

# Conversations in Tarangambadi: Caring for the Self in Early Eighteenth Century South India<sup>1</sup>

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In their commentary about the Tswana, John and Jean Comaroff have questioned the usefulness of conversion as an analytical category. In their work, they note that Protestant conversion activities were “decided by a serendipitous and superficial overlap of two very different orders of meaning and value.” They also believe that “Given the mounting evidence of the ‘shallow-rootedness’ of the new faith, the meaning of conversion itself became debatable.”<sup>2</sup> In this article I want to reintroduce the notion of conversion as a much more wide-ranging set of activities that questions the one-way orientation usually associated with conversion. In this narrative I want to respond to what Dipesh Chakrabarty has called the “more *affective* narratives of human belonging.”<sup>3</sup> In the account that follows I wish to show that conversion is a process of examining one’s life and physical body and changing it for both the missionary and for the target of conversion. The goal of this religious conversion, that is to say the conversion that the Christian missionaries wanted to bring about, was ultimately transformed not into converting the “heathen,” but was a mechanism where the missionary was himself converted to a local way of thinking. The main project in the article is the way in which this conversion made the thinking of the locals and the missionary into a homogenous entity, where the missionary discovered in the local terms and thinking about health a fulfillment of his own religious conversion goals.

The major argument of the article is that a part of the chemistry of this conversion process involved the mutual invocation by the missionary and the local individuals of certain ways of thinking that were implicit in the local Tamil world. These ways of thinking or knowledges were available to be used, and could be relatively easily invoked, and therefore later became the central element in the way by which this conversion of both the missionary and the locals expressed itself.

The health project that was implicit in this mutual conversion process ultimately was enhanced by many other forces and agents. It is of some interest that the Tamil cultural area where the missionary arrived in the

early eighteenth century, by the twentieth century becomes one of the most modern in India and achieves zero population in the 1990’s.

The long conversation between the missionary and the focus of his interest takes place on the Tamil coast in the southeastern part of the Indian sub-continent in the early years of the eighteenth century in a seaport called Tranquebar or Tarangambadi controlled by the Danish East India Company.

## Arriving in the Middle of Things

Tranquebar or Tarangambadi, which means “the singing of the waves” in Tamil, was a Danish colonial port that lay on the Tanjavur coast of Tamil south India that was also on the edge of the Tanjore Maratha kingdom that lay centered to its west. The Tanjavur area was a deltaic area that had been a site for commercial rice agriculture for many hundreds of years. Since the time of the Chola kingdom at the turn of the second millennium C.E., the Kaveri or Cauvery River valley had been subject to settlement by brahmans who had been granted villages whose irrigated rice lands had been serviced by Dalit, formerly “untouchable,” agricultural slaves. The Chola kingdom was also characterized by many urban settlements.

In the eleventh century the Tanjavur Chola rajas started to create a state, one of whose goals was to assure that the security of both the agriculture and its population was not at risk. In late Chola times, therefore, the king had a very large masonry dam “1,080 feet in length, 40 to 60 in breadth, and 15 to 18 in depth” constructed.<sup>4</sup> NaaTTaars or local heads of territorial units called naaTus, the periyanaTTaar, and the brahmans played a critical custodial function in villages prior to the coming of the Telugus or VaTukas from the north.<sup>5</sup> VaTukas or Vadugas came to play an important cultural and economic function on the Tanjavur coast. By the late eighteenth century they were a very significant part of the Danish colonial administration and formed perhaps six percent of the port’s population.<sup>6</sup>

Under one of the successor kingdoms of the Vijaya-

nagar kingdom, the Nayakas of Tanjavur in the seventeenth century, this irrigation technology was enhanced and the surplus income was paid to the state in money-taxes after the Maratha kingdom became ensconced in the area in 1674. Many artificial lakes or tanks were also excavated to enhance the production of rice, which was exported to the Malabar Coast in large amounts. Cloth woven in seventeenth century Nayaka times was also known for its quality and cheapness. There is likewise much evidence to show that the Nayaks of Tanjavur and their successors the Maratha Rajas fed many thousands of brahmans (*annadaana*).<sup>7</sup> One British writer in the early part of the nineteenth century wrote that the Tanjore irrigation system “must certainly be considered one of the finest in the world. It is indeed very doubtful whether there is any tract of country artificially irrigated, that can, upon the whole, compete with it, considering its extent, its population, the comfort of the people, the revenue it yields, and the climate.”<sup>8</sup>

Tarangambadi town consisted of a Danish port and fifteen villages in the late seventeenth century, only about 250 of the 6,000 people who lived there being Europeans. Most of the European soldiers were not Danes but, in fact, German.<sup>9</sup> Arriving on the coast just as the dominance of the Portuguese was beginning to wane, Wöllum Løvel, the Danish Commander from 1643 to 1648 also welcomed the Portuguese who were trying to get away from the Dutch. When the Portuguese were turned away by the Dutch and the English at Negapatam, St. Thome, Manar, and Sri Lanka they found refuge at Tarangambadi. It was natural therefore that the Portuguese language remained the local *lingua franca* from the middle of the seventeenth century well into the eighteenth century. Løvel, in addition, permitted the Portuguese to build a Catholic church in Tarangambadi “because we are anyway obliged to tolerate idols.”<sup>10</sup>

In Tarangambadi Muslims were locally referred to as Moors. They were mostly Dakhni-speakers who originated from North India, Arabia, and the northeastern coast of Africa. Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Pleutschau, the first two German Protestant missionaries, reported that these *maraikeayars* and others were merchants “whose trade was greater than the people they called Heathens [i.e. the local Tamils and Telugus].” Ziegenbalg, the first Protestant missionary to India, at first wanted to believe that these Muslims were great enemies of the Christian missionary project.<sup>11</sup> Later evidence shows that both the local Muslims and he had many of the same religious and bodily projects in mind.

When Ziegenbalg and Pleutschau arrived in Tarangambadi in 1706, they also found themselves in a politically vulnerable position. Shahji, the Maratha raja of Tanjavur, was in the process of building a substantial economy based on rice. Contemporary evidence placed the rice production of Tanjavur at about 400,000

tons that came from 5,735 villages. According to some historians, this production can be considered a “not insignificant part of the subcontinent’s total grain production.”<sup>12</sup> Shahji harassed the Catholic Christians in his kingdom (just to the west of Tarangambadi) because he despised the methods employed by the Portuguese Catholic missionaries. Seven years previously, in 1699, Shahji had surrounded Tarangambadi with 14,000 cavalry and infantry.

In the event, arms from the British at Fort St. George helped the Danes to intimidate Shahji and his army.<sup>13</sup> This did not prevent Shahji from surrounding Tranquebar or Tarangambadi for six months in that year. Shahji also stopped the Danish slave trade that caused great economic loss to the Danish company.

Just two years prior to the arrival of these Protestant missionaries in Tarangambadi at the French port of Pondichéri, just to the north on the Tamil coast, Jesuits had tried to take over political control of the city. Jesuits had already been responsible for the palace revolution in Siam. Jesuits also wanted to establish a theocratic state in Pondichéri like that in Paraguay based on “authority derived from the position the order held in the favor of Louis XIV.”<sup>14</sup> In Pondichéri, the Jesuits were responsible for antagonizing a temple crowd during a festival. “Forty thousand Hindus who attempted to leave the city were turned back by French sentries at the gates, which the French factor François Martin had ordered to be locked, and a revolt broke out which lasted for twelve days.”<sup>15</sup>

Therefore, when Ziegenbalg and Pleutschau began to preach in Tarangambadi, this aroused the anxiety of the Danish commandant, Hassius. Hassius felt that Shahji, the raja of Tanjavur, would again interfere in Tarangambadi if the missionaries were to start a rebellion. In June 1707 Pleutschau preached a sermon in which he said, “You who are ruling, test yourselves, whether you do faithfully what you are commended to do, whether you prefer promoting the work of the Lord to hindering it, and whether you bother more about God’s glory than your own.” Hassius, the Governor, replied to Pleutschau, “Who has given you people permission to attack me from the pulpit and speak as if you are hindered in your ministry? In this way you could easily cause a rebellion.”<sup>16</sup> Between November 19, 1707 and March 26, 1708 Hassius imprisoned Ziegenbalg to temper his enthusiasms. As a result, both Ziegenbalg and Pleutschau became more and more aware of their vulnerability in a site where the Maratha Raja of Tanjavur would not tolerate conversion and where Hassius would not consent to preaching that went against his political authority.

It is also of interest to understand what kind of local social system Ziegenbalg was surrounded by. One seventeenth century Tamil text celebrates both the bringing

together of Saivism and Vaishnavism in the Tamil country. It also praises the practice of agriculture among the a group of agricultural *jatis* called *paLLis* who abused the higher *jatis* (sub-castes) while they say that the paddy that the *paLLis* produce is certainly good enough for the higher *jatis* to eat. Therefore, the story projected by the *MukkuTar PaLLu* text is a very contentious one.<sup>17</sup> What is of equal importance for us is the formulation of organic dependence and cooperation, which this text and the discourse that produced it articulate:

The areca nut tree, which crowds in, carries the young coconut of the coconut tree, which grows very high. The areca nut tree gives its nuts to the mango tree that has joined it. The mango gives its fruit to the jack fruit, which allows its own fruit to hang down. The jack fruit makes the banana tree bow down and causes the bunches (of bananas) to dip down. The branches of the pomegranate bear the banana tree..../ A lotus stretches up its head and touches a shoot of green ginger at the edge of the tank [lake]. The ginger that is steady touches the leaf of the turmeric gently and strokes it. That turmeric becomes affectionate with the ripening heads of paddy that are moving back and forth. That ripening grain gives its hand to the ripening sugar cane (vv., 25, 26)

According to this textual formulation, coherence and mutual dependence are critical for the continuance of Tamil society.

Ziegenbalg himself also wrote an account of contemporary Tamil society. In his assessment of this society, he emphasized not the differences between the brahmans and those later called non-brahmans, nor the difference between the so-called non-brahmans and those later called Dalits or “untouchables,” but rather sought to present the whole society from “top to bottom” as a Shudra society.<sup>18</sup> Though he speaks about the “untouchability line” in his account, he gives the names of all the *jatis* or sub-castes in a consolidated list, with the “Shudra Brahmans” at the top all the way through groups who ordinarily live in the forest. Gita Dharampal-Frick contends that Ziegenbalg’s presentation of Tamil society does not assert the existence of a rigorously structured system, but rather of a society that is growing organically around occupational differentiation, a formulation that mediates groups who were mutually dependent upon one another.<sup>19</sup> Ziegenbalg shows, for instance, that many groups, among them the “agriculturalist” *vellalas*, could cultivate the land if they sought to. Furthermore, he writes that persons from a variety of different *jatis* could, through hard work and intelligence, become persons of rank in positions such as kings, counselors, poets, schoolmasters, governors, or other high ministers. This was a society, according to Ziegenbalg, that was not at all rigid but allowed the individual

considerable room for personal ambition. In many ways his picture is one that reflects the kind of formulation found in Cynthia Talbot’s work on early fourteenth century Andhra where titles indicated individuals who had been successful in their ambitions.<sup>20</sup>

From our perspective, what is even more important is that Ziegenbalg’s orientation does not particularly emphasize any specific group that represents either juridical power or authority. Rather, he wants to depict the society as an organic structure whose constituent elements are dependent upon each other. In fact, there is a sense where the formulation of the *MukkuTar PaLLu* is very similar to what Ziegenbalg himself describes. Dharampal-Frick says that Ziegenbalg also brought to his empathetic study of Tamil society his own rural experiences of hierarchy in Lausitz where he was familiar with a similar, though not quite so variegated situation in the late seventeenth century. She writes that his analysis did not look on the Tamil social system as one in which the individual was paralyzed by a coercive ordering (*Zwang-sordnung*) but rather as a framework for trade and life that oriented and endowed individual life goals with considerable space for fulfillment. She considers that change is accordingly central to this Tamil system of group organization in the early eighteenth century.<sup>21</sup> It was into this competitive, relatively open and mobile social and political system that Ziegenbalg and his colleague Pleutschau came in 1706.

### The Nature of the Project

Ziegenbalg wrote in 1709 that, “The Inhabitants [of Tarangambadi] are partly white *Europeans*, partly white tawny *Portuguese*, and partly yellow *Moors*; but for the most part, black-brown *Malabarians*. [Tamils]” Ziegenbalg, speaking of European ignorance of local conditions, noted that, “Very few white Europeans would be able to tell you the names of such towns and villages, which is why they often have seven other names which they have come up with arbitrarily.” “Few of the white *Europeans* know the Names of these sundry towns and Villages [that Ziegenbalg has just mentioned, and is proud about knowing], which is the reason they frequently give them quite other names, according as their Fancy leads them.”<sup>22</sup> Ziegenbalg mentions this to suggest that he is a different kind of person. He knows the names of the towns that he goes to and feels that he does not recall the name of a town “just out of Fancy.” The point is that in his descriptions of much that he sees, he is defining himself by what he is *not*.

In the same context, Ziegenbalg penned an account of the various kinds of weather in Tarangambadi. “As for my self [in comparison to the other pale Europeans], the greater the Heat is, the better I enjoy my Health; it agreeing so well with my constitution, that I

seldom as yet felt any inconveniency by it: Nay I should find it rather somewhat strange, if I should happen to return to *Europe* again in a cold, and chilly Winter.”<sup>23</sup> The young Ziegenbalg (he was 24 years old in 1707) wants to show that though he was sick most of the time while he was in Europe, on the Tanjavur coast he was healthier than the other Europeans there.

When Ziegenbalg and his colleague Heinrich Pleutschau got to Tarangambadi they therefore found that they had problems articulating what they were. Over and over again they had to define themselves by exclusion. Though they had come with the presumption that their religion was morally superior to that of the local society, they were everywhere reminded that local people looked on them as hopelessly ignorant and unclean. For instance, in 1706, a few months after their arrival on the Tanjavur coast, Ziegenbalg wrote, “Truly, the *Malabarians* being a witty and sagacious people, will needs be managed with a great deal of Wisdom and Circumspection. Our School-Master argueth daily with us, and requireth good Reasons and Arguments for every thing, We hope to bring him over to the Christian Knowledge; but he is confident as yet, that one time or another, we shall all turn *Malabarians* and in this hope, he takes all the Pains Imaginable, to render things as plain and easie to us as possibly he can.”<sup>24</sup> In other words, the old school master always hoped that the two missionaries would totally abandon Christianity and migrate to another, more Tamil, point of view.

Some local individuals were much more direct in their criticism of the missionaries. In March 1714, one local person who appears to have been a local Tamil merchant stood up and said that the local residents thought of themselves as a very happy, understanding people. Their society was well regulated. They didn’t require anything that the body and soul needed. Therefore, they wondered why Europeans criticized their religion. Do we look like monsters? Don’t we have as much understanding as you do? The things manufactured here are greatly in demand by Europeans. What would move us to change our religion?<sup>25</sup>

Naturally, there was a grand pre-history to these remarks that needs a fuller articulation. Even before they had converted anybody, the missionaries had to contend with the behavior of the resident Europeans in the port-city of Tarangambadi. For instance, one day when Ziegenbalg went outside the boundaries of Tarangambadi to the north along the coast to a neighboring town named Anandamangalam, he started talking to a group of people who had surrounded him. This was in 1709 before his colleague Pleutschau had left and before his later colleague Ernest Greundler had arrived. On that occasion he spoke to the group about the necessity to settle one’s spiritual accounts with God daily, to eliminate any problem at the last judgement. One member of

the group then asked him “Do all the Blanks [Whites, Blanken] understand what you say? Do they all speak as you do? What is the Reason, that coming amongst us they are bent on nothing but on doing of Mischief; that having carouzed [caroused] it a while amongst us, and indulged themselves in excessive Drinking, they turn us out of our own Houses in their mad Pranks?” “Why can’t you tell them the same Things you tell us?”<sup>26</sup> “This Heathen nation is naturally inclined to Candour and Honesty towards those that are of the same Religion with them,” wrote Ziegenbalg in 1709,<sup>27</sup> but then they shew but little Regard to our *European* Christians, among whom they have for these *Hundred* and *Fifty* Years past, observed innumerable bad and disorderly Doings.”<sup>27</sup> Once, in 1707, when Ziegenbalg asked a group of listeners what they thought of the behavior of the European Christians, they would not answer until Ziegenbalg assured them that they would not be harmed for what they said. Then they said that, “they considered Christians to be a most stupid and ignorant people who never thought of God or of eternity.” When Ziegenbalg asked them how they could say that when the Christians had a church there in Tarangambadi where singing and preaching went on three times a week, where all the Europeans were present. His listeners replied that they certainly heard and saw “us.” But they “believed that the priests taught nothing in church but how to eat and drink, to game and ill-treat the Blacks.” Local individuals “did not understand the Danish language in which the service was conducted but seeing the actions of the congregation immediately after it, never doubted but these were the lessons they had learned.”<sup>28</sup> Again, some of Ziegenbalg’s listeners asked him why he could not say the same thing to the European Christians as he had said to the local people. Ziegenbalg replied, “They have the Word of God in their Hands: They hear us preach constantly on *Faith* and *Repentance*; but they proving disobedient to what they hear, make ineffectual the Word that is preached to them. For this Reason we are now come to you; if perhaps the Word may have a better Effect upon you than it hath upon them.”<sup>29</sup> Therefore, at the very beginning of his Tarangambadi experience Ziegenbalg wrote, “mistakes in our life as Christians are greater than what falseness we want to show them in theirs.” He also concluded that for anybody who sought to move among the local people it was critical that they live a “clean life.”<sup>30</sup>

### Behavior among local Christians

In fact, it was commonly believed that the Europeans themselves, and particularly Christianity, had introduced dishonesty, drinking, and immorality into a pristine, untouched native world.<sup>31</sup> Even before he got to India, Ziegenbalg “discovered” the local people he called the “Hottentots” as a foil to local Christian society at the

Cape of Good Hope. He wrote that the local Africans, “make us Christians ashamed in many Particulars. They are very kind to one another, and so communicative in their Love, that if one has something that is good, he shareth it among all the rest. They are content with very little, If you will give them a *Ducat* they will hardly take it, requiring only a *Groat*, by reason they don’t use to spend more in a Day; and they are Unconcerned for the Morrow. They are very ready to serve one; If one giveth ‘em a Groat, they will run as many Miles for it as you please. They are very faithful in things committed to their Care, and never pilfer the least Farthing from the Christians, tho’ they should see great Store of Money about them. They are not seized with the Plague of *Ambition*, *Covetousness*, and of *anxious Cares* for the Belly. Like our Christians in *Europe*.”<sup>32</sup> As soon as Ziegenbalg and Pleutschau arrived in Tarangambadi they discovered a variegated society that was characterized by openness and the possibility for personal fulfillment. But Tarangambadi was also a colonial port city partly based on the slave trade.

It is of interest that Ziegenbalg’s and Pleutschau’s earliest converts to Christianity were slaves that worked there. Moreover, much of the earliest concern of the missionaries was with what happened to the slaves once they had been converted to Lutheran Pietist Christianity. It goes without saying that much of the interaction with local society over conversion was with individuals in the lower reaches of that society. What made the question of behavior even more complicated for the missionaries was that they were part of this colonial society where meat was eaten and alcohol was consumed. Therefore, to establish moral superiority for themselves in this environment was extraordinarily difficult. More than anything else, the missionaries had to demonstrate that not only their form of religion, but the behavior that their religion engendered was superior to local religious and social manners.

Seen from this perspective, it was natural that missionary commentary about the “bad behavior” of local Christians litters the pages of the Hallesche *Berichte* or Halle missionary *Reports* and their personal correspondence. In addition, an important goal of both the “Malabarische Korrespondenz [Tamil Correspondence]” and the various “Conferences” that Ziegenbalg and Ernest Greundler set in motion was to learn exactly what were the feelings of local people toward local Christian demeanor. It is not, therefore, shocking to read that these inquiries and interchanges generated a vast array of comments from local people about what they felt was inappropriate in this conduct. Ziegenbalg noted that because these Christians lived in the charmed environment of a Danish colonial port they could not be criticized so readily. However, were the Christians to be in the adjoining kingdom of Tanjavur, they would be

very severely criticized and mistreated.<sup>33</sup> That Ziegenbalg had to confine his conversion goals to people within the villages and urban region of Tarangambadi was a given from the start of his Tanjavur experience. Despite his great desire to convert people from outside Tarangambadi in the Tanjavur kingdom, he apparently attempted this only once. Ziegenbalg reported that soon after he got to Tarangambadi, he made a trip beyond the border of the Tarangambadi territory. At the edge of the Tanjavur kingdom he changed his black clothes and put on local white garments with a turban on his head. He also wore a white *ankavastiram* with a red stripe over his shoulder. In the course of his travel some officials of the Tanjavur raja recognized him, and told him that it was too dangerous for him to travel beyond the Tarangambadi borders. As a result he came back late that night, but concluded that it was not possible to travel in the Tanjavur kingdom without the permission of the raja.<sup>34</sup> It was clear both from this episode and others that Ziegenbalg wanted to be free of the constraints of the colonial environment that Tarangambadi presented. He also admitted that he found working with local Christians far easier than with resident Europeans. Moreover, he felt that the Christians in Europe could learn from the behavior of ordinary people on the Tanjavur coast.<sup>35</sup>

Naturally, the local people found both resident European and local Christian behavior intolerable. Christians (Europeans and locals) ate beef, used the left hand to eat after they had defecated, and used alcoholic drink.<sup>36</sup> One commentator, Alleppa, possibly the author of many of the responses to the missionary inquiry that came to make up the “Malabarische Korrespondenz,” wrote that Christians, “perform very few good works, give very few alms, have no penitences, willingly accept presents, drink strong drinks, illtreat animals and use them for food, care very little about bodily cleanliness, look down upon all others as inferiors and are very avacious, proud and passionate, Indeed, our Brahmans say that the white people are descended from the giants, that they do not know the difference between good and evil but sin continuously.”<sup>37</sup>

As a matter of fact, the kind of discipline that Ziegenbalg was seeking to articulate to his Tamil listeners was not akin to the “penances” in a society that sought to torture the body. On one occasion when Ziegenbalg was speaking about the need for people to become penitent, a brahman said that among “You Christians” no one had ever seen anybody who was penitent. He then gave lots of examples of local “penitents” who engaged in a variety of self-torturing behaviors. Ziegenbalg said this only showed that these atonements were not the will of god but were the will of man. He said that until they changed their behavior and heart none of the penances would mean anything. He

also said that Christians did not undertake any unusual penance or ways of life.<sup>38</sup> The point here is that Ziegenbalg's idea of penance had more to do with a decision to change one's will and thinking rather than torment one's own body. A part of his thinking also implied the operation of capillary knowledges that did not honor the sovereign but expected each person to work for the development of a society on a microphysical basis.

Other movements occurred at the microphysical level to incite people to learn how to take care of their bodies to prepare them for a long and productive life. It was, therefore, during this same period that another equally important religious discipline that honored a group of saints called siddhars and that was popular among many men, acquired a following. The siddha system was a (right hand) tantric set of beliefs that was articulated by a series of individual saints many of whom wrote poems in the Tamil of ordinary people. Unlike the religio-political system described by David Shulman or by Susan Bayly, the siddha system oriented itself toward the microphysical needs of individuals. Interactions between locals and missionaries were part of a general movement to bring these knowledges into discourse. Siddha belief and practice was not based on scripture and was very hostile to the kinds of brahmanic religion articulated by texts called the Puranas. Siddha practitioners believed that to attain *moksha* or *mukti* (Tamil for "salvation" or "release") it was necessary to have a healthy and strong body. According to Kamil Zvelebil, siddhas sought to suppress *bhakti* and were typified by anti-ritualism and anti-ceremonialism. There was also a stress on ethical principles and a quest for knowledge. It was quintessentially a socially radical movement. A critical part of siddha thinking was the need to pay great attention to one's body in order to make it strong and resistant to disease. Medicine and alchemy were accordingly critical parts of siddha preoccupation. Siddhas emphasized moral behavior and right conduct. According to them the worst sins were anger, lust, and egoism.<sup>39</sup> Among the ranks of siddha practitioners were two Muslim saints. K. Kailasapathy considers that the siddha system and the Sufism that these Muslim saints represented "were responding to numerous varieties of local cultures in Tamil Nadu and taking up similar stances."<sup>40</sup> Therefore, siddhars were more concerned with the microphysical individual body and individual subjectivity than with temple religion and kingly juridical power. They were interested in both the care of the self and in ways to develop a civil society that argued the importance of having a strong and healthy body as technologies of the self not from the top-down but from below.

We know, for instance, that many individuals contested siddha systems of discipline and health in a large variety of contexts ever since the twelfth century. Moreover, even though siddhars attacked *bhakti* devo

tees, Padma Kaimal shows that it is possible to see a strong continuity between the divine and human body in *bhakti* portraiture as well. In her thinking, "divine images and human portraits may represent linked points along a continuum rather than a starkly contrasting opposition."<sup>41</sup> Kaimal concludes that in the various areas on which she worked

the concept of the Self was integrally linked to the physical body, which in turn integrated all aspects of the devotee: emotions, spirituality, thought, ecstasy, and the peculiar marks of individuality. As the Self was fully integrated, so were the devotee and the lord perceived as joined by continuities. Through its physical idiosyncrasies and through communicative gesture, the body served as a bond rather than an obstacle to union with the perfect divine body.<sup>42</sup>

These struggles over the function of the body helped to create silences at the same time as they widened the currency of those knowledges themselves.

For Foucault, this "technological" enterprise involves several discrete activities. "Each person has the duty to know who [s]he is, that is, to try to know what is happening inside him [or her], to acknowledge faults, to recognize temptations, to locate desires; and everyone is obliged to disclose these things either to God or to others in the community and, hence, to bear public witness against oneself."<sup>43</sup>

At the same time, local siddhar thinking and practice was already oriented to the operation of these kinds of decentered capillary knowledges. Still, the care of the self implicit in the siddhar system had to be significantly altered in order to function effectively for a moral subject. But at the same time, siddhar emphasis on care of the body and not *torture* of the body to please Civam gave it more of a kinship to modern ideas of care of the self as a personal discipline that was bound to lead to a productive and long life

### **The Tamil Land and Tamil Culture as a Local Site**

As soon as Ziegenbalg started studying Tamil and Tamil culture he was immediately struck by a large number of similarities between what he was studying and the kind of religious, social, and political phenomena to which he was accustomed in Europe. In many ways he was learning to localize his approach. By localize I mean a process by which he made Christianity appropriate to local Tamil usage. Likewise, as soon as he could articulate his localizing ideas in Tamil, he found that people to whom he spoke were seeking to relate what he said to their own cultural repertoires. Local responses suggested quite clearly that his verbalizing quickly evoked ideas and notions that seemed to have deep and formidable resonances in local culture. It seems clear that what Ziegenbalg was evoking were a

large series of subjugated knowledges that bubbled up everywhere because they were now being used for new purposes to create a society from below. By thinking and studying in this way he was formulating a way that was also later adopted by the Hindu reformer Raja Ram Mohan Roy when he went to England.<sup>44</sup>

What Ziegenbalg said invoked this process of participation in knowledge production that had a history of struggle within Tamil society. Tamil society had for many hundreds of years been the site where conflicts arose about Jainism, Saivism, and many other religious systems. This conforms to Foucault's observation that these subjugated knowledges have "historical contents that have been buried and disguised." They are "a whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified [in the past] as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naïve knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity."<sup>45</sup> Foucault's formulations point to a long historical process where knowledges compete to find a place in scientific or erudite knowledge in society. Norbert Elias also argues that these subjugated knowledges only find their place in the society when they seem to reflect common everyday requirements.<sup>46</sup> Ziegenbalg's strategies in seeking to get the local people to change their lives required that he use words and phrases out of Tamil literature with which his hearers were more familiar than even he was. Since he wanted to see things from the inside, and his audiences understood this, his adoption of these Tamil words and phrases provoked a mutiny of subjugated knowledges that overtook and turned back on Ziegenbalg's own intentions.

Faced as he was by a European population (including some of the missionaries<sup>47</sup>) who broke all the local rules of cleanliness and proper decorum, Ziegenbalg spent more and more time learning Tamil, the language of most local people. In the same way as the "Hottentot" language that Ziegenbalg felt was "very uncouth, and a sort of Gibberish, which no Body can learn,"<sup>48</sup> most "Christians in Europe consider that the Tamil heathen are a very barbaric people who know nothing either in the matter of learning or moral usage. This is a result of the fact that Tamil is unknown." Ziegenbalg also admits to the fact that when he first got to Tarangambadi he could not imagine that Tamil was a completely regular language. As a result, he had many false conceptions about what the Tamils did, believing that they had "no civil or moral law." But as soon as he had been learning Tamil for even a short time and could speak with each and every one of them he was "gradually freed from this presumption." By this mechanism he felt that he could entertain better notions about Tamil and Tamil culture. As a result he came to the conclusion that Tamil books could be read and that among the Tamils precise philosophical disciplines were set forth somewhat like

what would be sought after by the learned in Europe.<sup>49</sup> "Though they are in great error and thick darkness," he wrote,

both with regard to their lives and teaching, yet I must declare that my conversations with them have often led me to deeper consideration of many subjects, and that both in theology and in philosophy I have learned much of which neither I nor other students had thought before. I remember that many learned people in Europe have written on the manner in which the heathen ought to be converted, but there was no difficulty in this, as there was no one but themselves to contradict them. If these men were to come here, they would find that for one reason, which they brought forward, the heathen would have ten to oppose them. It requires great wisdom to converse with such people, and to bring them to a conviction that their heathenism is false and our Christianity true. Neither Logic, nor Metaphysics, but God alone can give this wisdom.<sup>50</sup>

It is therefore clear that the more he studied Tamil and Tamil behavior the more the vaunted Western moral and intellectual superiority tended to collapse.

By the end of 1708 he and his Tamil teachers had read a total of 119 Tamil texts, all on palm leaf manuscripts, all the words joined together without any spaces between them and all without any punctuation. These Tamil teachers were either "the old teacher," who was always trying to make Ziegenbalg into a Malabarian<sup>51</sup> or the Company dubash known either as Allepa[n] or as Arumugam. In many ways, despite the fact that Ziegenbalg mentions Allepan very infrequently in his correspondence,<sup>52</sup> Allepan's function for both Ziegenbalg, and later Ernest Greundler, seems to have been similar in many ways to the role that Shankarayya played with Francis Whyte Ellis in the discovery of Tamil and Dravidian.<sup>53</sup> Allepan not only helped to teach Ziegenbalg and Greundler Tamil but also was the author of many of the letters written to the missionaries in the "Malabarische Korrespondenz." This teaching and authorship of "native letters" helped to communicate knowledges about local society. Allepan was historically placed to perform a series of critical historical functions at the given moment when Ziegenbalg and Greundler were in Tarangambadi. Both for the "old teacher" and Allepan the historical forces around them made them into individuals who articulated these enabling and coercive knowledges.

### Conversion as Care of the Self - I

One definition that Ziegenbalg gave for the moral subject was the person who was transformed from within, whose goal was to seek salvation. He gave this definition to a series of individuals who were doing

penance. He said, “If you have any hopes for salvation you must let yourself be placed by God in a position in which you will have the strength to avoid evil and do good.”<sup>54</sup> As part of the same discussion with some individuals who were doing penance, he said, “you need to avoid sins and be able to do good. In this way a complete transformation will take place within you and you will become an entirely different person in heart, mind, disposition [Gemüth], understanding, will and all the powers of the soul, so that everyone will be able to see, from your external behavior, that a spiritual change has taken place within you.”<sup>55</sup>

Some of the people who were with him in this discussion replied,

That is all very well, that you are concerned about us, and we can tell that you want to convert us to your Christian religion, but we have heard since we were little that no religion is worse than the Christian. It is true that we have never heard or read anything substantial in our language about your religion, but we can tell by the way Christians live that their religion is not good. And if only those make it to heaven (are those) who stick to the straight and narrow path that you have described, then not very many of you Christians will attain salvation. Every day we see things with our own eyes that are disgusting to us; surely God will be even more disgusted by such things. But please do not lose your temper when we tell you what we think.<sup>56</sup>

In fact, Ziegenbalg was well known for not losing his temper.

Ziegenbalg said that his hearers were making their decision on the basis of seeing how these Christians lived, not on the basis of Christian laws. These were Christians in name only and not in deed. Ziegenbalg asked the local people to look at their own lives and see whether he was a good example on the basis of the “word of God.” These local listeners told Ziegenbalg that they had been informed that it was, in fact, only possible to attain salvation by refusing to adopt any belief at all, not to go to the temple nor perform any external ceremonies, but instead remain above all religions and to “honor the being of all beings.” Ziegenbalg agreed that both TiruvaLLuvar and Shiva Paakkiam [Civavaakkiam] had written well about “the foolishness of your idolatry, your dirty rituals in the temples, a contempt for all things, striving for a virtuous way of life, and the internal and external composition of white people.”

What was even stronger than a revulsion against white behavior was the feeling that the present was a time of great moral uncertainty. In many of these “Conferences,” for instance, Ziegenbalg reported that his listeners often claimed that the world was turned upside down. In December of 1707 Ziegenbalg related a dis-

ussion with some people who said that “everything is confused,” and they didn’t know what to do. Ziegenbalg urged them to free themselves from this bewilderment. He felt that they should not use the “sorry state of the world” as a way not to do something about its whims.<sup>57</sup> For him, the project to become a good moral subject was more urgent. Again, in early 1708, Ziegenbalg recounted an incident where he was visited by a number of Muslims from the neighboring Tamil port-town of Negapatam. One of these Muslims was a “holy man” or “priest.” It is clear in this and many other contexts that Ziegenbalg looked upon his work as a mutual activity that involved everyone in his particular universe. What is even more striking is that people heard about or found out about it and went to see him with a similar intent. One Muslim holy man recounted that there was impiousness among not only Christians, but also among Muslims and what we would later call “Hindus.” Ziegenbalg replied that since both he and the Muslim were “priests” shouldn’t they somehow try to see how they could restore the situation? Yes, replied the Muslim, but how can we do this in such disadvantageous circumstances? Ziegenbalg said that the first priority was to bring order into one’s own life. We have to commit our bodies and souls to God, he said. If we begin by improving ourselves God will show us a way out of the corruption of the present. Next, the Muslim “priest” looked at Ziegenbalg and said that he had not wished to believe what he had heard about Ziegenbalg until that moment. However, now that he saw and heard him he was astounded to hear a Christian speak in this manner.<sup>58</sup> Again, at the end of July 1708, while Ziegenbalg was visiting a rest house or *chattiram* for travelers on his way back from a trip to a Dutch seaport called Negapatam, he had several more discussions with people about what they considered to be the sad state of the times. When he was there an old man stood up and said that it was the *Kaliyugam*, the fourth stage of the world, when everything was confused and full of imperfections. According to Ziegenbalg, the old man said that there were so many different opinions about the nature of God and the names of God, a person did not know what to choose. When this period had passed, things would be again put right, all the people of the world would agree about these things.<sup>59</sup> In 1714 Ziegenbalg said that he was amazed to see that among Muslims there was a prophesy that there would be a great alteration in religious affairs and that they would be visited by men to undertake this change. The old “Hindu” schoolmaster said that the “Hindus” also had prophecies to the same purpose as the Muslims, “who have made great alteration in these Countries of late Years, In matters of Religion.”<sup>60</sup> Wherever Ziegenbalg turned among the local population he was confronted by the feeling that the whole world was in turmoil.



In this “time of troubles,” Ziegenbalg was particularly preoccupied in trying to discover the “fundamentals” of Tamil culture. One of the ways he undertook this project was by looking at Tamil aphoristic literature, akin to the work of C.P. Brown and M.W. Carr for Telugu. Brown’s interest in Veemana was also in the “rejection of brahmanical privilege and hierarchy, ritual, and emphasis instead on cultivating the moral person in the body—even to the point that there’s a strong alchemical component.”<sup>61</sup> One aspect of Ziegenbalg’s efforts found fruit in the translation of three works of Tamil “wise sayings” or “Tamil-Spruchweisheit.”<sup>62</sup> These three were included in a work called “Malabarische Sittenlehre, Kondei Wenden: oder, Malabarische Moralia, Ulaga Nidi: oder, Weltliche Gerechtigkeit.”<sup>63</sup> Kamil Zvelebil contends that this was probably the earliest translation from Tamil into a non-Indian language. Ziegenbalg’s principal interest lay in understanding the relation between texts and behavior in Tamil society. In his account of “Ulaka Niiti” or civil law, Ziegenbalg wrote that he had translated it into German

just to find out what kind of morality exists amongst such heathens. It is the first book the school children study, yet all those rules are never properly explained to them. Whenever I visit a school and ask some youngsters what certain things mean they are always unable to give me a satisfactory answer. The same happens in the case of other books dealing with ethics, they are learnt by heart but without proper understanding; just as we Christians often learn the Catechism by heart without understanding it.<sup>64</sup>

Ziegenbalg used his interest in this kind of literature to try to understand the weakness of his conversion appeal to Tamils. He noted, for instance, that another “morality book” “Muuturai” by Auvaiyaar,

shows that even after the wretched fall of man those heathens had the Law written in their hearts. This fact manifests itself again and again in their literature, and I can truly say that I have found a much higher level of morality in their books and in their speech than was common among the Greek and Roman heathens. Therefore, if one leads a pious and virtuous life amongst them, they are in full agreement with us Christians and they love those who have devoted themselves to virtue; but if one tells them about Christ, the importance of baptism, and other things necessary for the attainment of bliss, they will not argue but at the same time they will refuse to accept one’s word, saying that a man who leads a good life will reach a good place after his death, one who leads an evil life will find himself in an evil place of residence whether he was a heathen, a Turk, a Jew, or a Christian.<sup>65</sup>

Ziegenbalg was also the author of the first connected account of Tamil literature.<sup>66</sup> In addition, he wrote two

works on what we would today call “Hinduism.” One of them, *Genealogie der Malabarischen Goetter*, did not get a good reception back in Halle by August Hermann Francke, who felt that Ziegenbalg should have been spending his time converting the “heathen” instead of writing about their religion. It was worked over by many hands and was first published in Berlin in a mutilated version in 1791 and later fully in 1861.<sup>67</sup> Ziegenbalg also wrote another work called *Malabarisches Heidenthum* that he composed to correct some of the things he had written in the *Genealogie. Malabarisches Heidenthum*, unlike the *Genealogie*, was hardly touched by his successors in Germany, but also was not published until 1926.<sup>68</sup>

Two authors who seemed to be “fundamental” to Tamil culture and who at the same time argued the need for a moral life were TiruvaLLuvar and Civavaakiyar. In commenting on the work of Civavaakiyar, a fourteenth century Tamil siddhar poet, Ziegenbalg wrote that, “he did not believe in any religion but only in leading a virtuous life.” At present the author [Shiva Paakiyam or Civavaakiyar], wrote Ziegenbalg, “had many devotees in the Tamil country.” These followers only read the author’s books and “pay no attention to the ceremonies performed in the temples in honour of the gods.” Ziegenbalg said that

I had many discussions with them; usually they agree with my idea of virtue [Ziegenbalg’s notion of moral behavior] but just as they do not want to take note of their own gods and the different aspects of their own faith, in the same way they are also not interested to hear about Christ and the attitude of the Christian religion. I have met such people amongst the Moors... too. They lead a very restricted life and talk only about virtues.<sup>69</sup>

Ziegenbalg’s testimony as to the popularity of Civavaakiyar’s work and thinking among all religious groups is enhanced by his statement that, “Parts of the Schiva paikkiyam [Civavaakiyar] are frequently found amongst the Malabaris [Tamils] and, since the disciples of the author know that their teacher’s name is well respected by all Malabaris, they often compose such ethical works and bring them out under his name; this happens in Europe too.”<sup>70</sup> Civavaakiyar’s popularity at Ziegenbalg’s time was a product of the operation of knowledges that were being taken up again in order to perform new historical tasks. One of these projects was to enhance an individual’s subjectivity.

Ziegenbalg’s experience shows that Civavaakiyar’s ideas and words were part of a long historical struggle in which many contemporary devotees composed verses in his style and attributed them to Civavaakiyar. This also suggests that Civavaakiyar’s ideas and words seem to have found a resonance in contemporary society as what Foucault calls an “insurrection of subjugated knowledges.”<sup>71</sup>

## Conversion as Care of the Self - II

The missionaries and their respondents spoke a great deal about the relation between political-juridical power or kinds of knowledge that we can call the technology of power and domination, and their other interest, which was in learning how to govern the self—conversion—or the technology of the self. This technology of “domination,” says Foucault, “determines the conduct of individuals and submit[s] them to certain ends or domination, and objectivizing of the subject.”<sup>72</sup> According to Foucault, the technology of the self, “permits individuals to effect by their own means, or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves, in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immortality.”<sup>73</sup> In effect, in Tarangambadi Ziegenbalg and those he worked with—Allepan, the old school teacher, women, the people in the crowds, brahmans, Muslims, and children—were preoccupied with the elements that made up the striving to be a moral subject, with the interface between the technology of the self and the technology of domination, with subjectivity.

These technologies of the self were a critical part of becoming a moral subject.<sup>74</sup> Ziegenbalg said that true conversion consisted in a changing of the will, so that one was not so willful and listened better without getting angry. This was so that one became more devoted to the deity. In one way he was speaking about the general project of the pietistic relationship of *Leib* and *Seele*—body and soul—so that one could learn how to live an orderly life as a moral subject. According to Ziegenbalg, this “conversion process,” whereby one changed oneself, could not be undertaken by oneself alone. One needed the help of the deity. Ziegenbalg was reacting to several of his hearers who believed that they could enter upon the project of becoming a moral subject without becoming a Christian. There are several places in his book *Malabarisches Heidenthum* [Tamil Heathenism] of 1711 where he feels that the local “natural” religious behavior puts Christian comportment to shame. In 1709 he wrote that, “many Christians ... could learn from them [local people].”<sup>75</sup> In Ziegenbalg’s view, this “natural” moral behavior is based in large part on the ideas of the Tamil yogis or Tamil siddhars.

Once Ziegenbalg had discovered Civavaakiyar it was thereafter clear that the Tamil siddhars were engaged in a holistic project that had a number of similarities to the pietistic one that Ziegenbalg and the other missionaries “brought with them.” One physician who articulated holistic ideas about the unity of *Leib* (body) and *Seele* (soul) was Christian Friedrich Richter (d. 1711). Rich-

ter’s most important work was called *Kurtzer und deutlicher Unterricht von dem Leibe und Nateurlichen Leben des Menschen* [A Short and Clear Lesson about the Body and the “Natural” Life of Man] that appeared in Halle in 1705.<sup>76</sup> Richter provided Pietists from Halle with conception of “nateurlichen Leben.” Correspondingly, it had an important technical significance for the missionaries as well. Richter wrote that just as when two things unite they produce a new thing, likewise when the body (*Leib*) and soul (*Seele*) unite they produce a new entity called the *nateurliches Leben*, which, because it has different characteristics, is called one’s nature.<sup>77</sup> It was in part this technical meaning of the “nateurliches Leben” that informed Ziegenbalg’s analysis of Tamil society and religion. Ziegenbalg and the other Pietists thought that their holistic insight into the relation of *Leib* and *Seele* was their exclusive preserve. It was also informed by the notion of “natural religion” that people like the Tamils were thought to have as a matter of definition. They would have innate knowledge of morality and a monotheistic god innately.<sup>78</sup> Therefore, the more Ziegenbalg read Civavaakiyar and other Tamil works like Auvaiyaar’s *Muutturai* the more he believed that Tamil “nateurlich” behavior, the joining of the body and the soul, was a function, at least in part, of this on-going Tamil micro-physical project.<sup>79</sup> Arguing that the siddhars appeal to their listeners not to undertake disciplines, ceremonies, and bathe themselves in water as a way to rid themselves from sin, he says instead that they emphasize the need to be silent. They stress steadfastness, holiness, and vigilance. They want people to be composed and calm.<sup>80</sup>

Ziegenbalg goes on to connect this orientation of the siddhars to a general tendency in the population to act in charitable ways in giving alms. He says that people seek not only to remove their sins but also act so as to reach salvation with certainty. Therefore, he said, one finds houses in every street and in all towns and cities where travelers rest and where strangers can live. People also provide water there for people to drink, an act that in India is considered an act of charity. He also notes that the few ordinary people one sees begging are those who are lame or blind or poor.<sup>81</sup>

For the siddhars and for Civavaakiyar in particular the physical body was not the site of decay but was something to protect and enhance. Kamil Zvelebil has written that, “The body is no longer a source of pain and temptation, but the most reliable and effective instrument of man is his quest to conquer death and bondage [for the siddhars]. Since liberation can be gained even in this life, the body must be preserved as long as possible, and in perfect condition.”<sup>82</sup> Zvelebil also cites the *Tirumantiram*, by another siddhar named Tirumuular, (late sixth to early seventh century). Tirumuular writes, “Mistakenly I had believed the body to be imperfect / But within it I realized Ultimately Reality.” “Those who

let the body decay, destroy the spirit; /they will not attain the true, powerful knowledge, / I have learned the art of how to foster the body;/ I fostered the body, and I fostered the soul” (v. 725).<sup>83</sup> Civavaakiyar also believed in the great importance of a person’s physical body. He wrote, “This simple body is the place where the Lord lives” (v. 272). Accordingly, therefore, the aim of *yoga saatanaa* is *kaayasitti* or the perfection of the body. Every siddhar was a “spiritual alchemist” par excellence and the goal of *yoga saatanaa* is *kaayasitti*, which means the cultivation of the body or “transformation of the body into immortal essence.”<sup>84</sup>

Moreover, worshipping through the traditional religious texts had no value whatsoever for siddhars. More important was to have Sivam or Civam (not Civan) within you. He wrote, “When the time of death approaches, will the Vedas help? / It’s enough to know god even for a second, and keep Civam inside you. / Then what kind of sickness can affect the body?” (v.13). It is K. Kailasapathy’s contention that the siddhas did not worship the personal god Sivan, but the abstract quality Sivam, which means “goodness” or “auspiciousness” and the highest state of god.<sup>85</sup> At one point, Civavaakiyar wrote that, “The quality of Civam is the Lord and me together” (v. 291).

What a siddhar sought was to bring Civam inside one, a little like lightning. In the same way as when “lightning develops, spreads and recedes, just like Civam who stays inside me, and comes back to me” (v. 124). What was indeed central to siddhar thinking was the necessity not to bathe in “sacred” tanks and visit “sacred” temples, but to have Civam within you. This is how Civavaakiyar said it: “You brahmans make the recitation of the Shaastirams sound like the law/ when the time of death approaches, will the Vedas help? / It’s enough to know Civam even for a second, and keep it inside you/ Then what kind of sickness can affect the body? /Then you will get power, knowledge and moksha [mukti]” (v. 13). In another verse he wrote, “Oh dumb people who wander and run around the town, the land and the forest, suffering/ The highest of the highest is spread everywhere in the earth and the sky/ Know that the highest, is directly within you, remain with that feeling!” (v. 28). “Oh poor people who seek to bathe yourself in the sacred waters/Where is the place where the sacred waters are, .../After it is clear to you that the sacred waters are within you/ Then the sacred five syllables are the sacred waters itself, there is nothing more”(v. 64).<sup>86</sup> Moreover, “Civam is indeed inside and you and you yourself can know and feel him” (v. 306).

Therefore, the goal is not frenetic religious activity outside yourself but rather inner stillness. Civavaakiyar wrote, “After Sivam enters my heart and makes it a temple/ I don’t open my mouth before the people of the world (I am still)” (v. 32). Aside from learning how

to remain serene siddhars believed that moral behavior and right conduct were very important. By far the worst sins are anger, lust, and egoism. According to Zvelebil, there is only one way to attain salvation and that is through adequate knowledge. In siddhar thinking knowledge consists in knowing the self. This is attained through practice and direct experiment, which can only be undertaken with the help of a guru.<sup>87</sup> However, the siddhar system was not really meant for women. In fact, siddhas were of the opinion that women were to be considered the most determined enemies of reform.<sup>88</sup>

Though women were offered various ways they could discipline their bodies in the Tamil religious system (such as remaining chaste as a way to protect their husbands in the reproductive world) women did not have access to *mukti* or salvation. For a very few women the discipline of being a *devadasi* or dancing girl associated with a temple allowed them to undertake a course of training to become dancers. According to the autobiographical *prabandamu Raadbhika, Saantvanamu*, the author Muddu PaLani, writes in Tanjavur in the 1760s that a *devadasi*, besides learning the *Bhaarata NaTTiyam Shaastra*, would learn how to sing Telugu *deeshiya raagas*, how to play various stringed instruments, how to show the various moods in dancing, how to read poems, and how to compose them.<sup>89</sup> Muddu PaLani reports that not only was she a devotee of Rama but made donations liberally to pandits and scholars. Literary works were also dedicated to her. Her artistic associates praised her.<sup>90</sup> In the words of an early eighteenth century translator, Ziegenbalg wrote, “ Many of these girls [*devadasis*] are of good Parts, and quick of Apprehension.”<sup>91</sup>

But Ziegenbalg was greatly disturbed by the fact that *devadasis* were also seen as prostitutes. On one occasion, Ziegenbalg publicly denounced the life of the *devadasi* as one of great immorality even though he admitted that they were persons of great competence and learning.<sup>92</sup> It is clear, however, that Ziegenbalg was nevertheless anxious to encourage the women he met and the girls he was educating to a greater subjectivity. Ziegenbalg wanted to create a structure that incited women to speak. One of those mechanisms was his charity schools. Another was the chance to ask him questions when he spoke and to comment on what he said. In his commentary on the Tamil books, which he read to understand “the fundamentals of Tamil culture,” Ziegenbalg mentions the *Bhaarata NaTTiyam Shaastra*, which was learned by the *devadasis*.<sup>93</sup> Among Tamil women, he wrote, the *devadasis* “alone know how to read and write the Malabari language, for usually one does not find women competent in this art except perhaps royal or noble personages.” Still, in the same breath he continues, “I have started a Malabari [Tamil] [charity]school in my house which has more girls than boys, and I am quite confident the girls will be able to hold their own in

front of the boys.”<sup>94</sup>

It is striking that Ziegenbalg was confronted over and over again by questions from women in the audience. Many of the interactions suggest that they considered him to be a siddhar adept. One day (27 July 1708) when Ziegenbalg was on his way back to Tarangambadi from Negapatam, he stopped at a *chattiram*, a rest house for travelers. On that occasion, one woman said to him that even in his last birth Ziegenbalg was a person of great understanding. Ziegenbalg said that he was born only once and that to think of repeated births was a way to delay changing your life by repenting. Another woman said that Ziegenbalg would never die and that he would live forever. Ziegenbalg said that this was wrong and that the only way a person could live forever was by becoming a part of the mystical body of Christ.<sup>95</sup> Like wise, according to siddhar thinking, an adept could remember his previous life.<sup>96</sup> Moreover, siddhars used a system of breath control to attain immortality.<sup>97</sup> Siddhars also spent effort on their bodies to make them mature.<sup>98</sup> Ziegenbalg’s personal qualities also came under discussion in a number of different contexts, not all of them favorable to him. Some of the people who listened to Ziegenbalg found him and what he was trying to say rather overbearing. On one occasion, he told them that God was not responsible for sin and corruption but that each person was chargeable for changing this. Secondly, though it was true that some persons in Tamil society led estimable lives and were holy, it was up to them and not to those other people to change themselves. One hearer on this occasion said, “We accept such teaching with gratitude and are eager to hear more, but you should let us speak more, and insure us that you will not get angry if we object to something you say.”

Ziegenbalg then said, “I said: you can tell me at any time what you object to and I promise not to get angry but instead to let it serve as a reminder. For just as I would like you to retain the things I tell you which your conscience convinces you are true, so I see myself bound in the same way to listen patiently to your objections to my teachings.”<sup>99</sup>

In March 1714 a merchant told Ziegenbalg that the country did not need the values and practices of the West. At the end of the session the same merchant said, “I heartily beg Pardon for my contradicting you so violently: For I did it to no other end, but to see if I could once put you into a Fit of Anger; for many told me, that you were never seen to be in a Passion in any Publick Dispute.” Ziegenbalg said that doctors never quarrel with their patients because their job is to cure the sicknesses of the body “with Gentleness and Sweetness of Behaviour; and ‘tis mine to cure the Diseases of the Soul with all Long-suffering and patience.”<sup>100</sup>

Ziegenbalg’s interactions with local people indicate that he was both criticized and appreciated in a variety

of contexts. It was a process in which what he was doing, his gestures, and what he said were continually being fitted into a series of subjugated knowledges that were newly becoming available and locally being used for new projects. What is important is that Ziegenbalg’s participation and orientation in these local projects was coincidentally entirely appropriate to the kind of Tamil social system that he himself had formulated; one in which personal decision and choice was critical to the care of the soul, to the growth of subjectivity.

Foucault says that, “The individual is not to be conceived as a sort of elementary nucleus, a primitive atom, a multiple and inert material on which power comes to fasten or against which it happens to strike, and in so doing subdues or crushes individuals. In fact, it is already one of the prime effects of power that certain bodies, certain gestures, certain discourses, certain desires, come to be identified and constituted as individuals.”<sup>101</sup>

What is clear is that Ziegenbalg came to be constituted as such an individual in early eighteenth century south India. His function was to take a historic role in Tarangambadi with specific gestures, behaviors, and discourses. This role was to get the local Tamils to look at themselves, to take care of themselves. This was the hermeneutic project. At the same time, his function was to be the focus of local questions about Western moral superiority. On one occasion Ziegenbalg was quoting a variety of Tamil religious works verbatim to convince his listeners that present Tamil society was religiously corrupt and degenerate. A listener to Ziegenbalg’s discussion, a man, said that what he saw of Ziegenbalg’s behavior showed clearly that his words were good but his actions, like those of the Tamils themselves, were bad. The point is that Ziegenbalg’s adoption of Tamil words, phrases, and authors to convert them convinced local Tamils that they could see themselves and their projects in the gestures, actions, and discourse of Ziegenbalg. But his gestures and behavior also enabled the local Tamils to tell Ziegenbalg about himself. Ziegenbalg and the local people were often mirrors of what they were trying to evoke in each other. But by being a European who adopted Tamil gestures, words, and books he exemplified for local people what Europeans could be like.<sup>102</sup> At the same time, the kinds of interaction that this episode represents occurred in hundreds of other contexts and individuals as well.

### Further Incitements to Discourse, Decentering the Project

In 1719 Ziegenbalg died. In 1720 his colleague Ernest Greundler also died. In the years that followed the missionaries and local people largely withdrew from each other. One historian of the Tarangambadi Mission recounts that, “If the Tranquebar Mission has been

changed in our time into a mere school-institution, one cannot say but that the first Missionaries contributed to it, as they raised school-teaching to an undue eminence, and the free publication and preaching of the word seem to have fallen more and more into the shade."<sup>103</sup> In 1733, for instance some missionaries mentioned that their main dealings were with farmers (otherwise known as Paraiyar or Dalit) and towns people. With these people it was impossible, said the missionaries, to have a discourse (the word which they used in the *Hallesche Berichte*) with them on godly matters. And it was only when these people realized that the missionaries sought to be forthright with them (*dass mann treu mit ihnen meynet*) that they make an attempt to have a discussion or ask a question).<sup>104</sup> In this connection they called the brahmans "'babblers and debaters'" (*Schwaetzer und Disputirer*). Generally, they said, they found the exercise of having discussions in the open not useful since they found people who did not want what the missionaries offered. As a result the missionaries passed their homes by so that they did not "cast pearls before swine and have them trodden underfoot."<sup>105</sup> We cannot in any way say that dialogic productions came to an end. Rather there is much more evidence, in fact, that these discursive structures became more widely dispersed.

We know, for instance, that many individuals, but particularly the *paiTaarams* (priests who were not brahmans) deliberately sought out and purchased the palm leaf manuscripts of Civavaakiyar and systematically destroyed them. One German author in 1919 reported that "the works of the Siddhars [are] systematically distorted and destroyed by Saivite zealots, particularly the pandarams," because these writings spoke out so stridently against the religion that the *pandarams* believed in.<sup>106</sup> Another report from the middle of the nineteenth century, W. Taylor's *A Catalogue Raisonné of Oriental Manuscripts*, states that "the ascetics (Pandarams) of the Saiva class seek after copies of this power [i.e. Civavaakiyar's PaaTal] with avidity and uniformly destroy every copy they find, It is in consequence rather scarce and chiefly preserved by native Christians."<sup>107</sup> It is therefore clear that far from this "repression" eliminating knowledges, its effect was both to administer silences but also greatly to broaden and enhance knowledges about the discussion of Civavaakiyar's writing and that of the other siddhars both in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Silences, after all, are not the limit of discourse but rather "an element that functions alongside the things said, with them and in relation to them within over-all strategies."<sup>108</sup> It is as a result of the conflicts that preceded and followed Ziegenbalg in Tarangambadi that these subjugated knowledges about the moral function of the microphysical body were brought into discourse, not only from siddhar sources but from a large variety of other sources as well. These incitements rep-

resented the intensification of the operation of local, capillary knowledges in thousands of different contexts.

In the nineteenth century, another siddhar named Ramalingaswami (d. 1874) became even more popular for many of the same ideas that Civavaakiyar was famous for. Like the siddhar Civavaakiyar, Ramalingaswami also scorned traditional religious "brahmanical" texts. He contended that these texts articulated a hierarchical social system where individuals were assigned positions, which he considered to be unjust. In much the same way as Civavaakiyar had also argued, Ramalingaswami presented a utopian notion of egalitarian society where Civan or Sivan "dances so that caste, religion, principles and other doctrinal differences may all disappear." Ramalingaswami was also famous for his interest in the need to take care of the body and the need to be compassionate to poor people who often suffered badly from starvation. In sum, like Civavaakiyar, Ramalingaswami presented ideas from below to encourage people to take care of their bodies and be compassionate to the weak.<sup>109</sup> In a sense he was both encouraging the development of a society but was also providing a model to the state from below, so that it could adopt projects that the society itself had begun to adopt and formulate for itself. Here again, Ramalingaswami's suggestions and formulations were articulations of many subjugated knowledges that became popular because, as Elias says, they served the urgent needs of the time.

Likewise, in the nineteenth century, after the absorption of Tanjavur into the Madras Presidency in 1799 and that of the remaining part of the Carnatic in 1801, the East India Company colonial state took over juridical control of the area. As soon as the Company took possession of the Tanjavur area, it sought to develop techniques to "rectify" the problems that had arisen during the last days of the Tanjavur raja's rule and create a state that sought the welfare of the population. One British official, Collector Charles Harris, sought to typify the interaction between the state and society at this critical epistemic moment. He wrote, "The works of the inhabitants (for which they receive the [money] advances recommended in my letter....The raising of the banks of the paddy fields, the digging of their small channels, the manuring of their fields...and their ploughing and sowing have had as much attention [as I could give them], and I have no doubt in a fortnight more *the united labours of the circar [the state] and people will have a most agreeable effect on the face of the country.* [My emphasis]"<sup>110</sup> Both the state and the society would thereby seek to protect property and produce both in Tanjavur and elsewhere.

Antonio Gramsci has pointed to this kind of society that is filled with individuals who are constantly engaged in creating a state after the model of the society. Gramsci himself wrote that, "If everyone is a legislator in the

broadest sense of the concept, he continues to be a legislator even if he [or she] accepts directives from others—if, as he [or she] carries them out, he [or she] makes certain that others are carrying them out too; if, having understood their spirit, he [or she] propagates them as though making them into rules specifically applicable to limited and definite zones of living.”<sup>111</sup>

Likewise, K.R. Subramaniam, the historian of the Maratha Tanjavur kingdom, thinking very much in the Gramscian mode before Gramsci himself formulated these things, noted: “The people [of twentieth century Tanjore District] are taught, albeit slowly, that the Government is theirs to make or mar, and they can no longer say ‘what care we if Rama rules or Ravana rules?’” Subramaniam felt that the relationship between the society and the state had radically changed after the Maratha kingdom was incorporated into the Madras Presidency: “It is no longer its task to build temples and choultries, or present shawls to pandits and musicians. It has no Gods and does not belong to any caste.” He also argued that

There was a liberal spirit of toleration. Arbitration was cheap, quick and useful in its results. The local commonwealths went on undisturbed by central changes, and the evils of centralisation and overgrown officialdom were absent. Peace, the bulk of the people always enjoyed as only the capital was affected by the invasions. Justice, as it was administered, the people were eminently satisfied with. They were not *ruled* as they are to-day, and they felt the presence of the central Government only through its usual taxes and occasional benefactions. There was no army of clerks and civil officials who constitute to-day the second line of defense.<sup>112</sup>

What Subramaniam is speaking about is of course the growth of local capillary knowledges that bound both the state and the society together. I am suggesting that local microphysical subjugated knowledges about health and discipline were the basis of a development of society in both Tanjavur and Tamil Nadu generally, that gradually transformed the state from below. The sovereignty of the Maratha raja-state was never as strong or as monolithic as we have thought. At the same time, as capillary knowledges worked their way through the population, contrary to those who think otherwise, in Tanjavur and all over what became Tamil Nadu they began more and more to inform the relation of the state and the society. Therefore the creation of Gramsci’s “hegemony” to produce consent and dominance was a result not of the juridical power of the state but the active technologies of the Tamil self operating as individual legislators. In the long term, these Tamil technologies of the self paved the way to enable Tamil Nad to reach zero population growth in the 1990s. For Tamils, development was freedom.

## NOTES

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<sup>2</sup>Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), I: 212-213

<sup>3</sup>Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000?), 71.

<sup>4</sup>T.K. Venkasami Rau, *A Manual of the District of Tanjore in the Madras Presidency* (Madras: Lawrence Asylum Press, 1883), 328.

<sup>5</sup>Tsukasa Mizushima, *Nattar and the Socio-Economic Change in South India in the 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, (Tokyo: Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1986), Monograph Series #19, 24-31.

<sup>6</sup>Personal Communication from Niels Brimnes, 15 May 2001.

<sup>7</sup>V. Vriddhagirisan, *The Nayaks of Tanjore*, ed. C.S. Srinivasachariar, (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1995), 175-7; Christopher and Susan Bayly, “Eighteenth Century State-Forms and the Economy,” in *Arrested Development in India: The Historical Dimension*, ed. Clive Dewey (New Delhi: Manohar, 1988), 81.

<sup>8</sup>“A short Account of the Irrigation of the Delta of Tanjore, formed by the Cauvery and Colleroon,” *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, IV (1837): 309.

<sup>9</sup>Ulla Sandgren, *The Tamil New Testament and Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg*, (Uppsala: Swedish Institute of Missionary Research, 1991), 85.

<sup>10</sup>Gerrald Duverdier, “Portugais ou Indo-Portugais, le choix des missionnaires de Tranquebar,” (Fundacao Calouste Gubekian, Lisboa-Paris, 1986), 115.

<sup>11</sup>*An Account of the Religion and Learning and Government, Oeconomy etc. of the Malabarians: Sent by the Danish Missionaries to their Correspondents in Europe* (London: Joseph Downing, 1717), 32.

<sup>12</sup>Bayly and Bayly, “Eighteenth Century State-Forms,” 80.

<sup>13</sup>East India Company (English), Records of Fort St. George, *Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George, 1699* (Madras: Government Press, 1922), 18. According to the thinking of the Presidency Council, under Thomas Pitt, “Interest in these parts, [is that] if once these Princes should take a garrison from European, it may induce them to on every slight occasion to attempt the same upon us here or att Fort St. Davids, the latter having been lately assaulted and is near Tringombar [Tarangambadi].”

<sup>14</sup>Elizabeth Lee Saxe, “Fortune’s Tangled Web: Trading

Networks of English Entrepreneurs in Eastern India, 1657-1717," Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1979, p. 281.

<sup>15</sup>Saxe, "Fortune's tangled Web," 281.

<sup>16</sup>Quoted in Sandgren, *Tamil New Testament*, 92.

<sup>17</sup>*MukkūTar PaLLu* (Cennai: Es. Rajam, 1959), v. 15.

<sup>18</sup>W. Caland, ed. "Ziegenbalg's Malabarisches Heidenthum," *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Te Amsterdam Afdeeling Letterkunde*, Nieuwe reeks, Deel XXV, No. 3 (1926): 195-199.

<sup>19</sup>Gita Dharampal-Frick, "Malabarisches Heidenthum: Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg ueber Religion und Gesellschaft der Tamilen," in *Missionsberichte aus Indien im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Michael Bergunder, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 1999), 146.

<sup>20</sup>Cynthia Talbot, *Precolonial India in Practice: Society, Region, and Identity in Medieval Andhra* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 48-86. In her case the unsettled conditions may have been the reason for the lack of any well-defined social groups. Pp. 61-7.

<sup>21</sup>Dharampal-Frick, "Malabarisches Heidenthum," 152.

<sup>22</sup>*An Account of the Religion*, 2-4. Emphasis in original.

<sup>23</sup>*An Account of the Religion*, 12.

<sup>24</sup>B. Ziegenbalg letter 16 Sept. 1706, in B. Ziegenbalg, *Propagation of the Gospel in the East: Being an Account of the Success of Two Danish Missionaries Lately Sent to the East Indies for Conversion of the Heathens in Malabar*, Part I, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition (London: Joseph Downing, 1718), 30-1

<sup>25</sup>*Hallesche Berichte* 9: 737-8, (10<sup>th</sup> Conf, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 14 Mar. 1714) Hereafter *HB*.

<sup>26</sup>*An Account of the Religion*, 39-40.

<sup>27</sup>*An Account of the Religion*, 57-8.

<sup>28</sup>J. Ferd Fenger, *History of the Tranquebar Mission, Worked Out from the Original Papers*, (Madras: M.E. Press, 1906), 58.

<sup>29</sup>*An Account of the Religion*, 39-40.

<sup>30</sup>*HB* 1: 16, 22 Aug 1708.

<sup>31</sup>See the remarks of Nicholas Dal in 1725 to the effect that in the West Indies Christians had learned hypocrisy, lying, treachery, indulgence, and various other vices which before their conversion were unknown. N Dal to Mission Collegium and A.H. Francke, 27 Sept. 1725, AFSt. /M IB2 : 49, Francke Stiftung Archives, Halle, Germany. See also the famous statement of John Shore, who wrote about Bengal in the later eighteenth century, "What an enormous amount of fraud, perjury, bribery, and roguery of every description, has been introduced by our system of internal customs and transduties, none of which existed under the native rule." Drunkenness, and the use of intoxicating drugs, have increased in an extraordinary degree under the English rule." "But, notwithstanding the favourable impression of the native character conveyed in these papers, I regret to say, that they are gradually deteriorating, and that it is daily becoming more difficult to produce respectable and well-behaved attendants. And while the present state of things exists, there seems little hope of any amendment, but, on the contrary, the increasing progress of vice and degeneracy appears almost a necessary consequence." Frederick John Shore, *Notes of Indian Affairs* (London: John W. Parker, 1837) II: 332-3, 335.

<sup>32</sup>B. Ziegenbalg and H. Pluetschau, *Propagation of the Gospel*

*in the East Pt I*, Letter 30 April 1706, p. 12. A century later John Barrow wrote an account of these "Hottentots" or "Khoi" entitled *Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa in the Years 1797 and 1798* (Published in 1801-4). Barrow wrote that "It is a common idea, industriously kept up in the colony, that the Kaffers [the Khoi] are a savage, treacherous and cruel people, character as false as it is unmerited." were a "mild, quiet, and timid people, perfectly harmless, honest, faithful," their timeless customary existence destroyed by Dutch abuse." Quoted in Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution I*: 95-6.

<sup>33</sup>"The Heathens in these parts, being under the jurisdiction of His Majesty the King of Denmark, they dare not vent their Fury on those that espouse the Christian Religion: for the same Reason, they dissemble so far, as to speak well of them in our Presence. It would prove quite otherwise in the *Dominions* of the King of *Tanjour*, where it is more than probable, they would banish them from their country, and persecute them to the utmost of their Power." *An Account of the Religion*, 54.

<sup>34</sup>*HB* 4:169 (11th of September 1709). It was not until the late 1720s that missionaries were allowed to travel in the Tanjavur kingdom. The famous missionary C. F. Swartz did not move to Tiruchirappalli and Tanjavur until 1762.

<sup>35</sup>*HB* 3:133-4. (27th of August 1709).

<sup>36</sup>*An Account of the Religion*, 6-8 and *HB* 7: 340-1.

<sup>37</sup>Fenger, *History*, 46.

<sup>38</sup>*HB*, 8: 558, (9<sup>th</sup> Conf. 5 March., 1708).

<sup>39</sup>Kamil Zvevil, *The Poets of the Powers* (London: Rider and Co., 1973), 29-30, 34, 64.

<sup>40</sup>K. Kailasapathy, "The Writing of the Tamil Siddhas," in *The Saints: Studies in a Devotional Tradition of India*, eds. Karine Schomer and W.H. McLeod (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1983), 407.

<sup>41</sup>Padma Kaimal, "Passionate Bodies: Constructions of the Self in South Indian Portraits," *Archives of Asian Art*, XLVII (1995): 9.

<sup>42</sup>Kaimal, "Passionate," 10.

<sup>43</sup>Michel Foucault, "Technologies of the Self," in Michel Foucault, *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, ed. Paul Rabinow, trans by Robert Hurley and others, vol. I of *The Essential Works of Michael Foucault, 1954-1984* (New York: The New Press, 1994), 242-3. Hereafter this will be cited as Foucault, "Technologies."

<sup>44</sup>Lynn Zastoupil, "Defining Christianity, Making Britons: Rammohun Roy and the Unitarians," *Victorian Studies*, 44, no.2 (Winter 2002): 222. "Rammohun expressed core ideas—unity of God, the common tendency of organized religions to divide and mislead, and the need to restore rational forms of worship—in varying ways to *make them appropriate to different religious groups* [my emphasis]." Richard Eaton has also shown this process at work in early modern Bengal. He points to an instance when words from the Qur'an were put into the mouth of a yogi. In fact, the words were those of the Jews of Muhammad's day. Thereby the author of this recension "apparently intended to make the yogi's exchange comprehensible to a Muslim." Richard Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 80. Vicente Rafael writes also, "The writing of

local history can focus instead on the question of *localization*; that is, on the particular ways by which the boundaries that differentiate the inside from the native societies are historically drawn, expanded, contracted, or obscured.” In his *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian conversion in Tagalog Society under early Spanish Rule* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 15-16.

<sup>45</sup>Michel Foucault, “Two Lectures,” *Power/Knowledge*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: 1980), 81-3.

<sup>46</sup>“It may be,” Elias writes, “that particular individuals formed them [subjugated knowledges] from the existing linguistic material of their group, or at least gave them new meaning [in the past]. But they took root. They established themselves. Others picked them up in their new meaning and form, developing and polishing them in speech or writing. They were tossed back and forth until they became efficient instruments for expressing what people had jointly experienced and wanted to communicate about. They became fashionable words, concepts current in everyday speech of a particular society. This shows that they met not merely individual but collective needs for expression. The collective history [of the past struggles] has crystallized in them and resonates in them. The individual finds this crystallization already in their possibilities of use. He does not know very precisely why this meaning and this delimitation are bound up with the words, why exactly this nuance and that new possibility can hear their own experiences in the meaning of the words. The terms gradually die when the functions and experiences in the actual life of society cease to be bound up with them. At times, too, they only sleep, or sleep in certain respects, and acquire a new existential value from a new social situation. They are recalled then because something in the present state of society finds expression in the crystallization of the past embodied in the words.” Norbert Elias, *The History of Manners*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon Press, 1978), 7.

<sup>47</sup>See the cases of Johann George Boeving and Martin Bosse. “Apologia” of B. Ziegenbalg and E. Greundler, 9 Sept. 1713, AFSt/M, II C5 and Martin Bosse to Sebastian Bosse, 18 Sept 1725, AFSt/M 1 B 2:39, Franckesche Stiftung Archives, Halle, Germany.

<sup>48</sup>B. Ziegenbalg and H. Pleutschau, *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*. Pt. I, Letter of 30 April 1706, p. 12.

<sup>49</sup>In one of his early letters back to Halle, Ziegenbalg, after describing his daily routine, noted that though the heathen or Hindus and the Muslims or Moors go along in their error and darkness, he had to admit that he often needed to reflect for a long time after their discourses. *HB*, I: 1, 15, 22 August 1708.

<sup>50</sup>Fenger, *History*, 57.

<sup>51</sup>Ziegenbalg, *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, Part I, Letter 16 Sept. 1706 (London: Joseph Downing, 1718), 30-1

<sup>52</sup>Kurt Liebau, ed, *Die Malabarische Korrespondenz: Tamilische Briefe an Deutsche Missionare, Eine Auswahl*, (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1998), 21,

<sup>53</sup>Eugene F. Irschick, *Dialogue and History*, 101-2, Thomas Trautmann, “Hullabaloo about Telugu,” *South Asia Research*, 19, no.1 (1999): 61-2, and Phillip Wagoner, “Precolonial Intellectuals and the Production of Colonial Knowledge,”

forthcoming in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*.

<sup>54</sup>*HB*, 8: 542. (8<sup>th</sup> Conf. 31 January 1708).

<sup>55</sup>*HB*, 8: 543. (8<sup>th</sup> Conf. 31 January 1708). I owe this passage to John Abromeit who found it and translated it.

<sup>56</sup>*HB*, 8: 544. (8<sup>th</sup> Conf. 31 January 1708).

<sup>57</sup>*HB* 8: 528 (5<sup>th</sup> Conf. 17 Dec. 1707).

<sup>58</sup>*HB*, 8: 535-6. (7<sup>th</sup> Conf 23 Jan. 1708).

<sup>59</sup>*HB* 8: 597-8 (16<sup>th</sup> Conf. 28 July 1708).

<sup>60</sup>*HB* 9: 673 (2<sup>nd</sup> Conf, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 16 Jan 1714).

<sup>61</sup>Phillip Wagoner, personal communication, 7 September 2001. See also C. P. Brown, *Verses of Vemana* (New Delhi: Asian Education Services, 1991), first published in 1829; and M.W. Carr, *A Collection of Telugu Proverbs* (New Delhi; Asian Educational Services, 1989).

<sup>62</sup>H. W. Genischen, “Bartholomäus Ziegenbalgs Rezeption der Tamil-Spruchweisheit,” *Neue Zeitschrift fuer Missionswissenschaft*, v.2, pt. 2 (1989), 81-92.

<sup>63</sup>W. Caland, “B. Ziegenbalg’s Kleinere Schriften,” *Verhandlungen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Te Amsterdam Afdeling Letterkunde*, Nieuwe reeks, Deel XXIX, No. 2 (1926), 1-68.

<sup>64</sup>Gaur, “Verzeichnis,” 84-5.

<sup>65</sup>Gaur, “Verzeichnis,” 84-5.

<sup>66</sup>Kamil V. Zvelebil, *Lexikon of Tamil Literature* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 783.

<sup>67</sup>Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, *Geneologie der Malabarischen Goetter, aus eigenen Schriften und Briefen der Heiden zusammengetragen und verfasst...*(Madras: Society for Christian Knowledge, 1867). See also the interview of Prof. Daniel Jeyeraj by Theodore Bhaskaran, *Frontline* 25 (May 2001): 81

<sup>68</sup>Ziegenbalg, “Malabarisches Heidenthum,” 1-291.

<sup>69</sup>Albertine Gaur, “Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg’s Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Buecher,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Parts 3 and 4, (1967): 77-8.

<sup>70</sup>Gaur, “Verzeichnis,” 78.

<sup>71</sup>Foucault, “Two Lectures,” 81.

<sup>72</sup>Foucault, “Technologies of the Self,” 225.

<sup>73</sup>Foucault, “Technologies of the Self,” 225.

<sup>74</sup>Michel Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990); Michel Foucault, “Governmentality,” in G. Burchell, Gordon and Miller, *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 87-104, and Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

<sup>75</sup>*HB* 3:133-4. (27<sup>th</sup> of August 1709).

<sup>76</sup>Eckhard Altman, *Christian Friedrich Richter (1676-1711): Arzt, Apotheker, und Liederdichter des Halleschen Pietismus*, (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1972), 66-83. Later, this work comes to be called *Erkenntniss des Menschen*.

<sup>77</sup>Richter, *Erkenntniss*, 80-81. “In the same way that each uniting of two things together occurs (produces) also a unity and a communication of the various qualities that each [constituent element] possesses and that thereby something else (a third entity) is produced, which did not exist before the union, that has a being of its own; it also happens in the same way when the body and the soul are united. Because of that there arises the natural life (*natuerliche Leben*) that was not there before, and from the peculiar life of the soul, as it is well known



(to happen), is quite various, and on account of this natural life, will the soul, because it has this effect (*weil sie solches wirke*), be called nature.”

<sup>78</sup>See Wilhelm Halbfass, *India and Europe: An Essay in Understanding* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 47-9.

<sup>79</sup>Ziegenbalg, “Heidenthum,” 75, 77-9.

<sup>80</sup>Ziegenbalg, “Heidenthum” 77.

<sup>81</sup>Ziegenbalg, “Heidenthum” 77-8.

<sup>82</sup>Zvelebil, *Poets*, 31.

<sup>83</sup>Quoted in Zvelebil, *Poets*, 76.

<sup>84</sup>T.N. Ganapathy, *The Philosophy of the Tamil Siddhas* (New Delhi: Indian Council of Philosophical Research, 1993), 7, 9.

<sup>85</sup>K. Kailasapathy, “The Writing,” 313.

<sup>86</sup>The syllables are (in the appropriate transcription), “ci, va, ya, na, ma” which, taken together, produce the very sacred mantra *civaayanama*, “obeisance to Shiva.” Zvelebil, *Poets*, 141, fn. 104.

<sup>87</sup>Zvelebil, *Poets*, 64-7.

<sup>88</sup>Ganapathy, *Tamil Siddhas*, 197.

<sup>89</sup>Muddu PaLani, *Raadhika, Saantvanamu*, ed. Bengaluru Naagaratnamu (Madras: Vavilla Ramaswami Sastrulu and Sons, 1950), I: 59.

<sup>90</sup>Raadhika, *Saantvanamu*, I:32.

<sup>91</sup>*An Account of the Religion*, 29.

<sup>92</sup>HB 8:548-9.

<sup>93</sup>See the account of Muddu PaLani, in which Raadha taught ILa to sing in many indigenous (*deeshya*) *raagas*, playing stringed instruments, skills in *bhaaratanaaTTyam sbaastra*, skills in expressing the *navarasa* (moods in dancing), to read different poems, to compose poems, the *shastra* of the way of arranging the bed (*Manmatha Sbaastra*), a melodious jumble of notes, and (agreeableness in sex), and to play on different musical instruments. Raadha was eager to see when ILa would join Shauri (one of elegance, a valorous one, Krishna). *Raadhika Saantvanamu*, I:59

<sup>94</sup>Albertine Gaur, “Bartholomeus Ziegenbalg’s Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Buecher,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Parts 3–4, (1967): 81.

<sup>95</sup>HB 8: 603, (16<sup>th</sup> Conf.) 28 July 1708

<sup>96</sup>Kamil Zvelebil, *The Poets*, 61.

<sup>97</sup>Zvelebil, *Poets*, 34.

<sup>98</sup>*Cittar PaatallkaL*, (Citambaram: Maikavacakar Patipakam, 1987); Civavaakiyar, vs. 19, 153.

<sup>99</sup>HB 8: 525-6.. (4<sup>th</sup> Confererence).

<sup>100</sup>HB 9: 743, (10<sup>th</sup> Conf., 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 14 Mar. 1714).

<sup>101</sup>Michel Foucault, “Two Lectures,” 98.

<sup>102</sup>HB 9: 728, (8<sup>nd</sup> Conf., 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 5 Mar. 1714).

<sup>103</sup>Fenger, *History*, 60.

<sup>104</sup>HB, Cont. 37, 4 Aug. 1733, IV, 62-3.

<sup>105</sup>HB, Cont. 37, 4 Aug. 1733, IV, 62-3.

<sup>106</sup>Heinrich Nau, *Prolegomena Zu Pattanattu Pillaiyars Padal* (Halle, 1919), quoted in Zvelebil, *Poets*, 20, fn.14.

<sup>107</sup>Three volumes, Madras, 1857-62, quoted in Zvelebil, *Poets*, 20

<sup>108</sup>Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley, (New York: Vantage Books,

1980), 27.

<sup>109</sup>Eugene F. Irschick, *Tamil Revivalism in the 1930s* (Madras: Cre-A, 1986), 86-8.

<sup>110</sup>Coll. Charles Harris to BOR, 29 June, 1801, BORP, 1801, P/286/63, India Office Library, London.

<sup>111</sup>Antonio Gramsci, “State and Civil Society,” in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, trans. and edited by Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 266.

<sup>112</sup>K.R. Subramanian, *The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1988), p 95.