

Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg: Malabarian Heathenism

Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg differs from the authors considered so far in that his major works, the *Malabarisches Heidenthum* and the *Genealogie der Malabarischen Götter*, completed by 1711 and 1713 respectively, were not published until many years after his death (1926 and 1791, respectively).¹ These works therefore played only a limited role in shaping European conceptions of Hinduism in the period under consideration here.² However, Ziegenbalg's ideas concerning Hinduism did reach a wide contemporary audience through the series of letters published by the mission, the so-called *Halleschen Berichte*.³ The letters in this series dealt with a wide range of topics concerning the mission, *inter alia* the religious beliefs and practices of the 'Malabarians'.⁴ Two of the collec-

¹ The *Malabarisches Heidenthum* first appeared in the critical edition of Willem Caland, *Ziegenbalg's Malabarisches Heidenthum* (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, XXV/3) Amsterdam, 1926. Two manuscripts of the *Genealogie der Malabarischen Götter* are extant, in Leipzig and Copenhagen (Ziegenbalg 1713). A version of the *Genealogie* first appeared anonymously as *Beschreibung der Religion und heiligen Gebräuche der malabarischen Hindous, nach Bemerkungen in Hindostan gesammelt*. 2 vols. Berlin: Kgl. Preuss. akadem. Kunst- und Buchhandlung, 1791. The version published by Wilhelm Germann in 1867 as *Genealogie der Malabarischen [sic] Götter*, made substantial alterations and additions to Ziegenbalg's text, a process taken still further in the English translation by Metzger (Ziegenbalg 1869). The edition by Daniel Jeyaraj (Ziegenbalg 2003) is based on the Copenhagen manuscript and includes its pagination which will also be cited here. The texts will hereafter be referred to as *Heidenthum* and *Genealogie*, respectively.

² Liebau challenges the widely-held assumption that an ideologically-motivated censorship prevented the publication of these works, offering several other reasons why Francke decided not to publish them (Gründler and Ziegenbalg 1998: 28). It should be noted however that while the mission authorities did not publish Ziegenbalg's works, they did have copies made for other missionaries in Tanquebar (Jeyaraj 1996: 124). Moreover the manuscripts were used by the French Protestant Mathurin Veyssière de La Croze. He drew extensively on them for the description of Hinduism in the sixth book of his *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes* (1724), which was translated into German by Georg Christian Bohnstedt and published at Halle in 1727. La Croze's work was also used, together with further works published directly by the mission, by John Lockman for the annotations to his English translation of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*.

³ *Der königlichen dänischen Missionarien aus Ost-Indien eingesandte ausführliche Berichte*, 9 vols., Halle: Zu Verlegung des Waisen-Hauses, 1710–1772. This work will hereafter be referred to as HB, references are to the part ('Continuation'), not volume, and page.

⁴ See for example, the following letters written by Ziegenbalg 'Of the Malabarian gods', 'Of several Particulars relating to Idolatry, &c.', 'Of the Heathenish Books &c.',

tions published in this series are of particular interest in that they are letters written by Hindus to the missionaries, in response to particular questions posed by Ziegenbalg and Gründler. These collections, the *Siebende* and *Elfte Continuationen* of the Halle series, first published in 1714 and 1717 respectively, were distinguished from the other letters as the ‘Malabarische Correspondentz’.⁵ They consisted of 99 letters of considerably variable length, the majority on religious subjects, although some consider other subjects such as education, slavery, natural history and politics. The letters were selected, translated and annotated by the missionaries,⁶ but they appear otherwise largely to have retained their integrity, especially in the first collection of 55 letters, where they are published as complete letters, including the date of the letter and the opening and closing salutations to the missionaries.⁷ They are significant in themselves as one of the first substantial collection of writings by modern Indians to appear in print in Europe. The longer letters consist of answers to questions posed by the missionaries some of which are

‘Of the Heathen Feast-Days &c.’, ‘About several particulars relating to Religion’ published originally in the *Halleschen Berichte* (HB, 8: 505–605; 9: 662–808; 15: 11–72; 16: 73–151; 17: 153–224) and in English translation by Jenkin Thomas Philipps (Gründler and Ziegenbalg 1719).

⁵ HB, 7: 337–504 and 11: 871–959. These two sections of the *Halleschen Berichte* will hereafter be referred to together as the ‘Malabarische Correspondentz’. They were reissued in 1718 and again in 1735. A selection of the letters (38 of the first 55, 9 of the remaining 44) were recently published in a critical edition by Liebau (Gründler and Ziegenbalg 1998). References will be made to Liebau’s edition where the relevant letters have been included, otherwise to the *Halleschen Berichte*.

⁶ The letters are often assumed to have been chosen, translated and annotated by Ziegenbalg. Liebau argues that in fact the translation and annotations are substantially the work of Gründler. (Gründler and Ziegenbalg 1998: 26–27). However, as Liebau acknowledges, Gründler used Ziegenbalg’s works on Hinduism for the annotations, and would not have dispatched the letters for publication without Ziegenbalg’s agreement. We can therefore safely assume that Ziegenbalg would have identified himself with the position of the annotations regarding Hinduism, although he may not have been responsible for the way in which that position was expressed. Gründler is co-signatory to the preface to the *Genealogie*. Even if, as Germann remarks ‘Gründlers Name unter der Vorrede ist nur ein Zeichen collegialer Freundschaft’ (Ziegenbalg 1867: x), rather than a recognition of his contribution, its appearance in the preface nevertheless indicates the degree of co-operation between the two authors.

⁷ The signatures are not published, as the mission did not wish to reveal the identity of its correspondents. The reasons for this are discussed by Liebau (Gründler and Ziegenbalg 1998: 16–17). Among these the best documented are those relating to the turbulent career of the author of several of the letters, a high status Śūdra named Aḷakkappaṇ (also called Aleppa) who served both the Danish East India Company and the mission as a translator. He was at various times exiled from Danish colonial territory, imprisoned by both the colonial authorities and the King of Thaṅjāvur (Tanjore). Aḷakkappaṇ’s role in the correspondence was first revealed in the *Halleschen Berichte* some fifteen years after the publication of the first set of letters. See Gründler and Ziegenbalg 1998: 17–22.

directly relevant to the construction of European ideas of Hinduism.⁸ The explanatory annotations reveal very clearly how the missionaries integrated what they learned from their sources into their developing conception of Hinduism. The letters themselves are quoted, sometimes extensively, in the *Genealogie*.⁹ The ‘Malabarische Correspondentz’ is therefore extremely valuable in understanding the concept of Hinduism in the larger works of Ziegenbalg. While the missionaries’ letters to their Hindu correspondents have not been preserved, at least two copies exist of a printed tract which the missionaries sent with their later letters.¹⁰

In addition to these letters and his two major works on Hinduism, Ziegenbalg also translated three *nīti śāstras*, the *Nītivenpā*, *Konraivēntan*, and *Ulakanīti*,¹¹ and wrote a grammar of Tamil in Latin published at Halle in 1716.¹² The textual basis for his knowledge of Hinduism can be evaluated from the descriptive catalogues of his library. His *Bibliotheka Malabarica* (written by 1708), a description of 119 Tamil books in his possession,¹³ is described by Kamil Veith Zvelebil as providing ‘a relatively complete account of Tamil literature’.¹⁴ A year later, in October 1709, Ziegenbalg reported that he had over three hundred Tamil books in his library, and a catalogue, written in Portuguese and published in Tranquebar in 1714, lists the titles of 645 works in fourteen languages.¹⁵

⁸ e. g. ‘Whether the Malabarian Law constitutes only one religion, or is divided into many sects’ (‘Ob das Malabarische Gesetz nur eine Religion ausmache oder in viele Sekten zerteilet sei’) Gründler and Ziegenbalg 1998: 90. The answer given to this question is discussed below, p.123.

⁹ See, for example, Ziegenbalg 1713: 14r–14v (cf. HB, 7: 346, 380).

¹⁰ The contents of the tract and its role in the correspondence are discussed below, p.118.

¹¹ *Nidi Wunpa: oder, Malabarische Sittenlehre, Kondei Wenden: oder, Malabarische Moralia, Ulaga Nidi: oder, Weltliche Gerechtigkeit*. Finished by 1708, these works remained unpublished until the twentieth century. Willem Caland, ed., *B. Ziegenbalg’s Kleinere Schriften* (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, XXIX/2) Amsterdam, 1930. Caland notes that Ziegenbalg’s German versions were based on the prose commentarial section rather than on the more difficult poetic text of the *śāstras*. The works will hereafter be referred to by Ziegenbalg’s titles, i. e., *Nidi Wunpa*, *Kondei Wenden*, and *Ulaga Nidi*.

¹² Ziegenbalg 1985.

¹³ Published by W. Germann in 1880 as ‘Bibliotheca Malabarica’ (*Missionsnachrichten der Ostindischen Missionsanstalt zu Halle*, XXXII (1880): 1–20, 61–94). Ziegenbalg also uses this title when he refers to this work in the foreword to the ‘Nidi Wunpa’. The manuscript of another, slightly shorter version of this catalogue describing 112 Tamil works and entitled *Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Bücher* is in the British Library (Sloane 3014). An English translation by Albertine Gaur was published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1967.

¹⁴ Zvelebil 1974: 2.

¹⁵ Jeyaraj 1996: 82. Jeyaraj also provides a full bibliography of Ziegenbalg’s extensive writings.

Ziegenbalg's works offer an extended and detailed discussion of the religious beliefs and practices of South Indian Hindus, and it is not possible here to give a full account of their contents and of their importance for the history of the study of Hinduism. Rather the focus will be on how Ziegenbalg conceptualizes the object of his study. In particular it will be shown, that the view, outlined in the opening pages of *Heidenthum*, of the relation of different Hindu groups to one another is consistent with that which informs the *Genealogie*, and with the view of both parties to the 'Correspondentz'.

Ziegenbalg's life and Indian career

Ziegenbalg was born in 1682 in Pulsnitz and studied first in Berlin, and then in Halle under the Pietist August Hermann Francke. After some years as a private tutor, he and another of Francke's students, Heinrich Plütschau (1677–1747), were sent as emissaries of the Danish king Frederick IV to found a mission to the king's heathen subjects in the Danish coastal trading post of Tranquebar in South India, where they arrived in July 1706. Plütschau returned to Germany in 1711, by which time Johann Ernst Gründler (1677–1720) had joined Ziegenbalg in India. Apart from one return visit to Europe which kept him away from October 1714 to August 1716, Ziegenbalg remained in India until his premature death in Tranquebar on the 23rd of February, 1719. Ziegenbalg's fame as 'the first Protestant missionary in India'¹⁶ has ensured an extensive literature on his life and on those aspects of his career that are significant for missiology and Indian church history.¹⁷ In contrast, although his major works on Hinduism have all been published, his Indological achievement has until recently received less attention.¹⁸

Hinduism in Malabarisches Heidenthum

In his long foreword to the 'Nidi Wunpa', one of his earliest productions, Ziegenbalg makes one of his first statements on 'Malabarian Heathen-

¹⁶ This title is given to Ziegenbalg on the English titlepage of the German edition of the *Genealogie der Malabarischen Götter* (Ziegenbalg 1867) and appears in almost all subsequent writing on Ziegenbalg (e. g. Singh 1999).

¹⁷ See Nørgaard 1988 and Jeyaraj 1996.

¹⁸ Recent works on this aspect of Ziegenbalg's work include Dharampal-Frick 1994 and Gründler and Ziegenbalg 1998. Nevertheless the desire, expressed by Arno Lehmann as long ago as 1956 'that a monograph be written about Ziegenbalg's knowledge, presentation, and theological evaluation of the Hindu religion' remains unfulfilled (Lehmann 1956: 28).

ism'. It opens with a description of the process by which he came to realise that far from being, as 'most European Christians are of opinion ... a fairly barbaric people which knows nothing of learning nor morality' the Malabarian heathens have 'an orderly written law from which all theological material must be derived and demonstrated' and that 'amongst them, just the same philosophical disciplines are very well taught, which are debated amongst the learned in Europe.'¹⁹ Ziegenbalg writes

I was greatly amazed by this, and developed a very strong desire to be instructed thoroughly, through their own scriptures, regarding their heathenism. I therefore acquired one book after another, and I spared neither time nor effort until finally I have now come so far, by diligent reading of their books and constant disputing with their Bramans or priests, that I know something certain about them and can engage in reasoned debate.²⁰

In this early statement, Ziegenbalg stresses the 'very great extent' (sehr groszen weitläufigkeit) of their 'heathenism', 'so that if one wanted to write about it in detail, one would need a great deal of time and many volumes for it.'²¹ Ziegenbalg was to devote a great part of his early years in India to just this task, the initial result of which was his 'magnum opus',²² the *Malabarisches Heidenthum*. In the untitled foreword or preface which appears before the contents page and first chapter of this work, Ziegenbalg outlines what appears to be a conventional early seventeenth-century four-fold classification of religious adherence.²³ After a pious salutation to the reader, Ziegenbalg asserts:

¹⁹ 'Es sind die meisten Christen in Europa von solcher meinung als wären die Malabarische heyden ein recht barbarisches volck, das da nichts wisze weder von gelehrsamkeit, noch von moralischen Sitten'; 'sie ein ordentliches aufgeschriebenes gesetz hätten, daraus alle Theologische materien müsten deriviret und demonstret werden'; 'unter ihnen eben diejenigen Philosophischen disciplinen gantz ordentlich dociret würden, die etwan in Europa unter den gelehrten möchten tractiret werden.' Ziegenbalg 1930: 11.

²⁰ 'So wurde ich dadurch in grosze verwunderung gesetzt und bekam eine sehr grosze begierde aus ihren eigenen schrifften von ihrem heydenthum recht gründlich unterrichtet zu werden. Schaffte mir demnach immer ein buch nach dem anderen an, und sparete hierinnen weder müsse noch unkosten, bisz ich endlich nunmehr durch das fleiszige lesen ihrer bücher und durch das stete disputiren ihrer bramanen oder priestern so weit gekommen bin, dasz ich etwas gewiszes von ihnen wissen und raisoniren kan.' Ziegenbalg 1930: 11.

²¹ '... so dasz wenn man etwas ausführliches davon schreiben wolte, man sehr viel zeit und grosze volumina darzu von nöthen hätte.' Ziegenbalg 1930: 11.

²² Ziegenbalg 1926: 3.

²³ In his preface to *Heidenthum*, Ziegenbalg refers to the German translation by David Nerretter of Alexander Ross's *Pansebeia* (1653), which sets out a classification of this sort (see above, p.53). Ziegenbalg also discusses Baldaeus, noting that in his first letter from India (2 September 1702), Ziegenbalg had 'put more trust in him than those heathens which were around me'. He subsequently found, however, that Baldaeus had 'erred

All the inhabitants of the whole Earth are divided into four main religions, thus there are Jews, Christians, Mahometans and heathens. The Jews are the smallest people and are scattered everywhere in the world. The Christians are somewhat more numerous and have not only filled the whole of Europe, but have also scattered themselves in all the other three parts of the world. The Mahometans are a very large people and have subordinated to themselves almost three parts of the world, and spread themselves everywhere. The heathens constitute the largest people, and inhabit the biggest part of the Earth. Among all these four great world-religions the Devil has at all times proven himself busy in that he wants to bring the souls of man in confusion and seduce them to eternal damnation.²⁴

Ziegenbalg goes on to speak of the origin of the Christian religion in God, and its foundation on the Word of God, which was spoken of through the Jewish prophets of the Old Testament, whose promises were fulfilled in the person of Christ. Having accounted for the origin of Christianity, and indicated the role of the Jews in its appearance, Ziegenbalg then accounts for religious diversity in the form of both the division of the Christians 'into so many erroneous sects', and the existence of the 'Mohametans' and 'heathens', by reference to the work of the Devil.²⁵

greatly in his description of this heathenism', and that his transcription of names was 'entirely false'. This he put down to Baldaeus' reliance on Portuguese manuscripts acquired when the Dutch expelled the Portuguese from Ceylon. The use of the Portuguese language in conversation with the Brahmans similarly corrupted what Ziegenbalg took to be Baldaeus' own observations (which include those Baldaeus took from Roger). In contrast Ziegenbalg stresses that his own work 'is no pastiche of other authors, but everything that I have written I have either written from their own books word-for-word and translated from the Malabarian language into the German or I have heard it from these heathens' own mouth in their language, in the course of many discussions, and told to me by reasonable people.' ('es kein Schmierewerck aus anderen Auctoribus, sondern alles was ich geschrieben, habe ich entweder von wort zu wort aus ihren eigenen Büchern geschrieben und aus der malabarischen Sprache in die Teutsche übersetzt, oder ich habe es durch vielfältiges discouriren aus dieser heiden eigenem Munde in ihrer Sprache gehört, und mir von verständigen Leuten erzehlen laszen.' Ziegenbalg 1926: 14–15).

²⁴ 'Alle Einwohner des ganzen Erdbodens werden sonderlich in 4 haupt Religionen eingetheilet, als da sind Juden, Christen, Mahometaner und heiden. Die Juden sind das kleinste Volck und gehen allendhalben in der Welt zerstreuet herum. Die Christen sind etwas mehrere und haben nicht nur allein ganz Europa erfüllet, sondern sich auch in allen andren drey Theilen der Welt zerstreuet. Die Mahometaner sind ein sehr groszes Volck und haben sich fast drey Theile der Welt unterthänig gemacht, und allendhalben sich ausgebreitet. Die heiden machen das gröste Volck aus, und bewohnen dasz meiste Theil des Erdkreises. Unter allen diesen 4 groszen Welt Religionen hat jederzeit der Teufel sich sehr geschäfttig erwiesen, dasz er die Seelen der Menschen in Verwirrung bringen und zur ewigen Vedamniss verführen möchte.' Ziegenbalg 1926: 9. Ziegenbalg is the first author of whom I am aware to use the term 'Welt Religion'. I have not corrected Ziegenbalg's inconsistent spelling of the term 'Hauptreligionen'.

²⁵ 'dasz die Christen in so viele irrige Secten zertheilet worden sind' Ziegenbalg 1926: 10. The 'Mahometaner' are 'under the slavery of the Devil' ('unter der Sclaverey des Teufels'), and the heathen likewise 'all stand under the rule of the Devil' ('stehen ... alle unter der herrschaft des Teufels.' Ziegenbalg 1926: 10).

Ziegenbalg had noted that the heathens made up the largest of the four main religions (haupt Religionen) into which the inhabitants of the world were divided. He qualifies this by adding that the

heathens are, however, not uniform, rather, although they have all one father, namely the Devil, they have nevertheless divided themselves into many different sects. For different gods are worshipped by the African heathens, others by the American heathens, and yet others by the East Indian heathens, [they] are also very much different from one another in their teachings.²⁶

Furthermore, the East Indian heathens 'are again subdivided in different Sects, among which [the sect of] those, which are called Malabarians by the Europeans, is one of the largest.' Malabarian heathenism (the subject of Ziegenbalg's book) is, then, a subdivision of East Indian heathenism, which is itself a subdivision of heathenism considered as a 'world religion'. Ziegenbalg's classification is not yet complete, however, for he adds that under the Malabarians 'are again included many other small sects, and ... many languages.'²⁷ At this point Ziegenbalg turns to an account of the circumstances under which he wrote *Heidenthum*, and a justification of his decision to do so. However in the first chapter proper of *Heidenthum*, Ziegenbalg returns to the issue which is of most interest for our purposes here, his conception of 'the different religions there are among these Malabarian heathens.'²⁸ He begins by writing:

The Malabarian heathenism is spread very far and wide in India so that many kingdoms, islands, peoples and languages are contained within it. This heathenism is spread over the whole Coromandel coast up to within Bengal: one reads in their books very many histories, which have happened there. Also one of their idols, named Kṛṣṇa, died there in a town [called] Jagannātha. One reads also that many among their saints are supposed to stay in the big forests which are on the other side of Bengal, and have done hard penance there. The whole island of Ceylon stands under this heathenism, as many things are told of this island in their books. From down in Ceylon, this heathenism is spread also on the Malabar coast all the way up to deep within the Mogul realm. Thus this heathenism comprehends all the heathens in the Mogul realm, who worship the same gods although they are

²⁶ 'Diese Heiden sind nun wiederum nicht einerley, sondern, ob sie gleich alle zusammen nur einen zum Vater haben, nemlich den Teufel, so haben sie sich doch in viele unterschiedliche Secten zertheilet. Denn andere Götter verehren die Africanische heiden, andern die Americanische, und wiederum ander die Ostindische heiden, sind auch in ihren Lehrsätzen sehr viel von ein ander unterschieden.' Ziegenbalg 1926: 10.

²⁷ 'Was anlanget die Ostindische heiden, so werden sie abermahl in unterschiedliche Secten getheilet, unter welchen diejenige, so da von den Europaeern Malabaren gennant werden, eine von den grösten ist, welche wiederum viele andere kleine Secten unter sich begreiffet, und in viele Sprachen zertheilet ist.' Ziegenbalg 1926: 10.

²⁸ 'von den unterschiedlichen Religionen so unter diesen malabarischen Heiden sind.' Ziegenbalg 1926: 23f., emphasis added.

otherwise in many parts different from each other and have different sects amongst them.²⁹

Gita Dharampal-Frick quotes this passage at length, and comments that Ziegenbalg's 'emphasis on the pan-Indian spread of the "Malabarian Heathenism"', leads to its equation with Hinduism as a whole, and as Hinduism in the sense of a geographically-defined religious conglomeration'.³⁰ Ziegenbalg's reading of texts in which other regions of India were mentioned surely played an important role in the formation of his most general concept for the religion of the Malabarians. However, the statement is immediately qualified in Ziegenbalg's text: 'This whole broad heathenism is divided into two primary main sects [Vornehme haupt Secten].'³¹ The sects are identified as 'Tschiwásameiam' and 'Wischnusameiam'³² and, contrary to the impression that may be given by Ziegenbalg's comment that 'all the heathens, which are in the Mogul realm ... worship the same gods', the two sects, and sub-sects within them, are distinguished from one another according to which god is the particular object of worship:

All those who belong to the first sect take Śiva or Īśvara as the highest God and pray to all those gods which are of his friendship or come of his line ... This sect is the biggest and is divided again into other sects. Of the other gods which are of Śiva's line, some worship especially the goddess known as Śakti which is the

²⁹ 'Das malabarische Heidenthum erstreckt sich in Indien sehr weit und breit, also dasz viel Königreiche, Insuln, Völcker und Sprachen darunter begriffen sind. Es gehet dieses Heidenthum über die gantze Küste Cormandel bisz weit in Bengalen hinein: denn mann lieset in ihren Büchern sehr viele Historien, die daselbst geschehen sein sollen. Auch ist einer von ihren Abgöttern, Nahmens *Kischtnen*, daselbst in einer Stadt *Tschegadum* gestorben. Man lieset auch, dasz viele unter ihren Heiligen in den groszen Wäldern, so jenseits Bengalen seyn sollen, sich aufgehalten und daselbst harte Büssethan haben. Die gantze Insul Ceylon steht unter diesen Heidenthum als von welcher Insul sehr vieles in ihren büchern erzehlet wird. Unten von Ceylon an gehet solches Heidenthum gleichfals auff der malabarischen Küste gantz hinauff bisz sehr weit in das Mogulsche Reich hinein. Denn all Heiden, die im Mogulschen Reiche sich befinden, sind unter diesen Heidenthum begriffen und verehren einerley Götter, ob sie wohl sonsten in vielen Stücken von einander unterschieden sind und sonderliche Secten unter sich haben.' Ziegenbalg 1926: 23.

³⁰ 'Sodann führt die Betonung der pan-indischen Ausdehnung des 'malabarischen Heidenthums' zu dessen Gleichsetzung mit dem Hinduismus im ganzen und als solchem im Sinne einer geographisch definierten religiösen Konglomeration'. Dharampal-Frick 1994: 356–357.

³¹ 'Es theilet sich aber dieses gantze weitläuffige Heidenthum sonderlich in zwey Vornehme haupt Secten' Ziegenbalg 1926: 23.

³² *Civacamayam* and *viṣṇucamayam*. The term *camayam* refers to a 'religious creed or system' (*Tamil Lexicon* [6 vols. Madras: University of Madras, 1924–1936]). Bror Tiliander notes that 'In Skt. literature the term is not used to denote Religion. But that is the case in Tamil, where we meet the word in this sense in Śaiva Siddhānta' (Tiliander 1974: 58).

wife of Śiva or Īśvara ... Others worship especially the god known as Piḷḷaiyār which is Śiva's son and has an elephant-mouth ... Others pray especially to the god Īśvara ... Some worship especially before all others the god known as Cuppiramaṇiyan which is Īśvara's son. Some do not pray to any of the main gods but worship alone one highest being of all beings.³³

Likewise 'all those who belong to [the second] sect take Viṣṇu for the highest God ... and pray besides him to all those gods which come from his line ... Thus they are known as *viṣṇupattikkārar*'.³⁴ So far Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism have been described only as 'sects' of a larger entity, namely 'Malabarian Heathenism'. However, Ziegenbalg then states that 'all those who belong to these two main religions [haupt Religionen] are again divided into four sorts which are found among both the *civapattikkārar* and the *viṣṇupattikkārar*'.³⁵ He then gives an account of the different stages of the religious path, which seems to be taken from Śaivite sources,³⁶ before returning to the concept of 'Malabarian Heathenism' which he describes as a diverse entity comprising within itself more than one religion:

This therefore is the concept which one has to form for oneself of the wide-ranging Malabarian heathenism if one wants to understand aright the difference between their *religions* and to form an opinion of them according to their books.³⁷

³³ 'Alle diejenige so zu der ersten Secte gehören, halten *Tschiwèn* oder *Isuren* vor den höchsten Gott, und beten alle diejenige Götter an, die von seiner Freundschaft sind, oder von seiner Linia herkommen ... Solche Secte ist die allergröste und theilet sich wiederum in andren Secten. Einige verehren unter allen andern Göttern die von des *Tschiwèns* Linie sind, sonderlich die Göttin *Tschaddi* genant, welche des *Tschiwèns* oder *Isurens* weib ist ... Andere verehren sonderlich den Gott *Pulleiàr* genant, so des *Isuren* Sohn ist, und einen Elephanten-Schnabel hat ... Andern beten vor allen andern den Gott *Isuren* an ... Einige verehren vor allen andern den Gott *Subbiramánien* genant, welcher des *Isuren* Sohn ist. Einige beten keinen von den vielen Göttern an, sondern verehren allein ein höchstes wesen aller wesen'. Ziegenbalg 1926: 23–24.

³⁴ 'Alle die zu dieser Secte gehören, halten *Wischtum* vor den höchsten Gott ... und beten auszer ihm allein diejenige Götter an, die von seiner Linie herkommen ... Dahero werden sie *Wischtupáddikarer* genant.' Ziegenbalg 1926: 24.

³⁵ 'Alle diejenige, so zu diesen zwey Haupt Religionen gehören, theilen sich abermahel in 4 Sorten, die allendhalben beydes unter den *Tschiwapaddikaren* als auch unter den *Wischtupaddikaren* gefunden werden'. Ziegenbalg 1926: 26.

³⁶ The four sorts of religious observance mentioned by Ziegenbalg ('Tscharigei', 'Kirigei', 'Jógum', 'Gnánum') are the four 'feet' (*pāda*) or portions of a Śaiva Siddhānta *āgama* (*caryā* [proper conduct], *kriyā* [ritual action], *yoga* [discipline] and *jñāna* [knowledge]): 'Together, these four parts constitute everything worth knowing from a spiritual point of view; the section on knowledge reveals how the cosmos is organized, and the other three sections fully instruct one who adheres to that view of the world in how to act in it.' (Davis 1991: 10).

³⁷ 'Dieses ist also derjenige begreiff den man sich von dem weitläuffigen malabari-schen Heidenthum machen musz, wenn man den Unterschied ihrer *Religionen* recht

Having described Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism both as ‘the two main sects’ and as ‘the two main religions’ within the heathenism of the Malabarians, Ziegenbalg lists six other ‘religion-sects’ which his Malabarian informants regard as lying outside their own religion:

Besides the mentioned sects here [i. e. Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism] there are found yet some others among the East Indian heathens, but these the Malabarians entirely exclude from their religion, and take them for heathens, although they take themselves to be a people who have the ancient religion and divine service. Besides themselves they speak, especially, of six other religion-sects, among which some are supposed still to exist in remote lands, some however had been completely wiped out and had been brought to their religion. The first sect are called Buddhists, from whom they say they have their poetry. The second sect are called *camanar*,³⁸ from whom they have their mathematics and other arts and learned matters. The third sect are called Mīmāṃsakas. The fourth, *mlecchas* or the sect of barbarians; the fifth *Wuddaler*, and the sixth, *Oddier*.³⁹

Here and elsewhere in Ziegenbalg’s works, the terms ‘sect’ and ‘religion’ are used both of these groups (taken by Ziegenbalg and his sources to be beyond the pale of Malabarian heathenism) and of the two main groups (‘*Hauptreligionen*’ or ‘*Hauptsecten*’, i. e. Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism) within Malabarian heathenism.

Although Dharampal-Frick finds that Ziegenbalg’s work shows ‘astounding affinity to “new” positions in the conception of Hinduism’, and particularly to Stietencron’s questioning of ‘the existence of Hinduism itself as *one* religion’,⁴⁰ she nevertheless concludes that the ‘interchangeable use of the terms “religion” and “sect”’ is ‘unsystematic’ and that the term ‘sect’ itself is used in a ‘visibly ambiguous manner, namely first (against the background of schism and sectarianism in Europe) with a pejorative undertone, and otherwise with a more descriptive sense and to

einsehen und sie nach ihren büchern beurtheilen will.’ Ziegenbalg 1926: 28–29, emphasis added.

³⁸ i. e. Jains, cf. below, p.121.

³⁹ ‘Auszer den ietztgedachten Secten finden sich noch einige andern unter den Ostindischen Heiden, aber die Malabaren schlieszen selbige gänzlich von ihrer Religion aus, und halten sie vor Heiden, sich aber vor ein solches Volck, das die uhralte Religion und Gottesdienst habe. Sie erzehlen auszer sich sonderlich 6 andern Religions-Secten, unter welchen noch einige in entfernten Ländern vorhanden seyn sollen, einige aber von ihnen gänzlich ausgerottet wären und zu ihrer Religion gebracht worden sind. Die 1. Secte heist *Putter*, von welchen sie sagen, dasz sie ihre Poesie herhaben. Die 2. Secte heist *Schammaner*, von welcher sie die rechen-kunst und andern Künste und gelehrte Sachen herhaben. Die 3. Secte heist *Minmankuscher*. Die 4. *Milétscher* oder die Barbaren Secte; die 5. *Wuddaler* und die 6. *Oddier*.’ Ziegenbalg 1926: 29. The last two sects are difficult to identify. Caland suggests the ‘Oddier’ may be *ōṭṭiyar*, ‘the inhabitants of a country north of Madras’ (Ziegenbalg 1926: 267).

⁴⁰ ‘erstaunlichen Affinität zu “neuen” Positionen in der Auffassung des Hinduismus’, ‘die Existenz des Hinduismus selbst als *einer* Religion’. Dharampal-Frick 1994: 359.

denote the actual differences between the indigenous religious groups.⁴¹ Before considering Dharampal-Frick's critique of Ziegenbalg's use of these terms we will examine his use of them in other works.

Hinduism in the Genealogie der malabarischen Götter

Already when writing *Heidenthum*, Ziegenbalg had in mind a complement to that work: 'I have dealt very little with their idols especially as I intend to put them into tables, where their stories and images may be much more comprehensively handled.'⁴² The idea for such a work may have been suggested to Ziegenbalg by his reading of a work he names as *Dirigála Sákkaram* [*Tirikālaccakkaram*]: 'This book shows the genealogy of their great gods, how all gods are derived from the Being of all Beings, the Highest God ... This book is the basis of all other Malabari books since it lays down the principles on which they are based. Once I had it in mind to translate this work into German but I could not help wondering whether this was really advisable. It would cause a lot of unnecessary speculation and only distract people from more important things. But I am still keeping my mind open whether or not I should do this translation; so far I am not sure about it myself.'⁴³ While no translation may have been made, there are good reasons for thinking that the structure and aim, and even part of the content, of the *Genealogie* are taken from this work.⁴⁴

The *Genealogie der Malabarischen Götter* is, as its title suggests, dominated by an attempt to provide an hierarchical classification of the gods, rather than of Hindu religious affiliation. At the head of the *Genealogie* stands a table in which the Malabarian gods are divided into four categories, which in turn structure the four parts of the *Genealogie*. In the first category are conceptions of the divine as 'Parāvaravastu,

⁴¹ 'austauschbare Gebrauch der Bezeichnungen "Religion" und "Secte"'; 'Diesen Terminus selbst verwendet er dabei auf erkennbar zweideutige Weise, nämlich zum einen (vor dem Hintergrund von Kirchenspaltung und Sektenwesen in Europa) mit pejorativem Unterton, zum anderen mit stärker deskriptivem Sinn und zur Bezeichnung der faktischen Verschiedenheiten zwischen den einheimischen Religionsgruppen.' Dharampal-Frick 1994: 359, 360.

⁴² 'Und in hoffnung, dasz solches einmal geschehen werde, so habe ich von den Abgöttern gantz wenig gehandelt, sintemahl ich alsdann selbige in Tabellen zu bringen gedenke, da denn zugleich ihre Historien weitläuffiger bey ihren Figuren ausgeführet werden.' Ziegenbalg 1926: 16.

⁴³ Ziegenbalg 1967: 88–89.

⁴⁴ For example, the account of purāṇic cosmography in the *Genealogie* (Ziegenbalg 1713: 22v–24r) is drawn from the *Tirikālaccakkaram* (cf. Ziegenbalg's summary of the geographical contents of the work in Ziegenbalg 1967: 88).

which is the supreme being or the highest divine being'.⁴⁵ Three such concepts are identified: first, an immaterial, formless and incomparable being; second, a material being, represented by an image of a being containing the fourteen worlds; third, the masculine and feminine power of this highest being, represented as Śiva and Śakti respectively. The next category of the table, or genealogy, of the gods is the 'Mummürttika| [or] the three greatest gods' namely Īśvara (i. e. Śiva), Viṣṇu, and Brahmā along with their 'wives' and 'sons'. The third category of the genealogy includes the Kirāmatēvataika|, the tutelary deities of villages and homes, and the last the Devas, prophets [*r̥ṣis*], servants of the gods and gods of the eight cardinal directions.⁴⁶

Ziegenbalg⁴⁷ sought to show that the concept of the Parāvaravastu is evidence that the Hindus are basically theistic, to show 'what these heathens establish of God, the Supreme Being, and how far they have come by the light of nature, wherein they have surpassed the Roman heathens.'⁴⁸ The key, however, to understanding the hierarchy is the second category of the genealogical table ('the three greatest gods', i. e. Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā):

Whoever has a proper understanding of these Mummürttika| and has learnt to know them by their manifold names and families, can with little effort form a proper understanding of this whole heathenism. If, though, one has no proper instruction in this, he will never find his way in the confusion of this wide-ranging heathenism.⁴⁹

The corresponding section of the *Genealogie* is the largest part of the work, comprising more than a third of the whole. As he had done in *Heidenthum*, Ziegenbalg classifies the Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites according to which god or family of gods they worship:

Īśvara, under which is to be understood Śiva, from whom comes the great religion, known as Śivamatam. All those who have to do with this religion, take Īśvara for the highest God ... Viṣṇu, from whom the other great religion, known as

⁴⁵ 'Barabarawastu, welches das Ens Supremum oder das höchste göttl.[iche] Wesen ist.' Ziegenbalg 1713: 9.

⁴⁶ Ziegenbalg 1713: 9.

⁴⁷ On the attribution of this work to Ziegenbalg alone, rather than to Ziegenbalg and Gründler, who co-signed the preface, see above, p.105.

⁴⁸ '... was diese Heiden von Gott, dem höchsten Wesen statuiren, und wie weit sie es in dem Licht der Natur gebracht haben. Darinnen sie die Romanische heiden übertreffen'. Ziegenbalg 1713: 20r.

⁴⁹ 'Wer einen rechten Begriff von diesen Mummurtigöl hat und selbige nach ihren vielfältigen Namen und nach ihren Familien wohl kennen gelernt, der kan sich mit leichter Mühe von diesem ganzen Heidenthum einen richtigen Concept machen. Hat einer aber darinnen keinen rechten Unterricht, so wird er sich niemals in der Verworrenheit dieses weitläufigen Heidenthums finden können.' Ziegenbalg 1713: 42r.

Viṣṇumatam, comes. All those who belong to this religion take Viṣṇu for the highest God.⁵⁰

Brahmā, on the other hand, has no religion associated with him, having 'neither Pagodas [temples] nor worship among these heathens' and being 'honoured only in the Brahmans, who thus enjoy great honour, respect and income'.⁵¹ In the main text of the *Genealogie* Ziegenbalg elaborates:

these heathens would make from the multitude of their gods one single divine being. At the same time they have become greatly confused in this and have forged many different religions, among which there are in particular two main religions, the first called Śivamatam, the second Viṣṇumatam.⁵²

Ziegenbalg's concern in the *Genealogie* is with the relation of the gods, and not of their followers, to one another. Nevertheless his analysis of religious adherence is consistent with that of *Heidenthum*, although the focus on the gods in the *Genealogie* leads him to prefer 'religion' as the term for Śivamatam and Viṣṇumatam, and to reserve the term 'sect' for the sub-divisions within the religions. So, he remarks of Śaivism that '[t]his religion is divided into different sects'.⁵³ Ziegenbalg does however suggest in one section of the *Genealogie* that 'religion' and 'sect' may be used interchangeably. Expressing his weariness with the complexities of Hinduism, he writes:

their theology is filled with so many whims, that one has to spend many years before one can form from it a proper concept for oneself, much less that one could memorize all things which occur in it and understand them. They admit themselves that their theology is like a sea, of which the end cannot be seen. And

⁵⁰ 'Isuren, unter welchen Tschuwen mit verstanden wird, und von welchen die große Religion Tschiwamadam genannt, herkommt; Alle die solcher Religion zugethan sind, halten Isuren vor den höchsten Gott ... Wischtnu, von welchem die andere große Religion unter dieser Heiden herkommen ist, die da Wischtnumadām heißet. Alle die solcher Religion zugethan sind, halten Wischtnu vor den höchsten Gott ...' Ziegenbalg 1713: 9r.

⁵¹ 'Biruma, welcher weder Pagoden noch Verehrung unter diesen Heiden hat, und nur in denen Bramanen verehret wird, als die da um deßwillen große Veneration, Respect und Einkünfte haben.' Ziegenbalg 1713: 9.

⁵² 'Solcher Gestalt wollen zwar diese Heiden aus der Vielheit ihrer Götter nur ein einziges göttliches Wesen machen. Gleichwol aber sind sie darüber in große Verwirrung gerathen, und haben mancherley Religionen geschmiedet, unter welchen sonderlich 2. Haupt-Religionen sind, die eine Tschiwamadam, und die andere Wischtnumadām genannt.' Ziegenbalg 1713: 28r–28v.

⁵³ 'Diese Religion theilet sich in unterschiedliche Secten.' Ziegenbalg 1713: 28v. Germann adds in a footnote the names of several 'divisions' [Abtheilungen] of Śaivites taken from Wilson's *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus* (Wilson 1846), commenting that "'sect" is not very accurate for the Śaivites' ('Secte ist bei den Sivaiten nicht recht zutreffend'. Ziegenbalg 1867: 35).

because of the many religions and sects there are many disputed opinions among them.⁵⁴

The changes of emphasis and arrangement introduced in the editions of the *Genealogie* of Wilhelm Germann and G. J. Metzger demonstrate some of the changes in European approaches to Hinduism between the early eighteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century.⁵⁵ Thus Metzger added an introduction which sought to show 'that the religious philosophy of the Hindus, though *seemingly* theistic [as Ziegenbalg had set out to show in the *Genealogie*], is actually pantheistic, and *infinitely* inferior to the practical theology of the Bible',⁵⁶ where Ziegenbalg had found that all their books 'show 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.'⁵⁷

Hinduism in the Malabarische Correspondenz

The same multi-level categorial framework for the treatment of Indian religions is apparent in the annotations, probably made by Gründler, to the letters of the 'Malabarische Correspondenz'.⁵⁸ Two letters in particu-

⁵⁴ 'Wie denn ihre Theologie mit so viel Grillen angefüllt ist, daß einer viele Jahre zubringen muß ehe er sich nur einen rechten Begriff davon machen kan, geschweige, daß er alle darinnen verkommende Sachen memoriren und verstehen solte; Denn sie bekennen selbst, daß ihre Theologie ein solches Meer sey, darauf man kein Ende sehen könne. Und wegen der veilen Religionen und Secten sind auch viele streitige Meinungen unter ihnen.' Ziegenbalg 1713: 24v.

⁵⁵ Changes were also made to the *Genealogie* in its earlier, 1791, edition, the result of which Halbfass writes was that 'a piece of missionary literature was transformed into a work of the Enlightenment' (Halbfass 1988: 49). Thus where Ziegenbalg (1713: 11r) describes the Hindus as having books 'more than 2000 years old', the 1791 edition has 'more than 4000 years old' (Ziegenbalg 1791: 4), which would, of course, make them older than much of the Bible.

⁵⁶ Ziegenbalg 1869: xi, emphasis added.

⁵⁷ Ziegenbalg 1967: 85. Cf. 'Nidi Wumpa' (Ziegenbalg 1930: 25).

⁵⁸ It has been argued above (p.105) that the degree of co-operation between Gründler and Ziegenbalg means that the latter may be identified with the position developed in the annotations even if the former was responsible for their final form. I therefore do not attach importance to the question of which of the missionaries was responsible for the annotations and throughout my discussion of the 'Malabarische Correspondenz' have referred to the author of the annotations only as 'the missionary', by which I intend to indicate their joint agency and to avoid the problem of distinguishing their precise contribution. It will be argued that the position of the 'Malabarische Correspondenz' is, in any case, the same as that found in *Heidenthum* and *Genealogie* which were written just prior to and just following, respectively, the annotation of the first batch of letters.

lar are concerned with this issue. These are the third and the forty-first of the first batch of letters, all written between October and December 1712, sent to Halle in December 1712,⁵⁹ and published in the *Halleschen Berichte* in 1714.

In Letter XLI a Hindu answers three questions posed to him by the missionaries ‘namely, what Heathenism is, which nations are to be called heathens, and if the Malabarians are not also to be known as heathens?’⁶⁰ The author’s answer to the first question stresses immorality as well as irreligion:

If one does not love God, nor believe in him, nor go into the Pagodas and to the sacred water; but rather nourishes a sinful mind and heart, and leads a life which is against both heaven and also the earth and contrary to them; likewise, if one goes after whores, is abandoned to gambling, exerts oneself to steal, drinks too much, speaks falsely, takes people for fools and tempts them, mixes together with devils, regards others without any compassion and pity, and is abandoned to other similar sins: all this can be called Heathenism, according to our Malabarian way of thinking.⁶¹

While the missionaries did not always respond directly to the letters they received, but rather sent short replies or further questions, the definition of heathenism in this particular letter appears to have provoked a written response in the form of a short printed Tamil tract, the title of which is usually given in English as ‘Abominable Heathenism’.⁶² Before turning

⁵⁹ The first letter is dated 2 October 1712, all the others in October or November. They appear in chronological order except for the last, which is dated 10 November. Liebau suggests this should be 10 December, attributing the error to the haste with which the letters were prepared to be sent to Halle (Gründler and Ziegenbalg 1998: 275, 27).

⁶⁰ HB, 7: 483–484. The letter is not among those reprinted by Liebau.

⁶¹ ‘Wenn man Gott nicht liebet, noch an ihn gläubet, auch nicht in die Pagoden und zu den heiligen Wassern gehet; sondern einen sündlichen Sinn und herz heget, und einen solchen Wandel führet, der beydes dem Himmel als auch der Erden entgegen und zu wider ist; item, wenn man den Huren nachgeheth, dem Spielen ergeben ist, des stehlehs sich befleisziget, sich voll trinctet, lügen redet, die Menschen zu Narren hat und sie verführet, zu den Teufeln sich gesellet, gegen andere ohne eigenes Mitleiden und Erbarmen einhergeheth, und mehrern vergleichen Sünden ergeben ist: so wird dieses alles das Heidenthum genennet, nach unserer Malabarischen Art.’ HB, 7: 483. At the end of the letter he states that ‘the word Heathenism means sin and unruly character’ (‘das Wort Heidenthum bedeutet Sünde und wildes Wesen’ HB, 7: 484).

⁶² Jeyaraj suggests that the Tamil title is rather less derogatory, and translates it as ‘Unwissenheit, die verabscheut werden soll’ (Jeyaraj 1996: 149, 346). Descriptions of the tract, copies of which were rediscovered in 1965 in Slovakia, and later also in Halle, may be found in Gensichen 1967 and Grafe 1999. The tract is described by Ziegenbalg in a hand-written statement attached to one of the extant copies as ‘dedicated to the Malabarian heathen’, containing ‘matters on heathenism, namely what it is; how it has spread in the world; that the Malabarian people in particular are heathen also’, and as ‘being distributed among the heathen everywhere’ (quoted in Gensichen 1967: 31–32). The tract was the first publication to be printed on the mission’s Tamil press, which made possible its wide dissemination. It accompanied the second batch of letters sent out after October

to the answers to the second and third questions it is, therefore, worth pausing to consider the Tamil word used here for ‘heathen’, and the meaning it held for both parties to the correspondence.

The Tamil word which the missionaries translate as ‘heathen’ or ‘heathenism’ is *añānam* or *akkiyānam*, meaning nescience, especially spiritual ignorance.⁶³ In the tract ‘heathenism’ is defined as ‘idol-worship and moral perversion according to Rom. 1:21–32’⁶⁴ thus answering the Tamil’s definition of heathenism which the missionaries found problematic as it did not exclude the worship of many gods: ‘They do not describe heathenism thus: that it means both to worship no God or many gods. Because they do not believe that there would be found peoples who do not worship any god, and their worship of many gods they excuse with the teaching, that they worshipped through those only one divine being.’⁶⁵ The Hindu’s understanding of *añānam* as a morally inadequate rather than idolatrous life was problematic for the missionaries as Ziegenbalg’s positive impression of the morality of the Malabarians would have meant that he would have to agree that, on this definition, the Malabarians were not heathens.⁶⁶ Hence the production of ‘Abominable Heathenism’, an attempt to persuade them of a definition of heathenism which includes idolatry as well as immorality.

The missionaries were aware that their understanding of *añānam* as heathenism, in turn understood as involving not merely immorality but also either atheism or polytheism,⁶⁷ was not identical with the Tamil conception of *añānam*. In the annotation to this letter, the missionary notes: ‘They take the word heathenism in its original meaning. Such is called *Akkiānum* [*añānam*] with them and combines in itself all sins and bad habits which originate from reason and will of man. Because *Diānum*

1713; a number of the letters in the second part of the ‘Malabarische Correspondenz’ were in turn provoked by this tract (HB, 11: 923–925).

⁶³ In the previous century Roberto Nobili had used ‘*añāna matams* to signify non-Christian religions’ and noted a similar expression in Sanskrit ‘*ajñāna vedam* (bad law), in use among the Hindus’ (Arokiasamy 1986: 193, 210).

⁶⁴ Grafe 1999: 84.

⁶⁵ ‘Sie beschreiben das Heidenthum nicht so, das es zugleich darinnen bestünde, wenn einer keinen Gott, oder viel Götter verehrete. Dann sie glauben nicht, das Völcker sollten gefunden werden, die ganz keinen Gott verehreten. Und ihre Verehrung der vielen Götter entschuldigen sie auch mit dem Lehr-satze, das sie durch selbige nur ein göttliches Wesen verehreten.’ HB, 7: 484.

⁶⁶ At several points in his writings Ziegenbalg acknowledges the high moral standards of the Malabarians cf. e. g. his comments in his translation of three Tamil ethical treatises (Ziegenbalg 1930: 25), and Dharampal (1982a: 222): ‘c’est cet aspect ‘positif’ qui ressort comme leitmotiv des écrits de Ziegenbalg’.

⁶⁷ Although Ziegenbalg describes the Muslims as cherishing ‘heathen propositions’ (‘heidnische Lehr-Sätze’) and leading a ‘lecherous, indecent, sinful life’ (‘geiles, unzuchtiges, sündliches Leben’) (Ziegenbalg 1926: 10), for him they are not heathens, presumably because they acknowledge only one God.

or *Gnanum* [*tiyānam*, meditation, prayer; *ñānam*, wisdom] means for them wisdom, reason, holiness and is a general word for all good works which come from man's reason or will. *Akkianum* though is the opposite, and describes a wild and rude character in will and reason.⁶⁸ For the Pietist missionaries, *ñānam* as 'good works which come from man's reason or will' could not alone suffice for salvation. Thus not only did *añānam* not quite map onto the missionaries' concept of 'heathenism', but its opposite, *ñānam*, was not equivalent to salvation either. It was this semantic gap which 'Abominable Heathenism' was intended to bridge.

If, in part because of this semantic gap, the missionaries did not receive the answers they would have wanted to the second and third questions ('which nations are to be called heathens, and whether the Malabarians are not also to be known as heathens?'), the answers nevertheless provided the basis for their understanding of religious divisions among the Tamils. In answer to the second question, the Tamil author writes that the Malabarians call heathen 'all those in these lands, who do not confess the *vipūti* and *pañcāṭcaram*.'⁶⁹ The author of the letter singles out one such group of former times, who, although like the Malabarians in other ways, did not mark themselves with the holy ashes, and were therefore held to be heathens.⁷⁰ These 'heathens' were called *camaṇar*, and the missionary annotation notes that the

Camaṇar were a nation who, apart from the two main-religions mentioned so far, had a separate religion. One reads very much of them in books. From these *camaṇar* the Malabarians have poetry, mathematics, and most philosophical schools. They have, however, been partly eradicated, partly turned to Siva's religion by Nānacampantar, a young man who had 16000 followers. The same story is described in detail in a book called *Arupattunālu Tiruviḷaiyātar*.⁷¹

⁶⁸ 'Sie nehmen das Wort Heidenthum in seiner eigentlichen Bedeutung. Solches heisset bey ihnen *Akkiānum*, und fasset in sich alle Sünden und Unarthen, die aus dem Verstande und Willen des Menschens herkommen. Denn *Diānum* oder *Gnanum* bedeutet bey ihnen Weisheit, Verstand, Heiligkeit, und ist ein *general* Wort auf alle gute Wercke, die bey den Menschen aus dem Verstand und Willen kommen. *Akkianum* aber ist gleich das Gegenteil, und bedeutet ein wildes und wüstes Wesen in Willen und Verstand.' HB, 7: 485.

⁶⁹ 'wir alle diejenige in hiesigen Ländern vor Heiden halten, die sich nicht bekennen zu der *Wipūdi* und *Pāntsatscharum*.' HB, 7: 483.

⁷⁰ 'In vorigen Zeiten war eine Nation, die *Schammaner* genant wurde. Diese bezeichnen sich nicht mit der heiligen Asche. In übrigen waren sie eben, als wir Malabaren, wurden aber von uns vor Heiden gehalten.' HB, 7: 484.

⁷¹ 'Schámmaner sind eine Nation gewesen, die ausser den itzo gedachten zwey Hauptreligionen eine *a parte* Religion gahabt haben. Man liefert sehr vieles in Büchern von ihnen. Die Poesie, die Rechen-Kunst und meist alle philosophische *Disciplinen* haben die Malabaren von diesen Schammaner. Sie sind aber von einem Jünglinge *Schammánda-perumal*, der 16000 Jünger gehabt, theils ausgerottet, theils aber zu *Tschivens*-Religion

The description of the *camaṇar* and the reference to *Ñānacampantar* and the *Arupattunālu Tiruviḷaiyātar*, a 16th century collection of hymns of Śaiva poet-saints attributed to Parañcōti Muṇivar, show that by *camaṇar* Jain renouncers are meant.⁷² The annotation makes clear that the Jains may be considered ‘a separate religion’. The author of the letter in the ‘Correspondentz’, however, states that this religion cannot be included among the main religions of the Malabarians.

The question, if we Malabarians are not also to be known as heathens? evokes the answer, that, because we confess the holy ashes and the *pañcāṭcaram* [for the missionary the most important external signs of Śaivite observance⁷³], we can in no way be held to be heathens. However, there are among us Malabarians such people, who do not make this confession, and go after their own teaching and rather live in unreason as beasts, also neither confess to this nor that religion, but call themselves at one time so, at another differently, so that they are only according to their name Malabarians, but do not do anything but live here. Of such people can it be said, that they are great heathens. Because the word heathenism means sin and wild character.⁷⁴

Thus the Śaivite author of this letter excludes the Jains from the religion of the Malabarians. The missionary comments that *vipūti* (or *tirunīru*, the use of ashes of cow dung) and the *pañcāṭcaram* (the *namacivāya* or five-syllable Śaiva mantra) are the most important external signs of those who belong to ‘Tschiven’s religion’, just as the *tirunāmam* or divine name (the marking of the forehead) is the most important sign of their religion for

gebracht worden. Dergleichen Historie wird in einem Buch *Arubaddunālu diruwileiādel* genant umständlich beschrieben.’ HB, 7: 484.

⁷² The *Tiruviḷaiyātarpurāṇam* (‘The purāṇa of sacred sports’) describes the deeds (‘sports’ or ‘plays’, Tamil *viḷaiyātal*) of Śiva in Madurai. Ziegenbalg had a copy of this text by 1708. It is included in the *Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Bücher*, where he comments: ‘I have studied it well and copied several thousand words and beautiful phrases from it. The Malabaris consider it a very precious book and wonder how I could get it.’ (Ziegenbalg 1967: 86). The twenty-second chapter describes the destruction of Buddhism and Jainism; the sixty-second and sixty-third the defeat of the Jains at the hands of *Ñānacampantar* (Zvelebil 1995, s. v. ‘*Tiruviḷaiyātarpurāṇam*’). The latter chapters are discussed at length by Ziegenbalg in *Heidenthum*, where the *camaṇar* are distinguished from Buddhists and other groups (see above, p.113).

⁷³ HB, 7: 483, cited above.

⁷⁴ ‘Auf die Frage, ob wir Malabaren auch nicht Heiden genant werden können? dienet zur Antwort, das, weil wir uns zu der heiligen Asche, und zu *Pantschatscharum* bekennen, wir keines weges vor Heiden können gehalten werden. Jedoch sind unter uns Malabaren solche Leute, die sich nicht darzu bekennen, und sich in seine Lehre begeben, sondern wie das Vieh in Unvernunft leben, auch sich weder zu dieser noch jener Religion bekennen, sondern sich bald so, bald wieder anders nennen, also das sie nur dem Nahmen nach Malabaren seyn, aber darbey nichts thun, als dasz sie hier und dar herum vagiren. Von solchen Leuten kan gesaget werden, dasz sie gar grosse Heiden seyn. Denn das Wort Heidenthum bedeutet Sünde und wildes Wesen.’ HB, 7: 484.

the Vaiṣṇavas.⁷⁵ The missionary's annotation goes somewhat beyond what is stated by the author of the letter in adding Vaiṣṇavites to those not held to be heathens: 'Those who now do not confess one of these two main-religions [*Hauptreligionen*], and accept their signs, they hold to be a heathen.'⁷⁶ The reason for this can be found in another letter, which would appear to be from a Vaiṣṇavite author, quoted at length in the *Genealogie*:

There were formerly two nations, the Buddhists and the Jains, who had a very pernicious religion and of which there were several evil sects. They blasphemed Viṣṇu's and Śiva's religion and compelled all other Malabars to adopt their religion. Those who would not they tormented greatly. They neither besmeared themselves with the *tirunīru*, nor made the sign of *tirunāmam*, thought nothing of the purification of the body, and although they revered images, nevertheless they were regarded as people with no religion. They made no distinction among families [*Geschlechtern* i. e. castes⁷⁷], rather they held all to be equal. Thereby was annulled all respect and esteem between high and low and between wise and unwise. Books on theology they blasphemed and wanted that all people should be in line with this their character and the ones which did not want to approve it they treated violently. Their religion had no similarity either to our Malabarian, or to the Muhammedan, or to the Christian religion, but rather led to the corruption of all. Therefore Viṣṇu desired to extirpate them ...⁷⁸

Thus the author of this letter like the Śaivite author of the letter in the *Malabarische Correspondentz*, excludes the Jains from 'our Malabar-

⁷⁵ 'Das Bestreichen mit der *Wipúdi* oder Kühmist-Asche und das Recitiren der Gebets-Formul *Pántschatscharum* genant, und ihre vornehmsten äusserlichen Zeichen, das sie zu *Tschivens* Religion gehören: gleich wie bey den *Wichtnumianern* das Schmier-Werck *Dirunámum* oder göttl. Nahme genant, das vornehmste Zeichen ihrer Religion ist.' HB, 7: 483.

⁷⁶ 'Wer sich nun nicht zu einer dieser zwey Hauptreligionen bekennet, und ihr Zeichen annimmt, den halten sie vor einen Heiden.' Gründer and Ziegenbalg 1714: 483.

⁷⁷ Cf. Ziegenbalg 1926: 28 where Ziegenbalg twice equates 'Casten oder Geschlechter'.

⁷⁸ 'Es waren ehemals zwei Nationen *Buddhergöl* und *Schamanergöl* genannt. Diese hatten eine schädliche *Religion* und machten lauter böse Secten. Sie lästerten des *Wischtnums* und *Tschiwens Religion* und zwangen alle übrige *Malabaren*, daß sie ihre *Religion* annehmen müsten. Wer solche nicht annehmen wolle, der quälten sie sehr. Sie bestrichen sich weder mit der *Dirunuru* noch mit der *Tirunamam*. Sie hielten nicht auf die Reinigkeit des Liebes. Und ob sie gleich Bilder verehreten, so hatten sie doch das Ansehen, als wären sie Leute von keiner Religion. Sie machten unter der *Geschlechtern* keinen Unterscheid, sondern hielten alle für gleich gut. Hierdurch wurde alle Ehrerbietung und Hochachtung zwischen Hohen und Niedern und zwischen Weisen und Unweisen aufgehoben. Die Bücher von der Theologie lästerten sie, und wollten daß alle Menschen solchem ihrem Wesen sollten zugethan sein; welche selbiges nicht mit billigen wollten, denen thaten sie Gewalt an. Ihre Religion hatte keine Ähnlichkeit weder mit unserer Malabarischen, noch mit der Mohrischen, noch auch mir der Christlichen *Religion*; sondern sie war ein Verderb aller *Religionen*. Daher wollte sie *Wischtnu* ausrotten ...' Ziegenbalg 1713: 87v–88r.

ian ... religion'. He does not, however, similarly exclude Śaivas, noting rather that the Jains blasphemed against both 'Viṣṇu's and Śiva's religion'. Taken together the letters confirmed Ziegenbalg's conclusion that Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism are the two main religions of the Malabarians, and that although other religions existed, they were regarded by Vaiṣṇavites and Śaivites alike as 'heathen'.

The other letter among the first part of the 'Correspondenz' which is of interest for our purposes is Letter III, in which the writer answers 14 questions of the missionaries. The answer to the first question is particularly significant, as it provides a basis for the missionaries' reduction of the many sects of the Malabarians to the two 'Hauptreligionen'. The question is 'whether the Malabarian Law constitutes only *one* Religion, or is divided into many sects?'⁷⁹ and the answer given is equivocal. Although the writer begins by stating that 'our religion is sub-divided into different sects',⁸⁰ of which he enumerates seven, he concludes with the claim that 'the law is not more than one law, but the sects are manifold.'⁸¹ Moreover, while seven sects are listed, according to the author of the letter the first three sects may all be 'named with one word, *Tschāivamadam* [*caivamatam*] or *Tschāivakalām* [*caivakulam*]', that is Śaivism.⁸² Likewise the other four 'all belong to Viṣṇu's religion and are different only in their way of worship.'⁸³ Thus the seven mentioned sects⁸⁴ are reduced to two main groupings, Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite.

⁷⁹ 'Ob das Malabarische Gesetz nur eine Religion ausmache oder in viele Sekten zerteilet sei.' Gründler and Ziegenbalg 1998: 89f.

⁸⁰ 'Es ist unsere Religion in unterschiedliche Sekten zertheilet'. Gründler and Ziegenbalg 1998: 90.

⁸¹ 'ist das Gesetz zwar nicht mehr als ein Gesetz, aber die Sekten sind vielfältig.' Gründler and Ziegenbalg 1998: 94.

⁸² 'Alle jetzt erzählte drei Sekten werden mit einem Wort *Tschāivamadam* or *Tschāivakalām* genannt.' Gründler and Ziegenbalg 1998: 93. The sects named are '*Tschāivawādum*' [*civavētam*], '*Wiratschāwam*' [*vīracāivam*], and '*Tschāilamadām*' [*ciļāmatam*].

⁸³ 'Diese vier letzten Sekten gehören alle zu *Wischtnums*-Religion und sind nur in der Anbetungsart verschieden.' Gründler and Ziegenbalg 1998: 94. The sects named are '*Wischtnuwēdum*' [*viṣṇuvētam*], '*Tādduwādimadām*' [*tattuvvatimatam*], '*Nāmapéramālvēdum*' [*nāmaperumālvētam*], and '*Tschāinermadām*'. The modern transliteration of the names of the sects is taken from Liebau, who suggests *caivamatam* (Jainamata, i. e. Jainism), for '*Tschāinermadām*'. '*Tschāinermadām*' is here subsumed under Vaiṣṇavism, both by the Tamil writer and also explicitly by the missionary annotator, who comments '*Tschāinermadām* is also a sect which belongs to *Wischtnum*'s religion' ('*Tschāinermadām* ist auch eine Sekte, so zu des *Wischtnums* Religion gehöret.' Gründler and Ziegenbalg 1998: 90). The Jains are, however, treated as a separate religion in both the forty-first letter in the 'Correspondenz' and another letter quoted by Ziegenbalg in the *Genealogie*. The missionary follow these sources in excluding the Jains (called '*Schammaner*') from the main religions of the Malabarians. The reason for the inclusion of the *Tschāiner* in Vaiṣṇavism here appears to be that, unlike the other writers, the author of this letter states his view that they do use the *tirunāmam* or divine name and worship Viṣṇu. ('Die *Tschāiner* aus der siebenten Sekte nehmen gleichfalls *Dirunāmum* an sich

The reduction of the manifold sects to two main religions is also set out explicitly by the missionary annotator of the ‘Correspondentz’. Commenting on the first sect, the missionary writes:

Civavētam is the religion of those who honour Śiva and all the gods who are of Īśvara’s family, as the highest gods, in which religion there exist yet many other sects, which the correspondent does not touch upon here. There are among these heathens two main-religions [Hauptreligionen], namely Śiva’s religion and Viṣṇu’s religion. These, however, are divided into many *religions*.⁸⁵

Thus the annotator of the ‘Correspondentz’ employs the categorical framework of *Heidenthum* and the *Genealogie*: the two main religions (Hauptreligionen) recognized by the Malabarians are subdivided into smaller groups which may be described either as ‘religions’ in their own right, or as ‘sects’ of the particular ‘Hauptreligion’ of which they are a part. What the ‘Malabarische Correspondentz’ and the letters from Hindus quoted in the *Genealogie* demonstrate is the degree to which Ziegenbalg shared that framework with his Tamil informants.⁸⁶ Ziegenbalg not only allows Tamils to speak for themselves in print in Europe for the first time, he also allows them to dictate to a remarkable degree the terms on which he represents them, including their complex religious affiliations.

und verehren den *Perumal*.’ Gründler and Ziegenbalg 1998: 94). Either Liebau’s identification of the ‘*Tschäinermadām*’ as Jains is incorrect, or Ziegenbalg was unaware that the ‘*Tschäinermadām*’ and the ‘*Schammaner*’ were one and the same. The relative absence of Jains in eighteenth-century South India might help to explain either the view of the author of this letter that they were Vaiṣṇavas or Ziegenbalg’s failure to recognize the Jains in this description.

⁸⁴ Both the first and the last annotation to the question note that the writer of the letter could have mentioned many more sects (Gründler and Ziegenbalg 1998: 90, 94).

⁸⁵ ‘*Tschiwawédum* ist die Religion derjenigen, welche *Tschiwén* und alle Götter, die aus *Isurens* Familie sind, vor ihre höchsten Götter verehren. In welche Religion noch viele Sekten vorhanden, die der Korrespondent allhier nicht berührt. Denn is sind unter diesen Heiden zwei Hauptreligionen, nämlich *Tschiwéns* Religion und *Wischtmus* Religion. Diese aber sind in viele Religionen zertheilet.’ Gründler and Ziegenbalg 1998: 90, emphasis added.

⁸⁶ It is worth recalling that much of the *Genealogie* is based upon direct quotation from these and other letters. Nor are questions of the sort posed in Ziegenbalg’s letters to his correspondent unknown elsewhere in Tamil literature: ‘In [Sittānta Nāna]ratnāvaḷi 395 the different sects are classified in relation to Siddhānta: ...“The sects are of many kinds, those inside (related to Siddhānta), those both inside and outside (partly related), those outside (heretical), those far outside (very heretical). The excellent Siddhānta śaiva, surpassing them, is one and the same.”’ (Tiliander 1974: 59).

'Sect' and 'Religion'

In evaluating Ziegenbalg's categorial framework the question of scale is all-important. The object of *Heidenthum*, Ziegenbalg's first major work, is the 'Malabarian Heathenism' and in the title and introductory passages of the work Ziegenbalg treats it as a single religion, divided into two great sects ('Vornehme haupt Secten'). These sects are distinguished from each other above all by the gods which are the focus of their worship. When discussing these gods in the *Genealogie*, Ziegenbalg's primary unit of analysis is the group which takes each god as 'the highest being', i. e. Vaiṣṇavites and Śaivites. While he usually refers to them as 'religions' in their own right, he notes that they are also sub-divisions of a larger entity, and are themselves divided into smaller groups which may be described either as 'sects' or 'religions'. When discussing the sub-groups listed by his Tamil correspondent, he acknowledges that in relation to each other the sects of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism may be treated as religions. Just as writers at this time in Europe might speak of both 'the Catholic religion' or 'the Protestant religion', and 'the Christian religion',⁸⁷ so Ziegenbalg speaks of both 'Viṣṇu's religion' or 'Śiva's religion', and 'Malabarian Heathenism'.

If we are adequately to judge the representational nuances of which Ziegenbalg's account of Hinduism is capable, his purposes or the scale on which he is working must be borne in mind. In her critique of Ziegenbalg's apparently synonymous use of 'sect' and 'religion' as 'unsystematic', Dharampal-Frick fails to take the question of scale into account.⁸⁸ While Ziegenbalg's categorial framework is not self-consciously critical in the way that I have argued the academic study of religions ought to be,⁸⁹ it is nevertheless flexible enough to allow for different possible ways of categorising and speaking about Indian religious affiliations, including the different ways used by Indians themselves. Although, as Dharampal-Frick writes, Ziegenbalg's 'view of things is not very far from Stietenron's view of the different religious groupings of the sub-continent',⁹⁰ it is very far indeed from Stietenron's account of early European constructions of Hinduism as emerging from 'the westerners' precon-

⁸⁷ Smith 1991: 41. Ziegenbalg himself speaks of the 'Catholic religion', and the 'Christian religion' in successive sentences (Ziegenbalg 1926: 197).

⁸⁸ The criticism of Ziegenbalg's vocabulary as 'unsystematic' is reminiscent of the criticism some European writers, including Ziegenbalg himself in early works such as the 'Nidi Wumpa', make of Indian religions as 'inconsistent'. Such critical comments can usually be shown to arise from an insufficient contextualization of the different statements alleged to be 'inconsistent'.

⁸⁹ Chapter 2 above.

⁹⁰ 'Diese Sicht der Dinge ist nicht weit entfernt von Stietenrons Einschätzung der verschiedenen religiösen Gruppierungen des Subkontinents'. Dharampal-Frick 1994: 359.

ceived notion that it was *one* religion they were dealing with'.⁹¹ Ziegenbalg retains, at a certain level, a single general category for Hinduism, but as a plural phenomenon. His extraordinary access to textual sources seems to have provided the basis for his confidence in this category. At about the same period another group of European writers were developing, on a different basis, a similar category. The works of these writers, the mainly French members of the Jesuit mission in India will be examined in the next chapter.

⁹¹ Stietencron 1997: 37.