notebooks, all from Kocci - two are from KP and two from KK. The song 'Naming Song for a Daughter' is widespread and preserved in notebooks from different communities. Both songs have a unique blend of various generic features. One song is defined in the notebooks as a pallippāṭtu, an ethno-generic term based on the subject matter of the song and signifying the dominance of the synagogue motif. The other song has a title that denotes the context of performance, pēruvili (naming) a small ceremony that both Jews and Hindus celebrate twenty-eight days after the birth of a daughter. Interestingly, the ceremony itself is a cultural 'hyphen', expressed also in the composition of the song, which is in fact an arttham translation proliferated into a separate song.

The song 'A Synagogue Song' has two versions that differ in length and in community of origin. The longer version consists of ten couplets, and it appears only in two KP notebooks. The shorter version consists of six couplets and appears only in KK notebooks. The longer version was published under the title given in the KP notebooks, 'Paradeśi Synagogue Song' (paradeśi pallīta ppāṭtu).527

527 Zacharia and Gamliel 2005: 54—55 (M), 51—52 (H).
The short version does not deal, at least not explicitly, with the Paradeši synagogue, but with an unspecified one.

muṭi āya ṇācenē munnamē ullavanē/ mulippiṭṭa tanna nēnnappān kkaniva tā/
tasēl ʻoll’ ōra pīṇiṣyamūlattāl ṭākkammē ninnu tōṇakkēnām ēṇnakka/1/
1. Top most God existing before! Grant me the sweetness for pondering You above all!
By the merit of the joyful people, help us at the right time!

2. bēḷamēyil ʻokka ḍumuccu kūṭṭēnām/ bēḷamēyil palli ēṭappān ni ēkēnām/
mēṭuma ʻoll’ ōru bava irippān/ ōrumaōṭē cēnṇuṣkumītāvēnām/2/
Faithfully, unite [us] all! Faithfully, grace [us] to build a synagogue!
[We] must come united and bow down, for the faithful father to be present.

3. kkōrvv’ āyittōntu janaṇṇaḷ avatannu/ kōṭṭiyāl ʻoll’ ōru kāriyaṃ cēvēvān/
naṭṭil araśāna viṭṭa irunnuṭē nāl vāyītta ʻoll’ ōru pīṇiya cēvēvān/3/
Saying that the people are few there for performing the deed of [drumming],
The king of the country sat there for worshipping at four in the afternoon.

4. tanappāmr mūvērkkum muvimbaḷi nikkēnām/ ṭākkammē ninnu tōṇakkēnām
   ēṇnakka/
bēṭamēyil ʻokkā ḍumucca kuṭṭē/ bēṭamēyil palli ēṭatta sarvvaṭum ākkitē/4/
The three patriarchs – [we] must stand before them. Help us at the right time!
Faithfully, they all united. Faithfully, they built the synagogue and prepared all.

5. ttākkamma ʻoll’ ōru maṇiḳkaṃṭammē/ ttaṅṣīyāl ʻollavarum banu kkatippān/
bēṛē ata ʻōntu maṇiṃaḷamāṭammē/ pēṭiccēyāl ʻoll’ ōru sēpar irippān/
At an auspicious mansion of gems, the joyful people came to spend time.
Others are in the mansion of the canopy for keeping the praiseworthy Torah scroll.

6.

*cōvvēyāl őllavana kiliyye nil* /cōvayu gištityum nil valaṅnaṅaṅan/
ttakkammē nóvīyum ttašēyum māśiyal ttašēyīl kōṇṭu pōyivayikkēyum vēṇamnēl/

Oh, majestic parrot! Receive majesty and glory!
The auspicious prophet and the joyful messiah must joyfully take and bless you.

7.

*tanī āya nóvīyum ttašēyum maṣiyal ttašēyīl kōṇṭupōyi kūṭt‘ ēnṛē nāyēnēl/
atavōtē kōṇṭupōyi nāṭṭil īrattēnār/ nalla yērusallayil kkōṇṭē kūṭt‘ ēnṛē nāyēnēl/

The [appeased] prophet and the joyful messiah –
Joyfully take [them] and join [them], my God!
Harmoniously take [us] and settle [us] in our land,
Take [us] together to good Jerusalem, my God!

This song is a blend of several stylistic features typical of other song groups: the parrot motif is typical of parrot songs; end-rhymes are typical of translation and composer songs; the redemption motif and the *mona* rhymes are typical of formulaic-rhyming songs; the usages of the narrativ al past with –ūṭē and the Hebrew lexemes are typical of the formulaic songs. It is also a blend of generic features typical of genres in Malayalam literature – the parrot motif of the *kilippāṭṭu* and the synagogue (*pallī*) motif of the *pallippāṭṭu*, which also coin the song in a specified generic context.

This blend of features represents historical layers of literary trends beginning with the formulaic songs (possibly from the seventeenth century) through to the parrot songs (roughly from the early eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century).\(^{528}\) It also depicts processes of integration and Judaization.

\(^{528}\) Let me remind the reader that two songs with the redemption motif are dated. 'The Song that Solomon Sang' (III1), a formulaic-rhyming song, is dated to 1760, and 'The Feast of the Whale' (II42), a formulaic hybrid, is dated to 1691. I estimate the period of the parrot songs based on their
The wedding parrot song, 'The Noble Bridegroom' (II7), is integrated into the corpus with no marked influence of oicotypification. Contrarily, the synagogue parrot song, 'A Synagogue Song' (I18), is an innovative composition combining various literary devices and avoiding poetic suggestion and figurative language atypical of Jewish Malayalam literature and, in particular, of Jewish wedding songs. The longer KP version is a proliferation of 'Jewishness' by adding Hebrew words and specific items related to Jewish synagogues, as we shall shortly see.

The short KK version of the song was probably a wedding song, for the context of the wedding is suggested in the fifth verse describing the synagogue as a mansion of gems and the upper gallery as a mansion of the wedding canopy (manamāra + mātam). The third verse describes a special occasion, in which the king of the country (nattil araśēn) joins a dwindled group of people to perform a certain ritual deed (kāriyan). The people, jananjal, are defined by the compound term kōṭtiyālollōru, and scheduled to four o’clock in the afternoon (nāl vāyiṭṭollōru). This verse may be interpreted as an aprastutapraśamsā figure of speech, where the implicit cause of the explicit situation is the real subject of the statement. The Hindu ruler of the place finds that his band of drummers for his evening worship at the temple is diminished, suggesting that they are busy with the Jewish celebrations. In this way, a cultural detail such as drummers shapes the composition for an occasion of a ‘grand cultural participation’.

textual distribution among KP and KK, that began to establish close social contacts only after the excommunication of the KK community by the other Malabari communities, sometime during the mid-nineteenth century.

529 According to Zacharia, the term denotes the upper gallery in the synagogue where the women sit during service. See Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 159 (M). The Jews who live in Israel today remember referring to the women’s gallery by the term azara from Hebrew עזרה. The term manāra in the context of the synagogue denotes a booth especially built and decorated for displaying the Torah scrolls during simhat torah.

530 Note the peculiar construction to denote ‘drummers’ by compounding kōṭṭi, ‘drummer’ (see Pillai, 2006: 663, kōṭṭi(2)) with an instrumental-possessive construction, -āl + ullōru(< ullavar).

531 See Gerow, 1971: 111f., and especially ‘nimitta’ in p. 113. See also 2.2.3 for the use of this device in a kaikkōṭṭikkali (clapping) song of Hindu women.
The following verse is a prayer for the three patriarchs to help with this deed, which is stated as the building of the synagogue (palli ētatta). The ritual deed might be the dedication rite of a synagogue, and perhaps the song was initially composed for such an occasion.\footnote{Johnson suggests that synagogue songs were designated for the dedication of Torah scrolls, but states that unless they were sung also at other occasions they would not have survived (Johnson, 2005: 216, f.n. 9).} Like many other songs in the corpus, the theme of building a synagogue is arguably an oblique reference to building a new house in the community, to the wedding rites dedicating a new Jewish house in a small community. Even if the song was designed for a rare communal event such as dedicating a synagogue or a new Torah scroll, it is integrated in the large and rich body of wedding songs by the special blend of stylistic and generic features.

The long version of this song portrays the way in which songs are proliferated to serve socio-political agenda. The process of Judaizing is augmented; Hebrew words are inserted and the synagogue is identified as the Paradeši synagogue. It is difficult perhaps even futile to ascertain which of the two versions was first. However, I tend to believe that as a rule, it is normally the short version that is the older substratum upon which a longer version is constructed.

Examining the additional lines in the longer version of 'A Synagogue Song' (I18) supports this general assumption. It has much more repetitions of lines and phrases, the archaic colloquial forms for the first plural personal pronoun are changed from ēnnaŋka to the standard naŋal ku, and it is further Judaized by the use of the Hebrew words sēpharum (Torah scroll, ספר), teḇā (the Torah ark, תיבה) and tāmītā (an ever burning lamp, תמיד). The last half line of the second verse is changed from őrumanōtē cēnnaŋkumbiṭaṿēnām, 'You must bow down unified' to omanayāya paradeši pallūl, 'in the precious Paradeši synagogue', to specify the synagogue as the Paradeši synagogue. The change results in loosening the structure of end-rhymes in the first and second line: ni ēkēnām and kumbiṭaṿēnām, thus transgressing the rhyming scheme.
Four more verses are inserted between the fourth and the fifth, 4a—4d below. The first appears only in B10, which is a notebook of a later period than that of B3. Note that it is simply a repetition of the fourth verse lacking the last half line:

\[
\text{ta} \hat{\text{n}} \text{ap} \text{pa} \hat{\text{m}} \text{a} \hat{\text{r}} \text{ m} \hat{\text{u}} \hat{\text{v}} \hat{\text{e}} \hat{\text{r}} \hat{\text{k}} \hat{\text{k}} \text{u} \hat{\text{m}} \text{ m} \hat{\text{u}} \hat{\text{y}} \hat{\text{i}} \text{ b} \hat{\text{a} \hat{\text{y} \hat{\text{i}}} \hat{\text{n}} \hat{\text{i}} \hat{\text{k}} \hat{\text{e}} \hat{\text{n}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{n}} \text{ m} \text{ t} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{k}} \hat{\text{k}} \hat{\text{e}} \hat{\text{n}} \hat{\text{e}} \hat{\text{n}} \hat{\text{i}} \hat{\text{n}} \text{ n} \hat{\text{u}} \hat{\text{n}} \text{ t} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{n}} \hat{\text{k}} \hat{\text{k}} \hat{\text{e}} \hat{\text{n}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{n}} \text{ m}
\]

\[
v \hat{\text{e}} \hat{\text{t}} \hat{\text{u}} \hat{\text{m}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{i}} \hat{\text{l}} \text{ ö} \hat{\text{k}} \hat{\text{k}} \text{ a} \hat{\text{r}} \text{ ö} \hat{\text{u} \hat{\text{m}} \text{ i} \hat{\text{c}} \hat{\text{c}} \text{ k} \hat{\text{ u} \hat{\text{t}} \hat{\text{t}} \hat{\text{t}} \hat{\text{t}} \hat{\text{e}} \hat{\text{l}} / 4 \text{a} / 4 \text{a} / 4 \text{a} / 4 \text{a} /
\]

[We] must stand in front of the three patriarchs.
[They] must help us at the auspicious occasion.
Faithfully [they] all joined together.

The other three verses describe the Paradeśī synagogue. They refer to an occasion for singing the song to honor a respected donor of a silver lamp (4c). The texture of the verses is similar to the verses of the shorter version – couplets in \textit{mona} rhymes and repetitions of lines and phrases (e.g. \textit{vētumayil}, 'faithfully'; \textit{vāvā irippān}, 'For the Father to stay') borrowed from the short version. There are also ready-made lines and phrases in these three verses that do not appear in the short version – \textit{ōlivāyulla} and \textit{vēlivāyulla} (radiant); \textit{kōttupanikalum} (carvings); \textit{omana āya paradeśī palli} (the precious Paradeśī synagogue). Note that also the parrot motif is repeated (4c), but in a simile rather than as an actual addressee.

\[
\text{ōliv'} àyōrũ kallum omana sēpharum/ òliv' uḷḷa tebāyum kōttupanikalum/ kanivu varum allo omana kāntālū/ kāvēlu kāntu kaniv' àyirunmutel/ 4b/4b/4b/4b/
\]

A radiant gem is the dear Scroll. The radiant ark is of carvings.

\[533\] This ready-made line appears in other synagogue songs too, not necessarily the Paradeśī synagogue. See for example \textit{omanayāya paradeśī palli} in the second verse of the song ‘Song of Tekkumbhāgam-Koci Synagogue’ (I16a), and \textit{omana palli} in the refrain of the song ‘Song of Tekkumbhāgam-Ernakulam Synagogue’ (I23).
Won't there be sweetness when [You] see the precious [synagogue?]
Seeing the protection there was sweetness.

\[ vēlv'āyitūlla purūsan vatuṇīṭṭu/ vēlv'āyōlla vēlakku kōtuppānum/ \\
vēlv'āya tāmintum kōtupanikkānum/ vērtumayil paṇcavarṇākili varṇattil//Ac// \]

A radiant man bowed down for giving a silver lamp.
The radiant ever-burning lamp is of carvings like a graceful five-colored parrot.

\[ ēltvatum ēt̪t̪um vēlakk' atu ēriyumba/ ekama ŏḷḷa vāva irippān/ \\
omana āya paradeśi pāliyum/ ērumayotē cēnnu kumbitavenume//Ad// \]

When seventy-eight lamps burn for the exalted Father,
[You] must come in unity to the Paradeśi synagogue and bow down.

The sub-category of parrot songs is an immature genre in the corpus. The diversity of stylistic features on the one hand, and the restricted distribution of parrot songs on the other, depict a stage of generic instability, albeit the dominant parrot motif. The process in which these songs attain a status of a typical Jewish Malayalam composition may be discerned by the songs viewed so far. Parrot songs that are not explicitly Jewish (e.g. I7 and II7), are fitted into Jewish performative occasions by loose connotations with Jewishness (e.g. ten parrots in I7 and the mention of pālli in II7).\(^{534}\) Thus, the parrot motif inspires the emergence of generic hybrids and a sub-category that would mature into a distinct genre overtime.

The parrot songs are affiliated with a variety of ethno-genres as may be deduced by their titles, e.g. kurukkan, 'brief passage' (S14, S11, S9, T1, B5), paiṅkili pāṭṭu, 'Dear Parrot Song' (in B9), kalippāṭṭu, 'Play Song' (in B5) for

\(^{534}\) The widely distributed song 'Dear Parrot Song' (I7) always appears in the notebooks proximate to wedding songs such as 'Dressed in Gold' (II8), 'Multiple, Multiple!' (II16) and 'The Noble Bridegroom' (II7).
'Parrot Song' (I7). This variety of ethno-generic definitions provides more evidence for the processes of adaptation and molding that result in the mature genres peculiar to the Jewish Malayalam corpus. It might be that similar processes played a key role in shaping the categories discussed so far, each representing a distinct genre in the corpus including its own definite association with certain rites, especially wedding rites.

The agency of stylistic elements in the two parrot songs that are the least ‘Jewish’ - 'Dear Parrot Song' and 'The Noble Bridegroom' - plays a key role in the emergence of two Judaized parrot songs, 'A Synagogue Song' (I18) and 'Oh Singing Bird' (II26). While they could be adaptations to the corpus from the larger body of Malayalam literature, they motivate innovative compositions that are explicitly Jewish. Thus, the parrot in 'Parrot Song' (I7) is imagined as an analogy for Jews, and the story it tells as an analogy for Jewish history, but there is nothing particularly Jewish about the parrot or its story. The parrot in 'A Synagogue Song' (I18), on the contrary, is a very Jewish parrot invited to pray with the Jews for redemption.

Similarly, the song 'The Noble Bridegroom' (II7) has nothing explicitly Jewish in it, and even the palli into which the bride is invited is not specified as a synagogue (jūtappalli). However, the verse attached to it as kurukkan in some notebooks, specifies the Jewish background (cūtakavattī),535 and incorporates some Jewish markers, such as the Jewish Malayalam phrase nalla taram (good luck, מזל טוב).536

The processes of integration and molding of compositions into a Jewish Malayalam genre are especially apparent in the song 'Naming Song for a Daughter' (II56). In this song, the cultural worlds forming and reforming the whole corpus interact almost as equal forces. The bird motif in this song originates from Hebrew literature, as the song is an arttham translation of some

535 Some notebooks define the song as a kalippāṭṭu, 'Play Song'. See also Zacharia and Gamlili, 2005: 198 (M).
536 Ibid.
verses from the Song of Songs 2: 14, 4: 11 and 6: 9 and of the blessing for a newly born girl in a ceremony called סדר זבד הבת (the offering rite for a daughter).

The Malayalam translation is titled ‘Naming Song’ (peruvilī pāṭṭu). In fact, this performative title denotes also Hindu rites for celebrating the naming of newborns (daughters and sons). It is not only the Hebrew blessing that is translated, but also the ritual itself is translated into the semantics of the local Jewish rite. While the Hebrew blessing refers to certain verses of the Song of Songs, the Malayalam translates one more reference that fits into the semantics of the Hindu ritual, where family members drop a little honey to the mouth of the baby: *tēnum pālum nāvinu kilē,* ‘honey and milk under your tongue’. The longer version adds descriptive units of the custom to have family members adorning the child with gold jewelry.

The song has three versions. The oldest and shortest appears in S13 from KT, and it represents the earliest stage of translation. Let us read the Hebrew source first:

Oh, dove in the clefts of the rock, in the hidden precipice – show me your form, let me hear your voice, for your voice is pleasing and your form is lovely. (Song of Songs, 2: 14)

(If the daughter is a first born:) My innocent dove is but one, she is but one for her mother, pure for the mother who begot her. Girls saw her and blessed her, queens and concubines praised her. (ibid., 6: 9). He who blessed our mothers: Sara, Rebecca, Rachel and Leah, and Miriam the prophetess, and Abigail, and Queen Esther the daughter of

537 Song of Songs, 4: 11: ברש והלך הת_buffers.

538 According to the fixed text for the blessing there follows a verse from Genesis (24: 60): עקרות (they blessed Rebecca and told her: ‘You are our sister, be multiplied by the thousands, and your offspring shall inherit the doorways of their foes’.) This verse is not included in the Kerala ceremony.
Avihail, he shall bless this pleasant girl, and call her by the name ... in good fortune and auspicious time, and shall nourish her with health, peace and calmness. And He shall privilege her so that her father and mother shall see her happiness and her wedding, her male children, wealth and honor abundant and fresh shall yield fruit in old age. May so be His Will. Let us say Amen.

Compare the above text with the shortest version of the song 'Naming Song for a Daughter':

\[\text{kall’ ata póttíl irikkum prāvēl maraññ’ òri kālcakal kāmā tōnakkaa/1//}
\text{imbāvuṃ gēntavum nimmēl ātippēn/ tēnum pālum ēllāni nāvin kīlē/2//}
\text{ōru tāyikk’ ōru makal kārkkuṃ pēriyōn/ tēliyāiṭṭt ālukuvān pērtā tāyarkka/3//}
\text{ēllummāmarkk’ āllā vāluvēr ēllām/ imbattil pērašēna vāsattum pēriyōn/4//}
\text{pēra vilikalum rāśi nayimēyum/ vālippavum nēnakk’ āyirikkā/5//}
\text{kaliyāna santōsam kāmā tōnakkaa/ vayarra valarru\textsuperscript{540} palanīna nērav’ āyirikkaa/6//}

Oh, dove in a rock hole! Help watching hidden sights!
Beauty and fragrance [prosper] on you, honey and milk under your tongue.
God [casts] one daughter for each mother,
So that she clearly flows for the mother who begot her.
God lovingly blesses the child with all the blessings of the seven mothers.
"Naming, good fortune and greatness shall be yours!"
Help to see the happiness of [her] wedding!
May the fruits [maturing] in the womb be fulfilled!

A number of other versions appear in the KK notebooks S2, S11 and S14, and the longest version appears in B9 from Parur. The KK versions form an intermediary stage of further translating the semantics of the Jewish ritual into local Keralite terms. They differ from the S13 version in line order and a few additions. One important addition is a line that specifies the day of the ceremony: \textit{irupattēttāṃ}

\textsuperscript{539} The text is based on S13, with some adaptations from other notebooks.
\textsuperscript{540} > \textit{paluttu?}
nālil peritum pēnninu, 'in the twenty-eighth day, the girl is named'. There is no fixed date for performing the ceremony among other Jewish communities, but Hindus in Kerala celebrate the naming ceremony twenty-eight days after birth. The performative information appears as the first half of the fifth line, and as a result, the fifth and sixth lines are somewhat altered in the KK versions:

\[ \text{irupattēṭṭām nālil peritum pēnninu perum pīrannālum kalpiccat’ aṁnanē} /5/ \]
\[ \text{elērum pēnkōtı maṅkē at’ ēmnanē’ vayirṛu palaṁnalil nērav’ āyirikkal} /6/ \]

Thus was fixed the name and the birth,
For girls who are named on the twenty-eighth day,
So that maidens of the finest happiest women
[say]: "May the fruits of the womb be fulfilled!"

Both versions end with the performative injunction for the blessing conferred upon the girl, wishing her to fulfil womanhood as a bride (S13) and a mother.

The longest version in B9 is a proliferation of the short versions altering certain lines and adding three more couplets. It elaborates the direct reference to the context of performance (niṁnal, second plural pronoun) in the eighth couplet sealed by the vāluka formula. Let us read the longer version from the sixth couplet onwards:

\[ \text{irupatti ēṭṭu nālil peru iṭum pēnninu perum pērnālum rāśi nalma} /6/ \]
\[ \text{elērum pēnkōtı maṅkē at’ aṁnana/ tāyar maṁmāla tannū kōntū} /7/ \]
\[ \text{elavaruṁ tāli kaṭakām peyi mālakal cūtī} /8/ \]
\[ \text{ōrāyiraṅ kāta niṁna/ aratika/ pōllāte cōllāmo cēlluvāt’ ēllānī/9/} \]
\[ \text{vāluka vāluka ēppolūm vāluka/ erramāya vāḷunna tamburān tān ēnnu} /10/ \]

"For the girl named at the twenty-eighth day

---

541 Appears after the fourth verse.
542 For the full version, see Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 123 (M), 131 (H).
Her name and birth are good fortune."
Thus [say] maidens of the finest happiest women.
While the mother gave [you] a pearl necklace
[They] all wore wedding-pendants, bracelets and [precious] chains.
One thousand songs you [should complete].
[Can you say that a thousand songs are not splendid? That is all to be said.]
Blessed, blessed, always blessed are You the Lord who rules forever.

This song builds upon several historical trends of the corpus. It is basically a translation song integrated with the bird motif. It elaborates the references to the performative occasion by a ready-made framing formula, as in the formulaic songs. In this song, trends of Judaizing (translation and formula) interact with processes of regional variation (the bird motif and the pragmatics of the local ritual). It associates the marginal female Jewish voice (daughters and mothers) with the central currents of Malayalam literature (kilippāṭtu).

The parrot songs as a sub-category depict an advanced stage in the history of the evolution of the corpus, when performers could repeatedly draw upon a reservoir of images, styles and techniques of composition to shape and reshape their preferred unique repertoires. It is a sub-category that marks a mature stage in the development of the ritual and, consequently, of the literature. It is also a mature phase in the socio-cultural life of the community, when ritual becomes an act of cultural participation, the fruit of a long term process of 'hyphenation', of clustering and integrating cultural details, be they Jewish or Keralite. However, it is a song group that did not mature into a distinct genre, perhaps because its maturation was incomplete before the time of migration, when most of the corpus was finally frozen and destined to die out.

4.10 Some Postulations and Some Reservations
Classifying the songs according to their structural, formal and stylistic features exposes certain prominent genres that reveal historical and cultural patterns of a distinct and peculiar literary milieu in its own caste-lect. One might not appreciate its poetic and aesthetic expressions, and yet one cannot ignore the
poetic and aesthetic investment in the design of the genres, while conversing with the classical literature of two traditions – Malayalam and Hebrew.

The core of the corpus, the rhyming songs, represents an early stage in the formation of the corpus, when Jewish contents were molded into literary Malayalam structures. If we take the rhyming songs as the earliest songs in the corpus and the refrain songs as the most recent, we can see a gradual branching of contents into distinct forms and structures, resulting in different combinations of contents – whether Jewish or not – with structures and forms traceable in Malayalam and/or Hebrew literature.

The agents of the Jewish Malayalam cultural milieu are complementing socio-cultural entities – translators and composers of the scholarly milieu in the ottumātam and performers during life-cycle events, mainly women during weddings. The agency of Jewish scholars introduces translations and compositions, and that of performers produces detached verses and conglomerates. Still, these are not genres per se, but rather categories revealing the creative forces that shape the corpus and particularize it as Jewish-Malayalam literature. Through their evolution one can see how the dialectics between orality and literacy, between classical and folk literature, are continuously shaping the corpus and designing its genres.

To account for the oldest generic layer in the corpus, one must also postulate the agency of traditional south Indian poet-bards, who were well versed in both Jewish and Malayalam sources and in their respective literary devices and schemes. Only a poet native of Kerala, who happens to be a Jew well-versed in Jewish lore and scriptures, can compose biblical songs with allusions to Midrash in the pāṭṭu-mold, for example, the song 'The Birth of Moses' (III19). Only such poet-bards can combine structural features of Malayalam poetry with those of Hebrew poetry, like the rhyming song 'Dear Ones!' (IV57), a combination of the Hebrew 'girdle poem' with the Malayalam pāṭṭu-mold. Furthermore, the voice of the ancient south Indian poet-bard is clearly expressed in the meta-poetic statements copiously found in these songs.
The beginning of the corpus, then, must be sometime between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries, during the heydays of either the first or the second pāṭtu movements. At some point, possibly during the sixteenth century, the traditional role of the poet-bard split between two separate entities – scholarly and didactic individuals and performer-transmitter women, all actively participate in the ritual complex.

The position of scribes in this regard calls for attention, for they were definitely another creative factor affecting the corpus. The scribes were mostly educated individuals, who textualized songs, scheduled them for certain rituals, and determined the reformation, or alternatively, the conservation, of a certain repertoire.

The shared agency between these three entities – Jewish scholars, performers and scribes – must have led to allocating certain contents to definite structural schemes. At some point, biblical stories are narrated in the prose-like structures of formulaic songs, while religious contents – invocational or injunctional – are formulated in poetic stylized structures. This must have happened gradually, for we find songs that are hybrids, like the formulaic-rhyming song 'The Oil Jar Hanukkah Miracle' (III87) with two verses narrating a story from Midrash, and two verses in the religious mode - one prescribing the Hanukkah rite (injunction), and the other conveying the redemption motif (invocation), all in inconsistent mona rhymes.

One should not imagine the agency of creative entities as formed by distinctively separate individuals, say elderly women as opposed to scholarly men. Any Jewish Malayalam speaker interested enough in this tradition may be a scribe, a performer or both, well versed in Jewish sources that the children were formally studying in the ottumātam and passively absorbing during recitals of Hebrew prayers and para-liturgy in the synagogue and in the homes. Some of these children, naturally extensively exposed to the corpus during occasional weddings, may have taken special interest in the tradition and become involved with the production of their culture as they grew up. Such individuals must have formed
different types of complex relations to the corpus as transmitters, performers, composers, innovators, editors and ethno-philologists.

Dating Malayalam folksongs is a delicate issue. The evolution of Malayalam language in literature does not parallel the colloquial languages of Malayalam regional corpora. Moreover, oral transmission and composition via performance complicate the matters even more. Later performers might hypercorrect old forms to modern and vice versa for stylistic or other reasons. However, it is possible to trace affinities and connections between the classical and the regional literature that can help in evaluating the period of composition.

With respect to the Jewish Malayalam corpus, two linguistic factors roughly relate to certain periods in the evolution of Malayalam literature: archaisms and Hebrew lexemes. The most apparent archaisms are the periphrastic past that appears mostly in the kānavrē songs, the nominalized past with –ūtē that is typical to the formulaic songs, and the use and distribution of PNG forms that significantly decline in the formulaic-rhyming and refrain songs. The influence of the Hebrew lexicon becomes more and more prominent as the genres evolve. This suggests that the more Hebrew lexemes and the fewer archaisms appear, the later is the composition. This method of evaluation applies only to songs that are explicitly Jewish in content, and that compose the bulk of the corpus.

As already mentioned in passing above, there are two Jewish Malayalam songs, which mention a date, ‘The Feast of the Whale’ (II42) with the date 1691, and ‘The Song Sung by Solomon’ (III1) with the date 1760. These dates can help in drawing a chronological map for the corpus by examining the contents and forms of these songs and their relations to other songs.

Let us return now to these two songs for a closer examination. I have classified ‘The Feast of the Whale’ as a formulaic song because it starts with a slight variation on the tambūran formula: tāmburāṅṛ tūna āya gullattinu, ‘For the nation helped by God’, embedding it in a narrative frame: āḷa ka paticci untāktī vēccūtē, ‘[He] created the world’. These two are typical markers of the formulaic songs, but they appear only for the sake of framing injunctional invocational contents; the only two past forms, vaccūtē and āyītē appear in the frame, while the
content is in the prospective mood of the desiderative form, typical of religious devotional songs. The mention of the date and proper names is an unusual trace left by the Jewish scholarly entity that shaped this song. Thus, this song must have been composed after the decline of the bardic tradition that must have been the agency producing the rhyming songs.

The relation of this song to the genre of the formulaic songs is not very clear. It is difficult to ascertain whether the allocation of biblical contents for narratival modes happened before, after or parallel to the composition of this song. The redemption motif so dominant in this song does not appear in most formulaic songs, but it is very dominant in the formulaic-rhyming songs. Perhaps the 'Feast of the Whale' was composed when religious poetry in Jewish Malayalam began to assume its shape, for the religious formulaic-rhyming songs are always composed of a variation formula combined with the redemption motif. Moreover, the use of the past forms with -ūtē is significantly less in comparison with the formulaic songs. This suggests that the formulaic songs must have matured into a separate genre before the formulaic-rhyming songs became a popular trend, possibly sometime between the mid-sixteenth and late seventeenth centuries.

If my proposed chronology is correct, we can assume that the formulaic-rhyming songs became popular after the song 'The Feast of the Whale' was composed, and that they developed into a genre sometime between the beginning and the middle of the eighteenth century, for a mature formulaic-rhyming song, 'The Song sung by Solomon', mentions the year 1760.\footnote{There must be a special reason for mentioning dates in these songs. It could be linked to the impact of Jewish eschatology that swept the Jewish world from west to east during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. 'The Feast of the Whale' has a few Messianic concepts and terms – puruṣan, 'The Man' (often referring to the Messiah), the image of paradise with the righteous ones feasting on the heavenly whale, the war with Gog and Magog and, above all, the redemption motif. The mention of the year may be based on numerological divination of the year of redemption and the beginning of the messianic era. The song 'The Song Sung by Solomon' may be motivated by a similar reason.}
During the time that the song 'Song Sung by Solomon' was composed, the first printed books appeared in Kocci (Kastiel, 1756 and Rahabi, 1769) fixing the manner and liturgy for the wedding rituals. The editors of these books, both Paradešis, regard also the local and peculiar wedding rituals and establish them as occasions for the women to sing Malayalam songs. These rituals – the kāppurātri, the purappēṭunna ṣābat and the tōtē ṣābat, with their more or less fixed Jewish Malayalam repertoire, still appear in notebooks of the late nineteenth century (S13) and even as late as the mid-twentieth century and after migration to Israel (B9).

It must have been with the introduction of printed texts to the literary milieu of Jewish Malayalam speakers that the trends of translation and composer songs began to take shape. Such songs are not included in the fixed performative repertoire of the wedding complex, but are rather loosely distributed between other performative occasions. Otherwise, they form a selection repertoire according to the tastes and concerns of separate scribes.

The pendulum movement between orality and literacy and the nourishing forces of Malayalam and Jewish literature did not cease at this juncture. They propelled and motivated the introduction of new types of songs to the corpus, songs that began to take distinctive shape during the last phase of the history of Jewish Malayalam literature, from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. Possibly, these are the refrain songs, introducing new trends of musical performance, and new sub-categories such as parrot songs.

A few reservations are in place nevertheless. First, this chronological mapping of the genres should not lead to dating a song just because it belongs to a certain genre. The older genres must have played a role in designing new songs even after their decline, and songs such as 'Blessing Song' (II11), a rhyming kāṇavvē song conglomerate, strengthen this possibility. If we consider the language usage in this song and compare its textual location in the oldest performative manuals (S13, S14) with that in the selection repertoire, it becomes evident that the conglomerate belongs to a period later than the rhyming songs.

See above, 3.4—5.
Its textual presentation is flexible and it is taken as a song for any festive occasion. In the relatively late notebook S8 (KP), the song 'Blessing Song' is titled ēlāyopolum, 'for any occasion'. Note that the low level of coherency in this song is due to its conglomerate nature of detached relocated textual units. A genre may be productive for over a century or two, while many songs of different genres assume shape during the same period. Estimating the time of composition for a certain song is a matter of careful linguistic analysis and examination of intertextual data.

Second, the generic classification that I offer here is based on a critical edition for one notebook, S14. It reflects mainly the performative repertoire notebooks – S13, B9 and so forth. Preparing a critical edition for one of the selection repertoire or anthology notebooks might yield more data and alter the classification prepared with bias towards the performative manuals.

Moreover, the chronological order of the genres is a reflection of the order of songs in S14. It starts with many kānavē songs, and proceeds with scattered appearances of formulaic-rhyming songs throughout the first third of the notebook. Thereafter, formulaic-rhyming songs, conglomerates and detached verses become dominant and, towards the second third of the notebook, translation and composer songs become more prominent. Formulaic and refrain songs appear only towards the last third of the notebooks, and with more and more translations and even some Hebrew poems in Hebrew characters, these three genres dominate the last third of the notebook. Only the dating of the formulaic songs is not supported by this textual order. The basic structural features of the formulaic songs are typical of a period earlier to that reflected by their textual presentation in S14. The reason may be that the formulaic songs are in fact the core of the selection repertoires that rival, in some sense, the performative repertoire. Only a critical edition of a selection repertoire notebook can verify or refute this assumption.

Third, I have not conducted an exhaustive linguistic and intertextual analysis of the corpus to compare it with historical cultural trends in Kerala and in the Jewish world. The chronology of genres as outlined above correlates with the
historical developments in the literary history of Malayalam. For the reasons specified above, I estimate the composition of the oldest layers of Jewish Malayalam literature between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, before the emergence of modern Malayalam literature (1600 onwards) on the one hand, and before the establishment of the KP community in Kocci (mid-sixteenth century) on the other hand. If so, the decline of the Jewish Malayalam pāṭṭu and the emergence of new trends of composition with formulas and with the redemption motif parallel the decline of the pāṭṭu movement and the emergence of bhakti devotional literature during the sixteenth century. The hallmark of the bhakti movement is the growing influence of Sanskrit on the linguistic register. This may parallel the growing influence of Hebrew on the lexicon of the formulaic and formulaic-rhyming songs.

The sixteenth century was a period of social, economical and political changes for many communities in Kerala. The Portuguese reached Kerala, marking the beginning of the colonial era with other European forces gradually becoming more and more influential. Naturally, the Jews of Kerala too were affected by these historical processes, and a group of European Jews, possibly refugees, established a separate community that nevertheless claimed a strong link with Kerala, its medieval history and culture. This social fissure in the communal life of Kerala Jews is reflected in the transit from bardic traditional literature to the three-fold agency of scholar-performer-scribe generating and transmitting Jewish Malayalam literature.\(^{545}\)

Similarly, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, towards the end of the colonial era and the emergence of nationalism – both for Keralites and for Jews – must be the background of the first refrain songs. There are 'hybrids' of translation songs with refrains, such as 'The foremost Essence' (IV19) and 'Our Ancient Hope' (I24). The first has a musical refrain similar to the song 'Dear Parrot Song', ayayya, and the second has two overlapping generic features, the verse-refrain and the 'girdle poem' structure. The musical-refrain songs with

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\(^{545}\) For a more detailed discussion about the literary agencies and their relation to the genres in Jewish Malayalam, see 7.3.
nothing particularly Jewish in them might have preceded them, and at least one refrain song, ‘Dear Parrot Song’ (I7) must be a production of a much earlier period. This song is another good example for the cautious treatment in handling my classification. The past forms in –ūṭē suggest that the song belongs to a phase closer to the formulaic songs than to the bulk of refrain songs.

My last reservation has to do with a certain bias towards the repertoire of Kocci communities, as the notebook I used for my critical edition is from that community. Kocci was definitely a center of Jewish Malayalam literary production, but certainly not the only one. However, the overwhelming majority of surviving manuscripts originates in Kocci. In contrast, Parur, a possible rival on the literary scene, is poorly represented in the manuscript collection. Only three notebooks survived from Parur – B9, S12 and J1. A critical edition of these notebooks might reveal more song specimens, more sub-categories of songs, and possibly even another genre. Since B9 is well represented in the critical edition of S14, the classification I developed applies to large parts of it.

To conclude this chapter, let me present a small formulaic-rhyming song that seems to be an experimental composition. It is in the atypical structure of triplets with mona rhymes. Like the typical formulaic-rhyming song, it is fully devotional. This song has in addition the synagogue motif, typical of the sub-category of songs discussed above.546 The song appears only in four notebooks – all from Kocci (S14, B7, S9, B10). The blend of generic and sub-generic features in this song, and the neat and unique structure is a good example for the mature fruition of literary forms in Jewish Malayalam.

546 To put it in a nutshell, the synagogue motif is simply a reference, any reference, to the term palli in the sense of a Jewish palli, i.e. synagogue. Songs with the synagogue motif vary; they can be formulaic (Parur synagogue Song), or formulaic-rhyming songs (Eranakulam-Tēkkumbhāgam synagogue Song, I23), depending on the mode of the song (narratival, invocational or descriptive).
The Jews Praise

IV103

jūṭār nēnavurru sukhamōtu sutī cēyavān/ cōrayil pēriyavan arulūṭēyōn/
sutiyil mēkav’ āya tambirānē//1//
kālammē cēnnu kanivurru sutī cēyavān/ kaṭakati vālaṇneṇam aṭimma cēyavān/
katunmēyil tuṇa cēyavān periyanānē//2//
nītiyil nīla ninnu cērzyya palli akattu/ nēkarama arivalara aṭima cēyavān/
nēlēil ôṭēyavan arulūṭēyōn//3//
cēlōṭē cēnnu cērzyya palli akattu/ ccēliv’ ākum pēripp’ āvum utēyavanē/
cēlkama aka bukka kumbīṭuvān//4//

For the Jews to praise with happiness immersed in thought,
   The One mighty in blood, Lord of the Word,
      Oh, God venerated in praises!
For reaching early, and singing praise immersed in sweetness,
   You must pray intensely for worshipping,
      For the All-Mighty to help intensely.
Justly positioned in the small synagogue,
   For all the wise people to assemble and worship
      The Lord of foundation, Lord of the Word,
Reaching with beauty, inside the small synagogue
   There is beauty, there is grandeur, oh Lord!
      For entering majestically and bowing down.
Chapter Five

The Rhyming Kānavaś Songs

Most biblical pāṭus, a sub-category of rhyming songs, have each of their verses ending with the word kānavē. It is a form derived from kān-, 'to see', the intimate imperative kānā followed by the particle -e affecting phonetic change (ū > ʋ). It marks a certain verse as integral to the same strophic whole. A few verses end in -avvē, a meaningless lexeme that retains only the stylistic function of verse rhyming. Verses that end in kānavē or -avvē might appear as a detached verse or cluster to form a conglomerate. The kānavē songs rarely appear in one running sequence. Nonetheless, I shall treat the songs and verses marked by kānavē as an integral complex of strophic units. The kānavē verses and songs are scattered around different performative wedding occasions and, consequently, their textual presentation in the notebooks is inconsistent. Based on comparing the distribution and textual presentation in the notebooks, one may observe the basic outline of the kānavē songs as one integral unit in spite of some textual variations.

All the kānavē songs are in the pāṭu-mold, with both ētuka and mona rhymes.\(^{547}\) All kānavē verses have the same metrical scheme of the kākali metrical archetype (gotram).\(^{548}\) They all fit the definition of pāṭu in its 'classical' sense.\(^{549}\) However, let us remember that the title pāṭu in the notebooks is more general and may refer to different types of pāṭus, often in combination with some sub-

\(^{547}\) See 2.2 and 4.2.

\(^{548}\) The general scheme is three ganas (metrical units) of two long and one short syllables (or five mātras, i.e. ' - , ' - , and so forth) followed by a gana composed of two long syllables: ' - . See Ravi, 1994: 209. Note that the metrical, rhyming and alliteration schemes of the kānavē songs are not consistent due to some modifications determined by long term textual evolution and oral transmission.

\(^{549}\) The distinction between classical and folk pāṭu is dealt with in 2.2. See also Nair, 1971: 93; Freeman, 1998: 54f. and 2003: 465—468.
definition, e.g. kalippāṭṭu (play-song), kolippāṭṭu (rooster-song), kilippāṭṭu (parrot-song) and so forth.

A closer look at the kānavvē verses reveals some peculiar features of grammar. The most striking is the periphrastic past form composed of a participial noun + a conjunctive particle + the past form of cēyyuka, i.e. cēyvūtum/cēypūtum cēytu. This type of periphrastic past is mostly common in Old Malayalam texts. The recurrence of the periphrastic past and the other peculiar features of the kānavvē songs are evidence for a relatively early period of composition before the sixteenth century and the emergence of modern Malayalam.

An overview of the kānavvē songs reveals a structural modular feature too, for the sequence, number and order of verses are not the same in the different readings. Moreover, whereas most of the kānavvē verses are clustered around songs to be performed during the kāppurāṭri pre-wedding ritual, some verses appear either as songs or as conglomerates connected with other wedding functions.

The ethno-generic titles of the kānavvē songs represent a generic dichotomy of pāṭṭus versus kurukkan, 'brief' or katāppu 'passage'. Generally speaking, a unit of five to ten verses is taken as a pāṭṭu, and single verses as kurukkans. The contents of the kānavvē songs are ordered in contextual-performative single-verse units framing longer (five to ten verse) narrative units. Occasionally there are also injunctional content layers, mainly in the intermediary single-verse units, but also here and there at the end of verses. This is a rough division of content layers, and I shall later apply content layer analysis in detail. Generally speaking, the pattern of content layers is on a par with the division of songs by titles. It reveals the modular structure of the kānavvē songs as narrative-dramatic units framed by short intermediary performative-contextual units.

550 See Ayyar, 1993: 117.
551 The term katāppu appears mainly in S14.
Lastly, it is important to note the textual presentation of the kānāvvē songs. In notebooks B3 and Z4, which are edited anthologies, they are all ordered in one running sequence, titled by serial numbers and by themes in Malayalam and Hebrew. For example, the song 'Joseph Sold to Egypt' (III52) is headed by the compound title: yōsēvinē misirājyattilekkā virīja kāryyam (The Matter of Selling Joseph to Egypt, the Eleventh Song).  

Clearly also community members had recognized these songs as a separate integral poetic unit. In the performative repertoire notebooks, the kānāvvē songs and verses are mainly associated with the kāppurātri songs.  

The peculiar features of the kānāvvē songs and verses may be summarized as follows:  

1. the word kānāvvē or –avvē for verse-end rhyme.  
2. the pāṭṭu-mold.  
3. the kākālī meter type.  
4. recurrence of an Old Malayalam grammatical form cēyvātum/cēyppātum cēytu.  
5. a peculiar modular structure of intermediary single verses framing narratival/dramatic songs.  
6. an integral unity recognized also by performers, scribes and connoisseurs.  

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552 This is the title in B3. The titles for songs in other notebooks are, generally speaking, either composed of the first word or two or of a performative instruction followed by the word pāṭṭu. For example, the song 'Joseph Sold to Egypt' (III52) is titled in J2 untu kālicku pāṭṭu (the song 'ate and played'), and the 'Vigil Night Song' (II61) is titled in S10 and S11 kāppu rātri cēllunna pāṭṭu (a song to be sung during the kāppurātri). For more details, see Appendix C.  
553 Note the tradition about one hundred and forty verses that the bride should memorize before her wedding (see 4.2.1).  
554 The periphrastic past does not appear in the two rhyming songs discussed above (4.2.1—2). It does appear, though rarely so, in non-kānāvvē songs. The periphrastic past pāṭtikālippātum cēytu, 'sang and played' appears twice in the rhyming song 'Praised before the Lord' (I9, printed in Simon, 1947: 20). The form marippātum cēytu, 'died', appears once in the formulaic song 'Song about Sara-Umma' (III14) printed in Zacharia and Gamliliel, 2005: 57, 60 (M).
5.1 The Modular Structure of the Kāṇavvē Songs

Before turning to some readings and analysis of the kāṇavvē songs, let me ignore for a second the hazards in postulating an 'ur-text', and outline the modular structure of the kāṇavvē songs as an integral single performative unit of strings of verses in the pattern: 10-1-10-1…-10-1.555

Like the other rhyming songs, the kāṇavvē songs are relatively incoherent, especially the verses displaying performative-contextual content layers. In such verses, performative-contextual content layers are discernible by linguistic markers such as the second person plural pronouns and formal imperatives. Verses in which the narratival content layer is more dominant are relatively easier, for their themes are borrowed from the Bible and interpreted in light of pan-Jewish traditions. At times, content layers are superimposed, so that the difference between a seemingly detached narrative and the immediate context is blurred.

What follows is a sketch of the modular structure of the kāṇavvē songs as one integral poetic unit.556 It is based on textualization and translation of the kāṇavvē songs as ordered in S14, with some modifications according to other notebooks.557 It is important to keep in mind that this schematic sketch is based on the textual presentation of the kāṇavvē verses according to the performative state of affairs between the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. It is by no means an attempt to reconstruct a proto-composition, though I do believe, as I shall elaborate later, that a first-hand poetic unit did exist some time in the remote past.

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555 In ancient Tamil poetry, one model of composition was in ten series of ten poems each (see Kailasapathy, 1968: 28–31; Zvelebil, 1974: 16–18). The kāṇavvē songs may have been composed after this model.
556 I leave out detached kāṇavvē verses and conglomerates like 'Blessing Song' (II11), which are dealt with in 4.5.
557 See appendix B.
The modular structure of the kānāvē songs is as follows:

- **Five to Ten verses, 'The Vigil Night song' (II61):**
  Performative linguistic markers oriented towards an audience; themes concerned with the Jewish lore; textual presentation of ten verses in three notebooks, while others present only six verses, the last might be an intermediary one.\(^{558}\)

- **One verse, 'Now It Is Done' (IV16):**
  Performative linguistic markers of an invocation; an address to the bride; textually presented as an intermediary verse in several notebooks by the title katāppu, 'passage' or kurukkan, 'brief'.

- **Five to Ten verses, 'Joseph Sold to Egypt' (III52).\(^{559}\)**
  Joseph sold by his brothers; ten verses presented only in KK notebooks,\(^{560}\) while others present only five verses.

- **One verse, 'The Dream You Saw', (III83):**
  Joseph in jail; a superimposition of performative and dramatic content layers

- **Five to Ten verses, 'Joseph Meets His Brothers' (III55).\(^{561}\)**
  Joseph reunites with his brothers; ten verses appear only in KK notebooks, B3 and Z4; the other variants end in the fifth verse.

- **One verse, 'You Conspired' (III55a):**
  Joseph addresses his brothers; superimposition of invocational and dramatic content layers.

- **Ten verses, 'Jacob and Esau' (III48):**
  The story of Jacob and Esau; the order of verses is inconsistent in the notebooks; the seventh (or sixth) verse is a 'wandering' verse.

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\(^{558}\) In B9, it is titled kurukkan, 'brief'.

\(^{559}\) The first verse is a 'wandering' verse of contextual-performative nature similar to the sixth verse of the 'Vigil Night Song' (II61).

\(^{560}\) B3 and Z4 too have longer readings, consistently composed of eleven verses for each song. This, I believe, is due to the attempt to compile an anthology keeping literary concerns in mind, such as consistency and thematics, rather than performative concerns.

\(^{561}\) The first verse is a 'wandering' verse depicting Jacob blessing Serah Bat Asher.
• **Four verses, 'Searching a Bride for Isaac' (IV111):** Searching a bride for Isaac; the first verse is injunctive.

• **Five verses, 'The Birth of Isaac' (II12):** Abraham performs his own circumcision; the birth of Isaac; the first verse is invocational.

• **Three verses, 'The Sacrifice' (II15):** The sacrifice of Isaac.

• **Ten verses, 'Story of Esther' (III18):** Story of Ahashverosh and Esther; the first verse is invocational.

• **One verse, 'Before and Behind' (IV18):** An invocation to God.

Three songs deviate from the pattern of a five to ten-verse units with an intermediate verse for a *kurukkan*: 'Searching a Bride for Isaac' (IV111), 'The Birth of Isaac' (II12) and 'The Sacrifice' (II15). All three deal with Abraham and Isaac, and might have been a single unit, which was dismantled and redesigned over time. The first six songs are consistently presented in the notebooks as songs to be performed during the *kăppurātri*. The other five songs are scattered around different pre- and post-wedding rituals, mainly the pre-wedding ritual for tying the *tālī* and the post-wedding Saturday (*purappētunna šabat*, שבת חתן). As most of the *kānavvē* songs cluster around the *kăppurātri*, it is likely that they were originally composed as one poetic unit attached to this pre-wedding ritual. It must have been dismantled into song and verse fragments to fulfil performative concerns of other sub-rituals as the complex of wedding rituals developed.

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562 At this point the performative context changes, as the *kăppurātri* group of songs ends with the song 'Jacob and Esau' (III48). The song 'Searching a Bride for Isaac' (IV111) was performed right before the wedding while tying the *tālī* on Tuesday afternoon (as in S13 and B9).

563 According to B5 and S13, it was performed in the afternoon of the first post-wedding Saturday (شبת חתן).

564 S13 and B9 schedule this song for the morning of שבת חתן.

565 S13 and B5 schedule this song for the afternoon of שבת חתן.

566 Always performed after the song 'Story of Esther' (III18).
The low level of coherency complicates the analysis of these songs. Fortunately, they are fixed in specific sub-rituals, which assist in interpretation and enables 'deciphering' them and offering content-layer analysis for clarification.

5.2 The Song 'Vigil Night Song'

The first song in the sequence of kāṇavvē songs is the song 'Vigil Night Song' (II61). It has hardly any narrative contents and, consequently, its level of coherency is very low. Despite the difficulties, it is evident that the major themes deal with the Jewish lore given in the form of injuncions addressed to a large group of listeners. This may be deduced from the recurrence of the second and inclusive personal pronouns niṇṇaḷ 'You pl.' (1d¹), nammaḷkku 'for us all' (2d¹, 4d¹, 7b²), and nām 'we all' (2c², 3b² and c²).

Prospective forms abound in this song, especially the purposive infinitive sealing each verse. Other prospective forms such as the imperative and modal forms depict the dominance of the injunctional content layer:

a. Formal imperatives: arikēyum vēnam, 'you should know' (1d¹); arińñu kōntāłum, 'please know' (2b²); cētyu kōntāłum 'please do' (3b-c²);

b. Modal verbs: kēlnkām 'let us hear' (2d¹); pēṟāvā 'may be born' (5a¹); tiriyum 'shall understand' (5d¹); cinticeirikkum 'shall keep in mind' (5c²);

In addition to these verbal forms and pronouns, there are some deictic and demonstrative pronouns directed at the immediate context: ittarē 'this much' (5a¹); ēppōļum 'always' (5c²); ēnnum 'always' (4c³).567 The combination of deictic and modal forms signifies the contextual-performative content layer. The semantics of some verbs (like ariyuka, 'to know') are also markers of the injunctional content layers.

567 'Always' is of course an adverb. In Malayalam, however, it is formed by replacing the demonstrative prefix (a-, i-) with the interrogative one (ē-) and post-fixing the particle –um. It can be understood as demonstrating a specific time-frame, even if it is gnomic or hypothetic.
The use of past forms indicative of narratival content layers is very limited in this song. Two periphrastic past forms appear right at the beginning: *camapputm cēytu* 'composed' (1b³) and *kali pputum cēy tu* 'played' (1b⁵). It is doubtful, however, whether they refer to past events. One reason is the semantics of the verbs in question, the one referring to the composition just about to be performed and the other to the people present in the performance. Another reason is the dominance of contextual content layers, especially the injunctional ones. In the first two verses, prospective and modal forms referring to the first and second person plural pronouns (*nām, nīṇāḥ*) mark them as injunctional, as they address an audience present at the performance:

**Vigil Night Song**

**II61**

1.

*mānavum bhayavum mikkutat' ēllāम/a/ mārātē kaṇtu camappūtuṃ cēytu/b/*

ūnam āy tōramēyā ninnā pavatē/c/ ūkkāmn āy ninnāl ārikeyum vēṇamu//

dīnum āy uḷḷa gōlattēpō ēllām/a/ sīmiyāvērē kali pputum cēy tu/b/

ñāyam āy uḷḷa oru cāttēra tanuwc/c/ nāvuṃ nāvuṃ pāṭi⁵⁶⁹ cēyvān kāṇavē//

With mostly pride and fear unaltered, [it] was composed.⁵⁷⁰

[If my worship is at fault], you should firmly know [my intention].

Like the aching nation, all the [participants]⁵⁷¹ were celebrating.

[We were] given a rightful celebration, for each tongue to join [in praising]. Behold!

2.

*oṭum mrgavum parakkunna pakṣiyum/a/ ōpp' illa maṛra tiriśāñnak' ēllām/b/

nēṭunna niṟumāla kellkumbōl nēṉā/c/ kelkkām namalkk' atu cēyvān arima//d⁵⁷²/*

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⁵⁶⁸ Other tellings yield: *vānāvum māyavum dikk uḷḷat ēllām/a/ mārātē kaṇtu camappūtuṃ cēy tu/b/.

⁵⁶⁹ < pāṭi.

⁵⁷⁰ An alternative reading yields: 'Sky, water and the quarters - all these [He] created without being altered.'

⁵⁷¹ sīmiyāvērē < H סִמיָבְרֶה + āy + avar, 'those who celebrate'?
The deer run and the birds fly, incomparable to all other sights. Like you all listen to the lengthy exquisite strophe, let us hear it for worshipping. If it is in goodness, let us all know this [intention] forever, For joining in one heart, and gathering in loving goodness. Behold!

It is noteworthy that elsewhere in the \textit{kānāvve} songs, the periphrastic past is reserved to narrative units relating to remote past events. In the song 'Vigil Night Song' (II61), there are no periphrastic past forms except for those in the first verse (1b\textsuperscript{1}—b\textsuperscript{2}). Note that these forms appear in the same metrical position, as if mirroring each other. Due to the conative character of the song, it seems more plausible to assume a contextual-performative function for these forms. The choice of these specific past forms may be stylistic, marking the song as inherent to a cycle of verses designated to narrate remote past events.

In spite of the obscure lexemes and syntax of these two opening verses, it is clear that the speaker addresses the implied audience (\textit{namalkku}) for inviting them to listen with the hortative form of \textit{kelkk}-, 'to listen' (\textit{kelkkāni}). The first line is probably a meta-poetic statement, as suggested by the semantics of the verb \textit{camēkk}- in 1b\textsuperscript{1} (\textit{camappūtum cētyu}), which can denote 'to compose a poem'.

The following verses have keywords that highlight the major themes in each. Up to the sixth verse, each verse deals with a single theme concerning the Jewish lore, while the overall pragmatic-conative nature of the song is maintained all through. The third verse deals with the general observances duly expected from a Jew and traditionally referred to as \textit{תרי מצוות} (six-hundred and thirteen observances):

II61: 3.

\textit{ārum kaṭalum malakal kuluṇī}\textsuperscript{572}/a/ albhutam āy oru ṇayan ērānī\textsuperscript{b}/

\textsuperscript{572} Ayyar quotes a similar expression from the Ramacaritam 773, \textit{kaṭalum kuluṇī} (Ayyar, 1993: 77).
The third verse opens with a narratival content-layer descriptive of the biblical event that established the Jewish nation, when the Torah was handed over to Moses on Mount Sinai. The somewhat cryptic statements in 3d¹ and 3a² are descriptive units of these six-hundred and thirteen observances. According to the pan-Jewish tradition, these observances are divided into 'do' observances and 'don’t' observances (מצווה עשה ומצוות לאUnnamed). The Hebrew terminology is almost literally translated into Malayalam, hence the cryptic nature of the statement.

The fourth verse has Saturday for its subject-matter. This becomes clear only on the basis of the readings in two notebooks, T1 and B4, that clearly spell the word cēnî (< šanî), 'Saturday'. The first half line is stable in all notebooks, and further supports the reading 'Saturday' with the key-expression: ōnne mutal āyi ārunāl olaṁ, 'from the first to the sixth day' (a³):

From the first to the sixth day, [He] did the required deeds.

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573 See Exodus, 19: 16f.
574 < karmmanul.
For good Saturday [with its eternal heap of qualities], avoiding doing a single deed,  
Many great pious people gathered for food, drink and hymns of that day.  
[The priests] at once fixed [it] for gathering in praiseworthy goodness. Behold!

The fifth verse has the key-expression *atayālam kāṭṭi*, literally ‘showing the sign’, which appears also in the song ‘The Birth of Isaac’ in the sense of ‘circumcised’ (II12: 2d¹). That circumcision is the major theme of the fifth verse of the song ‘Vigil Night Song’ is further supported by the modal statement hypothesizing the birth of many children (5a¹), and by terming the event as a covenant (*sattiyam*). This term is the *tamsir* coinage for rendering the Hebrew terms יְהֹוָה, ‘covenant’ (5a²):⁵⁷⁵

II61: 5.

*ittarē cēnn’ oru makka pērāvū/a/ ēṭṭunāl cēnnor atayālam kāṭṭi/b/ vāsttiya ttān munni cōlliya vacana/c/ pārttālē putti tiriyum nammakka//d//

*sattiyam ēnnū vilipōr atinka/a/ cārnnoru kaikkor atayālam kāṭṭi/b/ citattil ēppōlum cinticc’ irikkun/c/ cīriyā vāluvēr ēllām kānnavē//d²//

So many sons may be born. They show the sign on the eighth day.  
The word uttered in front of the Blessed One – we shall understand it.  
Among those who took the oath, the ancestral [elders] showed the sign.  
[We] shall always keep it in mind, being blessed with all [glories]. Behold!

In the sixth verse, the key-word *tiṇṭa[l]*, ‘month’ (6a¹) suggests that the theme is the observance of celebrating the new moon (שָׁרוֹן) or, otherwise, the month of lamentations, depending on the textualization and interpretation of the following lines.⁵⁷⁶ This verse is marked as a *kurukkan* (intermediary verse) in B9, and crops up in two conglomerates in B7. Most readings end with this verse.

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⁵⁷⁵ See HaCohen, 1877: 13, 23, 46 for *sattyam* in the sense of יְהֹוָה, i.e. the ‘covenant’ with God.
⁵⁷⁶ For the text and translation of the II61: 6, see Appendix B.
There are four more verses, possibly a later addition, that appear only in three notebooks from KK and that deal in length with the theme of penances.\textsuperscript{577} The theme is suggested by the keywords *nöm-bu*, 'fast' (7a\textsuperscript{1}), *pattunāl* 'ten days' (8a\textsuperscript{1}),\textsuperscript{578} and the recurrence of words for bad deeds such as *piḷa* 'sin' (7c\textsuperscript{1} and a\textsuperscript{2}), *pāvam* 'sin' (10b\textsuperscript{1}) and *tēr-q* 'fault' (10c\textsuperscript{3}).\textsuperscript{579} These verses end with the performative injunction inviting the listeners are invited to enter the dining room (10:b\textsuperscript{2}):

\begin{center}
\textit{ūṇarayil kōntupōyi irinnu kōllāvu}
\end{center}

please take and be seated in the dining room…

The song 'Vigil Night Song' (II61) is the first song of the *kāppurātri* repertoire.\textsuperscript{580} It is an invitation addressed to the community members participating in the function of a pre-wedding ritual. Judging by the web of content-layers and themes, it is a unique invitation; it is an invitation to participate in a ceremony; it is also an invitation to participate in the Jewish way of life. Above all, it is an invitation to participate in an aesthetic and poetic performance.

5.3 Intermediary Verses

The intermediary verses are important for sketching the modular structure of the *kānavvē* songs. Let me repeat for the sake of clarity, that the intermediary verses are all one-verse unit long and all are textually presented, either in some or in all

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{577}There are more reasons to regard the last four verses (II61: 7—10) as a later addition: the first person singular pronoun is used exclusively in those verses; the theme is not as focused and condensed as in the preceding verses; the verses appear only in KK notebooks.
  \item \textsuperscript{578}The reference must be to the customary ten days of repentance from the day of the New Year to the Day of Atonement, עשר ימי תשובה.
  \item \textsuperscript{579}See textualization and translation in appendix B for keywords in the verses that further suggest the ten days of repentance as the main theme. Other themes too are hinted in these verses.
  \item \textsuperscript{580}The song 'Vigil Night song' appears as the first *kānavvē* song in several notebooks. Often, it is the first song in the notebook.
\end{itemize}
readings, as short passages by the titles *kurukkan* or *katāppu*. Some of the intermediary verses are detached verses that 'wander' around the corpus.

The intermediary verses are of two kinds: directly conative and obliquely conative. All intermediary verses depict linguistic markers of the performative-contextual content-layer. The directly conative verses plainly relate to the immediate context of a pre-wedding ritual. The obliquely conative verses relate to the immediate context via an implicit speaker, say Joseph in jail.

The conative nature of these verses is complex.\(^{581}\) Ostensibly, they are addressed to the same audience participating in the song 'Vigil Night Song' (II61). In addition to that, there are instances of invocation, where God is the addressee. Occasionally, there are specific references to the bridal couple, especially the bride. In the first intermediary verse, 'Now It Is done' (IV16), the future bride is directly pointed at - *i makal*, 'this girl' (c¹) - while invoking God to protect her.\(^{582}\) The verse is marked with demonstratives that direct the hearer to focus on the immediate context: *ippalē*, 'now' (a¹), *ēppōlkka* 'always' (c¹), *i makal tannē*, 'this very girl' (c³), and *ippati*, 'thus' (a²).

### Now It Is Done

#### IV16

\[ippalē cēyat\|ōrikkalē ullu/a/ imbam āy ketṭu kurikkōlvōr āka/b/ \]
\[ēppōlkka i makal tannē tōnąya\|c/ ekānta-nerattū kāvaluṃ tānuṃ//d¹// \]
\[tappāṭē cattrattil ippati ccēytu/a/ sāṭikkiyūṃ tanna camattāy kōntu/b/ \]
\[appanmār mūvērum cēyta savōtā/c/ arulālē ākkavē ēllām kānnavē//d²// \]

**Now it is done, once and for all. Listen delightfully and remember!**
**Always help this very girl! In time of solitude, You are protection!**
**Doing thus unfailingly according to the law, with the divine Promise,**
**The three patriarchs [conducted the feast], abiding by His Word. Behold!**

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\(^{581}\) For the term conative, see Jakobson, 1987: 66f.

\(^{582}\) This is not the only instance where the bride is addressed. She is directly invoked by the phrase *kēlē ēṭī* (listen, girl!) in the songs 'Story of Esther' (III18:2d²) and 'The Birth of Isaac' (III12:3d² and 5d²).
In the first two lines, the address to God is visible in the intimate imperatives of verbs commonly referring to God āka (b¹) and tunaya (c¹). The verb tuna-, 'to help', is profusely used in the Jewish Malayalam songs for addressing God, especially in the framing formula of the biblical formulaic songs. The possible circumstances that might require God’s help immediately follow the address to God, i.e. ekānta-nerattu 'in time of solitude' (d¹). It is helpful to consider the status of the traditional female brides in this context. They move to live with the husband’s family under the authority of a mother in law, who might be critical and even hostile to the young bride. The young girl might feel lonely and alienated, she might need God to comfort and protect her.

Whereas the first half of the verse is directed towards the bride while invoking God, the second half re-focuses on the audience. The focus on a plural subject is marked by the quantifier ēllām, 'all', and by the plural participial future noun ākkavēr, 'those who abide'. These markers explicitly point at the immediate context rendering the verse directly conative.

Contrarily, the next intermediary verse, 'The Dream You Saw' (III83), is obliquely conative. It follows the song 'Joseph Sold to Egypt' (III52), but cannot be placed anywhere in the sequence of the narrative told in the previous verses, so it is quite obscure. The first line is clear enough to give an idea about the whole verse:

**The Dream You Saw**

III83

Tañta kēnvina cōlūvin niṅkal/a/ kartāvu taṅrē pōrul arivippān/b/

Tell me the dream you saw for informing the message of God,

Anybody acquainted with the biblical story immediately recollects the episode of Joseph in the Egyptian jail, where he offers interpretation of the dreams his fellow

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583 The intimate imperatives are normally used in addressing God.

584 tamburān muyimbu tōnay āyirēkkēnam, 'God must be the first help'. See 4.3.

inmates have dreamed. However, the rest of the verse does not follow the biblical narrative. What exactly is happening is not very clear:

\[
\text{panṭu ṇān pōrum pāti pōrūmarē/c/ paraśina kaṇṭāl atinū ērivān//d¹//}
\]
\[
tēntīkē kinarrinkal kaṇṭāl marṇeva/a/ cēmmē varum pērakāraṁ viṭumba/b/
\]
\[
vīṭīl irunn’ ēnna kōllumār ullu/c/ virika nēnappērē nāyi kānavvē//d²//
\]

If a child is seen while coming, like I once came – one [of you] is for that.
If [it] is seen in a [wretched] well – it is the other. When sent off for a prosperous future, [May your thought be favoring me, so as to receive me from the house]. Behold!

Despite the low level of coherency and 'liquid' textual presentation, the subject matter of the above verse is clear. Joseph is the implied speaker conveyed by the first person form, ṇān, (c¹) as hinted by the keywords kēnāvu, 'dream', and kinarrinkal, 'in the well' (a²).

The address directed at a plural subject, cōlluvin niṅnal, 'you (pl.) please tell' (a¹) allows for superimposing the actual hearer (the audience) on the implied hearer (the fellow inmates of Joseph in jail). There are more hints aimed at the actual hearer such as several kinds of future/habitual markers: arivippān, 'for informing' (b¹); viṭumba, 'when sent off' (b²), kōllumār ullu, 'so as to receive'. There are some more clues for the superimposition of the reported speech by the immediate context. For example, the word paraśina, 'the child' (d¹), is suggestive of the bride. Also the phrases vīṭīl irunna, 'from the house' (c²) and viṭumba, 'while sent off' (b²), connote the immediate context of sending off the bride to another house. Hence, the nature of this intermediary verse is obliquely conative.

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586 Genesis, 40: 8.
587 For the distinction between implied and actual speaker and hearer, see Onega and Landa, 1996: 4—12.
588 The infinitive is taken by Malayalam grammarians as piṇvinayēccam, i.e. a future verbal adjective. See Varma, 1917: 251—252.
589 For the construction kōllumārū (future participle + ēru) see Ayyar, 1993: 106.
The next *kurukkan*, 'You Conspired' (III55a), follows a song narrating the reunion of Joseph with his family in Egypt (III55). In this verse too, the implied speaker Joseph addresses a plural subject, this time his brothers. Also in this verse, the explicit narratival content layer is superimposed by the implicit immediate context, which is expressed by the injunctional-invocational content layer. This verse too is obliquely conative.

**You Conspired**

III55a

If you conspired and did wrong, then God preplanned having done right. We might have our destiny here and there. The word of the God was first. Capable of making this goodness in every way, With Your blessing, word and command, To praise You forever, Oh, God forever alone! Behold!

There are no keywords hinting at the identity of the speaker in the intermediary verse 'You conspired' (III55a). It must be Joseph’s reported speech, for the contents of the first line allude to the biblical episode, where Joseph addresses his brothers in Egypt. The narratival context and its biblical allusion deal with Joseph revealing his real identity to his brothers. This gives the main clue for the meaning of the verse. Because it appears as a *kurukkan* somewhat detached from the main story line and bereft of any narratival units, it allows the superimposition of an injunctional-invocational content layer.

There are also linguistic and lexical markers depictive of injunction and invocation. The invocation is explicit by the word *karttāvu*, 'God' (b¹, d¹, c²), which is mentioned thrice with words connoting the divine: ātī, 'first' and _arul_.
'Word' (d¹), ḍēkēl, 'blessing', arūl and pēramānām 'command' (b²) and sutippān, 'for praising' (d²). The pronouns nēṇal 'you all' (a¹) and ṇammakku 'for us all' (c¹) with the purposive infinitive at the end, sutippān, depict the injunctonal content-layer. In addition, there are also markers associating the whole verse with the immediate context, like signals to draw the attention of the actual hearers from the main story line into the immediate context: aṇṇum aṇṇum, 'here and there, anywhere' (c¹), ēṇānṇēyum, 'in any way' (a²), ēṇnēkkum 'always' (c²) and ēppōlum 'forever' (d²).

There is a fine symmetry of syntactic units in this verse, as the first half lines (a¹, c¹, a²) focus on a human subject, while the second half lines (b¹, d¹, b²) – on the divine subject. The phrase nēṇal niruviccu, 'you conspired' in a¹ is reverberated by niruviccan karttāvū, 'God preplanned' in b¹. In c¹ and d¹, the symmetry is less transparent, nevertheless it is discernible: the phrase gati ōntām ṇammakku, we might have our destiny' is contrasted by the phrase āti karttāvin arul, 'first God's word'. The human/divine oppositions finally merge into each other at the last line, as the implicit human subject praises the divine.

There is one more intermediary verse that, unlike the previous verses, is not slotted for the kappurātri. It appears after the song 'Story of Esther' (III18) slotted for the first post-wedding Saturday evening (puṟappētunna sabat, תנח מש ה). It is a single kānavvē verse attached to a ten-verse long kānavvē song and, like the other intermediary verses, it appears in some readings (B3 and Z4) as the eleventh verse of the song preceding it.

You Ordained

IV18

tannē pramānicca ḍēkēlil pārτtu/a/ sātakkīyum tanna camayāt’ āyī kōṇṭu/b/
anṇiyeነr āyē atiyārō ēllām/c/ araḷum brakāram pēr’ ōntā cēnnu//d²/
munnāvum pinnēyum tānē tunāyā/a/ ēkēlā őllatō tīrrputum cēyta/b/
ēnnēyum ēttakkiccu kōlvēna nāmē/c/ ekan tirumumbil viṅār kānavvē//d²/

"Observing the word You ordained with God’s own promise,
All [Your] exiled servants were born according to Your word.
Help [us] before and behind! It is You who fulfilled that which [You] promised.
Always raise us all!" Thus, they prostrated at His exalted presence. Behold!

The frame of this verse is narratival as signified by the past form: viñār 'they prostrated' in the last line. The plural subject of viñār might be associated with the Jews of Persia described in the previous song 'Story of Esther' (III18). Syntactically, viñar can govern the whole verse as the agent of the reported speech, the prayer. Albeit the narratival framing, this verse too is obliquely conative, for the invocation framed by it is superimposed by the contextual-performative content-layer.

The invocation is strengthened by performative usages like nāmeč, 'us (incl.)' (c²), and by direct addresses to God, tannē (a¹) and tānē (a²). Also the formulaic line - sātakkiyum tanna camayāt, 'God's own promise' (b¹) - strengthens the impression that this invocation is directed at the immediate context and related to the people present. This line appears also in the intermediary verse 'Now It Is Done' (IV16:b²), where the conative function dominates. Moreover, this intermediary verse is also the fourth verse of the conglomerate 'Blessing Song' (II11), a fully-fledged invocation with a well recognized performative function as a blessing performed during at least two life-cycle events, weddings and circumcisions.

591 *anyārāya*; literally 'who became strangers'. I derive the meaning of exile from HaCohen, 1877: 16, where *anniyan* is used for translating יניע, 'exile'. The word *atīyar*, literally 'servants', can also be understood as the first person addressee in an honorific address.

592 It is possible to take *vīluka* in such cases as a quotation verb almost like ʾēnuka, which is understood from the context and hence left out. Compare with the song 'The Oil Jar Hanukkah Miracle' (III87: 1e-f) in Appendix A.

593 The meaning of camayāt as 'divine promise' was noted by Ruby Daniel and accepted by Zacharia, see Zacharia and Gamliel 2005: 92 (M) and 91 (H). Its etymology is unclear.

594 These two occasions are specifically mentioned in the titles given for the song 'Blessing Song' (II11) in the different notebooks. Zacharia and Johnson describe it as a song of blessing for various life-cycle events (Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 185 (M), Johnson, 2005: 215). It seems to be a
The importance of the intermediary verses for understanding the kānavvē songs lies in two characteristics common to all of them. The first is their cyclic appearance - one at the end of each ten or five verses (depending on the reading). The second is the dominance of the conative feature, especially of the oblique type. These two features depict the kānavvē songs as deeply anchored in the performative chronotopos of ritual. They are literary texts forming an integral part of a complex and multi-layered ritual expression.

The conative feature of the intermediary kānavvē verses further suggests that the composers, as well as the performers and scribes, were always in touch with the audience, without being lost in the narrative. As I argue in Chapter Three, the wedding with its varied functions is a ritual space, and ritual in Kerala cultural life is often involved with dramatic performance. The modularity of the kānavvē songs is somewhat reminiscent of the modularity in classical Malayalam drama. This may be due to the history of evolution of Malayalam literature, which developed in close affiliation to diverse dramatical forms.595

5.4 Introductory Verses
In addition to the intermediary verses, there are introductory verses that serve as prologues to the longer verse units. These verses address the performative context, either directly or obliquely, and their level of coherency is often very low relative to the narrative sections in the songs.

The first introductory verse in the sequence introduces the song 'Joseph Sold to Egypt' (III52: 1). It abounds with linguistic markers depicting the contextual content layer, such as the present tense form of kā-, 'to see'. There are more performative markers such as the use of the modal verb form irikkum, 'might be', combined with the indefinite subject cilār, 'some [people]'. The combination of modality with indefiniteness suggests a hypothetical habitual situation, fit for superimposing the gathering of people during the kāppurātri.

conglomerate of kānavvē verses, hence dealt with in 4.5.2, and left out of the present discussion on the kānavvē songs.

595 For the affiliation of Malayalam regional songs with staged performances, see 2.2.
Some might eat and play. Others might walk [for guarding] inside.
Some might watch the [game-masters]. Others will [gratefully send off cash.]
[They seized and possessed me. They made me completely impoverished.]
What can I do all alone? [All] are watching the show. Behold!

The situation described in the verse is an occasion in which various indefinite people are engaged in different hypothetical acts centered around a 'show' (vēlayāṭṭū). Some people play (kaliccā) and some watch the game-masters (kalippāsāt). Line d² explicitly states that the indefinite subjects are, at present, watching a show, vēlayāṭṭū. It is difficult to ascertain the exact meaning of the term vēlayāṭṭū. Walerstein notes the custom of playing card games during the pre-wedding naṭakkunna sābat. The term may signify some sort of social games that were perhaps structured into the ritual complex also in earlier times.

However, the term vilayāṭṭu (or vilayāṭṭanī) may have had another meaning in the past. It is compounded of the terms vila, 'yield; completion' and āṭṭam, 'dance; play', that denote performative dramatic action. For example, the

596 Obscure lexemes are in bold letters and archaic forms and peculiar language uses are underlined.
597 < ēnnē pīticcā?
598 The term vilayāṭṭanī/vilayāṭṭū generally refers to a game or show. It may denote the secondary meaning of divine play. See Zvelebil for the vilayāṭṭū in Tamil bhakti poetry (1973: 197 and 1974: 108). Jewish Malayalam speakers took this term to denote a dramatic performance (in a conversation with a group of elderly women in Israel, December, 2008).
oracle is 'utterly dancing' (viḷayāṭunnu) in possession performances. It then denotes divine play, such as of God Krṣṇa or Goddess Kāli. The terms āṭṭam and āṭṭu, 'dance, play', when post-fixed to form a compound, e.g. mohiniyāṭṭam, krṣṇanāṭṭam etc., are commonly used to denote different sorts of stage performances (drśya-kala). Another lexeme connoting the song with drama is -kali, 'play'. It is derived from the verb kalikkuka, 'to play, sport', which appears twice in this verse, as a non-finite verb form kaliccū, 'having played' (a¹), and as a verbal noun kalippū (c¹), 'play'. The latter form is joined in a compound modifying the noun asar, 'masters'. Note that also the first verse of the 'Vigil Night Song' denotes playing (kalippūtum cēytu).

The intermediary and introductory verses serve as joints or, metaphorically speaking, as verbal screens marking the boundaries between song-acts. The introductory verses are also, in a way, joints in a long chain of successive dramatic-performative events. They seem to have a twofold function; on the one hand, they are prologues to the narrative sections. On the other hand, they are re-creations of the marriage context as an unfolding drama superimposing the biblical stories. This has ritualistic, perhaps even magical, implications on the event.

The introductory verse for the song 'Joseph Meets His Brothers' (III55) is a widely distributed 'wandering' verse that Zacharia interprets as a 'blessing formula'. The opening verse presents the 'happy-end' of the story, the message

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600 See for example in the Nilakeśippāṭtu (Namboodiri, 1981: 159).
601 For the usage of the terms āṭṭam and kāli in the taxonomy of ethno-genres in Kerala’s performative arts, see Namboodiri, 2006a: 24—27.
602 asar (pl. asar) means 'master' or 'teacher'. It may refer to a person leading a ritual performance (see Thampi, 1999: 54). Some notebooks read strī, 'woman' instead of asar or asar.
603 For a schematic sketch of the textual chain of verses and performative joints and junctures in kathakali, see Zarilli, 2000: 42—43.
604 See Genesis, 42—45.
to Jacob that Joseph is still alive.  

It advances the happy-end to the beginning in a pattern characteristic also of other introductory verses, for example of the song 'Story of Esther' (III18). This pattern may have to do with manipulating the wedding oxymoron, the public-intimate union, into an unfolding drama with its happy-end guaranteed.

The scene depicted in the introductory verse for the song 'Joseph Meets His Brothers' (III55: 1) is of old and dejected Jacob blessing his granddaughter with immortality. None of the characters is mentioned by name. Identifying the characters depends solely on the acquaintance of the audience with the story, which is not necessarily a scholarly acquaintance with biblical and midrashic sources. It must have been an ongoing process of acquaintance with the stories and characters, such that started ever since a child first participated in a community wedding. Identification might also depend on the extra-linguistic signaling of the performers, such as hand and facial gestures, tone of voice and so forth.

III55: 1.

tambirān tann arulālē nī cēnnu/a/ tāne taniccē parasīna keṭtu/b/
pēmbullā pāṭiya pāṭtinē keṭtu/c/ pēṣakāṭē yoseppū ənarnnu cēlli//d///
imbaṃ āy keṭṭū keṭṭū əkann ūrinnu/a/ ininn vā ēnnu makala viliccu/b/
tambirān tann arulālē nī cēnnu/c/ sākēlā ēnn'= ainn vāstinār avvē//d///

"You have come by God’s blessing." Alone he listened to the child.
He listened to the song a girl child sang. Calmly she said that Joseph was awakened.
Listening over and again in delight, [he] rose and called the daughter, "Come here!"
"You have come by God’s blessing. [You] shall not die." So he blessed [her]. Behold!

Like the intermediary verses, also the introductory verses and, in fact, the kānāvve verses as a whole, have the contextual-performative content-layer underlying narratival-dramatic content layers. A wedding is an occasion in which the elders, especially the grandparents, ceremoniously bless the young couple. The verse is

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606 Genesis, 45: 25—27.
pregnant with the notion of grandparents blessing the young bride: *paraśina*, 'child' (b¹) and *pēmbulla*, 'girl child' (c¹) is blessed by elders denoted by the honorific/plural form *vāstīnār*, 'he/they blessed' (d²).

The introductory verse to the following song 'Jacob and Esau' (III48) is too cryptic to afford a sound translation and thorough analysis. However, it abounds with markers of invocation and injunction such as *tān* (You), *kārttāvu* (God), the purposive infinitive (*cēyvān*) and the first person plural inclusive (*nammakku*).607 The invocative character of the verse renders it irrelevant to the narrative section that follows it. It is rather a prayer introducing the last song for the *kāppurātri*.

The *kāppurātri* repertoire of *kānavvē* songs ends with the song 'Jacob and Esau' (III48). Three more *kānavvē* songs, 'Searching a Bride for Isaac' (IV111), 'The Birth of Isaac' (II12) and 'The Sacrifice' (II15) are scattered between minor ritual functions of the wedding. Taken together, they present different fragments of Isaac's story, and may have been one integral textual unit sometime in the remote past. Since the relation between the introductory verses and their respective songs is not as transparent as in the *kāppurātri* songs, I treat these three songs separately in 5.6.

The last *kānavvē* song slotted for the wedding functions is the song 'Story of Esther' (III18). Like the introductory verse for the song 'Joseph Meets His Brothers' (III55:1), also the introductory verse for the song 'Story of Esther' advances the 'happy-end' to the beginning. It presumably alludes to Esther 8: 15—16, an auspicious scene that is recited in Hebrew on the wedding day, when the groom arrives to the synagogue just before the marriage rite (*qiddusin*).

III18: 1.

*aракама ӧллашувункал нинну/а/ арум арийате оппёна каtti/b/
sătvata nalla prănikalkk ĕllăm/c/ santikkum tăn arul ăkŏlam ălama//d/v/
sarvvatun nalla vacanattē kéttu/a/ văninum pĕrăni kkatakă kānăvū/b/**

607 For the text and translation, see Appendix B. For the critical edition, see Appendix C.
In [crimson] [attire] [he] was suddenly decorated,  
As long as all the good people [with no exception] [abide by] God’s own word,  
The people who obey all the good sayings [are] [near the door].  
Through Rabban they knew the zealous God of compassion. Behold!

In spite of the difficulty in textualizing the verse, there are narrative markers (past forms) framing it: kāṭṭi, 'displayed' (1b¹) and ariḵnār, 'knew' (1d²). Two lexemes, one of them obscure, may be interpreted as keywords alluding to the Hebrew verse uttered in the synagogue just before the wedding: arukamā, 'crimson' (? < H araggāmān, ארנגמן) in 1a¹, and raḇēn, 'Rabban', in 1c².⁶⁰⁹ If so, the verse is again a superimposition of the content on the context of performance, for the Hebrew text has the groom superimposing Mordechai. Be the theme as it may be, the invocational content layers of this verse are observable by its keywords and pragmatics; tān arul, 'His word' (d¹), and karttāva, 'God' (d²) explicitly suggest the invocational; the prospective forms āvolam, 'as long as' (d¹), and the future-gnomic participle kēṭṭuvalānnum (< keṭṭu-valān-) 'who obey' (b²) with reference to unspecified individuals, prāni (c¹, b²), pragmatically juxtapose the narrative and the invocation and enable the content-context superimposition. There is further a keyword that connotes the wedding right at the beginning of the verse, ḍippana, 'decorations' (b¹), a term closely related to the wedding.⁶¹⁰ On the narratival level, the term ḍippana may denote the royal apparel of Mordechai in the biblical story.

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⁶⁰⁸ The verse is in a 'liquid' state, and its textualization relies mainly on B5 and S13. In the analysis of this verse, I shall relate only to those markers and lexemes, which are shown in all readings.

⁶⁰⁹ The biblical verse runs as follows: "Mordechai retired from the king’s presence, in blue and white royal apparel, a big golden crown and a garment of linen and crimson wool (ארגמן). The city of Shushan hailed and rejoiced. The Jews attained brightness and celebration, and joy and honor.” (Esther, 8: 15—16. See Walerstein, 1987: 106—107).

⁶¹⁰ See 2.2.4.1 for the term ḍippana and for a Muslim ḍippanappāṭṭu, which is also in the pāṭṭu-mold.
The introductory verse to the song 'Story of Esther' (III18) was performed on the first post-wedding Saturday (puṟappēṭunna śabat). Like the chanting of the biblical verses denoting Mordechai and obliquely referring to the groom, so does the above introductory verse denote Mordechai, though only by the title ṭabēn, 'Rabban' (c²), and not by name. Most characters in the kānavē songs are nameless. The unspecified character of Mordechai, for example, is a pragmatic token of the groom, well dressed and decorated on his wedding day and allegorized to a king. For this reason, the title ṭabēn is most adequate; on his wedding day, the groom’s character is superimposed on national heroes. On this one occasion in his life, one very important and memorable occasion, he is placed in the cultural slot of a leader and a great man.

The intermediary and introductory verses are not merely verbal junctures in the unfolding biblical drama. They are also fragments carefully ordered to serve performative and pragmatic functions. Some such functions are intended for the whole community, especially the pragmatic functions that comprise the invocational-injunctional content layers. The injunctional content-layers dominate the first song for the kāppurāṭrī repertoire, 'Vigil Night Song' (II61). Yet, it is the pragmatic-performative connection with the bridal couple, and more specifically with the young bride, with which the bulk of kānavē songs are concerned. This is plainly manifested in the verse 'Now It Is Done' (IV16) by the direct reference to the bride i makaḷ (c¹), and by the phatic address to a young girl in the song 'Story of Esther' (III18), kēḷ ēti, 'Listen, girl!' (2d²). Fragmenting and re-ordering the biblical themes and stories in the kānavē songs modulates the narration into a speech act directed at the bride and bridegroom.

611 See Table 3b in 3.5.
612 This title is given to mytho-historical figures of Kerala Jews, whether pan-Jewish such as Moses, or local such as Joseph Rabban.
613 For the pan-Jewish imagery of the groom as a king, see ילקוט שמעוני שופטים刺客 וספור תversible כותב ספר ;תסה ונתיבי ברכת אבודרהם ספר ;ע שופטים שמעוני ילקוט ונתיבי ברכת אבודרהם ספר ;קטן שמעוני ספר ונתיבי ברכת אבודרהם ספר ;תסה ונתיבי ברכת אבודרהם ספר ;תסה ונתיבי ברכת אבודרהם ספר.
5.5 Fragmenting and Retelling

Biblical stories were told and retold in different genres and forms all around the Jewish world. Every telling of a biblical event is also a commentary and each commentary on the Bible is a retelling of sort. Whenever a biblical story is retold, it is fragmented and reshaped to fit into the context of narrator and audience. This process is an important key for understanding narrators, audiences and, above all, the narration itself.

The קַנָּבֶש songs retell certain biblical stories selectively. Scenes and characters are reshaped and loaded with the pragmatics and semantics of the wedding ritual complex. The selected stories undergo generic transformation, especially in turning the specific biblical chronotopos and characters into a gnomic hypothetic event and indefinite entities. This enables the generalization that is necessary for intertwining these 'historical' sagas and novellas with the ritual context and its participants. At the same time, the generic features of the biblical saga and novella are always latent in the generalized tale told in the קַנָּבֶש songs. Nevertheless, the stories do not turn into something completely different, say a folk tale per se. The fragmentation process allows for emphasizing concerns unique to the context of performance.

The קַנָּבֶש songs begin with Joseph’s story (III52 and III55), proceed to the story of Jacob and Esau and end with the stories of Isaac. The story of Esther, which is told much later in the Bible, follows the story of Jacob and Esau and precedes those of Isaac. Verses that relate to Joseph’s story (either intermediary and introductory verses or complete songs) have the widest circulation among the notebooks, and Joseph’s character and exploits receive more attention than the others do. Furthermore, Joseph is the only character whose name is consistently mentioned in the songs.

614 For the generic definition of the biblical stories of the patriarchs as sagas and the stories of Joseph and Esther as novellas, see Yassif, 1999: 35—42.

615 The sequence of songs in the schematic reconstruction above is based on comparing their textual presentation in the notebooks. It does not parallel the biblical sequence of events.
Some characters other than Joseph are also mentioned by name, mostly just once: Esther (III18: 5d²), Sarah (II12: 4a²), Judas (III52: 2b¹) and Pharaoh (III52: 10a², III55: 8b², 10b¹). Usually, characters are merely alluded to either by title or by keywords; Mordechai is denoted by the title ūhabēn (III18: 1c²), Abraham by the phrase ūyimbatum tōnnūrum ūntāyavārē, 'when becoming ninety-nine' (II12: 2a¹), Isaac by the title vāvā, 'father' (III48: 3b²), Rebecca by mātākkal 'mother' (III48: 3a¹), Esau by mūttāra, 'the eldest son' (III48: 2b¹) and so forth.

In this way, the narration is generalized. It associates the narrative with the inner emotional world of the participants in the performative occasion, a life-cycle event. The wedding, a dramatic rite de passage, is an occasion where the main participants are bound to be in an inner turmoil of excitement and apprehension about the unknown destiny ahead, both in the social and in the personal sense. Therefore, whenever a name is mentioned, it denotes a focal character. Joseph is the most marked focal character, possibly because certain aspects of his story enable both men and women to feel for him and identify with him.

In what follows I treat the kānavvē songs in relation to their performative context as outlined in table 3a—c, and examine the pragmatics of their narration as determined by the semantics of the wedding.

5.5.1 The Kāppurāṭri Songs
The kāppurāṭri suite of songs is dispersed over the notebooks, which only occasionally clearly specify the performative occasion. However, four kānavvē songs are consistently associated with the kāppurāṭri: 'Vigil Night Song' (II61), 'Joseph Sold to Egypt' (III52), 'Joseph Meets His Brothers' (III55), and 'Jacob and Esau' (III48). These four songs are linked by the intermediary verses discussed above: 'Now it is Done' (IV16), 'The Dream You Saw' (III87) and 'You

616 The names of Simon and Benjamin are mentioned in some stray kānavvē verses that are left out of the present discussion (III6).
Conspired' (III55a). These songs end in a way that is meaningful for the ritual context of the kēppurātri; the song 'Joseph Sold to Egypt' concludes with pointing at the 'twenty silver' that Joseph was sold for; the song 'Joseph Meets His Brothers' concludes with the family reunion in exile; and the song 'Jacob and Esau' concludes with fixing the proper endogamic marriage for Jacob.

In most notebooks, the two songs about Joseph consist of five verses each (including the introductory verse). As mentioned above, some notebooks have five more verses with many more themes and events. Possibly, these two songs were originally one song consisting of ten verses, which were dismantled in the course of transmission and according to changing performative circumstances. At some point, some of the scribes/performers felt the need to complete the fragmented songs into ten verses each. The condensed and poignant nature of the short tellings stands in sharp contrast to the nature of the additional verses in the long tellings. The latter are fuller narratives and are less focused on a message related to the performative context. For the sake of brevity, I treat here only the short versions.

The story of Joseph begins at the second verse of 'Joseph Sold to Egypt' (after the first introductory verse discussed above) with an allusion to the Bible, văvă irunnu dēsattā, 'the father settled in the land'. The following statement is a condensation of ten biblical verses into a laconic remark that the father and sons were angry with Joseph. Two central motifs of the biblical plot are absent; there is no mention of Joseph’s dreams, nor of the special garment that he got from his father to mark him as preferred son. What is there is anger (dēsāv < dvešami) and alienation of a vague cluster of family members (father and sons) being angry at the focal figure of the story, Joseph marked by name, as opposed to the other characters generalized by titles (e.g. văvă for Jacob). The last line

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617 So in T1, S14 and S11, all from KK; B3 and Z4 too have the ten-verse versions for the songs 'Joseph Sold to Egypt' (III52) and 'Joseph Meets His Brothers' (III55).
618 For the additional verses and their translation, see Appendix B.
619 Genesis, 37: 1, 2—11.
contrasts emotions - *vēlma*,\(^{621}\) ‘faith, trust’ and *kēràvū* (< *garvvan*), 'anger, haughtiness' – emphasizing the emotional crisis in the family.

### Joseph Sold to Egypt

\(\text{vāvāy irunnu deśattū poyi pukkū/a/ makkaḷa kalpiccör ātu meyippān/b/ dēsav’ unṣu yōsēvinoṭu vāvāykku/c/ taināḷṭē makkaḷ ēlḷāvarum kāṭṭi//d/}

\(\text{navvā ēlakina kantuḷ ariyām/a/ naṭakkum mēnippōra sātakkaka cēllī/b/ āvōlaṁ bētamā kōnṭiyavarakk’ ēlḷām/c/ annē kēravāl pitīcčār kānavvē//d²//}

The father was settling in the land and ordering [his] sons to herd the goats.
The father was angry with Joseph. All his sons [too] showed [anger].
By seeing a [prophetic] vision, one knows.
[The truthful ones] walk by seeking God.\(^{622}\)
All those who were so much [faithful], were [angry] with me. Behold!

The second half of the verse (2: a\(^2\)—b\(^2\)) is unclear. However, it contains modal discourse markers - the conditional *kaṇṭāl’*if seen’ with the abilitative *ariyām* '[X] knows' (2: a\(^2\)), and a reference to God: *sātakkaka*, 'to God'. I take it as the poet’s remark on the story. The object of *kaṇṭāl* is an obscure lexeme in most variants.\(^{623}\)
In B3, however, the spelling is quite different: *navvō gōlamīna*, suggesting a Hebrew lexeme: *חֲלָמִי נבָיא*, 'prophetic dream'. This might be an attempt of the scribe (or editor) not only to make sense, but also to incorporate the neglected motif of the dream, which is central to the biblical narrative.

The third verse integrates two biblical episodes seemingly unrelated. The first is the episode where Joseph leaves home in search of his brothers.\(^{624}\) The second episode is an encapsulation of the origin story of the Jewish nation.\(^{625}\)

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\(^{621}\) An obscure lexeme in Jewish Malayalam with many alternate spellings. See 6.3.1, 10.

\(^{622}\) 2b\(^2\) is an unstable line, the translation is conjectural.

\(^{623}\) *navvō* < נביא; נבואה; *olakū* < *lokam* (=kālcā).

\(^{624}\) Genesis, 37 :12—17.

\(^{625}\) Exodus, 15f.
Note the approximation of *sātakka*, 'God' and *yōsēvinōtu*, 'with Joseph' in the symmetrical positions of the third *ganam* of each line (a³ and b³), as if asserting that all the atrocities and miseries inflicted on Joseph are in accordance with the divine will, hence eventually positive. This is emphasized by the phatic particle *ētō*, a vocative particle that possibly addresses the groom (compare with *ēti* addressing the bride in III18: 2d²).

III52: 3.

ātu mēyippān pōyā sātakkay ētō/a/ āśāticca cēn̄'ānnī yōsēvinōt eki/b/
kāt' an̄nu cūtar naṭapputum cētyu/b/ kānta pētāv' ōkkē dūranna vaccu//d¹//
kūti-pāriṇa tāṇnal ēlām ottu/a/ kūrmēyā kōnnakal apōr anaṇnī/b/
pētiyēnē cēn̄nu anayār' āyikōntu/c/ pēsakātē pōttī pīticcār kānnevve//d²//

If going to herd goats, it was God who commanded Joseph to search, sirs. The Jews were walking in the wilderness. [They] cast afar all their sins. Exiled they were all joined. The mountain wittingly shook. Fearlessly they approached. They faultlessly acquired wisdom. Behold!

Some fragments of a different story are interwoven into the main story line, which is also fragmented and stitched, to form a tapestry of biblical allusions. In this way, the fate of the specified protagonist (Joseph) is directly related to the fate of the whole nation and, allegorically, the fate of the individual participant in the *rite de passage* (either the bride or the bridegroom) is directly related to the fate of the whole community. This relation seems to be a major concern not only in the intermediary and introductory verses that superimpose the immediate context on dramatic content layers, but also in the way the story proceeds and takes shape in the 'core' verses.

Once the relation between the fate of Joseph and the founding event of the Jewish nation is suggested, the story proceeds in accordance with four biblical verses, occupying a relatively broad 'narrative-space':

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626 Genesis, 37: 20—24.
Some have resolved to kill him. The other prevented them saying, "Don't kill him!"
"I have seniority over all the [younger ones]. I will rescue [him] from this." [He thought].
"In any case, don't kill [him]. Get together and put [him] in an empty well."
"[I am all alone] in the well." [He] prayed.627 Behold!

The narratival content-layers (a¹, c²—d²) frame the dramatic content-layers (b¹-b²) that represent the reported speech of 'the other' (ma₄₄f₄₄tu, 'some') that is cited in the song, but it is not only what he tells his brothers (cilₐr, 'some') that is cited in the song, but it is also what he thinks that is cited for enhancing the drama. It is not specifically mentioned that c¹—d¹ are thoughts rather than speech. It is on basis of the biblical narrative that this is understood; what the Bible narrates in the third person appears here as a statement in the first person.628

The drama reaches its peak in the next verse, where the brothers decide to sell Joseph to traveling merchants.629 Line d² alludes to Amos 2: 6 ([עַל מִכְרָם בַּכֶּסֶף]:צַדִּיק וְאֶבְיוֹן בַּעֲבוּר נַעֲלָיִם), which is interpreted in the Midrash as referring to Joseph.630 The song concludes with the episode of fixing the price of Joseph and selling him:

627 The text for c²—d² is uncertain, and translation is conjectural. ēnniyē tanniyē < ennikkū tannikkū, kaivānni < kaivalaānni.
628 The Bible reports Reuben’s words and adds in an adverbial phrase that it was ‘for rescuing him (Joseph) from their hands’ (Genesis, 37: 22).
630 The biblical verse, "For they sold a righteous one for silver, and a destitute for shoes", is interpreted in the Midrash as referring to Joseph's brothers. See יאַוּרְצַר ממְדַרְשָׁםוֹ (וָיווֹלְשְׁטִין) תְּלֵז דִי ה; פָּרְקָו דָּבִי אָלִיעוֹר (הוֹרוֹנַת) - "יוֹרְוָא". See also p. 107—108 above.
căttēra vāḷi pokkār vannatū kkanṭū/a/ tambūrā ḁnicca\textsuperscript{631} nām it’ ēllām ēṭta/b/
cattu poyāl namakk’ ēnt’ or’ anubhaṅc’/ caraticcu vaccaḷ cērippīnoṭ’ ēṟum\textsuperscript{632} //\textsuperscript{d²}//
căttēra ppõnēyavaru avara viliccu/a/ yöśēvinē kōntupoṭi karayil kāṭṭi/b/
ittarē ēnnum vilayun paraṇṇu/c/ irumbatu vēḷlijkku vīṟṭāru kāṉavvē//\textsuperscript{d²}//

[They] saw travelers arriving. "We are guided by God. All this is right. If he dies - what shall we gain out of it? If [we] pay attention, [it] will suffice for sandals." [They] called those travelers, pulled Joseph up and displayed him on shore. They set this much of price. They sold Joseph for twenty silver. Behold!

The song 'Joseph Sold to Egypt' is mainly concerned with the imminent fratricide that leads to selling off the youngest and weakest member of the family by his own kith and kin. This ominous aspect of the story is associated with the happy fate of the whole nation to be finally delivered from Egypt, the place to which Joseph was sold. The story fragmented and retold in this way portrays the miserable state of Joseph as a stage in the divine plan to benefit the whole nation.

The narrative fragments chosen are subtly associated with the performative context. There are two textual clues that signify the reemergence of the contextual content layer at the conclusive and strategic point of the song. The first is the deictic, ittārē, 'this much', that points at the immediate location. The second clue is the keyword, vēḷḷi, 'silver', suggestive of the silver coin signifying an actual item in the specific ritual occurrence in time.

Ending the song with these lines directly connotes Joseph’s story to the engagement ceremony. One cannot avoid the sharp, though oblique, criticism of the custom of trading a young girl and marrying her off to another family. She might feel that the whole family joined against her to drive her out of the home. Telling her of the turmoil that Joseph had been going through is an oblique way of empathizing with her. The song also expresses the idea that her ordeal is for

\textsuperscript{631} Read: tamburān ḍānicca.
\textsuperscript{632} Read: cerum. See 6.3.1 for the phonetic shift.
the benefit of the whole community, just as the journey of Joseph away from his father's house matured into establishing and redeeming the whole nation. She, as well as other women in the community, might feel that tagging the bride with a price, and such a small price indeed, is offensive, and the association with Joseph turns this offense into prestige.

Verses 6—10 of the song 'Joseph sold to Egypt' (III52) appear only in KK tellings and in the edited anthologies B3 and Z4. They all follow the biblical narrative quite closely interlacing it with midrashic allusions. They contain many more associations to the apprehensions of a bride before entering a new house. Like Joseph, she is expected to work and succeed in maintaining a household, like Joseph she has to do that under the oppressive authority of the mistress of the house, and like Joseph, her fate will be solely in the hands of strangers.633 However, the poignant emotions as expressed in the first five verses are somewhat diluted by these elaborations. The need to disentangle the feelings of alienation and bitter betrayal by family members is more pressing, and it is satisfied in the next song, 'Joseph Meets His Brothers' (III55).

The reunion of the brothers is advanced by the introductory verse discussed above (III55: 1) depicting how Jacob receives the good news of Joseph being alive in Egypt. Only then the painful and emotional process of reintegrating oneself with one’s own innermost members is narrated and dramatically enacted:

**Joseph Meets His brothers**

**III55**

2.

\textit{pattu peruš tambiränət’ ěranu/a/ pərəkōtu vōsēppinōtum yevudā/b/ mantaram tammil aın’ eruμär āyī/c/ vávāta cēnna pəramänattālē/d1// Ēttu balam ěyirinnu irīvērum/a/ ormmayil irunnu palam īllə ěnnum/b/ ēṭrayum manatātamāyi cēnnu/c/ ĕrē avar sattiyam cēytār kānnavē/d2//}

Ten people begged to God, and later Judah [begged] to Joseph. Animosity was about to rise between them because of the father’s command.

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633 See Appendix B for the text and translation of these verses.
Both had the same strength. "They do not remember [me]." [Joseph thought].
With so much [of a low spirit] they [took an oath]. Behold!

This verse is stitched from biblical and midrashic references concerning the meeting of Joseph with his brothers in Egypt.\(^6\) It alludes to the Midrash that lingers on three words in the biblical verse, יְהוּדָה אֵלָיו יָגַשׁ (Judas confronted him) extending them to narrate a violent conflict between Joseph and Judah.\(^7\) Line 2b² alludes to the statement that Joseph recognized his brothers, who could not recognize him.\(^8\) This statement is styled as reported speech (在传奇), possibly of Joseph's inner dialogue. The last line is unclear, and seems to be a general statement by the poet about the characters and the events.

It is not accidental that Judah's name is mentioned in this verse. It signifies the entry of a strong antagonist into the scene and effects polarization. Note also the syntactic parallel between God and Joseph (tambirānothu, yōsēppinōtum) and the position of Judah's name as a bare subject closing the line.\(^9\) The movement towards a favorable resolution - the reunion of Joseph with his family - begins with a violent, unpleasant conflict.

The confrontation between Joseph and his brothers has several phases in the biblical story and in later traditions as well. Joseph steps away from the encounter and weeps in solitude twice before he finally reveals his true identity before his brothers.\(^10\) In between these emotional outbreaks, Joseph tricks his brothers, detains them, arrests one of them, sends them back and receives them again, only to falsely accuse them and treat them harshly.\(^11\) Of these elaborations, only a few are mentioned in the verse, so that the story might quickly proceed to

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\(^{6}\) Genesis, 42: 3: רָה לִשְׁבֹּר בָּר מִמִּצְרָיִםוַיֵּרְדוּ אֲחֵי יוֹסֵף עֲשָׂ.

\(^{7}\) See א"ד ו ה"ד צג פרשה (וילנא) רברא בראשית; א"ד ז ה"ד צג פרשה (וילנא) רברא בראשית.

\(^{8}\) Genesis, 42: 8—9: וַיִּזְכֹּר יוֹסֵף אֵת הַחֲלֹמָה ר יוֹסֵף אֶת אֶחָיו וְהֵם לֹא הִכִּרֻהוּוַיַּכֵּ.

\(^{9}\) The term tambirān, 'God', might also denote a king in Malayalam. It might very well be that in this case the reference is to a king, for the ten brothers came to beg for food from the Egyptian king.

\(^{10}\) Genesis, 42: 24, 43: 30.

\(^{11}\) Genesis, 42—45.
the point of self-revelation (2d²) and re-union in the following verse (III55: 3). The first four lines (2a¹—d¹) narrate a series of actions that depict Joseph’s inner state of being and changing moods - anger, depression, anxiety, alienation, sadness and finally an act of regaining his self-possession (getting washed and coming out). After depicting Joseph’s inner turmoil, the story advances through a series of interactions (all initiated by Joseph) until Joseph exposes himself (3d²): III55: 3.

Abusing [them] [he] seemed upset. Troubled, [he] got up and shut himself inside. Without anyone knowing, [he] wept. Then [he] washed himself and came out. [He] counted each one accordingly. [He] sent them off and closed the door, Called them to approach and informed them of their [relation].

Such scenes provide an opportunity to elaborate with hand signals, facial gestures and tone of voice and to add more suggestive meanings that would carry spectators away from the boundaries of the story to a generalized, unspecified and yet intricate, human experience. It connotes any situation of heated encounter between intimately related subjects, where one feels hurt and misunderstood and, in spite of the emotional turmoil involved, opens up to inner transformation. As such, it stands for the experience of the first night after marriage, an awkward intimacy between two strangers.

The fourth verse conveys Joseph’s speech as he reveals himself to his brothers. Its first part (4a¹—a²) is focused on the speaking individual, ūn ḥl, 'Am I not…?', ēnna (< ēnnē), 'me' (4d¹) and on his audience, ninnāl, 'you', kēlvin,

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640 Read: avarē tuma.

641 This line alludes to the Midrash that tells how Joseph showed his brothers he was circumcised to prove his identity. See בואונה השוע ולא ישמעו הלהמאפנקו עלינוamber סך ספר ענמי עמם ורדה הימים [...], או הימים על ספר ענמי ענמי ורדה הימים (ברוששית בְּרֵאשִׁית בּרֵאשִׁית) הפרשה (וילנא) פרשה צ' (ח) הפרשה צ' (ח).
'listen!' (4b¹), varutallën, 'don't...' (4c¹) ninayätë, 'don't think' (4a²). The second part of the verse is concerned with the divine subject, tirivellam, 'His Will' (4b²), vānam utēyavan, 'the Lord of heavens', and arul, 'divine word' (4c²):


nān allē yossepū nināl pētākka/a/ naṭuṇnātē kelvin cōllunna vārtta/b/
ūnām varutallē ēnnā vārtta/c/ ūrilē yāvālikkkē ēnna virū//d²//
dīnanna ōllatū ēnnuṁ ninayātē/a/ tirivellam pērrārē vannatu kṣatu/b/
vānāṁ utēyavan tann aruḷālē/c/ mālavē pēḷappiccār kāṇavē//d²//

Am I not Joseph? You should not be mistaken. Listen steadfastly to my words. Please do not despise me, I say. I was sold to merchants from town. Do not feel any sadness. It has come about according to His Will. The Lord of heavens redeemed the righteous people by his Word.” Behold!

The reported speech is unframed by any quotation marks (ēnnu or cēllī), so that the last two lines may be either an extension of it or the voice of the poet concluding the verse. The action attributed to the divine subject, pēḷappiccār, ‘revived, redeemed’ (4d²) has for its object mālavē (< mahālokā), 'the righteous ones'. In this way, Joseph is depicted as an archetype of any righteous person redeemed by God. Leaving Joseph’s speech unframed blurs the distinction between the actual narrator (poet/performer) and the implied narrator (Joseph) and between narrative and context.

The process of merging narrative and context culminates in the fifth and last verse (of the short tellings). It resolves the tension of the story by settling the extended family of Joseph in Egypt:642

III55: 5.

ayyāntā kōṇṭ’ inū villutukkam ēllāṁ/a/ avara kōṇṭ’ ēllāṁ ēru sittitī vaccu/b/
payyālē ēru sittitī vēpputum cētytu/c/paṭṭyā taṇālikkū tēṇtum ēttuttu//d²//
ayivērum mikk’ ōḷla paitānṇaḷ ēllāṁ/a/ ā vaṇṇamē kuṭa koṇṭpōṁṇamē//b//

642 Genesis, 45—47.
"For five more years there is [famine] here." They all settled with him, Because of hunger [they] had settled. [...] [You] all, with the children, should dwell together in this manner. They had done all job to be done, and rightfully lived there. Behold!

This last verse deals with establishing Joseph’s family as a community of migrants in Egypt. The painful betrayal, alienation, self-revelation and reunion lead to prosperous community life, just as the imminent marital union is expected to assist in expanding the small Jewish community and contribute to its socio-economic life away from the holy land.

The long tellings go beyond this resolution to narrate the union of Joseph with his father (verses 6—8) and finally Jacob’s death and burial (9—10). As with the previous song, ‘Joseph Sold to Egypt’ (III52), this thematic branching too seems to be more concerned with a fuller account of the biblical story than with a retelling that merges the semantics of the ritual with the narrative. Still, it involves a dramatized account of the affairs, so that also in these verses, the dramatic content-layers are markedly present.643

The last kānavvē song for the kāppurāṭri, ‘Jacob and Esau’ (III48), narrates how Jacob outwitted his elder brother and won Isaac’s blessing instead of him. In this song, none of the characters is mentioned by name; there are just father, mother, eldest and youngest to signify the biblical characters. In this way, the processes and procedures in the story are more essential than the individual emotional turmoil that Joseph undergoes. In the song ‘Jacob and Esau’, it is the complex nature of family ties and the question of rights of seniority that is essential for the plot. The song is the story of a mother manipulating her favorite son to deceive his father and defeat her elder son. It is a story that favors the weak and the feeble (the young, and not so stout, brother) and depraves the strong and

643 See Appendix B for the text and translation of these verses.
heroic (the stout hunter) of his rightful possession of seniority. It is a story of preparing food and feeding.\textsuperscript{644} Above all, it is a story of a blessing.

Women’s manipulative powers and wit dominate the story to a certain extent. Telling it in the context of a pre-wedding ritual has its effects and implications on the intricate and intimate relations between a husband and wife. However, the motif of blessing receives more attention. The song repeatedly mentions acts of blessing, so that forms derived from the base $\textit{vāl}$, 'to be blessed', are conspicuous and appear practically in each verse: $\textit{vāstumār āyi}$ (2b²); $\textit{vāyikkumār uḷa}$, $\textit{västitca vātuve}r$, $\textit{västitca}$ (3a², c², d²); $\textit{västti}$ (4d²); $\textit{västitya västitcu}$ (5a²); $\textit{västitcu vacu}$, $\textit{vālu}$ (8a¹, c²); $\textit{vātava}$, $\textit{västitinnār}$ (9a², d²); $\textit{vālu}$ (10d¹).

The seventh verse is fully dedicated to the blessing itself. It occupies a relatively large 'narrative-space' compared with the smaller narrative space allotted to the blessing in the Bible.\textsuperscript{646} The blessing verse (III48: 7) is a 'wandering' verse that appears time and again in verse conglomerates or functions as a detached verse. Its location in the verse order of the song 'Jacob and Esau' alters in the different tellings. In the KK tellings, it is the sixth verse and, in the other tellings, it is the fifth. Advancing the blessing and placing it in the narrative, regardless of its chronological relation to the story line, is another clue for the main concern of the telling, namely the blessing.\textsuperscript{647}

The blessing verse is framed by the dramatical content-layer, where the reported speech is marked by the quotation verb form $\textit{ēnnār}$, 'he said' (7d²):

\textit{III48: 7.}

\textit{atin ōnnu}n niṅṅaḷ bhayappēṭaṅva/a/ ātiyāra pēṭikkaratā māṟṟēkkku/b/
\textit{pōkatu vāḷuka ninnavan tann āruḷālē/c/ pōkatum tiriśēna kāṭtuṁ tāṅkku//d//}
\textit{nitiyāl uḷa cila vāḷvukaḷ ēlliṃ/a/ ninakk' ētutt' aṅṅ aǰiśiccu vaccu/b/}

\textsuperscript{644} Activities concerning food occupy a relatively large narrative-space: 2a¹, d¹, a²; 3a²—b²; 5b².

\textsuperscript{645} Note that $\textit{vār}$- and $\textit{vāy}$- are phonetic alternates for $\textit{vāl}$-, and that $\textit{västr}$- is the dialectical causative form, 'to bless'. See 6.3.1.

\textsuperscript{646} See Genesis, 27: 28—29.

\textsuperscript{647} For the full text and translation of the song, see appendix B.
"Don’t be afraid of anything. Servants [of God] must not fear others.
The blessed [Lord], praised be He, will show you the praise-worthy [vision].
You have been granted all the choicest blessings.
Being blessed, you will lack nothing. You will [become exalted]." He said. Behold!

Technically speaking, the personal ending of the past form, ēnnār, is a plural ending. It may be understood either as an honorific form denoting Jacob or as a form denoting unspecified agents, the elders of the community blessing the young couple. Moreover, the blessing in this verse is only vaguely comparable to the blessing that Isaac confers on Jacob in Genesis, where the father grants three boons: agricultural prosperity, national and tribal superiority, benefits to friends and misfortunes to foes. Here the blessing is composed of fearlessness, divine communication and prosperity.

The words of blessing are structured so that it is first addressed to a plural addressee, niṅnal, 'you' (7a¹) further specified by atiyār, 'servants' (7b¹), to denote Jews, i.e. God’s servants. The other lines address a single addressee, tānikku, 'to yourself' (7d¹), ninakkū, 'to you' (7b², c²) and tān, 'you' (7d²). The focus on a plural addressee at the opening of the verse is indicative of the contextual content-layer, which pragmatically functions as an address to the immediate, actual hearers. Once it is addressed to a singular hearer, the blessing is already detached from the narrative context and ready to serve as a blessing to the singular hearer in the immediate context, the bride or the groom. The formulaic repetition of the derivative nouns and verbs of the base roots vāl- 'to bless' and pōkat- (<puka>-), 'to praise', connotes the composition with the pragmatic act of blessing. These pragmatic and semantic generalizations of the blessing shift the focus from the narratival addressee to the hypothetical addressees in the context of performance.

It is for this reason that the verse 'wanders' and crops up in other performative contexts and, consequently, in other textual environments.

Since the song 'Jacob and Esau' (III48) concludes the kāppurātri, the main concern with the blessing makes sense. Its affinity with a pre-wedding ritual becomes almost explicit in the last verse, where the mother scolds the father for allowing the elder son to marry out of caste and demands the arrangement of endogamic marriage for the younger son. She does it with teasing questions, first acknowledging her mother status, and then referring to the issue of caste marriage:

III48: 10.

mātakka keṭṭāre bartāvanōta/a/ makkalē pēṟṟata tāyār ānn’ illē/b/
cāti keṭṭāmar irinn’ illē mūttā/c/ carēvumū sālōmūn tā ttōnā vātavum kōṭtatta//d1/
ēṭayānēlatta vēppuṭum cēyita/a/ cāti keṭṭa avanṇam tambiyum porā/b/
pōkaccētē mākanārēyum kōnta/c/ pōē mākanvakkal āyī kāṇavvē/d2//

As the mother heard, [she told] her husband,

"[Am I] not the mother who bore the children?
Didn’t the elder transgress our caste? You gave him [...], peace and helpful blessings,
And he settled in the [shepherd land]. The youngest deserves not such a loss of caste."
He was called the son of praise. Praise became his.

The reported speech of the mother is unmarked and, as with many other instances of reported speech in these songs, it flows uninterrupted into the concluding statement merging with the poet’s voice. The performative context of

649 This is with the exception of its textual presentation in S2, where it precedes all the kāppurātri songs. This notebook does not include the song 'Joseph Meets His Brothers' (III55) and the intermediary verse 'You Conspired' (III55a).


651 ēṭayan (> ḳṭaya) according to Gundert are "rather foreigners in Malayalam". The phrase 'shepherds' land' may denote Canaan, implying that the mother wishes to avoid marrying her son with a Canaanite woman, as in the biblical verse (Genesis, 27: 46).

652 The text is uncertain and the meaning is unclear.
blessing a bridal couple is superimposed on the biblical story, which is fragmented and framed accordingly.

### 5.5.2 Song for Puappēṭunna Șabat

The song 'Story of Esther' (III18) is scheduled in the notebooks for the post-wedding Saturday (pu appēṭunna șabat, נחתת שבוע). The narration advances in line with the biblical plot, except for advancing the end of the story to the first verse of the song - the introductory verse discussed above (5.4). This song is focused on the relations between husbands and wives, depicting the Persian king and his first wife as a model of unsuccessful marriage, and contrasting it with the wise behavior of his second wife, Esther, as a model of good marriage.

The second verse of the song 'Story of Esther' is a paraphrase on Esther 1: 1—12. It presents the king in the first half verse, and focuses on the quarrel with the queen in the second half. Relative to the biblical narrative, the domestic crisis occupies a broader narrative space. The verse ends with a direct address to the bride, kēl ĕti, 'listen, girl!', so she (and possibly all the women present) might take the story as relevant to her relations with her newly-wedded husband.653

#### The Story of Esther

III18

2.

nūrrōtu elōtu irupatu dēšam/a/ ninvan rājiyām bālunna kālam/b/
ũṟṟamā ttā dēsatt’ ōllavarkk’ ēllām/c/ kūṭṭi tān cēlavatta kāṭṭum tanikku//d\(^{1}\)//
tērruvān āy kōnt’ oḷıcčān dēvinē/a/ cēllāŋñavēṛē vēṟattān avala/b/
ārrumān āy kōnt’ amarccakku cēlli/c/ āṟriyēvar ēllām kēl ĕti avvē//d\(^{2}\)//

One hundred and seven and twenty regions - when [he] ruled them,
All those abiding in his mighty land were shown his fortune.
For offending him, he drove away the queen. He hated her for she did not come.

653 Note that the occasion is celebrated a few days after the wedding, but before its actual consummation. According to Walerstein, the newly-weds would not be allowed privacy until the pāllippoka occasion.
[He] sought submission for driving her off. Listen, girl, how he drove [her] away! Behold!

Not only has the ill behavior of the queen propelled the king to divorce her. A third party, the minister, interferes and warns the king of ill fame:

III18: 3.

c’ōnta jāmantēr dēšam arīvān/a/ elīl ēlēyan katānnu mutarnna/b/
vājunna ninnē tēvi cēyitatu/c/ mārrōra mantēramārum arīyām//d//
cūtunna vārttēya kētt’ōru manān/a/ śudhamā nannā vērttān avala/b/
āsamo tēvi nēnnakk’āvat’ēllām/c/ āratiya655 cēlluvōr ill’annār avvē//d2//

[He] had seven ministers for knowing the state.
The youngest among them went right ahead,

"All other ministers know what the queen did to you, the ruler."

Hearing the heated words, the king hated her even more.

"The queen might be a disgrace for you. Surely [this] should not be told." Behold!

The fourth and fifth verses describe the search after a worthy queen for the king.

At first an anonymous wife is found (4a¹—b²),656 but she too is sent off (4c²).

III18: 4.

cēlluvān pinnēyum tānē mutarnnu/a/ yōkkiyam āy ōru tēviyē tēti/b/
nall’ōru pēntyia kōntuṭan vannu/c/ tambaraṭṭalē avarkka pakaram//d//
ēllā dēsattēkkun i vārta kēttu/a/ ēluti tirumakaḷ pōkēyum viṭṭu/b/
vallāyikēṭālē avala kālavān/c/ palarē ariviccu viṭṭār kāṇavvé//d2//

Right after [he] jumped ahead for saying this, he searched for a worthy queen
And brought one fine woman for a queen instead of her.

This matter was heard and written all over – the royal daughter was sent away.

654 Read: hāsam.
655 < āratiyil (= tīreccāyum).
656 See Midrash, מֵאָנָא דָּמֵר עִי, שָׁרוּתָה לְבָט וְהוּה מִכָּבָשׁ לְשַׁוְיתָא לְמֵלֵכָה שְׁאָמָר מִלְכָּהוּ וְיִתְמוּל לְיַרְוָתָהוּ מַכְוָה לעו (ילל”א) פְּרִשְׁתוֹ דּ ד, (“He said it because he had a daughter and he wished to get her married to the king. Hence he said, “let the king give royalty to a better woman.”)
Many were informed and sent to dismiss her because of her incompetence. Behold!

5.

Many started going on their own searching for a suitable queen.

Many were brought, and immediately sent to the palace garden.

"I shall pray by day." Thus saying [even the enemy felt compassionate].657

"We may see Esther's face in the world, having drawn her." Behold!

It is only when the song is half way through, that Esther enters the scene (4c²—d²). The last line alludes to the Midrash that tells how the king ordered to have Esther's portrait placed above his bed.658

Line 5a² is semantically and syntactically clear, but it is unclear who the speaker is. Regardless of some semantic and syntactic ambiguities, the dramatrical content-layers are explicit. The quotation marker ŋnnu frames direct speech, ŋān kōlvēn, 'I'd better...' (5a²) perhaps quoting Esther's thought.

The sixth verse opens with the resolution of the marital conflict, and the king is remarried (6a¹—b¹). Soon after, two ministers conspire to kill the king, while someone overhears them.659 Though implicit, it is clear that the protagonist in this scene is Mordechai.


\[\text{pattamōtēyōru tambartālē/a/ pātīyā vēntum pariṣa kōṭuttu/b/}
\]
\[\text{iṭṭamā rájiyam vāļunna kālaṃ/c/ irika sāmantavar tammil pāraṇṇu/d¹//}
\]

657 The meaning is unclear. Perhaps the obscure lexeme pakavēṭiyārum, 'the enemy', denotes Satan.

658 See "He [the king] had Vashti's portrait above his bed. When Esther entered [the palace], he removed Vashti's portrait, and put Esther's portrait instead."

659 Esther, 2: 21—23.
The king bestowed the status of a queen.
While he was ruling the pleasing kingdom, two ministers secretly talked
And conspired to kill the king. The conspiracy talk was heard.
The sins he heard are to be known, when he will be distressed. Behold!

The story proceeds through fragments of unspecified dialogues. First, Mordechai
discretely talks to Esther (7a¹—d¹, b²—d²).660 When Esther hesitates to approach
the king (8a¹—d¹),661 Mordechai urges her to act on behalf of her nation (8a²—
d³).662 Finally Esther confesses of concealing her identity from her husband (9c¹)
and the king yields to Esther’s plea (9d¹).663

III18: 7.

[nitiyam ēnnūm ēlāyi tiriñña/a/ nitiyāl ēllē makal vārtta kēṭtu/b/
ittarē cēnn’ anñō őru ēmmiccillā/c/ etum őrrattaru katakitum illā//d¹//
ittarē cēnna makal vārtta kēṭtu/a/ inna kōlam ēnnu cōllātē ēnnu/b/
vāstiya tānum pātīmēyūm cēytu/c/ tānē tanic’ ānñu irīnnār kānāvve//d²//

[He] continuously went hither and thither. The pious girl heard the news.
"There is not even a little peace of mind. So many people did not even wash."664
This much the girl heard. "Don’t say that it is your community."665
You were blessed, you acted cleverly and remained all by yourself. Behold!
8.

[omēna śalōm pērikatā mannan/a/ ōrētarattil irīkkumār āyi/b/
āvōlam vēntum pariśa kōtutta/c/ avan ēnnē marrārum ill’ annu cēllī//d¹//

660 Esther, 4: 1—9.
661 Esther, 4: 11.
663 Esther 7: 3—5.
664 Paraphrasing Esther, 4: 1—3?
665 See Esther, 2: 20.
"When the king is abundant in peace and fondness in every way, 
There is no one but him who gives [protection] to the fullest." [She] said. 
"Except for you, all other people mindfully fell prostrated before Him. 
If heavens heard, they might be shaken, for the mighty word of God to rule." Behold!

It is difficult to identify the speaker in 9c²—d². The inclusive pronoun นามัึก and the second person singular pronoun ต้น may be understood as a general statement addressed to God (ต้น) by the nation (นามัึก). The ninth and tenth verses squeeze the theme of national redemption into the conclusion of the plot. Then the poet apologizes for neglecting this issue (10a²—b²) and concludes the song while directly referring to the context of performance by the deictic pronouns and an interjection (,alpha, namakku, นาม, ินี):

III18: 10.

"When the king is abundant in peace and fondness in every way, 
There is no one but him who gives [protection] to the fullest." [She] said. 
"Except for you, all other people mindfully fell prostrated before Him. 
If heavens heard, they might be shaken, for the mighty word of God to rule." Behold!

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III18: 10.
Everyone started speaking like this. "Remain together and do not err."
Many started coming with purity by the commandment.
I tell this with incompetence. [I] have forgotten a few words.
How wonderful! We were all helped! Fearlessly we are all here. Behold!

Like the other kānavvē songs, the 'Story of Esther' too contains many instances of reported speech, and it is thus integral to the whole series of kānavvē songs as an ongoing story-drama molded into the ritual semantics. The song 'Story of Esther' depicts the relations between a husband and wife, subtly exposing the inter-gender intimacy that the wedding rituals publicly celebrate. As already stated, the publicity of intimacy is an oxymoron. Molding it into an art form such as a song is one way to handle it, common to many communities around the world. The peculiarity of these songs is the oblique manner of handling the most painful and unpleasant issues related to the physical intimacy celebrated in public. They discuss these issues through narrating and performing their reflection in the fundamental myths and legends of the Jewish nation.

5.6 Re-fragmentation of Retellings
The modular structure of the kānavvē songs enables the dynamic flexibility of song selection and sequence according to the dynamic ritual procedures. This modularity reflects the manner of performance as accompanied by gestures and vocal effects to depict both explicit and implicit characters and their actions in the narrative and ritual accordingly. The sequence of the kānavvē songs slotted for the kāppurātri remains the same in the performative repertoire notebooks. However, some verses become 'wandering' detached verses or cluster into conglomerates to be added to the repertoire or, alternately, be omitted from it. At the outset, at least one song was dismantled and reformatted into three separate

666 Let me emphasize once more that textual modularity is one peculiarity of staged plays in Kerala, as Kūtiyāṭṭam and Kathākali, see Zarilli, 2000: 39 ff., Paulose, 2006: 160—161.
songs: 'Searching a Bride for Isaac' (IV111), 'The Birth of Isaac' (II12) and 'The sacrifice' (II15).\textsuperscript{667}

In most notebooks, the modulation of repertoire and sequence involves also additions of non-\textit{k\=ana}vv\=e songs with different structural, thematic and pragmatic concerns. The modularity of the repertoire is an outcome of ritual dynamics. It further enables generic, textual and performative modulations. It should be stressed that the \textit{k\=ana}vv\=e songs occupy a special place only in the performative repertoire notebooks.\textsuperscript{668} They must have become irrelevant for later modifications of the dynamic wedding ritual and shifting literary trends, for alternative selection repertoires appear in many notebooks.

The modular adaptation of narrative fragments to the ever-changing performative context is a secondary fragmentation as opposed to fragmenting the biblical story for the purpose of re-narration. Primary narratival fragmentation designs a text to comply with the audience, while the secondary performative fragmentation structures it to fit into the ritual procedures. The secondary fragmentation fills in the gaps that call for inserting other types of songs between the fragmented \textit{k\=ana}vv\=e songs or, alternately, detaching \textit{k\=ana}vv\=e verses and conglomerating them according to the changing performative circumstances.

Performative fragmentation occurs in two ways:

1. Detachment and relocation of a verse as in detached verses and conglomerates.

2. Dismantling a song.

Detachment and relocation causes the introductory and intermediate verses to 'wander' around the corpus. For example, the intermediary verse 'Now It Is Done' (IV16) and introductory verse of 'Joseph Meets His Brothers' (III55:1) are often attached to other textual environments. A 'wandering' verse might also be formed of a verse in the 'core' songs (e.g. II61: 6; III48: 7; III18: 5). The songs narrating the story of Isaac from birth to marriage are fragmented in the second

\textsuperscript{667} Also the songs 'Joseph Sold to Egypt' (III52) and 'Joseph Meets His Brothers' (III55) may have been initially one song.

\textsuperscript{668} See 2.1.
way; one story is dismantled into fragments, with each fragment serving different performative functions.

The biblical story of Isaac is fragmented into three short songs: 'The Birth of Isaac' (II12), 'The Sacrifice' (II15), and 'Searching a Bride for Isaac' (IV111). Of the three, the song 'The Birth of Isaac' has the widest circulation. It appears in sixteen notebooks, sometimes as part of the conglomerate 'Blessing Song' (II11). The title for this song in the notebooks often presents it as a song to be sung to the bride on the Saturday following the wedding (purappëtunna šabat, שבת נערה). The textual position of the song 'The Birth of Isaac' in relation to other kānavvē songs is not the same in all notebooks.

The story of Isaac's birth is introduced by a verse, which has very little relevance to the story. This verse is mainly an invocation, addressing God as the creator of the world (darkness, light, human beings) and as the special God of the Jews, who gave them their lore (Saturday and Covenant). The verse concludes with an invocation of God and the temple (mikadāšū). The mention of Saturday in this verse connotes the context of performance directly, for it is held on the post-wedding Saturday. Similarly, the mention of the term 'covenant' (varītum, < H ברית) connotes the narrative that follows. The invocational content layer is framed by a narrative segment (patappūtum cētu), and marked by the inclusive pronoun (ñamakkū) and the imperative addressed to God (viṭa taravēnaṭ):

**The Birth of Isaac**

**II12**

1.

irēlu lokam paṭacca pēriyon/a/ imbamā ulla vēlivinā kāṭtu/b/

irūlu vēlivum patappūtuṃ cētu/c/ ēravu tān ulla prānikakk’ ēllām/III//

šabōtum varītum tanniñ ſnamakkū/a/ caraticca mikadāšil avanē aṛattu/b/

viṭalatti irippān viṭa taravēnaṭ/c/ viṇṭu kōlv ēnnēnne ēnnār kānavvē/IV//

---

669 In B7, it is represented as the song to be sung when giving gold for the wedding pendant (taḥī).
670 In S14, it is after the song 'Story of Esther' (III18) and, in S13, it precedes the same song. In both notebooks there are non-kānavvē songs in between.
The All-Mighty who created twice seven worlds
Manifested magnificent light.
[He] shook darkness and light for all His own creatures.
[He] gave us Saturday and the Covenant
And carefully fixed them in the Temple.
Give us a house for being [released]!
Take [us] back forever and ever! Behold!

The story of Isaac’s birth is told in the second and third verses. A midrashic allusion about Abraham’s ordeal in the furnace is stitched into the plot (2c¹). The story advances fast. It associates Abraham’s self-circumcision with the divine promise delivered by his guests. This is further marked in the verse as the beginning of a new era in the hero’s life, having dismissed of ‘impurity’, válammē (>vallayma, 3a¹). The divine promise for a son (3b²) gives way to the injunction directly addressed to the bride, kei četi (‘listen, girl’, 3d³). The story culminates in the birth of a son (4a¹—b¹) and focuses on a general blessing for ‘all women other than Sarah’ to beget children. Like the other kānavē songs, the narration is framed by, and at the same time anchored in, the performative context.

II12: 2.

ōyimbatum tōnnūrum ōntayavārē/a/ ōtumēyāl ḏlla vajanām ōntāyī/b/
ayimba tān tikkānīl ōntayavārē/c/ alaku tān cēnn’ ōr atayālam kātī/d//
tuyimbina tōtū muiccu kalaṇṇu⁶⁷³/a/ tuyyōra tānum patimēyum cēytu/b/

⁶⁷¹ Genesis, 17: 10—11 and 18.
⁶⁷² The fourth verse might be a later composition designed for dismantling the song and stitching parts of it to the performance of the purappēṭannā ṣabat. Some lines are typical ready-made lines found elsewhere (4b¹ and 4b²) in conglomerates like ‘Blessing Song’ (II11). Three tellings end with this verse. The fifth verse too is a spell for success in rearing children and similar matters. It is abundant with repetitions of phrases that seem to be borrowed from verses found elsewhere and it might be a line conglomerate, hence the difficulties in translating it (for the verse, see Appendix B).
⁶⁷³ B9 reads: murippatum cēytu.
When [he] became ninety-nine, there came about the [faithful] word.

As devoted as [he] was in the [furnace], [he] performed the beautiful circumcision.\(^{674}\)

He plucked out the foreskin. He himself performed the pure worship.

Hearing the essence of this devotion story, all did the same henceforward. Behold!

3.

\[\text{vālammē āyōlla kālam kāliṇ̤u/a/ vayasiṅka cēnna virunteṛum āyi/b/ kālaṇṇa tōrumb irikkum vēl aṅṇu/c/ kāyyōram nannāyi ṣōliṇṇatil pinnē/d//}\
\[\text{vela ětattatil kālam varumba/a/ mēyyēna oḷḷa makan nēnakk’ ěnnu/b/}\
\[\text{cēlli alakutāyī tān vāsticcu vēccu/c/ tīruvēlavēr ēllām kel ěti kāṇnvē/d²//}

The time of impurity was over. [He] became old, and guests arrived.

He was always sitting out under the sun. "Having bid farewell and left,

\[\text{When [we] come at the time you sit in the sun,}\
\[\text{You will be having a truthful son.”}\

Thus saying, He beautifully blessed.

Hear all His will, my girl! Behold!

4.

\[\text{nūru vayassil pērunna makanē/a/ piṇṇiya kūrmēyum buddhiyum unṭu/b/}\
\[\text{peruvān iniyum vannavarkk’ ēllām/c/ mēyyēyi irunn’ ěru upadesām cēlli/d'/}\
\[\text{sērāyum marr’ oḷḷa manassarkk’ ēllām/a/ cōriya⁶⁷⁵ mōlayum cōriṇṇatu kaṇṭu/b/}
\[\text{dēruvān⁶⁷⁶ aṅṇi uḷḷa maṇṇēlam cōlli/c/ ēllām avarkku vaḷaṇṇi kāṇnvē/d²//}

\(^{674}\)Literally, 'showed the sign'. For connoting the furnace ordeal with the circumcision, see: מדרש (כב לך לך( בובר )תנחומא

\(^{675}\)Read: corayum.

\(^{676}\)Read: dhruvan, but compare with B9: peruvān.
The son born at the age of hundred has merit, wits and intelligence. [He] sought after the truthful teachings for all those about to be born in the future. Seeing the flow of blood and breast for all women other than Sarah For the blessing of birth, everybody [prayed]. Behold!

The story continues in the song 'The Sacrifice' (II15), which is slotted for the Saturday morning following the wedding. In S1, it is prescribed as a song for the bridegroom (manavālana pāṭunna pāṭṭū). The song narrates how Abraham was prepared to sacrifice his son. It is mainly concerned with the dialogue between the father and son, the sacrificer and sacrificed. This dialogue occupies much of the song in the form of dramatic content-layers (reported speech) with no mention whatsoever of the identity of speakers. The drama intensifies by direct speech acts and is enacted by the stereotyped characters of father and son.

The first verse depicts the scene leading to the sacrifice, when Isaac (tala makan, 'the choicest son') is chosen by ordeal (1a¹—b¹). The innocent son wonders about the nature of the sacrifice (2a²—b²), while the father avoids telling him the truth (2c²). When the son realizes the state of affairs, he speaks up, urging his father to slaughter him properly (3b²—d²).

The narrative fragments chosen for patching up the story concentrate on inter-generation conflict and avoid other aspects of the story, especially its resolution by finding a scapegoat for the sacrifice.

**The Sacrifice**

**II15**

1.

pēlakāla nēratta pōka ttōtāṇṇī/a/ putti ṯrappattālē kattiyum kōntū/b/

nēla kāṇṭa munn’ ānna cēnnē kanaikkē/ nēnnakk’ it’ ēnt’ anna kānāmō ēnnū//=d¹//
mala kāntu marṛ’ ōnnuṃ kāntillā čēnnā/a/ matiyō nēnnakk’ ivivē irippin/b/
tala makan āyavā tannēyum kōntū/c/ tappātē pūśakka poyār kānavvē//=d²//

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677 An allusion to Midrash, see ד כב בראשית (בובל) טוב כל שכל טוב (ברשא) מדרש תנחומא

678 See, : ‘He said, “my father ties my hands and feet because the soul is ill-mannered, so that when I see the knife I might tremble, so that the sacrifice will be for vain.”’
Early at dawn [they] started walking, with a knife firmly held. 
A place was found after three days. "Can you see what that is?"
"We see a mountain and nothing else." "That is sufficient for you. Stay here."
With the choicest son alone, unfailingly he went for the sacrifice. Behold!

2.

irupēru kūti naṭakkunna nēraṁ/a/ ēta santi ŋān ḏēnnu kēkkēṇām nanma/b/
pēriyan āyavar tā munni cēnnu/c/ pēsāta cēyivā nērivum nēnākka/dd1/
aruṣīna vannamē puṣatā679 ḍēnnu/a/ āṭa ōnna nokkītu ḍru arāṭīcca pēṇni/b/
taruvaṇa tānē tanikā oḷḷēt allō/c/ tappātē puṣakka pōyār kāṇavvē/dd2/

When the two walked together, "Hey, Son! Here I am. Listen to the good deed
In front of the Lord Almighty for honoring Him with no faults.
This is a sacrifice as He ordained." "Where is the goat?" [He] looked and searched.
"He Himself is to give that which is His own."
Unfailingly they went to the sacrifice. Behold!

3.

uniccē tānattā tān cēnna ninna/a/ yōkkiyam āy ōḷḷa śudhaṇṇa cēyvān/b/
pinnē cēnna pērakum maṭakki/c/ pisōlum vāṇṇi valaṅkayi kēṭṭi/dd1/
anṇiyēn ōnna mākana vilīccu/a/ anayāmō ōnṇutē pāvatta nōkkī/b/
ēnṇēyō i karmmaṁ cēyyunnat’ āyi/c/ ēṅkil i vāṛatta ōṇṭ’ annāṛ avvē/dd2/

[They] reached a [high] place for performing proper holy deeds.
Then, the back was bent. He was tied in his right hand that bent in turmoil.
The younger son called out, "Please take care of my [side],
If it is me to sacrifice." These were his words. Behold!

The pragmatic relation of the sacrifice story to the semantics of the
wedding is not transparent. The song obliquely addresses the bridegroom and, at
the outset, it is a message for the newly-wedded husband to obey and follow all
the requirements by his ancestors and his God with total obedience and humility.
However, the relevance of sacrificing one’s son to the consummation of the

679 < pāja + atū.
marriage may have deeper and more intricate suggestions. It is noteworthy in this respect that the marriage was consummated only a week after the wedding and marked by the ceremony called *pallippoka* (פליפוכא, פליפוגא). It may have to do with sexuality and sexual intimacy, which might become an intimidating experience for the bridegroom as much as it might be frightening for the bride.

Also the song 'Searching a Bride for Isaac' (IV111) has only four tellings (S14, S13, B9 and B11). According to S13, it is performed on the evening before the wedding and upon tying the *tāli*, a few days before the *purappēṭunna šabat*, the performative context of the songs 'The Birth of Isaac' (II12) and 'The Sacrifice' (II15).

The first verse of 'Searching a Bride for Isaac' does not depict distinct contextual content-layers. It is a typical introductory verse, for the subject, *tantēyum tāyēyum*, 'father and mother' (1a¹), of the present subordinate clause, *mōtarkkunna neraṃ*, 'when [they] come forward' (1b¹) suggests that the verse deals with the performative context of tying the *tāli*. This is strengthened by the familiar imperative at the end of the verse addressed to the bride, *kel*, 'listen!' (1d²).

The following verses narrate a fragment of the story of Isaac, when Abraham's slave is sent with gold and jewelry to search a bride for Isaac (IV111: 2). The mention of gold and silk makes this narrative fragment adequate for the ceremony of tying the *tāli*. The third verse stretches this connotation even more and bounces back to the performative context by directly pointing at the jewelry with three successive deictic pronouns: *ippalkku*, 'even now', *ittarē*, 'this much', and *ītu*, 'this', (3c¹). In the last verse, the arrival of an angel (*malaāka*) is paralleled to the arrival of the groom (*maṇavālām*) (4d¹—a²).

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680 The term appears in Hebrew characters in Kastiel, 1756, Rahabi, 1916 and AS, 1980. Based on its orthographic presentation in Hebrew, I trace it to the Malayalam *pallipoka[l]*, 'Entering the Synagogue'. 
The last verse (IV111: 4) is a pseudo-quotation narrating Rebecca's super-powers exhibited by her removing a heavy stone off the well. The introductory verse introduces the subject matter of the song as the careful attempt of the parents to find a suitable groom for their daughter. The model for such an attempt is the quest of Abraham's slave. When gold is presented in the story, it is equated with the gold jewelry presented to the bride. In addition, the status of the groom is endowed with the arrival of an angel, and the status of the bride with the super powers attributed to Rebecca. All this is dealt with in the ceremony that precedes the wedding itself, just before the bride and groom are led to the synagogue to sanctify their union.

Searching a Bride for Isaac

IV111

1. 
tagēyum tāgyēyum ōruvēnā pēṭtu/a/ sarvatākkati mōtarkkunna nēraṁ/b/
antiriti takkamē ninn arulālē/c/ avaruṭē pērīma ěrāṭticu kōntu/d/1/
ěntanna kēṭtu viliyum kōttu/a/ etu makan ŋnū cēlluvāṟ ’ēllām/b/
cinticcvār irivarkku mūyimbu/c/ tīrivellavēr ēllām ke ānār avvē/d/2/

When father and mother join and come forward [in all fitness],
By Your word, [from dawn to dusk] they have multiplied their greatness.
"What did [you] hear and which son did [you] call for?" all there is to say -
They have considered in front of this couple. Listen to all His will. Behold!

2. 
ātayum pōnnum aḷakāṭyi kōntu/a/ aruliccē ōṭtakam pattu cōmannu/b/
pāṭupāṭē avar tanṇakkē kōṇṭa/c/ kāḷcayum kōnṭutam pokā tuṭanṇi/d/1/
nāṭ āṭiyā kkōṇṭe vitṭe parambē/a/ nāṭimāṛapōrom kēnāṛu talakku/b/
cēṭṭimāṛār utan vann’ ōru nēraṁ/c/ dēyiva paruksēna tīṛppān kāṇavvē/d/2/

[Abraham] quickly took silk and gold, commanded [his slave] and loaded ten camels.

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681 Compare with a similar episode in the song 'Song of Sara-Umma' (III14a). See Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 60 (M), and 60 (H).
[Straight away] he received it. Upon receiving the offering, [he] started going.

For knowing the land [he] searches around the fields,

And when the women are at the well and the merchants arrive -

God is to determine [the proof]. Behold!

3.

appalē pēṭṭi aliccu turannu/a/ āvarunatta pēriyattān vānnī/b/
ōppēna kōll’ āru urayum pōnnum/c/ orēnnē vānni taram īṭṭu kōṇtu//d1//
ippalakku ittara porum it’ ēnna/a/ imbammā nalla valayum raṇṭ’ īṭṭu/b/
cippam makal ārāyi kelppāṇāyikōntu/ cēmmē tulaññ’ ainû irunnăr kānavvē//d2//

Then the bundle was loosened and opened. The grand jewels were received.

An ura of gold good for decoration and [bracelets] each of the same [weight].

They say it was as this much here and now. Two beautiful bracelets were put on.

For hearing whose daughter [she is], [he] resolved to stay there. Behold!682

4.

pōkatu pēlannatu pōrāṇnāvāčē/a/ porīvān āṭana tannīr kōṭuppān/b/
vātakkēl vānnuvān āl īṭṭum porā/c/ vāstunna malaāka vannatu kāntu//d3//
manālan vannatu kāntu ēḷunērru/a/ manām vēcca kayyālē nikkinār kallū/b/
āṭiyēl āll’ āru pāṭānna cēlli/c/ avaroṭu kūṭammē poṭār kānavvē//d4//

As if proclaiming her praises is insufficient –

Not only had she nourished the goats and gave fresh water

And also received [the slave] at the door –

There was also the arrival of an angel.683

Seeing the arrival of [her] husband,

[She] got up and heartfully removed the stone.684

The foremost proof was sought.

Then [she] went along with him. Behold!

682 Genesis, 24:22—23.
683 Alludes to Midrash, see: ב ‘ע קכח ‘חיי שרה ד( בראשית) מדרש הנעלם א – זוהר; (היגר)פרקי דרבי אליעזר טז” חורב”;
שרה קט-ילקוט שמעוני חיי
684 See footnote 681 above.
5.7 A Summary

The peculiar features of the kāṇavvē songs as listed above in 5.1 suggest that they were composed by a medieval south Indian bard. The compressed and selected narrative and dramatic content-layers are evidence for the intimate acquaintance of composers and audiences with the Bible and Midrash. The position of such songs in Kerala’s literary scene is ambiguous, as they are usually taken as ‘folksongs’ by scholars rather than items of mature regional literary corpora. The artificial dichotomy ‘folk’ versus ‘classical’ cannot serve for definitions or analysis in this intricate literary scene. Songs like the kāṇavvē songs composed in the pāṭṭu-mold and transmitted in writing or in performance are a part of the literary corpora of other communities in Kerala and, often, related to weddings.

It is important, however, to note that the kāṇavvē songs do not display as elaborate figures of speech as displayed in classical Malayalam poetry. This is possibly because the composers were mainly concerned with the performative function of composition. Considering the intimate relations of śrāvyā, ‘audible’ and dṛṣyā, ‘visual’ in the Malayalam literary scene, and the relations of dramatic performance to ritual, one may discern the trends of drama designing the kāṇavvē songs. The kāṇavvē songs represent an early stage of literary development parallel to the pre-modern historical trends of Old Malayalam literature in general, when poetry (śrāvyā) assumed its shape by constant interaction with drama (dṛṣyā) and ritual.

Other features of the kāṇavvē songs reveal their structure of performative verses framing narratival-dramatic units and the process of fragmentation that yields their modular textual presentation. The modular structure of the kāṇavvē songs enables the performers to dismantle and re-structure them according to the conditions and requirements of specific performances, performers and audience.

685 See Gamliel, 2008: 46—49 and 2.2.7 above.
686 Among the Māppilla songs, there are songs in the pāṭṭu-mold composed by known poets even as late as the nineteenth century, for example taṣṣīphum mubbāpakkum by Māṭṭummal Kuṇṇikkoya Tamburān (see 2.2.4.1), published in Vallikkunnu and Tharamel, 2006: 195—196, Kutty, 2006: 45.
The resulting modifications, fragmentations and re-adaptations of text to context create inconsistencies in the coherence of the poetical unit as a whole. As a result, the messages of the kānavaḥ songs are often obscure. They are the least coherent songs in the corpus and, therefore, the oldest textual layer in the corpus.\textsuperscript{687}

The textual presentation of the kānavaḥ songs among songs with other generic features suggests that their performative context was altered sometime in the remote past, following some historical changes in the ritual life of the Jewish community in Kerala as well as in the trends of their literary culture. For example, the biblical formulaic songs contain more Hebrew lexemes, probably because of the growing influence of Hebrew liturgy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At that time, the wedding ritual complex was already prescribed in the Hebrew prayer books published for Kocci Jews,\textsuperscript{688} so that the motivation for literary innovation during that period too is likely related to the performative functions of the corpus.

The language of the kānavaḥ songs is replete with peculiar usages - lexical, morphological and syntactic. It is an archaic language utilized in an archaic literary form. Some archaic usages are found only in Old Malayalam literature, and are rarely depicted in other songs of the corpus: the periphrastic past (e.g. \textit{natappūtum cēvētu}),\textsuperscript{689} inflections of the defective quotation verb –ēn, (e.g. ēnār),\textsuperscript{690} verb forms with PNG markers (e.g. pēlappippēn, kōlvēn, tunūnār, irunnār),\textsuperscript{691} participial future (e.g. ākkavēr, cēlluvōr).\textsuperscript{692}

\textsuperscript{687} As may be recalled, the level of coherency is a parameter for determining the period of a song in relation to other songs in the corpus (see 4.2.1). In itself it is insufficient, for coherency may also be effected by conglomeration. For example, the level of coherency of the song 'Blessing Song' (II11) is low mostly because it is a conglomerate. Nevertheless, it is probably much later than the kānavaḥ songs.

\textsuperscript{688} Kastiel, 1756 and Rahabi, 1769.

\textsuperscript{689} Ayyar, 1993: 117.

\textsuperscript{690} Ibid., 69.

\textsuperscript{691} Ibid., 81—84.

\textsuperscript{692} Ibid., 107.
The archaic structure of a rhyming song in the \textit{pāttu}-mold is not very common in the regional literatures in Kerala and quite limited in the Jewish Malayalam corpus as well. It is noteworthy that notebooks, which do not include the \textit{kānavvē} songs, have many formulaic songs retelling the same biblical stories as those retold in the \textit{kānavvē} songs. Since the style, structure and language usages of the formulaic songs can be linked with later literary and cultural trends in the Jewish life in Kerala, it seems that they were composed in an attempt to renovate the corpus and to render the literary language and structure more applicable to contemporary audiences of that period.

The \textit{kānavvē} songs must have been composed sometime around the late fifteenth century, the later period of Old Malayalam literature, when Tamil conventions of structure and language were more markedly influential. The structure and language of the formulaic songs suggests a later period of composition, possibly of Early and Middle New Malayalam (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries respectively).\footnote{Ibid., 20.} L. V. Ramaswamy Ayyar limits Early Old Malayalam, in his terms, the '\textit{Pāttu} Period', to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.\footnote{Ibid., 19.} However, based on their grammar, it is reasonable to assume that the \textit{kānavvē} songs might have been composed later on during the fifteenth century.\footnote{The Malayalam composition 'The Payyannūrpāṭṭu' (fifteenth century) has much in common with the \textit{kānavvē} songs. The most striking similarities are the \textit{pāttu}-mold (regardless of \textit{sanghātāksara} orthography) and the low level of coherency. It is also noteworthy that the text mentions the merchant guilds \textit{aṅcūvannām} and \textit{mangrānam} of West Asian origin. The term \textit{aṅcūvannām} is often understood as denoting Jewish guilds (see Gundert, 1884). For the Payyannūrpāṭṭu, see Antony and Zacharia, 1993.} Determining the period of composition is a delicate issue. It is quite clear though that the \textit{kānavvē} songs form the oldest layer of the corpus and that understanding them is important for studying the cultural history of Kerala Jews.
Chapter Six

Jewish Malayalam

The history of Jews in Kerala runs parallel to the history of Malayalam language. Except for inscriptions and royal grants, no linguistic evidence of Malayalam survived from the earliest documented periods of Malayalam language. The earliest documents concerning Jews in Kerala, the Syrian and Jewish copper plates from the ninth and eleventh centuries are also an important document for the study of early Old Malayalam.\textsuperscript{696} The history of Malayalam literature begins in the twelfth century and, by the fourteenth century, Malayalam literature becomes a mature and distinct literary entity.\textsuperscript{697}

The vast literary corpus in Malayalam evolved from the fourteenth century onwards. It is rich and dynamic and yet largely unexplored by philologists and linguists, let alone translators to other languages. Pre-modern Kerala was a literate multi-cultural society, which developed several literary corpora. Many of the compositions in the regional varieties of Malayalam are hardly intelligible, even for scholars of Malayalam language. This is so not only due to historical reasons, but also due to the fact that the regional varieties of Malayalam are often incomprehensible to outsiders in their regional literary forms. Kerala Jews, like some other Jewish communities in the Diaspora, had their own regional language variety (or caste-lect), and wrote their literature in a Jewish language, Jewish Malayalam.

When I began my research on the literary corpus of Kerala Jews during 2004, there were very little data about the spoken language of Kerala Jews. Their dialect was recognized as unique even in the early 1950’s,\textsuperscript{698} but it was only much later, in 2003, that the first attempt to describe Jewish Malayalam was taken up by

\textsuperscript{696} For a historical study of the copper plates, see Narayanan, 1972 and 1996; for a linguistic study of Old Malayalam inscriptions, see Sekhar, 1951. See also above, 1.1.1 and 1.1.2.

\textsuperscript{697} For a survey of Malayalam literature, see Freeman, 2003; Chaitanya, 1971.

\textsuperscript{698} Bar-Giora, 1953: 53, 62.
Zacharia.\textsuperscript{699} His description, however, is far from being exhaustive. It is based on data collected from the corpus of women’s songs, and on some general remarks about Jewish Malayalam. Zacharia does not refer to the verbatim translations of Hebrew liturgy, or to the language currently spoken by Kerala Jews living in Israel. In the absence of documented speech of Kerala Jews, it seemed impossible at the time to seriously probe into the nature of Jewish Malayalam, its relation to other Malayalam dialects and its status as a Jewish language like Yiddish and Judeo-Spanish.

In the context of Kerala speech variations, Jewish Malayalam is merely another ‘caste-lect’ or ‘religio-lect’, like, say, Arabi-Malayalam. However, once a linguist is acquainted with the study of Jewish languages, the Malayalam variety spoken and written by Jews may be taken as a typical Jewish language with distinctive linguistic features.\textsuperscript{700} In what follows, I attempt a preliminary description of Jewish Malayalam. First, I refer to the basic scheme of four criteria to define a Jewish language as laid down by Bar-Asher (2002) and to Hary’s (2008) extended scheme of ten criteria. Second, I add some more observations concerning Jewish Malayalam in its linguistic environment, where it may be seen as one of the many regional variations or caste-lects of the Malayalam language.

I wish to stress that during the many years of studying the community by anthropologists and historians, there were no attempts to document the language spoken by Kerala Jews. It is only now, fifty years after migration, that the importance of documenting the Malayalam spoken by Kerala Jews living in Israel is recognized by Jewish research institutes.\textsuperscript{701} In spite of the loss of oral traditions and linguistic data that died along with the elderly people who migrated to Israel and against all odds, Jewish Malayalam is still spoken by a few dozens of people,

\textsuperscript{699} Zacharia, 2003.

\textsuperscript{700} I am indebted to Benjamin Hary for kindly sharing with me the first chapter of his forthcoming book (2008). It is only after reading it that I realized the importance of documenting and analyzing Jewish Malayalam as a peculiar Jewish language. An earlier version of this chapter was published in Gamliel, 2009.

\textsuperscript{701} A research project for documenting the last speakers was launched in July, 2008, under the auspices of the Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem.
mostly in their sixties and seventies, but even younger people still converse in Jewish Malayalam. After collecting and analyzing the linguistic data, we may be able to determine the position of Jewish Malayalam on the spectrum of Jewish languages on the one hand, and its nature as a Malayalam caste-lect as opposed to standard Malayalam and its regional varieties on the other hand.

The present chapter, then, is based on restricted data collected from three sources: a. the literary corpus of Jewish Malayalam as presented in the women’s notebooks, b. written translations (tamsir or arttham) of Hebrew liturgy (HaCohen, 1877; Hallegua, 1892) and Mishna (PA), and c. samples of spoken Malayalam and oral traditions recently collected from Jewish Malayalam speakers living in the Jerusalem area. At the current state of affairs, the present analysis is limited to incorporating very basic and initial observations regarding Jewish Malayalam.

### 6.1 Jewish Malayalam Defined

According to Bar-Asher, a Jewish language has at least one of the following criteria: verbatim translations of pan-Jewish texts; references to pan-Jewish texts in daily speech; Hebrew and/or Aramaic components; and archaic components of the host language. Jewish Malayalam may certainly be defined according to these criteria. Let us examine each criterion separately.

#### 6.1.1 Verbatim Translations

Kerala Jews, like other Jews around the world, memorized verbatim translations of the Bible and Mishna, which they refer to by the term tamsir. Only fragments

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702 I am greatly indebted to Yosi Oren from the village of Taoz and Zippora Daniel from Mesillat Zion, who kindly share with me their rich reservoir of jokes, proverbs, allegories and idioms in Jewish Malayalam. In 2007, the Association of Cochin Jewry (מטה יהודה–ין 'העמותה ליהדות קוצ) organized weekly meetings for studying the modern Malayalam script and conversing in Jewish Malayalam. During these meetings, I came to realize the peculiarities of Jewish Malayalam when compared to standard Malayalam and to the Angamaly dialect, which I studied between the years 2003 and 2007.

703 Bar-Asher, 2002: 81—88
of the *tamsir* tradition survived in audio recordings. Today, the oral tradition of *tamsir* is forgotten. There are only three texts, as far I am aware of, that were printed or hand written with verbatim translations of Hebrew scriptures. One is the text printed in 1877 by Daniel Yakov HaCohen in Kocci. The second was hand written by Elia Chaim Hallegua (1892), possibly a scribe from Kocci or Ernakulam. The third text, Pirqey Avot (PA), was transcribed by an anonymous scribe, probably also between the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.\textsuperscript{704} HaCohen (1877) and Hallegua (1892) contain translations of Hebrew para-liturgy, so that they do not represent the oral *tamsir* tradition, the verbatim translations of the Hebrew study curriculum, but rather the male-oriented *tamsir* translation, as it is termed all through the present thesis. We may thus speak of three translation genres: oral *tamsir* tradition (Bible and Mishna), written *tamsir* translations of para-liturgy and *arttham* women-oriented translations. The translations of Hebrew para-liturgy are discussed in Chapter Four. A more comprehensive analysis is essential for defining the translations, male or female-oriented, in light of the oral *tamsir* tradition.

The manuscript PA is, then, the only surviving written documentation of the oral *tamsir* tradition, which was recited along with the sacred Jewish texts studied by men. PA is but one of these texts and, according to community members, the *tamsir* would be recited along with many other texts, such as the scroll of Esther, Song of Songs, Mishna and so forth. The manuscript compiled by Hallegua (1892) contains translations of Hebrew para-liturgy combined with some biblical passages (חרוטי and ירמיה). These represent, I believe, a slightly different tradition, for they combine passages of the oral *tamsir* tradition with *tamsir* translations of para-liturgy.

\textsuperscript{704} Daniel Yakov HaCohen founded in Kocci a publishing house, which was active during the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. PA is a manuscript recently found in the possession of Sami Koder from Binyamina. It is a verbatim translation of Pirqey Avot – Hebrew and Malayalam side by side. Pirqey Avot was studied among Malabari Jews, who could recite it by heart along with the Malayalam translations. The Language Traditions Archives (蕞ועוסי מ gratuites להלשם) preserve a recital of the two first chapters of Pirqey Avot with *tamsir* (דחי 689 ח). The recitals are by Itzhak Hai Yoseph (see Forsström, 2006).
The *arttham* translations in the women’s notebooks significantly differ from the *tamsir* tradition and translations for they were meant for performance, rather than recital and study. These translations are more concerned with aesthetics; they have tunes and are often paraphrases and elaborations rather than pedantic translations. Some of the morphological, lexical and syntactic differences between the *tamsir* tradition and *arttham* translations are observable at the outset. The *tamsir* profusely uses archaic verbal forms with person-number-gender (PNG) markers, e.g. *kaikōntān* (as opposed to *kaikōntu* without the PNG marker), 'received' for קבל (PA: 1). The use of such archaisms is common in New Malayalam literature. Relative to the *tamsir*, the *arttham* translations are much closer to the spoken language. This is even apparent by the tokens *tamsir* and *arttham*; the former is most likely an adaptation of the Judeo-Arabic word *tafsir*, while the latter is a Malayalam word of Sanskrit origin. On the basis of their performative context, these two types of translations represent male-oriented and female-oriented translations respectively.

6.1.2 Pan-Jewish Textual Phrases in Daily Speech

In 2.3 above, the solid substratum of pan-Jewish texts, from the daily prayers to Mishna, was examined in relation to the Jewish Malayalam literary corpus. Apart from themes, quotations and allusions, there are also phrases and expressions that seem to be literal translations of Hebrew phraseology (see 4.6 above). I am not aware of quotations in Hebrew in the corpus. However, such quotations are indeed used in contemporary spoken Jewish Malayalam. For example, if somebody were turned away empty handed after asking for a loan, he would refer to the incident by: *avanū pōteā et yadeka cēlī*, 'He told meفتحת את ידך' (open your hand), thus quoting a phrase from the Hebrew thanksgiving over food (ברכת המזון). When referring to a glutton, a pun on the Passover Haggada is used:

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705 See above 4.6. See also Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 97—100, and notes 188—190 (M), 90—104, and notes, 201—209 (H).
706 Ayyar, 1993: 166.
ekilānnu etiyam (食べ物を海, fed us with the ocean), i.e. switching from man (מן, 'Manna') to yam (sea).\textsuperscript{707}

6.1.3 Hebrew and Aramaic Components

The Hebrew component is present in all the language registers of Jewish Malayalam – from the oldest songs in the notebooks through tamsir and arttham to the speech samples and oral literature collected in Israel. My impression is that the Aramaic component is much less conspicuous than the Hebrew component.

In the oldest Jewish Malayalam songs, the kānnavē songs, some obscure lexemes may be derived from Hebrew. These are more abundant in the songs than transparent Hebrew lexemes, and only a comprehensive linguistic research of Jewish Malayalam may serve as a firm basis for establishing the meanings and derivations of these obscure lexemes.\textsuperscript{708} There is at least one case in which an Aramaic lexeme is used, rabban (III18: 1c\textsuperscript{2}). Songs of later periods like the formulaic, translation and composer songs contain many transparent Hebrew lexemes, some of which are found also in the speech samples, like sālomāyi, 'died' and sēphar, 'Torah scroll', as in māppilla sālomāyi, 'my husband died' and in aṅcushēphar sattiyam cēlli, 'swore on the Pentateuch'.\textsuperscript{709}

\textsuperscript{707} The transliteration that I use here onwards is based on Indic transliteration adhering to the Malayalam script. There is one phoneme which is unrepresented in the Malayalam script, the unvoiced velar fricative, /k/. This phoneme is hardly ever used in Malayalam words, but it is quite consistently used in pronouncing the Hebrew gutturals n and p, and sometimes also s. For a detailed analysis of the pronunciation of Hebrew phonemes by Malayalam speakers, see Forsström, 2006: 9—33.

\textsuperscript{708} For example: sīmījāvērē in the song 'Vigil Night Song' (II61:1b\textsuperscript{2}), may be derived either from Hebrew sīma (שמחה, joy) compounded with the third person plural pronoun: 'those who are joyful', or from Sanskrit sīma, 'border, limit' compounded with vēre, 'separate' to form an adverbial compound 'without limits'. In both cases, the Malayalam element is too blurred to afford for a sound derivation.

\textsuperscript{709} Some Jewish Malayalam words are listed in a glossary prepared by Zacharia, see Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 205—207.
The *tamsir* and *artham* translations abound with Hebrew components, so that they naturally serve as reservoirs of Hebrew words for Jewish Malayalam. It is important to stress that the women who transmitted the songs had access to translations, for *artham* translations are found in all the major notebooks. It is very likely that there was not a very significant difference between male-oriented speech and female-oriented speech in this regard.\(^{710}\)

The speech samples collected fifty-odd years after detachment from the host language are a complex of various components. Like other immigrants to Israel who still speak their Jewish language, Kerala Jews insert two types of Hebrew lexemes into their Jewish Malayalam speech – Old Hebrew lexemes and Modern Hebrew lexemes.\(^{711}\) The Modern Hebrew lexemes occasionally stand for terms that speakers of Modern Malayalam would express in English, e.g. *koppēsō* (هن fiyat) for *livū* (leave) to denote leave from school or work.\(^{712}\) The speech of those who migrated later on during the 1970’s (as opposed to the first migration in 1954) is different, for they would choose the parallel English lexemes as contemporary Malayalam speakers in Kerala would do. It is remarkable that the choices of Modern Hebrew lexemes would be noted as foreign to Malayalam and corrected into the parallel English terms, which Jewish Malayalam speakers take as part and parcel of the Malayalam language.

However, contemporary speakers of Jewish Malayalam retain Old Hebrew components in their speech. Hebrew lexemes are often agglutinated with nominal endings, e.g. *torâna* (the Torah + acc.), compounded with Malayalam nouns, e.g. *mor-sûra*, 'likeness' (face + זרה); *minivân kuttalâ*, 'joining the quorum' (to denote Bar Mitzvah), or verbalized e.g. *minivân kûti*, 'had his Bar Mitzvah'; *šalomâyi*, 'died' (שלום + past of *akuka*, 'to become'); *sârappēttu*, 'suffered' (צרה + past of the

\(^{710}\) Compare with the situation of Jewish languages elsewhere. See Henshke, 2008: 4—5. See also Shirrit, 1992: 183—186.

\(^{711}\) See Held, 2007. See also Henshke, 2008: 3—4.

\(^{712}\) I refer here onwards only to Hebrew lexemes inserted into Malayalam speech, for while speaking Hebrew the lexemes retain closer affinity to the Hebrew phonetic system.
verbalizer *pētuka*). Such combinations appear also in the corpus of Jewish Malayalam folksongs, e.g. *olām asey vitulla*, 'of this world' (*עולם זיוד* + *y-il*, locative + *ulla* adjectival participle); *akkāminār* (* akka* + *-im* Hebrew plural marker + *-mār*, Malayalam plural marker).

Malayalam language absorbed many lexemes from Arabic and Syriac through the speech and literature of Muslims and Christians. In this unique linguistic surrounding, the Hebrew component may overlap Arabic and Syriac components, e.g. *ōlām* (*עולם*) and *ālam*, 'world'; *māsiyā* (*משיח*) and *mašīha* 'Jesus, the anointed one'. One may observe that the pronunciation and, consequently, the spelling of such lexemes vary. Such Arabic and Syriac words are quoted in the Malayalam dictionaries, taken as integral part of Malayalam and standardized in their orthography. However, while examining the literature of Muslims and Christians, the Semitic lexemes may be represented by alternate orthographies, as is the case with Hebrew lexemes in the Jewish literature.

### 6.1.4 Archaic Components of the Host Language

In Malayalam the dative for nouns or pronouns ending in *-an* is *-ū*, which evolved out of the older dative form *-ukkū*. In Jewish Malayalam, the ending is *-ikkū*, e.g. *avanikkū*, 'for him' (*avanū*); *jīvanikkū*, 'for life' (*jīvanū*). According to Ayyar, the dative ending *-ukkū* disappeared from Malayalam by the thirteenth century. The dative *-ikkū* for nouns and pronouns ending in *-an* is widespread through both spoken and written Jewish Malayalam. More archaic components may exist in the spoken language, but due to the scarcity of data concerning spoken Jewish Malayalam, it is currently difficult to exhaust their description.

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713 These words are taken from samples of contemporary Jewish Malayalam speech. The Hebrew component is underlined.

714 Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 69, 205 (M).

715 Even in standardized publications of Christian and Muslim folksongs, one might find alternating orthographies of Semitic words. See for example *ēvusseppū/ yauseppu*, 'Joseph'; *auṟāham/avuṟāham*, 'Abraham' (Lukas, 1910: 21—23).

716 See Ayyar, 1993: 27—28. See also Sekhar, 1951: 71—75.
In the written language, there are various archaisms in addition to the dative ending –ikkā. One such archaic component is the periphrastic past that appears in the kānavē songs. However, the distribution of the periphrastic past is limited to a certain group of songs in the corpus, and it has gone out of use sometime in the remote past. The tamsir found in writing (PA) and the translations of Hebrew paraliturgy abound with archaic verbal forms displaying PNG markers, e.g. avara parañār, 'they said' (= avar parañāru). For more archaic morphemes in Jewish Malayalam, see 6.3.2 below.

6.2 More Peculiarities of Jewish Malayalam

Hary defines seven more characteristics of Jewish language varieties: Hebrew orthography; competing orthographic systems; unintelligibility; adaptations of 'non-Jewish' epics into Jewish imagery; displaced dialectalism; awareness of speakers of their Jewish language as separate from the host language; a pan-Jewish reservoir of Jewish images, formulations, concepts and icons. Each of these characteristics finds its expression in Jewish Malayalam.

6.2.1 Hebrew Orthography

Until the time of migration to Israel, Jewish Malayalam was written in Malayalam script. It was only after migration to Israel that the need arose to transcribe Jewish Malayalam into the Hebrew script, for the younger generation became illiterate in Malayalam. Such transcriptions of Jewish Malayalam into Hebrew were compiled for performative reasons like singing during community celebrations. It is noteworthy in this respect (and perhaps unprecedented in the Jewish Diaspora) that Hebrew was transcribed into Malayalam in many of the notebooks that were copied down in Kerala before migration.

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717 See Gamliel, 2006: 565, f.n.20. See also Gamliel, 2008a.
720 Especially so in J1, but occasionally also in other notebooks.
6.2.2 Competing Orthographic Systems
Malayalam is a Dravidian language, which absorbed into its lexicon a massive amount of loanwords from Sanskrit, an Indo-Aryan language. Until the fourteenth century, Sanskrit lexemes were represented by orthography conforming to the Dravidian phonology. This is called संघाटक्षर, i.e. a single grapheme represents all allophones (which may be voiced or unvoiced according to their phonetic environment). This is the state of affairs in Tamil even today. From the fourteenth century onwards, the Malayalam script and pronunciation gradually conformed to the Sanskrit phonology. Thus, especially in the 'caste-lects' of Malayalam, alternate spellings of Sanskrit words and hypercorrections of Dravidian words are a common practice. In Jewish Malayalam, alternate spellings of Sanskrit and Dravidian words exist along with alternate spellings of Hebrew words. Moreover, hypercorrections become a means to create new lexical items peculiar to Jewish Malayalam.

In the notebooks, Sanskrit lexemes are optionally represented by both Dravidian and Sanskrit orthographic systems, e.g. puttibuddhi, 'wisdom'. Additionally, Malayalam words might be represented in different ways depending on the scribe's adherence to Jewish Malayalam as opposed to standardized Malayalam, e.g. kōτi/kolji, 'rooster'. The orthography of Hebrew lexemes is more diverse, e.g. והירה > varītvum vāritvum bhāritvum barītum. Sanskrit lexemes are subject to a relatively high degree of hypercorrections, e.g. udikk- > ulikk- 'to rise, shine', that may result in a new lexical item, e.g. udārata, 'malice' זדון (< udāsinata negligence). The competing orthographic systems result from the dynamic relations between oral and written transmission, and between standardized and colloquial speech.

Furthermore, Sanskrit lexemes might be pronounced in spoken Jewish Malayalam according to both Dravidian and Sanskrit phonetic systems. An example is the word denoting the silver rod (אצבע) used for reading the Torah,

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721 See Krishnamurty, 2003: 85—87. For more on संघाटक्षर, see 2.2 above.
722 See HaCohen, 1877: 8—10, 39, for the lexemes udārata and the udārīkk-.
723 See also grammar notes by Zacharia, in Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 129—130 (M).
tūśī (< sūcī) as opposed to the word denoting a needle sūcī. Arguably, the Dravidianized Sanskrit lexeme represents a relatively older stage of absorbing Sanskrit into Malayalam.

6.2.3 Unintelligibility

The issue of unintelligibility is complicated for several reasons. First, texts composed in the regional variations of Malayalam are more than often incomprehensible to 'outsiders' and, consequently, require much glossing and notes when printed and published. The Jewish Malayalam texts are no exception to this and their level of coherency may be understood as a typical feature of Malayalam regional literature (nāṭanpāṭṭu). Second, the spoken language by Kerala Jews today is somewhat different from contemporary spoken Malayalam not only due to its Jewish orientation, but also due to the fifty-odd years of detachment from its native linguistic environment and contact with Modern Hebrew. Hence, some of its peculiarities might be attributed to changes over time, rather than changes that are peculiarly Jewish. An example for this is the kinship term, perakkītvū, 'grandchild', which is replaced by perakkūṭṭi in Modern Malayalam. Another example is the verb used for giving birth, pēr-, which is replaced in contemporary Malayalam by prasavikk-.

Third, it might very well be that speakers of Jewish Malayalam, at least some of them, could easily 'switch codes' when they would speak to non-Jews. Thus, instead of saying sārappēṭṭu in Jewish Malayalam, they would say kastappēṭṭu in standard Malayalam. Fourth, Kerala Jews were mostly traders. They could use Jewish Malayalam as a secret language during trade, e.g. using the lexemes representing the Hebrew alphabet instead of numbers, as in kāphū bet (ב’ג) for irupattirantu (twenty-two).

724 This fact was verified by several informants. See also Bar-Asher, 2002: 79 for the distinction between dialect and language based on unintelligibility.

725 An anecdote may demonstrate the principle of code switching. Some contemporary Hindu Malayalam speakers saw a note of mine scribbled with the Jewish Malayalam idiom signifying 'worthless': kabbūrinē kattankallū (literally: a rough stone from Habbur). They asked me for the
6.2.4 Adaptations of non-Jewish Epics into Jewish imagery

Adaptations and translations of ‘non-Jewish’ epics are very limited in the currently available literary corpora. There might have been oral traditions, which did not survive. However, there are generic and aesthetic conventions adopted into the corpus of Jewish Malayalam songs. Some of these conventions are typical of Malayalam folk literature, as Zacharia notes. Let me also remind the reader of some ready-made lines borrowed from the reservoir of Malayalam bardic traditions, such as *kunnatta vēcca vēlakkumbole* in the song ‘The Birth of Moses’ (III19: 8a²) and *ārûm kāṭalum malakal kulunñi* in ‘The Vigil Night Song’ (II61: 3a¹).

6.2.5 Displaced Dialectalism

Migrated or displaced dialectalism is definitely expressed in contemporary spoken Jewish Malayalam. Even at this initial stage of studying Jewish Malayalam, a strong linguistic link with North Malabar, an area heavily populated with Muslims and Nayars, is apparent, in spite of the fact that there are no traces left of a Jewish settlement in that area. This is supported by some kinship terms common to Jews and Muslims, like *umma*, 'mother'; *vāvā* and *bāppa*, 'father'; *kākka*, 'elder brother'. Such kinship terms differ from the Christian and Hindu terms (*amma*, *appan/accan* and *ceṭṭan*, respectively). Moreover, the terminology of socio-political terms is reminiscent of Nayar social organizations: *tāravātu*,

meaning, and I replied with the equivalent idiom *māṇṇatōli* (skin of mango), which I collected from contemporary Jewish Malayalam speakers as well.

726 Some of the oral stories, which I heard in passing, suggest such adaptations. After collecting and analyzing the materials more can be said about this issue.


728 See 4.2.2 and 5.2.

729 During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, all the Jewish communities in Kerala were clustered around central Kerala. However, there are some references to an older settlement in Calicut, see Gagin, 1934: 18. See also Johnson, 1975: 60—61.
There are also some dialectical forms typical of Arabi-Malayalam. The present tense marker of standard Malayalam, -unnu, is pronounced -annū, e.g. irikkannū. This colloquial form finds its written expression in the women's notebooks.

Furthermore, the socio-religious organization is expressed by a jargon specifically Jewish. There is a term for rabbi – mōlyārū – that is used in speech and in writing. The mōlyārū was in charge of teaching, conducting rituals and advising on religious and communal matters. He was also responsible for appointing and instructing ritual slaughterers and circumcisers. There was also a council of elders (kārnormārū), the yogam (assembly) that bestowed authority on the mōlyārū and nominated qualified men to pattsthānam (cantor-rank). In PA, the word 'rabbinate' (רבנות) is translated by the term accattānam, 'priest-rank' (accan, 'priest' + sthānam, 'rank'), but it seems in this case to be a term invented for the purpose of verbatim translation.

6.2.6 Awareness of Speakers of their Language Variety
Terminology for the standard versus the regional language varieties exists in Malayalam, and Arabi-Malayalam is perhaps the most well known. Apart from

730 For the use of such terms among the Nayars, see Logan, 1887: 131—132. See also Ayyar, 1999: 50—53, and Narayanan, 2006: 111—128. The term taravāṭū is used in contemporary Malayalam as a synonym for vīṭu among all communities. It is unclear whether and when its use was peculiar to Nayars.

731 In the absence of any systematic study of Arabi-Malayalam, I turn to Basheer’s novel, Pāttumayutē Āṭū, for reference. Basheer represents in orthography the spoken dialect through the voices of his characters. Thus, for example, the emphatic present form for cēyyunnatū is transcribed as cēyyanatū (Basheer, 1959: 74).

732 mōlyārū < mutaliyār, 'the leader'. In the Muslim dialect, musaliyār (s < t) is the term used to denote a religious master.

733 It is claimed that Kerala Jews did not have rabbis (Katz and Goldberg, 1993: 83). The existing terminology in Jewish Malayalam, as well as oral and textual evidence about the daily life and socio-religious activities guided by the mōlyārū, implies that this is an inaccurate postulation that needs further examination.
that, there is currently the distinction between *accaṭi bhāṣa*, 'standard (printed) language' and *nātan bhāṣa*, 'regional language'. There are other notions too, such as *pacc̣a* (*row*) Malayalam. Kerala Jews in Israel refer to their language as *malbārit* (< Malaybar) and describe it as a 'broken language' (שפה מקולקלת), 'corruption' (שיבוש) and 'old language' (*paṭayā bāṣa*).

While discussing Malayalam with contemporary Jewish Malayalam speakers in Israel, they would claim occasionally that this word or sentence is 'our language' (השפה שלנו) while others are not. Though the speakers never define their language variety as Jewish Malayalam, they are definitely aware of the peculiarities of their caste-lect and often point out examples for such peculiarities. Interestingly, also the Malayalam language was not defined as such by the native speakers until the nineteenth century, when Hermann Gundert, the German grammarian and lexicographer, finally coined the language by the name Malayalam. All through the thousand-odd years of the history of Malayalam, it was normally referred to as *bhāṣa*, 'the language', or even simply called Tamil.

### 6.2.7 Pan-Jewish Reservoir of Sacred Texts

The Hebrew literary corpus of Kerala Jews was described and analyzed in several publications. Like many other Jewish communities in the world, reading the Bible and Mishna and reciting Hebrew liturgy was a daily matter. Consequently, the literary corpus of Jewish Malayalam is anchored in the Bible and the Midrash. There are also examples of speech genres and oral literary forms still remembered by Kerala Jews in Israel that relate to sacred Jewish texts. For example, to denote someone who is very pedantic Kerala Jews would use the idiom: *avanū kirikkum šurekum nokkannavanū,* 'He is one who examines punctuation marks (חיריק ושורוק)'. Another example is a nursery-rhyme based on a Hebrew verse of Proverbs 1: 8: *enret makane ni kelū* (שמע בני), which was recited by mothers along with the Hebrew source.

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735 For a more detailed discussion with references see above, 2.3.
6.3 Features of Jewish Malayalam as a Castelect

It is not at all surprising to find a Jewish language in Kerala. After all, Jews were immersed in orthodox Jewish traditional sources for about a thousand years in the lavish literary and linguistic Malayalam area. Additionally, it is important to examine Jewish Malayalam in relation to the ‘caste-lects’ in Kerala itself. How does Jewish Malayalam differ from the standard language? What features does it have in common with other Malayalam language variations? What are the features peculiar to Jewish Malayalam? Malayalam language variations are manifold and diverse and, like Jewish Malayalam, mostly undocumented. It might very well be that its peculiar features as opposed to standard Malayalam are common in some other Malayalam caste-lects.

In what follows, I propose an initial classification of some peculiarities of Jewish Malayalam phonology, morphology, semantics and lexicon supported by examples from the written corpus as well as oral samples (henceforward OS) collected by me in Israel during 2008. Examples from the Jewish Malayalam corpus appear with reference to songs by the index numbers with verse or line number. If the example is very common in the literary corpus, the reference is general (lit). Examples from the *tamsir* translations refer to the three manuscripts mentioned above, HaCohen, 1877 (C), Hallegua, 1892 (Ha) and Pirqey Avot, undated (PA).

### 6.3.1 Phonology

1. The liquid /l/ may change to /t/. E.g. *kolli* > *kotti*, 'rooster' (lit, OS); *pukaluvān* > *pōkatavān* 'to praise' (lit, OS).

2. The cluster /ltt/ > /stt/ or /satt/, e. g. *vāltti* > *vāstti/vāsatti*, 'blessed, gave a blessing' (lit, OS).

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736 For the classical literary traditions of Kerala see Freeman, 2003. For the folk literary traditions, among which the Jewish Malayalam corpus is counted, see 2.2 above. See also Gamliel, 2008b. It is beyond the data available at the moment to conduct a thorough comparative study beyond the one presented in 2.2 above. Zacharia lists some peculiarities of the Jewish Malayalam songs and their relation to Malayalam folk literature. See Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 129—134 (M).
3. The cluster /pr/ > /pɛr/. E.g. priyam > pɛrıyam, 'love, affection' (OS); pramānam > pɛramānam, 'commandment' (lit, OS).

4. The cluster /ks/ > /ç/. E.g. pakse > pacce, 'but, on the other hand' (OS);


6. Initial consonant may be omitted: cerum > ērum (III52: 5b⁴); kāniccu > ānicca (III52: 5d¹).

7. The Semitic guttural ר > /r/. E.g. sařā, 'Sarah'; khebbuṣa, 'tombstone' < קבר, 'grave' (OS, III14); varitti, 'circumcision' < ברית (II12: 1a²);

8. Consecutive Vowels: Jarmo Forsström describes a glide that occasionally replaces the Hebrew gutturals ū��. This glide is represented by a ø grapheme in Hebrew words: isrāl (OS, lit, PA: 1); mikāel, < מיכאל (lit);

9. This ø grapheme appears also in Malayalam lexemes, resulting in a sequence of vowel graphemes against the standard of Malayalam orthography that requires a link morph (/y/ or /l/) between a base and a morpheme, e.g. ōrikkalē ōlļu for ōrikkaleyullu, 'once and for all' (IV16: a¹); pōnēvara, for pōnavara (< pokunnavar) (III52: 5a²).

10. Several recurring lexemes in the Jewish Malayalam corpus are unclear in meaning and derivation. Moreover, their orthographic presentation is highly unstable. For example, otuma, betuma, vetuma, olma and variations (< velmaḥ) 'faith, devotion, grace'; see ōtumēyālē sabbayil (II60: 18) for rendering the Hebrew בקעלו איש וחיל, 'in the assembly of the faithful';

Lexemes of obscure derivation exist also in spoken Jewish Malayalam, e.g. śiriya 'lamentation (day)' < ? (OS);

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\[\text{737 Forsström, 2006: 9—10.}\]

\[\text{738 Also in Arabi-Malayalam, words with gutturals are often written with successive vowels, e.g. šariattu (סראיות), Tharamel, 2006: 101.}\]

\[\text{739 This peculiarity is mentioned elsewhere, see Zacharia, 2003.}\]

\[\text{740 A phrasal expression based on Samuel II, 20:19, to denote and address the Jewish public.}\]
The problem with obscure lexemes is that often it is unclear which language is the source of derivation. A good example is a lexeme with several alternate forms. In the kāṇavvē songs, it appears in the sense of a meal at least once: sēvatum camaccu, 'prepared a meal' (III48: 5b²). It may be derived from the Sanskrit loanword svādu, in the sense of 'delicacy', or, alternatively, from the Hebrew loanword soʿūdāh. The lexeme appears once more with an uncertain meaning and in what seems to be an alternate form: cēytu savvōtā (IV16c², II11: 1d²). In spoken Jewish Malayalam, a similar lexeme of Portuguese derivation is used in the idiom savota ki bībī, 'Cheers!' The lexeme in this sense is used in some songs, all in Kocci variants that must have been written after the sixteenth century: savutī kutippān, 'for drinking a toast' < saúdo (Portuguese), 'health' (II61: 8d¹); see also the alternate of an obscure meaning: miticcētē sāvotāyil, 'in the feast of redemption', (IV46a: 4, 5).

6.3.2 Morphology

1. The present tense marker -unnu > -anū, e.g. irikkunnu > irikkaṇṇū, 'sits, stays' (OS, lit).

2. The final past tense marker -u > -ū or -i, e.g. paticcu > paticcū or paticci, 'studied'; vaccu > vaccū or vacci (OS, lit).

3. Adjectival a > ē. nalla > nallē, 'good'; also in present participles: varunna > varunnē, 'which arrives' (OS, lit).

4. The dative –ū > -ikkū, e.g. avanikkū, third person singular masculine + dative (OS, lit).

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741 See also Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 186 (M).
742 < mikayutē, 'of redemption'.
743 This seems to be a dialectical variation in Jewish Malayalam, for this peculiarity is documented mainly in notebooks from Kocci. Contemporary Jewish Malayalam speakers pronounce the past tense marker in a phoneme that alternates between /ū/, /s/ and /i/. 

5. The accusative –ē > -a, e.g. avara, third person plural pronoun + accusative (OS, lit).\textsuperscript{744}

6. Irregular uses of the augment –in, as in maṅkana for maṅkayē (II14: 2); ummāna for ummāṭē (OS).

7. Archaic forms of the first person exclusive pronoun: ēṇāte = ṃṇāñalute, ēṇa = ṃṇaḷal (OS, lit).

8. The ablative morpheme –ilinnē is occasionally substituted by –iō irunna or –ilirunna, e.g. avari irunna, 'from them' (PA: 4); viṭṭil irunna, 'from home' (III83c²). This variation is found only in written forms.\textsuperscript{745}

9. The simultaneity marker kōntū (or onṭū, see 6.3.1, 6) is profusely used as the absolutive marker –iṭṭū, e.g. poyikkōntū maṭañi varām = poyiṭṭū varānu poyivaraṭṭē, 'see you, goodbye', literally: 'I shall go and come back' (OS). meticcōntu < meticcu + kōntū = meticciiṭṭū (III3: 28).

10. The negative past in the tamsir language: non-finite + atū + -um + illa, e.g. šēsippiccatumilla (C, 22); nī istamāyatumilla (C, 9). This construct appears in the corpus also as a negative imperative, nī konnatumilla, 'do not kill!' (III3: 51); and as a habitual present, katakitum illā, 'do not wash' (III18: 7d¹).

11. The locative morpheme –il is often followed by the particle –ē without conveying the pseudo-genitive sense normally associated with the form. E.g., savayilē < sabbhayil (II60: 18); saveli < savayilē < sabbhayil (OS);

12. The imperative morpheme –ē: uttirīyē, 'answer!', IV107: 1f; also in negation: tiriyallē, IV107:2c.

13. The polite imperative marker ippol, rendering the Hebrew אָס (C: 4, 9, 12, 21, 24—27, 34, 41, 46, 47).

\textsuperscript{744} The variations in the dative and accusative endings are suggestive of an old morphological stratum of Malayalam that still exists in Jewish Malayalam. See Ayyar, 1993: 25, 27—28.

\textsuperscript{745} This morpheme is similar to the ablative in Tamil, -iirunṭu (David Shulman, personal communication)
6.3.3 Lexicon

The Jewish Malayalam lexicon is mainly composed of Malayalam lexemes (including Sanskrit lexemes) and the portion of Hebrew in the vocabulary is yet to be estimated. In the literary corpus of Jewish Malayalam, Hebrew lexemes occupy about ten percent of the vocabulary to account for the specific terminology in socio-religious matters. It is quite possible that also in spoken Jewish Malayalam Hebrew lexemes account for a special jargon to denote particular Jewish items. Some examples are *mayyi bēraka* (מִי בְּרָכָה), 'ritual resin wine'; *nikhūr* (נִיקוּר), 'ritual slaughter'; *sēphar* (סֶפֶר), 'Torah Scroll'; *ehal* (הֵיכֶל), 'safety'. There are, however, common Malayalam terms too in the religious-cultural jargon, like *vēlakkā* (vēlakkā, 'lamp'), 'Saturday candles'; *tūsi* (< sūci, 'needle'), 'silver rod for reading the Torah'; *pusto* (< pustaka, 'book'), 'prayer book'.

Some of the terms composing the religious Jewish Malayalam jargon parallel similar terms in Arabi-Malayalam and in the Christian caste-lects. For example the Jewish Malayalam term *kappiyār* (כַּפִּיָּר), 'synagogue guardian' (= שָׁמִש) denotes in the Christian caste-lects the rank of the sexton in the church. Similarly, the term *mōlyārū* (רַבִּי), 'rabbi', parallels the Arabi-Malayalam term *musaliyār*, 'a religious teacher'.

6.3.3.1 Semantic Shifts

Semantic shifts occasionally occur in written and spoken Jewish Malayalam. They might alter the meanings of either Hebrew or Malayalam words and result in peculiarly Jewish Malayalam lexemes. Such semantic shifts may be slight, as in *kēbbūra* (מֶבּוֹר) and *heboṣa* (מַבְרָר), 'tombstone' (< הקבר, 'burial'). But they may be radical at times, for example, the antonyms *gunam*, 'good quality' and *doṣam*, 'fault, defect', loose their antonymic relation, and each attains a different meaning, 'luck' and 'character, disposition' respectively. Compare the idiom *avanrē gunam atū*, 'that's his good/bad luck' with *avanrē doṣam kōlēyilla/kōllā*, 'he has bad/good character' (OS).

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746 See Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 63 (M).
Some examples for semantic shifts that result in peculiar lexemes occasionally appear in the corpus. For example, väyikk- 'to read, play an instrument' shifts semantically to mean 'to curse' (III3: 33). The term atayālam, 'sign', denotes the act of circumcision as in atayālam kāṭ-, 'to perform the circumcision' (II61: 5b; II12: 2d).

6.3.3.2 Hebrew and Jewish Components

There are four types of Hebrew and Jewish components in Jewish Malayalam: 1. a Hebrew loanword. 2. a Hebrew compound. 3. a Hebrew-Malayalam compound. 4. calque expression. The Jewish component in Jewish Malayalam may also be a Aramaic (Ar) or Arabic (A) loan-word.

1. Many of the Hebrew loanwords found in the corpus are still heard in contemporary spoken Jewish Malayalam: torā, 'Torah'; īsrāēl, 'Israel'; malāha, 'angel'; sēvar, 'Torah scroll'; sēkina, 'divine presence'; raḥbēn (Ar), an honorary title; ālām (A).

2. Two Hebrew lexemes often appear as a single Jewish Malayalam lexeme: ābramābinu, 'our father Abraham'; mōsē raḥbēn, 'Rabbi Moses'; gōgumākōgina (+ acc.), 'Gog and Magog' (II42:3).

3. Hebrew-Malayalam compounds: īsrāēl makkal, 'the children of Israel' (בני ישראל), sārā umma, 'Sarah our Mother'.

samples of oral literary forms divided into categories – male-oriented and female-oriented translations, proverbs, folk etymologies, idioms and jokes.

6.4.1 Male-Oriented and Female-Oriented Translations

A general outline of this twofold division of translations was given above. Here I would like to take a closer look at two translations, their language and their performative function. The first is a paraphrase on a Biblical verse, which mothers would sing to their children at bedtime. They recite the Hebrew words along with their meaning in Malayalam:

\[ \text{ēnṛē makane (makaļe) nī kelū/ nēnṛē vāvātē sīṭṭa (sīkṣa)} \]
\[ nēnṛē uṃmāna (ummāṭē) torāṇā/ kaivīṭalle/ sādāy cācikko mone (mole) \]

Hear, oh, son! (daughter)/ Your father’s morals (teachings)/
Your mother’s Torah/ Do not forsake/ Go ahead and sleep with God, son (daughter)!\textsuperscript{747}

This verse, recited in both Hebrew and Malayalam functions as a nursery rhyme. The calque translation is fluid; when the verse is recited to a girl child, the mother would replace makan, 'son' with makaļ, 'daughter'. There are other variations too, sīṭṭa (< cīṭṭa < drdhya), 'morals', a Sanskrit lexeme which conforms to Dravidian phonology, would sometimes be replaced by the Sanskrit lexeme sīkṣa, 'teachings', which conforms to Modern Malayalam. Similarly, the old form uṃmāna,\textsuperscript{748} 'of mother', is replaced by the New Malayalam genitive uṃmāṭē.

It is important to note that the Old Malayalam forms are not necessarily frozen fossils of obscure meaning. They might have been used also in daily speech. Note also the choice of the Hebrew lexeme torā in the translation. In the Hebrew original, the meaning is simply 'teachings', while in the translation the meaning is necessarily the sacred Jewish scriptures. In this way, the mother is

\textsuperscript{747} Based on Proverbs, 1: 8: שמע בני מוסר אביך ואל תיטוש תורת אמך.

\textsuperscript{748} Possibly a dialectical form for the old genitive ending –in (see Ayyar, 1993: 30). See also 6.3.2, 6.
portrayed as the transmitter of Jewish knowledge. Lastly, the translation concludes with the performative statement, *çăcikkọ*, 'go ahead and sleep', and endowed with verbal protective measures by inserting the divine name *sădăv* (שדָּו).

Let us examine a sample of male-oriented translation:

šăttăyutė makan śimaön parayunnanvunu

*The son of Shatta, Shimaon, is one who says…*

ā sāksikala sūrkkkantatinna pērippikkunnanvākā

For investigating the witnesses, be one who increases…

ninrē vajanañnalil őrama ōrayavan ākā

In your words, be possessed of alertness…

ēntaru avarutė natavi irunna

Lest from their midst…

nōnakka avara paṭikkum

Lying they will learn.

For the sake of conveying the awkwardness of this Malayalam translation, it is literally translated below into English:

“The son of Shatta, Shimaon, is one who says…

For investigating the witnesses, be one who increases…

In your words, be possessed of alertness…

Lest from their midst…

Lying they will learn.

This translation strictly adheres to the Hebrew original, except for the directionality, which is in accordance with the Malayalam typical left-branching directionality. Since there is no definite article in Malayalam, the demonstrative ā is used to convey the Hebrew definite article; ā *sāksikalā* does not mean 'those witnesses' but rather 'the witnesses'. The Hebrew periphrastic imperative is literally translated into an awkward structure of the Malayalam familiar imperative āka, 'be', preceded by the nominalized present participle *pērippikkunnanv*, 'one who increases'. Another artificial conforming to Hebrew

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749 PA: 4. Simon son of Šetah says: "overstress the investigation of witnesses, and mind your speech, lest there will be among them some who might learn how to lie.”
has to do with the case relations between words and verbs. The Hebrew
preposition -ב may be used for locative or instrumental or for prepositions like
‘about’. In this paragraph it is used in the sense of ‘about, of’: יהי חזיר בדבריך
(Mind your speech!), which would be rendered in Malayalam by a compound
postposition such as acc. + kuriccūl/patī. Nevertheless, the Malayalam translation
adheres to the simple case form –il in an analogy to the Hebrew preposition -ב,
notwithstanding the limited use of the Malayalam locative to refer to either
location or partitive locative.

The dialectical peculiarities of Jewish Malayalam are even more striking in
this translation than in the former example: the ablative is represented by -י-
irunna instead of –ilninnu and the consonant cluster /ks/ is replaced by /rr/ in the
verb sūnīkk-(<sūkṣikk-). Note that the same cluster is retained in the word sāksi,
‘witness’. Additionally, there is a peculiar form, entaṟu, to account for the Hebrew
particle שמא, ‘lest’. It seems that this form is derived from the Sanskrit yantram >
entaṟam, which the Malayalam dictionary defines as a protective formula
(rakṣākavacam).750 This word might have been subjected to a semantic shift in
order to convey the concept of שמא. Another peculiar lexeme is the one used for
translating חזיר, ‘careful’. Two lexemes are compounded, ṣrama and ṣavyavan,
literally ‘be an owner of ṣrama’. The derivation of ṣrama is uncertain. It may be
derived from ormma, ‘thought; remembrance’. However, it may also be a nominal
derivation from the verb ṣa-, ‘to be firm’, which was in turn subjected to a
semantic shift.751 Such words are part of the rich and distinctively peculiar lexicon
of Jewish Malayalam, which still needs to be documented and analyzed.

750 See Pillai, 2006: 1468 (under yantram). See also Gundert, 1872: 158 (under āntiram, āntaṟam).
751 In the corpus of Jewish Malayalam songs, there is a tendency to form abstract nouns with the
ending –ma, even when the dictionaries do not gloss such derivations for the verbs in question.
6.4.2 Proverbs

Most of the proverbs that Kerala Jews use are easily found among contemporary Malayalam speakers. Nevertheless, the way speakers of Jewish Malayalam construct such proverbs is depictive of their dialect variation. Here are some examples:

tāṭi-y-ōlla appana peti-y-untu.
One fears a father who has a beard.

This proverb comments on situations of inability to exercise authoritative power. Grammatically, it depicts the peculiar accusative marker –a in the word appana (< appanē). Note also the phonetic alternation ůlla (< ulla), which is common in both spoken and written Jewish Malayalam.\(^{752}\) Structurally, it is slightly different from the proverb in standardized Modern Malayalam:

tāṭi-y-ulla appane peti-y-ullu.\(^{753}\)
One fears only a bearded father.

In the printed proverb, the structure is emphatic and restricted by the construct e... ulla.

irunn ounṭū kāl niṭṭān sātikkullū.
To stretch legs is only possible after sitting.

The meaning of this proverb is that certain conditions must be fulfilled before attempting a particular action. In this proverb, the substitution of the absolutive marker –iṭṭū by the simultaneity marker -kōntū (> onṭū) is apparent. The printed version of this proverb makes this point clear:

\(^{752}\) The alternation u > ō is common in Old Malayalam and in the regional variations of Malayalam, see Ayyar, 2004: 39.

\(^{753}\) Aravind, 2006: 58.
It is necessary to sit first for stretching the legs.

Note also the structural variation of the proverb. The restrictive emphatic construction is used in the Jewish Malayalam variation, while in the printed variant it is the desiderative construction with *venam*.

Some proverbs may be unique to speakers of Jewish Malayalam, and they reveal patterns of social order and cultural perception:

*kattil olikeyilla, mutti caveyilla.*

The cot won’t be abandoned, grandma won’t die.\(^755\)

This proverb is said to express frustration at being unable to get rid of somebody who is burdensome. In earlier times, people in Kerala used to sleep on mats, and the only cot in the house would be occupied by the eldest female member in the family, the grandmother or grand-grandmother. This practice and, consequently, the proverb reveal the matrilineal social pattern and its stronghold in the Jewish domestic life.

Some proverbs are uniquely Jewish and unknown to non-Jewish Malayalam speakers. See for example:

*kālanrē pērē poyālaṃ yūtanrē pērē povallē.*

Better follow a demon than follow a Jew.

This proverb is said when a Jew cheats another Jew. Note the semantic shift of the term *kālan*, 'Death' → 'Demon', and the colloquial form *pērē*, 'behind' (< *pīrakē*). During occasional conversations with Kerala Jews, some would narrate how

\(^754\) Ibid., 23.

\(^755\) Some Jewish Malayalam speakers invert the order of the syntactic units in this proverb: ‘grandma won’t die, the cot won’t be abandoned’.
certain merchants would use different techniques for cheating their customers. This proverb depicts the socio-economical involvement of Jews in Kerala as reflected in their self-image.

पारुकुण्णु पुलिकुण्णु, सावलि वारुम्बा वालिकुण्णु।
A lad from Parur is a tiger-boy, but when reaching an assembly he is a puff of air.

This proverb implies that the Jews of Parur are considered arrogant among other Kerala Jews. It also exemplifies the communal tensions and social divisions among them. It is noteworthy that the sense of pride in one's community is retained in Israel, and it is applied not only to one's origin community in Kerala, but also to one's community in the modern Israeli-Cochini settlements. Note the peculiar locative form for 'assembly', सावलि (< sabhavilē).

6.4.3 Folk Etymology
Similar to proverbs, folk etymologies betray cultural concepts and social patterns. So far, I have been able to collect only two samples of folk etymologies in Jewish Malayalam. Both of them reveal the self-image of Kerala Jews and the way they perceive their social place in the framework of Kerala society. The first of these is the etymology of a place name, Chennamangalam, where a Jewish settlement existed since the thirteenth century. The second is a social etymology concerning the social image of Muslims in Kerala.

Naturally, the popular etymology for the place name Chennamangalam has nothing to do with the actual derivation of the name. According to Yosi Oren, a native of Chennamangalam, the name is derived from a combination of four words: caṇṇu, 'conch', vaṇṇu, 'muezzin', kōṁbū, 'horn' and maṇi, 'bell'. Each of these words is a metonym for Hindus, Muslims, Jews and Christians respectively, denoting the sounds that arise from the shrines of each community. Conches are blown during the service in Hindu temples; the muezzin calls out for the Muslim believers five times a day; a horn (שופר) is blown during the Jewish high holidays; and in the Christian churches, the bell is struck during the Mass. The belief that
the name Chennamangalam is a conglomerate of these four words depicts the appreciation of Kerala Jews towards religious pluralism in Kerala, and their memories of religious harmony in their homeland.\textsuperscript{756}

The second folk etymology is concerned with the colloquial term for Muslims, \textit{yonānkākka}, literally 'Elder brother Muslim' (\textit{yonān} = Ionian, Greek). Jews believe that the title \textit{kākka}, 'elder brother' is used for mytho-historical reasons, for the mythical ancestor of the Muslims is Ishmael, the elder brother of the mythical ancestor of the Jews, Isaac. However, they offer a second possibility, denotative of communal tensions and rivalries in Kerala society: \textit{kākka} also means a crow, and it is said that Muslims, like crows, crowd with much cries and woe – \textit{kāl. kāl}! – whenever one of them is being attacked. This etymology is attributed by Jewish Malayalam speakers to Hindus.

\section*{6.4.4 Idioms}

Idioms are often markers of communal identity. In addition, they abound with linguistic peculiarities. For example, to insinuate that Jews from Kocci are stingy, the following idiom is recalled:

\begin{quote}
\textit{tinnontallē vane?}

'You have eaten already, haven't you?'
\end{quote}

This idiom is related to an anecdote relating how once unexpected guests were received with this remark by Jews from Kocci, trusting that their guests will be too shy to admit that they are hungry. Note the use of \textit{–ontū} to denote 'after'.

\begin{quote}
\textit{avanikkū vayokūluṁ vayotirū illa.}

He has no sense of 'they shall eat and leave some food'.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{756} Interestingly, Kerala Jews refer to Kerala by the word \textit{nātū}, 'the country; the homeland'. 
This idiom denotes someone who eats like a pig. It betrays two peculiarities of Jewish Malayalam: the use of the archaic form *avanikkū*, and the insertion of a Hebrew phrase, יאכלו ויותירו, borrowed from the thanksgiving over food (ברכת המזון).

To denote an illiterate person, the following is said:

*ālēphinrē vakkū ariyān pātilla.*
He doesn't know the edge of the letter 'Aleph'.

This idiom reveals the attachment of Kerala Jews to Hebrew literacy.

For scolding someone, a Hebrew word is used in an offensive way:

*ēṭā mēśummādū!*
You are a villain!

Note the semantic shift of משומד, 'apostate', to 'villain'. Following are a few more examples of the way in which Hebrew components are used in idiomatic speech:

*avanikkū šēttūtū pīṭicci.*
He is stupid.

*šēttūtū < שטות, 'folly'*

*sūra ellām poy!*
You became ugly!

Literally: All beauty is gone! Here too we may observe a semantic shift of the Hebrew word רוח, 'form', to denote 'beauty', possibly affected by the semantic field of the word rūpam, which covers both meanings of 'form' and 'beauty' alike.

To denote that one is not to be blamed in some unfortunate and unintentional turn of affairs, the following idiom is used:
I didn’t do in the water, which I drink! (i.e. I did not mean to do that.)

Note the peculiar negated past form of 'didn't do', *cēñilla* < *cēytilla*, which seems to be a morphemic analogy for verbs ending in /y/, e.g. *aŋiñilla, kalinillla*.

Lastly, when asked, 'how are you?' one may reply with the following to denote 'all is just well':

*nellū ṭttiya ari, arī vṛiccū corū, corū tinnā - ʊnālicci.*

By sifting paddy, I got rice grains, by cooking the rice grains, I got rice, and by eating the boiled rice I had my meal.

Note the dialectical variations, common in other Malayalam dialects, of omitting initial /k/ and final /l/:  ṭttiya < kuttiiyā; vṛiccū < veccāl; tinnā < tinnāl; ʊnālicci < ṭnu kaliccù. Such a token of speech betrays the strong sense of Kerala Jews as authentic Malayalis, even after fifty years of using corn for staple food rather than rice.

### 6.4.5 Jokes

Among the materials collected so far, there are a few jokes and jests. There is one joke which is particularly worthy for attention, as it is told alternately in Hebrew and in Malayalam. The joke begins with a father, who picks up the prayer book and starts reciting Psalms (93: 4—5), a customary recital for Saturday night:

*migolot mayim rabim*

ēṭī mole a kannaṭi ōnnū ēttuttēṭi

**addirim mišbore yām**

vāvā ēvīt’ ānu vēccirikkaṇna vāvā

‘addir bammārom ‘addonāy

ā almāryi vēccatṭōntu ēṭī

The sound of mighty water….

**Hey, girl! Get me my specs!**

So huge are the ocean waves…

**Dad, where did you put them, dad?**

The God above is mightier than them.

**I had put them in that closet.**
When this joke is told to a crowd of Jewish Malayalam speakers, they giggle at each line, and burst in laughter at the last line. I believe that the tension between the solemn Hebrew recital and the colloquial speech incites the giggles. In the punch line, the curse aimed at the daughter invokes much laughter, but moreover, the father's behavior is absurd – why does he bother his daughter and disturbs his own prayer to fetch his spectacles, if he actually knows the verses by heart?

This joke may only be told to 'insiders', to speakers of Jewish Malayalam. For this reason, it is an excellent sample of the unique consciousness of Kerala Jews, composed of sacred Hebrew texts and colloquial, regional Malayalam. There is yet another interesting point in this joke. While it is generally common in India to preserve and transmit sacred texts by heart, Jews are attached to written scriptures. Kerala Jews memorized and orally transmitted the bulk of their Jewish Malayalam culture over the centuries. Hardly any of it was preserved in writing. Some attempts have been made to examine which books were circulating among the community.\textsuperscript{757} Unfortunately, no one so far ever considered the possibility that the bulk of cultural knowledge is in the minds and hearts of the

\textsuperscript{757} See Bar-Ilan, 1992.
people. Despite of Jewish Malayalam being on the verge of extinction, and the fifty-odd years past migration, the remnants of this thousand years old Jewish culture may still be documented and studied.

The Jewish Malayalam written corpus is atypical of such an oral literary culture as it was transmitted in writing albeit its prophane nature as opposed to the Hebrew scriptural transmission. In this regard, it is important to note that more than half of the notebooks were preserved among the Paradeshi community, and most of the other half were preserved among the people of Kocci-Katavumbhāgam. Moreover, among the oral forms of Jewish Malayalam, there are literary genres that were not transmitted in writing such as nursery rhymes, legends and cinema songs still remembered among contemporary Jewish Malayalam speakers in Israel. Therefore, it is likely that the written corpus represents only a fragment of a much larger literary whole.
Chapter Seven
Towards a Holistic View of the Corpus

The study of a community, its culture and its history, depends entirely on adequate description and analysis of its literature and language. Had earlier studies of Kerala Jews been philology sound, this simple fact would hardly need any mention. Although scholarly interest in Kerala Jews and their culture grew more and more over the past decades, no systematic study of the language and contents of the corpus was attempted. Since scholars recognized the historical importance of the corpus, they did casually refer to a few songs for evidence to support this claim or the other. For example, Johnson finds in the corpus several references to people (e.g. Joseph Rabban) and localities (e.g. Vañci) as supporting the Shingly myth.\(^758\) Jussay and Weil compare some songs with the wedding songs of Knānaya Christians as suggestive of historic cultural relations between the two communities.\(^759\) Johnson, with Daniel as her guidance in the language of the corpus, takes the songs as expressions of the socio-religious identity and ideology of Jewish women in Kerala.\(^760\)

Each of these studies seeks to find evidence in the corpus regarding the culture and history of the community. However, the method of isolating songs from their literary context leads to flat generalizations. It is wrong, I believe, to use a few songs for supporting and demonstrating a certain argument without considering their generic mode and their textual presentation in the corpus. In the absence of an overall descriptive-analytic view of the corpus, the songs supply evidence that is at best arbitrary, and may be misinterpreted.

Zacharia was the first to attempt a more holistic view of the corpus in his annotated edition of Malayalam texts with Hebrew translations.\(^761\) In his study, Zacharia considers the textual presentation of songs and selects the most widely

\(^{758}\) See Johnson, 1975: 128—133. See also Johnson, 1986.
\(^{759}\) See Jussay, 2005: 118—128. See also Weil, 1986.
\(^{760}\) See Johnson, 2001.
\(^{761}\) Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005.
distributed songs according to the classification in the thematic index. Consequently, Zacharia’s attempt to gain a more holistic view of the corpus is only partially successful. While he does consider textual presentation, his treatment of the generic modes in the corpus follows the misleading classification in the thematic index into Historical, Bridal, Biblical, Devotional and Miscellaneous songs. In his notes, Zacharia occasionally refers to generic features typical of Malayalam literature, and associates certain songs with Malayalam genres like the kilippāṭṭu (parrot song), vāsippāṭṭu (contest song), kaikkōṭtikalippāṭṭu (clapping song) and pallippāṭṭu (church/synagogue song). Although he is aware of other possible generic classifications and their relevance to the study of the corpus as a whole, he does not attempt a revised classification of the songs.

The revised classification of Jewish Malayalam songs in the present research seeks to present a holistic view of the corpus and provide a solid ground for viewing afresh the culture and history of Kerala Jews. Let me outline the most important observations about the corpus as a whole and their implications for the history of Kerala Jewish culture.

7.1 Historical Layers of Language and Literature

The corpus may be roughly divided into two periods – Medieval (until the end of the fifteenth century) and Modern (sixteenth century onwards). The biblical-pāṭṭus belong to the medieval period. As demonstrated above in Chapters Four and Five, the language and style of the biblical pāṭṭu are typical of Old Malayalam literature (thirteenth to fifteenth century). The modern period sees a significant change in the corpus, when the classical pāṭṭu-mold is renounced altogether in favor of narrative formulaic songs and poetic religious compositions — the formulaic and formulaic-rhyming songs respectively — in mixed language and styles.

The existence of two types of repertoire reflects these two major periods. The one is the performative repertoire, which is oriented towards ritual. The other, the selection repertoire, is oriented towards socio-religious expression. The two types of repertoire are preserved among all the Jewish communities in Kerala. Each performative or selection repertoire notebook may originate in any of the communities contributing texts to the collection. The repertoires represent historical developments of the literature. The performative repertoire with its rhyming biblical pāṭṭu is the oldest layer in the corpus.

The selection repertoire is more diverse and fluid. It represents later developments from the sixteenth century onwards. The selection repertoire notebooks include formulaic songs from the seventeenth century like the song 'The Feast of the Whale' (II42), formulaic-rhyming songs from the eighteenth century like 'The Song Sung by Solomon' (III1) and translation songs from the twentieth century such as the song 'In Both Sides of the World' (I24). Dating these three songs is based on internal evidence; the first two songs have a date in the text itself, and the latter is a free translation and paraphrase of the Hebrew national anthem (התקווה) that was composed during the beginning of the twentieth century.

The two major literary phases in the corpus represented by the repertoires parallel the two major periods in the history of the community discussed in Chapter One. The medieval biblical pāṭṭu matured into a distinct and fixed genre

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763 See 2.1.

764 It is important to remember that the historical Jewish communities in Kerala are not equally represented in the manuscript collection. However, except for Ernakulum-Tekkumbhagam and Mala, all the communities have at least one notebook with the performative repertoire: B9 from Parur, Z1 and B11 from Ch, S13 from KT, S14, S11, S2 and T1 from KK and B5 from KP.

765 Note that only 'The Song Sung by Solomon' (III1) is widely distributed. The other two appear only in notebooks from Kocci.

766 The first formal contact between the Zionist movement and Kerala Jews was in 1901 (Katz and Goldberg, 1993: 251). Naphtali Zvi Imber composed the Hebrew song, 'Our Hope' (תקווה), in 1878. It was first printed in 1886, and again in 1895. It became popular to such an extent, that on 1903 it was popularly regarded as the national anthem. It was officially declared the national anthem in 1933.
during the medieval period, when travelers and merchants reported Jewish presence in Malabar, especially in the north. Though scarce, the medieval sources about Jews in Kerala, from the Malayalam inscriptions to the *geniza* letters and western travelogues, characterize Kerala Jews as the easternmost branch of world Jewry particularly linked with Yemen and Arabia through trade relations.

The medieval biblical *pāṭṭu* is the literary product of a distinct Jewish culture immersed in the socio-cultural matrix of Kerala. The poets and their audience must have been well versed in Hebrew Scriptures and Classical Malayalam poetry alike. They used poetry in constructing ritual spaces during weddings to enable a periodical enactment of the 'grand cultural participation' as discussed in Chapter Three. The biblical *pāṭṭu* thus displays a high level of cultural participation in its ritualistic performative context and in its generic mode and contents as well. The performative repertoire, then, provides an intimate view into the scarcely documented medieval period of Jewish history in Kerala.

The selection repertoire, generally dealt with in Chapter Four, is more diverse than the performative repertoire, as the latter is more or less fixed in the ritual context of the wedding. The selection repertoire notebooks do not include large performative sections as fixed repertoires, while the performative notebooks do contain sections with a free selection of songs following the performative sections. It may be that the performative repertoire notebooks represent the phase of shifting from one repertoire to another.

Another type of repertoire is the anthology repertoire presented in two notebooks alone, B3 and Z4, both from the Paradeśi community. The anthologies contain the performative repertoire in one sequential thematic section with no explicit relation to any performative occasion. They contain also a larger collection of songs, some parallel to songs in the selection repertoires, and some unique to the anthologies. The anthologies are clearly oriented towards collection. Since one of them, B3, is dated to the mid-nineteenth century, we can assume that already then the corpus was viewed as a precious communal artifact to be preserved.
As already stated, the selection repertoire is more diverse than the performative repertoire. It, too, may be categorized by periods of composition. We may assume at least two periods, based on the dates in the two songs, 'The Feast of the Whale' (II42) and 'The Song Sung by Solomon' (III1). The first is a formulaic song with the date 1691—2. The second is a formulaic-rhyming song with the date 1760.\footnote{767}

The song 'The Feast of the Whale' is comparable with other formulaic songs in language and style, as discussed above in Chapter Four. It seems that the formulaic songs must have matured into a distinct genre by the end of the seventeenth century. The language of the formulaic songs is much more coherent than that of the biblical \textit{pāṭṭu}, and some of its features are typical of Modern Malayalam literature from the sixteenth century onwards.\footnote{768} Additionally, the classical \textit{pāṭṭu}-mold is replaced by a 'dry' narrative style, and a new motif becomes popular, the motif of redemption resembling a formulaic verse in the \textit{Coplas} genre in Judeo-Spanish.\footnote{769}

The second and probably later song-type is a formulaic-rhyming song. The PNG forms (e.g. \textit{kōṭuttutē}, 'gave', in 9b) become scarce, while Hebrew lexemes become copious in comparison to the formulaic songs. The mid-eighteenth century saw a growing interest in Hebrew poetry. Books compiled to represent the 'Shingly' custom (מנהג שינגלי) were ordered from Amsterdam especially for Kocci Jews (HaAdani, 1687; Kastiel, 1756; Rahabi, 1769). The influence of Hebrew poetry is evident by the rhyming scheme comprised of end-rhymes in couplets. The Jewish Malayalam literary development in this period shifts back to poetic structures, this time drawing its structural guidelines from Hebrew poetry, rather than Malayalam classical standards as in the biblical \textit{pāṭṭu}

\footnote{767 See appendix A for the texts and translations of the songs.}
\footnote{768 For example, the periphrastic past so common in the biblical \textit{pāṭṭu} becomes rare in the formulaic songs. The most common peculiar form in the formulaic songs is the past with –\textit{ṭē} that may be parallel to the PNG ending common in sixteenth century Malayalam literature (see table 4 above).}
\footnote{769 For the redemption motif, see 4.4.2 above.}
phase. The themes and contents too undergo a dramatic transformation. Devotion and praise in terms of Hebrew liturgy become the focus of the formulaic-rhyming songs. Narrative songs and stylized religious poetry give way to a flood of Jewish devotion.

Accelerated processes of Judaizing characterize the next phase. Hebrew para-liturgy becomes more and more influential. The Judaizing process results in translation songs coined ‘artthaṁ’, many with parallel translations, the tamsir, produced in the milieu of the ottumātāṁ (Jewish school). Towards the end of the nineteenth century, tamsir translations are transcribed or printed. It is likely that the few decades preceding the first publication of Hebrew para-liturgy with verbatim Malayalam translation produced oral and written texts with translations that did not survive. It is difficult to tell whether the artthaṁ translations preceded or followed the distribution of tamsir translations. Be it as it may, the translations genre must have matured around the mid-nineteenth century, possibly germinating earlier in the formulaic-rhyming songs.

A pendulum movement characterizes the 'hyphen' between Jewish and Malayalam. If the biblical pāṭṭu represents the equilibrium between the 'hyphenating' forces that shape Jewish Malayalam literature, the formulaic songs represent a movement away from 'Malayalamness' and towards 'Jewishness'. The language becomes more and more laden with Hebrew names and terms. The peculiar Malayalam pāṭṭu-mold is forsaken, leaving the literary composition bereft of poetic style and oriented towards narration. When the performers/composers resort back to stylistic concerns, they draw upon Hebrew para-liturgy, with stylistic features such as end-rhymes, like in the song 'The Song Sung by Solomon' (III1); the 'girdle poem' structure, like in the song 'Foremost

770 Kerala Jews in Israel still remember bits and pieces of the tamsir tradition (verbatim translations of the Bible and Mishna). Though some were recorded or transcribed, the oral recitation was doomed to oblivion. The tamsir tradition may not be later than the sixteenth century, as it uses the PNG forms profusely. However, a thorough examination is needed before establishing the period of composition of the tamsir. Note that the tamsir translations of para-liturgy are a different issue, and possibly much later to the tamsir tradition.
Standing God' (II4); and even anadiplosis, like in the song 'The Slaves were Created' (IV37).771

The search after new poetic formulations of 'Jewishness' in Malayalam causes the pendulum to move back towards Malayalam poetic devices. Some formulaic-rhyming songs draw upon both Hebrew and Malayalam literary devices. See for example songs that combine end-rhymes and the redemption motif with mona rhymes, like the songs 'One Lord!' (II33) and 'Big Rooster Song - Parur' (II48a).

It may have taken a few decades for a genre to mature. The borderlines between the periods are not clear-cut. Songs that belong to an older genre may have been composed long after the genre lost its appeal and productiveness. The conglomerates and detached verses are a good example for this type of generic 'comeback'. They are compositions of large ready-made units – from half lines to whole verses – extracted from the oldest layer of the corpus, the biblical pâṭṭu. They are fit for generalized performative contexts and not strictly associated with the wedding ritual complex. They break through the performative repertoire and adapt into the selection repertoire.

Moreover, there are 'hybrid' compositions like the song 'Dear Ones!' (IV59). It is a rhyming song in the pâṭṭu-mold with a low level of coherency. It must have been composed during the latest phases of the Jewish Malayalam pâṭṭu period, for it is fixed in the later phases of the wedding ritual complex, unlike the bulk of rhyming songs. It also differs in content. While all other rhyming songs re-formulate biblical stories in pragmatic poetic speech, the song 'Dear Ones!' reformulates Jewish devotion in the voice of the South Indian bard with meta-poetic statements and Classical Old Malayalam style. This voice is no longer productive in the later phases of the corpus. It is replaced by the voice of the

771 Of the three songs, two are widely distributed (III1 and II4) and the third, IV37, appears only in Kocci. Note, however, the semblance of the girdle-poem structure in the widely distributed rhyming song 'Dear Ones!' (IV59). This suggests that already before the maturations of new genres, the oldest literary layer in the pâṭṭu-mold had structural affinities with Hebrew poetry.
Jewish scholar that becomes more and more dominant in the translation and composer songs phases.

The pendulum movement shifts back to Malayalam literature in adopting genres such as the vāśippāṭṭu like the song 'Multiple, Multiple!' (II16); the kilippāṭṭu like the songs 'Dear Parrot Song' (I7) and 'The Noble Bridegroom' (II26); and the pallippāṭṭu as in the synagogue songs. This movement did not yield distinctively mature genres in the corpus. It did leave traces of the processes leading to reformulations of Jewish Malayalam literature, as was demonstrated with regard to the parrot motif and its integration into diverse genres in the corpus. Clearly, we cannot detect a distinct mature genre of parrot songs in the corpus similar to the genres discussed above. We can rather observe how a distinct generic feature such as the parrot motif is integrated in processing Hebrew and Malayalam literary features into Jewish Malayalam literature.

These literary trends and innovations parallel historical developments in world Jewry. The integration of the redemption motif in the late seventeenth century into some formulaic songs (as in II42) later shaped the formulaic-rhyming songs (e.g. III1) in the mid-eighteenth century. This period in Jewish history saw the impact of Jewish eschatology. The conceptual world expressed in the language of the two dated songs is evidence for this impact. The mention of a date in these songs is a pragmatic messianic invocation, for Jewish eschatology amply uses kabalistic numerology for calculating the first year of the messianic era.

The split between performative and selection repertoires parallels two events that brought about significant changes in the history of the world and of the Jews alike. In 1492, the Jews of the Iberian Peninsula experienced a second exile. Soon after, in 1498, the Portuguese reached Kerala heralding the colonial era, with the Dutch and British soon to follow. These two events had such an impact on the Jewish life in Kerala that the medieval and the colonial periods are divided by a deep schism with far-reaching implications for the socio-cultural history of Kerala Jews.

772 See 4.9 above.
773 See notes on II42 and III1 in Appendix A below.
In 1492, the Jews of Spain were forced to convert, die or leave their homeland forever. The Jewish communities of the area migrated *en masse* to literally any Jewish community located in Europe, North Africa and Asia Minor. The impact of the proud Spanish exiles was enormous. They altered the customs and para-liturgy of the local host communities introducing their own traditions from Spain. The Hebrew prayer book of Kerala Jews too adheres to the ‘Spanish’ custom (*מנהג*). Note that the Paradešis disassociate their Hebrew repertoire from the Judeo-Spanish sources by terming it ‘Shingly custom’, while the Malabaris use a word that may be derived from Judeo-Spanish, namely *kollas* (*< coplas*).

The Spanish migrants formed their own communities, maintaining their identity against the local and less prestigious (in their eyes) Jews wherever they were. Even today, the Jewish descendants of these sixteenth-century refugees can trace their genealogy back to Spain. In Kerala, something quite different happened. Refugees from Spain surely reached Kerala, formed a separate endogamous community in the sixteenth century and altered the local Jewish culture and society. Unlike their fellow Spanish Jews all over the world, they denied their Spanish identity and claimed to have been indigenous Jews of Kerala from times of antiquity.

Consequently, during the decades following the expulsion from Spain, the Jewish community in Kerala underwent immense changes. The first change was the caste-like segregation into endogamous groups. It split the community into fractions - a few Paradeši families on the one hand and several well established

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775 There may be many reasons for denying direct contact with Spanish Jewry. First, the Portuguese persecuted new Christians and European Jews at that time. Claiming to have been settled in Kerala from times immemorial made them subjects of the tolerant Hindu rulers and beyond the legislative reach of the Portuguese. Second, the Paradeši community was originally composed of foreign migrants from different places, as their family names in the De Paiva’s list suggest (Segal, 1993, 42—43; Katz and Goldberg, 142—144). To form socio-cultural alliances within the framework of Kerala society, the Spanish identity had to be blurred.
local Jewish communities on the other – as recorded in the 1520 Hebrew letter sent to the Cairo rabbinate.  

The protective patronage of the Kocci ruler against the onslaughts of the Portuguese was the second significant change. A new model of a Jewish community was introduced into the matrix of Kerala society. It was a Jewish community with strong links to Europe, rather than to Arabia. It was a Jewish community, which sought the patronage of and the refuge in the local rulers against the European Christian persecutors, rather than seeking their financial alliance jointly with fellow West Asian traders. Kocci in central Kerala became a marked Jewish center during this time, at least in the eyes of foreign viewers, Jews and non-Jews alike, contrary to the medieval diffused settlement patterns in North Malabar as portrayed in the medieval sources.

These changes are reflected in the Jewish Malayalam corpus. The performative repertoire crystallized when Jewish settlements and socio-economic relations flourished in north Malabar, even if not exclusively so. In North Malabar, we find a Malayalam song most similar to the biblical pāṭṭu: the Payyannūrpāṭṭu from the fifteenth century. The Payyannūrpāṭṭu mentions the trade guilds añcuvaṇnum and manigrīnam that certainly had Jews among their members, as accepted by all scholars. Note that the Māppilla Muslims of North Malabar still use the pāṭṭu-mold in their Arabi-Malayalam literature for weddings, while Jewish Malayalam literature abandoned this model of composition.

During the medieval period, north Malabar was a prominent trade center run by traders from West Asia and populated by Muslim communities. We learn from the medieval sources that Jews from West Asia were among those merchant communities. We also know that some family names in the Malabari community (Maṭai and Muṭṭam) suggest origins in north Malabar. A nineteenth century

777 See f.n. 692 above.
778 See Gundert, 1884.
Jewish traveler testifies to have seen a synagogue in Calicut, and some Malabari Jews still claimed it was their origin place during the late-twentieth century.\(^{779}\)

If the biblical *pāṭṭu* was indeed composed in medieval North Malabar, then the oldest historical layer of Jewish culture, literature and society is related to that area. There may have been other Jewish settlements in central and southern Kerala as well, but it seems that they were not culturally productive enough to produce an enduring literary corpus such as the biblical *pāṭṭu*. The rise of Kocci as a socio-economical center during the Portuguese period and the introduction of Jewish merchants and refugees from Europe to the local Jewish communities gradually diminished the influence of the North Malabar Jewish culture. It took about a century or more to develop the new literary trends (the formulaic songs) reflecting the evolving type of regional Jewish identity, this time focused on central Kerala, and especially Kocci. It may be that during the sixteenth century the settlement patterns of Jews changed radically. It may be that communities, such as in Maṭai, Muṟṟam and medieval Kōllam, simply centered around the medieval Jewish communities of Chennamangalam, Parur and Koccangadi in Kocci for financial reasons during the century of Portuguese dominion.\(^{780}\)

Additionally, the mid-nineteenth century Hebrew sources outline Jewish settlement in Malabar according to the Paradeši chronologies. They refer to a variety of places: Cranganore,\(^{781}\) Katur (כראגנור), Madai (מדאי), Palur (פלאור), Palata (פלאטה) Shingly (שונגילו), Zadan (זאדאן), the river Patanam (פטנם), Sheranachandham and Shenot (שינוט, שיראנצדהם) and Chennamangalam.\(^{782}\)


\(^{780}\) Important sources concerning that period are in Portuguese, and currently unavailable in any other language. In a recent meeting with José Alberto Tavin, who studied these sources, he mentioned references to Jews involved in the pepper trade with Kodungallur and to the formation of the synagogue communities in Kocci. More data is necessary for clarifying the transition between the medieval and the colonial periods during the sixteenth century.

\(^{781}\) Note the Hebrew spellings: קראגנור, קרוגנור, קרואגנור.

\(^{782}\) In Sefer Divrey haYamim as quoted in Feinstein, 148 (עד).
Be that as it may, the difference between the performative and the selection repertoires reflects the transition from the medieval period to the modern era in its history, literature and language.\textsuperscript{783} It now remains to examine the different genres and trends in the selection repertoire, which is much more diverse than the performative repertoire. Its diversity, I believe, has to do with regional varieties of language and literature rather than historical layers.

\subsection*{7.2 Layers of Regionality in the Corpus}

The selection repertoire may be divided into regional repertoires representing centers of literary creative activities. Since the present research is based on the critical edition of S14, a Malabari notebook from Kocci, it is possible to present only some general preliminary observations about this issue.

The selection repertoire in Kocci is threefold as outlined in Chapter Two (Illustration 3). First, the Paradeši notebooks differ from the rest in their scattered and inconsistent presentation of the performative repertoire, giving way to a wide variety of selection songs. Second, the KK and KT notebooks retain the performative repertoire in some notebooks, while others have the selection repertoire more prominent. We thus derive the communal distinction between Paradeši and Malabari notebooks.

Third, the selection repertoire of the KK notebooks is more similar to the Paradeši notebooks than to the KT notebooks. The latter, especially the oldest notebook S13, represents songs and repertoires that are more similar to the notebooks from the other Malabari communities. We thus derive the distinction between the KP and KK of Kocci and the notebooks from other Malabari communities. Moreover, the selection and textual presentation of the notebooks from Parur suggests an altogether different tradition in respect to the selection repertoire. It is likely that Parur was a center of literary and cultural activity rival to Kocci.

The division into centers of literature and culture is also reflected in orthography, suggesting that there were variations in the Jewish Malayalam caste-

\footnote{\textsuperscript{783} For the traces of North Malabar culture on Jewish Malayalam, see 6.2.5 above.}
An in-depth study of Jewish Malayalam, spoken and written, is still a desideratum for describing and analyzing Jewish Malayalam, not to mention its regional or historical variations.

The regional variations of Jewish Malayalam language and literature may shed light on the settlement and migration patterns of Kerala Jews over the centuries. It is quite possible that north Malabar was still populated by Jews during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The mercantile scene was changing. The Jews who intermingled with the West Asians trader communities during the medieval period must have reformed their trade alliances to fit into the changing trade scene favoring the new financial forces from Europe. The Jews may have gradually altered their settlement patterns that finally matured into the typology of Jewish settlement in Kerala as known from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries.

There is circumstantial linguistic evidence at the deepest layers of the corpus and the spoken language to an old linkage with North Malabar culture and society. Let me outline a few examples:

- A ready-made line borrowed from the northern songs (vaṭakkanpāṭṭukal) in the song 'The Birth of Moses' (III19: 8a²).
- A ready-made expression common to Aṛabi-Malayalam translations of Muslim scriptures (IV59: 9a²).
- The linguistic texture of the biblical pāṭṭus is similar to that of the Payyannūrpāṭṭu from late medieval North Malabar. For example, the level of coherency is very low; there are archaisms rather than tamils; the structural hallmark of the pāṭṭu-mold is the same.
- The linguistic texture of Jewish Malayalam is similar to that of Aṛabi-Malayalam in various ways. Some examples are kinship terms (e.g. umma, 'mother', kākka, 'elder brother'); religious terminology (e.g. mōḷyārā = musaliyār, 'a religious leader', āḷām utayavan/utyon, 'Lord of the world');

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784 For example, the word for God is consistently represented in the Kocci notebooks by tambirān, while the other notebooks prefer tambūrān.
and some archaic grammatical forms such as the participial –a spelt and pronounced –ē (e.g. āya > āyē), and the archaic dative marker -ikkū for the –an ending forms (e.g. avanū > avanikkū).

- There are lexemes in spoken Jewish Malayalam suggesting an early socio-political linkage with the Nāyar caste: the extended family and communal terms, e.g. taravāṭū, 'ancestral ground'; kārnnor, 'ancestor' and ōnnāmkārnnorū, 'first ancestor'; taravaticci, 'ancestress';

There is also evidence in the corpus for a linkage with southern Kerala and Knānaya Christians. This evidence needs closer examination and interpretation. I point here only to initial observations:

- There are ready-made lines in 'Dressed in Gold' (II8), 'Blessing Song' (II11) and 'Song of Evarayi' (I12) that appear also in Knānaya Christian songs.785
- There are genres of narrative songs about Biblical characters similar to the formulaic songs in the anthology of Knānaya Christian songs – the women’s vaṭṭanakali pāṭṭu and the men’s cintu.786
- The synagogue motif suggests a linkage with the Knānaya Christians. It seems to be adopted into the Jewish Malayalam corpus from the Knānaya songs, where it stands for a more mature genre.

From the mid-seventeenth century onwards, two rival centers of literary creativity assume shape in Parur and Kocci. The first signs of this rivalry appear in regional variants of songs that have a Parur version as opposed to Kocci. For example, the formulaic-rhyming song 'Big Rooster Song' (II48) and the refrain song 'Dear Parrot Song' (I7) have each two significantly different versions, one from Kocci and one from Parur. The literary rivalry becomes more noticeable in

786 According to Lukas, some of the manuscripts he collected for compiling the anthology were two-hundred years old when he examined them in the early twentieth century. This means that the Knānaya songs were composed at least as early as the late seventeenth century. Their language seems to be a bit less archaic than the biblical formulaic songs, but it may be the result of heavy editing by Lukas.
the translation and composer songs genres, where certain songs are exclusive to
notebooks from one of the two centers. The first evidence for increased literary
activity in Kocci is the publication of Elia HaAdani’s Hebrew poems in the late
seventeenth century (HaAdani, 1687). Two more publications were to follow
during the eighteenth century (Kastiel, 1756; Rahabi, 1769), until finally a local
print house was founded by Daniel Yaakov HaCohen in the late nineteenth
century. A printing house was founded in Parur later on in the twentieth century.

The regional variety concerning Parur and Kocci is not exclusive to these two
places but also embraces the other communities represented in the manuscript
collection. Each of these communities follows either the Kocci or the Parur
tradition. This is suggested by the following observations:

- Conflicting orthographic systems as in tamburān [P] ≈ tambirān [K];
  mikadāšū [P] ≈ mikadošū [K]; -nna ≈ -enna, as in ēnnār [P] ≈ ēnnār
  [K];
- Song versions peculiar to one of the two rival centers, as II48 and I7.
- The textual presentation of translation and composer songs in the
  selection repertoires is divided into the Parur and Kocci notebooks,
  some songs appear only in notebooks from Parur, while others
  appear only in Kocci notebooks.

7.3 Voices and Social Layers in the Corpus

The repertoires represent different motives for copying a notebook and keeping
it. The performative repertoire represents a conservative view of the ritual and its
inherent literature. The selection repertoire represents historical and regional
literary trends tuned into various socio-religious trends. The anthologies
represent a collector’s attitude, treating the corpus as a literary heritage to be
preserved.

The personal motivations of the scribes also play an important role in
shaping the repertoires. They depend on the time, the place and the personal
circumstances of the scribes and owners. Notwithstanding personal factors, there
are three motivations interacting in shaping the regional oral literature into a
repertoire as a socio-religious artifact – performance, editing and written transmission. Whether a performer, an editor or a scribe hired by a collector, the persona involved in transcribing or preserving a notebook aim at carving written repertoires out of an oral tradition. We have to remember that it is a two-fold process. The written is not necessarily a secondary process. Some songs, especially translation and composer songs, may have been first written before they became subject to oral transmission.

In section 4.10 above, I presented the notion of productive agencies observable in the corpus. These agencies voice socio-religious entities and are not necessarily identical with scribes, performers or authors, though the latter must have had their influence as well. In transcribing, the scribes influence the texts taking up the role of 'ethno-philologists'. Performers influence the repertoires by their selection and textual variations by adjustments in performance. The motivation for scholarly innovation affects authorship in the corpus. The productive agencies are abstractions of the threefold role materializing the corpus – the scribe-performer-author. It is one thing to ask who would copy a notebook and for what reason, and another thing to ask who are the agencies producing the corpus and what is the nature of the entities they voice. Let me probe these questions separately.

To answer the first question in detail a close comparative analysis of the script and orthography is necessary. Moreover, the scribal hands of other hand-written texts of Kerala Jewry must be compared with those in the notebooks. There are further personal details about the owners of the notebooks, their community of origin and, sometimes, about the circumstances of copying and using a notebook. It is generally true that the roles of performing the songs and preserving them belonged to the women. The role of women in performance is

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787 Some manuscripts were rediscovered recently: a tamsir for Pirqey 'Avot (PA) and a tamsir for Lamentations and translation of para-liturgy (Hallegua, 1892). There are also some scattered documents from the early twentieth century in the possession of Kerala Jews in Israel, which were not collected as yet, such as certificates, letters and lists.

788 Barbara Johnson collected and noted these details. They are included in the bibliography of the primary sources below.
acknowledged as early as the mid-eighteenth century in the Hebrew prayer books for weddings. One of the oldest and largest notebooks, S13, explicitly states this fact in its front page:

שיות נсим של כל קהל קהלן יי אהר/chat的文字 לשכת השם של אביגיל מהי צי"ע

Chants of Women of the Holy Congregation of Kocci, May God Protect them, 5636 to creation (1876 CE), this book belongs to Abigail Madai, May the Lord Guard and Vitalize her.\(^{789}\)

The roles of performers and owners was taken up by the women, at least from the eighteenth century onwards, when the Hebrew prayer books specifically mention the custom of women to sing during the wedding rituals. However, in describing the wedding, some informants stated that professional performers would be summoned as well.\(^{790}\) It is difficult to ascertain whether the performance and transmission of the corpus was ascribed to women also in its earlier phases of evolution.

The fact that only some community members owned notebooks is also noteworthy. It means that many, perhaps even most, women performed and transmitted the songs orally. Furthermore, the oral tradition of the corpus as preserved in audio tapes from the mid-twentieth century onwards only partially overlaps with the written corpus. Only a fifth of the songs included in the notebooks were still remembered with their tunes. Moreover, the recorded materials also include songs that were not transmitted in writing.

The ownership of a notebook, then, only partially accounts for performance and transmission and, consequently, it has its own rationale of involvement in the corpus. It may of course have the practical aim of constructing a mnemonic device, but it seems that at least in some cases, ownership is

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\(^{789}\) There is also a heading in Malayalam: \textit{pallitti accite} [..] \textit{patta pösthakam kalam ayyä iratti muppattärämäta adrimäsan} 20, 65 \textit{éluttra}, 'Pallatti Achi’s [..] Song Book, The date – Five Thousand and Thirty Sixth [sic!] Year, the Month of Adar, 20 […]?

\(^{790}\) See Walerstein, 1987: 110.
motivated by social interests. Most of the major notebooks especially those that contain the performative repertoire and the two Paradeši anthologies, were owned by high-status families. Clearly, for Ruby Daniel and her family of the downtrodden ulmakkār (משוחרות), the ownership of notebooks was a source of pride and a symbol of status.

This sense of pride is also expressed in the title of the notebook from 1876 mentioned above. The heading of S13, inspired by the headings in Hebrew Prayer books, is further graphically presented like headings to Hebrew book of prayers. Some owners are known to be of high-class families in their communities, like B3 of the Halleguas, Z4 of the Koders (KP) and B11 of the Yosonis (Ch). The owner of S13, Abigail Madai, was possibly related to Eliyahu Itzhak Madai, an influential figure in the KT community in the late nineteenth century. We need to know more about the owners of notebooks and their scribes in order to further probe into this issue.

The literary analysis of the corpus in the present research is short of better clarifying the intricate social relations between the scribe, the performer and the owner roles. However, the holistic view of the corpus offered herein enables approaching the second question regarding the productive agencies, the abstractions of the scribe, performer and owner roles. These productive agencies can be discernible in the sub-texts behind the voices expressed in the corpus.

For example, the voice of the bride is expressed in different phases of the corpus. In the biblical pāṭṭu it is the agency of the south Indian medieval poet-bard that delivers it. In the formulaic-rhyming songs, it is the agency of the Jewish scholar. And in the refrain songs, it is the agency of the Modern Malayalam poet. Each of these agencies utilizes different schemes for voicing the bride. The poet-bard voices her obliquely through the voice of focal characters in the biblical pāṭṭu, especially of Joseph. The poet-bard also makes the bride a focal character in the composition by occasionally addressing her with phatic injunctions as kēl ēṭṭi, 'Listen, girl!' (III18: 2d²) or by using deixis as in IV16: c¹: imakal.

791 The page is framed by line drawings of pillars with floral decorations.
792 For Eliyahu Madai, see Johnson, 1975: 205—206.
The agency of the Jewish scholar is more removed from its audience. Nevertheless, it too has its own strategies to voice the bride. Take for example the injunctional and didactic song 'One Lord!' (II33). It voices the apprehension of the bride in praying to God for successful marriage: vēṟappu vartallē sōlōm ppēriyōnē, 'Don’t bring about hatred, Lord of peace!' (II33: 1c²). The agency of the Modern Malayalam poet voices the bride directly, as in the 'The Noble Bridegroom' (II7), where the bride addresses a bird in the model of a kilippāṭṭu (parrot song).

This threefold agency expresses an array of voices to reformulate and design socio-religious relations in aesthetic terms according to changing historical variables. They activate a polyphonic cultural entity to perform its socio-religious role in the matrix of Kerala culture and society during occasions for the 'grand cultural participation'. With the socio-historical changes over time, the agencies and the cultural entity they activate change too, but always preserve the products of their older features. When a new agency is needed for new cultural expressions, it seeks its own place in the ritual and its inherent literature. In this way, the genres evolve in line with ritual tempo-spatial availability. For example, the ritual occasions of the 'Seven Blessings' (see tables 3b—c, שבע ברכות) probably served as the ground for the translation genre to develop through the productive agency of the Jewish scholar that affects the influence of the Hebrew poetry accompanying the occasion.

Let me stress again that the terminology offered above for describing the threefold agency should not be confused with the actual roles of scribes, performers and authors. The Jewish scholar, for example, is an abstraction. An educated woman may embody the agency of the Jewish scholar, for example, in her selection of songs for performance or transcribing. Another woman may embody the agency of the modern Malayalam poet in adopting a popular Malayalam folk song into her selection repertoire. A man of status may pay for a scribe to compile a notebook and add compositions attributed to himself or his family members, thus again embodying the agency of the Jewish scholar. And perhaps, in the least documented medieval times, the agency of the south Indian
poet-bard was embodied by professional North Malabar Jewish performers, be they men or women.

7.4 Prospective Research of Jewish Malayalam Language and Literature
The present study aims at a holistic view of the corpus perhaps on the expense of a thorough detailed linguistic account. Certainly there is yet much to be done. Above all, a detailed linguistic description of the lexicon and morphology of Jewish Malayalam is needed to enable a better understanding of the language of the corpus. Additionally, the attempt to compile a critical edition should be further pursued to include more songs and genres. It might very well alter the observations and interpretations of the corpus as presented in the present study.

As stated in the Introduction, this study approaches the corpus from the philologist’s point of view. The philological approach neglects important aspects of the corpus that call for deeper understanding, such as the musical-performative media transmitting the corpus. There are many questions to be addressed: What are the musical-performative features and genres of the corpus? What are their relations with the performance of Hebrew para-liturgy in Kerala? How are these features reflected in the literature? What are the intertextual relations of the performative genres with the ritual and its inherent literature?

I have attempted in this study to analyze critically the texts from different perspectives using an interdisciplinary approach. The nature of the corpus is such that a multi-dimensional treatment is indispensible. The corpus is a meaningful cultural expression of a certain community over a certain period. To approach it, it is not sufficient to relate to its language (a complicated task to begin with). The corpus has its own historical layers that call for linguistic and literary history. The polyphony of agencies and socio-cultural entities calls for an in-depth social study of the relations between the texts and the people who owned and used them. The corpus is a cultural phenomenon related to other cultural phenomena like Jewish languages and their respective literary corpora and the regional varieties of Malayalam literature and language. The present study has dealt with these issues all too briefly. Its main aims were to offer a sound, scientific philological basis for approaching the rich cultural expression of Kerala
Jews and to overcome the initial obstacles that have hindered readers of Jewish Malayalam.
שירת הנשים
של יהודי קֵרַלַה

חלק ראשון

hibaר לסם קבלת תואר דוקטור לפילוסופיה
מת אופירה גמליאל

הוגש לסגן האוניברסיטה העברית
אדיר, תשס”ט
עיבודה זו נעשתה בהדרכתי של דוד שולמן.
Jewish Malayalam

Women's Songs

Part II

Thesis submitted for the degree of

"Doctor of Philosophy"

By

Ophira Gamliel

Submitted to the Senate of the Hebrew University

University

April 2009
This work was carried out under the supervision of

Prof. David Shulman
Bibliography

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I list below only the notebooks I used for the present study. The names of owners, dates and places (if known) are listed next to the index number of the notebook. The initial letters refer to the community of origin (see the list of abbreviations above). Xerox copies are available in the Ben-Zvi Institute.

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S3, Zipporah Nehemia (b. 1924), Mesillat Zion, KT
S4, Miriam Bat Avraham, Nevatim, ET
S6, Dolly Japheth (d. 1982), KP
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S10, Miriam Yakov, Nevatim, ET
S11, Seema Eliyahoo, KK
S12, Rivka Yehoshua, Aviezer, P
S13, Abigail Madai, dated to 1876, KT
S14, Rahel Nehemia, Ramat-Eliyahoo, KK
J1, P. M. Solomon, Lod, Ch or P
J2, Rebecca David Roby, dated to 1914, KP
B1, Miriam Elias Hallegua (d. in the 1960's), KP
B2, Rachel Hallegua/ Japhet-Daniel, KP
B3, Sammi Hallegua, dated to the late nineteenth century, KP
B4, owner unknown, scribal hand as in S9, dated to 1877, KP
B5, Esther Cohen, KP
B6, Ruby Hallegua, KP
B7, Leah Hallegua, KP
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² This undated manuscript was kindly lent for Xerox copying by Sami Koder. The name of the scribe or translator is not mentioned. The last page has a line: "This undated manuscript was kindly lent for Xerox copying by Sami Koder. The name of the scribe or translator is not mentioned. The last page has a line: "This book belong to Mrs. Rahma daughter of Yehuda Mizrahi. The names Mizrahi and Rahma are typical West Asian Jewish names, which are very rare among Kerala Jews."


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APPENDIX A

Song Selection

Annotated Texts and Translations of Forty-Five Songs

Rhyming Songs
1. The Birth of Moses III19
2. Dear Ones! IV59

Formulaic Songs
3. Esau and Jacob III3
4. Topmost Lord: III86
5. The Feast of the Whale II42
6. Big Rooster Song – Kōcci II48
7. Big Rooster Song - Pārūr II48a
8. The Oil Jar Hanukkah Miracle III87

Formulaic-Rhyming Songs
9. Like Being Redeemed from Egypt III93
10. Single Lord II33
11. Foremost Standing God II4
12. Praised in Growth IV5
13. By God's Speech I19
14. Happiness to the Bridegroom II10
15. World’s Topmost IV76
16. Singing Hallel IV128
17. The Song Sung by Solomon III1
18. The Slaves were Created IV37
19. Synagogue Song I18
20. Paradesi Synagogue Song I18a
21. Ernakulam-Tēkkumbhāgam Synagogue Song I23
22. The Jews Praise IV103

Conglomerates
23. Do Not Fear! II19
24. Blessing Song III11 (first verse only)

Detached Verses
25. Before and Behind IV129
26. All Praises IV46
27. All Praise (Paradesi) IV46a
28. Pure God IV45
29. The Holy Saturday IV132
30. Arranged the Ritual IV132a
31. Honey and Milk IV8
32. Softly II35
33. Softly II35a
34. Oh Singing Bird! II26

Translation Songs
35. Redemption of Firstborn II51
36. Naming Song for a Daughter II56
37. Naming Song for a Daughter - Pārūr II56
38. Psalms IV120
39. Hanukkah Song III20
40. Thy Gates IV11

Composer Songs
41. God of Pleas! IV107

Refrain Songs
42. The Just Child II20
43. The Noble Bridegroom II7
44. The Foremost Essence IV19
45. In Both Sides of the World I24
Rhyming Songs

1. The Birth of Moses

III19

1.

ōrikamōt’ ōrikammōt’1 ēnniyyē/a/ ŏnarvu kārttavin āyikaninnu/b/ pērīma kēli illāttavanē/c/ pēšuṃ patimēyil arika ēnnā/d/1/
urikun’2 prakārattalē kurumēyi/a/ ālām ŏnarvu cēyvān/b/
parum’3 tānum patima cēyvān/c/ vālūvō ēnnakkum nikkum ēṭō/d/2/

1.
Formless, formless wisdom is of the Creator.
He granted knowledge in eloquence to one devoid of grandeur and fame,
For awakening the world5 in emotional wits,
For worshipping [Him] upon earth,
His blessings stand forever, sirs!

2.
člūvatapēr misari cēnno pukka/a/ ēnnōratāru6 parappāyi/b/
pilakiya nāl ańņu arišēnē/c/ eki kōlka7 panikk’ avērē/d/1/
itakā8 namnakka rańṭu ūrō ēnna/a/ kētamīcē őlō mēnakal cūtā/b/
kētamippōl cīla mōtalika/c/ prāmāniccu panikal cēyvān/d/2/

2.
Seventy people migrated to Egypt and multiplied beyond count.
[After a long time], the king ordered them to work:
"[Build] for me two cities!" When the Jews suffered tormenting work,
Many bosses ordered them to work.9

1 < uruvam.
2 < uruk-, 'to be immersed in emotion'.
3 < pārinmel.
4 A phatic address, possibly to the groom.
5 Note that ālām is an Arabic loanword, the equivalent of the Hebrew ōlām.
6 = ēnnamillāttavar?
7 = kōlluvān.
8 < kitaykk’?
9 The verse summarizes and paraphrases Genesis, 1: 2—14.
Then the work ceaselessly increased in difficulty.

"What if I won’t finish this work now…” it became so much oppressive.

[They were harnessed to work as hard as bulls.]

Thus intensely working [was for highly blessing them], sirs!

4.

antiriti\(^3\) takkam télāsā tūnnī/a/ alannu vēccaṭṭ’ ōru talakkal/b/

pantippān\(^4\) vēntum kanaññāl/c/ vaṭṭanñal pinnēyuṃ ālē tūnnī//d\(^iv\)//

vēntinār\(^5\) kaṭa kēnāvu cēlli/a/ vētkal ōka tēkaccirunnu/b/

ēntu ūnā cēlla pōral it’ ēnnu\(^6\)/c/ ēsāra\(^7\) kōntu irunna kōna//d\(^ii\)//

4.

[From dawn to dusk] they balanced, measured and put weights on their heads.

The weights to carry time after time weighed like a man.

[The king] saw in his dream. [They] crowded all the [roads].

What can I say? This is the essence. [The king captured Israel].

5.

pēmbērunnavarkka\(^8\) ēllām kāval vacca/a/ prakāream ēllām kaṇakkumittu/b/

āmbrannēṅkita\(^9\) kōlka ēnnu/c/ ārutiyā cēllī\(^3\) pramāniccu//d\(^i\)//

---

10 Read: mutikkarutātē.

11 Read: kannukal cumanna polē.

12 Note the phatic interjection ētō, perhaps addressing the groom. Compare with III19: 1d\(^ii\).

13 < sandhya + ritē Compare with IV111: 1:e\(^i\).

14 < bandhikk-.

15 < ventan.

16 Textualization is uncertain, see Appendix C for other possibilities.

17 < isrāēḥ.

18 < pēnu + pērunnavar (karmadhāraya). The dative use is peculiar.

19 < āṇu + piṇambēṅkil.

20 Compare with III18: 3d\(^i\).
They placed pregnant women under arrest and sorted them out.
"If a male is born – kill it!" The [king] decisively commanded.
"Do not hide any pregnant woman! Sort out all the born males,
[Whoever is found]." Listen to the great deeds of God!

6.

"The work done by the two women has not even a little effect."
"They take themselves [to give birth] alone."
Hastily [the king] ordered:
"A male born sun – drown him
So that they may die." Thus he ordered.

7.

"A recurring adverbial phrase. Compare with puttiyôrppattâlê arikê ônartû, 'Awakened knowledge of wisdom and strength' (II61: 7d³); puttiyôrppattînâlê parî tân âtîma cêyvân, 'to worship Him with wisdom and strength' (IV57: 4).

Paraphrasing the dialogue between the Hebrew midwives and Pharoah. See Genesis, 1: 19.

The verse summarizes Genesis, 15—22.

21 The text and translation are uncertain. Read: känmân evan kaŋakkâ, 'whoever is there to be found'.
22 < ularcc.
23 A recurring adverbial phrase. Compare with puttiyôrppattâlê arikê ônartû, 'Awakened knowledge of wisdom and strength' (II61: 7d³); puttiyôrppattînâlê parî tân âtîma cêyvân, 'to worship Him with wisdom and strength' (IV57: 4).
24 Paraphrasing the dialogue between the Hebrew midwives and Pharoah. See Genesis, 1: 19.
25 The verse summarizes Genesis, 15—22.
The foremost God—fearing him without committing [offense],
The perfected ones called him saying:
"Do not forsake us! Do not leave us! Have You forgotten us?
The wise people give birth to dear children
And we can not do anything." [God gave them a house with beauty.] 26

8.

\[ \text{annurāv'} \text{ unalaya pūlla tannil/a/ avara rācciyatta vēla ñllām/b/} \]
\[ \text{vēnnuvo}^{27} \text{ ñnora tōrrant}^{28} \text{ cēlī/c/ viśotica nēññal ariñña kōluvin//'d'}// \]
\[ \text{kunnatta vaccē vēlakkupōlē/a/ kummpēyā pōnna prappṭumba/b/} \]
\[ \text{kōnñe kalavānō ēnna cēlī/c/ kōnamāra ēñkilum nicca nicca}^{29}//d'/// \]

As children were born day and night and at all seasons in that kingdom,
[A spirit called 'Vennuvo'] said, "Be faithful and know,
When [he] shall wisely set forth like a lamp on a mountaintop,
Even if the king ordered to murder [them]. This is certain."

9.

\[ \text{ētāmāsatti pranna pilla/a/ ētatt' añña nōkkitt' ōliccu vaccu/b/} \]
\[ \text{vitu mōṭakkāvin ēnna cēlī/c/ pērika}^{30} \text{ kanakkē ḫaṇakkumīttu//'d'}// \]
\[ \text{tāta vātuka āyōru vañci tanni/a/ caruticca vaccaṭt' ōlakkī viṭṭu/b/} \]
\[ \text{tōtimārum tānum vanna nēram/c/ tōṛṛi pārañño makalāra kānñi//'d'}// \]

The son who was born at the seventh month was taken and hidden.
"Do not [skip a house]!" [they] said. They quickly counted [the male babies]. 31

26 Perhaps an allusion to Genesis, 1: 21: "Since the midwives feared God, he made houses for them."
27 An obscure lexeme. Compare with II61: 4c² in Appendix C. B4 adds at the end of this verse \[ yrūm vē; \] the first syllables of the piyyut (AS, 40).
28 The lexeme \text{tōrrant} is normally associated in Malayalam with a divine incarnation or with the song sung by the person embodying the deity in possession rituals. In popular etymology, it is derived from the Sanskrit loanword \text{'stotram'}. It appears once in a Jewish Malayalam text (HaCohen, 1877: 37) in the sense 'spirit' (\text{'iṣattatinṛ tōrrant}.
29 \text{c niścayam niścayam}.
30 \text{c viriyē}, compare with variant spellings in Appendix C.
In a boat with [deep] bottom [the child] was carefully placed and set afloat.
When she came with her maids, it was revealed before Pharaoh’s daughter’s eyes.32

10.

tanné tōrann’ anña kaŋtavārē/a/ sátakkī nēlavēṭṭa31 ěṭtattanaccu/b/
dīnām āyōḷa pēsāṭ4 ěllām/c/ tīrnnaṭṭuṁ nalluṭaṁ vānni appa//d//
nāyām āyōḷ’ ōra puḷḷa ita/a/ nannāṭ ilēkam ātaṇkēla āyī/b/
vānam ōṭēyōṅ inikka tannu/c/ makan ēnnuṁ cēllī piṇīyam āyī//d2//

When she opened and looked, she relied on God, took the [child] and embraced him.
All of her miserable [faults] were done with, and she became cured.35
“This is a child of the Law. It has on him [good signs].
The Lord of heavens gave it to me for a son.” She said, and became fond of the child.36

11.
kōṇa pōyī kōvil akatta puķka/a/ kōnāra maṭiyil iranna puḷḷa/b/
āṇṭ’ anṇu nōkkī piṭiccār tāṭi/c/ āṅkanṅal ōkkā kuluṇniyappā//d3//
kaṅṭ’ anṇi irunna ārīvōṛ cōnnā/a/ karuti irunnavaṅ tānē ulla/b/
ōṇṭ’ ēnnu cēlliya muyimbinālē/c/ ōppiccū tān munni kāṭṭi tanna//d4//

She took it and entered the palace. The child sat in the King’s lap
Climbed up, looked, and grabbed his beard, so that all the [king’s] limbs trembled.
The wise men who saw it said: “He believes himself to be You!”
Before he said "Indeed!" it was straightened and depicted before him.37

31 The subject is unclear, possibly the Egyptian authorities.
32 Summarizing and paraphrasing Genesis, 2: 1—5.
33 sátakkī (= sátakan, God) + nilappēṭṭu, ‘to rely upon, be grounded in God’. Compare with III1:
4b: sátikki nēla cēṭtu ělakkiccum vaccu, ‘Relying on God, [he] raised us’.
34 < pilā + ati, ‘impurity’? Compare with suddhati (suddham + ati) to render ‘holiness’ (ירקח) in HaCohen, 1877: 6, 13, 41.
35 According to the Midrash, Pharaoh’s daughter was cured from leprosy as soon as she touched
the child. See שמות ז( ורשא)מדרש תנחומא;
36 Paraphrasing and expanding Genesis, 2: 6.
37 The verse renders a pseudo-allusion to Midrash. Compare with א כו( וילנא)ות רבה שמ
אוצר שנו( אייזנשטיין)המדרשים, שמות קסו.
The last line is unclear.
2. Dear Ones!

IV59

1. arima āyavar arika sāmavar/a/ aruḷi cēyṭāruṭē Ṽṇar vilē/b/
pērimayāyavar pēriya sāmavar/c/ pēsakillāttavar tēlivē/d1//
ōrīmayāyavar ōlika sāmavar/a/ ōra cēytavaruṭē Ṽṇar vilē/b/
karuta mālavar karuti ninnū/c/ nuskarippat’ ērīkkammē/d2//

Dear ones! Know by the wisdom of the Peaceful [Lord] who ordains.
Mighty ones, be great by the clarity of the Peaceful [Lord] who is faultless.
United ones, be bright by the wisdom of the Peaceful [Lord] who commands.
Contemplate! The righteous people contemplate, preparing for prayer.

2. ātiyē aruḷ āyirunnu/a/ nēnna suticcu ninn ōtvān/b/
nitiyē nēḷa18 ēninaccatum/c/ ēllām kōṭukka vallēnnavan/d1//
pōtam ētum illātē ņān/a/ pōkatavān it’ ōnnum āriññillā/b/
pāpam ēṛrām palantā39 nēnna/c/ nuskarippat’ ērīkkammē/d2//

There was the first word for praising You and chanting.
Whatever [precious status] is wished for - [You] are able to grant it all.
I am devoid of any insight, and know nothing about praising
Utterly devoid of sin, [I am] preparing for praying to You.

3. ēṇayillāta nēṇrē el ēllām/a/ cōnna kāṭal ēṅkīlam palat’ ēllā/b/
anīyamār’ ōllā amar ēllām/c/ nīnṛē paniyamār’ ōllā arasunka/d1//
tōṇaya ņān ēnna sutī cēytavarkk’ ēllām/a/ tuyil ēllāṅkīlu palat’ ēllām/b/
paniyamār’ ōllē pariśa sāmavar/c/ nuskarippat’ ērīkkammē/d2//

38 < nl + nila
39 < pilār-.
Your power is infinite, all too much even for a see of words,
All the heavenly flocks approach and worship in Your kingdom.
"I shall help all those who praise Me, even without sleep."
The shield of worshippers, the Peaceful [Lord], [we are] preparing for prayer.

4.

423

"With no single day of [quarrel] you shall not know misery.
May the land be everywhere blessed for you. I am the Lord with you."40

[For many days], I beg for felling my sins,
Praising the righteous ones and preparing for prayer.

5.

In unfolding darkness a door is the gift.
In a tiny place, all achieve birth.
Rising with tremor, [I] prepare praying to You.

---

40 Alluding to the blessings and promises God gave to Abraham, see Genesis, 15: 1, 7; 17: 2—8.
6.

"ukkam ninnil oruttan illa ninnu/a/ nēram māṟṟum vallavan/b/
akaniye<sup>41</sup> ni kkōnt' annavar/c/ ārum illey āv' ēnīkka/<sup>d<sub>1</sub></sup>/
nikkii ninnil oruttan illa/a/ turattan<sup>42</sup> āya karuttēnē<sup>d<sub>2</sub></sup>/b/
vākku kōntu suticcu ninnu/c/ nuskarippāt' ērīkkamē<sup>d<sub>3</sub></sup>/

There is no one stronger than You. You are able to transgress time.
You are undivided. There is no one for me,
There is no one but You, oh Supreme Mighty One!
Praising You with words, [I] prepare for praying to You.

7.

cēkamāy iranna ninnuṭē/a/ cēkēl ērum āruṇnil/a/b/
āka niyē ēlīṭavunm ārivū/c/ vatuka ninn arul ēnnavan/<sup>d<sub>3</sub></sup>/
bikam<sup>44</sup> āy aṭiūrutē vali<sup>45</sup>/a/ nēnna tīrkval ēnnavan/b/
mōkam āyī ēlūnēṟu ninnu/c/ nuskarippāt' ērīkkamē<sup>d<sub>2</sub></sup>/

You are one. No one knows Your grace.
You know everything. Your word is a blessing.
You have [mightily] determined the path of Your servants.
Rising bewildered, [I] prepare for prayer.

8.

cēttuttamālē ēṭambināl/a/ ēṟu nūṟṟī nalppatuṟm ēṭṭumē<sup>d<sub>4</sub></sup>/b/
āṭutta vannam camēccu vacciṭu/c/ avarṟil eṟṟam valuṇtā<sup>d<sub>2</sub></sup>/
tīṭakam ēṭum ēllāta nāyana/a/ tān ukkaṁ ākki aḷṭāvan/b/
nāṭakkam āyī ēlūnēṟa nēnna/c/ nuskarippāt' ērīkkamē<sup>d<sub>2</sub></sup>/

<sup>41</sup> <i>akamika</i>, 'undivided'?
<sup>42</sup> <i>turuyan</i>?
<sup>43</sup> <i>karuttan</i>.
<sup>44</sup> <i>vīram</i>?
<sup>45</sup> Or: <i>vedi</i>.
With garlanded body, 46 one hundred forty eight [verses]
Were jointly composed. Among them are the most perfect [verses].
The Lord has playfully allotted His strength [to it].
Rising with tremor, [I] prepare praying to You.

9.

\begin{verbatim}
otuvān āruvāyam47 åkkī/a/ ālī pāttacca āri nāli/a/48
pāṭṭu-pāṭu niruttu eṟṟam/c/ pāttacca vacc‘ āruśāyēnē/49/d/1//
kuṭi nēnnil āruuttan illā/a/ ninna pōlkkēy illattavan/b/
pāṭi nirumalare49 suticcu/c/ nuskarippāt‘ ārīkkammē/49/d2//
\end{verbatim}

[You] created a method for chanting on the day light was created,
Oh Lord, who created while founding the [status of singing].
There is no one but You! There is none excelling You!
Singing and praising the Righteous, [I] prepare for prayer.

10.

\begin{verbatim}
ōttā ninna manasināl/a/ ārumicca cēlavat‘ eḷḷāryēyum/b/
sattiyēttinā50 munnammē/c/ talē āka ninnatum sattiyam//d3//
vāsattiyān avar pattuper/a/ patin ēṇṇiya patin ēṭṭummē/b/
putti āttavarōtu kuṭī/c/ nuskarippāt‘ ārīkkammē//d2//
\end{verbatim}

Joining in one heart, singing together all [songs]
In front of the covenant. That which is top most is the covenant.
Ten people blessed in eighteen counting ten,
Joined with equally wise people, and prepare for prayer.
May God be the foremost help! And so it was with His help; Isaac our father abiding by His will had Esau and Jacob for children. Esau and Jacob were born together. And so, there was no peace between them. Some time elapsed there and the father summoned his son Esau.

"My time has come in this way." You go and get a good meal for me."

Hearing this, Esau went for hunting. The mother, she heard all the news. The mother called the son Jacob. "Your father is about to confer blessings. You go and bring a nice goat." [He] brought one young male goat. [She] slaughtered [it] for the most favorite meal. [She] gave it to the good beloved son. "Father, please get up and take your food." "Is it Esau or Jacob?" he asked.

______________________________
51 J1 reads: irupati S11 reads: i vayasu.
52 J1 reads: ákannu.
53 Genesis, 25: 23: יָעַבֹד וְרַב יֶאֱמָץ מִלְאֹם וּלְאֹם יִפָּרֵדוּ מִמֵּעַיִךְ לְאֻמִּים וּשְׁנֵי בְּבִטְנֵךְ גוֹיִם שְׁנֵי לָהּ דיְדֹו וַיֹּאמֶר.
54 See Genesis, 27: 2: מֻתִי יוֹם יָדַעְתִּי לֹא זָקַנְתִּי נָא הִנֵּה וַיֹּאמֶר.
55 Read: istamáya.
Then Esau cried in misery: "Don't you have one more blessing for me, father?"

The father was about to [curse]. God spoke to Isaac our father, "Do not curse Jacob!" "[I] shall not [curse] Jacob by all means." Then Esau resolved to kill Jacob. The mother heard all the news. The mother called her son Jacob. "Don't stay anywhere in this country."
"My brother, Laban – go and live in his country."[67] 
[She] gave him the money she had at hand. When he departed and went, 
And as soon as he passed some distance, he saw Eliphas, the son of Esau. 
Then Jacob became frightened. "Oh, my God! What shall I do? 
May I be rescued from him, Lord!" [He] did not forget [his] father’s will.[68]

Saying, "Do not kill your paternal uncle!" he gave him the money he had. 
When he departed and walked for some distance and saw, 
He saw the arrival of passers-by. Jacob asked the passers-by: 
"Where is Laban’s place?" "Hey, look! Here comes Laban’s daughter!"

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[63] < yutra codiccán.
[64] < minthunkilo.
[65] < צווה.
[66] J1 reads: markkéyum. The construction of a non-finite + atu + -um + illa to denote negative past is common in HaCohen, 1877 (pp. 9, 16, 22, 25). See also 6.3.2, 10 above.
[67] Lines 1—51 renarrate Genesis, 27.
[68] Esau commanded Eliphas to kill Jacob. To avoid disobeying his father, he strips Jacob of all he has, for the poor man is considered a dead man. See: מדרש אנוק (ברב) בראשית נב.
[69] < eva, father’s younger brother.
[70] J1 read: kollukayam.
When Jacob saw mother Rachel, he approached the same place and stood there.

The lid that takes three hundred men to remove – Jacob alone removed it. With [his] thumb [he] removed the lid. When scarce water came gushing forth, He gave water to all rivers to their fullest. The goats drank water to their fullest.

"Father, meet him and bring him over." Laban met Jacob and brought him. "Why have you come here?" "There is no special reason. I just came here Because Esau and I had a quarrel. I got all of father’s blessings. I got the first-born rights. That is why we had a quarrel."

"Will you herd [my] goats for seven years?" For seven years [he] herded the goats.

See Genesis, 29: 10. See also Midras: ע יב( וילנא)בראשית רבה; ט א( וילנא)קהלת רבה; מדרש תהלים;צא( בובר);לה" חורב( "היגר)י אליעזר פרקיו דרבי;בראשית כט י( בובר)שכל טוב; קסב( אייזנשטיין)אוצר המדרשים; ילקוט שמעוני ויצא רמז קכד. Compare with III14: muppatira 6tal u kuti tuakkunna vaiнакallu/ ribuha unna ttannnuvaccutte/ See Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 60 (M), 60 (H).
It was arranged for marrying mother Rachel, but mother Lea was married to him. Jacob didn’t like it. "While the elder sister remains, the younger won’t marry. In our land this is not [proper]. If you still desire her… All the property shall be retrieved to you." He herded the goats for seven years.

He married mother Rachel, and gained much wealth and many children.75

God spoke to Jacob, "You must not stay anywhere in this country. Go and live in the land of Canaan." Jacob, his wife and all his children – When they were setting forth, Laban went through the seven-day route.76 Jacob went through the one-day route.77 Laban resolved to kill Jacob.

**Read:** takka. So is according to T1 and J1. Other readings: i děšam.

75 Lines 53—90 renarrate Genesis, 29: 1—30.
76 See Genesis, 31: 23:

77 Or: könnavut.
God spoke to Laban, "You must not kill Jacob!"79

[He] did not kill Jacob. A feast lasting one day [was received] from Laban.80

When they were happily eating and drinking, he gave him his share to the fullest.81

[He] saw travelers arriving. Jacob asked the passers-by:

"My brother, Esau – take it and give to Esau." [He] said.

When [they] gave it to Esau, "Who gave it?" asked Esau.

"Jacob, your brother. Jacob, his wife and all his children
Crossed over the Jordan river and wait there." "Then I wish to see [him] at once."85

[He] resolved to kill him in secret. [He] resolved to kill him by biting his neck.

Jacob's neck became like crystal. Esau's teeth became like wax.86

Jacob, his wife and all his children reached the kingdom of Canaan.

Blessed, blessed, always be blessed, the God who is the most blessed.

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79 See Genesis, 31: 24:

70 Paraphrasing Genesis, 31: 44—54.

81 Lines 91—106 renarrate Genesis, 31.

82 < H יְרָדָד הֵנִּי, 'Jordan'.

83 < kaluttinmel.

84 < H פֶּנְנָי, 'Canaan'.

85 Lines 106—116 paraphrase and summarize Genesis 32—33.

86 The same motif appears also in relation to Isaac who is about to be sacrificed in Song of Sarumma (III14): kaluttu appa palanikōpolō āyıtē katti appa mēlukopōlō āyıtēl/ See Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 59 (M); 58 (H).
4. Topmost Lord!

1.

*mutiya* yäyénè arulícétya käriyam/a/
ammittáyuṭè makan yōnåtu*87* arulícétyu/b/
ninavè*88* ñnña näṭṭil nī cellèn̬am/c/

israil ëllàvarum nérukètu cëyyunnu/d/

nérukètu tìrtatṭu nèrakki vəyikkèn̬am/a/

panțum pëla nàbìkalu*89* kōnnè israelum/b/

atupölë ênnèyum kölluvân ŏnt' annu/c/

nänö i nāṭtinnu*90* pøyi kalayattë//d//

Topmost Lord! You have spoken this matter.
You have spoken to Jonah son of Amittai.
"Go to the land called Ninveh.
All Israelites there went astray.
Terminate their stray ways, straighten them, curse them."
"But formerly, Israelites killed many prophets.
Is it for killing me too like that?"
Let me keep away from that land."

2.

taršisâ*91* nāṭṭinnu kappalum vannûtë/a/
avanum à kappèlil keri kalainûtë/b/
tålattè tatînôrë tälë òlîccûtë/c/
tarôrè tanrè arulappâtu òntâyi kârrôtu//d//

nî cènnu ãkappal màriccu kalayañam/a/

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*87* = yonayotu.

*88* < H יונתן, ‘Ninveh’.

*89* < H בים, ‘prophet’ + plural marker -kal.

*90* = nāṭṭilenùnù.

*91* < H ירשא, ‘Tarshish’.
A ship arrived from the land of Tarshish.
And he boarded that ship once and for all.
He hid below a screen at the bottom.
God spoke to the wind,
"Go and turn that ship over."
With the storming wind the ship won’t move.
"How did this come about?
The ship is about to smash.
The captain stood for prayer.
The single man below the screen at the bottom
Joined them all, and they tossed the goral.
The goral fell of Jonah’s neck.
"Why did you come here?
The ship will break because of you!
You are picked up by the word of God."

93 = namaskārattinū.
94 < H 고אל, ‘stake, bet’.
95 < ivitē.
96 < mārggapēt-.
97 Note the personification of the wind and compare with Jonah, 1: 4.
"Let us throw him in the water!"
They caught him and threw in the water.
God spoke to the fish,
"Come," It swallowed Jonah.
Three nights and days in the belly of the fish
He stayed there contemplating You.
Then God spoke to the fish,
"Come, vomit Jonah on the shore."
The fish came and vomited Jonah on shore.
He had no place to hide from the blazing sun.
Staying there, he contemplated.
God spoke to the Mural tree,
"Come, Mural, give him shelter."105
The Mural tree came and remained as shelter for him.
When he stayed there, he did not contemplate You.
4.
appalē arulappātu unṭāyi piluinōtu/a/
nī cēnna mōra pantal tinnu muṭikkēnām/b/
atu cēnnu mōra pantal tinnu muṭiccūtē/c/
vēyil ātu uticcaṭṭu106 irippān talam illā//d1//
ēnṛē tambirānē ṇān ēntu cēyyēnām/a/
tanṛē manasil ātu ēnṛē manasilumē/b/
nāṭṭilla nanaccillā pātu ōnnum pēṭtillā/c/
āya nēnakk’ ēntu ītra caṅkitām107//d2//

Then God spoke to the worm,
"Come, chew the Mural shed and ruin it."108
It chewed and ruined the Mural shed.
He had no place to hide from the blazing sun.
"My God! What shall I do?
Your wish is my wish."
"You didn’t plant it! You didn’t water it! You took no strain for it!
How much do you grieve for it!"

105 Compare with Jonah, 4: 6.
106 < udicciṭṭu.
107 < saṅkaṭām.
108 Compare with Johan, 4: 7.
5.

पांती रातु अरिवालेया उर एनु दशकः अन्तकः/a/
पेदीकः उत्ताकः इल्लवो/b/
निन्नातेप्पोल्लप्पू एरिया मुलत्तु/c/
िनिक्का नल्लू/109 दिवसावं उत्ताकम्/d//
निन्ने एनु उरुम अतु अलियुमे/a/
तेसुबायिल/10 tिरियेनम् तानिता/111 पितिक्केनम्/b/
अरुलपातु केट्टरेत तेसुबायिल तिरिन्नुतेच्/c/
तानितुम् पितिक्कुतेच्/d//
इस्राइल ईल्लवरूम तेसुबायिल तिरिन्नुतेच्/a/
वालुका वालुका एपोलुम वालुका/b/
एरमम्न आयी वालुन्ना तम्बिरान तान्न एनु/c/

"The grief over a place of twelve scholars =112
Isn’t it greater than yours?!
"Because your malice is too much,113
Forty114 days from now,
The city of Ninveh will be destroyed.
Repent and observe a fast."
Hearing the divine command, they repented and fasted.
All Isarel turned repented.
Blessed, blessed, be blessed forever,
The God who rules as the highest be blessed.

109 Read: irupattināḥu. See Jonah, 3: 3.
110 < H תשובה, ‘repentance’.
111 < H תעניות, ‘fast, austerities’.
112 Compare with Jonah, 4: 11, ששים עשרים רבו, ‘twelve ten-thousands’.
113 The narration goes back from chapter four to chapter three in the book of Jonah.
114 S14 reads: “I shall have a good day”.
5. The Feast of the Whale

1.

tambirāṅrē tuṇa āya gulattinu/a/ ōlaka paṭicci unṭākki vēccūtē/b/
kāḷam ayyāyiratti nānnurūṁ nālpatuṁ pantirāntuṁ āyitē/d/V
aliṇā míkadāśirē nālil pērūna purușāna pērayavēnaṁ/b/
pōyā pūtumba/önnun bāyikkėnām/c/ kāla vēcca pāvattirē/mūlaṁ/d/

For the nation which has God’s help, [He] created the world.
Five thousand four hundred and fifty-two [years] passed.
[Great be] the man born on the day the temple was ruined.\(^\text{119}\)
[When praising, please play the trumpet because of our sin].

2.

aśudhamāya gōlattina cētāryuṁ vēnām/a/ śuddhamāya gulattina mītuveṇām\(^\text{120}\)/b/
liyītāntē\(^\text{121}\) tuli ulikkavēnam/c/ tān ōkanna\(^\text{122}\) gulattinu tanalil/\(d\)/
pantalingū tālē irattavēnam\(^\text{123}\)/a/ tann āṭiya jākkōbum makkalūm/b/
valiya mīnīnī ērūkki vaikkavēnam/c/ tān ōkanna gulattinu tinmān/\(d\)/

Scatter the unholy nation. Redeem the holy nation.
You must peel off the skin of the celestial whale,
For the nation You lifted into shelter.\(^\text{124}\)
Below the shed, You must settle Your own slave Jacob and his children.
You must prepare the big fish for Your own exalted nation to feast.

\(^{115}\) pēruk\<.\>

\(^{116}\) pukalumbo.

\(^{117}\) kāḥalam.

\(^{118}\) S14 reads: gōlattirē.

\(^{119}\) The day the temple was ruined is Ninth of Ab, the Day of Lamentation.

\(^{120}\) mīf\<.\>.

\(^{121}\) ḫlūṭi, ‘whale’.

\(^{122}\) uyarnnu → ēkanna, see Appendix B, f.n. 190.

\(^{123}\) iruttanan.

\(^{124}\) According to the belief, God will create for the righteous people a shed out of the skin of the celestial whale. See ילקוט שמעוני, ילקוט שמעוני, ילקוט שמעוני, ילקוט שמעוני, ילקוט שמעוני, ילקוט שמעוני, ילקוט שמעוני.
3.

kärttu\(^{125}\) vēcca palattinē yāvin/a/ dāvidinē kaivil kōttukavēnam/b/
appōl atu kutikkunna nērattu/c/ abrākinē mākan mēyirnā kūttēnam//d//
kārttēn gōgumākōgina\(^{126}\) valaṅnēnam/a/ araśan\(^{127}\) dāvidinē kaimēlum/b/
ētumā tanrē putu bītu vēnam/c/ ēlavēra makkalēyum mitāvēnam//d//

The wine of the [powerful] fruit – give it to David.
When he drinks it, he should join Meir son of Abraham.
Surrender the [powerful] Gog and Magog to the hands of king David.\(^{128}\)
Gracefully we want Your own new house. Redeem the seven children.\(^{129}\)

4.

tōppammārā mūvēra pīnīyattu/a/ mūnnāmattē mikadōśa\(^{130}\) ētukkavēnam/b/
iṅnīy ottum kālam vaikōtēyum/c/ kataka murukā miticcēnā varuttēnam//d//

In the merit of the three patriarchs, build the third temple.
Do not delay even a little; bring quick and [steady] redemption.

\(^{125}\) < karuttū.
\(^{126}\) < H גוג וэмוג, 'Gog and Magog'.
\(^{127}\) < rājan.
\(^{128}\) Referring to the Messianic era.
\(^{129}\) Possibly referring to the three fathers – Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and to the four mothers – Sarah, Rebecca, Lea and Rachel.
\(^{130}\) < H המקדש, 'temple'.

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438
6. Big Rooster Song - Kōcci

II48

1.

tambirān mōyimb ḍya tān tūnay āyiṭṭu nikkavēnaṁ/a/
   tān akan[^31] ōlla gōlattina mīṭēnaṁ tambirānē/b/
   pakēra ōlla gōlattinrē kaiyyil vāḷaṅṅēlae[^32]/c/
   ōḷak’ ēḷḷām niṟaṅṅu vāṭunnavan ŋaṅṅala mīṭēnaṁ/d/
   erramma ōlla pēḷal cēyata atiyāra ŋaṅṅaḷ/e/
   priyattil ŋaṅṅala srīṭicc[^33] anakkēnaṁ tambirānē/f/

God! Be the foremost help.
   God, redeem Your own [exalted] nation!
Do not surrender [us] to the hands of enemies.
   Oh Blessed One filling the whole world! Redeem us!
We are Your slaves who have committed the worst sin.
   Bring us into Your love, God!

2.

matt’ ēṟṟam ōḷḷavan māṇaṁ vēḷaṅṅum pēriya ŋāyēn/a/
   urṟ’ ēṟṟamm āyi ninnu tōrā vāḷaṅṅiya mōśa rabbē/b/
   nitakamppō[^34] āya tōrā vāḷaṅṅiya isrāyēl makka/c/
   anugārrattōt[^35] kaikōntān isrāyēl makkal ēḷḷām/d/
   māṣya varattēnaṁ gōlattina kūṭṭēnaṁ tambirānē/e/
   ŋāen ōkarn[^36] ōri nāḷumma makkalā kūṭṭāvēnaṁ/f/

[^31]: ōkkanna ō uyaṛnna. See Appendix B, f.n. 190.
[^32]: Note imperative marker –ē; See 6.3.2, 12 above.
[^33]: ōrī srīṭiccu.
[^34]: Read: nīyāpōrul.
[^35]: ōrī nāḷumma makkalā kūṭṭāvēnaṁ.
[^36]: ōrī uyaṛnna.
Highest above all others! Mighty Lord brightening the sky!

Lovingly, Moses our Rabbi received the Torah.

The children of Israel received the Torah with the eternal essence.

All the children of Israel received it with decorations.

Bring the Messiah and join the nation, God!

Join the children with the four mothers exalted by the Lord!

3.
śēbēṭta\(^{137}\) pantra\(n\)t\(u\)t\(i\) ḥ\(ū\)r\(m\)i\(c\)c\(a\) ē\(k\)ā\(v\)ē\(n\)a\(m\)/a/

cē\(r\)c\(c\)a\(a\) vā\(l\)jō\(t\)ē yē\(r\)ū\(s\)āl\(ā\)y\(i\)y ē\(c\)ē\(n\)nā pōkā\(v\)ē\(n\)a\(m\)/b/

ahl\(a\) m\(m\)a\(g\)ō\(n\)u\(^{138}\) ē\(t\)a\(k\)kā\(n\) tu\(n\)a\(k\)kā\(v\)ē\(n\)a\(m\) tambi\(r\)ā\(n\)ē/c/

arimē\(y\)i\(l\) ninnu aru\(l\)a\(p\)ā\(t\)u kē\(k\)kān tu\(n\)a\(k\)kā\(v\)ē\(n\)a\(m\)/d/

ōcc\(a\)\(y\)i\(l\) ē\(m\)ē\(n\)a sō\(p\)hār\(^{139}\) vil\(i\)k\(a\)lā kē\(k\)kā\(v\)ē\(n\)a\(m\)/e/

ō\(c\)c\(c\)a kē\(t\)tū ō\(k\)kē u\(n\)a\(r\)n\(n\)u kē\(k\)kā\(v\)ē\(n\)a\(m\) tambi\(r\)ā\(n\)ē/\(f\)²/\(\)

Unite and grace the twelve tribes!

We should go to Jerusalem in the proper manner!

God! Help us build the ruined Abode!

Help us lovingly obey Your Speech!

We wish to hear the loud sounds of the dear horn!

Hearing the sound, all shall rise and listen, God!

4.
kē\(n\)nā\(n\)rē rā\(j\)y\(a\)t\(t\)ta ir\(a\)s\(ē\)l m\(a\)k\(k\)a\(l\)a ku\(t\)tā\(v\)ē\(n\)a\(m\)/a/

ā rā\(j\)y\(a\)t\(t\)ta ka\(n\)i\(k\)a\(l\) ē\(n\)nā\(^{140}\) uṭtā\(v\)ē\(n\)a\(m\)/b/

vasi\(^{141}\) ā\(r\)i\(n\)nā\(a\) t\(a\)t\(i\)r\(a\)\(^{142}\) ū\(n\)n\(n\)a\(l\)a tī\(r\)k\(k\)ē\(n\)a\(m\) tambi\(r\)ā\(n\)ē/c/

ō\(l\)a\(n\)a\(^{143}\) kā\(i\)kō\(n\)tū ā\(r\)ō\(n\) ak\(k\)ō\(ē\)n\(r\)ē\(^{144}\) pī\(n\)n\(y\)a\(t\)t\(t\)a/d/

\(^{137}\)< H שבט, 'tribe'.
\(^{138}\)< H מון, 'the abode' (a synonym for 'temple').
\(^{139}\)< H שופר, 'horn'.
\(^{140}\) = ūnānālēc.
\(^{141}\) < āsā.
\(^{142}\) < atiyār.
\(^{143}\) < H עולה, 'offering'.
\(^{144}\) = אָהָרֹן הכהן, 'Aharon the priest'.
Join the children of Israel in the kingdom of Canaan!

Feed us with the sweetness of that kingdom!

Establish us, Your stubborn slaves, God!

By the merit of Aron the priest who received the offering.

By his pure merit redeem us,

Moses our Rabbi who sat closest to the offering.

Many kinds of temple lamps will blaze.

Seeing this silver, give us help to praise You,

Highest God! Blessed from ever before!

Give us the sweetness of pondering on You above all,

When praying to You, God, [for release] from difficulty.

Send us the [wine] of redemption, God,

When praying to You, oh Mighty One abounding in mercy!

145 < tūmayāt
146 < mutalkkūt
147 < ח. בית המקדש, 'the temple'.
148 < ח. מנורה, 'lamp'.
149 < vēlī.
150 < maruttamū?
151 < dayavū.
7. Big Rooster Song - Pāṟūr

II48a

1.

tamburān moyimbāya tān tuṇayāyitu nikāvē nam/a/
tān āt’ ann’ uḷḷa gulattina mēlēnam tamburānē/b/
pakērāl uḷḷa gullattirē sāiyīyil vaḷunndalayē/c/

ñērikkaññal pēriyōnē unṭu gullattinnū/d1/
tān ōruvan nilayīyi ninnē vāḷunnavan ūaṅṇāḷē mīlēvēnam/a/
ōlēk’ ēllām nēriṅṇu vāḷunnavanē ūaṅṇāḷa mīlēvēnam/b/
erammanā uḷḷa pēlakal cēyta atiyār ēṇnal/c/

priyattīl ūaṅṇāḷa sṛṣṭticū anakkēnam tamburānē/d2/

God must remain as the foremost help.

God! Redeem the nation that is Yours!

Do not surrender it to the hands of foes!

Oh God! The nation is in trouble.

He who rules all alone alone must redeem us!

He who pervades the whole world must redeem us!

We are slaves who committed the worst sins.

Bring us into Your love, God!

2.

māṭṭ’ ēṟṟam ōḷḷoru mānām vilāṇṇuṇna pēriya ūayēn/a/

uṭṭ’ ēṟṟam uḷḷoru tōra vaḷaṇṇiya mōsē ṣabhān/b/
nitakkiya pōrulāyūṭṭu tōra vaḷaṇṇiya 獠srayēkkū/c/

alūṅkāratottē kaikōntān ēsrahēl makkal ēṇna/d1/
mūṣiya varutteṇam gulattina kūṭṭēṇnam tamburānē/a/

ūayēnē tān ōru nāḷumma makkala kūṭṭēvēnam/b//

śebēttu pātrantū kūti ērumippēn ākāvēnam/c/

cercavaliyōṭē yēṟūsūḷāyil kōntupoyī kūṭṭēvēnam/d2/
Mighty Lord brightening the [golden] sky,
   Moses our Teacher, who received the most beloved Torah,
Israel received the Torah with its eternal essence,
   The children of Israel, us, received it with decorations.
Bring the Messiah, collect the nation, God!
   Oh, Lord! Join the children of the four mothers!
Join the twelve tribes so they could be together!
   Take [them] to Jerusalem in the proper manner!

3.
   aliña mihudâšù ētukkâñ tuŋakkênaṁ tamburänë/a/
   arimêyilinnù arulappâṭiū ņânnâlkki kēkkâvēnam/b/
ōcca kēṭṭu ōkkê ūnarunu kēkkâvēnam tambiränë/c/
ōccayil ōmēna sōphâr vilikala kēkkâvēnam/d¹/
miniyamma¹⁵² tangē śēhina¹⁵³ avîtē ēlunnuluvēnam/a/
   mihūdâši¹⁵⁴ atima ërumiccû cēyvān tuṇa tarâvēnam/b/
pēșakâṭe itinû tuŋakkênaṁ ņâyēnē tān ūruvan/c²/

Help [us] build the ruined temple, God!
   We wish to hear Your speech in fondness.
Hearing the sound all shall rise and listen, God!
   We wish to hear the loud sounds of the precious horn!
Your Divine Presence must come there [in the quorum].
   Give us help to worship You together in the Temple!
Help to [do] it faultlessly, oh Lord! You are the Only One!

4.
   muṭiyāya ņâyēnē munnamē ninnû vālunnavanë/a/
   mulppēṭṭû tanna nēnappāṅ kalivā tā tamburānë/b/
varuttattilinnû valiyatôṭē uṭayavanôṭū ērakkùm ņānnâlc/c/
   ņânnâluṭe dosam purattû nanmayîl kūṭṭâvēnam/d¹/

¹⁵² < H ימי, 'quorum'.
¹⁵³ < H שכינה, 'divine presence'.
¹⁵⁴ < H מקדש, 'temple'. 


Oh topmost Lord! Blessed one from ever before!

Give [us] the power to think of You above all, God!

We beg with the Mighty, with the Lord, out of misery.

Forgive our faults and join us in goodness.

Join in goodness the nation called Jewish.

In many beautiful blessings,

Blessings in the heart, all the lamps are a blessing for forming [the big creation]!

May you live for more than hundred years most auspiciously158

5.

dējāvū pērutta pēriyōnē tannōtū ērakkūm ʾnaʾnāl/a/

miṣeṭē manōna159 tā160 ʾnānnālkū viṭukeṇam tamburānē/h/

kēnānī rājyatōl ʾṣrāhel makkāla kūṭṭāvēṇam/c/

ā rājyatē kanikal ʾnaʾnālē ʿūṭṭāvēṇam/d/

pasyāticcul161 atiyāra ʾḏāhāṅnal tirkkēṇam tamburānē/a/

ōlāna kaiḳōntā ārōn akkōyēṇrē puṇṇiyattāl/b/

avarūṭē puṇṇiyam tumbatta ʾnaʾnāla miḷāvēṇam/c2/

All-Mighty abundant in mercy! We pray to You!

155 < šramikk-. A tamsir word, see HaCohen, 1877: 37: ʿāra ni sōrumice annum ʾomi ṣeṭeq, "And who made you…"

156 = pēriya patayyī?

157 Compare this line with II6, "Golden Body": ʾnaʾiymēyi ʾerṭavum vānirśīpān/ nūṭṭāntuka errmāyī vānirśīpān/

158 Possibly addressing the bride.

159 < H ʿa, ‘Manna’ (see Exodus, 16: 31) + ūnū, ‘food’.

160 < tān.

161 < vāṣī + aliccu.
Send us the [man] of redemption, God!
Join the children of Israel together in the kingdom of Canaan!
Feed us with the sweet fruits of that kingdom!
End the sufferings of the stubborn slaves!
By the merit of Aaron the Priest, [they] received the offering,
By their merit, redeem us finally!

Help us build the splendid temple!
May all the pure duties be perfectly accomplished!
In the temple lamps of many kinds will blaze.
Seeing this silver, help [us] praise You!
Moses our teacher who steers the tent of meeting,
The Lord who drives away the sins for those who praise him -
Singing His praises in beauty, bow down to the Lord!

\[162 = \text{suddhamäya pani}ka].
\[163 < \text{יהוה氖יע}, 'tent of meeting'.\]
1. 

When singing praises to the fullest,
When hastily going to the temple,
There was once no oil found for kindling
In the seven golden lamps that customarily burn.
Having fallen infront of the good Lord:
"[Let us] have oil sufficient for four days,

2.

Whereupon, the sole God shall be revealed."

A very small oil vessel,
Was sealed with the signet ring of the high Priest.
They immediately lifted it up and poured.

164 For the Hebrew source of this story see: ב"ע כא שבת בבלי תלמוד.
165 < pukalca.
166 < mudrika.
"There's [oil] for burning only thirty ḥišqah. It burned for eight days in [solitude].

3.

kisalevu  irivatta’aču titiccaṭṭu/a

tebetu  mūn’olam anukkayum/b/
anunkāram/c āya anuk’ annū viliccūte/e/
anunkāratṭōte kōlvēyum venamē/d/
atil ērtu nālum atakkavēnammē/f/

Beginning on Kislev the twentieth,
Up till Tevet the third is Hanukkah.
Because of the decorations it is called Hanukkah.
Receive it with decorations.
All Mighty! May the blessing of the first Law
Get nearer everyday!

4.

šobhayil nall’ oru šopār  uteṇaṃ/a/
cēlyāvu annābi  nānālē mitēnaṃ/b/
ēnnakkum tanrē gōlattina mīlanaṃ/c/
miticca  puruṣanum mikāelum kūṭa/d/
miṇci ēru ētinē mitayum venam/e/
miticca puruṣanum mikāelum kūṭa/f/
miṇci ēru isrāelina mitayum venam/g/

167 That is twelve hours, or ים אחד as narrated in the sources.
168 < H סכל.
169 < H נכת.
170 < H חנוכו.
171 < alankāram.
172 Note the pun anunkāram = decoration, annukka = Hanukkah.
173 < H שופר, 'horn'.
174 < mīca.
Blow the good horn in splendor!
Elijah the Prophet must redeem us!
Redeem Your nation forever!
The redemption man and Michael joined
Must redeem the goat that survived!
The redemption man and Michael joined
Must redeem Israel that survived!
Like redeeming us from Egypt, redeem us now!
[God] engraved a picture, set up a pillar of fire,
Tightened a sword and sunk [the foes] in sword – our Lord.
Oh Lord! Bring definite redemption in our times!

When they were going together, they saw king Pharaoh,
They raised their eyes and looked, and saw the mighty Pharaoh.
Since they got frightened, they cried to Moses,
God with Moses ahead delivered
The whole nation with no saddened people.
And the other nation – God pushed them all to the abyss.
Oh Lord! Bring definite redemption in our times!

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176 < ācāram.
177 < citram.
178 S13: song ends.
179 Read: karuttan.
180 Perhaps alluding to the tables of the covenant.
10. One Lord

II33

1.

ōnāya nāyanē oṣma\(^{181}\) utayavēnē/a/ oṣmayil ākkī tān nāyan āṭavōtē/b/
tumēyla\(^{182}\) nāyan arulāppāṭī uṇṭāyi/c/ tutāyiṭṭulō sīvarkkāṇāl\(^{183}\) tānākkō/d/√
māṇivam\(^{184}\) āya kulīti kalippiccu/a/ maṟavā kūṭātē nāṭakkayum venammē/b/
vēṟappu varṭallē sōlōm\(^{185}\) ppēriyōnē/c/ vēṭṭikke\(^{186}\) āyiṭṭu arul cēṭa kāryam//d/√

Single Lord! Master of faith! The Just One orderly created in faith.
In purity, the Lord spoke to the [praising] celestials.
[He] had ordained this dignified bath. [You] should conduct it without forgetting.
Don’t bring about hatred, Lord of peace! The deed was ordained for the woman.\(^{187}\)

2.

irulāy ēttattinn’ alppamāy kānūmbol/a/ imbam āyulla puruṣan anayumbol/b/
ēkkam ēyoru kālam anayumbol/c/ ērē pērikē aṭakkallē ā nālil//d/√
tumēyil nannāy vēṭma ariyumbol/a/ tutāy\(^{188}\) pārkēnām nālukal ēḷolam/b/
ayyarcca\(^{189}\) varuttallē sōlō pēriyōnē/c/ ayimboṭē tanṛē tirivēḷḷam cēyumbol//d/√

When [you] hardly see in a dark place, when the handsome man approaches,
When the proper time approaches - do not come too close that day.
When love is nicely known in purity, stay with [praises] for seven days.
Don’t bring about [suffering], Lord of peace! When [she] lovingly obeys Your will.

3.

tanniyē irikkēnām verttiriṅṅaṭṭam/a/ tālcaiyil pārkēnām maṛiṅṅ’ or’ uruppinū/b/
tanṛē puruṣan anayāṭē irikkumbol/c/ tanniyē kuliyāṭū pīḷukallē ā nālil//d/√

\(^{181}\) An obscure lexeme, perhaps derived from veḷma. See 6.3.1.
\(^{182}\) < tāma.
\(^{183}\) < stutiṭṭyāṭṭulō svarggaṅṭal.
\(^{184}\) < mānībhām.
\(^{185}\) < H ḫsātra.
\(^{186}\) < pēnti.
\(^{187}\) The deed is the monthly purification bath after the menstrual period.
\(^{188}\) < stutiṭṭyaḥ.
\(^{189}\) < alakcaḥ.
Go separately and be alone. Stay below, [your] body turned away. When your man does not approach [you], do not skip the bath in that time. You must bath during daytime. Decently, wait [there] for a while until the night. Plunge all your limbs together. It should be in a spring.

4. muppattum pattum alavat’ ōntākēnām/ mulppēṭṭa barikālkku ēppolam yogyam/b/ ācāram āyoru kāryam cēyyumbol/c/ amboṭē nikka taṭavillā ttānattū//d/ arimēyāl uḷa kuli atu ccēymbol/a/ āṭēyum pōnnnum ālakūtāyi nikkumbol/b/ tēlivāyā ūṇeyrē tirivēllum cēyyumbol/c/ tēlivoṭē errām sutyūm kanivumē//d//

It must be of thirty and ten size. It is designed for the foremost wives. When you observe that custom, remain happily with no hindrance in that place. When you take this precious bath, when silk and gold are so beautiful, When you follow the will of the bright God, praise and sweetness are the brightest.

5. cōva purīṣanum śophār śēdhavum/c/ cōvēyil kāṭṭēnām nalla maśiyāna/b/ ōkkē orumiccu kūṭṭum mikadāsīl/c/ tēlivāya ūṇyēn irun’ arūlum’ ētām//d/ arul cēyta kāryam ākam ākkāvenām/a/ ayimburṛa ūṇyēn ūkannā gōḷattinū/b/ ōnniccu kūṭṭēnām omēṇa makkalā/ ūḷumēyil tannel stuttippān tuṇakkēnām//d//

The beautiful man and the sound of horn must reveal in splendor the good Messiah. All will gather in the Temple, where the bright God has stayed and graced [us]. Firmly perform the deed ordained for the people, whom the beloved God raised. The dear children should get together. Help us in praising [Him] faithfully.

190 < paricū.
191 Perhaps prescribing women to sleep on a mat on the floor during menstruation.
192 The Halakhic measure of water ordained for the purification bath.
193 During the purification bath, the woman should remove every obstacle (cloth, jewelry) between her body and the water.
194 Suggestive of the bridal ceremonious bath.
195 < śobha.
196 < śabdam.
197 < ṭuyarṇa.
198 Refering to the Messiah.
11. Foremost Standing God

II4

1. mōyimbāyi nikkuṇna tambirānē/a/ mōtēl āyīṭṭa ōḷḷa isrāēlīka/b/
vāḷa pēṛatt’ ōrī tambirānē/c/ vastupōr allō ēṇṇal allō//d1//
ūṇum ōṛakkaṇum tannavēnē/a/ ṭōpp’ illa maṛṛa tirīṣaṇṭaka/b//
vāḷava pēṛatt’ ōrī ōsārattī/200/c/ ēṇna pōkalcēyil vāsatvēṇaṁ//d2//

God existing before the foremost Israel!
God who is abundant with blessings – aren’t we blessed?
You who grant food and sleep incomparable with all other sights!
In height increasing blessings, bless [us] with the best praises.

2. kōrav’ ētuṇ illāṭta tambirānē/a/ kōrava perattē aṭiyāra ēṇṇa/201/b/
ōṛppāyiṭṭ’ ōḷḷe ṭōpākārattī/c/ ōḷaki paticca pēṛāṇikaka//d1//
avarkka kōṭatt’ ōḷḷa yāppīyaṇna/202/a/ kōrava kūṭāta tā vasattvēṇaṁ/b/
ēṛaṇaṇna pēṛatt’ ōrī tambirānē/c/ ēṛṛa pōkalcēyil vāsatvēṇaṁ//d2//

God who has no deficiency! We are slaves filled with defects.
The beings for whom [You] created the world in favor with strength -
Bless with no deficiency the [prayers] [You] gave them.

3. kōr kūṭāṭē ōru rājyattil/a/ kōrav’ ētuṇ illaṇna kūṭāṭvēṇaṁ/b/
ataṭṭī/203 oḷḷē ṭisāṛēlakka/c/ āśēyi māśiyā kāṭṭēvēṇaṁ//d1//
ōṛima vilicē’ ōrī tambirānē/a/ ōrīmicciṭṭa ōḷḷa atayārē ēṇnal/b/
nalla tanattil tēṇuppālum/c/ ēṛṛam pōkalcayil vāstvēnaṁ//d2//

199 Compare with II61: 2d1.
200 < uyaram.
201 = ūṇṇal.
202 < jēyam?
203 < alattil?
Gather us immaculately in the flawless kingdom.
Show the Messiah eagerly for the sunken Israel.
Oh God who is called Unity! We are the slaves, who once united
In the good place of milk and honey, should bless [Him] in the best praise.

4.

ëlaka paťace' āri tambirānē/a/ ŏpakāratti nayima204 kūttāvēnam/b/
ataka pēratta racciym kāmān/c/ āsē pēratta atiyar ēnāa//d'///
šuddhati pēratt' āri tambirānē/a/ santūsicca ņanālē vāstavēnam/b/
naluma205 varuttiya tambirānē/c/ ērram pōkačayil vāstavēnam//d'//

Creator of the world, God! Gracefully join [us] with goodness.
We are the slaves eager to see the kingdom abundant in beauty.
God increased in holieness – delighted [You] should bless us.
God who brings goodness! We should bless [You] with the highest praise.

5.
dēśa206 pētvēnam tambirānē/a/ nayima varattēnam pēriyavanē/b/
imiticcamma207 ŏlla mikadōsil/c/ mikadōs' atētt' aňnum ņarsattvēnam//d'//
mariņṇu nīnu vaļakkakalil/a/ muyimbāya vēliccattil kūttāvēnam/b/
vēłamēyil ŏlla yērušālāyi/c/ ērra pēta kālcayil vāstavēnam//d'//

Be merciful, God! Bring goodness, Mighty One!
In the divine temple of redemption, raise [us] closer to the temple!
Turning away from quarrels unite [us] with the foremost light!
Bless [us] with the best sight, the faithful Jerusalem!

6.

śulān208 kōrāvū kūṭātēyum bāla pērattay irikkavēnam/b/
tōppammāra vāstiya vāluva pōlē/c/ avarum avarute vastu ēllām//d'//

204 < nanma.
205 < nanma.
206 < daya.
207 < mitecammel.
208 < הწלאכ.
With [your] table never lacking, remain abundant in blessings.
Like the blessings [He] blessed the patriarchs, with all their blessings
Us and all your assembly should bless with no deficiency.
Foremost God! With the best praise [You should bless [us].
12. Praised in Growth

Blessed One praised in growth – fill us with blessings.
Open thy gates of divine will. Open for thy choicest nation!
You who gave the Torah and the commandments – pardon our faults and sins!
Build the temple! Gather the redeemed nation!
We are children filled with crimes. After all, we were forsaken in different places.
Send us David the Messiah! Join the children whom you forsook!
The priests and Levites and Israel – converts and denizens, citizens and children,
Women and the elderly – all as one must praise You.
After forty days were over,
[You] gave us the blows of the trumpet Shofar
For seeing the arrival of Michael. All must praise [You] as one.

210 B9: māṣiya davidina vitakāvēnam/ vilca āva gulattina kūṭṭāvēnam/
211 < marappu, in the sense of 'crime, sin'. See HaCohen, 1877: 3, 4, 9, 24, 31.
213 B9: nārvalū.
214 Read: kāhalavum. Compare with II42: 1d².
13. By God's Speech

1.
ōteyvan arulālē ōntāya tōra/ ōtumēl6 uḷla vāsēnam217 īt’ ōnnūm vāsēnam unṭāyi/ mōśē rāhēnu kkanunna tōrāyum/ mutalāyā gulattinū kaṇṭukanṭū stutippān//d1// ālābam218 āy ērī sēpper219 ttōrā/a/ āśa ppētt’ elliārum kumbitāvēnam//b// ā őrimicc’ elliārum220 ōteyum vēnam/c/ ākē pērikē avarkk’ ēnār221 avē//d2//

The Torah which became by God’s speech, this [graceful] speech, born in speech,
The Torah which Moses our teacher found for the foremost nation to see and praise.
All must eagerly bow down before the [rare] Torah scroll.
All together must recite [it]. [Greatness shall be theirs, they say.] Behold!

2.
sināyimalēmēnnu223 tann’ ēru tōrā/a/ vaiρa224 palakamēl kitiyya tōrā/b/ ērōrē tāmasakkārkku ēllāvarkkm kiṭṭi/pukalīna guḷaṁ atu atu kayerṛṛum koṇṭū/ āśa ppēttēilihan225 tōrāyum vānnī/a/ appa manasil ərū anaṅkāram226 tonni/b/ mōttalāyi tōnnī mōśēṭē tōrā/c/ mutiṭīyēṭ ūṇyēnē munnamē ṣllavanē//d3//

The Torah given on mountain Sinai, the Torah received on a diamond plate,

215 According to J2, the song is for celebrating the dedication of a new Torah Scroll. See also Johnson, 2005: 216.
216 < ōtumēyāl.
217 < vacanam.
218 < alābhamē.
219 < 14 रग्न.
220 B9 reads: ūn əṭiccu, J2 reads: ə kōtīcc’ elliārum.
221 < ēnnārē.
222 Textualization is uncertain and the meaning is unclear. S14 reads: ākka bēriyēvarkk’ annar uvvē.
223 < 14 शिन + malamelninnu.
224 < vairam.
225 B9: āṛttu kaliccavar.
226 < anakāram.
Each one present received it. The praised nation with each hand reaching out, All eagerly received the Torah. Then they became proud.
The Torah of Moses appeared as a treasure. Oh topmost, foremost Lord!

3.

The beloved precious synagogue – entering it remembering the times,
The precious Torah scroll was moving with decorations,
We were given all the fifty-four [sections] in the ark of four even feet,
Raised the Torah and nicely decorated it, opened it up and walked around.
[We] laid the ark in a beautiful place, raised the Torah and walked around.
Blessed, blessed, the God who rules as the highest be blessed in the synagogue!

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227 < חכמ.
228 Read: atiparatti.
229 Possibly referring to the reading sections (פרישיות) of the Torah.
14. Happiness to the Bridegroom

II10

1.

$santotani^{230}$ pērut' āyirikkum maḷavāḷa$^{231}$/a/ nīt$^{232}$ āya gōlattinē naṭuvil ākumē/b/ batuva vērut' āyirikka tōnakkanāṁ/c/ ὑλακα paṭicc' ōri ḋāyēṅē Ṙāyimālē/d/

Oh, Bridegroom abundant in joy! You shall be in the midst of the treasure nation.
Help to increase the blessing in front of the Lord Creator of the world.

2.

śaddhāyī$^{233}$ sātakan tāṅrē upakāram/a/ ēravuka$^{234}$ ellāṛī nēnnekka tōnakkenāṁ/b/ kāvēlum māṛūti nēnakk' āyirikkēnāṁ/c/ caṭiyālē ōḷḷ' ōri mūlam anēṭē/d/

God śadday – His favor shall help you in all [nights].
[His] protection shall be yours. You shall stay away from the cause of cheating.

3.

$mballappatōṭe īrikkā ni ēppolūm/a/ cēluvaliyē naṭuppān tōnakkenāṁ/b/ kōravu kūṭāte āsaram it' ōnnu mūlam/c/ mōtal āyirippān tōnakkenāṁ/d/

Always be great! Help [him] to conduct the right way.
Because this is a faultless religious practice, help [him] to excel.

4.

$karattu mēkēcca vaḷakkakaḷ ēllāṛil/a/ saḷom pērut' āyirippān tōnakkenāṁ/b/ kuravu kūṭāte neraṇṇal ēllāṛil/c/ kaṇṭu nēravoṭē irippān tōnakkenāṁ/d//

sātakan tanikk' uḷḷa mūticceyil ākkēnāṁ/a$/^{235}$

In all [fierce quarrels], help [him] to remain peaceful.
In all times, help [him] to remain with immaculate fullness.
Lord! Redeem him in Your own redemption.

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$^{230} <$ santoṣam.
$^{231} <$ maṇavālan.
$^{232} <$ niḍhi. See Appendix B, f.n. 189.
$^{233} <$ II Ṛṣu.
$^{234} <$ ēravuka.
$^{235} <$ For the last verse of this song, see Appendix B, III55: 1.
1.\textsuperscript{236} ōlaṅkēḷāṁ muṭi āyī vātu pēriyōnē/a/ ōkkē aṟiṅṅa nēṟaṅṅa vātunnoṅṅe/b/
kōppōṭē kāṭṭuvāṅ kāḷam varuvēnām/c/ ōrunicca tannē nēnēnte\textsuperscript{237} atiyārkkī/d//
kāḷam pēriya kāṭṭannōr ōṭṭāvāṅnē/a/ kāṭalā oḷḷa ōṟu māśiyā vēṅṭakī\textsuperscript{238}/b/
vēṭānāṁ varuttallē oṅma makkaṅkā/c/ vēṅṭiṭṭum tannē nēnappāṅ ni ekānāṁ/d//

Topmost blessed All Mighty! All-Knower! All-Pervader! Blessed One!
May the time come for complete revelation
To the slaves who contemplate You together!
Oh Lord beyond time!
If the beloved Messiah is wished for, do not bring suffering!
For the sake of [Your] dear children, allow [us] to contemplate You!

2.

iṭṭamā oḷḷa mikāḍōsā ēṭākkānāṁ/a/ imbamā vāvā irīkkēnām/b/
ēppōḷum ēṅnaratātā\textsuperscript{239} parppīna kaṭṭēnām/c/ ekēḷa kēkkēnām sōba vaśanattā/d//
cōṭṭayam\textsuperscript{240} āyōrū nōbī ēliyōyun/a/ cōvwillā lōkara caratamāyī kāṭṭēnām/b/
cāṅkacca tanna nēnantē atiyārkkī/c\textsuperscript{2}/

Build the beloved temple! Lovingly the Father must stay [there]!
Fulfill [our] infinite hope forever!
Obey the divine word of auspicious speech!
Faithfully show Elijah the pure prophet to the lusterless people!
The slaves who contemplate You are fearful.

\textsuperscript{236} In S13, the first verse is the song 'Gold Clayed Body' (II6). For the song, see Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 107—108 (M).
\textsuperscript{237} = ninaccu.
\textsuperscript{238} = ventukkil.
\textsuperscript{239} = ēṅnarutātē.
\textsuperscript{240} = soddiyam.
3.

samaśiyam\(^{241}\) kuṭāṭē tākkam ākkavēnaṁ/ tanappammār muvvarē\(^{242}\) pinniyamūlattā mānuva pēţ' ōru nōbi mōšēnēyum/c/ atarattōtē\(^{243}\) niṅnakka kāṭṭēnaṁ//d\(^{1}\)// irupatta nāla mōlatta\(^{244}\) vayiratta/a/ ēlōtē pūtţum tōgavi atavōtē/b/

\( ēkavī\(^{245}\) āya mikādōśī ōmana vāvēyum/ kōppōtē mōtakkavum\(^{246}\) sō̄pār kālāvum/d\(^{2}\)//

Be firm with no doubts. By the meritorious privilege of the three fathers, [He] must lovingly reveal to you the venerable Moses the prophet.

A diamond on top the twenty-four\(^{247}\) – joyfully unlock it in orderly manner.

The precious Father in the beloved temple, the sounds of joy and the trumpet Shofar,

4.

mbērō nālum ōrumpccā kuṭţumba/a/ imbam ēvōlla ōru pāṭta vēḷaṁṅēnaṁ/b/

atavōtē nutukkāram ākkam ākkavēnaṁ/ ayimbōtē kanikalum kēṭta arulavēnaṁ/d\(^{1}\)/

ākāśam tanakkēnaṁ bumi kularkkēnaṁ/a/ arima naraṅṅavanṛē manasum

\( tanakkēnaṁ/b/\)

sōbā palat' ōlla vanna kkilīyē ni/c/ cōtica pala dikki tēṭi ēṭāttāvanē//d\(^{2}\)//

And the other four\(^{248}\) – when they come together,

The song of devotion must shine forth.

Strengthen the prayer in an orderly manner.

Hearing the lovely sweetness, [God] must answer.

The sky should cool down. The earth must chill out.

The mind of the One full of fondness must cool down.\(^{249}\)

Oh, immensely beautiful parrot! You asked and searched all over!

\(^{241}\) < samśāyam.

\(^{242}\) = mūvaraṭē. This peculiar genetive morpheme can also be heard in spoken Jewish Malayalam, as in ēyalē makana, ’his son’ (os).

\(^{243}\) < āḍaram.

\(^{244}\) = mukalīl.

\(^{245}\) < H יִבְנָא. See Zacharia and Gamlil, 2005: 205 (M).

\(^{246}\) < mukakkam

\(^{247}\) The twenty-four books in the Bible.

\(^{248}\) Perhaps alluding to the four heralds of the Messianic era: the Messiah, Elijah the prophet and the angels Gabriel and Michael. The motif recurs in many songs, see for example, III87: 4.

\(^{249}\) Cool down in the sense of refreshed or pleased.
5.

ayimbâlê öll’ öru bâvâtê munnîla/a/ âšêyîl öllê kanivum ttaravênam/b/ sankaṭam ullil përîkê inikk’ ônta/c/ santosam âyöllê makkala kâmānâ250//d'/// tâsî përîkê inikk’ ônt ulil/a/ tapa kutâtê ni nutukkâram cêyyênam/b/ kôrava varuttukêlla nênnakka nân/c/ kôṭpuram251 âya pêrîma vataññavân//d'//

In front of the loving Father, give us inner sweetness!
I have deep sadness in my heart.
For seeing the children happy
I am deeply happy.
You252 must pray unerringly.
I shall not withhold anything
So that you will receive [immense] grandeur.

6.

ayimbôtê nêrañña münu pitakätê/a/ âšêyi cênya pöyi kumbîṭṭu vitênam/b/
tâsî utëyônê tanîva nêraññavanê/c/ tâsî varattavân kâlam përakênam//d'// pêšak’ êtum illâtê përum valiyônê/a/ pêrappukał âyê vêlivina kättênam/b/
kôrav’ êtum illâta pataviyîyi kânumba/c/ köppôtê ninna sutikkûm atiyâra//d'//

Do not miss the three times of devotion. Eagerly come and bow down.
Oh, Lord of joy! Oh, reservoir of coolness! The time for bringing joy must increase.
Oh, Mighty One with no defects! Reveal the light to living beings!253
When the path is found with no deficiency, the slaves pompously praise You.

7.

mayavum mayakkavum illâtavan ni/a/ mariva kutâtê vêlivinê kättênam/b/
vêtamêyi cêna vêlivôtê nikkumbâ/a/ vêsama ôll’ öru bâvâtê munnîla//d'// òtamêē ôll’ öru aralappâṭ’ ôntâyî/a/ òtumêyi ninnaṭṭa tanna sutikkênam/b/
ôlîvâya näyanu ômana makkału/a/ ôkkê örûmicca kuṭu mikadôsil//d'//

250 Read: kâmnâ.
251 < kôṭpuram
252 ni, II per. sg., possibly addressing the parrot.
253 < pirâppu, ‘birth, life’ + pl.
You have no weakness or fatigue. Show [us] unhindered luster. When [we] faithfully come and shine forth before the [lustrous] Father, With the faithful divine utterance [we] must faithfully stand and praise Him. The lustrous Lord and the precious children shall all join in the Temple.

8.

\[ \text{kūṭṭaññāḷ ēḷḷāṁ vēḷānūṇna nēṛṛattā/a/ kōṟav' ēṭum illātē bāvāṭē munnila/b/} \]
\[ \text{muyimbaṭṭu ōḷē maraṭṭaññāḷa\textsuperscript{254} viṭṭēnām/ mulaññāḷ ēḷḷāṁ tirikkum avar appa/d/} \]
\[ \text{mūlamāya ūāēn ōķvī āyī kāṇumba/a/ iccēyī ninnā sutikkum āṭīyāra/b/} \]
\[ \text{iṭṭam\textsuperscript{255} āya ūāyan ōķvī āyī kāṇumba/c/ iccēyī ninnā sutikkum āṭīyāra}//d//\]

When all the flocks shine forth in front of the perfect Father, [You] must forsake the [former hardships]. When they realize all the causes, When the root-cause Lord is [lovingly] seen, the slaves eagerly praise. When the beloved Lord is [lovingly] seen, the slaves eagerly praise.

9.

\[ \text{taticēyī cēnn’ āṇēyunna nēṛṛattā/a/ takkāram\textsuperscript{256} āy ōru pāṭṭum bēḷaṅṅēnaṁ/b/} \]
\[ \text{siṅṅiyēnna vēḷivum ātu pōḷē/c/ cippamē nallē vēḷī ppēṭavēnāmē}//d//\]
\[ \text{ōḷiv’ āya ūāyan vēḷippēṭun nēṛṛattā/a/ ōmēṅēōṭē irikkum āvar appa/b/} \]
\[ \text{kōṟav’ ēṭum illātē vāvāṭē munnila/c/ kōppōṭē ninna sutikkum āṭīyāra}//d//\]

When humbly approaching, the devotion song must glitter. Like the light from Sinai, it must be nicely illuminated. When the lustrous Lord shines, when He is endearing, In front of the faultless Father, the slaves joyfully praise.

10.

\[ \text{āṛṛta kāḷicca suticcu nāṭanntē/a/ ākāśa bāvā ōkanna mikadōśa/b/} \]
\[ \text{mikadōśa vēṃsāyī kāṭṭumba/c/ minavama\textsuperscript{257} ōḷl’ ōru bāvā irippāṇā}//d//\]
\[ \text{ākāśa bāvāyum ayiburṛē makkaḷum/a/ āka ōruminca kūṭṭu mikadōśi/b/} \]
\[ \text{kanta nēṛavōt’ irippāṇa ēkēnams/c/ kēbēlām ōllavan tān ann’ āṛiyēnām}//d//\]

They went on cheering, playing and praising. The Father of heaven raised the temple. When [they] [beautifully] construct the temple for the [shining] God to stay there, The Father of heaven and the beloved children – all join in the temple. You must ordain to stay with fullness, you must know that He is one and only.

\textsuperscript{254} <murattuka>\
\textsuperscript{255} <iṭtam>.\
\textsuperscript{256} <salkkāram.>\
\textsuperscript{257} <minukkamē ‘shining’>.
16. Singing Hallel

IV128

If they sing hallel, the Jews are like kings.
I am incapable of describing them; they are greatest in any greatness.
They perform mighty [deeds], tearing open their hearts, stamping it on the road.
The kings and all the eighteen thousand people tremble.

2.

If eight are needed, five should be firm. [It] should proceed unhindered.
Everyone goes like a dumb ox if they do not know [battle].
A palace supremely high is attained at the highest level,
If the nobles daily pray thrice a day.

258 < הלה, 'praise', denotes the recitation of Psalms 113—118 during the prayers in certain holidays.
259 < קלאכvaraเʼนกิล.
260 < จัตตาเʼกิล.
261 Or: าริสเนดูตาเʼวาเʼรตัมมเʼ.
262 T1 and T2 read: ฉันนะวาร.
17. The Song Sung by Solomon

1.
śélomò mélēha pāṭiya pāṭu stuti pēṭta pāṭuṁ it` önnum/a/
bhūmi cēlippīṭṭo pāṭuka patti stuti vēṭta pāṭuṁ it` önnum/b/
ādiyil cēlli įrū ādām āriśśōnnuṁ pāvaṁ pōrakkēnaṁ ĭnnum/c/
ādāmā263 oḷḷavan tann` įrī nālīl āтарiccirippān ĭnnum//d//

Solomon sang songs, and this is one, a song of praise.

It is a song of praise, one of ten songs sung on earth.

In the beginning Adam, the first human, recited: "Please forgive my sin!
May the living [God] be honored for the day he gave us."264

2.
ērāṭṭicca pāṭiya mōśēyi rāmbbēnum isrāēl makkānum kutā/a/
yamsūpha265 pōḷannata266 kānt` įrī nēratta ānantmōtēyōnum kutā/b/
tannē įrivēna stuticcavar ēllām ākē ōruminccu kutā/c/
pakēra tamalil ērānńunna nēratta samddiriyām267 namalil kutā//d//

Moses our teacher sang the second together with the children of Israel,
When they saw the splitting of the Nile, with the Lord of the universe,
They all joined as one, praising the One,
"When descending upon foes, [His glory] is upon us."268

3.
mūnnāmata pāṭiya isrāēl makkakka tanňir kūṭṭiya nēram/a/
kēnēr269 kōtatt` įrī ālām ōtčōnnē stutikkuvīn ēppōlum nēram/b/
karttākkal āyavarr270 kujičca kēnēr` ēllām isrāēlka āyōrī nēram/c/

263 A tamsīr word rendering the H phrase יִתְהַ, 'the living'. See HaCohen, 1877: 35, 43, 50.
264 According to the Midrash, Adam composed Psalms, 92, a praise for Saturday. See ברואשית רבה.
265 < H סффו
266 < pilar- (= pilarnnatiu).
267 B9 reads: saundaryyam.
268 See Exodus, 15: 1—19.
269 < kinarū.
The children of Israel sang the third when they got fresh water. Always praise the Lord of the world who gave them the well. When all the wells were dug by the [noble ones] for the Israelites, God turned bitter into sweet – bow down to Him thrice a day.

Moses our teacher sang the fourth song at the time of his death. "Do not cross the Jordan!" was the divine word, for [he] failed conducting holiness. The rod was handed over from Moses our teacher to his disciple. When that disciple came and spoke up, and since Israel did not obey, The fifth song – Joshua sang it in a land called Gibeon.

He stopped the sun and the moon at the thirtieth and sixtieth

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270 = karuttar. Perhaps rendering the H phrase 'באר חפרוה שרים', 'the well which the princes digged'.
271 = manānikaṭ.
272 Compare with Numbers, 21: 18.
274 = qinn, 'the Jordan river'.
275 = cēyyāṭṭa.
276 = disciple (< darānanē). See above 4.6, Illustration 4, b.
277 See Deuteronomy, 32.
278 = הָיוּשֵׁעׁ בֶּן-גּוּבָעָן.
279 = הַגֶּבֶון.
280 See Joshua, 10.
Vanquished the army, captured the land, removed all foes,  
And settled Israel in the holy land.

6.

ärâmata pâṭiya dêbôrayûm bâraḵum282  ālam paṭaccônrē numbîl/a/
sîsrâyûm283 maṟṟum paṭakâl ēlîvērûm maṇṇiyavēṛûṭē numbîl/b/  
oṭî olicca kutira paṭakâlûm cûṭum vēyîṅṛē numbîl/c/  
itapôlē kâṭuṅpakêra ēlîvērûm îsrâyēl makkaṭē numbîl//d//

The sixth was sang by Deborah and Barak in front of the creator of the world,  
In front of Sisrah and other armies as they were drowning,  
In front of the hot sun scorching the army horses as they were running for shelter,284  
Like this, all the bitter foes are in front of the children of Israel.

7.

elâmata pâṭiya annanèbiyûyun285 tirivèllapēr vēṭṭa286 nālil/a/  
omēna āya puruṣēnēyûm vēṭṭa āṅṭa nēṛīṅṅîṅṛē nālil/b/  
muskkārām ōyimbata287 sōphār vilikâlum dēsāpēṭāvēnaṁ nālil/c/  
māśya varattēnaṁ sōphār vilikâlum pērakēnaṁ ēṅṅatē nālil//d//

The seventh was sung by Hannah the prophetess, on the day she gave birth by His will,  
On the day the All-pervading God received the precious man,288  
On the day of prayers and the nine blows of the horn, have mercy on us.  
Bring the Messiah and amplify the cries of horn in our times.

8.

ēṭṭâmata pâṭiya māśya dâvîdā pēḷappû kēṭuttānô appâ/a/  
tannoṭṭu ērunnavar tamburâṅ tannoṭṭu pakêra muṭṭikâṁ yippâ289/b/

281 Compare with Joshua, 10: 13. A nālika is 1/60th part of the day lasting twenty-four minutes.  
The sixtieth nālika in this context means sunrise, and the thritiest nālika denotes midday.  
282 = yîm, yîmor.  
283 = ṣīršē.  
284 See Judges, 4.  
285 = H Sith.  
286 = tirivèllum pēṭṭa.  
287 = ēṁhatû.  
288 See Samuel I, 2.  
289 The particle ippol may render the H  nous (polite imperative). See 6.3.2, 13.
The eighth song - David the Messiah sang it for destroying his sins. Alone he prayed to God, "Please destroy [my] enemies!"
End all my troubles so I can sing and praise!" Send to us now Elijah the prophet and the Messiah son of David!

The ninth was sung by Solomon the king for continuously praising. He gave him the key of knowledge. He knew the speech of all creatures. On a throne endowed with goodness, he faithfully mounted. In the four quarters of God’s creation, he is well famous.

The tenth is the song that the Jewish nation is destined to sing. Five thousand and five hundred and twenty one [years] have passed. Bring the Messiah! Gather the people from the scattered directions! Order and bring the Messiah for hearing the songs!

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290 See Samuel, II, 22.
291 < kēṭṭu + pērumē
292 Or: paṭapp ēḷḷā vajanam ariṇṇu, 'knowing the words of all creatures'.
293 Rendering the Hebrew year 5521, התקכא (1760/1).
294 For the traditions about the ten songs, see מיכילתא דרבי ישמאעלبالשלח א; מיכילתא דרבי שמעון בר יוחאי טו א; מדרש זוטא שיר השירים א; מדרש חום בשלח י; ילקוט שמעוני השלח רמז רמב. See in particular ממראות, שיר השירים, תרגום יונתן.
18. The Slaves were Created

IV37

[You] have created the slaves of slaves for bowing down and worshipping,
   For worshipping always – twilight, dawn and noontime.
Redeemer! Almighty abundant in redemption! Creator of the powerful Word!
   Creator of the powerful word! Blessed by the Seven! Merciful [from antiquity]!
[From antiquity.] The Messiah must come soon with Elijah!
   Elijah the prophet must blow the [first] Horn! You must raise the people!
Increase the ancient people on earth! Almighty, increase the powerful Word!
   Almighty! Rebuild the temple of greatness for [us] to praise and pray.
The illuminated wise people are four for illuminating and knowing wisdom.
   Oh Helper of the four wise men Help [us], Oh, Just One!

295 The song appears only in notebooks from KP and KK. The text above is based on S9, T1 and B7.
296 < kālapākamē
297 Read: ōnnāmēya. S9 reads: ōnnannumma.
298 < uyart-.
299 < tēlivyittullavar.
300 = arivākkamār.
301 Modifying arivākk.
302 Possibly alluding to the three patriarchs and the four matriarchs.
303 Possibly alluding to the four characters heralding the Messianic era: Elijah the prophet, the Messiah and the angels Michael and Gabriel.
19. Synagogue Song

**I18**

1.

\[\text{muṭi āya ṃāenē munnamē ullavanē/a/ mulippīṭṭa tanna nēnnappān kkaniva tā/b/}
\[\text{tasēḷ}^{104} \text{oḷḷōra piṇṇiyamūlattā/c/ tākkamme ninnu tōnakkenaṃ ēṇnakka}^{105} //d//\]

Top most God existing before! Grant me the sweetness for pondering You above all!
By the merit of the joyful people, help us at the right time!

2.

\[\text{bēlamēyil okka ārumiccu kūṭṭēnam/a/ bēlamēyil palli ētappān nī ēkēnam/b/}
\[\text{mētuma}^{106} \text{oḷḷōru bava irippān/c/ ērumaōtē cēnnukkumbītavēnam} //d//\]

Faithfully unite [us] all! Faithfully, grace [us] to build a synagogue!
[We] must come united and bow down, for the faithful father to be present.

3.

\[\text{kkōrvvāyiṭṭōntu janaṇṇal āvatannu/a/ kōṭṭiyāl oḷḷōru kāriyaṃ ccēvivān/b/}
\[\text{naṭṭil araṇān avīta irunnutē/c/ nāl vāyiṭṭa oḷḷōru piṇṇiya ccēvivān} //d//\]

Saying that the people are few there for performing the deed of drumming,
The king of the country sat there for worshipping at four in the afternoon.

4.

\[\text{tanappammār mūvērkkum uyimbāyi nikkēnam/a/tākkammēninna tōnakkenaṃ}
\[\text{ēṇnakka/b/}
\[\text{bētamēyil okkā ārumicca kuṭṭitē/c/ bētamēyil pali ēṭatta sarvvatum ākkītē} //d//\]

The three patriarchs – [we] must stand before them. Help us at the right time!
Faithfully, they all united. Faithfully, they built the synagogue and prepared all.

\[^{104}\text{< tāsiyāl.}\]
\[^{105}\text{= ēnta[n]al[kk]ū.}\]
\[^{106}\text{= bētuma, bēluma and variations. See above 6.3.1, 10.}\]
At an auspicious mansion of gems, the joyful people came to spend time. Others are in the mansion of the canopy for keeping the praiseworthy Torah scroll.

**6.**

Oh, majestic parrot! Receive majesty and glory! The auspicious prophet and the joyful Messiah must joyfully take and bless [you].

**7.**

The [appeased] prophet and the joyful messiah – Joyfully take [them] and join [them], my Lord! Harmoniously take [us] and settle [us] in our land, Take [us] together to good Jerusalem, my God!

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307 < vannuəlippān.
308 < pukaçayāl.
309 = taniy-?
20. Paradeśi Synagogue Song

I18a

4a. 310

ōliv’ āyōru kallum omana sēpha[m]a/ōliv’ ulla tebhāyum311 köttuṇika[lam]/
kanivu varumallo omana kāṇṭālū/c/kāvēlu kāntu kaniv’ āyirunnute//d//

A radiant gem is the dear Scroll. The radiant ark is of carvings.
Won’t there be sweetness when [You] see the precious [synagogue?]
Seeing the protection there was sweetness.

4b.

vēliv’ āyyiṭṭaḷa puruṣan vatuṇnīṭu312/a/ vēlli[v‘ āyōḷa vēlakku kōṣuppānum/b/
vēliv’ āya tāmīṭum313 köttuṇika[λum]/c/vētumayil paṇcavarṇakili varṇṇattili//d//

4c.

A radiant man bowed down for giving a silver lamp.
The radiant ever-burning lamp is of carvings like a graceful five-colored parrot.

cēluvaṭum āṭṭum vēlakkatu ēriyumb[a/a/ ekama ōḷa vāva irippān/b/
omana āya paradeśi palliyum/c/ ōrumayotē cēnna kumbitavena[m]/d//

4d.

When seventy-eight lamps burn for the exalted Father,
[You] must come in unity to the Paradeśi synagogue and bow down.

310 In the Paradeśi notebooks, there are four additional verses between the fourth and fifth verses of I18. For the full KP version, see Zacharia and Gamlitel, 2005: 53—54 (M); 48—50 (H).
311 〈H</n
312 〈va</n
313 〈H</n
21. Tēkkumbāgam Synagogue Song

1.

āti mutēl āya āyām tannil/a/ ayimbōtē tān munnīl kumbiṭuvān/b/
nītīpōrālīrkku\(^{314}\) nirmmāṇēli\(^{315}\) c/ nicyām tangē tīruvēllattū\(/d^{1}//
pōkātu ākāninna pēriyōn tannil/a/ pōkātuvān tēlivu tā tambirānē/b/
omēna pallil nuskkērippān/c/ ullil ōnarvu tā tambirānē\(/d^{2}//

For lovingly bowing down before You, the first and foremost Lord,
For those of the precious essence among the impoverished, in Your eternal Will,
Give us the clarity to praise you, God! The praised All-Mighty!
To pray in the precious synagogue, give us inner wisdom, God!

2.

nalla kariṅkall uruṭti cētti/a/ nalla kariṅkallu pāṭam ēttattū/b/
nalla caralil naṭannu cērnnu/c/ nalla caratā\(^{316}\) pāṭi kaṭannu\(/d^{1}//
vēḷlī vēlakkumbōl kālū kāḷikī/a/ nalmūra palli valattu vēccu/b/
omēna pallil nuskkērippān/c/ ullil ōnarvu tā tambirānē\(/d^{2}//

Nice black pebbles round and chopped,
Cloth spread on the nice black pebbles,
[We] come walking on the nice pebble path,
In good faith, crossing the threshold,
While polishing the silver, [they] wash [their] feet,
To the right side of the synagogue with the four courtyards.
To pray in the precious synagogue, give us inner wisdom, God!

3.

mōṭēra kallu paticcatu pōlē/a/ mōyimbina palli mōkam uṇtākun/b/
cēvvōtē mūṭta tōtāntātā\(^{317}\) pōlē/c/ cēyyanna mēl pallinē maṭavu\(^{318}\)\(/d^{3}//

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\(^{314}\) < nīdhī + pōrul + nominalizer avar?

\(^{315}\) < nirmmāṇiyī?

\(^{316}\) < śraddha.

\(^{317}\) = tutarnmatā.
ākāśattinuma anaṟṇa vēḻumma/a/ appalē ēttānō taṁṅr tāyē/h/
omēna pallil nuskērippān/c/ ullil ōṅaru tu tāmbirānē//d²//

Like a gem studded in a ring, the synagogue has a face in the front.  
Like pearls in succession, the [gallery] hangs over the synagogue,  
When devotion gets close to heavens, let us draw the fresh water.  
To pray in the precious synagogue, give inner wisdom, God!

4.

māṛrita pōnnalē vacatu pōlē/a/ marrum mēkavērum cūta palli/h/
tarayil mēkicca pōnnakari/c/ tanattil319 cēllappiṭṭa320 cūta palli//d³//
narayil mēkice‘ ētam tāyar kāman/a/ nitiya cēllēkē tekkumbākam321/h/  
omēna pallil nuskērippān/c/ ullil ōṅaru tu tāmbirān//d²//

As if made of the purest gold, the synagogue has unique grandeur.  
In a golden city excellent for its ground, the synagogue is beautiful.  
A place excelling in fragrance for the mothers to see  
The Tekkumbhāgam [synagogue] of auspicious beauty.  
To pray in the precious synagogue, give us inner wisdom, God!

318 Read: māṭavum.
319 Read: sṭhanattil, modified by pōnnagari.
320 < cel + pēr>.
321 S10: kēḷakkumbākam.
22. The Jews Praise

IV103\(^{322}\)

For the Jews to praise with happiness immersed in thought,
   The One mighty in blood, Lord of the Word,
   Oh, God venerated in praises!
For reaching early, and singing praises immersed in sweetness,
   You must pray intensely for worshipping
   For the All-Mighty to help intensely.
Justly positioned in the small synagogue,
   For all the wise people to assemble and worship
   The Lord of foundation, Lord of the Word,
Reaching with beauty, inside the small synagogue
   There is beauty, there is grandeur, oh Lord!
   For entering majestically and bowing down.

\(^{322}\) Only in KP notebooks and in S14.

\(^{323}\) The first two infinitives are past forms in S9, cēytu.

\(^{324}\) < *katukata* 'intense; terrible'.

\(^{325}\) < *katuma*, 'intense; bold'.

\(^{326}\) < *nikaramay*. 

\(^{327}\) < *nilayd*. 

\(^{328}\) < *celvamayi akam pukku*. 
Conglomerates

23. Do Not Fear!

II19

1.

Do not fear anything! I have put silver in the vessel.
By the Word of the solely existent, this silver became ours.
Those days Simon was in prison, when searching him and coming, they knew.
Today I took and gave [her] all the twenty,
"Put it for me in her lap," [I] said. This is that same silver. Behold!

2.

Many started walking on their own for praising the praiseworthy land.
They were afraid he might not receive them and reached before Joseph.
They brought all the silver and put before him. They all called him and bowed down.
Without knowing any harsh words, they would not have realized. Behold!

3.

B9 reads: niɪnakk.
< kavāl.
< cēnnāl.
B9 reads: misrīyē nokki.
[It] captured all eyes. The wealth was about to finish.
Thus, I took away the special silver. If one seeks and finds, one knows.
Today I do not own the twenty [silver]. I took it and gave it to [her].
It is in her lap, it is this very silver [coin]. Behold!
Blessed One! Be blessed! May [the] children [of Israel] abound with peace!
Blessed be them! May the earth grow for Your children to divide and receive it!
Blessed be the seed! Blessed be the blood, the semen! Multiply all without fragmenting!
All the [purified] tongues blessed. You prepared all the feast. Behold!

---

333 The song has five more verses, the last is the detached ‘wandering’ verse III55: 1. The conglomerate was textualized and translated by Zacharia and Gamliel (2005). The text above presents an alternative text and translation for the first verse for demonstrating another possible translation of this song. For the other verses and their textual liquidity, see Appendix C.

334 < sódhieca>
Detached Verses

25. Before and Behind

IV129

\[ \text{munnavum pimbu m'niy\text{"e}/ m\text{"ot}alinn\text{"a}r natavum n\text{"i}y\text{"e}/a/} \]
\[ \text{\text{"e}nniya}^{335} \text{ g\text{"o}lam it' \text{"e}nnu/ \text{"e}lina ka\text{"a}ntum v\text{"e}ccu/b/}^{336} \]
\[ \text{tanniya pantu p\text{"o}l\text{"e}/ sarv\text{"a}vum c\text{"e}yat arulil/c/} \]
\[ \text{\text{"e}nn\text{"e}yum \text{"e}nk\text{"o}lavum/ \text{"e}k\text{"a}ma}^{337} \text{\text{"e}lak\text{"u}m}^{338} \text{niy}/d//} \]

Before and behind You are, on the top and in the midst You are,

“This is a nation for me.” […]

All that God said in the past – like that

Raise me and my nation to the heights!

---

335 < \text{"ennikk\text{"a}}:

336 The meaning is unclear. The lexeme \text{"eli} may be a Hebrew name, \text{\text{"e}l}. 

337 < \text{uyaram}. See appendix B, f.n. 190.

338 < \text{"el}-, causative \text{"elikk}-.
26. All Praises

IV46

suti ēllām sutī pēṭṭu ōjummē āya batav\(^{339}\) ēllām/1/

suticcu tanna mala kērī tannē kumbītvān/2/

ōnnicca santōsippān vāvāyum makkalum kūta/3/

minniyam\(^{340}\) āya ppaṭṭu pāṭi tanna sutippān/4/

priyyattīl erṛm naṭannu santōsiccu/5/

kīrttippeṭṭī ṛu sātakana sutippān cēnnu/6/

karttākal āya jēnaṉnāl ēllēverumu/7/

bayibēn āya\(^{341}\) malōkimār makkalum kuṭa/8/

mōkattōṭī ḫatpēṭṭu pērīma satakēnē/9/

ullil Ṽnārvu tā tarnīrānē\(^{342}\) bāstṭeyum vēnammē/10//

Praised in all the praises and [faithful] blessings,

Praising You, he climbed the mountain for bowing down before You,

For the children and the father to rejoice together,

For singing [in a quorum] and praising You –

They went on rejoicing in the highest love.

They came for praising the glorious Lord,

The [talented] people, all of them,

The [blessed] angels with the children

Met face to face with [Your] greatness, oh, Lord!

Give us inner wisdom, God! Bless us!

\(^{339}\) = veṁmaẏāya vāḷvā.

\(^{340}\) < H помн.

\(^{341}\) = vāḷvāẏa?

\(^{342}\) Compare with the refrain for the song “Tēkkumbhāgam Synagogoue Song” (I23).
27. All Praises (Paradeşi)

IV46a

You are praised in all praises,
Redeem the pure Israel, You!
[Raise those who remember] You always,
Having uplifted [them] up to the golden temple.
As [we] remain in [the feast] of redemption,
While singing the [quorum] song and entering,
When [we] sit for the feast of redemption,
The [talented] Moses with His Torah
Shall meet face to face and praise in greatness.
Praise God with inner wisdom!

---

343 < šuddhamāya.
344 < ninaccavārē.
345 < ēl- + causative marker?
346 < pōnmeš?
The Word of the pure God created the world [upon earth].
[Blessed be Moses in the name of God Lord of the World].
Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the three fathers – blessed be them.
The three and all the children of Israel joined.
All got together and entered holiness.
All as one praised (are blessing) You.
Blessed, blessed, always blessed,
The God who rules as the highest be blessed.
29. The Holy Saturday

IV132

śeniyałca nālum cētyī? 351 kōlānum/ sēdhdāyi sātakan tanrē vasēnattu/1/
muralāyi nētuvi mōsētē tōrāyūn/ ayimbutu nālum avaṭa vālava kkōlānum/2/
ayimba nalla sēvarkavum kiṭṭumē/ kōravāta añicca 352 mēyilātā 353 kkarṭṭākka 354/3/
avaratē vēlccēyūn vēllyūm pōnnālē/4/
nērṇna Ṽrū nērccayum viṭṭiyavēṛ 355 appā/ niṁnaṭē pōnnu kōntu nēravōṭē vālaka/5
kanāka ta 356 ppuruṣanṛē kaikkōllāvēnum/ kaikōntu tīrivēḷam āyītē/6/

[Observe] the day of Sabbath, by the word of God Šaddai.

Bless the Torah of Moses and the fifty-four [books] in the middle and the front.
Devotion and the good heaven shall be attained.
Faultlessly and [unfadingly] [the noble people] displayed
Their love, silver and gold.
When [the relatives] offer the vow, take the gold and be blessed with fullness.
Hand over the [maiden] to that man.
He received. The will of God was fulfilled.

351 < cētyī?
352 < kāniccā?
353 < mayal ỉlātē?
354 < karrtākkal.
355 < viṭṭuper?
356 < kanyaka tān.
30. Arranged the Ritual

IV132a

A dozen leaders conducted the ritual with their love, silver and gold.
Receiving the vow, it pleased God. We must always remember God.
When the relatives offer the vow – blessed be you with the fullness of the two worlds.
The All-Mighty ruling as highest be blessed, be blessed forever in Your single essence!

357 B4 has this version as the last verse of III20.
358 < הירבד.
359 Compare with IV132: 4.
360 Compare with IV132: 5.
361 A tamsir word, see HaCohen, 1877: 36 (דימת) and 42 (זרות).
Honey and milk flowing in the kingdoms –
Anoint us [everywhere] with that honey.
May all the priests of the pure inheritance
Be praising the Torah.
Bring to light with justice
The Messiah, the son of David Your slave!

\[362 \text{ cilētattū} \]
\[363 \text{ ṣutama} \]
\[364 \text{ ḫatif} \]
32. Softly

mēllāl arisamma<sup>365</sup> cērippālē naṭannu ccēnnu/
  mēnil ōṭēl ēllaṃ parāntumēyi parntu<sup>366</sup> ccēnnu/
āka parnnu ccēnnū avaluṭē paṭi vātukkēl/
  cōr kōṭappānāyi annī bātal tōrannu īlla/
āka parnnu ccēnnu avaluṭē paṭi vātalkkēl/
  mānice' ētatt aval makal akkivalattikkō/
tēnī<sup>367</sup> mōkal ērī tērānt' āti kkālīccum kōntu/
  cēllivarikkō pōnula mbiṭuka tāttē/}

Softly, she came walking on royal sandals.
  [Her] exquisite body spread with utmost purity.
All arrived at her doorstep.
  [She] did not open this door for giving rice.
All arrived at her doorstep, [saying,]
  "Honorably take her and adopt her as your daughter."
Mounted on the [chariot] while crowding, dancing and singing,
  When they sing - send the golden thread, parrot!

<sup>365</sup> <i>aracanāya</i>
<sup>366</sup> <i>parannya</i>
<sup>367</sup> Read: <i>teril</i>
33. Softly

II35a

mēlāl arasummā cērippālē naṭannu ccēnnu/
mēnil ṥtal ēllām parantummāyi paṛannu ccēnnu//
nikkumī³⁶⁹ marattoṭu vai tā ēnnu ēravu ērannu/
niṇṭi vai kōṭatta avar tanrē valarmēalē//
pacca kkētakkamma³⁷⁰ pāṇi muttu nērattavēṇam/
patuvi³⁷¹ mēkav’ ērum mōśē rābhēnā sutikkavēṇam//
tanrē tōnēalē bētāmiḥadōśa³⁷² ētakkavēṇam/
tanrē tirunāmaṃ cēlli tannā sutikkavēṇam//

Softly coming on royal sandals,
[Her] exquisite body spread with utmost purity.
At night [she] prayed, "guide me through the tree."
[He] guided [her] profusely by His grandeur.
Line up the pearls on the green bed.
Praise Moses, our teacher of the glorious [path].
Build the temple with His help.
Recute His name and praise Him.

³⁶⁸ Variant, B3: kurukkan.
³⁶⁹ < ēnikkum.
³⁷⁰ = kitakkinmeḵ.
³⁷¹ < padavi.
³⁷² < ḫīṭ haṃkoʃ.
34. Oh Singing Bird!

II26

ántāli\(^{373}\) pāṭum kiliyē kēlū/ ānnēram ēnt‘ āru vartē āllum/ cuṇṭum cukannum talayīl paṭṭum/ cūtakapattīl\(^{374}\) raṇṭu vannam/ pantēlīl pālum paḷavum tēnum/ kaṇṭatīl erām taruvān tattē/ nalla taram\(^{375}\) cēlli nēnna kaṇṭāl/ nalla taram cēlli tatta pēnē/\n
Listen, bird singing [on a swing]! What happened that time?
Lips are reddened, silk on the head.
There are two groves in the Jewish [quarters].
In the wedding shed, there are milk, banana and honey,
I shall give you more than is seen, parrot!
Wish me good luck if we meet.
Wish me good luck, she-parrot!

---

\(^{373}\) < āndolīkād

\(^{374}\) < kambolāmē

\(^{375}\) Rendering the H phrase מזל טוב, ‘good luck’.
Translation Songs

35. Redemption of First Born

II51

1. 

*tambirān̄rē* *kataānēl makkalām/a/ mīsrīnu mīntukōntu* [376] *ōkkēyüm porumbā/b/ sīnāyi malamēnnu kīṭiya tōrāyüm/c/ tān akann* [377] *olla israil makkalukkum/d/

God’s first-born children – when they were all redeemed from Egypt,
The Torah was obtained on Mount Sinai and the children of Israel were raised by You.

2. 

*mōsāyōtu appa arulappāṭ’ ūntāyi/a/ kērumpā [378] *tōtakkattil makan āya kataānēl/b/ inīkka ni šuddhati ākkukayumvēnamē/c/šuddham āyōlla kataānēnula mitēnām*[379]//

Then God told Moses, “The first-born child in the beginning of womb [380] –
You should sanctify to me. You should redeem the holy first-born.”

3. 

*pērratu muppātu nālatu cēllumā/b/ pērumēyil ni misavānā [381] *cēyyēyumvēnamē/b/ šuddham [382] *āyōll’ ṭoru kōvānimărōtu [383]//tūkkanāl aṅcum avērōtu mitēnām//d//

On the thirtieth day after birth, conduct the commandment in greatness.
With the holy priests, redeem [him] for [the exchange] five weights. [384]

4. 

*aṭimmēyiīl ītuvān aṭatt’ atum all [385] annu/a/ aṛattām [386] clutuvān yōkkiyam all’ annu/b/

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376 = mīntūtū.
377 = uyarmnu.
378 = garbhām.
379 = milānām.
380 Renders the H phrase פטר רחם.
381 < H מצווה.
382 B5 reads: tutāmā.
383 < H næmiş.
384 For rendering the H phrase תמייסת סלעים, ‘five rocks’, denoting a weight of silver (approximately 100 grams)
"I have not approached for redeeming from slavery. It is improper to write [a decree]."

When you do the commandment of the Lord, you should bless the blessed Mighty one.

5.

miticcētē nālina ēnnakka varattēnam/a/

marin' ēru ọtukatta ʋēlcca ppēttēnam/b/

mīsīnā kaṭaṅṅūlina mīṣātu pōl' ēnnu/c/

makanāya kaṭaṅṅūlina mīṭeyavēnam/d/387

Bring for us the day of redemption. Reveal the hidden one at last!
Like redeeming the first born from Egypt, redeem this first-born son.

385 = ʧurtilla. For the negative past with ɐtum, see 6.3.2, 10.
386 = ʧattum (aɾan)? S14 reads: varttaṭtu.
387 B11 reads: mīsārinya kaṭaṅṅūlina mīṭeyumvēnam/ tamburān tanṛē arulālē nicciyān/
36. Naming Song for a Daughter

II56

kallata póttil īrikkum prāvē/ maraññöri kālcakal kāmā tōnakka/ 1//
imbavum gēntavum nimmēl ātippēn/ 388 tēnum pālum ēllām nāvin kilē/ 2//
ōru tāyikk’ ōru makal kārkkum/ pēriyōn/ tēliyāyit’ ēlukvān pērē tāyarkka/ 3/
elummāmarkk’ ōlla vālvēr ēllām/ imbattil pēraśēna vāsattum pēriyōn/ 4//
pēra vilikalum rāsi nayimēyum/ vālippavum nēnakk’ āyirikkā/ 5//
kaliyāna santōsam kāmā tōnakka/ vayarrā valarrū/ 390 pālānna nēra’ āyirikka/ 6//

Oh, pigeon in a rock hole! Help watching hidden sights!
Beauty and fragrance [prosper] on you, honey and milk under your tongue.391
God [casts] one daughter for each mother,
So that she clearly flows for the mother who begot her.392
God lovingly blesses the child with all the blessings of the seven mothers.
"Naming, good fortune and greatness shall be yours!"
Help to see the happiness of [her] wedding!
May the fruits [maturing] in the womb be fulfilled!393

388 Read: sādhippēn.
389 Read: vārkkum (vārkk-).
390 > pāluttoū
391 Lines 1a—2a render Songs of Songs, 3: 14. Line 2b renders Song of Songs, 5: 11.
392 Compare with Song of Songs, 7: 9.
393 For the Hebrew blessing that this song paraphrases, see 4.9.
37. Naming Song for a Daughter - Pārūr

II56a

irupatti ēṭṭu nāḷil peru itum pēṇṇinu/ perum pērnāḷum rāśi nalma//6//
elēṟum pēṅkōṭi maṅkē at’ aññanə/ tāyar maṇimāla tannū kōntū//7//
ellavarum tāli kāṭakam peyi395 mālakal cūṭi//8//
ōrāyiraṅ kāta396 niṅṅal aṟatika397/ pōḷāṭē cōḷlāmō cēḷuvāṭ’ ēḷḷāṃ//9//
vāḷuka vāḷuka ēppoḷum vāḷuka/ errammāya vāḷunna tamburān tān ēṇṇū//10//

"For the girl named at the twenty-eighth day
Her name and birthday are good fortune."
Thus [say] the maidens of the finest happiest women.
While the mother gave [you] a pearl necklace,
[They] all wore wedding-pendants, bracelets and [precious] chains.
One thousand songs you all [should complete].
[Can you say that a thousand songs are not splendid? That is all to be said.]
Blessed, blessed, always blessed are You, the Lord who rules forever.

1394 B9 adds five more lines to the above version, and omits its last line.
1395 = pōn?
1396 < gāthūr
1397 < ar?
38. Psalms
IV120

1.

Oh, God! When will you be appeased?
Pardon Your slaves!
At day break, inform us Your grace,
So that we sing and rejoice,

Through all our days, as long as the days of suffering.
We have been helpless. Towards Your slaves,
Your own deeds is revealed towards Your slaves,
And Your glory upon Your children.

2.

Oh God! May Your love be upon us.
Having joined our hands [in every way],
Establish the doing of our hands [even more].

3.

Compare with *tanaccel* in HaCohen, 1877: 9, 12, 23.
< *adhikam?*
39. Hanukkah Song

III20

1.

āṭī mutal āya ḥāen arulālē/a/ cēlappīṭṭu401 nī kōṣutta nāyanā/a/ ēkkēyyuḥ/b/
ṣināya malamēnnu kīṭiya tōrāyyuḥ/c/ māṇīva purusānē/mōsēṭé kaimēlu/d/
mārāpōr402 āyiṭṭu ēṭuttaṅka403 ppēṭṭūtē/ bēttummēyil misāriya ṭuṅkkā404 nī ēnārē
santōsiccavara ḥān405 visvasīc nālīla/c/ isrāel kartākkal taṁṇatē vakkē/ī/d²/

By the word of the foremost God, all the laws You proclaimed were given
With the Torah obtained on Sinai to the hands of the man of honor Moses.
[We] chanced upon the enemies and You led the Egyptians astray,
Hence we rejoice on the day of believing in God along with the lords of Israel.

2.

ōppēna āki ēṭācēṭē406 santānēm/a/ āsāra407 pōlēyō anukkā vēlakkiṭṭu/b/
ēllēra pōlēyō āsāram cēyyumbal/c/ vātal ēṭakkēyyuṁ408 ēṭatto avar vaikkēmān/a/d/
vaikāta kārrinē kātam vēyilōtē/a/ ārīvin āriviccāl ārivālan ēvītēnna/b/
allē409 tōntasṭṭu muḷuva ḥākāvēnam/c/ barāka410 rantzēlē vēlakku kōḷuttēnam/d²/

The Hanukkah lamp is decorated according to the custom of the [exalted dynasty].
When everyone do the custom accordingly, they must place [the lamp] near the door.
Know without delay the season of wind with heat. When informing, where is the scholar?
Fill your throats with praise, and light the lamp with two blessings.

401 < ēllappēṭ?
402 = mārāvar.
403 = ēṭattinkālē
404 Read: pīlukki.
405 Read: nāyan.
406 < uyarccayutē.
407 < ācāram.
408 < ēṭatto.
409 < ḥəlā.
410 < ḥērēm.
3.

etāti⁴¹¹ vēlakkō nī ēppōlum ekēnam/ ayilāra pēnnaññal kōḷattupōr āyillañkil/
kūrtīyittavara tān cēyyēyum vēnamē/ cērvvil nallā nāl īṭṭātum āyitē/
cēytoṟu atēyāḷam varutākka nēnakk’ ēnnu/

Always ordain the seven lamps. If all the women do not kindle,
They should do it in collaboration, [in assemblage] the good day passed.
May the sign [become] yours.

⁴¹¹ < ēḷu + atū.
40. Thy Gates

IV11

1.

yāha ninē vātil ūnū taṭtumbol tuṟakkenamē/

samakṣamaṭtiṅkal ērakkunnē atakitka puṟakkenamē/1/

Jah! When I knock on Thy door, open [it]!

In [Thy] presence I beg, open for the destitute!

2.

ēn namaskkāram nimbakkal varēnamē/

āṭum pāṭārāvum kālcayum pōṭ12 akēnamē/2/

My prayer shall reach You.

There should be a goat, a tenth part and a gold offering.

3.

ēn kānninē vēļiyē ēn ādhārattē ni nokki sūksiccū/

ēn tappitattē karunayil ni pōrakkenammē/3/

The light of my eyes, my honor, guard it!

My mistake You must pardon in mercy!

4.

ēn nayanaṁnaḷuṁ ēnnuṭē manavum ūnū uyarttannen/

cēviḷē cāyiccu kaṇṇakal ni turkkenamē/4/

My eyes and my mind I have lifted up,

Lower Your ears and open Your eyes!

5.

ēn śabdattēyum mōrakalēyum ni kelkkenammē/

ēn namaskkāravum kōrbbāna polē elkkēnammē/5/

Listen to my voice and to my cries!

And my prayer – receive it as offering!

6.

ēn nilaṅkaḷkkuṁ muṅkaḷkkuṁ413 uttaram ākēnammē/

---

412 Read: pōlkālcayum.
413 Read: moḷi.
dukhicca gōlattimmel ninrē kannukal turakkēnamē/6/
Let there be an answer to my cries and words!
You must open Your eyes to the suffering nation!

7.
itā ēn gēti ēnṛē ulliyil tāṇu poyū
ēnṛē praṇanum nannā śośiccū kṣiśiccen/7/
Here, my volition is subdued in my innards,
And my spirit is diminished a lot and wasted.

8.
karaṇa ὄllavanē ninrē mumbākē ṇannaḻ pēfaccu /
purakenam sātakanē āśvāsattē ṇannaḻku nalkēnamē/8/
Merciful One! We have sinned before You.
Pardon, God, bestow relief upon us!

9.
śēśiccu ariyalmel karaṇayil ni priyyam ākēnāmē
āērakkattininnavarē visttārvitilekka alēkkeṇamē/9/
Be compassionately affectionate towards the remnants of Ariel!
Release them from straits towards spacious width!

10.
panṭē unṭaya mihādāś’ irippa stalattekkū/
kareṇi cēṇṇ’ avatē santọṣam kāmnān ākenēmē/10/
To the place where the temple was in ancient times
[We] shall enter and stay for seeing happiness.

11.
sōnta stāla bhūmiyumel stāvikkeṇamē/
sukhambakatiyil/14 avata avara śayippkeṇamē/11/
Establish [them] in their own place on earth!
Lay them to rest there in happy devotion!

12.
marappum/15 pāvavum pilēyumm ēllām māyikkeṇamē/

414 B8 reads: sukhabhaktiyil.
Wipe off all crimes, sins and faults!
   By Your mercy, Jah, pardon our selfishness!

13.

Towards You I lift my eyes and beg,
   Release us off from straits towards spacious width!

14.

Master of the world! Towards You I aspire.
   Send Your protection to the helpless nation!

15.

Rule forever over the constructed temple!
   Let Your luster shine over Zion!

16.

Let the dwellers of the two worlds be praising You.
   Let them be saying, "Oh Lord! To You alone is the ruling of the world!"

17.

Let the doors of hearing our plea be open!
   Let us hear sounds of bliss and happiness!

---

415 Read: marippū.
416 hall, a synonym for temple.
Composer Songs

41. God of Pleas!

IV107

1.
črakkunna tambirānē raksikkunna sātakanē/a/
čēnē nutukkāraṁ nēmbakkal ūnā cintunnēn/b/
mōrkāl ēlārt turmoil ōriccu⁴¹⁷ pēnnunnavañu ni/c/
čēnē āerukkanṭil tanṛ muṛikkattil/d/
nērrāya tambirānē ninne ūnā vilikkunnēn/e/
čēnē vilikaḷil ēnnōṭu uttiriyey/e//f//

Oh, God to whom [we] beg! Oh, Lord who protects [us]!
I spread my prayer before You.
You are the firm protector in all woes!
In my distress, in Your steadfastness,
I call You, oh, Just God!
Answer me in my cries!

2.
marappum pāpavum pōrakkunna tambirānē/a/
śuddhiṭi ērakkappēṭṭa sātakan tān annu/b/
čēnē atarattil⁴¹⁸ ni tiriyaḷḷiyē/c/
atiḷ untāyittōllavan ūnā ākunnu/d/
nērrāya tambirānē ninna ūnā vilikkunnēn/e/
čēnē vilikaḷil ēnnōṭu uttiriyey/e//f//

Oh God who pardons crimes and sins!
You are the steadfast Lord of holiness.
Do not turn away from me in my malice.
I am being immersed in it.

⁴¹⁷ < ōriccu.
⁴¹⁸ < adharam? A tamsir word rendering the H יָרָע, 'malice'. See HaCohen, 1877: 24, 41.
I call You, oh, just Lord!
Answer me in my cries!

3.

pôrakkunna tambirānē tanna kūṭātē ārum illa/a/
tanrē tirunāmattē kuṟiccu ēṇrē pāpattē pōrā/b/
ēṇrē kaṇnīla kaṇṇunirukalā ni nokku/c/
ēṇnum Ṽlakuṅkēl ēṇrē tamburānē/d/
neṟāya tambirānē ninna ŋān vilikkunnēn/e/
ēṇrē vilikāḷil ēṇnōtu uttiriyyē/f/

Oh, God who pardons! There is no one but You!
In Your holy name, pardon my sin!
Look at the tears in my eyes,
Oh, my Lord of the world forever!
I call You, oh, just Lord!
Answer me in my cries!

4.

śēddhāyī419 sātakan ēṇnū tanrē tirunāmaṁ/a/
tanrē tirunāmaṁ kuṟiccu ēṇrē pāpaṁ pōrā/b/
ēṇrē cēllukaḷ pōlē ēṇna ni alakkallē/c/
ēṇrē rājāv‘ āy ēṇrē śuddhati āya sātakanē/d/
neṟāya tambirānē tanna ŋān vilikkunnēn/e/
ēṇrē vilikāḷil ēṇnōtu uttiriyyē/f/

Your holy name is God Šaddai.
In Your holy name, pardon my sin!
Please do not measure me according to my deeds!
Oh, my holy Lord, my king!
I call You, oh, just Lord!
Answer me in my cries!

419 < H יִּῦש.
5.

ēmbakkēl tiriñ̄nu ēnnē gēranikkēnam\textsuperscript{420} tambirānē/a/
yāe ēnōta uttariyē ūnā jīvippān uttariyē/b/
ēnnā nānan kēṭattallē ēnrē tamburānē/c/
ēnrē pārappiyē irunna ēnrē  ōrappāyē sātakanē/d/
nērāya tambirānē tanna ūnā vilikkunnēn/e/
ēnrē vilikañlīl ēnnōtu uttirīyyē/f/

Oh, Lord! Turn towards me and mercy me!
Oh, God! Answer me! Answer for me to live!
Please do not despise me, Lord,
Because of my thoughts, strong God!
I call You, oh, just Lord!
Answer me in my cries!

\textsuperscript{420} gēranikk- < grahanam, מְקָם. A tamsir word, see HaCohen, 1877: 48.
Refrain Songs

42. The Just Child

II20

1.

nerum parassiyum pala tolimär ēllum/a/ nerē puṟappēṭṭu kalyānam kōlvān/b/
cerāttaellām cēriyatākkikalayanām/ cermēyil tannikkulla maññēlam kōḻuvān//d//

The just child and her many attendants set forth for attending the marriage.
Disregard all disharmonies for attending your marriage in harmony.

2.

omēna pēn̄nīnu maññēlam kōḻuvān/a/ vallum palatum palatʿ itta māsēkam\(^{421}\)/b/
pāṭātē vannu ōmbatu vannu priyattil/c/ paṇca kōṭakkʿ ēru taṁcam pēnāyātē//d//

For the dear woman to receive marriage, so many [measures] were placed.
Without singing, nine came lovingly. May no occasion causing hunger befall [you].

3.

cēṇṇamillātolam pēn̄nunālūm vannu/a/ nāl talavum nēraṇū sabha kūṭi/b/
nāl kulippān pōkata kōllum nērattū/c/ taṭṭitān ēri talattinu tāḷattu//d//

Innumerable women came. They filled the four corners and joined the assembly.
When [you] praise [God] for the purification bath,
Enter through the door screen below the pavement.

4.

tāśēyāl ṥīḷa pērītattānum vannu/a/ cippa pāṇī nalla cēppu tuṟannute/b/
cēru pōyinpūyūm cērcēṟṟpūvūm/c/ ā pāṭṭil irikkum ālakʿ erum manāṭṭī/d/

A joyful master jeweler came and opened the jewel box [for] polishing.\(^{422}\)
Small golden flowers and tiny flowers – the bride has more beauty in that state.

\(^{421}\) \(<\) māṣikam\(^{2}\)

\(^{422}\) Perhaps the reference here is to engraving the silver coin as token of engagement.
Then step by step [they] came over. So many [measures] were placed. They started spreading crystals too. At that time, the people arrived at the wedding shed.

The wedding shed glimmers with the bridegroom and his lads. The great people chant [near] the wedding chamber. Small flutes and tiny cymbals, a very tiny flute and a tambourine!

It is the flowery groom and the bridesmaids too, The groom who beautifully went to the woman's house, [That] set the wedding pendant on the string With decorations on gold.

The marriage was happily accomplished. Hail to my daughter and mother. The mother blesses her daughter. The mother blesses God.
43. The Noble Bridegroom

I17

1.

sarimān talamātimānna kōnkumā/ tālēn427 ēnkilum pātumē/
takati428 aya vīrana pātum/ mankēyuṁ429 palat' uḷavan/
tiravīl ēnkilum kānneūn ulakā/ tēruvū talakkēl vannavan/
ētu palatu cēyta kūrmā/ atilē itilē vaiyilēl/

The noble man is the royal kunkuma groom with the flowing hair.
Even if so – sing!
He has many women singing of his splendid valor.
Even if he turns – I see [him].
He is the one coming down the busy street,
With all sorts of wits he did told through this or that mouth.

2.

ciṅkāraṁ cēluṁ kuyilum/ marakkārum varum talakkēlu/
ciṅkāraṁ oṭi vārum/ ciṅkāraṁ varum pallēl/
marattu430 raṇṭētam pāteyōllētam/ marāvīyēnkilum/
pātumē cēkattu pōna parrēiyōtu/ paļumma431 paṛēti palliyilē/

The love-humming cuckoo is at the quarter,
Where the marakkārs432 come from.
Love comes running,
Love comes into the palli.
Even if two places are reversed
And the way is forgotten, Sing!

426 I classify this song as a refrain song because of its ethno-generic definition as a kalippattu in the notebooks. It actually belongs to a sub-category of parrot songs. See discussion above in 4.9.
427 < kunkumattin manavālan, see Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 197 (M).
428 Read: takri, ‘profusion; boast’.
429 Or: canka (<śankha).
430 Read mariccu (< marikk>-).
431 Or: putuma.
432 Muslim seafarers and traders.
Tell the Portuguese who roam the world
Of the antiquity\(^{433}\) of the \(\textit{palli}\).

3.

\(\textit{āṭi āya mēkamuttu} \textit{/ rāṇṭu i rāṇṭu viḷḷaṉṉumē} /\)
\(\textit{āsam}^{434} \textit{ēlāmī ēlāmī vanna} / \textit{kōṅcēyi}^{435} \textit{kūḷal kōḷṉumē} /\)
\(\textit{nāka muttu mēka muttu} / \textit{pacca nalla vayiravunē} /\)
\(\textit{atīlē itīlē itīlē pōnanī} / \textit{valī naṭēṭī pallīyilē} /\)

The two marvelous cloud pearls –
These two will shine.
A fondling flute of all aspirations shall be [yours].
A sky pearl, a cloud pearl, a real emerald –
Walk my girl down the \(\textit{palli}\) road leading hither and thither.

4.

\(\textit{iṭi iṭikkuka malaka pōlika} / \textit{irāluṁ mānaṁ tēliyūmē} /\)
\(\textit{pasi āṭakka vaicca mūnīṁ} / \textit{pāṛtu kēṭṭēti pallīlē} /\)
\(\textit{kōccēnu kuḷalvāla cōrā} / \textit{kuḷalum vaḷayum kilaṉṉumē} /\)
\(\textit{kuḷalum vaḷayum pavāla cōrā} / \textit{kuṅkummakkal viśumē} /\)

Strike thunder!
Smash the mountains!
Darkness shall fade off the sky.
Possess [your] self,
Tie the \(\textit{tālī}\) in the \(\textit{palli}\).
A bundle of small flutes, Blood tubes and bangles
Shall rattle.
Tubes and bangles, [of] coral and blood,
And a tube of \(\textit{kuṅkuma}\)
Shall blow.

\(^{433}\) Or: novelty.
\(^{434}\) \(< \textit{āṣa}, \textit{’hope, aspiration’}.\)
\(^{435}\) \(< \textit{kōṅca}, \textit{’fondling’} \).
44. The foremost Essence

IV19

1.

With the foremost essence, āyēyā
You have created the world. āyēyā
In the [faithful] lamp, āyēyā
Know that which comes to light. āyēyā
Concentrating on the praise, āyēyā
Go on praising Him. āyēyā
For worshipping [You] ever more, āyēyā
You must receive [it], God! āyēyā

2.

Oh, Lord of the whole world! āyēyā
You give knowledge to all! āyēyā
Oh, Lord of all times! āyēyā
You are previous to time! āyēyā
Oh, Lord of all causes! āyēyā
You are praised before all! āyēyā

436 < velma, bētuma + nīnu.
437 = tutarnnu.
438 = adhikamē
When calculating the time, fulfill our hope, God!

3.

nēravu tannil añcātē "/a/ nānī ppōrūnu' irālāvē" /b/
varavu tannil akēlākēlē" /c/ vānnāvēru mālāvum collī " /d/1/
ēnnī ēnnī mōlakk' alannēn " /a/ ēnnātā mutt' allunnēn " /b/
pāril ulla mayyam kaṇakkēn " /c/ pakal ullaattīl irimbat' ēnnī " /d/2/

Never be afraid, āyēyā
You are doubly sufficient. āyēyā
Do not delay in coming. āyēyā
All those who came chanted the blessing. āyēyā
I count and measure for the daughter,
I measure countless pearls, āyēyā
As much as the [water] upon earth, āyēyā

[...]. āyēyā

4.

panṭē kālam paya nī tani " /a/ palatarattīl cēru manušēn " /b/
vītu vīṭṭal atin' pōrā " /c/ iṇį cēḷat' anikk' arivān " /d/1/
cūta kōntu narakam tannil " /a/ cōru kōtu vāvīkalē " /b/
nāṭu vīṭtu karēyuṃ nēraṃ " /c/ nusakkāratta kaiḳōlvīn āyēyā " /d/2/

In ancient times, you [blessed] āyēyā
Many types of small people. āyēyā
Do not abandon the house, āyēyā
So I can know some more. āyēyā
In the burning hell, āyēyā
[The heat is fierce as boiled rice]. āyēyā
When crying for having left the homeland, āyēyā
Receive this prayer. āyēyā

439 < alave.
440 < akalukayille.
441 < vevukalī.
5.

cañkē oḷḷa narakaṁ tannil " /a/ ṃṣṭṭu pōyi talant' īrunē " /b/ pēraṇṇa makan varavu ṵḷippīṁ " /c/ tappata sēvarkam kiṭṭum " /d¹/ ōppālē cataram " /a/ oṅka muttū māṅikkamē " /b/ pōkatu pēriya malaṅē " /c/ pōkatu ṃyēṅē surippīṁ " /d²/ sutī sutī tūyavēṅē " /a/ tūyyā ṃyēṅa surippīṁ " /b³/

In the fearful hell, āyēyā
Having shivered and frozen, āyēyā
Treasure the arrival of the separated son. āyēyā
You shall unfailingly receive heaven, āyēyā
Equal to all [marvels], āyēyā
Equal to a mansion of pearls. āyēyā
Great praiseworthy God, āyēyā
Praise the praiseworthy Lord. āyēyā
The holy one, praise, praise, āyēyā
Praise the holy Lord. āyēyā

<caturamē>
45. In Both Sides of the World

1.

lōḵam iribhāgaṅaṅalil ulla jutar kulaṅi jivan/a/
daiwatōtu ulla 'ārabikkubōl443 siyōnkal pārkkunnēn/b/

The soul of the Jewish nation is in both sides of the world.
When the heart speaks to God, [it] longs for Zion.

(kurkkan)444

paṇṭu pāṛṭta ŋammalšte pāṛppa iniyum kēṭṭattilēn/
ṅammalšte daiwatāl nalkiyā nāṭtuṅkal kuṭē pōkanṭatinēn/
Refrain:
Our hope nourished for so long has not yet perished,
For going back to the land, which our God gave us.

2.

jūtar manasil gula pūriyaṁ ullappōl iniyum pārkkunnēn/a/
pāvattāl citariya sādakkan iniyum ŋammaḷē dēvākkumēn/b/
(paṇṭu pāṛṭta)
While there is love for the nation in the Jewish heart, [we] still hope,
That the Lord who dispersed [us] because of [our] sins will pity us again.

3.

kutiparil nāṭṭukalil ulla utapūrappē bhāvi pāṭṭu kēḷppin/a/
jūta avasāṇiyil māṭrame ŋammaḷutē pāṛppa avasāṇamēl/b/
(paṇṭu pāṛṭta)
Oh, brothers of the Diaspora! Listen to the song of the future!
Only in the last of Jews, our hope is at its last.

4.

yēṛusalēm paṭṭanam nēśārīn445 pōḷē iniyum putut' ākkumēn/a/

443 A tamsir use, ārambhikk- renders the Hebrew מ.ה.נ 'to speak to'. See HaCohen, 1877: 29, 30, 45.
444 This is the title for the refrain in the manuscript.
445 < H נשר.
The city of Jerusalem, like an eagle [we] shall [reconstruct it] again.
We shall dwell in the kingdom full of beauty and praise.

5.

Jacob shall dwell in her with the holy love.
The King Messiah shall rule her with the divine will.

6.

Fulfill the hope that You bestowed upon us!
Do it also for the singers who sing and praise!

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446 S4 adds a verse with the names of David Ben-Gurion and Moshe Sharet. B10 attributes the song to Kākkicca, probably Isaac Moses Roby’s nickname. The first three verses and the refrain render the first, eighth and ninth verses and half of the refrain of the Hebrew song תקווה, ‘Our Hope’ by the poet Naphtali Herz Imber (1878). The first verse and the refrain of ‘Our Hope’ were officially declared the national anthem of Israel in 1933, after becoming popular around the Jewish Diaspora.
APPENDIX B

The Kāṇavvē Songs

Annotated Texts and Translations of Thirteen Biblical Pāṭṭus

1. The Vigil Night Song II61 511
2. Now It is Done IV16 517
3. Joseph Sold to Egypt III52 518
4. The Dream You saw III83 524
5. Joseph Meets His Brothers III55 525
6. You Conspired III55a 531
7. Jacob and Esau III48 532
8. Story of Esther III18 537
9. You OrdainedIV18 542
10. Searching a Bride for Isaac IV111 543
11. Blessing Song II11 (only first verse) 545
12. The Birth of Isaac II12 546
13. The Sacrifice II15 549
1. The Vigil Night Song

II61

1.

māṇavum bhayavum mikkullat’ ēllām1/a/ māṟatē kaṇṭu camappuṭum cēytu/b/ īnum āy tōṟamēyā2 ninnā pāvattē/c/ ūkkamm āy niṁñal arikeyum vēnām1//d1//
dīnum āy uḷla gōlattēpō ēllām/a/ sīmīyēverē kalipputum cēytu/b/
ñiyam āy uḷla oru cāttērā3 tanну/c/ nāvum nāvum paṭī4 kūṭuvān kāṇavvē5//d2//

With mostly pride and fear unaltered, [it] was composed.6

[If my worship is at fault], you should firmly know [my intention].

Like the aching nation, all the [participants]7 were playing.

[We were] given a rightful celebration, for each tongue to join [in praising]. Behold!

2.

oṭum mṛgavum parakkunna pakṣiyum/a/ ōpp‘ illa mara ttiriśāṇuṅkk8 ēllām/b/ netunna nirumāla kēlkkumbōlē ņā/c/ kelkkām namālkk’ atu cēyvān arima9//d1//
netunna nayimēyil ninnā pāvattē/a/ nicciyam10 nām it’ āriṇḷū koṇṭālū/b/
kūṭi mānasu koṇṭu avanṭam cēytu/c/ kūrulla nanmayil kūṭuvān kāṇavvē//d2//

The deer run and the birds fly, incomparable to all other sights.

Like you all listen to the lengthy exquisite strophe, let us hear it for worshipping.

1 Or according to KP readings: vāṇavum mayyavum dikk uḷḷat ēllām.
3 < yātra.
4 Read: pāṭi.
5 Other readings: B11: paṭī cēyitār; S14: paṭī kūṭuvān; B5: nām innu atu baṭī cēyvā;
6 The KP readings: “Sky, water and the quarters - [He] created all these without being altered.”
7 sīmīyā may be a Jewish Malayalam word derived from H simāhāh (נסחא), 'a festive occasion' compounded with the nominalizer avar (III pr. pl.) to form the term sīmīyāvar, 'the celebrating people'.
8 < drīyāṇalkkā?
9 Read: atima.
10 < nityam. Other readings: niscayaṃ.
If it is in goodness, let us all know this [intention] forever,
For joining in one heart, and gathering in loving goodness. Behold!

3.
ärnut katical malakal kuluññi/a/ albhutam áy oru ñayan ġrāññi/b/
ärnutari patimünну u/l’ ava vela/c/ atin’ áy cilatu uŋtu cëytu kőntaluñ ✓/d//
veče cilat’ uŋtu cëyyalla ñnnu/a/ večiṣtu näm itu ariññu kőntaluñ/b/
kūriṣtu näm itu cëyyatu kkőntaluñ/c/ kurtamät’ imbatti kůtuvän kānavvë/d//

Rivers, oceans and mountains shook. The wondrous God descended.
The worship has those six-hundred and thirteen. Some of them are ‘do’s’,
Others are said to be ‘don’ts’. We should all know them separately.
Lovingly we should all do them, for joining in flawless love. Behold!

4. 11
önne mutal áyi ärnut olan/a/önñ' aññu vençu karimaññu12 cëytu/b/13
ënnnum kunnum14 kőnañ15 nellé cënikku/c/eka karimëna cëyyăval ětakkì16/d//
ann’ ull ñru tinnum kutilyun stutiyum/a/ayimburramälaru palar õtta kůtì/1/b/
könnañnapör önnil õracc17/c/pōkata pērta nayimayil kůtuvän kānavvë/d//

From the first to the sixth day, [He] did the required deeds.
For the good Saturday with [its] eternal heap of qualities, avoiding doing a single deed,
Many great pious people gathered for food, drink and hymns of that day.
[The priests] at once fixed [it] for gathering in praiseworthy goodness. Behold!

11 The fourth and fifth verses are inverted in S13, B9 and B11. The translation of this verse is based on interpreting the words satyam and atayalam kättuka as the key concepts of covenant and circumcision. See HaCohen, 1877: 13, 23, 46 for the usage of satyam to render ‘covenant’ (ברית). The expression atayalam kätt- appears also in II12: 2d¹ in the sense of ‘circumcision’.
12 < karmmaññal.
13 B9: önninoñ önnu poyi önnil õriccu.
14 < ênnëkkümm.
15 S13 and T1 read kõla.
16 < cëyyăykal õłukki.
17 The line is unclear.
5.

ittarē cēnn’ oru makka pērāvū\(^{18}\)/a/ ēṭṭunāl cēnn’ oru atayālam kāṭṭi//b//
vāsttiya tān munni cōlliya vacanaṃ/c/ pāṛttālē putti tiriyum nammakka//d//
sattiya ēnnū vilipōr atinka\(^{19}\)/a/ cārnnor ām kaikkoru\(^{20}\) atayālam kāṭṭi//b//
cittattil ēppōḷuṁ cinticc’ irikkum/c/ cīriyā\(^{21}\) vāḷuvēr ēllām kānavvē//d//

So many sons may be born. They show the sign on the eighth day.
The word uttered in front of the Blessed One – we shall understand it.
Among those who took the oath,\(^{22}\) the ancestral elders showed the sign.
[We] shall always keep it in mind, being blessed with all [glories]. Behold!

6.

tinnā turannāl bhayappētt\(^{24}\) irunnu/a/tiṇnāṭē verē tiriṇṇu valaṇṇu/b/
taṇṇal manassil tēli murriyirunnu/c/ tāṇṇum pimbētum nāłat’ irunnu//d//
pāṇṭ’ōlla nāḷum tōtacca pōrann/i/a/ pāṭṭiya kāṇṭa\(^{25}\) talēyum priiccū/b/
muṇṇi Ṽravil kuliccū nivirnū/c/mūlēn arul pēṭtu vāḷuvēn kānavvē//d//

\(^{18}\)< pīr- with modal āvu.

\(^{19}\) The word division and interpretation is uncertain. B5: vilipōratānka; S13: vilipōratānka; B9: viliporu ēnka; J2: vēḷivōrutānka; B4: vilipōratānka; S14: bilpporutānka.

\(^{20}\)< kaikkār.

\(^{21}\)<śrī.

\(^{22}\) See HaCohen, 1887:13, 23, 46 for satyam in the sense of יִתְבָּר, ‘covenant’.

\(^{23}\) This verse is obscure. Its textualization can be constructed differently (see Appendix C for other readings) and, consequently, the translation may be significantly different. The word tiṇṇal may denote the first day of a lunar month (شهر الأول). The verse appears separately as a kurukkan in B9, and, in B7, it appears as a ‘wandering’ verse appended to III11 and as the first verse of a conglomerate (p. 14). The low level of coherency may be due to a process of conglomerating ready-made lines and phrases.

\(^{24}\) S13 and B11 read: valappēttu.

\(^{25}\) B9 and B11 read: taṇṇakkā.

\(^{26}\) B9 has an altogether different half verse: pāṭṭiya taṇṇakkā talayum pitiiccū/a/ āvōḷam ivītē kōṇtu

\(^{27}\) varānki/b/ muṇṇiya Ṽravil kuliccū nivirnū/c/ mulēnū arul pēṭṭa vāḷuvāḷuva kānavvē//d//

Compare a\(^{2}\) with III55: 5d\(^{1}\).
Upon the beginning of a month, it is fearful. [They] dispersed, scattered and wandered about. Brightness was ripening in their minds, That day, the future days and today. In days of yore, [he] wiped out and was suited. The head was severed. The leader plunged and bathed in a spring For being blessed with the divine word. Behold!

Every year there are a few penances. A marvelous parrot is outside. The leaders committed sins. The knowledge of wisdom and strength was awakened. I will again receive obstruction in sins. Asking for our redeemer, I shall again be blessed in the future, For redemption to be great. Behold!

27 The first day of the lunar month is considered a minor day of atonement (כ"ב ע, מסכת שבועות). According to the Midrash (ס ב, חולין), the first day of a lunar month was founded by God to atone for his diminishing the moon. God also ordained the moon to assist Israel in calculating time.

28 Verses 7—10 appear only in notebooks from KK (T1, S14 and S11).

29 < purattinkal.

30 Read: arivu.

31 < vintum.

32 T1: atippēn.

33 < melinkal.
Beginning to contemplate for ten days, the Lord of blessings takes it into His heart, so that all the quarreling people drink a toast with their heart brightened. Blessed be the [descendants]! I must not prepare [...] separately. [We] contemplate in one heart, for increasing in every manner. Behold!

I heard the message on time:
Clear up and take bath.
I know that all the corrupt people shall always be miserable. Having brought about the debts of [difficulties], [the relatives] were equally weighed, The favorable king [marched] to take bath in the lovely water. Behold!

Possibly referring to עשרת ימי תשובה (ten days of repentance) during the High Holidays.

< udvahanē
< eruvān.

Meaning unclear.
So many […] reject [their] sins for worshipping [You].
For many the proclamations of the sound of drums [mend their faults].
[Whatever you did in any occasion], please take and be seated in the dining hall.
The purified ones excel in fame [forever] and blessed even after death. Behold!\(^{43}\)

\(^{41}\) *śrutē*

\(^{42}\) *tuyyavār utambītum*. S11 reads: *tuyōrōta viṭṭu*.

\(^{43}\) The meaning of this verse is unclear. It probably refers to the immediate context, as suggested by the address to the audience in b\(^2\).
2. Now It is Done

IV16

1.

ippallē cēytat’ ģrikale ullu/a’ imbam ay keṭṭu kuʁikkɔlvɔr āka/b/
ēppɔlkka i makal tanne tɔnayɔ/c/ ekānta-nerrattu kāvalum tāunu/\d¹//
tappātē cātrattil⁴⁴ ippaṭi ccēytu/a/ sātikkiyor⁴⁵ tanna camayat⁴⁶ ay kōntu/b/
appanmār mūvėrum cēytu savvōtā⁴⁷/c/ arulālē ākkavēr ēllām kānavvē/\d²//

Now it is done, once and for all. Listen delightfully and remember!
Always help this very girl! In times of solitude, You are protection!
Doing thus unfailingly according to the law, with the divine Promise,
The three patriarchs [conducted the feast], abiding by His Word. Behold!

⁴⁴ < śāstrum.
⁴⁵ < sāddhakan?
⁴⁶ An obscure lexeme. See Appendix C for variant spellings. Zacharia, following Daniel, translates it as 'divine promise'. Compare with III1: 4b¹: sātākiyum tanna cāmayatāyikōntu, "by the promise that God gave" (Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 92 (M), 91 (H)). Compare also with IV18: b².
⁴⁷ An obscure lexeme, see 6.3.1, 10.
3. Joseph Sold to Egypt

III52

1.

\[\text{ũt\text{\textsuperscript{ũ}}} \text{kalicc}^\text{48} \text{'a}nh\text{u irikkum cilar}a/ \text{ul\text{\textsuperscript{ũ}}}\text{attil kərppān naṭakkum cilar}u/b/ \text{ka}ntu kəlivāsa}^\text{49} \text{köntām}^\text{50} \text{cilarkk}u/c/ \text{ka}ivilē naṇṇi viṭumān cilarkk}u//d//^\text{50} \öṇt' \text{annē picca}^\text{51} \text{kayil ākkʹu vēcca/a/ ēttum i'llātē ōntākki vēcca/b/ ēntu cēyyā tānum āyika}^\text{52} \text{ninnu/c/ ēllā vilayāttum kānnunnār avvē//d\\text{\textsuperscript{ũ}}/}
\]

Some might eat and play. Others might walk [for guarding] inside.

Some might watch the [game-masters]. Others will [gratefully send off cash.]

[They seized and possessed me. They made me completely impoverished.]\textsuperscript{53}

What can I do all alone? [All] are watching the show.\textsuperscript{54}

Behold!

2.

\[\text{vāvāy irunnu de}^\text{55} \text{poyi pukk}u/a/ \text{makkala kalpiccōr ātu meyippān/b/ dēsav}^\text{56} \text{ũtu yōsēvinōtu vāvāykk}u/c/ \text{ta}i̱n̪əl̪tē makkal ēllāvarum kātt'i//d\\text{\textsuperscript{ũ}}/ \text{navvā olakina}^\text{57} \text{kantāl ārīyām/a/ naṭakkum mēnippōra}^\text{58} \text{sātakkaka celli/b/ āvōlam bētamā}^\text{59} \text{kōnt āy avarkkē ēllām/c/ annē}^\text{60} \text{kēravāl piṭiccēr kānavvē//d\\text{\textsuperscript{ũ}}/}
\]

\[\text{< kalippu, 'game' + aśār, 'master'.}
\]

\[\text{Read: köntām. B3 and B5 read: ōntām.}
\]

\[\text{50 B5 reads: kayyilat' ōnnu ēnni piṭiccā cilarkku.}
\]

\[\text{51 So according to S13, S2 and S11. S14 and B5 read: viṛ̱ru, 'sold'.}
\]

\[\text{52 < āka.}
\]

\[\text{53 The speaker’s identity is unclear. It may be Joseph telling how his brothers sold him, in}
\]

compliance with the subject matter of the song.

\[\text{54 The term vilayāttam/vilayāttē generally refers to a game or show, and may refer to the notion of}
\]


\[\text{Jewish Malayalam speakers understood this term as denoting dramatic performance (in a}
\]

conversation with a group of elderly women in Israel, December, 2008).

\[\text{55 < dvesyam.}
\]

\[\text{56 According to B3, which reads: nāvvo gōlamina < H Hālōm בְיוּ דִומָא, prophetic dream.}
\]

\[\text{57 < menī + avaŗé}
\]

\[\text{58 For the obscure lexeme bētuma, see 6.3.1, 10. See also Appendix C for alternate spellings.}
\]

\[\text{59 Read: ēnnē.}
\]
The father was settling in the land and ordering his sons to herd goats. The father was angry with Joseph. All his sons too showed anger. By seeing a prophetic vision, one knows. The truthful ones walk by seeking God. All those who were so much faithful, were angry with me. Behold!

If going to herd goats, it was God who commanded Joseph to search. Sirs!
The Jews were walking in the wilderness. They cast afar all their sins. Exiled they were all joined. The mountain wittingly shook. Fearlessly they approached. They faultlessly acquired wisdom. Behold!

If going to herd goats, it was God who commanded Joseph to search. Sirs!

---

60 Genesis, 37: 1, וַיֵּשֶׁב יַעֲקֹב בְּאֶרֶץ מְגוּרֵי אָבִיו בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן.
61 Compare with Genesis, 37: 2—11.
62 2b² is an unstable line, the translation is conjectural. The speaker in 2a²—2d² may be Joseph.
63 aן' בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן וַיֵּשֶׁב יַעֲקֹב בְּאֶרֶץ מְגוּרֵי אָבִיו.
64 B9 reads: pēla T, S2, S14 and S11 read: kēnāv.
65 B9 read: pokkar.
66 Compare with the tamsīr coinage for the term ‘exile’, kutipārcil and kutipārayuka, in HaCohen, 1877: 2, 5, 10, 11, 26.
67 Possibly referring to Mount Sinai, kunnu + hon.
68 Compare with Genesis, 37: 12—17.
69 Summary of the story of Exodus from Egypt, compare with Exodus 15ff.
70 This verse seems to be superimposing Joseph’s story with that of the whole nation. See Midrash relating Joseph’s search for his brothers to the Jews’ wanderings in the desert, in ( рабbihו א (בראשית) ב עמוד קפד דף וישב פרשת ) and See also discussion in 2.3.2.
71 S13 and B11 read: naccar.
Some have resolved to kill him. The other prevented them saying, "Don't kill him!"
"I have seniority over all the [younger ones]. I will rescue [him] from this." [He thought].
"In any case, don't kill [him]. Get together and put [him] in an empty well."
"I am all alone in the well." [He] prayed.75 Behold!76

[They] saw travelers arriving. "We are guided by God. All this is right.
If he dies - what shall we gain out of it? If [we] are careful, [it] will suffice for sandals."82
[They] called those travelers, pulled Joseph up and displayed him on shore.
They set this much of price. They sold him for twenty silver. Behold! 83

---

72 < ēryumī?
73 S2 and Z1 read: ēnikē tanikē.
74 Or: uļļu.
75 The text for c²—d² is uncertain and the translation is conjectural. ēnniyē taniyē < ennikō
tannikkū, kaivānī < kaivalānī. The speaker is possibly Joseph.
76 This verse is a summary of Genesis, 37: 20—24.
77 < tamburān kāniccu.
78 < anubhavam.
79 < śradḍhikā? Compare with III19: 6d²; 9b²; II12: 1b², 5d¹; IV20: 9b¹.
80 < cerum.
81 < pokunnavarē.
82 The line possibly alludes to the Midrash telling that Joseph’s brothers sold him for buying
shoes. See: פרקי דריב אליעזר (חנוש). פך כף. See also: מרכז ל. מרכז ל. פך כף.
83 The verse summarizes Genesis, 37: 25—28. See discussion in 2.3.2.
Ten of them gathered as one. [They] begged with the blessed Lord:

"[May] father knows nothing of these!" They prayed and appointed God.

The blood of a young male goat was smeared on [Joseph's] knee-long garment.

[They] arrived from the journey and told the father. He told his sons to sit.

Behold!

[They] said, "An evil beast caught [Joseph]." [He] was grieving for many days.

"I have some doubts. Only one [of you] perished." [He] said.

[Frequent passers-by entered, Jews walked all around that road].

[…] They looked towards Egypt, having cheated.

94

84 Verses 6—10 appear only in S14, S11, S2, T1 and B3.

85 < irakk-

86 B3 reads: vâvâyê ariyikalla.


88 S11 read: côra.

89 To be the tenth witness in declaring a communal oath (חרם). See: פרכי ודבי אליעזר (ו.ז) - וחפורט. ילקות שמווני חחרת פרסתר ושבת רומ קמק פקך פקך. See also: ילקות שמעוני חחרת פרסתר ושבת רומ קמק פקך פקך See also: ילקות שמעוני חחרת פרסתר ושבת רומ קמק פקך פקך.

90 Compare with Genesis 37: 31: עִזִּים שְׂעִיר וַיִּשְׁחֲטוּ. See also: תסט רמז ויקרא פרשת תורה שמעוני ילקוט:מום בעל ולא תמים, נקבה ולא זכר, חילופה ולא עזים שעירת ולא שעיר. See also: תלמוד למד שלר ולא שערית עוות ולא חילופה, Norris ולא קבעה, המוש גם בכל מופ.: ילקוט.

91 Read: makkal.

92 < samssayam.

93 7a²—d² is unclear. The speaker may be Jacob, wondering how Joseph was eaten alive with no one to protect him, and realizing that his sons cheat him.
From the day of [his] arrival, [Joseph] was in the house of the royal treasurer. He started [his work] that day. His master showed him [everything].

Daily the mistress of the house played tricks, sirs! She lost her mind.

"Maiden, I am unwilling." [He] hastily left. Behold!

[She] shouted and called everybody. Her cry was heard. The Egyptian put on a show. For proclaiming it, [she] seized [his] cloth.

"He left it, and I went after [him]."

---

94 This verse summarizes Genesis, 37: 33—34, with allusions to Midrash. For Jacob suspecting his sons, see: ב ה"ד צה( וילנא )רבה בראשית; י ויגש( בובר )תנחומא מדרש; -  תורה תלמוד ילקוט( מאן )ילמדנו מדרש קנז בראשית; ה"ד סא( בובר )בראשית אגדת.

For Jacob rationalizing the claims of his sons, see: טוב כלכ ה"ד לז בראשית( בובר); קמג רמז וישב תורה שמעוני ילקוט.

95 < cēllam kāryyakkār, 'royal treasurer'? The lexeme possibly refers to Potiphera, the master who bought Joseph in Egypt.

96 < tutānnīnān.

97 < šrāmanā?

98 < gosṭihi.

99 See Genesis, 39: 1—12.

100 < pokunnatu.

101 Read: kūrānnān.

102 kūrmayīl, 'wittingly', is often used in the songs as a filler.
Hearing that he left by deceit, the house-owner was humiliated.
Without accusing for the meantime, [they] put him in jail. Behold! 103
10. 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cērēyīl irivērē vayippicca mannən/a/ tiri\text{\textsuperscript{}}\text{\textsuperscript{}}\text{\textsuperscript{}}\text{llake}t' avar cēytatinālē/b/} \\
\text{cēra kanṭal nokkiar iriverun/c/ tirnna kēnāvu kaṇṭu cōvē irunnu/\text{d¹/} }
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\text{pārakul\textsuperscript{104} yōsēppū avar mukhaŋ nokki/a/ paṇṭikakkē munnil cōvi irunnu/b/}
\]
\[
\text{pēravu ēnnu\textsuperscript{105} kaṇṭa kēnāvu pōralum/c/ kūrmyil cēlluvor ill' annār avvē/\text{d²/}}
\]

The king imprisoned two people for disrupting his majesty’s mind.
Upon imprisonment, they tested [Joseph]. 107 [He] solved [their] dreams correctly.
[Pharaoh] examined Joseph’s face. "[I] might be governing above [the …]."
This meaning of the dream [he] saw - wittingly [he] did not tell [it]. Behold! 108

104 \text{< H para ‘o, ‘Pharaoh’}. Compare spellings in Appendix C. See also III52: 3d².
105 Read: pērāvu. T1 and B3 read: pērāpēra. S2 and S11 read: vēρamb ēnnu.
106 Compare the line with III18: 3d²: aratiya cēlluvor illanār avvē/. S2 and S11 read: ēnnōllānār
S14: ēnnēllānnar; perhaps old negative formations, see Ayyar, 1993: 126, i—ii.
107 See Genesis, 40: 4.
108 Lines a²—d² are unclear and the translation is conjectural.
Tell me the dream you saw for informing the message of God,
If a child is seen while coming, like I once came – one [of you] is for that.
If [it] is seen in a [wretched] well – it is the other. When sent off for a prosperous future,
[May your thought be favoring me, so as to receive me from the house]. Behold!

---

109 Or: pāṭi.
110 Or: maṛṛēmaṃ.
111 B9, S13 and Z1 omit a².
112 S13 and Z1 read būnā[b], < pūn+kil, 'later, thereafter'.
113 Line d² is obscure and unstable. B9 reads: itina nēnapēnētē nābē; S14 reads: virikan ēnn appēnan āyā; See Appendix C for more readings.
5. Joseph Meets His Brothers

III55

1.

tambirān tann’ arulālē nī cēnnu/a/ tāne tanīccē parasina keṭṭu/b/
pēmbulā pāṭiya pāṭtinē keṭṭu/c/ pēṣakātē yoseppū ḍnarunu cēllī//d1//
imbam āy keṭṭu keṭṭu ēkannu114 irunnu/a/ īnnu vā ēnnu makālā viliccu/b/
tambirān tann’ arulālē nī cēnnu/c/ sākēlā115 ēnn’ ānnu vāstinār avvē//d2//

"You have come by God's blessing." Alone he listened to the child.
He listened to the song a girl child sang. Calmly she said that Joseph was awakened.
Listening again and again in delight, [He] rose and called the daughter, "Come here!"
"You have come by God's blessing. [You] shall not die." So he blessed [her]. Behold!

2.
pattu perum tambirānot’ ērannu116/a/ parakōtu117 yōsēppinōtu yevudā/b/
mantaram118 tammil anū’ erumār āyi/c/ vāvāta cēnnu pēramānatēlā//d1//
ōttu balam āy irinnu irivērum/a/ ormmayil irunnu119 palam illa ēnnu/b/
ētrayum manatātamāyi120 cēnnu121/c/ ērē avar sattiyaṃ122 cēytār kānavvē//d2//

Ten people begged to God123 and later Judah [begged] to Joseph124

114 < uyarmnu.
115 < cākilla.
116 Compare with III52 :6a¹—b¹.
117 < pirakōtu = pinnē?
118 < malsaram.
119 Or: ninnu. Note the interchangeable ablative forms -iřinnu = -išinnu. See 6.3.2, 8.
121 Or: kōṇtu.
123 See Genesis, 42: 3.
124 Compare with Genesis, 44: 18: יְהוּדָה אֵלָיו וַיִּגַּשׁ. See also the Midrash interpreting the biblical verse as portraying a violent conflict between Joseph and Judah: בֶּרֶאשִׁית בּוֹרָאשְׁשָׁת בְּרֶה (יִלְמָז), צֶנ 1 בֶּרֶאשִׁית בּוֹרָאשְׁשָׁת הֹרֶה (יִלְמָז), צֶנ 1 בֶּרֶאשִׁית בּוֹרָאשְׁשָׁת בְּרֶה (יִלְמָז), צֶנ 1 בֶּרֶאשִׁית בּוֹרָאשְׁשָׁת הֹרֶה (יִלְמָז), צֶנ 1 בֶּרֶאשִׁית בּוֹרָאשְׁשָׁת בְּרֶה (יִלְמָז), צֶנ 1 בֶּרֶאשִׁית בּוֹרָאשְׁשָׁת הֹרֶה (יִלְמָז), צֶנ 1.
Animosity was about to rise between them because of the father’s command. Both had the same strength. "They do not remember [me]." [Joseph thought]. With so much [of a low spirit], they [took an oath]. Behold!

pēlavākku cēlluma kilmēla\(^{127}\) kantu/\(a\)/kētamiccu\(^{128}\) ējunērr’\(a\)/akam pukk’\(a\)/ataccu/\(b\)/ ārumm ariyātē kēlvutum\(^{129}\) cētyu/c/ appalē tān katika\(^{30}\) purappētu/\(d/\) ařē pērakāram oronnu ēnī/a/\(\) avarkala’ vitt aīnu vātal ataccu/\(b\)/ avara\(^{131}\) viiicc’ aīn’\(a\)/anāyāmāykōnta/c/ pōruttumma\(^{132}\) tānē ariyiccăr avvē/\(d/\)

Abusing [them], [he] seemed upset. Troubled, [he] got up and shut himself inside. Without anyone knowing, [he] wept. Then [he] washed himself and came out. [He] counted each one accordingly. [He] sent them off and closed the door, Called them to approach and informed them of their [relation]. Behold!

\(^{125}\) The meaning is unclear. The phrase cēnumā pēramāntālē is a filler. Compare with III18: 10d\(^{1}\); III55: 7b\(^{2}\); III55a: b\(^{2}\).

\(^{126}\) This phrase may allude to the demand of Joseph to bring Benjamin to Egypt. See Genesis, 42: 15—22.

\(^{127}\) < kilmel.

\(^{128}\) < visamikk-. Note the phonetic shifts: /v/ > /p/ > /k/; /s/ > /l/ > /l/. See also 6.3.1, 1. Compare with the alternate spellings in the variants (appendix C). See also III18: 6d\(^{2}\), III19: 2b\(^{2}\).

\(^{129}\) < keľ-.

\(^{130}\) < kaluki, in J2. The readings vary greatly. See Appendix C.

\(^{131}\) So in B9. all other tellings have pora viiiccu, 'challenged them to battle', which seems less reasonable.

\(^{132}\) < pōruttam, 'relation'.

\(^{133}\) See Genesis, 42: 7: 'Now this man was a certain captain of the captives that carried us captive.'

\(^{134}\) See Genesis, 42: 24: 'The captain of the men of Israel led us up and stood over us.'

\(^{135}\) < wīsābā kōnta kālāvi, 'one of the servants of the king'.

\(^{136}\) See Genesis, 43: 33: 'And Joseph said to his brethren: Now therefore do this; take a cup of wine, and do you yourselves a cup of wine, and let us make a feast, and I will go with you to the lodging of the captain of the host.'

\(^{137}\) See Genesis, 45: 1: 'And Joseph said to his brethren: I know it is your intent to come to me for your hatred; but God hath sent me before you to save light in this land and to redeem you out of all your sufferings.'
4.

Am I not Joseph? You should not be mistaken. Listen steadfastly to my words. Please do not despise me, I say. I was sold to merchants from town.

Do not feel any sadness. It has come about according to His Will. The Lord of heavens redeemed the righteous people by his Word.” Behold!

5.

“For five more years there is [famine] here.” They all settled with him, Because of hunger [they] had settled. […]
[You] all, with the children, should dwell together in this manner. They had done all trade to be done, and happily lived there.\textsuperscript{147} Behold!

6.

\textit{vātīl aliṇṇa aļvukal ēllām/a/ vāvākkv vēre kōṭutt’ aṇṇu viṭṭu/b/}

\textit{atakatta cēn’ iṇṇu pōrunna neram/c/ aṭayaḷam vēntikaḷum kūṭe viṭṭu/d1//}

\textit{tōoluṅkāt vāvā iruccēl nokki/a/ tōnnuvōr yoseva ṏṇaruṁ tāṇṇakkub/b/}

\textit{bitakāt\textsuperscript{148} cēn’ aṇṇu aṛiviccu vēccu/c/ viśvāt\textsuperscript{149} pēṭṭ’ aṇṇu irunnār kāṇavvē/d2//}

The door was unlocked, and all due expenses were sent over to the father. When [they] were hastily leaving, [he] also sent carts for a sign.\textsuperscript{150}

[Without saluting], the father examined […], and realized himself that Joseph is alive. Unfailingly they arrived there and informed [Jacob]. [He] did believe. Behold!

7.

\textit{paṇṭāra vaṇṭikaḷum vastukaḷum/a/ kaṭakammē napōyum ṣōṭāyi appōl/b/}

\textit{ōṇṭ’ annu keṭappol inū annum nāmmē/c/ yosevina cēnnu kāṇukavenam/d1//}

\textit{dēṇṭikē ēṭṭēṛēyum ṣōṭākēla/a/ ēkēl arul pēṛamāṇamme cēnnu\textsuperscript{151}/b/}

\textit{vīṇṭ’ aṇṇu cēnnu varav’ ōlḷā nēṛam/c/ pramāṇattē cēnnu pukkār kāṇavvē/d2//}

With the treasure carts and luxuries, quickly [Jacob’s] clairvoyance returned.\textsuperscript{152}

\textsuperscript{147} The verse summarizes Genesis, 47. Most readings end here. Verses 6—10 appear only in notebooks from KK and KP.

\textsuperscript{148} < pīḷukāṭē.

\textsuperscript{149} < viśvāṣa. S14 and S11 read: viṣṭṭāra.

\textsuperscript{150} Allusion to the Midrash, see: יא לז בראשית ם”רשב

\textsuperscript{151} cēnnu, the non-finite form of cēll-, ‘to reach’, is often used as a postposition. Some examples:

- \textit{vāvāṭē cēnnu pēṛamāṇattēlē}, ‘by the father’s command’ (III55: 2d²); \textit{atakatta cēnnu}, ‘in haste’ (III55: 6d¹); \textit{munnāṇna cēnnu kaṇakkē}, ‘up to three days’ (II15: 1c¹); \textit{tā munni cēnnu}, ‘in front of Him’ (II15: 2c²); \textit{cōṭiyam cēnnu}, ‘in purity’ (III18: 10d³); \textit{ittārē cēnnu... ḍēṭṭunāl cēnnu}, ‘this much... on the eighth day.’ (II61: 5a¹—b³); \textit{ekel arul pēṛamāṇam cēnnu}, ‘by the grace, the word and commandment [of God]’ (III55a: 1b²). Compare with the postpositional use of the old infinitive of cēll- in spoken Jewish Malayalam, \textit{avaḷa cēḷa poṭy}, ‘Went to her side’ (os).
When [he] heard that [Joseph] is there, "We must go there and see Joseph!"
There won’t be much difficulty, with the [Lord’s] blessing, word, and commandment."
When [they] returned, [they] were welcomed by [Joseph’s] commandment. Behold!

8.
yosêvu vävä varavinna kaŋtu/a/ oti cľunnetru kumbiţtu vínu/b/
äšeyâ真实的 tammil taluki alaki/c/ ainnēnč őruttiri vayippūtum vēccu//d///
dēsamma avēvā真实的 vārtattinālē/a/ cēmmē parakōtu arīviccu vēccu/b/
kōšēn ūn' oňa őru ūrum kōţutta/c/ kūti palakkālaŋ irunnăr kąṇavvē//d///

Joseph saw the arrival of his father. He ran, rose, and fell prostrated to the ground.
Eagerly they embraced closely and finally settled down in one place.
[Joseph] informed straightly to Pharaoh that they had no land.
[He] gave them a place called Goshen, where they stayed for a long time. Behold!

9.
mbāvayikka avastakālaŋ āyavāğı/a/ makanāra viļiccu pēramāṇaŋ cēyta/b/
vāvāmalay aān' atikki ētutta/c/ valiṇnaŋtā tannē avaṭa atakki//d///
āvōlaŋ vēntum urutiyum cēlī/a/ avar avarkku vēntunna vāļuvu ēllām vāsattī/b/
sēvati ātāniyavār真实的 ēllām kaŋtu/c/ dukkicc' ēllārum avadā的真实 kąṇavvē//d///

When it was time for the father to die, he called his sons and commanded.
"Burry [me] in the Patriarchs’ Mount."
After they mourned for him, they buried him there.
[He] spoke truth forever wished for, and blessed them with all the wished for blessings.
They all saw [him] dying and grieved [and mourned]. Behold!

152 According to the Midrash, Jacob lost his powers of prophecy when Joseph disappeared and regained them back upon hearing that Joseph was alive. See: רדכי החשב ב של אוצר המדרשים (איזנשטיין).
153 < äšeyâ真实的.
154 = āvukayillâ真实的.
155 < śvāsaŋ atāniyavār真实的.
156 < avar alak真实. B3 reads: alakutâyi真实的.
The news had reached Pharaoh. He told them to go along with all his troops. "Bring [him] over [to the ancestral place], go to land that [your ancestors] bought." Deeply sighing they all fell prostrated to the ground. Upset they spoke confusedly. "No one should fear." [Joseph] accomplished all they needed. Behold!

<sthānas, Probably denotes the ancestral burial ground in Hebron. B3 and B29 read: puruṣātanattālā. S14 reads: puruṣantannatallā.

<kitāpū, 'breath with difficulty'.

Compare with III55: 3a.

The verse summerizes Genesis 50: 1—21.
6. You Conspired

nênnâl niruviccu pollânsa cêtyu/a/niruviccan karttâvu nallatu cêtyu/b/
aînnum innum gati\textsuperscript{161} õntâm ñamakkû/c/ āti karttâvûn arul annû\textsuperscript{162} irunnu//d\textsuperscript{162}//
ênnânêyunû î namma cêyyâvat' ëllâm/a/ ekêl arul ëperanânammê cênnû/b/
ênnêkkûn tânâyku ninna kàrâvä/c/ ëppolum tannû\textsuperscript{163} sutîppàn kânavvê//d\textsuperscript{163}:///n

If you conspired and did wrong, then God preplanned having done right.
We might have our destiny here and there. The word of the God was first.
Capable of making this good deed in every way,
With Your blessing, word and command,
To praise You forever, Oh, God forever alone! Behold!\textsuperscript{164}

\textsuperscript{161} S13, S11 and Z1 read: këti.
\textsuperscript{162} Read: ënnu.
\textsuperscript{163} < tannê.
\textsuperscript{164} The verse summarizes Genesis, 50: 20.
7. Jacob and Esau

III48

1.

cěyyunna cělkk’ ěllăm sātakkijum tānum/ cěllunn ětatt’ ěllăm dayyănun165 tānum/
měyy ěnna cělliarikērūn tānum166/c/ tǒnni őtambiṭṭu167 irikkēyō nallu/adj/
mayyattaninnu œăn vānńiyatī̤ppīnne/c/ mariccu œăn cěyt’ ŕrī cēla168

ňammmak’ ěllăm/b/169
měyyāvirunn ŏru karttāvu munnīl/c/ vēléeyāv cěyyān mīniyā170 kānavvē/adj

For all beauty done, You are the [accomplisher].
In all places treaded, You are the [judge].
The learned ones seeking the truth – it is good if they [declare alliance].

[I retreated from the center, and then I turned back.] The religion was made for us all
In front of the God who dwells in truth, for conducting [the quorum] in worship. Behold!

2.

tańnāl pētākka171 piriįnāti172 pinnē/a/ tańnāłtā mūttāra vērē viliccu/b/
čēnum pōyi vėṭṭayātī kōntuvāvē/c/ ėnīkk’ īṭtāmāy ŏr ūnum camaccu/adj/
ańnumnum kōntuvānnu ėnnēyum ūṭṭi/a/ appalē œăn ninnē vāstumār’ āyi/b/
tańnāltē vālv’ ěllām keṭṭutam173 vannu/c/ appalē vėṭṭakkū pōyār kānavvē/adj

After faultlessly departing,175 [Isaac] separately summoned the eldest.

165 < H dayyān, ‘judge’ (דיין)?
167 Read: Ṽtambēṭṭu.
168 Read: cela in the sense of mārggam. See Pillai, 2006: 834 (cela 4).
169 So only in B9. Other notebooks read: īlā.
170 Other readings: mēnuhā < H mīnshāḥ, Ṽnam ‘offering’.
171 = pilāte
172 < piriįnātu pinnē.
173 Or: keṭṭ ĭṭṭu.
174 B9 reads: ātikāl vāsticca vāļuver ěllāmυ/c/ ańnēna vāsticca kōśveṇnār avvē/adj.
175 Perhaps an allusion to Genesis, 26: 26—31.
"Go anywhere and hunt for me. Prepare my favorite dish, 
Bring it over and feed me, so that I shall bless you."

Upon hearing his blessings, [Rebecca] came. [Esau] went for hunting. Behold:176

3.177
\[
mātakkal kēṭṭāre barttānōtu178/a/ makanāra ēlayāra vērē viliccu/b/
codiccāl cēllum pērakāram illā/c/ poy iñnu kōntusvā ātu ranṭ’ ēnuu//d//
vāyikkumār’ ulla ûnum camiccu/a/ vāvāna kontupōy uttu nī ēnuu/b/
āṭṭvē179 vāstticca vātvēr allām/c/ aṁnanē vāstticca kōly ēnnār avvē//d//
\]

When the mother heard her husband, she separately called the youngest son.
"If asked don’t say anything. Go and fetch two goats."
"Preparing food for being blessed, take it to [your] father and feed him."
"He will bless with more blessings, so that you shall be blessed." [She] said. Behold!

4.
\[
cēlluvōr mātākkalōtu mākanum/a/ cēliyatu cēyvān āy ēnt’ ōri kūrraṁ/b/
nalla ṭrappuṅkēl meniyāyi ninnu/c/ nalla ὑnāṃ vālunnat’ allē irinnu180//d//
cēllumbōl ēñnē ḳnayā viliccu/a/ cēmmē talaṃuṭi nokkuvor āyī/b/
vallāyikēālē181 ītu varum ēnna/c/ vāstti māṛṛtānum āyī kānvve//d//
\]

The son told his mother: "What is wrong in doing what [you] said? 
Isn’t [Esau] well blessed with a good strong body? 
When [I] reach, [he] might call me to approach, and closely examine my hair. 
It might turn out unfortunate, [if he blesses me for the other]." Behold!182

176 The verse summarizes Genesis, 27: 1—4.
177 For this verse, see Genesis, 27: 8—10.
178 So only in B3 and Z4.
179 < adhikam.
180 Or: it ēnuu.
181 < vallāyikāyālē, a recurring adverbial phrase, possibly in the senses of 'because of incompetence', 'unfortunately'. Compare with III18: 4c²: vallāyikēālē avala kalavān, 'dismissing her due to incompetence'; III18: 10a²: vallāyikēālē ita cēlluvān, 'due to being unable to recite this'.
5.

**ittaruviśvāsāṁ uṇṭō ninakku/a/ innu ūnān pramāṇicēn ēṇnu cēlli/b/**

**ittaru anūnan ēṭṭūna kūppāyam/c/ ni ēṭṭū anna cēlli kōṭuttu//d//**

vāsṭṭiyā vāsṭṭiccu kōḷvān āy kōṇṭu/a/ parasinu vēṇṭum sēvatum camaccau/b/

ōtta makanārē kaiyil kōṭattu/c/ ōṭarccēyī<sup>183</sup> vitt' anī' īrannār kāṇavē//d//

"Such little faith you have! I will guide [you] now." [She] said.

"Put on the garment your elder brother wears and go." She told him.

[She] prepared delicacies for her son to get hold of the blessings.

[She] handed it over to her preferred son and hastily sent him there. Behold!<sup>184</sup>

6.

**ayyarē ēṇnu kulira viliccu/a/ār ēṭō ēṇnu vīliyum kōṭattu/b//**

payyaṁ<sup>185</sup> ēṇmakan ūnān ēṭō ēṇnu/c/ paṟaṇṇārapole amar cēykavēṇam//d//

payyaṁ uṇṭāya cīla vāratta<sup>187</sup> keṭṭa/a/ ār ēṭō ēṇna saṁśīyaṁ tonṇi/b/

kaiyikōṇta mēyya ttalamuṭi nokku/c/ karuti ūnā mūttamakan ēṇnār kāṇavē//d//

"My Lord!" [Jacob] fearfully called. "Who's there?" called [Isaac].

Feebly [he said], "my son!" "It is I, sir." "Please be seated [so we may speak]."

Hearing some words, [Isaac] became suspicious and doubted who it was.

He examined the body and hair with his hands. "I think it is my eldest son." Behold!<sup>188</sup>

7.

**Atin' ōṇnum niṅṇāl bhayappēṭavēṇṭa/a/ āṭiyāra pēṭikkarata<sup>189</sup> marṟākkku/b/**

pōkatu<sup>190</sup> vāluka ninnavan tannārulālē/c/ pōkatum tiriśēna<sup>191</sup> kāṭṭum tānikku//d//

---

<sup>183</sup> < uḷar-.

<sup>184</sup> See Genesis, 27: 13—17.

<sup>185</sup> B9 reads: saṁśīyaṁ tonṇi.

<sup>186</sup> < payyave. B9 reads: payyēna (< bhayenā?).

<sup>187</sup> < vārta.

<sup>188</sup> See Genesis, 27: 18—27.

<sup>189</sup> < petikkarutu.

<sup>190</sup> < pukalu.
"Don’t be afraid of anything. Servants [of God] must not fear others. The blessed [Lord], praised be He, will show you the praiseworthy [vision]. You have received all the choicest blessings. Being blessed, you will lack nothing. You will [become exalted]." He said. Behold!\(^{194}\)

[Thus he] blessed with affection, "Listen at once my eldest son."

Just like [Jacob] called before "It is I", [Esau called], "Father, get up and be seated."\(^{196}\) [He] looked hither and tither, "who is there?" "I am your servant, your eldest son, Esau."

"Even if your younger brother took away your blessing – It was taken. He already took it."

Behold!\(^{197}\)

The verse paraphrases Genesis, 27: 28—29. It is a detached ‘wandering’ verse. See 4.5.

\(^{191}\) < dar\'sanamé: Compare with II61: 2b\(^1\). In the tamsir, the lexeme tir\'isanam means ‘disciple’. For this term and its meanings elsewhere in the corpus, see 4.6 and Illustration 4.

\(^{192}\) nit\'iyāl ūlla (< S nīdhi, ‘treasure’), ‘of rare quality’ renders the Hebrew term sggulāh (סגולה), mostly compounded with gulam, ‘nation’, to render the Hebrew phrase ‘ām sggulāh, ‘a nation of rare quality’. It is often hypercorrected to nit\'iyāl ūlla (< S nīti, ‘justice’). Compare with nit\'iyāl ōlla makal, ‘the pious daughter’ (III18: 7b\(^1\)).

\(^{193}\) < varum + uyaram. Read: uyaram tān āvīrannuvarum. Compare with ēkanna (< uyarrnu), ‘rose up’ (III55: 1a\(^\#\)); ekamā ūlla vávā, (= uyaramāyulla) ‘the exalted Father’ (I18: 4d); ekamā ēlakkum nīyyē, ‘You who lift high up’ (IV129: d).

\(^{194}\) The verse paraphrases Genesis, 27: 28—29. It is a detached ‘wandering’ verse. See 4.5.

\(^{195}\) < utanatā: So only in S13. Other readings: ōrū nāhl.


\(^{197}\) Condenses Genesis, 27: 33, 35 and 37.
“First he cheated [me off] seniority and now [he] took away my [rightful] blessings!"\(^{201}\)
Hear of his honorable deed! Once more, he transgressed me.\(^{202}\)
Father! Don’t you have one more blessing for me?” He said, and then cried.\(^{203}\)
"Unknowingly of the younger brother..." Said [Isaac].
He blessed [Esau] to a lesser extent.

As the mother heard, [she told her] husband:\(^{208}\)
"[Am I] not the mother who bore the children?
Didn’t the elder transgress our caste? You gave him [...], peace and helpful blessings,
And he settled in the [shepherds’ land].\(^{209}\) ‘The youngest deserves not such loss of caste.’
He was called the son of praise. Praise became his. Behold!\(^{210}\)
8. Song of Esther

118

1. in [crimson attire] [he] was suddenly decorated.

As long as all the good people [with no exception] [abide by] God's own word,
The people who obey all the good sayings may be seen at the door.
Through Rabban, they knew the zealous God of compassion. Behold!

2. One hundred and seven and twenty regions - when [he] ruled them,
All those abiding in his mighty land were shown his fortune.

In crimson attire [he] was suddenly decorated.
As long as all the good people [with no exception] [abide by] God's own word,
The people who obey all the good sayings may be seen at the door.
Through Rabban, they knew the zealous God of compassion. Behold!

211 < H araggāmān, 'crimson'?
212 < kasavā?
213 So according to S13. < tāluka, tāv-illātē, unhumiliated? Other variants read sarvata, perhaps in phonetic analogy to the following line.
214 < kake kātām.
215 This verse is unclear. It may be a description of the wedding superimposed on the biblical verse which is customarily recited before the commencement of the wedding ceremony (Esther, 8: 15—16). According to Walerstein, the royal image of Mordechai is invoked in the biblical verse is suggestive of the groom (Walerstein, 1987: 106—107).
216 < vērukkuka.
217 < akāryā.
218 See Esther, 1: 1—2.
For offending him, he drove away the queen. He hated her for she did not come.  

[He] sought submission for driving her off. Listen, girl, how he drove [her] away! Behold!  

3.

el' oñta jãmantê  
\[ \text{dê} \text{sãm} \text{ arivã} \text{n/a/ e} \text{ñ} \text{l} \text{ê} \text{yan} \text{ kãt} \text{an} \text{n/a} \text{ mut} \text{a} \text{n} \text{n/a} \text{ b/} \]  
vâñunna ninñë tévi cèyitatu/c/ maññ' òra mantèramàrun ãrìyâm/\text{d'/}//  
cùtunna vãrítéya këtë òru mânñan/a/ šùdhamâ nannâ vãruttan avala/b/  
ësamo\text{222} tévi nènakk' âvat' ëlãm/c/ ãratiyã\text{223} çêlluvôr ill' annâr avvë/\text{d'/}//  

[He] had seven ministers for knowing the state.  
The youngest among them went right ahead;  
"All other ministers know what the queen did to you, the ruler."  
Hearing the heated words, the king hated her even more.  
"The queen might be a disgrace for you. Surely [this] should not be told."  

4.

cèlluvûn pînnëyum tânë mutarnnû/a/ yökkìyam ãy òru téviyë téñi/b/  
nall' òru pëñtiyâ kôntuàn vannu/c/ nambarratâlë\text{227} avarkka pakaram/\text{d'/}//  
ëlã dèšattëkkum ì vîrrta këtì/a/ ëlùti tirunakal pôkëyum vìttù/b/  
vallàvikâlé avala kâlavûn/c/ palarë ariviccû vìttär kànnavâ/\text{d'/}//  

Right after [he] jumped ahead for saying this, he searched for a worthy queen,  
And brought one fine woman for a queen instead of her.  

\text{219} See Esther, 1: 4—7.  
\text{220} See Esther, 1: 10—12.  
\text{221} < sãmantan, 'governor'.  
\text{222} < hãsanî?  
\text{223} < aratiyîl, 'certainly'. Compare with aratiyã cèlli pramàniccu, 'decided and commanded' (III19: 5d¹).  
\text{224} Allusion to Midrash, see: Nä( Æisenstein )המדרשים אוצר. See also: Näçrû midrâshû (ayinšéêlî) מ.  
\text{225} Paraphrasing Esther, 1: 16—17.  
\text{226} This verse summarizes Esther, 1: 15—20.  
\text{227} < nambirâtti (= tamburâtti, see Pillai, 2006: 1057).  
\text{228} According to the Midrash, the minister planned to offer his own daughter to the king, see:  

\text{אַסָּפְרָה רְבָה (ירל) ד/1}.  


The matter was heard and written all over the empire – the royal daughter was sent away. Many were informed and sent to dismiss her because of her incompetence. Behold!

5.

pōka tōtaññi palaru tanñakk/a/ pōrattamā òll’ ēro tēviyē tētī/b/
āka palarēyuñ kōntuñ tanvuu/c/ aramanēyi kōntē viṣṭu pārambē//d1//
pakalē nuskāraṁ ṃn kōlvēn ēnnu/a/ pakavētiyārum pōyi kārṇuñ ṁukku/b/229
lōkattē kānāmō ēstēr mōkatta/c/ avarē nammakk’ ēluti kānavvē//d2//

Many started going on their own, searching for a suitable queen
Many were brought, and immediately sent to the palace [garden].
"I shall pray by day." Thus saying, [even the enemy felt compassionate].
"We may see Esther's face in the world, having drawn her."230 Behold!

6.

pāṭṭamōṭēyōru tambartṭaḷē/a/ pariyyā vēṇṭum pariśa231 kōṭtuttu/b/
iṭṭamā rājīyam vāłunna kāḷaṁ/c/ irika sāmantavār tammil pāraṇṇu//d1//
vāṭṭamē manaṇa kōlvūn nēnaccu/a/ vaṅcanēyāḷē paraṇṇatu kēṭṭu/b/
kēṭṭē pētavākkal uḷḷa āgivāna/c/ kēdamicē‘ irippōr āyi kānavvē//d2//

The king bestowed the status of a queen.232
While he was ruling the pleasing kingdom, two ministers secretly talked
And conspired to kill the king. The conspiracy talk was heard.233
The sins he heard are to be known, when he will be distressed.234 Behold!

229 The textualization is uncertain. Compare the readings in Appendix C.
230 Lines a²—d² are unclear. Perhaps they allude to traditions about Esther hiding from the king
and the king having her picture above his bed. See: וַיְקָנְתָּ אֶסְתֵּר שָׁמְעָיָה יָלָקְו תְּלֵק מְכֶו לַשׁוּם אַבָּא עֶזְרָי הָעוֹד.
231 < parišaṇ/ pariyan? 'token'. Read: tamburattiyāḷē pariyyāi vēntum pariśa, 'the token necessary for qualifying a queen'. Compare with 8c¹ below.
232 See, Esther, 2: 17.
233 See Esther, 2: 21—22.
234 This line may be the poet's remark on the later turn of events, when the king orders the
execution of all Jews and reminded how Mordechai the Jew rescued his life.
[He] continuously went hither and thither. The pious girl heard the news.
"There is not even a little peace of mind. So many people did not even wash." ²⁴⁰
This much the girl heard. "Don’t say that it is your community." ²⁴¹
You are blessed. You have worshipped and remained all by yourself. ²⁴²
Behold!

"When the king is abundant in peace and fondness in every way,

²³⁵ < šamikk?: The textualization is uncertain. See Appendix C for other possibilities.
²³⁶ B1, B3 and B5 read: elum.
²³⁷ S2 reads: golam. S14 reads: golum. These readings suggest that the lexeme might be derived from H שלום, 'peace'. It might be alluding to Midrash, where Mordechai reminds Esther of a dream he had, predicting the future salvation of the nation. See: אסתר רבה (חולכן):Asher Karo בחלום, והיה המלךÓב אסתר.
²³⁹ The lexeme patima seems to have a special meaning in the corpus. According to Pillai (2006: 1151), it can mean 'skill'. It may denote 'worship' in the Jewish Malayalam songs, especially with the verb cēyy-, 'to do'. Compare with III19: 1d¹ and c²; III12: 2b².
²⁴⁰ Paraphrasing Esther, 4: 1—3?
²⁴¹ See Esther, 2: 20.
²⁴² The identity of speaker is unclear. It may be Mordechai addressing Esther. It may also be the poet’s invocation to Esther addressed to the actual hearer, the bride.
²⁴³ Or: arīyām.
²⁴⁴ < caratice avanē
There is no one but him who gives protection to the fullest." [She] said.

"Except for you, all other people mindfully fell prostrated [before Him],
If heavens heard, they might be shaken, for the mighty word of God to rule." Behold!  

"Am I not able to say it?" He then [inverted] the decree.  
The husband heard the words she said, and [it] turned out right [without trembling].
"We have no more kinsmen; there is no one but you." [They] said.  

Everyone started speaking like this. "Remain together and do not err."
Many started coming with purity by the commandment.  
I tell this with incompetence. I have forgotten a few words.  

How wonderful! We all were helped! Fearlessly we are all here. Behold!

245 Conjectural, based on Esther, 4: 16.
246 So only in B5. S9 reads: cēllumbāl. S13 reads: cēlluvōr.
247 < bhārttākka<
248 < cuḷa?: 'whirl'
249 < āṇni, ēṇnīye.
250 The identity of the speaker is unclear. It may be a quote of the prayers performed by the Jews of Persia.
251 < soddhyaṃ.
252 So only in S13. Other tellings have marppān arutu and variants, see Appendix C.
253 These last two lines (a²—d²) are probably the concluding remark of the poet.
9. You Ordained

IV18

tannē pramānicca ēkēlil pārttu/a/ sātakkīyum tanna camayāt’ āyi kōntu/b/
anniyēr āyē atiyārō ēllām/c/ araľum brakāram pēr’ ōntā cēnnu/d//
munnavum pinnēyum tānē tunayā/a/ ēkēlā őﬄatō tirpputum cēyta/b/
ēnnēyum ētakicca kōlvēna nāmē/c/ ekan tirumumbil viŋār kāṇavē//d//

Observing the word You ordained with God's own promise,
All [Your] exiled servants254 were born according to Your word.
Help [us] before and behind! It is You who fulfilled that which [You] promised.
Always raise us all!" Thus, they prostrated at His exalted presence. Behold!

254 anyār āya literally means 'who became strangers'. I derive the meaning of exile from HaCohen, 1877: 16, where anniyavan is used for translating רע, 'exile'. The word atiyar, literally 'servants', can also stand for the first person plural pronoun (exclusive) addressing a higher dignitary (or God in this case).
10. Searching a Bride for Isaac

IV 11

1.

tantēyum tāyēyum ōrvēnā pēṭtu/a/ sarvatākkattir mōtarkunna nēram/b/
antiriti takkamē ninn arulālē/c/ avaruṭē pērima ēraṭiccu kōntu//d//
ēnt’ anna kēṭṭu viliyum kōṭuttu/a/ etu makan ēnu cēlluvat’ ēllum/b/
cinticcavar irivarkku muyimbu/c/ tiruvēḷavēr ēllum ke l annār avvē//d2//

When father and mother join and come forward [in all fitness],
By Your word, [from dawn to dusk] they have multiplied their greatness.
"What did [you] hear and which son did [you] call for?" all there is to say -
They have considered in front of this couple. Listen to all His will. Behold:

2.

āṭayum pōnnun alakutāyi kōntu/a/ arulicce ēttakam pattu cōmannu/b/
pāṭupāṭē avar tanṇakkē kōnta/c/ kālcayum kōntutam pokā tuṭaṇṇi//d1//
nāṭ’ ariyā kkōntē viṭṭē pārambē ēttu paṭamōrum ēttu tālakku/b/
cēṭtimārōr utan vann’ ōru nēram/c/ dēyiva paraḳsēna tīrppān kāṇavvē//d2//

[Abraham] quickly took silk and gold, commanded [his slave] and loaded ten camels.
[Straight away] he received it. Upon receiving the offering, [he] started going.
For knowing the land [he] searches around the fields,
And when the women are at the well and the merchants arrive -
God is to determine [the proof]. Behold:

255 Performed at the pre-wedding ceremony of tying the tāli.
256 < sarva + takka?
257 < sandhya + rītē Compare with III19: 4a1 in Appendix A.
258 The meaning of this verse is unclear. It presumably refers to the immediate context of the ceremonious tying of the wedding pendant (tāli).
259 Note the alternate form arunicce (l/ → n/).
260 Compare with III18: 5d1: kōntu viṭṭu pārambē.
261 Read: nārimār avarum.
262 Summarizes Genesis, 24: 1—14.
Then the bundle was loosened and opened. The grand jewels were received.

An uma of gold good for decoration and [bracelets] each of the same [weight].

They say it was as this much here now. Two beautiful bracelets were put on.

For hearing whose daughter [she is], [he] resolved to stay there. Behold!

4.

pökatu pěllanatu pörānāvārē/a/ pōṛuvān āṭana taṇṇir kōṭuppān/b/
vāṭakke265 vāṇṇuvān āl ṭūṭum porā/c/ vāṣtunna malaāka vannatu kaṇṭu//d//
manālān vannatu kaṇṭū ḍuṇeṛrū/a/ manām vēcca kayālē nikkinār kallū/b/
āṭiyāl ọll’ ōru paṭṭānā caellī/c/ avaroṭu kuṭammē poīr kāṇavvē//d//

As if proclaiming her praises is insufficient –

Not only had she nourished the goats and gave fresh water

And also received [the slave] at the door –

There was also the arrival of an angel.266

Seeing the arrival of [her] husband,

[She] got up, and mindfully removed the stone.267

The foremost proof was sought.

Then [she] went along with him. Behold!

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263 The remark of the poet referring to the immediate performative context.
264 Genesis, 24: 22—23.
265 Or - valakkula, a bunch of plaintains.
266 Alludes to the tradition about a guardian angel sent with the slave and Rebecca. See: ילקוט שרה-חיי שמעוני ילקוט, זוהר ב”ע קכח שרה חיי( בראשית )א הנעלם; טז” חורב” ( היגר )אליעזר דרבי פרקיו(enger) - ור Ро―כ קלח אפילר שרה-חיי שמעוני (חרב). ור רו―כ קלח אפילר שרה-חיי שמעוני.267 Compare with the pseudo-midrashic story about Rebecca moving the lid off the well in Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 60 (M) 60 (H).
11. Blessed One!

II11

1. 

vālu vāluva nēnakk’ āy268 irikka269/a/ makkaḷum sālōm pērut’ āyirikka/b/ vālu vāluva tānna vālērka būmi/c/ pānumīt tīnmakka kōlkēyum niyū//d1//

vira vālaka cōrī270 vālaka vīriyam/a/ pikkāt’ irātīccu ēllām kōlvannu/b/ cētīccē nāvu nāvu271 vāstirunnu/c/ cēytē savōtākka ni ōṇṭār avvē//d2//

Blessed One! Be blessed! May the children [of Israel] abound with peace!
Blessed be them! May the earth grow, for [your] children to divide and receive it.
Blessed be the seed! Blessed be the blood, the semen!
Multiply all without fragmenting!
All the [purified] tongues blessed. You prepared the entire feast.272

268 Or: nī kkāy.
269 Or: iriklām, and respectively at the end of b1.
270 Or: cēli.
271 Or: nālatu.
272 Examining the published text and translation in Zacharia and Gamil, 2005: 91—2 (M), 90—2 (H), I reconstruct the last line as follows: śodhicca nāvuṃ nāvuṃ vālētirunnu/ ni savōt ōkkē cēytu untākkā//.
12. The Birth of Isaac

II12

1.

irēlu lokam paṭacca274 pēriyon/a/ imbamā òlla vēlivinā kāṭṭī/b/
irulam vēlivum patappūtuṁ275 cētu/c/ ēravu tān òlla prānikakk' ūllām//d1//
śabōtuṁ varītuṁ tannu ūnamakk/a/ caraticca mikadāśīl avanē arattu/b/
viṭalatt276 īrippān viṭu277 tarēnāṁ/c/ viṇṭu kōlv ēnnēnne278 ēnnār279 kāṇavv//d2//

The All-Mighty who created twice seven worlds
Manifested magnificent light.
[He] shook darkness and light for all His own creatures.
[He] gave us Saturday and the Covenant
And carefully fixed them in the Temple.
Give us a house for being [released]!
Take [us] back forever and ever! Behold!

2.

ōyimbatum tōnnūrum ōntājavārē/a/ ōtumēyāl òlla vajanām ōntāyi/b/
ayimba tān tikkanil ōntājavārē/c/ alaku tān cēnnoř280 atyālam kāṭṭi//d1//
tuyimbina tōṭu muriccu kalaṅñu281/a/ tuyyōrā282 tānum paṭimēyum cētu/b/

273 According to the titles in B3, B4 and B5, the song is sung for the bride on the pre-wedding Saturday. B5 specifies the event as 'dressing the bride with bracelets'. In several notebooks, the song follows II11.


275 < pakukk-, 'to divide'.

276 < viṭutark 'release; independence'. S13 reads: viṭalan (< vrṣabhaṁ), 'mighty man', perhaps referring to the Messiah.

277 Or: vita, 'sown seed'.

278 < ēnnēnumē.

279 Note that the verse is framed by the quotation marker.

280 = ullōru, marking an adjectival phrase. Compare with itturē cēnnoṟu makkal, 'so many children' (II61: 4a¹); ēṭṭunāl cēnnoṟu atyālam, 'the sign of the eighth day' (II61: 4b¹).

281 B9 reads: murippūtum cētu.
When [he] became ninety-nine, there came about the [faithful] word.
As devoted as [he] was in the [furnace], [he] performed the beautiful circumcision.  
He plucked out the foreskin. He himself performed the pure worship.

Hearing the essence of this devotion story, all did the same henceforward. Behold!

The time of impurity was over. [He] became old, and guests arrived.
He was always sitting out under the sun. "Having bid farewell and left,
When [we] come at the time, you sit in the sun,
You will be having a truthful son."
Thus saying He beautifully blessed.

Hear all His will, my girl! Behold!  

---

282 < tuyya (ṣucci) + ḍora, adjectival phrase modifying patima.
283 Interpreting tikkannu, literally ‘fire-eye’, as denoting ‘furnace’ on the basis of the tradition about Abraham’s fire ordeal (see: Genesis, 17). One source associates Abraham’s circumcision (Genesis, 17) with the fire ordeal:
284 Summarizes Genesis, 17: 1—14.
285 < vālīyama, ‘impurity (of childbirth).
286 < vēyil.
287 < kaiyāre, ‘farewell’.
288 Renders the biblical words of the messengers in Genesis, 18: 10: "I shall be back at this very time and your wife Sarah will have a son (by then)."
289 Summarizes Genesis, 18: 1—15.
4.

The son born at the age of hundred has merit, wits and intelligence.

[He] sought after the truthful teachings for all those about to be born in the future.

Seeing the flow of blood and breast for all women other than Sarah

For the blessing of birth, everybody [prayed]. Behold!

All the children were brought up in good conduct and bloomed delightedly.

The truth that [Abraham] died not in the furnace was seen in the world attentively.

Like that, all that I did now was faultlessly […].

While the fire today revives us all, listen, girl, to all His will! Behold!

---

290 Or: dēruvān < dhruvanā

291 vaḷaṁ-, often means 'to pray' (= vaṇaṁ-). Compare with toṣa vaḷaṇṇiya mośe rabban, 'Moses who received the Torah' (II48: 2); vaḷaṇṇenam, 'you must pray' (IV103: 2c); vaḷaṇṇunna māṁnēram, 'three times of praying' (III1: 3d); kaivāṇi, 'prayed' (III52: 4d²).

292 S4 and B1 have for the last verse II61: 4. B9 omits this verse.

293 < śilam, 'good conduct' + āyitā, 'with'.

294 pērasa, a Jewish Malayalam term for 'child' (see Zacharia and Gamliel, 2005: 206) has diverse orthographic presentation. S11 has an alternate spelling for the lexeme in this line: prajakaḷē, which suggests that the Jewish Malayalam term is derived from the Sanskrit lexeme praṭa, 'offspring, descendants'.

295 Read: polēyo.

296 B3 and J2 read: niūnaḷ.
13. The Sacrifice

II15

1.

pēlakāla nēratta póka ttōṭānnī/a/ putti ṥrappattālē kattiyum kōṇṭu/b/
nēla kaṇṭa munnu' ānna cēnē kaṇakā/c/ nēnākk' it' ēnt' anna kāṇāmō ēnnū/d/
mala kaṇṭu marūnnūm kaṇṭillē ēnnā/a/ matiyō nēnākk' ivīṭe irippin/b/
talamanāyavar tannēyum kōṇṭu/c/ tappātē pūsakka poyār kāṇavvē//d7//

Early at dawn [they] started walking, with a knife firmly held.
A place was found after three days. "Can you see what that is?"
"We see a mountain and nothing else." "That is sufficient for you. Stay here."
With the choicest son alone, unfailingly he went to the sacrifice. Behold! 299

2.

irupēru kūṭi naṭakkunna nēram/a/ ēta santi700 nān ēnnu kēkkēnam nanma/b/
pēriyan ayavar tā munni ēnnu/c/ pēsāta701 cēyivā nērivum nēnākkaka//d1//
arulina vannīmē puṣata ēnnu/a/ āta ēnna nokkitṭū óru arāticca702 pēnni703 /b/
taruvāna tānē tanikk' ōllēt' allō/c/ tappātē pūsakka poyār kāṇavvē//d2//

When the two walked together, "Hey, Son! [Here I am]. Listen to the good deed
In front of the Lord Almighty for honoring Him with no faults.
This is a sacrifice as He ordained." "Where is the goat?" [He] looked and searched.
"He Himself is to give that which is His own."704
Unfailingly they went to the sacrifice. Behold! 705

297 Line a²—d² are unclear. They probably relate to the immediate context of performance by the
use of the first and second pronouns nān, namme, ēṭr. For the performative context of the song,
see Table 3b above.
298 < ṭāṭānal.
299 The verse summarizes Genesis, 22: 1—6. Lines a²—b² allude to Midrash, see: מדרש תנחומא
rador (רותרד). 700 A manipravālam word, rendering the Malayalam uṇtu (see Pillai, 2006: 1679).
301 < pēsakātē, < pilak-. S13 and B11 read: pēsātāma.
302 < ārōka, 'search', compare with III52: 3b1.
303 pēnni = cēyī-.
[They] reached a [high] place for performing proper holy deeds. Then, the back was bent, [he] was tied in his right hand [that bent in turmoil]. The younger son called out, "Please take care of my [side], If it is me to sacrifice." These were [his] words. Behold!

3.  

unicce tänatta tān cēnna ninnā/a/ yōkkiyam āy Ṽlā šudhaññal cēyvān/b/ pinnē ēnnārē pērakum maṭakki/c/ pisōlum vānni valaṅkayi kēṭṭi//d// anniyēn ēnna mākana viḷiccu/a/ anayāmō ēnnuṭē pāvatta nōkkī/b/ ēnnēyō î karmmaṁ cēyyunnatāyī/c/ ēṅkīl i vāratta ōnt' annār' avvē//d//

The verse summarizes Genesis, 22: 7—8. Second verse in S1 and S14.< unnikk. S1, S14 read ninnātē. < pešal (vēšal). A tansir word, see HaCohen, 1877: 9, 41, 46. Lines a²—b² allude to the Midrash about Isaac asking his father to make sure he will not move so as to prevent spoiling the sacrifice. See: מדרש תורתו (וירא) ויהו נב.
APPENDIX C

Critical Edition for the Rhyming Songs

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>kāppa rātrilē pāṭṭu II61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>kaṭāppu IV16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>IV16 continued III52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>kaṭāppu III83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Untitled III55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>kaṭāppu III55a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Untitled III48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>arkamma III18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>kaṭāppu IV18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Untitled IV59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>ĝrikamōṭa III19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>kaṭappu III19a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>ĝayum pōnum IV111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>milāṭē pāṭṭu II11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Untitled III12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>malavālana pāṭunna pāṭṭu II15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>ĝrikamōṭu III19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kāppa rātrilē pāṭṭu

II61

mānavaṃ payyavum bikk ḏollat ēllām/a/ mārāta kkanṭu camavunṭum ccēyita/b/
unnama tōḷumēya nninu pāvattē/c/ ukkamma niṇṇaḷ aṛikayum bēnam//d//
dinnama olla gōllattē pō ēllām/a/ simiyaērē kalipputum ccēyita/b/

nāyamā oll oru cattēra tannu/c/ nāvum nāvum pati kūtvān kānavve//d//

2.
oṭunna mṛgavum paraṅkunna paksiyam/a/ opp illa maṛra ttirishanam ellam/b/

nēṭunna nirmāllakelkkapo nnaṅṆa/c/ kelkku nnamakka attu cēvyān arimma//d//
nēṭunna nayim ellam ninna pāvatte/a/ nicciyam nāṁ itu arīṅa kkoṇṭalu/b/

1c. B5, S13: nāyamā S10, S2: nāy yumma J2, B11: nāyama S11: nāyamā S11: nāyemma; B9:

ulḷa; B5, S10, J2, S2, S11, T1, B11, S13: ṭuru; B5: jātra S10, S2, T1: cēttēra B9: cattāra B11:

1d. B5: nāṁ S10, S2: navum; B5: innu atu S10, J2, S2, S11, T1: nāvum; B5: bati S11, T1, S13:
papti; B5: cēvyā S10, S2, T1: kūtvān J2: cēvyān B9: cēvyān B11: cēvyār S13: cēvyā; B5: kānavē

J2: kcano vē T1: kcano vē S13: kano vē;

mirkavum J2: murikalu T1, B9: muriyavum B11, S13: muriyovum; B5: paraṅkunna S10, S2:
pālakkunnu J2, B9, S11, S13: pālu T1: ppālu; B5: patakkiyum S10, S2: pālakkilum J2, B11,

S13: pātakki S11: paksiyum T1: ppatakki B9: patakki;

2b. B5, S10, S2, S11: illa; B5: maṛra S10, S2: māṛra B11, S13: māṛra; B5: dērašanam S10:

2c. B5: nēṭunna S11: nēṭanna T1: nēṭun B9, B11: nēṭunna; B5, J2: nirmāla S10, S2: nirmallū

S11: nirmāla T1: narmalla B9: nermala B11: nīrūmāla S13: nīrumāla; B5: kēkkumpō S10, S2:


kēkkumbolē; B5: nēṅnāl S10: nnaṅṆu J2: nēṅṅa S2: [ṅ]aṅṅa S11: uṇṭu T1: nēṅṅal B9, B11: ſhu

S13: ſha;


S13: kēkkā; B5, J2, B11: nammak S10, S2: nammakku S11, T1: nammakka B9: nammuk S13:
nammāk; B5, S10, J2, S2, B11: atu S11, T1: ata B9: ōnmu S13: ō[nmu]; B5, S10, J2, S2: cēvyān T1:


arimē S11: arima B11: nalama;

2a2. B5: nēṭunna S10, S2, B9, B11, S13: netunna S11: nēṭanna T1: nēṭunna; B5: nammaya

nayimēya; B5, S10, J2, S2, S11, T1, B9, B11, S13: ellam ah.; B5: ninnā S10, S2, S11: innu B11:
ninnē; B5: pāvatte T1: ppavatte B9: padattē S13: papattē;


B5, S10, J2, S2, B9, B11, S13: ūn S11, T1: nam; B5, J2, S13: it S10, S2, S11, T1: ita B9, B11: it;


B5, J2, S2, S11, B4: kōṇṭalum S10: kōṇṭāyum T1: kōṇṭ élăm S13: kōṇṭā;
kkutimanassā kkoŋ̣ əvannām cēyita/c/ kkurōlla nnayimēyil kùtuvān kāṇavvē//d²//
3.
ārum kātalum mala kulaññi/a/alppārum ay oru ŋāyēn ērīnī/b/
arunūṟṟī patimūn oḷḷa vēlla/c/ atinna cēlata əṅṭū cēyitū kōṇṭālum//d¹//
bērē cēlata əṅṭū cēyyēlla ēnna/a/ vēr ēṭtu nām itu ariṅīṅu kōṇṭālum/b/

3a¹. S10, S2: kātalum J2: kkalum T1: kkalum; B5: malakal J2, B9, S13, B4: malakā T1: malakā; B5, B9, S13: kulūnī J2: kulūnī S11: kulaññ;
kuri[s] iţa nām itu cē[yi]ta koṇṭālum/c/ koṇṭāmmatt imbattil kuṭṭuvān kāṇavvē//d2//

4.
itra cēnn oru makka pravu/a/ ēṭṭunāl cēnn oru atayālam kāṭṭi/b/
mbāṣṭiya tān munil cōṇṇa pāsēṇna/c/ ppaṭṭala ppaṟṟi tiriyō nammakka//d1//
sattya ēṇna bilipp oru tuṅka/a/ cārnāra Ḿkayikkōr atayālam kāṭṭi/b/


4. B9, B11, S13: appears as the fīfth verse.


cittatil ḫippulm cintiricc irikkum/c/ ciriya vāluvēr ellā kānāvvē/d²/ 5.

ōnne mutēll āy ārnālomā/a/ ōn anūnum mβēntu kkarim āntām cēyitub/b/

ēnumm kkunnnum kkōnām nalla cēnnikc/ čkakkarimānnum cēyyappalētakki/d²/

ann ōll ōru tinnum kutiyum stutiyum/a/ ayimbuṟṟamālārum ppallēr ōttā kkuṭi/b/


5. B9, B11, S13: appears as the fourth verse.


5d. B5, S11, B9, B11, B4: eka T1: ēkka; B5: kārimānnu B9: karimēna S13: karimana B4:


mbēnnukō ēnnu pōnn önnil öccu/c/ pōta ppērrα nnyaimēyil kūtuvān kānāvē//d²//

6.
tiña tūranall pavya ppēṭt irinnu/a/ ttiñnatapērē ttiñna mbaliṅu/b/
tāña manassil tēli muṛr irunnu/c/ tannētuṃ pimbētu nāl ann arinnu//d//

paṅt ṥilla nālam ṭolaćuppōr ann/a/ pāṛriya kkanṭa ttayalu biriccu/b/

[.]//c// rūmān arula pēṛtu vālavan kānāvē//d²//
7.

ānṭuka tōru mppala nōyimba at ōntu/a/ ċīmbuṭaṁ āy ōru kili pputtunika/b/ pppuntu pramāṇi cēyita ppēlaka/c/ pputtiy ṛṛpattallē ārikē ōṇartti//d\(^1\)/ mbēntu ūm kōḷḷum pilakal atippē /a/ bikki nammak ōlla mīticēya cēlli/b/ mbēntu ūm kōḷḷieńrē melṅka vāḷuka/c/ mīticca pērīkēṭṭ irippān kāṇavvē//d\(^2\)/

8.

pattunāl ōnt ēṇa pārkka tuṭānṇi/a/ vastiṭṭi uṭēyōrū ull īṭṭū kōntu/b/ mantēran āya manassu orkkā cēḷāṁ/c/ mār tēlīṇa savuti kkūṭippān//d\(^1\)/ uṭtakan āy ūlla mēṅṅka vāḷuka/a/ uṛṛu ūn bēṛuvīṭṭ ēṛukkēyī mbēnta/b/ ōṭta manassu kōntu ormmati cēyitu/c/ orē tarattī cēnnu ēṛvān kāṇavvē//d\(^2\)/

9.

mbatṭamē ūn cōnna mbaruṭṭēya kēṭṭu/a/ mar tēlīṇa kkalikkkayuṃ vēnām/b/

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7. **B9, B11 and S13 end here.**

7a\(^1\). T1: ānṭukkal; T1: ttōru; S11: pala T1: ppalla; S11: nōyimba ata T1: nōyimba ata;

7b\(^1\). S11: albūtām; T1: ālpuram; T1: kkā; S11: pōratunika T1: ppuratāṅka;

7c\(^1\). S11: punṭu T1: uṇṭu; T1: ppēraṇami; S11: cēyita; S11: vēḷuka T1: ppēlakkā;

7d\(^1\). S11: puttiy; S11: ēṛvattāḷē T1: ṛṛppattallē; S11, T1: ārikē;

7a\(^2\). S11: vēntum T1: bēntu; S11, T1: kōḷḷum; T1: ppēlikā; T1: atippēn;

7b\(^2\). S11: nammakk T1: ūṇmakk; S11: mīticcayē T1: mīticcēyyā; T1: cēlli;

7c\(^2\). S11: bēntum T1: bēntu; T1: kōḷḷanṛē; S11, T1: mēl; T1: kē; T1: vāḷuka;

7d\(^2\). T1: mi்மィcā; S11: pērīkēṭṭ T1: pērikiṭṭu; T1: kkaṇavē;

8a\(^1\). T1: pattannāl; S11: ēṇnu; S11: pārkkan T1: pparka;

8b\(^1\). S11: vāsti T1: ppasti; S11: uṭēyāra T1: ōṭēyara; S11: itṭa T1: itṭu;

8c\(^1\). S11: manasakko T1: mannisarkō;

8d\(^1\). T1: mar; T1: nēliṅnū S11: tēlīṅnū; S11: kutṭippān;

8a\(^2\). S11: uttkalā; T1: vāḷuka;

8b\(^2\). T1: mbēṛ itṭu; S11: ōṛakkaĩyī T1: ōṛukkēyum; S11, T1: bēnta;

8c\(^2\). S11: manasu T1: mannasu; S11: cēyta T1: cēyita;

8d\(^2\). T1: ōṛē; T1: ttaratti; T1: ccēnну; S11: ēṛuvān T1: ēṛvan; T1: kanaṅvē;

9a\(^1\). S11: vaṭṭamē T1: baṭṭamē; S11: ūn; S11: ccēnnu T1: ccēnna; S11: vāṛtēya; T1: kēṭṭu;

9b\(^1\). S11, T1: mār; S11: tēlīṅnū T1: tēlīṅnū; S11, T1: kalikkēyum; T1: mbēnam;
duṭṭēra ōḷa mannasarkkō ellen/c/ dukkammā ḍennum barum ann ariyām//d¹//
kkaṭṭēra ōḷa katamma paratti/a/ tamēra kōṇṭu pōyi tukka pōr aiy/b/
itta ariṣam tiri paṭi cēyita/c/ imba vēllattil kalippān kāṇavvē//d²//

10.
pparṛiya ninned paḷēya palarkku/a/ pāvaṃ atā atum cēyivān arimma/b/
tēṟṟu māṟ āy ittu irikkum cēlaru/c/ bhērмуli āya _DLL_ mbartakkāl ellite//d³//
cūṟṟu nāḷ ēṅkilum cēyitāṭō ellāṃ/a/ ūṇarāyil kōṇṭa poyi irinnu kōḷḷāvu/b/
cūṟṟu nāḷ ōḷḷa curatiyum ēṟu/c/ tiyor ōṭa mbiṭṭum bāḷuvan kāṇavvē//d²//

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9c¹. S11: duṣṭēta; S11: mannuṣyarkk T1: manuṇēsarkk; S11, T1: ellen;

9d¹. S11: dukhamō T1: dukkammē; S11: ēnna T1: ēnnum; S11: varum; S11: ēnn; S11: ariyām;
T1: ariyam;

9a². S11: kaṭama T1: kkaṭṭuma; S11, T1: varatti;

9b². S11: tāmara T1: tamēra; T1: kkoṇṭu; S11: ukka T1: ttukk; S11, T1: āyi;

9c². T1: ttira; S11: vaṭi T1: vaṭṭi; S11: cēyata T1: ccēyita;

9d². T1: kkalippān; T1: kkanavē;

10a¹. S11: pāṟṛiya; S11: ninna T1: ninned; S11: paḷē T1: ppalē; T1: ppēlarkka;

10b¹. T1: ppāvaṃ; S11: tata ttatṭum T1: tata ttatṭu; T1: ccēyivan; S11: atimma;

10c¹. T1: ttēṟra; S11, T1: marṛ; S11: cēlēṛu T1: cccēlēru;

10d¹. T1: bērmmuti; T1: āy; S11, T1: ōḷḷa; S11: vārṛttakkā; S11, T1: ellen;

10a². T1: cūṟṟu; S11: cēyitāṭō T1: ccēyitāṭō;

10b². T1: ūṇarāḷ; S11: kōṇṭu T1: kōṇṭē; S11: pōyi T1: ab.; S11: irannu T1: irannu; T1: kōḷḷavu;

10c². T1: cūṟṟu; T1: nnaḷ; T1: ccuratiyum; S11: erī T1: erī;

10d². S11: tuyórōṭa T1: tuyōruōṭa; S11: viṭṭu; S11: vāḷuvan; T1: kanaṇēv;
ippallē cēyitatu ōrikkalē ʾollum/a/ imbama kēṭṭu kūrikkilppēr ayi/b/
ēppōlakka i makal tannē tunaya/c/ ēkanta nnēratta kkavêlum tānnumu/d///
tappata cattrant imbati cēyita/a/ satakkiyum tanna camēlat ayi kōntu/b/
appamar muvērum cēyita savōtō/c/ ārulalē ākkappēr ēllum kānnavē/d//

e. B11, Z1: tappātē T1: taptata S11, J2, B7a, B7b: tappātē B5: tappāt S13: tappāv[vara];
2. unțu kkalicc anu iirikkum ceyilêru/a/ ullattil kkarppan națakkü cêleru/b/ kkanțu kkalippasar kko'nțan cêlerkkü/c/ kaiy națînu vitûmän cêlerkkü/d1// ŏnt annê virû kayî akkiyûm mbaccu/a/ ôțum illata kkanț akkiyûm vêccu/b/

3.
mbäva irannu dēsattē poyi pukku/a/ makkala kalapicc oru ātu mēyippān/b/
dēsav ōntu yöšēvinōtu mbavakkuc/c/ tānnaṭa makkal ēḷḷāvarē kāṭṭi//d3//
napa Ĩlakkinna kāntāl āriyāym/a/ natakkummē nī ppōru sāsatakkakkuc ccēlli/b/


ākōlam bēlama kōṃṭu āyi malannu/c/ annē paraṅkkaḷ piṭiccārkkā kāṇavvē//'d²//
3a.
ātu mayippān poyā satakkā ppōyētō/a/ āṛaticca ecēn annī yosephōt āki/b/
kaṭ annīṁ cūtar naṭapputum cēyi/c/ kkaṅṭa kēnnav ōkka turanne mbēcču//'d²//
kuti pariṅū nān mit ēllāṁṁ ōrrttu/a/ kkurmēya kōṇnukkāla ppōra nēnni/b/

2c². B11, B9, S13, Z1: āvōlam T1, B5, B3: ākōlam S11: appōlam J2: ākōlam; B11, S13: bētamā
bētam; B11, B5, S13: kōṅṭ S11: kōṅṭ[a] B9: ōṅt B3: kōṅṭa Z1: ōṅt āyīv; B11, S11, B9, S13:
āyavārk B5, B3: ākī Z1: avarkk; B11: allām T1: mallannu S11, B9, Z1: ēllām B3: mālannu S13:
alla;
parakul B9: paraṅkōna B3: pāravulhum S13: kērakāl Z1: vāṛēkolū; B11, S2, S11, B5, J2, B9, S13:
piṭiccār T1: ppitiiccār B3: piṭiccer Z1: piṭiccar; J2: kkanavvē S13: kanavvē;

3a¹. J2: atu Z1: ātu; B11, T1, S2, S11, J2, B3, S13: mēyippān B5: mēyikkān Z1: mēyippā; B11: ommitted T1: pōyā S2, S11, J2, B3, S13: pōyā B5: pōyā J2: pōyā Z1: pōyē; B11, T1: sātakkā S2:
S13: arāticca; B11, T1, S11, B5, J2, B9, S13: cēnī; B11, T1, S11, B9, Z1: annā; B11: yōsēvōntū T1: yōsēvōt ākī S2: yōsēphātō [ē]n S11: yōsēvōt ēkī B5: yōsōvōtu eki J2, B3:
yōsōvōtu ēki B9: yōsēvōt ākī S13: yōsēvōt ēkī Z1: yōsēvinōt ērū;
3c¹. B11, S2, B5, B9, S3, S13: kāṭ T1: kākt J2: nāṭ Z1: kāṭt; B11, S11, B9, S13: annā T1, J2:
ēnum S2, B5: anūtu Z1: ūnī; S2: jūṭar S11: cutar Z1: mutan; B11, Z1: naṭapputu T1, S2, B5:
naṭappum S11: naṭapputum J2: naṭappatum S13: naṭappatu; B11, S11: cēyata T1, S2, B5, J2:
cēy S9: cēy B3: cēyta S13: cēyta Z1: cēyūt;
3d¹. B11, B5, S3, Z13: kante T1, S2: kantu S11, B9, Z1: kantē; B11, B5, J2, B3, S13: pērāv T1:
kēnava S2: kēnāvī S11: kēnāv B9: pēla Z1: vētav; S11: ōkkē B9: pokkar; S2: dūrēnna S11, B5:
dūran B9: dūran[na] B3: dūranmm S13: turēnne T1: turanne; B11, B9: vaccū T1: vaccu S2, S11, B5,
J2, B3: vēccu S13, Z1: vacca;
3a². S2, S11, B9, Z3: kāṭi S13: kκūti Z1: kκṭtī; B11: paraṅīa T1, S13: paraṅīa S2: paraṇīna
ēḷam; B11, B9, S13: ab. S2: mīl S11, B5, B3: it J2: itu; B11: ab. T1, S11, J2: ēḷam B5, B3: ēḷam
uttu Z1: ōṛtu [scribe skips to 5a²]; b/ B11: kūr cēya T1, S13: kūrmēya S2: kūrmēya S1: kūrmēya B5:
kūrmēya J2: kūrmēya [orthograph of case separated from word ending] B9: kūrmēyi B3:
B5: kōṇnakalapōram J2: kōṇnakalapōr B9: ninnū kāla ppon B3: kōṇnakalāpōrā; B11: anūnī
ppętiyanį cėnų anayam įyį kōntu/c/ ppęsakata ppötti pitićcar kānavve//d²//

4.
kōnnē kkalapen tulīnān cēlēru/a/ kūllalla ēnnu ttātāna maṟṟēkaṁ/b/
nām i nannacata ēllātīnum muppu/c/ nān itil pēlappil ŏnnun ēnn//d¹//
ōṭṭu ŏnā kōkkōnūn ērayum vents/a/ ŏrūmiccar kōṭṭa kēnaṟṟīl ītvān/b/


čnīnia tānī kēnārīlē əllum/c/ iţt annu kəkįpa nət i rənnar kənāvve//d2//
5.
cättara vaļi pokkar vənnatu kəntu/a/ nnabr anəccu nən mit əlləm ətta/b/
cattupoyāl nəmmalkku ēntoru anıvais/ ccaraticcumbacca cęrippinnən
ěrum/d/
cćattēra pőnēvāvərə viliccu/a/ yosēvinēyuŋ karēyil kōntē kātti/b/

itra ėnnum vilavum pariniṇṇu/c/ irivati velllikka virṛtar kāṇavvē//d²//
6.
pattu pērum ottā ṭărūvēnna pēṭṭu/a/ vāstiya tambirānōṭ ēranunu/b/
ivarrinna mbāvakka ārikkeḷay ēnnum/c/ ēranunu ttirivēḷlam ākkiyum vēccu//d³//
uttaram āy olla. atṭinnu tiram/a/ mūṭtunna kuppāyatemma pérdaṭṭi/b/
cātray āyī cēnnu. bāvātu cēlli/c/ ērikka makanṭoṭu ēranār kāṇavvē//d²//
7.
duṣṭa mṛggama piṭicc ēṇnum cēlli/a/ dukkam pērika nāl kōlputum cēyita/b/
ōṭṭu ttamaśīyaṃ ēnnika ninnu/c/ ōripēnē ccatta muṭiṇi anna cēlli//d³//
5c². B11, T1, S2, B3, S13, Z1: ittara S11, J2: ēttirē B9: ēttarē; B11, B5, B3, S13, Z1: ēṇna B9:
ēnnu; B11, S13: vilēyunum J2: vilayum B3: vilēyunum Z1: vilayum; B11: parinīṇa T1, S13: parāṇṇa
S11, B5, B3, Z1: parāṇṇu J2: varāṇṇu B9: parāṇṇu;
ēripatū; J2: vēllikku B9, B5, Z1: vēllikkū; Z1 vīṛṛāra; S2: kāṇa[v]ē B5: kāṇavē S13: kāṇavē;
6a². S2: patta; T1, B3: vēruṇ; T1: marī S11: ōttū; T1: ōyimbēna S2: ōrivēn āyi S11: ōrippēna
B3: ōruvēna; T1: pēṭṭu B3: pēṭṭa;
6b². T1: vsttq varāna S11: vastiyaṃ B3: vastiya; T1, S2: tambiranōṭu S11, B3: tamburānōṭu; B3:
mēranunu;
6c². T1, S2, S11: ēvarrinnu B3: ēvarrīṇā; T1, S2, S11: vāvāka B3: vāvāyē; T1: āriyēlā S2, S11:
ārikēḷa B3: āriyikkāḷā;
6d¹. S2: ēranna; S2: tīruvēḷlam B3: tīruvēḷlam; B3: ākkiyum; T1: pēccu B3: vaccu;
6a². T1: uttarānu S2: uttaranam S11: udaram [correction tt>d] B3: puttaran; B3: āy uḷḷa; S11:
āṭṭinće B3: āṭṭinēnu; T1: ttiranē S11: cōra B3: ttiran;
6b². S11: mutumna B3: muṭṭinē; S2: kuppāyam; T1: kuppāyat全明星 S2: kuppāyat全明星 S11:
kuppāyat全明星 B3: kuppāyat全明星; T1, B3: ppēraṭṭi S11: piraṭṭ;
6c². T1, S2: cāttara S11: yātra; T1, B3: cēṇna; T1, S11: vāvātu B3: vāvāta; S11: cōlli;
6d². T1: ērika S2: ērikku B3: itupēn; T1: [makanoṭu] S2, S11: makanōṭu B3: mākēnōṭu; B3:
ēnā; T1, S2, S11: kāṇavē;
7a². B3: duṭṭa; T1, B3: mṛguṃ S2, S11: mṛguṃ; T1: ēṇna S2, B3: ēṇnu S11: ānu; S11: cōlli;
7b². T1: dukka S2: duḥkkha; T1: pērā B3: pērīki; T1, S2: nāl B3: omitted; T1: kōlputum S2:
kēḷppūṭum S11: kōḷvatun B3: kōḷvutun; T1, S2, B3: cētyu S11: cēyata;
7c². T1, B3: ōṭṭum; T1: tāmasikka S2: tāmśāyam S11 tāmśāyam B3: tāmśāyam; T1, S11:
ēnikka B3: ēnikka; S11, B3: ninnu;
7d². T1: ōrivēnē S2: ōrivēnē S11, B3: ōruvēnē; T1, B3: cattu S2: catta; T1, S2, S11: muṭiṇēn
B3: muṭiṇēn; T1: ānuṃ S2: ēṇna S11, B3: ānu; S2: cōḷḷi;
mbaṭṭaṁ naṭṭannavaru anāṅē pōyi pukku/a/ vati ēṇnum cūtar naṭṭappatum cēyita/b/

kkanṭ anuvāra misaṛēyi nōkkī/c/ kalavālē ākkavēr ēllā kāṇavvē//d²//
8.
cēn akām pukku nālē tuṭaṁni/a/ccēlkmē kapērumḍāyita vīṭṭil/b/
annē tuṭaṁni ŋān itṭa ccōrma/c/ āṇṭa mutalar kāṭṭi kōṭuttu//d²//
annyaṁmē vannyaṁmē eki pōy ēṭō/a/ akam uṭēyār kōṭṭi putti pōkarñnu/b/
kanni ēṇnaṭa manassuta kēṭṭu/c/ kkaṭaka prapiṭṭu pōyar kāṇavvē//d²//
9.
mōrayiṭṭu ēllāra vilicc anu cēlli/a/ mōra kkeṭṭu misaṛi vēlayāṭum ppēsī/b/

7a². T1, S2: baṭṭaṁ S11: vaṭṭaṁ B3: vaṭṭamē; T1: naṭṭannavarē S2: naṭanna avara S11: naṭṭannavar B3: naṭṭanāvaṛ; B3: aṁṇu; T1, S11: pukka S2: pukkā B3: kōṇṭa;
7c². T1, S2, S11: kaṇṭ; T1: ēṇnvāara S2: ēṇnavara S11: annava S3: anūpāra; T1: misaṛayi S2: misēṛēyi S11, B3: misriye; S2: nōkkū;
7d². T1: kalappālē; S2: ākkuvēr; T1, S2: ēllām;
8a². T1: cēṇnu; T1: kā B3: ākām; T1: ppukkā S2: puka; T1: nēlē S11: nāḷata; T1: tuṭinī S2: tu[ṭaṁni] B3: tōṭaṁni;
8b². T1, S2, S11: cēlkkamē B3: cēluivāmē; T1: kapēṛattaiṭa S2: kapērumḍāyiṭe S11: kāvēnumḍāyita B3: kāvērumḍāyita;
8c². T1: āṇṇē; T1: tuṭuṁni B3: tōṭaṁni; T1: itṭā; T1: cōrmā S2, S11: cōrmma B3: cōṛummān;
8b². T1: ākamōṭēyār S2, S11: ākamōṭēyār B3: ākamōṭēyār; B3: ppiṭṭa; T1: pōrnum B3: pōkarnma;
8c². B3: ēṇnakka;T1: manasa atu S2: manasa S11: manassata B3: mānasātu; B3: kēṭṭa;
8d². T1: katuka S2, S11, B3: kattaka; T1: puṛappiṭṭu S2: puṛappēṭṭu S11: prasattu B3: pēṛappiṭṭa; T1, S2, B3: pōyār S11: pōyāṛ;
9a². T1: mōrayiṭṭu S11: murayiṭṭu B3: mōrayiṭṭa; T1: ēḷāvara B3: ēḷārē; T1: viliccu; T1, S2, S11, B3: ēṇnu; S2, S11: cōlli;
ariyippān venti ppōta kārippa c/ avar atu biṭtu prappañña pōyi//d¹//
maṛimāyattān avar pōnnatu keṭṭu/a/ manmaṃ kōṟaṅṅall ōntu akamuṭē ārkku/b/
kōṟavu parayāṭē ippallē ōntu/c/ kurrmnēyil kaval vayippiccār kāṇavvē//d²//
10.
corayil irivērē vayippiccā mannan/a/ tirivēḷam keṭṭavar cēyitātināḷē/b/
cora kanṭu nokkiar iriverum/c/ tīrṇna kēṇāvu kanṭu cōvve irinnu//d³//
pārkkuṃ yoseppū avar mukham nokki/a/ pāṇṭikē munnīl cōvī irinnu/b/
pērvē ēnnu kanṭa kēṇāvu pōralam/c/ kūrmeyil cēlluvor ēnnēllān arāvve//d²//

9c¹. T1: arippān B3: arippān; T1, S2: vēnṭi S11: vēṇṭum; T1: pōṭaka S2: pōṭuka; B3: piṭiccū;
9d¹. T1: avara; T1: atuṃ S2, S11: ata B3: ātu; T1, S2, S11, B3: viṭṭu; T1: pērappañña S2:
purakē purakē ōṅṇ S11: vraka ōṅṇ B3: pērāṃmbāṇṇi;
9a. S2: maṟimālattāl S11: maṟimāyattāl B3: maṟimāyattāl; T1, S2, S11: avara; T1, B3:
pōnnatu S2, S11: pōṇnata; T1, S2, S11: kēṭṭu B3: kēṭṭa;
S2: ōntu S11 ūnta; T1: akamuṭē akkum S2: akamuṭē ārkk S11: akamuṭē ārkk B3: ākāmoṭē ārkk;
9c². B3: parāyāṭē; T1, B3: koṅṭu S2: [ōntu];
9d². T1: kūrmeyil S2: kūrmeyil S11: kūrmeyil B3: ūrmēyā; T1: kāvēl S2, S11: kāvēn B3:
kāvēl; T1, S11: vayippicc B3: vēyippicc; T1, S11, B3: āravvē;
10. S11: an additional verse erased by strokes and some unreadable Malayalam and English
letters, with five-odd lines in parenthesis: paraḵkkā ēnnu ēnnu visēṭāṅṅal ēḷḷān/ pāta[.....]īṭa
[c]ōrikk ēṇṇa// […] puruṣan tanna ttā[…] īṭt inṅn vanno/ bhūmi tanām ēnni pō[r[i]kkā] ēṇṇa//
kēṭavakkal avarum kumbiṭṭu vinu/ pērāmicca//
10a¹. T1: cōrīl S2, S11: muṣyil B3: cēṛēyīl; T1: irirvēra S2: irirvērū S11: irirvērē B3: irirvērē; T1:
vayippiccā B3: vayappiccār;
10b¹. T1: tirivalla S2, S11: tiruvellām B3: tiruvella; T1: kēṭṭu avara S11: kēṭṭavar B3: kkēṭavar;
T1: cēyatināḷē S2, S11: cēyatināḷē B3: cēyatināḷē;
10c¹. T1, B3: cēṛa S2, S11: cōrakkal; T1, B3: kāntāl S2, S11: ab.; T1: ōkkī avara B3: ēri avar S2,
S11: ēkkī avarū; T1: irirvērum S2: iruvērū S11: iruvērē B3: iruvērum;
10d¹. S2: tīrṇē[a]; T1: kannā S2: ab. S11: kēṇṇā B3: kēṇṇā; S2: ab. B3: kāntā; T1: cēmbi S2,
S11: cōmbi B3: cōvvi; T1, S11: ērinnu S2, B3: ērinnu;
10a². T1: paraḵkkul S2: paraḵkul S11: parkul B3: paraḵkūl; T1, B3: yōsēvu S2: yōsēphū S11:
yōssēppa; T1: mōka B3 mōkaṃ; T1, S11, B3: nōkkī;
10b². T1: panṭikakkā S2: vāṇṇiyē S11: vāṇṇikē B3: panṭikakkē; B3: munni; T1: cōmbi S2, S11:
cōmbi B3: cōmbi; T1, S11: ērinnu S2, B3: ērinnu;
10c². T1, B3: pērāpēra S2, S11: vēṛambi; S2, S11, S14: ēnnu ēnnu; T1: kāntā; S2, S11, B3:
kēṇāvuṃ; T1, S2, S11: pōralum;
10d². T1: kūrmēyā S2: kūrmēl S11: kūrmēnl B3: kūrmēyā; T1, S2: cēllupōrl S11: cēllapōr
B3: callupōr; T1: ār S2, S11: ēnnōllāṅr B3: illannr;
kaṭāppu

III83

T1-11-p.15: kurkkam; S2-19-p.75, S11-15a-p.43, B9-12a-p.31, S13-2-p.10: kurkkam; B3-78b-p.96: as the eleventh verse of III52; J2-18b-p.34, B5-19a-p.43: as the sixth verse of III52; Z1-17-34;

kanta kēnāvina cōllivin niṅṇal/a/ karttāvu tanrē porā irippippān/b/
panṭu ūṇ poru pāṭi porumāṛē/c/ parasina kantaḷ atināḷ őripaṁ//d1//
tēṇṭikē kinaṛṭinkal kantu māṛṛēmaṇ/a/ cermmē varum prakāraṁ viṭṭuvaḷ/b/
viṭṭil irintu ēṇna kollūmār ōllum/c/ viṛika nēṇna ppena nāyi kāṇavvē//d2//


a2. B9, S13, Z1: line is omitted; T1, S11, J2: dēṇṭikē S2: dēṇṭika B3: nēṇṭika B5: tēṇṭika; T1, S2, S11, B3, J2: ēṇnāṛē; T1, J2: kanta S2, S11: kantāl B3: kantu; T1: māṛṛēmaṇ S2, J2: māṛṛēka S11: māṛṛēka B3: māṛṛēvan B5: māṛṛēvan;


c2. B5: the bottom of the page is torn out, so that the last two lines of the song are missing.


Untitled

III5

B11-5-p.10, B4-11-p.66, S13-3-p.10, B7-p.11; B9-13-p.32: tamburān tann arulālē; B5-20-p.44: 20-tamburān tann arulālē nisēkā; B3-81-p.100: (yakūbinsē marana kalpnayum makkalē vältiya käyyam) patinnālām pāṭṭu; S11-16-p.43: käppu rātri cēllānna pāṭṭu; T1-12-p.15: tamburān tann arul [shifts back to the previous scribal hand]; J2-19-p.34: tambirān tann arul alē; Z1-18-p.35: tambirān tann arulālē;

1. tambirān tann arulālē/a/tanica paraśina keṭṭu/b/
pēmb uḷa pāṭṭiya pāṭṭinē keṭṭu/c/ pēsakāta yoseppū ōnarrnu cēlīi//d1//
imbama keṭṭu keṭṭu ekāni irinnu/a/ ināna vva ēnna makāla viliccu/b/
tambirān tann arulālē ni cēnnu/c/ sākē ēllaṁ ēnn anūn vāsattinār avvē//d2//


2.
pattu perum tambirānītu ērannu/a/ pārkku[n] yossepinoṭu yēuda/h/ mantēra tammīl annē erumār āyi/c/ vāvātu cēnno pramāṇattalē/d//
ōttu vēlam āyi irinnu irivērum/a/ ormmey irannu palam illā ēnno/h/
ētrayum annatātam āyi cēnno/c/ ēra avar sādhivār cēyitār kāṇavvē/d//


pēta vākku cēlūnna kkilmēla kkanču/a/ pētamīc cēlānēr akam bukk aticcub/b/
ārum ariyāta kēlēvutum cēcyita/c/ appalē tānkātillikk prappițtu//d\³//
āra prakallē oronnē ēnni/a/ ava kalavițt antu vatal ataccu/b/
ppōra villicc antu anayām āyi kōntu/c/ pōran iṭṭ irippēnān āyi kānāvē//d²//

pēlavākku T1: mbētvākka; B5: cēlūnna T1: cēlūnna; B11, S13: kēlēmēna B9: vēlamēna B5, B3:
kēlēmēnā S11: kēlmēlē B4: kēlēmēna T1: kēlēmēla J2: kēlēmēla Z1: kētēmēna; B11, S13: kānta B9,
Z1: kāntu B5, B3: kēṭṭu S13, J2: kāntu B4: kkanča;

3b. B11, S13, B4: kētāmicca B9: vēṭtamjiccū B5: bhramiccu B3: bhramicca S11: pēlupiccc T1:
B3, S11, T1, J2: ēṭunaeru B4: ēṭuneeru; B9: avām B5: aka B3, B4, J2: akam S11: kam T1: kka; B9:
J2: ataccu B3: ataccu B4: atacca T1: atēcru;

3c. Z1: line is omitted, S13: ārūmm S11, B4: ārum; B11, S13: ariyāṭe B9, J2: ariyāṭe B3:
ariyāṭa; B11: kēlatum S13: kēlautu B9, J2: kēlautum B5: kelvatum B3: kēnumtum S11: kēlpūtum B4:

3d. Z1: line is omitted, J2: appalō; B11: [?]yiri S13: kānkā iri B9: tānkātāliyum B5: tānkādikkal
B3: kānkāluki S11: tānkātilikka B4: kānkātaki T1: kānkātilla J2: tānkati; B11, S13: pērapēṭṭu B9:
puṟappēṭtu B5: puṟappēṭtu B3: puṟappītta B4: puṟappātta J2: puṟappīttu;

3a. B11, S13, B9, Z1: ārē B3, J2: ārō; B11, S13, B4: pērakālē B9: prakāra B5: puṟakālē B3:
pērapōrē S11, J2: prakālē T1: prakkallē Z1: vēṛkāraṃ; B11: orōmm S13, B5, S11, T1: orōnnē B9:
orōnnū B3: ār ēnna B4: orōnnē J2: orōnnu Z1: orōnnū; S11: ēnu;

3b. B11: avarē S13, B5, B3, B4, J2: avar [B3 and B4 have r on top kal] Z1: avalē; B11: viṭṭ B5:
B11, B9, B5, B3, S13, B4, T1, J2: vātāl S13, Z1: vātēl; B11, B9: aticcu S13, B4: atacca B3: atacca
J2: atēcru Z1: aticc;

vilic; B11, Z1: ab. S13 anū B9: anū B5, J2: ēṇnu B3: ēṇn S11, T1: anū B4: anā; B11, B5, B3:
anayam S13: anēyam B9: anē ariyā B4: anayam T1: anēyam J2: ānay at Z1: aniyārō; B9: ab.; B11,
B4: kōnta S13: kōnta B9, Z1: kōntu T1: kkuṇtu;

Z1: āruttumma; B11, S13, B9, B4, Z1: tānnē B5, B3: omitted T1: iṭṭ J2: tammīl; B11: arivippār
S13, B4: ariviccār B9, J2: ariviccār B5, B3: irippēn Z1: ariccār; B11, S13, B9: omitted B5, B3: ēnn
āyi T1: aiy; B11, J2: āvvē S13, B9, B4: avvē T1: kkaṇēvē;
4.

nān alla yosēpa niňňal vētakka/a/ naţańńata kelvi nān cölľunna vārtta/b/ unām varattallē ēnnu ēnnu pāṛttu/c/ ūrilē yāvālikalkka ēnnu virru/dį///
dinnama ťļļatē ēnnu nnāyāta/a/ tirivēllăm pēţiṙę vannata kāntu/b/
vānnam utāyavan tann ārulālē/c/ mālavara pēḷappiccār kāṇavvē/dį///

4b².  Z1: line is omitted; B11, S13, B9, B5: tiruvēllām B3, J2: tiruvallām B4: tiruvallām T1: tiruvēllām; S13, T1: pēŗarē S11: pēŗra; B9, B5, J2: vannatu B3: vannāta S11: bēnnata T1: mbēnnata; B11, S13: kānta B9: kāntu;
4c².  B11, S13, Z1: line is omitted; B9: vānām S11, B4: bānām T1: mbanam J2: banam; B3, B4: ńtayavan S11: uṭēyān T1: uṭēyōn J2: ńtayavan; B3: tannu; B9, B5, T1: arulālē J2: arul ālē B3: rulālē [inverted sandhā];
allañña kônțu viccutakam ëlläm/a/ atinna kônț allâm ḍ tistiri vëccu/b/
pallal Ṽ tistiri vayuputum cçyïta/c/ pàṟṟiyâ ttañakk ëntum ëtatta//d//
ayipërûm bikk òlḷa payïtal ëlläm/a/ á vãnnamë kkuṭa kköyntu pòrnâmë/b/
cçyït òtil ëllam cçyïputum cçyïta/c/ cëmmë inñu pôn irinnâr kânavvë//d//


6. patil atiṇa ativuka ēllāṁ/a/vāvayikka vērē kōṭuttunṭu viṭṭu/b/
   alakku cēnnu iṁṇu pōrunna neraṁ/c/ atayālām vēṇṭikala kkuta viṭṭu/ d⁴//
   tōtakāta mbara lī cēlum noki/a/ tōnnumbal yoseva ōnērum tān nakka/b/
   bitakāta cēn nāṇu arivicu vēccu/c/ visttāra pēṭt aṇṇu irinnār kānāvē//d²//
7. pāntē pēṇṭikalam vastukalam/a/ kaṭakamē nnapoyum ōṇṭyāi appal/b/
   ōṇṭ annu kēṭt appol iṁṇ annum nnāmē/c/ yosevina cēnnu kāṅuka vēṇām//d³//
dēṇṭikē ētrayum ōṇṭākēla/a/ ēkēl arul prammāṇamma ccēnna/b/
biṅt aṅṇu ccēnnu. varip ḏlā nnēraṇ/c/ pramāṇattam ccēnnu pukkār kāṇavvē//d²//
8.
yosēvu bāva varivinna kaṅṭu/a/oṭi ēḷunnerṟu kkubīṭṭu vīnu/b/
āśēya ttimnil ttalaṅki alaki/c/ [...]//d³//
dēsamma avēva. mbāṛttattinnallē /a/ cēmmē vakōṭ ariviccu vēccu/b/
kkussa talarippāṅ ḍru urum kōṭatta/c/ kuṭi vēla kkalaṁ irinnāl kāṇavvē//d³//
9.
mbāvayikka āvastakāḷam āyavārē/a/ makannara vilīccu pēṟamāṇam cēyita/b/
vāva malay aṅṅī aṭikki ēṭutta/c/ valīṅ aṭṭu ttannē avāṭa aṭakki//d³//
ävolaṃ vēntum urtiyum celli/a/ avar avarkkū vēntunna vālavu ēllam vāsatti/b/
sēvati aṭaṇṇiyavār ēlla kantu/c/ dukkice ēllavaraṃ avadār kānnavē//d²//

10.
paraṅkōkka cēnna visētaṇṇal ēllām/a/ pāta ēllāṃ kūṭṭīṭṭu porika ēnnu/b/
puruṣan tanna tallēlla kknōṭṭi inṇu vannu/c/ būmi ttannam ēnnī pōrika ēnnu//d³//
kkētavākkal ēvarum kumbīṭṭu vīṇu/a/ pēramiccu ccēlluna ūkilmēnna kantu/b/
āruṃ bhaya ppēṭalla ēnnu celli/c/ atra pēnti kkalpiccār avvē//d²//

9a². B3, Z4: urutiyum; S11: u[rati..]tu; S11: [celli];
9b². B3 avarkku; B3: takka vātuva; B3: ēllāṃ; B3, S11: vāsti;
9c². B3, Z4: sēvuti; B3, Z4: aṭaṇṇi aṭaṇṇiyāvār S11: aṭaṇṇiyabār; B3, S11, Z4: ēllāṃ;
9d². S11: dukhica; B3: ēllavaraṃ S11: ēllavara Z4: ēllāruṃ; B3: ālukutāyī;
visētaṇṇal;
10b¹. B3: pāṭē S11: vata; B3, Z4: kūṭṭīṭṭum S11: kūṭṭīyaṭṭu; B3, Z4: pōrika S11: pōruka; B3, Z4:
ēṇna;
10c¹. B3, Z4: puruṣā; B3, Z4: tāṇa; B3, S11, Z4: ttalē; B3, S11, Z4: kōnt; B3, Z4: inṇa S11: inṇu;
B3, Z4: vanna;
10d¹. B3, Z4: būmi S11 bhūmi; B3, Z4: tanum S11: tanam; B3, Z4: pōrikē S11: pōruka; B3, Z4:
ēnnum S11 [...];
10a². B3, Z4: pētuvaṅkka S11: kētavaṅkkan; B3, Z4: ēllārum S11: avarum; B3: kumbīṭṭa;
10b². B3, Z4: bhramicca S11: pēramicca; B3, S11, Z4: ccēlluna; B3, Z4: kilmēnna S11:
kilmēnna; B3, Z4: kanta;
10c². B3, Z4: bayappēṭā S11: bhayappēṭā; B3, Z4: ēnn anṇu;
nēṇāl niriviccu pōllāṅku cēyita/a/niriviccan karttavu nallatu cēyitu/b/
aṇṇuṁ iṇṇuṁ kkēril ōnantō ānammaka/c/ āti karttavinna ārūl ānnu irinnu//dl/
ēnānnasī nnāmaṁ ccēyavat ēllāṁ/a/ ekēl ārūl prāmmāṇāmma cēnnu/b/
ēnnakkum ttānnakika nnina kkarttāvē/c/ ēppōlum tanna sutippān kānavē//d2/
a1. B4, S13, J2, B3, Z1, Z4: nēṇa B5, S11: niṇṇal; B4: nirivicca B5, B3, S11, Z1: nirivicca
B5, B3, Z4: cēyta J2: cēyta S11: cēyata Z1: cēyita [peculiar word division];
Z4: niriviccān S11 nirivicca Z1: nirivicca; B4, B3, Z4: karttāva B5, J2, S11: karttāvu S13, Z1:
karttāva; B4, B3, S11, Z4: nallata S13: nallēta Z1: nallētu; B4, S13, Z1: cēyita B5, B3, Z4: cēyta
J2: cēytu S11 cēyata;
c1. B4: missing pages; S11: aṇṇu Z1: [tajna; Z1: inṇu; B5, B3, Z4: gēti S13, Z1: kēti J2: gati
Z4: namakka Z1: namakkā;
karttāvinna Z1: karttāvē Z4: karttāvin S14: kartta [sic] karttavinna; B5, S13, J2, S11: arul B3: rul
[inverted sandhi]; B5: ēnn S13, J2, B3, Z1, Z4: ann; B5, J2, S11: irunnu S13: irunna B3, Z4: irunnu
Z1: iruna;
nāmam; B5, S13, B3, Z4: cēyeyvat [note peculiar yya orthograph in B3 and Z4] J2: cēyeyvatō S11:
cē[y...t] Z1 vēyyavat; B5, S13, J2, B3, S11, Z4: ēllām;
S13, Z1: arul B3, Z4: āru; S13: pēramānama; B5, B3, S11, Z4: prāmānāma Z1: pēramānmāme;
S13, B3, Z1, Z4: cēnna;
word division in Z1] S11: tānali[ma]; S13: nīn J2: nīnā Z1: nīnē; B5: karttāvu S13: kārtattāvē Z1:
kārtattāvē;
sūtippān S11: sutippān; J2: kānāvvē;
From the fourth verse onwards, the order of verses becomes unfixed in the variants until the ninth verse. S13-5-12; B9-18-p.41: ceyyunna cêlkû; B11-9-19: ceyyun alâk elles; B3-74-p.87: (išahäka væväyutè bharâm (blessing) ëlla, cêl elles; S2-15-p.55: kæppu rätritita ptçu; S11-18-p.49: ceyyunna cêck elles; Z1-23-p.43: ceyyannarîkk elles; Z4?-p.17: ëlla pttu.

1. ceyyunna cerikkë cêllâm sàtakkÿam tânûm/a/ ceyyun niçattinnûm dëyyânûm tânûm/b/
mëyy annu cêlli arîvorûm tânûm/c/ tönûm ôtañbiçtü irippiya nallu//d¹//
mayyatul nilna ñnân bânata pinnë/a/ marîccu ñnân ceyit õrû ñamakkä illa/b/ mëyyây irunn õri kàrrtavû munnu/c/ vëlax ãyî cëyyata miniyâ kânævve//d²//


2.

tañna pėtakka pirintani pinnė/a/ tañnaña mütta ra vėrē viliccu/b/
ččnum pōyi vėtuyāti kōntu vāyē/c/ inikka ittam āy ūrī ūnum camaccu/|d|//
añnanum kōntu vannu ēnteyu ūtti/a/ appalē ninna ūnān vāstmār āy/b/
tañnaṭė vālav ēllām kēṭṭutam vannu/c/ appalē vētuku pōyār kānovvē/|d|//

3.
cēlluvōr māṭakalōtu makannum/a/ cēlliyata cēyivān ŏ ēnt ūrī kūr̄mā/b/

nalla ėravukā manēṅnūyī ninnu/c/ nall ŏnaṃ vāḷunna tallē irinnu//d1//
cēllumbē ānēṅnu viliccu/a/ cēmmē talavi nōkkumār āyi/b/
vallāyikālayē mūṭi vāṭum vannu/c/ vāṣṭumār āyi ēṅrēṅaẏī kāṅavvē//d2//
4.
cēlluvōr māṭakkalōtu tānicca/a/makan ēlēāra vērū viliccu/b/

3c1. S2: nall S11: nallē; S11: ėravumkā; S2, S11: mēnē āyi; S2: ninnum; B9: codiccāl B11, S13:
pērakāram Z1: prakāram Z4: prakāram; B9: īlla B11, B3, Z4: ēllām;
3d1. S2, S11: nallē; S2: īruṇnu S11: irinnā; B9: poiy kōntu B11, S13: pōy īnna kōntu vā B3, Z1,
Z4: pōy īnna kōnta vā; B9: ātu B11, B3, S13, Z4: āta Z1: ttātu; B9: rāntū B11, B3, S13, Z1, Z4:
raṇṭ; B9: nnū B11, S13: ēnna B3, Z1, Z4: ēnnu;
3a2. S2: cēllumbēnna S11: cēllumbēnē B9: vjāḍjikkmūmrā B11: vāyikkumār B3, Z4:
ūnu B3, Z4: ōllōru ūnum S13: ōllōr ūnu Z1: ōllōr ūnum; S2: vilicci B9: camiccu B11: camacca B3,
Z4: cāmaccu S13: cāmaccū Z1: camiccū;
ēllām;
vāṣticcu [peculiar orthograph sta]; B9: poṭār B11: vāṭavērallāṃ kōḷavēṃnār B3: kōḷvannār Z1: vāṭuv
ēḷḷum kōḷkkānār S13, Z4: vāṭavērallāṃ kōḷvannār; B9: kāṅavvē B11, S13, B3, Z4, Z1: avvē;
tanicca S13: māṅanē Z1: makanē;
cūtika cēlum prakāram ēnunu/c/ pōy iñnu kōntu vā ātu ranṭu ēnunu/ḍ³//

evayikkumār oḷḷ ori ūnuṃ [...]a/ [...] niratti/b/

ātiyyē vasticē vātavēṛḷām/c/ aṁnīṅe vasticcu kōḷvānār avva/ḍ²//

5.

āyēra ēnunu kulēra viliçcu/a/ ār ēṭō ēnna viliyum kōṭuttu/b/

payyammē ēṃmakal ūnāṭo ēnunu/c/ paraṇavara vōḷē āmār cēyyavēṇaṃ/ḍ³//
sēranaal kēttappa yākomba pōlē/a/ rōmanaal tappicca ēsāva pōlē/b/
kaikōntu mēyya tala vati nōkki/c/ karuti ŋān mūtta maken essāv ēnnu//d²//
6.
atin ōnnum nīnna bhayapētvēnta/a/ ayōra pēticcu arul mārrārkku/b/
pōkata bāluka nīnava tannarulālē/c/ pōkunna purusēna kāṭṭum tanika//d³//
nītiyyāyil ōlla vālavēr ēllām/a/ nēnakku ēṭaṅṅ āriviccu/b/
varēḷakuṁṟ ēnna [m]ērnnu/c/ bārabar āyī tanayika ēnnār kānnavē//d²//
7.
ittara visvāsam ōntō nēnakkā/a/ innu ŋān pramānippān ēnnu cēlli/b/
ittēran cēōri ītunna kuppāyam/c/ mī ītū cēlli kōṭutta//d³//
vāstina vāsticcu kōḷlūvān āyikōntu/a/ parasina vēṇṭi sōvāvā calaccu/b/

öttä mananéra kai kōtutta/c/ ötarccayil itt anñu irunnär kānavvē//d²//
8.
unṭu murīyām āyī vāsticcū vēccu/a/ āru nālīl kēl ēnṛē muṭṭa mananē/b/
vēntu ŋān pōpinīra pōlē/c/ vāvā ēlunērru āmār cēyyā vēnaṁ//d³//
śabdanaṅā kēṭṭappa yākōṁba pōlē/a/ rōmaṇāṅal tappicca ēśāva pōlē/b/
kaikōntu méyya talavatī nōkki/c/ karuti ŋān muṭṭa makan ēśāva ēnnu//d²//

8a¹. B11, Z1: unṭu S2: ōntu; B9: priyam B11, S2, murīyaṁ B3, S13: purīyaṁ Z1: murīyaṁ;
Z1: kēnṛē; S2: unṛē Z1: ab.; S2 mūṭe S11, Z1: muṭta; B9: makan S13: mākanē;
9.
mūnattē mūppān pātiyan āyi kōνtu/a/mūlamē essāvū ippalē ोllu/b/
ēnnē avan cēyta manipām kēppīn/c/ ēnn aṁnuṁ kūti mārappūtum cēyta/\d²//
[omitted]/a/ ēnn appan cēlī mōlēttu munnū/b/
atiyan ariyām talē ēnnu cēlī/c/ ākku prākāram vāstīnār avvē/\d²//
10.
matakka kēṭṭārē kārtttakkalōta/a/ makkala pērriṁ nān irinn illā/b/

9a¹.  

9b¹.  

9c¹.  

9d¹.  

9a².  

9b².  

9c².  

9d².  

10a¹.  

10b¹.  
cati kaṭṭalil irinn illa muppū/c/ carēvuṁ tambada vāḷu kōṭutta//d¹//
čeṭ ānēlatta pōyi vōppūta cēyta/a/ cati kēṭṭē nālīl tasiyum pōra/b/
vōticcu ēḷē makan āyi vilıccu/c/ pōya makambakkēl āyi kānavvē//d²//

10c¹. B9: jāṭi B11: catipāṇṇam B3, S13: cāṭī Z1: mativāṇṇam; B9, Z1: keṭṭū B11: keṭṭa B3:
kēṭṭāmar S2: kēṭṭāl S13: kāktāmar; B9: āvāṇṇam B11: irnn B3: irinn S2, Z1: irunn; B9:

10d¹. B11, Z1: line is omitted; B9: sālakaṃ B3: sālōvuṁ S2: marēvuṁ S11: cararavum; B9:
ṭā trōnaṃaṭvāṁ; B9: kutattu B3: tōṭakkum S2: kōṭattu S13: kōṭatta;

nēlatta B3: nēlattu S2: ānīlattu Z1: nēlattu; B9: ab.; B9: vaypputum B11: vēṭappūṭum B3:
vappūṭum S2: vēpputu S11, S13: vēpputum Z1: vēṭappatum; B9, B3: cēytu [peculiar orthograph –
yta ṭu B3]; B11: cēyta S11: cēyitu S13: cēyya Z1: cēyitu;

vāṇṇam S13: avvāṇṇam [peculiar orthograph –va] Z1: avvāṇṇam; B9: irunnillā B11, B3, S13, Z1:
tambiyum S2: tāssiyam; B9: mūṭta B11, B3, S2, S11, S13, Z1: porā;

pōkaticētē; S13: mākanārēyum B9, B11, Z1: mākanārēyum B3: mākanāra S2: makan āya; B9, Z1:
kōṇṭu B11, S13: kōṇṭa S2: vilicci S11: vilicca;

10d². B9: poya B11: poyē S13: pōē; B9, B11, B3, S2, Z1: makan S11: maka; B9: pakkel B11, Z1:

11a²-d²: B3: additional verse [= II11: 2]:
pērenān pēṛa vāḷuvēr ēḷḷām/ pēṛiyōn ārulāḷē nī pēr tannu;//
kāri māṭṭān illa tannu nāmakka/ pānkiṭṭu timmākkā kōlkēyān ēki//
cēriyā vāṭuvēr ēḷḷām nāmakka/ tiruvallām āya valiyē nāṭannu//
kārōyāmm a mitu cōnnātu kēṭṭa/ kāṭaka atīmma cēyivān kānavvē//
arkamma

III18


1.

arkamma ōলl asuvaṅka ninnu/a/ ārum aryātē ṥāppēna kāṭṭi/b/


2.
nurrōṭu ṥoru ētōṭu irrippatu désam/a/ ninnavan rájyaṁ bāḷunna kālāṁ/b/
ukkamma kaṅkēstu oḷlavarkkē ēllāṁ/c/ kuṭṭi tan cēlavatāl kāṭṭu tanikka//d//
cērruvān āyī kōṅt aticcā tēvinnē/a/ cēllāṇa vērē prattān avala/b/
ārruvān āyī kōṅt marccakum cēlli/c/ ārriyabār ēllāṁ kēlēti avvē//d//

3.
et ōṇṭā yamantar désam ariyam /a/ ētī ēḷēyāt ēnna mukarnnu/b/

S13, B5, B3, B4, B1, J2: omitted S9: ōṛō; S13: ēṭōṭum S2: etōṭu B5: ēḷōṭum B3: ēḷōṭu B4: ētōt B1:
S13, B3, B1, J2: désam S9, B4: désam S2: désam B5: désam;
2b. S9, B4: mninnāvān B1: ni[nnaval]; S13: raiyam S9: rajyāyaṁ J2: raiyam; S13: vāṭunna S9,
S9, B4: oḷlavarkkā J2: ullavarkk; S13: allām S9: ēllāṁ;
2d. S2, B4: kūṭti B5, B3, B1: ūṭti; S13, S9, S2, B5, B3, B1, J2: tān B4: tān; S13, B5, B3, B1:
cēlavatta S9: cēḷvattān S2: cēṛtta ṭātal B4: cēḷvattām J2: cēḷvattān; S13, S9, S2, B5, B3, B1, J2:
kāṭṭum B4: kāṭṭu; S9, B4: tāṅkkā J2: tāṅkku;
ōṭiccaṁ; S13: dēvina S9, B4, J2: tēvīna S2: tīvīnē B3, B1: tēvīnā;
2b. B3: line omitted; S13: cēḷlāṇa S9, B4: cēḷlāṇu S2: cēḷlattā J2: cēḷānu; S9: bērē J2:
2c. B4: asāmmō; S13, J2: āṛṛuvan S9: āṛṛuvān B5: omitted; S9: āyi kōṅtu S13: āyi kōṅtu J2:
āyī kōṅtu B4: tēvinnē; S13: amṛccakka S9: amṛjacakku S2: maccēkam B5: amṛcekakku B3, B1:
amṛcecakka J2: amṛccakku B4: nnakkālat; S9: cēlli B4: ēllāṁ;
ēllām B4: cēḷuvōr; S13, B3, B1: kēḷati S9: kēḷāti S2: kēḷ ēti B4: ēḷḷānr; S13: ammē J2: appē B4:
avvē;
3a. S13: ēṭōṭa S9, B4: ēṭōṭu S2: ētōṭu B5, B3, B1: eḷa ōṇṭa J2: eḷ ōṇṭa; S13: jāṃantar S9,
B4: jāṃantar S2: yāmnār B5, B3, B1: cāṃantar J2: yāṃantar; S13, S2, J2: désam B5, B3: désam
B4: désam B1: dēṁ; S13, B5, B1, J2: ārīvān S2: ārīyam B3: ārīvān B4: ārīyam;
3b. S13, S9, B4: ēṭil S2: ēṭil B5, B1, J2: ēṭil B3: ēṭil; S13: ēḷēyan S9: ēḷēyan S2: ēḷēyat B5, B3,
kaṭaññaṁ; S13: mutarmnu S9: murnnu S2: mukarnna S2: mutarmna B5, B1: mutarmnaB3:
mütarmnu B4: mutārnu;
bālunna ninnayō tēvi cētyu/c/ maṟṟoru mantēramm ārumm ariyām//d\//
cuṭunna mbārttēya kēṭṭ ōru mannan/a/ suntammē nnanna prattan avala/b/
āsāmō tēvinē ōpat āllum/a/ aṭatiya cēlluvōr illānār avvē//d\//
4.
cēlluvān pinnēyum tānē mukarnnu/a/ yōgyamm āy ōru tēviya tēti/b/
nēll ōru vēntiya kōntuṭan bannu/c/ nabuṟaṭṭāle avarkka pakaram//d\//

ëllä desâttëkkum î vârtta këttu/a/ ëlati tiramaka pôkayum vitçu/b/
bâllâyakâyâlê avala kalaka/c/ pabara aðivucu viçtar kânâvvê/d²//
5.
pôka tuaññi palara taññakka/a/ pôrattama òll ñri têviya têtí/b/
äka palarêyum kôntûtan bannû/c/ aramanayîl k[ëttaññ]a vitçta parambê//d¹//
pakalê [nuskkâram] ñân kôlvên ênnu/a/ pakavatiûrum ni karuna pukka/b/


4d².  S13, S9, B5, B4, B1: valarë S2: vallara B3: palarë J2: paléré; B5, B1: aðivicca B3: aðivicca; S9, B4: bittàr; S13, J2: kânâvvê S9, B4: kânâvvê B5: kânâvë;


lökatta kkaṇami āstēr mōkatta/c/ avara na[mma]ka [č̣u]ti kāṇavē/d²//

6.

baṭṭam utēyōra nambartṭālē/a/ parriya pēnīum pariṣa kōtutta/b/
iṭṭama rājyaṃ vāluṇna kālam/c/ iriyā samantavar tammi pāraṇṇu//d³//
baṭṭa mēṇṇaṃ kōlluvān nēnaccu/a/ vaṇcēnnaḷē pāraṇṇuta kēṭṭu/b/
kēṭṭu pēla pakkal ulla āriṇṇu/c/ kētamic irivēn āyi kāṇavē//d²//
7.
nityam ėnnaṁ ṗavyaṁ tiriṇṇu/a/ nitiyaḷ ṗlla makal vāṛttu/b/
itra ėnnan ottōrimicc ėḷam/c/ etum ėṛṛtaru kaḷakkiyatumilla/ḍv//
ēṭray ėnnun makal vāṛttu cēlli/a/ inna gōllum ėnna cēytaṭ ėlla/b/
vāṣtiya tannyaḥ patimēyuṁ cēyta/c/ tanne ṛaṇicc aṅṅu irinnār kāṇavvē/ḍv//

8.
ömēṇa śālōṁ pērikata mannan/a/ ėṛṛtarattil īrīkkuṁār āyī/b/

7a¹.  S13, J2: nitiyaṁ S9: nniṭṭyam B5, B1: nittiyaṁ B3: nittiyaṁ B4: nittiyaṁ; S13, B5, B1, J2: ėṇnum S9, B4: ėṇnum B3: ėṇnum; S13, S9, B4, J2: stäy; S2: stäy B5, B3: stäy; S13, B5, B1: tiriṇṇa S9: tiriṇṇa B3: tiriṇṇa;
8b¹.  B3: ėṛṛtaruṭti B4: ėṛṛtaruṭti B1: ėṛṛṭaṭtul; S9, B4: īrīkkuṁār B5, B3, B1: iruttumār J2: īrīkkuṁār;
āvolaṃ bēṇṭa pariṣa kōṭutta/c/ avan ēnṇe maṟṟ oru ill ann aṟiyāṁ//d1///
tān ēnṇe maṟṟ 人身 manusyar ēllum/a/ caratica vanna pōya kumbīṭṭu viṇu/b/
nāvatta kēṭṭan nafbáluvaṃ pārkkā kāṇavvē//d2///
9.
cēllumvār vārttavinōṭṭu taniccu/a/ cēlliya bēla aṟivipum vēccu/b/
bāli ūnān cēllumbōl allē iranna/c/ bāstuka cēnnu avar pēra tīriccu//d3///

8c. S13: āvolaṃ [peculiar orthograph – m b-] S9, B4, J2: akōlaṃ S2, B5, B3, B1: akōlaṃ; S13,
8d. S2: atē B5, B3, B1: annē; S13, S9, S2, B5, B3, B4, B1, J2: ārum; S13, S2: ēnna S9: ān B5:
maniśēm B3: mānuśēr B4: maniśēr B1: māniṣyār J2: māniṣyara; S9: ēlla;
8b. S13, S2, B4: caratice S9: caraticcu B5, B3, B1: caratice J2: caraticcu; S13, B4: āvēna S9:
avēna S2: vannu B5, B3, B1: āvana J2: tān; S13, S9, S2, B5, B3, B4, B1: pōyi J2: munnil; S13:
kkumbīṭṭa S9, B4: kkumbīṭṭu B5, B3, B1: kumbīṭṭa J2: kumbīṭtvān; S13: vīna S9, B4: ān B5, B3,
B1: ēnnum J2: omitted;
8c. S13: nā[g]aṭṭē S9, B4: mnākatta B5, B3, B1: mnākattē J2: nākattē; S13: kēṭṭa S9: kkēṭṭā S2:
kēṭṭl [correction by different hand] B5, B3, B1: kēṭā B4: kkēṭṭā J2: kēṭṭām; S13, B1: nattaṇṇāvat
S9: nattaṇṇāvat S2: nattakunnuv at B5: nattaṇṇavat B3, J2: nattaṇṇavat B4: nattaṇṇavat; S9, B4:
ēllum;
8d. S2: ūnē J2: ūn; S13, S9, B3, B1: ārul S2: arulu; S9, S2, B4, J2: pēṟu; S13: vāṭuvā S9:
bāṭuvān S2: vāṭuvukā B5, B1: vāṭuvān B3: vāṭuvān B4: bāṭuvān J2: vāṭavān [sandhi – n + k- = nk];
S13: omitted; S13: kāṇavvē S9: kāṇāvve B5: kānave B4: kāṇavvē;
9a. S9, B4: cēllumvā; S13: bārttavinōṭa S9, B4: vārtavinōṭu S2: pāraṇṇa vinōṭu B5, B3, B1:
ḥaṛttavinōṭu J2: bārtavinōṭu; S13: tanicca S2: tanīṇṇū B5, B1: tanicca B3: tanicca;
9c. S13, S9, B5, B4, B1, J2: pulli S2: pulli B3: valli; S13: cēllumvār S9: cēllumbāl B5, B3, B1:
cēllumvāt B4: cēllumbāl J2: cēllumbāl; B3, B1: ullē [inverted sandhi]; S13: it ēnna S9, S2, B5, B3,
B4, J2: it ēnnu;
9d. S13: pāsakaṃ S9, B4: bāsakaṃ S2: bāsaka B5, B3, B1, J2: vāsakaṃ; S13, S2, B5, B3, B1:
cēnē S9: cēn B4: cēn J2: cōn; S13: anē S9, B4: āvār B5, B3, B1: āvar; S13: avēru S9, B4: pēru
S2: per B5, B3, B1, J2: pērum; S13: tīricca S9: tīriccu B5, B1: tīricca B3: tīricca;
cėlliya väratta varutakkakal kėttu/a/ cōtu vėtätė anūnō ota irinna/b/
illē Ņammakk iñi pėntukkal ārum/c/ tān ēnnē māṟṛ ārum ill ānār avvē/d//
10.
cēḷḷārum ivannaṃ cēlū tuṭaṇṇi/a/ ētuṃ pataṭāte irinna pēṭakk/a/b/
cēlla tuṭaṇṇi palarum tāṇakk/a/c/ cōtyaṃ cēna pramāṇatalo//d//
bāllāyikālē ītil cēlvēn ēnu/a/ pallu vāsēnaṃ mārppān arata/b/
aḷḷa nammaka tunēyāy ērinn/a/ aṅcākanām ēnū ērinnār kāṇavvē//d//
tannē pramāṇicca ekēlil pōrttu/a/ sātikkiyum tanna ca[ma]yāt āyi kōṇtu/b/
aniyēr āyar aṭiyārō āllām/c/ aralu prakāram nēr ōṇtu cēṇnu//d₁//
munnavaṃ pinnēyuṃ tānē tuṇēya/a/ ēkēla oḷḷatō tippūtuṃ cēyta/b/
ēṇṇēyāl [ēlukiccu kōḷvana nammē]/c/ ēka tiri nuyimbl vīnār kāṇavvē//d₂//
S12: ēkēlī S2: cēlil B5: ekal īrī B3, B1: ekēlī B4: ekēlī J2: ekēlī; S13, B3: ppōrkka S9, B5, B1:
pārttu S2: [kk]arttu B4: pāttu J2: vārtta;
b₁. S2: sātiktin B5, B1: sātukkiyum B3: sātukkiyum B4: sātapyām J2: sātakiyum; S9: tāna S2:
ēla cētyu B4: tana; S13: camēyār S9: ccamēt S2: ēlakiccumu B5, B3, B1: camayat B4: camētā J2:
camayāt; S13: kōnṭa S9, B4: kkhōṭu B3, J2: kōṇta;
c₁. S9: āniyēr B5, B3: annyār B4: aniyēru B4: annyar J2: aniyār; S13, J2: āyē S2: atilē B5, B3,
B1: āyā; S2: [a]rar; S9, B4: ātiyārō S2: ātiyārō; S9: ēllam;
d₁. S13: araḷum S9, B4: araḷu S2: araḷu B5, B3, B1, J2: araḷuṃ; S13: brakārām J2:
prakāraṃ; S13: pēr S9, B4: nnēr S2: vēr B5, B3, B1: er J2: ēr; S13, S2, B5, B3, B1, J2: ōṇtā S9,
B4: ōṇtā; S13, B3: cēṇna S9, B4: ccēṇnu B5: cōṇnu;
a₂. B4: munāvuṃ B1: munnavuṃ; S2: pinnavaṃ; S2: tanē; S13, B5, B3, B1: tōṇayā S9, B4:
tōṇēya S2: tōṇayā J2: tōṇayā;
S9, B4: tirputum S2: tippūtuṃ B5, B1: tirppūtu B3: tirppūtu J2: tirppūtu; S13: cēyita S9, B4:
cēyita B5, B3, B1: cēytu;
d₂. S13: ēṇṇēyuṃ S9, B4: ēṇēl S2: ēnnēl B5, B1, J2: ēnnēl B3: ēnnēl; S13: ētānkkīc S9:
ētākiccum S2: ēlakiccu B5, B1, J2: ētākiccum B3: ēlakiccum B4: ētākiccu; S13: kōlvēna S9, B4:
kōlvēnu S2: kōlvēnu B5, B3, B1: kōlvēnu J2: kōlvēnu; S13, B5, B3, B1, J2: nāmrē S9, B4:
nāmrē S2: [nāmrē];
S2: [mnāyimbu B3: nūyimbl B4: nūyimbl J2: nūyimbl; S13: viṇār S9: biṇār; S9: kāṇavvē B5:
kāṇavvē J2: kāṇavvē;
untitled

IV59

B3-87-p.110: (stutikal) மரவன் sutikalaya paṭṭu; B5-23-p.45: arimayāvatāra; B9-30-p.72: arimēyāvar; J2-20-p.36: arimayāya paṭṭu; S2-23a-p.91: untitled; S13-17-p.31: rautū paṭṭu; B1-p.52: III [arimayāyōvara];

1.
arima āyavā arika samavār/a/ arul cēyta ārutē anavillē/b/

pērikamma āyavā pērika sāmavar/c/ pēsak illāttāvar tēlavillē/d2//

ōrimē āyavā olīka sāmavar/a/ ēra cēytarutē anavillē/b/
kari mannavar karati nēnna/c/ nuskarippat ōrikamē/d2//

2.

ātiki arul āy iranno/a/ ninnā suticcu ni tōḻutuvān/b/


nitiyē nalla ēn annacēyita/c/ pā kōṭaka vallēnnavan//d//
pōtam ēntum illāta ŋān/a/ pókātvā[nn]iyāl ōnnum anānṅillā/b/
vāvā ērravuṁ āyī ninnu/c/ naskarippāt ōrikammē//d//
3.
ēntay illāta ninṛē ēḷḷām/a/ cōnna kkaṭēl ilēṅkīluṁ palat ēḷḷām/b/
aniyamār ōllu amar ēḷḷām/c/ ninṛē paniyāmār ōḷḷa arasūṅka//d//
tōṇayō ŋā ninṛ suti cēyāta avarkk ēḷḷām/a/ tuyil ēḷāṅkīluṁ palat ēḷḷām/b/
paniyumār ōḷḷa pariśa sāmavar/c/ nuskarippāt ōrikammē//d//

B3: niṅaccata B1: [niṅaccat] B9: enēccatũ;
2d.  S13: ēḷḷā B5, B3: ēḷḷām J2: lān [sandhi/m + k = nk] S2, B9: lā B1: [ēḷḷām]; S13, B5, J2, B3,
2a.  B5, B3: pōtum J2: pōtam B1: pōṭūm; S13: atum B5, S2, B3, B1: ēṭum J2: ēṭum; S13, B5,
S13: ōnnum B5, B3, B1: ōnnum J2: irunnum; S13, B5, B1: ārīṅníllā J2: ārīṅnílla S2: ārāṅṅilla B3:
ārīṅnílla;
ērṛ S2: ērṛ; S13, B3, B1: palanta B5: valannu J2: vayantu S2: va[lannu]; S13, B5: nēnna B5: ninnē
ēḷḷa[nk]i[ll]um B1: B3: pa[ll]; B9: allō B1: [ēḷḷām];
3c.  B9: line is omitted; B5: aniyāmār J2: aniyāmār S2: omitted; S13: ōḷḷē J2: ura S2: omitted
B5, B3, B1: ōḷḷā; S13: ēḷḷā;
ēḷḷalīḷum; J2: pāalu; S13: ēḷḷā;
3c.  B9: paniyammāruṭe [different line order] S13, B5, B1: paniyamār J2: paniyamār S2:
paniyamāra[r] B3: paniyamār B1: paniyamār; B9: omitted S13: ōḷḷē J2: ura S2: [ōḷḷā]; B5, B3, B1:
parisā J2: parusa; B9: samr B5, B1: sāmavaru S2: samvar B3: sāmavara;
3d.  B9: nutakkappatu S13: nutakkērippatu B5: nuskarippān at J2: nutukkērippatu S2:
nuskarip B3: nūtukkērippata B1: nuskērippā[n at]; B9, S13: ōrīkkamē B5, B3, B1: ōrīkkamē J2:
ōrūkkamē;
4. bêllalphituvat oru nāl illata/a/ ninnōtu patar ivōt allā/b/
nātu valuka ninakk ellātavum/c/ ŋān āya ninnōtu ŋān//d///
caṭa tālil parvān ēṁnutē/a/ pāvam āyat ōtiruvān/b/
nētī nirmālāru suttīccu/c/ nuskkārippāt ōrīkammē//d///

5.
uri paṭacca iṛaṭ akāṭt/a/ ēru vātal āt ōr anīpaṃ/b/
alipam āya ēṭatt irinna/c/ prapṭaṭiccat ēllāṭrēlum//d///

4. **B9: verse is omitted.**
4b². S13, J2, S2, B3: pāvam; B5: āt J2: āyan S2: āyāṭāri B3: āyōt B1: omitted S2: ira[..]n B3:  
nūtukkārippt B1: [nukkkērippat; S13, B5, B3: ōrīkammē J2: ōrūkkamē S2: ōrīkammē B1: ōrī[kkammē];

5. **B9, S2: verse is omitted; S13: as the sixth verse; for the fifth verse see below;**
tirattam ākki nāṭatti ēṇnuṭē/a/ jīvanattinnu tannavān/b/
naṭakkam āyī ēḷunēṟṟu ninnu/c/ nuskarippāṭ Ṽrikamme//d²//
6.
ukka ninil ēruttan illa ninnu/a/ tēra māṟṟum vallavān /b/
ākā niyē inī kkēnt unnavar/c/ āṟum illēy ēṇēnikkā //d³//
nēkkē ninnil ēruttan illa/a/ [tuj]ranann āyya karattunē/b/
vākku kōṇṭu sutiṭcu ninnu/c/ nuskarippāṭ Ṽrikamme//d²//
7.
ēkam āy iranna ninnuṭē/a/ ēkēl āṟum āṟaṅṅi illa/b/

5a². S13: tiruttam B5, B1: tiruttamm B3: tiruttamm; S13: palatti;
5b². S13: jīvanattina B5: jīvanattinnu J2: jīvanattina B3: jīvanattinna; B5, B1: tānnavān;
5c². J2: naṭukkam; S13: āyā; S13: tōnēṟṟa B5, B1: ēḷunanṟṟa B3: ēḷunēṛṛa; S13, B3: nēnna B5,
B1: nīnē J2: ninnu;
5d². S13: nutakkarippat B5, B1: nusukkarippāṭ atā J2: nutukkērippatu B3: nūtkkērippata; S13:
ōrīkkamēṃē B5: ēṛukkamē J2: ēṛukkamē B3, B1: ēṛikkamē;
6a¹. B5, J2, B3, B1: ākkam; B5, J2, B1: ninnil B3: nēnnil; B5: ēruttan B3: ēruttēn B1: [ōṭran];
6b¹. B5: nērām J2: uttēram B3, B1: tēram; B5: māṟṟum J2: māṟavum S2: māṟṟ B3, B1:
māṟṟum; B5: oḷḷuvān J2: cē[yy]avān S2, B3, B1: cēḷuvān;
6c¹. B5, B3, B1: ākkanniyē J2: ākā nila S2: ākanīyyē inī; B5, B3, B1: nī J2: nikkū; B5, B3: kōṇṭē
6a². J2: nīkām S2: nīkī; B3: nēnnil; B5: ēṛittar J2, B3, B1: ēṛuttēr; B5, B3, B1: illā S2: nīlā;
6b². B5, B3, B1: turattan J2: turēttēn S2: turēttann; B5, J2, S2: āyā; B5, B3, B1: karattēnē J2:
kāruttēnē S2: kāratta;
6c². B3: vākka; B3: kōṇṭa; B5: nīnē sutiṭcu S2: sutiṭcu B3: nēnna sutiṭcu B1: nū[nnē sutiṭcu];
B5, B1: nīnē J2, S2: ninnā B3: nēnna;
B5, B1: ōrīkkamē J2: ēṛukkamē S2: tōrīkkamē B3: ōrīkkamē;
7. B9: verse is omitted.
7a¹. S13, B5, B3, B1: ekam; S13, B3: irunna B5, J2, B1: irunnu; S13, B3: nēnuṭē;
7b¹. S13: ekal B5, J2, B3, B1: ekēl; S13, B1: āru B5, J2, B3: ārum S2: ām; S13, B5, J2, S2, B1:
āṟiṅṅī B3: āṟiṅṅī; S13, B5, S2, B3, B1: illā;
äka nīyē ēllātvūnum ariv/c/ äka ninnu ől| ēnnavan//d³//
bikam āyitt ārūte vai/a/ tinña tirkkaval ēnnavan/b/
mōkam āyī ēlunēṟru ninna/c/ nuskkarippät ōrikammē//d²//
8.
ēttutamālē ētambinnal ōru/a/ nūṟri nunppatum ēttummmē/b/
ātatta vannam camaccu vēccattu/c/ avattil ērram balantavar//d³//
tīttukkēmmē ētum illāta nāyana/a/ tān ūkkam ākki alantavan/b/
naṭam āyī ēlunēṟru ninna/ nuskkarippät ōrikammē//d²//
9.
ortta ninnu manassinall/a/ örumicca cēllivāt ēllāvērēyum/b/
satyattil munnamē /c/ talay āka ninnatu satyaṃ //d¹//
vāsti ānnavar pattapēr/a/ patin ēnṇiya patin ētţumme/b/
putti öttapērōtu kūti/c/ nuskarippāt ārikammē//d²//
10.
ōtvān ōruvāyam ākki/a/ ōli paţacc ōru ēnnyēnē/b/
pāṭṭu pāṭēn itti ērran/c/ paţacc ōru ēnnyēnē//d¹//

9. S13, B5, J2, S2, B3, B1: as the tenth verse.


9c². S2: puy; B5: āttavorōtu J2, B3, B1: āttavorōtu S2: āttavorōtu; S13, J2, B3: kuṭa B5, B1: kutē;


10. S13: as the ninth verse; B5, J2, S2, B3, B1: as the eleventh verse, see below supplementary verses for the ninth verse.

10a¹. B5, J2, S2, B3, B1: āttvān; B5, B1: ōru upāyaṃm S2: ōrupāyyāṃ;


10c¹. S13, J2, S2, B3: pāṭu; S13, B5: nīruttī J2: nīruttī S2: nīruttī B3, B1: nīrattī; S13, B5, B3, B1: ērraṃ S2: ērravum;

kūti nēnniōruttan illā/a/ ninna pōlikkēy illāttavan/b/
pāti nirmālēra suticcu/c/ nuskarīpāt ĕrīkkamē//d²//

additional verses in: S13: 5

11.
ayivēranṭ iriv ākka mālavara/a/ suticca ninn ōtavān/b/
mēyyāl ēnika ēllā cōnnā mēka/c/ vatuka ninn arul ōnnavā//d¹//
pōyāl ēnika ēllā cōnnā mēka/a/ vātuka ninnatũm tambirān/b/
 kayi kōṇṭ ērrām suticca ninnā/c/ nutakirippōt ĕrīkkamē//d²//

10a². S13, J2, S2: kuti; B5, J2, B1: ninnil S2: nēnnēl B3: nēnnil; S13: ōruttēn; S13, B5, S2, B1: illa B3: illā;
pōpolikkēy; S13: karattēnē J2: illāttavan;
10d². S13, J2, S2: suticca J2, B3: suticcu;

11a¹. B5, B3: ayiraṭ u J2, B1: ayyiraṭ u S2: ayyiraṭ u; B5, J2, B3, B1: aṭiv S2: uṭiv; B5:
mārayavara J2: mār avarū S2: [mā... ] B3, B1: mārayavara;
11b¹. B5, J2, B3, B1: suticcu B3: suticca; B5, B1: ninnē J2: ninnna S2: nī; B5, B1: otuvān J2, B3:
ōtuvān S2: tōtuvān;
11c¹. S2: mēyyallē; B5, B1: ēnnu J2: ēnt S2: nē B3: ēnni; B5, B1: kālām J2: kkala S2: kāla B3:
kālē; B5, B1: cēnnu J2, S2: cōnna B3: ccōnnā; J2: mēku S2: mēka[ca];
S2: [pāракū] B1: ārul[nnovan];
11a². J2: ēōyāl S2, B3: pōyāl; B5, B1: ēnnu J2, S2: ēnti B3: ēnni; B5, B1: kālām J2: kkala S2:
kāla B3: kālē; B5, B1: cēnnā J2: cōnna S2: [cōnna] B3: ccōnnā; B5, B3, B1: pō J2: vōkutu S2:
[pōka]ṭa;
11c². B5, S2, B1: kai J2: kaiya B3: kaiy; B3: kōnta; B5, S2, B3, B1: ērrām; B5, B1: suticcu S2:
suticcu B3: suticca; B5, B1: ninnē J2: nīnna B3: nēnna;
11d². B5: nuskarīpāt J2: nutukkarippatu S2: namaskarīpān B3: nūtukkērippatu B1:
nuskarīpāt J2: ōrīkkamē S2: tōrīkkamē B3: ōrīkkamē;
/\textit{ôrikamôta}\\
III19

S2-23-84: ôrikamou; S9-4-14, B4-18-40, B7-14-48, J2-11-19, B1-32-97: \textit{omitted}; B3-85-106: (mûsîdêšâta \varepsilon\varphi\varepsilon\nu\iota\alpha\iota
\varepsilon\nu\iota\alpha\nu\iota\o\iota\nu\iota\mu
\alpha\iota\nu) [mûsîdêšâta - \textit{unkra}: B5-39-84: ôrikamôtu ôrikamôtu; S13-14-25: rantapâ\textit{a}ta - \textit{unkra};]

1.
ôrikamô tô ôrikamâ tôt annum nîyyê/a/ ônârum kärttavil âyika ninnu/b/
pêrima kël illattavanê/c/ pêsun patimayil ârika cô̄nna//d1//
uriûm prakârratalë kûrmnêyîl/a/ âlâm ônarpva cêyavân/b/
patami tânûm paṭima cêyavân/c/ bâlûvô énnaKKûm nikKûm êtô//d2//


1b2. S2: alâm; S13: ônarva S9, B4: ônarvu B3, B5, B7: ônarvu J2: ônarppa; S13: cêyivân S9, B4, B7: ccêyivân B5: cêyivân;


2.
čļuvatū pēr cēnna misrīm pukkū/a/ čņnara tāla varav āyi/b/
itākiya nāl ānu arasēnē/c/ eki kōlka panikka varē/dv/
itaka nammakka raṅṭūr ānu/a/ kētamīcč ālla mēnnanñal jūta/b/
kētami pōta cēlō mōṭēlikē/c/ pr[k]āniccu panikal cēyyān/dv/

3.
anē muṭikk ōru tata pānī/a/ arimēyēl ālla kānakkum itṭu/b/


3b. S2: arimēyār S13, S9, B3, B5: arimēyāl B4: arimēyāl J2: arimēyā[.] line missing in copy.
J2: arimēyāl; B7: [...] S9, B4: kānakkum B5: kānakküm B7: [...] J2: kānām; S13, B3: itṭa B7: [...]
innu ūnā i pani tūrānkilō/c/ isra ellām balakkam āyi/ü//
kanni kacca manassalē /a/ kātuttaka ccēlka panička varē/b/
ēnnañtā pani cēyika cēyika/c/ ērravum vāstanam āyi kēttō/ü//
4.
antiri tūkka tēlāsū tūnni/a/ ālēnnē vēcčātto ŏru talakal/b/
pantippān vēntu kanēnnał baccu/c/ paṭṭaḷṇaḷ pinnēyum āḷē tūnni/ü//
3c. S13, B3: inna B7: innum; S13, S9, B3, B4, B7: i; S9: pani B4: pani B7: ppińį; S13: tirānkilō
S9, B4, B5: tirānkilō B3: tirānkilō B7: tirānkilō J2: tirātilō;
3d. S2: isray S9, B4: ittērē S13, B3, J2: ittara B3: ittā B7: ittarā; S13: ēllā S9, B4: ēllām B3, B7:
ellām; S13: bātakkam S2: bā[ll]kkam S9, B4: bālakkam B5: vatakkam B5: vatakkamm B7:
vālakkamm J2: palakkam; S2: [ā]yį;
3a. S9: kkanni B3: kanni B4: kkan[n]i B5, J2: kannika B7: kañį; S2: [nn]aca S9, B4, B7: kkcę c
5amnu; S13: manasalē S2: manas allē S9; manasalē B3: mana[n]sālē B5: sālē B7: manasalē J2:
manusalō;
3b. S2: kā[nt]ka S9: kkaṭaka B3, B7, J2: kāṭuka S13, B4: kāṭaka B5: kāṭuku; S2: cēlka S9, B4:
cecelika B3: cceluka S13, B5, J2: cceluka B7: ccolaka; S2: pan[i]ka B3: panikkā B5: kanikkā B7:
panikkā J2: panikkārē; S2: [va]rē S9, B4, B7: vērē B5: vara J2: omitted;
3c. S13: ēnniṭa S2: ēnna[...] S9: ēnnāṭtou B5: ēnnāṭtou B7: ēnnāṭṭa; S13: apani S2:
[... ] S9: ēpāni B4: [pa]ni B5: ā pani B7: āpāni; S2: [cēyika] S9, B4, B7: cēyika cēyika B3:
cēyka cēyka B5: cēykā cēykā J2: cēyya cēyya;
pathattanam B4: pasattēnam B5: vāṣṭennam B7: vā[t]ēnām; S13: āyikk S2: [ayį] S9, B3, B5: āyik B7:
[ā]tikk J2: nālīk; S13, S9, B5, J2: ētō B3: atō B4: kkēttō;
appears twice]; S2: [a]ka S13, S9: tukka B3, B4, B5, B7, J2: takka; S13: tēlāsā S9, B4, B5: tēlāsū
tūnnī/tūkki;
4b. S2: [ala]nē S9, B3, B4: ālannē B5, B7: alannu; S13, J2: vaccaṭṭ S2: [baccast] S9, B5: vēcčaṭṭ
B4: vēcčaṭṭ; S2: [ō]ru S13: ŏri B4: ŏ J2: uru; S2: tālakkal S9, B4: tālakkēl S13, B3, J2: talakka B5:
talakkā B7: talakkal;
S13, B3, B7, J2: vēntum B4: bēntu B5: venētum; S13, B4: kana kal S2: nammal S9: kkāŋakāl B3:
kana kāṅaḷ B5: kanakāṅaḷ B7: kāṅakāḷ J2: kanaṅaḷ; S13: vacca S2: vēcčaṭṭu S9, B4, B5, B7: vēcču
B3: vēcca J2: vacec;
4d. S2: [vattajō]nāl S9: vattanāna S13, B3, B4, B5, J2: paṭṭāṇaḷ B7: vattanāna; S13, S9, B7:
pinēyum; S2: [ālē] S9, B4, B7: āḷ J2: āḷ; S2: [tūnn]ī B3: tūnnī B7: tūnnī;
bēntannār kanta kēnāvu celli/a/ bētikaḷ ōkka tēkacc irinna/b/
ēnta ŋān cellum pōral iranna/c/ ēsū kōntē irinna kōnnu//d²//

5.
pēmbarnnavarkk ēllām käval vēccu/a/ prakāram ēllām kanakkum itṣu/b/
āmbrannēṅkil kōlāk ēnnu/c/ āratiyā celli pramāṇiccu//d¹//
pēmbarnnakum olikkarata/a/ pranna ān ēllām kanakkum itṣu/b/


5b². S13: line is omitted; S9, B4: prannē B3: pramēyāl B5: prameyāl B7: pērmēy J2: pērmēy; B4: an B7: an; S9: ēlla; S9: kkanakkum B4: kkanakkum B7: kana kukkanum; B3: iṭṭa B7: yįṭu;
7.
ātiya ninn ōru karttavu pinna/a/ aṅc iṭṭu parata cēyyētē/b/
sādiccavara viliccuṃ cēlli/c/ tapp illa paṅcal marnnō niṅnā}//d]/
poōm ōtēyā pramāṇīkal/a/ ōppēna pulla pravōr āyi/b/
etum nammakka ōnnum cēyyērata/c/ ēṛravuṃ biṭṭumṃ alaṅkāryē}//d]/
8.
namūrav ōntāya pilā tannil/a/ avara rājyata vēla ēllām/b/

7. *sixth verse in B4.*


7a₂. S9, B4, B7: pōtaṃ S13, B3, B5: pōtaṃ J2: bōdham; S13: ōṭaya S9, B4: ōṭēya B3, B5, J2: uṭayā; B3: pramāṇīkā S13, B4, J2: pramāṇika B7: prāmai[ka];


8b₁. S9: avēra B5: avārā B7: avarē; S13, B7: rāccīyatta S9, B4: rājyatta B3: rāccīyatta B5: rājyattē J2: rājyattē; S9, B4: pēlē B7: vēlē J2: pēla; S9, B7: ēllām;
rūnupū ėnū rū tūrta (tūn̄i) cēlī/c/ viśvasicca nēn̄al ariṇāu kōlvān//d1//
kunnatta bēcca vēlakka pōlē/a/ kūrmmēyā kōnnu prappiṭṭumbōl/b/
kōnnu kalaṅānān ēnūn cēlī/c/ kunnamm atanka punnica niccā//d2//
9.
elāmattatil piṇaṇa pilla/a/ ēttat aṅṇu nōkkiṭṭa olīcu vēccu/b/
bītu mōtakkavin ēnūn cōlī/c/ biriya kānakkē kanakkum itṭu//d1//

tālu vāluka āy ēri pañca tanattil/a/ caraticcu vēccit̪tu olakki viṭtu/b/
tōtimārum tānum vanna nēraṃ/c/ tōṛṛam pariṅa mālār kan-nil///d2///
10.
tānnē tu-ranmu kanṭvaṛē/a/ sātikki nila pētuṭ ētutt aniccub/b/
dināma olla vēśātī ēllām/c/ tīrṇaṭṭu nallētam bānny appa///d3///
bānam atēyōra pil-la ita/a/ nannāy ilēkum maṭaṅṅēl ōyi/b/
bānam utēyōn ēnakka tanna/c/ makan ēnumm cēlī priyam āyi///d2///
9a². S13: tāta S9, B5, B3, B4: tātu B7: tāpākka J2: tāla; S13: vātuka S9: pātukkē B5: pāyaka B3:
vāyaka B4: pātukē B7: omitted J2: vākay; B3, B7: āy; S13: āra B5, B3, B4, J2: ārē B7: ērī; S13, J2: 
vācči S9: m[a]ñči B3: vāćca B5, B4: mañci B7: ppanja; S9: tanil S13, B3, B7, J2: tanni B5: tannil 
B4: tānil;
9b². S9, B4: ccaraticcu S13, B3: caruticca J2: caraticcu; S13, J2: vaccaṭ S9: vēccit B3: vaciṭṭa 
B4: vēccait B7: vaciṭṭu; S13, S9, J2: ōtakki B3: ōrūkki B7: ēlakka; S9: vacu S13, B3: vīṭta;
9c². B5: totimārum B3: tōtimārum B4: tōtimārum J2: tōtimārum; B4: tānumu B7: tanum; S9: 
bānna B5: vannā B4, B7: vāna J2: vannu; B5: nēraṃ S9, B4: nēraṃ;
9d². S13, B5, B7, J2: tōṛṛi S9: tōṛṛu B3: tōṛṛi B4: tōṛṛu B5: pārō B3: pārō B7: pārkkō; S9, B5, 
B4, J2: makālar S13, B3: makalāra B7: makal [ār]; S13, B5, B7, J2: kanni S9, B4: kkanil B3: kanoi;
10a. S13: tanē B3, B5, J2: tānē B7: tānnē; S13, S9, B5, B3: tōṛṛan B4, B7: tōṛṛon J2: tu-rnī; S13: 
ann S9, B4, B7: ānū B5: ānū S3: ānē B2: anēka; S9: kkanṭavāṛē B13, B3: kκanṭavāṛē B5: 
kaṇṭavāṛē B4: kaṇṭavāṛē B7: kaṇṭavāṛē;
S9: ētattu B3: ētatt B7: ētattā; S13: anacca S9, B4, B7: anēccu B5: ānacca J2: ānacca;
10c. S13: dinamāy S9, B4: dinama B5: dinamām B3: dinamā J2: dinamāy; B7: ēlā J2: 
ulā; S13, B5: pēśāti S9: bēśāti B3: vēśāti B4: pēśāti B7: vēśāti J2: pijā; S9: ēllam B3: ēllam B4: 
ēllam B7: ēllā;
10d. S13: tīrṇaṭṭum S9, B4: tīrṇaṭṭum B5: tīrṇaṭṭu B3: tīrṇaṭṭum B7: tīrṇaṭṭu J2: 
tīrṇaṭṭu napanamṣa vovu pilla; S9: nālūtaṃ S13, B3, B7: nālūtaṃ B4: nālūtaṃ J2: itallētam; 
S13, B7: vānī S9: bānñī B3, B5, J2: vānī B5, B4: pānnī; S9, B3, B4: āppā B5: āppa B7, J2: āppa; 
āyōḷōra S9, B3: oṭēyōru B4: oṭēṭōru B7: oṭēyōrī; S13: pulla S9: pula B3, B4: pullē B7: pil-lā; S9, B4: 
itu B7: itum;
10b. S9, B4: nānāy B5: nānāy; S9: ilakam S13, B3: ilēkam B4: ilēkam B7: ilēkam; S13: 
atāṅkēl S9: mātukkē B4: atūṅkēl B4: ātūṅkēl B7: [ā]tūṅkēl; S13, S9, B3: āyī B7: ṣvī; 
10c². S13: vānām S9: bānam B5: vānām [additional line: vānām oṭēyōru pulla itu/ 
nannāyilēkam atūṅkēl āyī] B3: vānām B4: bānam B7: vānām J2: vānum; S13, S9, B5, B3, B7: 
oṭēyōn B4: oṭēṅ J2: utāyāvan; S9: inikku S13, B3, B4: inikka B5, J2: inikku B7: inikka; S9, B4: 
ānām B5, B3, J2: tanni B7: ttnu;
10d. S9, B5: ēnnum B3: annum B7: ēnnum; S9, B4: cēllī B7: ccallī; S13: pīryām S9, B4: pīryaṃ 
B5: prim B3, J2: pīryām B7: pīrīm; S13: āyī;
**katappu**

**III19a**

kōṇṭu pōyi kōvil akattū pukkū/a/ kōnnar maṭiyil irunna pilla/b/

ānṭ anānākkī piṭiccar tāṭi/c/ ānānantāl ōkkē kulaṃṇiy appa//d1//

kaṇṭ anān iranna ēṅṛē arivār cōnna/a/ karati iranna[i]n tānē ōllu/b/

ōnṭ ēnnu cēlliya muyimbinālē/c/ ōppiccu tān munnil kāṭṭi tannu//d2//

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a². S9, B4, B7: kkaṇṭ; B3: ānī B4: ānnu B7: uūnēy; S13: irinna S9, J2: irunna B5, B3: irunnā B4: irunē B7: irānnē; S13, S9, B3,B4, B5, J2: omitted; S13, S9, B5, B4: arivōṛ B3, B7, J2: arivōṛ; S9, B4, B7: cōnna B5: cōnnu S13, B3: cōnnā;

b². S9, B4: kkarati B5, J2: karuti B3: karuti B7: karutly; S9: irunnāvan S13, B5, B3, B7, J2: irunnanvan B4: irunnāvan; B7: tannē; B7: ōllā J2: ōllu;

c². S9: ānū S13, B3: anna B7: unnum; S9, B4: cēlliya B5: cēlliya B7: cēlli J2: cōlliya; B7: muyimbinālē;

d². B3: ōppicc B7: ōppiccu; S13, B5, B3, B4, B7: tā; S13, B5, J2: munni B3, B7: munni B4: muni; S9, B4: kkaṭṭi B7: kaṭṭi; S13: tannu S9, B4: tānnu B7: ttanu;
ātayum pōnum

IV11

S13-7-15: sarvatikkati; B9-22-55: tantiyum tātāyum; B11-14-31: tantiyum tātāyum; B5-30a-76, S9-2a-4, B4-11a-19, B3-6-6: as the second and fourth verses of III12; B7-2e-p.9: as the eighth verse of III11;

1.

ātayum pōnum ataka kai kōntu/a/ arulicce ēttakam pattum cōmnannu/b/
pātvētē avar tańnakka òlla/c/ tāticcayam vaccūtaṁ pōka tuṁaṁni///d///
nāt itaya kōntu viṭṭavar ēntō/a/ nāt imaṁ vōru kēniṟi talakkā/b/
cētimaravūrām cēyit ōru nēraṁ/c/ dēva varutakkanam tirppān kānavvē///d///


1a\*. S13, B5, S9, B4, B3: atēyum B11: atēyum; S13, B11: pōnum; B9: alukū B5, S9, B3: alaku
B4: ataku; S13, B9, B11, B5, S9, B4, B3: tāyī; S13, B11, B4: kōnta B9: kōntū S9: kkōntu;
1b\*. S13, B11: arulicce B5: arānicce S9: arānicce B4: arānicce B3: arānicce; S13, B11: ēttaka
B3: cumannu S9: ccōmannu;
1c\*. S13: patapātē B9: pātū pātū B11, B4: pāpatē B5: pātū pātē S9, B3: pātū pātē; B9: ayavār
S9: āvār; S13, B11, S9, B4: taṇākkē B9: taṇākkē B9: taṇēkkē; S13, B11, B4: kōnta
B9: kōntū B5, S9, B3: kōntu; S14: insertion in parenthesis, tāyī vēccu.
kāticcēyum B3: kālccēyum; S13, B9: kōntuṭam B11: kōntuṭam B5: kōntuṭam S9: kkōntuṭam B4:
1a\². B9: nātu B5, B3: nāṭu; S13: ātiya B9: ātiya B11, B5, B3: āriya S9: āriya B4: āriya; S13, B11,
S9: kkōntē B9: kōntupoyi B5: kōṭiṭa B4: kōntē B3: kumbiṭu; S13, B11: viṭṭē B9, B4: viṭṭa B5:
1b\². S13: nāṭimārapōru B9: nāṭimārapūṃ[ō]rum B11: nāṭi[...]rapōru B5, B3: nāṭumārpūrum S9:
nāṭimārpūruṃ B4: nārīmārkūrum; S13, B11: kkēnarru B9: kēnarru B5, B3: kēnarru S9: kkēneru
1c\². B9: tētimārum ōruṭam S13: cētimārararūṭam B11: tētimārarūṭam B5, B3:
S9: ban; B9: neraṁ S9: nneruṁ;
1d\². S13, B11, S9: déyvā B9: déjavū B5: déyivam B4: dāi B3: dāvam; S13, B11: parukṣēna B9:
pēruṭakē B5: varuta kēnaru S9: varutakkēna B4: parūta kēnā B3: varūtu kēnāṛ; S13: tirppā
B11: tirappā B5: vannu S9: cēyitār B4: tirppā B3: vannu; B5: kānavē S9, B4: kanavvē;
2.
tantēyuṃ tāyēyuṃ ōrivēna pēṛa/a/ sarvātakatti mōhukkānē nēram/b/
antari tūkkam ēn arulālē/c/ avarūṭē pēra ēraṭṭiyu kōṇṭu/d/v/
ēnt anna kēṭṭu vīliyuṃ kōṭṭutta/a/ eta makan ēnnu cēyyāṭēta ēḷāṁ/b/
cinticcum avarakli irivarkku mōyimuṃ/c/ tirivēllam pēr ēḷām kēlannār avvē/d/v/
3.
appalē pēṭṭi aticcu tūran/a/ avaṛanatta pēriyāṭtām vānni/b/
ōppēna kkōllē ōru urayum pōnnu/c/ orēnnē vānni taram īṭtu kōṇṭu/d/v/

2. This is the third verse in S14. The second verse is a conglomeration of the first and second verses. S13, B9, B11: first verse.
ippalakka itra pōrumi kannu/a/ imbamā nalla uḷayum rāṇṭīṭṭu/b/
cippa makalāra kē[l]ppān āyi kōṇṭu/c/ cēmmē ārīṇū ūnāṇāl pōyār kāṇavvē)//d²//
4.
pōkatu pēlannatu pōrāṇṇavārē/a/ pōṛuvān āṭṭinna tāṇṇir kōṭuppa/b/
vāta kōla vāṇṇūvañ āl ōṭṭum pōrā/c/ vāstunna mēḷēka vannatu kāntu//d¹//
manālan vannatu kānt atanēṛṛi/a/ manam vēcca kāḷālē nikkinār kālām/b/
āriyāl ōḷḷ ōri paṭṭaṇṇāl cēlli/c/ avarōṭu kūṭā pōyār kāṇavvē//d²//

ānu B4: ita ēnna;
3b². B11: imbamma B5, B4: imbamā; S13, B5, S9: ōḷḷa B9: uḷḷa B11: ōḷḷē B4: ōḷḷā; S13:
[vaḷē...m] B9, B4: valayum B11: palayum B5: valēyuṃ; S13, B11: rāṇṭīṭṭa B9: rāṇṭū iṭṭū B4: rāṇṭa
itta;
anūn B11, B4: anū B5: ānu; S13, B11: irannār B9, B5, B4: iruṇnār; S13, B4: kāṇavvē B5: kāṇavvē;
[pōrāṇṇavārē];
4b¹. S13: [pōṛuvān] B9: pōṛuvān; S13: āṭana B9: āṭināṇ B11: atanna; S13: tāṇṇir; S13, B9:
kōṭuppan B11: kōṭappān;
B9: pōrā;
B9, B11: vannatu; S13, B11: kānta B9: kāntū;
4a². S13, B11: a² is omitted; B9: manavālan; B9: vannatū; B9: kāntu; B9: ūḷuṇerū;
4b². S13, B11: mana; S13, B11: pēṛṛē B9: vacca; S13, B9, B11: kayyāḷē; S13: nikkinār B11:
nikkanār; S13: kalla B9: kallū B11: kallā;
4c². S13, B9, B11: atiyāl; S13: ōḷ B9: uḷḷ; S13, B9, B11: ōṛu; S13, B9, B11: paṭṭāṇṇa; B9: cōlli;
S13: kāṇavvē;
milše pātu

II11


1.

vāluvanna vāluvnu ni kāy irikkia/a/ makkaļum šālom pērutāy irikkia/b/

vāluvnu vāluva tańnā valēraka bhūmi/c/ paņķītu timmmākka kōlvē[yum] nēvi//d//


bírvira váluka cēlvāta bíriyam̩ ēllum̩/a/ bíkka tiraṭṭicu ēllum̩ kōlvanni/b/
eticca nāvunna ita kāsti irunnu/c/ cēyitē savvōt ākka ni ņōntār avvv/e//d2//

2.
pērēnnata bērru vātuvēr ēllum̩/a/ pēriyōn arulālē nī pēr tannu/b/

bira S6: piru B6: bitu B7:itu B5, J2: bitu B3: viru; B11: vālākā S4: vātu S1: valka J1: valaka S3:
cēyatum B11: bīriyam S4, S1: vīriyam S2, S3: bīriyam S12: vīriyam S11a: bīriyam S11b: bīriyam S10:
bīriyam S8: bīriyam S6, S6: bīriyam B7: vīriyam B5: bīriyam B3: pīriyam J2: bīriyam;

S6, J2: miñcicat B6: miñcicyat B7: miñcicata B3, B5: miñciccat; B11: iraṭṭiccu S4: iraṭṭiccatū S2:
iraṭṭicca S1: iraṭṭicca S12, S8: iraṭṭicce S11a: iraṭṭiccu S11b, S10: iraṭṭiccat J1: iraṭṭiccu S3:
araṭṭiccu, S1: ellam S11b: ellam B7: ellam[ṃ]; B11: kōlavānāravvē S11b: kol vannu S4: kōlvanni S2:
kōlvanna S1, S12: kol vannū S8, S3: kōlavānāravvē J1: kōl[aa]vānār avvv S6, B7: kolvanno B6: kol
vunn;

1c. B11, S8, J1, S3: cē+[d] omitted; S4: cētic S2: cēticca S1: cotice S12: [cēticc[e] S11a:
nālētu S6: nālum nālu B6: nāvum nāvum B7: nālum ṣātum B5, B3: nāvum nāvu J2: nā[...]; S4, S12:
S4, S1: irannū S2: irunnu S12: irannē S11a: irannē S11b, S10: irannu S6: iranna B6, B5, B3: irunnu B7:
irunnu J2: […]

cēya B7: cēyit[a] B5: cēyta; S4: saotākka S2: savōt[ākka] S1: sāotākka S12: sāotākka S11a:
B3, J2: savōtākkā; S10: ni S6: nandi; B6, B5, J2: rōntār B3: rōntar; S1: aive S12: avvū S10: avva S6,
B7: avv; avv;

2. line order is unstable.

[p]ērēna tā S1, J1: pērēna tā S12: pērēna tam S11a: pērēna tā S10: pērēnai ta S8:
B11, S3: vātuvēr S4: vātuvēr [correction va→ve] S2: vālu[va] S1: vālu per S12, S12b:
vāluper S11a: vālu vēr S10: bālupēr S8: vātuper J1: vālēvēr B3: vālu[va] S6, B6: vālu per B7:

2b. S4: pēriyōn S1, S8: pēriyōn S12: pēriyōnā S6, B6, J2: pēriyōn B7: pēriyōn B5: pēri[yōn];
B11, S11b, S8, J1: arulālē S4: arulālē [correction la[l]→lātē] S3, S1: arulātē S2: arulātē B3, S6,
S1, S8: peṛṛ S12, J1: pēṛṛ S11b: per B3: peṛṛ S6: per B6: peṛṛ B5: pērū J2: […] S4, S1, S12,
kāri naṭanmillā tannu ṅamakka/c/ kaṭakē aṭima cēyivaṅ kunnār avvē/3//

kāryyam nāmita pōnnatu kēṭṭu/a/

biriyyē vāluv ēllām kāṇavvē/3//

3.

atiyāra viśētān tīrppānum tānūm/a/ arula pērīma kōṭuppānum tānūm/b/


mušiyotumača pěriya kōttutta/c/ munnati kāṭṭi valarē kōṭuttu//d1//
 […] /a/ […] /b/

tāní āka munn ēri kartātāvu mannīl/c/ samātīaḷcē calambu kāṇavvē//d2//


4. verse appears also as a separate kūrkan or song IV18 (for III18) in S14b-10-p.28: katāppu; S13-15a-p.29, B4-19a-p.48, S9-5a-p.24, B5b-33a-p.91, J2b-12a-p.24: as eleventh verse of III18; S2-23-p.90: kūrkan [following III18];


munnavumu pinnəyuṃ tānē tōnəyya/a/ ekələ ollətə tirppụṭum cəyata/b/
čnē ēlakkicca kōlləvānō nāmi/c/ ɛlam tirunōyimbil vīnər kānəvē//d²//

4a². B11, S12, S10, S8, J1: munnāvum S4: munnəvum S3: munnəvum S1: m[nnəvum] S11b:
mumba[..]vum B6, J2: munnāvum B7, B4: munnəvum; S1: pinn[ə]vum S12, S11b, S8: pinnəyum S2b: pinnəvum B6: pinnəyum S7: pinnəyuṃ; S1: tānə J1, S2b: tānnə; B11, S2, S12, J1:


5. añcami onüyë manasil përima/a/ annéran m ni ëntu cëyyunntat äyi/b/ iccëär kotti manasi përima/c/ ni ërù ëlläm värë nitikkunnun/d//
iccàti åkûmû nivëri mitënnam ënnu /a/ dëssâvu kayivinnu ni vëtapiccu/b/

5. B11, S4, S3, S12, S8, J1: as the sixth verse, S11a: adds II12 as the fifth to the ninth verses; B3, B6, B5: ends here, S6, J2: verse is omitted; B7: has for the fifth verse II61: 6, for the sixth verse IV16: 1, for c¹-d² of the seventh verse II12: 4c¹-d², for the eighth verse IV111 :1, for the ninth verse the sixth verse below, and for the eleventh verse III55: 1;


vilicca kēraki ppōy kumbiṭṭu vīnu/c/ mīntu kōlvēn ēnnu ēnnār kāṇavvē/d²//

6.

pantikka vēṇti irtantī ārē/a/ parasunṭakk annatu cēyyā kaṭaka/b/
mantamma ōllē manasi pērīma/c/ markamma ōllē aṭima ōnantī/d³//

S10: vēticca S8: pēlcca J1: vetaca; B11, S4: pērati S3: vērati S2: vērāpi S1: pērāvi S12: pērīti S11b:
S2, S10: ppōyi S1, S12, B9: poy S8: ppoyi; B11: kumbiṭṭa S4, S1, S12, S8: kumbiṭṭa S3: kumb[i]ṭṭa
S10: kumbiṭṭa J1: kumbitu; B11: vīna S4, S1, S12, S8, B9: vinu S10: vinu J1: vīna;

B11, S3: āyi S4, S12: ānū S2: annu S1, B9: annu S10: ānū S8, J1: āyi; S4: ēnṭir S3: ēnnāra S12,
B9: ēnnār; S1: kānnavē J1: kānnavē [peculiar orthograph vv];

sāttaka nēlam [kō.] ēlakkiccu ōntu/c/ ānē ārē adhiyārō ēllān//d²//
ārum pra[kāram] pēr ōnta cēnnu/a/ […] pi[ranna ..] tānē […]/b/
 […] ōlla […]/c/ ičē/[r...]/b/ […] kōlavēnu nāmē/c/ ekā tirunōyimbil vīnār kāṇavvē/d³//

6a¹. B11, S3, S1, S8: pantikkā J1: vādikkā; B11, S3, S2: vēnt S4: vēntiyū S1, J1: vēntiy S12:
vēntiy S8: vēnt; B11, S11b, S10: irannille S4, S12, J1: irunnille S3: irannilla S2: [irunnille] S1:
irannille S8: irannille; B11, S4, S3, J1: āḷē S1: ārē S10: ārē S8: āṇē;

6b¹. B11: paraśoṇṭa S4: pariṇaṭa S3: paraśoṇṭa S2: pēras ōntō S1: paras ōnta S12: pariṣ ōnta
S11b: paras ōnta S10: paras ōnta  [peculiar orthograph ō-] S8: paraś ōnta J1: pariṣ ōntu; B11:
namāta S4: tāmiṭtū S3: namāta S2: [nāmāla] S1, S10: nāmātu S12: namātu S11b: nānattu S8:
nāmātū J1: nāmātu; S4: cēyyunnat S3: cēyā S2: manasile S11b: mēyyē S8: cēyyanat; B11: kāṇavvē
S4, S12, S8: āyi S3: kaṭakē S2: ōḷḷu S1: kkatakā J1: kāṭukē;

6c¹. B4: mantamār S3: mantama S1: mantama S12, S10: mantama S11b: manama J1:
madhamma; S4: ula S1: ōlē; B11: manassākkō S4: manass ākki S3: manasaṙakki S1: mānassil S12:
manasaṅrapṭū S11b: manasil S10: manassi S8: manassārk J1: manassīrk; B11, S12: ēllām S4, J1:
irunu S3: iranna S1: perima S10: ppērimma S8: irannū;

6d¹. B11: mārakkama S4: mārkkamā S3: mārkkamā S12: mārkkamma S11b:
S1: ātīme S12: ativa S11b, S10: atimē; B11, S3: ōṇaṛatti S4: ounarti S1, S11b, S10: ounarti J1:
namuttī;
saddhi ōtē āmāyi ninn ōrī nērām /a/ omitted /b/
 omitted /c/ tappāta nayimēyil kūtvān kānāvē//d²//
7.
tamburān tann arulārē nī cēnну/a/ sākē ēllām nicca varasina kēttu/b/
pēmbulla pātiya pāttina kēttu/c/ pēsakāta yōsēphū unārēnu cēllī//d³//
imbama kēṭṭukē ēkān iranna/a/ iṅñu vā ēnna makaḷa viliccu/b/
tamburān tann arulālē nī cēnnu/c/ satēllāṃ ēnn aṅṅu vāstīnār avvē//d²//

7b².  S4, S3, S12, S8: iṅṅū J1, B9: iṅṅa; B11, S11b, S10, J1, S6, J2, B9: ēnnu S4, S1, S12, S8: ēnnū; B11, B7: makaḷa S3: mākala S2: mākēl[a] S1: [makaḷ] S12: mākāḷ; S4, S1, S12, S8: viliccu S3: vilimba S2: [viliccu] B7: viliccu;
II12

J2-48-69; S11a-22a-p.58: as the fifth to the ninth verses of III11; S11b-62-118: as the eighth to the twelfth verses III11; S10-13a-p.18: as the seventh to the eleventh verses of III11; S9-2-3; S1-16-36; S2-3-7; B4-11-19: kataka ērụnụ pāṭu; B3-4-3: iratī lōkam; B3b-6-6: cēniyālca maṇavāṭiṇē pāṭuṇna pāṭu; S4-25-70: ireti lōkam; B9a-2-2.2: irelu lokam B9b-27-p.67: āṭēyum pōmmun (has only the first verse); B5-30-76: saniyālca maṇavāṭiṇē kataka ērụnụ pāṭu 30- ērētu lokam vālvām nōlliyanīnē ṣesāṃ; S13-12-2.p.21: katak ērụnnanata; B7a-2d-p.9: as the seventh verse of III11; B7b-4c-p.15: as the third verse of

1. iratī lōkam patacca pēriyōn/a/ imbama öllē vēlivina kāṭti/b/

iraluṃ vēlivum vatappūm cēytu/c/ ēravu tān ölla prāniṇakka cēllām//d//

śabōtuṃ vaṭītuṃ tannu ṅamakk/a/ caraticca mikadāṣil avanē aratta/b/


vitalōttil irippān bitšu tarėnām/c/ vinšu kōtavēna ėnna ėnnār kānavvē//d²//
2.
öyimbatum tōnnurūm ōntāyavārē/a/ ōtumēyāl olla vāsēna ōntāyi/b/
ayimbanta ūnkanni ōntāyēvārē/c/ alaku tān ėnnē ōrū atayālam kātti//d³/
tuyimbina tōttum muriccu kalañnu/a/ tuvyōra tanum pašimēyum cēyata/b/

tarāvēnam S11b: tārāvenam B5, S1: tarāvenam S9, S10: tārāvenam B4, B3b, S4, S13: tarāvenam B9a: tarāvenam S2: tārāvenam;
2a¹. S4, B9: ōṃbatum S1: ōyimbatum S2: ōbbatum S11a: ōṃmbatum; S4, S10: tōnnurūm; S11b: ōntāyayavārē B3: ūntāyayavārē S4: ūntāyēvārē S10: ūntāyayapārē;
imbama i vārtta kēṭtu pōralē/c/ iññī ēllām i vanṇam cēyyār kāṇavvē//d²//

3.
bālāmē āy ōlla kālām kāliṇṇu/a/ vayasiṅka cēṇṇa virintē[ram] āyī/b/
kālāṇṇa tōrūm irakkum vēlānnū/c/ kāyōrānannām oḷiṇṇatīl pinnē//d³//
vēla ēṭuttani kālām varumba/a/ mēyyēṇa ōla makanē nēnakē ēṇnu/b/
cēlli alakutāyī tān vāstikkum mēyyē/c/ tirivēlla pēr ēllām kēl ētiy avvē//d²//


nuru vayasi perunna make/[a]/ piniya kurmmeyum buddhiyum untu/b/
perr kur enniva vannavarkk ellam/c/ meyya irann ori overra celli//d/  
bherum martr olla manassarkk ellam/a/ ceriya molleyum cokunnatu kanthu/b/ 
derva ann olla maanvelam celli/c/ ellam avarinka valanni kanna//d/  

cilennu kita perasaka ellam/a/ cilicc itu anneh tanarttu kularttu/b/  

4a 4. S4, S11a, S10: nur S2: nnur; J2, B3, S11a: vayasil S11b, B9, S1, S10: vayassil S4: vayisil; 
J2, B3: prana S11b, S4, S10: perrana S2: pperrna; J2, B3, S4: makan S11b: makan enn B9: 
makane[ne] S11a: makane[na] S10: makena;  
S11b: kurmmayum B3: kurmmayum S4: krumayi B9, S11a, S10: kurmmeyum S1: kurmmeyum S2: 
kurmmeyum[un]; S11b: buddhiyum S4: ptiyum S2: mbi[ccijy][a]  
S11a: buddhiyum S10: buddhiyum; S11b, B9, untu S4: ontu S2: ontu S10: onta;  
tiyya [correction -yi—ya] B7: enniva; S11b, S1, S2: unnnavark S11a: avarkk S10: nannvark B7: 
vannavakkaka; S2: ella;  
J2, B9, S11a: on B7: or; J2, B3, S11a: upadesam S11b, S10: okatasa S4, B9: upadesam S1: 
S11a: derayi S10: pery B7: derayum; S4: ella S2: omitted B7: olla; J2, B3, S11a: manusyar S11b, S10: 
S2: malayum; J2, B3, S11a: corumatu S11b: ccounatu S4, B9: couri[nnatu] S1: counatum S2: 
counatu S10: counatu B7: ccounata; S4, B9: kant S2: kant B7: kantu;  
4c 4. J2, B3: deruvan ann S11b: derupan S4: bekavan ann B9: peruvann ann S1: dervan S2: 
deruvan S11a, B7: deruvan ann S10: deruvanatt; B9: ella S2: olla B7: olla; J2: mangala B3: 
mannelam S1: manelam B7: manelam; J2, B9, S10: ccelli B7: ccelli;  
S10: palan B7: vatinni; S1: kana S2: kana S10: kana[aa] B7: kana[aa];  
5. S4 and B1 have II61: 4 for the last verse. B9 ends here.  
akkitt S2: akkittu S10: akkitta; J2, B3: prasakal S2: peramskal S11a: prajakal S10: perasaka; S11b, 
S2: ella S10: mal;  
5b 5. J2, B3, S11a: jvice S11b, S2, S10: ccilice S1: silece; J2: attu S11b, B3, S1, S2, S11a, S10: 
att; J2, S11b, S10: anu S1: annu S2: anna; S1: tanarttu S11a: talarttu; J2: kulantu S11b, S10: 
kularnnu S1: kularnnu S2: kulurnu;
sāpila satyaṁ tikanni nōkki/c/ caraticca collunna lōkattē kkāntu//d¹//
pēlōnaṁ ŋān ippa cēyatatō ēlām/a/ pēsakāta cēnnu caraṇam āyi viṭṭu/b/
tiyy anna imma vētapiccum kōntu/c/ tirivēlḷa pēr ēlām kēl ēti avvē//d²//


5d². J2, B3, S11a: tiruvēllām S1: tiruvēlla S2: [tiruvalla]; S1: pēr S2: [pēr] S11a: pēr S10: pōr; S2: [ēllām]; S1: kel; J2: āți B3: ați S2: [kēl ēti] S11a: ētiy; S1: avve S2: [avvē];
malavālana pāṭunna pāṭṭu

II15

S13-10-p.19: cēniyalicē kālatta; B11-16-p.35: omitted; S1-33-p.67: manavālana pāṭunna pāṭṭu;

1.

pēla kāla nerattu pokan tuṭaṇṇī/a/ buddhi ōrppatt[ā]la kātticcuṃ kōṇṭum/b/
nēla kāṇṭu munnānna cēnnu kāna[k]ē/c/ nēṅṅakkal atu ēntu nnu kāṇamō ēnnum/d/
vala kāṇṭu marṛ ē[ru] kabilu ēṇṇa/a/ matiyō ninnal ŋkilum ivitē iripp[ul]/b/
tala makan āyavar tannēyum kōṇṭu/c/ tappāṭē pūsa[kka] pōyavar kānavvē//d2//

2.

unnicca tānnattu tān cēnnu ni[nnu]tē/a/ yokyam āy ōḷḷ ōru sūdhikal cēyivān/b/
pinnēyum nammal pēraka maṭakki/c/ piṇāyaṃ vānī vala kkai kēṭṭi//d2//

1a1. S1: pēra; S13: nēratta B11: neratta S1: nerattu; S13: pōka B11: pokā S1: pokān; S13, B11: ttōtaṇṇī;
1b1. S13, B11: putti S1: buddhiy; S13, B11: ṭrappattālē S1: or pattālē; S13, B11: kattiyyum S1: kattiyyum; S13: kōnta B11, S1: kōṇṭu;
1c1. S13, B11: kānta; S13: mūnānā B11: mūnānā; S13, B11: cēnṇē; S13: kānakē B11, S1: kanakē;
1a2. S13, B11: mala; S13, B11: kānta; S13, S1: ēṇnu B11: ēṇnum; S13: kāntillā B11, S1: kāntilla; S13, B11: cēnṇā;
1b2. S1: matiye; S13: nēṅṅakk B11: nēṅṅal S1: nēṅṅlk; S13: omitted B11: ēṅkīl S1: ēṅkīlum; S13, B11: irippin S1: irippi;
1c2. S13: āyavar; S13: tannēyuṃ; S13, B11: kōnta S1: kōṇṭu;
1d2. S1: tappāṭa; S13: pu[ṣa]kk B11: puṣakkā S1: puṣakkū; S13, B11: pōyār S1: poyār; S1: kānavve;

2a1. S13, B11: unicē S1: unnicca; S13: tanatta B11: tānatta S1: sthānattu; S13: tā; S13, B11: cēnna S1: cēnṇū; S13, B11: ninna S1: ninnūṭē;
aniccan yēnnu makana viliccu/a/ aniyyamma ēnnuma pāvattē kaṇṭu/b/
ēnnyō ikarmmaṃ ceiyiyunnatayi/c/ ēṅkilum ōru vātu koṇtu ēṅṛē tāpikku//d2//
3.
irupēru kūṭi nātakkunna kālum/a/ pēru śanni ṃān ātu kelkkēnum namma/b/
pēriyavar āyavar tāvulli cēnnu/c/ pēṣata cēyivān nērivum nēnna]]/[d]/ arulil
āvannamē pusēta ēnnu/a/ āṭanṇu nokkīṭṭu ōru āṛā[ca] pēnni/b/
tēripānē tannē tanikk ōḷḷa vālavu/c/ tappāta puṣakkux poyār kāṇavvē//d2//
2a². S13: anniyē B11: anniyavara S1: ani[?]yan [striking off a letter]; S13: nēnna B11: cēnna S1:
ēnṇu; S13: mākana B11: makanē; S13: vilicca;
B11: pāvattā; S13, B11: nōkki S1: kaṇṭu;
2c². S13: ēnē ō B11: ēnē S1: ēnnēyo; S13: ikkaṛamaṃ B11: i kēṟamaṇ S1: ikarmmaṇ; S13:
cecēnnaṭayi B11, S1: cēyuyunnatayi;
S13: annāṛ B11: cēyuyannār; S13: avvē S1: tāyikkū;
3. S13 and B11: as the second verse.
3a¹. S13: iraparu B11: irupēruṃ S1: irupēru; S13: kkuṭa B11: kūṭa; S13, S1: nātakkanna; S13,
B11: nēṛaṃ S1: kālam;
kekēṇa B11: kekkēṇaṃ S1: kelkkēṇaṃ; S13: nayimā B11: nayima S1: nanma;
3d¹. S13, B11: pēsātama; S13: cēyivā B11: cēyavāṇō S1: cēyvān; S13: nēriyō B11: ariyā S1:
nērivu; S13, B11: nēnṇakka S1: nūnṇakkū;
puṣākał S1: puṣāta; S13: ēṅna B11: cēyivān S1: ēṇṇu;
S13: aracca B11: arāṭica S1: arāḷca; S13: […] B11, S1: vēṇṇi;
3c². S13: […] B11: taruvāna S1: tarivāno; S13: […] B11: tānē S1: tannē; S13: tānakk B11, S1:
tanikk; S13, B11: ōḷḷ; S13: allō B11: āṭallō S1: vāḷūvū [peculiar orthograph -lv];
3d². S13: [ta]ppāṭē; S13: puṣakka B11: puṣakkā S1: puṣakkū; S13, B11: pōyār; S13: kāṇavvē S1:
kanavve;
orkamōtu

III19


1.

orkamōt orikamōt annuṃ niyyē/a/ ōnaṛum kārttavil āyika ninnu/b/
pērma kē illāttavanē/c/ pēsuṃ pātimayi-nil arika cōnna/d1//
urikum prakārattalē kūrmēyil/a/ ālaṃ ōnarvva cēyavān/b/
patami tānum paṭima cēyavān/c/ bāluvō ēnnakkuṃ nikkum ēṭō/d2//


1b2.  S2: ālaṃ; S13: ōnarva S9, B4: ōnarvu B3, B5, B7: ōnarvu J2: ōnarppa; S13: cēyivān S9, B4, B7: cēyivān B5: cēyivān;


2. ēluvatū pēr cēnna misrim pukkṟ/a/ ēnnara ttāla varav āyī/b/

itakiya nāl ānu arasēnē/c/ eki kōlka panikka varē//d//

itaka nammakka raṇṭūr ānu/a/ kētamīc oḷḷa mēnnnāṅṉal āṭu/b/

kētamī pōta cēllu mōṭēlikālē/c/ pr[kāṇiccu] pānīkā cēyyān//d//


3.

annē mutikk õru tata pani/a/ arimēyēl olla kaṇakkum ittu/b/
innu ūn i pani tīrāṅkilā/c/ isra ēllum bālakkam ayyi/d//
kanni kacca manassālē /a/ kāṭtuka cēlēka paniṅka varē/b/
ēnnaṭṭa pani cēyika cēyika/c/ ēṛṟavum vāstenām ayyi kēṭṭō/d//

4.

antirī tūkka tēlāṣū tūnī/a/ ēlēnē vēccaṭṭu õru talakal/b/

3a¹. S2: annō; S2: mutik J2: mutikka; S13, S2: ṛa B3: aru; S13, S9, B3, B4, B5, B7: tāta J2: tāla; S9: pāṇi B7; pāṇi;
pantippän věntu kaněnňal baccu/c/ paťaďnľal pinněyum ěľę tunňi//d//
běntannăr kanţa kěnáuve cělli/a/ bětikal ŏkka těkacc irinna/b/
ěnta ěňan cěllum pŏral iranna/c/ śus koňtče irinna kŏnnu//d//

5.
pěmbarnnaŭrkk ěľăm kával věccu/a/ prakăram ěľăm kanakkum Ĭtṭu/b/
āmbrannenkıl kōlka ěnnu/c/ aratiya cělli pramānıcceu//d//
pěmbarnnakum ĝlikkərata/a/ pranna ěn ěľăm kanakkum Ĭtṭu/b/

5b2. S13: line is omitted; S9, B4: pranň B3: pramęyāl B7: pęrmę J2: pęrmę; B4: an B7: an; S9: ělla; S9: kkanakkum B4: kkanamkkum B7: kānakkum; B3: ětta B7: yīttu;
kamin ēbēnāk ēnnu cēlli/c/ karttāvu cēyata pērima kēlvin/d²/

6.
itra etum palam ill ēnnu/a/ iļaka manassavar cēyata pēła/b/
orttātu kōntavar taññalōtu/c/ ōccayāyi cēlli pramāniccu/d³/
putran āka pranna ānū/a/ puttii ōṛpattāl am ākki vēccu/b/
cattu vōkummar ērbhayam cēlli/c/ caraticca cēlli pramāniccu/d²/

S13: kānak S9: ēla kānakāk B3: ēvañ kānak S4: ēpam kānakāk B5: ēva kānakka B7: kānakku J2:
avan kānakka; S13, B3: ēnna B5: ēnnum B7: ēnnu; S9, B7: cēlli B5, J2: cōlli;

5d². S13: karttāva S9: kkattāvu B4: kkattāvu B7: katttāvō J2: kārttāvu; S13: cēyita S9, B7:
cēyita B3, J2: cēyta B4: tañrē B5: cēytā; B5: pērimā B7: pērimā J2: pērumā; S13: kēppi S9, B4:
kkēppin B3: kēllppin B5, J2: kēllppin B7: kēppin;


6a¹. S9: ittarē S13, B3, J2: ittara B4, B7: ittērē B5: itrā; S13, S9, B4: ētu; B3, B5: bēlam B4:
pālañ B7: palañ; B7: yill; S13: anna S9, B4: ānēñu B3, B5: ēnnum B7: ēnnum J2: ānēña;
6b¹. S13: ērīkka S9, B4: ērīka B3, B5, J2: ētaka B7: ērika; S13: manassavar S9: manasu avar B3,
B5: manasañvar B4: manasañvar B7: mānasavar J2: manasavar; S13: cēyita S9, B4, B7: cēyita B3:

S9: kkōntu avar B3, B4, B5: kōntāvar; S13: tānnalute S9: tānnalōtu B5: tānnalōtu;

B7: ōṭarccēyā J2: ōṭēya; B5: cōlli B7: cēlli [correction lli → cēlli]; S13, B3: pramānicca B7:
pērmānicca;

6a². S13: puttērēn S9, B3, B4: puttērēn B7: puttēran J2: puttāran; B7: [ā]rīka; S13: prannē B3:
prēnn B4: prannē B5: prannāpuḷḷaṁ B7: prānnē J2: pērṇa; S9, B4, J2: ān S13, B3, ānā B5, B7:
ānu;
6b². S9, B3, B4, B5: putti; S13: Ṽṛppattāla S9: Ṽṛvvātt B3: Ṽṛppattāl B4: Ṽṛppattāl B5: Ṽṛppattāl
B3: vēcca J2: vaccu;

upāya B7: ōvāya B2: ōrupaya; S9, B7: cēlli B4: cēlla B5: cōlli;
6d². S9, B4: caraticcu B3: caraticca B5: caraticcu B7: omitted J2: caruticci; S9: cēlli B4:
vēccāt B7: omitted J2: vaccu; S9: pramāniccu S13, B3: pramānicca B4: ōjakkī viṭṭu B7:
pērmāniccu;
7.

ātiya ninn ōru karttāvu pinna/a/ aṅc itṭu parata cēyyētē/b/
sādiccavara viliccaṁ cellī/c/ tapp illa paṅcal marṇṇo niṁṇal//d1//
pōôm ōtēyā pramāṇikāl/a/ ōppēna pulla pravrō āyi/b/
etum nammakka ōnnum cēyyērata/c/ ēṛrvum bīṭṭumma alakutāyyē//d2//

8.

annūrāv ōntāya pilla tannil/a/ avara rājiyata vēla ēllum/b/


S13, S9, B3, B4, B7: omitted.


S13: vilicca S9, B3, B4, B7: viliccu B7: viliccu; S9: cēli B5: celli B7: cēlli;

B3, B7: nēṇna B4: nnēṇna B5: nīṇṇa J2: nīṇṇa;

7a².  S9, B4, B7: pōtam S13, B3, B5: pōtam J2: bōdharm; S13: ēṭaya S9, B4: ōṭeya B3, B5, J2:
ūṭaya; B3: pramāṇikā S13, B4, J2: pramāṇika B7: prāmat[ka];

7b².  S13: ōmēna S9: pōmūnṇē B3, B5: pōmūnṇē B4, B7: pōkumūnē J2: omana; B4, B7, J2:
pilla; S13: pēṛuvur B3: pēṛavōr B5, J2: pēṛapōr B7: [v[ē]kōr; B7: aiy J2: āki;

7c².  S13²: etu ētu S9, B4: ētu; S13: namakk S9: nāmakk B5: nammakk B7: nammakka;
S9: ōnnu; S13: cēyyatarata S9: cēyyārūta B3: cēyyārūta B4: cēyērātu B5: cēyyārūtu B7:
cēyyārūtu J2: cēyyārūta;

7d².  S9: ēṛrvum [repetition of word from previous page] B7: ēṛrvum J2: ēṛrpum; S13:
vitu[m] S9, B4: bitum B3: vitum B5, J2: viṭṭu B7: pitum; S13: atakatyē S9: ālakuttāy[ō] B3:
atukutāyē B4: alakutāyō [inserting next to the verse: mikkam[ōha] (H ṣṭṭa ṣṭṭ)] B5, J2: alakutāyē
B7: alakutāyē;

8a¹.  S13: annarāv S9, B4: annurāv B3, B5, J2: annurāv B7: [annurāva]; S13, B3, J2: unṭāya B5:
unṭāyā; S9: pula S13, B3, B4, B5, B7, J2: pula; S13, J2: tann S9: tanī B3, B4, B7: tann;

8b¹.  S9: avēra B5: avarā B7: avarē; S13, B7: rāciyatta S9, B4: rājiyatta B3: rāciyatta B5:
rājyattē J2: rājiyatta; S9, B4: pēlē B7: vēlē J2: pēla; S9, B7: ēllam;
rōnnupō ēnnu ōru törṛam (tōnni) cēlli/c/ viśvasicca nēṅnāl ariṅṇu kōlvān//d//
kunnatta bēcca vēlakka pōlē/a/ kūrrmēyā kōnnu prappiṭumbōl/b/
kōnnu kalavān ēnunu cēlli/c/ kunnannm atāṅkē punnica niccu//d2//
9.
elāmattatil piṟaṇa pilla/a/ ētatt aṅṇu nōkkīṭṭa ōlicca vēccu/b/
bīṭṭu mōttakkivin ēnnu cōlli/c/ biriya kanakkē kanakkkam iṭṭu//d//
tālu vālu ka ṣā paṇča tanattil/a/ caraticcu vēcciṭṭu ōḷakkī viṭṭu/b/

tōtimārum tānum vanna nēram/c/ tōrram parakō malar kannil//d2//

10.
tannē turannu kaṅtvārē/a/ sātikki nila pēṭtu ētutt aniccu/b/
dināma berra vēsāti ēllām/c/ tīrnnatṭu nallētām bānūy appa//d3//
bānam atēyōra pilā ita/a/ nannāy ilēkum mataṅṅēl ēyi/b/
bānam utēyōn ēnakka tanna/c/ makan ēnnum cēlli priyam ēyi//d2//

B3: kanni;
The history of women of Jewish Karla

The island of the Hindu West between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea is located on the southern shore, also known as Melbar, a state in Karla. For a millennium, this tropical coastal strip served as a bridge between the western mountains and the Red Sea. At the end of the first millennium, the development of trade that took place in the East-West corridor was crucial in trade, and included Christians and Jews, Muslims-Western Arabs, and was supported by the rulers of Jewish and Christian states. The Jewish community of Karla and its surroundings were integrated into the social structure of the Indian community, and the Jewish community in Karla developed a unique linguistic tradition in their own language.

Development of the corpus has led to the formation of Jewish and Christian communities in the region, which developed in the Indian community, and the Jewish community in Karla developed unique traditions in their own language. The history of these unique traditions, which developed in the Indian community, is the subject of this study, and is discussed with respect to the corpus of Jewish and Christian communities, and with respect to the development of religious and artistic traditions in the region. The history of the Indian community and the Jewish community in Karla is unique in the world, and has continued to flourish and develop over time, as a result of the civilization of Islam and the time period that followed, and has continued to flourish.

The social background of the corpus is the social structure of the Hindu West, which incorporated the social structure of the Indian community, and the Jewish community in Karla developed unique traditions in their own language, as well as in the religious and artistic traditions of the region, and the social structure of the Indian community and the Jewish community in Karla is unique in the world, and has continued to flourish and develop over time.

The history of women of Jewish Karla

The history of women of Jewish Karla is a subject of study among historians and sociologists. The history of women of Jewish Karla is a subject of study among historians and sociologists, and is discussed with respect to the corpus of Jewish and Christian communities, and with respect to the development of religious and artistic traditions in the region. The history of the Indian community and the Jewish community in Karla is unique in the world, and has continued to flourish and develop over time, as a result of the civilization of Islam and the time period that followed, and has continued to flourish.

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In the context of religious services and prayers, the community of Jewish artisans is distinctive and unique. They are characterized by close-knit family ties and strong family bonds, which are common among artisan communities. The community of Jewish artisans is also distinctive in its religious practices, which include the performance of prayers and religious services in the context of their work. The community of Jewish artisans is also distinguished by its cultural and linguistic diversity, which is reflected in the use of different languages and dialects.

The economic activity of the Jewish artisans is also distinctive. They are known for their skill in various trades, such as carpentry, metalwork, and weaving. The community of Jewish artisans is also known for its artistic and cultural productions, which are reflected in the various objects and artifacts created by the artisans. The community of Jewish artisans is also known for its close-knit social structure, which is reflected in the tight-knit family ties and strong family bonds that characterize the community.

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לפי עדויות שונות, שייט היהודים במליאם היה קיים עוד לפני עשרים שנה לפני הספירה. עם זאת, עדויות כתבי הגניזהilar למספר מס砝ים מתחילה בתקופה המאוחרת. רבי יוסף רבן, שחי לפני כ-500 שנה, כתב שלושה ספרי ימי ושתי ימי-שבועות בתאריכים המאוחרים יותר. ימי-שבועות אלו מנוגעים לתקופה שבין המאה העשרים למאה ה-14, והם קשורים לתקופה שלפני הקפאת העזרה היהודית במליאם. כמו כן,册 כתב החכם ב-1498, יש לו עדויות כתבי העונה ויומני מסע עלTerritory של כתבי המאה השמונה עשרה. יש ענישה של כתבי הגניזה קיים עד היום, וידוע כי הוא היה היהודים במליאם לפני שהגיעו היהודים מאירופה. הקהילה היהודית במליאם נודעה בתקופה שלפני המאה השלישית, והיהודים בתקופה זו נודדו למליאם בעקבות תקופת מלחמות בימי-שבועות והשלום ש🛎 ביניהם. }

היה זה גם יומני מסע כתב בכמה לא-ציוני, לא-גיוני, לא-פיינורפחו, ולא-פיינורפלו אמור על כך כל היהודים במליאם לפני שהגיעו מאירופה. הקהילה היהודית במליאם נודעה בתקופה שלפני המאה השלישית, והיהודים בתקופה זו נודדו למליאם בעקבות תקופת מלחמות בימי-שבועות והשלום ש炳ו ביניהם. }

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انتقالים וביביート בציבור הקורפוס

יש עדות לגבי קהל יהודים בלשון וספרותי המהווה את תFileChooser בציבור המאוחר יותר. הקהל הוא מפגש של ארבעה קהלים שונים שהיו בגובלי השטח ובעבר. הקהל היה מבוית בתקופה שלפני ימי הביניים והיה מחובר למקורות שונים כגון בבל, חי ושלום. הקהל היה ידוע בתקופה שלפני ימי הביניים והיה מחובר למקורות שונים כגון בבל, חי ושלום. הקהל היה ידוע בתקופה שלפני ימי הביניים והיה מחובר למקורות שונים כגון בבל, חי ושלום. הקהל היה ידוע בתקופה שלפני ימי הביניים והיה מחובר למקורות שונים כגון בבל, חי ושלום.

בבית העברי ובלוית -לףג חוברת בהוצאה עצמית עם תעתיק של המליאלם לארערכה שירלי אייזנברג ונסון 'לגה ויעצ, דניאל בקשיים פילולוגיות רבים נתקלה על הקורפוסבמהלך עבודתן ' פרופ פנתה לונסון'ג. תגבר על הקשייםמנת לה-לחפש אחר פילולוג המתמחה בשפת המליאלם על הקורפוס. ב-2000 הוחלט להוציא לאור ובסלול מקום עשרים שירים בערךמוערות ב-1995: ין'מקוצרובי "ורוב די" פורסם ספרן של דניאל וג

ורוב די" פורסם ספרן של דניאל וג

ו Luậtן בנ הישות התרבותית העתיקה ההשלכות של הממצאים הלשוניים והספרותיים הקדומים בנחל הקורפוס לעתונות יהודיות ו>--כיתרבית עובדה שהקורפוס מחייב מחקר, וביניהם כותבת שורות אלה, הספר התחוור לכל העוסקים במלאכה. הכרית היה הצניח במאור נלאר ולארסון."הפימה" זכה להוראה בלשון וספרותי המהווה את תFileChooser בציבור המאוחר יותר. היז דינה על שמות בל ישירים ערים ו.consumerות לעשת את اللغة וספרותי המהווה את ת Finch אוניברסיטה. זוכרים,的日-

למשל את ת Finch אוניברסיטה. זוכרים,的日-

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ה lahראות יכ למוסר הקוסי בקובע טקסט ולשירים רבינ והחובשות שיש להבת השירם, הבושרש ו, הצור החשוב במעלו היא התשתי פילוקליות של הקופוס החומית על הקוסי המקורית וניתנו ב.achi לא התיאר הרב-בילוקליות פמיליה מתכון בפי עזרה. השפיהה

בגאוד בתוכי היא על כל לחר הבדרות ב, אם דפי הקופוס, טקסטולטי, על הקוסי

תשלום צⁱ đựng תיאור פילוקליות ואמַן המנהיג פפילולוגיה משונות.

במקום זה ערב dây התיאור פילוקלי של הקוסי עיגול ו�인ה. מבוליש על הקוסי מחקיה ב, עוד והשתתפת בפקר

ップ עניין פילוקלי של הקוסי אלו עיגול וא-פילוקליות (פפיליולי), חמיד שבחב טקסטולטי שולמה ב, מאת-


גנריות או פרפורמטיביות-אתנו,  קטגוריות גנריותפי נושא ללא אבחנה בין, על המפתוח עריכת

עשר הפחת הקוסי בסף של מפתוח הנושא לשירים בקורפוס מבנו ב, שירי דבקות ושונת, שירי חתונה, שירי היסטוריים: קטגוריות מהשירים לא היו מובנים לאישה מהעוסקים, זאתكثر בצלי לשירים, בשירים רבים מסווגים כשירים מקראיים, כךקרה למשל, במלאכת

שירי חתונה, מבו בגרם הקוסי כ, הנחשхот הפילולוגיה במחקר הקורפהשלישיטעם התיוג זה קורא להתייחס אל הקוסי כאל מסורת עמיתת אוראלית, הם כל הנשים יהודיות

אמזא, ובהתאם להתמקד בפרשנות מגדרית ופולקלורית של השירים, נחלתן של נשות הקהילה

תי מבוטל הן אך גם לגברים יש חלק ב, אכן נשים הן אלה המבצעות ומשמרות את הקוסי, יש למשל בקורפוס סוגה של שירי משוררים. כקהל הן כשותפים ליצירה ולשימור בדרכים שונות, ידוע כיの場合 רבים היו אלה גברים. значит שירים המיוחסים למחברים שרובם כולם גברים

있י להוזמן את האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירי משוררים, שירי קדevento מאי האישיקות של הקוסי, שירים

בשונה ממכה טכנולוגיה.
בכל מקום המ텐ינו של הקורפוס בעולמו הבינלאומי מעידים שני ספרים עבריים מהמאה ההיסטורית המקומנה, קסטילiano沉淀TES הווה חתונה ואשנossaו מסדירים את רפרטואר הפיוטים לשנונים 1756 וwomen "שים בנוסח יש אזכורים לשירת הנשים בין הוראות הביצוע של הפיוטים והברכות archivo נהגית בהפנייה למחקר הנוכחי. משוריינת את שמה קופה ספורטיבי של הנשים ושל הקהילהpoke, לקח בת מצווה את הקורפוס והלאנסטוס הפיוטים הקsetParameterיים ש았ם משמעה וחברה בחברות דוגמא ביהخروج מהLTR הקורפוס השתיותותVES כמו מmerce הקורפוס בעיות של הלהב preses שהם ובר-long של הקורפוס בעיונית לספרות קלאסית של במלאכתם והרביעית עין בחירスキ, שקולו ומשולב.

בנספח ג נספחים אלה מהווים את חומרי הגלם הראשוניים של הקורפוס. הם מושתתים מהמקרא והמדרש והם מיועדים לעיון המזדמן של הקורא. המחקר טמון במענה הראשוני הפילוגרפי בהכרת הטקסט ובהערות, בהمدורה הביקורתית ניתן להאמוד את הייצוג הטקסטואלי של השירים בהקשרם על פי הבנת המקרא והמדרש. המהדורה הביקורתית מסייעת גם להתבוננות מקרוב על השירים ולפענוחם במחברות מפעם לפעם. השיר שבב פילה, שמﻣרא לכולים את העניין המיוחד, הוא אופן פעולה בלשוני ולבסיס את הפרשנות לשוני ולבסס."בנספח ב" הם הפרשנות הממשות אתмеча ב Mavericks השירים הקדומים בשיר הקדומים ביותר בקורפוס (פרק רביעי). תחומי运河 של הפרגמטית קריאה הממשית כ 함 ב "_fragment ניסיון של השירים של הקורפוס לספרות המלête לשוני, השיר שבב פילה, שממרא לכולים את העניין המיוחד, הוא אופן פעולה בלשוני ולבסיס את הפרשנות לשוני ולבסס. הפרגמטית קריאה הממשית כ 함 ב "_fragment ניסיון של השירים של הקורפוס לספרות המלête לשוני, השיר שבב פילה, שממרא לכולים את העניין特别声明, הוא אופן פעולה בלשוני ולבסיס את הפרשנות לשוני ולבסס. הפרגמטית קריאה הממשית כ 함 ב "_fragment ניסיון של השירים של הקורפוס 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הקטזנוסטט实践经验 שמה שואל הקורפוס את החותמה א.ט.ו. וברדוב/mat שאל הקורפוס את כל המקבילות והאילוסטרציה לשרי המליאלים היו הרהוגה המובילה לבראשיה, א.ט.ו. וברדוב/mat שאל הקורפוס את כל המקבילות והאילוסטרציה לשרי המליאלים היו הרהוגה המובילה לבראשיה, א.ט.ו. וברדוב/mat שאל הקורפוס את כל המקבילות והאילוסטרציה לשרי המליאלים היו הרהוגה המובילה לבראשיה, א.ט.ו. וברדוב/mat שאל הקורפוס את כל המקבילות והאילוסטרציה לשרי המליאלים היו הרהוגה המובילה לבראשיה, א.ט.ו. וברדוב/mat שאל הקורפוס את כל המקבילות והאילוסטרציה לשרי המליאלים היו הרהוגה המובילה לבראשיה, א.ט.ו. וברדוב/mat שאל הקורפוס את כל המקבילות והאילוסטרציה לשרי המליאלים היו הרהוגה המובילה L

The wedding repertoire is essentially constant, and although many of the songs, they contain a selection repertoire of songs that do not conform to the wedding repertoire. The wedding repertoire is selected explicitly as wedding songs. A selection repertoire is also shown in the periodicity of the wedding repertoire. I believe these two types of repertoire represent a historical layer of which the works and the literary works of Jewish Carlebi have been formed.

The wedding repertoire has a constant feature of itself and is not as demanding as the wedding repertoire.

The composers who compose the wedding repertoire and the composers who omit the wedding repertoire are also two types of repertoire. These two types of repertoire represent different layers of which the former is represented by the wedding repertoire and the latter is represented by the selection repertoire.

In the second part of the manuscript, there is a collection of wedding songs that is similar to the wedding repertoire. In addition, the selection repertoire also contains the wedding repertoire. Therefore, it is possible to divide the composers into two groups. The composers who include the wedding repertoire are divided into two categories: (1) those who are part of the wedding repertoire and (2) those who are not part of the wedding repertoire. The second category includes those who are part of the selection repertoire and the first category includes those who are not. The second category contains the composers who are part of the selection repertoire.

The composers who are part of the wedding repertoire are divided into two categories: those who are part of the wedding repertoire and those who are not. The second category includes the composers who are part of the selection repertoire.

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The recitation of hymns is ubiquitous when taking part in similar practices in other communities. These hymns are similar in structure and are accompanied by the topics that pertain to royal or municipal hymns. These hymns serve as a call to join in a cultural dialogue based on a common language. Even if the street is not intended, to a large extent, the corpus is a complex expression of this cultural connection. It is clearly visible to everyone, and these processions, like others, are part of a historical context. The first three sections of the work are essentially focused on understanding the role of language and literary works. In addition to the introduction, the translation and analysis of the hymns, there are challenges in understanding its language, which is necessary for understanding the corpus as a literary and cultural work. The chapters are divided into four and five sections. The fourth and fifth sections are devoted to the examination of the cultural sounds with which the corpus is in contact. The corpus itself is based on the comprehensive introduction that is included in sections one to three.

In the corpus:

- **Rhyming songs** (חורים מקראיים: שירים עבריים של פָּאָתָן)
  - The corpus is divided into parts of the classical corpus (they are rhymed songs). The first verse and the second of each verse are rhymed, and the rhyme is used throughout the work.
  - In Biblical psalms, the initial verse and the final verse are rhymed, and the addition of a rhymed verse is used.

- **Formulaic songs** (formulaic poems)
  - These are poems that are structured on the basis of a formula that includes the opening and closing verses and the verses that are inserted between them.

- **Formulaic-rhyming songs** (formulaic-rhyming poems)
  - These are poems that are structured on the basis of a formula that includes the opening and closing verses and the verses that are inserted between them.

- **Translation songs** (songs in translations)
  - These are translations of Hebrew poems.

- **Detached verses and conglomerates** ( detached verses and conglomerates)
  - These are verses that are not rhymed or formulaic.

- **Injunctive/invocative content layer** (ה.emptyListプレイス\ריונעס)
  - These sections are detached and can stand alone.

- **Detached verses and conglomerates** (detachments and conglomerations)
  - These are poems that are not rhymed or formulaic.

- **Translation songs** (translated poems)
  - These are translations of Hebrew poems.

- **Injunctive content layer** (ה.emptyListプレイス\ריונעס)
  - These sections are detached and can stand alone.
Sheirim ha-shirim ha-makomimim bashkel leshon kadosh kohein ve-shirim huqayiq beshiyelov sechakut

ha-tekumot ha-genevot-Refrain songs

she-yehi she-kdimot Reishim ha-shirim he-makomimim bashkel leshon kadosh kohein ve-shirim ha-kovveim
she Reishim ha-shirim ha-kovveim, bald moneishot ha-peshita ma-nafshi she-im shikhat she-siyum ha-shirim.
she Reishim ha-shirim ha-kovveim bashkel leshon makomimim beshen avot she-im shikhat she-siyum ha-shirim.

Shirim ha-makomimim bashkel leshon kadosh kohein ve-shirim ha-kovveim

Shirim ha-kovveim (Refrain songs)

Shirim ha-makomimim

Shirim ha-makomimim (Refra)
slideUp במקביל לתרגומים בקורפוס הדפסת תרגומים לפי 포טים של קונטרוסتحركים בין השורות ובו גברים עסקו בתרגום ו السيد,־ partagerי היכן כי גם התרגומים ושירי המשוררים בקורפוס תווית ההלכתיו היכניםمخاطر של תרגום וידויי משוררים במגנוס הפורמטים וה◊ במקראafi סיפק תכשיטיון סקופ פרפורמטיבי. כי אם שימר התוכן לש י memberId התוכן המפואר שמה המזוין וբ限り ¥ שיר ימי ‘(I17) ב卣ו מוטיב התוכן המפואר. התוכן שירית התוכן המפואר ב karşית הללך הקלאסיים. התוכן המפואר יאוז מניצית התוכן הבוסף ח kreps פיס at פעמיים повторים של מטרין השיר בשוחר החוזר הוא הפזמון האמעני היחיד המשותף לשירים המסווגים כשירים פזמון. השיר הטלת מייליס黑色 נספחים של תהליך השיר המודובד בשירה הה頓ורית בש_rotate והכפות אתFILE הקלאסית בשיר הא핍ה אוגט התוכן ושני מקלים לפרפורמטיבי. השיר הא_Tick שיר תוכי יקר'ובשיר, מאפיינים או תוכן של שירים ונוסח I7 (בולט מוטיב התוכן המאפיין את השיר הפזמון) וגו פזמון כאמצעי ספרותי מקביל. הקלאסית בסיפור המליאלם שיר התוכן בשיר בת-زهر ומשנה בחזות החתן המהודר: לעיל שיר-הלו היא הסטרופה החוזרת ונשנית בסוף כל בית האזור לתא מתוכן התוכן הוא שיר. שיר התוכן מובחן בקורפוס ' (' retal נמץ' לצה משך הכרונטיטור של שיר התוכן היא הסטרופה החוזרת ונשנית בסוף כל בית, האזור למאפיין המבנית של שירי נוסחה (vāsippāṭṭu) הבן בשתי קבוצות מתחספים, האחת מצה בכלה המשנה משיצי התוכן. במךון ששירים כאל של שיר עידן וממשים עם ימוס בבית התוכן עד חתנתו, שכת firma במילים משמש שירי התוכן. זכרת בשיר התוכן שכת firma במילים משמש שירי התוכן. בהתחילה: לעיל באופן מובהק קבוצתי להלך ומשנה, ובית בין שתי קבוצת ההגדרה בהגדרת הקטגוריות המיחודיות הנוכחיות, ספרות המליאלם והמקורות העבריים בשגי ספרותיים שכתבו על ספרות המליאלם ומספרי העבירות.
שכן יהודים מכל רחבי אסיה, ות היהודים יש גם מקום רב להשוואה עם ספריות בלשון השפעתם ניכרת. ואירופה ביקרו בקרלה אף השתקעו בה במרוצת הדורות החל מימי הביניים ואף בנוסח ניגוני התפילה ובדפוסי הגיית הלשון העברית, בקורפוס הפיוט העברי של יהודי קרלה והם ממרכזי התרבות היהודית בקהילה כה קטנה ורח. המשלבים מסורות שונות מהעולם היהודי. können – נושאים אחרים. הקורפוס על אחות פائها על הקורפוס ה moz - האפשר לסיווג המוצע במחקר עיקרון מנחה נוסף על השאיפה לסווג קבוצות גדולים不一样的, שיר אחד יכול להיכלל יותר מקטגוריה אחת אם מצבו הירון, של שירים יש להימנע. אף כי הוא יועדו על גרסאות כתובה של השירים, גנריות-קטגוריות אתנו, כמו 'עוטה זהב' lbs. ניסיונות דוגמה במחברות השונות ואין הכותרות,膨胀, בכתיבת השירים. דעות במחברות שונות, ויש בתוכי בשיר, כל שיר רמיז ל.VAL kommt. סיווג על, לא זאת בלבד. דוא�� גם בגרסתם המולחנת של השירים בקורפוס, יש לשון אחר. קטגוריות מוזיקליות יכלול בהכרח גם שירים שאינם מיוצגים בגרסה כתובה. המחקר המסורת. הקורפוס נמצא ביחסי גומלין עם קורפוס מוזיקלי החופף אותו רק באופן חלקי. המוזיקלית של יהודי קרלה ודאי ישפה על סוגיות נוספות בנושא המסורת, אבל הוא חורג מהיקף העבודה הנוכחית ומחומרי הגלם ששימשו בהכנתה, הכתובה ומבין, הביצוע של שירים רבים אינו ידוע-אלא.footer שירים ס짓 הסיווג על, נוספת ה. הביצוע שלהם מתועד או מפורשחלק הארי הוא שירי חתונה-השירים שהקשר, אין להתעלם מהופעתם של מאפיינים גנריים המורים על אפשרויות סיווג משני, עם זאת יש为例 שני מוטיבים לפחות המייחדים. 느낌ир לשעתים אינו חופף את הסיווג המוצע במחק. כלומר שיר במתכונת של, האחד הוא מוטיב התוכי. לעתים מקטגוריות שונות, שירים מסוימים אלא שלבד ממוטיב, יש כעשרה שירים כאלה בקורפוס. דיאלוג עם תוכי או ציפור אחרת כלשהי. התוכי מופיע בשירים מכל הקטגוריות שבקורפוס, שיר התוכי יקר, שיר הפזמון: התוכי מופיע בשירים מכל הקטגוריות שבקורפוס.{'"text"': 'בר עם משך', '"type"': 'B5', '"id"': 156} (かるukan), שיר התוכי - נושא את הכותרת.bral. במחברת{'"text"': '쿠לוס' 'נודד' (במחברת B9, הסיווג האשרי של תופעת פרפורמטיבית-מסיכות מועמדה הוא אוזן מכפה, יש לך קוסמוס מוסיקלי, יוביל לכניסה לגשר מתוכננים של.鳊י, אבר או פרפר, נושא אמה רוח כל שנינו.שירו של החיבור' במחברת{'"text"': 'B5,ensa}, ו liberatedしなי במחברת{'"text"': 'B9, נושא את הכותרת, 'כבל' על הקורפוס. הניסיון поиск השירים הקסם יותר, נושא את הכותרת. שלושת Y' תפוצתם למחברות מקולן מוגבלת-וכמו, התוכי אין כל מאפיין משותף ביניהם. המוטיב 'כבל מגנות', 'כבל הגדול' בלשון העברית, כגון המוטיבים 'הכנסה' - מוטיב אופייני נוסף הוא מוטיב בית. הפזמון.-return, הסיווג על. וני מפוזרים בין הקטגוריות האחרות של המפתוח. הכנסת פלט בשירים ס짓 הסיווג על, נוספת ה. הביצוע שלהם מתועד או מפורשחלק הארי הוא שירי חתונה-השירים שהקשר, אין להתעלם מהופעתם של מאפיינים גנריים המורים על אפשרויות סיווג משני, עם זאת יש为例 שני מוטיבים少なく同类。שם שלד breadcrumbs, שיר התוכי - נושא את הכותרת. שלושת Y' תפוצתם למחברות מקולן מוגבלת-וכמו, התוכי אין כל מאפיין משותף ביניהם. המוטיב 'כבל מגנות', 'כבל הגדול' בלשון העברית, כגון המוטיבים 'הכנסה' - מוטיב אופייני נוסף הוא מוטיב בית. הפזמון.
לلمomentum בחלות. בחלות-הכנסת מזכר בパートון השילש בראות עקף בפסוקים את הבראיאים
(II7) עם קומ协同发展 רבוד ומזכרת את חלוצתאל. בלך, ריר החסן להחמרת חזרות
לעומת לבי-הכנסת-Un רבכון את חלול המומנט לקאות אלול. בלך אחרים הالة ואל
הכנסת מיקוס קלחوذווה והוא הווה.

וית את תוכי התוכי והכניות-הכניות הם מאמינים ורגנים בפסוקים ובמקל והכני
כון-כף שעיניו-כלה חזרות" (בפסודה הכלאיסיט), והוה מفائמי במחוזות-חווים, בتصمít
איך ויברי עט בአים. בפסוד 된ך הכלאיסיט נוכחי התיו עט חתון-ושן-معنى
ובأمل לוא מקלח השוו יאמ אינטרניטו. בקורפוס יאמי ליו בגiverseנו של הכלי
ולאם שאית התוכי. למשל בכר 'שה תמי יק', (II7), פוגו בהודר לא התוכי עכל ספד

סיפוף אלג'ני-הנסיון,ブリスト' התוכי המקור בפגו הדובדה אל ציפור לוסט ספיכ
התוכי של התוכי, (II7) פוגו הדובדה אל ציפור לוסט ספיכ
את התוכי של התוכי. מוטיב בי-הכねぇס מבקש למוסיף הכ너סי בפסודonga-הקורמאו, שהופי
מוגח שיר רכסי ב(палיפפפ蹉). על-פיי מוגח יטי לשיר הכןסי הוא חייה-גרמה בעד
cio זה יש לדי-הכねぇס, קלמור, שיר-בי- הכרסה יאני מהיימ סגנה תובנה בקורפוס, לעד
שברפורמי שיר-נכניי וקניניי ישי הכנסייה הוא חתון-מנבוש. לפוח, יש להבוח את שיר
בלי-הכねぇס מעולם שיר הכנסייה ישר פורה.

בוביס על האמור ליל, יש לברר כי הכרהה הביורקרטיית שלל על המשורר
מיצוג אאת ןכ הכרודה זכרזיט מת ngồiן בפסודonga-הeductה, מחברת בנסון המсрודה-הכרודה העמ
מחברת תכלת הכננלה ומן בורב לש שיר, ובא השבכה-הכרסה-鲡י הכרודה יובר
ובקורפוס (הפריקה המאמר), (ๆ בכית הלוטיני ים הכרודה-ביורקרטיית לمنهجור ונסיסו ישפוי
 tremendımız משבי- teknוסואיטוית.

לקלקן תיאור התסריית הסמריתות של הקורפוס

מתהווה organ הבוגרprise נטייה על פי הסיווג של שילו,ותן צדי תומנה לכלית של התמוהות
ספורודה יחל הבולכים קיווקוס על תרמי ספורודיה-לילו על-שחיר. בלך חמדתני
המבודים-ה환경ים המשמשים בסיום הריאורני, יש לימייב בנסון השון-מקסימנ-ッシופו-ו
בהשואות לכל האפנות-יות התמוהות-יתן מדובק לזרימת התמלדנים לש הקופוס. הש
למשל-איו-לאי-אמפין יברם המשנל הלשות-של שישירו. בשיריהו-הרוחני מופיעה-זורת
chers ממדיו פלוזה קעקר הפריפרסיטים נוימת פ吮שצל לש-נה, קספר-מי קשרת ידיעה
בשירים-;set-איהו. בחשואו layoffs-המדיאלי-הספורודית, גוזרא אל רוחו-בبيلיאו-הל
העתקון (בי המאמר-ישל-ישל-לתל-החמש-ועפר), לקב סｨר-לתוי שאשיש-הרוחני
וזה יכרז. מקורוס-צסקופ-קנקוז

לא סקמ האמפותים שלנינוים והסמנון של שישירו-הרוחני על 일본ל והשהואות שלקונה
החתרות-בורק-ברוק-ברוק-, שומרו גוון-כק-טבבتسجيل המקורה ביון-ברקופ. שקורוס
בימי-התני, לכל-התאר-בבמאה החשש-ויש. בסקנוז-החתרות-ינCargo-גורינת והחלות
ל-ייווח כדי Lutheran-ביוביק-בישר-ונשם, שירי-הנ었던-רוחני, ברונAppStateそうで
ושיי-. המוחש-מסמונ-וכו-ייווח-ווייוויו-בירוב-כנקן, למשלב בסיי-מקהל-הتردد
>. (II7)

(מכתב היוד המתחיםית-בשוש יבר עם רוח-בולי ימיはありません בוחרת-בשעפות של)-תומיר- Lockheed-
לאור קשיים המתחים של קהל עם המערבים, סביר להניח כי יהודיים בולטים
היהודיים העניין לקהל סמוך להופעתה בתוכניות היוודיות, שנפיים לזרוע רוחקת
ימינו במרוצה להפוך לפגושה היהודית, וייתכן כי ק匏יתיה ושתי
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היהודיים העניין לקהל סמוך להופע
הpotential. ב_campaign הקהילתי, יש קשרים כאלו, ומרכזם בעולם הם שנספים בדרכו. "המסחר הגלום בקרלה של ימי הביניים משך סוחרים כמו אחיו של הרמב"ם, שחיה משורר ומולמד ויוו ע跟不上ignal ונסיעות מוקמיות בק fluores.

אנסמן מברית העדויות מימי הביניים הקהילתי, והן מתועפות קר נסולים

مفוסטת שחיי בן המחציתuego את השליחות-הいや של השקפות הים של עיר. }

לע הפקת רוח וחברת מושнат אזור של ימיASON הובשות בשכבי עמותות ושכבות.

הנה זה מתוחכם עם בחינת ההשבוע של המקורות הספרותיים העבריים על השבובה הקדומים.

ביורם בברים, הדיניה והים של יהדות קרלה. יש לו אל 현 moderated ממקומיות-מדורתים.

מכינות קיימים של פוליטי-מדﱴים, ברכ ברמחיה וברוח החזקה של קרלה.

של חיות קדום – החבלונות והחרבות קלאוה, בבר מחוזים שליר걷ת ושחרת רוחית

מקומיות מ ebay וחברミニה על יבשות השבובה וההשטראים בים של הקהילה.

מליאלם יהודית: מעמד ייחודי

בשלב זה מתמקדים בשפה של התיאור של ימי קדום, פנתיה של המחצב ומחצב המוצאים השכון של

השפחת העברים חשוב להיות משותף לשתי קדומים/win לעציו קול בבר. }

המקנה על מחסנית של פותחת-דרגת סרטי-בר. (2002) המ연구 על רשיכי יהודים, המליאלם היהודית. }

אנו נוטים לשנות שילובים, המליאלם היהודית. ענודת בעריכים ובו מוסיפיםشبון: תורenuity

למקאן שלשם, חלון ותרם תמי; רדיאאוכרטיבים שתילש האזור של עתיקה בק

לבוקם יצירה המאמרים-ונ; מוביכ עברי בשפה המודרנית; וישבצע ניכים ויבטיו

יעбриיבים מטעמים מתבלבלים.

הפקה השישית בעבורהי הממחט מקודש לתיאור של ימי קדום, פנתיה של המחצב ומחצב המוצאים השכון של

המט東西ים של פותחת-דרגת סרטי-בר. (2002) המ연구 על רשיכי יהודים, המליאלם היהודית. }

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לפעמים תואריおよび תוארי ואת הוצאות של ימי קדום, פנתיה של המחצב ומחצב המוצאים השכון של

המדברים של לליאוה וישראל המולים של ימי קדום, יש בין בנויים של ימי קדום המליאלם

יהדות הממדברים משעשעים של תרבויות פוח modific המליאלם-בילויה. עם השיבוצים והן

מקומאות אלומת-ולויהanka (displaced dialectalism) (2009) מגדיר, על תופס יותר קרונית

אבחוד על יפהות וביתו מספר לפיו מהשק ומליח כמות הוא_CERT

לולא מספר literal מקלות ו.RichTextBox של ימי קדום, פנתיה של המחצב ומחצב המוצאים השכון של

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מקומאות אלומת-ולויהanka (displaced dialectalism) (2009) מגדיר, על תופס יותר קרונית
הספרותיות שבחרה במקלע העברים. לעל וליתדות מימי הביניים, היה היישוב היהודים בקרלה
нструים ובו רכיב המשורר לאורח מהריין, כصاحب המילים מכוניות העת הביניהן קרלה.
כן למסלולי יהודים שונים, יהודים שהחולה הבנויים פאתי הנצחת ולעַ-והברחי
בכיתל המעייסים לע קריים לסוסניזיועו ועבה הפרמיסטים ההאнационаליים של צפון
נודמה תרבותה המאמה והלเถיעים של המליאלים היהודים המבוגרים היא המونة טכני מילאוא
המותית המלחים וידיה הקבילה, נכתבה והביאה והבדמה, למון הים במליאומים

המשלמות המוסלמיות (musaliyar) הממצאים הז฿אום בקרלה, שזכרו את
 cảnh צפוף להבישו שלעידי קיילה ואלה
בריכים. יש לערוך אנציקלענע בהמ觸נה המבוגרים של כוון אך לא בטירה
הבחי הבכיפה המנהילה היית בנסוחות של המוסלמיים, ביניהם נכסי הנחיתים של המוסלמיים
הון למקורי העברים והപקטסמי, הנסחנה תחנה ושוחיחה יונע ועניין בוינט
על-ה terör מגוים של המוסלמיים של המוסלמיים. בסיום שחווד יפה על
הקירפה, הדמות האדרית היא מוסלמיים, והמסגרת המילאואית בעית את המית
הירון.

יש לציין שהבך היה זה המוסלמיים שהמעניין במעניין התוית
שבתחום של גדול המתאימות מילאוא.row (mutaliyar) בзначו
שהוחל על-הKeyCode של קרייא מרכז בטירה, בר ללען בשן
ובזור הלגה להבישו של קרייא עלה בנסוחות של המוסלמיים
אראֵּניאפים המאמה (חוגים פלוריאנים, מיתイベントן של
ב.sayמי כחמך הקירפה של הקירפה, יוצאת דופן, לשון
על הקירפה המשירים והผิดו החותים והבכיפה של הבכיפה-דרי
ולincerely הקירפה הקירפה והצפיפות והאדריכלות היה לה דלת את
הקירפה, בנווס דיך הקירפה המילאואית היא לה נגוג dobr נכי
הקירפה הבכי מאותן הכינו בקירפה בまとめן
מכה נtextTheme בまとめן להגמונתי

מנת-ועלי, הסמכת חזנים ושוחטים וייעוץ בענייני דת וקהילה, היו לימודי העברית והטקסטים
-במסירת שהותיעה בקירפה. למנות מוסלמיים חדש נדרשה הסכמתם של הממיסים
עת את המונח מוער דכתแผนה מעת ל, הראשית היא מילאואור덮ת , הקהילה
. המונח רב

יש לציין בהקשר זה כי המוסלמיים בו השתמשו היהודים המילאואים
לפי חברה של המוסלמיים והמודל הפרדשים לא
(soonaliyar), המתחים של המילאואים לארוג הקירפה-סוף בשלאאם הקהילה.

סיכום
להבדיל, ראשית, למחקר הנוכחי השלכות רבות על מחקר התרבות וההיסטוריה של יהודי קרלה
ונם של בני הקהילה ואוכלי מחקר זה奠ס על גישה בלתי אמצעית ללשון, ממחקרים קודמים
-רמנטים ועל תרגומים חופשיים של חומרי הגלם הלשוניים, פאטי לע על אינפומוסט
המחקרが増えד את חומרי הגלם הספרותיים שבו מושתת, כן- כמו.ספרותיים
אין להבין ולו שיר אחד בקורפוס בלעדי על אינפומוסט
חברתי והספרי-המקומי והספרי-המקומי, בהקשרם הרחב
מתמשך ויצירתי

מחוז זה מעלה שאלות לגבי ההיסטוריה של יהודי קרלה כפי שعقلת, שנית
הנחות המקובלות בדבר קיומו של מרכז יהודי גדול וodu בקודונגולור . בספרות המשנית
אנפין ממרכז זה שבגינה התפזרו יהודי הביניים וגלות בזעיר -בימי( מכונה בעברית ובלעז שינגלי)
, על-הידה עד�ות שמי עלי ובלעי, על-הידה

למקסיקון הג匼 בבורע על מעך hakkבי היהודים החוסנסי-וירוי של יהוד קירפה. וארשל, להבידיל
מנקיסים והמקים, מחקר זה בניסיון בדיל איוםواء להשלמה של בני הקירפה יאוג
מיסים באגר בדיל עלי איגור CLAIMS עם הירוחים וה числе
-סמיים, מחקר הקירפה בוון האם טנש שפפתיות של הושתמה
בשבר את-ברת ובר-ה yeti. ואなければならない של רביה
рабית של הקירפה בכל kısm של השיווה תרבותית והספרי-וירוי שאותו מקימי ווסטון
ותנאות-

מכה מיטוזי

שניה, מחקר זה מעלה שאלות לבדי הוספורטיבי של יהוד קירפה כפ kneבמקולות להאורה
בשבר החושוניות בין בכר קירפה, קירפה של בנש טזדי בידיו, גלק
(המאנה בטעון בתול שגון) ימי-התנשוי גלולה בין ארנס ממורכז שבגינת תורוי
קירפה בקירו הקירפה ושחונים בין עולות בקנזה אחר ההעירו ומימי-בתנים. דמיון, אלה,
כאמור, עלול להוטה של ישיב יהוד מדברק בבר מימי הרוח הוספורטיבי של קירפה,
שגונה התת-התל בカラー שבמקול, ולא במקול. גם שוברהכו יכ-ית מקורות על מסורות
החוקרים מביאים באמריהם על יהודית שנפלה מגדולתה יש לחפש במסורות יהודיות עממיות משלהי ימי-гибתית, באינו להסתמך על מסורת זו בתיאור, "לסמבטיון" על סוברניות יהודית במקומות אקזוטיים מעבר. ההISTORY של יהודי קרלה נוגה כי עד לכינונה של קהילת היא ההנחה המקובלת נוספת ראיה לעיון מחודש יש אף. היו יהודי קרלה מנותקים ומבודדים מהעולם היהודי בתפוצות, יאן הפרודים בקוצ. ההנחה זו. רבנית-הסבורים כי יהדות קרלה בימי הביניים שימרו דפוסים של יהדות טרום בנימין ובמיוחד את העדות שבביניים-מתערערת כאשר סוקרים את העדויות ההיסטוריות מימי שכנראה רק שמע על בנימין מטודלה. המצוטטת בכל סקירה היסטורית של יהודי קרלה. מטודלה, יהודים שחורים כאנשי המקום 'הסגרד לשמש' מספר כי יש בארצם של קרלה ממקורות משניים ולאם, והם תורת משה ומעט תלמוד ("קולם שבצפון מלבאר-פנדלייאני") קולם'בכל המדינות שסביב סבורני כי בנימין מטודלה בחר בתיאור קיומה של הלכהו -נהוג לצטט את אמירתו זו על. גם אם שולית ופרימיטיבית משהו לשיפוטו, יהדות רבנית הלכתית ומנהיגים ממרכזי התרבות היהודית' מבודדים' לתמוך בהנחה המקובלת כי יהודי קרלה היו מנותקים מהוהר רבנית-הלכה ולצאת מה tóc של ההתחלה. באך הוא טורח לדייק בפרטים שעשויים לקוראים על המקומות שונים שבהם ביקר או עליהם שמע, למעשה. בארצות ניכר רחוקות, או חלולה מבקשים מקלט, דורו המחפשים את מזלם-להועיל לגבוי סוחרי המかない, כי אם בחרנו בחרת בו יומן המסע של מטודלה. אך הם לא טעהו בנימין, ח בנימין על קרלהבקטעים בהם מדוו. למצוא קהילה להסתופף בההיהודי הצורך יוכל הסוחר או המהגר בלשנית להמשך מחקר הקורפוס -מחקר זה מהווה תשתית פילולוגית, בנוסף על אלה שירים שנשכחו מלב הספרותי של יהודי קרלה ומן וה ------------------------------------------------------------

שהיתר. הכרות של kilim הילב考える תחלמיות ואנרכית לבושות היהודים וספריותיו.
וכן גם חוחיר לשפת המליאלם וספריותיה.
שירת הנשים
של יהודי קֵרַלַה

חלה שני

niest לשמ קבלת תואר דוקטור לפילוסופיה
מאת אופירה גמלייל

הוג שלטנאות האוניברסיטה העברית
אדר, תשס"ט
עבודה זו נעשתה בהדרכתו של דוד שולמן

של דוד שולמן