

**EDUCATION IN KERALA: TRANSITION FROM  
PRE-COLONIAL TO THE COLONIAL PHASE**

*Thesis*  
*submitted to the University of Calicut*  
*for the award of the Degree of*

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY**

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**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT  
2019**

## **CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled **EDUCATION IN KERALA: TRANSITION FROM PRE-COLONIAL TO THE COLONIAL PHASE**, submitted to the University of Calicut in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in History**, is a bona fide work carried out by **Sreejith E.**, under my guidance and supervision. Neither the dissertation nor any part of it has been submitted for the award of any degree, diploma or title before.

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## **DECLARATION**

I, **Sreejith E.**, do hereby declare that the dissertation entitled **EDUCATION IN KERALA: TRANSITION FROM PRE-COLONIAL TO THE COLONIAL PHASE**, submitted to the University of Calicut in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in History**, is a bona fide work done by me under the guidance of **Dr. M. R. Raghava Varier**, Professor (Retd.), Department of History, University of Calicut, and that I have not submitted it or any part of it for any degree, diploma or title before.

University of Calicut,

13.02.2019

**Sreejith E**

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

B. E. M.	:	Basel (German) Evangelical Mission
C. D. S.	:	Centre for Development Studies
C. E	:	Common Era
C.M. S.	:	Church Missionary Society
D. P. I.	:	Director of Public Instruction
E. E. C.	:	English East India Company
I. H. C.	:	Indian History Congress
K. A. S.	:	Kerala Archaeological Series
L. M. S.	:	London Missionary Society
M. E.	:	Malayalam Era
S. I. I.	:	South Indian Inscriptions
S. P. C. K.	:	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
S.I.H.C.	:	South Indian History Congress
T. A. S.	:	Travancore Archaeological Series



## TRANSLITERATION KEY TO DIACRITICS

ā	pronounce as in	pa <u>s</u> s
ī	pronounce as in	beli <u>e</u> f
ū	pronounce as in	<u>u</u> niversity
ē	pronounce as in	<u>a</u> cre
ō	pronounce as in	do <u>l</u> l
ca	pronounce as in	tea <u>ch</u> er
ṭ	pronounce as in	<u>t</u> ask
ṇ	pronounce as in	mo <u>n</u> ey
ta	pronounce as in	<u>t</u> hink
l̄	pronounce as in	<u>j</u> ean
ṛ	pronounce as in	<u>r</u> ise
ḷ	pronounce as in	c <u>l</u> ose
ś	pronounce as in	a <u>s</u> oka
ṣ	pronounce as in	f <u>a</u> shion

## INTRODUCTION

*Talking about or writing something related to educational issues, nowadays, seem to be a cliché. It is being discussed everywhere. Many contemporary scholars are mediating such topics as aims and ideals, progress, reorganization and popularization of education. The world in which we live is changing fast and change is the law of nature. Education, an important aspect in human life is also getting changed in response to historical forces and social realities. Since education is radical in nature, any observation in that discipline can still be vindicated. In this context, the ‘significance’ of fresh enquiries in the field of education is relevant and needs to be acknowledged. -R. Eswarappillai (1852-1940)<sup>1</sup>*

The principal object of the present study is to delineate the features of education in Kerala in a wider perspective starting from the early centuries of Common Era down to the end of nineteenth century. Education is a progressive process with an ever changing nature and Kerala occupies a unique tradition of education at least from the early historical period i.e., the period of Early Tamil Anthologies.<sup>2</sup>

There are certain definite personal reasons for the researcher in fixing educational history of Kerala as the area of study. First of all, the researcher has been inquisitive in mind since childhood about the old village schools of Kerala as researcher’s father used to tell him about the story of his own father, who had run a

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<sup>1</sup> R. Eswarappillai (1854-1940) was one of the pioneering educationalists of modern Kerala. For detailed descriptions, see below, chapter on “Emergence of Educational Consciousness”. His articles are compiled and published under the title *Chinthāsanthānam*, Kottayam, 1988. The text given above is taken from the essay titled *Vidhyābhyāsam: Cila Āganthuka Cinthakaḷ*, pp. 451-456.

<sup>2</sup> Early Tamil anothologies are collectively known as Sangam Literature. They can roughly be dated between 1<sup>st</sup> Century CE and 5<sup>th</sup> Century CE.

traditional single teacher school before he started serving in the Mesopotamian region as a soldier during the First World War. Secondly, researcher's grand-grandmother, who was born during the initial years of 20<sup>th</sup> the century, often lamented that she, due to certain domestic engagements, was unable to pursue school studies and remained as illiterate throughout her entire life. She was about eighty years old and visually impaired when the researcher's acquaintance with her began. She was pained at her being illiterate rather than her physical impairment. Her emotional surge convinced the researcher of the relative importance of education in one's personal and social life. These two factors coupled with academic training in pedagogical science, prompted the researcher to undertake a qualitative analysis of educational systems of various kinds in the place where he was born and brought up.

Kerala, the southern most state of India, has created a unique niche in Indian education with universal enrollment, retention, minimum wastage, stagnation and drop out tendencies. The latest census report shows that the literacy rate of Kerala is 93. 91.<sup>3</sup> This is outstanding phenomenon when compared with other states in India. Kerala also occupies the highest position in the girls' enrollment and the education for depressed classes. The quality of it is also acclaimed much. Kerala is one of the few states that steered social change and development through education.

Always ahead of time, in Kerala, there emerged a general public with the conviction that 'educate the children' is the primary duty and that alone is the ultimate wealth that an individual can achieve in the whole life period. This fact will be lucid while going through the descriptions of Alexander Walker about the

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<sup>3</sup> Report published by D. P. I Statistics Division, Government of Kerala (2010-11). According to it, literacy rate among the male population in Kerala is 96.02 and female is 91. 98. Kerala ranks first in the country with a literacy rate of 93.91 pect. Lakshdweep stands in second place with 92.28 per cent and Mizoram has 91. 58pct. In Kerala, there are 479455 students from Scheduled caste (Girls -232873, Boys -246582) and the number of school going students among the scheduled tribe is 78790 (Girls -38012, Boys 40778). As per the latest census report (2011), India's female literacy rate is 65. 46pct. It is significantly lower than the world average of 79. 7. But in Kerala, female literacy is 91.98 as indicated above. Total literacy rate in Kerala during the 2001 was only 90.86.The comparison indicates the considerable growth.

educational tradition of Kerala. Way back in the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century, he wrote thus:

*The learning of Malabar is probably more limited than that of the central people of India; but they are not inattentive to the cultivation of letters. They are particularly anxious and attentive to instruct their children to read and to write. Education with them is an early and an important business in every family. Many of their women are taught to read and write. The Brahmans are generally the school master, but any of the respectable caste, may, and often do, practice teaching.*<sup>4</sup>

Educational developments in Kerala have stimulated various kinds of research and studies. However, it is yet to be analyzed and interpreted carefully with hard historical evidences. In many countries outside India, history of education is an important area of research. The review of related literature indicates that Indian literature on education is very scanty. Among the available studies, majority deal with Acts and Facts or describing education in the specific periods like Vedic, Buddhist, Islamic, Missionary, Colonial and so on. Some studies give undue emphasis on philosophical aspects like metaphysical, epistemological or axiological features of education and hence fail to present an in depth analysis of education in totality. The present study is the result of the personal conviction that education in a society can best be understood by viewing it historically, contextually, pedagogically and relationally. To understand the working of education in different periods of time, it must be located in the larger context of social, political economic and cultural structures. Thus the present study becomes a horizontal as well as vertical examination of the various system of education prevailed in Kerala over a period stretching from the early centuries of Common Era to the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>4</sup> Alexander Walker was a military officer of the East India Company. He was an Adjutant in 1790 expedition sent to relieve Raja of Travancore from the threat of Mysore force under Tipu Sultan. His excellent description on indigenous education in Malabar (National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh: Walker of Bowland Papers, 184 a 3, Chapter, 31) is brought in to the scholarly attention by Dharampal in his magnum opus *The Beautiful Trees: Indigenous Education in the Eighteenth Century*. For the full text, see, Dharampal, New Delhi, 1982, Annexure- C, pp. 258-264.

Writings on Education in India, though rare in number as mentioned above, can be classified in to two broad categories. The first category includes those that have been historically treated. Their studies lack the educational theories and pedagogical issues. They present the educational ideals and practices found in literary sources or archival records as such.<sup>5</sup> The second category is of those who are specialized in educational issues alone. They fail to place various educational issues in the correct historical context or dismissing the socio-political background against which such developments or retrogressions which had taken place.<sup>6</sup> There is another kind of studies based on statistical data alone with the observation of certain variables and their interpretations.<sup>7</sup> The present study is an attempt to combine both-history proper and science of education in an interdisciplinary manner with a view to gathering a faire qualitative knowledge of the topic. Instead of treating history and education as independent of each other, this study focuses, among other things, on the internal dynamics within the society, psychological factors of the learner, dominant philosophical trends, nature of reward and punishment, effects of modern trends and the like in a wider social and historical perspective.

### **Need and Significance of the Study**

Formal or informal education plays a vital role in the achievements of human community throughout the ages. Hence the adults try to educate their children, not only in the developed, but even in the primitive societies, in order to lead a

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<sup>5</sup> Typical examples of this kind of writings are seen in A. S. Altekar, *Education in Ancient India*, Benares, 1934, R. K. Mukherjee, *Education in Ancient India*, (1947) New Delhi, 2016, Mitali Chatterjee, *Education in Ancient India (From literary Sources of Gupta Age)*, New Delhi, 1966, Mavelikkara Achuthan, *Educational Practices in Manu, Panini and Kautilya, Trivandrum, 1975*.

<sup>6</sup> For example, Dr. M. V. Pylee, *Vidhyābhyāsaprasnaga! Innale, Innu and Nāle*, Kottayam, 1998. Such studies are ephemerals in nature. Also see Job Kulavel, *Unnathavidhyābhyāsam*, Trissur, 2003.

<sup>7</sup> Most of the educational researches carried out in the Universities and the colleges belonging to this category. They examine the psychological factors of the learners or the effectiveness of a specific teaching method in different contexts or in different sections of students. In such cases, over emphasis is given to statistical procedures and precision than providing any valid arguments or interpretations. For example see, Sreejith. E, *Attitude towards the Compulsory Social Service Scheme among the Graduate Level Students in Colleges under the University of Calicut*. (Un published M.Ed Dissertation), N.S.S. Training College, Ottappalam, 2001.

purposeful life in the future. Child assimilates many ideas, concepts and shapes behavior merely through direct experiences or vicariously. But every society, it is believed that some degree of formal education is required for individual to be fit for leading a successful adult life. As a result, in every society, there are arrangements for formal education either in a highly structured or nearly structured form. The kind of education is determined by the material conditions and the philosophical ideals of each period and is subjected to change according the political and economical changes. Hence, instead of a perennial monolithic structure, in each period of time, there emerged different forms of educational systems. In other words, concept of education is being reformulated according to the aspirations and perceptual outlook of the society.

Besides examining the general features of education, this study specially focuses on the features of transitional stage—from pre-colonial to the colonial phase—since there were drastic changes in the realm of education which obliterated all the previous traditions. There was a change in the nature of schools, agencies of ownership, method of teaching, content of learning and objectives of education and in pedagogical practices. Such aspects were not seriously explored in the previous studies.

Many areas of concern to education can be best studied through the historical enquiry. Hence the quantity and quality of research in the history of education have increased greatly in the past few decades. Historical studies can touch every aspect of education from the individual learner to the policies of a nation. Hence it becomes a popular subject especially in the western world. However, in India, as Suresh Chandra Ghosh in his *History of Modern India 1757-1998* rightly observed, it is grossly neglected or left to a small and scattered group of educationalists, some of whom are unaware of the broad trends of historical scholarship. He further points out that such works are largely based on the Government of India records and reports. These books present a plethora of facts and figures without in-depth analysis of the cause and effect relationship in the developments or changes that appear on the

surface of education in India.<sup>8</sup> Ironically, while going through his own work mentioned above, it is easy to find that he himself was also not free from the limitations he pointed out. His work rather presents acts and facts instead of enquiring the social forces and pedagogical issues that are integral parts of any educational system.

Present attempt to discern the educational history of Kerala is not much dependent on the retold versions of educational history in its conceptual frame work, factual presentation or methodology. It tries to reconstruct the history of education in Kerala on the basis of fresh evidences as well as the already known but not properly utilized in a systematic and interpretative manner. A study on the history of education should not be a stock taking of the number of schools or making a register of different categories of students attended. Rather it should try to answer the questions on where, when, how and why. Such a historical enquiry is not possible without adopting a cause and effect frame work.

It is generally believed that the so called 'Kerala Model of Education' and consequent developments are the direct offshoot of colonial and missionary interventions. Indeed, these two factors did play pivotal role in the upgradration and modernization of the existing educational practices in Kerala. However, due to undue importance given to these aspects, the knowledge about the education in Kerala - especially about the pre colonial period - is deplorably lagging behind. Careful analysis of historical data indicates that, a well knit formal education system had been prevalent in Kerala far ahead of the advent of colonial powers.

### **Scope of the Study**

Scope of the present study can be identified in the following areas;

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<sup>8</sup> Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *The History of Education in Modern India-1757-1998*, (1995) New Delhi, 2000, p. 4.

## **i. Focus on Indigenous Education**

Education of a particular area or a period is being shaped in accordance with the existing social realities and material conditions. It caters to the aspirations of the society too. Curriculum of any period is the selection from the society. It could not be evolved in isolation. The philosophy of the society is also inherently present in the curriculum. In that sense, the pre-modern education in Kerala cannot be denounced as inferior or misdated one. Each and every aspect of the educational practice of pre-colonial eras, starting from the period of Early Tamil Anthologies or Early Christian centuries, are examined in this study as most of such things remained unexplored in previous studies. It also covers the education during the early medieval and the later period.<sup>9</sup> We have enough number of primary sources, but they are in different forms and scattered in different corners. The major task under taken in this study is to juxtapose them in a sequential order so that we will have a different history of education of the land. An attempt is also made to compare the same with the educational system existed in its counterpart- Britain, which caused a remarkable set back to our indigenous education.

Village education was one of the social institutions first to affect by the establishment of colonial hegemony. Reformulation of traditional social, economic and cultural relations had tremendous impact on the entire life of the colonized. The imposed rules and regulations completely transformed the existing rural villages in to dependent one. While referring to the notable educational developments in Kerala, it is to be pointed out that it was not a colonial construct rather has an indigenous origin with long historical tradition. The so called 'modern education' was grown out of the debris of what colonialism demolished. Present study discerns the nature and functions of village schools of pre-British Kerala in a detailed manner to know the depth of injury caused by colonialism. It is hoped that it would yield many fold

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<sup>9</sup> They were known as Śālai-s and Gurukulam-s respectively.



answers to the question why Kerala achieved such a remarkable progress in the field of education, especially in elementary and secondary level.

## **ii. Missionary Contributions**

Missionary contributions towards Kerala education is an area which has been researched to a very great extent. However, most of these studies are silent about the series of efforts and events that taken place in England with a view to evangelizing the Indian people. It is interesting to note that some prominent leaders of pro-evangelic movement in England had some definite Kerala connections.<sup>10</sup> The present study tries to explore certain aspects of missionary pedagogy, not explored so far.

## **iii. Role of the Native States**

This study is also intended to negate the popular belief that our knowledge about the educational development in India under the Indian princes was fuzzy.<sup>11</sup> Most of the educational history works are macro level studies and present a general picture of Indian education starting from the colonial eras and hence fail to make deep enquiries about the regional or micro level. In this study, a detailed analysis is made about the educational developments in Travancore and Cochin, two princely states in Kerala under colonial control, based on solid historical evidences. Besides Travancore, states like Baroda and Mysore had also achieved certain remarkable progress in the realm of education during the period under review.

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<sup>10</sup> For example, Colin Macaulay, one of the instrumental figures behind the clause 43 of Charter Act-1813, was the resident of Travancore for a decade (1800-181). This clause permitted the entry of missionaries in India.

<sup>11</sup> Most the educational history books are macro level one. While describing the all India developments, the authors often dismiss the growth of education in the regional level, especially the princely states. For example: *A Student's History of Education in India-1800-1973* by J.P. Naik and Syed Nurulla (1945), New Delhi, 1974. In the preface of the book the authors make it clear that 'the book does not attempt to trace the history of individual movements such as the Arya Samaj or Aligarh movement. Neither does it deal with the history of education in each individual province or in the Indian states. . But, subject to these limitations, it attempts to give a full and comprehensive review of each critical stage in the modern educational history of India (preface). And also see Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *The History of Education in Modern India (1757-1998)*, New Delhi, 2000.

#### **iv. Pedagogical Analysis**

Majority of the educational history books hitherto written are about the outside class room activities, i.e., about the policies, recommendations, and implementation.<sup>12</sup> They dismiss the fact that, the main function of education, transforming the behavior of the learner is taking place in the class room. Curricular objectives and adjunct syllabus, method of its transaction etc., do find no adequate space in such studies. The educational history of a period would remain incomplete unless and until the above mentioned factors are referred to. Such an attempt is proposed in the present study.

#### **v. Text books and Colonial Agenda**

Many scholars, working on Indian or Kerala education, argue that the colonialism made education an effective means to enslave the people, politically and culturally. They largely depend on official reports starting from Charter Act of 1813. Besides the structural modifications, as part of their hegemonic agenda, the imperialist force had also used the text books effectively to influence the budding minds in support of political subjugation and colonial ideologies. Present study made some efforts to locate such learning materials with their content analysis to make the study more empirical.

#### **vi. Growth of Educational Consciousness**

While delineating any modern phenomenon, whether it is social or political, the scholars often refer to the role of intelligentsia who contributed the philosophical or ideological base. This will be more understood when we look at socio-religious

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<sup>12</sup> *This Gift of English: English Education and the Formation of Alternative Hegemonies in India* by Alok Kumar Mukherjee, New Delhi, 2009 is an exceptional one. It examines the pedagogical and the curricular aspects of the colonial education, particularly the English language education. Although his study focuses on the education in the Bengal Presidency, it occasionally refers to the curriculum and examination patterns on Bombay and Madras Presidencies. He profusely uses primary sources like syllabus, content analysis of text books and the question papers to demonstrate that the very objective of the English education imposed by the colonial intellectuals was to perpetuate colonial rule.

movements, freedom struggle, or the growth of Socialist or Communist parties and so on. Unfortunately, such an enquiry was not undertaken with regard to the growth of educational consciousness in Kerala. An analysis of the educational history of Kerala during the late nineteenth century provides a vivid picture of the individual figures who toiled in the popularization of modern education along with the governmental enterprises. Emerging print media was effectively utilized for this. It is interesting to note that the first official ban on a news paper in Travancore, *Sandhistavadi*, was due to its criticism on educational policies of the Government.<sup>13</sup> All most all the periodicals of the time were replete with educational concepts, methods and practices.<sup>14</sup> In other words, the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a crucial one in the development of educational thinking in Kerala. In the final chapter of the study, an attempt is made to figure out such individuals and their contributions in relation to educational growth and development.

The present study is titled **“EDUCATION IN KERALA: TRANSITION FROM PRE-COLONIAL TO THE COLONIAL PHASE”**

#### **OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS**

Education: Education, by general agreement, is the total development – individual as well as social, physical, mental and spiritual. Total development means the self realization. Education is a process of developing intrinsic abilities and potentialities of an individual.

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<sup>13</sup> See G. Priyadarsanan, *Malayala Patrapravarthanam, Prarambaswarūpam*, pp. 34-35. It was W.H. Moor started an English paper called Travancore Herald, printed at CMS press Kottayam (1867). He also brought out a Malayalam paper named Sandhistavāthi. It was banned due to its critical approach towards the educational reforms of Madhava Rayar, the then Diwan of Travancore. Priyadarsanan, who studied the history of periodicals and journals in Malayalam language, opines that it was the first ‘bolt from the blue’ to the free and fair journalism in Kerala.

<sup>14</sup> For example, *Jñānanikṣepam* (1848), *Paścimathāraka* (1865), *Kēraḷam* (1866) *Kēraḷapathāka* (1870), *Keraḷopakāri* (1874) *Sathyanātha Kāhalam* (1867), *Kēraḷa Mithram* (1876) *Vidhyā Vilāsini* (1881) *Bhāṣāpōṣini*, and the like. All these periodicals contained articles related to the education.

Kerala: Before commencing a systematic enquiry of the education in Kerala, it is necessary to historically locate the region called Kerala. In this study, 'Kerala' stands for entire Malayalam speaking area of the present day. During the early historical period, it was an integral part of Ancient Tamilkarn. By the end of 8<sup>th</sup> century C.E, most of its part came under the sway of Perumals who ruled from Mahodayapuram as their capital. The most southern part of it was ruled by Ay Kings for sometimes. The disintegration of Cēra rule caused the emergence of a number of principalities called *Nāduvāli Swarūpam-s*. The territories which later formed the state of Kerala consisted of three political entities namely Malabar, Kochi and Travancore. Of these three, Malabar was directly administered by British and the princely state of Kochi and Travancore were brought under British domination through a series of treaties. As a result, the policies followed by the British India were implemented in entire Kerala either directly or indirectly.

### **Pre -Colonial and the Colonial Phases**

For academic convenience, scholars usually divide Kerala History as ancient, early medieval, medieval, pre-colonial or pre-British and colonial period. The period after independence is generally treated as modern Kerala. Usually, the pre colonial phase is defined as a period stretching from 15<sup>th</sup> century CE to the last decades of 17<sup>th</sup> century. This period witnessed a remarkable progress in the institutionalized education in Kerala. Colonial subjugation resulted in its decay and disorganization and paved way for a distinct modality of education.

### **Objectives of the study**

The present study envisages the following objectives

1. Explore the nature of educational practice in Kerala during the early centuries of Common Era or the period of Ancient Tamil Anthologies
2. Elaborating the ideals of education reflected in the inscriptions of early medieval period.

3. Understand the operation of *Gurukula-s* and *Maṭha-s* which flourished from the later part of the medieval period.
4. Contextualizing the village education of pre-colonial phase.
5. Knowing the evolutionary stages of language and scripts over the periods.
6. General survey of the pedagogical practices of different periods.
7. Locating the indigenous sources describing the 'Monitorial System'.
8. Analyze the characteristic features of missionary education.
9. Discern the nature of Colonial education.
10. Peeping in to the educational enterprises in the princely state Travancore, Cochin and British Malabar.
11. Content analysis of the learning materials for each stage of development.
12. Identifying the role of intelligentsia in the growth of educational consciousness during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Methodology**

On the whole, the present study follows a case study method. Education in Kerala is taken as the case and an in depth analysis of the same is proposed. Since the topic remains to be an unexplored area to a larger extent in terms of scientific enquiry, utmost care is taken to tap the hitherto neglected primary data and hence, it is more empirical than the theoretical. It aims at the renewal of existing knowledge and applying newly gathered data to widen the contours of the subject under review. This is not possible only through logical or methodological application, but can rather be understood only in the context of real social process. Even the modern epistemologists do not deny the importance of historical circumstance and social conditions in the understanding of any event or phenomenon. This study does not attempt to put the available information in to any dominant theoretical frame work of

the day.<sup>15</sup> Rather it proceeds with the notion that theories can only be developed out of lucid and concrete evidences. Hence the immediate objective is to furnish relevant historical data; not to develop a theory. At the same time, it makes an attempt to formulate potential thesis on indigenous as well as colonial education, which provides slots for further deliberations.

While analyzing and interpreting the data and in presentation also, all scientific historical methods have been strictly adhered to. Internal and external criticism helped to strengthen the sources. Reasoning, both positive and negative, was used either to substantiate or negate certain established facts or assumptions. Another method adopted in this study is the 'Content Analyses' of the text books of different ages with a view to knowing the pedagogical shifts. Some of the surviving text books of the 19<sup>th</sup> century are preserved in repositories and archives in India and abroad. They were made available through reciprocal exchanges. Besides history proper, various academic disciplines – varying from language to mathematics or astrology – are intertwined in logical and sequential order. Epigraphy and Place Name Studies, Theories of Learning etc., are also the part of this study. Thus interdisciplinary nature of the study is ensured.

## Sources

*Much has been written both in England and in this country about the ignorance of the people of India and the means of disseminating knowledge among them. But the opinions upon this subject are mere conjectures of individuals unsupported by any authentic documents and differing so widely from each other as to be entitled to very little attention - Thomas Munro, Minutes on Education, dated 25<sup>th</sup> June 1822<sup>16</sup>*

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<sup>15</sup> For example, in his *This Gift of the English*, 2009, Alok Kumar Mukherjee adopted the Gramscian frame of analysis, Suresh Chandra Ghosh attempted to apply the premises of New History in his *History of Education In Modern India,- 1757-1998*, New Delhi, 2000.

<sup>16</sup> Thomas Munro, who paid earnest attention in the subject of education, initiated the first educational survey in India by an elaborate enquiry at Madras Presidency in February 1822. It

This observation of Thomas Munro, Governor of the erstwhile Madras Presidency is relevant even today since most of our postulations on Kerala education remain conjectures unsupported by clinching evidences or relied much on secondary data. The present study is an attempt to explore the educational history of Kerala largely based on primary data.

Authenticity of any historical study is dependant on the amount of the primary sources collected and processed. Adhering to this, utmost care was taken to procure primary data in all the possible ways. Unlike other parts of India, Kerala left behind large quantity of sources on education but they are still waiting for fresh analysis and interpretation. They are variegated in nature and found scattered. These sources can be classified broadly in to ancient Tamil poems called *Sangam* works, inscriptional evidences of early medieval eras, *Manipravalam* literature of late medieval period, foreign accounts, colonial and missionary records of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the royal proclamations by the Travancore, Government Autobiographies, Textbooks of different categories and periodicals of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and so on. One of the salient features of this study is its focus on autobiographies of those who had undergone both type of education- traditional as well as modern. Most of them were appraised for their literary elegance but not used as sources for writing educational history.

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covered all the 20 districts in the presidency. The statistics obtained from all the districts of the presidency is appended in Dharampal, *The Beautiful Tree*, 1982. Also see R. Bharathy, Sir *Thomas Munro's Minute on Education- Its Effects*. IHC: Proceedings, 61<sup>st</sup> Session, Kolkatha, 2001, pp. 1005-08. Similar surveys were conducted at Bombay Presidency (1823-25) and Bengal subsequently (1829). Enquiry in the province of Bombay was supervised by Mountstuart Elphinstone, the the Governor of Bombay. In Bengal, the enquiry was conducted by William Adam, a non- official missionary. The report is published as 'Adams Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar, Calcutta, 1868. J. P. Naik and Nurullah opine that Adam's enquiry was far more methodical and spread over a far longer time than the earlier ones and it deserves a very careful study, *A students' History of Education in India*, New Delhi, 1974, p. 14.

## Early Tamil Anthologies

The educational history of the early Common Era is gathered mainly through literature, collectively called *Sangam* works. Among them, *Puṛanānuṟu* and *Thirukkuṟal* deserve special mention in the educational context. They contain significant reference about the philosophical and pedagogical practices of the period in a vivid manner. Since the researcher is unable to handle the texts in original form, their Malayalam translations were used. The modern works like that of N. Subrahmanyam, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, K. Unnikkidavu, K. N. Ezhuthachan, Melengath Narayanan Kutty were also consulted to elaborate different aspects.<sup>17</sup>

## Inscriptions

Among the various kinds of sources, inscriptions are of great value in historical studies since they are not subjected to any kind of interpolations over the time. The two fold functions of epigraphy in this study are as follows: first it gives an idea about the evolution of scripts in Kerala and their paleographical features. Secondly, they are the major source providing the aims, ideals and functions of the educational institutions called *Śālai*-s of early medieval period.<sup>18</sup>

## Maṇipravaḷam Works

Medieval Manipravalam texts like *Unniyāticarita*, *Unnūṅṅilīsandesa* or *Candrōtsava* refer to the students of Vedic studies called *Cāthiraṟ* or *Caṭṭer* but in a degenerated form. While the inscriptions provide the illustrious nature of *śālai*-s, late

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<sup>17</sup> For the present study, *Puṛanānuṟu* translated by V. R. Parameswarappillai, (1969), Thrissur, 1997 and *Thirukkuṟal* translated by S. Ramesan Nair, Trivandrum, 1998, *Paṭiṭṭippathu* translated by G. Vaidhyanadha Aiyer were used. Secondary works that of K. A. Neelakanta Sastri, *History of South India*, (trans.), 1975, Trivandrum, 2000. N. Subrahmanyam, *Sangam Polity*, 1968,(trans.),Kottayam, 2003, K. Unnikkidavu, *Sangakālakṛitikaḷile Tamil Samskāram*,Thrissur, 2007, K.N. Ezhuthachan, Samīkṣha, Calicut, 1979 were also consulted.

<sup>18</sup> For the inscriptions referring to the educational institutions called *śālai*-s, see *Travancore Archaeological Series* (here after T.A.S.) relevant volumes, especially I and II. In TAS, text, transliteration and translations of the inscriptions are given. Explanatory notes are in English language. However in South Indian Inscriptions (*S.I.I*), brought out by Govt. of India, the text part is given only in Tamil language. No further details are furnished. Inscriptions from Malabar region were reported in the S.I.I Volumes V and VII.



medieval works depict their declining stage. *Anathapuravaṛṇana*, besides giving interesting description of Trvandum city of 13<sup>th</sup> century CE, makes some occasional reference about *Kānthaḷūr Śālai*.<sup>19</sup>

### Sanskrit Works

There was an unprecedented interest among the people of Kerala towards Sanskrit language and literature by the 16<sup>th</sup> century CE. Hence the curriculum of the newly emerged village schools was dominated by the Sanskrit. Fundamental grammar texts like *Siddharūpa*, *Srīramōdanta*, *Bālaprobōdhana*, *Amarakōśa*, *Samāsacaḅṛa* were the compulsory for these schools. Literary works like *Magham*, *Śīsupālavadhā*, *Yudhistira Vijayam*, *Raghuvamśam*, *Kumārasambavam* were also taught in the next stage of study. Further, they had to study astronomy too. There were texts like *Kāladīpakam*, *Muhūrthapathavi* etc., in this regard. Present study made a general survey of all these books to understand the learning contents and strategies of pre- colonial education.

### Foreign Accounts

Fra Paolino De Bartholomaeo, a bare foot Carmelite from Hos, Astria, who resided in India for long thirteen year from 1776 to 1795<sup>20</sup> has given a detailed account of village education of Malabar during the later part of the medieval period. His observations appeared in the work titled *The Voyages to the East Indies* published from Rome in 1796. Most of the information given in the present research

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<sup>19</sup> *Anatapuravaṛṇana* was written by an anonymous writer. K. Ratnamma published the full text with annotation, Trivandrum, 1997. For the reading of Maṇipravāḷam works in modern Malayalam language see, P.V. Krishnan Nair, ed., *Unniciruthēvicaritam*, Kottayam, 1965: *Unniyāticaritam*, Kottayam, 1966, Mukathala Gopalakrishnan Nair (annotated), *Unniyachicaritam*, Trivandrum, 1990.

<sup>20</sup> He was a member of Academy of Velitri and formerly the Professor of Oriental languages, Propaganda at Rom. Barthelomaeo was popularly known in Kerala as Poulinos Pathiri. His important works are *Systema Brahmanicum* (1791), *A treatise on the Indian MSS* in the Library of Congregation de Propoganda Fide (1792). *A Treatise of Ancient India* (1795), *A Voyage to the East Indies* (1796), *Adagia Malabarica*, *Siddharūpa*, *Grammar of Sanskrit Language* (1790), *Amarasimha*, *an old Indian MS. (Amarakōśam)*. For his literary contributions in Malayalam language, see P.J. Thomas, *Malayāḷasāhithyavum, Christiānikaḷum*, Kottayam, 1961, pp.114-116.

work, particularly regarding the pre-colonial education, is taken from his description. ‘*Voyages to the East Indies*’ is divided in to two sections and educational aspects in Kerala were described in the second part. Corroborating evidences indicate that he was well acquainted with the subjects he handled.

Another foreigner who made a closer scrutiny of education in Malabar was Alexander Walker, a military officer of the East India Company. He was an Adjutant in 1790 expedition sent to relieve Raja of Travancore. Based on the west coast of India, Walker maintained his interest in observation and learning. On request of Arthur Wellesley, due to the vast knowledge about the country, he was deputed to attend the commanding officer in Mysore and Malabar. While describing the educational system of Malabar, besides his own personal observations, the writings of other authorities were also used.<sup>21</sup> Although Dharmampal<sup>22</sup> appended the full text of Walker’s observation on Malabar education, no scholars till the date utilized them for the better understanding of Kerala education previous to the British rule.

Peter Della Valle, an Italian traveler who was born in 1586, through his ‘*Letters from India*’ (1623) gives some glimpses of the learning methods, especially that of mathematics, prevalent during his visit. Calicut was the limit of his travel in India. ‘The letters are nevertheless full of graphic descriptions, bringing before the mind’s eye a vivid and life-like representation of men and manners as they existed in the early part of the 17<sup>th</sup> century’.<sup>23</sup> He was often described as an ‘excellent traveler’. Francis Day, in his ‘*The Land of the Perumals or Cochin, Its Past and Its Present*’ gives some information, though not extensively, regarding the protestant educational institutions at Cochin town.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> For example, Alexander Walker made use of *The Letters* by Peter Della Valle of 1623.

<sup>22</sup> Dharmampal, *op.cit.* Annexure- C. In earlier writings, the term Malabar was used to denote the area which now comprises the whole of Kerala. For examples, the writings of Sulaiman, Idrisi (Manibar) Yakut and Qazwini (Malibar).

<sup>23</sup> *The Letters*, preface, this book is accessed through the Digitalized Internet Archives, University of North Carolina.

<sup>24</sup> Francis Day, *The Land of the Perumals or Cochin, Its Past and Its Present*, (Madras,1863), AES Reprint, New Delhi,1990.

Samuel Mateer, LMS Missionary worked in Travancore during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century provides a clear picture of existing educational system through his distinct works *Native Life in Travancore*<sup>25</sup> and *The Land of Charity*.<sup>26</sup> He was not only a missionary but an active participant of public life in Trivandrum city too. His works contain many rare data regarding LMS institutions, especially about its initial years. It also helps to know more about Ringeltaube, the harbinger of modern education in Kerala. He was an eyewitness of the educational progress under Travancore Government during the tenure of Ayilyam Thirunal and Vishakam Thirunal. Hence his observations are primary and very useful for the researchers of Kerala education.

### Missionary Records

Missionary education has been a popular area of research for many years because of the easy availability of primary sources in the form of missionary registers, correspondences and memoirs. They had recorded each and every activity, in which they engaged, with utmost precision.<sup>27</sup> Such works are the treasure houses for the students of Kerala history as they reflect the contemporary socio-economic and cultural realities too. Most of the missionary records are available in published forms as adjunct to the modern scholarly works like the *Church History of Travancore* by C. M. Agur<sup>28</sup>, *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society* by P. J. Cherian<sup>29</sup>, and *Malayalahithyavum Christhyanikalum* by P.J Thomas,<sup>30</sup> *Malayalavum Herman Gundertum* by Scaria Zacharia (ed.),<sup>31</sup> Gladstone's

<sup>25</sup> Samuel Mateer, *Native life in Travancore*, (London, 1883), trans., A.N. Sathyadas, Trivandrum, 2010, pp.566-592.

<sup>26</sup> Samuel Mateer, *The Land of Charity*, (London, 1870), trans., Premjith Kayamkulam, Kottayam, 2017, pp. 102-104. Mateer had been in Trivandrum and southern part of Kerala as a missionary of LMS for 33years (1835-91).

<sup>27</sup> For example, Missionary Register of C.M.S and BMR of Basel Evangelical Mission.

<sup>28</sup> C .M. Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, Madras, 1903.

<sup>29</sup> P. J. Cheriyan. *The Malabar Syrians and The Church Missionary Society 1816-1840*, (1935) Kottayam, 2015.

<sup>30</sup> P .J . Thomas, *Malayāḷa Sāhithyavum Christīānikaḷum*, Kottayam, 1961.

<sup>31</sup> Scaria Zacharia, ed., *Malayāḷavum Hermmen Gundertum*, (2Vols.), Malayalam University, Tirur, 2016.

*Protestant Christianity and Peoples Movements in Kerala, Church Missionary Society and Education in Kerala* by K. V. Eapen,<sup>32</sup> *Conversion and Social Equality in India* by Dick Kooiman<sup>33</sup> *Missionaries and a Hindu State: Travancor 1858-1936* by Koji Kawashima<sup>34</sup> etc., deserve special mention in this regard.

## Text Books

In order to understand the pedagogical features of each period under review, a detailed analysis of the relevant text books is inevitable. Since printing technology was too late in Kerala, our pre colonial education was largely based on oral instruction and memory training. They often used books made of palm leaves but preparation of it required specialized skills hence it was not popular in common parlance. Still some of them are surviving even today.<sup>35</sup> Grammar works and classical literary pieces used as learning materials like *Siddharūpa*, *Amarakōśa*, *Srīkriṣṇa Vilāsam*, *Yudhistira Vijayam*, *Raghuvamsam*, *Ṛitusamhāram* and the like are now available in printed form. They were profusely used in this study.

Modern Malayalam textbooks are not a terra incognita but researched as part of literary studies. However they are not studied against the backdrop of educational growth and development.<sup>36</sup> Scholars like K.K.N. Kurup<sup>37</sup> and Scaria Zacharia<sup>38</sup> have pointed out the significance of such pedagogical analysis based on the text books.

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<sup>32</sup> K. V. Eapen, *Church Missionary Society and Education in Kerala*, Kottayam, 1986.

<sup>33</sup> Dick Kooiman, *Conversion and Social Equality in India: London Missionary Society in south Travancore in the 19<sup>th</sup> century*, New Delhi, 1989.

<sup>34</sup> Koji Kawashima, *Missionaries and a Hindu State: Travancore 1858-1936*, New Delhi, 1998.

<sup>35</sup> Present researcher has seen multiplication tables and books written on cadjan leaves which were languishing in the traditional home library called Granthappura of an Ettukettu Tharavāṭu, Kottayam District. About these depositories of books, Kunjikuttan Thampuram writes that ‘Swantamāi paḷaya śūdravītila-ntapadavidhikalkku sūcakam, Bandamundupalatathu samskrīta-granthaṣaṅcayaviśēṣamippōḷum, Keralam, Sargam II, Verse, 63.

<sup>36</sup> For example, Cheriyan Kuniyanthodath, *Malāyalabhāṣayum Dr. Herman Gundertum*, Kozhikode, 1997, Thikkurissi Gangadharan, *Kerala Varma Paṭhanangal*, Trivandrum, 2014, Scaria Zacharia and Albrecht Franz, *Herman Gundert: Parudīsayile Bhāṣāpandithan*, Kottayam, 1991.

<sup>37</sup> K. K. N. Kurup writes that most of the text books in vernacular languages and English, were compiled, edited and published by the missionaries. They were not free from religious character and also contained criticism against the native customs and manners. A content

In the present study an extensive survey of such rare textbooks is made with a view to understanding what had been taught and learnt in our class rooms in the past days. Their transaction and teaching -learning strategies are also the part of this enquiry. It is interesting to note that textbooks are printed in large quantity, but not preserved as other sorts of books. This statement is a general one and not applicable to Sree Chithira Thirunal Library, Vanchiyoor, Trivandrum and individuals like Thikkurissi Gangadharan from whom the present researcher obtained good number of text books of rare category, issued by Travancore Government. Thanks are due to Cheriyan Kuniyanthodath and Scaria Zacharia for bringing in to light many of Basel Mission textbooks kept in Basel, and the Tubingen University.<sup>39</sup>

### Official Documents

Official documents pertaining to education in Kerala fall in to two categories- those issued by Princely State of Travancore and those by the British Government. In Travancore, state intervention begins with the royal proclamation of Rani *Gouri Parvathibai* way back in 1817. There after a number of similar orders were issued by subsequent rulers with a view to strengthen English as well as Vernacular education across the state. Such documents, available in the Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum, are amply consulted for this study. Among the colonial records, Thomas Munro's minutes of 1822, and 1826, Macaulay's Minutes of 1835, Wood's Dispatch of 1854 and Hunter Commission Report of 1882 are worth mentioning. Recently an official

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analysis of these text books had not been so far undertaken by scholars with a historical perspective. See Proceedings of *S. I. H C.*, VIII Session, Hyderabad, pp. 92-97. And also see Scaria Zacharia, *Charchayum Pūraṇavum*, Section IV, study appended to new edition of *Malayāla sāhithyavaum Christīānikaḷum* by *P. J. Thomas*, Kottayam, 1986.

<sup>38</sup> While analysing the nature of text books brought out by Heraman Gundert, Scaria Zacharia pointed out that, the textbooks of the colonial period, though they are large in number, are not studied carefully till the date. See *Malayālavum*, Herman Gundertum, Malayalam University, 2015, p. 568.

<sup>39</sup> Through reciprocal exchanges, the present researcher has set up an archive (personal) of old text books of 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. They were exhibited in the International Book Fair and Literary fest (Kṛiti) held at Cochin, under the aegis of Government of Kerala from 1<sup>st</sup> march to 10<sup>th</sup> March 2018. For the detailed reading of the history of text book construction in Kerala, see Sreejith E, 'Malayalapāṭhāvalikaḷute Carithṛam', Introductory study, *Oruvaṭṭamkūṭi* (3 vols., Malayalam School Text Books, 1947-1990), Kottayam, 2018.

order of 1866 has been procured from a household of Manjery, that demanding tax from the families who are drawing annual income above Rs 500/ for the conduct of the Rate School in Manjery. This document is extremely valuable since, nothing more about the Rate schools in Malabar is available except some references in the colonial reports. An attempt is made to cluster them sequentially, so that a good knowledge of the educational development of the region is expected to be drawn out.

### **Manuals and Gazetteers**

Manuals are in other way the official documents. They are compiled with the administrative purpose and hence provide first hand information. Among this category, first to mention is *Malabar Manual* by William Logan.<sup>40</sup> During its compilation period, the educational activities were not much developed in Malabar District when compared to its counterpart, Travancore. Yet he gives some glimpses of the traditional schooling as well as state interventions.

Educational progress in Travancore was remarkable under native rulers and we have wonderful collections of their records. By utilizing them, V. Nagam Aiya,<sup>41</sup> the compiler of the Travancore State manual, gives a detailed description of the administrative as well as curricular aspects of educational development in Travancore. A critical appraisal of the indigenous education was also made in this work.

C. Achutha Menon, who compiled the *Cochin State Manual*,<sup>42</sup> himself was an educational officer. He provides some data regarding educational progress in Cochin, but not in elaborated form. Manual reveals that similar to Malabar, progress of education in Cochin was also slow and lagged far behind Travancore in many respects.

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<sup>40</sup> William Logan, *Malabar Manual* (1887), trans., T. V. Krishnan, Kozhikode, 2009.

<sup>41</sup> Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual* (3Vols.), Trivandrum, 1906. For the information of educational activities, volume II is more relevant.

<sup>42</sup> C. Achuta Menon, *The Cochin State Manual*, (1911), Thiruvananthapuram, 1995.

*Malabar District Gazetteer* by C. A. Innes I.C.S<sup>43</sup> is a much later work, but provides some indications on the educational sector in Malabar region. It helps to understand the development and changes taken place in the district since the Logan's Malabar Manual. It describes the genesis of the higher education and status of native education as well.

Though the work of Ullur S. Parameswara Iyer titled *The Progress of Travancore under Sree Moolam Thirunal*<sup>44</sup> is not listed in the category of popular manuals or gazetteers, it has all the characteristics of the same. It provides additional information on education which are not given in the Travancore State Manual. Besides this, his *Kerala Sahityacharithram* (5 volumes)<sup>45</sup> is also very significant in identifying important individuals contributed to the educational growth of Kerala, particularly in the field of text book construction.

The two volume works of K. P. Padmanabha Menon on the history of Cochin titled *Kochi Rājya Charithram*<sup>46</sup> throw much light on the educational history of that region. He had depended heavily on the writing of Bartolomeo while describing the old educational practices in Kerala. He gives some contemporary information too.

### **Auto Biographies/Biographies**

Another category of source, still unexplored in the educational studies is autobiographies of the individuals who had their schooling in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century or the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Unlike the present day autobiographies, they are rich in school experiences like the physical features of the school, content of studies, method of teaching, reward and punishment, characteristics of missionary pedagogy and the like. These people had received both types of education- indigenous as well as modern. Hence in their writings,

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<sup>43</sup> C. A. Innes, *Malabar Gazetteer*, Kerala Gezetteers Department, Thiruvananthapuram, 1997.

<sup>44</sup> Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer, *Progress of Travancore under H. H. Sree Moolam Thirunal*, Trivandrum, 1998.

<sup>45</sup> Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer, *Kerala Sahitya Charithram*, (5 Vols.), Kerala University, 1990

<sup>46</sup> K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *Kochi Rājya Charithram* (1914), Calicut, 1989.

illustrations of the both are given. Some of them were very critical about the traditional system while some others pointing out the negative impact of the modern education. Autobiographies of E. V. Krishnappillai<sup>47</sup>, K. Vasudevan Musad<sup>48</sup>, B. Kalyanikkutti Amma<sup>49</sup>, Mannathu Padmanabhan,<sup>50</sup> C. V. Kunjiramn<sup>51</sup>, C. Kesavan<sup>52</sup>, E.M.S. Nambuthirppadu<sup>53</sup>, K.P.S. Menon<sup>54</sup>, K. P. Kesava Menon<sup>55</sup>, G. Ramachandran<sup>56</sup>, are extensively used to elaborate different aspects of indigenous education. It is C.V. Kunjiraman provides the empirical evidence of indigenous teaching system that effectively adopted in England as ‘Madras System’ or ‘Monitorial system of Education’. It is also found that the entire autobiographical works are highly corroborative. These autobiographical sketches are also in full agreement with the foreign accounts referred to earlier. Certain reliable biographies are also made use in this study.<sup>57</sup>

### Essays and Articles

Besides the sources discussed above, we have another type of sources in the forms of Essays and articles published from the 1850’s. The writings of George Mathan<sup>58</sup>, Kerala Varma Valiyakoyithampuran<sup>59</sup>, S. Subrahmanya Iyyer<sup>60</sup>, N. Kumaranasan<sup>61</sup>, Swadeshbhimani Ramakrishnapillai<sup>62</sup>, I .C Chacko<sup>63</sup> etc., are very

<sup>47</sup> E.V. Krishnappillai, *Jīvithasmarāṅkal*, in *Eviyude Therenjetutha Krithikal*, Kottayam, 1996.

<sup>48</sup> K. Vasudevan Musad, *Ātmakatha*, Kottayam, 1966.

<sup>49</sup> B Kalanyanikkutty Amma, *Ōṛmayilninnu*, Kottayam, 1964.

<sup>50</sup> Mannathu Padmanabhan, *Ente Jīvitha Smaraṅakaḷ*, Changanassery, 1960.

<sup>51</sup> C.V. Kunjiraman, Nān, ed., Hashim Rajan, (1948), Trivandrum, 2010.

<sup>52</sup> C. Kesavan, *Jīvitha Samaram*, (1964), Kottayam, 2011.

<sup>53</sup> E.M.S. Namboothirippadu, *Ātmakatha* (15<sup>th</sup> edition) Trivandrum, 2017.

<sup>54</sup> K.P.S. Menon, *Ātmakatha*, (tran.), K. N. Gopalan Nair, Kottayam, 1967.

<sup>55</sup> K.P. Kesava Menon, *Kaḷinja Kālam*, (1957), Kozhikode, 2009.

<sup>56</sup> G. Ramachandran, *Pinniṭṭa Jīvitappātha*, Kottayam, 1985.

<sup>57</sup> For example, *Dēśābhīmāni T. K. Madhavan* by P. K. Madhavan, (1937). Both of them were close associates and the biography was prepared with the information collected from T. K. Madhavan himself.

<sup>58</sup> George Mathan, *Bālabhyāsanam*. For full text, see Samuel Chandhanappalli, ed., *Rev. George Mathan: Kṛithikaḷum Paṭhanavum*, Chandhanappalli, 1992.

<sup>59</sup> Kerala Varama, *Selected Essays*, ed., Thikkurissi Gangadharan Kottayam, 1980.

<sup>60</sup> S. Subrahmanya Aiyer, *Baṣapōṣini* relevant issues.

<sup>61</sup> N. Kumaranasan, *Vivēkodayam*, relevant issues.

<sup>62</sup> K. Ramakrishnappillai, *Collected works*, (5Vols.), ed., T. Venugopalan, Trivandrum, 2010.



useful to understand different educational issues discussed. The contribution of *Bhashaposhini*, a periodical magazine under Malayala Manorama, in inculcating and reinforcing educational consciousness in Kerala was also unparalleled and unique. Such articles and essays discussed various topics like learner's intelligence, physical and mental health children, pedagogical issues, school administration and so on. Such writings were collected and made use of in the present study.<sup>64</sup>

In *Village Government in British India*, John Mathai<sup>65</sup> gives a detailed description of the nature and characteristic features of village education. He highlights the secular and democratic nature of indigenous education. Information from the colonial reports and observations were also summarized in this study. Although the book was written with the help of official publications, being an eyewitness of both traditional and modern education, his writings can be considered as primary.

T.K. Gopal Panikkar in his *Malabar and its Folks* relates the village education in detail.<sup>66</sup> He wrote: The village life of Malabar is delightfully charming and simple. It is rapidly passing off under the influence of western civilization; and as such it is only right and proper to attempt to preserve a lasting account of it at this important epoch of transition.<sup>67</sup> These words indicate that he was aware of the fate of indigenous education in the wake of modern education. As he wished, even after a century, his accounts are being used in the historical studies.

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<sup>63</sup> I. C. Chacko, *Bhashāpoṣini*, relevant issues.

<sup>64</sup> For details, see below, Chapter on 'Emergence of Educational Consciousness'.

<sup>65</sup> John Matthai, *Village Government in British India*, New Delhi, 1915. Chapter II of this book elaborately discusses the indigenous education in Indian villages. John Matthai was the Tutor of History, Madras Christian College and Vakil of the High Court of Judicature, Madras.

<sup>66</sup> T. K. Gopal Panikkar, *Malabar and its Folks*, (1900), AES reprint, New Delhi, 1983.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177.

## Review of Related Literature

A study with academic nature will remain incomplete unless and until it makes a thorough survey of the related previous studies. It helps to understand what has been done and what is to be done. It enables to locate lacunas too. Careful reading of such secondary works enables concept formation and high level of interpretative thinking. Methodological frame work is also provided by the additional readings. It gives new orientation to the study. Hence an attempt was made here to make a general survey of the relevant works related to Indian education in general and Kerala in particular.

A. S. Altekar, one of the prominent nationalist historians, has authored a monumental work titled *Education in Ancient India*<sup>68</sup> based on large quantity of primary sources. His collection of sources includes religious books, literary works, inscriptions, sculptural and archaeological evidences. Foreign accounts were also consulted to strengthen the arguments. The book deals with various topics like aims and ideals of education, related rituals and ceremonies, elementary education, qualities of students and teachers, nature of female education, and the like. Even today it is being considered as one of the classics on Indian Education.

A decade after the publication of the *Education in Ancient India*, another work was published in the same area by R. K. Mukherjee,<sup>69</sup> a nationalist historian like Altekar. It sheds light on the Vedic and post Vedic of education. The study focuses mainly on Hindu ideals of educational theory and practices. Altekar's work is notable for referencing the original sources whereas R.K. Mukherjee's work fails in this respect.

*The Nālanda University* by H.D Sankalia,<sup>70</sup> first published in 1934, is an excellent work on the ancient Indian tradition of higher learning. This study is

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<sup>68</sup> A .S. Altekar, *Education in Ancient India*, Benaras, 1934.

<sup>69</sup> R. K. Mukherjee, *Education in Ancient India*, (1947), New Delhi, 2016.

<sup>70</sup> H. D. Sankalia, *The University of Nalanda*, New Delhi, 1972.

entirely based on archaeological excavation data and corroborating literary evidences. All important points such as the rise of the University, its patrons, curriculum, scholars attached to it, origin of *Tantrism* and the final disappearance of the institution etc., are described in this work in a lucid manner. It is undoubtedly the best available work on the subject. This study helps us to trace the historical roots of Salai-s of early medieval period in Kerala.

Another book of this kind was written Mitali Chatterjee<sup>71</sup>. His area of interest was Gupta age and it is purely based on literary evidences. He relates the literary as well educational tradition against the backdrop of existing of social and political scenario. *Smṛithies* and *Puraṇa-s* are the main sources and the author scoops out the educational ideals implicitly or explicitly referred to in them. Apart from these, *Kāvya-s* and *Dharmā Sūtra-s* also were carefully examined and historical facts are presented in a lucid manner. The last part of the text deals with educational systems of the heterodox sects- Buddhism and Jainism. One of the special features of this book is that the use of primary data in profusion of literary works.

Dr. Veda Mitra<sup>72</sup> also wrote a book on Ancient Indian Education. This book, besides many other facts, reveals that the antiquity of celebrated ‘Monitorial System’ had its origin in the hoary past. In monitorial system which existed in pre-colonial period, the senior students guided the juniors in their studies but under the close supervision of the teachers. He cites *Apastamba DharmāSūtra* and other reliable sources in this regard. This system had been practiced in Taxila also. In this work a detailed analysis of the monitorial system is given with solid evidences.

Mavelikkara Achyuthan has made an attempt to trace out the educational ideals reflected in authorities like Manu, Panini and Kautilya.<sup>73</sup> Based on original texts, this work provides concrete and well versed information about the topic.

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<sup>71</sup> Mitali Chatterjee, *Education in Ancient India*, New Delhi, 1966.

<sup>72</sup> Vedamitra, *Education in Ancient India*, New Delhi, 1964.

<sup>73</sup> Mavelikkara Achuthan, *Educational Practices in Manu, Panini and Kautilya*, Trivandrum, 1975.

*Education in South India (Ancient and Medieval period)* by S. Gurumurthy<sup>74</sup> is an outstanding work on the educational system of South India during the ancient and medieval period. Unlike his predecessors, he extensively used inscriptional sources to illustrate the early medieval institutions like *Ghaṭika-s* (temple colleges), *Agrahāra* and other similar types of institutions. This study helps to understand the functions and activities of early medieval Śālai-s in Kerala in a more wide historical context. At the same time, it seems that he does not attempt to make any interpretation based on the enormous sources he consulted.

J. P. Naik and Syed Nurullah<sup>75</sup> jointly authored a book titled *A Students history of Education in India*. It describes the educational history of India during the colonial and post independent period starting from 1765 to 1973. In the preface itself the authors make it clear that study does not touch upon the educational history of individual movements like Arya Samaj or Alighar and it does not deal with the progress of education under each state of India. It examines different stages of the evolution of modern education in India against the background of changing social, political and economic conditions in England and in India. First published in 1945, the book has so many editions till the date. It indicates the quality of this book as an authentic one on Modern Indian Education.

One of the path breaking studies in Indian education was brought out by Dharmपाल through his magnum opus *The Beautiful Tree: Indigenous Education in the Eighteenth Century*.<sup>76</sup> It was the first attempt to rediscover the vast heritage of Indian education, particularly about the pre-British period. Based on valid data, collected from different repositories all over England and India, he demonstrates that in terms of content and proportion of those attending institutional education, the situation in India in 1800 does not in any sense look inferior to that which was obtained in

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<sup>74</sup> Gurumurthi, *Education in South India (Ancient and Medieval Periods)*, Madras, 1972.

<sup>75</sup> J. P. Naik and Nurulla, *A Students' History of Education in India, 1800-1973*, Macmillan, (6<sup>th</sup> revised edition), New Delhi, 1995.

<sup>76</sup> Dharamपाल, *The Beautiful Tree: Indigenous Education in the Eighteenth Century*, New Delhi, 1983.

England then; and in many respect Indian schooling seems to have been much more extensive. He further notices that school attendance especially in the districts of the Madras Presidency; even in the decade state of 1822-25, was proportionately far higher than the numbers in all variety of schools in England in 1800. Inspiring from Dharampal, an extensive survey of the traditional educational system of Kerala is done in the present study. Dharampal's study is significant not only for it's unique observations, but it also provides large quantity of the unchallenged primary sources- official as well as travelogues- to substantiate the arguments. The present writer made use of them extensively to elaborate the concepts and ideas pertaining to the subject.

*History of Education in Modern India 1757-1998* of Suresh Chandra Ghosh<sup>77</sup> deviates significantly from the previous works as it followed the theoretical frame work of 'New History', a recent trend in historical research. This study is significant because of the use of many unpublished sources and majority of them belongs to the individuals like Warren Hastings, Auckland, Dalhousie, Charles wood, Curzon and so on. This includes diaries, memoirs, pamphlets and selections from other records.

Another interesting study which applies the theories of Gramsci and Bourdieu in modern Indian education is by Alok K. Mukherjee.<sup>78</sup> He was mainly focusing on the role of 'English Language Education' which was effectively used to strengthen the hegemonic agendas of British colonialism as well as that of the high caste Hindus. This study follows the principles of deconstruction. He argues that, through English education, British colonial intellectuals hoped to civilize the benighted Indian people and there by perpetuate the colonial rule. High caste Hindus on the other hand saw in English education the possibility of Hindu revivalism. One of the drawbacks of this study is that it concentrates much on Calcutta Presidency and tries to generalize it for the entire colonial India. For example, unlike in

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<sup>77</sup> Satish Chandra Ghosh, *History of Education in Modern India 1757-1998*, (1995), New Delhi, 2000.

<sup>78</sup> Alok K. Mukherjee, *This Gift of English: English Education and the Formation of Alternative Hegemonies in India*, New Delhi, 2009.

Calcutta, the so called religious renaissance in Kerala was not initiated by the elite Hindus but by the traditional intellectuals of the lower caste. However, Alok's work discusses various pedagogical issues, content of studies, textbooks and the nature of question papers that were taken for granted in the previous studies.

*Education in India* by Padma Ramachandran and Vasantha Ramkumar<sup>79</sup> is a study of theory and practice of education in India right from the ancient days up to the recent time. Out of ten chapters, the first two describe the ancient and the medieval education and the ducation during the British period respectively. The remaining part deals with current educational issues. It is a descriptive study rather than analytical and interpretative one.

Joseph Bara in his research paper entitled *The idea of Christian college in colonial India, 1818-1902* made some introspection and review of missionary educational policies.<sup>80</sup>

### **Studies on Kerala Education**

No researcher on modern Kerala History can ignore the monumental work authored by C.M. Agur entitled *The Church History of Travancore* (1903). It explores the history of entire Christianity in Kerala starting from the advent of Syrian Christian and up to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. His close association with the missionaries as well the administrative authorities enabled him to procure much valuable information pertaining to the topics discussed.<sup>81</sup> In other words, *The Church History of Travancore* is rather a primary work than a secondary one. It contains innumerable first hand documents and references regarding the formative stage of modern missionary education in Kerala.

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<sup>79</sup> Padma Ramachandran and Vasantha Ramkumar, *Education in India*, (2005), New Delhi, 2007.

<sup>80</sup> Joseph Bara, *The Idea of Christian College in Colonial India* in Commemoration volume of 120<sup>th</sup> year of foundation, St. Thomas College, Thrissur, 2010.

<sup>81</sup> C .M .Agur worked as an office manager at British Resident's Office, Trivandrum and belonged to the family of Vedamanikkan Maharasan, who invited Ringeltabue, the pioneering missionary of LMS to Travancore.

Another outstanding work on the Missionary enterprises is by P. Cheriyan under the title *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary society 1816-1840* which was published in 1935<sup>82</sup>. In the preparation of the study, the author had made ample use of contemporaneous documents, official publications and other standard works and tried to bring together all relevant facts.<sup>83</sup> The appended documents, a total of thirty five, are very informative and valuable for the students undergoing research in this area. Most of the knowledge regarding CMS institutions in Kottayam is drawn from this book especially that of the career of Thomas Norton, Benjamin Bailey and others.

While the historical enquiries on education in Kerala struck only on missionary contributions, it was Prof. Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai initiated similar studies about the early medieval experiences based on inscriptional sources. His two articles entitled *Keralathile Prachīna Vidyāpīṭhangaḷ* and *Vidhyābhyāsam Prāchīna Keralathil* are significant in this regard. However, it seems that, he was more sentimental and speculative in certain points. For example, while describing the collapse of *Kānthaḷūr salai*, he shows literary elegance than the historical explanations.<sup>84</sup>

Prof. M.G.S. Narayanan, in his '*Perumāls of Kerala*'<sup>85</sup> and *Aspect of Aryanisation in Kerala*<sup>86</sup>, attempting to give vivid light on the modalities of the medieval Śālai-s and students by showing para-military nature, apart from the Vedic studies. He provides inscriptional as well as literary evidences in this regard. He also entered the debate over the various issues related to *Kānthaḷūr Salai* like the location, meaning of epithet *Kalamaruppu* and so on. His research paper title *Kānthaḷūr Sali:*

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<sup>82</sup> P. Cheriyan, *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society 1816-1840*, (1935) Kottayam, 2015.

<sup>83</sup> He was formerly a Judge of High Court of Travancore.

<sup>84</sup> Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Selected Works, Part I*, ed., N. Sam, Kerala University, 2005.

<sup>85</sup> M.G.S Narayanan, *Perumāls of Kerala*, Trhrissur, 2013.

<sup>86</sup> M.G.S Narayanan, *Aspect of Aryanisation in Kerala*, Trivandrum, 1973.

New light on the Nature of Aryan Expansion to South India<sup>87</sup> is also bringing light some interesting information about the Salais. Similar attempt was made by Kesavan Veluthattu in his *Brahmin Settlements in Kerala*. He examines the nature of medieval education in relation to the concepts like *Chattā and Bhattā*<sup>88</sup>.

Prof. T. K. Ravindran makes an attempt to locate the exact place of *Kānthaḷūr Śālai* in an article titled *Kānthaḷūr: A University of Medieval Kerala*. He identifies the place *Vijayapuri*, described in *Kuvalayamala* of Udyotana Sūri and *Kuvalayamālakatha* of Ratnaprbhasuri, as Trivandrum city where *Kānthaḷūr Śālai* situated. But his argument seems to be untenable and exaggerated due to the absence of valid archeological and inscriptional data<sup>89</sup>.

The first scientific attempt to understand the colonial effect upon Kerala traditional education was made by P.R. Gopinathan Nair in his work *Keralathile Vidhyābhyāsm*.<sup>90</sup> This study is significant because of various reasons. First of all it tries to understand the nature of the indigenous education against the proper historical background. Secondly it explores the economic policies of colonialism and its consequences in the field of the existing educational sector. In other words, this work provides a better understanding of current educational issues with their historical roots. His research paper entitled *Education and Socio-economic Change in Kerala, 1793-1947* is also very relevant as it examines various factors, in contrast to the growth of education elsewhere in the country that reinforced Kerala's educational expansion throughout the whole span.<sup>91</sup> Another notable study by the same author is

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<sup>87</sup> M.G.S Narayanan, *Kāntalur Śālai: New light on the Nature of Aryan Expansion to South India*, Proceedings of Indian History Congress, Jabalpur, 1970.

<sup>88</sup> Kesavan Veluthatt, *Brahmin Settlement in Kerala*, Thrissur, 2013.

<sup>89</sup> T. K. Ravindran, 'Kāntalur śālai: A Medieval University', in *Institutions and Movements in Kerala History*, Trivandrum, 1978.

<sup>90</sup> P. R. Gopinathan Nair, *Keralathile Vidhyābhyāsam*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1980.

<sup>91</sup> P. R. Gopinathan Nair, *Education and Socio-Economic Changes in Kerala 1793-1947*, Social scientist, Vol. 4, No. 8, March, 1976, pp.28-43.



*Educational Reforms in India: Universalisation of Primary Education in Kerala*<sup>92</sup>

However, pedagogical aspects did not receive any attention in all these studies.

*Indian Vidhyābhyāsam Nūṛṅantukaḷilute*<sup>93</sup> by Thayattu Sankaran is a popular book on Indian education in Malayalam language. It is a general survey rather than research oriented one. As the writer himself remarks, it is a book that covers a vast area in a larger canvas. Apparently he could not go in to the depth of the topics discussed. This work was not based on any serious primary records too. However, about the current educational issues, the author makes his own observations and evaluations in an insightful manner. It is noted that though Kerala had a rich educational tradition, only two pages were given to it in Sankaran's work. It will be a matter of surprise that Dharampal, who was the first to explore the peculiar features of Kerala education, was not a Malayali by birth but a person who belonged to Uttar Pradesh. Sankaran's work is not at all useful to the serious researchers of Kerala education.

Umalyanellur Balakrishnappillai wrote a book titled *Vidhyābhyāsam Pṛāchīna Bhārathathil*.<sup>94</sup> As the title indicates, it deals with ancient Indian Education. It also provides some information regarding Kerala education. Similar to the work of Thayattu Sankaran, the author also largely depended on secondary sources.

*Pṛācīna Gaṇitam Keralthil* is an illuminating work on the mathematical tradition of pre-colonial Kerala by C. K. Musad.<sup>95</sup> It contains large number of mathematical puzzles and problems prevalent at the time. The work helps us to develop some ideas about the curriculum of mathematics of pre-colonial period. *Sangamagrama Madhavan* by A. Vinod Kumar gives certain information about the contributions Madhava of Sangamagrama (Iringalakkuda, 14<sup>th</sup> Century CE) towards

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<sup>92</sup> P. R. Gopinathan Nair, *Educational Reforms in India: Universalization of Primary Education in Kerala*, Working Paper, No 181, CDS, Trivandrum, 1983.

<sup>93</sup> Thayattu Sankaran, *Indian Vidhyābhyāsam Nūṛṅantukaḷilute*, (1982), Trivandrum, 2013.

<sup>94</sup> Umalyanellur Balakrishnappillai, *Vidhyābhyāsam Pṛāchīna Bhārathathil*, Kottayam, 1961.

<sup>95</sup> C. K. Musad, *Pṛācīna Gaṇitam Malayāḷathil*, Trivandrum, 1982.

the value of pi, trigonometry, calculus and so on.<sup>96</sup> Another important work worth mentioning here is the *Kerala School of Mathematics: Trajectories and Impact*, edited by N. K. Sundareswaran.<sup>97</sup>

M. R. Raghava Variar studied about the social and cultural background of *Gurukulam-s* which flourished in the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>98</sup> The research paper in this regard appeared in his collection of essays titled *Ammavaḷikkēraḷam*. He made use of first hand information like autobiographies to explore the functions of *Gurukulams*. Besides these, he has authored many scholarly articles which shed much light on the evolution of scripts prevailed in Kerala over the ages, based on inscriptional evidences. Similar attempt was made by S. K. Vasanthan to describe the *Gurukulam-s* but he concentrates much on literary aspects rather than historical explanations. His study appeared in the book entitled *Mananam*<sup>99</sup>.

*Cultural Encounters under Colonialism: The Case of Education in Kerala* is a highly academic paper by K. N. Ganesh.<sup>100</sup> This study is an extended form of the concepts discussed by P .R. Gopinathan Nair and others but with more clinching evidences and presented in an analytical manner. He had also utilized the autobiographies to unravel the nature of village education, though not extensively. Further, he examines the modalities of colonial enterprises in the realm of education which was effectively manipulated to subjugate and capture the mind of Indian youths. It discusses various topics like popularization of the Malayalam language learning, pre-colonial village curriculum, indigenous higher education, missionary intervention, emergence of new morality and so on. Through various examples, he demonstrates that the growth of English as a form of social control ensured the cultural hegemony of Western thoughts and values. However this study also fails to

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<sup>96</sup> A .Vinod, *Sangamagrāma Madhavan*, Ernakulam, 2016.

<sup>97</sup> N. K. Sundereswaran, ed., *Kerala School of Mathematics: Trajectories and Impact*, Calicut, 2014.

<sup>98</sup> M. R. Raghava Variar, *Ammavaḷikkēraḷam*, Trissur, 2006.

<sup>99</sup> S .K. Vasanthan, *Mananam*, Trivandrum, 2015.

<sup>100</sup> K .N. Ganesh, ‘*Cultural Encounters under Colonialism*’, in *Culture and Modernity: Historical Explorations*, ed., K. N. Ganesh, Calicut University, 2004.

provide empirical data of learning materials that ensured hegemonic agenda about which Ganesh himself calls the ‘epistemological violence’.

C.D.S Working paper titled *Socio-Economic Factors in Educational Development, The Case of 19<sup>th</sup> Century Travancore* by Michael Tharakan<sup>101</sup> is an attempt to find out the probable reasons for the high level literacy in the region with a rather low level of per capita income. It examines the socio-economic and political factors which contributed the shaping of Travancore education. This study also compares the progress of education in each administrative unit viz., Travancore, Cochin and Malabar.

K. K. N. Kurup brings out certain factors that made educational progress among the Eḷava community in north Malabar during the colonial period. He observes that while the Brahmins did not pursue modern education due to traditional mentalities, the down trodden class, because of their economic and social backwardness. But the Eḷavas, as a middle stratum, did not have such economic, social or religious constraints. His findings are significant because, in Travancore, the state of Eḷavas were deplorable as evident from the writings of Palpu and others. His article is titled as *English Education and Social Progress among Ezhavas of Malabar in ‘Ādhunika Keralam’*,<sup>102</sup>

Thikkurissi Gangadharan has made substantial contributions to enrich our knowledge about Kerala Varma Valiyakōyithampuran as the President of Travancore Textbook committee (1866-67).<sup>103</sup> He makes a detailed analysis of the text books compiled by the committee. His entire work is based on original sources. Most of the Travancore texts were the independent translations of celebrated English works but were well adapted to Kerala’s cultural experiences. Thikkurissi found out the original

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<sup>101</sup> Michael Tharakan, *Socio-Economic Factors in Educational Development, The case of 19<sup>th</sup> century Travancore*, CDS Working Paper, No. 190, 1984.

<sup>102</sup> K.K.N. Kurup, *Ādhunika Keralam*, see chapter on “English Education and Social Progress among the Thiyyas of Malabar”, Thiruvannathapuram, 1982, pp.20-31.

<sup>103</sup> Thikkurissi Gangadharan, *Kerala Varama Paṭhanangal*, Thiruvannathapuram, 2004.

sources and makes comparison with the redacted or translated versions. Present researcher is benefited from the constant discussions with him to elaborate many ideas on Travancore educational system of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. His personal archive containing such original textbooks was also utilized amply for the present study. *Kerala Varma Smaraṅkaḷ* (ed.) by K. Ramachandran Nair,<sup>104</sup> *Kerala Varma* by K. Narayanappillai<sup>105</sup> and *Kerala Varma* by Ezhumattur<sup>106</sup> shed much light on the contributions of Kerala Varma towards modern education in Kerala in general and Travancore in particular.

*Malayalabhāṣayum Dr. Hermmman Gundertum* by Cheriyan Kuniyanthodath<sup>107</sup> is a scholarly work on the contributions of Gundert towards Malayalam language and literature. There is a particular chapter in it which deals with the textbooks compiled by Gundert. He has brought out many works compiled by Gundert, preserved in Basel Mission headquarters, Switzerland.

Scaria Zacharia and Albrecht Frenz also made remarkable contributions to the Gundert studies. Their book '*Dr. Herman Gundert: Parudīsayile Bhasha Pandithan*'<sup>108</sup> enables us to understand the educational activities of Gundert in Malabar region in a more authentic manner. This work should be treated under the category of primary source as it consisted of autobiographical sketches and information from Gundert's own personal diaries. Apart from these, Scaria has written many other articles on the same topic on various occasions<sup>109</sup> Recently

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<sup>104</sup> K. Ramachandran Nair ed., *Keralavarma Smarana*, Trivandrum, 1995.

<sup>105</sup> P. K. Narayanappillai, *Kerala Varma*, New Delhi, 1994.

<sup>106</sup> Ezhumattur Rajarajavarma, *Kerala Varma*, University of Kerala, 2010.

<sup>107</sup> Cheriyan Kuniyanthodath, *Malayalabhāṣayum Dr. Herman Gundertum*, Calicut, 1997.

<sup>108</sup> Albrecht Frenz and Scaria Zacharia, *Dr. Herman Gundert, Parudīsayile Bhāṣa Pandithan*, Kottayam, 1991.

<sup>109</sup> They are compiled in *Malayālavum Herman Gundertum*, ed., Scaria Zacharia, (2vols.), Malayalam Univeristy, 2016.

Albrecht Frenz has brought out a biography of Gundert.<sup>110</sup> This also contains some valuable information about Gundert's career in Kerala.

*Protestant Christianity and People Movements in Kerala (1850-1936)* is a highly researched work by J.W. Gladstone.<sup>111</sup> His intimate connection with the church organizations does not prevent him from critical comments and observation and his writings are free from prejudices and biases. This work is outstanding because of the profuse use of the primary data.

*Church Missionary Society and Education in Kerala* by K. V. Eapen<sup>112</sup> is a research work on the contribution of CMS towards Kerala Education. Readers will get a fair idea about the aims and objectives of their educational policies and early activities. This work is more descriptive and providing reliable sources. However, he also fails to delineate the educational developments in Kerala against the backdrops of prevailing socio-political conditions.

Dick Kooiman,<sup>113</sup> in his *Conversion and Social Equality in Kerala: The London Missionary Society in South Travancore in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century* studied about the activities of LMS and describes their educational activities in the southern part of Kerala.

Kawashima's, *Missionary and a Hindu state, Travancore 1858-1936*<sup>114</sup> examines the educational enterprises of Travancore Government during the late nineteenth century. He brings out some interesting facts by utilizing Travancore administrative records and other reliable data. The dynamics operated between the state and the missionaries are well examined in this work.

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<sup>110</sup> This book is translated in to Malayalam by Hafis Muhammed and brought out by Malayalam University, Tirur, 2017.

<sup>111</sup> J.W. Gladstone, *Protestant Christianity and People Movement in Kerala*, (trans.), Punalur Gopalakrishnan, Trivandrum, 2004.

<sup>112</sup> K .V. Eapen, *Church Missionary Society and Education in Kerala*, Kottayam, 1986.

<sup>113</sup> Dick Kooiman, *Conversion and Social Equality in India, The London Missionary Society in South Travancore in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1989.

<sup>114</sup> Koji Kawashima, *Missionaries and a Hindu State*, Travancore 1858-1936, Oxford, New Delhi, 1998.

Robin Jeffry in his *Decline of Nair Dominance*<sup>115</sup> explores the various social and political forces that necessitated the development of modern education in Travancore. He highlights the internal forces and social conditions. He was also failed to realize the potentialities of indigenous educational system. In one occasion he states that, it was difficult to prove or disprove the claim that the Travancore had a high literacy rate in the pre-British period. Had he been consulted the documentary evidences like that of Peter Della Valle, Alexander Walker or Bartolomeo, his observation would have been different. However he examines the lower caste movements and allied issues that culminated in the spread of elementary education in Travancore during the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

*Keralathile Vdihyābhyāsam: Paścāthalavum Parivaṛthanavum* is a book by P.S. Sreekala. It is neither analytical nor interpretative but descriptive. It presents statistical data collected by different agencies on various educational aspects. Certain factual errors can also be detected in the work like ‘Indian History begins with the advent of Aryans, the proclamation of Rani Parvathibai, regarding the opening of state paid schools, was issued in 1819 and so on.’<sup>116</sup> She too relied much on secondary data.

Present researcher, in his *Keralathile Vidhyābhyāsam: Carithṛam, Vaṛthamānam*<sup>117</sup> makes a different attempt by tracing out many hitherto unexplored sources like inscriptional and archival. This book explores different aspects of Kerala education like the operation of Śālai-s of early medieval period and much debated Monitorial system of Kerala, also gives some historical data about the activities of Travancore Text Book Committee under Keralavarma. An attempt was also made to provide some information on the obsolete scripts of Kerala. The contributions of pioneering educationalists like Hermmann Gundert, George Mathan, Frohnmeyer and

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<sup>115</sup> Robin Jeffry, *Decline of Nair Dominance: Society and Politics in Travancore, 1847-1908*, (trans.), Puthuppalli Raghavan and Chandrasekhara Varier, Kottayam, 2016.

<sup>116</sup> P. S. Sreekala, *Keralathile Vdihyābhyāsam: Paścāthalavum Parivaṛthanavum*, Trivandrum, 2009. See pp. 9, p.35.

<sup>117</sup> Sreejith. E, *Keralathile Vidhyābhyāsam: Carithṛam, Vaṛthamānam*, Kottayam, 2016.

so on were analyzed in this study. However, since the essays in this work were written on different occasions, the study fails to present the educational history of Kerala in a cause-effect manner.

Karthikeyan Nair makes an attempt to understand the educational history of Kerala based on the nature of class interest and land relations over the period of time. He highlights the two fold function of education, contradicting each other. In the first instance it helps the people to liberate themselves and at the same it is being used by political authorities effectively to tame or enslave the citizens. His work *Bharnakūṭavum Vidhyābhyāsavum: Kēraḷathinte Anubhavaṅgal*<sup>118</sup> is written against the back ground of this assumption. Focus on theoretical side, sometimes caused the neglect of historical facts based on concrete evidences. .

The survey of related literature reveals that the phenomenon under review, education in Kerala, is not well enquired in terms of valid cause and effect relationship. Comprehensive and analytical studies are also not undertaken with regard to it. There are many valuable documents lying underutilized even now. Above discussed studies definitely enriched our understanding of education in different historical perspectives; still they are independent of each other and confined only in to the marked boundaries of particular areas. Such studies lack the interconnectivity of relevant social, economical, political and cultural forces that influenced and shaped the educational ideals and practices of each period. Pedagogical aspects are also grossly neglected in earlier studies. The present study is an attempt to present the historical development of educational system in Kerala on the basis of hard historical evidences in an analytical and interpretive manner.

### **Limitations of the Study**

All the possible efforts have been made to make the study scientific and systematic. Large scale surveys were conducted to locate the relevant sources. In this

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<sup>118</sup> Karthikeyan Nair, *Bharnakūṭavum Vidhyābhyāsavum: Kēraḷathinte Anubhavaṅgal*, Trivandrum, 2018.

study many Tamil and Sanskrit sources were relied on. As the researcher is not proficient in these languages, their Malayalam translations were used. For certain modern books as well, translations were utilized as they were readily available<sup>119</sup>. In such case, the authenticity of them was also ensured. The features of pre- colonial education were extensively studied in the thesis. But it did not give much weightage to the *Kaḷari-s* where physical training was imparted. Similarly, theological education of different religious sects,<sup>120</sup> except the Śālai-s and Sabamaṭha-s of earlier period, was also not a part of this study. The present study did not employ much archival or official data pertaining to education of modern period. Rather it tapped unconventional sources like textbooks or autobiographies. Likewise this study is also not attempting to present huge statistical data of the students' enrollment or the growth of institutions; but gives more importance to qualitative aspect of education like pedagogical, curricular and structural. Caste and related issues, particularly in the realm of educational opportunities, is also not studied thoroughly.<sup>121</sup> By the close of 19th century, many literary works were published which depicted the deplorable status of downtrodden masses and the effect of modern education in their lives.<sup>122</sup> The conflict between the traditional and English education was also became the theme of many novels or short stories.<sup>123</sup> Such aspects were also not included in this study.

Present study focuses on general education. Parallel to it, there grew up professional or vocational education too. Such specialized areas were also not given

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<sup>119</sup> For example, Sangunni Menon, *A History of Travancore from the Earliest Times*, translated by C. K. Karim, Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity and The Native Life of Travancore*, see Note no. 25 and 26 above, William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, see Note no. 40 above, Robin Jeffry, *Decline of Nair Dominance: Society and Politics in Travancore 1847-1908*, see Note no. 115 above, and the like.

<sup>120</sup> Education in Seminaries, Dars, or Vedic schools etc.

<sup>121</sup> For details, see Dr. Palpu, *Thiruvaitāmkotte Eḷavar*, Kayamkulam, 2014, Pandit Karuppan, *Cohin Legislative Council Proceedings*, Ernakulam, Vol I, Sree Moolam Popular Assembly Speeches by N. Kumaranasan, Ayyankali, and so on. For details see Appendies

<sup>122</sup> See *Saraswathivijayam* by Pothery Kunjambu, Kannur, 1882, *Sukumāri* by Joseph Muliyl, Manjery, 1896, *Paṣṣkaravijayam* by Varyath Chori Peeter, 1906.

<sup>123</sup> For example, *Indulēkha* by Chandhu Menon and *Paṟangōti Pariṇayam* by Kizhakkeppatt Raman Kutty Menon.



due representation in this study. It does not examine the changes in the educational sector during the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The study indicates that the transition from traditional to the modern education was almost completed by the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century. The study explored the course, challenges and the transformation of the age old educational system in Kerala and how it became misdated in the wake of modern social and political scenario. In the concluding part, it also examines how colonialism effectively used educational system to execute their hegemonic ideologies and political agenda.

### **Chapterisation**

The present study is divided in eight chapters excluding the introduction and conclusion. It is arranged chronologically adhering to the time sequence of events. The introductory chapter establishes the rationale, need and significance, scope, objectives and methodology of the study. It also includes an extensive survey and review of related literature and sources used for the study. The first chapter examines the educational ideals reflected in Early Tamil Anthologies and the evolution of writing system based on inscriptional data and other related literature. The second chapter focuses on the functions and operations of educational institutions called *Śālai-s* of early medieval period. It further explores the nature of *Gurukulam* and *Sabhamathas* of later period also. The third chapter is about the village schools of Kerala called *Kutippallikutams* or *Āśān Kaḷari-s* which flourished from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century CE. Each and every aspect of these schools was studied with the help of foreign accounts, indigenous records and autobiographies. Content analysis of various subjects taught in the village schools is the another feature of this section. Next chapter is the continuation of the third and shows how Kerala Model of Education was successfully implemented in Britain during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It also provides concrete evidences of the system called 'Monitorial system' which was the back bone of traditional educational practices in Kerala. Philosophical and Psychological features of then education are also studied in detail.

The fifth chapter is about the advent of missionaries and their activities in Kerala which became the forerunners of modern educational system in Kerala. The thrust is given to pedagogical side rather than religious motives or administrative aspects. It is also written with the help of contemporary records and literature including the textbooks.

Educational development in the Princely State of Travancore is described in the sixth chapter. Travancore was the first state in India which made the education of children under state responsibility. The first state owned English School in South India was also at Travancore. The activities of text book committees (First and Second) in the state is studied in detail. Content analysis of the text books is also a part of this section. For this original texts were traced and their details are also furnished. Educational development in Cochin and Malabar is given in the separate chapter. It could have been included in the previous chapter but divided because of the unwieldy nature of the former. Unlike the Travancore and Malabar, the educational data pertaining to the Cochin is rare and hence not much information could be provided. Text books circulated in Malabar and Cochin were more or less same and their features were discussed as part of Missionary education (Chapter V) and the Growth of Educational Consciousness: The Role of Early Contributors (Chapter VIII). The final chapter enumerates the ideals and contributions of the intellectuals who actively involved in the educational sector of Kerala during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. In fact their parallel activities are equally important to state interventions in this regard. This chapter is purely based on primary data hitherto unexplored like the textbooks and articles of the individuals concerned. In the concluding chapter an overall analysis of the changes in the educational sector is made over the periods. Apart from these it shows, through concrete evidences from the text books, how colonial agenda was adroitly incorporated in the educational system implemented for the subjugated. At the end of the study, an index of the text books circulated in Kerala between 1824 to 1930 is given. Index of educational articles appeared in *Bhāṣāpōṣiṇi*, editorial notes by K. Ramakrishnapillai and

Assembly speeches of N. Kumaranasan and Ayyankaly were also given in the appendix part. It is hoped that it will become an index to the future researchers who undertake further research in the related topics.

A large number of Sanskrit, Tamil and Malayalam words have been positively exploited in this study and diacritical marks are employed for non- English words wherever it is possible. However, proper nouns, place names and well known words are left as they are. All most these words are explained as and when they appear in the text.

# CHAPTER I

## EDUCATION IN EARLY TAMIĻAKAM

Though geographically separated, culturally and socially Kerala was an integral part of ancient TamiĻkam- a region extended from Vēnkaṭa Mountains (Thiruppati) in north and Kanyakumary in the south, Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean being the boundaries on the west and the east respectively.<sup>1</sup> Kerala's distinct cultural entity - separate language, customs and behavioral pattern - was being shaped only around the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE. Until that time, the entire TamiĻakam shared a common cultural heritage with minor regional variations. About this aspect, Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varier observe that the human affairs and social process of this region were characterized by cultural homogeneity and economic heterogeneity.<sup>2</sup> Hence it is not possible to think that a singular form of education evolved particularly for the geographical unit now called Kerala during the period under review.

### Emergence of Educational System

Archaeological explorations reveal that the earliest evidence of human habitation in Kerala goes back to the Lower Paleolithic Age. Artifacts of the period were in the form of choppers and P. Rajendran is credited with their discovery from the banks of KanjirapuĻa in Palakkad district.<sup>3</sup> Recent salvage excavations at the Megalithic site of Kinalur, near Balussery, Kozhikode, have brought out many

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<sup>1</sup> 'Vaṭavēnṭam thenkumari āyitai tamiĻu kūru nallulakatthu' - Pāyiram, *Tolkāppiyam*. It means that the northern boundary of TamiĻakam is Venkata Mountain (Thiruppathi) and the southern Kanakumari. *Tolkāppiyam* is a basic work on poetics in Tamil, and earliest of its kind. The date and author is not known.

<sup>2</sup> Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varier, *History of Kerala, Pre historic to the Present*, New Delhi, 2018, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> P. Rajendran, The Palaeolithic Industries of North Kerala, *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol.40 (1980), pp.154-164, <https://www.jstore.org/stable/42931115>. In another paper titled *The Prehistoric Cultures of Kerala*, Rajendran further states that most of the Paleolithic sites in Kerala have no convincing stratigraphical control and are devoid of any organic material to date the lithic industries more precisely, see Proceedings of S.I.H.C, VII Session, Hyderabad, 1991, p. 152.

Mesolithic tools apart from the Neolithic and the Iron Age implements.<sup>4</sup> Studies by Padmanabhan Thampi in the Koodakkad reserve forest of Marayur also indicate the Mesolithic habitation in Kerala.<sup>5</sup> Similar objects were noticed in the caves of the Chenthuruni hills and the banks of the river Tirthakkara. However, the unearthed artifacts of different ages were not sufficient enough to make any inference about the social and cultural life of the communities they belonged to. Ethnoarchaeological studies in this regard were not under taken so far.

Any form of education, whether it is informal or formal, start with the development of language ability in human beings. Language is being considered as the main evolutionary contributions of humans and perhaps the most interesting trait that has emerged in the hoary past. It is the mode of communication, a crucial part of human behavior and a cultural object defining our social identity.<sup>6</sup> Scholars differ in their opinion about the period in which Homo erectus produced language along the stages of evolution and it is generally assumed that language ability has a history of over 500 million years. Almost all cognitive abilities are the direct result of language and in that sense; language can be treated as the cardinal tool of human thinking.

Hunter-gatherers or tribal societies had to preserve and transfer their experiences to the next generations in order to successfully face the challenges the nature set or for the better adaptation to the given environment. Human progress advanced through trial and errors. Cognitive capabilities became complex along with the evolution of brain system. Though the modern societies divide education in to different forms,<sup>7</sup> there was only one kind of education in the early stage of human development- the education that trained children to adjust with the existing

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<sup>4</sup> The excavation was carried out by the Department of History, Government Arts and Science College, Kozhikode in collaboration with Kerala State Archaeology Department. The team was headed by Dr. V. Selvakumar of Tamil University Tanjore and the present researcher was one of the members.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Padmanabhan Thampi discovered rock shelter and cave paintings belonging to the Mesolithic age at Anjangad Valley, Marayur, 1974.

<sup>6</sup> Martin A. Nowak, Natalia L. Komarova and Partha Niyogy, *Computational and Evolutionary aspects of Language*, Nature, June 2002, Vol. 417, <https://www.nature.com/nature/volumes/417/issues/7402>.

<sup>7</sup> Formal or Informal, Non-Formal, Child or Adult Education and the like.

environmental conditions. It was, for obvious reasons, imparted by the more experienced adults or parents at their dwelling places. Learning by doing and learning by observation all ultimately led to the learning by insights, rationality and cognition.

As stated above, language plays a significant role in the transformation and the retention of the knowledge and the experiences received through sense organs. Exchange of such higher level knowledge takes place through the medium of language. However, it does not mean that the formal education has its origin with the development of language ability itself. During the early stage of human culture, the education, as a process, operated through the agencies like family, peer group and other social groups to which the individual belonged. As time went on, the human experiences got the more complex and there arrived at a point that all the essential experiences could not be transmitted through the agencies mentioned above. Under these circumstances, a structured or formal educational system was being manifested in all kind of societies.

### **Education in Ancient Tamiḷakam**

Any discussion on the education, in Tamiḷakam in general and Kerala in particular, should be commenced with the concrete evidence- script. All Indian scripts including present day Malayalam called *Ārya Eḷuttu* evolved out of Northern Brāhmi or *Aśōkan Brāhmi*.<sup>8</sup> This script was first developed in the Gangetic region in a period of surplus, trade and state system and eventually spread to southern part of peninsular India. It took place through the frequent migration of Buddhist and Jain monks. Trading communities also contributed in the popularization of Brahmi script in South India. Mouryan expansion to more south is another probable reason in this regard. Prof. M.G.S Narayanan is of the opinion that Mauryan contacts played an

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<sup>8</sup> The specimens of its fully developed stage are evidenced in the inscriptions of Mouryan Emperor Aśōka, and hence the modern scholars call the alphabet as *Aśōkan Brāhmi*. It was deciphered by James Prinsep, Assay Master, East India Company Mint at Calcutta in 1837. For detailed reading about the decipherment, see C. S. Upasisk, *The History and Palaeography of Mauryan Brāhmi*, Varanasi, 1960, pp. 22-24 and also see Sreejith. E, *Keralathile Vidhyābhyāsam: Carithram, Varthamānam*, Kottayam, 2016, pp. 151-54.

important part in quickening the transformation of semi-tribal society in Tamilakam into caste-class society of the classical Indian Type.<sup>9</sup>

### Tamiḷ Brāhmi

The phonemes and alphabets of Northern Brahmi were strictly in accordance with the languages like the *Pāli*, the *Prākrit* and the *Sanskrit*. Certain Tamil sounds were totally absent in these Indo-Aryan languages. But the uninterrupted interaction with the northern people ultimately caused the development of separate signs to represent distinct Tamil sounds. While editing the relic casket inscription, Buhler pointed out that ‘this script is partly an independent variety of Brahmi and the characters’ which mostly resemble those of Asokan inscriptions and show peculiarities met with nowhere else’.<sup>10</sup> The credit of deciphering southern variety of Brāhmi or cave characters goes to the veteran epigraphist K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer. This script is also called as ‘Cave Characters’ since most of these short or label inscriptions were found on the walls of the inhabited caves. Jain and Buddhist texts refer to the script as *Dhamiḷi*, *Drāvidi* or *Dakṣiṇi*.

The adopted script, in course of time, underwent some minor local adaptations. New characters were emerged to represent the exclusive Tamil sounds like ḷ, ṛ, ḷ and the like. The sign for na (𑀩) in north Brahmi has got a slight cursive form and written as 𑀩. But on the whole it was nothing but the Northern Brāhmi. In his *Indian Palaeography*, Ahmad Hasan Dani opines that the main differences arose only when an attempt was made to represent the local sounds in writing. Even these sounds do not bring altogether new shapes. Almost all the letters are derivable from those of the existing script of the north<sup>11</sup>. Letters of this script are found on number of caves and caverns potsherds from places like Arikamedu, Urayur, Kodumanal and they are roughly dated to a period from c. 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE to the 4<sup>th</sup> Century CE.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan, *The Mouryan Problem in the Sangam Age* in Foundations of South Indian Society and Culture, Delhi, 1994, p. 69.

<sup>10</sup> Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, p. 323.

<sup>11</sup> Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, (1963), New Delhi, 1986, p.69

<sup>12</sup> For the better understanding of the characteristic features of this script, see, Iravatham Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy, From the Earlier Times to the Sixth Century AD*, Harvard University Press, 2003.

The writings on the cave walls at Edakal<sup>13</sup> in Wynadu, Eḷuthukal in Nilabur<sup>14</sup> and the recent excavations at Pattanam<sup>15</sup> proved the circulation of Tamil Brāhmi in the present day Kerala too. About this South Indian script, Raghava Varier and Rajan Gurukkal write thus:

*There is a corroborative evidence for the knowledge of writing in Tamil Heroic poems, dating back roughly to the turn of early Christian era. The skill of writing was in all probably confined to a small minority like monks and merchants. However, the social accessibility to its symbolic use was certainly much wider. One should examine generally translated as inscribed hero-stones commemorating the dead heroes in Tamil heroic poems. In the light of these allusions scholars have assumed this practice to have been extensive in the age of heroic poems.*<sup>16</sup>

#### **Tamil Brāhmi Charecters**

† 𑌕 𑌖 𑌗 𑌘 𑌙 𑌚 𑌛 𑌜 𑌝 𑌞 𑌟

† 𑌠 𑌡 𑌢 𑌣 𑌤 𑌥 𑌦 𑌧 𑌨 𑌩

† 𑌪 𑌫 𑌬 𑌭 𑌮 𑌯 𑌰 𑌱 𑌲 𑌳

† 𑌴 𑌵 𑌶 𑌷 𑌸 𑌹 𑌺 𑌻 𑌼 𑌽 𑌾

† 𑌿 𑍀 𑍁 𑍂 𑍃 𑍄 𑍅 𑍆 𑍇 𑍈 𑍉

(Source: ‘Mangulam Inscription’ in Iravatham Mahadevan, *Early Tamil Epigraphy*, p. 314)

<sup>13</sup> Inscriptions on the rock surface at Edakal cave was first reported by Fawcett in 1894 and were ready by Hultzsch in 1897. Fawcett published an article in the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XXIII (1901) with facsimile of the discovered inscriptions.

<sup>14</sup> This short inscription is engraved on huge natural boulders on the bank of river, Nedumkayam forest, Near Nilabur. M. R. Raghava Varier reads the Eḷuthukallu inscription as *māvakōṭu nīraṇavay*, this is the aṇa, dam, of Māvakōṭu. He further adds that it is perhaps the only record that informs us about the economic aspect of the locality of an early historical epoch. See, *Kerala Archaeological Series*, 2010, p. 16.

<sup>15</sup> Pattanam excavation yielded fragments of some writing with Brahmi Script (on a potsherd of the Indian Rouletted Ware). It can be read as *amana* but too short to make any meaning.

<sup>16</sup> Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varier, eds., *Cultural History of Kerala*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1999, pp.188-189.



Besides script, the northern contacts helped the South Indians to develop a peculiar literary tradition also<sup>17</sup>. Earlier, as a tribal society, they had their own oral traditions, songs, stories, myths or legends. These have got a definite shape and format with the Aryan influence. Tamil people had acquired a sound knowledge in mathematics and astronomy too. Bundle of knowledge the society in hand, in course of time, necessitated the gradual evolution of an education system very similar to the formal systems of the succeeding periods.

The age of Tamil heroic poems, from the archaeological point of view, was corresponding to the Megalithic culture. The pattern of the distribution of Megalithic monuments in various forms suggest that by the initial centuries of Common Era itself, the region of Kerala was occupied by different social groups with tribal nature.<sup>18</sup> Aśoka himself refers to these people as *Kēdaputa* (Kerala putra) in Girnar inscription of Junaghad District, Gujarat State.<sup>19</sup> Tamiḷakam, inclusive of Kerala, over a millennium between c. 500 BCE and c. 500 CE, is a typical socio-economic aggregate that becomes intelligible when characterized by using the framework of the social formation theory.<sup>20</sup> Archaeological and literary sources indicate that, they had a brisk trade relation with western countries like Greece and Rome. Involvement in trade necessitated a writing system and advanced arithmetic applications. In the field of agriculture, knowledge of astronomy was also essential. The urge for knowledge acquisition was also predominant in the society as indicated by a corpus of literary sources.

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<sup>17</sup> All the ancient Tamil literature, now extant, is the common property of the people residing on the both side of the Western Ghats, *The Tamilian Antiquary*, Vol. I, No. 18, p. 48, quoted in Natuvattam Gopalakrishnan, *Malayalam Classic Bhāṣa: Paḷakkavum Vyakthithawavum*, Trivandrum, 2012, Note no. 7, p. 6.

<sup>18</sup> Megalithic monuments of Kerala vary from urns marked by Cairn circle, Menhirs, Alignments, Umbrella stones, Hat stones, Cists, Dolmens and Rock- Cut Caves and so on.

<sup>19</sup> Edict No. II. ‘*ēvamapi pṛacam tēsuyatha chōdāpadāsatiyaputō kēṭalaputhō ātambapāni.....*’. For the full text, see D. C. Sirkar, *Inscriptions of Ashoka*, (1957), New Delhi, 1998, P. 33. Present researcher examined the original inscription *in situ*.

<sup>20</sup> Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varier, *History of Kerala: Pre- Historic to the Present*, New Delhi, p. 51.

## Education Reflected in Tamil Heroic Poems

A close reading of early Tamil Anthologies, popularly known as *Sangam* literature, reveal the dynamic philosophical and theoretical aspects of the prevailing educational system. Education became rather a social activity. Though Vedic elements were conspicuous in many strata of social life,<sup>21</sup> the Tamil society had developed a distinct educational practice in their own territorial limit. Their village schools called *Thiṇṇappaḷḷi* were quite different from the *Gurukula-s*, mentioned in the classical texts, flourished in North India. *Thiṇṇappaḷḷi* provided educational opportunities regardless of caste, creed and other social distinctions. A poem in *Puṛananuru* clearly states that it was the duty of father to educate his son so that he will become virtuous<sup>22</sup>. Poetess Avvaiyār advises the students thus: *Learn while young; letter and number claim esteem, avoid ignorance, covet to be versed in knowledge. Learn all sciences and cease to not to learn.*

The society, depicted in Tamil Anthologies, gave due importance to v̄edic religious ideals and knowledge as mentioned above. In Tamil countries, the four Vedas were collectively known as *Nānmaṛai*.<sup>23</sup> They strictly observed Vedic rituals and sacrifices too. Avvaiyār says that the *Mūventar-s* or the three great kings of Tamilakam were the practitioners of V̄edic Dharma.<sup>24</sup> She had also written two books for children namely *Āthicuṭi* and *Kontaivantān* and they are still popular in Tamil speaking areas. *Muturai* and *Nalvali* were the short kāvya-s by Avvaiyar for the use of lower level students. They contain moral lessons and teaching on the world realities<sup>25</sup>. About Cēra king Chirukuti Kiḷan Pannan, Makaanār Mallanār writes that he himself was a great scholar and presented other erudite persons the fertile

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<sup>21</sup> See M. G. S. Narayanan, 'The Vedic-Puranic-Sastraic Elements in Tamil Sangam Culture' in Foundations of South Indian Society and Culture, New Delhi, 1994, pp.133-146.

<sup>22</sup> *Puṛanānuru*, 312 (trans.), V. R. Parameswarappillai, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Thrissur, 1969.

<sup>23</sup> About the king Utiyan Cēralāthan, a poet describes: *pāl puḷippinum pakal iṇuḷinum na al vētha neri thiriyinum thiriyachuttamōḷu*.

<sup>24</sup> Avvaiyar, *Puṛam*, 367 (12-4).

<sup>25</sup> Mu. Varadarajan, *Tamil Sahitya Caritram*, (trans.), Melangath Narayanan Kutty, New Delhi, 2000, p. 19.

paddy fields.<sup>26</sup> The third Pāṭṭu of *Paṭiṟṟipathu* hails the Palyānai Celkeḷu Kuṭṭuvan, younger brother of Imayavaramban, as grate scholar of all kinds of knowledge including *Prathisāṅkyam* (grammar), *Niruktam*, *Jyōtiṣa*, *Āgama* and *Vēda*.<sup>27</sup>

Since poets of the period belong to the different denominations, scholars are of the opinion that formal education was not limited to the upper sections alone. It seems that out of 192 poets 13 were nobles, 29 were Brahmins. *Veḷḷāḷa* were 57 in number and women were 36. Among the others, Hill men were 17, Foresters were 13, Vanigar 7, 7 Artisans, 1 Sheppard and 1 Potter. The cordial relation between the rulers and the poets were evident from the literature.<sup>28</sup> Though there were women writers, the formal education was not popular among the women folks.<sup>29</sup> Writing and arithmetic had received prime importance in the elementary education. Tirukkuṟal equates the numerals and the letters with two eyes of human beings.<sup>30</sup> It can be assumed that the Proto-Tamiḷ was the medium of instruction. We have no concrete evidence to show that the Vēdas were taught as part of popular education. During the time of Tolkāppiyam, vēdic education was compulsory to Brahmin class. Apart from the Brahmins, the Jains and the Buddhists were trained in Vēdic studies.

Tolkāppiār refers to three categories of Tamil study- *Ival*, *Isai* and *Nātakam* (prose, poetry and drama). Speeches of learned persons were frequently held in Tamiḷ countries and attended by many. Thirukkuṟal contains at least 30 poems stressing the importance of education. Thiruvaḷḷuar divides knowledge form as two - arts and science. Language and literature come under the first category and mathematics, as the second. Real wealth is right education according to *Kuṟal*. The wealthy but uneducated man is more dangerous than the wise man in extreme

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<sup>26</sup> *Puṟaṇānuṟu*, 318.

<sup>27</sup> Pālai Goutamanār, Pāṭṭu 1 of 3<sup>rd</sup> Pathuu, *Paṭiṟṟipattu*, (trans.), G. Vaidyanatha Aiyer, 1961, Thrissur, 1997.

<sup>28</sup> Eg. Kapilār and Pāri, Pisir Anthaiyar and Kōpperncōlan, Avvyār and Adhikamān Añci

<sup>29</sup> N, subrahmanyān, *Sangam Polity*, (trans.), Kottayam, 2003, p. 300.

<sup>30</sup> ‘Eṇ ennthum eḷuthennathum īrandum kaṇṇukalathṟe vāḷunnōrkellām’ -Thirukkuṟal, Adhikaram, 40.2.

poverty. A learned man, even though belonging to lower caste, should be considered superior to the unwise of higher order. Such poetic positions undoubtedly demonstrate that, in that society, the education had a magnificent capacity to cut across the caste hierarchy and other social barriers. Social formation during the Sangam age was not an egalitarian or class less one. Still it was held that, the status of an individual in the society is decided not by the birth, but by the wisdom. It further stated that only the educated is to be considered as matured human being and the uneducated as lower level organisms.

### Teachers of the Period

The teachers of Sangam period were known as *Kaṇakkāyar*. He taught students *Neṭumkaṇaku* which comprised of language, grammar and arithmetic. Teachers were also known Aśiriyār, Āśār, Iḷampalaśiriyār and Uvāthiyār.<sup>31</sup> Tirukaṭukam explicitly states that ‘a village without a teacher is not eligible to be survived’.<sup>32</sup> The society honoured teachers as the spiritual fathers of their children.<sup>33</sup> These teachers received remuneration either in cash or kind.<sup>34</sup>

### Teaching Place

The term Paḷḷi was used to indicate the teaching - learning place. Since it was functioned at the courtyard of the teacher, these learning centers were also called as *Thinnappalli*. These schools had a revamp during the 16<sup>th</sup> century CE in Kerala and popularly known as *Kuṭippaḷḷikkūṭam*.<sup>35</sup> *Thiṇṇa* in Tamil means courtyard. The teacher sits on mats or wooden stool and students sit in front of him one by one and listened to the subjects taught. The entire education system was depended up on the memory skill of the learner.

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<sup>31</sup> Uvāthiyār might be the degenerated form of Sanskrit word Upādhyāya

<sup>32</sup> Quoted in N. Subrahmanyam, *op.cit.*

<sup>33</sup> Kural, 2.

<sup>34</sup> Puṇam, 183.

<sup>35</sup> It can be inferred that modern name Paḷḷikkūṭam for schools had its root in the Sangam age itself.

The students were called as *Māṇavan* or *Piḷḷai*. Kuṟal says that the education of the child should be started at an early age. Some of the children stayed in public comfort stations like *Maṇṇam* and some others led ascetic life similar to the monks. They were strictly punished for their truant in studies and misconduct in the schools. Due importance was given to mental training since the vast majority of the literature was not preserved in written format. They had to study *Kāvya-s*, and *Mīmāṃsa-s* like *Kāḱkaipāṭiniyam*. Mathematics text of this period was known as *Erambam*. As a pre-requisite to the study of higher level astronomy and astrology, sound knowledge in mathematics was indispensable. Ancient Tamiḷakam had maintained brisk trade relation with certain European countries like Rom. References of the calculations with fractional numbers indicate their long distance over land and over seas trade contacts.<sup>36</sup>

## Writing

They practiced writing on palm leaves. The roll of such leaves was together known as *Cuvaṭi*. Only one side was used to write. Stylus made of iron was used to inscribe letters on it. Utmost care was taken while writing since it was not possible to erase or to correct the matter thus written. As a result, calligraphy developed as a respected artistic talent during the sangam age.

Some of the earlier texts speak of the art of writing. *Yāpparumkalam* refers to four types of writings like Uru, Uṇṇarvu, Oli, and Tanmayi. It further mentions fifteen styles of writings and a man with good hand writing should have mastery in all them. They are *Āyaeḷuttu*, *Ethasieḷuttu*, *Nāḷai eḷuttu*, *Thōpameḷuttu*, *Thanmaieḷuttu*, *Dhātueḷuttu*, *Ukkiraveḷuttu*, *Muthiravīeḷuttu*, *Pākiyḷāleḷuttu* (*parachināyika*), *Puthēleḷuttu*, *Mākaimateḷuttu*, *Mācumataieḷuttu* *Brahmadēvalipi*

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<sup>36</sup> Mu. Varatarajan, op. cit., p. 5.

(*Brahmavalli lipi*) *Kaṭṭurai eḷuttu Vaṭiveḷuthu* and so on. However, no other texts of the period speak of them.<sup>37</sup>

Tolkāppiyam gives a description of the writing system (Akṣaravivaraṇam) as ‘*Eḷutanapetuva Akaramutal ekarayupphenpa*’. It means, from letters a to e there were 30 sounds including 12 vowels and 18 vowels.

12 vowels

a , ī , u , e , o (5)

ā , ī̄ , ū , ē , ai, ō , au (7)

18 consonants

Khrākṣra (valleḷuttu) – ka, ca, ṭa, ta, pa, ṛa (6 )

Meyyeḷuttu - ṇa, ṇā, ṇa, na , ma, ṇa (6)

Iṭaeḷutu – ya, ra, la, va, ḷ, ḷ (6)

Besides general education, there were provisions for martial training for the young people. *Purananuru* refers to *Poravai* as a military training centre. Training was given in *vil*, *vēl*, *vāḷ* (bow and arrow, spear and sword.) *Asiriyan* or *Ācharya* trained princes in general and professional subjects. Aesthetic education was also a part of curriculum. *Esai* and *Nātaka* are often referred to in the *Pathupaṭṭu* and *Eṭṭuthokai*.

### **Educational Philosophy Reflected in Tirukkuṛal**

Scholars are not in agreement about the exact date of the composition of the *Thirukkuṛal*. *Thirukkuṛal* is a part of *Patinankiḷukaṇaku*.<sup>38</sup> While all the early Tamil poems describe any one of the *Aṛam* (dharma) *Porul* (wealth) or *Impam* (Kāma),

<sup>37</sup> V. Manmathan Nair, *Viswaviḷṇanakośm*, Vol. IV, Thiruvananthapuram, p. 150. Yapparunkalam is believed to be the work of 11<sup>th</sup> Century CE.

<sup>38</sup> It includes 133 daskam with 1330 Kuṛals or couplets.

Tirukkural blended all these in a single text. It is probable that *Kural* redacted roughly around the close of the 5<sup>th</sup> Century CE<sup>39</sup>, and its authorship is ascribed to Thiruvalluvar.<sup>40</sup> By that time, the philosophy of education became more crystallized in a definite shape and the same is evident from *Kural* text in various occasions. *Tirukkural* is one of the most translated works in the world after Bible but the first of its translation was appeared in Malayalam language.<sup>41</sup>

Thirukkural starts with the descriptions of alphabets. As the alphabets begin with sound 'Aa', the composer identifies them with the God itself.<sup>42</sup> It defines an intelligent person as those capable of controlling the sense organs through the knowledge and wisdom he acquired.<sup>43</sup> The first duty of a father is to educate the son maximum and should always desire that his offspring should excel him in every respect. A mother forgets the pain of giving birth when she hears about the respect her son receives as a scholar. It further advises that one should learn things without being subservient to any kind of undesirable emotions such as envy, anger and fear. Control of emotions fetches him nearer the abode of god.

In Kural, there is a section that specifically mentions the acquisition of Knowledge- *Kalvi*.<sup>44</sup> This part helps us to understand the epistemological aspects of the society during the Sangam period. In this section, the composer advises the children that, at the time of knowledge acquisition, utmost concentration is required. The author stresses on the rational thinking and children should always choose the

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<sup>39</sup> For more details, see S. Maharaja, *Thiruvalluar*, (trans.), pp. 10-18, New Delhi, 2002.

<sup>40</sup> He was also famous as *Poyyil Pulavan*- the poet who speaks truth alone.

<sup>41</sup> It was found from the manuscript library of Paliyam family of Cochin and the credit for its identification goes to Anujan Achan. The palm leaves copy was written in 1595 and L.V. Ramaswami Iyyer published the text serially in *Ramavarma Institute Bulletin* Volumes, 1938-40. For detailed reading on the inherent connection between the language of *Thirukkural* and *Malayalam*, see V K. M. Nair, *Thirukkuralum Malayala Bhāṣayam*, Cochin, 2016.

<sup>42</sup> Adhikaram, I.

<sup>43</sup> The author compares human sensory desires with the features of a mad elephant and the 'knowledge' as cane in the hands of the care taker, i. e, the knowledge controls the immature behavior of the individuals.

<sup>44</sup> *Thirukkural Adhikaram*, 40.

right path based on true knowledge.<sup>45</sup> The author discusses various topics like the sources of knowledge, relation between the knower and the known, boundary of knowledge, distinction between true and false knowledge, nature of ignorance and the like. As stated earlier, the poet equates letters and mathematics with two eyes of the individual.<sup>46</sup> Great are those seeking knowledge from the more experienced persons by all means. No act is considered shameful, if it is done in the course of knowledge acquisition. To wise men, all places in the world are alike as their own native place.<sup>47</sup> Intelligent persons are being respected everywhere in the world. The effect of knowledge procured in one life would last in the seven rebirths following.<sup>48</sup> It is also stated that bookish knowledge alone will not make human life happier. One should develop the ability to practice acquired skills in different social situations. About the knowledge acquisition, the author poetically remarked ‘just as water springs more and more in the well as water is drawn out’<sup>49</sup>. It indicates the idea that knowledge develops more only when it is being practiced and shared with other people. Adhikaram 41 of Thirukkuṛaḷ speaks of curse of Kallāmai (illetaracy) and Adhikaram 42 specially mentions the importance or art of listening (Kēlvi/Śravaṇam). Adhikaram 43 deals with the acquisition of knowledge (Aṟivutamai).

The period of Tamiḷ heroic poems lasted for at least five centuries. Like any other culture, the culture of the Tamiḷ heroic poems also fell into the nadir of the inevitable forgetfulness. Around the dawn of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, certain tremendous changes took place with in the social life of Tamiḷ people. Regional identities are now apparent in the place of old monolithic behavioral pattern. Tamiḷ Brāhmi further evolved and a new type of script called Vaṭṭeḷuttu came into being. Features of the transitional stage of Brāhmi can be seen on the Thirunāthaṛkunnu inscription of

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 40. 1.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 40. 2.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 40. 7.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 40. 18.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 40, 6.



Tamil Nadu.<sup>50</sup> Aryanisation process became more vigorous than ever before. As a result, there was an influx of Sanskrit literary works and scientific texts to the Tamil regions. Sanskritization necessitated the development of another writing system called Grantham. Since it was more popular in Pallava territory, it was also known as Pallava Grandha. In the field of politics too, some tremendous changes began to take place. In the absence of solid historical sources, we are not in a position to make any inference about the social, political, economical and the cultural conditions of Kerala between the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE and the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE. By the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> Century CE, a new political order came into existence in Kerala under the Cēras of Mahōdayapuram. Inscriptions of that peiod give information on the educational practices in detail.

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<sup>50</sup> The inscription speaks of the self immolation of an acārya *Candhiranandhi*, a Jain monk, after 57 days of fast. See Raghava Varier, *K.A.S.*, op.cit., p. 61.

## CHAPTER II

### ŚĀLAI-S, GURUKULA-S AND MATHA-S

By the close of 8th century CE, a drastic change in the social, political and cultural arena had been taken place in the Malayalam speaking region of the present day. In search of fertile, cultivable lands and pastoral areas and other opportunities, giant Brahmin bands from the Utharapada migrated to extreme south through the western coast of South India (Konkan coast). They entered Kerala through Karnataka with a new cultural tradition that was entirely distinct from the existing indigenous, Post Sangam, social and political structure. Traditional sources mentions of 32 such Arya Brahmin settlements from Payyanur in the north to Niranam in the south.<sup>1</sup> Subsidiary villages had also grown up subsequently. All these developments ultimately resulted in the formation of a new administrative system under a lineage claiming heritage of ancient Cēras with their capital at Mahōdyapuram (Kodungallur). In his magnum opus Perumāls of Kerala, Prof. M.G.S.Narayanan makes the following observations regarding the new changes in the socio, political and cultural scenario of Kerala:

*With their well organized community life in semi-autonomous temple centered villages and their common leadership, their Kanarese- Pṛakrit- Sanskrit languages, their superior agricultural; technology and their willingness to befriend and exploit the indigenous population, they became formidable force in Kerala politics capable of reshaping everything according to their choice.*<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Kēralōlpathi* is one of the sources mentions the Brahmin settlements in Kerala. There are different versions of Keralotpathi found from different parts of Kerala. For the present study, *Kēralōlpathi* published by Hermman Gundert (1843) was used (Collected by Etamaruk, 1961, 2014). See Chapter II, *Perumāḱkanmāroute Kālam*. For the identification of settlements mentioned in *Kēralōlpathi*, see Kesavan Veluthatt, *Brahmin Settlement in Kerala*, Appendix-I pp. 146-150, Trissur, 2013.

<sup>2</sup> M.G. S. Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala*, Trissur, 2013, p. 16.

## Temples of Early Medieval Period

Brahmin settlements and adjunct political system patronized both *Saivism* and *Vaishnavism* more or less equally. This resulted in the building up of different categories of temples across their territorial limit. Most of these temples bear inscriptions written in *Vaetteḷuttu* and *Grantha* Characters and some of which survive even today. Temples were referred to as *Mukkālvattam* in Kerala inscriptions. Along with some prominent temples, there started educational institutions called *Sālai-s* (Chalai in Tamil) for imparting knowledge in Vedic and allied subjects. Major share of knowledge about the *Sālai-s* came down to us through the inscriptions. Unlike the *Tinnappallies* of Sangam age, *sālai-s* were exclusive and admitted Brahmin students of high intellect alone. Prof. Elamkulam was of the opinion that the idea of educational institutions being attached to centers of worship was borrowed from Buddhist tradition.<sup>3</sup>

## Genesis of Sālai-s

Temple attached educational institutions of Kerala called *Sālai-s*<sup>4</sup> were not unique in their style, aims and objectives. Contemporary inscriptional evidences indicate that similar institutions flourished all over in South India under different names and forms like *Ghaṭika*, *Maṭha*, *Agrahāra* and the like. These institutions served as great residential college and provided facilities for the study of religious literature as well as secular subjects.<sup>5</sup>

During migratory period to the extreme south, the Arya Brahmins also had carried with them their superior philosophical, astronomical and mathematical

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<sup>3</sup> Elamkulam Kunjan Paillai, *Selected Works*, ed., N. Sam, Thiruvanthapuram, 2005, p. 468.

<sup>4</sup> The word *sālai* had different connotations. In some places it is referred to as a feeding house either attached to a temple or as an independent. In the educational context, it has more wider meaning which also comprised teaching- learning activities besides the free food or lodging

<sup>5</sup> S. Gurumurthi, *Education in South India: Ancient and Medieval Periods*, Madras, 1979, p. 4.

knowledge that were crystallized in their home land, the Gangetic basin.<sup>6</sup> Institutionalized teaching was not possible during the entire period of their movements. Settlements in permanent nature enabled them to revive the ancient Gurukula tradition,<sup>7</sup> but quite different from earlier ones. Residing at the master's house, attending domestic affairs and doing errands of all sorts for him, and begging for alms were the activities each learner had to undertake in the case of ancient *gurukula* system. However, the south Indian Śālai-s had different modalities of education in which teachers enjoyed salary and students had many concessions with certain privileges, thus raising their self esteem and self respect. It was a free education- in terms of fee, food and accommodation. At the same time it was the duty of these learners to prove that they are intellectually viable and capable of enjoying learning. These temple attached institutions played a prominent role in the strengthening of Aryan political power and Aryan culture in the occupied land.<sup>8</sup>

### **Absence of Archaeological Remains**

Although many surviving place names strongly indicate the existence of Salai-s in Kerala during the past, no archaeological remains of the same is found out so far. According to Prof. M.G.S Narayanan, the rigors of climate with a heavy monsoon, the use of laterite, brick and timber in construction, and the continuous habitation on the same sites etc., were the probable reasons for the loss of Cēra monuments.<sup>9</sup> However, it is interesting to note that, even at the midst of unfavorable conditions, some of the temples of the period still surviving without much injury.<sup>10</sup> Further it is also noticed that no reference is available either in inscriptions or in

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<sup>6</sup> This is evident from *Laghubhāskariya Vākhyā*, an astronomical work by Sankaranarayanan (869 CE). Sankaranarayan was a courtier of Sthānuravi, the second Cēra King (844-883 CE). He gives respect to his five predecessors.

<sup>7</sup> For detailed reading about the Gurukula-s of ancient times, see Altekar, *Education in Ancient India*, (1934), Delhi, 2010, pp. 92-101.

<sup>8</sup> For a detailed discussion, see M.G.S. Narayanan, *Kāntaḷurśālai- New light on the Nature of Aryan expansion to South India*, in proceedings of Indian History Congress, Jabalpur, 1970

<sup>9</sup> Narayanan, *Perumals*, p. 367.

<sup>10</sup> For example, Manipuram Temple with Vaṭṭasrikōvil (rounded sanctum sanctorum) near Koduvally, Calicut, where a vattezhuthu inscription is found out and the present researcher was part of its rediscovery with Pro. M.G.S. Narayanan.

literary texts about the physical features of Śālai-s. Since Śālai-s admitted good number of students, huge buildings or sheds were required with special amenities. They might have been constructed with wooden materials and thatched with palm or coconuts leaves. Such buildings could not survive for long time unlike the temples of solid materials.<sup>11</sup>

### Conduct of Śālai-s

Śālai-s provided an opportunity for teaching learning activities with free food and lodging. They received large scale donations and gifts from rulers or their vassals.<sup>12</sup> These institutions were looked after by the temple committee called *Urāḷas*.<sup>13</sup> The properties exclusively set apart for the conduct of Śālai-s were known as *Cālappuram* and the revenue collected for this purpose was *Cālabhōgam*.<sup>14</sup> Many places can be found in Kerala with the name *Cālai* either prefixed or suffixed.<sup>15</sup> In the light of documentary evidences it can be understood that the institutionalized form of the Vedic Śālai-s located at different places between Kanyakumari (*Vallabhaperumchalai*) in the south and Talipparamba in north (Eramam Cālappuram).

### Students in Śālai-s

Although inscriptions refer to many aspects of Śālai-s, it is Maṇipravāḷam lyrics of the later period which give some detailed description of the features of the students in Śālai. Inscriptions refer to them as *Caṭṭan*, *Cāthiran* or *Cāthṛan*.

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<sup>11</sup> Regarding the Śālai mentioned in the Thiruvalla copper plate, Prof. Elamkulam had suggested a trial excavation at temple precinct with this object but not even a site exploration is taken till the date.

<sup>12</sup> The very object of such grants was religious merit.

<sup>13</sup> Uralas were certainly the Brahmanas, for obvious reasons.

<sup>14</sup> A place called Chalappuram still surviving situated adjacent to Tali Temple, Calicut. This is inferred to be the land belonging to the salai attached to that temple. Although the present temple was constructed during the later medieval period under the patronage of Zamorins, it can be surmised that its origin goes back to Perumal period as indicated by the place names.

<sup>15</sup> Eramam Cālappuram and Cālai at Kannur, Muḷippoṭhu śālai, Puthukkottu śālai, Cāla Vayal temple in Calicut district, Arya śālai, and Valia śālai at Trivandrum, Cālakkuti and Perum Cālai in Thrissur and so on.

Etymological root of these terms is Sanskrit *Śāsthra*,<sup>16</sup> means proficient in science. They were also known as *Sravakas*, *Kṣapanaka*, or *Āryan*.<sup>16</sup> *Candrōtvam*, a later medieval satirical *Maṇipravālam*<sup>17</sup> poem (15<sup>th</sup> Century) depicts them as:

*Thoppāram, kaca, kāvipparica, niṛameḷum*  
*cenkotikkūra, maṛṛum*  
*colpongum bhūshananam vaka rajaso ghane*  
*munnil minnal pōle*  
*oppam Kāṇāythutangi, punathin natuve*  
*vaikmak ghadgikana-*  
*madhyasacharya sakala bhuvanavi-*  
*smapanī tatra jaṭa (4.26)*

*Candrōtavam* speaks of the eighteen Sangha-s of Cāthiraṭ attending a grand Moon festival. This sanghas include six Vaiyākaraṇa groups, six Pṛabhākara groups, and six Bhaṭṭa groups. Kealōtpati, a legendary chronicle also gives similar information about the Cāthiraṭ<sup>18</sup>

*Unniyātīcaritham* of Damodara Bhattathiri (14<sup>th</sup> Century) and *Unniciruthēvi caritam* also refers to the Brahman students of this period. In *Uṇnicirutēvicaritam* (13<sup>th</sup> Century) they were illustrated as:

*Paḷathai mañal puranṭu*  
*Murinjathorupavīthavumiṭṭotta maḷukkanuṭuthu*  
*Maṭunthayar kimapi thuvārthum...*<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> For more details, see, C .K. Namboothithi, *Cāthirakam*, (1980) Thrissur, 2013, p. 42.

<sup>17</sup> The term *Maṇipravālam* was used to denote a language form, a mixture of Sanskrit and Malayalam. It was also known as *Misrabhāṣa*.

<sup>18</sup> *Kēralōthpathi*, op.cit., p. 16.

<sup>19</sup> *Unichirutēvicaritam*, Gadhyam: 28.

*Unniciruthēvi* caritham was about a courtesan of Valluvanatu. Indra is described as visiting her place. He finds certain Cāthiraṅ calling each other shouting that the frightened enemy has run away. He finds other cāthiraṅ engaged in pleasing the damsel by composing verses in praise of her beauty. Unniyacicaritam describes a cāthiran takes a Gandharva to the heroine's house. There they see that large group of men including cathirar waiting upon her. All these descriptions indicate that, the restrictions on the students called cāthiraṅ was not enforced strictly during the later period, especially after the disintegration of Cēra rule. Such negligence might have contributed toward its decline also.

### **The Earliest Śālai in Kerala**

The earliest known Salai in Kerala was *Kānthaḷūr Śālai*. It was referred to for the first time in the copperplate document, popularly known as Parthivapuram Copperplate, issued by Āy king, Karunanthadukkan in 866 C.E.<sup>20</sup> These inscription talks of a newly built Viṣṇu Temple at Uḷakkudivilai, and an educational institution attached to it. The donor, Karunanthadukkan, explicitly states that the present institute is envisaged on the model of Kānthaḷūr Śālai. Except this epithet, we don't have any concrete evidence to elaborate the educational activities held in the Kānthaḷūr Salai. However, in many Cōla inscriptions of later period, this *Salai* was frequently referred to with the expression *Kāntaḷurcalai kalamaṅrutharuḷi*...and this evoked scholarly attention as the proper meaning of the usage remains to be vogue. In certain cases it runs as *Cēraḷan Vēlai Keḷu Kānthaḷūr Śālai* or *Cēraḷan Śālai*. The first inscription mentions *Kānthaḷūrsāli Kalamaṅruttaruḷi* was of Rajaraja I registered in 8<sup>th</sup> regnal year, from the Kodandaramappermal temple, Chinglepettu District, Tamilnadu. Inscriptions of Raja Raja I, Rajadhiraja, Rajendra Cōḷa, Vira Rajendra, Kulothunga and Vikrama Cōḷa and so on claimed that they had performed the act

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<sup>20</sup> *TAS.*, Vol. I, (1908), Trivandrum, 1998, No. 1, pp. 15-34. The earliest Āy ruler was Andhiran. He ruled over the mountain tract of Southern Travancore with Aykudi as his capital. The Ays were Vellas of the higher social scale, that of the over lords of the farmers of the soil. Karunanthadukkan became the ruler in 855-6 CE.

‘Kalamarappu’ at Kānthaḷūr.<sup>21</sup> Kānthaḷūr Śālai also appears in Anantapuravaṇṇana, a later medieval work.<sup>22</sup>

### Location of Kānthaḷūr Śālai- Discussions

Identification of the exact location of *Kānthaḷūr Salai* remains to be a baffling question even now although nearly 30 inscriptions mention it. Dr. Hultsch<sup>23</sup> was of the opinion that Kānthalūr was in Malainadu, a vague suggestion as criticized by Desivinayakam Pillai. K. V. Subrahmania Aiyer locates it in Neyyattinkara in Trivandrum district. Gopinatha Rao, Superintendent of the then Travancore Archaeological Department, identifies Kānthaḷūr with a suburb of Trivandrum known by the name of Valiya Śāla at present. He further points out the deity of Valiya Śāla temple is known as Kāntalūr Śālai Mahādēva Temple. Desivinayakam Pillai also agrees with Gopinath Rao by providing additional evidences like the mutilated inscriptions of Rajendra and Ravi Varma in the Śiva Temple at Valiyacāla. He concludes that Rao’s identification of Kānthaḷūr with Valiya Śāla is correct and might be accepted beyond all doubt.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Different opinions regarding the meaning of ‘*Kānthalūrśālai kalamarappu*’ is given in detail in Desivinayakam Pillai, *A short note on Kanthalūrśālai* in T.K. Joseph, ed., Kerala Society Papers, Vol. I, Series II, pp. 100- 106. Gopinatha Rao believed that *Kāntalūrśālai* was a charitable institution where Brahmins were provided free food, TAS, Vol. II pp. 1-2. After considering all the previous arguments like that of Hultsch, Gopinatha Rao, K. V. Subrahmania Iyer and A. S. Ramanatha Iyer, Desivinayakam Pillai was able to establish the fact that *Kānthalūr śālai* was really a vedic school with residential amenities. To him, *aṛutharuḷi* implies that Kalam (seats) are settled and distributed among the three Saranathār (three groups of Vedic studies). In 1936, he published an elaborated paper titled ‘*Kānthalūrśālai*’. Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai also agrees him but he thinks that *Kānthalūrśālai* was converted to be a military training centre during the later time.

<sup>22</sup> Ananthapuravaṇṇam, Ślōka, 107, *Kāntiyumcelvamum mikka/Kāntalurchāla kāṇālām/ munṭrukoyilumenmunnil/thonṭrum tanṭra maṭhangalum*.

<sup>23</sup> Eugen Julius Theodon Hultsch, a German by birth, was the first Chief Epigraphist of Archaeological Survey of India. It was he who edited the Epigraphia Indica volume III to VIII and part of vol. IX. He was of the opinion that ‘Kalamarappu’ was an act of building a jewel-like hall at Kantalur. Later he changed this view and held that the expression means the king cut the vessels at Kāntalūr. After some time, he made the suggestion that kalamarappu denotes to the destruction of the ships at roadstead of Kānthaḷūr. The inscriptional epithet *Kāntalūrśālai kalamarutharuḷi* remains to be an enigma even today.

<sup>24</sup> For the detailed discussion of the location of Kāntalūr Śālai, see Desivinayakam Pillai, op.cit.



After reviewing all the previous arguments regarding the location of Kānthaḷūr Śālai, Prof. M.G.S Narayanan opines that this Śāla situated in a village called Kānthaḷūr near Viḷinjam- the chief city of the Āy kings. He further points out that Thiruvananthapuram was famous by that very name during this period also. Therefore it is possible that original Kānthalur Śālai was near the old Āy Capital and that when it was attacked by the Cōlas in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the deity was shifted to a place of safety within the Cēra domain.<sup>25</sup> This argument is also corroborating with the opinion held by Pro. Elamkulam that Kānthaḷūr Śālai was situated in the seashore<sup>26</sup>. Above all, T. K. Joseph had already pointed that in Viḷinjam, there are even now two compounds called *Valiya Cōlaśāla Purayitam*, and *Ceria Cōlaśāla Purayitam*. These big and small dinner halls were instituted by *Rajendra Cōla* himself after his conquest at Viḷinjam.<sup>27</sup>

Prof. Elamkulam thinks that this glorious Śāla was destroyed beyond recovery in the continuous Cēra-Cōla conflicts.<sup>28</sup> He emotionally depicts that the college with hundreds of students, hostels military cantonments, Kalaries, main highways, beautiful buildings and everything had been destroyed and their sight itself was heartbreaking.<sup>29</sup> However, his description seems to be hyperbole due to the absence of proper historical evidences in the form of archaeological, inscriptional or literary. An analysis of the enrollment in the contemporary institutions reveals that student's number never exceeded beyond four hundred. For example, in Parthivapuram, the students admitted were 95. At Ennayiram, it was 340 and in Tribhuvani their number was only 260. Some time Kānthaḷūr was a big educational

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<sup>25</sup> M.G S., 'Bachelor of Science' in *Aspects of Aryanisation in Kerala*, Calicut, 1973, Note No. 3, p. 35.

<sup>26</sup> Elamkulam ciites the inscriptional evidence '*Chēralan Vēlai Kēlu Kānthaḷūr Śālai*', in *Collected Works*, ed., N. Sam, Thiruvananthapuram, 2005, p. 470.

<sup>27</sup> See T.K. Joseph's comment on Desivinayakam Pillai's article, *Kerala Society Papers*, Series II, p. 105.

<sup>28</sup> He describes it as the Hundred Year's War.

<sup>29</sup> Elamkulam, 'Keralthile Prachīna Vidhyāpīṭhangaḷ', in *Selected works*, p. 470.

institution but it could not be as exaggerated by Prof. Elamkulam and Prof. T. K. Ravindran.

Prof. T. K. Ravindran, in a paper titled *Kānthaḷūr : A University of Medieval Kerala*<sup>30</sup> makes an attempt to identify *Vijayapuri*, described in *Kuvalayamāla* of Udyōtanāsūri (728-778 CE) as Trivandrum and argues that the educational institution referred to in this work was, beyond any doubt, the *Kānthaḷūr Śālai*. He further states that in certain aspects *Kānthaḷūr Śālai* excelled even *Nālanda* and *Vikramaśīla*. It was indeed a University, unique by its universality, where all forms of knowledge were taught, irrespective of whether it was Hindu, Buddhist, Jain or *Lōkayata*. *Kānthaḷūr Salai* was a great Indian University with a large student population belonging to all known faith. For obvious reasons, it can be said that Prof. Ravindran fails to furnish history based on solid evidences. If *Karunanthadukkan* can be identified as the founder of *Kānthaḷūr Śālai*, definitely he was a *viṣṇavaite* as evident from *Parthivapuram* plate. Secondly, *Parthivapuram Salai* is founded on the model of *Kānthaḷūr Śālai*. Its intake was restricted to 95 and subjects taught were Vedic texts only, not as exaggerated by Prof. Ravindran. Further, Ravindran's claim was not corroborated by any other inscriptional, literary or archaeological source. Finally, if this institution had admitted large number of students with different areas of study, as suggested by Ravindran, it would require huge amount for its conduct. None of the inscriptions of Kerala refers to the donors to this salai. In *Tiruvalla* there were 175 students but the inscription mentions about at least two persons who made subscriptions towards the expense of salai. All these lead to the conclusion that *Kānthaḷūr Śālai* could not be extolled as the Universities like *Nalanda* or *Vikramaśīla*. Until and unless we receive detailed inscriptional or other literary sources, any description on *Kānthaḷūr Śālai* remains an enigma.

It can be affirmed without any doubt that *Kānthaḷūr Śālai* had been in existence even before *Parthivapuram Śālai* was founded in 866 CE. Prof. Elamkulam

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<sup>30</sup> T. K. Ravindran, 'Kanthalur: A University of Medieval Kerala', in *Institutions and Movements in Kerala History*, Trivandrum, 1979, pp. 9-25.

makes a passing reference that Kānthaḷūr Śālai was also established by the same Karunanthadukkan of Āy kingdom, but he does not provide any supporting evidence in this regard.<sup>31</sup>

### **Discussion on the Founder**

It is interesting to note that Krunathadukkan prescribes the same rules and regulations prescribed at Kānthaḷūr Śālai for the newly starting Śālai at Parthivapuram. If it were laid down by somebody else, Karunanthadukkan would not have subscribed it. Besides, it seems that he had accepted the over lordship of the Mara Vallabha, contemporary Pandyan King. As a mark of respect and loyalty he also had accepted the name Maravallabha for himself. Pāndyan Maravallaba had already established a salai at Kaḷikkudi near Kanyakumary, a place not far away from Parthivapuram. But Karunanthadukkan did not consider Kaḷikkudi Śālai as a model while drafting the code of conduct for his own salai at Paṛthivapuram. If Kānthaḷūr Śālai could be identified in a place near Viḷinjam, an important city under Āy's, it can be said without any doubt that this old institution was also built by Karunanthadukkan but little bit earlier than the Parthivapuram Śālai.

### **Parthivapuram Copper Plates: A Fresh enquiry**

The Parthivapuram copper plates of Āy King Karunanthadukkan negates the opinion of A. S. Altaker that the concrete evidence of Hindu temples becoming centers of higher education beginning from the 10<sup>th</sup> century CE onwards only. This document, speaks of the establishment of a temple and an educational institution attached to it, belonging to 866 CE. Karunanthadukkan, in spite of having accepted the over lordship of Pāndyan King Maravallaba, ruled his territory more or less independently. The term 'Āy' denotes herdsman, who had claimed that they

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<sup>31</sup> Elamkulam, op.cit. p. 470.

belonged to *Yadukuḷa*, or *Vṛiṣṇi Kula*.<sup>32</sup> Karunanthadukkan came to the throne in 855-56 CE according to Gopinatha Rao<sup>33</sup>. The copper plate was issued on the fifteenth day of his 9<sup>th</sup> regnal year, corresponding to 8<sup>th</sup> July 866 CE. Gopinatha Rao, with the help of Swami Kannuppillai, calculated the corresponding year as 864-65 CE. Later, K. G. Krishnan reviewed the matter and provided a more acceptable date as 8<sup>th</sup> July 866 CE.<sup>34</sup> It is one of the rarest of documents which had recorded in the *Kali Yuga Dina*.

### Discovery of the Copper Plates

Parthivapuram Copper plate was brought to the academic community by Thurayur A. Gopinatha Rao, the first superintendent of Travancore Archeology Department.<sup>35</sup> It is no wonder that these inscriptions of utmost importance in Indian educational history, found no place in A. S. Alteker's monumental work 'Education in Ancient India' which came out three decades after the publication of Parthivapuram plates. In this juncture, it is worthwhile to remember the confession of A. L. Basham that he was totally ignorant of the historical documents pertaining to the Kerala, while his project 'The wonder That Was India' was progressing.<sup>36</sup> This was the general tendency of Indian historical writing for long period of time and, Kerala's contributions towards comprehensive history of the country has been grossly neglected or rejected by one way or another. Due to efforts from different corners in

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<sup>32</sup> It is observed that the South Indian kings had the custom of claiming themselves as belonging to the lineage of the ancient holy kings of Utharapatha. See M.G.S. Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala*, Calicut, 1972, p.45.

<sup>33</sup> See Note No. 20, above.

<sup>34</sup> See T. K. Ravindran, op.cit., Note no. 18. K. G. Krishnan is of the opinion that Karunanthadukkan ascended the throne in 857 CE (*Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. XIX, No. 4*). Details of converting the Kali day numerals to the modern eras is given in the Chapter below, see Village Schools of Pre-Colonial Kerala.

<sup>35</sup> These six copper sheets with engravings had been languishing for a long time in the corner of a shelf at Travancore Hajur Kacheri (Secretariate) until Sukhram Rao, the then chief secretary to the Government of Travancore brought in to the notice of Gopinatha Rao. Rao published them, with necessary notes and remarks, in *TAS.*, No. 1, Vol. I, 1908.

<sup>36</sup> Basham's speech at International Conference on Malayalam, Trivandrum, 1977, quoted in Puthussery Ramachandran, *Keralacarithṛathinte Aṭisthana Rēkhakaḷ*, introductory part, xv, Trivandrum, 2007.

recent years, now we have innumerable documents which are capable of providing useful information about our rich past. Parthivapuram Copper Plate was one among them, but waiting fresh analysis and interpretations.

The above statement does not negate the fact that there were previous researches about Parthivapuram copperplate. There were several studies starting from Gopinatha Rao, scholars like Elamkulam, M.G.S. Narayanan, M.R. Raghava Varier, Kesavan Veluthatt, and so on unfolded the historical facts as could be located in the inscriptions.<sup>37</sup> However, in the light of *Arthasāsthra*, *Manusmṛiti* and educational theories of modern period, this inscription demands more rigorous examination. An attempt is made in this regard here.

Gopinatha Rao found out that out of the 6 copper plates only one was complete and was of Vikramadithya Varaguna, son of Karunanthadukkan. Rao proved undoubtedly that the remaining five were continuation of the single document. The first and second plates were prepared by one hand and third and fourth got inscribed by a different one. Rao substantiates the fact that just because of being different handwritings do not reinforce the argument that they belong to different categories of documents.<sup>38</sup>

### **Content of the Copper Plate**

Let us begin with the historical data provided in this inscription. The king Karunanthadukkan bartered a place for Uḷakkudiṅḷla from the members of Munchira Sabha, built a Viṣṇu Temple there, and rechristened the place as Parthivasekharapuram.<sup>39</sup> As the ruler over a vast territory, the king had enough land under his own custody but, in this case, he exhorts to exchange the land and it evokes

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<sup>37</sup> For more details about Kāntalūr Śālai, see T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *TAS* Vol. I, Elamkulam, 'Keralthile Pṛacīnavidhyāpīḍangal' and 'Vidhyābhyāsam Pṛacīna Keralthil', in *Collected Works*, ed., N. Sam, 2010, M.G.S Narayanan, Kāntalūr Śālai: New Light on the Nature of Arayan Expansion to South India, *Proceedings of IHC, Jabalpur*, 1970, *Perumāls of Kerala*, 2013, and *Aspects of Aryanisation in Kerala*, 1970, Kesavan Veluthatt, *Brahmin Settlement in Kerala*, 2013, Raghava Varier, *Kerala Archaeological Series*, Trivandrum, 2010.

<sup>38</sup> *TAS.*, Vol. I, p. 10.

<sup>39</sup> Parthivapuram Copper Plate was the first to mention the installation of Viṣṇu Idol in Kerala.

a certain points to be discussed. The act of the king was certainly an indication of the contemporary philosophical trend that both temple and educational institutions must be built in a calm, serene and ideal atmosphere. It is also noted that King was not confiscating the land but ready to hand back the land in lieu of the acquired.

### School Admission

The intake of students in this Śālai was limited to 95 and only Brahmin students got admitted<sup>40</sup> and this institution had been proposed to run on the model of Kānthalūr Śālai (Kānthaḷūr Maryādayil). Caring of people, charity, conducting sacrifices, learning, strict control of bodily desires were said to be the *Rājadhīma* according to the Manusmṛiti. Arthasastra espouses charity as the most prominent among the activities of a king. Among the Brahmins themselves, people with *Brahmajñāna*, were treated as the most admired. Manusmṛiti tells us that *Brahma* (the creator) had ascertained certain duties to the Brahmins for the protection of entire *sriṣṭis* (created) which include, among other things, acquiring and transmitting the Vēdic knowledge. Naturally the duty of catering education to this class was vested with the King and he made large scale donations to their educational institutions. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri observes that, though there were some exceptions, the entire knowledge sector was monopolized by Brahmins.<sup>41</sup> Since education was not mandatory one for *Vaisyas*, it was not the responsibility of the king to provide education for them. The question of the education of *Sūdra-s* (people of inferior castes) never came up since their sole duty was prescribed to be the serving of the Brahmins without hesitation. Therefore, it is quite evident that why Karunandadukkan, the ruler, established an institution exclusively for Brahmin students alone. His act was in accordance with the prominent *Dharma Sasthras* of the time. It was with the object of fostering *praṇāna* (conscience) in students, through interactions with veterans of wisdom, that the king encouraged education.<sup>42</sup> It was the

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<sup>40</sup> ‘Thonnūttu aivar caṭṭarkku chālayum chaithān kō Karunanthadukkan’. Plate no. I. Line. no. 6.

<sup>41</sup> K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *History of South India*, (trans.), Thiruvananthapuram, p. 399.

<sup>42</sup> Arthashastra 1.7(3).

obligation of the king to stabilize the subjects in their activities (karmas) with their own actions and responsibilities. The interest shown by the kings to establish or to donate to such educational institutions has no other reason to speak of.

## Teachers

*Anvīṣiki* (philosophy), *Vēda* (*Rīg*, *Yajur* and *Sāma*- the ṭrayi), *Aṛtha* (wealth), and the *Dandanīti* (art of political affairs) were the four prominent subjects taught in these educational institutions.<sup>43</sup> Sometimes, the number of subjects taught would range between fourteen and eighteen. Only those teachers who had great mastery in these subjects were selected for institutions. In śālai-s, teachers were called as *Caṭṭapperumakkaḷ*. This term has two segments- *caṭṭan* and *perumakkaḷ*. *Caṭṭan* is evidently the student and *Perumakkaḷ* stands for great son. From this it is explicit that the teachers were great scholars but still continuing their studies in a rigorous way. Unlike the ancient *Gurukula*-s, these *Caṭṭapperumakkaḷ* were not paid by the students, but the salaried class as indicated by *Parthivapuram* plates. It is also interesting to note that they were eligible to draw double the amount of salary on the occasion of festivals in case the institution was attached to the temple.<sup>44</sup> Such provisions certainly instilled them with self esteem, respect and confidence as teachers. Besides, it seems that, contemporary idea of festival allowance had its roots in ancient times, which would be perhaps a surprise to the present generation. The compulsion on the part of the king to implement the idea of happy days to God as well as his subjects reinforces the concept of a philosophical king too. The entire expenses of the śālai-s were met from the *śālabhōgam*, a tax collected for this purpose alone.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 1. 2. (1).

<sup>44</sup> Plate No. II, Line no. 20.

<sup>45</sup> Like *ślabhōgam*, there were lands set apart for the conduct of festivals in temples and it was known as *Viḷāppuram*. ‘Viḷa’ in early Malayalam means the Festival.

## Seat Division

It is noticed that the total seats at *Parthivapuram Śālai* were 95. In the śālai attached to Thiruvalla Temple, it is estimated that there were 175 students. King Rajendra Cōḷa I made contributions for the benefit of 270 junior students, 70 senior students and 14 teachers at a place called Ennayiram. There were 260 students and 12 teachers at Tribhuvini. In the *Ghaṭika* at Nāga (1058 CE) there were facilities for 257 persons including teachers and students.<sup>46</sup>

We get information about Parthivapuram as giving admission to 95 students since it had been established sufficiently early to the above said institutions. However the inscription gives out ample indication about the provision for increase of seats in future. It is also instructed that the additional seats, if instituted, were to be divided equally to all the three categories of studies. The division (caraṇa) of seats in *Parthivapuram* was as follows:

Paviḷiyacarana (Bahvric of the Rgveda)	45
Taittirīya (of the Yajurveda)	36
Talavākara (of the Samaveda)	14

Admission to this institution was restricted through eligibility criteria that students seeking admission had to produce certificate from five learnt/wise individuals attesting that he was potentially fit to be admitted in the Śālai (The term used for this testimonial was *Pañcakkam* in the inscription). This fact clearly indicates that the birth in Brahmin community alone made an individual inside the higher education circle but he was required to demonstrate intellectual ability too. The inscription prescribes that they must be proficient in Grammar studies, excellent in Philosophy, and proficiency in Priesthood- *Vyākaraṇa*, *Mīmāṣa* and *Pourōhitya*. The students would get admission only after the examiners confirm that they had previous knowledge in the above subjects. Only those who had the ability for

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<sup>46</sup> For details, see S. Gurumurthi, *Education in South India: Ancient and Medieval*, Madras, 1979, pp. 4-69.



attention, listening, comprehension, intelligence, knowledge, presupposition and discretion, could achieve wisdom as maintained in *Arthasasthra*.<sup>47</sup> Only such students were considered for admission at Parthivapuram.

### **Entrance Test: The Antiquity**

Huan Xang records that those who got admission at *Nālanda* University were supposed to be well versed in the old as well as new books. The books that he mentions include Vēdas, Upanishads, Vēdangas, and those related to Hīnayāna, and Mahāyana Buddhism. The system of entrance test to get admission to higher education centre was not a novel idea of Kārunandadukkan, but it was a continuation of the ancient Indian tradition.<sup>48</sup> While the examiners were gate keepers at Nālanda, it had been teachers or more knowledgeable person at Parthivapuram.

### **Psychological Approach**

In the view of David Paul Ausubal, an American educational psychologist, higher order learning is possible only with the sound footing of the previous knowledge. In order to internalize the complex learning facts into the existing knowledge system, the students should have prepared with previous knowledge.<sup>49</sup> It can be observed that creative development might not happen in the learner even if they were taken to the hierarchy of higher education without acquiring the required intellectual standard. Indian philosophy which dwells largely on the matters of mind evolved not from mere observation and experiments as in the case of Europeans; instead it evolved through introspection and speculations. That is why our psychology did not find its place in the practical modern psychological discourses. However their subjective analysis could be understood as quite scientific when we get through the current deliberations in modern psychology. Educational ideals

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<sup>47</sup> *Arthasastra* 1.5. (2).

<sup>48</sup> See H. D Sankalia, *The University of Nālanda*, (1932) Delhi, 1972, p. 77.

<sup>49</sup> For details about Ausubal's concepts of learning, see Sreejith. E., and Arun Kumar. P, *Vidhyābhāsa Manaśāstram*, Kottayam, 2009, pp. 174-178.

reflected in Parthivapuram copperplate is fully in harmony with the modern psychological approach towards teaching -learning process.

Student's admission at Parthivapuram was based not only on their knowledge of the basic texts. The learner was required to convince himself that he had acquired enough knowledge in various discourses (worldly affairs) in *thrairājya*. Karunandadukkan evaluates not only the knowledge about his territory or their overlord country, i.e., the Pandya kingdom but about the entire peninsular India. This also alludes to the common traditional heritage of South Indian countries. The reference *Thrairājya vyavahāra*<sup>50</sup> in the inscriptions certifies that the seekers of knowledge know no boundary and they are eligible to cross every border drawn by political authorities. Thirukkuṟal had stated centuries ago that a true scholar will be welcomed wherever he goes irrespective of his original nationhood.<sup>51</sup>

### **Learning Strategy**

Contents of learning as well as method of acquiring it have been explained in the subsequent parts of the inscription. The learners were required to chant all the verses in the Vēdas, without missing any one of them. It is a reality that Vēdas and numerous volumes of the scriptures amount to limitless oceans of knowledge. There is no doubt about the fact that, learning, at a time when printing and paper were not invented, relied upon the ability to memorize things. To understand and reinforce what has been taught, only repetition had to be resorted to. Therefore, in order to resist forgetting, persistent repetition and reinforcement is required. Richard Schiffrin together with Atkinson (1968-71) explains that true memory is achieved in three stages - sensory memory, short term memory, and long term memory. The stimulus received by senses through listening will reach short term memory, then through repetitions, to long term memory stage. They have also pointed out the fact that it is the knowledge that keeps in long term memory which would be brought back to short

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<sup>50</sup> Plate No. IV. Line No. 50. *Trairājya*- three nations -were Cōḷa, Pāndya and Cēra.

<sup>51</sup> Thirukkuṟal, Adhikaram,40. 7.

term memory and recall from there.<sup>52</sup> In this sense, repetition has a major role in the learning process, though the followers of Constructivism might deny it. Not the mere repetition is proposed in the present inscription. They have systematically reasoned out everything in them. It is not meaningless repetition of knowledge but enriched with previous knowledge. They could have acquired and reshaped the existing knowledge structure and thereby they could have restructured it in the light of the already assimilated facts and knowledge. It is the continuation of these that would have led Kerala to the peak of the world in the area of Astronomy and Mathematics by 14<sup>th</sup> century. The early medieval Śāla tradition would have had its powerful affect in placing scholars like Madhava or Nīlakanta in the front of world mathematics and astronomy during the later part of medieval period.

Arthaśāstra locates several stages in the process of achieving knowledge—*Prajñā* from listening, from this to practice what has been termed as scientifically proven — *yōgam*, from *yōgam* to *Ātmavidhya*- the self learning.<sup>53</sup>

## Discipline

Discipline is no less significant as the process of learning and the learning method. This had also been documented in the copper plate under discussion. If the students engage in any form of conflict on the premises of the temple or Salai, they had been required to pay a measure of gold (5 Kāṇa) as fine. This system of fine was applicable to both the culprits and the aggrieved students. This system deserves more attention. Why should the aggrieved student pay the fine?. It is the message that even weaker should live peacefully, without provoking others. At some contexts, food from the Śālai would also be denied to them in case of violation of rules and regulations prescribed.

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<sup>52</sup> For the detailed reading of studies on Remembering and Forgetting, see Guy R. Lefrançois, *Theories of Human Learning: What Old Man Said*, USA, 1999, Part IV, chapter IX and also see Sreejith, E. and Arun Kumar, P, op.cit., pp. 195-208.

<sup>53</sup> Arthaśāstra, 1. 5. (2).

However, it seems that physical or corporal punishment in any form was not prescribed for indiscipline and individual follies. Karunantatukkan was suggesting a punishment modality in which the students were denied comfortable amenities as indicated above rather than exposed to physical torture. Denial of food, fine etc could be interpreted as a kind of ‘removal punishment’ as elaborated by B.F. Skinner during the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. The value of removal punishments in the educational context is significant since they do not create any emotional effect in the learner but strengthen the desired behaviors. However, at Parthivapuram, the severity of misbehavior had been viewed seriously. If anyone is wounded by weapon, the accused would be expelled without further procedures.

### **Adolescent Management**

The students of Parthivapuram Śālai would probably have been adolescents as indicated by pre- requisites and other eligibilities insisted for admission. In this sense, it could be inferred that Parthivapuram was a center of higher education. The scientific studies on Adolescence came out with Stanley Hall, an American psychologist.<sup>54</sup> He has termed this period as period of stress and strain. It is natural to have uncontrolled thoughts and indiscreet actions at this stage along with the physical developments. However, Karunandadukkan was particular that that these changes should not retard the learning progress of the students in any manner. That is why it is underlined that the students should not attend meetings with weapons and casinos were prohibited inside the residential area. In addition to that, women servants were not permitted to stay in the student hostels. To achieve wisdom and humility, control of different sense organs was inevitable as suggested by *Arthaśāsthra*.<sup>55</sup> Such principles had been strictly observed at Parthivapuram.

### **Protection to the Students**

While there were restrictions and regulations to control the students, there were measures to protect them from the exploitation or cheating by the employees of

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<sup>54</sup> His work titled *Adolescence* (2 vols.), was came out in 1907.

<sup>55</sup> *Arthaśāsthra*, 1.6. (3).

Temple or Śālai. It was a relevant clause that if any worker was found unnecessarily admonishing a student, he should pay a fine for such a crime. Moreover, unauthorized promulgation of taxation by temple functionaries or students from the cultivators of lands reserved for the conduct of salai or temple had been made punishable by Karunandadukkan. Here we find that ruler assures the protection of the lower sections of the society who were the actual tillers of the land. The rule was such that if any one earned assets illegally he had to return 10 times of it. This egalitarian ruler thus reminds everyone that the privileges of students and the pathways to temple should not be obstructed on any account. Raising the value of education and prostration to god to the same level is certainly a philosophic approach which deserves more in-depth analysis.

**Vatteluttu Script (8<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> Century CE)**

	ka	ña	ca	ña	ṭa	ṇa	ta	na	pa	ma	ya	ra	la	va	ḷa	ḷa	ṛa	ṇa
a	ച	ന	ക	ണ	ട	ണ	ത	ന	പ	മ	യ	ര	ല	വ	ഌ	ഌ	ഠ	ണ
ā	ച	ന	ക	ണ	ട	ണ	ത	ന	പ	മ	യ	ര	ല	വ	ഌ	ഌ	ഠ	ണ
i	ച	ന	ക	ണ	ട	ണ	ത	ന	പ	മ	യ	ര	ല	വ	ഌ	ഌ	ഠ	ണ
ī	ച	ന	ക	ണ	ട	ണ	ത	ന	പ	മ	യ	ര	ല	വ	ഌ	ഌ	ഠ	ണ
u	ച	ന	ക	ണ	ട	ണ	ത	ന	പ	മ	യ	ര	ല	വ	ഌ	ഌ	ഠ	ണ
ū	ച	ന	ക	ണ	ട	ണ	ത	ന	പ	മ	യ	ര	ല	വ	ഌ	ഌ	ഠ	ണ
e	ച	ന	ക	ണ	ട	ണ	ത	ന	പ	മ	യ	ര	ല	വ	ഌ	ഌ	ഠ	ണ
ai	ച	ന	ക	ണ	ട	ണ	ത	ന	പ	മ	യ	ര	ല	വ	ഌ	ഌ	ഠ	ണ
o	ച	ന	ക	ണ	ട	ണ	ത	ന	പ	മ	യ	ര	ല	വ	ഌ	ഌ	ഠ	ണ

**IDENTIFICATION OF A HITHERTO UNKNOWN ŚĀLAI- THIRUVANGŪR**

While the enquiry about the Śālai-s in Kerala was progressing, the present investigator accidentally noticed that a compound near Thiruvangūr Amśom, Kozhikode District, called as *Cālaṭath*. The name itself is significant since it is prefixed with Cāla. If it is the contracted form of *Śālamaṭham* or *Cālamaṭham*, it is

possibile that there existed a śālai during the Cēra period. However, merely by the name itself, the possibility cannot be established and external as well as internal evidences are required to prove the contention. The neighbour compound, east of Cālaṭathu, is called as ‘Maṭham’. The Brahmins, who studied in the śālai, often resided at the monastery called “Maṭham”. In the Parthivapuram copperplate it had been recorded: ‘*Caṭṭaṭ maṭhathil vaithu, veḷḷāṭṭikaḷē koḷḷapperār*’ which means women should not be permitted entry into the Maṭham either as servant or concubines.<sup>56</sup> Due to the fact that there was a Maṭham close to Cāladathu confirms the possibility of having a Sala there. The lands to the south and north of Cālaṭath were known as *Kalluḷḷa Cālaṭath* and *Cālaṭath Poyil* respectively. This is a sign of Cālaṭath having certain local level significance. Cālaṭath Poyil ends at a place called *Paḷḷikkal* land. In the medieval time, the non Brahmin worshipping centers were commonly known as Paḷḷikkal.<sup>57</sup> East of Paḷḷikkal, there is a compound called Māṭāyi, the lighting place for Paḷḷikkal. These evidences are sufficient to come to the conclusion that there existed a rural system of Brahmins and non-Brahmins living together in unison at this region. Paḷḷikkal compound ends at a big pond – *Pāthikkuḷam* -the date of its construction is unknown. The wide assumption is that it might have been dug for the purpose of the inmates of the maṭha who studied at the śālai. It might have been called Ōthan’s pond earlier, which later came to be shortened as Pāthikkuḷam.<sup>58</sup> The north east of Cālaṭam was the piece of land called ‘Orupunyakāvu’ (A sacred mangrove) which could have been a remnant of the worshipping centre of the local people before the invasion of Brahmins.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Plate No V, Line no. 61.

<sup>57</sup> Generally the term paḷḷi was used to denote worshipping centers of the Buddhist, Jains, Muslim or Christians. However, Prof. Elamkulam opines that, the higher caste people, especially the Brahmins, attributed the term paḷḷi to designate Dravida/Śūdra ritual centers as well as distinguishes them from the Brahmanical centres. Hence the name Paḷḷikkal is a common one in Kerala. For more details, see Elamkulam, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>58</sup> *Ōthan* means those who study the Vēdas. Thirumukkudal inscription mentions the Vedic school, hostel, and a hospital. Here students were provided with food, bathing-oil on Sundays and with oil for lamps, *T.A.S., Vol. II*, p. 138.

<sup>59</sup> Before the Aryanisation became predominant, Kāvus were the major worshipping centers in the local tradition.

## The Presence of Inscriptions

As has been referenced above the existence of a chala was doubtful if it was not attached to a temple of Perumāl Period. Thiruvangūr Sri Narasimha-Parthasārathy temple was situated nearly 400 meters south of *Cālaṭath*.<sup>60</sup> Two inscriptions of the age of the Cēra ruler Bhāskara Ravi (1000 CE) were discovered from temple premises during the colonial period and the same were reported. The temple document I (Thiruvangūr inscription -I) was that of the 7<sup>th</sup> year of Bhaskara Ravi's rule. The inscription was found on the rock wall of the pond. Linguistic as well as paleographical features suggest that these inscriptions being written in the last years of 10<sup>th</sup> or initial years of 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>61</sup> Bhaskara Ravi came to power in 962 CE and the inscriptions seemed to be written in the year 969. The lowest part of the inscriptions couldn't be read because of the fact that the rock part here had been completely destroyed. It is the record of the institute of *Thiruvakkiram*.<sup>62</sup> From the inscriptional reference '*amacāḷ*', the donor was assumed as a woman. As there are references to '*amachāḷ*' twice, it could be understood that there were donations twice. There are some words that could be assumed as referring to the Brahmin students.<sup>63</sup> As the writings are on rock, a little shift in letter would make great change in meaning especially when it belongs to a document of the ancient times. However, the contextual evidences here are in favor of the reference to Brahmin students-*Cāthiran*.

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<sup>60</sup> While editing Tiruvalla Copper Plates, Gopinath Rao cites the *Karanagama* which states that the school for teaching the alphabets and elementary knowledge is to be situated on the north and north-west corners of the temple; school teaching the various philosophies and those for the learning of Vedas were also situated in the temples. In the present case also it is correct as *Cālaṭath* is situating the north corner of Thiruvangūr temple. See T.A.S., op.cit.

<sup>61</sup> See M.G.S Narayanan, *Perumāls of Kerala*, Index of Cēra Inscriptions, No. A. 77. P. 472. Originally published in No. 15 of 1901, *S.I.I.*, VII, No. 175, p. 74, Tamil transliteration. For full text in Malayalam, see Puthussery Ramachandran, op.cit., p. 82

<sup>62</sup> Thiruvakkiram was an arrangement for providing Brahmins free food. Thiruvakkiram is believed to be instituted for retaining or attracting Brahmin communities to a locality

<sup>63</sup> Present researcher reads *Cithiruma* in official version as '*Cāthirama*' since the word '*chithiruma*' has no meaning in old Malayalam. If it could be read as *cāthira*, certainly it was Brahmin students.

The second document (Thiruvangūr Inscription- II) had been discovered from the altar (*Balikkallu*) in front of the shrine. The language and the letters are the same. M.G.S. claims that it belongs to the 35<sup>th</sup> ruling year of Bhaskara Ravi (997or 1013 CE).<sup>64</sup> The inscription speaks of one Mākḷur Kesavan arranging a measure of rice after installing the altar of sacrifice. Another interesting fact in this case is that the same name Kesavan appears in the Kinalur temple document-III.<sup>65</sup> The content of Thiruvangūr inscription is being repeated in this inscription also. This document was also issued in the same regnal year of the same king.

There is a distance of at least 25 kilometers between Kinalur and Thiruvangūr. Mākḷur Kesavan seems to have at least power or privilege in the affairs of temple in both the places. In order to reach Kinalur, Kesavan had to cross Korappuḷa/Elathur River. The river flows approximately half a kilometer east of the temple. There is an alighting point at the river named Cāthanaṭath Kaṭavu, having two more stations one each on the right and left side, known as Thōrayikkadavu and *Kuniyilkadavu*. It may be assumed that Cāthanadath Kadavu had been meant for the purpose of Caṭṭan-s or students only. By crossing the river, it is possible to reach Kulathur. Kulathur Document had been written during the 39<sup>th</sup> ruling year of Bhaskara Ravi. This document had been published by M. R. Raghava Varier.<sup>66</sup> Brahmins could have travelled between Thiruvangūr and Kulathur and Kinalur. Near Kulathur, there is also another temple named Puthukkottuśālai. This might also be a śāla meant for Brahmin students.

### The Evidences of Place Names

It has to be investigated if the compound name *Cālaṭath* came up recently or whether it had been a name that was in existence during the Perūmal era.

<sup>64</sup> M.G. S. Narayanan, *Perumāls of Kerala*, Index No. A. 50. P. 460. He remarks that this record is the first so far discovered which leaves out the personal termination in Malayalam language. Originally published No. 16 of 1901, *S.I.I.*, VIII, no. 176, p. 75, Tamil transliteration. For the full text in Malayalam, see Puthussery Ramachandran, op.cit., p. 82.

<sup>65</sup> Puthurssery Ramachandran, *ibid.*, p.71.

<sup>66</sup> M. R. Raghava Varier, *Keralīyatha: Charithramānagal*, Etappal, 1990, pp. 118-133.



Panthalayani Kollam is approximately 7-8 KM north of Thiruvangūr. Pantalayini inscription, issued in the 11<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Bhaskara Ravi, records the place name as “Panthalā . . .” itself.<sup>67</sup> In Kuḷathūr document, too, the name Kuḷathūr is clearly mentioned.<sup>68</sup> Therefore, it is assumed that, by this time the land names, location names, place names etc. had been confirmed. And the name Cālāṭath cannot be deemed new, but it could be taken as new. The possibility of the existence of a Cāla is therefore quite certain. It is also evident from the name of nearby compounds that Brahmins on a large scale resided in the area. For example, there are house names like *Mūthamana*, *Eṭamana*, *Kīlmana*, *Illath*, *Manathānath*, *Manayath*, *Āilyamkandy*, *Yōgimaṭham*, *Ponmaṭham*, *Melmaṭham*, *Kizhakemana*, *Nambūrikandi*, *Caṭṭan palli*, *Cāthanaṭathu*, etc. Besides the Brahmin houses, there were houses of temple functionaries also like *Pothuvaḷ Kandi*, *Mārath*, *Nambikandi* and so on. One tract of land was known as *Patthonnukalam* because there was a great measure of raw rice for the temple and this area was marked for keeping the rice of ten plots of land.

Unfortunately both these two inscriptions were lost forever. M.G.S Narayanan had gone through them in the 1960s in person and the personal note prepared by him *in situ* has been made use of in the present investigation. Recently the present researcher carried out an exploration in the temple precinct with the result that a fragmented inscription in *vaṭṭeḷuttu* characters could be located. Following this, under the supervision of Dr. M. R. Raghava Varier, Mr. Krishnaraj of Kerala Archaeology Department prepared a mechanical estampage of the epigraph and was able to read the name of *Sthānuravi*, the second ruler of Cēra Kingdom (844-885). Hence it is understood that the temple was founded at least 150 years earlier to Bhaskara Ravi whose name was mentioned in the above discussed inscriptions. Our team also unearthed two images of *Dwārapālaka* belonging to Cēra period, according to the sculptural features. Besides these, a dilapidated temple structure belonging to Perumal period also happened to be noticed adjacent to Cālāṭath and Thiruvangūr

<sup>67</sup> M.G.S, op. cit., Index No. A. 51. P. 460 (No. 3 and 4 of 190), *S.I.I*, VII, no. 162, p. 62.

<sup>68</sup> M. R. Raghava Varier, op.cit.

Temple.<sup>69</sup> All these above discussed evidences strongly suggest that, in the present *Calattu* compound, there existed a Śāla or Cālai during the Perumāḷ period, for the educational purpose of Brahmin students of the locality.

### Thiruvalla Śāla

Another important Śālai flourished in Kerala during the early medieval period was the one attached to Viṣṇu Temple at Thiruvalla, one of the thirteen *Divyadēsam-s* in the Malaināṭu. It is mentioned in the Thiruvalla Copperplate of 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>70</sup> The inscription speaks of, among other things, the arrangements of feeding 3 caṭṭar with 2 naḷis of rice, half a coconut, 3 *kaḷaṅcu* of tamarind and *uḷakku* salt daily at the mid-day worship (*ucapūja*) every day.<sup>71</sup> Gopinatha Rao further opined that no mention is made of vegetable or of pulses of any kind; how they were managing with only the tamarind, salt and cocoanut given them, or, if they went without vegetables, pulses, etc., is hard to guesses.<sup>72</sup> Present researcher makes the observation that this was due to the strict physical and mental control imposed upon the students as evident from the Parthivapuram copperplate. In this case it might be the denial of delicious food and they were provided only the cooked rice, offered to the deity.

It is also evident that, in Tiruvalla, 350 nāḷi of rise was set apart for feeding the caṭṭar on the day of *Ōṇam*. It has been calculated on the basis of the amount of provision sanctioned that there were 175 caṭṭar-s in Thiruvalla at the time of the inscription prepared.<sup>73</sup> Unlike the Parthivapuram copperplate, no information is given

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<sup>69</sup> At present this compound is known as ‘Illathu’, means the abode of Nambutiri Brahmin.

<sup>70</sup> Elamkulam describes it as the first book in Malayalam language. T.A. Gopinatha Rao makes the following comment: In point of the largeness of the number of plates, their total weight, the beauty of engraving and in the preservation of writing, this set of copperplates is certainly a very remarkable one, *TAS*, Vol. II. p. 131. The present researcher has got an opportunity to examine the original document kept in Hill Palace Museum, Thrippunithura.

<sup>71</sup> to meet all these expenses, there were certain donation received from the persons like Kiḷmalai Nattumaḷuvakkon and Mūlayil Nāyathiār.

<sup>72</sup> *TAS*, *op. cit.*, P. 138.

<sup>73</sup> ‘*Thirumaṭaippaḷḷi nāḷiyaeḷunnuru naḷiyari ātuthuruvamiṛtu chaivatu pāthi cāthirakkumīrtu...*’ *TAS* Vol. II, Part III, p, 195.

in the present inscription about the subject of studies, number of seats, method of teaching or any other pedagogical aspects. However from the *Thiruvalla Kṣethra Mahāthmyam*, a sankrit kāvya, we come to know that Brahmins of Kerala were proficient in weapon use.<sup>74</sup> There has already been a strong argument that Śālai -s of early medieval Kerala imparted martial training besides the Vēdic lessons based on the description given in the *Maṇipravāḷam* Texts.<sup>75</sup> This is also attested by *Thiruvalla Mahathmyam*.

### Mūlikuḷam Śāla and Vaḷḷabha Perumchālai

From the inscriptional evidences we also learn that there were many other Śālai -s like Tirumūlikkulam śālai and Sri Vaḷḷabha Perumcālai near Kanyakumari, Cembra near Mahi and the like. In Mūlikuḷam temple separate provision was made for feeding cāthiraḥ during the 6<sup>th</sup> regnal year of King Indu Kotai<sup>76</sup>

Sri Vaḷḷabha Perumchālai at Kanyakumari was referred to in the inscription of 30<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Rajadhiraja I.<sup>77</sup> It was also known as *Rajaraja-perum-cālai*. From this it can be surmised that it was originally built by one Srivallabha and later was renamed after Rajaraja. T.N. Subramaniam is of the opinion that Rajaraja remodeled it and place it on firm footing and issued a fresh order.<sup>78</sup> It is not certain that whether this Śālai was also founded by Kanrunathadukkan, the Āy ruler who founded Parthivapuram Śālai. He had also the sir name Srivallabha in token of his subordination to the then Pandyan King Mara Vallbha.

<sup>74</sup> ‘*Yasyādhipathayō vipra: śāsthra śasthra viśāratha*’:- Thiruvalla Kṣethra Mahāthmyam- 1.3. It was T.K. Joseph published its text from the manuscript received from K.V. Rangaswami, in Kerala Society Papers, series II, 1930, pp. 87-90.

<sup>75</sup> Kesavan Veluthattatt, *Brahmin Settlement*, Appendix II, ‘The Chaṭṭās and Bhṭṭas: New Interpretations, (1978) Trissur, 2013, pp. 152-164.

<sup>76</sup> See TAS Vol. III pp. 189-91. Cembra inscription was deciphered by M. R Raghavavarier, see, *Keralīyatha: Charithramānagal*, 1990, pp. 96-117 The document refers to the land set apart for the conduct of salai known as chalapuram.

<sup>77</sup> TAS., Vol. I., p. 163.

<sup>78</sup> Quoted in Gurusurti, op.cit. p. 66.

The aim and ideals of ancient education is clearly mentioned in *Thaitharīya Upanishad*.<sup>79</sup> Based on it, it can be assumed that education during that time was intended for the conceptual, psychological as well as personality development of the learners. Kerala's status as a model of universal literacy and educational progress is due not only to the colonial-missionary enterprises but also due to the long historical process as evident in the solid historical documents. Such studies, of course, have more significance in future too.

### GURUKULA TRADITION

Political fragmentation due to the decline of Cēra kingdom, among other things, caused the disappearance of Śālai -s also. One of the probable reasons was the conversion of śālabōgam in to the *Brahmaswam* property. Thus the revenue ensured for the conduct of Śālai came to an end. In their place, now the Brahmins began to enjoy the entire wealth that had been earlier set apart for the temple or educational purposes. In the place of old Śālai -s, in course of time, there came up another type of institutions popularly known as *Gurukulam*. They were also institutions for excellent students of higher learning in different categories of subjects. Whereas śālai-s catered the educational aspirations of Brahmins students only, *Gurukula-s*, at least in their later stage, were opened to lower sections also. Like śālai-s, they were also provided residential facilities. While śālai-s imparted knowledge through Sanskrit alone, *Gurukula-s* gave equal importance to both- Sanskrit and Malayalam. The former were temple attached educational institutions but the latter were run by feudal lords or other well-to-do families of the localities. Certain amount of freedom to students was assured in the Śālai -s as evident from the inscriptions, but *Gurukula-s* were the teacher centered institutions which demanded utmost reverence, respect and discipline. There were many stories popular in common parlance about the teacher -

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<sup>79</sup> *Om sahanāvavatu sahanoubhunaktu*  
*Sahavīryam karavāvahai*  
*Thējaswina vadhīta vastu*  
*Mā vidwishav hai*  
*Om sānti: sānti: Sānti:*

pupil relations that were intended to legitimize teacher's hold on the student's life. *Srīkṛiṣṇavilāsam* of *Sukumarakavi* was one of the examples of such a literary piece.<sup>80</sup> Most of them illustrate the themes like student's devotion to the teacher, the hardship in studies or the severe punishments mete out, poverty of the learner, care of the teacher, disobedience or malpractices and their aftermaths and so on. Raghava Varier who made a historical enquiry of the *Gurukula-s* of this period opined that even in the midst of unfavorable atmosphere in many respects, *Gurukula-s* survived for many centuries and it clearly shows the urge for the knowledge acquisition of the then society at any cost.<sup>81</sup> Sources are inadequate to trace the origin of *Gurukula-s* but it can be assumed that their ancestry goes back to the period of *Sandēsakāvya-s*. In *Kōkasandēśa*, there is a reference about a Guru called Panniyampalli Unnikkandan who had many students from distance places. In traditional Kerala society, the wealth of teachers was measured in terms of the intellectual caliber of his students and hence the epithet '*śiṣyasampat*' came in to prominence.

### **Some Important Gurukula-s**

There are hardly any historical documents related to the conduct of Gurukula-s during its early stage of development. Our knowledge about these institutions is limited to the last phase of their functioning. Most of these *Gurukula-s* flourished in the geographical and political units north of Cochin. Among them Intuitions attached to Kodungallur Kovilakam, Kuṭallur Mana, Killimangalathu Mana, Desamangalathu Variam were famous with their distinct pedagogical aspects, proficient alumnus and promising students. Favorable academic atmosphere they provided was also noticed. Attur Krishnappishorti gives a detailed account of the *Gurukulam* attached to Kodungallur Kōvilakam where he studied during the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>80</sup> About *Srīkṛiṣṇavilāsam*, a detailed description is given in the present study, see below, chapter on "Village Schools of Pre-Colonial Kerala".

<sup>81</sup> M. R. Raghava Varier, *Ammavalikēraḷam*, Trissur, p. 168.

This institution was started by Vidhwan Godavarma Thampuran in 1783.<sup>82</sup> Students admitted were provided with free food, clothes and mats and other amenities. In Kodungallur, there were about 300 pupils at the time of Attur's time. They pursued different categories of subjects like grammar, rhetoric, logic, vedānta, *kāvya* and *alankāra*, sculptural science, *ayurveda*, astrology and so on. Even the lower caste people had received education from there but their classes were held in the Paṭippuramāḷika, a building attached to the main gate. Akavoor Narayanan refers to one Kundini Govindanasan and other four students belonging to Eḷava community in Kodungallur. In Kodungallur Kalary, even the *Gurudakṣiṇa* was prohibited.<sup>83</sup>

### Comparison with Village Schools

Unlike the village schools called *Āsan Kaḷari-s* of the later period, Gurukula-s were not single teacher institutions. Different subjects were handled by different teachers with par excellence. Many of them were the authors of classical texts too. In village schools anybody could be a teacher if he had some rudimentary knowledge in the subjects prescribed. In most cases villages schools collected fee from students but the entire expenses of the *Gurukula-s* were defrayed by the family to which they were attached. In *Āsan's* schools, certain subjects were enforced but in *Gurukula-s*, students were given freedom to choose their subject. Again, in village schools, the entire text was not taught but partly depending upon the capacity of the teachers and students. But in *Gurukula-s*, the whole texts were dealt in detailed manner. General education was given in village schools but *Gurukula-s* had some vocational objectives too. There were provisions for intense training in medicine (*Aṣṭangahṛidayam*),

<sup>82</sup> See Attur Krishnappisharoti, 'Kodungallur Gurukulam', Mathrubhumi Weekly, Book No. 41, issue, 11, 1963. Among the prominent teachers, the names of Vidwan Kunjiramavarma Thampuran, Chakram Thampuran, Valiyakochunni Thampuran, Mahamahodhopaya Bhattasree Godavarmathampuran, Bhagavathar thampuran, Marumakan thampuran deserve special mention. For more details, see Pallippuram Murali, *Malayalāsāhityacaritram Kodungallur Kaḷariyum*, Kottayam, 2017.

<sup>83</sup> In Kodungallur Gurukulam, there were separate buildings like Old bungalow and Kizhakke Bungalow to accommodate the students from lower castes. See Akavur Narayanan, *Kunjikuttan Thampurān*, New Delhi, 2010, p. 12.

architectural science (Tantrasamucayam) and astrology (Kāladīpakam, Muhūrthapatavi).

Training in grammar, rhetoric and logic were highly essential for future professions since most of the authentic texts were available in classical Sanskrit only. In a way, *Gurukula-s* of Kerala can be described as residential universities which provided education in different subjects like Medicine, Engineering, Teacher Training, and Animal Husbandry. Each discipline was put in a broad division called *Kakṣya* and all students belonged to any of the *Kakṣya-s*. It is similar to the departments of the present day colleges and universities. A single text was taught at a time. A student started learning *Raghuvamśa* was not to be introduced to any other books like *Māgham*, *Kirātharjunīyam* etc., until and unless he finishes the first text in deep level. In Grammar section, there were texts like *Manōrama*, *Śēkharam* and *Siddhāntakoumuti*. In logic, texts up to *Bhinnakam* and *Gadadharīyam* were taught. A text called *Brahmanadhīyam* was opted for Vēdanta Śāstrā. Students were allowed to change subjects according to their interest and learning capabilities.<sup>84</sup>

Teaching time was restricted to two or three hours in a day. Usually it took place in between 1p.m to 5 p.m. Some teachers engaged classes between 8.00 am to 10.00 am. Senior student were employed to supervise the juniors. Such proficient students were known as *Śiṣyapṛadhāni*. Major share of the day was used to strengthen the learnt materials through recite and repetition, discussions with peer groups, or self evaluation. Besides these, there were recreational activities like *Akṣaraśīlōka*, *Nātaka*, or *Samasyāpūraṇa*. All these had some kind of academic value too.<sup>85</sup> Even the students of lower category, if they were highly talented, were allowed to attend the discussions held in higher *kakshya-s*. Duration of the course was dependant on student's proficiency and the nature of the subject.

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<sup>84</sup> For more details, see, K. T. Ravivarma, *Kunjikkuttan Tahampurān*, (1992), Trivandrum, 1998, p. 19.

<sup>85</sup> Koyippalli Parameswarakkuruppu, *Survarnayugam*, Kozhikode, 1962, p. 52.

## Pariṣad at Kodungallur

In Kodungallur Gurukulam, on certain holidays, the students had to perform (*prayōga*) their studies in the open forum comprised of teachers and other students. This was known as *Parishadkooduka*. If student's presentation was about *Kāvya Nāṭaka*, he had to recite the prose and verse sections one by one and explain the meaning with *Rasa* and *Alankāra*. The scholar was supposed to prove whether a word is relevant or inappropriate in that particular context. If the student was dealing with *Śāstra-s*, aspects like logic, grammar and the meaning were to be elaborated. He was also prepared to answer the questions that might come from the audience. In a way, it was an open defense programme.<sup>86</sup> K.N. Ganesh opines: *Kodungallur Gurukulam was an isolated example of a larger 'university' structure. Otherwise, higher education was almost exclusively individual, occupation based, conducted by individual masters, maṭhas or Kaḷaries.*<sup>87</sup> The general nature of this Gurukulam is depicted beautifully in the verses given below:

*Viśwavisruthnmārām Vidwānmār, Kodungallur*  
*Viswavidhyalayathin pandithapṛakāndnagal*  
*Vidhyathan Paramennuḷla mudravākyam*  
*Viswasicathinai jīvithamarppicavar*  
*Śikṣaṇam śiṣyanmārku nalkiyum, kuladaṛma-*  
*Śikṣaṇam ceitum param sōbhicu chirkālam*  
*Vānithan kelē rangamākkiya 'kottārathin'*  
*Thūṇilum 'kavithauntayī' paḷamoḷi*<sup>88</sup>

<sup>86</sup> For details see Koyippilli parameswara Kurup, *Survānayugam*, Kozhikode, 1962, Attur Krishnappishorati, *Kodungallur Gurukulam*, Mathrubhoomi, Book no. 41. Issue, 11, 1963, Vatakkumkur Rajaraja Varma, *Keralīya samskrita Sahitya Caritram*, Vol. 5. p. 254.

<sup>87</sup> K.N. Ganesh, *Cultural Encounters under Colonialism: The case of education in Kerala*, in *Culture and Modernity: Historical Explorations*, ed., K.N. Ganesh, University of Calicut, p. 162.

<sup>88</sup> M, Velayudha Menon, *Bāṣpopahāram*. This poem hails the great teachers of Kodungallur as benevolent and students loving. They consider teaching profession as their hereditary duty and discharge it without excepting any thing other than the god's grace. As a metaphor, writer adds



## Other Gurukulams

We don't have much information about *Kutallur Mana* or *Desamangalam Variam* as we have about Kotungallur Gurukulam. *Kutallur* was said to have given more importance to *Siddhāndhakoumudi*, a Sanskrit grammar text popular in Kerala prior to the introduction of *Siddharūpa*.<sup>89</sup> There were many scholars from Desamangalm Variam Gurukulam like Sreekanda Varier who wrote the commentary on *Śīsupāla vadha* as *Bālabōdikia*. There was a line of great scholars attached to this *Gurukula starting from Uḷuthra* Varier who was succeeded by his student Manorama Thampuratti, Aroorateeri, Kodungallur Vidhyan Ilaya Thampuran, Vaikkathu Pachumuthathu and his student Kerala Varma Valiya Koyithampuran respectively.

In the northern side of Kerala also, there were Gurukulam-s like Kuttippuram, and Purameri, both were under the patronage of Kadathanattu Kovilakam. However the most celebrated Gurukulam of the modern period was the Punnassery Gurukulam, Pattambi.<sup>90</sup> Its last mentor was Nilakanta Sarma (1868-1835) and it was during his period, various steps were taken to make the curriculum in accordance with the modern trends and requirements. This period witnessed socio-religious awakening and the emergence of national consciousness in Kerala. Such a positive atmosphere influenced the vision and mission of this institution. Now the patrons were ready to open the doors of the Gurukulam to all people irrespective of caste and other social considerations.<sup>91</sup> Nilakanta Sarma, popularly known as Punnassery Nambi or Gurunathan among his students, redesigned the courses with new vigor and

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that even the pillars of Kovilakam are proficient in poetic skills as they always exposed to such literary activities.

<sup>89</sup> There was a saying in common parlance that it was difficult to identify who was not a grammarian in Kootallur and when does the Onam at Akavur Mana. It clearly indicates that everybody in Kutallur were proficient in Sanskrit grammar. It alludes to the prosperity of Akavur Mana also.

<sup>90</sup> The name of this great Sanskrit school was Saraswathyōtini Pāṭhasala. It was established in 1868 and upgraded as a college in 1921.

<sup>91</sup> About this aspect T. K. Ravidran remarked: A man of great erudition and wider views, he (Nilakanta Sarma) fixed his mind on the impartial and equal distribution of his knowledge to all who came to him without reference to their caste or creed. This in itself was much against the practice of orthodoxy. See, *Asan and Social Revolution in Kerala*, (Mal.) Note no. 33, Kottayam, 2011, p.182.

format. *Vaidyaśirōmaṇi*, *SāhityaŚiromaṇi*, *Jyōtiṣaśiromaṇi* and *Vidwān* were the important title courses offered in Punnassery.<sup>92</sup> Besides the above mentioned institutions, there were Gurukulams at Urāchery (near Tellichery) and Panthalam.

### **Sabha Maṭham-s**

Sabha Maṭham-s of the later medieval period closely resembled the old *Śālai-s* as they were the institutions provided spiritual and moral education to the Brahmin students only. But they differed significantly from the former in aims, ideals, objectives or function. The *maṭha* was a typical Monastery with monks, ascetics and students living within its precincts. The origin of the Maṭha-s may be traced to the period of the *Paḷlavas* in Tamil region but they became popular in Kerala only after the disintegration of second Cēra rule. Unlike the Tamiḷ region, we don't have any inscriptional evidence to prove the existence of *Sabha Maṭha* in Kerala during the early medieval period.

S. Gurumurthi, in his *Education in South India*, has made some scholarly attempt to trace the history, nature and conduct of these institutions through the inscriptional as well as literary evidences<sup>93</sup> He cites an inscription from Shikapur District (1162 CE) that refers to the academic activities and other functions of a *maṭha* in detail. According to that source, *Maṭha* is a place for recital of four Vedas with their *angās*, the place for the commentaries on the *Kaumāra*, *Pāṇiniya*, *Sakatāyana*, *Sabdanuśāsana* and other grammar texts, on the *Mimamsa*, *Sāṅkhya*, *Bouddhya* and others, on the six *Daṛśana-s*, *Lakula Siddhānta*, *Patanjali* and other *Yōgasutras* and offered encouragement to the 18 *Puraṇa-s*, and *Dhaṛmaśāstra-s*, all poems, dramas, comic interludes and every branch of learning. It is the place where food was supplied to the poor, the lame, the blind, the deaf, the story tellers, the singers, the drummers, the eulogists, the naked, the wounded, the beggars, the destitutes and the sick men. They were all taken care of. The social responsibilities

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<sup>92</sup> For the detailed reading on educational practices in Punnassery Gurukulam, see K. V. M Musad, *Atmakatha*, Kottayam, 1966, pp. 18-49.

<sup>93</sup> S. Gurumurthi, op. cit., p. 13-25.

undertaken by Maṭṭha-s are explicit from the description given above. It seems that Maṭṭha-s of Hindu religion were the counter parts of the Buddhist monasteries which had already been on the path of social welfare activities.

As the solid evidences are scanty, it is not possible to make a detailed analysis of the *Sabha Maṭṭha-s* of Kerala. However, in some of the inscriptions found in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, there were references about the conduct of Matha-s. Such information can be generalized in the case of Maṭṭhas in Kerala as well. *Sabha* means assembly (of Brahmins) and *maṭṭha* stands for residential area of students. So it is clear that *Sabha Maṭṭha* is a compound word indicating gathering of academic community- students, scholars and teachers--with the provisions for residential amenities.

There were three types of Maṭṭha-s, viz., *Kaṛma Sabhamatṭha*, *Śāstra Sabhamatṭha* and *Sanysasabhamatṭha*. Sanysamatṭha founded by Sankaracharya was consisted of four other mathas namely, *Vadakkematṭham*, *Naduvilmatṭham*, *Thekkematṭham* and *Eṭayilmatṭham*.<sup>94</sup> In all these *maṭṭha-s*, besides Vēdic subjects as mentioned above, Advaita Vēdanta of Sankara was invariably taught. Gurumurthi pointed out that *maṭṭha-s* which developed in to big organizations with many branches were very popular during the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century throughout.<sup>95</sup>

### **Teaching of Vēda-s**

Throughout the medieval period and later, for the accomplishment of Brahminhood, proficiency in Vēdas was strictly enforced. Vēdic studies started immediately after the *Upanayana* ceremony, wearing of the sacred thread. The teacher imparted all the knowledge through the oral method called *Moughika Pārambarya*. The act of imparting Vēdic knowledge bit by bit was known as *Upadēsam* and learning contents from Vēdas were known as *Manṭras*. Teaching of

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<sup>94</sup> It is believed that the first of these three were established by disciples of Sankaracharya- Hasthamalakan, Sureswaran and Padmapādan respectively.

<sup>95</sup> Gurumurti, *ibid.*, p.17.

entire *manṭra* came to be known as *Muthalmuṛa* or *Muthalōṛa*. *Vēdasamhita-s* (popularly called as *Cangātha*) were taught after the finishing of *Muthalmuṛa*. In many well to do families, in earlier days, there were special arrangements for *Muthalōṛa* and *Cangātha*. Students sought admission to *Maṭhas* for higher studies only. There they received free food and lodging. Two important Brahmawam Maṭhams survived even in the modern time are at *Thrissur* and *Thirunavai*.

New developments in political and economic structure consequent to the establishment of colonial dominance affected even the wealthy Nambūthiri families. In course of time, they were forced to stop teaching at home and students were sent to *Brahmaswa Maṭhams* for entire studies. In the wake of modern education, Vēdic education lost their earlier importance as they could not offer any vocational opportunities under colonial regime. In order to meet the challenges, these institutions made special provisions for their inmates in modern education along with the conventional Vēdic practices. Thrissur maṭhm, as it was at the centre of the town with other facilities provided, attracted many *Nambūthiri* youths. Thirunavai Maṭham could not be survived following of the Land Reforms Act and and other social changes. However, there is a revamp to these to intuitions now a days, though their activities are very limited due to financial constraints.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> For the detailed description of the activities of Sabhamaṭha-s, see. C.M. Neelakantan, *Vedic Tradition of Kerala* (Mal.) in *Anjūruvarṣathe Keralam*, V. J. Varghese et al., Kottayam, and also see, *Keralīya Vaidika Pārambaryam*, Varanakkodu Govindan Namputhiri, Trivandrum, 2013.

## CHAPTER III

# VILLAGE SCHOOLS OF PRE-COLONIAL KERALA

It is generally believed that the missionary enterprises of the 19<sup>th</sup> century CE and the colonial interventions paved way for the unique progress of education in Kerala. Indeed these two agencies did play a vital role in the popularization of an educational system based on the European model. However, it does not mean that prior to their involvements; institutionalized education was totally absent in the Indian villages. Manifold missionary aspects and colonial legacy were often studied because of the ready availability of archival and other official documents. With regard to the pre- colonial education in India in general and Kerala in particular, not much careful studies have been undertaken yet. However, we have some solid evidences like that of foreign accounts, colonial reports and indigenous records wait for fresh analysis and interpretation. These sources are capable of providing quantitative as well as qualitative data pertaining to the subject under review. Even after the sound footing of modern educational systems, the old system of education continued for some more years. Thus we have people with two strands of education- both the indigenous and the western. Many of such individuals recollected their school memories in the form of autobiographies. The present study has made extensive use of these personal memoirs besides travelogues and administrative records. It is also found that they are highly corroborative to one another.

### **Pre -Colonial Village Community**

Before describing the education in the rural villages of Kerala, it is worth mentioning some of the peculiar features of village life prevalent prior to colonial subjugation. This is indispensable to understand the curricular and the pedagogical aspects of the period since the curriculum of any given time is the embodiment of the dominant socio-political ideology and cultural perspectives. John Mathai, the author

of the book *Village Government in British India*, opines that the Village education in India goes back perhaps to the beginning of the village community<sup>1</sup>. Pre- colonial society in Kerala, as elsewhere in India, consisted of stratified caste hierarchy maintained by traditional customs and general agreements. Even in the absence of a centralized authority or efficient bureaucracy, the *Vaṛnasṛama Dharma* or the asymmetric caste privileges were strictly enforced. However, the social formation in Kerala had a distinct history because of various internal and external factors. Certainly these elements were tremendously reflected in the educational practices too. An attempt is made to examine some of them precisely.

Unlike other people of India loitering around street and towns, the people of Kerala had preferred to have more privacy in their personal life with houses made in compounds enclosed with fences and always maintained a short distance from their immediate neighbours. The geographical features, the nature of landscape, the enormous availability of water-all contributed to the development of a unique life pattern in the village settlements. It had far reaching results in the economic, social and cultural life in subsequent periods. The availability of water in plenty made it possible for every household to have its own source of water and therefore the so called 'polluted' sections could live in the neighbourhood of "pure" sections without polluting the most important sources of water. Outside Kerala the marginalized sections of society designated as 'the untouchables' were accommodated far away from the village whereas in Kerala they were allowed to live within the villages.<sup>2</sup>

This co-existence led to some kind of reciprocal relations between different social classes and castes. Even the Brahmin youths were allowed to marry the girls of Nair community through the practice called *Sambandham*. It seems that the majority of the *Manipravala Kāvya-s* were written either by Brahmins or other temple functionaries with a view to appeasing their lovers and concubines of lower sections.

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<sup>1</sup> John Mathai, *Village Government in British India*, (1915), New Delhi, (Reprint), 1993, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> For scholarly discussions on the various aspects of village communities in Kerala, see M. R. Raghava Varier, *Village Community in Pre -Colonial Kerala*, XIII Annual Conference of Place Names Society of India, Udupi, 1992.

The Brahmins, the dominant sections in the society were also badly in need of the services of the individuals of the lower strata in various realms such as agriculture, astrology, sculptural engineering and accountings. They were also employed as menial laborers. Caste rigidity was strictly maintained but a close analysis of the children's education reveals that it was typical exempted arena where caste system was flexible to certain extends.

### **Political Structure**

Pre-colonial Kerala was divided geographically into three regions -Malabar, Kochi and Travancore. Administrative segmentation existed further in these three states in the form of small territories. The entire Kerala was stratified into various regions which were administered by a system called *Swarūpam-s*<sup>3</sup>. They were further divided in to various levels of *Dēśam* settlements, *Tara* localities and the *Nātu* units.

### **Laymen Education**

Sources are slender to elaborate the nature of laymen education during the Cēra period and after. The inscriptions found across the state<sup>4</sup> in *Vaṭṭeḷuttu* and *Grantha* characters suggest that some amount of literacy existed among certain inferior classes. Orthographical features of many inscriptions reveal that they were written by skilled hands with sound knowledge in alphabets.<sup>5</sup> It can be rightly said

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<sup>3</sup> Swarūpams were the small kingdoms and its power was exercised through a complicated system of lineage and seniority within the households. It signifies the medieval state formation in Kerala. For details, see, M. R. Raghava Varier, 'State as Swarūpam', in R. Champakalakshmi, Kesavan Veluthatt, T.R Venugopal, eds., *State and Society in Pre-Modern South India*, Thrissur, 2002, pp.120-130. And also see, K.N. Ganesh, *Reflections on Pre-Modern Kerala*, Trissur, 2016, p.96.

<sup>4</sup> While Tamil Nadu and Karnataka yielded thousands of inscriptions belonging to early medieval and medieval period, hardly 220 inscriptions are reported from Kerala so far.

<sup>5</sup> The original documents might be prepared by the political authorities on palm leaves or other perishable materials but engraved on hard surfaces like stone or copper plates by some other lower sections.

that these letters are not the mere reproduction of the characters given by somebody else.<sup>6</sup> Besides these, in many inscriptions, *Kārālas* appeared as the addressees.<sup>7</sup>

A concrete evidence of literacy among the *Sūdra class* is given by Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese traveler.<sup>8</sup> According to his description, the King of Calicut keeps a multitude of writers in his palace and they write on long and stiff palm leaves with an iron stylus without ink; they make their letters in incised strokes, like ours and the straight lines as Portuguese people do.<sup>9</sup> Each of these men carries with him wherever he goes a sheaf of these written leaves under in his armpit and the iron stylus in his hand, and by this way they may be recognized.<sup>10</sup>

### **Growth of Trade and Literacy**

Literacy and computation skills of the people of pre-colonial Kerala is to be analyzed against the back ground of the Kerala's role in the Indian Ocean trade network. Malabar, along with Coromandel and Celon, linked the trade from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf to the Chinese coast. Medieval trade flourished in different levels like that of local trade, long distance overland trade and long distance overseas trade. Trade necessitated the transformation of economic structure with enlarged agrarian settlements, emphasis on the cultivation of spices and other cash crops, growth of markets and towns, development of new ports and harbors and the like. The economic life of Kerala during the period was dependant on her commercial contacts with foreign countries.<sup>11</sup> Certainly, an effective trade system demanded

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<sup>6</sup> For example, Tharisappally Copper Plates of 849 CE and Thiruvalla Copper Plates of 12th Century.. They were preserved in Devalokam Aramana, Kottayam and Hill Palace Museum, Thrippunithara respectively. Scribes of this period belonged to a group called 'Aikammālar Perumthattan'.

<sup>7</sup> The *Ūrālas*- the Nambuthirs were the land owning class, the *Karālas*- Nairs, the land holding sections. Being an influential force in the society, Nairs also had some amount of literacy, though not extensively.

<sup>8</sup> Barbosa sailed to India probably in 1500 with the fleet of Pedro Alvarez Cabral.

<sup>9</sup> The script was invariably the *Kōleḷuttu*.

<sup>9</sup> Barbosa, Duarte, *The Land of Malabar: The Book of Duarte Barbosa* Vol. II, ed., M. Ganagadharan, MG University, 2000, p. 27.

<sup>11</sup> M. R. Raghava Varier, *Trade Relation between Kerala and China, A.D. 900 to 1500*, in K.A.S., 2010, chapter VI. For discussions on the nature and the growth of trade in Medieval Kerala, Also see M Vijaylakshmi, *Trade and Trade Centers in Kerala*, unpublished Ph. D Thesis and



people with basic language skills, advanced arithmetical knowledge, standard measuring techniques and accounting. Ma Huan writes:

..... *If a treasure-ship goes there (calicut), ..... They first of all take the silk embroideries and the open-work silks, and other such goods which have been brought there and discuss the price of them one by one and when the price has been fixed, they write out an agreement stating the amount of price and this agreement is retained by these persons.*<sup>12</sup>

Alphabetical skill was not only required by the trading communities but one and all those who were involved in that network including producers, local merchants or middlemen. Hence it can be surmised that people had enjoyed certain amount of literacy and computation skills but it was not developed into an institutionalized enterprises as it had happened since the 16<sup>th</sup> Century CE onwards.

It is believed that, during the post *Cēra* period, all lower castes including Nairs did not have any form of formal education, particularly in Sanskrit, since there was a strong conviction that the teaching and learning activities are strictly recommended to the Brahmins alone. Besides, the intellectual supremacy of hegemonic Brahmins and the mental servitude of lower sections towards them were also found to be the critical factors in this regard. The dominant class secures the hegemony-the consent of the dominated by supplying symbols, representations and practices of social life in such a way that the basis of social authority and unequal relations of power and privilege remain hidden.<sup>13</sup> In the present context, this will be more conspicuous if parsing the dominant dictum *sūdranaḥśarasamyuktam dūrata:*

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also in K.N. Ganesh, *Trade Network and the Process of production in Medieval Kerala*, in 'Reflection on Pre Modern Kerala' Thrissur, 2016.

<sup>12</sup> Ma Huan, *Ying-yai sheng-lan*, (trans.), J.V.G Mills, Cambridge, 1970, p. 141.

<sup>13</sup> Brahmins insisted that the *sudras*, if acquired alphabetical skills, must be socially excluded. It means that the powerful sections discouraged the education of the other people out of the fear that they would be questioned by these learned people, based on the authorities. Hegemony is not a process of active domination but an active structuring of the culture and experiences of the subordinate class by the dominant class.

*parivarjjayēt.*<sup>14</sup> The dominant ideologies were further strengthened by upholding the authorities like texts of *Manu*, *Kautilya* and other *śāstraic* texts. The curriculum of the period comprised of Vedas and allied subjects as understood from inscriptions and later Maṇipravāḷam texts.<sup>15</sup> The lower caste people were forbidden from hearing or learning Vedic knowledge<sup>16</sup> but they were at liberty to read and enjoy the *Purāṇas* and *Ithihāsa-s*. These aspects were clearly depicted in *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa*,<sup>17</sup> Eḷuttachhan says that he is only the servant of the Brahmins and seeking their kind permission for the translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* which he meant for the ignorant masses.<sup>18</sup>

### Social Life

K.P.S. Menon, in his autobiography,<sup>19</sup> depicts the traditional Kerala society of his time as conservative and benighted. Every village had hereditary astrologers and for any important event in individual life, their opinion was sought. The omens had been given prime importance in village life. It is interesting to note some of the omens that struck the society deeply. The sight of king, elephant, cow, concubine, arrow, alcohol, fire, ghee, sandal and white flower would bring graceful result whereas the Brahmins, the widow, the physically challenged, the cat, oil, salt, the donkey and firewood were considered as bad omens. If full moon was seen on sun day, the following lunar month would be considered as fruitful. If it happened on Monday it would fetch ignominy to the individual. If the full moon appeared on

<sup>14</sup> For better understanding of relation between the concept hegemony and education, see *Critical Pedagogy*, Peter McLaren, Critical Quest, New Delhi pp. 12-16.

<sup>15</sup> These aspects were described in the present study, see above, Chapter on Śālai, Maṭhas and Gurukula-s.

<sup>16</sup> *Sāṅkarasmṛti/Laghudhaṛmaprakāśika* is used as authorities in this regard. See chapter II and III of *Sāṅkarasmṛti*. 'Vyvahāramāla' a traditional law book, states that the Śūdra, who happened to hear or learn Veda must be punished with pouring melted copper and led in his ears.

<sup>17</sup> See, *Bālakāṇḍam, Adhyātmārāmāyaṇam*

<sup>18</sup> Pādasēvakanāya bhaktanām dāsan brahma-  
Vēdasammitamai mumpulla srīrāmāyaṇam  
Bōdhahīnanmarkkariyamvannam collītunnēn  
Chētasi teḷinjunaṇnavōḷam tuṇakkeṇam- *Bālakāṇḍam*.

<sup>19</sup> K.P.S. Menon, *Autobiography* (trans.) K. N. Gopalan Nair, Kottayam, 1966, pp. 37-38.

Tuesday, it was believed to cause the death. The sight of full moon on Wednesday caused fear and fright. On Thursday would bring wealth and Friday happiness, and Saturday sexual pleasure. If a girl had her first menstruation on Sunday, she would remain as spinster. If it fell on Monday, she was supposed to observe chastity until she got married. Puberty on Tuesday was as a sign of widowhood. On Wednesday it represented the motherhood. If menstruated on Thursday she would be blessed with baby boy. The village school curriculum, which includes rudimentary astrological knowledge, played a pivotal role in holding and popularizing this kind of local belief and practices.

On child birth, the elder member of the family would find out the time by counting the length of the shadow of the sun with his feet (*Aṭiyaḷavu*).<sup>20</sup> If delivery took place during the night, the time was determined by noting the position of the stars. The position of each planet was roughly calculated for the future reference.<sup>21</sup> Such complicated astronomical and astrological features were formulated in the form of *ślōkās* either in Sanskrit or in Malayalam language. P Narayanan Nair gives an example of a verse popular for determining the time.<sup>22</sup>

*Uchappettathu mupptenni-  
tettoḷam punarangane thanne  
ettinningne ṅaṛrialōḷam  
athrumathṛayum mithṛanuṭhippān*

Then the professional astrologer was invited to forecast the future of the neonate. On the birth of a child, the parents wanted to know three things

<sup>20</sup> Tabular form of *Aṭiyaḷavu* is given in, Changapuzhakrishnappillai, *Pañcanca Gaṇitam*, Kannur, 2013, p. 59 And also see, C. K. Musad, *Prāchinagnitam Malayaḷthil*, Trivandrum, 1980. P.18

<sup>21</sup> The details of these matters were required to prepare the horoscope of the child

<sup>22</sup> P. Narayanan Nair, *Aranūṛṅṅāṇṅilūṭe*, (1973), 1999, p. 18. Another cantos prevalent in this regard was:

Aśwatiuchaṛkkacutanāṇo  
Kaṛkkithakathil rande kālu  
Bharaṅikkampodukuḷire naḷiika  
Parichinotañcil paramiha collum

immediately, longevity, fortune and the status of Venus. It was believed that Venus was the protector of intelligence and wisdom and hence its blessing was solicited for a fruitful future education. The concern over Venus clearly indicates the importance of education in the past society.<sup>23</sup>

### **Beginning of Village Education**

It is probable that until the period of Thunchath Ramanujan Eḷuttachan, there were no arrangements for Sanskrit education for common masses.<sup>24</sup> In a highly caste oriented society, it was not possible that the Brahmins, the reservoirs of medieval knowledge, teach the children of lower strata but they did not obstruct the people who wished to learn *Purāṇas*, *Ithihasas*, elementary mathematics, or rudiments of astrology. In a way or other, these texts further strengthened the Brahmin authority in society. Such a situation was conducive to the proliferation of indigenous schools in every village in Kerala by the beginning of 16<sup>th</sup> century AD.

Against this background, it can be assumed that people who belong to the inferior social strata like Sūdra Nairs, members of *Eḷuttachan* caste or *Kaṇiyāns* procured basic knowledge in Sanskrit grammar and other literary texts through their frequent contacts with the non- Brahmin traditions flourished in nearby Tamil regions.

### **Village Schools**

Village schools in Kerala were variously known as *Kutippaḷḷikkūtam*, *Āśān Kaḷari*, *Ezḷuthu Paḷḷi*, *Ezḷuthu Kaḷari* and the like.<sup>25</sup> They were almost identical in

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<sup>23</sup> See, Puthenzhath Raman Menon, *Keralathe Aṛiyuka*, Trichur, 1997, pp.88-89.

<sup>24</sup> It does not mean that the Thunchath Ramanujan was the originator of the village schools in Kerala. He himself refers to his own teacher who had a great number of students across the regions. (‘Agrajan mamasatām viduṣamagrēśaran, malgurunāthanānēkantavāsikaḷōtum....’ ) It is certain that, during the compilation period of *Keraḷōlpatti*, these village schools were prominent in Kerala, see, *Keraḷōlpatti*, compiled by Hermmann Gundert, (reprint), 2014, p. 31. It refers to both Eḷuthachhan and Eḷuthupaḷḷi.

<sup>25</sup> They were referred to as *Pial* or *Pyal* schools in English language. For example, See, Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, 1906, Trivandrum, Note no. 1., p. 453.

character with a *pāṭhaśāla* in Bangal-and between a *Muktab* in Punjab and a *mulla* school in Sindh- there is hardly any difference. The village schools in Kerala closely resembled *Thiṇṇappaḷli* of Sangam age. While Muhammadan *Muktab* or *Mulla* schools and Sikhs *Gurumukhi* mainly imparted spiritual knowledge, Hindu *Paṭhaśāla* steadily aimed at a secular education.<sup>26</sup> This observation would become clearer while analyzing the curricular aspects such schools. These village schools were the central pillars that catered to the educational aspirations of the society in a fruitful manner for about four centuries starting from the 16 century CE to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. A careful analysis of these schools reveals that they were the instrumental force in the unprecedented literacy progress in Kerala in the subsequent centuries.

### Some Features

Village schools of Kerala were centered on a single teacher. The comparative poverty of indigenous schools renders it impossible for the schoolmaster to provide assistance for himself by the appointment of additional teachers.<sup>27</sup> They received no state support but occasionally received financial assistance from well-to-do families of the locality or from other philanthropists<sup>28</sup>. They were private in nature and run by the teachers on their own risk. The pre condition for a school was the sufficient number of students to attend. In the early stage, there were no specific schools at all. Prosperous families invited certain scholarly individuals to educate their children at home. Besides remuneration, teachers received free food, clothing and lodgings, if required.

The village schools were not permanent in nature. The teachers closed down the schools in case of shortage of the students<sup>29</sup>. Sometimes teachers moved from one place to another in search of better opportunities. John Mathai writes: *whenever the*

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<sup>26</sup> John Mathai, op.cit, p. 46.

<sup>27</sup> Mathai, ibid., 48.

<sup>28</sup> P. K. Michael Tharakan calls the village teachers as *Self Appointed Pedagogue*, see Socio-Economic Factors in Educational Development: The Case of Ninteenth Century Travancore, Working Paper, No. 190, CDS, Thiruvananthapuram, 1984.

<sup>29</sup> In that sense, they can be termed as Peripatetic Teachers.

teacher found his remuneration fail, he had no other choice but to close the school or remove it to some other village where he has a better prospect of steady remuneration.<sup>30</sup> No system of control was exerted over these schools. Yet, all most all of them followed more or less similar curriculum throughout the ages but the standard of education in each school depended on the intellectual ability and professional skills of the teachers called *Āśāns*.

Besides their own children, some families, in course of time, allowed to accommodate students from neighbourhood or children of their own servants at free of cost. When the number of students became unwieldy, the teaching-learning area must have been shifted from the residential compound to some more convenient places with separate building facilities.

### **School Building**

In his *Malabar and Its folks*, T. K. Gopal Panikkar gives an illustration of an indigenous school building. Village schools were of rudest model, being small sheds erected with roofing of coconut leaves and pillars and beams of bamboo or coconut materials and slightly raised floor. They did not have side walls. These sheds were in approximately 6 to 8 feet length and width with square shape. In other words, these sheds were jerry-built one. The essential thing required for a school was fresh air and sufficient light.<sup>31</sup> Schools were established in ideal places with calm and serene conditions. C. V. Kunjiraman gives some additional information: at the centre of the school, stood a slightly raised platform (this was known as *ācārya pīṭham*) with a mat spread over it. The teacher sits on it but positioned to north direction and, students on the floor smeared with cow dung. They also had to carry mats of coconut or palm leaves as benches or desks were not in vogue.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>31</sup> T. K. Gopal Panikkar, *Malabar and its Folks*, (1900), AES reprint, 1983, p. 179.

<sup>32</sup> C. V. kunjiraman, nan, ed., Hashim Rajan, Trivandrum.

According to the description of Fra Paolino Da Bartolomeo,<sup>33</sup> at the main entrance weather it was a garden or a shed, an image of lord Siva was seen installed. On both the side of the shed cum classroom, idols of Goddess Saraswathi and Gaṇapathi were also installed.<sup>34</sup> The student who arrived first had to adorn these idols with garland after ablution. All the other students had to offer prayers before the idols. Religious ceremony before commencing the education being over and, it was the duty of the students to keep the learning place neat and tidy.

### Beginning of Studentship

*Vidhyāramba* is the traditional ceremony that initiated children to the magnificent world of letter and numbers. This ceremony was sometimes referred to as *Akṣravikiraṇa* also. A.S. Altekar in his *Education in Ancient India* traces the antiquity of the *Akṣharvikiraṇa* ceremony. He opines that *Vidhyāramba* is the earliest Sanskāra in the student life, but it does not, like *Upanayana*, go back to hoary antiquity.<sup>35</sup> The authorities prescribe and describe this ritual, are as late as the second millennium of Christianan Era. It is usually administered when the children are at the age of three or five. Traditional rules restrict the *vidhyāramaba* in the age four and six. The usual practice is evident from the verse popular in common parlance:

*Ayyāntil thān Mūvāntilthan*

*Cheriyavane\_Ittu thudangēndu*

*Nālāntilum aṛantilum varjikkān*

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<sup>33</sup> He was hailed from Hos, Austria and was in India between 1776-1789. Original name of Bartolomeo was John Phillip Wesdin. His work *Voyages to the East Indies* (first published in Rome, 1796) contains certain important facts about the indigenous education in Kerala, see, Book II: Birth and Education of Children. Full text of this part is given in Dharampal, *The Beautiful Tree*, Annexure- B, pp. 252-257.

<sup>34</sup> *Gaṇapathi* is believed to be the protector of all sciences and the patron of learnt men. *Saraswathi* is the goddess of eloquence and history.

<sup>35</sup> A S Altekar, *Education in Ancient India*, Benares, 1934, pp. 1-4, also see, Sreejith E. 'Ēluthiniruthu: Carithravum, Śāsthavum', in *Keralathile Vidhyābhyāsam: Charithravum, Varthamānavum*, Kottayam, 2016, chapter III. This article is included as a lesson in *Higher Secondary Text Book (Plus One, Malayalam)*, Government of Tamil Nadu, 2018.

No fixed time was prescribed for the initiation of letters but it was generally it took place on *Vijayadaśami* day which falls in the Kanni-Tulām month of Malayalam Era. It seems that our predecessors were conscious of children's readiness-physical and mental-before the commencement of learning process. They did not hasten to send their children to the schools at an early age.<sup>36</sup> The general practice in this regard would be understood from the '*Pūthapaṭṭu*', a lyrical Ballard, of Eṭasserī Govindan Nair. He illustrates a boy who goes to the school- at the age of seven- only after he attained desired level of maturity which is manifested in his ability to coordinate visual and auditory potentials along with the proper mobility of the arm/hand.<sup>37</sup>

### **Kayyeḷuthu Perunāl of Muslim Community**

Like the Hindu community, Muslims of Kerala also observed the initiation ceremony for the commencement of learning process, which was popularly known as *Kayyeḷuthuperunāl* (festival of hand writing). Usually it fell on the preceding days of *Hajju Perunāl*. On this auspicious day, both the boys and the girls clad in new dress and ornaments attended the religious schools called *Ōthupaḷḷi*. *Mollākka*, the instructor, writes some holy scriptures on the palm of the child with a *Kalam* dipped in Arabian ink.<sup>38</sup> After the ceremony the *Mollākka* was given remuneration which varied as per the financial status of the parents. The ceremony was usually concluded with light refreshments.<sup>39</sup> The teachers of *Ōthupaḷḷi* were variously known as *Molla*, *Mollākka*, *Muallim* and *Ustād*. *Mullās* were elementary teachers with knowledge in

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<sup>36</sup> It was E. L. Thorndike, an American psychologist, who explained the concept of 'Law of Readiness' in child learning through his research study titled '*Animal Intelligence*' (1894) but even centuries earlier, it seems that, our forefathers mediated on such topics and the same is evident from traditional customs and practices related to child education.

<sup>37</sup> *Uṇṇikkēḷuvayassu kaḷinju, kaṇṇumkāthum urachukaḷinju, paḷḷikkūdathilpōyippadikkān uḷḷil kaouthukamērikaḷiṇṇu*-Pūthapaṭṭu.

<sup>38</sup> *Kalam* is the Arabic word for pen and this was made of bamboo piece of approximate 9'' length and 1/2'' width.

<sup>39</sup> For more details see T. V, Abdurahiman Kutty, *Muslim Education, From Alif to IAS* (Mal.) Trivandrum, 2013 pp. 33-39.



basic texts and in Arabi-Malayalam works whereas *Musliyār* and *Mudirissāns* were erudites in higher level texts.

There were also *Ōthupaḷlies* run by scholar women. In such case, the teaching activities were taken at their own courtyards or nearby sheds. Besides religious instructions, some additional subjects like *Māla*, *Moulūd* and *Kissa* were also taught there. Women teachers were called either as *Ustād*, *Mollāthi* or *Mollāchi*. Students had to memorize the basic lessons of The Korān and this practice was known as *Nāḡadam*. Students were allowed to use '*Kalam*' only after they had learned the Korān up to 4<sup>th</sup> *Kāndam* by heart. Instruction in letters was given only after that. Arabic alphabets consist of 28 letters starting from *Ālif*. *It was followed by instructions in ligatures*. Learning of the Koran through proper reading was known as *Vāyicōth*. E. Moudu Moulavi, great freedom fighter from Kerala, in his autobiography remembers that there was no fixed curriculum or system of Arabic teaching was adopted and it was teacher decides in accordance with their own proficiency and capacity of the students. Girl's education ended with the elementary level. Boys attended the nearby mosques for higher learning called *Kitābōthal*. Moudumoulavi studied a book called '*Pathu Kitāb*' under this section. These books were in Arabi-Malayalam script.<sup>40</sup>

### **Initiation of Letters- Christian Community**

In his *Malayala Sahithyavum Christianikaḷum*, P. J. Thomas<sup>41</sup> opines that Christian communities of Kerala also followed the same cultural traditions of Hindus in the matter of initiation ceremonies, sand writing, mathematics and writing on cadjan. It was in the earlier periods, children of Christian families also wrote the invocatory sentence 'Hari Srī Gaṇapataye Nama: Avignamastu' as the first letters on the rice spread. But in due course, they abandoned writing Harisree as it had some

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<sup>40</sup> In the view of Moidu Moulavi, this script was an old one but the credit of its standardization goes to Vakkam Muhammed Haji and Moulavi Kunjahammed Haji, see *Moulaviyute Athmakatha*, Kottayam, 1981, p. 12.

<sup>41</sup> P. J. Thomas, *Malayāla sāhithyavum, christiānikaḷum*, Kottayam, 1961, pp 72-75.

Hindu religious tone and started to write as Thampuran Thuṇakka, Saṛvēśwarāya Nama or Guruvē Śaraṇam and the like. After the letter practising on the sand, the students were trained to write on the cadjon leaves. It was known as *Cintam Piṭutham* or *Vāyanakkīṭuka*. For the reading, the teacher writes the following cantos on the cadjon and hand over the student. It was thus:

*Ādimuthal Mōsakayyil ñāna vidhi pathum*  
*Anpinōtu sīnmalathannil velivāyi*  
*Nīthiyōtu thanmrathaka palakathmel*  
*Nayanarul thāśiyōtu thāneḷuthinalki*  
*Vēdamuthalayathinu rekhamuthal sākṣi*  
*Vēṇamatiyārkkku bhūvilokamatu nīle*  
*Cēthassilathilennavumeḷumāriyippan*  
*Cinthamoḷi karmamoḷitha, thoḷunnitunnēn*

Students were asked to recite these cantos every morning and evening. After that they were taught certain kīrṭhanas like Ammayāya Rājakanni and mathematics. Then training was given in the sentence writing. *Nītisāram* and Moral lessons (Guṇapāṭham) were also taught. Afterwards, students were taught *Srīrāmōdantha*, *Amarakōśa* and finally the *Kāvyaś*. In the later period, instead of *Srīrāmōdantha*, in certain places the works of Arnos Pāthiri, especially the four parvas, were used. In the evening, like the other village schools, classes in Christian institutions were also ended with group recitation called *Vāippāṭham Colluka*.<sup>42</sup> Girls were also attended these schools up to their puberty. After fair amount of literacy, the boys went to the *Kaḷarīś* for physical and martial training. It begins with *Kacakeṭṭal*. It is followed by

<sup>42</sup> An example of the cantos used for group reciting is given here:

“Nāyaka, parane eśo, papikalkkutayanādha  
Mānuśvēśamayon-mānam theḷikkuvān vannudikka  
Kāraṇabhūthanāyōn-kaṇakkinu thuṇachitēnam  
Vānāngal bhuvanamellām-aruḷinal pataithanāthan  
Ādavum Avvathanne-parudīsayilvechu  
Annavan piḷachamūlam-ekanām Nāthan thānum  
Bethalēppiranna nādha –santhatham kuṃpiṭunnēn”

*Vettu, Thaṭa* and *Payattu*. The final item was *Maṛmapaṭham*. It took approximately four or five years to the mastery all these things.

### **Nilatheḷuthu or Preparatory Schools**

Between *Vidhyāramba* ceremony and formal schooling, there was an interim period of letter training called *Nilatheḷuthu*. This system was similar to preparatory schools of the present day. Children were entrusted to a teacher to learn the alphabets alone. Bartolomeo gives an excellent description of this practice. According to his account, the students, half naked would sit one by one under the shadow of trees; place themselves in rows on the ground, and trace out on the sand, with fore finger of the right hand, the elements of their alphabet, and then smooth it with the left hand when they wish to trace out other characters. The teacher supervises and points out mistakes if any and corrects them.<sup>43</sup> Literally the word *Nilatheḷuthu* means practicing the letters with fingers on the sand spread on the ground. The teacher called *Nilatheḷuthāśān* and the students under his charge were called *Nilatheḷuthukār*.<sup>44</sup>

### **Letter Practicing at Home**

Sometimes students were not sent to any other professional teachers. Elder member of the family himself took charge of educating the younger one. *Cherukadu*, a well known writer in Malayalam, in his autobiography entitled *Jīvithappathaka*<sup>45</sup> remembers how his own elder sisters functioned as his trainers under the overall supervision of their maternal uncle. It was the uncle who prepared the content on the cadjan leaves and handed it over to the sisters. These writings were, in most case, illegible and hence they applied a kind of locally made ink<sup>46</sup>. Even at an advanced stage, the author reminiscences that the first letters on sand remain shining in his

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<sup>43</sup> Bartolomeo, op.cit., see Dharampal, Annexure- B. pp. 252-257.

<sup>44</sup> Based on the testimony of Megasthene, Bartolomeo further states that this method of teaching writing was introduced to India two hundred years before the birth of Christ, No people, perhaps, on the earth have adhered so much to their ancient usages and customs as the Indians. Ibid., and also see, Samuel Mateer. *Land of Charity*, (1870), Kottayam, 2010, p. 102.

<sup>45</sup> Cherukadu, *Jīvithappātha*, (1974), Thrissur, 2003, p. 51.

<sup>46</sup> Mixture of Kaḷapoṭṭu and Karikkaṭṭa and this act was called *Maṣiyidal*.

mind like bright stars in the sky. *Nilathe\_luthu* would continue for at least six months and the children would become proficient in characters by that period.

### **Fiscal and Neurological Aspects**

The method of practicing letters on sand was worldwide acknowledged as economic as well as neurological. Economic in the sense, the system required no slate, paper, pen or pencil or other costly writing materials. Bartolomeo makes the observation that the education of youth in India is much simpler, and not near so expensive as in Europe.<sup>47</sup> While writing on the rough sand with finger tip, the touch sense imprints the characters in brain system permanently in a spontaneous way. Maria Montessori, an Italian physician turned as an educationalist, was really impressed by the utility of this South Indian practice of writing system and subsequently developed her own method very similar to *Nilathe\_luthu*. Unlike the indigenous style already referred to, she spread the sand on the gummed thick paper sheets called Sand Paper. She writes: while the child touches a letter, the teacher pronounces it sounds. The child then touches the letter by himself over and over again and in the way he establishes the movements necessary for training the alphabetical signs. At the same time the child retains the visual images of the letters. This process forms the preparation not only of writing but also for reading.<sup>48</sup>

*Nilathe\_luthukar* had to bring some sand to the learning place. For this there were special pots, called *Kudukka*. They were made of husk of coconut with a whole to fill and take out the sand. To carry easily, there would be a small rope fitted in to the both sides. It was believed that the sand for writing purpose should not be polluted by human foot touch. Hence, in most cases, the elders collected it from the riverbed or from uninhabited areas.<sup>49</sup> Students practicing letters on sand were not allowed to write on cadjan leaves until they master the former. Practicing letters on

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<sup>47</sup> Bartolomeo, op.cit.

<sup>48</sup> Maria Montessori came to India at the commission of Theosophical Society of India and remained in Adyar during the Second World War period. Her knowledge of South India might have helped the crystalising sand paper.

<sup>49</sup> Parukkutiamma, *K.P. Kesava Menon, Cultrual Department, Govt of Kerala, 1986, p. 30.*

Palmira leaves was known as *Ōla varakkal* or *caṭṭam Varakkal/varayal*. *Ōlayilkkūttal* was the general term for the writing on cadjan leaves with meaningful sentences. Bartolomeo writes: *when the pupil had made tolerable progress in writing, they are admitted to certain schools called Eutupalli, where they begin to write on palm leaves*<sup>50</sup>

### **Ōla or Books**

Nieuhoff, a naval officer under Dutch East India Company who was in Kerala during the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, has given a description of the preparation of palm leaves for the writing purpose. According to him Malkam (Malayanma) is the language of Malabar. They do not have any kind of papers to write but palm leaves.<sup>51</sup> Scriptures and other hymns and ancient histories were written on these leaves. These leaves are of equal size with approximately half feet length and two inch width. They were put one by another in sequential order. These leaves were loosely tied together with a small string through the whole on the upper left side. This is further protected with wooden sheets on both ends. All sheets of the same topic together called as a *Grandham*.<sup>52</sup> Nieuhoff further remarks that in calligraphy skill, people of Kerala were far excellent of the entire European communities. Even while writing they could hold up their head and talk to anyone.<sup>53</sup>

About the writing materials of the period, we have a wonderful description by Eswarappillai under the title "*Ōlayum Nārāyavum*"<sup>54</sup>. To write on the cadjan, a material resembling the pen was used. This stylus was made of iron or steel. They were called as *Eḷuthāṇi* or *Nārāyam*. Many people were proficient in writing with both hands. There were different types of *Nārāyam*, but the *Kaithamukku Nārāyam*

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<sup>50</sup> Bartholomeo., op.cit.

<sup>41</sup> John Nieuhoff, *Remarkable Voyages: Travel in to the Best Provinces of West and East Indies*, (trans.), Sivasankaran Nair, K. Kerala Gazetteer Dept. Trivandrum, 1996 p. 39.

<sup>52</sup> The processed but unwritten leaves were known as Alekya and the leaves with written contents were known as Lēkya or Granthavari.

<sup>53</sup> The descriptions of Nieuhoff is further strengthened by Samuel Mateer in *Land of Charity*, (trans.), 1870, p. 87.

<sup>54</sup> Eswarappillai, L. R., *Chintha Santhanam*, Kottayam, 1988, p. 91.

was famous for its quality. The place called *Maṇappuram* was noted for superior quality *Ōlas*. To cut the leaves in equal size, the professional writes always kept a knife with them and it was known as *Ōlappīśāthi*, and *Mavelikkara pīśāthi* was preferred by many. Besides, to make the wholes, a compass like gadget called *Curi* was also used. *Pārur churi* was well known. To carry all these writing materials together, a purse called *Koṭṭarakkara Uṛa* was used. Students used *Kaṭa Nārāyam*, and the professional writers or *grandhameḷuthukār* used *Iruthala Nārāyam*- both edge of the stylus could be used for writing.

### Caste in Preparatory Schools

In elementary level of learning, the concept of pollution was not strictly observed. This is evident from certain autobiographies. E.M.S. Nambūthirippadu remembers such an occasion. His first teacher was one Achutha Varier, who belonged to a caste remaining below the Nambūthiries in social hierarchy. Even then, as a teacher, he was allowed to touch or hold the boy until his *upanayana* ceremony. After Upanayana ceremony, there was a tradition that the teacher should bless the boy with his hand placing upon the boy's head. Achutha Varier hesitated to do so but child's father insisted.<sup>55</sup> Vennikulam Gopalakuruppu in his autobiography titled *Āthmarēka*, also mentions his teacher Kochupilla Vādhyar of the lower caste.<sup>56</sup> Sardar K. M. Paniikar says that in his uncle's school, Nairs, Eḷavās and Christians students were provided free education. Girls also attended the school.<sup>57</sup> All these references allude that, at least in the preparatory level of schooling, caste rigidity was not strictly maintained. E.V. Krishnappaillai recollects his first teacher, a Thomas Vadhyār who belonged to the Christian community.<sup>58</sup> Sree Narayana Guru was initiated under the senior member the Chempazantippillai family, belonging to an

<sup>55</sup> Gopinathanathan, K, ed., *EMS Vakkum Samoohavum*, Thrissur, 1998, p. 16.

<sup>56</sup> Vennikulam, *Atmarekha*, Kottayam, 1974, p. 16.

<sup>57</sup> K. M. Panikkar, *Athmakatha*, Thrissur, (fourth impression), 1967, p. 10.

<sup>58</sup> E.V. Krishnappaillai, *Jeevithasmaranakal*, in Selected Works, Kottayam, 1995, p. 601.

elite class<sup>59</sup> and Dr. Palpu was the student and Caṭṭampi (Monitor) of Pettayil Raman Pillai Asan<sup>60</sup>. However, if the student was from a lower caste, many teachers hesitated to touch or hold the child and hence while punishments were given; the cane was thrown at the students. This practice was known as *Erinjadikkal*.<sup>61</sup>

However, there was never any question of admitting in to the schools those who lay outside the regular caste system whose touch would mean pollution, or to the great aboriginal populations in the country. John Mathai writes that ‘throughout the long history of indigenous education in India, it is impossible to find out any indication that these classes ever came within the range of the vast system of public education which existed in the country from ancient times’.<sup>62</sup> However, we have got an instance of the literacy among the untouchable castes. Samuel Ambattu, a native preacher under Basel Evangelical Mission, in his autobiographical sketches, describes an incident that totally changed his entire life. He belonged to an untouchable caste before he was converted in to the protestant Christianity. His hunt for a treasure in a dilapidated temple finally brought entire family under police custody. It happened on an *aṣṭami* day which was a holyday for schools. Again he also says that he could read Malayalam fluently, and writes on cadjan leaves too. It indicates that literacy was prevalent in certain sections of depressed classes but for the generalizing it, more evidences are required.<sup>63</sup> Although students of different communities were received by the same teacher, they were not put promiscuously in the common class room. R. Eswarappillai writes that teachers maintained separate sheds for engaging students of inferior castes.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> N. Kumaranasan, ‘Brahmasri Srinarayanagurdevante jivacaritram’, in *Srinarayanaguru; Jivacharithravum Gurusmritikalum*, (2007), Trivandrum, 2014, p. 8.

<sup>60</sup> Sajiv Krishnan, *Daivatine Patathalavan* (Biography of Dr. Palpu), Trivandrum, 2013, p. 17.

<sup>61</sup> C. Kesavan remembers such a teacher who practiced Erinjadikkal, *Jeevithasamaram*, (1968) Kottayam, 2011, p. 62. T. K Madhavan also refers to this practice. See P. K. Madhavan, *Desabhimani T.K. Madhavan*, (1937), Kottayam, 2015, pp.39-40.

<sup>62</sup> John Mathai, op.cit. 40.

<sup>63</sup> It is K.K.N. Kurup, after consulting the originals kept in Basel, edited the memoirs of Samuel Ambattu under the title *Suviseham Uthara Keralathail*, Kottayam, 2009, p. 26.

<sup>64</sup> Eswarappaillai op. cit. T. K Madhavan also refers to the separate sheds for different castes, For details, see, P. K. Madhavan, op.cit.

## School Admission

Unlike the present day, there was no prescribed time for school admission during the past years. Parents could bring the child at any time, if he or she is mature enough to adjust with the school environment. Village schools accommodated only a wieldy number of students ranging from 20 to 30 at a time. These schools were co-educational institutions but girls were not allowed to continue their studies after attaining puberty.<sup>65</sup>

## School Hours

School hour was fixed by the teachers at their convenience.<sup>66</sup> Usually classes started around 7 a.m. and stopped for interval at 10 a.m. and the students resumed at 2.00 p.m. Afternoon session continued till 5 or 5.30 p.m. No new lessons would be taught in the morning session but the revision and reciting of the previously learnt. This was followed by trail and punishments based on the charge sheet prepared by the senior students about the misconduct or playing truant of juniors. Afternoon session was exclusively for learning new lessons. Reading or reciting of *Rāmāyaṇa* or other *Purāṇas* was the compulsory part of the evening instruction. In fact the schools had a ten hours business with four hours break.

## Student's Attendance

Attendance of the students was strictly ensured. The one who come first had to prepare a register according the order of their arrival one by one and the same should be produced to the teacher. Student's reporting at the school was referred to in

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<sup>65</sup> Puthethath Raman Menon, op.cit. pp. 92- 93. In many Northern Ballads, the school going girls were depicted. For example, *Ālumkuḷangara Unichandrōrutepāttukatha*. This story illustrates, a girl child accompanying Unichandror on his way to eḷuthupalli. When he left for Tulunatu for advanced studies, she lost her escort which in turn stopped her school life. But the eḷuthachan made some other arrangements to fetch her to the school. For more details, see. 24 Vatakanpattukal, p. 313. Also see, M.M. Sacheendran, Keralthile Sthreekalute Vidhyābhyāsam: Innele, Innu, Seminar Paper presented in the National Seminar, Govt. College, Koyilandy, 7<sup>th</sup> February, 2008.

<sup>66</sup> Narayanan Nair, op. cit.



some autobiographies as *Elānkayaruka*.<sup>67</sup> The regular absentees were nick named as *Paḷḷikkaḷḷan*.<sup>68</sup> Students received punishments regardless of their arrival time. The student who comes first would receive one thrash and it continued in an ascending order till the last one. E.V. Krishnappillai sarcastically remarked that there was only a person in the classroom remained without being charged and it was none other than the teacher himself.<sup>69</sup> To escape from punishments, some students reached the school even before the sun rise and slept in the class room. There was customary contract between students and teachers about their studies. E.V. Krishnappillai gives an interesting piece of Tamil song popular in Travancore in this regard. The students had to sing this song jointly before they leave school in the evening. It runs thus:

*Anthikkāppōro nāmkaḷ*  
*Āathile vilayādamal*  
*Chinthira viḷakkumunne*  
*Thiruvatiyaluthuvechu*  
*Vanthathum varamē solli*  
*Anthanar kōḷikūke*  
*Aḷavaṭṭai odivare*  
*Thiruvati śaraṇam thāne*<sup>70</sup>

In the evening, students together recited the entire lessons learnt on that day. This group singing was called *vāippātham colluka*. Then students were allowed to leave the school. The senior students, with the help of almanac, had to find out the next day's *Nakṣhthra* and *Thithi* (Day and Star).

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<sup>67</sup> Mannathu Padmanabhan, *Jeevithasmaranakal*, (1957. Trivandrum, 1964, p. 5.

<sup>68</sup> E.V. Krishnappillai, op.cit., p. 603. Paḷḷi means school and Kaḷḷan denotes the thief but here it is, those absconding. Thus pallikkallan is regular absentee in the schools.

<sup>69</sup> E. V. Krishnappillai, ibid., Nagam Aiya, in his administrative report for the year 1891 also refers to this practice, see Travancore State Manual, Note no. 1, pp, 453-54.

<sup>70</sup> He gives a near translation the above given lines in these words: 'We remain in the school till the night falls deep. We don't play at home. At night we recite and repeat the lessons taught. We will have a look at lessons to come and we assure that we present at the school well before the cocks cross in the morning'. E.V. Krishnappillai, op.cit., p .625.

## Holidays

The school working days were called as *Adhyana* day and holy days as *Anadhyāya*. The *Aṣṭami* days, which fall twice in a month, were public holidays. Teaching and learning was fully prohibited in these days. Again, the days from *Dwādasi* to *pradipadam* were also holy days.<sup>71</sup> Since they fall twice in each month, there would be short vacation of five days in every month. So there are total twelve holidays, including *Aṣṭami* days, in a month besides auspicious days like *Ōṇam* or *Viṣu*.<sup>72</sup>

## Village and Agriculture

As a predominant agricultural society, days of sowing and also the days of harvest were counted holidays as both the teachers and the students were intimately attached to it. Agriculture had never been an exclusive one but an integral part of village life. Alexander Walker (1820) had opined that agriculture in Malabar had a long history and some time it goes back to pre historical period. For general public it becomes a passion as well as ever loving occupation. Agriculture was the main topic of common discussions and they are highly skilled in that profession.<sup>73</sup>

## Remuneration of the Teachers

The remuneration given to the village teachers varied from place to place or from person to person. Generally on the day before holidays, the teacher was to be remunerated.<sup>74</sup> Bartholomeo writes that a school master in Malabar receives every two months, from each of pupil, for the instruction given them, two *Panon* or

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<sup>71</sup> In Kerala, a Lunar month was further divided in to two halves (pakṣams) with 15 days each. They are 1. Prathipada, 2. Dwitheīya, 3. Thṛthīya, 4. Chathurthi, 5. Pañcami, 6. Ṣaṣṭi, 7. Sapthami, 8. Aṣṭami, 9. Navami, 10 Daśami, 11, Ekādaśi, 12. Dwādaśi, 13. Thrayōdiśi, 14, Chathurdaśi (pathinālu) 15. Pañcadaśi (vāvu).

<sup>72</sup> T. K. Gopal Panikkar, op.cit. p. 180. He further says that during the vacations, students were usually asked to bring on the opening day, as home exercise, a number of cadjons carefully written by them.

<sup>73</sup> Quoted in C. R. Rajagopalan, and et.al., *Kriṣigītha*, Introductory part, Kozhikode, 2013, p. 20.

<sup>74</sup> Remuneration to the teachers was known as *Āśān Kūli*.

*Panam*.<sup>75</sup> Some do not pay in money, but give him a certain quantity of rice, so that this expense were not burdensome to the parents. It is worth mentioning that some teachers who instruct children without any fee, but were paid by overseers of temples or by the chief of the caste. William Logan records that like village physicians or astrologers, the teachers remuneration was also not a fixed one.<sup>76</sup> It might be 1or ½ *āṇa*. However this was not strictly collected.

Teachers had received additional customary amount called *dakṣiṇās* on the students birthdays or special occasions like *Navarāthri* or *Ōṇam*.<sup>77</sup> John Mathai states that teacher's remuneration was largely from the present received in cash or kind, supplemented in some cases by fees from his pupil and sometimes by definite assignment from the village harvest.<sup>78</sup> William Logan also gives the same information. Logan further adds that it was the duty of the village people to support the teachers in their family requirements and other auspicious occasions. Village head man called *Deśavāli* co-ordinated such collective responsibilities.

About the position of teachers in village community, John Mathai relates the following facts: Through subsidiary offices and customary rights he became almost indispensable factor in the life of the village community. In Malabar, he is frequently the village astrologer, and the dignity of his position has ever been upheld by judicious combination of fortune-telling and pedagogy. He is sometimes found practicing dubious kind of medicines. As a supreme representative of enlightenment in the village his services are requisitioned for writing letter, for deciphering knotty legal documents, and for copying deeds.

### References in Autobiographies

Some teachers earned some additional income by undertaking some other activities also. Sahityapañcanan P. K. Narayanappillai remarks that his teacher

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<sup>75</sup> Barhtolomeo, op. cit.

<sup>76</sup> William Logan, *Malabar Manual* (trans.), p. 113

<sup>77</sup> During the Ōnam and Viṣu days the teacher took care to go round the house of the rich amongst his pupils and receives presents from parents, see T. K. Gopal Panikkar, op.cit.

<sup>78</sup> John Mathai, op cit., p.55.

Anathakrishna Aiyar, besides teaching, was employed as a cook in his ancestral home.<sup>79</sup> Similar description is given by K. P. Kesava Menon that his teacher was also an accountant of his grandfather.<sup>80</sup> Some teachers trained womenfolk in the traditional group dance called *Thiruvāthirakkḷi*. Pāncānan remembers a teacher named Ramanāśān as a dance instructor also.<sup>81</sup> These teachers were sometimes invited to recite *Rāmāyaṇa* at wealthier families. They were engaged in home tuitions too. C.V. Kunjiraman mentions such teachers.<sup>82</sup> In such case their lunch was provided by the families. The above references are sufficient to say that in the traditional village community, no profession was looked inferior or superior. It does not mean that even a cook could be a teacher. The character, conduct and subject competency were the expected qualities of a teacher. They were also acted as village level mediators in different disputes.

### Teaching- Learning Process

When the teacher enters the class, students had to show respect with traditional posture and stand up with mouth covered with right hands. Till the teacher permits, he should remain in silence. The mischievous and disobedient were ousted from the schools.<sup>83</sup> Teachers were respected as the supreme authorities of knowledge.

Before the teacher arrives, the students together had to recite the lessons previously taught in unison. Thus class starts and ends with the revision of the learnt materials. Senior students supervised this practice called *Vāyppāṭham Colluka*. The periodical repetitions strengthened their memory.<sup>84</sup> As there were no printed books or other study materials available, the teacher wrote verses, short sentences, multiplication tables etc., on the cadjan leaves and handed them over to the student.

<sup>79</sup> Quoted in P. K. Parameswaran Nair, *Pāñcanānan*, (1944), Kottayam, 1971, p. 38.

<sup>80</sup> K. P. Kesava Menon, *Kalinjakalam*, (1959), Kozhikode, 2009 p. 19.

<sup>81</sup> P. K. Parameswaran Nair, op.cit.

<sup>82</sup> C. V. Kunjiraman, op.cit.

<sup>83</sup> Those who talk and prate contrary to the prohibition of their master are expelled from the school, as boys who cannot restrain their tongue, and who are consequently unfit for study of philosophy-Bartolomeo, op.cit.

<sup>84</sup> Ebbinghaus, a German psychologist, in his path breaking study 'Memory: A Contribution to the Experimental Psychology (1885) demonstrates that 49 percentage of the learnt thing will be forgotten with in twenty minutes unless it is being rehearsed or repeated.

The main subjects taught by the teacher were: the principles of writing and accounts, Sanskrit Grammar which contains the declensions and conjugations, the second part of Sanskrit grammar which contains the syntax or the book of *vyākaraṇa* and finally the *Amarakōśa*, the Sanskrit dictionary.<sup>85</sup> Students read and recited the text given aloud. In most case this process went on but without understanding of meaning or significance. Generally invocatory sentences and moral epithets were chosen for this purpose like ‘*mūṣikōthama māruhya*’, ‘*gīṛṇa: śreya*’, ‘*dhēvanaśrī*’, ‘*simha jagathe dinape*’ and the like. C. Kesavan in his autobiography titled *Jīvitha Samarangal*<sup>86</sup> gives an example of the verse he practiced on palm leaf. It was thus:

*Kaḷikkum Bālanennālum,  
kiḷikkunjennirikkilum,  
thaḷakkum Nyāyamōthumpōl,  
vaḷakkum sammathippām.*<sup>87</sup>

Such learning contents had two fold objectives, mastery of the principle of language and the moral development of the learner. Bartholomeo remarked:

*These verses serve not only as examples of the manner in which the words must be combined with each other, but contain, at the same time, most excellent moral maxims, which are thus imprinted in the minds of young people as if in play; so that, while learning the language, they are taught rules proper for forming their character, and directing their future conduct in life*<sup>88</sup>.

Bartholomeo further gives a list of such moral maxims students used to write. Some of them are given here. ‘*What is the use of study, if the object of it be not to*

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<sup>85</sup> Bartholomeo writes that the chief branches taught by Guru are: 1. the principle of writing and accounts, 2. the samscred grammar which contains the declensions and conjugations; in Malabar it is called Sidharuba: but in Bengal Sarasvada, or art of speaking with elegance: 3., the second part of the grammar, which contains the syntax, or the book of Vyagarana: 4, the Amarasinha, or Brahmanic dictionary. See, *Voyages to the East Indies, Book II*

<sup>86</sup> C. Kesavan, *Jīvithasamarangal* (1968), Kottayam, 2011 p. 33.

<sup>87</sup> The verse tells us that, one should take the account of truthful things; even it is uttered by a little sparrow or a child of tender age.

<sup>88</sup> Bartholomeo, *op. cit.*

*learn knowledge and fear, which true wisdom?’, Modesty becomes everyone, but is a particular ornament to the learned and rich, the wounds occasioned by a slanderous tongue occasion far more pain, and are much more difficult to be healed, than those which proceed from fire and the sword.<sup>89</sup>*

However, later writers like K.V.M. and Puthezhath Raman Menon and others pointed out that since each student was dealt with different maxims or, sentences and verses, in a class room with 20-30 students, there would be an atmosphere of clamour.<sup>90</sup>

### Single Main System

Besides writing, students were also taught ślōkas<sup>91</sup> like *Gaṇakāṣṭaka*,<sup>92</sup> *Mukundhāṣṭaka*<sup>93</sup>, *Sarasvatistavam*<sup>94</sup> and the like. Only a subject was taught in a given period. Students were initiated to another subject only when he attained desired level of mastery over the present task. Though it was monotonous and boring, such a system heightened student’s concentration level and strengthened the memory capacity. While thinking in terms of modern psychology this ‘single main’ system had an another significance as it actively prevented learner from retro and pro- active inhibitions which obstruct retention and recalling of the content processed in the memory structure.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Puthezhath Raman Menon, *Keralathe Ariyuka*, p. 91 and also see K.V.M, *Atmakatha*, 1966, pp. 4-5.

<sup>91</sup> A ślōka is a short sentences clothed in Sanskrit verse

<sup>92</sup> Ēkadantam Mahākāyam

Taptakāñchana sannibham

Lambōdharam viśālākṣam

Vandheham gaṇanāyakam:

<sup>93</sup> Karāravindē pādāraṇḍam

Mughāravindēvinivesatandram

Vaṭasya pathrasya putē śayānam

Bālam mukundam manasā smarāmi:

<sup>94</sup> Saraswati namsthubhyam

Varadē kāmarūpiṇi

Vidhyarabam karishyāmi

Sidhirbhavathu me satha:

<sup>95</sup> Retro- active inhibition, in learners’ psychology, is a term used to describe a situation in which the learning of second task impedes the remembering of the first task. In the Pro-active

## MATHEMATICS

### Arithmetic

Alexander Walker writes that ‘The Hindoos never made use of experiments, and it is extraordinary that without this aid, they should have become acquainted with the most difficult and hidden branches of Mathematics, Astronomy and Algebra’.<sup>96</sup> This statement is perfectly in agreement with the curriculum flourished in the pre colonial period of Kerala. Samuel Mateer in his *The Land of Charity*, praise the intellectual calibre of indigenou school teachers, particularly in the field of mathematics.<sup>97</sup> We will have a description of the pedagogic aspects of each of them in a detailed manner in the following part.

When the teacher was sufficiently satisfied with the alphabetic skill of the students, higher subjects are introduced one by one. Basic arithmetic was taught next to alphabets. In southern part of Kerala, *Tamiḷ Kaṇakku* was also taught. There was an advanced course in mathematics known as *Munthirikaṇakku*.<sup>98</sup> Besides these, arithmetic techniques like *Kuḷipperukkam* and *Thānapperukkam*<sup>99</sup> were also taught in the elementary classes.

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inhibition, the first task disturbs the recalling of the second one. For details, see Sreejith. E and Arun Kumar, *Vidhyābhyāsamaṇāśāstram*, Kottayam, 2009, p. 204.

<sup>96</sup> Alexander Walker, *Walker of Bowland Papers*. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. For the full text which deals with the education of Malabar, see Dharampal, *The Beautiful Trees*, Annexure-C pp. 258-264.

<sup>97</sup> Samuel Mateer, *The Land of Charity*, p. 102.

<sup>98</sup> E. V. Krishnaspillai, op.cit., p. 625.

<sup>99</sup> P.K. Parameswaran Nair, op.cit.

Malayalam Numerals (Letter Notations)

ആയിരം നൂ = 1000	നൂറ് ന = 100	പത്തു ശ = 10	ഒന്ന് ഏ = 1
രണ്ടു ര = 2	മൂന്നു ന = 3	നാലു ര = 4	അഞ്ചു അ = 5
ആറു ന = 6	ഏഴു ശ = 7	എട്ടു വ = 8	ഒമ്പതു ന = 9
മൂക്കാൽ ഏ = $\frac{3}{4}$	അര ര = $\frac{1}{2}$	കാൽ ശ = $\frac{1}{4}$	അരക്കാൽ ഏ = $\frac{1}{8}$
രണ്ടു മാ ശ = $\frac{1}{30}$	മാ കാണി ഏ = $\frac{1}{16}$	ഒരു മാ ശ = $\frac{1}{20}$	അര മാ ര = $\frac{1}{40}$
കാണി മാ = $\frac{1}{80}$	അരക്കാണി ഏ = $\frac{1}{160}$	മൂന്നിരി ഏ = $\frac{1}{320}$	കീഴ് കാൽ $\frac{1}{320}$ ( $\frac{1}{4}$ )
മൂന്നു കാണി മാ = $\frac{3}{80}$	നാലു മാ ര = $\frac{1}{5}$	മൂന്നു മാ ശ = $\frac{3}{20}$	അരക്കാണി മൂന്നിരി ഏ ഏ = $\frac{3}{320}$ $\frac{1}{160} + \frac{1}{320}$

(Source: C. K. Musad, Prāhīna Gaṇitham Malayālthil)

Pure mathematics and geometry were taught in the higher stage of study. These subjects were necessary to enter the complex world of astronomical, astrological and engineering sciences. Prior to that, students were given training in *Vākyās*, *Paralpperu*, *Jyāvu*, *Kāladīpam*, *Muhūrthapadavi* and the like.<sup>100</sup> During the medieval period, mathematics was a subject of intellectual exercise of Brahmins, but in course of time, it became a popular subject through village schools and even became a recreational activity of the common people. Although mathematics was sufficiently taught in the village schools, they failed to contribute anything

<sup>100</sup> Vākyā-s are also called as *Gīṛnasreyāthi* vākyā since the first vākyā is *gīṛnasreya* (0,12,3). It tells us that the distance of moon, which travels through the *rasichakra*, from the Metam Rasi. It is believed that Vararuci (4<sup>th</sup> century CE) developed the *Candravākyā-s* for the computation of the movement of Moon and this Vākyās held sway for a long time. Vākyās are different for different days. Thus we have total 248 vākyā-s. A detailed table of this Vākyā-s is given in Changampuzha Krishnappillai, *Pañcanga Gaṇitam*, Kannur, 2013, see chapter XII. While Vararuchi gives the position of moon in each minute, in his *Vepuāroham*, Sangamagrama Madhava provides the accurate position of moon in each second. For further details, see A.Vinod, *Sangamagrama Madhavan*, Ankamali, 2016, pp.32-40.



significantly to the development of the discipline as it had happened in the earlier centuries. In other words, mathematical tradition continued but without much creative innovations, novel discoveries or advanced concepts.

### **Medieval Mathematics: An Over View**

*In their method of calculation, they (People of Calicut) do not use a calculating-plate, for calculating, they use only the two hands and two feet and the twenty digits on them; and they do not make the slightest mistake (this is) very extraordinary.*<sup>101</sup> – Ma Huan

Similar to Sanskrit, pure mathematics also received wide popularity in village curriculum and all most all autobiographies of late 19<sup>th</sup> century speak of it.<sup>102</sup> Then Kerala society considered language and literature essential for spiritual development, astrology for the planning the day to day affairs and knowing the future and higher mathematics, for intellectual exercises. Their mathematical knowledge was highly connected to the development of astronomical studies. In other words, almost all mathematicians of Kerala were great astronomers too. B.V. Subbarayappa in his small treatise titled *Numerals and Eclipses in Indian Epigraphy* remarked thus:

*In the manifold scientific heritage of India, the siddhantic or mathematical astrology, noted for its computational attainment, has distinct position. It continued with unabated rigor up to the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century marked by extensive treatises and enlarged by associated mathematics-algebraic, trigonometrically and geometrical achievement. The concept and formation of decimal place value system originated in India around 4<sup>th</sup> century AD and became foundation source of Indian mathematical astronomy much earlier than it did elsewhere in the ancient period.*<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Ma Huan, op.cit., p. 141.

<sup>102</sup> For example, *C.V. Raman Pillai (biography)*, P.K. Parameswaran Nair, (1948), Kottayam, 1986 and also see E. V . Krishnappillai, op. cit., 626-627.

<sup>103</sup> B.V. Subbarayappa, *Numerals and Eclipses in Indian Epigraphy*, ICHR Lecture Series, New Delhi, 2013, p. 5.

## Roots of Mathematical Knowledge

It is very interesting to note that ancient Indian mathematical tradition was perpetuated successfully in Kerala than elsewhere. It appeared in the peninsular India through Arya Brahmans during their southward movements which started around the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. All the best commentaries on *Aryabāṭīyam* appeared in Malayalam speaking area. Sankaramnarayana, the court astronomer of King Stanuravi, who composed *Laghubhāskarīya Vyākhyā* (Vivaraṇam) acknowledges his respect for five predecessors in the field, i.e., Aryabhata, Varahamihira, Bhaskara, Govinda and Haridatta. Sankaranarayana's own commentary was, meant to be a summary and simplification of Bhaskara's work, for the 'instruction of the children'.<sup>104</sup>

The following were the prominent mathematicians/astronomers of Kerala during the early medieval and later medieval period. Haridatta (c. 650-700) who rectified the Aryabatta method and introduced the correction called *Śakābdasamskāra* or *Bhaṭasamskāra*. Govindadasvamin (8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> Century CE) wrote an excellent commentary on *Mahābhāskarīya*. Sankaranarayana, the composer of *Laghubhāskarīya*, has given,<sup>105</sup> the standard mathematical methods of Aryabhata I such as the solution of the indeterminate equation  $by = ax \pm c$  (a, b, c integers) in integers- this method known as *Kuṭṭākāra* method- the determination of *matī*, referring to the optional number in a guessed solution, is a feature which differs from the original method as presented by Bhaskara I.

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<sup>104</sup> Sthānu Ravi was the second Cēra King (844-870 CE). Śankaranārayaṇa was also the in-charge of observatory at Mahōdayapuram which functioned under the patronage of Cēras. Also see, Anil Narayanan N., 'Stalwarts in Kerala School of Mathematics' in. N.K. Sundareswaran, ed., Kerala School of Mathematics: Trajectories and Impact, Calicut, 2014, pp. 203-234.

<sup>105</sup> His commentary on *Laghubhaskariya* is named as *Vivaraṇa*, and contained eight chapters. It is written with a view to enlighten the people with intelligence below average. The main object of this work was to deal systematically with the modulus operandi for determining the position of planet s using the principle s of arithmetical calculations enunciated by Aryabhata. See M.G.S Narayanan, Perumals of Kerala, Trissur, 2013, p. 390

Suryadevayajvan prepared a commentary on Aryabhaṭīya. Madhava of Sangamgrama (14-15 century CE) discovered the infinite series for Rsine, Rcosine, the circumference of a circle and  $\tan^{-1}x$ . In *Veṅṅārōhaṇa* he elaborated the *candravakyas* and computation of the Moon accurate.

Paramēswara of Vatasreni (1360-1455) introduced Dṛg System to rectify *Parahīta* system. Nīlakaṇṭha Sōmayāji authored many works like *Tanṭrasangraha*, *Gōḷasara* etc. He made a conjuncture on the heliocentric motion of planets. Jyēstadēva (1500-1610) wrote *Yuktibhāṣa* to summarize mathematical astronomical concepts.<sup>106</sup> Unlike the works mentioned earlier, the *Yuktibhāṣa* which deals with rationales (yukti) in mathematics and astronomy is written in Malayalam language and script.<sup>107</sup> Achyuthappisharoti (1550-1621) developed a theory for the computation of latitude of the Moon. Pututumana Sōmayājin (1668-1749) wrote *Karaṇapaddhati*, which speaks of new methods of computation. All of them belonged to Brahmins or temple functionary class and the products of Gurukula-s, not the village schools of pre- colonial Kerala.<sup>108</sup>

Higher branch of mathematics was monopolized by Brahmins till the end of medieval period. The growth of trade and consequent development of trade centers, emergence of cash economy and the exchange of goods all necessitated every

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<sup>106</sup> Copies of the palm leaf manuscripts are preserved in Manuscript Libraries at Trivandrum, Thrippunithura and Oriental Library, Madras. It has the characteristic features of textbook aiming at the students. *Yuktibhāṣa's* first part –*General Mathematics*– was brought out by Ramavarma Thampuran and Akhileswara Aiyer, Mangalodayam, Thrissur, 1948. Present researcher obtained a copy of the text from Agith K. Sreedhar, Secretary, SPCS, Kottayam.

<sup>107</sup> Rajasekhar. P. opines that it is written in vernacular prose and thus it became the first scientific literature in Malayalam. 'Jyēstadeva's Yuktibhāṣa: Its relevance in the history of Mathematics', in N.K Sundareswaran ed., op.cit, p. 128.

<sup>108</sup> For detailed reading, see, George Gheverghese Joseph, *The Crest of Peacock: The Non European Roots of Mathematics*, (trans.) P. Ramachandra Menon, 2000, and *A passage to Infinity*, (trans.) R. Padmaraj. And also see, Ullur, *Sahithya Carithram*. Vol. II, pp, 104-139, and 459-527. Sundaresan N. K, ed., *Kerala School of Mathematics, Trajectories and Impact*, Calicut, 2014. Anil Narayanan has prepared an index titled *Stalwarts in the Kerala School of Mathematics* as an appendix to this book. . *Gaṇita Keralam* ( collection of essays)by a group of authors also describes the contributions of Mathematicians in Kerala during the later medieval period, Indological Trust Publication, Calicut, 2011

individual to acquire certain amount of knowledge in pure mathematics. There must be an agency to spread the mathematical knowledge since it required some cognitive efforts. This responsibility was taken up by the newly set up village schools and in due course, mathematics supplanted all other school subjects and got an upper hand as evident from the foreign accounts and autobiographies.

Melpathoor Narayana Bhattathiri, in a short kāvya on Cochin town, illustrates the popularity of mathematics in common parlance. Among other things, in some sections of the town, he had noticed many people engaged in computations like additions, subtraction, multiplication and divisions of *kavati*, *kakani* and *panas* and the like. He further states that these calculations were strictly adhering to the rules prescribed in *Līlavathi*.<sup>109</sup>

### **Jyā (In Trigonometry)**

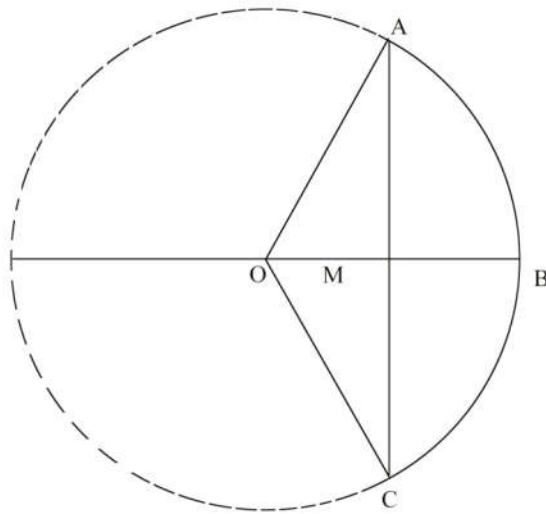
Besides basic arithmetic and pure mathematics, Jyā, a specialized computational aspect in trigonometry was also prevalent in the class room as a separate branch of study. The concept of Jyā and its computation is well explained in the fourth chapter of the *Sadratnamāla*, a classic work on astronomy by Sankaravarman of Katathanad (1774-1839).<sup>110</sup> The string tying the two ends of the bow is called *Jyā* (or rope) in Sanskrit. *Jyā aṛdha* is the half of this length. Ancient Indian people knew the exact value of Jyā for angle 30, 45, 60 and 90 degree. There were also *Kōti Jyā* and *Utkrama Jyā* in this category and closely related to the modern trigonometric function of Sine and Cosine. *Kōti Jyā* has the meaning of

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<sup>109</sup> Originally it was written in Sanskrit but Ullur has translated it in Malayalam with a title *Paṭṭerykaṇṭha Kochi*.

<sup>110</sup> Sankaravarman was the First Prince of Kadathanadu. It was under his inspiration, Charles Mathew Wish wrote a treatise on Kerala Mathematics under the title 'On Hindu quatrature of the circle and infinite series of the circumference of the diameter exhibited in four Sastras- The *Tantrasangraham*, *Yukti-Bāṣa*, *Carana Paddhathi* and *Sadratnamāla*' (1832-34). It was the first study about the significant contribution of Kerala towards the geometrical and astronomical Mathematics in English language. See, A.Vinod, *Sangamagrama Madhavan: Ādhunikagaṇithahinte Upajñathavu*, Kayamkulam, P. 69 And also See, S. Madhavan, 'Sadratnamala: An astronomical work', in *Kerala School of Mathematics: Trajectories and Impact*, Calicut, 2014, pp. 43-63.

‘point, cusp’ and specifically the curved end of a bow. In Trigonometry, it came to denote the complement of an arc to 90 degree. *Utkrama Jyā* means inverted chord. The tabular values of *Utkrama Jyā* are derived from the tabular value of *Jyā* by subtracting the elements from the radius in the reverse order. An illustration of the concept *Jyā* is given below<sup>111</sup>



ABC is an arc of a circle. AC is its *Jyā*. AM is the *Ardha Jyā*. It is seen clearly that, AM is nothing but the Sine of Angle AOB, multiplied by radius of OA. The learning of *Jyā* was necessary for the people not only in mathematical science or astronomy but in everyday life situation like sharing the landed property, sculptural engineering or building construction.

### Mathematical puzzles – Examples

One of the significant contributions of this period was that the complex arithmetic and geometrical themes that were made attractive through life related or storytelling method. Highlighting the mathematical skills of people of Kerala Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, of Danish –Halles mission-1682-1719 has written a book titled *Malabar Arithmetic*. He also authored another work ‘*Malabarische Moralla*’.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Nagarajan, L.V, *Sine of an Angle-by Hindu Mathematics*, <https://lvnaga.wordpress.com>., 3/12/2012 .

<sup>112</sup> For details, see, Albrecht Frenz, *The Protestant Mission in South India: Gundert Work in Kerala*, Tapasam, vol. VII, Issue, 3 and 4/January and April, 2012, pp. 167-197.

They were formulated in verse form called *Kārikas*. These *Kārikas* were capable of stimulating aesthetic, imaginative and other intellectual faculties of the students. About their arithmetic learning, Peter Della Valle, (1623) gives a description. It was thus:

*The boys learned the arithmetic in a strange manner. They were four, and having all taken the same lesson before the master, to get that same by heart, and repeat likewise their former lesson and not forget them, one of them sung musically with a continued tone.*<sup>113</sup>

Mathematics permeated every domain of village life. Since the leisure time activities were limited, mathematics which required no expense or physical exercise became a popular time pass activity like *Akṣraslōka* or *Samasya pūranm*. E.V .Krishnapillai, in his autobiography, recollects certain puzzles given at the village school. Some examples are given under:

*Nāgānamayutam, thurangniyutam,  
sārdham radhanām kṛitam,  
pādānam śatakōti sainya,  
nṛīpatō eka: kabaṇdhō raṇē,  
ēkam kōṭi kabandhanaṛthana,  
vidhou kiñcildwanī kinginī;  
yāmaṛdham paramatmana raghupathēr-  
kōdaṇṭagaṇṭāravam*<sup>114</sup>

They were not only composed in classical Sanskrit but native Malayalam was also used to formulate them.

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<sup>113</sup> Quoted in Alexander Walker, op.cit.

<sup>114</sup> E. V. Krishnappillai, op.cit., 624.

*Muppathu paṛthalappil muḷaca nal-*  
*paṇamūṭṭil ninnoru pallithān*  
*cānuyarṇa karēṛinān oru*  
*nāl viralkkumiṛanginān*  
*pēṛthu raṇṭukōluyarathi-*  
*luḷḷōru marathitai peśukethrnāl karēriyatutha-*  
*vāṛatu collītir*

(A lizard tries to climb up a palm tree of 32 feet. Its pace of climbing is 1 chan up and 4 viral down. How many days will it take to reach the top of tree?<sup>115</sup>)

Another example from geometry was thus: Two monkeys perching on the top of a palm tree of 100 meters height. Both want to drink water from the stream 200 meters away. The first monkey got down through the trunk of the tree itself and reached at the stream. The second one jumped diagonally to the stream. If so how high he might have jumped additionally to get the stream directly.

C. K. Musad, in his *Prāchīnagaṇitam Malayāḷathil*, presents a number of mathematical puzzles popular in Kerala during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. An example is given here to show how they were life centred. After a quarrel with her husband, a wife walks away from him. She walks one *yōjana* per day. Seven days later husband sets out in search of her. He walks 1 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  *yōjana* per day. When will (on which day) the husband meet his wife?<sup>116</sup>

### Expression of Fractions

In those days, the use of symbol for fraction was not prevalent in Kerala. Hence the pupils had to memorize separate terminology for each fraction. They were expressed in words like *Onnu* (1) *Ara* (1) *Kāl* (1/4) *Arakāl* (1/8) *Makāṇi* (1/16)

<sup>115</sup> One *viral* is equal to the length of 8 row rice and a chan comprises four *virals*. The Answer is 384 days. For steps involved in calculation, see, Musad, op.cit., pp. 120-21.

<sup>116</sup> Answers are 14 days and 21 *yōjana* respectively. *Yōjana* is the measure of distance

*Arama Arakāṇi* (1/32) *Kāṇi munthiri* (1/64) and so on. As per this practice 1/3 was expressed as *kāl oruma arama arakkani keezharayil moonu makani munthiri immi ezhu*.<sup>117</sup> Though it seems to be very difficult to memorize, people managed things effectively and system persisted until the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century CE. The lowest fraction was *Catiraṇu* and 51 *Catiraṇu*= *Thalavarav*, 21 *Thalavarav*= *Thimirima*, 22 *Thimirima*=*Aṇu*, 21 *Aṇu*= *Iimmi*, 21 *Iimmi*= *Kīḷmunthiri*, 4 *Kīḷmunthirika*= *Kīḷkani*, 4 *Kīḷmani*= *Kīḷmāvu*, 5 *Kīḷmavu*= *Kīzkal*, 4 *Kīḷkkal*= *Mēlmunthirika*, 4 *Mēlmunthirika*= *Kāni*, 4 *Kāni*= *Māvu* 20 *Māvu*= one (1).

**Fractions (Malayalam Letter Numarals)**

ലക്കം Fractions		ലക്കം Fractions		ലക്കം Fractions	
കി	കീഴ് മുന്തിരി	൮	ഒമ്പതെ $\frac{1}{20}$	൯	നാല
ല	അരയ്യോണി	൮	„	൯	മൂക്കാൽ $\frac{3}{4}$
൫	„ തെള	൮	ഇരുപതെ $\frac{1}{10}$	൯	„
൫	„ അയ്യോണൽ	൮	„	൯	„
൯	കാൽ	൮	മൂന്നതെ $\frac{3}{20}$	൯	മൂക്കാൽ മൊകാണി
൯	അര	൮	മൂന്നാണി $\frac{3}{16}$	൯	„
൯	„ മൂക്കാൽ	൮	നാല $\frac{1}{5}$		
൯	മുന്തിരി $\frac{1}{320}$	൮	മൊകാണി $\frac{1}{16}$		
൮	അരയ്യോണി $\frac{1}{160}$	൮	„		
൮	കാണി $\frac{1}{8}$	൮	അരയ്യോണൽ $\frac{1}{8}$		
൮	അരമ $\frac{1}{40}$	൮	„		
൮	„	൮	കാൽ $\frac{1}{4}$		
൮	മൂക്കാണി $\frac{3}{80}$	൮	അര $\frac{1}{2}$		

(Source: L. A. Ravivarma, *Keraḷathile Prācīnalipikal*)

Indigenous mathematical system termed big numbers as *Kōti* =10<sup>7</sup> *Mahākōti*=10<sup>8</sup> *Śanku*= 10<sup>9</sup> *Pūvu*= 10<sup>10</sup>, *Kalpam*=10<sup>11</sup> *Mahākalpam*=10<sup>12</sup> *Dhūḷi*=10<sup>13</sup> *mahūadhūli* =10<sup>14</sup> *Veḷlam*= 10<sup>15</sup> *Mahaveḷlam* =10<sup>16</sup>, *Paṛardham*= 10<sup>17</sup>. Although the students were trained from *Cathiraṇu* to *Paṛardham*, in common parlance, the values

<sup>117</sup> Krishnappillai, E. V, op.cit., p.627



between  $10^7$  and  $10^5$  ( $1/320 \times 320 = 10^5$ ) were used as highest and lowest respectively.<sup>118</sup>

### **Kaṇakkadhikāram**

*Kaṇakkadhikāram* was a mathematics text prevalent not only in Kerala but Karnataka and Tamil Nadu also.<sup>119</sup> Almost all the versions begin with an invocatory verse to Lord Gaṇapati.<sup>120</sup> The language was the mixture of Tamil and Malayalam so it is very difficult to understand the meaning of many portions.<sup>121</sup> In the Malayalam printed version (1862), the author is mentioned as Said Mavanan Mappila.<sup>122</sup> He himself admits that the present text was compiled under the instruction of a European, Shepter. However, C. K. Musad who studied about this text in details pointed that the content and language were older than the publication period.<sup>123</sup> He also found out that most of the mathematical riddles described in the autobiography of E. V. Krishnappillai were in fact from the *Kaṇakkadhikāram*. Mathematical problems given in the text explicitly show that it drew much from *Līlāvati*. The entire text is divided in to many sections like *Ponkaṇakku*, (measure of gold) *Pākkukaṇakku*, (arecanut) *Nelkkaṇakku* (related to paddy or rice).

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<sup>118</sup> For the detailed reading, see, L A Ravivarma, *Keralathile Prachina Lipikal (1938)*, Thrissur, 1971 and also see, C.K. Musad, *Pracheenaganitam Malayalathil*, Trivandrum, 1982 pp. 9-10.

<sup>119</sup> It is being treated as a Drāvida Padhyakṛiti.

<sup>120</sup> Paṇakkarināakmītum pataṛcitaichhivanupōlum  
Piṇakkarutata cellam peruma chērnnoḷi viḷankum  
Kaṇakkathikāramennu kavitai kattiyampuvānai  
Thuṇakka nalkarimukathōn thuyarḷketathoḷintuvante- See, Ullur, Kerala Sahitya Caritram, Vol. II, 524-25.

<sup>121</sup> Present researcher obtained some portions of *Kaṇakkadhikāram* from Prof. Roy Wagnor of ETH, Switzerland and its language has more akin to Tamil and quite different from the Mavanan's edition of 1862. Present researcher notices that, though the content is same, there are certain changes in the wordings in the invocatory verse cited as Note No, 120. It clearly indicates that different versions of *Kaṇakkadhikāram* prevalent in Kerala during that time.

<sup>122</sup> 'Kaṇakkadhikāram thanna kanivōtinnulakillōr  
sakalvum kantathinte sāramangaṛivatina  
vivaramayulḷathellām viravotumolḷiṇṇatane  
Kollamangonnil ninna kollumnāyirathi  
muppathu ettatholam murayātāyi cenna kalam  
Mester Shaiptter saivinte menmayḷḷrulināle  
Māvan kaṇakkatine maṛavilatatiṇṇatame'

<sup>123</sup> C. K. Musad, *Prāchinagaṇitham Malayālathil*, Thiruvanthapuram, 1982, p. 77

### Multiplication Table-Fractions

$\frac{3}{4} \cdot \frac{3}{4}$	=	$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{16}$	=	$\frac{9}{16}$
$\frac{3}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{2}$	=	$\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8}$	=	$\frac{3}{8}$
$\frac{3}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{4}$	=	$\frac{1}{16}$	=	$\frac{3}{16}$
$\frac{3}{4} \cdot \frac{3}{16}$	=	$\frac{1}{10} + \frac{3}{80} + \frac{1}{320}$	=	$\frac{9}{64}$
$\frac{3}{4} \cdot \frac{3}{20}$	=	$\frac{1}{10} + \frac{1}{80}$	=	$\frac{9}{80}$
$\frac{3}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{16}$	=	$\frac{3}{80} + \frac{1}{160} + \frac{1}{320}$	=	$\frac{3}{64}$
$\frac{3}{4} \cdot \frac{3}{80}$	=	$\frac{1}{40} + \frac{1}{320}$	=	$\frac{9}{320}$
$\frac{3}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{160}$	=	$\frac{1}{320} + \frac{1}{320} + \frac{1}{2}$	=	$\frac{3}{640}$

(Source: C. K. Musad, Prāhīna Gaṇitham Malayāḷhil)

### Kaṇakkusāram

Ullur S. Parameswara Aiyar in his *Kerala Sahitya Caritram* mentions some of the mathematics texts written Maṇiprāvaḷam language.<sup>124</sup> Among them the prominent one was Kaṇakkusāram by an anonymous author.<sup>125</sup> It was not an independent work but highly influenced by *Līlāvati* and *Kaṇakkadhikāram* and the text itself expresses its courtesy to the previous works<sup>126</sup>. From this it can be assumed that Kaṇakkusāram was a later work. The text not only ask questions but interpretations are also given cantos form. It deals with such topics as measurement of paddy, land, gold, timber, addition, multiplication, subtraction and division. The text also gives the the calculations involved in the circumference and diameter of the

<sup>124</sup> Ullur, op.cit.

<sup>125</sup> C. Achuthamenon published an edition of Kaṇakkusarm, Madras University, 1948.

<sup>126</sup> Līlavatimapiṇakkadhikāravum ka-  
ntennōtumalguruparanjatumōrtukondu  
bālaprōbadakaranayamaṇiprāvaḷai-  
ruktamāyālpahṛidayenkaṇakkusāram.

circle, Roots and Square roots are also explained. These aspects are evident from the below given portion.

*Onninte kīlu mēlumitangali kātam kaṅju kalumata:  
Trairāasikavum ponnum maravum Porinellalakkukilapatavum  
Sankalanadikalubayam micaram pinne Vaṭṭavum viṭṭam  
Villum ṅaṅum vilomamangiṣṭa- karmamāyavayum  
Kūttuka, kaḷaka, guṅikka, harikka tatha vaṅgamangu mūḷikka  
Gaṅikka ghanamūlamichonna va parakarmamottotukkath*

### **Kaṅakkuchōdhyam**

Ullur mentions another mathematics text of which author is anonymous like the Kaṅakkusārm.<sup>127</sup> It is written in vernacular Malayalam and contains many interesting puzzles having sexual connotations. An example is given below:

*Pathumaruvayassullōru maṅkatannuṭal pulkuvān  
Pathumonpathumeṭṭumaṅcu paṅam kotukkanmenkilō  
Pathumaṅcumoraṅcumevamatulla maṅkyē vēntukil  
Pathiyōtu kaṅkinethira kāṅamuntu kaṅakkare<sup>-128</sup>*

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<sup>127</sup> Ullur, op.cit, 526-27.

<sup>128</sup> If one has to pay 24 paṅam for getting a girl aged 16 to concubine, what amount is to be paid for a girl of age 20 ?.

### Division- Malayalam Letter Numerals

$\frac{൨൪}{൩൦} [ie \frac{3}{4} / \frac{1}{320}] = ൨ ൩ ൪൩ [ie 240]$
$\frac{൪൪}{൩൦} [ie \frac{1}{5} / \frac{1}{320}] = ൩ ൩ ൪൪ [ie 64]$
$\frac{൩൩}{൩൦} [ie \frac{3}{16} / \frac{1}{320}] = ൩ ൩ [ie 60]$
$\frac{൩൩}{൩൦} [ie \frac{3}{20} / \frac{1}{320}] = ൪൩ ൩ [ie 48]$
$\frac{൩൩}{൩൦} [ie \frac{1}{10} / \frac{1}{320}] = ൩ ൩ ൪ [ie 32]$
$\frac{൨൨}{൩൦} [ie \frac{1}{16} / \frac{1}{320}] = ൩ ൩ [ie 20]$
$\frac{൪൦}{൩൦} [ie \frac{1}{20} / \frac{1}{320}] = ൩ ൩ [ie 16]$
$\frac{൪൦}{൩൦} [ie \frac{1}{40} / \frac{1}{320}] = ൩ [ie 8]$

(Source: C. K. Musad, Prāhīna Gaṇitham Malayāṭhil)

### CHANGES IN NATIVE LANGUAGE

By around 16<sup>th</sup> century, there had been an unprecedented interest in Sanskrit among the people of Kerala. Consequently the village schools started to give over importance to classical Sanskrit. Malayalam or Tamil had hardly any place in their curriculum as language studies. It became a passion as well as fashion. Proficiency in *Dēvabhāṣa* instilled them more self respect and confidence. It enabled them to stand equal with the Brahmins in different scholastic domains. Early Malayalm appears to have had 30 distinct phonemic units (12 vowels and 18 consonants) as in Tamil.<sup>129</sup> The

<sup>129</sup> For detailed reading, see A. C. Sekhar, *Evolution of Malayalam*, Deccan College Dissertation Series, Poona, 1953. Also see, Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Keralabhasayute vikasaparinamangal*, Part I, (1953), Kottayam, 1969.

immediate result was that the Dravidian phonology and script (*VatteJuttu*) became quite insufficient even for effective expression of ideas pertaining to everyday life.<sup>130</sup>

The village schools with overwhelming Sanskrit studies accelerated the Sanskritization process in Kerala. In the early stages of these developments, in common parlance old Malayalam continued its earlier status, but in academic parlance, Sanskrit or Tamil held sway. Malayalam underwent some significant changes as it adopted more and more words with Sanskrit roots. This went up to a stage in which discriminating between Malayalam and Sanskrit words got confused.<sup>131</sup> This situation resulted in the belief that Malayalam was not originated from Tamil but from Sanskrit.<sup>132</sup>

With these developments in the language, there was a growing tendency among the native scholars to get all sorts of knowledge, hitherto canceled in Sanskrit, into common tongue. The regional political authorities called *Swarūpam-s* as well as prominent feudal families patronized literary activities of this kind and the period produced a number of original or retold versions of high quality works in different disciplines.<sup>133</sup> About which Alexander Walker of wrote thus:

*It has been long the practice in Malabar to translate the Sanskrit writing into the common tongue, and transcribe them in to vernacular characters. By this means knowledge has been more generally diffused among the inhabitants; it is less confined to any order or class, and people are better acquainted with the mysteries and dogmas of their religion. This spirit of enquiry and of liberty has most probably been affected by the sooders (Śūdra-s) who compose the great body of population, and who were in procession of the principal authority and property in the country.*<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> M. R. Raghava Varier, *K.A.S.*, 2010, p. 66.

<sup>131</sup> For more about the influence of Sanskrit in Kerala Society, see, M. R. Raghava Varier, 'Samskritavum Keralīyasamūhavum', in *Ammavaḷikkeralam*, 2006, pp. 102-108.

<sup>132</sup> 'Samskṛitahimagiriḷaḷita/Drāvidavanīkalindajāmiḷita/kēraḷabhāṣaganga/viharahatumehrīl saraswadasanga' - Kovunni Nedungadi, *Keralakoumudi*, (prarambam).

<sup>133</sup> *Ālathūr Maṇipṛavaḷam*, a text on medicine, is one of the examples for such works.

<sup>134</sup> Alexander Walker., op. cit.

## Adoption of New Script

The *sanskritisation* process created many issues in the existing *Vaṭṭeḷuttu* script. The eighteen signs for denoting consonants in that script represented the first and fifth sounds of the *varga-s* (hard and nasal) and the sonant *ya, ra, la* and *va* as well as four peculiar Dravidian sounds, the lingual *la*, the retroflex fricative *la*, the hard *ra* and alveolar *na*. Ligatures or compounds letters comprising of different *varga-s* such as *kta, psa, ksha, bja*, etc. are not known to the system of *Vaṭṭeḷuttu*.<sup>135</sup> But in all Indo-Aryan languages including Sanskrit, aspirated, soft, unaspirated are also inherently present. This necessitated the adoption of a new script, capable of denoting the new Malayalam sounds with Sanskrit tone. A. C. Sekhar writes: Phenomenal increase in the popularity of Sanskrit studies in Kerala during the old Malayalam period (as evidenced by the literary compositions like Koutaliyam bhāṣa, Unnunīlisandēsam etc.) seems to have lead to the adaptation of the Grantha symbols for the exact representation of Indo-Aryan phonemes in literary writing.<sup>136</sup>

## Ārya Eḷuttu

The transition of script will be understood while noticing the initiation ceremony- *Vidhyāramba*- of the children. Earlier, as the first letters on the rice, they used to write the auspicious word '*Namōthu Cīntam*' which means obeisance to Lord *Jina*.<sup>137</sup> It indicates the non- Brahmin or Sramana tradition of alphabets in south India. In the early medieval *Vaṭṭeḷuttu* inscriptions of Kerala, Sanskrit words were written with a distinct script called *Pallava Grantha*. Thus we have many bilingual inscriptions. The present challenge, because of increasing Sanskrit influence, was encountered with the adoption of a variant form of *Grantha* called *Ārya Eḷuttu*. Many of the letters in modern Malayalam bears close resemblance to the Grantha of 4<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> For more details, see M. R. Raghava Varier, *KAS*, p. 65.

<sup>136</sup> A. C. Sekhar, *Evolution of Malayalam*, Deccan College Dissertation Series, Poona, 1953, p. 10.

<sup>137</sup> Elamkulam, 'Boudharum, Jainarum' in *Sanskārathinte Naḷikakkallukal*, Kottayam, 1964, p. 95.

century of Kollam Era rather than the Vaṭṭeḷuttu of the same period- a fact that may lead to the influence that such letters are developments of corresponding Grantha symbols.<sup>138</sup> Tuñcathu Eḷuthachhan, the author of *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* (16<sup>th</sup> century CE) is believed to be the father of the present Malayalam script. It is probable that, Eḷuthachhan popularized the habit of writing Malayalam in the *Grantha* script which was formerly used for Sanskrit.<sup>139</sup> Excessive use of Arya Eḷuttu in Malayalam writing ultimately pushed back the Vaṭṭeḷuttu in to oblivion. In Vaṭṭeḷuttu, many sounds were represented by same letter and many letters were employed to represent the same sound. This led to great confusion. This also caused it's supplant by *Ārya Eḷuttu*.<sup>140</sup> Certainly, the village schools might have played a significant role to make the Vaṭṭeḷuttu obsolete and made Arya Eḷuttu, a popular one.

### Grantha Script

ക	കൃ	ഇ	ഈ	ഉ	ഊ	ക	ഖ	ഗ	ഘ	ജ
a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	k	kh	g	gh	ñ
ഝ	ഞ	ണ	ണഃ			ച	ചഃ	ജ	ജഃ	ട
ṛ	ṝ	ḷ	ḹ			c	ch	j	jh	ṅ
ഈ	ഈ	ഌ	ഌ			ട	ഠ	ഡ	ഡഃ	ന
e	ai	o	au			t	ṭh	d	ḍh	n
ഊ	ഊ					പ	പഃ	ബ	ബഃ	മ
ഋ	ഠ					y	r	l	v	ḷ
ṁ	ḥ					ശ	ശഃ	സ	ഹ	

<sup>138</sup> T.A.S., Vol. III, p. 49.

<sup>139</sup> It is worth to remember that the same kind of fatherhood is attributed to Emperor Asoka in the case of *Brāhmi*, the mother of all Indian script. A script cannot be enforced by a single authority through an executive order. Before reaching at the mature stage, each script had to undergo different evolutionary stages. These aspects were discussed in Buhler, *Indian Palaeography*, 1904, D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy* (1965) Ahmmed H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, 1966 and C. Sivaramamurthi, *Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Script*, 1966.

<sup>140</sup> For example letters like *pa* and *va*, were written in similar way. Distinguishing *ka* and *cha* in many occasions were also difficult. See T.A.S., Vol. I, No. XIV, *Specimen of Vaṭṭeḷuttu Inscriptions*, pp. 395-431 and also see, Dr. L. A. Ravivarma, *Pracīna Kerala Lipikal*, (1938), Thrissur, 1971.

As Grantha script and Sanskrit language are indispensably connected, certain Muslims and Christians were unhappy with the new script and hence continued Vaṭṭeḷuttu in their daily transactions and accounting for some more periods. Their dialects and literature were comparatively less influenced by Sanskrit when compared to those of the Hindu upper caste. Because of this reason, Vaṭṭeḷuttu was sometimes called *Mappilavaṭṭeḷuttu*.<sup>141</sup> Another script prevalent in the later part of pre colonial period was *Kōleḷuttu*. It was not a distinct script but a degenerated form of Vaṭṭeḷuttu.<sup>142</sup>

## GRAMMAR STUDIES

The child begins the Sanskrit studies with basic texts like *Siddharūpa*, *Amarakōśa*, *Bālaprabōdana*, *Srīrāmodanta* and so on. It is desirable to discuss each one of these in detailed manner.<sup>143</sup>

### Siddharūpa

Before Siddhānta Koumuti became the popular text book of Sanskrit grammar, *Rūpāvātara* by *Dharmakīrti* of Srilanka was widely used in Kerala. *Siddharūpa* drew much from *Rūpāvātara*.<sup>144</sup> It is a collection of paradigmata of the Sanskrit inflections. Like *Amarakōśa* it was also a compulsory text for all students. Dr. N.P. Unni pointed out the Buddhist influence of both works and argued that the credit of Sanskritization in Kerala heavily goes to the Buddhist tradition and not to the Brahmanical.<sup>145</sup> *Siddharūpa* is a primary level text designed with a view to easy understanding of the rules of Sanskrit grammar. It begins with a salutation to Lord Śiva. Complex grammatical aspects like Structure, *Lakāraṭha*, *Sanddhi-s*, *Samāsa-s*

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<sup>141</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala*, p. 398, note no. 72.

<sup>142</sup> Changes in the nature of scripts are mainly due to the changes in the use of writing materials.

<sup>143</sup> Present researcher expresses his gratitude to Dr. M. Narayanan, Assistant Professor of Sanskrit, Govt. Arts and Science College, Kozhikode for introducing basic features of Sanskrit Grammar and allied topics.

<sup>144</sup> *In Bengal it was known as Sarasvada or the art of speaking with elegance.*

<sup>145</sup> N. P. Unni, 'Saṃskṛitapaitṛikam', in Panmana Ramachandran Nair, ed., *Kerala Samskāra Paṭhanangal*, Trissur, 2011, p. 68.



are redacted to a simple and lucid manner so that it could be easily understood by even an average student. One Rajaṛshi is believed to be the compiler of this small but most popular basic text. A noun form in Sanskrit language can be used to create at least 21 different meanings through 7 *vibhakti-s* and 3 *vacana-s*. *Siddharūpa* helps to understand changed meanings for all these 21 sounds in different contexts. It also explains the statistical positions of sounds with their implicational validity.<sup>146</sup>

### Amarakōśa

To determine the gender of the Sanskrit word, usually the *Amarakōśa*- a lexicon by nature- was widely used.<sup>147</sup> It is actually the vocabulary of synonymous terms and its authorship is ascribed to *Amarasimhan* and hence named after him. However the author himself calls the text as *Nāmalinganuśasanam*. It is probable that this work was compiled during a period between the first and the sixth century CE. It has also got another name *Jagat pīta* as a title of honor. The entire nature of this work is evident from the given verses popular across Kerala during that time;

*Padham piricantha-linga-*  
*Sūcanam nalkiyaṛthavum*  
*Saṃsudha mūlavum cērum*  
*Amaram sujanapriyam*

<sup>146</sup> It was Pānini who crystallized the rules of Sanskrit grammar. He provided a concrete basis for it through the work *Aṣṭadhyāyī*. Pānini attributed phonetic value to more than 2200 etymological roots.

<sup>147</sup> Amarakōśa's first section was printed in Rome in Tamil language, 1798. H. T. Coolbrook published the full text with English translation in 1808 from Serapore. The French edition came out in 1839 by Dos Long Shamps. The Sanskrit Edition was published in 1831 from Calcutta. The *vargas* under first section are: *Swargavargam*, *Vyōma*, *Dwivarga*, *Kalavarga*, *Dhīvargam*, *sabdadi varga*, *Nāṭya vargam*, *Patala bhōgi vargam*, *Narakavargam*, *Varivargam*. The second section includes: *Bhūvargam*, *Uravargam*, *Śailavargam*, *Vanavargam*, *Ouśadavargam*, *Mṛgavargam*, *Sūdravargam*, *Vaisya vargam*, *Brāhmana varga*. In the third section: *Viśeṣa vīgna vargam*, *Sangīrna vargam*, *Nanartha vargam*, *Aviya vargam*, *Lingāti samgraha vargam*.

In Sanskrit, the gender is being attributed to the sounds and not to the meaning as followed in other languages. Hence, a thorough knowledge in *Amarakōśa* was essential for the mastery in Sanskrit. No other dictionary in Sanskrit has enjoyed so much popularity as *Amarakōśa* did. Hence in our village schools, as a prerequisite to the advance level learning, *Amarakōśa* was also insisted on, besides, the *Siddharūpa*.

*Amarakōśa* has three *kāṇṭa*-s or sections. a. *Swargadikāṇṭa* b. *Bhūmadikāṇṭa* c. *Sāmānyakāṇṭa*. The first *kāṇṭa* contains 10 *vaṅga*-s, the second and third have eleven and six respectively. There are total 1533 verses in all these sections and nearly 13000 words are assigned meaning. All these are in *Anuṣṭippu vṛitha*. They were composed in the format of lyrics with rhythmically and hence reduced the effort of memorization to a considerable level. As it was a stupendous one, the entire text was not been taught by many teachers.<sup>148</sup> Kunjikkuttan Thampuran in his historical *Kāya* titled '*Keralam*' mentions the popularity of *Amarakōśa* in these lines:

*Bālakarṅkamarakōśa pāṭhavum*

*Cālave gaṇita vākya pāṭhavum*

*Śīlamanithinu jāti bhēta-*

*Llalayanglilaṭacu caṭṭamām*<sup>149</sup>

The verse given above makes clear that *Amarakōśa* was taught prior to mathematics learning. Further it consolidates present argument that caste rigidity was not fully enforced in the elementary level of teaching -learning sector. Thampuran explicitly states that everybody learnt *Amaram* and Mathematics regardless of their caste identity.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>148</sup> K.V.M , op.cit., p, 5.

<sup>149</sup> Kunjikkuttan Thampuran, *Kēraḷam*, Sargam II, Verse, 67, Malayalam University, Tirur, 2017.

<sup>150</sup> This can be corroborated with the information given by Samuel Ambattu who was born in 1863. Thathamangalm of the erstwhile Cochin State. Kodungallur Kovilam was also within the Cochin state, see K.K.N. Kurup, *Suviśeṣam Uthara Kēraḷathil*, Kottayam, 2009, p. 26.

Siddharūpa and Amarakōśa were also continued to be taught in some of the modern schools under Madras Presidency. Garthwaite, the Deputy Inspector of schools, South Division, writes that: Both are (*Siddharūpa and Amarakōśa*) much used and valued by natives, so that they are almost the *first* thing children learn in native schools. This is a mistake, the works have nevertheless a real value and a proper place, and if intelligibly taught, are exceedingly useful in the study of Malayalam poetry and paraphrasing and composition- I have therefore inserted them in the list of text books for those classes that study poetry.<sup>151</sup>

### **Samāsacakṛam**

It is a part of *Siddhānta Koumuṭhi*, composed with a view to teaching the rules of *Samāsa*. It deals with the art of combining two or more distinct words and making a single word. But it follows certain prescribed norms. This text speaks of such technical details. There are five types of *Samāsa-s*. They are *Kēvala Samāsa*, *Aṇuyībhava samāsam*, *Tatpuruṣa samāsam*, *Bahuvrīhi samāsam* and *Dvaṇḍha samāsam*.

### **Srīramōdantham**

It is a Sanskrit kāvya illustrating the epic story Rāmāyaṇa in an abridged form and was used in the village schools as a primary level textbook. It was the first book students learnt after the acquisition of a satisfactory progress in alphabets. The book consisted of seven *Kāṇṭas* with 153 śloka. While teaching it *padacheda*, *artha*, *vīgraha*, *aṇuyaya*, *aṇuyārtha* and *lakṣṇas* were described in detail. The text begins with the śloka:

‘*Srīpatim Pṛanipathyāham Srīvatsānkitavakṣam*

*Srīrāmōdanthamāghysyē srīvātmīki pṛakīrthism*’.

<sup>151</sup> L. Garthwaite, *Suggestions Likely to be Useful in Teaching Malayalam* (hand book for teachers), Stolz and Reuther, Mangalore, 1868, p. 5.

## Bālaprabhōdhanam

Another work taught in the village school was Bālaprabhōdhanam. As the name itself indicates, it was written with a view enlightening the young students. The rules of grammar and features of Sanskrit language are given in the verse form. However the text of Bālaprabhōdhanam contains many Malayalam words and that made learning of it easier than the texts mentioned above. The nature of the text is evident from the second canto:

*Karṭhrukriyabētham*

*Vibaktyārthantharangaḷum*

*Bhāṣayaha collunnēn*

*Bālanmaraṣivānaham*

## PRALPPERU OR KAṬAPYATI (Numeral Notation by Letters)

This was the technique widely used in Kerala to convert numerals in to meaningful words or verses for the easier culcation. It was an advanced version of Aryabaṭṭa's word-numeral system. With this system big number of years and dates were easily accommodated in the literary verses or in inscriptions. Since the rule of making *Parallpperu* was simple, it became a common practice.

Kadathattu Sankaravarmathampuran, in his *Sadratnamāla* formulated the rules of making the Kaṭapayāti/parallppēru thus:

*Nañavaścaśunyani śankya: Kaṭapayātaya:*

*Miṣṛerupandhyahata śankhyānaca cintyōhalaswara:*

*Kṣīrabdiṛgadyavarṣnt kōlambabda: kalēsama:*

*Dhī soukyagādya Śakābdavamaṛdhyarkkbūmōtbhava:<sup>152</sup>*

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<sup>152</sup> Sankaravarmadevan, was born in 1774 and hailed from, Kadathanadu, near Vatakara. His work *Sadratnamāla* was composed in Kali year 4921 (1819)

The information in the above verse can be presented in a table form

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
ka	kha	ga	gha	ña	cha	chha	ja	jha	ña
ṭa	ṭha	ḍa	ḍha	ṇa	ta	tha	da	dha	na
pa	pha	ba	bha	ma					
ya	ra	la	va	śa	ṣa	sa	ha	ḷa	l/ṛ

The above table indicates that to denote numerals 1 to 5 there were 4 alphabets. ka, ṭa, pa, ya= 1 kha, ṭha, pha, ra =2 and the like. From digit 6 to 9 there were only 3 letters. cha, ta, ṣa=6, chha, tha, sa=7. To denote 0 there were 16 vowels and 4 consonants including ña, na, ḷ and ṛa. In the case of ligatures, the value is attributed to the consonant attached to the vowel sound. /k/, /l/, /n/ (cillakṣara-s) are neither zero nor numeral.

This system provides an opportunity to assign more than one letter to one numeral and nullify certain other letters as value less and thereby flexible in framing meaningful words. In case of ligatures, consonant attached to a non-vowel will not be value less. Kaṭapayāti system follows the practice of *angānāmvāmatōgati*.<sup>153</sup> Melpathur Narayana Battathiri in his masterpiece *Nārāyaṇīyam* has given its completion date as *Āyūrarōgyasoukyam* in *Paralppēru*. When it is decoded, we would get 1712210<sup>th</sup> day of Kali Era. This can be converted to exact Kali Era by dividing it with 360<sup>1/4</sup> and arrive at Kali year 4687 plus 9 months. From this, 3926 is to be subtracted as it was the starting day of Kollam era. At end, we understand that the work was completed on 9 months after I st. *Mētam*, 761. ME.<sup>154</sup>

Further, *Paralppēru* was used to remember fractions, and the ratio between area of circle and diameter. The verse for this was given here under:

<sup>153</sup> Reading the numerals in reverse order.

<sup>154</sup> For knowing the computational steps involved in Kali era/Kali day, see Changapuḷa Krishnappillai, *Pañcangaganitam*, Kannur, 2013, chapter. XI And also see, Elamkulam, op.cit., p. 405, Note no. 2.

*Naṛmarajyēna vaṭṭathe-*  
*perukka saraṅgavum*  
*kiṭical sūkṣmamām viṭṭam*  
*vaṭṭathinnu maṛicumām*<sup>155</sup>

Memorizing and recalling the large mathematical formula and allied things were always difficult for the students and even the learned scholars. There were no note books or slates to work out the problems. Again it was difficult to carry the palm leaves wherever one goes. In order to overcome these difficulties they put complex mathematical formulas in the *Paralppēru*. Naturally, in village school curriculum *Paralppēru* or *Kaṭapayati* system got a prominent place.

#### **Bhūtasankya (Numeral notation by words)**

Bhūtasankya was another method widely used in mathematics and astronomical texts since the time of Sakaranarayaṇiyam in Kerala. In it, quite different from Kaṭapayāti, the words-not the letters- are given the numeral values. The numbers are expressed by name of things, beings, ideas, which naturally or in accordance with the teaching of the śāstras, contents or numbers. This system of numeral notation, of course, has been invented in order to facilitate the composition of metrical handbooks of astronomy and so forth.<sup>156</sup> We know that most of the works of the ancient period were composed in verse form and if the same word is repeated for the same number in the text part, it would be monotonous and less attractive to the readers and students. Thus the ancient scholars attributed different words,<sup>157</sup> but meaningful, for denoting the same number. Synonymous words were also given the same value. Since earth or moon is only one in the universe, they are given the value of 1. Similarly 2 could be expressed either as eyes, legs or ears. When a word appears

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<sup>155</sup> According to Kaṭapayati, *naṛmarajyam* can be decoded as na= o, ma=5, ra=2, ya=1 This can be read as 1250. In *Saralangam* sa =7, ra=2, la= 9, ga=3 and this is 3927. If 3927 is divided by 1250, the ratio between circumference and diameter can be found out.

<sup>156</sup> George Buhler, *Indian Paleography*, (1904), New Delhi, 1980, p. 103.

<sup>157</sup> In the earlier period, words selected from Sanskrit language only but in due course, vernacular words were also accepted.

as Vēda in a mathematical or astronomical text or verse, it implies the number 4 since there are only four vēdas. Sankaranarayana, in his *Vivarāṇa*, calculates the solar eclipse of CE 866 by using the Bhūtasankya. It is thus:

*‘angartwambaranaṇdavēdamanudiryānēdināṅane’*

This statement can be decoded as angam= 6, ṛitu=6, ambaram=0, nanda-s=9, vēdas=4, manu=14. When it is combined, we get 6609414. By the rule of Angānavāmatogati, it should be read from right to left and hence the *kalidina* for the day of eclipse is 4149066. When it is converted in to Kollam Era, it is 25<sup>th</sup> Mithunam, 41ME. This corresponds to 16<sup>th</sup> June, 866.<sup>158</sup>

During the later period, vernacular Malayalam was also used to create Bhūtasankya numerals. For example, numeral 2 is expressed in different words in the *karika* (verse) as

*Cīrakum, puḷayute karayum*

*Taruṇīkucavum, mṛigangalthan kombum*

*Sādhāraṇa kaṇ, kāthenniva*

*Paṛayām raṇtukonṭennum*<sup>159</sup>

## ELEMENTARY ASTROLOGY

Kerala society in the past days had given prime importance to astrological factors. It was believed that entire human activities were determined and controlled by stars and position of planets (*navagrahas*). The total life span was estimated to 120 years and believed to be under the strict control of these *navagraha-s*. To propitiate them, rituals and offerings were often made.<sup>160</sup> Astrological knowledge

<sup>158</sup> See, Elamkulam, *Sthanuraviyute Kalam*, in Selected works, ed. N. Sam, 2005, Trivandrum, pp. 405-6. Also see, the editor’s note by V. R. Parameswarappillai, in *Prāchīnabhārathīya lipisastravum, Malayalalipiyutevikāsavum*, S. J. Mangalam, Trivandrum, 1997, p. 101

<sup>159</sup> *Chīraku* (wings of birds)= 2, *Puḷayute kara* (banks of river)=2, *Tharuṇīkucam* (breasts of ladies)=2, *Kaṇ* (eyes)=2, *Kāthu* (ears) =2

<sup>160</sup> For details see, P. Narayanan Nair, op.cit., p. 19.

was used in every important event in life like birth, death, marriage, christening, to give first solid food for him, to travel, to take medicine, planting trees, sowing seed, for tonsure, to start journey and so on. It was difficult to get the professional astrologer in each and every occasion; hence, for every individual, it was necessary to have some basic knowledge in the subject.

F. Fawcett in his *Nayars of Malabar* remarked that the ordinary astrologer of *Kanisan* or *Panikkar* caste is also, very often the school master. He is requested in connection with every social function, religious or other rites and rituals related to birth.<sup>161</sup>

The Astrology curriculum consisted of

- a) Gaṇitha, which treats the constellations
- b) Samhita, which explains the origin of the constellations, comets, falling stars, and earth quake.
- c) Hōra, by which the fate of man is explained.

### **Nakṣtra-s and Thithi-s**

Since it is the sustenance of astrologer cum teacher, most probably the third section Hora, was not a part of ordinary curriculum. Students were trained to find out *Nakṣthra-s* and *Thithi-s*. Before the adoption of Babylonian or Solar Zodiac, Indians had been using certain groups of stars or asterisms called *Nakṣthra-s* to mark the path of moon from day to night.<sup>162</sup> The *Nakṣthra-s* give very roughly the right position of the moon by indicating its proximity to the star and the constellation. They were named after the most prominent star contained within the two limits of a *nakshtra*. They were used to name the days. The duration of each *Nakṣtra* is 1.01191 days (1day and 18 minutes).

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<sup>161</sup> Fawcett, *Nayars of Malabar*, (1901), New Delhi, 1995, p. 305.

<sup>162</sup> The *Nakshatras* together sometimes called the Lunar Zodiac.



The difference of the longitude of the moon and the sun determines the astronomical *thithis*. When this difference lies between 0° and 12°, it is the first *thithi* (it is called *pr̥atipata*). When the difference lies between 12° to 24°, it is the second *thithi* (*dvitiya*). There are thus thirty *thithis* in each lunar month.

The *nakṣtra-s* and *thithi-s* were believed to determine every Hindu ritual, ceremony, feast, fast and festival.<sup>163</sup> Hence due importance was given such astrological and astronomical features in the village curriculum. Changampuḷa Krishnappillai, the well known romantic poet of Malayalam, has authored a text book titled “*Pañcaga Gaṇitam*’ for the use of learners. This book illustrates the idea about the curriculum of astrological studies in Kerala.<sup>164</sup> .

#### **Kāladīpakam, and Muhūrthapathavi (Astronomical Works)**

The two important works taught in the village schools as astronomical text were Kāladīpakam Bālaśankaram (715 ME) Muhūrthapathavi Bālaśankaram (729 ME), and both were written by Maḷamangalatu Sankaran Nambutiri. Kāladīpakam Bālaśankaram was the elaborated elucidation of the Kāladīpakam already in circulation. It has three sections and first part deals with general muhūrta-s<sup>165</sup> , and the second part, about the muhūrta-s of *Ṣōdasakṛiya* and final part explains the muhūrta-s of house construction, installation of idols, to start journey, tillage and the like. There are total 57 chapters in this work.

Muhūrthapathavi Bālaśankaram was the annotated version of Muhūrthapathavi (in prose form) by Mathur Nambutiri. The subject matter of this work is also similar to the Kāladīpakam mentioned above.

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<sup>163</sup> Jagadish singh Gholt, *Historical Calendars*, Jodhpur, 1990, pp. 3-4.

<sup>164</sup> The Book remained unpublished for many decades after the demise of the author. Recently the press copy was recovered and published by Edakkad Narayanan, Kairaly Books Kannur, 2013.

<sup>165</sup> Muhūrta is the exact auspicious time for undertaking some important events in every day life.

## OTHER FEATURES OF VILLAGE SCHOOLS

### Punishment

The dominant philosophy that shaped the schools of ancient and medieval period was idealism. Since idealism hinges human personality to be the most important, it wants education to aim at the development of human personality culminating in self realization. Hence they stressed on the value of discipline. The teachers of the day did not favor the notion of allowing the child to loiter but to guide his freedom. For this reason, the child activities were strictly restrained in the learning places. However, in course of time, these high ideals were totally ignored and corporal punishments became the central feature of the village education. Almost all the autobiographies of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century refer to the nature of punishments given in the indigenous schools.<sup>166</sup> Most of them remember the teachers not for academic brilliance but for their severe punishments. Teachers of the period gave utmost importance to character formation and believed that character could be shaped through strict discipline. Extra emphasis on moral development caused the neglect of natural tendencies and the instinctive behaviors of the learners. Creative talents of the students had never been encouraged. This created an atmosphere of fear and hate. Students were punished brutally even for their minor mistakes. We have already noticed that even the students reached school in the prescribed time also were punished. They might have thought that the enforcing discipline in the childhood is inevitable for bringing out an integrated personality in the adulthood. For this reason, parents often supported teachers in the act of taming. Sāhitya Pañcananan,<sup>167</sup> describes the nature of punishments they received in Āśan school. As per his account, there would be a hearth in every school and at its centre; an iron stylus was kept. Just above the flame, a rope fitted on a pulley was also fixed. The students found guilty

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<sup>166</sup> See, Mannath Padmanabhan, op.cit. pp. 5-7, Krishnapillai E V, op.cit, P.K. Parameswaran Nair, op.cit.

<sup>167</sup> Quoted in P. K. Parameswaran Nair, *Sahitya Pañcananan*, (1944), Kottayam 1971, p. 38 . About the punishment of his teacher Narinjyil Asan, T. K. Madhavan remarked: Thadanal Bhahavo Guna: See, P. K. Madhavan, Op.cit. pp. 39-40.

were hung on this rope. From the autobiography of Mannathu Padmanabhan, we come to know that the hearth and rope together known as Kōntāmaram and the act of hanging was Kōntāmaramkayaṛal.<sup>168</sup> Pañcananan remarked that though intended termination of misconduct or insubordination, it was inhuman and unbearable. He admits that he himself was a victim of such a punishment by Samippilla Āśān, his teacher at Bhavathikkal pallikkoodam<sup>169</sup>. Those absconded the school were also found out by a combined force of teacher and other students in a hunting manner.<sup>170</sup>

Severe punishments were universal phenomenon of the time. Leo Tolstoy, in his essay titled 'On public Education' wrote about this aspect thus:

*The information novices received from the seniors about the conduct of schools were not interesting or sufficient to evoke curiosity in them. The schools appear to him as a place where students are tortured or a place that deprives his natural instincts and happiness, or controls even his free movements. Schools demand `silence and obedience and the student was required to obtain permission to go outside even for a moment. For all mistakes, though how silly it were, he receives punishments with wooden ruler. Naturally, in students' eyes, the teachers are their natural enemies.*<sup>171</sup>

## Hygiene

Apart from academic subjects, it was the duty of the village schools to impart training in personal hygiene and neatness. The students were taught relevant ślōka-s with a view to habit formation in this regard. Puthelathu Raman Menon gives some examples:

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<sup>168</sup> Mannath Padmanabhan, op.cit.

<sup>169</sup> P. K. Parameswarn Nai, ibid.

<sup>170</sup> E. V. Krishnappillai, op.cit.

<sup>171</sup> Leo Tolstoy, *On Public Education*, (trans.), 2013, Calicut, pp. 16-17.

- a) *Varjjaye danta kāṣṭāni*  
*Nithya snānēna sacētam*  
*Snāna vasthṛōnamgayiṣṭim*  
*Sandhya pṛangajjanam thadha*
- b) *Cūta pathṛēna yō nithyam*  
*Dandhadāvanamācharēl*  
*Thasya thisatati jihwagrē<sup>172</sup>*  
*Suprasanna saraswathi<sup>173</sup>*

The above quoted verses speak of the importance of regular bathe, brushing and neat dress in the everyday life. Repeated recitations of such things strengthened the expected behavior in children. Popularity of proverbs like “*ceruppakālangaḷiluḷḷa śīlam marakkumō mānuṣanuḷḷakalam*” or *Coṭṭayile śīlam Cuṭalavarē* etc. tell us that our past generation was aware of the importance of childhood experience in the formation of integrated personality in the future life.

### **Kaḷari-s**

Along with the general studies, the children of the period, particularly from the Nair and Eḷava community pursued physical training which imparted in the specially arranged Kaḷari-s.<sup>174</sup> About the Kaḷari-s, Barbosa gives the following description:

*The more part of Nāyres when they are seven years or age are sent to schools where they taught many tricks of nimbleness and dexterity; there they teach them to dance and turn about and to twist on the ground, to take royal leaps, and other leaps, and this lean twice a day as long as they are children, and they become so loose*

<sup>172</sup> For details, see, Puthezhath, op.cit., pp. 97-98.

<sup>173</sup> Puthezhath, ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Kaḷaries are rectangular shaped large trenches, thatched with coconut leaves. Trainings were imparted in it. There should be *Kāḷi* temple attached to it. The compound names Kaḷarikkal, Kalaripparambu etc. in every village in Kerala indicate their existence in the past days.

*jointed and supple that they make them turn their bodies contrary to nature; and when they are fully accomplished in this they teach them to play with the weapon to which they are most inclined, some with bows and arrows, some with poles to become spearmen, but most with swords and bucklers, which is most used among them, and in this fencing they are ever practicing..... And the Nāyre are bound, howsoever old they may be to go always in the winter to take their fencing lessons until they die.*<sup>175</sup>

### LEARNING OF KĀVYA-S

After acquiring sound knowledge in basic texts, if students desired to continue studies, the option was the classical Sanskrit *Kāvya-s*. It was a pre-requisite for the higher specialized study in subjects like astrology, medicine, sculptural science and so on. The *Kāvya* curriculum consisted of the works of *Kalidasa*, *Bharavi*, *Maghan*, *Sriharshan* and so on. Study of *Kāvyas* in appreciation level required thorough understanding of the structure and grammar of the language with high aesthetic sense. The learner should have a good command over the language with knowledge in etymological roots. These classical works were divided in to two categories namely *Laghutrayi* and *Bṛihatrayi*. *Ṛitusamhāram*, *Kumārasambhavam* and *Raghuvamśam* of Kalida were collectively known as *Laghuthṛayi* and *Kiratarjunīyam* of Bharvi, *Maghan's Śiśupālavadhā* and *Naiṣadīyam* of Sriharsha were treated under the category of *Bṛihatrayi*. While *Kāvya-s* were taught, concepts were elaborated in detail.<sup>176</sup> These classical works sometimes seemed to be beyond the ken of the learners. In most case, they memorized many things without understanding properly. E.M.S Nambūthirippadu writes about such an incident.

<sup>175</sup> . Barbosa, op.cit., p. 44. Teachers of the Kalaries were known as Panickers and Barbosa refers to them as *Panicals*. They were variously known as Kurup, or Gurikkals. Besides Nairs, some other sections also attended Kalaries, see P.J. Thomas, op .cit., p. 74. He mentions that Christian students were also made use of the Kaḷaries. He further says that the final skill taught in these institutions was the Marmam and it required three or four years to master Marmavidhya. For more details, see, Raman Menon, op.cit., pp. 109-113, and Umayanellur Balakrishnappillai, *Indiyile Pracheena Vidhyabhyasam*, Kottayam, 1961, p. 170.

<sup>176</sup> For detailed reading, see Kunjunniraja and MS Menon, ed., *Sanskrita Sahithya Charithram*, Vol. II, Trissur, 1991, pp. 79-196.

While learning Kumarasaṃbhavam, he asked his teacher Pallissery Nambūtiri about the meaning of the word ‘*Suratha Prathīpa*.’<sup>177</sup> As the word had certain sexual connotation, the teacher evaded skillfully by giving another Sanskrit synonymous. In fact E.M.S was critical about the method of Sanskrit teaching during the immature period of childhood. He condemned that Sanskrit education did not fetch anything fruitful in his life and was mere a waste of time. At the same time, in continuation of the earlier statement, he states that Sanskrit education provided him good vocabulary, habit of hard work, intellectual sharpness and strict discipline<sup>178</sup>. Eswarappillai also made a similar opinion in this regard.<sup>179</sup> Lion share of what they learnt in the childhood remained at the bottom of mind without any use for many years. But with the mental maturity and more life experiences, many of them were able to elaborate the subject matters school studies, differently and creatively. In many works of C. V. Raman Pillai, the influence of his school subjects like mathematics, astronomy, moral lessons, sorcery etc., are noticed.<sup>180</sup> All such remarks indicate that, to a certain level, these village schools succeeded in attaining their proposed goals. Some of the prominent texts taught in the traditional schools are discussed below.

### **Sṛīkṛiṣṇa Vilāsaṃ**

In most case, teachers opted Sṛīkṛiṣṇavilāsaṃ as the first Kāvya for their students on finishing basic grammar texts. E.M.S in his autobiography gives the progression of studies thus: After Srīramōdantam, he studied Sṛīkṛiṣṇavilāsaṃ which was followed by *Māgham* and *Campu Ramāyaṇam* respectively.<sup>181</sup> The entire text was not dealt but two or three cantos. He also gives a description of the method of teaching. It starts with reciting verses, repeat it until memorize, knowing each word

<sup>177</sup> E.M.S., Unninambuthiri, quoted in K. Gopinathan, ed., *EMS Vakkum Samuhavum*, Thrissur, 1998, p. 18.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Eswarappillai, op.cit, p. 96.

<sup>180</sup> P.K. Parameswaran Nair, *C. V Ramanpillai*, (1948), Kottayam, 1982, p. 39.

<sup>181</sup> EMS, *Atmakatha*, (1971), Thiruvananthapuram, 2017, p. 17.

in the *ślōka*, find out the ‘case’ of word and then rearrange the them in sentence form with *ākamṣa* and *aṇuaya*; and finally deriving the meaning through *aṇuāyārtha* and translation.<sup>182</sup> This was the common pattern applied to all texts to be learnt. He further says that, for these, there were commentaries available composed by Mallinātha in *Grantha* scripts.<sup>183</sup> Besides these, students were also taught Sanddhi and *Samāsa*. While dealing with *Vibhakti*, one had to recite its *Siddharūpa* from the *pradhama*. Students were encouraged to make their own sentences adhering to the grammatical rules. In one of the commentaries on *Śrīkṛṣṇavilāsam*, it was described as *Balapāḍya*.<sup>184</sup> Since *Śrīkṛṣṇavilāsam* was more popular in Kerala than elsewhere, it is believed that the author Sukumara Kavi was hailing from Kerala. But in the absence of proper evidence, Ullur disagrees.<sup>185</sup> This is an unfinished work with 12 cantos. It deals with the story of *Srikrishna* based on *Bhagavata Purana* and starts with a fine description of the *Sumeru Mountain*. Influence of Kalidas is evident in many portions but it maintains independent nature with distinct style of craft. A verse from the text is given under.<sup>186</sup>

*Śrīyābhirāma: saraṇam suraṇam*

*Alanganiyō mahita mahinma*

*Virajarakvanamālaya ca*

*Ya: saṅgadaṇuana manu prayābhi (1:15)*

### Śiṣupālavadhān

This book was widely known in Kerala as *Magham* since its authorship is ascribed to one Māghan. It illustrates the story of Lord *Srikrishna* and the purport of his incarnation was to kill Śiṣupāla, a cruel and despotic ruler. This work is believed to be composed around 7<sup>th</sup> century CE. It has total 21 cantos. It is generally said that

<sup>182</sup> E.M.S., *ibid*.

<sup>183</sup> This description reveals that students of the time were proficient in *Grantha* Script also.

<sup>184</sup> ‘Bālapāḍyabhidha kachikasyā vāghya virachithe tāmra pathralayasthēna gōvindhēn yadhachayāl’.

<sup>185</sup> Ullur, *Sāhithyacharithram*, Vol. I, p. 165.

<sup>186</sup> For more details, see, Kunjunniraja and M. S. Menon, ed., *op.ct.* p. 191.

in the writings of Māghan, a beautiful blend of the styles of *Kalidas*, *Bharavi* and *Dandī* is inherently present.<sup>187</sup>

### **Naiṣadacarita**

This is the work particularly designed for the class room purpose as claimed by the author himself. As the title indicates, this is the story of *Naḷa* and *Damayanti*. It is being considered as the last of the *Pañca Mahā Kāvya-s*. It is considered under *Bṛihatrayi* also. The author, Śrihaṛṣha was believed to have lived in Kanouj around 12<sup>th</sup> century CE. This work is known for its elegant and picturesque descriptions of Nature. Kunjunniraja opines that the works has all the characteristics of *Mahā Kāvya-s* as laid down by Dandin and others.<sup>188</sup> . The text has a complex nature that every reader required expert hands for its proper understanding. At the end of work the author himself made it clear that he had intentionally spread certain linguistic knots throughout to evoke intellectual and asthetic domains of the students.<sup>189</sup> Naiṣadam has total 22 sargas with 2826 poems and the thread of the story was traced from the Mahabharatha.

### **Yudhiṣṭiravijayam**

It is believed that the work is written by Vasudeva Bhattathiri, a courtier of Kulasehara (most probably Rajasekhara) of Mahōdyapuram. Until recent times, this was used as textbook for child education in Kerala and outside.<sup>190</sup> The very intention

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<sup>187</sup> *Upamā Kalidasasya Bharavertha gouravam*  
*Dandina: paṭhalāḷityam Maghē santhithrayō guṇa:*

<sup>188</sup> Kunjunniraja, op.cit., p. 146.

<sup>189</sup> Grantha grandhiriha kwā cil kwachitapi  
Nyāsi praya nā nmayā  
Pṛājñanyam nā hadēean paṭhithī  
Mīasmin ghala:ghēelatu  
Sṛadharīadhya guru sṛadheekṛita dṛita  
Grandhi : samāsadaya  
Twētat kāvya rasōṛmmi majjana-  
Sukha vyāsajjanam sajjana: (22, 152)

<sup>190</sup> Ullur, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 145.



of this book was to train the students in the structure of sentences and mastery of Sanskrit language.

### **Kumārasaṃbhavam**

Among the works of Kalidasa, Kumārasaṃbhava is the most lustrous one with sexual flavors (*sṛingarapradhānam*).<sup>191</sup> The hero and heroine are Lord Śiva and Pārvathi respectively. Pārvathy, unsuccessful in wooing love with Śiva, became a rigorous ascetic. Realizing the depth of her love, Śiva finally agrees to marry her. The work is replete with beautiful imageries and metaphors on nature. K. P. Narayanappisharodi rightly remarked that this aspect made Kumārasaṃbhava unique among the other *mahākāvya*s.<sup>192</sup> The much celebrated verse ‘*Athuthrasyābata kāsī nātha Himālayō nagātma nagādhiraja*’ is an excerpt from Kumārasaṃbhava.

### **Ṛitu Samhāram**

This is a short *kāvya* with only 6 *sargas* (*cantos*). It describes the characteristic features of all six seasons (ṛitu) from autumn to the spring. Each season has some definite effects upon nature and which in turn transform human minds also. The poet depicts the emotions and desires evoked by the changing environment in simple but lucid manner. Poet’s admiration and respect for nature along with observation skill is elegantly epitomised in the text. The curricular aim of this text in the village schools was definitely the inculcation of *naturalistic intelligence* among the pupils. This intelligence involves how sensitive an individual is to the nature and the world.<sup>193</sup> *Ṛithusamhāra* enabled the students to develop intense urge in learning about nature, powers of observation in nature, awareness of change in weather and they were physically and emotionally adverse to the injury of

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<sup>191</sup> Supra., Note no. 169.

<sup>192</sup> K. P. Narayanappisharati, in Kunjunniraja and M.S. Meneon, op.cit., Vol. II p. 104.

<sup>193</sup> Naturalistic intelligence is a concept developed by Howard Gardner of Harvard University. See, *Multiple Intelligences: New Horizon in Theory and Practice, 2006*. According to him, the individuals with high degree of this intelligence are keenly aware of how to distinguish with diverse plants, animals, mountains, or cloud configurations in the ecological niche.

nature. *Ṛitusamhāra* is believed to be the first among Kalidasa's works. The authorship of the work is still dubious. Scholars like K. P. Narayanappisharoti pointed out that philosophical ideals and life visions are the hallmarks of Kalida's entire works. However such features are totally absent in *Ṛitusamhāra*.<sup>194</sup>

### **Raghuvamśam**

This *Mahākāvya* is the latest of all Kalidasa's works. It has 19 sargas (cantos) and contains heroic acts as well as philosophy of life with scientific truths. It illustrates the important events of at least 30 generations starting from *Dilīpan*, father of *Raghu*-the founder of the Raghu dynasty, up to the fetus of the queen of last emperor *Agnivarnan*. K. P. Narayanappisharoti opined that the Kalidas's works are noted for their micro level observations and philosophical speculations. Among them *Raghuvamśam* occupies the highest rank.<sup>195</sup> The very purpot of this text was, besides other things, to provide some dynastic history of Indian sub continent.

### **Rāmāyaṇam 24 Vṛitham**

This work belongs to a literary category called *Sankṭīrīthnam*. There is also another similar work titled *Bhāgavatam 24 vṛitham*. Both were musically and rhythmically composed and preferred to girl's education. The very objectives of these works were to develop devotion, word fluency and pronunciation skills or to develop musical talents. This text catered to the Linguistic as well as Musical Intelligences among the students. *Rāmāyaṇam 24 vṛitham* was not an original work as pointed out by Ullur.<sup>196</sup> It was a compiled work and borrowed portions from *Raghuvamsam*, *Bhōja Campu*, *Āścarya Chūdamaṇi* and the like. However, meaningful blending of different topics made the work unique but the compiler remains to be anonymous. Ullur further opines that it has all the characteristics of a good drama or kavya, but miserably lacked grammatical rules and features. Since the purpose of the text was

<sup>194</sup> K. P. Narayanapisharati, op.cit., p. 103.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>196</sup> Ullur, *Kerala Sahityacharithram*, vol. II., pp. 604-610.

different, this aspect can be ignored. The work contained some astrological details also. A ślōka from the text is given below:

*Sītayāyōru kalpavaḷḷi pataṛmna rāmasuradṛuma-  
Cāyathannil vaṣicu māmuni pakṣimandalamadaraḷ  
Rāvanaṛka mahātapathinorata pthṛamṛiadaravang  
Madhurīphalamāswadīcu rāama harē harē... (6<sup>th</sup> vritham)*

## WORKING OF MULTIPLE INTELLIGENCES

It is Howard Gardner, neurologist-cum-educationalist from Harvard, popularized the concept of Multiple Intelligences through his seminal work, *Frames of Mind: Theory of Multiple Intelligences* (1983).<sup>197</sup> It was followed by *Intelligence Reframed: Multiple intelligences for 21<sup>st</sup> century* (1999) and *Multiple Intelligences: New Horizon in Theory and Practice* (2006). Gardner argues that all people born with one or more intelligences such as linguistic, logical-mathematical, spatial, body-kinesthetic, musical, intra-personal and inter personal. He is of the opinion that the traditional intelligence theories grossly neglected the fact that, instead of single one or monolithic, intelligences are different. He also argues that any one of these intelligences cannot be considered superior or inferior.<sup>198</sup> Some people excel in some areas but others in another. All have equal importance and in the school curriculum, there must be provisions for addressing them independently. His concepts were widely appreciated and being incorporated all over the world. A close analysis of village schools which flourished in Kerala reveals that the system was philosophically, psychologically and practically in accordance with the ideas of child education as later suggested by Gardner. It had provided opportunities to develop

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<sup>197</sup> *Frames of mind: The Theory of Multiple Intelligences*, (1983), Fontana Press, 1993.

<sup>198</sup> Gardner writes: In my view, if we are to encompass adequately the realm of human cognition, it is necessary to include a far wider and more universal set of competences than has ordinarily been considered, *Frames of Mind*, Preface, xiv, He further clarifies that in ordinary life these intelligences typically work in harmony, and so their autonomy may be invisible. But when the appropriate observational lenses are donned, the peculiar nature of each intelligence emerges with sufficient (and of surprising) clarity, *ibid*, p. 9.

particular skills in language, mathematics, music (in village schools, students were introduced different *Rāgas* also. They were trained in reciting *Rāmāyaṇa* or other *kāvya-s* rhythmically) as well as spatial (through astronomical and astrological studies), inter and intra-personal (literature and moral teachings), naturalistic (through literature) and body-kinesthetic matters (training in martial arts in *Kaḷari-s*). Its curriculum had never been inferior or outdated. It catered to the intellectual, moral and spiritual aspiration of the traditional village society. Their curriculum was strictly in tune with the social, economic and cultural life of the people and hence it was life oriented as well.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONTRIBUTIONS OF SOUTH INDIA TOWARDS EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

Geographical expeditions and explorations, agricultural and industrial revolutions, the monopoly over the sea trade and the enlightenment modernity were the major factors in making the England, a super power in the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> century world. Imperial domination was built over the relics of indigenous economy and culture. Colonialists were fully conscious of their own unjustifiable atrocities on the subjugated and hence were eager to develop defense mechanisms like White Man's Burden theory.<sup>1</sup> Admirers of the imperialism either internalized or rationalized the concept of burden and began to attribute the same to Indian scenario also. They made themselves and others believe that, they were engaged in a great mission of civilizing the uncultured, barbarous and benighted Indian people.

Although many outstanding progresses were made in the field of science and technology, during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, education in England at the elementary level was deplorably lagging behind. Children of industrial workers, agricultural labors and artisans remained outside of any educational system and illiteracy was mounting. The different types of schools that existed charged fee beyond the capacity of the common people.<sup>2</sup> Most of these institutions were run by aged people or physically challenged individuals. Many of such teachers were ignorant of teaching methods or principles of learning and hence the standard of teaching was

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<sup>1</sup> The idea of White Man's Burden became popular after Rudyard Kipling, the Nobel Prize winner, who published a poem titled '*White Man's Burden: The United States and the Philippine Island*' in New York Sun, on 10<sup>th</sup> Feb 1899. This 56 line poem glorified Euro-Centric racism and justified imperialism as a noble enterprise of civilizing the third world.

<sup>2</sup> They were variously known as Dame schools, Common Day or Sunday schools. For dated reading see H. C. Barnad, *A History of English Education from 1760*. University of London Press, (1947) Great Britain, 1969.

very low. Contrary to this, their higher education sector was remained much stronger with world acclaimed universities like the Oxford and the Cambridge.<sup>3</sup>

During the close of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in England, certain popular movements sprang up with a view to spreading elementary education among larger public. Evangelical movements, though religiously motivated, also were active in this philanthropic movement. Thus, under the initiation of 'Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge'(SPCK), charity schools were started in each parish all over England from 1699 onwards. Their curriculum consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic and rudiments of Christian knowledge. These schools collected no fees and the expenses were met from the donations and gifts they received. Within a half century of its service, not less than 30000 students in England made use the opportunities provided by SPCK. However, in later times, their teaching- learning strategies invited severe criticism that it was based on learning by rote memory, mechanical reproduction, and meaningless understanding and so on. The professional quality of the teachers was also very poor. In fact, these schools were virtually divorced from their said objectives. Charles Dickens illustrated the deplorable conditions of school teacher of the period thus: . .... *he had never cared for himself, and the only being who had cared for him, in his poverty and distress, was spared to him no more longer..... It would be difficult, indeed for the most intimate of his former friends to recognize their once gay and happy associate, in the person of the Pauper School Master*<sup>4</sup>. There was a clamour that something must be done to improve the standard of existing education with more enrollment from the downtrodden.

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<sup>3</sup> The foundation period of the Oxford is not known but sources indicate that teaching existed there in 1096 CE. Cambridge was established in 1209 and granted Royal Charter by Henry III in 1231.

<sup>4</sup> Dickens, *Sketches by Boz. The Beadle, The Parish Engine, The School Master*, 1836.

## Andrew Bell

To tackle the above discussed challenges on mass education, it was Dr. Andrew Bell who suggested a new system of schooling which later came to be known as Madras System, Monitorial or Mutual Instruction.<sup>5</sup> In fact it was the replica of the of South Indian educational system which Bell had observed and experimented while serving at Madras.<sup>6</sup> Bell was ordained and travelled to Calcutta in 1787 with a view to giving some lectures on natural philosophy and earning some money through private tuition. However, by virtue of English downtrodden children, he happened to reach at Madras and was invited to take up the assignment as the superintendent of a newly set up male asylum for the orphans.<sup>7</sup> As a keen observer, he had noticed that the teachers of his institution were either unskilled or lacked interest in their profession. He found that this situation was similar to the charity schools of his own country. It prompted Dr. Bell to experiment different teaching strategies in the institute under his charge.

## Indigenous Teaching Methods

Malabar was annexed to Madras Presidency by the treaty of *Srirangapatnam*.<sup>8</sup> While travelling through the country side, Bell was struck with the traditional indigenous schools and their strategies of imparting knowledge. Children spread sands on the floor and practicing letters upon it by fingers. This system required no slate or other costly writing materials. Indeed it was a low cost education. Immediately he had sand brought into his class rooms and trained the older boys to teach younger students the alphabet by tracing the figures on their sand slates.

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<sup>5</sup> This system was also known as Assisted Instruction.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Bell, Presidency Chaplain, Madras, was born in 1753, Scotland and graduated from St. Andrew University divinity school. He had acquired deep knowledge in Mathematics and Natural philosophy.

<sup>7</sup> He accepted the offer without receiving any remuneration but had obtained huge donations as Presidency Chaplain, Madras.

<sup>8</sup> The treaty was signed on 18 March 1792 between Tipu Sultan and EEC. It ended the Third Anglo-Mysore War.

Bell further noticed that the native schools were single teacher institutions and the teacher employs senior students to train the junior ones.<sup>9</sup> In other words, the single teacher uses older children to act as monitors in teaching specific lessons to the beginners. It is already pointed out that, in village schools, different categories of students were there and the teacher had to deal all of them simultaneously. It created certain disciplinary issues or wastage of time. When the teacher was attending to a specific group, others had to remain idle or restless. Such difficulties were effectively encountered with the seniors or monitors. This 'students-cum-teachers' were popularly known as Caṭṭampies in Kerala.<sup>10</sup> Still teachers found sufficient time to spare for each and every student individually, and evaluated their learning progress. Remedial teaching was also given, if required. Andrew Bell was very much impressed by this system. It was more economic as students had to pay fee only to a single teacher instead of many.

### **Native References**

Information regarding the monitorial system of South India is largely derived from British writings. Hence in the present study an attempt was made to locate the native evidences, if any, regarding it. Although many autobiographies occasionally mention the monitorial system, it was C. V. Kunjiraman, a social activist and a prolific writer in Malayalam reveals much of how such a system operated effectively:

*When the teacher entered, there was a sudden silence in the classroom. After some time, a group of learners, studying the same subject, came forward and sat in front of the teacher. Teacher directed one by one to read the material aloud. After that, the teacher asks some questions and if he is satisfied, some advanced works are given to them and invite the next group to perform the given tasks. This*

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<sup>9</sup> Not all seniors but the pupil with high academic excellence and teaching aptitude only

<sup>10</sup> Kunjan Pillai, popularly known Caṭṭampi Swāmikaḷ was a monitor or Caṭṭampi in the village school of Pettayil Raman Pillai Aśān, Thiruvananthapuram. Similarly Dr. Palpu was also a monitor at the same school.



*process continued until the lowest. Finally he attends the beginners who practised alphabets on the sand. In the meanwhile the first group might have finished assignments given. They were directed to instruct the lower strata of the class the basic lessons or to monitor the progress of their studies.*<sup>11</sup>

The writing of Alexander Walker is also in agreement with this. He writes: *The pupils are the monitors of each other, and the characters are traced with a rod, or the finger on the sand. Reading and writing are acquired at the same time, and by the same process. This mode of teaching however is only initial. If the pupil is meant to study the higher branches of study, where the arts of reading, writing and accounts are acquired, and placed under more scientific masters.*<sup>12</sup>

The *Caṭṭampies* took care of the routine works of schools in the absence of teacher. Society respected monitors too in the same way they treated the adult teachers. Since the monitors belonged to their own community, instruction under them was more convenient to the juniors. It was similar to the modern collaborative and cooperative learning strategy. If the teacher was the central pillar of village education, the monitors were the minor scaffolds. They closely resembled the modern teacher trainees. Monitors were neither teachers nor students, but student teachers. Such a system enabled them to recall and remember various subjects they studied under the same teacher or others. This had all the features of modern concept of 'cooperative learning'. Exposure as student teachers helped them to start independent institutions after their academic training at school.

### **Antiquity of Monitorial System**

Historical enquiries reveal that monitorial system of education is not the unique contribution of Kerala but the modified version of ancient Indian tradition. However this practice was carried out more effectively in Kerala than any other part

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<sup>11</sup> C.V.Kunjiraman, *Ñān*, ed., Hashim Rajan, Trivandrum, pp. 25-26

<sup>12</sup> Alexander Walker, *Walker of Bowland Papers*, 184, Library of Scotland: Edinburgh.

of India. *Apasthamba Dharmasūtra* tells that student-teachers were also respected in the same way as their teachers.<sup>13</sup> This system also existed in Taxila and senior students were often put in charge of the junior scholars during the temporary absence of the teachers.<sup>14</sup> Even outside India, practice of Monitorial System was noticed.<sup>15</sup> In his work titled 'Education in Ancient India', Dr. Veda Mitra rightly remarked: It (monitorial system) afforded opportunities to intelligent students to learn the art of teaching and thus indirectly performed the same function as the teachers training colleges discharge today. It increased the efficacy of education and decreased the cost of the school by affording intelligent and free assistance to the teacher.<sup>16</sup>

### **Bell's Experiments in Madras**

Dr. Bell further developed this native school system and experimented in the institution under his charge at Madras. He selected a brighter student named Johnny Frikson and gave him special training in academic subjects as well as skills in handling the juniors. After that, lower level students were put under his charge. Realizing this as an economic as well as affective method of teaching large numbers, Bell now trained more and more students. The method proved to be successful through economy as it reduced the number of adult teachers required. It was the beginning of so called modern 'Madras system or Monitorial system of teaching'. This system was sometimes referred to as mutual instruction since there was a reciprocal relation between the juniors and seniors in the matter of sharing and acquiring the knowledge. Dr. Bell found that there was a considerable progress in students not only in academic subjects but in moral domain also.

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<sup>13</sup> Book 1, Student's Life. This section deals with various topics like student at school, dress and cleanliness, residency, conduct towards teachers and his family and so on.

<sup>14</sup> For instance, Kuru prince Suta Soma, who was proficient in studies, was entrusted with teaching of his brother prince, the heir apparent of Banaras.

<sup>15</sup> See Note no. 2, John Mathai, *Village Government in British India*, p. 48. He quotes Baron Haxthausen who noticed the system of mutual instruction in schools in Tatar villages in Russia, Vol. I, chapter X.

<sup>16</sup> See Vedamitra, *Education in Ancient India*, Arya Book Depot, Delhi, 1966.

## Bell System in England

Due to the bad health condition, Bell returned to England in 1796. But he had carried the spirit of experiments in Madras. He prepared a detailed report of it with a view to popularizing the same in England as a remedy to the mounting illiteracy. This treatise was titled '*An experiment in Education, made at the Male Asylum of Madras. Suggesting a System by which a School or Family may teach itself under the Superintendence (sic) of the Master or Parent*' (1796). Copies of the same were widely circulated for discussion and in the same year itself, Bell System was implemented in Botolf's Parochial School, London.<sup>17</sup> . Now the Madras system developed into a standard model. One of the writers described it as the hybridization and transformation of pedagogical knowledge which communicated between India and Britain.<sup>18</sup> Subsequently the same system was adopted in the parochial schools of White Chapel and Lambeth, at the Royal Military Asylum in Chelsea, and at Kendal in Westmoreland.<sup>19</sup> Monitorial system became popular because, in the effort to overcome the shortage of teachers during the quick expansion of education, it enabled one teacher to use senior students to act as monitors in teaching specific lessons to children.<sup>20</sup> This system divided the whole school or class in to homogenous groups by ability and placed each group under the charge of more brighter or brilliant pupils of the top group. They were taught by a qualified teacher but would also spend time teaching children in the lower group. Bell even resorted to pronounce: '*Give me 24 pupils today; I will give you 24 teachers tomorrow.*'

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<sup>17</sup> It was one of the oldest charity schools and oldest Protestant parochial school in London.

<sup>18</sup> Jana Tschurenev, 'Diffusing useful *knowledge: The Monitorial system of Education in Madras*, London and Bengal-1789-1840', *Paedagogica Historica*, International Journal of the history of Education Vol 44, 2008, issue 3, [www.academia.edu/7122025](http://www.academia.edu/7122025).

<sup>19</sup> for more details, see, Phil. E. Hager, 'Nineteenth Century Experiments with Monitorial Teaching,' *The Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 40, No 4, (January 1959) pp-164-167, <https://www.jstore.org/stable/20342207>.

<sup>20</sup> Jana Tschurenev, op.cit.

In 1801, Bell was appointed to the Rector at Swanage<sup>21</sup> Now all the schools in the locality came under his authority. This resulted in the ramification of Monitorial system to more and more schools across the country.<sup>22</sup>

In the mean while, Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker school master, had developed his own method similar to that of Bell.<sup>23</sup> He was able to provide rudimentary schooling for hundreds of boys in his Southwark, London School.<sup>24</sup> Both- Bell and Lancaster- had conversed over the programme of action but no consensus was arrived. While the former insisted upon the direct experiences of the learner, the latter stressed on the psychological factors.<sup>25</sup>

Bell was later elevated to the position of chief priest at Edinburgh. Now the Bell system was adopted in army schools and schools for orphans. Within two years of it founding the National Society was able to start 230 schools accommodating 40000 students. When Bell died in 1832, there were nearly 10000schools with Bell system in England and in some of its colonies. Many prominent personalities of the period, including James Mill, lauded Bell model as it was the best method to attain

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<sup>21</sup> Swanage, or Swanwich, a village, a parish and sub-district in Wareham District, Dorset, London.

<sup>22</sup> For his entire activities, Dr. Bell had received strong support from the Church of England. Church of England had resisted attempts from the state to provide secular education. In 1811, Church initiated the foundation of the 'Anglican National society for promoting the education of poor' in the principles of Established church in England and Wales. The schools founded by the national society were known as National schools.

<sup>23</sup> His method was popularly known as Lancasterian System. He published a pamphlet in this regard titled 'Improvements in Education' in 1803.

<sup>24</sup> He was financially supported by Non conformist Organization and British and Foreign school Society.

<sup>25</sup> Lancaster's opinion on Bell method was thus: I lie under (obligation) to Dr. Bell of Male Asylum at Madras...From (Dr. Bell's) publication I have adopted several useful hints; I beg to leave to recommend it to the attentive perusal of the friends of education and of youth.... I much regret that I was not acquainted with the beauty of his system till somewhat advanced in my plan; if I had known it, it would have saved me much trouble and some retrograde movement- quoted in Phil E. Hager, op.cit.

the ideal 'Education for All'.<sup>26</sup> S. T. Coleridge poetically assured that he would remain a loyal servant of Bell (for his remarkable contribution to the mass education) until the last breath.<sup>27</sup> Robert Southay and William Wordsworth are among others who praised Bell-Lancaster system. A variation on the monitorial system would appear later in Macaulay's minutes of 1835 (February 2, 1835) and Draft Dispatch of John Stuart Mill (July-December 1836), both of which grappled with the question of providing English education to a large body of people.<sup>28</sup>

For about half a century- from 1800 to 1850- Bell system flourished unchallenged and caused an unprecedented literacy growth in England than ever before. The system ensured low-cost education that brought thousands of children from industrial workers family or agricultural laborers in to the formal education which in turn helped them to find out respectable professions. Victorian age (1837-1901) was glorious not merely because of its economic or cultural prosperity but for its high literacy progress also. In course of time there appeared certain oppositions that 'students teaching students' resulted in the slow progress of studies and it was quite unscientific and impractical at the advance stages of learning. Critics argued that the entire school system should be under the charge of adult, matured teachers. The general practice of putting every category students in the same class was also debated. They suggested that students should be grouped based on age and to teach each subject, specific slot is to be given. Assembly line or lecture method was suggested in the place of monitorial system.<sup>29</sup> Such deliberations ultimately caused the disappearance of Bell-Lancaster system in England by 1840's. However, monitorial system eventually developed into normal schools and training colleges, in

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<sup>26</sup> James Mill, an agnostic, became a staunch supporter of the Lancasterian 'schools for all' an efficient way to solve the challenge of providing mass education, and wrote in their defense in the *Edinburgh Review*, 1813, see Alok K Mukherjee, *This Gift of English*, p. 108, Note no. 16.

<sup>27</sup> See Satya S Pachori, *Dr. Andrew Bell and Coleridge's Lectures on Education*, Journal of General Education, Vol. 35. No. 1, pp. 26-37, 1983, <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ295622>.

<sup>28</sup> Mukherjee, *ibid.*, 108.

<sup>29</sup> Horasman and Frederic Tyler were the prominent advocates of this movement.

which professional and academic education could be continued after their studies in the primary schools.

### **Alexander Walker's Criticism**

We come to know from the writing of Alexander Walker that, India's role in the development of Monitorial System had not well been acknowledged in England. He writes: *It is the same system which has caused so much heat and controversy, as to the inventors of it, in this country, and the merit of which was due to neither of the claimants. The system was borrowed from Brahmins and brought from India to Europe. It has been made the foundation of National schools in every enlightened country. Some gratitude is due to a people from whom we have learnt to diffuse among the lower ranks of society instruction by one of the most unerring and economical methods which have been ever invented.*<sup>30</sup>

J.P. Naik and Syed Nurullah rightly remarked: *Historians talk only of England's contribution to Indian Education and they generally ignore the great contribution which was made by India to the spread of education among the poorer classes of England herself..... It is an irony of fate that the indigenous schools of India should thus contribute to the spread of education in England and be of no avail in spreading mass education in India herself.*<sup>31</sup>

### **The End of Monitorial System in Kerala**

It was Hermann Gundert, who initiated modern education in the colonial Malabar, was the first to point out the empirical weakness of the monitorial system, based on valid observations. In the introductory part of his '*Valiya Pāṭharambam*', a Malayalam text book compiled in 1852, we read thus: *It is quite difficult to teach an*

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<sup>30</sup> Alexander Walker, *Walker of Bowland Papers*. It is interesting to note that both- Andrew Bell and Lancaster were alive when Alexander Walker made this observation.

<sup>31</sup> J .P. Naik and Nurulla, *A Students' History of Education in India*, (1945), New Delhi, 1995, pp. 31-32.

average students or truants. Hence, it seems that, many teachers put the charge of them under senior students. It is a defective method of teaching and mere waste of time. Under the traditional system, learning progress is very slow and teachers fail to make any intimate relations with students. Hence, he argued that, instead of relay the monitors of peer group, teachers have to take care of each student in the classroom.<sup>32</sup>

In due course, following the pattern of teacher training institutes of England, more and more normal schools were started in Kerala, especially after the Wood's Dispatch of 1854. Indigenous monitorial system came to an end with the spread of modern education in Kerala.

### **Village Schools in Kerala and the European Schools**

A comparison with contemporary education at England—Charity schools, Guild schools or Preparatory grammar schools- makes it clear that their curriculum was also similar to that of our village schools.<sup>33</sup> It was limited to basics such as learning the alphabets, Psalters, and religious rites and lessons like Ten Commandments and the Seven Deadly sins. The grammar schools provided training in Latin Grammar, composition and translation. Most schools had no books and students were taught mechanically and the teachers were often indifferently educated.<sup>34</sup> Leo Tolstoy in his essay titled 'On public Education' examines the nature of European schools in the middle age. He compares elementary system of education of Germany, France or Switzerland. Rote memory, mechanical reproduction, over emphasis on grammar, strict discipline etc., were the stigmas of these institutions. These schools were not for the sake of student's intrinsic motives or aspirations, but

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<sup>32</sup> Hermman Gundert, *Valiyapadarambam*, see the Preface. It is reproduced in Scaria Zacharia, *Malayāḷavum Herman Gundertum*, Malayalam University, 2016, pp. 572-573

<sup>33</sup> Medieval thinkers has their trivium of grammar, logic, and rhetoric, and their quadrivium of mathematics, geometry, astronomy and music- Gardner, *Frames of Mind: Theory of Multiple Intelligences*, Fontana, (1983), 1993, p. 7.

<sup>34</sup> Britain Express, *Medieval Schools and Universities* dated, 8.6. 2018, <https://Britainexpresses.com/History/medieval schools and Universities>.

for sake of the livelihood of the teachers. Sometimes these schools resembled the prison houses.<sup>35</sup>

Oliver Gold Smith's famous poem *The Village School Master*, gives a description of an old village school teacher in England. The narrator remembers how severe and stern the teacher was and he was feared by every child who played truant. Yet, for all his severity, the school master was known to be kind. He was uncompromising because of over commitment. The village people stood in awe of him. He was literate, knowledgeable about 'terms and tides', skillful in mathematical computations and experienced in land surveying. They were also proficient in art of rhetoric and debate. All these narrations were well suited to the village teachers of Kerala as per the illustrations given in autobiographies. Characteristic features of European schools were perfectly in agreement with our indigenous education in terms of objectives, contents or strategies of teaching and learning. It can be rightly said that there was a similarity in educational systems across the world in a given point of time. Still there were certain cultural variations in their modalities of functioning.

However the village schools of Kerala were more secular than their English counterparts. It gave more importance to grammar studies and literature than religious instructions. Most of the medieval European schools were church centered-Parish schools, Song schools at cathedrals, Almonry schools attached to monasteries and the like. Except early medieval Śālai-s or Sabha Maṭhas of Nambūthiries, in Kerala, religious education had never been a part of public education.<sup>36</sup> In fact, such *Christo*-centric schools were instrumental in the beginning of the vibrant evangelical movement in England during the 19<sup>th</sup> century CE. It is a fact that the village

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<sup>35</sup> Leo Tolstoy, *On Education*, (trans.), Calicut, 2013, pp. 7-36.

<sup>36</sup> See John Mathai, *Village Government in British India*, (1915) Delhi, 1993 P. 46. He writes that: Muktab, Mulla Schools and Sikh Gurumukhi have always made it their main purpose to impart spiritual instruction, while the Hindu padasala has steadily aimed at a secular education, the difference between the three systems of schools are quite inappreciable.



education played a dominant role in the spread of Bhakti Movement in Kerala, but it did not develop into an organized form as it happened in England.

### **Village Curriculum and Formal Discipline Theory**

Pre-colonial village communities in Kerala were often described as nearly self sufficient one. These villages required skilled agriculturalists, physicians, architects or astrologers besides other artisans. All most all technical or professional knowledge were available only in Sanskrit texts. This Sanskrit was a not a native language but an outside one. Hence the acquisition of it was a challenge for many students. A look in to the contemporary philosophical trend will answer the question why the past generation attached extra significance to language and mathematics in their curriculum. The influential trend in education of the time was somewhat similar to the modern Formal Discipline Theory. According to it, human mind is composed of different faculties and can be strengthened through rigorous training given to each of them. Language, logic, or mathematics etc., were the disciplines suggested to mould different faculties of the mind.<sup>37</sup> By studying geometry, they argued that, one was expected to improve his ability to reason, Latin was held to strengthen the faculty of memory and the like. In our case, Sanskrit held the position of what Latin enjoyed in the European curriculum. Mathematics-arithmetic, algebra and geometry-was an indispensable part of every advanced culture. The exponents of this theory believed that the experiences gathered through learning of such classical subjects would automatically be transferred to real life situations in the future also. The ancient people educated their children for the future, not for the present. It had long term objectives than the immediate.

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<sup>37</sup> Theory of Formal Discipline or Mental Discipline was a dominant position on the 'Transfer of Learning or Training'. For details, see, Sreejith. E and Arun Kumar. P., *Vidhyābhyāsamanāśāstram*, Kottayam, 2010, pp.189-194.

## Village Education with Arrested Progress

While the village schools were flourishing in Kerala, the entire world was transforming in to new social and economic order, especially in Europe. Neither the enlightened modernity, nor the industrial revolution did make any effect on the age old Indian polity and society. In other words, there was no marked change in our village communities during the period under discussion. This state of affairs was reflected in their curriculum too. It was more or less static in terms of academic innovations and progress. These schools failed to convert any of their theoretical knowledge into application levels or in technological domain. The pre-British education miserably overlooked the organic relations of mathematics and physical sciences as it had happened in the European counties. Still this indigenous education was popular one and paved way for the outstanding literacy rate in Kerala which surpassed many European counties. This fact will be clear from the report of educational survey conducted in Madras Presidency at the commission of Thomas Munro, then the Governor, in 1822. He observes that: *the state of education here exhibited, low as it is compared with that our own country, is higher than it was in most European countries at no very distant period. It has, no doubt, been better in earlier times.*<sup>38</sup> Had the domestically instructed children were accounted in the survey, Munro could have drawn an accurate picture of the literacy rate in the presidency.

## Decline of Village Schools

Social stratification, class-caste distinctions, moribund village economy etc., were the characteristic features of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Kerala. Colonialism completely altered the existing village dynamics. Invasion from Mysore also had a far reaching

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<sup>38</sup> In Munro's enquiry, children under domestic instruction were totally excluded, except for the district of Madras. J.P. Naik and Nurulla challenged the reliability of the statistics obtained from this enquiry on the ground as it was diametrically opposed to each other. They were of the opinion that Munro was not prepared to accept the figures given by the Collector of Madras as reliable because he could not believe that for every boy in a school there were five under domestic instruction. *A Students' History of Education in India*, (1945) New Delhi, 1995, p. 9

affect upon village communities. Village education was the first social institution affected by the political subjugation and subsequent administrative changes. Missionary education gained momentum through the effective manipulation of this deplorable social and political situation. Mission schools were fee free and their admission was open to all irrespective of caste, creed and religions. The educational policies of princely states of Travancore and Cochin and of Madras presidency, especially during the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, accelerated dwindling process of centuries old indigenous education system. In 1866, on the occasion of the laying foundation stone of the present University College, Trivandrum, Ayilyam Thirunal, the then Maharaja of Travancore, made it clear that all the posts under the government were to be filled by the educated only on the modern line. Cochin Government also endorsed the decision. In British Malabar, the same was implemented much earlier. All these measures undermined the importance of traditional schools in the society.

### **Role of Intellectuals**

The newly emerged native educated class also hastened the decline of indigenous schools. Majority of them were critical about the conduct of village schools. Scholars like George Mathan<sup>39</sup>, Kerala Varma Valiyakoyithampuran<sup>40</sup> etc., exposed the inherent weakness of teaching- learning methods followed in traditional institutions. C. Achutha Menon, in his *The Cochin State Manual* writes thus: As all children of all standard were taught promiscuously by a single teacher, the progress of the students was necessarily slow. Five to ten years were required for the acquisition of these rudiments of knowledge.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> ‘Bālabhyāsanam’, Speech made at Kollam at the instance of Ayilyam Thirunal, the King of Travancore, 1867.

<sup>40</sup> Kerala Varma, *Vidhyābhyāsam* (article), in Keralavarmayute Therenjedutha Gadhyakṛitikaḷ. Thikkurissi Gangadharan, ed., Kottayam, 1980, p. 15.

<sup>41</sup> C. Achyuta Menon, *Cochin State Manual*, (1911), Trivandrum, 1995 p. 374.

S. Subrahmanya Aiyyer, in an article published in 1900 describes the pathetic condition of village schools.<sup>42</sup> He says that these traditional teachers were motivated by the monetary benefits than the high ideals of education. Many of them became school masters because of their inability in other professions. Vengayil Kunjiraman Nayanar, in one of his satires, illustrated the village teachers in a hilarious manner.<sup>43</sup> Modern text books were effectively used to convince the pupils and the parents about the ineffective nature of the indigenous schools.<sup>44</sup> It cannot be said that the old village educational system abruptly ended with the beginning of European system. There were resistance from parents, students and the teachers themselves against the modern system of education. The teachers, who found their opportunities were under threats, were in action. They even approached parents and attempted to convince of them of the catastrophes that modern education would bring.<sup>45</sup>

While referring to the prevailing status of village schools, R. Eswarappillai rightly remarked: *It is the fate of all social institutions. They originate in exigencies and disappear ones the purpose is fulfilled.*<sup>46</sup> For about four centuries, these village schools discharged their duties in an effective manner and even became model for advanced countries of Europe. It could not have withstood in the wake of modern trends and developments in the realm of educational thoughts and practices. By the initial decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> CE, the old village schools were almost went in to oblivion.

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<sup>42</sup> S. Subrahmanya Aiyyer, *Bhaṣāpōṣini*, Issue No 10, *Etavam*, 1900.

<sup>43</sup> Vengayil Kunjiraman Nayanar, *Nāṭteḷuthachanmār*, in complete Works of Vengayil Kunjiraman Nayanar, ed., Lisy Mathew, Trivandrum, 2012. However, Puthazhat Raman Menon criticized this satire as a hyperbole and stated that in every herd of sheep, there would be black sheep and it could not be generalized. See *Keralate Aṛiyuka*, Trissur, 1997, p. 93.

<sup>44</sup> *Second Reader*, 12<sup>th</sup> Lesson, Macmillan, 1913, p. 12.

<sup>45</sup> The autobiography of C.V. Kunjiram -*Ñān*- would give a detailed description of Teachers discontent against modern education. This aspect is widely discussed in the chapter V of the present study.

<sup>46</sup> Eswarappillai, *Cintāsantānam*, Kottayam, 1988, pp. 93-96.

## CHAPTER V

### TOWARDS MODERNIZATION: MISSIONARY ENTERPRISES

Being a commercial organization in the form of Joint Stock Company, East India Company in its initial years never encouraged the hues and cries from mother country for the proselytization programme in the subjugated Indian territories. The colonial policy and the missionary activities held entirely different ideologies, purposes and strategies. While colonialism aimed at the political stability and the commercial prosperity, Evangelism stood for the religious propaganda and the conversion.<sup>1</sup> The later was highly inspired by the Great Commissioning like ‘*Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit*’<sup>2</sup> and ‘*Go ye into the entire world, and preach the gospel to every creature*’.<sup>3</sup>

It is said that there was not even a single church under the Company’s possession during the first eighty years of their establishment in India. The Company did not wish to make any disturbance to the prevailing socio, economic and religious structures, since it would hamper their trade interest. Their major concern was trade and not the religious propagation. Simultaneously, the Company officials used to attend the local festivals and rituals and even gave donations to the temples

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<sup>1</sup> Protestant missionary organizations drew much from the Puritan/Pietist Movement flourished in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It aimed at the personal salvation through acceptance of Christian faith and the Christian restructuring of the world. They strongly believed that European civilization was superior because of their knowledge of Christ. Colonial expansions made them aware of heathens of countries of far and wide and they determined to civilize these people living in darkness through the introduction of Christian faith. Puritans (in England) and Pietists (in Europe) were sure that God speak directly to each one of us, and calls us to a higher life than that lived by neighbors. For more details, see Paul Jenkins, A short History of the Basel Mission, in *Legacy of Basel Mission and Hermann Gundert in Malabar*, eds., K.K.N. Kurup and K.J. John, Calicut, 1993, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> New Testament, Mathew: 28:19.

<sup>3</sup> New Testament, St. Mark; 16:15.

profusely. It was a pragmatic approach aimed at the smooth conduct of trade and management of newly set up administrative apparatus. As per an account of 1847, EEC had donated Rs.11, 86,577 to different temples in lieu of the revenue of resumed lands or other counts like *tasdik* and donations.<sup>4</sup> Islamic mosques had also received such grants. In England, it was the period of strong evangelism and Christian missionaries of different congregations raised voice against the policy of EEC towards the heathens of India.<sup>5</sup>

In course of time, a memorial was submitted to the government contemplating on complete severance of its connection with all temples and mosques in India.<sup>6</sup> The memorial further argued that the company's policies provided confidence to the Hindus and Mohammadans that their religious institutions had been supported by a Christian Government. They condemned, as it was against the religious interest of evangelical missions in India.

With the battle of Buxar, the company had secured some definite control over vast Indian territories.<sup>7</sup> For administrative reasons, now they had to elaborate the educational system which was until limited to Europeans or Anglo-Indian children. Still it was not a public one but aiming at the children from well to do families so that, they expected, a new generation of loyal Indian youth would grow up and they could easily be absorbed to the administrative machinery. The motives behind the early educational attempts were purely the expansionist and consolidation of the

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<sup>4</sup> Quoted in K.K.N. Kurup, '*The Attitude of missionaries Towards the Traditional Society of South India during the Nineteenth Century*', Proceedings of S. I. H. C.VIII Session, Hyderabad 1991, P. 94.

<sup>5</sup> Christian Missionaries of 19<sup>th</sup> century treated all the non-Christian ideas and practices as falsehood and superstitious and denoted them by a popular term 'heathen' or 'pagans'

<sup>6</sup> The memorial was presented on 15th September, 1852 by John Anderson, E.E. Jenkins and others. For details, see K.K.N. Kurup, op. cit., p. 93.

<sup>7</sup> The battle of Buxar fought between the British and the combined force of Mir Quasim, Nawab of Bengal, Shauzauddaula, Nawab of Oudh, and Mughal Emperor Sha Alam II on 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1762. It was decisive one for British rule in India as they now enjoyed monopoly in the powers. Subsequently Robert Clive was appointed as the first Governor General of India. The battle of Buxar rounded the unfinished task of f Battle of Plessey which had taken place five years earlier.

British Raj rather than addressing the educational aspirations of the people. As a result, at the instance of Warren Hasting, a Maddrassa school at Calcutta, and a college at Banaras under the order of the resident Jonathan Duncan were started. However, in the initial stage, no importance is given to English education but their main thrust was the dissemination of the Oriental knowledge. Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded with a view to unraveling this eastern knowledge.

### **Attempts of Charles Grant**

The missionary activities were fully prohibited in the territories of the East India Company. It was Charles Grant, a former officer of East India Company who was chiefly responsible for the lifting of the restrictions imposed upon missionary passage to India through his strenuous efforts and tireless propagandas.<sup>8</sup> In fact he was the harbinger of modern Indian education, not Lord Macaulay as generally believed. From the experiences all over the world, missionaries and their admirers became aware of the difficulties of attracting the adults of heathen communities to the Christian world. Hence they focused on the children and because of this object, wherever they reached, schools were established at large scale. 'Catch the young' was their strategy and thus missionary pedagogy evolved with religious lessons and moral teachings. Still their institutions provided some elementary knowledge in vernaculars, arithmetic and history. They held a hidden curriculum with a specific objective- propagation of the Holy Scriptures.

### **EEC's Opposition against the Missionaries**

The company was opposed to missionary activities in India due to many reasons. Many of the missionaries were great philanthropists and involved in community services and sometimes even supported peoples' resistant movements in different parts of the world. Some of the Baptist missionaries had openly hailed the

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<sup>8</sup> Charles Grant reached India as a soldier in 1767. He was the adviser of Cornwallis on the question of Permanent settlement in Bengal. He finally returned to England in 1790 having amassed a large fortune. In 1802, he entered the British parliament and became the president of the East India Company. He was an active member of evangelical party, the Clapham Sect.

French revolution. The Company officials were also aware of the adverse effect of forced or mass conversions by early missionaries in India especially during the Portuguese period. The Company servants in India never entertained missionaries since their activities were against the Christian values. Most of the lower level officials were low paid and hence involved in illegal transactions, briberies, receiving gifts for favors etc. As they were far away from home land, their moral and ethical standards were also deplorable. In these circumstances, they feared that the presence of missionaries would obstruct their free life in India.

### **Moral and Ethical Decay in Indian Society**

Charles Grant was really dejected at the moral and spiritual decay of the Indian society. Idol worship, infanticide, child marriage, nude saints, serpent worship, rigid caste system all made him desperate. He thought that the only remedy was the introduction of Christianity- the true cure of darkness is the introduction of light. With the Pitt India Act of 1784, besides trade, some administrative responsibilities had also fallen upon the company and they were made responsible to the British Parliament for any important activity in India. The company's rights were now limited or restricted by the Charter Acts passed in British parliament. It had to be reviewed and renewed in every twenty years.

### **Charter Act of 1793**

Much before the renewal of the charter in 1793, Charles Grant and his colleagues toiled to incorporate a clause permitting missionary activities in India. They frequently met influential personalities of England with a view to create public opinion in this regard. However, the Company's stand was adamant. Besides, there was a strong feeling in England that the education caused a prominent role in the awakening of the Americans against the English supremacy. Yet, while renewing Charter in 1793, the Attorney General was prepared to consider the appeals of Grant and friends under the section 'Bills'. However it was made clear that the proposal was



religiously motivated and its ultimate aim was to obtain official sanction to the conversion and the same would affect the trade interests of the Company in India. Many people, who had experiences in India, vehemently opposed the bill. In spite of a sympathetic attitude to evangelical mission, King George III was also not ready to support the bill against the background of the 'detrimental' progress of the French revolution. All these made Grant's proposal a failure for the time being, but he continued the work hopefully. Satish Chandra Ghosh rightly remarked: *And thus he (Charles Grant) lost unique opportunity to become a pioneer in the introduction of Western education in India*<sup>9</sup>

### **Suggestions of Wilber Force**

Meanwhile, Wilber Force, a prominent leader of anti-slavery movement in England, and Member of Parliament from York, advised Grant that instead of requesting the parliament for license for the missionaries, it should be pressurized for educating Indians on the western model. Force further assured him that, such an education would be helpful in spreading the Gospels and Biblical lessons. He asked Grant to prepare a study describing the social conditions of India highlighting the necessity of educating people to get rid of all the religious and social abuses. In response to this, Grant prepared a treatise titled *Observations on the State of Society among Asiatic subjects of Great Britain particularly in the respect of Morals and in Means of improving it.*<sup>10</sup>

The *Observation* depicted Hindus as untrustworthy, corrupted, fraudulent and quarrelsome people. The Muslims were illustrated as morally weak and sexually perverted. Frequent contact between these two prominent communities resulted in the reciprocal exchange of vices of each. So, the *observation* argued that the company's

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<sup>9</sup> Satish Chandra Ghosh, *The History of Education in Modern India*, (1995), New Delhi, 2000, P. 16.

<sup>10</sup> Though prepared in 1792 itself, it took five more years to get in printed form. For the full text, <https://archive.org/details/observationsonst00gran/page/n5>.

position towards Hindu religion was extremely unfavorable. Christianity was the expected substitute for the irrational Hindu religion so that social evils associated with indigenous religions could be discarded and it should be carried out through the introduction of literature, science and philosophies of the western world. He further stated that such an education would enable Indians to develop new ideas and concepts- a key which would once open a world of new ideas. His suggestions are summarized as follows:

As the medium of instruction, Grant proposed English. It is the gateway of the bundles of European knowledge.<sup>11</sup> People of Bengal had already acquired some knowledge in that language through their frequent contact with the Europeans. It would take much time to get all European knowledge forms translated in to Indian languages and would be less efficacious. Even after the colonial establishments, Persian, the official language of the Mughals, continued to be the official language because of practical reasons. Grant suggested that if all correspondence and deliberations were made only in English, it would induce the people to learn the language. He also proposed the opening of English schools across the country. The pupils trained in these schools would become instrumental in teaching the larger population. At the end of the treatise, he affirms: “The Hindus err because they are ignorant and their errors have never been fairly laid before them”. At the surface level it seemed to be a cry for the introduction of the western education but in the depth, it echoed the appeal for the spread of Christianity in the entire sub continent.

William Wilberforce also subscribed the opinions of Grant. To him, Hindu divinities were absolute monsters of lust, injustice, wickedness and cruelty. In short their religious system is one of great abominations.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Knowledge of English language would immediately place the whole range of European knowledge within their reach, Grant, *Observations*.

<sup>12</sup> Speech of Wilberforce, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1813, quoted in Raghunadha Rao, The attitudes of the British Towards India During 1722-1856, Presidential address, *Proceedings of S.I.H.C.* VIIIth Session, Hyderabad, 1991, p. 13.

### **After the Renewal of Charter Act 1793**

Being aware of the attempts from the home land, in the following years of Charter Act of 1793, the East India Company took every measure to keep missionaries off from the territories under their possession. The *Vellore Mutiny* further strengthened their anti-missionary stand.<sup>13</sup> Though many missionaries had embarked on India, they were stationed in other European settlements, chiefly in Danish areas. Serampore (Sreerampura) near Calcutta and Tranquabar (Tharangampadi), near Madras were their major centers of activities.

### **Educational Activities of Danish Missionaries**

Dutch missionaries had started a mission station at Tranquabar way back in 1706 itself. Within ten years, a teacher education institute was established there.<sup>14</sup> In 1772, a missionary called Schwartz started a school at Thiruchirappally for European and Euro-Asian students. He also started English charity school at Tanjore with the donation received from Hyderali. He started some more schools at different places like Ramanadu, and Sivaganga. In his efforts, he was generously supported by John Sullivan, then British Resident at Tanjore.<sup>15</sup> It is believed that these were the first schools for Indian students with English as medium of instruction. The EEC authorities, on the other hand, hoped that these schools in future would become a bridge between the British people and the Indians. Though run by missionaries, no religious matters were included in their curriculum because of definite reasons. The Company officials and Court of Directors were very keen on this aspect.

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<sup>13</sup> Vellore Mutiny, which broke out on 10<sup>th</sup> July 1806, was the first large scale resistance by Indian soldiers against British. It was born out of the insulting of religious identities of sepoys and both Hindus and Muslims were affected by the new policies of the Company including dress code. Mutiny was short lived and suppressed in a day.

<sup>14</sup> Sent out by the Danish-Halle Mission, Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, and Heinrich Pluetschau reached in Tranquebar on July 9<sup>th</sup>, 1706. They were the first protestant missionaries in India. Ziegenbalg founded a seminary for the training of native teachers and preachers in 1716. About him Herman Gundert wrote thus: He left behind insisting missives, useful textbooks and good tracts, but particularly his translation of Bible he was working on tirelessly. See Albrecht Frenz, in Scaria Zacharia, ed., *Tapasam*, Vol. VII/ Issue 3 and 4/ Jan and April, 2012, p. 173.

<sup>15</sup> Christian Friedrich Schwartz (1726-1798) was the last important missionary of the Danish Halle Mission. He worked in South India and Sri Lanka from 1750 until his death.

### **Attitude of Presidencies towards the Missionaries**

It is interesting to note that all the three presidencies – Calcutta, Bombay and Madras took a different stand towards missionaries. While Calcutta welcomed them in half mind, Bombay was totally against. But in Madras, the missionaries enjoyed freedom as many of the administrators were staunch evangelists. Residents of Travancore like Lord Macaulay and his successor General John Munro, besides their administrative responsibilities, co-ordinated missionary activities as well. When Rigeltabue, a missionary of London Mission Society, started his educational activities and conversion programmes in Travancore in 1806, it was not officially approved by the EEC or the British Parliament. But he had received assistance in all respects from the then Resident Macaulay.

The evangelists still continued their effort to obtain the missionary transit in India. They were able to sent William Carey of London Mission Society to India in 1793 itself.<sup>16</sup> He had settled in Dinajpore and started a free school for poor children and taught Sanskrit, Persian and Bengali besides the doctrine of Jesus Christ. Two more missionaries, on advice of Grant, also embarked on an American Ship in 1799 bound for Calcutta. All of the pioneering missionaries worked from Danish territories, especially in Serampore. Governor General of Bangal, Sir. John Shore, with his evangelical spirit, was conniving at their activities. The missionaries also set up a paper mill with printing press and obtained bulk orders from the EEC. Profit from the business was invested in their educational enterprises. Most of the text books used in Indian schools printed in Serampore in the initial years.

### **Charter Act of 1813**

The charter was renewed for the next in 1813. This stimulated different evangelical orders to come together for the common cause. As in 1793, Charles

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<sup>16</sup> He was a shoes maker by profession and sent by London Baptist Missionary society and two others- Marshman and Ward- joined with him in subsequent years. They were collectively known as Bengal Trio.

Grant and Wilber Force led the movement. Grant made an interview with then Prime Minister, Liverpool with a view to influencing him. The earl of Buckinghamshire was the president of the Board of Control. All of them were of the opinion that they should maintain the same status without any change in the earlier policies. They were not dead against missionary proposal, but anxious about its consequences. They postulated that such an act would offer a chance to unite different categories of Indian society irrespective of caste, religion, tribe, regions etc. Persons like Macaulay, who had worked in Travancore as resident, appealed the parliament that let the missionaries work on their own risk and expenses, unless the Government support.

Mean while Zachary Macaulay, a founder member of CMS, reinforced by Wilber Force started a mass campaign with petitions to the Parliament demanding the dispatch of missionaries to India unconditionally. The parliament received around 837 petitions between February 1813 and June 1813 in this regard. The new charter came in to force on 21<sup>st</sup> July, 1813. It removed all the obstacles against the missionary enterprises in the British territories. It also agreed to allow a Bishopric in India and the the Board of control was entrusted to issue license to missionaries who wish to work in India. Besides these, a clause recommending modern education in India was also presented and the same was approved with slight modifications.

### **Clause 43 of Charter Act 1813**

The clause 43 recommended an amount less than Rs. 100000, which is to be raised from the surplus of territorial revenue each year and set apart for encouraging learnt native individuals and the revival of Indian knowledge and literature. The spread of scientific education was also intended. However no specific directions were given about how to accumulate fund or how it would be utilized. Government had not taken any further steps to implement the scheme in a fruitful manner. But the clause 43 acknowledged the arbitrary freedom of English missionaries to travel India.

They started their career in India with educational institutions. The clause 43 had its own impact in Kerala also.

## **LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY**

Although it is not scientifically or historically proved, some sections of Christians of Kerala believe that their tradition goes back to St. Thomas in 52 CE. The earliest Christians of Kerala were known as Syrian Christians and they divided themselves in two in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Majority of them came under the banner Syrian Catholics and the rest was known as Jacobites. Besides there were Roman Catholics and with the advent of Jesuit missionaries, large scale conversion took place in the coastal area and the newly converted people were known as Latin Catholics. Until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, these Syrians of Kerala did not have any system of preaching gospels in public or conversion programme. Hence, the Protestantism, imported by Anglican missionaries from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was perceived as a new religion in Kerala since their rites and rituals were entirely different from the existing traditional Christianity in Kerala.

The first protestant missionary reached in Kerala was William Tobias Ringeltaube (25<sup>th</sup> April 1806). With him, the history of modern education in Kerala begins. Like any other early missionaries, he was also not from England but from Silesia of Prussia and was trained in theology. Later he migrated to London and became a member of Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) in 1797. His first assignment as a missionary was at Calcutta but he was not happy with the society and went back within two years. Later he joined with Moravian Church.

London Missionary Society was founded way back in 1795 September by a group of wealthier people under the Church of England and the master brain behind it was Rev. Dr. David Bogue. Within a month, it could collect 3000 pounds as the working capital. It had a board of control with 30 directors and two among them were ministers. Nathanael Forsyth was the first LMS missionary who reached in India in 1798) and he worked from Chinsura, a Dutch settlement.

## Ringeltaube in Travancore

When Ringeltaube heard of the South Indian plan of the LMS, he offered his service to the society. He reached Tranqubar on the 5<sup>th</sup> of December 1804 and was received by Danish Missionaries.<sup>17</sup> In Madras he met Rev. Kerr and he supplied school books and other materials for Ringeltaube's further activities. The friendly attitude of the Madras government to the evangelism was well known and hence he found no difficulty to start his mission works there. He reached Travancore on request of a newly converted Maharasan (Later as Vedamanikyam). Ringeltaube reported to Resident Macaulay and on his advise, on 15<sup>th</sup> May, 1806, he met Diwan with a view to obtain official permission for missionary activities in Travancore. Veluthampi, the Diwan of Travancore, who looked upon Protestant Christianity as a symbol of British political dominance and a means to put the Cross and the Christian Flag, turned down the request of Ringeltaube to build a church at Mylady, a place extreme south of Travancore. Veluthampi was in fact anxious about the visit and enquired about his religion. Ringeltaube, with all his confidence replied that he belonged to the religion of Colonel Macaulay, the British Resident. Diwan retaliated sarcastically that he hadn't heard about such a religion ever before.<sup>18</sup>

Ringeltaube's boastful reply unequivocally indicates the nature of the bond between the colonial authorities and the missionaries. Being a Hindu state, Travancore was unable to tolerate with any form of missionary activity or religious conversion.<sup>19</sup> However, with tacit consent of the Resident, he achieved what he desired from the royal authorities. Macaulay's interest in the growth of Protestantism in Travancore can be understood from the words of Ringeltaube himself. He wrote:

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<sup>17</sup> It is already mentioned that in English possession areas, mission activities were not legalized at that time.

<sup>18</sup> Sankunni Menon, *A History of Travancore from the Earliest Times*, (trans.), Trivandrum, pp. 426-427.

<sup>19</sup> Ironically the same became a state sponsored programme during the following years due to some political reasons. The rulers of Travancore made substantial contributions to the church organizations either in the forms of cash, kind or land as explained in the first section of this chapter.

*Our society is indebted alone to Colonel Macaulay, without who's determined and fearless interposition, none of the missionaries would have been set his foot in Travancore.*<sup>20</sup>

Ringeltaube reached Travancore five months before Claudius Buchanan's visit. On behalf of Ringeltaube, Buchanan obtained permission from the king to build a church at Myladi and the same was completed in the year 1809.

Ringeltaube's plan in Travancore can be summarized as follows: He was determined to the establishment of a mission here. Besides elementary schools, he wished to found a boarding school for 12 boys chosen from all churches. He hoped that after the schooling, these young men could be sent out two by two as itinerant preachers on a salary of 2 Star Pagodas. From among them the more graced who proved to be worthy of their 'divine calling' should be ordained as ministers after a solemn pledge from them that they would do their pastoral duty to the entire satisfaction of the congregation.<sup>21</sup>

### **Ringeltaube's Schools**

Our knowledge about the LMS educational activities is enriched by the questionnaire containing 13 questions prepared by Munro and send to Ringeltaube in 1813. From the Ringeltaube's reply we know that, in southern Travancore, LMS had eight churches and along with each ,there were schools except in one place. School at Myladi admitted 32 boys and the teacher in charge was Devasahayam and he received 1 Star Pegoda and 80. Chk (Churkram) as s monthly salary.<sup>22</sup> School at

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<sup>20</sup> For details, see Augur, op.,cit., p. 40 .The resident was conniving about the Ringeltaube's visit because at home country his family was actively associating with the pro evangelical movement. His nephew Dr. Macaulay who was at Trivandrum considerably helped Ringeltaube in his effort.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 509.

<sup>22</sup> Pagoda was a unit of currency, a coin made of gold or half gold. Both Indian kings and British, Dutch and French authorities minted pagodas and among them the most valuable was star pagoda and 100 of them worth 350 rupees issued by East India Company from Madras.' Chk stands for Trancore 'Chakram'.



Pittalam was attended by 28 boys but the teacher, Vedamanikyam jr. received salary more than the teacher at Myladi. He drew 2 Star Pagoda and 80. Chk. There were 27 students at Tamereycoolam and teacher received the same amount given at Myladi. Here the teacher was Arulappan. Atticaudu School had 25 students and the teacher Neannapraghasam had the salary of 2 Star Pagodas and 80. Chk. In Covilvilley there were 34 students and the salary of Devasaghyan was 2 Star Pagodas and 80. Chk. Teacher at Eatabuly, Jesudasan also received the same amount.<sup>23</sup>

From the above description it is clear that each school admitted the students number ranging 25 to 35. Ringeltaube made it clear that the natives were not much disposed to send the children to the schools. It was more profitable to have them instructed in the various exercises by which they would gain the livelihood thereafter. So it can be assumed that he and his colleagues had to struggle to enroll and retain the students. Ringeltaube sadly stated that 'girls never came to the schools in Travancore and that it was a great loss'.

By 1810, there were 400 converts under his custody. Though it was a large number within four years of LMS existence in Kerala, Ringeltaube was not satisfied. He was not at all happy with the converts because many of them came forward for gaining material benefits alone. Within 25 years of Ringeltaube's arrival, the number of schools under LMS rose in to 100 with 3000 students. In 1860 there were 200 schools and 6700 students in all these schools. By the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, LMS was able to build up three hundred schools all over Travancore. Nearly 14000 students made use of these institutions.

Another question Munro asked Ringeltaube was if he had made any provision for the training of clergy under LMS. He replied that all the schools were for the laity and there were no specific institutions with the objective of training the clergies. This question helps us to know about Munro's special interest in the evangelical activity. For the laity students, instructions were given in lessons, of reading, writing,

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 623.

and arithmetic. Besides these subjects, Christian children were specifically taught the catechism and reading the New Testament or other available spiritual texts. Here two things stand out clear. He neither tried to make the curriculum a Christo-centric one nor induced students to embrace the new religion. In fact he did not want to irritate the Hindu ruler of Travancore, who made many concessions to LMS. He was also aware of the EEC's attitude towards conversion activities. Even in 1857, the Madras Government was reluctant to consider the proposal of DPI to appoint Hermmman Gundert of BEM as the Inspector for schools in South Canara and Malabar since he was a missionary.

### **Text Books**

The books used as texts in these schools were supplied by the missionaries of Tranqubar but Ringeltaube lamented that they were insufficient to meet the requirements.<sup>24</sup> Aware of the Company's opposition, these pioneering missionary cum educationalists were careful in the selection of learning materials and text books content. They adopted 'ethical' and 'moral' education with a view to propagate Christian ideologies in an indirect way. Their study books consisted of Aesop's Fables, Goldsmith's History of England and The Selection from the Beauties of History. At first they were ephemerals and not of high standard. This, it seems, would constitute the first use of Western literary texts for education in India.<sup>25</sup> The Christian missionary educators hoped that the curiosity and questioning aroused by ethical and moral education would lead pupil to the Christian world. Most of these books were compiled by John Clark Marshman, one among the Bangal Trio, and they were known as Copy Books. These books were composed of short sentences called 'Maxims'. For example, 'The earth turns on its own axis, which forms day and night'

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<sup>24</sup> All these text were printed in Serampore and brought to Trancquabar.

<sup>25</sup> Alok K. Mukherjee, *This Gift of English*, New Delhi, 2009, p. 106.

## Teachers of LMS

The teachers of LMS schools were chosen from the same congregation. Their eligibility was only knowledge in reading and fluency in prayers. But Taube was very particular that they could incite others to come on well. He had no other options since there were no other Europeans or educated natives to assist. The loneliness and the indifferent responses from the natives made him hopeless. In 1810 he wrote to sister about his pathemtic state of mind<sup>26</sup>. His soul was unhappy as there was nothing new, even artificial things, to motivate him. He was referring to the absence of a civic society and the lack of an indigenous literature. Of course these observations were born out of his disappointment and hence to some extent under estimation. This aspect will be clear when we look at the works of Hermman Gundart who had collected innumerable indigenous literary texts and made use of them in the lexicon works, linguistic analysis and in historical studies. Ringeltaube could not delve into the academic or creative works produced by Kerala over the periods. Unlike the other European missionaries worked in Kerala, Ringeltaube did not contribute anything substantially to the Malayalam language and literature. As a pioneering missionary, he was busy with the foundation of the congregations and hence could not have found out enough time for other activities.

## Expenditure of Schools

Ringeltaube managed all these educational institutions with 300-600 Star Pagodas per annum. To Munro, he replied, Star Pagodas 1200 per annum would be an adequate sum for the whole mission. This is an indication of the pain he took in the building up of a congregation and its precondition- educational activities. It is evident from his own statement that ‘I have hitherto struggled with bitterest want’ By adequate system, he meant, solid buildings, printing office, workers for printing and binding materials. There was an acute shortage of textbook and religious tracts. He wanted to build up better schools and boardings for the children. He was also

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<sup>26</sup> Letter quoted in Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, (1883) Trivandrum, 2013, p. 599.

worried about the lack of funds as LMS institution collected no fees or fines from the students. All such requirements were met from the fund allocated by the society itself.

Due to bad health condition, Ringeltaube left Travancore in 1815. In 1816 he boarded from Chennai and died during his return journey to motherland.

### **Class and Divisions in schools**

Dick Kooiman, who studied about the LMS in South Travancore, gives a description of the village schools run by them. These schools followed a uniform pattern with four classes. In the junior classes, alphabets, spellings, reading and catechism lessons were insisted. In the III and the IVth classes, reading of the Bible was compulsory. There were additional V<sup>th</sup> and VI<sup>th</sup> class composed of the children from IIIrd and IVth classes. The Vth class mainly focused on writing skills while the VI<sup>th</sup> class was specifically for arithmetic. Students stood in their places in their respective classes according to their progress of studies.<sup>27</sup>

### **Physical Features of the schools**

About the physical features of LMS schools, C. V. Kunjiraman gives a discription: These charitable institutions were schools cum churches. The last rites and marriages were held there along with other rituals. School was a hall with 16 feet length and 8 feet width. At the end of the hall there was a raised platform and it was known as *pull pit* and upon it a beautifully adorned Bible would be kept. Students of heathen families were not allowed touch it. If it happens, such student had to apologize as early as possible. Both the floor and walls were smeared with mortar. All these were new things for the students who hitherto attended the village schools.<sup>28</sup> Sahitya Panchanan P.K. Narayanappillai remembers that in LMS School at Kalarkode, where he studied, there were two sections- English and Malayalam

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<sup>27</sup> Dick Kooiman, *Conversion and Social Equality in India*, New Delhi, 1989, p. 88.

<sup>28</sup> C.V. Kunjiraman, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

medium. As his father was financially not sound, Narayanappillai was admitted in the Malayalam division. This discrimination had created inferiority feeling among the Malayalam medium students. In the Malayalam section, the old village school curriculum was continued and the students saluted their teachers as ‘Āśān’ while the latter as ‘Sir’.<sup>29</sup> K.P.S Menon remembers that the school hours started and ended with a prayer.<sup>30</sup> One hour during the regular class time was devoted to scripture education. It invited criticism from the caste Hindus<sup>31</sup> and finally in 1902, Travancore Government prohibited religious education during the academic hours.

### **Seminary at Nagarcoil**

Both LMS and CMS followed more or less similar pattern of educational system. LMS had village schools (as primary schools) in the lower level and Boarding schools as Middle (High schools) and at the top level, Seminary at Nagarcoil which was established in 1818 by Rev. Charles Mead. About Mead, Nagam Aiya remarked thus: He was a most enthusiastic worker and from the date of his arrival at Travancore in 1817 as a missionary of LMS till his death in 1873, he threw his heart and soul in to the work of education<sup>32</sup> Kawashima thinks, after Nagam Aiya, that this institution was the first to give regular English education in Travancore.<sup>33</sup> Since Benjamin Bailey had started classes in English at Kottayam in 1817 itself, one year before the establishment of Nagarcoil seminary, the opinion of Kawashima cannot be taken as valid. Apart from the English, Nagarcoil seminary imparted knowledge in Tamil, Malayalam and Sanskrit. The object of this institution was to train native agents. Pupils were selected with a view to employ them as the catechists, the school teachers and the mission agents. Arithmetic, geography, Malayalam grammar, Malayalam poetry, Tamil and Theology were also the part of

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<sup>29</sup> Quoted in P. K. Parmeswarnan nair, *Sahithya Pañcananan*, (1944) Kottayam, 1971, p. 37.

<sup>30</sup> K. P. S. Menon, *Atmakata* (trans.), K.N .Gopalan Nair, Kottayam, 1967, p. 35.

<sup>31</sup> Caste Hindus constituted the majority in schools with 53 pct. in 1868 while the Protestants were only 41.1 pct.

<sup>32</sup> Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, 1906, p. 446.

<sup>33</sup> Nagam Aiya, *ibid.*, and Kawashima, *Missionaries and a Hindu State*, New Delhi, 1998, p. 85.

the seminary curriculum. However, students from Hindu religion were also admitted there.<sup>34</sup> These Hindus were chiefly motivated by the opportunities in the Travancore Government administrative service. Nagama Aiya opined that these students, employed in higher posts in the Government service, were always loyal to the seminary. Nanooppilla, Diwan of Travancore (1877-80) had contributed a sum of Rs. 1000 to the seminary. Diwan Ram Rao (1887-92) also made such a donation of Rs. 500. The amount received as interest of these donations was used to institute award/prizes to the outstanding students every year.<sup>35</sup> Nagarcoil Seminary was upgraded in 1893 and rechristened as Scott College.<sup>36</sup> The missionaries vehemently attacked the superstitions and evil practices of traditional society of Kerala and advocated for European radicalism. They denounced idolatry, caste hierarchy and pointed out the fidelity of Vedic and Puranic texts.

#### **CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY**

Church Mission Society was founded in 1799. It was an organization within the Church of England. The very object of the society was to preach gospel in Africa and Eastern countries. Its initial name was *the Society for Missions in Africa and East*. But later it was changed to *'The Church Missionary Society for Africa and East'*.<sup>37</sup> As a religious and spiritual movement, it cooperated with other organizations having similar vision and mission.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> In 1860, there were 63 boarders and 50 day scholars in this institution and out of 50, 19 were Hindus.

<sup>35</sup> Quoted in Kawashima, op.cit, pp. 86-87.

<sup>36</sup> Scott was the Director of LMS who gave generous gift to the college.

<sup>37</sup> It is worth to mention some of its notable founding members like Charles Simeon, John Venn, Wilber Force, Thornton, Zachary Macaulay and James Stephen. All these were prominent and influential personalities in England at that time and actively participated in the Pro-Missionary propaganda as we have already discussed.

<sup>38</sup> In Kerala also, CMS and LMS had maintained a reciprocal friendship. The scheme of a Syrian seminary or college at Kottayam seems to have first originated with Ringile Tabue, the pioneering missionary of LMS. He also proposed to send a dozen Syrian priests to Madras to be trained in English under Rev. Loveless.

## **CMS in Kottayam**

Many of the pro-missionaries in England, who joined with Charles Grand and Wilber Force, had some definite connection with Kerala, especially to Travancore. Zachary Macaulay, who was instrumental in sending petitions to Parliament, was the brother of the then Resident of Travancore, Lord Macaulay. C.M. Agur in his *Church History of Travancore* hails the latter as the great prop and supporter of the early churches of Kerala.<sup>39</sup> On completion of a successful career in Kerala, at homeland, he identified himself with evangelical missions and joined with Dr. Buchanan and Wilber Force. In fact he was one of the influential forces behind the clause 43 of 1813 charter. Claudius Buchanan and Kerr had visited Kerala to enquire about the centuries old Christian tradition of Kerala way back in 1806.

## **The Native Christians of Kerala**

Although the evangelical mission is generally considered a part of colonial expansion, the Christianity in Kerala has a distinct history. Syrian Christians of Kerala firmly believed that their community was initiated by St. Thomas, one of the twelve disciples of Jesus Christ in AD 52. The authenticity of the St. Thomas legend was challenged on various grounds.<sup>40</sup> Documentary evidences of the Christians in Kerala are available from the 9<sup>th</sup> century CE. Tharisappally Copper Plate issued at the time of Cēra King Sthanu Ravi (844-870CE), speaks of the registering of a grant of certain lands and privileges to one Mar Ivan Sapir Isao, the head of a foreign trade group. Sapir Iso is believed to be a member of Christian community. Similarly the *Vīra Rāghava Pattayam* of 13<sup>th</sup> century CE is also refers to the Christians and customary rights enjoyed by them in Kerala.

The Syrian Christians of Kerala were well adapted to indigenous social environment and hence evolved their own rituals and rites that entirely contradicted

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<sup>39</sup> C. M. Agur, op.cit., 1903, p. 559.

<sup>40</sup> For discussions, see MGS Narayanan, *Kēralacaritṛathile Pathu Kaḷakkadhakal*, Trissur, 2017, pp. 99-101.

the Protestant systems. This community had also contributed substantially to the social, economic and cultural realm of Kerala. Until the interference of Portuguese, their religious practices were almost similar to that of the Hindus. However, Portuguese attempt to Latinize and keep them under their custody caused the internal dissensions in the community. There had been a schism among them, and two Bishops at the head of two different parties. These people, being aware of their social and religious set backs, gradually withdrew from the public life. This was the state of Syrian Christians when the colonial expansion was on the head way.

### **Dr. Kerr and Buchannan**

Subsequently, the Madras Government appointed Dr. Kerr to study about this unique Christians of Kerala and to prepare a report in 1806 and he submitted the same in the next year.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, the Govt. of India deputed Dr. Claudius Buchanan, a founder member of CMS and the then Chaplain of Calcutta to report the general status of Syrian Christians of Kerala with their tenants, believes, faith, customs and practices.<sup>42</sup> He was also asked to recommend measures to improve their material and spiritual conditions. He reached Kerala at the end of October 1806 and was welcomed by the King of Travancore, Balarama Varma. He stayed here for one week and was convinced of the deplorable conditions of Syrian Christians in every realm of life including religious and social. He also made a meeting with the 6<sup>th</sup> Marthoma, (Malankara Mythrapolita) the religious head of the Syrian Christians, and shared his feelings about the urgent need of educating children through modern system. He further suggested that primary schools were to be started along with each parish and by these schools; he hoped that, heathens could also be attracted to the Protestant faith.

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<sup>41</sup> It was Lord William Bentic, Governor of Madras directed him to collect data about the Syrians of Kerala.

<sup>42</sup> Buchanana was deputed by Lord Wellesley, the then Governor General of India.



## Political set up in Travancore

Travancore, one of the princely states, because of various political threats from outside, entered Subsidiary Alliance in 1795.<sup>43</sup> Accordingly, the EEC offered military assistance to Travancore in return for a tribute called Subsidy. In 1800, as part of colonial expansion, a Resident was appointed there to supervise the administrative and political activities of the state headed by the Maharaja. The resident interfered in almost all affairs and did play vital role in the policy making of the Government. Still Travancore was not a strictly colonial province, but the treaty of 1805 was decisive in the destiny of the state. Treaty of 1809 made Travancore a fully dependant vassal. Now the real power was exercised by the Resident, the imperial agent of the Britain. It is interesting to note that, despite the official restrictions, most of the colonial officials were ardent supporters of evangelism and conversion. Munro was a devote Christian and his Christianity was some what sturdy evangelical type so common in the England in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>44</sup> Chandramohan rightly remarked that the first two residents, Colonel Macaulay and Munro, were not merely the representatives of Britain but also the guardians of Protestantism.<sup>45</sup> Being a Hindu state, Travancore had taken all the measures to keep off missionaries from their political boundary. For instance, Veluthampi, the then Diwan denied permission to Ringeltaube to start missionary activity in the country. It was Macaulay who took special interest to obtain permission of the King, by ignoring the Diwan. Colonel Munro, Macaulay's successor, himself had admitted that his duty as a Christian was to afford all the assistance in his power to the diffusion of Christianity. In one of his letters to the chief secretary to the Government of India, Munro had made it clear that the spread of Christianity would be beneficial

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<sup>43</sup> Rama Varma was the then Maharaja and after him, in 1798, Balarama Varma became the King. First Resident Colonel Macaulay was appointed at his tenure.

<sup>44</sup> P. Cheriyan, *The Malabar Syrians and The Church Missionary Society, 1816-1840*, (1935), Kottayam, 2015, p. 85. For more about the administrative measures of Colonel Munro in Travancore, see, Ullur, 'Colonel Munro', in *Kerala Society Papers*, Vol II ed., T.K Joseph, Trivandrum, (reprint) 1997, pp.41-70.

<sup>45</sup> Chandramohan, Colonial Connections of Protestant Missionaries in Travancore, *The Indian Historical review*, Vol. XXVI, July 1999, p. 64.

to the interest of humanity and would also contribute indirectly to the stability of the British rule in India.<sup>46</sup> All these facilitated the easy entrance of Protestant Christianity in Travancore. Mutual understanding between the company servants and the missionaries was beneficial to both in many ways.

Like LMS, CMS had also started their activities in India even before the Charter Act of 1813. A corresponding committee of CMS was founded in Calcutta way back in 1807 but their first batch missionaries consisted of two members reached India only after the enactment of the clause 43 of Charter Act, 1813.<sup>47</sup> Subsequently an auxiliary committee of the Corresponding committee of CMS was formed in Madras in Nov 1814 with Rev. Marmaduke Thompson as its first secretary.

### **Colonel Munro and CMS**

Colonel Munro assumed the Charge of the Resident of Travancore on 23 March 1810. Being a man with evangelical spirit, he wished to revitalize the Syrian community he met there. His intention was not to pull down the ancient church and build another, but to remove the rubbish and repair the fragile areas of Syrian Christianity. With this view, he interfered in the local religious practices with great enthusiasm. He firmly believed that regeneration of this ancient and interesting community could be effected by means of education, by providing facilities for the translation and circulation of the Bible. He designed a college for the instruction of Syrian priests and lay men at Kottayam and proposed to place it under the superintendence of Ramban Joseph, one of the most pious and respectable priests of the day at Kottayam.<sup>48</sup> He wished to entrust the responsibility of reorganization of the Syrian community in the hands of the newly established Church Mission Society Corresponding committee, Madras, and requested them to depute some clergy men of

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<sup>46</sup> Col. Munro to Chief Secretary to the Government, Letter dated, 30th march 1818.

<sup>47</sup> Schnnare and Rhenius were the first two missionaries and they reached in 1814.

<sup>48</sup> It was known as Pa<sub>l</sub>ayseminary.

Church of England to work among the Syrian Christians of Kerala. Munro compiled a plan of educating people the principles of religion and the language of English.<sup>49</sup>

In response to this, CMS committee placed Mr. Norton, newly arrived missionary, at the disposal of Munro. Thus Norton became the first officially recognized protestant missionary in Travancore as per the Charter Act of 1813.

To Norton, Munro wrote thus: The diffusion of English literature among the people is one of the most effectual means of eradicating their errors, improving their minds and attaching them to the British nation.<sup>50</sup> Norton stationed at Alleppy as per the instruction of Munro.

Munro wrote: An efficient and extended system of education, particularly in the English language, will contribute more effectively than any other plan to the early and substantial advancement of the Protestant religion in India.<sup>51</sup> Norton started his first school with 40 children in the mission compound at Alleppy in 1817. He was able to start eleven other schools in the subsequent years. K. V. Eapen hails him as one of the pioneers of female education in Kerala.<sup>52</sup> However, we have already noticed that female education was not a novel thing to the Kerala Society. Our village schools had admitted girls also but only up to their puberty. However, in mission schools, girls were allowed to continue studies without such restrictions.

### **C.M.S College Kottayam**

Mean while, Munro initiated a programme of renovating the seminary which was started in 1814. He induced Travancore Government to endow a college at Koattayam, where CMS proposed to undertake the training of Syrian youths for holy orders. Though it was named a college, it had the characteristics of a secondary

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<sup>49</sup> Yesudas, R. M., *Colonel John Munro in Travancore*, Trivandrum, 1977, p. 53.

<sup>50</sup> Munro to Norton, Trivandrum, letter dated 13th February 1817, These correspondences were given in the Missionary register for the year 1816 and appended in P. Cheriyan, *Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary society 1816-1840*, p. 351.

<sup>51</sup> Munro to Maramaduke Thompson, Secretary to Corresponding committee of CMS, Letter. Dated 7<sup>th</sup> August, 1815, See P. Cheriyan, *ibid.*, Appendix A, Letter No. 1, p. 346.

<sup>52</sup> K.V. Eapen, *Church Missionary Society and Education in Kerala*, 1986, Kottayam, p. 18.

school. Besides theology, subjects like Syriac, Sanskrit, Latin, Algebra, Geometry and Trigonometry were included in its curriculum. The main objective of this institution was to train the Syrian priests. It was also his desire to combine with the college, a system of parish schools.<sup>53</sup>

The students attended these schools were not merely from Syrian community, and many of them were absorbed to the Travancore state service. Munro also indented to spread English education among the native speakers. He wished to bring out Malayalam translation of the Bible for popularizing Christian ideologies.<sup>54</sup> He further desired to save the Syrian Christians from their traditional superstitions and regain their social status. He also planned to appoint more Syrians in the sate service.

The first Principal of the newly built seminary cum education institution was Benjamin Bailey. He was followed by Joseph Fenn. Malayalam, Syrian, Sanskrit, Latin, Hebrew, Greek were the languages taught in the college. Besides these, Mathematics, History, Chemistry and Geography were also included in the curriculum. The medium of instruction was, of course, English. Two *Munshies* were appointed to handle Sanskrit and to teach Hebrew, a Jew from Cochin was also invited. Among the teachers of this institution, the names of Thomas Norton, Benjamin Baliey, Fen, Henry Backer (Sr.), Joseph Peet, Richard Collins and so on are to be specially mentioned. In 1820 there were 42 students in this institution to pursue the catanarship. In 1882 CMS College was upgraded as a second grade college and was affiliated to the Madras University. As per the statistics of 1904, there were 290 schools with 13148 students under the Church Missionary Society. This indicates the steady growth of CMS as a Missionary organization as well as an educational service provider.

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<sup>53</sup> Augur, op. cit., p. 958.

<sup>54</sup> Until that time, the Bible used by the native Christians was in Syrian language and many of them could not understand what the text exactly deals.

## **Royal Grants to CMS**

On the request of Munro, in the initial years itself, Rani Gouri Parvathibai, the then regent ruler of Travancore, had contributed Rs.21, 200 to the seminary at Kottayam.<sup>55</sup> A grant of Rs. 70 was also set apart every month to meet the expense of the hospital attached to it. Besides these, an island which brought 1000per month as revenue to the royal exchequer was also handed over to the society as tax free land. Afterwards the land was called as Munro Island. Rani further ordered that no Government officials should enter within the boundaries of the island or make any demand upon the inhabitants.<sup>56</sup> Rani also donated land to build a bungalow for Benjamin Bailey at Kottayam and to start a school at Chandhanakkad. The above description clearly indicates that the CMS and other church organizations were grown out of the substantial contributions made by the rulers of Travancore.

## **Benjamin Bailey**

It was Benjamin Bailey who started regular English classes in Kottayam in 1817 at his own residence and in the missionary register this school was referred to as ‘Grammar School’. Very soon it was grown in to CMS College High school. There is a controversy about the founder of CMS Grammar school as some scholars give the credit to Henry Backer (Senior) in 1821. But K.V. Eapen, in his study about the CMS institutions, by giving additional information, proves that the founder was none other than Benjamin Bailey. It developed as a full-fledged school under Henry Backer. It was Backer who erected a beautiful building in 1821.<sup>57</sup> It is proved that this school was the first high School in Kerala. This school acted as a feeder school for the Syrian College. It also meant to train youths as teachers for parochial or parish schools. CMS institutions operated through a three tire system. Primary level teaching was conducted in parish school. The more promising students were admitted in the grammar school and finally, the men suitable for serving the church were

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<sup>55</sup> Letter from H. H. Rani Parvatibai to Col. Munro, 28<sup>th</sup> Kumbham 993 ME. (March 1818).

<sup>56</sup> Royal Neet (Title Deed) 5<sup>th</sup> day of the month Thei, 994 ME (1819).

<sup>57</sup> Eapen, op.cit., p. 91.

absorbed to the Syrian College.<sup>58</sup> For this Grammar school, CMS Corresponding committee granted Rs.400 for building and a quarterly allowance of Rs. 250 for maintaining an establishment of ten children. With this amount mission was able to provide free food and lodging to the students. Parents also made some occasional donations.

There were ups and downs in the enrollment of students in school due to certain internal issues. Cholera broke out in 1832 was another set back to the school. The progress of the school was further obliterated by the rivalry between the orthodox Syrians and the Protestant missionaries. Yet the school continued its service fairly and in 1838, it was upgraded and shifted to the compound where the present CMS College situates. Building of the ‘Grammar School’ is still surviving.

### **Curriculum of CMS School**

Regarding the curriculum of CMS School, we have some references. In the initial stage, due to the unavailability of competent teachers, similar to the village schools, it was a single teacher institution. But in due course, more teachers were appointed to engage classes. It was the mission schools, for the first time in Kerala, introduced separate class for each age group and implemented a definite plan of curriculum. Students were also graded on the basis of their performance. Earlier, it was the teacher arbitrarily decided whether a student was to be promoted to the higher level. In class I, children were translating fables and short stories from English to Malayalam and were rendering the parts of the Bible. In the class II, the students were parsing sentences from Murray’s Grammar. They were trained to read and spell from cards and school books.<sup>59</sup> Religious instruction was the core of

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<sup>58</sup> Initially they thought of setting up of three grammar schools- one at Concard, and other at Munro Island ,besides Kottayam , but only one was fulfilled. See the Appendix V to the 23<sup>rd</sup> Report of CMS, prepared by Benjamin Bailey, Joseph Fenn and Henry Backer, and submitted to the Resident Colonel Newall, dated, 13<sup>th</sup> March, 1822.

<sup>59</sup> For details, see Epean, op.cit.  
<sup>59</sup> Epean, ibid.

the curriculum. This aspect was reported by Robinson, the Archdeacon of Madras in his second visit at Kottayam in 1860.<sup>60</sup>

Ist Class- Construed Selectae a Profanis

IInd the same

IIIrd Virgil

IVth Cicero's orations

Vth Horace's epistles

VI Demosthes

Besides these, Robinson also noted that Arithmetic, Algebra and the first six books of Euclid were also taught in the school. Three boys were studying Plane and spherical Trigonometry. In Syriac, they construed both the old and the New Testament fluently, giving the meaning both in English and in Malayalam and rendering an accurate account of the grammatical construction.

However, some of the officials of the school were not contented with the progress of the students. They also found that the students from outside Syrian community were far excellent in studies. Now, not only from depressed class, students of upper castes also started to seek admission. In order to overcome the curricular limitations, particularly regarding pedagogical practice, Woodcock- the Head master after Backer (Sr.)- had designed a method called circular classes.<sup>61</sup> The circular classes followed mutual instruction and showcased considerable improvement. Woodcock reported that his English classes were going on well and the boys were quick in learning their lessons by heart.<sup>62</sup> As the disagreement between the Syrian community and the protestant missionaries became more intense, the latter decided to upgrade the Grammar school into a public instiituaion called The CMS

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<sup>60</sup> C. M. Agur, op. cit.

<sup>61</sup> cf. Epen thinks that it might be modeled after Bell System. Here he failed to connect the fact that that Bell system itself was the modified version of the indigenous schools of Madras presidency, Epen, op.cit.

<sup>62</sup> Quoted in Eapen, *ibid.*, 94.

College, Kottayam. Then the school was shifted to the College Hill and became the part of the college (1838). Joseph Peet continued to be the principal for one more year and was succeeded by W.T. Humphrey. The next Principal was John Chapman. Until 1856, no fee was collected from the students but during the tenure of Richard Collin's,<sup>63</sup> it was fixed at 4 *Chakram* (about 14 paise) for the residential students if they were mission attached children ('our own boys') and 7 *chakrams* for others. By that time, the Madras University came into being and Collins did all efforts to make the college affiliated to the University. From 1870 onwards, students of CMS College appeared for the Matriculation examination.

### **BASEL (GERMAN) EVANGELICAL MISSION**

Basel Evangelical Mission, established in Basel, Switzerland was the last of major evangelical organizations entered in the field of education of Kerala. Basel Evangelical Mission (BEM) had started their operations in Malabar District of erstwhile Madras Presidency from 1834 onwards by Samuel Hebicks. But it was Hermnan Gundert, a German by birth who reached Tellichery on 12<sup>th</sup> April 1839, was the real founder of the activities of BEM in Malabar territory. The history of Basel Evangelical Mission was entirely different from that of LMS and CMS. A short description of the history of this organization is given below.

Clause 43 of the Charter Act 1813 did not permit any missionary organizations outside Britain to work in India. By that time many missionary organizations, similar to that of LMS and CMS were established all over the Europe. Although huge amounts available in London for the spread the gospels and for the conversion, it was difficult to find out suitable English missionaries determined to work different geographical, climatic, social and cultural settings. Hence most of the pioneering missionaries of LMS and CMS were not from England but from Germany or other European nations. William Carey and Ringeltaube were the examples. From early missionaries worked in India, the Basel German Evangelical Mission had

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<sup>63</sup> Collins took charge of the College in 1855.



acquired some definite knowledge about the social background of Indian subcontinent and the opportunities of proselytism. Hence they repeatedly requested British Parliament to remove the ban on missionary organisations outside Britain. Brum Hardt, Inspector of BGEM personally visited England in 1833 with a view to influence the important personalities in this regard. In the same year the parliament decided to open the doors to all the organizations wish to start their stations Indian sub continent.

### **History of Basel Mission**

Basel German Evangelical Mission (hereafter BEM) was established in 1815 in Switzerland against the background of Napoleonic wars. Countries like Britain, Prussia and Russia formed a combined army against Napoleon and the troop stationed at Basel city, Switzerland. The French army chief warned the citizen of Basel that unless they expelled this army, the city would be destroyed. Following this grave situation, soldiers with Christian spirit met in the city church and took the pledge that if Napoleon could be defeated in the war, as a token of their faith and devotion, a new evangelical order would be established. Following the fall of Napoleon, to keep the pledge, a meeting was convined at the St. Martin Church, Basel, and it officially decided to start a college to train the missionaries. Thus this church became the birth place of Basel Mission. The very objective the newly formed institution was to impart training to the missionaries who wished to preach the Gospels far and wide.<sup>64</sup>

### **Hermman Gundert**

Although Gundert's name was inseparably connected to the BEM, he came to India not as their missionary. He was not even a member of that society at the time

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<sup>64</sup> For details, see, *Malayala Basel Mission Sabhayude Charitra Samkshepam*, (1934), Calciut, 1989, pp,6-14. Also see, K. P. Vareed, *Dr. Hermman Gundert* (Biography), Kottayam, 1973, pp. 3-8.

of his arrival. He traveled to India with Norris Groves,<sup>65</sup> as a tuition teacher of his son. But soon he ended the alliance with Groves and started independent preaching. Eventually he joined with Basel German Evangelical Mission which was operating from Mangalore. He made Illikkunnu, near Tellichery as his station. There he obtained a Bungalow at free of cost from Mr. Strange, a Judge at Tellichery, on his return to England.<sup>66</sup>

### English Free School at Tellichery

Gundert's first educational work in Malabar begins at the English Free School, which was already in operation at Tellichery.<sup>67</sup> In fact this school was founded by a CMS missionary way back in 1817 near the Tellichery fort. Later, the ownership of the school was taken over by wife of Anderson, the Judge at Tellichery court. Baptista, a missionary from Tanjore was in charge of the school when Gundert reached there. As per the contract, the financial matters were handled by previous owner but Gundert had to visit and supervise other activities of the school at least once in a week. Some students of this institute regularly visited Gundert's house for advanced learning in History and Geography. About this school Gundert wrote thus:

*This school connects us (Basel Mission) with Portuguese, Catholics and Parsy people here. Even though British were expelled from here, children of foreigners in Indian partners stayed behind. Hence whatever the service given to them, in turn, would become a service to the indigenous people.*<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> A wealthy person from England dedicated to the spread of Gospels.

<sup>66</sup> Strange was a man with evangelical spirit and was in search of a competent missionary to work at Tellichery. He was highly satisfied with the activities of BGEM in Mangalore.

<sup>67</sup> He reached Malabar on April 12 1839 and school was taken over on May 6<sup>th</sup>, 1839 and there were 60 students at that time. For the activities of Gundert in Kerala with special reference to language, literature and education, see Sreejith. E, Gundert: 'The Step Father of Malayalam' (Mal.) *Samakaleen Malayalam*, 16<sup>th</sup> May, 2014, pp.45-50.

<sup>68</sup> Based on the personal Diaries of Herman Gundert and other primary sources, Dr. Scaria Zacharia and Dr. Albrecht Frenz wrote a book titled *Dr. Herman Gundert: Parudīsayile*

From this statement, it can be assumed that the students of this school were chiefly the foreigners or mixed race. This school was closed down on 4th August, 1842 due to the want of pupils. As the court was shifted to Madras, many of the employees left Tellichery with their families and servants. Gundert records that the entry of the Madras Government in the field of elementary education affected the missionary activities in adverse manner. Scaria Zacharia and Albrecht Frenz think that Tellichery School stopped functioning because of the beginning of Madras University and consequent changes in the field of education.<sup>69</sup> The above quoted passage explicitly refers to the native discontent against the foreign rule and Gundert was under the impression that British would be expelled from the Indian sub continent in the near future.

### **Gundert's Visits in the Other Organizations**

Even before his arrival at Tellichery, Gundert had made conversations with Roberts, the Head Master of Raja's Free School Trivandrum<sup>70</sup> and had visited CMS and LMS intuitions in Travancore. In one of the letters to the parents, he wrote about his visit at the LMS Seminary, Nagaroil. There he examined the progress of students in geography, history of Christian church, Geometry and Arithmetic....<sup>71</sup> Experiences thus gathered helped him to develop a blueprint for educational services leading to the teachings of Jesus Chirst. He was not hurry to implement any revolutionary change in the existing village educational system so that his

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*Bhāshapandithan*, Kottayam, 1991. This book contains extracts of his soliloquies regarding different issues and incidents experienced in Kerala. See G.B, 19.3.40 P. 86.

<sup>69</sup> Scaria and Frenz, *ibid.* Madras University was founded only in 1857 and it was Madras High school started in 1841. In 1853, a college department was added to it, and later it developed in to the Presidency College.

<sup>70</sup> This visit was paid on 6<sup>th</sup> October, 1838.

<sup>71</sup> Albrecht Frenz, *Herrman Gundert*, (tran.), N.P. Hafis Muhammed, Malayalam University, Tirur, 2016, pp. 106-107.

educational experiments did not evoke any opposition from the local people as it happened in Travancore.<sup>72</sup>

### Gundert and Traditional Teachers

Gundert had always maintained a cordial relation with the village teachers called *Naṭṭeḷuthachan-s*. For example, Puthiyōtan Kannan who wrote *Kīma Śāsth̄ra*,<sup>73</sup> the first chemistry book in Malayalam, made it clear that the book was brought out at the instance of Gundert. He further remarked that the services rendered by Gundert to the traditional village teachers were remarkable. He became instrumental in teaching the *Eḷuthachan-s* and other scholars of Kōlethunadu the subjects like English and Western Science. From the preface of *Kīma Śāsth̄ra*, we also learn that, Kāna Raman Eḷuthachan, another village teacher, wrote a book on mathematics at the commission of Hermman Gundert.<sup>74</sup>

### Gundert's First Malayalam School

Immediately after the take over of the English Free School, Gundert started his first Malayalam school in the varanda of his residential bungalow.<sup>75</sup> Even before that his wife, July Gundert had initiated a gathering of girls near by. They were given training in lace making and needle works. This was the beginning of girls institute at Illikkunnu. It was attended by ten students and supervised by a young man belonged to Hindu religion who had his education at Tellichery Free School. From

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<sup>72</sup> When the Government started vernacular schools in Travancore during 1866-67, traditional teachers, parents as well as students were anxious about the new system. They thought that new system would degenerate the moral and ethical aspects of the children besides depriving the job opportunities of village teachers. For more details, see, C .V. Kunjiraman, *Ñān*, ed., Hashim Rajan, 2011, Trivandrum, p. 28.

<sup>73</sup> About *Kīmaśāstra*, first reference is made by C.P. Sreedharan, see *Śāstrasāhityam Malayāḷathil*, Kottayam, 1982, p. 121.

<sup>74</sup> Raman Eḷuthachan was a scholar in astronomical science and hailed from Thrikkariapur, Kannur. Puthiyodan Kannan Nair was from Raman Thali, Kannur. No writers on Gundert mentioned about these works but C.P. Sreedharan, who happened to see some pages of *Kīmaśāstra*. For details, C. P. Sreedharan, *op.cit.*, pp. 121-123. However, he does not mention much about this Mathematics Text. Present researcher obtained a copy of this book entitled '*Kṣethṛagaṇitam*', from Prof. Scaria Zacharia.

<sup>75</sup> It opened on 14<sup>th</sup> May, 1839.

autobiographical notes, we know that every night Gundert prepared lessons for the next day classes and handed over to the assistant teacher.<sup>76</sup> Gradually the number of students rose to forty. However, when Gundert shifted residence to Tellichery Town, it was closed down but a new one was started near by the Tellichery fort. He opened another school at Katiroor with 20 boys on the request of Thiyya caste people of the locality.<sup>77</sup> There were 34 students appeared for the examination conducted for the first time; among them one was a girl. Gundert brought the boys and girls of Tellichery School to Katiroor to assist in teaching. Dr. K.K.N. Kurup in an article entitled '*English Education and Social Progress among Thiyyas of Malabar*' examines the reasons for the remarkable progress of modern education among the Thiyya caste in Malabar. The high caste Hindus never entertained new education while the downtrodden masses could not make use of it due to their pathetic social and economic conditions. Because of some reasons, living conditions of Thiyyas in Malabar was some what better as they were actively involved in trade and commerce or engaged in some contract with the Government in various fields. They were highly motivated by the employment opportunities under colonial regime. Although BEM admitted students regardless of caste, Thiyyas outnumbered all others.<sup>78</sup> At the same time, in Travancore where Traditional Hindu Monarchy persisted, the conditions of *Thiyyas* were more deplorable. Until the close of 19<sup>th</sup> century, the lower caste people were not admitted to the public schools in Travancore, except in Maharaja's H.H School.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Albrecht Frenz, *Herrman Gundert* (tran.), N. P. Hafis Muhammed, Malayalam University, p. 121.

<sup>77</sup> This school was opened on 15<sup>th</sup> February, 1840.

<sup>78</sup> See, K.K .N Kurup, *Modern Kerala*, Trivandrum, 2011, chapter IV.

<sup>79</sup> Dr. Palpu and his brother were the students of Maharaja High School, Trivandrum. Not all lower castes but Thiyyas were admitted on certain pressures. Even then these students were not allowed to enter the Government service in Travancore. The memorandums submitted seeking school admission and government jobs and the government's reply were given in Dr. Palpu's work *Thiruvithamkotte EJavar*, Kayamkulam, 2014. Sreemulam Legislative Assembly speeches of N. Kumaran Asan and Ayyankali were also brought in to light the untold miseries of lower sections with regard to educational opportunities.

### **Gundert's Scheme of Education**

Gundert combined preaching and educational activities together. Along with the church at Illikkunnu, he managed two orphanages, one for the boys and the other for girls. To train the catechists and teachers, he initiated a middle school at Nettoor (1852). This was the first Middle school in Malabar. The students successfully completed four years of study, and those who were found eligible for devotional activities were sent to Mangalore Theological Seminary. Those who wished to become teachers were admitted in the training school. The middle school was under the charge of Mr. Eron. Mission started an English school at Tellichery in 1856 with Eron as the Manager and Souvvayin as the assistant. When they were transferred to Kannur, the charge was handed over to Hera and Aldinger. These teachers also engaged classes in Nettoor and Tellichery. This middle school was renamed as Christian High school in 1890. Until 1898 no student outside Christian community was admitted there. Gundert also started another school at Nettoor and in all these schools; he himself handled the Holy Scriptures.

### **Other Institutions**

In 1846, Rev. J Fritz started a boarding school for girls at Calicut with 12 girls. The number rose to 27 by the next year. Elementary instructions were given in language and basic arithmetic. They were also given training in sewing and knitting in the afternoon sessions. For thirty seven years, it was a boarding school which imparted education to the girls of Christian families and the orphans. In the course of time the school was placed under Government inspection, and obtained a very fine amount of grant under the 'Results System'. In 1872 pupil were, for the first time, appeared in Government Teachers' Examination. In 1887 it was raised to the Middle school standard, and a few years later it began to send pupils for the English Lower Secondary Examination. In 1904, it was recognized as a complete High school.

By 1845-46, BEM had four primary schools in and around Calicut city. Within three years, the number increased to eight. Basel German Evangelical Mission English School was started at Kallai in 1848. It was the first school of that kind in the locality. In 1859, the school was shifted to a more spacious building in the Mission compound near Manachira Tank. In 1872, the institution was raised to a Middle school. Six years later it was up graded as high school under the Headmastership of Dewan Bahadur G.T. Vurgese, BA. In 1881, first batch of students appeared for the Matriculation Examination and in the same year Rev. L. J. Frohnmeyer was appointed as the Manager.<sup>80</sup>

### **BGM Parsy school, Tellichery**

BEM received a big endowment from a rich Parsy man to start a school at Tellichery in the year 1859. BGM Parsi high school was opened with this amount. About the educational institutions of BGEM, Moorkkothu Kumaran makes such an observation: *The rich men did not want it, the poor could not afford it. It was in those circumstances that the mission educated innumerable poor boys enabling them thus to attain respectable position and status in life. I shall never forget my experience as a student in this school. In those days Brennen HS here was a school for the rich while the mission HS was intended for the poor. Boundless is my debt to this school.*<sup>81</sup>

Murkot Kunjappa, son of Murkkot Kumaran, writes: *Although the study of Bible was compulsory right through all classes, there was very little evidence of attempt to proselytism apparent during all the years which my father, myself and my*

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<sup>80</sup> A short history of Basel Mission institutions in Malabar is given in the College Calendar, Malabar Christian College, Kozhikode, 1937-38.

<sup>81</sup> Murkkot Kumaran, *Basel Mission Society: Centenary Commemoration Speech* at Tellichery , 1934. He was an alumnus of BEM School and later became its Head Master (1912-30). Quoted in Murkot Kunjhappa, 'Heritage of Basal Mission in Malabar', ed., K. J. John, *Christian Heritage in Kerala*, Cochin, 1981, p. 236..

brothers were student from 1884-1936. However, his opinion does not match with the BMR of 1896, prepared by Mr. Dilger about the Parsy School.<sup>82</sup> He wrote thus:

*My object has always been to lead my pupil to Jesus, and to teach them to acknowledge in Him the savior of their soul. .... In the new comers of the Fourth Form you can see heathenism in its most horrible aspect, with all its shocking superstitions, and its crude idolatry. Gradually the Gospel enters their mind. At first it is like some foreign power. But in the higher classes the idolatrous notions and ideas retire to the background, as if ashamed, and the pupils declare openly that they believe in Jesus, and that there remains the caste difficulty.*

The above quoted statement clearly depicts how missionaries made use of educational institutions for an effective proselytism. Bible teaching was only a tip of ice berg, the bigger part of Christian agenda was submerged and it was not intelligible at a glance. The admirers of missionary education, like Murkoth Kunjappa, could not realize the hidden agendas of evangelical workers. However, as opined by Murkoth Kumaran, in the field of elementary education, the Basel Mission schools served as a model for the British Government to follow.<sup>83</sup>

### **Some more Schools**

In 1886, schools at Puthiyangadi and Chalappuram were started.<sup>84</sup> The latter was for girls. In 1845, at Chobala, and Vatakara Gundert started schools. *Poul Vaidyar* and *Kunkan Gurikkal* were the teachers of this school. In 1887, the Board school at Payyoli was taken over by BEM. A Mission school was started in Vatakara in 1886. In Karakkadu, BEM started a school in 1888. Deitz, another missionary started a school in Palakkad in 1862. Subsequently schools were started in Athikkodeu, Vatakkanchery, Kannani, Kinnanur and the like. From Manjeswar up to river Chandragiri, Mission was able to start 9 schools.<sup>85</sup> The schools at Panayur and Athikkode received generous financial support from the local people (1882) and

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<sup>82</sup> BMR Report 1896, p. 64.

<sup>83</sup> Quoted in Kunjappa, op.cit., 235.

<sup>84</sup> Both these institutions were in the precinct of Calicut city and surviving even today.

<sup>85</sup> For details of these schools, see *Malayala Basel Mission Sabhayude Charithra Samkshepam* (1934), Calicut, 1989.



when Karuvappara School became uneconomic, the same was amalgamated to the English school nearby. Kallai BGEM School was later upgraded as Malabar Christian College. The first Girls school of Calicut became a high school in 1904.

Educational activities of BEM greatly improved the educational standard of Malabar District. It considerably reduced the burden of Government in this regard. BEM played a pivotal role in the propagation of high ideals and utility of modern education among the common people. Unlike the village schools, BEM school buildings were solid, airy, and spacious with chalk boards, benches, chair and other necessary items. Now the children started to write on paper with ink pen. Cadjan and stylus lost their earlier importance. All these were new experiences for native children. This changed atmosphere reflected in their studies too. K.P. Kesava Menon, the renowned freedom fighter, in his autobiography wrote about the 'excitement' he had when allowed to sit on the school bench after the sand writing.<sup>86</sup> Now the students were familiar with slate, pencil, paper, Ink and other teaching-learning aids. There was a marked change in the pedagogical aspects too.<sup>87</sup>

Basel Evangelical Mission introduced specially designed text books with specific curricular objectives. In village schools, indigenous literary works used as text books and they were not sufficient to stimulate cognitive, affective and psychomotor domains of the learners.<sup>88</sup> Missionary pedagogy resulted in the development of new instructional strategies and a academic language. Their text books were divided into sections and at the end of each section, relevant exercises were given to

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<sup>86</sup> K. P. Kesava Menon, *Kalīñjakālam* (1957), Kozhikode, 2009, p. 13.

<sup>87</sup> Murkot Kumaran says that, 'In the matter of education, especially in that of elementary education, the BEM schools served as a model for the British Government to follow. They swept aside the old shacks that served as school buildings and replaced them by solid, airy, spacious buildings. Where formerly little children squatted on the ground in small mats, they now sat on benches and wrote on desks. Where they wrote with their tender fingers on sand, they now wrote on slates and paper, with pencil, pen and ink. Instead of their teachers recording lessons on palm leaves with a sharp iron implement, they had now text books to study'- Centenary Commemoration Speech, 1934.

<sup>88</sup> This will be understood when examine the content of texts used in village schools in Kerala like *Yudhiṣṭiravijayam* , *Raghuvamṣam* etc. These aspects were dealt in the present study, see above, chapter on 'Village Schools of Pre-Colonial Kerala'.

strengthen the content of study. Another contribution of BEM was the opening of Night schools for those could not attend the schools in day time.

### **Developments in Educational Sector- Madras Presidency**

Wherever missionaries reached, they were particular to make close contacts with colonial authorities for various reasons. In this way, Robison, the Tukti of Kannur was a close friend of Gundert.<sup>89</sup> Robison was later promoted to the Collector of Malabar. From him, Madras Government came to know about the educational services of BEM in Malabar in general and Hermman Gundert in particular. Following the Wood's Dispatch of 1854, Madras Government also made some efforts to restructure the entire educational system across the Presidency. Accordingly, Alexander John Arbuthnot was appointed as the first Director of Public Instruction in 1855. It was further decided to appoint four principal inspectors for schools, twenty Zilla (district) Visitors and 60 Assistant Inspectors. DPI was entrusted to start District schools, appoint qualified teachers, develop curriculum and text books and to organize an effective administrative system for all these things.<sup>90</sup>

### **Gundert as the School Inspector**

On Robison's request, Madras Government asked Gundert to take up the assignment of school inspector for Malabar and South Canara districts. Being fully involved in the propagation of Gospels, at first, he was reluctant to accept the offer. But the pressure was so high and after the receipt of consent from the head quarters at Basal, he assumed the charge. Prior to that, from Madras Government, he had

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<sup>89</sup> There was a street violence in 1850 at Kannur following the conversion of a Hindu girl and Gundert made use of the friendships with colonial authorities to crush the riot.

<sup>90</sup> Arbuthnot, A.J was appointed as the first Director of Public instruction for Madras fin 1855 following the recommendations of Woods Dispatch. As per this scheme it was decided to appoint four principal inspectors for schools, 20 Zilla visitors and 60 sub assistant inspectors. Arbuthnot was entrusted to opening district schools, organizing inspecting staff. Later he became the Vice chancellor of Madras University in 1871-72 periods. He was succeeded by Alexander Arbuthnot. In Calicut, a Provincial school was started in the year 1854 itself.

obtained permission to continue his mission responsibilities as well.<sup>91</sup> He wrote thus: *I am afraid that to what extent I could be impartial in my new job as school Inspector... Any how I am satisfied with the present appointment as it gives me an opportunity to work for the divine kingdom without being labelled as a missionary.*<sup>92</sup> Further he writes that the the given task is perfectly in agreement with his intrinsic aptitude in teaching profession. The salary of Gundert was fixed at Rs. 800 per month. However, the final appointment order was issued only two years later.<sup>93</sup> In fact the Government was not prepared to consider a missionary for an important post, particularly in the Education Department. Hence, when DPI placed Gundert's name before the Government Secretary, it was rejected outrightly. But Arbuthnot insisted as he hadn't anybody to suggest other than Gundert. Finally the Government approved the appointment.

### **Gundert and Arbuthnot**

Earlier Gundert had all the freedom to select lessons in text books as he was not a Government official. It was not possible after that. Arbuthnot, the DPI, had interfered in the text book construction and this aspect is mentioned in the personal diary of Gundert. Arbuthnot insisted to follow the features of texts compiled by George Pope for Tamil studies.<sup>94</sup> Pope was of the opinion that, to make lessons novel or attractive, it was necessary to prepare new books having modern prose style. Gundert could not tolerate to this and argued that major share of the content should be taken from the ancient literature of Kerala.

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<sup>91</sup> We also come to know that if he was not permitted to continue the missionary works, he would not have taken up the new assignment, see *Gundert Pandithraute Jeevacharithram*, chapter IV, Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository, 1896.

<sup>92</sup> Scaria Zachaira, and Albrecht Frenz, op. cit., p. 135, GM 23.10.55.

<sup>93</sup> However, it took two more years for the appointment to come in to force. Appointment details were published in the Fort St. George Gazette, dated 6<sup>th</sup> April 1857.

<sup>94</sup> Pope was missionary cum educationalist who worked in Thirunelveli region and authored many books like *A hand book of the ordinary dialect of the Tamil Language, London, A larger grammar of Tamil language in both its dialects, madras, 1858* and *A text book of Indian History with genealogical tables, examination questions, and chronological, biographical geographical and general indexes*, London 1871. This clearly indicates that attempts like that of Gundert were taken place many parts of India simultaneously.

According to Gundert, a standard text book must give due representation to regional variations, structural features and pronunciation aspects of the language in the country<sup>95</sup>. He was not in favor of combine scientific truths, moral lessons or other similar things along with the language study. It would obstruct the progress of the latter. For moral teaching, he suggested a separate book which contains illustrations from real life situations and value oriented stories. He was also opposed to include abstract concepts in the primary level text books.

As stated earlier, Gundert had made a series of conversations with the then DPI about the nature of the text books to be brought out. He had also consulted the matter with Mr. Harris, a judicial officer worked at Calicut.<sup>96</sup>

### **Education through Mother Tongue**

Debates over the medium of instruction –Vernacular or English- and the type of knowledge- Indigenous or Western- were almost settled with the Wood's Dispatch of 1854. It underlined the importance of both in the school curriculum. Although rudimentary knowledge in English was provided in his schools, Gundert gave more importance to Malayalam because of two obvious reasons. He was of the opinion that the mother tongue is the best means to communicate the Gospels and other academic subjects and secondly, sometimes it was more important than the former, that Gundert was a linguistic genius intrinsically motivated to explore the etimological and grammatical aspects of languages. Among the various languages he knew- both European and Indian, Malayalam was his most favourite.<sup>97</sup> He argued that, students must be trained in the indigenous knowledge prior to the advanced studies in modern subjects. LMS and CMS missionaries, though contributed much to Kerala society

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<sup>95</sup> By the country he meant, the Malayalam speaking area.

<sup>96</sup> Scaria Zacharia and Albrecht Frenz, op. cit., p. 136 ( GM 19.5.55).

<sup>97</sup> Present researcher had published an article relating the concept of *Linguistic Intelligence with special reference to Hermman Gundert* (Mal.) See Sreejith. E, Samakaleena Malayalam, Issue dated 16<sup>th</sup> May, 2014.

and literature, were not as educational thinkers as Hermman Gundert.<sup>98</sup> Gundert was basically a teacher. He remarked thus: I have not ordained till the date and I want people see me as a teacher than a catechist. Gundert was aware of the fact that majority of the native students were financially or culturally backward and hence if the knowledge was imparted through a foreign language, the entire educational efforts would become ineffective.

When Gundert assumed the charge of the School Inspector, the entire north India was undergoing through the experiences of the Revolt of 1857. Although Kerala was not affected by it, up to date information of various events reached here also. Gundert, by all means, defended the British rule and denounced the revolutionaries. He opined that the entire progress of the country, at least for the last 50 years, was due to the benevolent rule of English. It is not the English tradition to torture or kill the innocents but the sins of Hindus.<sup>99</sup> Even in the midst of tensed atmosphere, he continued the work entrusted with great enthusiasm and travelled across the district and inspected the schools regularly. As per the schedule, the first institution to be visited was the White House School, Cochin, but to surprise all, he started the inspection from the Catholic School, Mangalore.<sup>100</sup>

### **Text Books of Gundert**

It can be rightly said that, in Kerala, textbooks of scientific nature begin with Hermman Gundert. We have already noted that there were text books in Malayalam language even before the interference of Gundert. Unfortunately they are not survived. Text books of Gundert were in accordance with the psychological trends and they were objective based too.

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<sup>98</sup> Dick Kooiman has given a description of social and cultural background of early LMS missionaries in Kerala. *Conversion and Social Equality in India*, 1989, pp 35-51.

<sup>99</sup> For details, see, *Gundert Panditharute Jīvacārithram*, Mangalore, 1896, chapter IV. About the author, no mention is made in the text.

<sup>100</sup> Scaria and Frenz, op.cit., p. 139, GM 1.5.57.

## Valiya Paṭhārambam-Educational ideals

*Valiya Paṭharambam: Malayalam spelling and Reading Book* was prepared for the use of primary school students. The surviving copy preserved at Basel was printed in 1852. However, in its preface it is stated that, *the teachers and students had been using this text for many years and the author was extremely happy about that.*<sup>101</sup> To which class the text was used is not mentioned in the book. In the introductory part, Gundert makes a critical review of the existing village educational system, particularly the monitorial instruction.<sup>102</sup> While teaching, he argued that, individual difference of the learner is to be taken in to account and the lessons should be planned accordingly. For language learning, he presents a wonderful scheme. The child should master all the alphabets in the first month itself; vowels, ligatures and *vargakṣra-s* are to be taught in the second. They should make an attempt to read the words in the third month. In the following months up to six, reading in comprehensive level is to be encouraged. Teacher should take care of each student in this regard.<sup>103</sup> Economic status of the student must not be a criterion for imparting knowledge. Besides all, the teachers are to be aware of the intelligent abilities of the children too. Gundert recommended meaningful learning in place of old rote learning strategy. Teachers should always encourage students to ask questions and clarify their genuine doubts. By teaching, he meant the overall development of the child. Further he stated that, for the accomplishment of the high ideals of education, the blessing of the almighty is indispensable. In this way, Valiyapāṭharambam can also be treated as the first teaching manual in Malayalam language.

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<sup>101</sup> The preface part is reproduced in, Scaria Zacharia ed., *Malayalavum, Herрман Gundertum*, Vol. I, Tirur, pp. 572-73.

<sup>102</sup> At Tübingen University, he had studied psychology apart from theology, history and philosophy.

<sup>103</sup> Here he implicitly indicating that the junior ones should not be put under the charge of seniors called monitors as practiced in the traditional schools.

## Content of Valiyapātharambam

The content of *Valiyapaṭarṁbam* includes alphabets, writing methods, reading comprehension, proverbs, cantos (*ślōka-s*), stories and poems. In the reading section, moral maxims from the Bible were amply used.<sup>104</sup> There were also stories leading to the moral development of the learners. It was the period of Victorian morality and it had its own effects upon the the curriculum of the missionaries all over the world. A portion from the *Kaṛṇṇapaṛva* of *Mahābhāratha* is also included in this text<sup>105</sup>

## Pāthamāla

The publisher of this text was the Madras Government and the year of publication is 1860. It is clear that the text was compiled when Gundert was appointed as the Inspector for the South Canara and Malabar Districts. It includes both prose and poems. Out of 216 pages, only 23 were given to prose. There were five stories from epics (*Ithihasa kathakal*). The rest part deals with selected cantos from literary works like *Kaṇṇipaṛampath Añcati*, *Jñanappāna*, *Mahābaratham Kīlippāaṭṭu Mudṛarākṣam Kīlippāaṭṭu*, *Pachnathanthram Kīlippāaṭṭu Bālabhūṣaṇa*, *Naḷacarita*, *Rāmacarita*, *Kēralavaṛma Rāmāyaṇam*, *Vairagya candrōdayam*, *Śīlavathippāṭṭu* and so on.

## Pātharambam

From the title Valiyapāthārambam (The enlarged primer for beginners) it is understood that there was already a text in simple manner. It was Pāthārambam (Primer for beginners) published from Tellichery Litho press in 1845. The text begins

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<sup>104</sup> Examples of Bible epithets include, '*Pāpathinte śambaḷm maraṇam*, *Maraṇthinte muḷḷu pāpam thane* and so on.

<sup>105</sup> Eg. Capalanmārkkitham parakennu śīlam/kapaṭam cathālum, oḷinju māṛumō?

with alphabets and ends with *Mahābaratham Kiḷippāṭṭu*. Cheriyan Kuniyathodath opines that it is the first text book in Malayalam written in scientific manner.<sup>106</sup>

### **Malayalam-English Bhāsantharapusthakam (First Malayalam-English Translator)**

The purpose of this text was to facilitate the translation skills of the student. Word meanings and sentence meanings are given separately. Techniques of word to word translation, prissy writing, letter drafting etc., were the other features of this book. It has 171 pages and printed at Mangalore.<sup>107</sup>

### **Catechism of Malayalam Grammar**

For the use of students, Gundert had written a text of Malayalam Grammar (Malayalam Vyakaranam-Cōdhyōtharam). This was brought out when he was the Inspector of Schools. It was later revised, rearranged and enlarged by his successor L. Garthwaite.<sup>108</sup> It has three sections namely, *Akṣarakāṇṭa*, *Pathakāṇṭa* and *Vākyakāṇṭa* and designed in a question and answer style. In all these three sections, total 311 items (rules of grammar) are discussed.

### **Pañcathanṭram**

The full name of the text is *Malayalam school Pañcathanṭra* and it was published in 1857 from Tellichery. It had many reprints and later in 1870, Garthwaite brought out an enlarged edition with explanatory notes.<sup>109</sup> Its source book was *Pañcathanṭram Kiḷippāṭṭu* translated by Kallekkulangara Raghavappisharati from the original Sanskrit work.<sup>110</sup> Examples of the verses in the text is given under:

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<sup>106</sup> Cheriyan Kuniyathodath, *Malayalabhāṣayam*, Herman Gundertum, 1997, p. 303.

<sup>107</sup> Published under the category of Malayalam School Books by Stolls and Roiter. Digital copy presented by Dr. Scaria Zacharia is with the present researcher.

<sup>108</sup> Present researcher obtained a copy of this book, brought from Tubingen, from Jeevas Seminary Library, Aluva, with the help of f Dr. Cheriyan Kuniyathodath. Second Edition, Mangalore, 1870.

<sup>109</sup> Present researcher is highly indebted to Prof. Scaria Zacharia for giving a copy of *Malayalam Pañcathanṭra* published by Garthwaite. Madars University Malayalam Classic Series, No.2.

<sup>110</sup> Raghavapishorati was also known as Ittikombi Mannavan and Gundert refer to that name only. It is believed that the original text was written by Kunjan Nambiar.



a. *Uṇṇikkītāṅgaḷ piḷachu kālvekkilum/ Kaṇṇinu kouthukamuṇṭakām pithākkaḷkku.*

b. *Thānvaḷarṭhalviṣvriḷṣmennakilum/thānmuṛikkunnathu yōgyamallethume*

### **Malayāḷa Rājyam: Caṛitrathotukūṭiya Bhumiśāstram:**

It was published from Mangalore and deals with the history and geography of Malayalam speaking area. It was prepared on the model of standard geography texts of western countries.<sup>111</sup> It had reprints in 1877 and in 1878. At that time, in Kerala, history was not emerged as an academic subject and it was rather entangled in myths, legends or fables without any historical explanations. Gundert, for the first time, provided a scientific scheme for writing Kerala history. In other words, Gundert contributed to Kerala history in the same way William Jones done to ideological studies. He has been sometimes described as the father of ‘Keralology’.<sup>112</sup> Malayālarājyam is a basic text that gives information about towns, natural recourses, flora, fauna and many other things along with history of this land from 1499 to 1681, a period covering the Portuguese dominance.

### **Lōkacaritṛa śāstram and Lōkacaritṛa samkṣhēpam**

Lōkacaritṛa śāstram, as its name indicates, is a text book on world History. It was first published in 1849-51,<sup>113</sup> seven years before Gundert was appointed as the Inspector for schools. It gives information about different cultures and important events across the world. It is not clear whether the book is translated or independent.<sup>114</sup> However the world view of Christianity is reflected through the text.

Lōkacaritṛa samkṣhēpam was brought out in 1859 as per the instruction of Director of Public Instruction, Madras Presidency. It discusses the importance of

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<sup>111</sup> Cheriyan Kuniyanthodath, op.cit., 174.

<sup>112</sup> K.J. John, ‘Dr. Hermman Gundert’s Contributions to Kerala Historiography’, in *Legacy of Basel Mission in Malabar*, K.K. N. Kurup and K. J. John, eds., Calicut, 1993, p. 70.

<sup>113</sup> Printed at the Litho Press, Tellichery.

<sup>114</sup> Scaria Zacharia, *Malayālavum Herman Gundertum*, Tirur, 2016, p. 543.

sources in history like legends, inscriptions, archaeological remains, and the like.<sup>115</sup> Testimony of the eye witnesses must be given priority in the historical writing. There are people who indirectly heard about an incident. While writing history, all sorts of evidences are to be verified and corroborated. However, Gundert finally states that, for writing objective history, blessing of the almighty is inevitable.<sup>116</sup>

### **Kēraḷappaḷama**

Kēraḷappaḷama (History of Malabar from A.D.1498-1631) was published in 1868<sup>117</sup>, after Gundert left Kerala forever. It tells about the history of Kerala, particularly about the Portuguese period. This book covers the history of Kerala from 1498 to 1681. It was first serialized in Pazhchimodayam (a periodical) from the month of October 1847. Certain sections of the text were included in Malayālarāḷyam mentioned above. While writing the history of the period, Gundert gives undue importance to Portuguese records<sup>118</sup> and hence lacked the objectivity. In some portions, we notice that, Gundert was trying to justify even the atrocities of Portuguese in Kerala. Cheriyan Kuniyantodath observes that in Kēraḷappaḷama, the composer follows a style of novel writing.<sup>119</sup> However, it can be said that, Kēraḷappaḷama was the first attempt to provide Kerala history based on primary sources. It talked about the history of Malabar people, in Malayalam language.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Here Gundert sites examples from Kerala history.

<sup>116</sup> Some pages of this book is given in, Scaria Zacharia, op.cit., pp, 544-45.

<sup>117</sup> The publisher of *Kēraḷappaḷama* was Pflieberer and Riehm, 1868.

<sup>118</sup> Dr. K.J. John pointed out that, while writing *Kēraḷappaḷama*, Gundert had made use of the works of Portuguese writers like *Lendas da Índia* by Gaspar Correa, *Ásia Portuguesa* of Faria Souza. E, *Decads da Ásia* of Jaoao De Barros and many other works. See *Legacy of Basel Mission and Hermann Gundert in Malabar*, eds, K.K.N. Kurup and K.J. John, Calicut, 1993, p. 70.

<sup>119</sup> Cheriyan Kuniyantodath, op.cit., p. 170.

<sup>120</sup> K.J. John, op.cit.

## **Kīmaśāstra- The First Chemistry Book in Malayalam**

Kīmaśāstra, the first modern chemistry in Malayalam (1854) was written by Puthiyodan Kannan Nair<sup>121</sup> on the request of Hermman Gundert. The full text of the work is not found out.<sup>122</sup> It was first referred to in the *Śāstrasāhithyam Malayāḷathil* by C. P. Sreedharan. He states that he had seen some of the pages legibly and others were in brittle condition<sup>123</sup>. In the title page itself, it is made clear that the book is brought out at the commission of Hermman Gundert. It further states that the native people have already some ideas about chemistry (*rasavidhya*) but the knowledge of western science would be more useful and interesting to them. This book also refers to the mathematics book written by one Kāna Rāman Eḷuthachhan.

## **The First Printed Mathematics Text in Malayalam- Author Identified**

Puthiyōtan Kannan Nair reveals that there was a mathematics text printed along with Kīmaśāstra. However, C. P. Sreedharan could not trace the text. Recently the present researcher obtained a collection of Malayalam textbooks of the 19<sup>th</sup> century from Prof. Scaria Zacharia which was brought from Tubingen and Basel Mission Archives, Switzerland. Among them there is a mathematics text titled *Kṣhetraṅṅāṇitam*. It was printed at the Litho Press Tellichery in 1854. When connecting the facts provided by Kannan Nair and the *Kṣhetraṅṅāṇitam*, there is a chance that this geometry book was written by Kāna Rāman Eḷuthachhan.<sup>124</sup> *Kṣhetraṅṅāṇitam* is a small text which begins with the definition of point and strait line. Old Malayalam numerals were used. The text was made attractive through diagrams, charts and other illustrations.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> He was from Ramantali, Kannur. All most all the missionaries, who involved in literary works, were employed native scholars to help them in learning the language or publishing the texts.

<sup>122</sup> C. P. Sreedharan, *Śāstrasāhityam Malayāḷathil*, Kottayam, 1980, pp.121-123.

<sup>123</sup> It was printed at Basel Mission Press, Mangalore.

<sup>124</sup> Raman Eḷuthachhan, a noted astronomer, was hailed from Thrikkariapur.

<sup>125</sup> From the nature of the content, it can be inferred that the text is highly depended on Euclid's *Geometry*.

## Gundert and Kerala Varma

Gundert, one of the pioneers in Malayalam textbook construction, had already left Kerala when Kerala Varma undertook the charge of Travancore Book Committee in 1866-67 period<sup>126</sup>. Gundert was, of course, a linguistic genius than Kerala Varma. His concern was the etymological and grammatical aspects of the Malayalam language than its aesthetics or literary beauty. With this view he found out many lessons from rare or obsolete works in the language.<sup>127</sup> His attitude represented the general evangelical spirit about the vernacular languages. Wherever they reached, first they mastered the native tongue as it was the effective tool to communicate the Gospels. Gundert even disagreed with the authorities on the matter of preparing new lessons to make the texts novel or attractive.<sup>128</sup> Kerala Varma was also a man of letters with profound knowledge in both Sanskrit and Malayalam, but his idea of education and its aims were entirely different from that of Gundert. His immediate aim was to bring the common masses more close to modernity with scientific temper. He was an advocate of utilitarian approach in education. This is evident from the content he provided in various text books. Some times he himself authored many lessons. He also found out competent individuals who were able to contribute in that respect. Gundert had made use of native scholars in the preparation of the texts but it was not properly acknowledged.<sup>129</sup>

Regarding the profuse use of the Bible contents in the Gundert's text books, Dr. Cheriyan Kunkyanthodath makes the opinion that even the text books compiled by Kerala Varma (1866-67) were also not free from such limitations as they contained<sup>130</sup> the Hindu mythologies and legends. This statement seems to be untenable and makes it clear that Dr. Cheriyan hadn't gone through any of the texts compiled by Government of Travancore. Further, Kerala Varma unequivocally stated

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<sup>126</sup> About the activities of the Travancore Book Committee, see below, Chapter on "Government intervention in Travancore"

<sup>127</sup> For example, portions of *Rāmacarītha* had invited criticism because of its obscure nature.

<sup>128</sup> cf. Gundert's reply to Arbuthnot, quoted in Albrecht Frenz and Scaria Zacharia, *op. cit.*

<sup>129</sup> This aspect is evident from most of the books he published.

<sup>130</sup> cf. Cheriyan Kuniyanthodath, *op. cit.*, chapter, VI, Note no. 3, p. 304.

that that it was not the duty of an educational system to impart religious knowledge and spiritual matters. Kerala Varma's curriculum was more advanced and diverse than that of Gundert. Gundert gave over weightage to language and history, Kerala Varma incorporated various subjects including health science, economics, and moral sciences in the curriculum. While Gundert had a hidden curriculum in mind, Kerala Varma was open-minded in the educational aspects. The former was the direct representative of European enlightenment modernity but fascinated by our rich literary and linguistic tradition. He scooped the lessons from within while the later, Kerala Varma, though a member of the traditional Kerala society, was an admirer of western knowledge and thoughts. Language acquisition or its evolution was not his concern. This perceptual difference is clearly reflected in their curriculum as well.

However, the observations made above never belittle the contributions of Gundert in the realm of Malayalam language, literature and education. Vengayil Kunjiraman Nayanar, in an article, hails him as the greatest of all Malayalees. From Nayanar's writing, we learn that, in spite of their contributions to different arenas, the missionaries were disliked by the general public in Kerala as a bitter Ayurvedic medicine. But Vengayil reminds the readers that though the medicine is bitter, it is capable of curing diseases. Vengayil was referring to the yeomen services rendered by Gundert in various domains of Kerala society and culture.<sup>131</sup> It is certain that Gundert's contributions towards Kerala education, among other things, will be remembered down through ages.

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<sup>131</sup> Vengayil Kunjiraman Nayanar, *Gundert*, in *Complete Works of Kesari Vengalyil Kunjiraman Nayanar*, ed., Lisy Mathew, Trivandrum, 2013 p. 159.

## CHAPTER VI

# GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN TRAVANCORE

Among the three administrative units in Kerala, Travancore was the first to enter the public educational sector. Scholars like K. Gopinathan Nair<sup>1</sup> and Michael Tharakan<sup>2</sup> have studied the socio-political and economic factors that facilitated the remarkable progress of the Princely states of Travancore and to some extent that of Cochin. To them, British Malabar lagged far behind in educational growth when compared to the princely states. We have noticed that the village education persisted for long period in all these places without any state support but through effective social mechanisms. This was not the case of Kerala alone. In England, until 1870, the Government did not take up any responsibility of the elementary education but it made some occasional grants to private agencies or evangelical organizations to run the institutions. During the Victorian period, there emerged several movements demanding the Government involvement in the popular education. Among them the National Educational League led by Joseph Chambal needs to be acknowledged. In response to their activities, the parliament passed the Elementary Educational Act in 1870.<sup>3</sup>

Travancore, a princely state in colonial India, had made education a Government responsibility 53 years before the Elementary Educational Act of 1870 in England. Rani Parvathibai, the then Regent ruler of Travancore (1815-29), was the instrumental behind this remarkable step came in to effect in 1817. She is also

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<sup>1</sup> P .R. Gopinathan Nair, 'Education and Socio-Economic Change in Kerala', 1793-1947, *Social Scientist*, Vol. 4, No. 8 , March, 1976, [www.jstor.org/stable/3516378](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3516378).

<sup>2</sup> Michal Tharakan, *Socio-Economic Factors in Educational Development: The Case of 19<sup>th</sup> Century Travancore*, Working Paper No. 190 of CDS, 1984, [www.cds.edu/outreach/publications/working papers/1981-1985](http://www.cds.edu/outreach/publications/working_papers/1981-1985).

<sup>3</sup> This bill was also known as Forster Act as the master brain behind it was William Forster, a member of Liberal Party in Parliament. The bill aimed at bringing all children of England and Wales aged between 5 and 12 under a public education system.

credited with the founding of the first Text Book Committee in Kerala (1818). However, like many other significant documents of Kerala history, these records are also not studied carefully either by historians or educationalists. Many people think that the Queen initiated all such progressive acts at the instance of Colonel Munro, the then Resident of Travancore. Here an attempt is made to negate certain dominant views on the Travancore education.

The foregoing chapters unequivocally demonstrated that there had been a sound educational system existing in Kerala for many centuries without any state intervention. But this came to an abrupt end with Mysorian interludes and the subsequent colonial establishments.<sup>4</sup> It affected the entire village operating systems which in turn triggered the economic crisis. Wealthy families who defrayed the expenses of village schools earlier were now in a moribund state. The laymen also found difficulty to meet the expenses of children in the schools, though it was nominal. Now the old village teachers were compelled to give up their profession as it was an uneconomic affair. There was a marked decline in the literacy rate of Kerala during the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century CE. The same is evident from the official records like that of Thomas Munro's report on indigenous education in Madras Presidency (1822)<sup>5</sup> and the Royal Rescript of Queen Parvathybai of Travancore (1817). This was the situation which the missionaries exploited effectively to establish their stations across the state. For Kerala, formal education was never been

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<sup>4</sup> About this situation, Prof. M.G.S Narayanan writes: The intellectual climate of the Cēra period continued and prospered in an atmosphere of cultural symbiosis among different communities. It was destroyed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century when Mysore invasion caused anarchy and confusion for about a half a century. All kings and chieftains fled to the south along with all the landlords and officials for fear of forced conversion. Traditional society and its culture perished. 'Social background of Science in Medieval Kerala', in N. Sundareswaran, ed., *Kerala School of Mathematics: Trajectories and Impact*, Kozhikode, 2014, p. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Munro in his minute dated 10<sup>th</sup> March 1826 remarked that the state of education here exhibited, low as it is compared with that of our own country, is higher than it was in most European countries at no very distant period. It has, no doubt, been better in earlier times; but for the last century it does not appear to have undergone any other change than what arose from the number of schools diminishing in one place and increasing in another, in consequence of the shifting of the population, from war and other causes (St. George Revenue Consultations).

a missionary gift; but it had its own strong historical foundation as it is explained in the previous chapters. It had confronted with certain difficulties during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but within no time Kerala regained its educational tradition with new vigor. It cannot be denied the fact that in the second stage of its development, the missionary organizations and colonial authorities did commendable services, though their objectives were different and distinct.

Let us discuss the content of the Royal Order. It was issued on 19<sup>th</sup> Eṭavam, 992 ME corresponding to June 1817 CE. At the outset, the Queen makes it clear that the decision to open state owned schools was in response to the letter received from the officials about the deplorable status of elementary education in certain parts the country, especially to the north of Kollam. <sup>6</sup> Government reviewed that matter seriously, and decided to open one school in each taluk (*Maṅtapathumvāthikkal*) with two teachers paid from state exchequer. This order is historically significant because it was the first instance in Indian history that a state declares the education of the children as one of its official responsibilities. We had śāla tradition of early medieval period which provided free education, but they were exclusive for Brahmin students of higher studies. The Queen further states that a sound system of education would fetch prosperity and dignity to the country, along with the increase of its moral standard. Such students could also be employed in state departments including account section. Many scholars dealt with this royal proclamation focused on this ‘employment’ aspect alone and ignored the philosophical ideals reflected in it. The Queen explicitly states that because of the education, not only the individuals, but the entire country would be honoured. <sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> From this statement it can be inferred that literacy was somewhat better during the pre colonial period.

<sup>7</sup> For example, K.N. Ganesh makes a passing reference that ‘the schools set up by Travancore, and Cochin Governments were train young individuals as writers and accountants, ‘Cultural Encounters under Colonialism: The Case of Education in Kerala’ in *Culture and Modernity: Historical Exploration*, ed., K. N. Ganesh, Calicut University, 2004, p.176. Gopinathan Nair, who studied about the socio -political forces of education in Travancore also failed to find out anything beyond its vocational aim. Gopinathan Nair, op. cit.



## **Salary of the Teachers**

Salary of each teacher was fixed at fifty *pana* per month. Each Thasildar, along with an assistant, was directed to inspect the schools and mark the progress of each student in every 15 days and the report was to be dispatched to the secretariat. Monthly reports, thus two in number, should be made available to the Queen for personal verification. The concept 'philosopher king' appears in this juncture.

## **Curriculum**

For the newly established schools, the Queen suggested a curriculum which consisted of Malayāṇma (Malayalam), Astronomy, Tamil and Mathematics. One of the teachers had to handle the first two subjects and latter were to be dealt by the other. The names of the teachers thus appointed were also mentioned in the order. It can be affirmely stated that Rani Parvathibai of Travancore was the first Indian ruler who realized the importance of education through vernacular language. Analysis of existing indigenious curriculum revealed that it was a Sanskrit dominated one but Parvatibai deviated from the tradition and for the first time, pointed out the importance of mother tongue in the learning process. Tamil was also insisted because of two obvious reasons. Firstly it was the official language of Travancore during that time and secondly many Tamil speaking areas like Nagarcoil, Tovala, Kanyakumari were the part of the erstwhile Travancore State. Disciplines like mathematics, jyōtiṣa /astrology were the continuation of the older tradition.

## **The First Official Text Book Committee in India**

Kawashima, who authored the work *Missionaries and A Hindu State: Travancore, 1858-1936'* writes that: *...perhaps the first official statement by the state regarding education was made by Rani Gouri Parvathibai in 1817; She declared that the 'state should defray the entire cost of education of its people'*. Kawashima further states that: *but in reality the state did not establish its own schools until the 1830s and more over the quality of these government schools was not very high. The*

state thus greatly depended on the missionaries in the area of education'.<sup>8</sup> A close analysis of the above statement reveals that it was a diametrically opposite one. At first, Kawashima says that Government did not start any school as per the scheme and in the second part he opines that the quality of these schools was not very high. Apart from these, a royal deed issued by the same ruler in 1818 clearly proves that the proposed schools were realized within the stipulated time. This document, dated 24<sup>th</sup> *Etavam*, 993 (May/June 1818) is about the constitution of a text book committee for the use of the newly opened schools. It is also understood that Kawashima hadn't consulted any of these original documents and was eager to give the credit to the missionaries for the remarkable progress of education in Travancore.

### **Royal Deed of 1818**

Periodical reports about the working of schools and progress of the students made the queen aware of some of the the practical difficulties they facing without definite plan of teaching and learning materials. She found that traditional subjects like Sanskrit grammar or classical *Kāvay-s* were not appropriate to the mental and intellectual maturity of the learners. In other words, she was critical about the inclusion of classical texts in the curriculum of the children of immature age. At the same time she was also aware of the fact that in the native Malayalam, there was not even a single work to suggest as school text book.

This situation compelled her to constitute a committee to bring out of suitable study books in Malayalam language. The document referred to above was the result of this. Sankunni Menon, the author of Travancore History, opines that the Queen had a good knowledge in Sanskrit too.<sup>9</sup> Still, she took a positive stand towards the mother tongue. In that sense the Royal Order of 1818, which enforced Malayalam education in the class rooms, can be considered as the *Magna Carta* of Malayalam

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<sup>8</sup> cf., Kawashima, *Missionaries and a Hind State: Travancore 1858-1936*, P. 112.

<sup>9</sup> P. Sankunni Menon, *A History of Travancore from the Earliest Times*, (trans.), C. K. Kareem, Trivandrum, 1973, p. 326. First edition of this book was brought out by Higginbotham, Madras, 1878

language. In the rescript issued, the Queen remarked that she was satisfied with the conduct of newly opened schools with expected number of students. It is assumed that in the initial year, the schools adopted the same curriculum of traditional schools.

We came to know that, by that time, the schools of Ringeltaube were flourishing in the southern part of Travancore with the state support. They had their own printed textbooks supplied from Tranqubar or Srirampur. Certainly the Queen had some ideas regarding the modern textbooks through her contact with LMS institutions.<sup>10</sup>

The Queen envisaged a Malayalam text book which instills moral, spiritual and intellectual development in the learners. The committee consisted of two members- Panthalam Subrahmanya Sasthri and Aiya Swamikal. This committee can be rightly called as the first official text book committee in India. Missionary texts were not based on state policies or official instructions.

### **Tasks of the Committee**

The newly formed committee was entrusted to find out learning contents, capable of stimulating moral and intellectual development of the children, through *Bhāratha*, *Bhāgavatha*, *Aṣṭadaśapurāṇa-s* and *Smṛiti-s*. The committee was also asked to get them translated in to Malayalam language. The royal order specified the expected outcome of the proposed text. It placed *Mōkṣha* (ultimate bliss) at the apex of curricular objectives. It could be achieved only through the digestion of value based examples and moral stories. Such learning contents would create responsible and matured individuals who look after their parents, worship the god and take care of the cows. Peer group influence in the character formation is also pointed out in the rescript. Hence students should be encouraged to make companionship only with worthy persons. They must be able to distinguish between evil and good. While

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<sup>10</sup> She had made contribution of Rs. 5000 and a Bungalow to LMS in Nagarcoil. See Sankunni Menon, op.cit. p. 337.

selecting the portions, the committee was also directed to keep in mind the above mentioned aspects.

### **Travancore Text Books and Benjamin Bailey**

We have to examine whether the recommended book was actually brought out or not. Not even a single copy of the same is found out. Queen had instructed that these books were to be circulated in the all schools. It is probable that they were prepared in cadjan leaves and hence might have been lost beyond recovery. She remained in the post of the regent for further ten years and these *proverthy* schools also survived at least up to that period. The book envisaged by the regent must have been realized and if so, it could be the first text books in Malayalam language. While editing Bailely's '*Ceṛupaithangalkkupakāraṛtham*', Babu Cheriyan unambiguously states that it was the first text book in Malayalam. His argument is based on the single reference in the text that, 'hai student' (*eṭō adhyāī...*). However, it is not clear whether this text was meant for students of catechism or for general instruction. Any how the royal rescript of 1818 helps us to negate the claim of Babu Cheriyan.<sup>11</sup>

### **Credit of Munro Reviewed**

Many scholars think that the master brain behind the educational activities of the Queen was Colonel Munro, the then Resident of Travancore. Certainly there were many factors in support of this view. First of all, the queen was hardly 17 years old when such a remarkable decision taken. Secondly, resident had emerged as de facto ruler of Travancore and no administrative measure could be implemented without his knowledge and permission.<sup>12</sup> However, in the case of native education, we have no

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<sup>11</sup> cf. *Ceṛupaithangalkkupakaraṛtham Englishilninum Paribhāṣappetuthiya Kathakaḷ*. It was the first book printed in Kerala (1824). About this book, first reference was made by Dr. George Irumbayam in his *Upāsikkunnu Dukkathe Ñān* and following it, Dr. Babu Cheriyan procured a micro film copy from British Museum and Library. He has published the book with an introductory study, Prabhath Books, Trivandrum, 2010. For more details, see below, chapter on 'Emergence of Educational Consciousness'.

<sup>12</sup> Queen was quite 15 years of age when she took the charge of Regent (1815) and the royal order on education was issued two years later (1817).

concrete evidence to prove the involvement of Munro. No where in the rescript, the name of Resident was referred to. The decision to open schools was taken on the report of Diwan Peshkar Venkittarayar, not of Munro and the rescript was also addressed to same Diwan Peshkar. Above all, Munro was a staunch evangelist and hence cannot be imagined that he would initiate a programme of education which would strengthen the traditional Hindu social and cultural order. Apart from these, we come to know that, in those days, Munro was seriously involved in the building up of Church Missionary Society at Kottayam and London Missionary Society in South Travancore. His attitude would be more revealed when we examine some of the correspondences he made. In a letter to the Secretary, CMS Corresponding committee, he wrote thus: An efficient and extended system of education, particularly in English language, will contribute more effectively than any other plan to the early and substantial advancement of the Protestant religion in India. In India, strong arguments may be adduced for the diffusion of the English language, as a means of supporting the British power, as well as of extending Protestant religion. To Norton, the first CMS missionary in Kerala, he wrote that 'the only remedy to eradicate the evil practices of Hindus- serpent worship, caste rigidity, belief in multiple gods- is the introduction and spread of Western education. There by their mind would be progressed and encouraged them which would render to stay close to British rule.<sup>13</sup> In a letter to the Chief Secretary to India Government, he wrote that the spread of Christianity causes the overall development of Indian people and the same would ensure the stability of the British rule in India<sup>14</sup>. These evidences are sufficient to state that, it was not at the commission of Munro, but the Queen took the decision of opening schools of native style independently and she might have received certain advices and directions from her care taker Rajarajavarma Koiyithampuran- husband of her deceased sister -and other court officials.

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<sup>13</sup> Munro to Norton, dated, 13th February, 1817, Trivandurm.

<sup>14</sup> Letter dated, 30<sup>th</sup> March 1818, Quilon.

Of course, children of all castes never came under the purview of this royal rescript. Even in the enrollment list of Maharaja's Free School which was established in 1834, we do not find students belonging to lower castes. Certainly the beneficiaries of Queen's schools were the children of upper sections including the Nairs. In that sense, Queen's present act cannot be treated as a revolutionary one but as a first step towards the universalization of education, the royal rescripts of 1817 and 1818 occupy a prominent place in the educational history of Kerala.

### **SWATHI THIRUNAL**

Educational enterprises of Rani Gouri Parvathibai had its continuation in her successor Swathi Thirunal who ruled Travancore from 1829 to 1847. However there was a marked change in the earlier state policy as he gave greater importance to the English education that caused gross neglect of indigenous education in the subsequent years.

Swathi Thirunal was the first to receive proper English education in the Travancore royal family. By that time the political subjugation was almost complete and East India Company had emerged as the 'de facto' ruler of Travancore. Being aware of the changing political and social realities, Regent Parvathibai took great care of educating Swathi Thirunal, the first prince, on the modern line. To teach him English, she brought one Mr. Subbarayar from Tanjore. His Malayalam trainer was Kochu Pilla Variar who was earlier appointed as teacher at Arippadu School which started in 1817. He learnt almost all South Indian languages besides the classical Sanskrit and Hindustani. His academic brilliance, particularly in language and mathematics, is clearly illustrated in *the Military Reminiscence* of Colonel Welsh (1825). It runs thus: *I had the opportunity of witnessing the studies of the young Rajas in private, and forming an estimate of their progressive acquirements and abilities..... The elder boy (Swathi Thirunal) now thirteen .....,read a chapter of*

*Malcom's Central India, the Governor General's Persian letter on the capture of Rangoon, a passage in Sanskrit, another in Malayalam and seemed equally clever at each. He then took up a book of mathematics and selecting the forty seventh proposition of Euclid, sketched the figure on a country slate; but what astonished me most was his telling us in English that geometry was derived from Sanskrit, as 'jaw metor' to measure the earth, and that many of our mathematics terms were also derived from the same source such as hexagon, heptagon, octagon, decagon, dodecagon etc. His remarks were generally opposite.....This promising boy is now, I conclude, Sovereign of the finest country in India; for he was to succeed the musnud the moment he had attained his sixteenth year.*<sup>15</sup>

### **Appointment of Roberts**

The quality of the education Swathi Thirunal received was certainly had reflected in his administrative measures also. He paid a visit at LMS Headquarters at Nagacoil on 10<sup>th</sup> Mithunam, 1834 and was highly impressed by their activities especially in the field of Education.<sup>16</sup> Accordingly he planned a similar school at Trivandrum, the capital city with a view to accomplishing the educational aspirations of citizens. He requested Mr. J. Roberts, the Head Master of the institution to accept the assignment<sup>17</sup>. Robert, though not a missionary by profession but a man with strong evangelical spirit, obtained the official sanction for teaching scriptures in the

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<sup>15</sup> Quoted in V. S. Sarma, *Sree Swathi Thirunal: Jivithavum, Krithikaalum*, Trivandrum, 2012, Note no. 1 p. 28.

<sup>16</sup> The Nagarcoil seminary was established in 1818. Besides English, languages like Tamil, Malayalam and Sanskrit were taught in this seminary cum school. The very object of this institution was to train the Native Agents for the Missionary work. It had received assistance from Rani Gouri Parvathi Bai with Rs 5000 and a Bungalow on the request of John Munro, the resident. See, Note no. 141.

<sup>17</sup> Roberts was a non-commissioned officer of the EEC's Artillery at Quilon. Eventually he joined as a teacher at CMS School Alleppy and later shifted to LMS seminary, Nagarcoil.

proposed school.<sup>18</sup> The appointment order of Roberts was prepared from Nagarcoil itself and issued on the same day.<sup>19</sup> Roberts was also provided with a residential bungalow at the Sircar expense.<sup>20</sup> It is worthy of note that the Macaulay's Minute on Indian education (1835) was only on the anvil when Maharaja was initiating an English institution at his capital, Trivandrum.

### **Trivandrum School**

In the beginning stage, the *Trivandrum school* was a private institution of Roberts but the salary of the Head Master, Rs100 per month, was paid from the state treasury. Besides, the state promised the expense of 80 students. There was already an English school at Trivandrum named Christian David's School. Robert's school was first conducted at the same building as directed by the King. It was first attended by eight students and the number rose to forty by the end of the same year.

### **Raja's Free School**

Following such developments, a meeting was held in Trivandrum on 12<sup>th</sup> February 1835 with a view to concerting measures for the 'intellectual improvement of the rising generations' of Travancore. Considering the general feeling, the government now prepared to take over the full charge of school and the same was implemented on 13<sup>th</sup> December 1836. The school was rechristened as *Raja's Free School*. Soon after, the school was shifted to a more convenient area called Puthan

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<sup>18</sup> This fact is confirmed in Mateer, Land of Charity, p.103. Practice of Bible instruction continued until Sree Moolam Tirunal banned religious education during the school hours in 1902, following the vehement oppositions from caste Hindus.

<sup>19</sup> See the *Travancore Royal Deed* (Neettu) dated 10<sup>th</sup> Mithunam, 1009 ME. (1834).

<sup>20</sup> This bungalow was at Pettah and owned by one Kuttiyappa Muthaliyar.



Chandha. The total intake of the school was restricted to 100. Roberts continued in the post of Headmaster and his salary was increased to Rs. 300 per month.<sup>21</sup>

Nagam Aiya, the first graduate from the University College Trivandrum, remembers Roberts thus: He possessed great natural abilities; enthusiasm and force of character and under his care and guidance, the school made distinguished progress and sent out pupils of academic excellence.<sup>22</sup> But Sankunni Menon, the author of the History of Travancore from Early Times, had a different opinion about Roberts. He was a student of Roberts for a short period of time on the recommendation of the then Maharaja, Uthram Thirunal. After sometime he left Roberts as was not satisfied with the scholarship of Roberts. It is already noted that Robert was not a teacher by profession, but an army officer. Besides these, Sankunni Menon had received good English education from Tellichery and Calicut under the European instructors like Anderson and Morgan. It can be assumed that, Sankunni Menon, who was meticulous in presenting each and every aspect of Travancore history, did not provide any relevant details about Roberts or Raja's School because of this reason.<sup>23</sup> Herman Gundert had visited Robert's school and discussed with Roberts about the opportunities in the educational sector of Kerala.<sup>24</sup>

### **Enrollment details**

The enrollment details show that, not only the caste Hindus, but Muslims, Roman Catholics and Protestant children were admitted in this school. However, students of downtrodden classes were kept outside. Steady growth of this institution and other district schools suggest that Swathi Thirunal was not subscribed the

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<sup>21</sup> Approval of the Resident, dated 3<sup>rd</sup> December, 1836 (G/D No. 511), also see Letter of the Resident, dated 9<sup>th</sup> December 1836 in response to the explanation of Robert about the nature of arrangements determined for the guidance of the Sircar Free School. ( G/D No. 519) State Archives, Trivandrum.

<sup>22</sup> Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual*, 1906, p.448.

<sup>23</sup> V. R Parameswarappillai, 'Sankunni Menon: a Biographical Note' in *A History of Travancore From Earliest Times* (trans.), Trivandrum, 1972.

<sup>24</sup> Albresch Frenz, Hermman Gundert, (trans.), N. P. Hafis Muhammed, Tirur, 2016, p. 107.

‘downward filtration theory’ suggested by Lord Macaulay in his much debated minute of 1835. The table given below shows the enrollment details of the Trivandrum School for the three initial years.

Enrolled	1834		1835		1836	
	Removed	Remining	Removed	Remining	Removed	Remining
<i>Brahmins -3</i>	0	3	1	4	1	2
<i>Sudra of Different types- 5</i>	0	5	1	23	19	9
<i>Pandy of Different Types- 12</i>	0	12	9	6	4	7
<i>Roman Christians-13</i>	3	10	3	13	8	7
<i>Protestants of Different types- 7</i>	1	6	3	6	4	9
<i>Mohamedan- 1</i>			0	1	0	1

(Source: P. F Gopakumar, *Arivinte Niravil University College*, pp. 108-09. It is prepared based on the school registers for the years concerned).

### Curriculum

The subjects taught in the schools included Logic, Mental Philosophy and higher branches of Mathematics. As stated above, teaching of the Bible was a compulsory one. It can be assumed that, in the initial years Robert followed the same curriculum of missionary schools as he served both CMS and LMS. There is a paucity of documents that show the details of the subjects dealt in the class room. However, there is a chance to think that during the later years it followed the curriculum of Madras University which was founded by Governor, Lord Elphinstone. Madras University was actually no more than a collegiate school with Headmaster and several tutors. Alok K. Mukherjee in his ‘This Gift Of English’, based on the

Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords of 1853, gives the description of the curriculum followed in this school as follows:

‘An acquaintance with the histories of Rome and Greece, through Goldsmith, and histories published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, with the help of Niebuhr; the history of Modern Europe, through Russell; the history of India, through Symonds, Norton and Marshman; and the Philosophy of History, through Smyth’s Lectures, Natural Philosophy, and Plane Astronomy, through Herschell, Optics from the work of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and notes and formulae of the head master, Mr. Powell; Mechanics, Hydrostatics and Pneumatics from the same materials. Chemistry from Mrs. Marcet’s work; the elements of Political Economy from Mrs. Marcet’ work. Mental philosophy from Abercrombie’s work, in the Mathematics, Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, the First three sections of Newton’s Principia, as modeled by Headmaster, and Ellipse in Conic Sections. Reading Shakespeare, Milton, Pope and extract from various authors, published in Chambers’ Encyclopedia of Literature and Calcutta Reader; besides English composition’.<sup>25</sup>

### **District English Schools**

Along with this Free School, four more schools were also started in different parts of the country as District Schools.<sup>26</sup> The primary object of these District schools was to train the students suitable for the Raja’s Free School. However, there were some practical difficulties in the conduct of these schools as there was an acute shortage of efficient teachers. On account of this the school at Chiryinkeezhu was closed down within a short period of time. Government viewed the matter seriously and took measures to get qualified teachers at any cost. The interest shown by the

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<sup>25</sup> Alok K. Mukherjee, *This Gift of English*, New Delhi, 2009 pp. 182-183.

<sup>26</sup> See, the Resident’s letter dated 20<sup>th</sup> April, G. No. 578/D. No. 164. The newly opened schools were at Kottar, Thakkala, Kayamkulam and Chiryinkizhu, C. No. 14814. The English School at Kollam was established in 184, C. 15803, State Archives, Trivandrum.

Government to maintain this institution is clear from the notification dated 19th Mithunam 1013 ME (1838) which dealt with the reopening of the same school.<sup>27</sup> It is also made clear that the Government was struggling to maintain these schools by all means and hence the people were requested to make use of the opportunities provided. This document helps us to refute the observation of Robin Jeffry that, the Travancore Government was in fact half minded about the conduct of these district schools.<sup>28</sup> It makes clear that Jeffry hadn't consulted the above cited document referencing the state's serious concern over the educational matter. In the document, it was further specified that state would respect students successfully complete their studies, than the ordinary people. However, it seems that some more schools were also closed down due to various reasons. When Madhava Rao took charge of the Diwan, only Central School at Trivandrum and one of its branches at Kollam were survived.

Swathi Thirunal encouraged science and education until his last breath. It was he financially supported the publication of Benjamin Bailey's English – Malayalam Dictionary.<sup>29</sup> Bailey acknowledged this and dedicated the work to the Maharaja as a token of his courtesy. He wishes His Highness the longevity to see the fruit of his great reforms.<sup>30</sup> Peet's *Malayalam Vyākaraṇa* also received such assistance from the Maharaja.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> No. XV, Selected Government Orders, (Mal.), State Archives Department, 2006.

<sup>28</sup> Robin Jeffry, *Decline of Nair Dominance: Society and Politics in Travancore, 1847-1908*, (trans.), Puthuppally Raghavan and M. S. Chandrasekhara Varier, Kottayam, p. 110.

<sup>29</sup> Swathi Thirunal donated Rs. 1000 to Bailey as the printing charge. See, Royal Neettu dated 25<sup>th</sup> Avani, 1845 Similarly he had also contributed Rs. 1000 to the Public Library, Trivandrum in which Robert was the secretary. See the Neettu dated 30<sup>th</sup> Kanni, 1837.

<sup>30</sup> Benjamin Bailey, *Malayalam-English Dictionary*, Note of Dedication, July 1848. By the time when Bailey completed his English-Malayalam Dictionary in November 1849, Swathi Thirunal was died. This work was dedicated to his successor, Uthram Thirunal.

<sup>31</sup> Sankunni Menon, op.cit., p. 372.

## **Uthram Thirunal and the Raja's Free School**

After the untimely death of Swathi Thirunal, his brother Uthram Thirunal ascended the throne. He had also maintained, as the First Prince, a good relationship with Roberts. He took great care in fulfilling the requirements of Roberts in the school<sup>32</sup>. During the examination time, the King personally attended the school and instituted prizes to the meritorious students. The toppers were individually introduced to the Maharaja and he invited such students to join with him in the evening horse riding as a mark of honor. All these inspired students and in turn heightened the entire standard of the institution. Vedadreesa Dasa Muthaliyar, an extra ordinary student went to Bombay Elphinston College for advanced studies. On return, he was appointed as the Ist Judge at Kollam District Court.<sup>33</sup> Lord Haris, the then governor of Madras visited Maharaja School on 24<sup>th</sup> November 1858 and conducted an examination to the students and was highly impressed by their excellent performance.<sup>34</sup> All these indicate the fact that, the curriculum and conduct of this school were strictly in accordance with the existing educational parameters across the country.

## **Curriculum of District Schools**

As these district schools were feeder institutions to the central school at Trivandrum, it is assumed that the curriculum was much lighter than the Raja's Free School. Robert was vested with the responsibility of supervising these schools. Naturally he became the first educational officer in Travancore. He remained in the post for nearly twenty years and retired in 1855.<sup>35</sup> Charles Roberts, his son became

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<sup>32</sup> Sankunni Menon, *ibid.*, p. 392.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 392.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 419.

<sup>35</sup> After the retirement of Roberts, Charles Mead was appointed as the Superintendent of Education (1855) Nagam Aiya writes: He constantly travelled in the country and planted many schools and several vernacular schools were amalgamated with English Schools at those stations with a view to extend the benefits of English education, *Travancore State Manual*, p. 452. Lafrenais succeeded Mead in 1862. He instituted six scholarships to brilliant students of District schools to attract them to the Trivandrum school.

the head master after him and continued till 1858. Messrs. J. E. Lafrenais followed him. J. Bensly became the head of the institution in the year 1861. It was in 1867 the first batch consisting of seven candidates appeared for the Matriculation examination under the Madras University. However it provided an advance course of study called 'Proficient's Degree.'<sup>36</sup> Among them, three were successful in the examination. Palpoo Pillai one of the successful students, was sent to Presidency College, Madras by the then Maharaja Ayilyam Thirunal with all expenses. Madhava Rao in his administration report for the year 1862-63 wrote thus: This is the first instance of such an honor being won by a youth purely a native of Travancore, and it is hoped that a long and honorable succession will follow.

### **Introduction of Fee**

Even though the number of students was restricted to 100 during its early years, there was a steady growth in the enrollment rate. It rose to 269 in 1861 and 517 in 1864. As the number became unwieldy, the Government was now compelled to give up the idea of free education.<sup>37</sup> As per the new scheme, Ch. 7 and Ch. 14 were collected from the Junior Division and the Senior Division respectively. Immunization was made mandatory to admit students in these schools.<sup>38</sup> It was apprehended that these measure would tend to a considerable reduction in the strength of the institution, but such was the demand for English Education that only two students left the school.<sup>39</sup> Now it became a fee collecting institution and thus lost the earlier status of 'Free School'.

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<sup>36</sup> The second report of the select committee of the House of Lords of 1853, appointed to enquire in to the governance of Indian territories, gave the description of the course of study for this degree.

<sup>37</sup> The fee was implemented from 1<sup>st</sup> day of Vaikasi /Etavam 1039 ME corresponding to 1864 CE.

<sup>38</sup> Notice No. XXXVIII, *Selected Government Orders* (Mal.), State Archives Department, 2006, p. 41.

<sup>39</sup> Nagam Aiya, op. cit., p. 448.

## Senior and Junior Divisions

There was a complete restructuring of Raja's School in 1866. The school was divided in to two sections as Senior and Junior Division. Ayilyam Thirunal Ramavarma was the then Maharaja and the Diwan was T. Madhava Rao.<sup>40</sup> Like his maternal uncle Swathi Thirunal, Ayilyam was also an admirer of European enlightened modernity. He invited Mr. John Rose M.A of Edinburgh University to take the charge of the newly created senior department. Nagam Aiya rightly observed: under him (John Rose) the school developed into one of the largest and the most flourishing colleges in south India.<sup>41</sup> Maharaja himself opined: *with the able assistance he (John Ross) enjoys, raised the standard of our youths.*

As the number of students increased every year, Government decided to construct a more spacious building with all facilities. While laying the foundation stone, Maharaja made the following remarks:

"I consider this a great occasion. By laying the foundation for a college, we are in fact, imparting strength and durability to a system of public education of a high order, which cannot fail to exercise a most important influence on the rising generation and on generation yet unborn..... I will hope to see this standard raised still higher, till it claims to be on a level with even that attained by the most advanced educational institutions of India."<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Madhava Rao came to Trivandrum as the English tutor of Ayilyam Thirunal and his elder brother, Vishakam Thirunal. He was a student under E. B. Powell at Madras High school.

<sup>41</sup> Nagam Aiya, op.cit.

<sup>42</sup> Speech made on 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1869. For extract of the text, see Nagam Aiya, *ibid.*, p. 449. Samuel Mateer also refers to this occasion. See, *Land of Charity*, (trans.), Kottayam, 2017, p. 103. It is seems that King's desire became accomplished in 2018, 152<sup>th</sup> year after its foundation, as the institution has been ranked the first among the Government colleges in India by MHRD and it occupies 17<sup>th</sup> position in the entire institutional ranking list.

## **Courses Offered**

Philosophy was the first subject started in the college when it was upgraded with BA course. Subsequently Mathematics and Natural philosophy were introduced in 1879. A chair of Advanced Chemistry was started in 1884 and a Chair of History was added in 1900. Physics department was also opened very shortly.

The construction of the new building for the college was completed in the year 1873. Language was taught nearly at every level under such topics as logic, rhetoric, composition, etymology, syntax and grammar. There was a great focus on the teaching of literature than language, though there was a considerable emphasis on writing of essays or composition on different themes and topics.

## **More English Schools**

It is interesting to note that in Travancore, the progress in English education was in a way or another connected to the monopoly right of tobacco. State had enjoyed excise duty on the tobacco which was transported from Thirunelveli to Trivandrum. Acting Governor of Madras presidency in 1859, asked the Travancore Sircar to cut down the amount to a considerable rate. Madhava Rao, the then Diwan replied to the government that the surplus amount collected by this way could be utilized for the welfare activities and the Sircar would like to spend this money for to start new English schools across the state. Subsequently eight schools were started in different parts of the country. The text-books used in these schools, except in regard to matriculation class, were not formally prescribed by any authority, but the books generally adopted in the Sircar High School at the capital were usually followed in the mofussil.<sup>43</sup> Swadeshabhimani Ramakrishnapillai studied in such a school at Neyyattinkara. The highest class in this school was the Third Forum. After passing it in 1892 he went to Maharaja's School, Trivandrum for pursuing higher studies.

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<sup>43</sup> Ullur, Progress of Travancore Under H. H. Sree Moolam Thirunal, Trivandrum, 1998, pp 556-57.



### **School of Zenana Mission Society for Girls**

Another school worth to be mentioned here is the Girls School which functioned inside the fort, near Sree Padmanabha Swami temple. It was started by A.M. Blandford of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. The main object of this school was to spread education particularly among the upper caste girls.<sup>44</sup> In this school, classes were divided in to 16 and the highest class was I st standard and lowest one was Standard XVI. Majority of the students belonged to Nair caste but children of Tamil and Maratha Brahmins were also enrolled. It is obvious that they were the children of employees served in Travancore administrative service.<sup>45</sup> This school was started in 1864 and in fifteen years the number of students rose to 101. The first girl student matriculated from Madras University was the product of this Zenana Mission School. About the functioning of the school, B. Kalyanikkuty Amma, wife of Swadeshabhimani Ramakrishnapillai, gives beautiful description.<sup>46</sup> Being a missionary school, though generously supported by the state, Bible was a compulsory subject and prayers were offered at the close of morning and afternoon classes.<sup>47</sup>

### **GROWTH OF VERNACULAR EDUCATION**

The efforts of Rani Goury Parvathibai to revive indigenous education with state paid teachers and monitoring system gradually died out and by 1830s they almost went in to oblivion. Since then, for long time, no measure had been adopted in Travancore to strengthen traditional educational system but over emphasis was given to English Education as we have already seen. Madhava Rao, the then Diwan of Travancore had observed (in 1864-65) that though the Government was not wanting to spread English Education in the country but little progress has been made as

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<sup>44</sup> This school was also known as Vaṭakke Kottaram Penpallikutam.

<sup>45</sup> For eg., Sundaran Pillai, Philosophy professor at University College and author of celebrated work Early Sovereigns of Travancore was a Tamilian by birth. T.A. Gopinath Rao, the superiendent of Travancore Archareological Department and compiler of Travancore Archaeological series was also Maratha Brahmin from old Cōla region.

<sup>46</sup> B .Kalyanikkuty Amma, *Ōṛmayilninnu*, (1964) Kottayam, 1968, pp. 38-76.

<sup>47</sup> Kawashima, op. cit., 93.

regards to sound instruction in the vernacular language, through which alone any considerable impression can be made on the masses. Nagam Aiya, the compiler of The Travancore State Manual wrote thus: 'It was somewhat curious to observe that while the Sircar was very early in the field to promote the cause of English education, little or nothing was done by it to further Vernacular education through which alone the masses could be reached'. It was only long afterwards that the state recognized the need for organizing an improved system of Vernacular Education.<sup>48</sup>

Vernacular education on the modern line, all over India, gathered momentum after the Woods Dispatch of 1854. As discussed earlier, East India Company had to renew the Charter after every twenty years. In 1853, just before the next renewal, the British Parliament constituted a selection committee to enquire into the progress of education in India and to suggest reforms.<sup>49</sup> The suggestions called 'Dispatch' became famous after the then President of the Board of Control, EEC, Charles Wood.<sup>50</sup> Wood's Dispatch was a land mark in the history of Indian education because of the far reaching impacts it brought about. At the outset, it discarded 'Downward Filtration Theory' proposed by Lord Macaulay way back in 1835. Dispatch explicitly stated that the primary objectives of education could be achieved only when it is conveyed through mother tongue.<sup>51</sup> It further envisaged that any acquaintance of European knowledge could be communicated to the common people also. In contrast to missionary education, it proposed a secular education to the general public.

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<sup>48</sup> Ullur S. Parameswara Aiyer, op.cit., p. 549.

<sup>49</sup> The suggestions of the committee were issued as Dispatch No 49 of 19<sup>th</sup> July 1854 and sent to then Governor General of India, Lord Dalhousie.

<sup>50</sup> It is believed that the dispatch was originally written by John Stuart Mill, a clerk of the EEC at that time.

<sup>41</sup> In Europe, Latin and Greeks were considered as the classical language and the English itself was called as vernacular language. In the same manner, in India they treated Sanskrit as classical and other regional languages as vernaculars.

## Dispatch and Travancore

For about ten years of Wood's Dispatch, Travancore remained silent about its recommendations. Vernacular education began to receive special encouragement with the accession of Ayilyam Thirunal Maharaja on the throne in 1860, following the death of Uthram Thirunal.<sup>52</sup> Diwan of the time was T. Madhava Rao who himself proved the academic brilliance during his studentship at Madras School. He came to Travancore not as an administrator but the tutor of the little princes.<sup>53</sup> Eventually he rose to the post of the Diwan of Travancore under Uthram Thirunal (1857). His administrative reports undoubtedly demonstrate that, besides an efficient officer, he was an educational thinker as well.

In the light of Wood's Dispatch, there took place many developments in the field of education in Madras presidency. Director of Public Instruction was appointed in 1855. In 1859 September, H. Dury, the Assistant Resident, reminded Madava Rao that 'The first important object would be ... to establish district or *talook* schools at all the larger towns in North and South Travancore'. Ayilyam Thirunal, educated under Madava Rao, was also a great admirer of European knowledge and believed that the progress of a country could be achieved only through a sound educational system. In fact Travancore was on the threshold of 'Modern State' which required educated individuals in different administrative departments. The alliance of the student (the King) and the teacher (the Diwan) together with the recommendations of Wood's Dispatch contributed remarkable progress in the field of both vernacular and English education in Travancore. The English Education had been on the headway since the time of Swathi Thirunal. Madhava Rao made the Government's attitude in the following words:

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<sup>52</sup> Ayilyam Thirunal Ramavarma and his brother and successor Vishakhram Thirunal were the nephews of Swathi Thirunal and Uthram Thirunal.

<sup>53</sup> Madhava Rao was a Maratha Brahmin from Kumbakonam and one of the pioneering students of Madras School which flourished under E. B. Powell who later became Director of Public Instruction, Madras Presidency.

*So far as the Sircar was concerned, all important posts under it would be filled by educated men, and by educated men alone, as early as they are available. Mere experience in an office had its value, but could not alone suffice for a better performance of Government duties at various levels. An educated man of limited experience is worthier than a man of prolonged experience with defective education.*<sup>54</sup> It was an assurance from the part of the Government to the younger generation to pursue modern education. When Parvathibai started schools in each Taluk way back in 1817, Government could not have made such an offer and it was one of the reasons for their decline after a short period of service.

### **Ayilyam Thirunal's Scheme**

After considering the urgent need of the interference in the education through native language, Ayilyam Thirunal Rama Varma sanctioned a scheme for the organization and development of Vernacular education, which consisted of opening a central school at capital, together with Mofussil schools in each taluk and the opening of a Normal school for training teachers for the new schools. Director of Vernacular education was appointed with two inspectors to assist him.<sup>55</sup> Accordingly, the first Departmental Boys School was opened at Chalai and the First Departmental Girls School at Karamanai in Trivandrum. *Provorthy* or village schools were also started from 1870-71 with the object of spreading primary education among the common masses. Unlike the schools started in 1817, all these four categories of schools registered a steady growth as indicated by administrative reports of each year. In order to meet the requirement of learning materials of advanced type, a Text Book Committee was also instituted with a President and two other members.<sup>56</sup> There were already a few Malayalam text books by Basel Mission and other agencies in circulation in northern Kerala. However, Travancore Government did not

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<sup>54</sup> Quoted in Kawashima, *Missionaries and a Hindu State*, New Delhi, 1998 p. 91.

<sup>55</sup> For more details, see Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. II, chapter XI and Ullur S. Aiyer, *Progress of Travancore under H.H. Sreemoolam Thirunal*, Trivandrum, 1998, chapter XI.

<sup>56</sup> The office of the committee functioned within the fort, southern corner.

subscribe to them as they were not suited to the requirements of time. Further, these texts were not fully secular or scientific as envisaged by the Wood Dispatch or the Government of Travancore. Travancore Government also decided to start a new depot for the effective distribution of the newly compiled text books.

## Curriculum

It seems that, along with the textbook committee, a sound curriculum was also suggested. It deviated significantly from the old tradition based on Sanskrit grammar, literature and mathematics. Astrology was fully excluded from it. Travancore Administrative Gazetteer, 1867 -68 gives some glimpses about the curriculum followed in Central Vernacular School. It consisted of i. The whole of a work on moral and social duties. ii. Treatise on health and how to preserve it. iii. Treatise on giving truthful evidence. iv. Arithmetic. v. Geometry. vi. Geography of Europe, Asia and America. vii. Duncan's Geography of India. viii. Lessons in Sanskrit.<sup>57</sup>

The curriculum of *Provorthy* schools consisted of reading, writing on palm leaves, elementary arithmetic, and General and Travancore Geography. District schools also followed the same curriculum but instruction was of a higher standard and Indian History, Sanskrit and Tamil were additionally taught. In the central school, the standard was still higher and subjects like Algebra and Geometry were also taught.

In the academic structure, the *Provorthy* schools maintained the first two classes, the district schools the third and the fourth standards, and the central school the fifth and the highest standard. In central school, Sanskrit was taught in addition to Malayalam. Education in these schools was modeled on the system in English schools and was imparted through books translated from that language or compiled chiefly from English writings on History, Geography Arithmetic and the like.

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<sup>57</sup> Quoted in Kawashima, op.cit. p. 95.

### **Grant-in-Aid System**

Grant- in -aid system was introduced in the capital of Travancore in 1869 and twenty schools were incorporated in this system within a year period.<sup>58</sup> In the subsequent years this was spread to more mofussil areas. Missionary schools were the real beneficiaries of this scheme. For availing grant, the schools must have an enrollment of not less than twenty five students. The grant was calculated to meet one half of the estimated salaries of the teaching staff, the payment being made half yearly on the report of the inspecting officer. The policy of Government was to extend the grant- in- aid system so as to reduce the traditional village schools to a lowest number. Now the Government realized that, instead of opening more government schools, grant- in- aid system was more economic than the state owned schools.

### **Teachers and Qalifications**

The teachers appointed in all these schools, whether vernacular or English, Government or aided, were mostly untrained. Government was not in a position to insist any qualification for the post of teachers due to the want of educated candidates. To meet this challenge, for the time being, government was ready to absorb temporarily the old traditional village teachers who were on the verge of losing employment. The decision to incorporate them in to the Government system was, in a way, a safety valve against their discontent. Ullur observes that such a decision adversely affected educational standard than improving it.<sup>59</sup> Superintendent of District schools observed thus (1880-81):

*There were many teachers employed in the District schools who were perhaps the best available at the time, or who perhaps were nominated considering their poverty rather than their fitness for the work, but whose education has not kept pace with the world around them...of good character punctual and regular perhaps in*

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<sup>58</sup> Gant-in-aid schools were first recommended in Wood's Dispatch, 1854.

<sup>59</sup> Ullur, op.cit., p. 555.

*attendance and most exact in going through all the routine forms of teaching, yet they want the life and soul which alone can make teaching effective.*<sup>60</sup> The salary of a teacher in the Sirkar English Schools was Rs. 8 and in Sircar Vernacular schools Rs.5.

### **Normal Schools**

In order to overcome the shortage of qualified teachers, two Normal schools were established, one at Trivandrum and the other at Kottar (1884-85). The old normal school, started as per the policies of 1866-67, was abolished after a few years. The Trivandrum normal school trained the candidates for Malayalam schools while the Kottar, the Tamil. 25 students were admitted in each school with a stipend of Rs. 2½ or 3½ as they come from the town or village respectively.

### **Fee**

It is noted that, in Travancore, until 1866, no fee was collected from the students. That year onwards, government prepared a definite plan of fee collection. It was also in accordance with the recommendation of Wood's Dispatch. The rate of fee in the college was Re. 1 Chs.14 for the college classes, Re.1 Chs.7 for the Matriculation class, Chs. 21 for the Form IV and V and Chs. 10½ and half per head per mensem for the classes in the preparatory schools. The rate in the District schools was lower. In the vernacular schools, a uniform fee of Chs. 4 per head per month was charged in both the District and Proverthy schools, irrespective of the class in which they studied. In the central school, the rates varied from Chs.4 to Chs. 7. Private schools levied fees and the managers preferred kinds to cash which was often received in a lump at the harvest time.

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<sup>60</sup> Quoted in Ullur, *ibid.*

## **Text Books**

The text books for the use of the District English schools, except in regard to the Matriculation class, were not formally prescribed by any authority. But the books generally adopted in the *sircar* High school at the capital were usually followed in the mofussil. Aided schools had the right to use their own texts. There were no public examination to evaluate the progress of the student and laxity prevailed in the matter of promotion. To solve this problem, a system of competitive examination was introduced in 1881-82 period under the Principal of the College, whereby the students of the three classes in the District schools were simultaneously examined by the means of question Papers.

Travancore Government Gazette(1884) gives some ideas about the nature of examinations conducted in the vernacular schools.

Language- Malayalam Third Book of Reading (Mūnnām Pāṭham)

Arithmetic..... (Kaṇakkusāram)

Geography- Travancore and India (Translated works of T. Foulkes and Duncan George)

Composition and Dictation...

Handwriting-Ability to write well on cadjan and paper

## **Viva Voce Examination**

Reading.....

Recitation of any passage from an easy Malayalam poetical work

Sanskrit.....

Mental Arithmetic<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> TGG Ist July 1884, quoted in Kawashima, op.cit., p. 96.



### Activities of Text Book Committee

Until recently, it was believed that, the first official text book committee in Kerala was constituted by *Ayilyam Thirunal* in 1866-67 in connection with the beginning of Vernacular schools across the state. However, in the light of the Royal Rescript of Rani Parvathibai of 1818, it can be rightly said that the committee of *Ayilyam Thirunal* with Annaji Rao as the President was only the second text book committee in Kerala.<sup>62</sup>

### The Sircar Book Committee

The newly constituted book committee (Sircar Book Committee) was headed by Annajirayar and in which Subbayya Dikshitar and Raman Thampi were the other members.<sup>63</sup> Curriculum for these schools was in fact designed by Madhava Rao, the Diwan of Travancore, as mentioned earlier. Sanskrit was also suggested with a view to facilitate Malayalam language learning. The committee was further directed to find out suitable lessons from authentic English works and translate them in to vernacular Malayalam or to compile new books, if necessary.

Although committee came in to force with immediate effect, it failed to do anything substantially towards the stipulated goals. Annaji Rao, nephew of the Diwan was also from Kumbakonam and his mother tongue was not Malayalam but Tamil. Raman Thampi's knowledge in English was never been a standard one.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Present researcher himself had published a study in *Samalkaleena Malayalam varika* (Book,;19, Issue 10, 2015) about the activities of Kerala Varma Valiyakoyithampuran as the president of the Book Committee in the belief that it was the first of its kind., The royal order of Rani Gouri Parvathi Bai of 1818 had not come to the notice at that time. However, later it was corrected in an article published in the same weekly (Book: 21, Issue, 28, 2017) in connection with the bicentenary of the first text book committee which constituted in 1818.

<sup>63</sup> Annajirayar was the tutor of First Prince, Sreemoolam Thirunal. Raman Thampi was the Malayalam Munshi at Trivandrum College and Subbya Dikshithar was a great Sanskrit Scholar.

<sup>64</sup> His English translations were ridiculed by Kerala Varma himself. See Vatakkumkur Rajarajavarma, *Keralavarma Valiya koyithampuran*, Thrissur, 1964, pp.12-15 and Harisarma, A. D, *Randu sahithyanayakanmar*, Kottayam, 1963, pp. 97-98. A copy of his translation of *Travancore Geography* by T. Foulks is with the present researcher.

Though a renowned Sanskrit grammarian, Subbayya Dikshidar was not good at Malayalam. Apparently, the committee could not concert over the matter in a healthy way. Realizing the situation, the Diwan recommended one more member to this committee and it was Kerala Varma Valiya Koyithampuran.<sup>65</sup>

On the unexpected death of Annajirayar, within one year of his appointment, Kerala Varma became the President of the Textbook committee. He remained in the post for a long period of 22 years with a five years brake.<sup>66</sup> It will not be an exaggeration if it is stated that the text books brought out by him were the instrumental in the spread of European enlightenment modernity in the class rooms of Kerala. As other members proved their inefficiency in the job entrusted, the entire works of the committee was fell upon the shoulders of the President. However, during the later time, he had received assistance form scholars like Chidambara Vadhyar and M. Rajaraja Varma. Main features of the texts produced by the committee under Kerala Varma were the following:

### **Malayalam -First Book**

At the primary level there were four classes in the vernacular schools. ‘Bālapaṭham’ was the text for the infant level class and its purpose was to introduce alphabets and the structure of sentences.<sup>67</sup> *Onnāmpaṭham* (Malayalam first Book) was the book for class II. This book is also not available now except an eye copy

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<sup>65</sup> He was the brother- in- law of King Ayilyam Thirunal and was quite 22 years of age when the recommendation was made. At first, the king was defiant due to the fear of nepotism. But the pressure from the Diwan was so high and finally the king confided.

<sup>66</sup> After some internal dissensions within the palace, Ayilyam Thirunal imprisoned Kerala Varma for a period of five years (from 21<sup>st</sup> Karkkitakm 1050 ME. to 19<sup>th</sup> Edavam 1055 ME). The activities of Book Committee was also made freeze during this period. It was revived in 1883 during the tenure of Vishakam Thirunal. Ullur writes: The book committee which had turned out literary works of a substantial kind for the benefit of Vernacular schools under the presidency of Valiya Koil Thampuran but which had been abolished a few years after its establishment and was revived under the same scholar under improved condition. For details, *Progress of Travancore*, p. 558 This time the prices of the text-books were reduced to considerably so as to place them within the reach of the poorest students.

<sup>67</sup> Present researcher could not see this text in original but information is gathered from Dr. Thikkurissi Gangadharan, who did a remarkable study on the literary contributions of Kerala Varma. His personal collection includes almost all the books brought about by Kerala Varma.

prepared by Thikkurissi Gangandharan from the Madras Archives years ago.<sup>68</sup> The Alphabets are given under the title '*Padhalatha*', a new word coined by Kerala Varma for the popular term *Akṣaramāla*. It proceeds from single letter to the two letters words and then to three letters and up to the complex sentences. Examples of two letter words are *Paṛa*, *Kuḷam* and *Thala*, and *Muṭi* and the like. Three letter words were *Vayar*, *Payar*, *Uṭal* and so on. The days and months are dealt in the next. Sentences get complex nature as the lessons progress.

Kerala Varma's texts observed 'from simple to complex', the basic principle of teaching-learning process. On the whole it followed the features of books brought out by European publishers like Christian Literature Society but differed significantly in content and presentation style. For example, missionary texts contained Bible lessons and portions from *Pilgrim Progress*.<sup>69</sup> Kerala Varma did not include any matter that had Hindu religious tone. His books were secular in nature, strictly adhered to the recommendations of Wood's Dispatch.

There were 46 units in the Malayalam First Book and through this, besides the alphabets, child acquired rudimentary knowledge in astronomy, geography and the moral values.<sup>70</sup> The importance of education, particularly the women is highlighted in many sections. As part of character formation, students were told to respect the elders and take care of the parents, obey laws of the country and abstain from mischievous acts. Maxims related to the value of time and personal hygiene also became the part of the text. The text asked the pupil to attend the schools on time. The first text book ends with the statement that while a king is honored in his own country alone, a scholar would be respected every where and in every situation. Content analysis of the first text reveals that it strictly maintained the curricular objectives prescribed by the Travancore Government. In this text, various

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<sup>68</sup> That edition was printed at Kerala Mithram Press, Cochin 1888.

<sup>69</sup> *Pilgrim's Progress* is an allegorical novel by John Bunyan, 1678. It ranked just behind the King Jame's Bible as the most important book in evangelical protestant households.

<sup>70</sup> For example, earth is round; sun gives us light and the like.

topics related to language, science, geography, political science, economics, astronomy, health education etc., are beautifully blended in a lucid and attractive manner, considering the learner's psychology.

### **Malayalam Second and Third Book**

The Malayalam second and third books (for standards III and IVth) also followed the previous one in content and pattern but they introduced much higher level concepts. In other words, Kerala Varma's scheme of education closely resembled the Spiral Curriculum, a concept developed by Jerome S. Bruner in late 1960's.<sup>71</sup> It contained short stories and short essays<sup>72</sup> leading to the moral development and scientific awareness in the learner. Such topics were intended to provide novel ideas, mastery in word fluency and to construct sentences for transacting abstract concepts. Ullur Parmeswara Iyer, whose mother tongue was Tamil, opined that these primary texts were instrumental to attract him to the magnificent world of Malayalam language and literature. He also pointed out the simplicity, elegance and the depth of each lesson.<sup>73</sup> G. Sankarakkuruppu, the first Jñyanpith winner of Malayalam literature also mentioned the vibrant nature of Kerala Varma's Primary Readers.<sup>74</sup> However, he points out the over use of Sanskrit words in some portions. Analysing the features of contemporary Bengali works, Sankara Kurupu further opines that they were also not free from Sanskrit influence.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Bruner (1915-2016) was an American psychologist cum educationalist. Spiral Curriculum can be defined as a course of study in which students will see the same topics throughout the school career, with each encounter increasing the complexity reinforcing the previous learning.

<sup>72</sup> Short stories were: *Thayyalkkaranum Anayum, Kuthirayum Kaluthayum, Oru Balante Mōṣaṇasīlam Oru Kokkum Oru Kuṟukkanum....* Short essays were titled as Air, Rain and Snow, Map, Ship, Elephants, Germs, Rice and so on.

<sup>73</sup> 'Ullur, Enikku Parichithanaya Keralavarmadēvan', in *Smaranamadhuri* (1951), Trivandrum, 1962, p. 14.

<sup>74</sup> G. Sankarakkuruppu, G. yute notepusthakam, (parishad, Kumbham, 1120 ME) Kozhikode, 1967.

<sup>75</sup> He was referring to the works of Bengali writers like Eswara Chandra Vidhyasagar and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee.

The Third Primer contained 102 stories. It introduces many scientists and creative personalities like Isaac Newton, Alexander, Louis IV, Frederic the Grate and so on. It is noted that none of the Indian legendary figures found any place in the text.<sup>76</sup> Here Kerala Varma deviated significantly from the existing curricular models, including that of the missionaries. Even the *Pañcatantra* stories were kept outside as they glorified deceiting others for personal gains. Kerala Varma was of the opinion that the Indian heroes are having certain divine elements and worship is a personal matter of individuals and hence need not be a part of school education. To him, lessons with religious flavour would negatively influence the rational thinking. Instead, he proposed a life oriented curriculum. When religious lessons were fully restricted, some Christian missionaries protested. Robin Jeffry, in his *Decline of Nair Dominance* refers to such an incident in this regard.<sup>77</sup>

Although Kerala Varma was an admirer of western knowledge and philosophy, not even a single statement can be seen in his texts that justify the British rule in India. This was not the case of texts books of private agencies. For example, in the Orient Longman's text book for II<sup>nd</sup> standard (1901) there was a lesson about the Rain. While referring to the drought, the writer tells the students that natural calamities are beyond the control of humanbeings and hence there is no meaning in blame the British Government for its devastating consequences.<sup>78</sup> Kerala Varma was a member of royal family. Yet, in his text books, nothing can be found that unnecessarily praising the Travancore Government. He compares English people with blood sucking leeches and they would leave India after extracting the essence.<sup>79</sup> He was also critical about the lack of historical consciousness of Indian people throughout the ages and opined that hearsay or legends should not be taken as valid historical sources. Swadeshabhimani Ramakrishnappillai rightly remarked: *Kerala*

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<sup>76</sup> In the traditional village curriculum, the stories of ideal personalities like Naḷa, Harichandra or Udhishtira had got prime importance.

<sup>77</sup> Robin Jeffry, *Decline of Nair Dominance* (trans.), Kottayam, 2016, p.114.

<sup>78</sup> It can be seen that the author was not mentioning the relation between the Government's land revenue policies or other inhuman taxes that intensified people's grievances.

<sup>80</sup> Letter to a friend, quoted in Narayanappillai, *Keralavarma*, New Delhi, 1994, p. 91.

Varma made the Travancore Book Committee 'a good earth' to cultivate the seeds of Malayalam Prose.<sup>80</sup>

### Absence of Poetry

Though the President himself was a well known poet, his texts contained no poems at all. To him, not the matured Malayalam poetry, but the prose in the infancy stage needs to be nurtured. K.C. Maman Mappila, the founder of Malayala Manorama, in his autobiography lamented that they could not develop poetic sensibility as they were not studied poems in school classes.<sup>81</sup> *Paṭhamāla* of Gundert contained portions from ancient poems like *Rāmacharitha* but were too difficult to understand even for the advanced learners.

### Mathematics Texts

Kerala Varma redesigned the traditional mathematics education on the European model. His first Malayalam Mathematics text, *Kaṇakkupusthakam* (Arithmetic Text- Part I), came out in 1867 itself. In the introductory part, he states that mathematics and language are alike. For better understanding of a literary piece –whether it is a story, a drama or a poem, proficiency in the alphabets is a pre-condition. Likewise, to enter the complex world of mathematics, familiarity with the number system is essential. Here he employs 'compare and contrast method' to integrate new facts, ideas and concepts in to the existing cognitive structure of learners. The teacher, through familiar examples, leads students to the complex level of learning. Modern psychology calls this type instructional strategy as 'subsuming bridge' or 'Advanced organizers'.<sup>82</sup> Kerala Varma coined new Malayalam terms for the arithmetical symbols as *Addhikam* (+), *Nūnam* (-), *Bhāgam* (/) and *Guṇam* (x).

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<sup>80</sup> K. Ramakrishnappillai, Kerala Varma's 60<sup>th</sup> Birthday Celebration speech, *Bhāṣapōshini*, February-March, 1905.

<sup>81</sup> K. C. Maman Mappilai, *Jīvithasmaranakaḷ*, (1977), Kottayam, 2006 p. 83.

<sup>82</sup> The concept of subsuming bridge- making a bridge between the known and to be known- and Advance organizers were developed by David P. Ausubal, an American psychologist.

## Kṣetṛavyavahāram

The book committee translated the Euclid's Geometry- (Part- I) under the title Kṣetṛavyavahāram. It would be a matter of surprise that, Kerala Varma who translated this classical work having complex formulas and technical explanations, never undergone through any formal education programme. This text begins with the definition of straight line, point and proceeds to theorems. The translations like *Sṛiṅgam* for vertex, *Nūnakōṇ* for acute angle, *Bṛihatkōṇ* for obtuse angle, *Bāhyakōṇ* for exterior angle, *Bahumukhakōṇ* for alienate angle first appeared in this text. The original text is not found out but we have received a revised edition by Chidambara Vadhyar.<sup>83</sup> In the preface of the text, he acknowledges his gratitude to Kerala Varma thus:

*The first attempt in this direction was made some twenty years ago by H H Kerala Varma Valiakoil Thampuram F. M. U. M. R. A. S for the Travancore Book Committee: this was a verbatim translation of Pott's Euclid. In the present edition, the book committee's work is freely consulted and made use of. This differs from the older edition mainly in the following points: 1. The additions of explanatory notes to the definitions, propositions etc. 2. The subjoining of suitable riders and deductions which are arranged in the gradation of their difficulty: 3. The use of mathematical symbols and abbreviations.*<sup>84</sup>

## History Texts

Besides the above mentioned texts, Kerala Varma also brought out some text books relating the history of Travancore, India and Britain. By this way, he broadened the historical consciousness of students from micro to the macro level. He opposed the view that the teaching of history and geography are mere waste of time. Knowledge in these subjects enables children to perceive things rightly. While

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<sup>83</sup> Chidambara Vadhyar was Cullen's Scholar, H.H. The Maharajas College Triavandrum.

<sup>84</sup> Chidambara Vadhyar, *Kṣetṛavyavahāram*, Introductory part.

reviewing the *Kochirājyaçarithram* of K.P. Padmanabha Menon, Kerala Varma made it clear that objectivity and analytical skill are the essential qualifications of a historian. He rightly observed that there would be a considerable change in the history presented by Padmanabha Menon once the scattered or undeciphered inscriptions of Travancore are brought in to light.<sup>85</sup> Such a prediction became a reality with the works of T.A. Gopinatha Rao, Prof. Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai and others in the later years.

### **Thiruvitāmkur Carithram**

It was the translation of Travancore History written by Sir. T. Madhava Rao (unpublished). The text deals with the period of two kings, Marthandavarma and Dharmaraja respectively (1729 -1798). This period was very crucial in the formation of Travancore kingdom and hence in this book, a clear idea about the various incidents related to it is given in a vivid manner. The very object of the work was to legitimize the present monarchy by showing the past anarchies and how a sound and benevolent system of rule came in to being. It hails the king as the ‘father of the citizens, by quoting passage from the *Manusmṛiti*. Though a Government officier, Madhava Rao tried to provide objective and reliable data related to the state affairs.<sup>86</sup>

However, The Travancore History by Madhava Rao was not the first of its kind. That credit goes to Pachumoothath who wrote Thiruvithamkur Charithram. It covered a wider area including the period of the then ruler Ayilyam Thirunal.

### **India Charithram**

Though this work is mentioned in the list of Book Committee, it is not found out out. It dealt with Indian history till the time of Warren Hasting.

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<sup>85</sup> Kerala Varma, *Kochirājya Carithram* (Book review), Mangalodayam, Makaram issue, 1914..

<sup>86</sup> Thikkurissi Gangadharan, *Kerala Varma Paṭhanangal*, 2004, Trivandrum, p. 97.



### **India Carithra Kadhakal**

It is the translation of the James Talboys Wheeler's Tales from Indian History: Being the Annals of India Retold in Narratives.<sup>87</sup> Talboys was a tutor of Indian History at the Madras Presidency College. In the preface of the text, the author made it clear that it was written on the model of Walter Scott's 'Tales of a Grand Father.'<sup>88</sup> The Malayalam translation excluded the first two chapters dealing with the Battle of *Mahabharatha* and *Ramayana* respectively.

### **Englandu Carithram**

The original text is written by Henry Morris. In the title page, it is mentioned that the correction in translation is made by Kerala Varma. It starts with the early history of England and ends with the Crimean War of 1856. There are twenty five chapters in this book.<sup>89</sup>

### **Lokathinte Saiśavāvastha**

It is the first textbook in Malayalam that deals the prehistoric life of the human beings. The original work is written by Edward Clodd under the title the 'Childhood of the World: Simple Account of Man in the Early Times'<sup>90</sup>, The Book is divided in to two parts and there are total 37 chapters. In the introductory part, it is stated that, 'it is the story of man's progress from unknown times of his early appearance upon the earth, to the period from which writers of history ordinarily begin'. The topics like human wants, his first tool, fire, cooking and potteries, dwelling, use of metals, mankind as shepherd, farmers, traders, language and writing are given in the first section. Stories about Man's primary needs, the sun and the moon, planets, belief in sorcery, fear about the unknown things, sacrifices,

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<sup>87</sup> Published by W. Thacker and Company, 1881.

<sup>88</sup> It was about the history of Scotland.

<sup>89</sup> Printed at CMS press Kottayam, 1884.

<sup>90</sup> Macmillan and Company, 1874.

monotheism, belief in rebirth, three stories about Abraham, holy books etc., were discussed in the next section.

### **Economics Text**

There had been no book on economics in Malayalam language until 1862. Accordingly Travancore Government invited suitable translations for the well known work *Easy Lessons on Money Matters* for the use of general public.<sup>91</sup> The selected one was of Rev. Ittiyera Eapen of the Cambridge Nicolson Institution, Kottayam and it was published under the title *Paṅkkarya Vaṛṇanam*.<sup>92</sup> However, when textbook committee was instituted, the same was not considered and a student friendly edition was brought out again. Its title was *Dhanatathwa Nirūpaṇam*.<sup>93</sup> It deals with various topics like Money, Exchange, Trade and Commerce, Currency, Price, Wage, Rich and Poor, Capital, Taxes, Letting and Hiring and so on. Most of the current jargons of economics in Malayalam language are the contribution of this translation.<sup>94</sup> This book was useful to adults also in various financial matters in the everyday life.

### **Geography Books**

Geography texts were also designed in the manner of History books. They dealt with the geographical features of Travancore, India and the world. First in this series was *Thiruvitamcode Samsthānathē Bhūvivaraṇam*. Instead of the general term Bhūmiśāsthṛam for geography, Kerala Varma coined the word Bhūvivaraṇam. It was the translation of the Geography of Travancore by Rev. T Foulkes, the British Chaplain at Trivandrum. There was already a translated work by Raman Thampi of H

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<sup>91</sup> *Easy Lessons on Money Matters* was published under the direction of the committee of General literature and Education appointed by the SPCK. The essays in it were first appeared in Saturday Magazine for the use of children above eight years of old.

<sup>92</sup> Printed at CMS Press.

<sup>93</sup> Present researcher obtained a copy of this text from Lukmanual Hakkeem, Assistant Professor, Govt. Arts and Science College Calicut. It was printed in 1870 at Mudhravilasam Press Trivandrum.

<sup>94</sup> Thikkurussi Gangadharan, op.cit., p. 109.

.H Maharajas School, but Kerala Varma brought out another one.<sup>95</sup> The text is divided in two sections. The first section deals with subjects like the geographical position of the Travancore State, its natural boundaries, coastal areas, mountains, rivers, backwaters, islands and so on. The next part describes the important cities, transportation facilities, caste and religions, trade relations with other states and the like. Though it was *titled* as a geography book, it provided additional information on public administration also.

### **India Vivaraṇam**

This book was intended to provide a general idea about the geographical features of the Indian subcontinent. The original text was written by Duncan George under the title '*Geography of India*'.<sup>96</sup> Besides geographical details, it contained accounts of social, commercial, and political situations with historical notes. The text describes each province of India with its minerals, ports, climate, population, language, railway, telegraph, religion, education and so on. While referring to Madras Presidency, it mentions the Provincial school at Calicut. There were 1400 schools under Madras presidency with 50000 students as per the inspection record of 1866. The text is divided in to two parts. From the book we learn that during that time, population of India was around 18 crores with 30 officially approved languages.

### **Bhūvivaraṇam**

This is the last in the series of geography texts. It deals with the astonishing features of the earth. There were total nine chapters and gives a good description of the technical terms used in the geographical studies. The text also provides knowledge about each continent in the earth. It refers to an additional continent

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<sup>95</sup> A copy of Raman Thampi's Translation, printed at 'Western Star' Office, Cochin, 1878, is with the present researcher. The decision to get fresh translation indicates that, Raman Thampi's work was not useful for the school classes.

<sup>96</sup> Published by Higginbotham's company, Madras, 1870.

called 'Oceania' which comprised many islands of Asia, America, and in middle Pacific Ocean and divided in to Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia and Australasia, spanning the eastern and western hemisphere. As a comprehensive text on general geography of the world, this book was highly appreciated. It helped children to widen their world view with scientific perspective. At the end of the text a glossary of the technical terms is given. Thikkurissi Gangadharan opines that, these newly created words and terminologies, in turn, enriched the Malayalam language also.<sup>97</sup>

### **Padhya Pāṭhavalī**

We have already noticed that The Book Committee did not show any justice to the poetry and hence invited criticism from different corners. However, later, the committee considered the matter seriously and published an anthology titled *Padhyapaṭhāvalī*. M.P. Appan, a noted poet in Malayalam language, had given a detailed description of this poetry series.<sup>98</sup> There were total 7 such volumes. Kerala Varma gave due representation to all talented writers of the period like Otuvil Kunjikirishna Menon, C.S. Subrahmanyam Potti, Panthalam Kerala Varma, A. R. Rajaraja Varma, Kunjikkuttan Thampuran and so on in this series. N. Kumaranasan, in his *Vivekōdayam* remarked that he has no hesitation to state that the *Padhyapaṭhāvalī* (vol. I to IV) was like a new constellation of stars in the vast sky of Malayalam literature.<sup>99</sup> From the list of poems selected, it is understood that Kerala Varma, though a poet of traditional style, appreciated even the modern works influenced by the European romanticism. The *Malaya Vilāsa* of A .R. Rajaraja Varma and *Vīṅapūvu* of Kumaranasan were first published in the *Padhyapaṭhāvalī* series.

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<sup>97</sup> Thikkurissi, op.cit p. 107.

<sup>98</sup> M.P. Appan, 'Padhyapaṭhāvalīkaḷ' in *Kerala Varma Smaraṇa*, ed., K. Ramachandran Nair, Trivandrum, 1995. Present researcher obtained the copy of *Padyapathavali* from the collection of Prabhakaran Master, Pallikkara, Koilandy.

<sup>99</sup> N, Kumaranasan, *Vivekōdayam*, August-September, 1911.

## Mahatcharitha Sangraham

The source book of *Mahacaritha Sangraham* was the The Biographical Treasury- A Dictionary of Universal Biography by Samuel Mander and the translation was made at the commission of Vishakam Thirunal, the then King of Travancore. In fact, the first five biographies in that book were translated by the King himself but due to ill health, the rest of the work was entrusted upon Kerala Varma.<sup>100</sup> The king had pointed out that such a book describing the life and career of great men would draw out the inner qualities of young generation in Travancore. This would ultimately instill in them the moral values also.<sup>101</sup>

## Moral Education Text Books

We came to know that the entire works of Book Committee were undertaken during the Victorian Age. In England, besides many things, it was the period of intense morality and the missionaries all over the world, attached to the Church of England, were toiling in spreading the Victorian Morality through class room teaching and other learning materials. It had tremendous effect upon educational policies of the Travancore Government also. Accordingly, the Book Committee prepared moral texts for the use of central vernacular school. They were four in number and the first among the series was *Sanmārga Sangraham* (1868). It follows a catechism style. This 75 pages lesson book helped in nurturing good moral values among the students of tender age.

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<sup>100</sup> Biographies of Archimedes, Alexander, Alfred, Aristotle, and Bacon were translated by Vishakam Thirunal. Kerala Varma translated nine others and published in *Vidhyāvilāsini* first issue (March 1881). Later, in 1883, P Govindhappillai published a small book selecting 10 biographies and the same was used as a textbook in school for few years. For details, see Kerala Varma, note on *Mahacharithasangraham*, 18<sup>th</sup> Eṭavam, 1895.

<sup>101</sup> Letter to Kerala Varma, dated 4<sup>th</sup> July 1880. When *Mahacharithasangraham* was published, it contained biographies of 107 personalities who lived in between 9<sup>th</sup> Century BC and 19<sup>th</sup> Century CE. They can be classified under the categories of political thinkers, intellectuals, artists, religious leaders. Some of the biographies were also taken from other texts as suggested by Vishakhham Thirunal.

The next moral book was *Sanmārgavivaraṇam* (1877). This book is the translation of the book ‘*Moral and Social Duties-Large Edition*’. It asks the students to follow the words and paths of their predecessors as they have passed through many hard tribulations through ages. Such experiences were certainly considered to have some educative value in the students’ future life.

The Third book in this series was *Sanmaṛgapradīpam* and it was the translation of the work by Ropperleth Bridge (1840-1919).<sup>102</sup> In the introductory part, it was stated that the very object of the book is to impart knowledge in universally accepted moral truths and laws. There are total six chapters in this book.

The last of the series was ‘*Yuvākkannārōṭṭuḷḷa Upadēsangal*’ (Instructions to the Youths). This is a general book aimed at the young people aged between 16 and 21. It discusses various aspects like the value of labour and habit of industriousness, respect for the elders and adverse effect of alcohol, importance of truth, trust, moral life, physical exercise and so on. Reading and music are of greater value in developing integrated personality. Various topics in the book enabled the intellectual, mental and physical development of the readers.

Content analysis of these text books reveal that they were instrumental in preparing the ground for the forthcoming social and religious renaissance in Travancore. They widened the intellectual and moral domains of the learners. For the first time, students of Kerala tasted the pure secular education that in turn instilled the scientific temper as well. It provided a new orientation to the traditional mathematical education. Many of these books were translations of famous English books but effort taken by the Book Committee in their selection should be acknowledged. Publication details of the originals and the translations reveal that the former had been reached in Kerala as soon as they were published in Europe. This shows the enthusiasm evinced by Book Committee on the matter of child education.

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<sup>102</sup> He was a British academic and civil servant in India. He became a member of House of Commons as a conservative politician. He authored some other books like *The Golden Age of India* and *A Short Manual of the History of India*.

It is a fact that major share of the work was accomplished by the President himself, but he never claimed that the things were done by him alone. Here Robin Jeffry, the author of '*Decline of Nair Dominance*' makes a wrong observation.<sup>103</sup> Kerala Varma's attitude is understood from the speech he made at the felicitation meeting in connection with the receipt of the title of honor, F.R.H.S (1895) from Queen Victoria. He said, 'as the President of the Book Committee, I was able to contribute something to the Malayalam language in the form of text books originally written, compiled or corrected, or by supervising the works of others. However, when things to be done in this regard are taken in to account, these were nothing but little drops in the vast ocean'.<sup>104</sup> Kerala Varma did not have offspring in family life and that feeling haunted him throughout the life. Text book construction, for him, was in fact an act of sublimation. He could see the entire students of the country as his own children or immediate relatives.

### **Educational Progress in Thiruvanthapuram**

The progress of education in Travancore during the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century is evident from the writing of Samuel Matteer who had a long experience as an LMS missionary there. He says that Hindus of India procured a good command over the English language. These people write independently and sharply. Celebrated English speeches were translated by them. Indians communicate with Europeans in the same manner of the Westerners. He had attended a number of public gatherings in which the native scholars delivered speeches on different topics like astronomy, electric telegraph, art, science, and women education in erudite manner. He adds that the educated Hindus were seriously involved in the discussions related to moral responsibilities. They were also aware of the value of knowledge and the need of its dissemination to a wider population. As a result of secular education,

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<sup>103</sup> cf. Robin Jeffry, *Decline of Nair Dominance: Society and Politics in Travancore, 1847-1908*, p. 114.

<sup>104</sup> Quoted in P. K. Narayanappillai, *Keralavarma*, New Delhi, 1994, p. 52. The meeting was held at Trivandrum. Then resident s Mr. Grigg was an educationalist too and he recommended the name of Kerala Varma for this prestigious title.

initiated by the Government, many of the native people became skeptical about the existence of the God and religions. Mateer was of the opinion that conceptual errors and conflicts in the minds of people were due to the lack of the Bible teaching in its real sense. Here he contempts the influence of English materialists like Herbert Spencer, James Mill, Alexander Bain and Mathew Tindal among the people of Travancore. He also quotes the words of Hacker that the peripheral understanding of books written by such philosophers contributed nothing but mental disturbances in native people.<sup>105</sup>

### **Public Lecture Committee**

The Public Lecture Committee was instituted at the instance of Mulam Thirunal, the then Maharaja of Travancore (1886-87) and he himself sanctioned fund for inaugurating a course of lectures for the public people and its venue was Rajas College. In order to implement the scheme, a committee comprising both the Europeans and native scholars was constituted. In the initial year itself, the committee organized twelve lectures on various topics. Government also helped the committee to publish those relevant speeches.

### **Debating Clubs**

From the writings of Samuel Mateer, we come to know that he was selected as the secretary and treasurer of Trivandrum People's Library two times. We also learn that, in Trivandrum, there emerged different debating clubs, literary organizations and other similar gatherings as a result of intellectual awakening among the educated youths. The initial effort was taken up by LMS and their seminar series at Trivandrum continued for four years from 1863 to 1867. They deliberated on science, literature, social issues and moral aspects. Even the First Prince, Vishakham Tirunal, and the Chief Justice of state were part of it. The other organizations were Juvenile Circle, Infant Club, Reform Club, Malayaly Union,

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<sup>105</sup> Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, (trans.), A. N. Sathyadas, Trivandrum, 2013, p. 575.



Debating Society and the like. Under the presidentship of the First Prince Vishakam Thirunal, there was another organization called Moral Class under the Presidentship of the First Prince Vishakam Thirunal. It is worth to mention organizations like *Sanmārga Pravarthaka Sangham* and the Young Men's Christian Association. As the name indicates, the Young Men Christian Association had more inclination towards their religion.<sup>106</sup> Another society active in Trivandrum was the Female Normal School and the Instruction Society.<sup>107</sup> They adopted different methods to instruct the girls at their own houses or in schools.

The above discussion makes it clear that by the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Travancore emerged as one of the educationally potential areas in the British India. The text books of different categories, debates of various kinds, spread of print media etc., were instrumental in introducing the sparks of enlightenment modernity among the masses. Educated youths were employed in various Government posts. In course of time politically charged students initiated movements against the repressive and inhuman activities of the Government itself. The renowned nationalist G. P Pillai<sup>108</sup> and Swadesabhimani Ramakrishnappillai<sup>109</sup> were the prominent among them. G. P Pillai and two others<sup>110</sup> were expelled from the Maharaja's college due to their critical stand against the then Diwan Ramayyankar, appointed by Vishakam Thirunal. The main leaders of the *Malayali Memmorial*<sup>111</sup> and the *EJava Memmorial* were also from the newly educated class. It ultimately resulted in the demand for a Responsible Government in Travancore during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>106</sup> For more details, see Mateer, op.cit., p. 577.

<sup>107</sup> Mateer, *Land of Charity*, (trans.), Premjith Kayamakulam,, Kottayam, 2017, p, 104.

<sup>108</sup> G. P. Pillai was later elected as the secretary of Indian National Congress, Vth Session, and Bombay. *Represent India* and *Indian National Congress Men* were his notable works.

<sup>109</sup> K. Ramakrishnappillai was exiled from Travancore in 1910.

<sup>110</sup> They were Raman Pillai and R.Rangarao respectively.

<sup>111</sup> Travancore Memorial or Malayali Memorial (1891) was signed by more than ten thousand non-Brahmins of Travancore and it was against the policy of denying opportunity to educated Malayali youths from entering various jobs in Government departments. T. K. Ravindrans opines that it was the first visible sign of political discontent in the Travancore state. See, Asan and Social Revolution in Kerala, (1972), Kottayam, 2011, Note no. 6, p. 114. EJava Memorial, depicting the grievances of the community, was submitted to the Diwan in 1895 and the Maharaja in 1896.

## CHAPTER VII

### EDUCATION IN COCHIN AND MALABAR

After the Anglo-Dutch treaty in 1814, Princely state of Cochin came under the sway of the British East India Company. Kerala Varma III alias Karkkitakathirunal Thīppeṭṭa Thampuram (1809-1828) was the Raja at the time of this transfer. Accordingly the Company appointed a resident to supervise the state affairs, and Colonel Munro discharged this duty besides his administrative responsibilities in Travancore.

Following the steps taken by Travancore, a year later in 1818, the Cochin Government also decided to start state owned schools in each *Proverthy*. Full text of the royal order in this regard is given in the *Kochi Rājyacharithram* of K.P Padmanabha Menon.<sup>1</sup> Like the royal rescript of Travancore, it also mentions the deplorable state of children in the country without literacy and basic arithmetic. It was stated that the present decision to open school was aiming at the welfare and prosperity of the children. The newly opened schools were single teacher institutions and its curriculum consisted of writing, mathematics, astronomy and Kāvya-s. It is further instructed that the children ranging the age between 5 and 20 must be sent to schools and state would defray all the expenses. The classes started at 6 o' clock in the morning and continued up to 6 p.m. with a one hour break for lunch.

The royal decree insisted that an officer called *Thirumukham Pillai* together with one Assistant should visit the schools in every 8 days and evaluate the progress of each student and to report the secretariat (Hajur). Teachers were also directed to prepare their own evaluation statements and dispatched to the Hajur in every 8 days. It further warned that if a teacher resorted to collect any money or gift from the students, they must be put to trial in the court and punished. This decision was remarkable, since the native education till the date was solely depended on the cash

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<sup>1</sup> K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *Kochirājyacharithram*, (1914), Kozhikode, 1996, pp. 798-800.

or kind presented by the students or other reputed families. Such an act certainly increased the dignity of both the teachers and students.

However, the fate of these proverty schools was also similar to that of the Travancore Vernacular schools. As these institutions were found to be ineffective either because of the truants of the officials or inefficient teachers, Diwan Venkita Subbayar put an end to these schools in 1831.<sup>2</sup> Three years later, the Diwan started another six Malayalam schools in each Taluk and were better conducted than the earlier, but not much of an improvement upon the age old village school system. Even in the influx of English schools, they survived and discharged educational purposes, though practically without any use. These Taluk Vernacular schools were ultimately abolished in 1890 with the establishment of Primary Education Department in which C. Achutha Menon was the Superintendent.

### **Modernization in Cochin**

C. Achutha Menon, the author of the monumental work, 'The Cochin State Manual' gives us an account of the educational system existed there during the last quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> century in detail.<sup>3</sup> As he was the First Superintendent of newly set up Primary Education Department (vernacular), the information provided by him can be taken as first hand. (1890-96).<sup>4</sup> It was Menon who initiated the implementation of grant-in-aid to private educational institutions in Kochin. He also started a Training School at Kochin. In 1896 Menon was promoted to the post of Secretary to the Diwan of Cochin.

While the CMS missionaries were active in building up educational institutions in and around central Travancore, particularly in Kottayam and Alappuzha, Rev. J. Dawson, another missionary, started the first English School at

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> *Malabar Manual* was published in 1887 and *Travancore State Manual* was compiled in 1906. *The Cochin State Manual* came out in 1911. All of them followed more or less a general pattern.

<sup>4</sup> Head quarter of this department was at Trichur.

Mattanchery in 1818. This school had received financial assistance from the Cochin Government. As the enrollment was very poor, three years later, school was closed down. The District English schools started by Swathi Thirunal in Travancore (1836) also faced the same situation. It indicates that during the initial stage, the people of Kerala did not much welcome the English system of education. Scope of the English education was also very limited during that time.

Under the initiation of the then Resident Mr. Casamjar, a new English school was started at Mattanchery in 1835 for the Jewish children. Malayalam was also a subject of study in this school besides the English and the Hebrew.<sup>5</sup> Francis Day (1863), opines that the schools in Cochin were rather inferior.<sup>6</sup> He mentions the Protestant Schools, situated on the site of the Dominican convent of the Portuguese time, under the supervision of Missionary Chaplain. There was also an another school for boarders, opened in 1859, which admitted about twenty boys and girls and the average cost of each being about fifty rupees a year. This 'Free School' also received Government assistance.<sup>7</sup>

### **Grant-in-Aid Schools in Cochin**

Francis Day further remarks that Government affords great assistance in India, in the form of Gant-in-aid, toward schools, should parties able or willing, to come forward with proper teachers, who can satisfactorily undergo the Government test. Government did not interfere in these schools particularly regarding the studies or method of teaching but they had to strictly follow certain rules like exclusion of the Holy Scriptures from course of teaching. However Bible had a place in the school

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<sup>5</sup> This school was functioned in one of the synagogues in Jewish town. It was an aided school and survived even at the time of the compilation of *Cochin State Manual*.

<sup>6</sup> Francis Day, *The Land of the Perumal or Cochin: Its Past and Its Present*, (1863), New Delhi, 1990, p. 197-98.

<sup>7</sup> Report of Director of Public Instruction for the year 1859-60, quoted in Francis Day, *ibid*.

libraries and the pupils were at liberty to study it, and to obtain instruction from their masters, out of school hours if they expressly desired it.<sup>8</sup>

In course of time, some elementary English schools were also started in different part of the state like Trissur and Eranakulum. Francis Day mentions two English schools in Trichur town which accommodated both boys and girls and supported by Raja, but inferior to the Protestant schools.<sup>9</sup> The main focus of Trippunithura School was imparting education to the children of the Cochin royal family.

### **Eranakulam School and Maharaja's College**

The Erankulam School which had humble beginning in 1845, was upgraded in 1875 as Second Grade College and eventually affiliated Madras University. Mr. A.F. Sealy, a European, was appointed as the Head Master. Achutha Menon hails him as the master force behind the modernization of education in Cochin. With him the number of children attending school increased considerably and its standard was also raised. But even before him, the school could prepare its pupils for appearing Matriculation Examination. (1868). Sealy was succeeded by equally able principals like D.M. Cruickshank and F.S. Davies and the college became one of the successful educational institutions in South India along with the Maharajas College, Trivandrum. T. K. Krishna Menon, in his memoirs titled *The Days That Were*, gives a description of the classes in the college during his time. It was thus:<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Francis Day, *ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in K. T. Rama Varma, *Kairali Vidhēyan : Rama Varma Appan Thampuran*, Calicut, 1983, p. 46.

Infant class,

Preparatory Classes: Lower, Middle, and Upper

Classes : I, II B, II A  
III C, III B, IIIA  
IVB, IVA  
V, VI (Matriculation)  
VII, VIII (FA in non -science subjects only)

The student who had certain level of competency in Mathematics and Sanskrit were directly admitted in the V forum and they were allowed to appear the matriculation examination in the next year.<sup>11</sup> Since this college did not offer science subjects in the F.A level, many promising students sought admission at the Presidency College, Madras. For example, Appan Thampuran, the first dictative novelist in Malayalam, joined in Presidency College after matriculated from Ernakulam College. His elder brother was also studied there.

The first Government girls' school in Cochin State was opened at Trichur in 1889 to commemorate Her Majesty's (late) Jubilee. However, even two years before that, the Carmelite Mission had established a convent girls' school at Eranakulam. Both these schools were soon upgraded as High schools. At the time of completion of the Cochin State Manual, there were 55 girls' schools in the state. Out of which 33 were Government, 24 were aided and 1 un -aided.<sup>12</sup> Fee was collected from girls but only the half of the amount paid by boys. This obviously indicates the Government's special interest in the education of girls. In 1908, the primary sections of all government schools were exempted from paying the fee.

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<sup>11</sup> Duration of the FA course was 2 years. (FA-First examination in Arts).

<sup>12</sup> . The total number of girl students in these schools was 6563. Achyutha Menon further observes that there were at least 8000 girls attending indigenous schools, Menon, op. cit.

By the first decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were 15 upper secondary schools, 39 lower secondary schools and 1046 primary schools in the Cochin state. They were owned either by the Government or by private agencies but aided by the Sircar. There were schools run by the individuals at their own risk. When compared to that of the Government or aided, the majority of the the third category lingered upon the traditional educational system.

## **EDUCATIONAL GROWTH IN MALABAR**

Dr. K.K.N. Kurup who has done many scholarly studies on colonial Malabar opines that, due to unavailability of authentic sources it would be very difficult to write the history of education in Malabar during the early colonial phase.<sup>13</sup> We don't know whether the EEC had taken any measure to start new schools or taken over any existing one to meet their educational requirements. The earliest school on modern line in this district was started by one Anderson at Tellichery. Later this institute was taken over by BEM under the leadership of Hermman Gundert. Since Malabar was an integral part of the Madras presidency, any development of education in that area cannot be studied in isolation with the general policy followed in the head quarter. It was at the instance of Madras Governor Thomas Munro (1820-1827); the first educational survey was conducted in the Malabar District in the year 1822. In fact Munro was the first English administrator who drew the attention of the local Government to the subject of education.<sup>14</sup> By 1821, East India Company became free from the continuous wars that they had been waging ever since 1814. Now it emerged as the supreme power in India. To strengthen political authority, they wanted to estimate various dynamics and forces playing vital role in the social and cultural life of different communities. Munro's Minute on the education of native people dated 2.7.1822 was one among them. In the Minute, he clarified the importance of that kind of an enquiry thus:

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<sup>13</sup> K.K.N Kurup, *Ādhunika Keralam*, (1982), Trivandrum, 2011, p. 21.

<sup>14</sup> The reports collected from the entire Districts in Madras Presidency is given in Dharampal, *Beautiful Trees*, 1982, see the Documents.

..... *We have conducted geographical and agricultural surveys. We have investigated their resources and endeavored to ascertain their population, but little is done to learn the state of education.*<sup>15</sup>

The above statement further reveals that Munro wished to obtain a correct picture rather than hearsay and conjunctures in this regard. However Munro made it clear that he was not indented to make any recommendation or interference in the conduct of existing native schools. This aspect will be more clear when we go through his own statement: *Everything of this kind ought to be carefully avoided, and people should be left to manage their schools in their own way. All that we ought to do is to facilitate the operations of these schools by restoring any funds that may have been diverted from them and perhaps granting additional ones, where it may appear advisable.*<sup>16</sup>

It is evident that by 1821, first time for the EEC, the surplus territorial revenue out of which Rs. one lack could be utilized for the purpose of education as mentioned in the clause 43 of the Charter Act of 1813. Accordingly, in Calcutta Presidency, the Government had proposed a Sanskrit college and was offered an annual grant of Rs.25000/. The very object of this was the cultivation of Hindu literature and gradual diffusion of European knowledge through the medium of Sanskrit language. However in Madras, Munro did not initiate such a programme. From the Munro's minutes, it can be assumed that prior to 1822 there was not even a single school in Madras presidency under the colonial Government for imparting education to the native children. Schools in this area constituted the indigenous as well as village schools of old type.

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<sup>15</sup> Minute dated, 25<sup>th</sup> June, 1822. The president's Minute-proposing that the Collectors be desired to furnish information with regard to the actual state of native schools and of education among the natives. For full text, see Dharampal, *ibid.*, pp.83-84.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*



## Collector's Report- Malabar District

In response to the direction of Madras Government, J. Vaughan, the Principal Collector of Malabar District submitted his observations dated on 5.8.1823. According to it, there were 759 schools and 1 college in the whole district. All these institutions were of traditional character and run by private individuals. The college was under the patronage of the erstwhile Zamorins of Calicut at Ponnani. Though called as college, it had never been an institution that imparted modern knowledge but *Vēdic* studies alone. About the state of this college, Zamorin had submitted a memorandum and the same was appended to the data forwarded by the Collector. Besides popular village schools, there were provisions for specialized studies in theology, law, astronomy, metaphysics, ethics, medical sciences and so on. Caste wise distribution of students in each subject category was also given in detail in his report.<sup>17</sup>

## Further Developments in Madras presidency

After reviewing the reports received from various districts, Munro initiated another minute dated 10<sup>th</sup> March 1826. He proposed two principal schools in each Collectorate- one for Hindus and the other for Muslims. In order to train the teachers

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<sup>17</sup> The Vaghaun's report on Malabar education helps us to negate the claim of St. Joseph school Kozhikode, a school under Jesuit order, that their school was established in 1792 itself. They celebrated the 225<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 2018. Being doubtful about the authenticity of the claim, the present researcher requested them to produce the sources to prove the claim. They did not have any Jesuit records or other relevant documents except DPI's letter stating the chronological order of the beginning of modern schools in Kerala. This list is given in response to a query under Right Information Act. It is carelessly prepared and full of mistakes. If such a school had existed at the time of Vaghaun's survey of 1822, it would have been mentioned in that report. St. Joseph school situates hardly five kilometers away from the Collector's head quarter, East Hill. Further, A. Adappur, who wrote a commendable book on the Jesuit contributions to Kerala Education, based on original Jesuit records, also silent about the beginning of this school. See A. Atappur, *Sakṣrakēralatinte Navōthanmūlyangal*, Kottayam, 2013. Hence it seems that the claim is fabricated. In fact the authorities of the school were trying to legitimize their antiquity. This incident clearly indicates the lack of proper historical research in the educational sector in Kerala. William Logan also did not mention such a school in the Calicut city. But Innes in his Malabar Gazetteer refers to it. It was the only high school for European boys in the district. Native students were also admitted. There were 190 European and Anglo Indian Boys in it 1929 out of the total strength of 260.

for these schools, an advanced training school was also envisaged. He also recommended inferior schools eventually in each Tahasildari. Munro applied to the Court of Directors for an annual grant of 50000/for the conduct of these schools. Munro's enquiry was followed by the appointment of a Committee of Public Instruction Board<sup>18</sup> to organize the public system of education. The grant he applied was sanctioned, and in 1826, there were 14 Collectorate and 81 Taluk schools, with a Central Training School at Madras opened<sup>19</sup>. The study of English was confined only to the central Collectorate School and was of an elementary nature. In all other schools, instruction imparted through the vernacular language.

Having found this system a failure, later on, schools thus opened were abolished. School census of 1832 revealed that each school had not more than an average 33 scholars, and the Board was compelled to admit that there was something radically wrong in the system on which schools were conducted.<sup>20</sup> A resolution was passed by the Government calling upon the Collectors to exercise a more effective supervision over the schools. In 1834 the Board decided to draw up an elaborate school system with certain remarkable steps.<sup>21</sup>

### **After Macaulay's Minutes of 1835**

In view of Macaulay's Minutes of 1835, there was a major shift in the existing education and it was decided to encourage European literature and Science.<sup>22</sup> In 1836, the responsibilities of the Board of the Public Instruction were taken over by

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<sup>18</sup> This was afterwards amalgamated with the College Board.

<sup>19</sup> Munro pointed out that the expense incurred by the government would be amply repaid by the improvement of the country; for the diffusion of the knowledge is inseparably followed by more orderly habits, by increasing industry, by a taste for the comfort of life.

<sup>20</sup> Board remarked: Either the teachers are not duly qualified, or careless in the discharge of the duty belonging to them. For details, see S. Sathyanadhan, History of Education in the Madras Presidency, Madras, 1894, Section I, p. 9. Digital text of the book is available in the Library, The Ontario Institute for studies in Education, Toronto, Canada.

<sup>21</sup> 1. Remodel the central school at Presidency as a regular Normal school and place it under an English Master. 2. To open a second English school at the presidency under English Master. 3. Increase the number of Tahasidari Schools. 4. Introduction of an improved series of class books 5. To establish provincial Board, consisting of European officials and native gentleman

<sup>22</sup> Elphinstone was an advocate of higher education on western style and had proposed 19 resolutions in this regard and passed unanimously. The resolution of Lord William Bentinck of 7<sup>th</sup> March 1835 finally set aside the question of oriental versus occidental controversy of instruction.

a Committee for Native Education. The fate of this committee was also similar to the former and in 1840, a University Board was initiated by Lord Elphinstone, the then Governor of Madras (1837-42). It envisaged the establishment of a central school and few provincial schools to be connected with it by scholarships.

### **The Presidency School and E. B. Powell**

Elphinstone invited Eyre Burton Powell, a Wrangler in Mathematics, the University of Cambridge, as the Principal of the proposed central school.<sup>23</sup> In the mean time the committee, with the help of one Mr. Cooper of Hoogly College, Calcutta, started the activities of the Presidency School, but it was only a preparatory school. E. B. Powell took the charge of it with the opening of a School Department on 14<sup>th</sup> April 1841.<sup>24</sup>

Madras School Curriculum consisted of Grammar, History, Geography, Composition, Prose, Mental Philosophy, Mathematics, as far as spherical Trigonometry and principle of Mechanics, Natural Philosophy and Vernacular languages. In 1853 a college department was added to it, and later it developed into the Presidency College, Madras. When the University of Madras was founded in 1857, the college was affiliated to it. Sathyanathan rightly remarked: The higher education (in the Presidency) owed its initiation and consolidation with Powell and Rev. John Anderson, the founder of the Free Church Organization.<sup>25</sup>

Between 1836 and 1852 little progress was made; but in the later year the University Board was invested with the function of a Board of General Education, the annual grant of Rs. 50,0000 was doubled, and by the end of 1854, there were, besides the central college at Madras, five Provincial schools came in to being.

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<sup>23</sup> At the University of Cambridge, a Wrangler is a student who gains first-class honors in the third year of the under graduate degree in Mathematics.

<sup>24</sup> E. B. Powel was assumed the charge of Madras school on 14<sup>th</sup> April 1841. Madhava Rao, the Diwan of Travancore, was educated under him.

<sup>25</sup> Sathyanadhan, op.cit.

Calicut Provincial School was one among them.<sup>26</sup> Later this Provincial School was converted to the School for Men Teachers, Calicut.<sup>27</sup>

### Scheme of Studies in Malayalam for the Provincial School Calicut (1860's)

Class	Text	Subject of instruction
Class II Second Book of Lesson Catechism of Grammar	Reading Meaning of Words, subject matter writing, spelling Catechism of Grammar  Etymology  Parsing.....	From the copies. By copying from the books either in school or as home work. Copies to be corrected by the teacher and the mis-spelt words, to be written again corrected by the pupil. To be learnt by heart after due explanation Etymology only
Class III Prose: Brief Sketches of Europe Poetry (Anthology), Pancatantram, Catechism of Grammar, Etymology	Reading  Meaning of Words and sentences Syntactical; as well as etymological	
Class IV Poetry (from the present Canakyasutra, Manglore edition) Catechism of Grammar Pancatantra Amarasimha	Paraphrase of Poetry, Grammar  Parsing, Derivation of words Repetition of poetry Composition Analysis of Sentences	The books or subjects enclosed in brackets will have to be retained till the class is perfect in them, when those italics should be substituted. These latter, of course, should not be taken up till the pupil to well in the former
Class V Matriculation subjects Gundert's Larger Grammar Sidharupa, Sanskrit inflections met within Malayalam	Reading Decatation Parsing Translation into English of the prose Paraphrase of both prose and poetry derivation	
Class VI	Text Prose - Matriculation subject Poetry- -do-	Subjects of instruction as in Class V
Class VII	The subject laid down for F. A Examination Gundert's Larger Grammar	As above

<sup>26</sup> Kovunni Nedungadi, Garthwait, Aimanam John were the prominent among the pioneering teachers of Calicut Provincial school.

<sup>27</sup> C. A. Innes, *Malabar Gazetteer*, Trivandrum, 1997, pp. 301-302.

In Provincial School Calicut, the II nd and IIIrd Books of Lessons contained a good deal of useful information on various subjects such as Natural history, physiology, Geography etc. The students were questioned on these lessons till they thoroughly remember without book the facts mentioned in the book.<sup>28</sup>

### Manuals and Gazetteers on Education in Malabar

William Logan, the compiler of Malabar Manual (1887), gives some educational statistics of the district.<sup>29</sup> According to it the students in the area could be classified as University going, High school, Middle school, Elementary school and Normal schools. The table given below will indicate the educational growth in the district for 26 years.

#### Educational Statistics- Malabar (1857-1883)

Year	University Students	High School Students	Middle school Students	Elementary School Students	Normal School Students
1857-58	-	205	580	116	-
1862-63	-	381	577	-	32
1867-68	10	753	2,012	1,013	26
1872-73	32	562	3,696	11,671	22
1877-78	55	295	1,180	27,527	90
1882-83	149	431	1,431	37,136	120

There were three Sanskrit colleges for the native Brahmins, one at Thirunavai (Ponnani Taluk), the other at Pulāya in Kurumbranadu Taluk and the last at Trichur. The head of these schools were known as *Vadhyān*. Logan also points out that the general nature of learning in these institutions was ‘rote’ without knowing the meaning of the passages. The number of students able to read themselves and

<sup>28</sup> Curriculum of the Provincial School Calicut is taken from Garthwaite, L., Suggestions Likely to be Useful in Teaching Malayalam, (Published by the Order of DPI, Madras), Stolz and Reuther, Mangalore, 1868.

<sup>29</sup> The Malabar district was comprised 11 Taluks including Lakshdweeves. This statistics does not provide any information about the students in traditional village schools and only referring to the schools under either government owned or under the super vision of government. For details, see William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, (trans.), T.V. Krishnan, Kozhikode, 2009, p. 95.

interpret the text were very limited. There were 1,017 Nambūthiri families and out of which 532 were entitled to learn *Ṛigvēda* (Ṛigvēdis), 407 were allowed to study *Yajurvēda* and seven were *Samavēdis*. It is interesting to note that 71 families were fully restricted from learning any of these Vēdas. It is clear from this statement that not only the sudras, but even certain sections of Brahmins were also excluded from the *Vedic* studies.<sup>30</sup> Besides Vēdas, Nambūthiries were trained in astronomy, astrology, sculptural engineering and the like. Certain families were famous for any one of these branches.

There were provisions of education for Muslim children also. Like Vēdic learning, study of the Korān was also a rote one. There was an Arabic College at Ponnani and it is believed that it was founded by Shaik Sainudheen some 700 years ago. It was the duty of the Muslim community of Ponnani Taluk to look after the students of this college. In the initial stage of learning, these students were called as Mullas and they becomes Muthaliyar (Musliyar) on the successful completion of the studies.<sup>31</sup>

A girls' high school worth mentioning here is the Achyuthan Girls High School, Kozhikod. It was founded by Appu Nedungadi, one of the harbingers of novel writing in Malayalam. In the initial stage, it was known as Calicut Girls H. S later it was handed over to Municipality and renamed as Achyutan Girls Highschool.

Another source providing the details of education is Malabar Gazetteer by C.A. Innes, ICS.<sup>32</sup> He mentions that that there was a marked progress in education in the district during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and has kept pace with the growth of the population. During the preparation of Malabar Manual, the general percentage of literacy (1881) was 7 percentage but it became more than double (15 percentage) in a half century (1931). There was a steady growth in the women

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<sup>30</sup> It is difficult to trace the historical explanation for this since the records are almost nil.

<sup>31</sup> In colloquial tongue, they were called as Moyiliars.

<sup>32</sup> C. A. Innes was a settlement officer in District of Malabar in 1897 and he completed the compilation of Malabar Gazetteer in 1905. He held the post of the collector Malabar District from 1911 to 1915.

education also and it was 6 in every 1000 in 1881 but it increased to 64 in 1931. There was a considerable increase in the number of elementary schools also. The secondary schools were 58 in number with 18000 students by 1930. This was the highest number of students of any district in the entire presidency. Malabar had four out of ten best educated taluks of the presidency<sup>33</sup>.

### **Brennen College, Tellichery**

Besides elementary, middle and high schools, there were four second colleges affiliated to the Madras University within the jurisdiction of Malabar District. Among them the oldest is Brennen College Tellichery. It was founded with the fund donated by Mr. Brennen, the then Master Attendant at Tellichery.<sup>34</sup> The very objective of this institution was to impart sound English education irrespective of caste and creed. Mr. Brennen died in 1859 and the school started functioning within three years. In the initial years, Basel German Evangelical mission was entrusted to manage the fund and the school. As this system found to be failure, ten years later, the Madras Government directly took over the charge of it and it became Zilla School or District school. In the following years, middle and high school departments were handed over to Municipality for management (1883-84). It was upgraded as a college and affiliated to the Madras University in 1891.<sup>35</sup>

### **Victoria College Palakkad**

Victoria College was started as a rate school in 1866<sup>36</sup>. But in 1871 it was transformed into a local fund high school. In 1877, Government took over charge of

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<sup>33</sup> They are Cochin, Kottayam (now in Kannur district), Kurumbranadu and Calicut respectively

<sup>34</sup> Brennen Donated Rs. 12000 towards this purpose.

<sup>35</sup> Its trustees were the Collector and the Sub collector of Malabar and the Inspector for Schools, western circle. Finally in 1919 Government took over the full ownership of both the school and the College.

<sup>36</sup> Rate schools were conducted out of the amount (Rate) collected from the wealthy families of the surroundings; whose monthly income was more than Rs. 500. Present researcher has obtained a notice issued by village officer demanding the rate amount from the head of *karikkattu Illam*, Manjery for the expense of rate school at Manjery. This document brought in to the notice of the researcher by Prof. Sivadasan P., Department of History, University of

it but in 1884 it was handed over to Municipality. In 1888 it became a college. Karuthodi Kannan Nair, in his autobiography, writes about this institution.<sup>37</sup> After studying English at middle school at Cherppulassery, his father admitted him at the Rate school Palakkad. The curriculum comprised of the first book of Euclid, Plane Geometry etc. When he became pre- matriculation student in 1879, there were subjects like English, Malayalam, Mathematics and General Knowledge to study. General Knowledge consisted of Physics (*Bhūthaśāsthram*), Physical Geography (*Bhūprakṛtiśāsthram*), Indian History and General Geography (*Bhūvivaraṇam*). Under Mr. C.M. Barrow, the Headmaster from 1890 to 1903, this college attained rapid progress and it became the largest and most successful institution of its kind in Malabar. In April 1919 Government took over this college and it became a first grade college in 1925.

#### **Guruvayurappan College, Kozhikode**

This institution was started by the erstwhile Zamorin of Calicut in 1877. Its purpose was to provide education to the children of the royal family. As Zamorins followed matrilineal system of inheritance, there were number of families attached to it (*Thavalies*) and hence there were many children at a time. In the initial years the college was known as Kerala Vidhyā Śāla. Mr. Burrow, who later became the Head Master of Palakkad Rate School, was the first Head Master of this institution. During his tenure, the college started to admit boys out side the royal family, but the upper castes only. Madras Government hailed it as “enlightened and liberal action” and presented this institution with the nucleus of a library and scientific apparatus at a cost of upwards Rs. 2,000. K.P. Kesava Menon, in his autobiography “*Kalinja Kalam*” wrote that students of lower caste were not admitted in the college.<sup>38</sup> But

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Calicut. Later he researcher visited the Illam along with him and examined the document in person. This is one of the rarest since, from Malabar, such original documents are not received from private individuals, particularly regarding the educational sector.

<sup>37</sup> For details, see Ka Kannan Nair, *The Autobiography*, Calicut, 1989.

<sup>38</sup> K.P. Kesava Menon, *Kalinjakalam*, p. 25. He studied at Kerala Vidhyasala for eight years up to matriculation level and was the secretary of debating club. He conducted a debate on the entry



there was no restriction to the admit students of Christian or Muslim community. In Kerala Vidhyāśāla, unlike the institutions of Christian missionaries, the general prayer session was designed to attend every one irrespective of their religious identities and believes. This institution was affiliated to the Madras University in 1879.

### **Malabar Christian College, Kozhikode**

It was Basal Evangelical Mission started a primary school at Kallai(1848) and the same was shifted to a more spacious building ten years later in the Calicut city itself. It became a middle school in 1872 and was upgraded as a high school in 1878. This school was developed to a second grade college in 1907. During the First World War, most of the German missionaries were interned and the management of the college fell in the hands of native Christians. Due to the financial crisis, the management was taken over by Madras Christian College as a temporary measure. In 1927 the management was handed back to the Basal Mission.

### **Text Books Followed in Malabar**

The Basel Evangelical Mission was the pioneering agency in Malabar in the modern educational sector. Hence, in their schools, textbooks prepared by Hermman Gundert were used. Gundert, later, became the Inspector for schools in the same district and entrusted to bring out new texts based on the instructions given by the Director of Public Instruction, Madras Presidency. It is already given a detailed account of the text books thus published.<sup>39</sup> After his resignation from the post, L. Garthwaite became the Inspector.<sup>40</sup> He also contributed equally in this direction. He elaborated the texts prepared by Gundert with explanatory notes, glossaries and

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of lower caste people in the institution at the instance of a teacher, Subbaravu. C. P. Govindan Nair, the editor of Kerala Sanchari was also a teacher at Vidhyāśāla.

<sup>39</sup> See above, Chapter on “Towards Modernisation: Missionary Enterprises”

<sup>40</sup> Garthwaite was the Inspector of 6<sup>th</sup> Division and Malayalam Examiner to Madras University. He sometimes acted as the Malayalam Translator to the Madras Government.

instructions.<sup>41</sup> Garthwaite also brought out his own Grammar text and Lesson books on English language and Mathematics.<sup>42</sup> Another name worth to be mentioned here is of E. Marsden, Inspector of Central Sircar School. He had prepared textbooks for almost all the classes. A native man significantly contributed to the textbook construction was Joseph Muliyl and his books were popular in Malabar and Cochin at least up the independence.

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<sup>41</sup> *The School Pancatantra or the Five Arts of Ploity, Cānakyasūtra or Mudrārākṣasa and Catechism of Malayalam Grammar* were the examples.

<sup>42</sup> See below, Chapter on “Emergence of Educational Consciousness”

## CHAPTER VIII

### EMERGENCE OF EDUCATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS: THE ROLE OF EARLY CONTRIBUTORS

‘Ignorance is nothing but the false belief that ‘self’ is the body and the wisdom is the conviction that ‘self’ is the soul. Ignorance reinforces the worldly desires and ultimately causes the conflicts within. Acquisition of knowledge inculcates selfless state of mind and offers ultimate bliss in life. Hence go for a fruitful education with extreme concentration’ - Eḷuthachan<sup>1</sup>

From the foregoing chapters, it is understood that in Kerala, education has been treated with utmost importance ever since the beginning of Common Era. Early Tamil anthologies are replete with educational ideals. Inscriptions of the early medieval period also give some glimpses of the philosophical aspects of education that prevailed. However, it is noticed that, during the early and late medieval period, Kerala did not produce any monumental work on education as it had taken place in the realm of mathematics, astronomy, medicinal science or sculptural engineering. Still the importance of knowledge was widely discussed in various forms. Later medieval manipravalam literature and the works of Tunchattu Eḷuttachan or Pūnthanam occasionally mentioned the relative importance of the acquisition of knowledge in human life.<sup>2</sup> Kodungallur Kunjikkuttan Thampuran in his historical Kāvya called ‘*Keralam*’, delineates the peculiar features of indigenous education in detailed manner<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Adyātmārāmayāna*, Ayodhyakāṇṭa, Lakṣmaṇa swāntanam.

<sup>2</sup> Poonthanam in *Jñānappāna* writes that ‘*vidhyakondariyēndathariyāthe, vidhyānenu naṭikku chilar... kunkumathinte gandhamariyāthe, kuṅkumam chumakkum dardabham pōle....*’

<sup>3</sup> Kunjikkuttan Thampuran, *Kēraḷam*, IInd Sarga, Malayalam University edition, Tirur, 2017.

### Benjamin Bailey (1791-1871)

Higher education in Kerala has its inception with Benjamin Bailey, a CMS missionary from York Share, England. He came to Travancore at the commission of Resident Col. Munro as part of the latter's evangelical programme and restructuring the age old Syrian customs and practices. Bailey took charge of the Superintendent of the proposed *Cotym*<sup>4</sup> College on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1817.<sup>5</sup>

Within two months of his arrival, he started teaching English in the college. In a letter dated 13<sup>th</sup> May 1817, Munro wrote to Bailey that 'I approve very much indeed of you commencing a course of instruction in the English language, and I request earnestly that you will continue it with vigor.'<sup>6</sup> However many scholars including Babu Cheriyan, who studied about the literary contributions of Bailey, think that it was Bailey who inaugurated English education in Kerala.<sup>7</sup> It is already noted that Ringeltaube had started some institutions in southern Kerala. An analysis of LMS text books reveals that English was also included in their curriculum. Hence the credit of the beginning of English education certainly goes to Ringeltaube, not to Benjamin Bailey.

Besides the college, he had also started a high school at Kottayam. It was first functioned at his own Bungalow. It became the first High school in Kerala. For both this school and Bungalow, Travancore government had donated a tax free land.<sup>8</sup> He had also run a school, the Arbuthnot School, near by the bungalow. His wife Elizabeth Ella took charge of some girls students and taught at her own residence. In 1848, there were 29 students in that institution. When Bailey's family returned to England, the charge was handed over to Missis Johnson (Daughter of Henry Backer) and Miss. Hands Ford (Missis Peet). While referring to this school, Dr. Babu Cheriyan states that it was Missis Bailey started girl's education in Kerala.<sup>9</sup> It is also

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<sup>4</sup> During the earlier period, in English records, Kottayam was written as 'Cotym'.

<sup>5</sup> The overall in-charge of the college was one Syrian Metropolitan.

<sup>6</sup> Munro to Bailey, letter dated 13<sup>th</sup> May 1817, quoted in Babu Cheriyan, *Benjamin Bailey*, Kottayam, 2009, p. 30.

<sup>7</sup> cf. Babu Cheriyan, *ibid*.

<sup>8</sup> Royal Neettu dated 14<sup>th</sup> Etavam, 993 (1818) of Rani Gouri Parvatibai.

<sup>9</sup> cf. Babu Cheriyan, *Benjamin Bailey*, Kottayam, 2009, p. 25.

proved wrong based on the analysis of the nature of indigenous village schools in Kerala. Our native schools had admitted girls up to their puberty level.

Bailey is rightly called as the father of print and publishing culture of Kerala. It was Munro proposed such a printing press at Kottayam to speed up the printing of Malayalam Bible. Although Bailey had authored many books, it is worth mentioning some of the works relevant in the educational context. Among them *Ceṛupaithangaḷkkupakāraṭham Englishilninum paribhāṣappetuthiakathakaḷ (1824)* deserves special mention. It remained as a forgotten work until Prof. George Irumbayam referring to to in his work *Upāsikkunnu Jñān Dukkathe*. Following this, Dr. Babu Cheriyan procured a microfilm copy from British Museum and Archives and published the text with an introduction and explanatory notes. He is of the opinion that it was the first Malayalam text book. It is already noted that, a text book committee was constituted by Queen Parvathybai of Travancore in 1818 itself. *Ceṛupaithangaḷkkupakāraṭham* came out only in 1824. Had Rani's books been really brought out, *Ceṛupaithangaḷkkupakāraṭham* could not have been the first text book in Malayalam language. Besides, it is not well established that if *Cherupaithangal* was a textbook for general students or students of catechism. Anyhow, *Ceṛupaithangal* is now proved, beyond any doubt, that the first Malayalam book printed in Kerala.

Benjamin Bailey is also considered as the father of modern Malayalam lexicography. A Dictionary of High and Colloquial Malayalam<sup>10</sup> and A Dictionary of English and Malayalam<sup>11</sup> were the remarkable works of Bailey in this regard. He had also translated the grammar work of Murray.

### **Hermman Gundert (1814-1893)**

In Kerala, in respect of educational thoughts on the modern line, like many other fields of enquiry, begins with Hermman Gundert. Besides started educational institutions and compiled textbooks, he had made a critical analysis of existing

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<sup>10</sup> Published in the year 1846 and in the publication, Bailey had received financial assistance from Swati Thirunal, then Maharaja of Travancore and the dictionary is dedicated to H.H. Maharaja.

<sup>11</sup> Published in the year 1849 and dedicated to H.H. Maharaja Uthram Thirunal.

traditional educational system also. His observations about the pitfalls of the ‘monitorial system’ are evident from the introductory part of *Valiyapāṭhāraṃbam*, a text book brought out by him.<sup>12</sup> In fact he was the first to point out the empirical weaknesses of the indigenous education system. Gundert was of the opinion that little children must not be entrusted in the hands of their immediate seniors as it impedes the learning progress of the former. He asked the teachers to respect the unique nature of the childhood and handle them with great care. Teachers must be aware of the individual difference in learning ability and plan the lessons accordingly. Caste or economic factors should not be the criteria for imparting knowledge. Teachers practising caste discrimination are deviat from the path of truth. They should take special interest in the pronunciation aspects of the children too.

Gundert’s ideals of education are also known from his correspondence with the then Director of Public Instructor for Madras Presidency, A. J. Arbuthnot.<sup>13</sup> He emphasized the role of mother tongue in the assimilation of the abstract concepts and ideas. He further opined that the development of a language is possible only through the proper understanding the history of the evolution of that language. Hence, in his text books, due space was given to introduce literature of ancient tradition. Foreseeing the probable objection against the inclusion of the portion of *Rāmacarita*, a book in obsolete language, he made his stand thus: There was a text called *Rāmacarita* in our language<sup>14</sup> that connects the ‘*Centhami*’ (a brach of proto Tamil). It enables the learner to know the root of his own language, the Malayalam. It is also noted that Gundert who suggests the *Rāmacaritha* for native students was defiant to recommend it for the Madras University where many European students, whoes mother tongue was different, were enrolled. When *Pāṭhamāla* was prepared and sent to Arbuthnot for approval, Gundert suggested that the trial copies be printed in litho press and the full text with notes and explanations could be brought out only after

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<sup>12</sup> See the preface part of *Valiyapāṭhāraṃbam* in Scharia Zacharia, ed., *Malayāḷavum Herрман Gundertum*, Malayalam University, 2016, pp. 572-573.

<sup>13</sup> For details, see Albtrecht Frenz and Scaria Zacharia, *Dr. Herman Gundert: Parudīsayile Bhāṣāshapanditan*, Kottayam, 1991, pp. 135-141.

<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to note that Gundert calls Malayalam as his own language.

getting the feedback from the general public and students. Of course there were some criticisms against the language used in the *Paṭhamāla*. A critic from southern Kerala opined that the Malayalam used in the text was purely northern and was not a standard one. Gundert replied that Kannur was not a remote village in Kerala and they all (Basel Mission workers) learned Malayalam with the help of those having proficiency in that language.<sup>15</sup> It can be rightly concluded that educational activities of Hermmann Gundert not only served that field alone but the entire Malayalam language. Modern scientific subjects were first appeared in his Malayalam periodicals called *Rājyasamācāra* and *Paścimodaya*. His contributions to the lexicography and grammar studies are also unique. He has been described by some later scholars as the ‘Step Father’ of Malayalam language, Thuñcathu Eḷuttachhan-being the ‘original father. Let us sum up the with the observation of Frohnmeyer, another Basel Mission member, about the greatness of Gundert: *The Malayalam of this eminent linguist is not an exotic. Gifted with an extraordinary talent for languages, he not only mastered in a short time the idions of the language, but also detected by a searching glance, where the noblest Malayalam was spoken or written, made this his language and continually enriched and improved it.*<sup>16</sup> Punctuation marks introduced by Gundert in Malayalam prose writing is given below:

.	Full stop	Pūrrnavirām
;	Semi Collen	Aṛdhaviram
:	collen	Apuṇṇavirām
?	Question Mark	Cōdhyacihnam
“ ”	Inverted coma	viśeṣaṇacihnam
+	Plus	Adhikam
-	dash	Samyōgacihnam
=	Equal	Sāmyacihnam
()	Bracket	Āvaraṇacihnam
!	Exclamation Mark/salutation	Āścarya/Sambōdanacihnam

(Source, P. Govindhappillai, *Malayāla Sāhityacharitam*, chapter, xii.)

<sup>15</sup> Albtrecht Frenz and Scaria Zacharia, op.cit., 139.

<sup>16</sup> Frohnmeyer, *Prakriti Śāstram*, Letter of Dedication to Vishakam Thirunal, Mangalore, 1883, p. viii.

### **Verkkottu Achyuthappanikkar (1839-1890)**

Achyuthappanikkar was a native of Kongadu, near Thirumanthamkundu and worked under Madras Government as translator. *His Haricandrapurāṇa Sangraham* and *Muhammed Carithram* were used as text books in Malabar and Cochin. S. Gupthan Nair praises the beauty of his literary style.<sup>17</sup>

### **Pettayil Ramanpillai Āśān (1862-1937)**

Ramanpillai Āśān became more famous through two of his outstanding students, Cattampi Swamikal and Dr. Palpu.<sup>18</sup> Before starting his own Malayalam school of traditional style, he served under the Travancore State Government. He had prepared copy writing books for all classes between Ist and Vth standard and they were approved by the Travancore Government with a reward of Rs. 500. They were used in Travancore schools till 1908. Ullur, in his Kerala *Sahithya Carithram*,<sup>19</sup> provides some examples of the verses/universal truths of poetic nature given as excercises in these books. Beside literary works, he had also delivered some speeches for Public Lecturing Committee, Trivandrum, which included a talk on the importance of the 'Women Education.'

### **Vaikkathu Pachu Mūthathu (1814-1883)**

Hisotriographical tradition of Kerala is highly indebted to Pachu Mūthathu as he was the first to write a Travancore History, by using authentic records kept under the royal custody. Besides a historian, he was a great physician of the time too. He wrote a book titled *Bālabhūshaṇam*<sup>20</sup> in the year 1867 for the use of school going students. It was written on the model of *Viswaguṇādarsa Campu* of Sanskrit language. The central characters of this book are Sumati and Kumuti and Kumuti presents the hypothetical position (*Pūrvapakṣa*) of moral issues and Sumathi

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<sup>17</sup> S. Gupthan Nair, 'Gadhyapaṭhavalika!' in *Kerala Varma Smaraṇa*, ed., K. Ramachandran Nair, Thrissur, 1995, p.64. See also, Ullur, *Sahithya Carithram*, Vol. IV, pp. 278-79.

<sup>18</sup> Both of them were Monitors in his school.

<sup>19</sup> Ullur, *ibid.*, pp. 238-39.

<sup>20</sup> Accessed through Internet archives, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Thrissur.



provides the theoretical positions (*Siddhānthapakṣa*). The very object of this book, in the form of dialogue, is to influence moral development of the children and the same is indicated in the introductory part. This is a 115 pages book with twenty one chapters called *Puṣpam-s*. It is worth to mention some of the topics here: 1. Respecting the teachers, 2. Belief in the God, 3. Truthfulness, 4. Kindness, 5. Tapass, 6. Duties of the rulers, 7. Rules of Re-marriage, 8. Habit formation, 9. Education and so on. Both prose and verses were used interchangeably.<sup>21</sup> He has also authored a grammar book called Kerala *Bhaṣāvyaākaraṇam*<sup>22</sup>. This was also used as a text book in the Travancore schools.

### **George Mathan (1819-1870)**

Modern psychology as a scientific discipline begins with the establishment of a laboratory at Leipzig, Germany in the year 1879 by William Wundt, the father of structuralism. But even a decade before, in Kerala, there published a highly research work on educational psychology under the title *Bālābhyāsanam* (teaching of children). The author was George Mathan, a C.M.S catechist and author of the famous Malayalam Grammar book '*Malayānmayuṭe Vyākaraṇam*'.<sup>23</sup> The historical importance and scientific nature of *Bālābhyāsanam* is not well acknowledged and hence a detailed analysis of the same is done here.

'*Bālābhyāsanam*' was the enlarged form of the public speech made by Mathan at Kollam Town on 13<sup>th</sup> August 1867 at the commission of Ayilyam Thirunal, the then ruler of Travancore. This speech was made against the background of the beginning of Vernacular schools in Travancore. Public speeches were used as effective means to educate the masses in important issues at that time.

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<sup>21</sup> Some portions of this text are included in the Paṭhamala of Gundert.

<sup>22</sup> Printed in Mudravilasam Press, 1877.

<sup>23</sup> It was the first grammar work of Malayalam language written by a Malayali and was published on 19<sup>th</sup> June 1863. The entire work was completed even before the publication of *Gundert's Malayalam Grammar* (First Part, 1851 and the full text in 1868). But due to financial constraints it Mathan's work remained unpublished till 1863.

The entire text was divided into three sections. The first part deals with the need and significance of the training of children. The second part suggests some models for effective learning and the final part focuses on the importance of mother tongue in the entire educational process. According to Mathan, intelligence and memory are genetically endowed but the knowledge is acquired one. The unique nature of the prolonged childhood, when compared to that of other organisms, forces the human baby to remain with their parents or other adults and this environment has a definite influence upon his later character and personality. Each stage of human development -infancy, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, and old age- is distinct with peculiar features. Here Mathan was referring to the rudiments of modern psychological principles of growth and development. He discarded the colonial construct that the western people were genetically more intelligent. Cultural barrier has nothing to do with learning progress. He also highlighted the individual difference in the acquisition of knowledge. Peer group and interest of the learner would play a pivotal role in it.

### **Role of Practice**

In the second part of the lecture, he describes the importance of 'practice' in the strengthening of acquired knowledge and skills. But it should be done in proper ways. By education, he meant, acquisition of knowledge, mental training and habit formation. Knowledge can be acquired through maturity and experiences but they are not adequate to satisfy all human cognitive wants. Structured educational system and scientific text books can do a lot in this regard. To him, a man who learned the 'The geography of Travancore' is more wise than an illiterate who travelled across the country. Knowledge becomes fruitful only when it is processed in the mental structure of the learner. Being a Catechist, he has given greater importance to moral development of the children. He believed that it was the first and foremost duty of an educational institution.

## Mother Tongue

In the concluding part of the speech, he deals with the importance of mother tongue in the learning process. He expresses his anxiety over the peoples' response to the newly set up vernacular institutions across the country. In contrary to this, he pointed out, that the enrollment was high in English schools. The failure of vernacular schools ultimately causes the degeneration of Malayalam language itself. Here he observes that the lack of students in vernacular school is due to the aversion of parents towards Malayalam medium schools. Many people think that it was Chomsky; the renowned American linguist cum-political thinker was the first to discuss the first language and second language issues in learning process. A close reading of the *Bālābhyāsanam* reveals that George Mathan had contemplated on these aspects at least 90 years before Chomsky's path braking study 'Syntactic Structures' published. Like Chomsky, Mathan also admits that all the languages in the world evolved from a single one and hence having some common features.<sup>24</sup> But in the performance level each language is different. So language training is essential, even though it is mother tongue. About the mother tongue, his stand was a balanced one. He desired a society in which more people are proficient in both the English and the Sanskrit. But before acquiring the other languages - English and Sanskrit-, one should attain skills in mother tongue. It is necessary for higher level or abstract thinking. He treats skills in other languages as paraphernalia but the first language is indispensable one. Knowledge in English is, of course, a matter of pride in the existing society but it should not mean that a person who doesn't know that language is an object of scorn. All these discussions clearly indicate that, by that time, people of the Travancore had developed a high respect towards the language of the masters- the English. They were highly motivated by the emerging employments under the Travancore Government or outside. The whole speech ends with an appeal to the

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<sup>24</sup> While dealing with the nature of language, Chomsky elaborated the idea of Universal Grammar, Deep structure, and Language Acquisition Device. For more details, see Chomsky, Reflections on Language, Pantheon Books, 1975 and also see, Sreejith. E., and Arun Kumar, P., *Vidhyabhyasamansastram*, Kottayam, 2009, chapte, IX.

parents that they should take pledge that children should be educated in the vernacular institutions alone. Government is spending huge amount for that purpose. He reminded the audience that, unless and until the common masses make use of such schools, the entire efforts of the Government would become ineffective.

### **Criticism on the Traditional Education System**

George Mathan was educated in the western manner under teachers like Rev. Fitu, Fenn, Backer, and Benjamin Bailey. He was also trained under Rev. J.H. Grey at Bishop Corrie's Grammar school, Madras. He had a fair knowledge in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and English. In his speech at Kollam, he tried to convince the people about the inherent weaknesses of existing educational system. In the village schools, teaching is not being taken place in proper way. The learning of *Paralppēru* is mere waste of time for those do not opt astrology as the future profession. *Amarakōśa* and *Siddharūpa* are need not be made compulsory for those would not like to pursue higher studies in Grammar or *Kāvya-s*. Since many lexicons of different styles are available in printed form, even without *Amarakōśa*, one can acquire a working knowledge in Sankrit. But studying *Pañcatanṭra* and *Thuḷḷaḷ* songs like *Naḷacaritha* are useful in the language acquisition and for the development of literary talents or increasing the appreciation level.

Being a mathematical genius<sup>25</sup>, Mathan suggested certain changes in the teaching of mathematics. He writes: Nobody can evade from mathematics. But in Kerala it is not being taught in the proper way. People prefer to follow the place value system but more scientific is the decimal system. It is the most suitable method in six basic calculations -- addition, subtraction, Multiplication, division, finding roots and square roots. Since the decimal system was widely found in printed books, there is a general impression that they were of foreign origin. A thing should not be judged on the basis of its origin but its practical utility. He further states that

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<sup>25</sup> Mathan secured first place in a mathematical examination conducted by Madras Government. Though the Government offered the position of Government Translator, he did not accept because of his theological responsibilities.

the decimal system was originally invented by the Indians and the Europeans came to know about it through the Arabs. So the Indians need not be worried over the birth of the decimal system. It clearly indicates that he had an idea about the non-European roots of mathematics and the contributions of medieval Kerala in this regard.

Mathan had a definite plan about the teaching methodology as well. He discouraged meaningless acquisition of knowledge. A teacher should frequently ask questions and encourage students to answer in their own words. Different strategies can be adopted to teach the same concept so that content would be stamped forever. This suggestion can be treated similar to the spiral curriculum suggested by Jerome S. Bruner, an American scholar in the mid 1960s. To Mathan, memorizing is not a low quality. Most of the intelligent activities are based on the ability to remember. Hence it is essential. He also discusses why children memory is stronger than the adults. He suggests six methods for strengthening the memory while teaching. He says that memory is being formed because of the causation, space, time and similarity. Mathan referred to all these things even before Ebbinghaus, the German psychologist who scientifically explained the process of remembering and forgetting in his study entitled *On Memory* (1885). When George Mathen died on 4<sup>th</sup> March, 1870, *Church Missionary Gleaner*, the famous daily in England wrote thus: The death of this great man is a big loss to vernacular Malayalam language.<sup>26</sup>

### **Kerala Varma Valiya Koyithampuran (1845-1914)**

As the President of the Book Committee (Travancore), first of all, Kerala Varma made a thorough review of the existing indigenous schools in Travancore. He pointed out the limitations of these institutions as they failed to address the mental capabilities or readiness of the learners. Kerala Varma's entire educational philosophy and psychological perceptions are reflected in his scholarly articles and

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<sup>26</sup> See Puthankavu Mathan Tharakan, the Preface of *Malayānmayute Vyākaraṇam*, (1969), Trivandrum, 1992, p.xxiv.

speeches on various occasions.<sup>27</sup> He rightly observed that the parrot learning was the basic feature of village education. In their curriculum, more attention is given to mathematics but the teaching of the same is not in proper and fails to generate enthusiasm or rational thinking. The method of teaching Sanskrit language or grammar does not consider the mental readiness of the children. Students read fluently but find difficulties while writing.<sup>28</sup> Here he made it clear that in an effective learning process, the mental readiness and repeated exercises are unavoidable. While Kerala Varma was making such valid observations, 'Educational Psychology' as a discipline was only on the inception level even in the western countries.<sup>29</sup> Kerala Varma wrote three scholarly articles in this direction - *Strīkaḷuṭevidhyābhyāsam* (Education of Women) *Vidhyābhyāsam* (General Education) and *Bālaparicaraṇam* (Caring of Children).

### **Importance of Childhood**

Kerala Varma opined that child's mind is like tender plant which could be sprawled to any direction and it was the duty of teachers and parents to keep it on the right path. He further observed that early childhood experiences have strong influences upon the adult behavior and personality. Sigmund Freud, who elaborated this concept in detail, was only at the age of 10 when Kerala varma describing the importance of childhood.<sup>30</sup> He defined education a process in which human mind is being prepared to attain the state of self actualization through the application intelligence. This intellectual ability is totally absent in other organism. In a way, Kerala Varma can be treated as one of the pioneers of Humanistic Psychology. Though accepted Rousseau's concept of negative education, Kerala Varma had a

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<sup>27</sup> For the articles of KeralaVarma,Thikkurissi Gangadharan, ed., *Kerala Varmayute Gadyakṛitikal*, Kottayam, 1980.

<sup>28</sup> This aspect is well described in E.M.S Nambuthiripadu, *Ātmakatha*, Trivandrum, 2017, p. 18.

<sup>29</sup> The first psychological laboratory at Leipzig, Germany was started only in 1879 by William Wundt, the father of Structuralist Psychology.

<sup>30</sup> Freud was born in 1856 and his magnum opus *Interpretations of Dreams* was first published in 1900.

different opinion towards women education.<sup>31</sup> In his opinion, there should not be any discrimination and the boys and girls are to be treated equally. Rousseau proposed an education consisted of music and simple art work for women. Kerala Varma argued that every girl child should be educated and only those incapable of acquiring academic subjects are to be provided training in art works and crafts. He further stated that the children are the most advantaged group because of their mother's education. He did not accept the popular notion that when a child is born, its mind is like a clean slate (tabula-rasa doctrine)<sup>32</sup>. He opined that children are born with specific intellectual skills and hence the adult should adjust their responses accordingly. The child should be given opportunity to handle the objects around him so that he can develop a fair sense of it. Here Kerala Varma was emphasizing the role of 'doing' in learning process. He also asked the parents and teachers to take the child to the surrounding places so that he or she might develop a positive attitude towards the environment in which they live.

### **Rewards and Punishments**

Kerala Varma writes that children should be encouraged and motivated as and when it is necessary. Rewards and punishments are to be given in the appropriate situations. Over pampering and undue praises spoil the child. Chance success is not an indicator of future performance. B.F Skinner, an American psychologist, was the first to scientifically explain the role of reinforcement and punishment in the teaching learning process.<sup>33</sup> But even a half century ago, Kerala Varma had discussed all these aspects in a very vivid manner. Another area he touched upon was the 'attention'. When a child observes an object closely or seriously, the parents should not divert his attention. If he develops such a habit, it would bring far reaching results in the future

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<sup>31</sup> Rousseau was not in favor of providing academic education to girls and suggested them training in lace making, gardening or stitching. He writes: Do not be afraid to educate your women as women; teach them a woman's business that they must be modest, that they may know how to manage their house and look after their family... *Emile, or Education*, 1762.

<sup>32</sup> The chief exponent of Tabula-Rasa doctrine was John Locke.

<sup>33</sup> For the contributions of B. F. Skinner in detail, see Sreejith. E and Arun Kumar, P, *Vidhyābhāsa Manaśāstram*, Kottayam, 2010, pp. 131-137.

life. Nowadays, even the modern psychology admits that the basic units of memory are the attention and interest of the individual.

### **Intelligence**

Another area discussed by Kerala Varma was Intelligence. He argued that there is no difference between men and women in intelligent capabilities. Superiority of the Europeans in intelligence is not due to the genetic factors, but their advanced system of education and consequent mental developments. Here he was stressing the idea that Intelligence is a 'universally' or 'normally distributed' one. It is interesting to note that, while he was writing all these things, a great debate was going on in England about the effect of environment or heredity in determining intelligence or personality. Francis Galton, the father of Eugenic movement was of the opinion that genetics is the crucial factor and the environment has nothing to do with human intelligence.<sup>34</sup> On contrary, John B. Watson, an American psychologist, argued that the environmental factors alone are significant and that debate went on for many decades.<sup>35</sup> A close reading of Kerala Varma's articles reveals that he had subscribed to the views of the modern environmentalists in this regard.

Travancore economy was predominantly agriculture one and hence many parents hesitated to send their children to schools but employed in the paddy fields or other similar works. About such parents, Kerala Varma remarked that, they are similar to dogs or cats in the child rearing. Not only the rulers but the ruled should also be educated. Then only the concept of welfare state becomes a reality. Education of the masses enables the country to face any form of challenges effectively. Here he was pointing out the relation between political system and education. Besides compiling the texts for schools, he often visited schools to know the level of pupil's progress. In certain occasions, *Visakham Thirunal*, the first prince, also accompanied

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<sup>34</sup> Francis Galton was one of the cousins of Charles Darwin.

<sup>35</sup> For details, see Sreejith. E and Arun Kumar, op.cit.. p. 17. Watson is considered as the father of Behaviorism in psychology. His famous article in this regard is '*Psychology as the Behaviorist views it*, 1916.



him. We also know that Kerala Varma was critical about the educational policies of Travancore Governemnt in the later years.<sup>36</sup>

### **Vishakam Thirunāl (1837-1885)**

Vishakam Thirunal was the First Prince when the programme of Vernacular education was implemented in Travancore (1866-67) and he showed considerable interest in such activities. As a token of his scholarship in different subjects, the Madras University honoured him with F.M.U (Fellow of Madras University). When became the ruler of Travancore, he revived the Travancore Book Committee which was abolished by Ayilyam Thirunal, after a conflict with Kerala Varma, the then President of the committee. Vishakam Thirunal constructively involved in the activities of the Committee and suggested excellent books for the use of child education. It was at the commision of the King, *Mahacaritasangraham* (translation of Mandar's Treasury of Biography) came into reality. He himself has translated the first five biographies given in it.<sup>37</sup> He insisted upon an educational system that leads to moral development of the children. Vishakam Thirunāl has also written a number of essays in this regard like, *Śarīrarakṣa* (on health), *Sathyam* (on truth), *Parōpakāram* (helping others), *Dīnasamrakṣaṇam* (caring of needy and aged people), *Kṣamavṛithāntam* (on famine), and *Vidhyābhyāsam* (on education). To him education has two functions, the acquisition of knowledge and training to the intellect. He gives more importance the latter and opined that childhood is crucial in the intellectual development and hence the parents should be careful in their dealing with children.

The greatness of Vishakam Thirunal in the contemporary period was evident from the writing of Forhnmeier, a Basel Mission worker from Malabar. When he wrote a book on physics (*Prakritisāśtram*) in Malayalam language, it was dedicated

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<sup>36</sup> The activities of of Book committee was limited during the reign of Sree Moolam Thirnal. Keralavarma was pained at this. See his article 'Bhāṣhapōṣaṇam', in *Gadhyakairali*, Kerala University, 1968, p. 19.

<sup>37</sup> Rest of the book was translated by by Kerala Varma and others.

to Vishakam Thirunal. In the letter of dedication, he wrote thus: *Your His Highness, whose name is so intimately connected with the progress of learning and science in this part of India, has taken such cordial interest in all attempts at the production of a Malayalam literature, that as soon as I decided upon writing a book on Physics in Malayalam, I made up my mind to solicit Your Highness's interest and sympathy.....*<sup>38</sup>

### **Rev. L. Johannes Frohnmeyer (1850-1921)**

Frohnmeyer, the author of the first physics book in Malayalam language was like Herrman Gundert, a German by birth. He served Basel Mission and was in charge of BGM High school Calicut for some time. Another notable work from the same author was '*A Progressive Grammar of Malayalam Language for Europeans*' (1889)<sup>39</sup>. His *Prākritisāśṭram* (A Malayalam catechism of Physics with a Repertory in English) was published in 1883. There were fourteen chapters and the book deals with advanced knowledge in physical science. The entire chapters were designed in a question and answer style as found in some of the Gundert's works.<sup>40</sup> He himself admits that he has no hesitation to call himself as a humble pupil of Dr. Gundert.<sup>41</sup>

Though it was a textbook on physics, in the letter of dedication,<sup>42</sup> the author invites the reader's attention to the gross neglect of Malayalam language in the modern educational institutions. 'The undue importance given to a foreign language (English) in the classroom impaired the spirit and standard of Malayalam language. The gap between those who have acquired the English education and those who are

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<sup>38</sup> See the letter of dedication, *Prākritisaṣṭram*, 1883, Mangalore, p. v.

<sup>39</sup> Ravisankar S. Nair opines that though there were already many grammar texts compiled by the foreigners, the text of Frohnmeyer was the first one qualified to be called as of Pedagogic Grammar, 'Frohnmeyer, L. J' in *Malayalabhāṣāsaṣṭrajñīr*, ed., Noushad, Trivandrum, 2016.

<sup>40</sup> For example, Gundert, *A Catechism of Malayalam Grammar*, Mangalore, 1870.

<sup>41</sup> Following the reference given in the *Śāstrasāhityam Malayāṭhil* by C.P. Sreedharan (Kottayam, 1980), the present researcher traced the original text and a detailed content analysis is due to Prof. P. Pavithran. For detailed reading, see Sreejith. E., *Keralathile Vidhyābhyāsam: Charitram, Varthamānam*, Kottayam, 2016, pp. 93-102.

<sup>42</sup> Frohnmeyer, Letter of Dedication to Visakhham Thirunal, *Prākritisaṣṭram*, Mangalore, 1883, pp. v-x

denied of it increases every day. One's own language is not a mere accidental thing; it is in a language that the spiritual physiognomy –the peculiarity of a nation –finds expression. Language cannot be changed like a dress; if it is done, much of the geniuses and originality of a nation would be lost. It seems to me that no one interested in the Malayalam language and in the cause of education in this country can feel satisfied with the way in which it is used officially in this country. The spirit of the language and its standard is like to be impaired, if not only middle and higher education is entirely conducted through the channel of a foreign language.....'. The observations of Frohnmeyer are still significant. It is a fact that, even after seven decades of independence, nation's entire education system is being revolved around a foreign language- the English.

### **Garthwaite, Liston**

Garthwaite, B.A (London) had started his career in India as the Head Master of the Zilla School, Cuddalore (1857). Later he joined in the Provincial School Calicut, and subsequently transferred to the Normal School Kannur. Eventually he became the Deputy Inspector of schools, South Division, Madras presidency, following the resignation of Hermmann Gundert. He was also acted as Malayalam Translator of Madras Government and authored The First English Book and The Second English Book. The most celebrated text book by Garthwaite was 'The Essentials of Malayalam Grammar Deduced from the Sentences'.<sup>43</sup> It has three sections called *Akṣarakāṇṭa*, *Pathakāṇṭa* and *Vākyakāṇṭa*<sup>44</sup>. In the preface of the text he wrote:

*As a method, I have adopted the natural and analytical method in preference to the artificial or synthetically one. It is now recognized that children begins to think before they begin to spell, and that not arbitrary symbols that we call letters, but thought expressed in speech.* Here he explicitly states that the sentences are the

<sup>43</sup> Original text is preserved in Archives of Karnataka Theological Seminary, Balmatta, Mangalore, edition of 1931, Basel Mission, Mangalore.

<sup>44</sup> He follows the same pattern of Gundert's *Catechism of Malayalam Grammar*.

starting point of grammatical instructions.<sup>45</sup> Not only the student community, but the adults also made use of this book as it contained certain aspects of the science of grammar.

A book by Garthwaite for the instruction of teachers (Provincial School, Calicut) was 'The Suggestions Likely to be Useful in Teaching Malayalam' (1868). He observes that reading of all classes required to be improved. The 'deposition style' of reading, in which the tone is never varied, no words are emphasized and no stops are observed, should be discouraged and reading should be after the pattern of good English vocabulary. Pupils made to pronounce each word distinctly to the rules of pronunciation given in the grammar texts.

Regarding the writing skills of the native students, he wrote thus: The pupil should be taught (from copy slips), to write a neat clear hand, not a '*Kachachery*' hand. A certain portion of the time should be set apart for the Malayalam writing lesson, and it should be carefully superintended by the master. He further adds that words should be given selected from the reading lessons and afterwards the official documents. The words mis-spelt should be exhibited correctly spelt on the black board.<sup>46</sup> Garthwaite's writings show that he was very particular about the language studies of children of the schools under his supervision. His other important works were *Pañcatantram or The Five Arts of Polity*<sup>47</sup> and the *Cānakyasūtram or Mudrārāksasam*. (1868).<sup>48</sup>

### **Aimanam John**

Aimanam John, educated in CMS School, Kottayam, worked as a Munshi at the Provincial School Kozhikode. He was also served as Sirasthedar at Tellichery

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<sup>45</sup> Garthwaite seems to be very much influenced by the Sayce's 'Principle of Comparative Philology'.

<sup>46</sup> Garthwaite, *Suggestions Likely to be useful in Teaching Malayalam* (textbook), Mangalore, 1868, pp. 4-5.

<sup>47</sup> For the present study 3<sup>rd</sup> edition was used, Basel Mission Press, Mangalore, 1887.

<sup>48</sup> Madras University Series of Malayalam Classic, No. 2.

Court. His '*India Caritram*' printed at CMS press came out in 1860. P.J. Thomas hails it as the first History textbook in Malayalam language.<sup>49</sup> Although the source book of this text was Indian History by Morris, John has added information from the works of other writers like Garret and Wilson. It contains detailed description of topics like Tipu's invasion in Malabar. Though a history book, the author desired that it should facilitate the Malayalam language learning also.<sup>50</sup> This aspect is mentioned in the introductory part.

### **Richard Collins and First Educational Magazine (1864-66)**

C.M.S College Kottayam was affiliated to the University of Madras during the tenure of Richard Collins as the Principal (1857). As an ardent supporter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century scientific temper, he envisaged a college magazine on the model of the journals published from Oxford and Cambridge. In this attempt he had received ample assistance from George Mathan<sup>51</sup>, Henry Backer (Sr.) and Henry Backer (Jr.). The Magazine was titled as *Vidhyāsangraham* and published between 1864 and 1866<sup>52</sup>. Unlike the present day college magazines, its academic value was so high and Collins was very particular in selecting the topics, arrange them in sequential order and in the printing also. There were total eight issues with sixty major headings.<sup>53</sup> Six of them were poems and four were translations. The Slayer Sin, a novel by Missis.Collins was first published in *Vidhyāsangraham*.<sup>54</sup> *Vidhyāsangraham* contained topics from various fields like science (Telegraph and Steam Engine), literature, history (Kerala in the Olden Time, India in the Vedic era), Geography (Notes on a Voyage Round Cape), Astronomy, Moral science and the like. It also discharged the duties of a news paper. For example, it reported the assassination of

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<sup>49</sup> Thomas, P.J, *Malayālsāhityavum Christiānikaḷum*, Kottayam, 1961, p. 212.

<sup>50</sup> Present researcher obtained the copy of this text from Prof. Scaria Zacharia.

<sup>51</sup> Malayalam section of the Magazine was edited by George Mathan.

<sup>52</sup> Present researcher obtained a copy of *Vidhyāsangraham* from Babu Cheriyan, Former Head, Malayalam Department, CMS College, Kottayam.

<sup>53</sup> There were 20 articles in English and Malayalam were 40.

<sup>54</sup> Though originally written in English, the theme of the novel is taken from social and cultural situation of Kerala. Its Malayalam translation titled *Ghathakavadham* and it is believed that Mr. Collins translated it.

Abraham Lincon in the July issue, 1865.<sup>55</sup> Vidhyāsangraham opened up a new cultural tradition in the higher education sector of Kerala.

### **R. Eswarapillai (1854-1940)**

Eswarapillai was one of the pioneering essayists in Malayalam language. Though he had written on variety of subjects, his essays on education stand class apart. He has given useful information about the traditional education system through which he had undergone. He studied in a village school up to the age of ten and later went for English education. Eswarapillai matriculated from Maharaja H.H. College, Trivandrum and obtained B. A. Degree from Madras (1877). After teaching in different schools under the state service, he was promoted as the Range Inspector of Education. His writings are historically important because of various reasons. First of all, he was one of the representatives of first generation students who received modern education. Secondly, he had tremendous experiences as a teacher in the education department during its formative stage. Finally, as an administrator, he had to face innumerable issues in the educational sector. He also served the textbook committee of Travancore for a shorter period. Besides, he also acted as the member of Travancore Assembly, representing Kottayam Division. He started an English School for girls at Paravur called *Vidhyavilasini*. Due to his strenuous efforts, at Mutakunnam, a school for Eḷava community came in to reality. He was also the editor of Utharataraka, a weekly newspaper.

Eswarapillai was a prolific writer and some of his articles are listed here. 1. *Importance of reading*, 2. *Students' health and relevance of physical education*, 3. *Moral education*, 4. *Influence of home in the academic success*, 5. *Schools and religious instruction*, 6. *Teaching as Profession* 7. *Existing education and youths*, 8. *Cadjan and stylus*, 9. *English Education and Malayalam literature*, 10. *Teachers and*

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<sup>55</sup> Lincon was assassinated on 14<sup>th</sup> April 1865.

*the village schools*, 11. *Education and unemployment*, 12. *Education: Some thoughts*.<sup>56</sup> He also brought out an educational periodical called *Gurunathan*.<sup>57</sup>

All the titles mentioned above are self explanatory and hence need not be explained. His writings are the treasure house for those wish to explore the history of education in Kerala, particularly in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### **S. Subrahmanya Aiyer**

Bāṣāpōṣiṇi, a periodical started in 1892 under the aegis of Bāṣāpōṣiṇisabha was a great landmark in the literary tradition of Kerala. It also played a remarkable role in the popularization of modern educational ideals, practices and methods. In other words, it can be stated that Bāṣāpōṣiṇi was a magazine of education as well. Among the persons handled the educational issues in it, the name of S. Subrahmanya Aiyer deserves special mention. We don't know much about his biographical details. However, his writings prove that he was a great educationalist with outstanding scholarship. He was a strong advocate of women education. Most of his articles were the constructive criticism on the existing education or instructional system. It was he, for the first time, pointed out the indiscriminative use of modern slates in the classrooms of Kerala adversely affecting the computational ability and perceptual speed of students in mathematics. He was of the opinion that the children must be encouraged to find out answers for simple arithmetical problems in the cognitive structure itself or allowed to manipulate mentally rather than using any external learning aids. It was quite difficult to carry slates or other similar things wherever an individual goes. So the ability of the learner in the calculations should be encouraged. His article titled 'Manakkaṇakku'<sup>58</sup> clearly reveals that modern educational system caused some amount of disturbances to the natural flow of the indigenous mathematic education.

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<sup>56</sup> For all these articles, see *Cintāsantānam*, Kottayam, 1988.

<sup>57</sup> Published from Parur, 1921.

<sup>58</sup> Bāṣāpōṣiṇi, 10<sup>th</sup> Tulam, 1898.

Subrahmanya Aiyer meticulously reviewed all the textbooks the Government brought out in each year. He pointed out their strength and weakness-content wise and language wise. His important articles appeared in Bhāsapōṣini were the following: *Kaṇakku Ātipāṭham*<sup>59</sup>, *Sthrīvidhyābhyāsam*<sup>60</sup> *Padhyampadippikkuka*,<sup>61</sup> *Vidhyābyāsavum tatviṣayathil janagalkkuḷḷa cumatalakaḷ*,<sup>62</sup> *Paṭhaśāla bharanavum allengil vyavasthithi*<sup>63</sup>, *Vidhyābhyāsam*,<sup>64</sup> *English ceṛma Malayalam*<sup>65</sup>, *Blackboard or athava Karipalaka*<sup>66</sup>, *Putia Malayala paṭham*<sup>67</sup>, *Book committee vakaputiya Malayaḷapāṭhapustakangal*,<sup>68</sup> *Randadyāpakar*,<sup>69</sup> *Sammāna Dandanangal*<sup>70</sup>, *Caritram*<sup>71</sup>,

### K. Ramakrishnappilai (Swadēśabhimāni 1878-1916)

One of the outstanding educationalists of the period was K. Ramakrishnappillai. He is renowned in Kerala as a journalist and a political thinker who was expelled from the native country for the radical stand against the existing monarchy in Travancore (1910). However, his contributions in the field of education have not been discussed or acknowledged so far. He was the first to write in Malayalam about educational issues based on sound political ideology. Prior to him, most of the educational articles appeared in journals or books were ephemeral in nature. His significant treatise in this regard was *Pouravidhyābhyāsam* (Education of the Civil Society).<sup>72</sup> Ranakrishnappilai envisaged an educational system which has forwardlooking character. He was of the opinion that, similar to Karl Marx or

<sup>59</sup> Mathematics first Lesson, Makaram, 1898.

<sup>60</sup> Women education Dhanu, 1072.

<sup>61</sup> Teaching the poems, Mithunam, 1898.

<sup>62</sup> Education and the people's responsibility, Edavam, 1900.

<sup>63</sup> School system and Administration, Kanni, 1897.

<sup>64</sup> Education, Etavam, 1897.

<sup>65</sup> Malayalam mixed with English, Tulam, 1897.

<sup>66</sup> Black Board, Dhanu, 1900.

<sup>67</sup> New Malayalam Primer, Meenam, 1900.

<sup>68</sup> New Malayalam primers by Book Committee, issue date not known.

<sup>69</sup> Two Teachers, Tulam, 1898.

<sup>70</sup> Procedure of giving Reinforcement, Kumbham, 1897.

<sup>71</sup> History, Karkitakam, 1900.

<sup>72</sup> For the full text, see, *Complete Works of Swadesabimani*, ed., T. Venugopalan, Vol. V, Trivandrum, 2010. Pouravidyābhyāsam is a small book with seven chapters.



Gandhiji, education of the children should not be limited to basic alphabets or textbook learning. It has vocational aims too.<sup>73</sup> There must be work sheds and agricultural lands attached to schools and the apprenticeship in various fields is to be ensured. For the effective function of an educational institution, freedom of self governance is essential. He strongly advocated, as implemented in the countries like Switzerland, for the free and compulsory elementary education. Primary education should not be a terminal point and it is the duty of the Government to provide higher education to the greater public. Then only the aims and objectives of education can be achieved<sup>74</sup>. An ideal educational system is inevitable to broaden the world view of the learners<sup>75</sup>.

Another book written by Ramakrishnapillai, together with N. Sankarapillai, was *Kṛiṣiśāstram* for the use of schools. It is already stated that, to him, agriculture should be an integral part of any educational system. This book deals with every aspects of agriculture like, plants, soil, seeds, climate, and modern fertilizers and so on. It has three sections with three chapters in each. Glossary of the technical terms and important questions related to the topics are also given in the text.

Mathematics was the other area Ramakrishnapillai contributed. He had authored three books in this regard. The author makes it clear that these were written with a view to reduce the difficulties experienced by the both-teachers and students in the subject. They are *Aṅgaganīta* (arithmetic), *Balabōdhini and Kṣetraṅgāṇitam Pradhamapustakam* (geometry). For the use of teachers, he has also authored a book titled *Kṣetraṅgāṇitam: Sādanāpādangal*. These were not independent works but drew

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<sup>73</sup> Karl Marx emphasized *the Education through Craft* in his Critique of Gotha programme. Gandhi also stressed the self reliant education in his basic education programme. It is also interesting to note that the biographies of both Marx and Gandhiji, in Malayalam, first brought out by Ramakrishnapillai.

<sup>74</sup> Ramakrishnapillai, op.cit., pp. 30-13.

<sup>75</sup> For a critical appraisal of Ramakrishnapillai's Text Books, see P. Govindhappillai, Introductory study to the *Complete Works of Swadesabhimani*, (Mal.), Vol. V, Thiruvananthapuram, 2010.

much from the writings of European scholars like S. L. Lony, A E. Laing, Barnard Smith and author's own teacher, A. R. Rajaraja Varma<sup>76</sup>

Swadēśabhimāni's book on Malayalam grammar was *Bālabōdhini* (I and II., 1902). In the preface he writes that though there were many grammar books available in the language, because of their complex nature, many of them are not useful for the class room purpose. Like his earlier works, *Bālabōdhini* was also not a creative work and the author acknowledges his gratitude to Kerala Pāṇini A.R. Rajaraja Varma to whom the work was dedicated. Rajaraja Varma also praises the Ramakrishnapillai for the simple but attractive style of presentation of the complex grammatical rules.<sup>77</sup> The book was designed on the model of Orient Longman's School Grammar.

Besides textbooks, Ramakrishnapillai had written many editorials related to educational issues in Travancore. One of the controversial one was about the putting of lower and higher caste students in the same class room.<sup>78</sup> To him, it is similar to tying both horse and donkeys on the same plough and it does not make any desirable result. Hence separate educational facilities are to be provided for those belonging to the lower caste. Here he was pointing out the cultural capital of the higher caste students. Students of higher caste would learn the academic subjects fast because of their previous experiences and the knowledge acquired from the families and the surroundings. The others would lag behind, and teachers would not attend these low level learners. It causes gradual withdrawal of such students from the schools. These aspects were well explained in the subsequent editorial.<sup>79</sup> While going through the two editorials, one will understand that the extra-casteism charged upon

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<sup>76</sup> From this we learn that A. R. Rajaraja Varma wrote a mathematics book in Sanskrit language titled Pāti Gaṇitam.

<sup>77</sup> A. R. Rajaraja Varma, appreciation letter to Ramakrishnapillai, Mavelikkara, dated 28<sup>th</sup> Mithunam, 1902.

<sup>78</sup> Ramakrishnapillai, *Vidhybyāsakuḷapam*, Editorial, Swadesabimani, 2<sup>nd</sup> March, 1910. Here we find that Ramakrishnapillai was subscribing or influenced by the eugenic movement-intelligence is inherited or genetically endowed rather than acquired- that flourished in Europe during the close of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin, was the chief exponent of this argument.

<sup>79</sup> See the editorial of Swadesabimani titled Vidyābhyāsapramadam, 4<sup>th</sup> March, 1910.

Ramakrishnapillai, at least in this context, was intentionally created.<sup>80</sup> It is further seen that, when a textbook (Malayalam Ist Primer-1903, Travancore), depicted the entire Eļavas as hereditary toddy tapers, Ramakrishnapillai, through his article, vehemently criticized the Government that it was an attempt to demoralize a community and argued that such lessons should not be taught in a class room where different categories of students sitting.<sup>81</sup> He sarcastically remarked that, toddy would come out from the coconut tree even a higher caste man beats upon its inflorescence.

### Joseph Muliyl

Joseph Muliyl, the author of novel *Sukumari* which depicting the social life of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Malabar, contributed significantly to the educational sector also. Earlier he was the Head Master, BGM Christian High School, Nettur and later became the English tutor, Madras Christian College. Apart from the The Infant Reader, he had written Standard Readers for all classes up to Fifth standard.<sup>82</sup> His other books include The Anglo-Malayalam Primer for IIIrd Standard, The English Standard Reader for the IVth Standard. These readers were nicely illustrated, and as regards subject-matter and general get-up they were unsurpassed. All these texts were approved by the Madras Government and were extensively used in the schools in Malabar and Cochin.<sup>83</sup> Joseph Muliyl also authored some other texts like *Arōgyasāstra*, *Progressive Lessons on Health for the use of IVth Standard*.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> cf. Ayyankali's letter to Ramakrishnapillai, dated 16. 7.1911 and Ramakrishnapillai's editorial about Pulaya education, 'Samutāyakṣtam' in *Lakshmiivilasam*, 1911, March, Eļavarute Kļeṣangal, Keralan, Etavam, 1905. All these documents prove that Ramakrishnapillai was very much involved in the matter of educational rights of downtrodden sections.

<sup>81</sup> Ramakrishnapillai, *Malayalam Onnām Pāḥapustakam*, Malayali, 14<sup>th</sup> November 1903.

<sup>82</sup> The first Standard Reader, The Second Standard Reader and the like. The first Standard Reader was later revised by M. Krishnan, Malayalam Translator to the Government (1905). These books are available in the Archives of Theological Seminary, Balamatta, Mangalore.

<sup>83</sup> During the earlier phase, in Cochin State also, the texts circulated in Malabar were used extensively.

<sup>84</sup> See below, 'Index to School Text-books', appendix- I

### Appu Nedungadi (1860-1933)

About Appu Nedungadi and his Girls' school at Calicut, some information is already given.<sup>85</sup> He was a versatile genius who contributed significantly to different arenas of the social life like literature, education, law, industry, banking and so on<sup>86</sup>. Nedungadi was educated in *Kerala Vidhyāśāla*<sup>87</sup> up to F. A. and obtained B. A. Degree from Madras. He was a teacher at Canannore and Calicut (Provincial School). When he started a school for girls at Calicut, it invited large scale opposition from certain orthodox upper caste people. Nedungadi arranged his own horse driven carriage to carrying the women teachers who were abused or attacked by the traditionalists. Later, this school was renamed as Achyutan Girls School, as mark of honour to Achyutan, former Chairman of Kozhikode Municipality. This school was a land mark in the history of girl's education in Calicut city and around and this fact is evident from the citation presented to Appu Nedungadi when he was elected as the Chairman of Kozhikode Municipality. It runs thus:

*Sthīvidhyābhyasacheti vaṭivil vaḷar-  
thunnatātēndiabūvil  
kṣemathināyulla paramour  
pariṣhkaramillennu thāne-  
bhavichanurūpam  
sujanamahitayam  
Bālikapaṭhaśāla-  
māviṣmodēna cālappurthatilulaṅvaya-  
kiceṭi swachanthre*

<sup>85</sup> See above, Chapter on "Education in Cochin and Malabar".

<sup>86</sup> He was elected as the Chairman of Calicut Municipality in 1918-19 was awarded the honor 'Rao Bahadur'.

<sup>87</sup> Appu Nedunagdi was belonging to the Zamorins Family and Kerala Vidhyāśāla was founded with a view to the children of royal family. This school was later rechristened as Zamorin's Guruvayurappan College.

Because of the activities of the above mentioned personalities and those of many others, during the last phase of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was growing awareness that modern education is indispensable in the existing social and political scenario. People were aware of its philosophical and practical utility too. As a result, there was an unprecedented growth of modern educational institutions across the Kerala. Administrative reports for different political units underline this fact.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> It will be clear from the educational statistics given in, William Logan, *Malabar Manual* 1887, and C. A. Innes, *Malabar Gazetteer* (originally published in 1908 but statistical portion was added in 1915 and reprinted in 1933). Comparison reveals that in Malabar, general percentage of literacy increased from 7 in 1881 to 15 in 1931 and the literate women per thousand from 8 to 64. Elementary schools more than doubled themselves during this period and the secondary schools in the district had the largest number of pupils of any district in the presidency (Madras), with 58 schools and 18,000 pupils. In Travancore, Total number of schools during 1894-95 was 2816 with 131,294 students and in 1903-04 it was increased to 3,727 and 197,385 respectively. See Nagam Ayia, *Travancore State Manual*, p. 460.

## CONCLUSION

The intention of the present study is to bring to light certain hitherto unnoticed aspects of the trajectory of education in Kerala that are potential for evoking fresh thinking and debates, particularly about the root of high literacy in Kerala. The contour of educational history in this linguistic unit was distinct because of different factors like geographical settings, social dynamics and subsistent levels. The available data and their analysis reveal that at least until the 16<sup>th</sup> century CE, the entire south India shared a common educational heritage. Despite the political fragmentations and caste hierarchy, during the early historic period, education was a popular one and there developed a strong philosophy of education based on idealism. Then society even mediated on the epistemological aspects too. These aspects are attested by the literary works of the period called Sangam Works.

Regarding the post Sangam period, we don't have much evidences to make inference about the popular education, but ample sources are there about the higher education of Brahmins, in the forms of inscriptions. Literary works of the later medieval period also mention the students called *Cāthiran* or *Caṭṭan*. These *Śālai-s* or *Ghaṭika-s* were the temple attached Vedic institutions and flourished all over South India during the early medieval period. One of the important documents which deal with the entire activities of such temple colleges was recovered from Kerala-*Parthivapuram* Copper Plate. From this we understand that, education was a serious matter and only students with high proficiency were eligible to higher studies. These students received sponsorship either from the temples itself or from the ruling class. We also notice that the *Śālai* disappeared along with the political fragmentation of *Cēra-s* and the consequent socio-political changes during the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century CE. It indicates the fact that any change in the political and social stuture will have its own impact upon the educational systems as well.

In the place of old śālai-s, a new form of institution called Gurukulam-s, emerged with the support of rich Kōvilakms during the *Nāṭuvaḷi Swarūpam* phase. Like that of śālai-s, these were also meant for the children of upper class in the society. During that time Kerala had made some substantial contributions in the field of mathematics and astronomy. Recently it is confirmed that many of them were on a par with the celebrated ‘scientific tradition’ of Europe. It is also understood that people of Kerala had deliberated over various mathematical topics very similar to that of Isaac Newton (Calculus), Leibniz, and Gregory (Madhava-Gregory Series or Leibniz Series) centuries ago. It is supposed that such knowledge were ‘smuggled out’ by the Jesuit Missionaries who were active in Kerala during the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> century CE. Now, there comes a state that discussions on history of world Mathematics remain incomplete if they do not mention the contributions of medieval Kerala in this regard.

However, we came across that, the epochs followed medieval period failed to contribute anything substantially in the field of Mathematics. Still the impact of old mathematical tradition was tremendous and in village school curriculum, ample space was provided to mathematics. But it was only the repetitions of the earlier tradition, not a creative one with novel ideas. Scholars of Kerala also failed to transfer this mathematical knowledge into any technological or practical situation as it happened in Europe. In Kerala, it was only a matter of individual’s recreational activity rather than aiming at the development of the general society. As a result, the society continued to be a primitive agricultural and pre-industrial one till the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century.

There was an unprecedented progress of education in Kerala by the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards and it is discussed in detail in this study. In each village, there were schools with students enrollment ranging twenty to thirty. They were single teacher institutions unsupported by any state machinery. Though caste rigidity was strictly observed in every domain of social life, it was not so intense in the elementary

education sector. We have noticed that even the lower caste people had, though not extensively, certain amount of literacy, in a way or another.

The curriculum of the period was exactly in accordance with the existing social and economic life of the villages. This is in perfect agreement with the notion that curriculum is the embodiment of the prevailing social dynamics, customs, practices and values. It catered to the intellectual, aesthetic and moral development of the learner. Mathematics had received over importance in their curriculum. Mathematics became a part of their leisure time activity as understood from the innumerable puzzles and riddles popular in every day life. Even poems were also written adhering to the number rules. The formulas in the form of *Kārika-s* (verses) indicate linguistic and mathematical intelligence of the then Kerala society. With the colonial education, there was a drastic change in the mathematics education. Pedagogical shifts in the traditional mathematics education invited certain criticisms from the general public as evident from the writings of George Mathan and S. Subrahmanya Aiyyer. Aiyyer in an article titled '*Maṅakkaṅakku*' opined that the excess use of slates and modern teaching aids adversely affected the computational ability of the people of Kerala. He mentions that the people educated in traditional way were very excellent in their perceptual speed and in computation, even with big numbers.<sup>1</sup>

Pre-colonial education was purely based on the mental ability to retain the subjects taught. There were severe criticisms from different corners about the over emphasis on the memory skills which never entertained creative talents of the students. There were certain objections as it did not address the mental readiness of the learners too. Students were also given severe punishments without considering the features of child behavior and instinctual tendencies. Teachers of the day believed that strict discipline was required to the attainment of the ultimate aim of education- self realization or self actualization. Recent studies on intelligence suggest that, in any intelligent activity, the role of the memory is crucial. Many of the

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<sup>1</sup>. Subrahmanya Aiyyer, S, *Maṅakkaṅakku*, Bhāṣāpōṣiṇi, Tulam, 1898.



students, in their later years, could reproduce what they had learnt in the past more creatively and divergently. Colonial education replaced such old practices by introducing new teaching methods and strategies of learning with printed text books and teaching manuals.

In fact, these schools were the instrumental in making Kerala's unique progress in different aspects of education like enrollment, retention and literacy rate. Here the investigator deviates significantly from the earlier scholars who held the opinion that these developments were the direct result of colonialism and missionary activities. In spite of the political and economic policies, colonialism in fact, impeded the educational growth of Kerala. During the initial stage of colonial domination, the literacy rate of Kerala was considerably declined. Though motivated by religious interests, the missionaries had played significant role in reviving the dilapidated indigenous education on the modern line. But the urge for education was not their contribution or gift. It was there in the minds of Keralites ever since the early historic period and transmitted from generation to generation like the 'Collective Unconscious' - a psychological term coined by Carl Gustav Jung.<sup>2</sup>

The Bell system or Madras system of education was successfully implemented in England during the first half of the nineteenth century. However, no scholar till the date explored the indigenous testimonials of the same system. By making use of the autobiographies of the late nineteenth century, the present study examined its operation, strength and weakness in a detailed manner. The monitorial system, helping the juniors by more experienced students, has got wide prevalence in the modern curriculum based on the constructive paradigm of education.

Though the indigenous education discharged the educational aspirations of the society, it could never be equated with the schools of modern era. With the

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<sup>2</sup> Carl Jung (1875-1961), thought that human beings have two forms of unconscious mind, the personal unconscious and the collective unconscious. While the former is created from our individual experiences, the latter is identical in each person and is inherited. It consists of primitive images and pattern of thoughts, feeling and behavior that Jung called archetype.

coming of European missionaries, there was a drastic change in the entire educational scenario. The newly set up schools were the Indian version of the Dame, Common Day or Sunday Schools of England. As part of missionary pedagogy, more thrust was given to language and literature through which moral lessons could be transacted effectively. The classical Sanskrit and Mathematics which had received over weightage in the indigenous school curriculum lost their earlier importance. For example, when Gundert became the school inspector, he discouraged learning of *Srīamōdantha* or *Amarakōśa* as a pre requisite to Sanskrit studies. There was a considerable change in the mathematics education too.

It is also understood that, pre-colonial education in Kerala was more or less secular. Although there had been study materials contained Hindu mythologies and stories, religious instruction got little attention in their curriculum. It will be clear while examining the curriculum of Madrassas of Muslim community or the institutions of Sikhs. Contrary to the indigenous system, Missionary curriculum was used as a vehicle to transport the evangelical spirit. This aspect is evident from the correspondences between the British authorities and missionaries, Missionary Registers of CMS and Annual Reports of Basel Mission (BMR).

Missionaries explicitly and implicitly incorporated religious lessons in their text books. Benjamin Bailey's *Cerupaihangalkkupakāraṭham*, contains many moral lessons leading to the Christian faith. Gundert's, *Lōkacarithṛa Sangrahaṃ* accounts the history of the world prior to the birth of Jesus Christ. We have seen that Roberts, the Head master of Trivandrum school, obtained permission from the authorities to teach the Bible during the class hours. This practice continued up to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Mission schools founded all over Kerala and large number of students made use of them. Still missionaries were disliked by general public. Conversion, as desired by missionaries, never took place in Kerala at large scale.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> This aspect will be clearer from the following incident. Velayudhan, the elder brother of Dr. Palapu travelled to Malabar to get rid of the intense caste practices prevailed in Travancore and got appointment in BEM School, Calicut. However, in due course, he was insisted to convert.

People of Kerala availed the amenities provided by the missionaries but evaded skillfully from the attempt of being converted. K.P.S. Menon remembers that, in the schools, they studied the Bible and other religious tracts in the same way they memorized the works of Shakespeare or Milton for appearing the examinations.<sup>4</sup> Such religious lessons were not sufficient enough to register any impression upon the students of the Hindu community. They were fascinated rather by the romantic, heroic or devotional stories of epics or purāṇa-s. Large section of Students attended missionary schools were motivated by the material benefits than the spiritual thirst. Ringeltaube himself, who initiated the modern educational activities in Travancore, was aware of these native mentalities. He wrote that people came forward with some other interests which could properly be understood only years later.

However, by no means, it is possible to ignore the contributions of missionaries towards the Kerala society and culture including education. Missionary schools paved way for the unprecedented literacy growth especially among the downtrodden classes who were kept outside the general education. Proficiency in English language instilled them with the confidence and the self esteem.

There were considerable changes in the structure of schooling with the western system. The monitorial system was almost ceased and in the place of single teacher and single class, several teachers and separate classes based on age factor came in to being. There was a shift from teacher centered education to learner centered education as many of the foreign missionaries applied knowledge of mental philosophy which they studied at home land. For example, Gundert, at Tubingen, had studied psychology besides history and classical languages. Teaching manuals, in native language, were the contribution of the missionaries. The introductory part of *Valiyapāṭhāramabam* of Hermmann Gundert deserves special mention in this regard. Through their class room discussions and public speeches, missionaries denounced

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When he was obstinate, he was asked to resign. Rev. Frohnmeyer, the author of the first physics text book in Malayalam, was the Head Master of that school. For more details, see Sajiv Krishnan, *Daivathinte Paṭathalavan* (Biography of Dr. Palpu), p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> K.P.S. Menon, *Autobiography*, Kottayam, p. 35.

the caste system, untouchability and other similar evil practices. Through their magazines, newspapers and other publications, people of Kerala came to contact with the important events that took place in different parts of the world. The *Rājyasamācāra* of Gundert and *Jñāna Nikṣepa* and *Vidhyāsangraham* of CMS were important in this regard. On the whole, the missionary education was people oriented one and helped the revival of the educational tradition of Kerala with new vigor and style and thereby provided a sound footing for the forthcoming socio-religious movements. It is also noticed that, even though missionaries stood for the emancipation of indigenous downtrodden classes, they did nothing against the inhuman imperialist policies. They strongly supported the colonial domination, as desired by administrative authorities.

With the establishment of Printing Press, evolutionary process of Malayalam script was almost finished. The Ārya Eḷuttu became predominant which pushed back all other scripts like the Vetteḷuth, Kōleḷuttu, Malayāṇma or Pallava Grandha from the common use. The use of printed texts played significant role in the popularization of Modern Malayalam script. In Malayalam writing, earlier, there was no practice of using full stop or other punctuation marks. It was Hermmann Gundert who introduced such remarkable changes in the prose writing. Although Malayalam was rich in Kāvya or poetic tradition, its prose style was the product of missionary efforts and the new educational system. In the field of literature too, western trends were adopted. Malayalam literature was enriched with the translated works from other languages and it provided new sense of appreciation and aesthetics.

In the old village curriculum, there was no provision for teaching subjects like history or geography. Familiarity with these subjects enabled the pupils to liberate themselves from the dominant historical fallacies, fables and legends. It created a generation having critical thinking and spirit of enquiry. Modern education also resulted in the emergence of a new middle class with radical thinking on traditional beliefs, rituals and customs. They began to popularize the values of enlightenment modernity like the progress, the science, and the reason. They were

politically conscious with new social perspectives. This was the social milieu of different popular agitations in Travancore during the last decades of 19<sup>th</sup> century. In Malabar also, there appeared many creative works reflecting the social evils, customs and ill practices.

Many scholars argue that education was widely used as a powerful tool to legitimize the colonial rule in India. But in most cases they fail to furnish concrete examples in this regard. K.P.S. Menon, in his autobiography, reveals that in the school examinations, students were frequently asked to write essays praising the British rule in India. In textbooks, they purposefully incorporated lessons justifying colonial hegemony.<sup>5</sup> For example, in Malayalam Fifth Reader by E. Marsdon (1909), there was a lesson under the title ‘Benefits of British Rule in India’. It begins with the statement that there were innumerable positive results brought about by the British rulers and it would be difficult to summarize all of them in a small book like school text books. The lesson denounced both Hindu periods and Muslims as chaos, turmoil and religious antagonism. The text glorifies the English King as the most powerful ruler in the world and English people as the world’s affluent class. English rule saved Indians from outside attacks and ended the frequent internal wars and there by provided a peaceful atmosphere. It protected people from the robbers and bandits besides eradicated social evils and primitive rituals. Modern medicine and medical education were the western contribution. Indians were very much blessed with their railway, post and telegraph, law and order systems and so on. In the field of agriculture too English rule made some tremendous progress. Instead of innumerable taxes as collected in the past, now there is a permanent system of taxation in favor of the common people. Religious freedom is also assured by the British rule.<sup>6</sup> Some history textbooks depicted English officials of high cadre like Robert Clive or Warren Hasting as the heroes or honorable persons while the Indian leaders of 1857 revolt like Siraj ud Doula, Beegum of Oudh as cruel, barbarous and

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<sup>5</sup> K.P. S., *ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Marsdon, E, *The Fifth Reader*, MacMillan, 1909.

cultureless. K.P.S. Menon reminisces that, since the teachers mechanically reproduced the texts as such, colonial hegemonic ideology was strongly enrooted in the minds of children.<sup>7</sup> For example, in text book titled ‘History of India’<sup>8</sup> (1896) there was a lesson describing Siraj-ud-Daulah as cruel and profligate, insolent and self-willed. He hated the English, and at once proceeded to pick a quarrel with them.....’

In the text book of Matriculation Examination of Madras Presidency (1895), there was a chapter titled ‘*Victoria Caḅṛavarṭhini Carithṛam*’ (Biography of the Queen Victoria). It is interesting to note that at the end of the lesson, a list of her children with their date of birth is also given.<sup>9</sup> In the Fifth Reader, compiled by Joseph Muliyl (1900), there was a long poem of old style hailing the greatness of the same Queen under the heading ‘*Victōriambāṣṭakam*’.<sup>10</sup> Besides text books, some other measures were also adopted to bring pupil more close to the imperial rule. For example, in every school, it was directed to exhibit the pictures of George IV and the Queen.<sup>11</sup> K.P. Kesava Menon remembers the local level ceremonies held in connection with the coronation of Edward VII.<sup>12</sup> C. Kesavan also attended such a procession welcoming the Prince of Wales, as per the instruction of school authorities.<sup>13</sup> G. Ramachandran, in his autobiography recollects an occasion of his visit at Maharani’s Girls School, Trivandrum, with his sister. At the end of the school assembly, students collectively prayed ‘God Save the King’. He further added that,

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<sup>7</sup> K.P.S, op.cit. p. 48.

<sup>8</sup> E. Sell. B.D, Rev., *History of India*, 1896, p. 78.

<sup>9</sup> *Malayalam Text Book for Matriculations Examination*, University of Madras, 1896, Pp. 116-136.

<sup>10</sup> The text was approved by Department of Public instruction, Madras presidency. Basel Mission press, 1900.

<sup>11</sup> *School Inspection Record* of 1913, Thuvvakkode L.P School, Malabar District.

<sup>12</sup> There was a procession with a photo of the king upon the elephant back and Kesava Menon held the same. Unfortunately, by mistake, the photo was of a Russian King, not the Edward VII. There was a rumor that he would be punished for the fake photo as a mark of dissent, but nothing happened. See, *Kaḷinjakālam*, p. 28.

<sup>13</sup> C. Kesavan, *Jīvithasarm*, (1968), Thiruvananthapuram, 1999, pp. 63-67.

British imperialism was so much deep rooted in the soil by that time.<sup>14</sup> K.P.S. Menon opines that, time, People of India respected and honoured Edward VII in the same way they treated his predissor, Queen Victoria.<sup>15</sup>

The very object of these types of lessons was to prevent the emerging national consciousness. K.P.S. Menon writes that during the initial years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Kerala society was more or less passive but peaceful without any anxiety about their political future. The unchallenged supremacy of imperialism with its perennial nature was almost recognized. The rise of national movement in Bengal following the partition, boycott of foreign goods, anti-colonial resistance of different types did not make any potential effect up on the Kerala society. In their routine, the laymen prayed for health and longevity of the rulers- both native and foreign.<sup>16</sup> However, with the familiarity of modern political ideologies and people movements across the world, in the course of time, in Kerala too, there emerged a section of people with fair national consciousness. Modern education played a vital role in that process.

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<sup>14</sup> G. Ramachandran, *Pinniṭṭa Jīvithappātha*, Kottayam, 1985. The king was apparently the Edward VII who assumed the power after the Queen Victoria's death in 1902.

<sup>15</sup> K.P.S. Menon, op.cit., 48.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

SREEJITH E. "EDUCATION IN KERALA: TRANSITION FROM PRE-COLONIAL TO THE COLONIAL PHASE." THESIS. DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT, 2019.



## GLOSSARY

Ārya Eḷuthu	: Script use to write modern Malayalam language
Āśān/Aśiriyār	: School Teachers, Early Tamilakam
Āśān Kūli	: Remuneration to Teachers
Bhūtasankya	: A method in which words were given the numerical value
Caṭṭan/Cāthiran	: Brahmin Students, Medieval period
Damiḷi/Drāvidi	: A variant of Brahmi script prevalent in South India (Southern Brahmi)
Elān Kayaruka	: Registering the attendance at the village schools
Eṟinjati	: Punishing lower caste students without touching their bodies
Eḷuthachan	: Village School teachers, Pre-Colonial Kerala
Grandha Lipi	: Script used to write Sanskrit words
Jyā	: Specialised computational aspect in trigonometry
Kanakkāyar	: School Teachers, Early Tamilakam
Kaṭapayāti	: A system in which the letters are assigned numerical values
Kutippaḷḷikkūṭam	: Village Schools of Pre-Colonial Kerala
Mānanvan	: Students, Ancient Tamilakam
Nīlatheḷuthu	: Writing on Sand
Ōthupaḷḷi	: Educational institution for Muslim children
Sabha Maṭṭha	: Monasteries for Vedic Education, Medieval period
Śālai	: Institutions for Vedic Education, Early Medieval Period
Swarūpam	: Principality or local ruling houses
Tamiḷakam	: The Tamil macro region
Vaṭṭeḷuthu	: Script used to write early Malayalam language

# APPENDIX I

## INDEX TO TEXTBOOKS- 1824-1935

### Language and literature

Benjamin Bailey, *Cērupaihangalkkupakāraṭham Engliśinlninum Paribhaṣapeṭuthiya Kathakaḷ*, CMS, 1824, Original kept in British Museum Library, London.

Hermman Gundert *Pāthārambam*, 1845, Tellichery, Standard Not Specified.

....., *Pāthamāla*, Department of Public Instruction, Madras, 1860.

....., *Valiya Pātharambam*, Public Instruction Department, Madras, 1860.

....., *Pañcatantram*, Basel Mission, Mangalore.

....., *Pañcolmāla*, Litho Press, Mangalore.

*Malayalam School Pañcatantram*, (4<sup>th</sup> Edition) Publisher C.Stolz, 1869.

Garthwaite, L, *Cānakya Sūtram or Mudrārakṣasm* (Edited with notes, explanatory and Grammatical, and Glossary), Madras University Series of Malayalam Classic, No.2, Basel Mission Press, 1863.

Pachu Muthathu, *Bālabhūṣaṇam*, Travancore, 1867.

Gundert, *Malayalam-English Bhāṣantarapustakam*, Mangalore, 1870.

Garthwaite, *Malayalam First Book of Lessons*, (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition), 1873.

Lewis, J. P. *An Advanced Translator in Anglo-Malayalam* (Higher and Middle Class Schools), 1878.

English Malayalam Dialogues (Together with Forms of Letters etc). Mangalore, 1879.

Garthwaite, L, *The Pañcatantram or The Five Arts of Polity*, (3<sup>rd</sup> edition) 1883, Basel Mission Press, Mangalore.

Keralavarma Valiyakoiyithampuran, *Onnām Pātham*, Travancore Book Committee, Thiruvanthapuram, 1866-67.

....., *Randāmpātham*, Travancore Book Committee, Thiruvanthapuram, 1866- 67.

....., *Mūnnāmpātham*, Travancore Book Committee , Thiruvanthapuram, 1866-67.

R Rajarajavarma, Nālām Pāṭhapustakam, Travancore, 1896.

Malayalam Text For Matriculation Examination, University of Madras, 1896.

Mannan, KK, *Naḷacaritamaṇipravālam*, Tellichery, 1875.

*Sequel Step by Step*, No. I (Used in LMS Charitable School) .

*Sequel Step by Step*, No. II (LMS).

*Young Reader* (LMS).

*Malayalam First Reader*, Macmillan Series of Text Book for Indian Schools, (3<sup>rd</sup> edition), 1902.

Marsden, E, *The King Reader I* (Anglo-Malayalam), Macmillan's King Readers, 1906.

*Malayalam Copy Book*, For Standard III, Mangalore, 1901.

*Longman's New Malayalam Readers*, IVth Standard, 1904.

Marsden, E., *Malayalam First Reader*, Mangalore, 1904.

*Malayalam Pāṭhamāla*, Ist Standard, Mangalore, 1905.

*Malayalam Reader*, VIII Standard, Macmillan, 1905.

*Malayalam Pāṭhamāla*, IV th Standard, Mangalore, 1905.

*Malayalam Pāṭhamāla*, IIIrd Standard (9<sup>th</sup> Edition), Mangalore, 1909.

Kerala Varma, (ed.), *Padyapada vali*, I-VII, Travancore, 1910

Marsden, E., *Malayalam Fourth Reader*, Macmillan, 1915

....., *Malayalam Third Reader*, Mangalore, 1917.

*Malayalam Fourth Reader*, Macmillan, 1915.

*Malayalam Seventh Reader*, For Form III and Class VIII, Macmillan (8<sup>th</sup> edition)

*Pōthan's Malayalam Copy Book*, Mangalore.

Marsden, E, *Malayalam Fifth Reader*, Macmillan and Company, 1909.

*New English Course for Indian Schools, Second Reader*, Longmans, Green and Company.

Marsden, E., *Malayalam IIIrd Reader*, Macmillan, 1919.

Thomas Paul, *Padhyamālika- IInd Part*, Vidhyāvilāsam recitation series, Trivandrum, 1923.

Thomas Paul, ed., *Keralavarma Malayalam Reader*, CMS Press, 1925.

*Malayalam Mūnnām pathapustakam*, (for IVth Std.) Macmillan,( 15<sup>th</sup> edition),1927.

Joseph Muliyl, *The First Standard Reader*, Madras presidency, 1896.

....., *The Second Standard Reader* -do-

....., *The Third Standard Reader* -do

....., *The Fourth Standard Reader* -do-

....., *The Fifth Standard Reader* -do-

....., *Anglo-Malayalam Primer* for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Standard.

....., *The English Standard Reader* for the 4<sup>th</sup> Standard.

....., *A Glossary of Technical Terms, English and Malayalam*.

....., *Essentials of Malayalam Grammar*.

....., *Catechism of Malayalam Grammar*.

....., *School Pañcatantra* with note.

Joseph Muliyl and John Kuriyan, *The English Primer* (Anglo-Malayalam Readers), Mangalore, 1903.

....., *A Comparative Study of Malayalam and English*, Part I and Part II.

Zacharias, J.F., *Bālōdhyāna Pāṭṭukalum Kathakaḷum*, (For Kindergarten Stidemts), Mangalore, 1907.

*Malayalam Onnāmpaṭhapustakam* (for 2<sup>nd</sup> Standard), Macmillan, 1933.

*Malayalapadapustakam*, IVth Standard, Macmillan, year not specified.

Varghese, T. P., *Mūnnām Pathapustakam*, For Cochin State, 1932.

....., *Navīnamalayala Pāṭhavalī*, 1932.

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Bailey, Benjamin, *A Dictionary of High and Colloquial Malayalam and English*, Kottayam, 1846, published with the financial aid from Swati Thirunal and Dedicated to him.

....., *A Dictionary, English- and Malayalam*, CMS, 1849, Dedicated to Uthram Thirunal.

Collins, Richard, *A Malayalam Dictionary*, Kottayam, 1867.

Gundert, Hermman, *A Malayalam-English Dictionary*, Mangalore, 1872 .

*Malayalam and English School Dictionary*, Published by C. Stolz, Basel Mission Tract Depository, 1887.

Krishnan M., *The Anglo-Malayalam Crown Dictionary*, B. M Press, 1910.

Theyyon Ramunni, Kalladi, *Malayalam and English Vocabulary*, 1912.

## Grammar

Spring, F., *Outlines of a Grammar of the Malayalim Language as Spoken in the Provinces of North and South Malabar and Kingdom of Travancore and Cochin*, S.P.C. K, 1839.

Peet, Joseph, *A Grammar of Malayalim Language Spoken in the Principalities of Travancore and Cochin and Disctricts of North and South Malabar*, CMS Press, 1841.

Arbuthnot, A. J, *Malayalam Selections with Translations, Grammatical Analysis and Vocabulary*, CMS Press, 1851.

Gundert, Hermman, *Malayala Bhāṣavyākaraṇam*, Tellichery, 1851.

Mathan, George, *Malayaṇmayute Vyākaraṇam*, 1863.

Gundert, *A Catechism of Malayalam Grammar*, Basel Mission Press, 1860, Remark: Revised, Rearranged and Enlarged by Garthwait, L, 1870.

*English Grammar In Malayalam*, C. Stolz, B. M. Press, Mangalore, 1869. Remark: Name of the author is not mentioned.

*Elements of English Grammar in Malayalam*, Published by Stolz and Reuther, Mangalore, 1869.

Pachu Muthathu, *Keralabhāṣa Vyākaraṇam*, Trivandrum, 1877.

Forhnmeier, Johannas, *A progressive Grammar of Malayalam for Europeans*, 1889, Mangalore, It is written with a view to help the Europeans who wished to learn the Malayalam language.

*The Essentials of Malayalam Grammar* (Malayalavyakarana Sangraham), B.M. Book Depot. Mangalore, 1883. Remark: Author and Standard is not mentioned.

*Francaise-Malacalienne* (Paranthr̄isu Bālavvyākaraṇasutṛa pṛamāṇam), Mahe, 1883 Remark: The is the book intended to teach French grammar through Malayalam language. The author is not mentioned. It was printed from Mangalore-Imprimerie De La Mission De Bale.

Kanaran, T, *A Glossary of Technical Terms* (English and Malayalam), BM, Mangalore, 1899, Remark: Reviewed by Joseph Muliyl.

Krishnan, M. K., *Bālavvyākaraṇam*, BM Press, 1898. Remarks: Elementary lessons in Malayalam grammar.

Kelappan Kaliata, *A Brief Sketch of Malayalam Grammar* (Malyala vyākaraṇa Samṣkiptham), Mangalore, 1901, Remark: The author was the Assistant Master, AVM School Kannur and the book was for the lower secondary school.

Seshagiri Prabhu, and Krishnam M., *Vyākaraṇa Mithṛam*, BM, 1904. Remark: For middle school students.

Venkiteswara Iyer. K .R. and Subramanya Iyer K.V. *The Malayalam Grammatical Primary-with questions and exercises containing the portion required for the III and IV standards*, Mangalore, 1898. Remarks: The former was Assistant teacher at Board secondary school Kottai and the later was second teacher at A.V. School attached to Victoria College, Palakkad.

Seshagiri Prabhu, *Vyākaraṇadaṛṣam* (The Mirror of Malayalam Grammar), Manorama Padamanjari, Mangalore, 1902. Remark: For the use of Middle schools.

Ramakrishnappiallai, K., *Bālabōdhini* I and II, , Travancore Middle School, 1904.

Ramunni, Theyyon, *Malayalam and English Vocabulary*, 7<sup>th</sup> edition, 1951.

Ramunni, Theyyon, *Colloquial Phrases and Short and Easy Dialogues*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, 1955.

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Puthiyōṭan Kannan Nair, *Kīmaśāṣṭra*, Basel Mission, mangalore, 1854.

Krishnan Pandala, *Rasatanṛa Pṛaveśika*, Kalpadrumam Press, Thrissur, 1893.

## Physics

Frohnmeier, Johannes, L, *Prakṛitīśāsthr̥am* (A Malayalam Catechism of Physics) BEm, Mangalore, 1883. This is the first textbook of Physics in Malayalam language. Dedicated to Visakham Thirunal.

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Ponan, B. J., Sahasrārdha *Vṛikṣātikalute Vaṛṇana*, 1918, ( Description of 500 Indian Plants), Mangalore, 1918.

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*Vidhyāmūlangal*, Kottayam, 1858 ( It includes topics outside geography also) .

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Rev, Joseph Peet, *Bhūmiśāsthr̥am*, CMS Press, 1853.

Keralavarm, *Thiruvitamkōtusamstanate Bhūvivaraṇam*, Travancore Book Committee, Trivandrum, Keralamitram Press, Cochin.

....., *Indiavivaraṇam*, Travancore Book Committee (Based on Geography of India by Duncan George).

....., *Bhūvivaraṇam*, (with glossary of technical terms) Travancore Book Committee .

Foulkes, T, Rev., *Geography of Travancore*, (trans.), Raman Thampi, Travancore, 1878.

Clift, *Geography in Malayalam*, Stolez, Mangalore, 1888.

O. M. Cheriyan, *Bhūvivaraṇa Siddhāntasangraham*, Travancore, 1900.

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Marsden, E., *Malayalam Geography of the Madras Presidency*, MacMillan, 1906.

Marsden, E., *Bhūmiśāsthr̥am*, Standard III, MacMillan, 1905.

## **Civics**

Subrahmaniya Iyyer, T. S, *Prajadharama Sangraham* (The elements of Civis, Translated by M Krishnan), MacMillan, 1910 (The author was the member of Text Book Committee, Madras and Assistant Professor of History, Presidency College, Madras).

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John. P (Aimanam John), *History of India in Malayalam* (Based on the English work of Henry Morris), CMS press, 1859 (The author was Senior Munshee, Government Provincial School, Calicut.

Madhava Rao, T., *History of Travancore* (Translated by Travancore Book Committee).

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....., *Lokathinte saisavavsta*, Travancore Book Committee (trans. of Claude Edward's The Childhood Of the World.

....., *India Caritram*, Travancore Book Committee, 1867, (Not found out).

....., *Indiacaritra Kathakal*, Travancore Book Committee (Translation of J. Talbowheeler's Tales From Indian History).

Sell, E., Rev. *History of India* (English), SPCK Press, Madras, 1896.

Chidambara Aiyer, *Indiacaritram- II* (1773-1903), for Middle School, Travancore. Author was the Head Master, Burkman's H. S. Changanassery , 1903.

Marsden, E., *History of India* (Malayala India Charithram), for Ist Forum, Madras, 1911.

Pillai, G. P., *Indiayile Mahānmar*, (Originally written in English, Malayalam translation with preface of Keralavarma).

*A Concise High School History of India*, Book-I, Sidhartha Printing House, Trivandrum.

Marsden, E, *History of India*, Part II, MacMillan, 1913.

## **Mathematics**

Kana Raman Eluthachan , *Kṣethragāṇitām*, BEM, Lithopress, Tellichery, 1857.



*Bījagaṇithathinte Ādhya Pāṭhngal.*, Prepared for Government schools, Director of Public Instruction, madras, CMS Press, 1862. Remark: Author and the standard is not specified.

*Colenso's Arithmetic* Part II, Plebst and Stole, 1866.

Garthwait, L., *Arithmetic* Part I (Kanakkusaram) , Calicut, 1881.

*Sankhyāvidhya*, published by P. Fleiederer and Ribhm, Basel Mission Press, Mangalore, 1867.

Kerala Varma, *Kṣēthrvyavahāram*, Book Committee, Travancore Government, 1867. Not found out but mentioned by Chidambara Vadhyar.

Chithanbara Vadyar, *Kṣēthrvyavahāram*, Trivandrum, 1892? Remark: it is the enlarged version of Kerala Varma's *Kṣēthrvyavahāram*. (Used in the vernacular schools Trivandrum).

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Kulathur Iyer, K, *Arithmetic Part II*. For the use of Vernacular Schools, Magalore, 1896.

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Ramakrishnappiallai, K., *Angagaṇitām*, Travancore, 1904.

Rajarajavarma, A. R, *Patīgaṇitām* (in Sanskrit).

Marsden, E., *Kaṇakkuśāsthram*, Mac Millan, 1905, Remark: for upper Primary school.

Ramakrishnappiallai, *Kṣēthragaṇitām* -Pradhamapustakam, 1903, Travancore.

Chdambaravadhyar, *Kaṇakku Sōdhini*, Travancore, 1912.

Krishna Aiyer, *Malayalam Primary Arithmetic*, (for textbook for schools in Cochin State), Approved by Textbook Committee, Madras, Printed at Mangalodayam.

## Commerce

S. Sankaranaryana Aiyer, , *Vāṇijyabhūmīśāstram*, For Travancore Middle Schools, 1902. The text is based on the works of Huraburt Mill, Chisham, Prof. Stone.,

Shanmukavilasam press, Trivandrum. It deals with trade, commerce, Industries and influence of geographical and climatic conditions.

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Mathan, George, *Bālabhyāsanam*, CMS, Kottayam, 1867.

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Madhavarayar, *Bālaparicaranathinuḷḷa Sūcanakaḷ*(Translated by Nagam Aiya), 1891.

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C. E . Sankaranana Aiyer, *A manual of Object Lessons*, Trivandrum, 1896 (He was the First Assistant, Normal School).

Ramakrishnappillai, *Kṣethragaṇṇitam- Sādanapādangal* ,Trivandrum 1903  
Chindambaravadyar, K., *Fouler's Discipline and Instruction* (trans.), Travancore.

Ramakrishnappillai, K., *Pouravidhābhyāsam* , Trivandrum.

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The author was the manager of BGM Training School, Nettur

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Arrangement of mid-day meal and fee concession, 7<sup>th</sup> March, 1928.

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