





## **Indology and South Asian Studies**

Sektionsleitung / Section Supervision: Roland Steiner, Ingo Strauch

Raum / Room: Mumbai (0.2051), Lahore (L 115)

## **Organised Panels**

## The History of Saivism through Textual and Material Evidence

Panel convener: Florinda De Simini

This panel aims at presenting recent progress in research on the history of the Saiva traditions through the study of primary sources. We will first discuss topics that are emerging from the field of Sivadharma research, focused on the research of the Sivadharma corpus that survive in many manuscripts and related texts. Contributions will include the ones on the issues noticed during the ongoing work to produce critical editions of Sanskrit and Tamil texts of the Śivadharma corpus, as well as their cultural and historical significance for the regional histories of the Śaiva communities. This will lead us to examine the implications of the transmission of the early Sivadharma works to the Kathmandu Valley (second half of the first millennium), and the impact that the manuscript production of these texts had on the religious trends of medieval Nepal, and vice versa. Following the lines of the transmission history of the Śivadharma, we will furthermore focus on its introduction to the Southernmost areas of the peninsula, such as Kerala and Tamil Nadu, and study the process of adaptation of some of these texts to the Tamil school of the Saivasiddhanta / Caiva Cittanta, starting from the sixteenth century. In addition to discussions on transmission and regional adaptation of the Sivadharma corpus, panel contributions include discussions on issues related to the contents and composition of the Sivadharma texts and related literature, such as different visions of societies that the authors of the works of the Sivadharma collection might have had, and how and if they relate to each other; the interactions between the Saivas and other religious communities; the techniques of Purānic composition through the reuse and adaptation of texts of different religious affiliations, of which the Sivadharma and its vast network of related texts offer relevant examples. While the Śivadharma and the progress recently made in this field of study are our starting point, we would also like to open this panel to more contributions that deal with the history of the Saiva communities on a regional level through the study of textual and material evidence.







### The Transformation of Traditional Genres in South-India, 17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries

Panel convener: Torsten Tschacher

The widespread advent of print by the middle of the 19th century transformed the landscape of South Indian literatures by giving rise to the creation of narrative prose and concomitant genres such as the novel. While these developments have received some scholarly attention, we are still comparatively ignorant of transformation that can be observed in the long transitional period from manuscript to print that preceded the mid-19th century. While verse was the norm throughout the premodern period, manuscript catalogues contain hundreds of items which have not made it into print where the title betrays that they are rather composed in prose. The motivation for producing such works may have been twofold. The first may be described as top-down movement of making the notoriously difficult high literary works more accessible to a general public. The second may rather be termed a transversal movement in that it represents the first attempts at putting into writing oral accounts of local history, on the way creating new versions by integrating stray information from various earlier sources and supplementing what was missing with a new yarn of narration. The proposed panel seeks to address this situation by calling for papers which can provide further details and more examples of what was produced and thought in the transitional period from the 17th to 19th centuries. Divergent models of explanation and interpretation are invited, as are papers engaging with all the literary languages of South India.







### Self-Representation and Presentation of Others in Epigraphical Writing

Panel convener: Annette Schmiedchen

The majority of pre-modern inscriptions (on stone and copper plates) from South and Southeast Asia are inaugurative and donative records. Frequently, these epigraphs contain panegyric passages describing the kings and their dynasties, the donors and their families, as well as religious figures and their lineages. Such eulogies of the rulers and their ancestors are in most cases not factual "self-portrayals", yet they project an image of authenticity and authority inasmuch as they are often said to be compositions of named court officials and royal copper-plate charters bear a seal and/or an imitated signature of the king. The panegyric descriptions do not only contain "self-representations", but also "presentations of others": the records of rulers can include eulogies of their subordinates, and vice versa, the inscriptions of subordinate rulers frequently include laudatory depictions of their overlords. Many eulogies contain descriptions of adversaries – intra-dynastic rivals as well as enemies from other dynasties. The presentations of opponents were used as a kind of backdrop for the "self-representations".

The panel will investigate the specific forms and features of "Selbstdarstellung" vs. "Fremddarstellung" in a range of epigraphic texts from South and Southeast Asia, focussing on political ideology as well as on patronage policy. Participants should feel encouraged to pay particular attention to the description of intra-dynastic rivalries and rivalries between dynasties as well as to comparisons of "self-representation" of rulers/dynasties with the depiction of the same kings in the records of their adversaries.







### Inscriptions as Social Artefacts: Revisiting South Asian Epigraphic Cultures

Panel conveners: Simon Cubelic, Nina Mirnig, Astrid Zotter

In South Asia, written artefacts, either in Sanskrit or the vernaculars are omnipresent. They record grants, donations, the establishment of temples, trusts or cult objects; legislative acts, expressions of power and devotion or traces of pilgrims. They are not only found in public places such as pillars or walls of temples, shrines, wells, and monumental public buildings but also on metal plates in private archives, ritual objects, within the natural landscape on rock faces and caves, and sometimes completely hidden within built structures such as stūpas or esoteric shrines. Apart from viewing them as mines of information for historical details, this panel invites papers to address the role inscriptions or other publicly displayed media of written communication have played for the construction of spaces, identities, collective memory and value. From a transregional and transtemporal perspective inscriptions can be studied as images and texts; as sediments of past meanings and sites of contemporary struggles; as historical objects embedded in monument sites, but also as literate practices through which ritual and political activities acquire tangible presence in lived-in reality and become part of public memory and history. When interrogated as artefacts in specific contexts inscriptions are highly dialogical texts that not only reflect their context, but are actual means to shape religious, political and social worlds. From a transregional perspective, their shared political aesthetics and textual culture of diplomatics also point to them as being important vehicles of transculturalization in Southern Asia.







### Women's Leadership in the Religious Domain: Perspectives from South Asia and Beyond

Panel convener: Deepra Dandekar

Women's leadership in the religious domain in postcolonial South Asia and beyond, has emerged in the last century as a powerful site of gender emancipation and democracy. While nineteenth century social reform hinged on improving women's condition and facilitating their education, these early reforms were primarily initiated, and led by men – a good number of them being missionaries. This scenario changed during, and after independence that saw the participation of women in the public sphere, as equals of men against a history colonial oppression within their regions. In the context of evolving, nascently democratic, and postcolonial nationalisms in South Asia and beyond, educated women increasingly sought representation as equals, despite enormous personal struggle – to assume leadership in the religious sphere. Embedded within the male-dominated, postcolonial context, women leaders refashioned themselves in solidarity with men, and with the precolonial religious groups of their society, while at the same time, making space for themselves as empowered citizens, scholars, and feminine agents, who sought to upturn the colonial gaze - a gaze that had hitherto denounced all religions, and religious communities from South Asia and beyond, as backward. Defining this character of women's agency as 'embedded agency', research presentations in this panel discuss the journeys of women, and their stories of emancipation within the religious domain, from South Asia and beyond.







### Keynote

#### Leaky, Buttery Head-Marrow: The Brain in Early India

James McHugh (University of Southern California)

Early Indian texts contain references to a discrete bodily substance (e.g. *mastiṣka*, *mastuluṅga*) that we can translate as "brain." Yet, as is well-known to students of Indian philosophy, the brain was not seen as the seat of the mind or soul. What, then, did people think about this distinct type of matter inside the cranium? Did people even attribute any function to this stuff?

This paper explores what we can learn about the brain in early Indic texts. Drawing on a range of sources including Vedic texts, medical texts, epic, literary, and Buddhist texts, the paper explores the terminology for the brain and descriptions of the brain. From the *Rg Veda* onwards brain was recognized as an intrinsic component of the human head. Many sources focus on the consistency of brain matter, not its structure, and the solid-liquid nature of human brain was perhaps its most notable feature. The brain was also closely tied to violent head trauma, for it is only when exposed by a break in the skull that it would normally be perceived. As for the function of the brain, medical texts explain the problems that arise when brain matter leaks from the head, and teach remedies for this problem, such as the use of hairy skull-plugs. Ultimately the ancient Indian brain was a borderline substance, both solid and liquid, only experienced when out-of-place; a disturbing material sign of violence.







#### **Presentations**

### Socio-political and educational culture as reflected in Licchavi Inscriptions

Diwakar Nath Acharya (University of Oxford, United Kingdom)

Almost everything we know about the Licchavis of Nepal (3-8th century CE) derives from the corpus of their inscriptions, which presently amount to more than 200 but are growing in number every year. The period of the Licchavis is depicted by nationalist historians as a golden age, an economic and cultural heyday. This perception is based on the evidence of a high register of Sanskrit language in the inscriptions, as well as the Sanskritic socio-political culture reflected in them. In light of this perception, the paper will analyze and reflect on the level of language and learning in Licchavi inscriptions and socio-political aspects reflected in them, as well as muse on Tang and other Sino-Tibetan reports as an outside perspective on the Licchavis. It will also ask the question what it is precisely that is considered to make a period golden, also by comparing the Licchavi period with that following it.







## The Gujarati Archive in Tanzania

IQBAL AKHTAR (Florida International University, United States of America)

The South Asian presence in East Africa has roots in antiquity through oceanic trade routes linking the Subcontinent to Africa. Existing paper archives date to the colonial period, held both by the government and various communities. Only the most recent sliver of more than two millennia of history is therefore recorded on paper. Of that, most of the academic work done on the Asian minority in East Africa has used colonial era archives in European languages, such as German and English. The voices of Asian merchant communities are rarely heard in their own language and context. Their texts are either totally absent from analysis or dismissed as religious and not addressing the 'interesting' historical questions of power (economic, political, and social) that dominate academic historical research on the region.







Iyal, icai, nāṭakam: Many Rāmāyaṇas in Tamil (17th-19th c.) Suganya Anandakichenin (University of Hamburg, Germany)

One of the most popular texts in the Indian subcontinent and beyond, if not the most popular one, is the Rāmāyaṇa. In the Tamil land, although its presence is attested already in the earliest Tamil poetry, it becomes more marked with the Ālvārs, medieaval Tamil bhakti poets, to reach its peak in Kampaṇ's Irāmāvatāram. The latter, which is the most well-known retelling of the epic in Tamil, made such a deep impression on the Tamils that the story was told over and over again, for many generations following its composition, by people from diverse backgrounds, who adopted different genres to do so. And while some of the more popular versions were published with the advent of print, and read/sung/performed upon even today, others have remained in the dark, confined to a palm-leaf bundle or two. This paper takes a look at a few of the Rāmāyaṇa retellings in Tamil across genres (verse, prose, drama) from the 17th to the 19th centuries, both published and possibly unpublished ones, seeking to explore how they go about telling the story; what changes they introduced to it; what linguistic features they opted for to cater to their different audiences; what and who did they compose their works for? and what it tells us in general about the Tamils, literati and lay alike, and their relationship with the Ādikāvya in the vernacular during the colonial times.







# Epidemien im vormodernen Südasien? Kollektives Leid durch Umwelteinflüsse und Adharma Vitus Angermeier (Universität Wien, Austria)

Im Ayurveda bedarf die Entstehung von Epidemien einer gesonderten Erklärung, da sie nicht mit dem dort gültigen allgemeinen Verständnis der Krankheitsentstehung in Einklang zu bringen ist. Das Grundkonzept sieht vor, dass Menschen je nach Konstitution, Ernährung, Körperkraft, Gewöhnung, Charakter und Alter für bestimmte Krankheiten anfällig sind. Eine Situation mit vielen Krankheitsoder Todesfällen, die übereinstimmende Symptome aufweisen, obwohl ihre Opfer unterschiedliche Konstitutionen haben, sich unterschiedlich ernähren usw., ist folglich schwer zu erklären. Um diesen Widerspruch aufzulösen, listet die Carakasamhitā, eines der grundlegenden ayurvedischen Werke, in ihrem Kapitel über Epidemien (CS 3.3) allgemeine Naturphänomene auf, die alle Menschen unabhängig von ihrer persönlichen Konstitution betreffen. Wenn Wind, Wasser, Ort oder Zeit in irgendeiner Weise gestört sind, wirken sich die Veränderungen auf alle Menschen aus, die von diesen Phänomenen abhängig sind, und können Epidemien oder ähnliche Ereignisse auslösen. Der Abschnitt, der auf diese proto-wissenschaftliche Erklärung folgt, liefert hingegen eine alternative oder ergänzende ethische Erklärung, warum es zu einem Massensterben kommen kann. Hier fungiert kollektives Unrecht (adharma) als zentrale Ursache für Epidemien und ähnliche Ereignisse.

In diesem Vortrag werde ich die beiden Erklärungsmodelle für das Auftreten von Massensterben, wie sie in der Carakasamhitā vorgestellt werden, skizzieren und untersuchen, inwieweit sie sich gegenseitig widersprechen oder ergänzen. Darüber hinaus soll gezeigt werden, dass dieser duale Ansatz paradigmatisch für die Situation des vormodernen Ayurveda ist, der oft zwischen sozioreligiösen Überzeugungen und wissenschaftlichen Ambitionen hin- und hergerissen ist.







The faithful, the fierce and the fair: the portrayal of underlings in Eastern Cālukya copper plates Dániel Balogh (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany)

A sizeable corpus of copperplate charters, newly re-edited in a digital medium for the DHARMA project, documents the Eastern or Veṅgī Cālukya dynasty from its founding in the seventh century down to its dissolution into the Cola ruling house in the eleventh. From the second half of the eighth century, this dynasty, aspiring to imperial status, had to contend with the menace of a greater power, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Though occasionally allied, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were more often bitter enemies and, more than once, meddlers supporting pretenders to the Cālukya throne. In this milieu of shifting allegiances, the role of subordinate lords must have been crucial. Indeed, a fair number of the charters record grants made to Brahmins at the behest of (and thus, presumably, intended as a reward to) an underling of the reigning king, and some even concern lands given to the underlings themselves, without any indication of a Brahmin recipient. This paper explores the manner in which the charters introduce and describe subordinates, comparing their terminology and content with the depiction of the rulers themselves and of religious donees.







# Philology of a Love Poem: Two Newly Discovered Manuscripts of the Bhikṣāṭanakāvya Alessandro Battistini (University of Bologna, Italy)

The Bhikṣāṭanakāvya, 'Poem on the Mendicancy of Śiva' by Utprekṣāvallabha (Malabar?, 13th c.) is a unique blend of erotic poetry and Śaiva devotion. Influenced by the emotional Vaiṣṇava poetry that reached its apex with the Gītagovinda, it describes the love deeds of Śiva in a delicate tone reminiscent of lyrical collections. Despite having been printed four times (1897, 1916, 1992, 2002), the Bhikṣāṭana has never been translated into English, both the text and its author have been very little studied.

The discovery of two Nandināgarī manuscripts brings it again into the spotlight. The first manuscript (Mysore, Oriental Research Institute) carries an incomplete commentary on the poem by King Maṅgapa, a sovereign from 16th c. Karnataka influenced by Vīraśaivism; the second (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek) transmits the same text, but laid scattered with other works in three separate bundles from the Janert Collection. With painstaking effort, aided by the librarians, I have been able to restore the correct order of the folios, thus reconstructing a proper second witness for the commentary. The commentary by Maṅgala improves our understanding of the poem and opens the door to new perspectives of research on the transmission and reception of the Bhikṣāṭanakāvya, and on cultural, political, and religious life in medieval South India. This paper will present these two manuscripts to the scholarly community and the work done so far for their restoration, edition, translation, and interpretation. This paper contributes to the panel "The History of Śaivism through Textual and Material Evidence" (Panel Chair: Florinda De Simini).







#### Ein buddhistischer Katechismus auf Gändhärī

Stefan Baums (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)

Eine Handschrift der British-Library-Sammlung von Gāndhārī-Birkenrindenrollen aus dem 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr. (Fragment 20+23) enthält auf etwa 400 Zeilen einen exegetischen Text in augenscheinlich katechetischem Frage-Antwort-Format (mit Operatoren wie katama und kathaṃ). Kanonische buddhistische Texte werden als Wort des Buddha angeführt, dienen aber allem Anschein nach nicht als Kommentargrundlage sondern zur Unterstützung einer ansonsten unabhängigen Argumentation. Auch mit seiner technischen Begrifflichkeit (z.B. citacetasika und svalakṣaṇa) reiht sich der Text in die mittlere Abhidharma-Scholastik auf Sanskrit ein. Einen weiteren Hinweis auf dieses Umfeld liefert eine eigentümliche orthographische Praxis des Gāndhārī-Textes, die zwar grundsätzlich mittelindisch ist, aber z.B. die Nasale n und n gemäß den im Sanskrit geltenden Regeln unterscheidet. Dieser Vortrag stellt die fragmentarische Handschrift vor, berichtet über ihre Bearbeitung und rekonstruiert ihr Anliegen und ihren Argumentationsgang auf dem Hintergrund anderer scholastischer Gāndhārī-Texte der British-Library-Sammlung sowie der zeitgenössischen buddhistischen exegetischen Literatur auf Sanskrit und Pāli.







### Inscriptions in the Ganga/Gajapati kingdom: a mediascape

Georg Berkemer (Humboldt-Universität Berlin, Germany)

In the premodern world of social media, inscriptions are ideal for controlled communications with many people and over long periods of time. Instead of asking, what they can tell us in their role as historical sources, the paper asks how their forms and contents were used by creators to communicate with contemporaries and later generations. As texts and artefacts, they are part of multi-dimensional communication and exchange networks. They play a role not only in the fields of politics and royal representation of wealth, and power and piety. Other dimensions are kinship and family alliances, competitive donative and devotional activities, memorials, artisanal and literary achievements, and the representation of regional historical memory.

The paper looks into these dimensions in the regional kindom(s) of Odisha and Kalinga in the period of the Ganga and Gajapati empire and later successor states.







### **Between Manuscript and Print**

Neela Manasa Bhaskar (Universität Hamburg, Germany)

"Between the 17 th and 19 th centuries, the nature of scholarship and literary transmission in South India changed. Under colonial rule, pandits were forced to move away from the traditional places of patronage such as temples or mutts and royal courts and seek employment in European-run institutions. Print culture was simultaneously becoming more accessible to the masses. In this climate, the popularity of earlier literature decreased, while the demand for easier writings in printed editions rose. This resulted in the proliferation of simplified versions of older poetic works re-written in prose, that quickly segregated themselves into genres based on theme and purpose. The 'vacaṇam' is one such genre that bridges the gap between several high literary works of the yesteryears that were transmitted through palm-leaf manuscripts, and their modern prose counterparts on print, becoming the direct literary and linguistic precursor to 20th century Tamil literary cultures."







### Purāṇa as Palimpsest: The Sauradharma of the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa

Peter Bisschop (Leiden University, Netherlands, The)

The Bhavişyapurāṇa has long been known to have incorporated significant parts of earlier Sanskrit texts, including such celebrated works as the Manusmṛti and the Bṛhatsaṃhitā. An even more striking case, however, concerns the major incorporation and revision of huge chunks of the Śivadharmaśāstra, the Śivadharmottara and the Viṣṇudharma in the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa's Brāhmaparvan. The compiler of the Brāhmaparvan, the first and most probably earliest book of the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, has rewritten this material in such a way that instead of the Viṣṇudharma (Religion of Viṣṇu) and Śivadharma (Religion of Śiva) of the source texts it teaches Sauradharma (Religion of Sūrya) instead. Tracing the various and remarkable ways in which the compiler has created this religious manual of Sun worship reveals the Purāṇa to be a virtual palimpsest. It raises major questions on the techniques of Puranic composition and on perceived boundaries of religions.







# The Position of Tivaradeva in the Light of Panegyric Passages in the Inscriptions of the Pāṇḍava Kings of Dakṣiṇa Kosala (6th-7th cent.)

Natasja Bosma (ERC Dharma Project (n° 809994), Humboldt University, Berlin)

The Pāṇḍava dynasty of Dakṣiṇa Kosala is known from a large collection of epigraphic material, most of which can be ascribed to the last-known king of the dynasty: Śivagupta Bālārjuna (c. 590–650 ad). From the inscriptions of Sivagupta we know that the Pandava kings traced their pedigree back to the legendary progenitor Udayana, king of Vatsa. Śivagupta also commemorates Indrabala, the Pandava king who first took control over the region by means of a coup d'état and, therefore, an important historical predecessor. Another Pāṇḍava king who appears to have been important for the prestige and strength of the kingdom, was Tivaradeva. He is not mentioned by Sivagupta and he issued only three charters himself, but the panegyric passages in these inscriptions are very extensive compared to those of the other Pāṇḍava kings. His self-representation consists of long strings of epithets composed by the court poets. He is described as a great conqueror and to have obtained sovereignty over "the whole of Kosala". This raises the question as to whether he was indeed an important figure in the dynasty's history, or whether he needed to propagate himself in this way to strengthen his position. In the former case, one may also wonder why not a single reference to his reign was made in one of Sivagupta's many inscriptions. The paper will deal with these two questions and discuss the position of Tivaradeva in the light of panegyric passages in his own inscriptions and in those of the other Pāṇḍava kings.







#### Whence karma?

Johannes Bronkhorst (University of Lausanne, Switzerland)

How did the belief in rebirth and karmic retribution come about? W. D. Whitney called it "one of the most difficult questions in the religious history of India", and Richard Salomon described it, a century later, as "the single greatest problem of Indological studies". Scholars have proposed textual continuities leading up to texts that give expression to this belief, but questions can and have been raised about such continuities. Worse, these studies do not deal with the observation made by A. B. Keith almost a century ago, viz., that "while the ideas thus recorded are of some value ... the importance of transmigration lies precisely in the fact that the doctrine is an ethical system". The one scholar who fully recognizes the importance of ethicization is Gananath Obeyesekere. Unfortunately, his theory is based on some disputable assumptions, which weaken it, as they weaken Richard Seaford's theory, which builds forth on Obeyesekere's ideas.

This paper offers an altogether different approach that will throw new light on the problem and take us closer to a solution.







# Fluid Textuality and Multilingual Transmission: Towards a Digital Edition of Kanchipuram's Temple Legends

Jonas Buchholz (Universität Heidelberg, Deutschland)

This paper will discuss the challenges, but also the potential involved in the investigation of the textual history of temple legends (Skt. sthalamāhātmya or sthalapurāṇa), a class of texts that describes the mythical histories of particular Hindu holy places, based on the example of the the Sanskrit Kāñcīmāhātmya (KM) and its eighteenth-century Tamil adaptation, the Kāñcippurāṇam (KP), both of which deal with the South Indian temple town of Kanchipuram. It will be shown that the KM, like other purāṇic texts in Sanskrit, has been heavily reworked in the course of its transmission, rendering an investigation of its textual history highly worthwhile; at the same time, a conventional approach that tries to reduce the text to a single urtext does not seem useful for this type of literature, calling for new models of fluid textuality. Moreover, the Tamil KP follows its Sanskrit model so closely that it is possible to read the two texts side by side; what is more, the KP can even fulfill the role of a textual witness for the KM, meaning that a text-critical investigation of KM also has to take into account the Tamil parallel text (an approach so far rarely applied to Sanskrit and Tamil texts). It will be argued that the complexity of a situation where several equally valid recensions of the same text as well as parallel texts in different languages exist side by side requires a new model of editing, for which the methods of digital editing provide the appropriate toolbox.







# Being Dalit, Being Woman: Dalit Women Writers' Resistance to Brahmanism and Patriarchy Runa Chakraborty Paunksnis (Kaunas University of Technology, Litauen)

This presentation appraises the role of Dalit women writers in building intellectual and cultural resistance to Brahmanical hegemony and the patriarchal social structure. Dalit women, who are often described as the subaltern of subalterns, occupy a peripheral space due to the overlapping nature of caste and gender. They experience atrocity and discrimination not only because they are Dalit, but also because they are women. Using the theory of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) and its critique in the Indian context (Menon 2015; John 2015), this paper analyses how Dalit women's location at the intersections of multiple social categories such as caste, class, gender, and religion makes them vulnerable. While the paper draws on the existing research on Brahmanical patriarchy and Dalit feminism, it particularly focuses on the literary writings produced by Dalit women authors who, as the paper argues, play a crucial role in formulating a Dalit feminist standpoint. Besides, it provides textual analyses of two life- narratives, Jina Amucha (English translation The Prisons We Broke) and Karukku (English translation Karukku) written by Dalit women writers, Baby Kamble and Bama respectively. The paper illustrates how both the texts, despite the socio-cultural, ethnic, and religious differences of their authors, converge significantly as they not merely visibilize the layers of marginalization, but they also proclaim the agency of Dalit women. In conclusion, the paper notes the significance of Dalit women writers in instilling a Dalit feminist consciousness in the cultural milieu of contemporary India.







Writing Space and Gender: An Analysis of 'Hijra' Engagements in Sufi Shrines and Sacred Spaces USMAN SHAFEEK CHAMAKA PARAMBIL (University of Hyderabad, India)

Being India's major third gendered or trans populations, hijra engagements were recorded in different dimensions beyond the typical understanding of gender and sexuality. Hijras' religious engagements go beyond the idea of religion as a set of normative rules and morals. It leads us towards another phase of their lives having divine and spiritual dimensions. Their active participation in major Muslim religious festivals, pilgrimages, and everyday rituals and their historical and cultural affinity with the various traditions of Islam like Sufism; all point towards a distinct realm of spirituality hijras try to possess in many ways. Apart from different modes of everyday spiritualities hijras construct and perform from going to mosques, performing daily prayers and visiting shrines of Sufi saints, hijras go for major pilgrimages like Haj, visit the holy sites of Islam like Mecca, Medina, Masjid Aqsa, Karbala, etc.

All these hijra engagements inspire us to think of a spiritual vocabulary hijras try to construct and studying the same will definitely lead us to explore an interesting intersection of gender, religion, spirituality and sexuality. Tracing out this dimension along with searching for the possibility of a distinct spiritual identity hijras strive for, the proposed paper tries to figure out how hijras relate to God, spiritual and divine exploration. Overall, this study wants to look deeply at hijras' religious imaginations and spiritual longings, which will open doors towards understanding deeper dynamics of how hijras engage with the notion of faith.







## Snippet views of the transition of popular literature to print culture

Jean-Luc Chevillard (CNRS (France), Germany)

The earliest trace of the existence of popular literature might be found in the Tolkāppiyam, if we are to believe Pērāciriyar's interpretation of the term pulan (TP553p), which is the designation of one of the eight vaṇappu. Later literature, such as the Cilappatikāram, and devotional corpora, such as the Tiruvācakam and other collections, also contain compositions which emulate popular creativity. However, it is only for the early modern period, thanks to the preservation of larger groups of MSS, that we have access to texts which probably would not have been preserved Verbatim, if libraries had not intervened in the normal shorter-term life cycle of those compositions. Closer to us in time, we see the appearance of early printed booklets, from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, as documented by early catalogues, such as Murdoch's and as more massively available in the RMRL collection in Chennai, a growing part of which is now more largely accessible thanks to digitization. The intended presentation for which this is the abstract, will select a few items, attested both as MS and as printed booklet, and examine them both from the point of view of content and of metrical form, also trying to verify how those compositions fit in the grid provided by the popular Pāṭṭiyal treatises codification.







## Jain Ideologies of Kingship Perceptions from Medieval Prakrit Narratives Christine CHOJNACKI (University, France)

Several studies (P. Dundas 1991; Cort 1995; Leclère 2013; Pierce Taylor 2016) have shown how the Jaina literary sources (both Śvetāmbara and Digambara) from medieval India do not only portray a monastic world but also a secular one and give indications on the royal ideology that the authors of the time wished to convey, as well as on the different attitudes the sovereigns had towards the Jaina community.

However these studies rely on texts from the 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. Therefore working through the long Jain narratives in Prakrit composed by Śvetāmbara scholar-monks between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries can provide additional information on the royal ideology of that period.

Moreover, even though the long Prakrit narratives depict mythical kings instead of historical kings, they may nonetheless reflect to some extent the ideologies prevalent in their times. In this way, they can give us complementary insight on the portraits of the Caulukya rulers, such as Mūlarāja, Durlabha and Jayasiṃha Siddharāja, who are the subject of later chronicles studied by scholars.

In this presentation, we will inquire the following questions. To what extent do Śvetāmbara long narratives differ from Digambara works in regards to royal ideologies? Do they reveal an evolution of the models? Do they corroborate the portraits of the Kings drawn in the article by J.E. Cort (1995)? We hope to shed some light on these topics by using a vast yet still largely unknown body of Jain Literature from Medieval India.







# The Manipravalam Version of the Bhagavadgītā by K. Śrīnivāsan in Ms GOML R3507 Giovanni Ciotti (University of Hamburg, Germany)

Manuscript R3507 of the Government Oriental Manuscript Library of Chennai is a remarkable artefact. It contains the hitherto only known copy of a prose version (vacanam) of the Bhagavadgītā composed by Kariccankāl Śrīnivāsan, a Śrivaisnava author who translated into Manipravalam a number of Sanskrit texts towards the end of the eighteenth century. As it will emerge from the analysis of a selection of passages from the text, the register of Manipravalam employed by Kariccankāl Śrīnivāsan continues the preceding Śrivaiṣṇava tradition, mixing Sanskrit and Tamil lexemes with Tamil grammatical endings. Syntactically it showcases both mind boggling long sentences as well as a more paratactic prose. Ms GOML R3507 also contains a version of the Bhagavadgītāmālāmantra – a collection of verses that provides the ritual context for the recitation of the Bhagavadgītā – that uniquely integrates Śrivaiṣṇava elements, thus creating a new version of this paratext that is unknown in other manuscripts of the Bhagavadgītā hailing from the area of Tamil Nadu. Finally, Ms GOML R3507 is also an exquisite example of what a luxury South Indian palm-leaf manuscript can look like. Made of over 138 well-cut and proportional Talipot leaves, it is carefully written by one of the best hands of nineteenth-century Tamil Nadu, namely that of Perunkāraṇai Rāmānujan: steady, elegant, and able to maintain the labour between Tamil Grantha and Tamil scripts – ostensibly both required to write in Manipravalam – impeccably distinct.







Inscription making as an act of appropriation: Epigraphical evidence from sites and objects related to the Bungadyan chariot procession in modern Nepal, c. 1800–1950

Simon Cubelic (Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Deutschland)

In Nepal a rich epigraphical production in Sanskrit, Nepali and Newari continued well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This paper examines a selection of these late epigraphical compositions from sites and objects related to the Buṅgadyaḥ or Rāto Matsyendranātha Jātrā, one of the major festivals of Kathmandu Valley, especially for the Newar community. Given the festival's high legitimatory significance, not only political and religious elites, but also local groups, families and private donors vied for visibility through epigraphical practices. Fixed objects—such as steles, pillars, statues and temple walls—as well as mobile ritual objects—such as vessels, bells, palanquins or elements of the Buṅgadyaḥ chariot—were used to inscribe identities, express socio-religious values, claim sacred spaces, appropriate ritual traditions and commemorate individual or collective sponsorship. By focusing on inscriptional evidence from the Śāha kings, Rāṇā prime ministers and the Rāmaite movement of Guru Kavi Prasāda Gautama (1903–1988), it will be argued that inscription sites constituted discursive arenas in struggles for power, prestige and recognition.







### The Question of Women's Purity: Fighting to Enter Sufi Shrines in India

Deepra Dandekar (Leibniz-zentrum Moderner Orient, Germany)

In 2012, the trust overseeing the fifteenth century Sufi shrine of Haji Ali, in Mumbai, barred entry for women to the inner sanctum of the shrine that housed the Sufi's grave, saying that it was a sin for women to touch the grave of a male saint. Soon afterwards, in 2016, two Muslim feminists Noorjehan Niaz, and Zakia Soman from the organization Bharatiya Muslim *Mahila Andolan* (BMMA), loosely translated as 'Indian Muslim Women's Movement' challenged this ban in the Mumbai High Court, filing a public interest litigation (PIL) to the effect that the ban was contrary to the Articles 15, 19, and 25 of the Indian Constitution. The PIL asked for women to be permitted to enter the shrine and treated at par with men and given the "right to pray", further stating that gender justice was inherent to the Quran, and did not contravene the Hadith. Though the Sufi shrine trust defended its stand, BMMA won the case in 2018 by a landmark ruling that was seen as a victory for women's groups. This acted as a precedent that was soon followed by other women's groups — Hindu women's groups who asked to be allowed entrance to Hindu temples. This presentation explores the religious question of purity, predominantly originating out of Hindu Brahminical rituals, and its application to non-Hindu religions such as Sufi Muslim practices in India.







# The 'Śivadharmas' of the Vāyavīyasaṃhitā. Texts, Doctrines, and Adaptive Strategies Florinda De Simini (University L'Orientale, Italy)

This presentation focuses on a specific aspect of the reception of the Sivadharmasastra and the Śivadharmottara, namely the reuse of substantial portions of their text for the composition of the Vāyavīyasamhitā, transmitted as one of the sections forming the Śivapurāna. Far from just borrowing extensive parts of the Sivadharma texts in their work, as it happens elsewhere, the composers of the Vāyavīyasamhitā adopted in the first place a selective approach, which made them choose text from what they saw as the most important topics of these works—such as the teachings on the şaḍakṣaraand pañcākṣaramantra, or those on the jñānayoga. The borrowed text was then blended with stanzas that are not borrowed from other known sources, and that can therefore be considered an original composition of the author(s). While this 'expanded text' is sometimes just an enlargement of that of the Śivadharma works, to which it adds no further information, in many other cases it plays the function of commenting upon it; in other points, the authorial text twists the meaning of the stanzas borrowed from the Sivadharma in order to adapt their contents to new contexts. On the basis of a selection of examples, I will illustrate the methods used in the Vāyavīyasamhitā to deal with the text of the Śivadharmaśāstra and the Śivadharmottara, and furthermore highlight the importance that this work had also for the spread of crucial Śivadharma teachings in South India. This paper contributes to the panel "The History of Saivism through Textual and Material Evidence"







### The Role of Siva in Abhayadatta's Lives of the 84 Siddhas

Lucas den Boer (University of Naples "L'Orientale")

The relationship between Buddhism and Śaivism in early medieval East India (600 – 1200 CE) is still poorly understood. Many sites in contemporary Bihar and Bengal were shared by Buddhists and Śaivas, and the intellectual developments on both sides suggest that a lively dialogue was taking place between the two groups. However, even though the archaeological remains of the Buddhist monasteries provide us with some clues about how Buddhism was organised, it is highly unclear how the Saivas were organised and where they interacted with the Buddhists. Abhayadatta's Lives of the 84 Siddhas provides valuable information about the Buddhist-Saiva encounters in early medieval East India. Abhayadatta, who lived in East India in the 12th century CE, wrote lively portraits of the lives of 84 siddhas. Notwithstanding the Buddhist orientation of the work, Abhayadatta's text includes biographies of several siddhas with a Śaiva background, and Śiva and the Śaivas play a role in several lives of the Buddhist siddhas. Abhayadatta's work suggests that the author was aware of the fluid boundaries between Buddhism and Saivism at an earlier stage in history, and he tries to mediate this uneasy fact in various creative ways. In my paper, I will analyse the different biographies in Abhayadatta's work that deal with the interaction between Buddhists and Saivas and stories in which Siva appears, in an effort to clarify the way in which Buddhism dealt with the influence of Saivism by the end of the 12th century CE.







## Active Reuse in North Indian Sāmpradāyik Ritual Texts

Kush Praful Depala (Universitaet Heidelberg, Germany)

With the development of *bhakti sampradāyas* (devotional traditions) in the early modern era, we begin to see the emergence of a number of new ritual texts—ones that are not found in the *Vedas*, *Brāhmaṇas* or other very early Sanskrit literature, but ones that are often 'new', and specific to their *sampradāyas*. Specifically, I shall limit my scope to ritual texts produced by the *Puṣṭi Mārg* and the *Svāminārāyaṇa Sampradāya*, both being *bhakti sampradāyas* originating in North India. This paper seeks to examine the process of adaptive reuse (Freschi and Maas, 2017) behind some of these ritual texts by examining the links between these texts and the literature that preceded it. Both of these *sampradāyas* stake a claim to their rituals being *vaidika*, despite the texts being written thousands of years after the *Vedas*. But how can this be?

I shall examine the ways in which Vedic-era tropes and references are blended with—or actively adaptively reused alongside—newer literary material belonging to the two *sampradāyas*, so that an 'imagined' (to extend Anderson, 1983) modus of ritual text and activity are composed, used and integrated into their communities. In this way, I hope to extend our understanding of *vaidika*, as well as the compositional processes behind early modern Sanskrit compositions.







# Ascetic Selves & Worldly Rulers in Early Modern Digambara Jaina Inscriptions Tillo Detige (CERES, RUB, Deutschland)

This paper discusses aspects of mostly unpublished, 16<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century CE inscriptions of Digambara Jaina memorial stones (pādukā, niṣedhikā), icons (mūrtilekha), and temple plaques (śilālekha) from Western and Central India. Throughout the Sultanate (1206-1526 CE) and Mughal (1526-1857 CE) periods, the Digambara ascetic traditions were led by teacher-pupil lineages of bhaţţārakas. While scholarship long conceived of these bhattārakas as 'clerics', 'administrators', 'semi-ascetics', or mere ritual specialists, it is now clear that they stood at the apex of the ascetic hierarchy and were perceived and venerated as ideal renouncers. Early modern bhattarakas were thus not purely imaginatively presenting themselves as heirs to ancient and medieval Digambara ascetics in memorial inscriptions and in longer ascetic genealogies preserved in manuscripts (paṭṭāvalī) and on a special type of collective memorial stone (kīrtistambha). In the Dhūndhāda region, inscriptions of memorial stones of Balātkāragaņa renouncers and paṇḍitas from the 17th to the first half of the 19th century CE also systematically refer to the Kachavāhā rulers of Amber and Jaipur. The Dhūndhāda bhaṭṭārakas, who are known to have maintained close and stable links to the Kachavāhā court and to have taken on royal pomp themselves as part of their consecrations and in public appearances, may have conceived of their sphere of influence as coinciding with the mahārājas' polity. Laudatory references to Muslim rulers in other types of Digambara inscriptions and in manuscript colophons finally indicate Jain merchant communities' pragmatic relations to the ruling classes, regardless of religious identities.







### On the re(dis)covery of Ratnaśrījñāna's Śabdārthacintā

Dragomir Dimitrov (Philipps-Universität Marburg, Germany)

A major obstacle to the study of the extensive later contributions to Candragomin's Cāndravyākaraṇa (fifth cent. AD) has been their poor state of preservation and the lack of text-critical editions of those works which have somehow survived the ravages of time. In this presentation I will talk about how it recently became possible to prepare a complete critical edition and an English translation of Ratnaśrījñāna's Śabdārthacintā or «Reflection on word and meaning», despite the fact that this tenth-century grammatical treatise has reached us in a badly damaged codex unicus in which more than four percent of the text has been lost. The recovery of the entire text of Ratna's learned treatise was significantly facilitated by the unexpected recent discovery that a late twelfth-century grammatical text by Dhammasenāpati entitled Kārikā contains a nearly complete Pali translation of the Śabdārthacintā. Studying such Sanskrit and Pali works by crossing over linguistic boundaries and the confines of school affiliation does not only help us to achieve a broader and deeper understanding of the later development of grammatical thought in South and Southeast Asia, but this also practically enables us to rediscover a lost gem of Indian grammatical literature contributed by a true luminary in the Indian intellectual history. The Śabdārthacintā has risen like a phoenix from the ashes of oblivion and proves to be a most significant contribution in a series of works written by the remarkable Sinhalese scholar Ratnaśrījñāna known also as Ratnamati and later Upatisa.







# Struggle Over Kanauj and Beyond: Mutual Representations of the Pālas, the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas

Ryosuke Furui (The University of Tokyo, Japan)

The political arena of North India between the late eighth and early ninth centuries was dominated by the confrontations of the Pālas, the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in their struggle over Kanauj. The kings of these dynasties fought each other supporting either of the contenders for the throne of Kanauj, and their deeds are depicted in the eulogies (praśastis) in the inscriptions of themselves, their descendants and subordinates. As representations of the same events from different viewpoints, these eulogies provide not only building blocks for the reconstruction of political history but also clues to their perceptions of self and other, which would reveal their views on power relations involving all the parties. In this paper, I will compare the mutual representations of those three dynasties, especially what and how the eulogies tell, or not tell, about the kings and their opponents, and discuss the conceptualisations of kingship and political order shared or unshared by them.







# The Divine Mother as Vaishnava Guru: Spiritual Motherhood as Charismatic Leadership Arkamitra Ghatak (Heidelberg University, Germany)

This presentation focuses on Shobha Ma (1921-2004), the female guru of the Nimbarka Vaishnava sect who was well-known as a spiritual leader in late twentieth century South Asia, although her career as a saint began well before the end of colonial rule. She was born in a non- Brahmin, but affluent family from east-Bengal, who were worshippers of the mother-goddess (Shakta) before being initiated into the Nimbarka order by the 55th Mahant of the sect, Swami Santadas. She acquired considerable fame at the age of sixteen in Bengal for her spiritual wisdom which impressed scholars of the day including the Indologist Gopinath Kaviraj.

Drawing upon her hagiographies, this paper demonstrates how Shobha Ma redefined the concept of guruhood by combining it with 'spiritual motherhood' which became the predominant mode of her charismatic authority and leadership. Drawing upon elements from her Shakta background which bolstered her identification with the goddess Kali, Shobha Ma fashioned herself into a divine mother to her disciples, offering them miraculous protection, nurture, and love, as well as moral and spiritual guidance towards self-realization in her capacity as a Guru. Such an identification with the Divine Mother bolstered her charismatic authority, generating legitimacy to her position as the first non-Brahmin Guru within the orthodox Nimbarka order, and her rejection of certain orthodox Brahminical practices through the redefinition of the sect's scriptures.







# Portrayal of the Forest People, the 'other', in the epigraphic records of early India (3rd century BCE to 12th century CE)

Suchandra Ghosh (University of Hyderabad, India)

Forest and forest people have been perceived in many ways in early Indian written sources and modern historiography of analyses of such sources. In spite of great deal of ambivalence in their representation among the various categories of sources, there is a common agreement that both the space and its inhabitants were the 'other'. If we sift through the epigraphic records of early India, cutting across time and space, we find that there are ample references which allow us to have a multivalent portrayal of the forest people. The forest people taken together were generally referred to as āṭavika in our sources. But singularly they had different nomenclature and often defined territories. In this presentation, I wish to study the epigraphic portrayal of the Sabaras and the Pulindas who were by and large the 'other' of Brahmanical society. In different contextual situations their marginality and exclusion were defined but there were occasions particularly from the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE when these forest people were represented to be in positions of power or status. Expressions like Śabara mahattara, Śabara bhogika, 'Pulinda-rāja-rāṣṭra' or names like Pulindabhaṭa in the epigraphs undoubtedly indicate enhanced social status along with participation/negotiation in the affairs of the State. There are many other examples which would be studied in their perspective along with some of their contemporary textual association to grasp their otherness and I argue that often this 'otherness' was masked when there was a transformation of forest spaces into  $r\bar{a}jyas$ .







# Insights into the Tamil-speaking South of the 5th century: the inscription of Pulankuricci Valerie Gillet (Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, France)

We know very little of the religious, political, economic and social organization of the Tamil-speaking South between the 3rd and the 6th centuries. The previous period – known mostly through brief Tamil epigraphs and ancient Tamil literature –, as well as the subsequent period – mainly known through Sanskrit and Tamil inscriptions, and excavated and later structural temples – were often explored. But archaeological artefacts enabling us to decrypt the transition between the two periods are rare, rendering its reconstruction difficult. The discovery in the early 1990's of three lengthy inscriptions in Pulankuricci, assigned to the end of the 5th century C.E., changed to a great extent our perception of this so-called "Dark period". Engraved at the bottom of a granite hillock in unusually large letters, these three inscriptions begin with the mention of an unknown era, involve a chieftain who belong to a minor dynasty already known to the ancient literature, refer to the construction of three temples (two Brahmanical and one Jaina) in different locations, and settle the organization and the allocation of the revenues of land belonging to the temples. Through the analysis of these epigraphs and their context, we will particularly explore the notions of visibility of inscriptions, the question of patronization of religious monuments and its link with the establishment of larger political powers, and the emergence of temple organization.







#### Viţutūtu: Traditional Poetic Genre in the Period of Transformation

Nikolay Gordiychuk (RUDN University, Russian Federation)

While it is generally regarded that literary production in traditional poetic genres was quite insensitive to social and cultural changes during the colonial period, close reading of Tamil works in the viţutūtu genre, composed between 17th and 19th centuries, may partially challenge this notion. Being rooted in the earliest corpus of Tamil poetry of the so-called "Sangam period", viţutūtu has undergone multiple transmutations in Medieval religious and court poetry to become a local variety of the Pan-Indian genre of "messenger-poem" (sandeśa) with its own distinctive literary conventions. Focusing on three later poems of this genre - tamil viţutūtu ("Tamil as messenger"), pukaiyilai viţutūtu ("Tobacco-leaf as messenger"), and paṇa viţutūtu ("Money as messenger") – argument will be provided, that these poems actually attempted to reflect dramatic changes in the economy and ideology of the contemporary South Indian society.







#### Orientalische und andere Christen im Indischen Ozean vor 500 Jahren

Harald Gropp (Universitaet Heidelberg, Germany)

Was mit der Eroberung von Ceuta 1415 durch die Portugiesen begann, nämlich die conquista der aussereuropäischen Welt als Folge der reconquista der Halbinsel fand ihren ersten Höhepunkt mit dem Erreichen des indischen (Sub-)Kontinents durch Vasco da Gama im Jahre 1498. Damit war der Weg nach Osten weitgehend offen, um die begehrten Gewürzinseln zu errreichen und den Handel mit diesen wertvollen Gütern unter direkte Kontrolle zu bringen. Neben allgemeinen machtpolitischen Motiven gab es vor allem religiöse Motivationen für die portugiesischen Expeditionen. Die Hoffnung, im Osten auf Christen zu treffen, erfüllte sich, aber etwas anders als die katholischen Portugiesen es erhofften.

Dieser Vortrag soll die Ausbreitung des Christentums durch den Indischen Ozean nach Südasien zum Inhalt haben, von den ersten sehr frühen Anfängen bis zum 16. Jahrhundert unter besonderer Berücksichtigung zweier Aspekte.

Zum einen sollen die relativ kontinuierlichen religiösen Kontakte zwischen Indien und dem Nahen Osten durch die Jahrhunderte hindurch besonders auf den Wissenstransfer hin untersucht werden. Durch die theologische Ausrichtung an den christlichen Kirchen des Nahen Ostens ergab sich eine direkte Anbindung an die Wissenskultur des islamisch geprägten Mesopotamiens. Dies führte zu einer besonderen Blüte der Wissenschaft in Kerala vor dem Eintreffen der Portugiesen in Indien.

Im zweiten Teil wird der Kontakt der katholischen Portugiesen mit den "indigenen" Christen in Indien untersucht im Hinblick auf Fragen der Theologie, der Politik, der Kultur im Allgemeinen und der Wissenschaft im Besonderen. Diese Entwicklung wird durch die Synode zum Abschluss gebracht, wenn auch nur vorläufig.







### Juxtaposed Genealogies of the Hoysalas and their Subordinates c. 1117-1245 C.E.

Samana Kaivar Gururaja (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany)

The reign of the Hoysala dynasty in Southern Karnataka began in the late eleventh century, and by the late twelfth, their territory had grown to encompass most of present-day Karnataka, and parts of Tamil Nadu. The rise of this dynasty was marked by an increasingly complex network of military envoys -- daṇḍanāyaka -- and subordinate rulers -- mahāsāmanta and mahāmaṇḍaleśvara — who recorded their affiliation to the Hoysalas in stone and copper-plate inscriptions. This paper traces the evolution of subordinate families through several generations of service to the Hoysalas, and juxtaposes their representation of the Hoysala family with the Hoysala family's own recorded genealogy. In their initial inscriptions, one subordinate family, for example, record that they were in service of the Western Gangas before the Hoysalas came into existence, asserting that their predominance in the region predated that of the family they now served. Similarly a second subordinate mentioned his father's service to the Hoysala ancestor, Nrpa Kāma who was omitted from the royal genealogy. As time went on and the Hoysala family became more established, the mentions of the generations that predated them disappeared from the genealogies of these subordinate families. In this paper, I argue that during the early years of the Hoysala reign, these families acknowledged their previously held ties outside the established Hoysala genealogy as a kind of security against the precarious fortunes of their overlords. As Hoysalas and their subordinates gained a foothold and became the dominant power in the region, the need to acknowledge these external links faded.







#### The Dissertation "Gāyatrī: Mantra and Mother of the Vedas"

Dominik A. Haas (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Austria; University of Vienna)

The short mantra known as Gāyatrī or Sāvitrī (Rgveda III 62.10) belongs to the most frequently recited texts of mankind. Over the course of time, it has even gained the status of being worshipped as a goddess itself. The dissertation presented in this talk for the first time shows how the mantra gained prominence as a religious text and how it was deified. To reconstruct this history, passages from more than one hundred Vedic and Sanskrit texts from the period between about 1000 BCE and 1000 CE were subjected to philological-historical analysis. To explain the process of deification, the study also includes an interdisciplinary component that draws on perspectives and insights from the religious studies. Its first part demonstrates that the reuses of the mantra in the mid-Vedic Śrauta ritual were decisive for its selection as the primary initiation mantra, and further argues that this function was mainly responsible for its subsequent rise to an emblem of Brahmanical Hinduism. The second part traces the development of the mantra to and as a goddess up into the Tantric Age. It shows that several factors contributed to its deification, among them not only its personification, but also its identification with the goddess Sūryā, or Sūryā Sāvitrī. The results of the study will not only be of interest to classical South Asian studies and religious studies, but, since the mantra and its deification also enjoy great popularity in a number of modern religious and spiritual currents, also to a wider readership.







## Reception and Development of the Śivadharma Corpus in Nepal: Current Understanding Kengo Harimoto (University of Naples l'Orientale, Italy)

Nepal has preserved many manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus. The production of those manuscripts span from the 9th century to recent times. In those manuscripts, the corpus could consist of up to 10 titles. Among those titles, only the Sivadharmaśāstra and the Śivadharmottara[śāstra] are attested in manuscripts produced outside Nepal. The others are hitherto only seen in manuscripts produced in Nepal. The Nepalese manuscripts, produced at different times, are not unanimous in their contents, including how the contents are arranged in a bundle. In recent years, we are gaining more and more knowledge about those manuscripts. The observations now allow us to theorize some aspects of the textual history of the Sivadharma corpus in Nepal. This paper aims at providing a bird-eye view of what we may say regarding the textual history of the Śivadharma corpus in Nepal. It will discuss the current understanding of the order of composition/adaptation of auxiliary texts and their possible places of origin. We may safely say the corpus grew gradually by acquiring different auxiliary texts at different times. Additionally, the paper will discuss the receptions of the core part of the corpus in Nepal. There are hints that different versions of the core part of the corpus arrived in Nepal from elsewhere more than once. This would imply that there was a center where the corpus—at least the core part—was evolving even after its first arrival in Nepal and the corpus was being distributed to a wide region from there.







#### Die Tridandamālā – ein Textbuch für buddhistische Rituale?

Jens-Uwe Hartmann (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Deutschland)

Das Werk ist in einer einzigen Sanskrit-Handschrift aus Tibet bewahrt. Es besteht aus vierzig Kapiteln, in deren Zentrum jeweils ein kürzeres Sūtra steht, meist aus dem Saṃyuktāgama. Diese Sūtras sind nach einem festen Schema jeweils von Strophen eingerahmt, wobei deren Zahl beträchtlich variiert. Der Verfasser der Tridaṇḍamālā hat die insgesamt weit mehr als tausend Strophen ohne Quellenangabe einer ganzen Reihe von buddhistischen Sanskrit-Dichtungen entnommen, bevorzugt solchen, die mit dem Namen Aśvaghoṣa verbunden sind. Es handelt sich also um eine Kompilation, deren Anlass oder Zweck aber nicht vermerkt ist. Verschiedene Indizien, darunter die Bezüge zu dem bei Yijing und im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins mehrfach erwähnten Tridaṇḍaka-Ritual, könnten darauf hindeuten, dass es sich um eine Zusammenstellung von Texten handelt, die bei spezifischen Anlässen rezitiert wurden. Diese Indizien sollen vorgestellt und in ihren Implikationen besprochen werden, was abschließend zu der Frage führen wird, warum ein solcher Gebrauchstext – falls diese Einordnung denn zutrifft – nur in einer einzigen Handschrift bewahrt ist.







#### Sammelhandschriften und Schutzzauber in den Kulturen Südasiens

Kathrin Holz (Universität Lausanne, Schweiz)

Dieser Beitrag untersucht ausgewählte Sammelhandschriften der verschiedenen Kulturen Südasiens, die apotropäische Texte und Schutzzauber enthalten und somit zur Abwehr von Unheil, Gefahr und Krankheit, vor allem aber zum Schutz auf Reisen dienten. Einige dieser Handschriften wurden schließlich aufgerollt oder gefaltet und in einen Amulettbehälter eingeschlossen. Das Tragen von Amuletten zum Schutz stellt eine rituelle Praxis dar, die im Falle der Buddhisten nicht auf das Erlangen der Buddhaschaft abzielt, sondern alltägliche Sorgen der buddhistischen Gemeinschaft wiedergibt. Diese Praktiken werden zwar ausführlich in Handschriften beschrieben, wurden jedoch meist von der modernen Wissenschaft übersehen, da es sich nicht um Lehrtexte, sondern um postkanonische Sammlungen, häufig in Form von Sammelhandschriften, so genannte multiple-text manuscripts, handelt. Sammelhandschriften mit apotropäischen Texten wurden und werden noch heute von den Anhängern der verschiedenen religiösen Traditionen Südasiens als Amuletthandschriften verwendet. Hierbei spielt nicht nur der Text eine bedeutende Rolle, sondern auch dessen materieller Träger sowie die historischen und kulturellen Umstände, die maßgeblich an der Herstellung und Verbreitung eines Textes beteiligt sind.







### The God With a Thousand Vulvas: On the Feminine Side of the Heroic Self in Ancient India and Greece

Anahita Gwenllian Hoose (University of California, Los Angeles)

Hypermasculine warriors undergo feminisation in multiple early Indo-European myths. I discuss a Sanskrit example involving the god Indra, emasculated (in one version, through the appearance of a thousand vulvas on his body) as a punishment for the seduction of Ahalyā. I compare this narrative to Greek tales of the heroes Achilles and Herakles, each of whose careers features a transvestite phase; all three narratives also involve a sexual element as well as emasculation. I present an analysis of these myths within the interpretive framework of Lévi-Strauss (1955), for whom myth serves the function of mediating binary oppositions: the opposing principles of warriorhood and femininity are unified in the mediating figure of the feminised warrior. In the Greek stories, the mediation is perhaps further facilitated by the heroes' sexual potency during their transvestite phases, which confirms that the warrior nature is fully instantiated within them even after their adoption of feminine attire. By contrast, Indra's sexual lapse, which precedes and causes his feminisation, can even be seen as an early sign of it, given the ancient Indian tendency to attribute sexual initiative to women rather than men (Jamison 1996: 15-17). The association between feminisation and sexuality was perhaps inherited from Proto-Indo-European times and subsequently reinterpreted in accordance with the individual value system of each later culture.

#### References

Jamison, Stephanie. 1996. Sacrificed Wife/Sacrificer's Wife: Women, Ritual, and Hospitality in Ancient India. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1955. The Structural Study of Myth. The Journal of American Folklore 68 (270): 428-444.







# 1300 Jahre auf Reisen: Drei beschriftete buddhistische Bronzen auf ihrem Wege von Nordwestindien über Tibet in die Schatzkammer der Mandschu-Kaiser

Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber (Max-Weber-Kolleg, Germany)

Der Schwerpunkt des Vortrags liegt zunächst auf der paläographischen Analyse der Sanskrit-Inschriften der behandelten Bronzen. Danach können die drei Skulpturen in die erste Hälfte des 7. Jh. datiert und ihre Herkunft auf den Nordwesten Indiens (heute Pakistan) zurückgeführt werden.

Vieles spricht dafür, dass diese "Post-Gandhāra" Kunstschule in engster Verbindung mit der königlichen Familie der Palola Şāhis stand, die das Gebiet um Gilgit von ca. 585 bis ca. 720 beherrschte. Als aber die Tibeter im 8. Jh. während der mächtigen Yarlung-Dynastie (7.-9. Jh.) auch dieses Gebiet eroberten, wurden offenbar sowohl Kunstobjekte als auch Künstler nach Tibet gebracht, womit die einmalige Hochkultur der tibetischen Kunstgießerei begann.

Während der chinesischen Qing-Dynastie (1636-1912) der Mandschu-Kaiser, die sich zum tibetischen Buddhismus bekannten, reisten der 5. Dalai Lama im Jahr 1652, der 6. Panchen Lama im Jahr 1780 und der 13. Dalai Lama im Jahr 1908 nach Peking. So gelangten als kostbare Geschenke aus Tibet neben Thankas und vielen anderen auch einige Bronzen in die Schatzkammer des Kaiserpalastes.

In einer Kooperation mit dem Palastmuseum (2016: Prof. Luo Wenhua) wurde nun festgestellt, dass einige Inschriften in "Proto-Śāradā" geschrieben wurden. Diese einst in Gilgit verbreitete Schriftart und vor allem die in den Inschriften enthaltenen Namen der Palola Ṣāhis lassen keinen Zweifel aufkommen, dass die Bronzen ursprünglich aus Indien stammen. Somit stellt die Erforschung an dem neuen Material aus Peking eine weitere Ergänzung dar zur Vorarbeit von Oskar von Hinüber (2004): Die Palola Ṣāhis. Ihre Steininschriften, Inschriften auf Bronzen, Handschriftenkolophone und Schutzzauber. Materialien zur Geschichte von Gilgit und Chilas.







### Self-Representation of the Central Himalayan Rulers: Epigraphic Gleanings (c. 6th-10th Centuries CE)

Dev Kumar JHANJH (Jadavpur University, India)

In Indian history, the period between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries CE has a distinct identity, marked by the issuance of huge numbers of land grant records by royal authorities, primarily to religious and occasionally to secular donees. The preamble sections of these donative records introduce the grantor and his genealogy often in eulogy (praśasti) format, which is important for the present study. In this paper, I will analyse seven copper plates and one stone record of two dynasties (the Pauravas and the rulers of Kārttikeyapura) of the central Himalayan area (present Uttarakhand State, India). Following the pattern of this period and claiming a kşatriya origin as a newly emerging ruling house, the Pauravas (c. 6<sup>th</sup> century CE) traced their genealogy from three origins (the moon, the sun, and the mythological Pauravas), which is unusual in pre-modern India. In contrast, the rulers of the Kārttikeyapura kingdom (c. 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries CE) did not try to connect their line with any mythological origin. However, in the records of both the dynasties, the current ruler, who issued the record, projected himself as the most eloquent one, endowed with supernatural qualities. For example, in his Pandukesvar plate, Lalitaśūradeva (c. 9th century CE) claimed divinity by portraying himself as the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu who lifted the earth that had sunk into the cosmic ocean during the kaliyuqa, the age of distress. By comparing the charters of the two dynasties, an attempt will be made to understand the pattern of self-representation in the central Himalayan region.







### Some strategies of linking the Shābda bodha of 2+ sentences

Shruti Kanitkar, Malhar Kulkarni (IIT Bombay, India)

Shābda bodha is the meaning that is understood from a sentence. Many ancient Indian disciplines have talked about the nature of Shābda bodha and have also proposed theories in order to describe it. The grammarians opine that out of all the elements in a sentence, the 'Dhātvartha' i.e. the meaning of verbal root plays the most important role in the sentence. Therefore, their Shābda bodha is called 'धात्वर्थमुख्यविशेष्यक'. The scholars of Nyāya philosophy are of the opinion that the meaning of the word in nominative case is the main element of the sentence. Hence, their Shābda bodha is called 'प्रथमान्तार्थमुख्यविशेष्यक'. Then the Mīmāṃsā scholars state that the meaning of the suffix part of the verb is the main element in the sentence. Their Shābda bodha is 'प्रत्ययार्थभावनामुख्यविशेष्यक'. In this way, different philosophical schools have elaborately discussed the sentence meaning and its cognition.

It is important to note that the sentence meaning of a single sentence unit has been the subject of discussion of many treatises. But when two sentences come together, how exactly does the Shābda bodha work? This is not specified clearly in the texts until now. This paper has tried to work on this very topic, i.e. linking two and more sentences with the methodology of Shābda bodha stated by the Paninian grammar school.

#### References -

Kulkarni M., Ajotikar A., (2010) Headedness and Modification in Nyāya Morpho-Syntactic Analysis: Towards a Bracket-Parsing Model. Sanskrit Computational Linguistics. ISCLS 2010. Lecture Notes in Computer Science, vol 6465. Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg







## Sufism and Shi'ism in Early Modern South Asia: Is the Refutation of Shi'ism a Part of Sufi Reform Agenda?

Soraya Khodamoradi (University of Erfurt, Germany)

The problem of the relationship between Sufism and Shi'ism has remained somewhat unsolved in academic discussions. Henry Corbin (d. 1978) raised the idea of the deep links between Sufism and Shi'ism in terms of both doctrine and spiritual experience. He categorised Shi'ism and Sufism under the category of bāṭinī (esoteric) Islam. However, scholars like William Chittick (b. 1943), who think that being a Sufi has certainly nothing to do with the Sunni-Shi'i split, try to understand Sufism in its Sunni background and without focusing on such categorisations as done by Corbin. In the context of South Asian Islam, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as Shi'i rulers of the new centres disseminated Shi'i practices and rituals, discussions about Shi'ism became a serious part of Sufi reform. Outstanding Sufi revivalists engaged with the issue of Shi'ism in different styles and with distinct objectives, ranging from uniting the main Islamic denominations to rebutting the Shi'i position altogether. This lecture tries to answer the question of relationship between Sufism and Shi'ism in the light of the texts from the early modern Sufi reformists. A major example is Nāla-yi 'Andalīb, which has been composed by Muhammad Nasir 'Andalīb (d. 1758), the founder of the reformist Mujaddidi branch of Ṭarīqa Muḥammadiyya Khāliṣa (Pure Muhammadan Path).







A Śaiva Utopia, Version 2.0: The Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha's reinterpretation of the four āśramas Csaba Kiss (Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale", Italy)

The 'Śivadharma' and 'Dharma' Projects (ERC 803624 and 809994) are working on critical editions of all the hitherto unpublished portions of the so-called Śivadharma corpus (7th–10th centuries; see e.g. De Simini 2016a, 2016b, Bisschop 2018) and are collaborating closely with other researchers studying these texts. In a recently published volume, Bisschop, Kafle and Lubin (2021) analyse the vision of the Śivadharmaśāstra, the first text in this collection, on the four 'life stages' or 'social disciplines' (āśrama) as a 'Śaiva Utopia.' A similarly utopian reinterpretation of the āśramas is to be found in another text of the Śivadharma corpus, the Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha.

Giving an update on my work in progress on a critical edition of the Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha, I'd like to compare its description of a Śaiva heaven in its chapter two with its central concept of 'non-material sacrifice' (anarthayajña), the driving force behind a complete transformation of the four āśramas into a utopian vision of an absence of rituals and any material aspects in the householder's life, into a yogic/mental fantasy. While some elements of this reformed āśrama-system are similar to that in the Śivadharmaśāstra, e.g. it propagates the same non-Mānava order of āśramas, the Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha seems to carry on the earlier agenda of the Śivadharmaśāstra in a more radical form. These experiments, and possibly this dissatisfaction, with the āśrama-system emerge as one of the cohesion strategies within the Śivadharma corpus.







#### **Foundations of Tibetan Tantra**

Christian Thomas Kohl (Freie Universität Berlin (FUB), Alumnus, Germany)

By the 7th century a new form of Buddhism known as Tantrism had developed through the blend of Mahayana with popular folk belief and magic in northern India. Similar to Hindu Tantrism, which arose about the same time, Buddhist Tantrism differs from Mahayana in its strong emphasis on sacramental action. Also known as Vajrayana, the Diamond Vehicle, Tantrism is an exotic tradition. Its initiation ceremonies involve entry into a mandala, a mystic circle or symbolic map of the spiritual universe. Also important in Tantrism is the use of mudras, or ritual gestures, and mantras, or sacred syllables, which are repeatedly chanted and used as a focus for meditation. Vajrayana became the dominant form of Buddhism in Tibet and was also transmitted through China to Japan<br/>br />This is the usual understanding of Tibetan Tantra. With a feeling of great dismay, I regret to say that this is an understanding without any foundation. Tibetan Tantra is nothing more than an exotic superstition or a kind of shamanism when separated from its metaphysical foundations.

What Alfred North Whitehead tells us about Christianity can be transmitted with small changes to Buddhism. Whitehead says: Christianity would long ago have sunk into a noxious superstition, apart from the Levantine and European intellectual movement, sustained from the very beginning until now. This intellectual movement is the effort of Reason to provide an accurate system of theology. Indeed, in outlying districts where this effort at rationalization died away, the religion has in fact sunk into the decrepitude of failure".







### Von Kühen und Göttern: Vorüberlegungen zu einer rigvedischen Sprachtheorie Frank Köhler (Universität Tübingen, Deutschland)

In den Gedichten des Rigveda (= RV) werden nicht nur die Götter des vedischen Pantheons gepriesen und im Gegenzug um die Erfüllung diverser Wünsche gebeten, es finden sich daneben auch eine Vielzahl von Aussagen über die Dichtung, mit deren Hilfe dies geschieht. In zahlreichen RV-Hymnen wird Bezug auf die poetische Sprache genommen und ihre Besonderheit gegenüber der Alltagssprache(n) hervorgehoben. Dieser Umstand ist in der Literatur bereits ausführlich behandelt worden, insbesondere mit Blick auf Parallelen in anderen indogermanischen Sprachen, dennoch dürfte es sich lohnen, einen paradox anmutenden Umstand näher zu betrachten: Der RV in seiner Gesamtheit kann als "Sprache der Götter" (bzw. die "Sprache der Brahmanen"), eine nur Eingeweihten verständliche Spezialsprache verstanden werden. Aber in diesem Textcorpus selbst sind nicht nur Strophen enthalten, die diese Gliederung thematisieren, wie z. B. RV 1.164.45, sondern auch solche, die auf die besondere Funktion von Namen, insbesondere die der Kühe (z. B. RV 4.1.16; 7.87.4) verweisen: Sie sind geheim, und ihre Kenntnis verleiht dem RV-Dichter erst seine poetischrituelle Legitimation. Aber wie lauten diese Namen? Sind sie geheim, weil sie an keiner Stelle genannt werden und sich damit sogar von der Sprache der Götter abheben? Oder sind sie im RV-Text enthalten und laufen damit Gefahr, ihren Charakter als "geheim" zu verlieren? Die Frage nach dem Status von Namen berührt den Kern des rigvedischen Sprachverständnisses und soll daher im Mittelpunkt dieses Vortrags stehen.







#### Wissenschaftliche Biographie des Indologen Johannes Hertel (1872–1955)

Anett Krause (Universität Marburg, Germany)

Johannes Hertel gehört zu den maßgeblichen Indologen zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts, denn durch seine Forschungen zur Textgeschichte des Erzählungswerkes Pañcatantra, wobei er dessen älteste erhalten gebliebene Fassung namens Tantrākhyāyika entdeckte, erlangte er große Bekanntheit. Diese Studien führte er in einer sehr intensiven Schaffensperiode (1902–1914) neben seinem "Brotberuf" als Oberlehrer am Königlichen Realgymnasium in der sächsischen Kleinstadt Döbeln durch. So veröffentlichte er in diesem Zeitraum acht Monographien und mehr als 30 Aufsätze zu diesem Thema, bevor er seine Studien mit einer preisgekrönten Schrift abschloss. Mit diesen Arbeiten stellte er seine wissenschaftlichen Fähigkeiten unter Beweis, wodurch er im Jahr 1919, gewissermaßen als Quereinsteiger, auf den Leipziger Lehrstuhl für indische Philologie berufen werden konnte.

In diesem Vortrag wird das Vorhaben, eine wissenschaftliche Biographie über ihn zu verfassen, vorgestellt. Die Quellenlage dafür ist vergleichsweise gut, denn Hertels in der Universitätsbibliothek und im Universitätsarchiv Leipzig aufbewahrter Nachlass enthält neben seiner wissenschaftlichen Korrespondenz auch private Briefe, Manuskripte und andere persönliche Zeugnisse. Durch diesen Umstand lässt sich ein umfassendes Bild seines Lebensweges, seiner Arbeitsweise und seines Denkens zeichnen, beispielsweise mit Blick auf die Beziehung zu seinen Kollegen im In- und Ausland oder auf sein Verhältnis zum Nationalsozialismus. Als Zeuge tiefgreifender politischer und gesellschaftlicher Umbrüche der deutschen Geschichte ist seine Biographie gewiss auch über das indologische Publikum hinaus von hohem Interesse.







Historical Evolution of yogyatā regarding apādāna kāraka with special reference to Vedic Sanskrit Revati Milind Kulkarni, Malhar Kulkarni (Indian Institute of Technology Bombay, India)

 $yogyat\bar{a}$  is mutual compatibility between words. It is the underlying principle that governs every valid linguistic utterance. Indian theories of  $s\bar{a}bdabodha$  enumerate  $yogyat\bar{a}$  as a prerequisite in verbal cognition. We intend to understand the concept better through this study.

Our aim is to trace the evolution of  $yogyat\bar{a}$  by delving deep into the historical stages of Sanskrit. In this paper, we focus on  $yogyat\bar{a}$  related to apadana  $k\bar{a}raka$  as available from the rules of Paninian grammar. Considering Paninian grammar as a threshold, we examine instances of apadana from selected Vedic texts like rgveda, aitareya  $br\bar{a}hmana$ , aitareya  $\bar{a}ranyaka$ , etc. We study how the corpus of Veda gives us insights regarding the  $yogyat\bar{a}$  of apadana  $k\bar{a}raka$  at an earlier historical stage and how it has developed in the course of time.

We believe that the system of grammar is a result of consistent semantic patterns attested by  $yogyat\bar{a}$ . So, this mapping may enable us to understand the background of rules of grammar.







#### The Marut Conspiracy (A Paippalada Solution to a Rigvedic Riddle?)

Robert Leach (University of Zurich, Switzerland)

In this paper I will present a close reading of Paippalāda-Saṁhitā (PS) 4.27, based on the forthcoming edition and translation of Zehnder, Leach and Hellwig (using a preliminary edition and annotated translation by Arlo Griffiths and Alexander Lubotsky), the outcome of a cross-departmental project at the University of Zurich under the joint direction of Angelika Malinar and Paul Widmer, see https://www.atharvaveda-online.uzh.ch/home/introduction

PS 4.27, which has no parallel in the Śaunaka-Saṁhitā, appears intended to accompany a rite that aims at raising an as yet powerless (ānujāvará-) client to the rank of chieftain. Although the Maruts are nowhere mentioned by name in these verses, I will argue that their footprints can be found throughout, and that a recognition of their hidden presence here can radically improve our understanding of the context and motivations of this sūkta and its accompanying rite. In addition, I will suggest that, when read alongside Rigveda 1.164, there are several clues that PS 4.27 could help to provide a solution to a riddle in that much-analysed "riddle hymn".







#### Fluidity of a Text on the so-called Eternal Buddha

Youngsil Lee (Essential Lay Buddhism Study Center, Tokyo, Japan.)

The Buddha in Chapter fifteen of the Lotus Sutra, "Tathāgatāyuṣpramāṇaparivarta" ("Lifespan of the Tathāgata",) is understood to be the so-called "eternal Buddha" who will never enter final nirvāṇa. This understanding has been interpreted in various ways, including comparisons to the Christian trinity, the Hindu god Vishnu, and the trikāya theory of Vasubandhu. In this paper I will present a modification of the transcriber's interpretation of Chapter fifteen's textual revision within a trilingual text (Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan), using the Gilgit manuscript as the foundation rather than the revised edition (Kern and Nanjio) on which previous understandings have been based. From the Gilgit manuscript, unique redactorial phrasing is expressed because of the contradiction between the thought of the prose and the verse. This contradiction is not caused by the Urtext, but by the transcriber's or editor's reflection on the so-called eternal Buddha over the long periods dating from manuscript to manuscript. It is also due to the ambiguity of the lexical interpretation from the reconstructed pronunciation of Chinese transcriptions of (pari)nirvāṇa, and the manuscript's reading of sandhi, which contains a negative a-.







## Das Jambhalastotra von Candragomin: Ein erst kürzlich entdeckter Sanskrit-Text Zhen Liu (Philipps Universität Marburg, Deutschland)

The "Praise of (the God of Wealth) Jambhala" consists of nine stanzas in  $\bar{a}ry\bar{a}$  metre. In this hymn the supplicant speaks in the first person and behaves quite pitifully with apparent humbleness. He pays special respect, on the one hand, to the merciful lord addressed in second person, i. e. Jambhala. On the other hand, he requests wealth cunningly from the lord. Some elements in the content appear in some  $s\bar{a}dhanas$ , which are also ascribed to Candragomin. However, to identify him with another Candragomin, who was a tantric author and lived in the considerably later period, we still need more evidence. Before the Sanskrit manuscript presented here was recently found in Drepung Monastery, it had been thought that the only extant version of the hymn was its Tibetan translation.







## Philology of a Love Poem: Women and Ascetics, the Vision of Śiva in the Bhikṣāṭanakāvya Chiara Livio (University of Bologna, Italy)

The sixth section (paddhati) of Utprekṣāvallabha's Bhikṣāṭanakāvya (13th CE) contains a description of Śiva as a mendicant walking down the main road of a city. This is the first time, from the beginning of the poem, that the god physically appears. The vision of Śiva (darśana) takes place in an erotic context, and his attributes are presented through the eyes of the women who, after having waited for Śiva for four sections (paddhati 2, 3, 4 and 5), now directly contemplate him. In Utprekṣāvallabha's poetics, however, eroticism does not exclude religious knowledge. On the contrary, the erotic circumstance speeds up the women's attainment of a complete darśana of the god, while the ascetics, even though undertaking long penances, cannot easily obtain the same result. The presence of weak ascetics in an erotic context is not new to the Bhikṣāṭana, and one can notice that the figure of the lusty ascetic occurs on various occasions in the previous paddhatis. Taking into account some stanzas on this topic and analyzing them in the light of Maṅgapa's unpublished commentary, I will evaluate how Utprekṣāvallabha merges the spiritual aspect and the erotic one in a poem dedicated to the mendicancy of Śiva but full of sensuality.







### **Endowment Charters as Legal and Political Instruments**

Timothy Lubin (Washington and Lee University, United States of America)

This paper examines a selection of inscriptions from the 5th to 10th centuries that served as charters creating or restoring religious foundations, focusing attention on the exemptions and other privileges conferred on the beneficiaries. Considered in comparison with similar charters from early medieval Europe, I will analyze the implications of conferring what appear to be an interconnected cluster of far-reaching property rights: exemption from tax and corvée, right to exclude others (including officers of the state), right to handle internal legal disputes and criminal matters autonomously. I show how these inscriptions function as legal documents (to secure those rights against challenge or revocation) as well as instruments of legitimation for rulers and other magnates.







### Nattumawlid as the Way of Healing Across Eastern Mediterranean and Indian Ocean Shahin Machinchery (University of Erfurt, Germany)

The Indian Ocean has historically witnessed the interchangeability of international communities, goods and ideas. In addition to trade interactions, overseas networks have played a significant role in the practical production and transmission of healing practices. It is a wonder that transoceanic interactions have found a place in religious healing. Malabar in the Indian Ocean offers such a unique space. Spiritual remedies are evident in the reflections of the advent of Islam in Malabar and overseas cultures.

Thus, this paper contains details of such a spiritual cum mystical remedy performed in a festival in the Malabar Coast, the south-western coast of Indian subcontinent. It discusses about the evolution of this trans-oceanic healing festival, which is exchanged within the trade links of Eastern Mediterranean and Malabar Coast in 18th century. The festival known as Nattumawlid , is celebrated by the inhabitants of Tanur, a coastal town in Indian state Kerala. The festival gets distinct in religiously inspired celebrations in its healing nature. This 18th century phenomenon has an untold story which is not recorded in the history . This legacy is maintained through oral history among the elder generation in the region. This article aims at defining the Nattumawlid and how the custom of which the Mawlid practiced as remedy reached Malabar coast and how this remedial custom transformed into a festival. Due to the lack of written documents, the origin of the Nattumawlid was collected from different individuals. Current extensive folklore is part of the oral history. Therefore, the researcher recorded Nattumawlid interviewing the inhabitants.







### Invisible leadership: Female Qur'an teachers in Swahili speaking Western Indian Ocean Jasmin Anna-Karima Mahazi (Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient, Germany)

The Swahili peoples of the Western Indian Ocean are connected to other maritime Muslims of the Indian Ocean through matrifocal cultures; something they share with the coastal communities of Western India that are also part of the Indian Ocean. My research on knowledge practices and epistemologies on the Swahili coast attempts to counter post-colonial epistemic injustice which, among others, includes the silencing of matrifocal philosophies and theories through Western hegemonic and Islamic patrifocal discourses. I argue that the matrifocal anthropological approach brings about an epistemic rupture in how we theorize and make sense of social phenomena such as knowledge and the leadership of the private/public sphere. Women, among the Swahili people, are the first Qur'anic teachers of their society (both boys and girls), and although, not visible, they take a leading position in their community as teachers. Through an investigation of female Qur'an teachers and teaching practices, this presentation shines a light on the active role played by women in society. Analysing poems, proverbs, songs and oral artistic performances in addition, as the main channels and genres of matrifocal intellectual discourse, this paper first provides some background information on the knowledge practices of the Swahili coast, and thereafter, examines different pedagogic sources that are utilized by women Qur'an teachers to bestir a movement that can be conceptualized as Muslim female leadership.







#### A Unique Gāndhārī Buddhist Scholastic Treatise

Kelsey Wayne Martini (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Germany)

The purpose of this paper is to provide a preliminary description and examination of British Library Kharoṣṭhī Scroll 10, a unique Gāndhārī Buddhist scholastic treatise. Discovered in modern Pakistan/Afghanistan and dating to ca. 1st c. CE, it is among the oldest extant Buddhist manuscripts and thus provides important insight into the evolution of early Buddhist exegesis. This presentation will begin with an overview of the physical characteristics of the manuscript as well as a discussion of the many linguistic and paleographic peculiarities of the scribe. Following this will be a general description of the structure and content of the text, with a particular focus on the exegetical methods used by the author. The text appears to have been split into at least five "major sections" (each divided into subsections which are divided into subsections) which each deal with various types of prajñās "insights; wisdoms" relating to topics such as ayaṭhagiyo mago "The Noble Eight-fold Path| or śuñata "emptiness. Finally, a discussion of the difficulties inherent in the reading and studying of this text (such as the fragmentary condition of the manuscript, the lack of parallel material etc.), as well as methods of overcoming these difficulties, will be provided







The music of the damâl ritual of the Omani Baloch: ritual practice outside of its territory of origin Romain Mascagni (Inalco, France)

The Baloch constitute a heterogeneous cultural group spread out over a vast territory on both sides of the border between Iran and Pakistan. They have been present in the Sultanate of Oman for several centuries. They settle in different parts of the city of Muscat, where they maintained their cultural practices, especially music. In some of these places, a specific ritual takes place which is called damâl in Balochi. It is performed by night, and music plays an important part. While no exact equivalent has been found in Baluchistan, there is a ritual which is very common on the Makran coast of Iran and Pakistan (where most Omani Baloch come from). However very few is known about the damâl in Oman.

My talk will present the musical repertoire of the damâl and the way it is played by the musicians. My aim is to understand the choices that Omani Baloch make when they perform this ritual. During a damâl night, different sung melodics parts (called sâz) are played. Some of these are shared with the rituals found in Balochistan while others seem specific to Oman. The musicians not only play different sâz, they also sometimes use different musical instruments. Futhermore, They form musical ensembles and structure themselves around a leader, a phenomenon which has never been described in Baluchistan. These observations lead me to propose the working hypothesis that Baloch musicians in Muscat lay claim to their legitimacy as ritual actors in their own right.







#### Ein buddhistischer Sanskrit-Kommentar in Kharoṣṭhī-Schrift

Gudrun Melzer (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Deutschland)

Im Zentrum des Vortrags steht eine Handschrift mit einem bisher unbekannten buddhistischen Text aus Gandhāra. Sie ist knapp zweitausend Jahre alt und enthält einen Kommentar zu den Meditationsstufen. Obwohl die Handschrift in der Kharoṣṭhī-Schrift geschrieben wurde, ist die Sprache des Textes interessanterweise ein hybrides Sanskrit, aber nicht, wie man vielleicht erwarten würde, Gāndhārī. Im Vortrag werden die Besonderheiten der Handschrift, die Sprache und Einzelheiten des Inhalts vorgestellt sowie der Text mit Hilfe von ähnlichen Textpassagen aus anderen buddhistischen Texten näher eingeordnet.







#### The Devāsurasamgrāma Topos in Buddhist and Jain Literatures

Xiaoqiang Meng (Leiden Institute for Area Studies, Leiden University, Netherlands, The)

The epic warfare between the Indian Gods and Titans, Deva and Asura, i.e. devāsurasamgrāma, is a myth prevalent in Indian cultural sphere, to which scholars from Indology have contributed numerous studies, while Buddhist and Jain scholars seem to have paid less attention. But ancient Buddhists and Jains knew this myth well, and have represented it in each cosmographical and universal historical context. This paper collates the devāsurasamgrāma topos (known as camaruppāya) in Jain literature such as the Śvetāmbara texts Viyāhapaṇṇatti, Caüppaṇṇamahāpurisacariya, and Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra, and compares with the Buddhist version of the myth attested in cosmographical texts such as \*Mahālokotthānasūtra 大樓炭經 (T 23), \*Lokotthānasūtra 起世經 (T 24), \*Lokaprajñaptyabhidharmaśāstra 立世阿毘曇論 (T 1644), Lokapaññatti, 'Jig rten bzhag pa (D 4086) and so on. Based on textual analysis and comparative study, this paper argues that both Buddhist and Jain versions of the myth are descended from one prototype, which is distinguished from yet still linked to the popular Hindu devāsurasamgrāma stories. Through the examination of the shared and exclusive features of this topos seen in Buddhist and Jain contexts, this paper scrutinizes the ways that Asura is perceived and positioned in their own cosmic hierarchies, and thereby investigates the approaches to adapt an old mythical role when conceiving the new idea of an ordered universe by ancient Buddhists and Jains.







## Epigraphic practices for constructing political power in Licchavi-period Nepal: the emergence and function of the free-standing stone stele inscription

Nina Mirnig (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Austria)

The reign of the Licchavi kings in the Kathmandu Valley from ca. the third to at least the eight century CE is often characterized as an economic and cultural heyday. An important element associated with the region's cultural development at this time is the introduction of Sanskrit literacy, the earliest extant material evidence of which is a single one-line inscription of the second or third century CE, followed by a collection of over 200 inscriptions issued between the fifth to the mid-eighth century, the so-called corpus of Licchavi inscriptions. The most common type is the free-standing stone slab inscription, which accounts for about two thirds of the extant epigraphical material. Under Licchavi rule these were used to communicate administrative edicts issued by the central royal administration and thereby acted as one of the central tools to demonstrate sovereignty. In this paper, I will trace the emergence and development of this epigraphical practice in the Kathmandu Valley and highlight its role in the construction of political power and space during the Licchavi reign. I will do so by considering the medium not only as secondary to the text but rather complementing the philological study with an investigation into the inscriptions' materiality as reflected by scribal practices, material and geographical context, as well as non-verbal elements that communicate beyond the written word. Based on this approach, I will aim to offer a more comprehensive reconstruction of the inscriptions' function and usage, which also reflects on questions of literacy and intended audience.







#### Leaders of the Female Sphere in Pakistan

Faiza Muhammad Din (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Germany)

Women's literacy and visibility in Pakistan's job market in the last few decades has increased manifold, with most educated women interested in understanding Islamic texts on their own. Joining madrasas, and study circles to understand the Quran, and Islamic Jurisprudence, the number of graduates at female madrasas in Pakistan is currently higher than male graduates. However, female scholars still do not lead mixed prayer meetings, and struggle to find their place in the public sphere, especially at mosques. It is also practically impossible for her to issue a legal opinion or fatwa without ratification from a male scholar. However, this has not deterred Pakistan's largest online madrasa portal for women, the Markaz lil Banat (anonymized), from training women specialists of Islamic law, exegesis, and theology. It is unsurprising therefore that a woman religious scholar trained and educated at a renowned madrasa, became a member of Pakistan's parliament. This presentation explores how she helped open new doors for learning and professional opportunities for students, with many women students being able to use the accommodation facilities provided by her madrasa to study at universities. Based on interviews with women Islamic coaches, scholars and political leaders, this presentation articulates the nuanced challenges that women face in Pakistan, resorting for empowerment to Islamic law and values.







### Competing legitimacies: Religion and Resistance in Afghanistan under Taliban

Hussain Muhammad (University of Erfurt, Germany, Germany)

Afghanistan has been struggling for order and stability for the last more than four decades. The prospects for peace in this Central Asian State dealt a major blow with the collapse of the Ashraf Ghani government on August 15, 2021. The dramatic fall of Kabul to Taliban, obviously, enhanced global concerns regarding the future of Afghans. Yet, it is fair to ask as to whether the Taliban assumption of power would help resolve or further worsen the Afghan crisis? In addition, these developments in the war-torn country reinforced the ongoing debates about Political Islam with Taliban sympathizers and Pakistani and Afghan Secular Pakhtun Nationalists as the major stakeholders holding on to their respective argumentative and legitimization strategies. The Taliban, essentially, represents a major manifestation of (radical) Islamism, inviting, thus, substantial academic scrutiny. Recent scholarship, however, questions the validity of this Taliban-specific literature for being 'limited to geopolitical and security studies, with a special interest in al-Qā'ida rather than Taliban.' Conscious of a more nuanced understanding of the Taliban phenomenon, the current paper aims to engage with an audio message of Mullah Muhammad Hassan Akhund, the Taliban Ra'īs al-Wudharā (Prime Minister, PM) of Afghanistan. The Taliban co-founder delivered this maiden 30 minutes speech as PM on November 27, 2021, in Pashto. As a native speaker of the language, I plan to closely read and listen to Akhund's original speech to highlight the governance and other discourses of Taliban and their legitimization strategies amidst an absence of any Qānūn-i Asāsī (Constitution).







## The Tamil Civatarumōttaram (16th cent.) and its Transmission in the Taṇikkaippurāṇam (18th cent.)

Krishnaswamy Nachimuthu (EFEO, India)

This paper describes the modes of transmission of religious and philosophical texts across languages in medieval South India, as exemplified in the case of the transmission of the Sanskrit Sivadharmottara (seventh century) in Tamil through the Civatarumōttaram (sixteenth century) and the Taṇikaippurāṇam (eighteenth century). The most popular ways of cross-language transmissions have been translation, amplification, adaptation, paraphrase and abridgement, and all of them have been used in the case of our text.

The Tamil Civatarumōttaram, in 1208 verses, is a treatise expounding the cariyai, or 'the first of the four-fold means of attaining salvation, which consists in worshipping God-in-form in a temple' according to the tenets of Caivacittānta philosophy. It was composed by the Śaiva teacher Maraiñāna Campantar (1504-1564) by way of translation, amplification and adaptation of the original Śivadharmottara. The commentary on it by his student Maraiñāna Tēcikar (1550-1600) is a polipurai ('paraphrase'), closely paraphrasing the original, and occasionally reflecting to the allusions in Sanskrit original. The work has been widely cited in later commentarial works; moreover, it has been ably summarized in 366 verses as a chapter on Akattiyan Arulperu paṭalam in Taṇikaippurāṇam, a sthalapurāṇa on Tiruttaṇikai, by the great poet-scholar of the eighteenth century Kavirākṣasa Kacciyappa Munivar (-1790). Kacciyappa Munivar thus applies the method of abridgement. This paper will compare the different methods used by Maraiñāna Tēcikar and Kacciyappa Munivar in the interpretation of the text, highlighting with examples their hermeneutical implications.







### Merchant self-representation in the heart of the Delhi Sultanate: Piety and trade in a thirteenth-century Sanskrit inscription

Luther James Obrock (University of Toronto, Canada)

The stabilization of Delhi as the center of power under the Sultans reorganized not only political and military structures in north India but also opened up new opportunities for merchant communities to expand their wealth and influence. The shift in mercantile status is hinted at in one Sanskrit inscription from the twelfth-century Delhi hinterland. While commemorating the donative largess of one Hindu merchant, it also traces the journey of his family from their ancestral home in the Indus Valley to new prominence in the Sultanate capital. A close reading of a Sanskrit donative inscription written in ornate Sanskrit verse from the Delhi hinterland shows the changing imagination of politics, religion and space among elite merchants. Uddhara Thakkura adapts the linguistic heritage of Sanskrit public presentation and creates a new and self-aware ideational language to express geography, politics and piety particularly centered on the merchant community. Uddhara's model was powerful; over the next century, other merchant families adapt it to present themselves and their acts of public piety. While F. Flood has highlighted the role of Hindu traders through material culture in his magisterial work Objects of Translation, the Sanskrit literary inscriptions patronized by mercantile groups can advance and nuance the history of self-presentation in medieval South Asia and show the complex negotiations that underlie the creation of a public identity for Hindu groups in the Sultanate period.







### Fabrics at the crossroads of the materiality and immateriality of saints

Delphine Ortis (SAS Cours Thierry, France)

In South Asia, in their negotiations for favours, devotees offer different types of cloth to saints, called sheets (chador) or covers (ghilaf). These cloths are then used to cover their graves, or to wrap ritual objects related or not to their cult. They are central to the daily rituals organised by the shrines and performed by the attendants, notably the weekly or daily bath (ghusal). We will ask ourselves what is the relationship between the materiality of this thing made of woven fibres and the saint that death has made immaterial. Indeed, the body of the saint is no longer directly visible or touchable, but the rituals seem to indicate that everyone is 'acting as if' he is still present. To explore the relationship between the immateriality of the saint and the fabrics, I will use the example of a Shiite shrine in Pakistan, that of the Sufi saint Lal Shabaz Qalandar in Sehwan Sharif in the province of Sindh, His tomb is a good starting point. Unlike the tombs of other saints, it is not made of a hard material such as stone or marble, but has the distinction of being an accumulation of cloths directly covering the body of the saint. In this case, the cloths do not just cover a grave, they constitute it themselves.







### The Yogis on the Mountain. Examples from their description in Mahākāvyas

Peter Pasedach (Universität Hamburg, Deutschland)

Mahākāvyas conventionally contain descriptions of mountains, often with complex yamakas and citrakāvya. One of the typical features of these descriptions is, apart from that of the natural beauty with snowy peaks and ridges, flora and fauna, that of ascetics, yogins or seers devoted to meditation, taking reference to their believes and practices. These descriptions are not only of aesthetic interest. From their study, and that of their commentaries, we can draw conclusions about what must have been relatively common knowledge with regard to yoga among the educated audiences of their poets. A few example verses together with their commentaries will be discussed, from the Haravijaya's fifth and the Kapphiṇābhyudaya's sixth canto, and also from earlier poets (Bhāravi, Māgha). Of particular interest is the only known commentary on the Kapphiṇābhyudaya by a certain Bhikṣu Tathāgatendra, apparently a Buddhist monastic, surviving in a single manuscript from Tibet, to which the author recently gained access to.







## In Search of the Goddess: How a Durga Temple was Built for a Widow in Uttar Pradesh Karin M. Polit (University of Tübingen, Germany)

This talk is about the personal struggle of a young woman who grew up as an orphan, was widowed at an early age, became homeless as a single mother of two children and finally found solace in a Durga Temple on a tributary of the Ganges. Her ordeal and her liberation from it are deeply anchored in attributions of expectations related to gender, caste, class and North Indian Hinduism. To narrate her life's journey is thus also to narrate what it means to position oneself as a woman and mother in a world that ascribes agency to these positions only within a particular family structure. The way out of this dilemma was for her to take on a religious leadership role and accept the association with Durga ascribed to her. In this talk, I will examine the narrative of this woman in relation to the social and religious normative orders in which she moves(d) and how it was possible for her to ultimately take on and exercise this leadership role.







### Journey to hell as prescribed in the Śivadharmottara by comparing with Angkor Vat panel representations.

Sathyanarayanan R. (Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), India)

As per the Hindu tradition, the soul of a deceased person goes to a celestial (svarga) or hellish (naraka) afterlife according to their good or bad karman. References to these hells (narakaloka or niraya) and the journey to them are found in several Purāṇas, in the Mahābhārata and in some other Śaiva scriptures.

In this paper, I will talk in detail about the journey to hell described in chapter seven of the Śivadharmottara, which is mostly aligned with the descriptions found in the Mahābhārata. Furthermore, I would like to compare the Śivadharmottara's account of the different tortures that Yama's envoys inflict to the deceased persons' souls on their way to the abode of Yama with the depiction of hells in the bas-relieves on the wall of the eastern section of the southern gallery of the Angkor Vat temple established by Suryavarman II (1113 to 1150). Each panel is accompanied by a legend in Khemr that names the type of hell and identifies the kinds of sinners being punished in it. This will further our still scanty understanding of the transmission of the Śivadharma to South-East Asia.







"Having abandoned the Vedic customs, ... the bodies being branded with manifold marks": On the religious practice of branding in Anantānandagiri's Śaṅkaravijaya

Marion Rastelli (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Austria)

Branding (tāpa) oneself with god's insignia was practised in South India already between the 7th and 9th century, as is attested in poems by Appar, one of the Śaiva poet-saints (Nāyaṇār), and by Periyālvār, one of the Vaiṣṇava poet-saints ( $\bar{A}$ lvār).

Starting from the 13th century, the importance of branding increased, especially in Vaiṣṇava traditions. It became part of the Pāñcarātra's ritual repertory. Veṅkaṭanātha, the great Viśiṣṭādvaita theologian, defended it as conforming to the Vedic regulations, and it became a feature of the self-identification of Śrīvaiṣṇavas.

The increasing importance of branding can also be observed in works written by opponents of the practice. Anantānandagiri's hagiography Śaṅkaravijaya, probably composed in South India in or after the 14th century, describes the famous Advaita philosopher Śaṅkara undertaking a journey all over India. He meets followers of several religious communities and finally converts them to his teachings. One of Anantānandagiri's main criticisms of these communities is that they have various kinds of external signs (cihna), branding and other religious symbols, which he considers to be against the Vedic regulations. My paper will present some of the arguments for and against branding as put forward in the Śaṅkaravijaya. I will show that in the 13th and 14th centuries, branding was not only a controversial practice, but also part of a wider debate between rival religious communities that based the legitimacy of their teachings and practices on the Veda.







### Historical Representation and Storytelling in Indonesian Epigraphy

Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan (École française d'Extrême-Orient, France)

Epigraphy provides the major primary source base for the political and social history of premodern South and Southeast Asia. Indonesian inscriptions represent the relationships between a wide range of historical subjects (rulers, priests, villagers, officials, and merchants among others) in specific discursive and textual forms. Many inscriptions exhibit idealised characterisation, formulaic language, and literary artificiality. This paper tackles the question of how to interpret inscriptions not only as sources for our own historical research, but as examples of historical writing in their own right. Drawing on Indonesian inscriptions produced from 500 to 1500 CE, the paper analyses how narrative strategies are employed to represent historical persons and events in inscriptions. By reading Indonesian inscriptions as a kind of historiography with its own norms for representing the past, we can understand the representation of persons as an important aspect of premodern societies' engagement with their past.







#### Yogavidhi

Andrea Schlosser (LMU, Germany)

Among the numerous Sanskrit manuscript fragments that were discovered in various places along the ancient Silk Road and brought to Berlin a century ago by several German expeditions (the so-called Turfan finds) is a composite manuscript containing two texts: the "Yogavidhi" on the first 114 folios and the "Buddhistische Yogalehrbuch" continuing from folio 115 up to 170. While the second text has been published by Dieter Schlingloff (1964), the first one still awaits a proper edition (it was introduced by Schlingloff only briefly in a paper published the same year). Both texts are written in a script referred to as North Turkestan Brāhmī, dating approximately to the seventh century CE. Spelling mistakes show that at least the second text was copied from an earlier document in Indic Gupta Brāhmī (fourth to sixth century CE). The first text, whose title "Yogavidhi" is preserved in some chapter colophons, is a philosophical sūtra-style text followed by a commentary. It has survived only in fragments, which makes its reconstruction difficult. The presentation gives an overview of the current state of editing and some examples.







# "Unsterblichkeit" im Kontext der altindischen Geistesgeschichte. Zur Verwendung der Begriffe amṛta und amartya im frühen Rgveda

Eckehart Schmidt (Erfurt, Deutschland)

Unsterblichkeit gehöre, so das 'Historische Wörterbuch der Philosophie' in Bezug auf die "Kulturen der Alten Welt", zu den "Gegenbildern menschlicher Daseinserfahrung, die seit alters die religiöse Phantasie der Menschheit beschäftigen." Der Blick auf die altindische Geistesgeschichte vermittelt jedoch den Eindruck, dass "Unsterblichkeit" hier kein "Gegenbild" der Daseinserfahrung ist, sondern eine Eigenschaft unter anderen, die keine kategorische Differenz zwischen einer "diesseitigen" und "jenseitigen" Welt begründet. In dem Vortrag soll der frühe Rgveda (RV 1-9) als erstes Zeugnis altindischen Denkens genauer in den Blick genommen werden: Wie werden dort die Begriffe amrta und amartya verwendet? Welchen Wesenheiten werden die Begriffe zugeschrieben? Und welche Implikationen hat dies für den weiteren Verlauf der altindischen Geistesgeschichte? Durch die Beantwortung dieser Fragen soll ein genaueres Verständnis für "Unsterblichkeit" in der altindischen Lesart gewonnen werden.







### The Central Indian Yādava Dynasty (9th to 14th cent.): Epigraphic 'Self-Representation' versus Hemādri's Account

Annette Schmiedchen (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Deutschland)

Rulers called "Yādavas" are referred to in numerous inscriptions from Maharashtra as well as in the Vratakhanda text of the Caturvargacintāmani, composed by an author named Hemādri, a minister at the Yādava court in the 13th century. Based on the epigraphic material, two lines of the Yādava dynasty can be distinguished: the early one with the capital at Sindīnagara (ca. 850 to 1100) and the later one with the capital at Devagiri (ca. 1100 to 1320). The link between the later and the earlier branch is not entirely clear. However, some manuscripts of the Vratakhanda of Hemādri as well as one stone inscription of Yādava Kṛṣṇa II. dated 1254 CE provide information on the pedigree of both the Yādava lines. There are disparities between the description by Hemādri and the epigraphic "selfrepresentation" of the Yadava rulers. Compared with the official charters, the information given by Hemādri is far less detailed, often even markedly cursory. On the other hand, Hemādri's text lists more family members than the epigraphs of the Yādavas. A main difference between these two types of sources is also that Hemādri, unlike the authors of the inscriptions, does not mention a single queen. Whereas he apparently aimed at providing a 'complete' list of the members of the dynasty he was serving, the Yādava rulers for their part seem to have instructed their royal chancellery to make a selection of the most important protagonists in terms of dynastic politics, and to report about matrimonial alliances as well.







# Der "Zeuge" (sākṣin). Entwicklung und Wandlung eines Wahrheitskonzeptes Marcus Schmuecker (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Österreich)

Die Vorstellung vom "Zeugen" (sākṣin) und die mit ihm reflektierte Bedeutung eines wahren Sachverhaltes, der Falschheit oder Lüge Einhalt gebietet, ist in den unterschiedlichsten Textgattungen der indischen Literatur reichlich belegt. Bemerkenswert ist, dass dieser Begriff durchgehend mit der Annahme objektiv gültiger Wahrheit (satya) verbunden wird. In der vedischen sowie in der epischen Literatur ist er allgegenwärtiger Garant für den Wahrheitsgehalt des Eides. In der Literatur des Dharmaśāstra hat der Zeuge eine wesentliche Funktion bei der Wahrheitsfindung vor Gericht. Wer als Zeuge vor Gericht auftreten darf, wird ausführlich diskutiert. In den früheren Upanişaden kaum belegt, im Sānkhya den geistigen puruşa bezeichnend, findet mit Bezugnahme auf Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad (4.11) der sākṣin seinen Weg in den frühen Advaita-Vedānta und bleibt in dieser Tradition ein zentraler Begriff. Für Śańkara mit dem brahman gleichgesetzt, wird er zu einem Prinzip ewig gültiger und daher wahrer Erkenntnis. Für seinen Schüler Sureśvara ist der sākşin Zeuge des Nichtwissens (avidyā). Auf den Widerspruch, dass das, was bezeugt wird, das Nichtwissen, mit wahrer Erkenntnis des sākşin unvereinbar ist, macht der Viśiṣṭādvaita-Vedānta zunächst mit Yāmunācārya aufmerksam. Seine Kritik an Śankara und seinen Nachfolgern relativiert jedoch nicht den beanspruchten Wahrheitsgehalt des sākşin. Abermals wird der "Zeuge" nun theistisch verwendet, wenn der Gott Visnu-Nārāyana gute oder schlechte Taten der individuellen Seele bezeugt. Schließlich wird der sākşin abermals zu einem zentralen Begriff in der von Madhva begründeten Schule des Dvaita-Vedanta (auch tattva-vada genannt). Für ihn und seine Schüler gilt der sākşin als unhintergehbares Prinzip objektiv gültiger Erkenntnis.







### Neue Einblicke in die älteste westliche Sanskritgrammatik

Johannes Schneider (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften München, Deutschland)

Der schwäbische Jesuitenpater Heinrich Roth (1620-1668) hat in nur sechs Jahren in Indien Sanskrit gelernt und dabei die erste westliche Grammatik des Sanskrits verfaßt. Der Vortrag behandelt an ausgewählten Textbeispielen, wie sich in dieser Pionierarbeit der altindischen Sprachforschung westliche und indische Zugänge verbinden. Besonderes Augenmerk wird auf Stellen in Roths Text gelegt, die seine Arbeitsweise im Umgang mit seinem indischen Informanten deutlich machen. Der Vortrag gibt zugleich Einblick in die in Arbeit befindliche kritische Edition von Roths "Grammatica linguae Sanscretanae Brahmanum Indiae Orientalis".







### Claiming Sovereignty on the Edge of the Empire: The Pālas of Kāmarūpa and the Candras of Vaṅga, 10th-11th centuries

Jae Eun Shin (The University of Tokyo, Japan)

To show how sub-regional powers represented themselves and others in changing political contexts on the edge of the Pāla imperial formation in eastern India, this presentation gives a detailed analysis of praśastis of the two dynasties clashing with each other: the Pālas of Kāmarūpa and the Candras of Vaṅga in the 10-11th centuries, located respectively in the present state of Assam in India and the southern part of Bangladesh. Important questions pertaining to their representational practice are i) at which political juncture the two marginal powers began to expand their sphere of influence; ii) how they appropriated political idioms of the imperial Pālas and challenged its order for securing their own legitimacy, iii) what strategies were employed in representations of self and others for recording their military conflicts and victories, and iv) why the manner of representation underwent a fundamental change in the beginning of the eleventh century. Examination of the mutual representations of these two powers gives us an opportunity to understand both the external political dynamism and internal complexity of the early medieval eastern empire, which were neither apart nor separate.







Tamil kinship terms in the 19th century novel "Padmavathi Charitram": a stage in development. Anna Smirnitskaya (Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, Russian Federation)

Kinship terminology is considered to belong to the most stable, basic part of the lexicon – even some terms are included in the Swadesh 100-words list of "nuclear" vocabulary. Though, they also change over the centuries: the terms may be borrowed, their form and meaning may change, the word may give its place to synonyms, finally the system itself can switch to another historical type (cf. from bifurcate merging "Dravidian" to lineal one). Since there is no representative and dated historical dictionary of Tamil for today, we can trace this development to the best possible way in texts, consulting the existing dictionaries simultaneously. So the "Padmavathi Charitram" novel by A. Madhaviah was chosen as a literary work, reflecting the 19<sup>th</sup> century everyday Tamil life and the 19<sup>th</sup> century state of Tamil kinship terms system development. The terms of nuclear and extended family, as well as spousal terms are investigated. The main focus is the meaning shift in the framework of Semantic shifts theory. The work is done within the scope of the ongoing PhD project "Dravidian kinship terms from the point of view of the typology of semantic shifts".







### Die wahre Bhagavadgītā – Philosophische Umdeutungen im Mokṣopāya

Roland Steiner (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Germany)

Schon Paul Hacker hatte 1959 in seiner grundlegenden Studie zur Figur des Prahlāda, des idealtypischen Vaiṣṇava-Bhakta, gesehen, daß die im "Yogavāsiṣṭha" [= Mokṣopāya] erzählte "sehr umfängliche" Prahlāda-Geschichte von den übrigen überlieferten Fassungen stark abweiche, und hatte sie deshalb aus seiner Untersuchung ausgeschlossen, da das Werk "eine singuläre Philosophie" lehre. Tatsächlich hatte Hacker hier etwas bemerkt, was ganz charakteristisch für diesen Text ist. Sein Protagonist Vasiṣṭha greift nämlich im Laufe seiner langen Unterredung mit Rāma immer wieder wichtige philosophische und religiöse Konzepte und Überlieferungen auf, die er im Licht seiner eigenen Philosophie in ihrer eigentlichen, wahren Bedeutung erhellt, die von den zugehörigen Traditionen aber jeweils mehr oder weniger verkannt wird. Überkommene Mittel wie "Hingabe" (bhakti), Entsagung, Opfer, der Stillstand des Atems in der yogischen Atemkontrolle oder auch das Wesen einer "tugendhaften Frau" können durchaus auf den "Weg zur Befreiung" führen, wenn sie richtig, das heißt ihrer tatsächlichen Wirklichkeit nach, verstanden worden sind und dann entsprechend praktiziert werden. Im Vortrag möchte ich diese Methode Vasiṣṭhas an einigen Beispielen aus dem Mokṣopāya vorführen und erläutern.







Writing in the footsteps of Aśoka - Secondary inscriptions on Aśokan rocks and pillars. Ingo Strauch (Université de Lausanne, Switzerland)

The inscriptions left by the Maurya emperor Aśoka are probably the earliest and certainly the most famous inscriptions of ancient India. Hundreds of articles and monographs are dedicated to these texts, and the literary production about them does not seem to stop. Some of them, such as the great rock edicts of Girnar or the edict on the pillar of Allahabad, motivated later rulers to add their own royal decrees. Although the texts of these important additional inscriptions have been edited repeatedly, their relationship to Aśoka's texts-both in terms of their content and their position on the written surface-has been little studied. Even less attention has been paid to the numerous smaller texts left by less prominent visitors who used the space on and around Aśoka's texts to leave their own small messages.

My paper aims to take stock of these secondary texts in terms of their formal characteristics and spatial organization in the context of the original Aśokan epigraphy and archaeological site. It is expected that this survey can give us an idea of the function and significance of the Aśokan sites in the various historical and cultural contexts of later periods of Indian history.







# Are the Teachings on Hell in the Śivadharmottara Śaiva enough? The Seventh Chapter of the Śivadharmottara and Its Anonymous Commentary

Kenji Takahashi (the University of Tokyo)

The seventh chapter of Śivadharmottara (circa seventh century CE), one of the early Śivadharma texts, describes twenty-eight kinds of hells that sinners have to go to after death. One of the intriguing features of this part of the text is that there are only a few mentions of Śiva or Śaiva tenets, so that one may wonder whether this part of the text belongs to an exclusively Śaiva context. In fact, the Bhṛgusaṃhitā, a medieval Vaiṣṇava text composed in South India sometime earlier than twelfth century, rewrites this chapter into a Vaiṣṇava text by means of very easy replacements, such as replacing śivabhakta, 'devotees of Śiva,' with viṣṇubhakta, 'devotees of Viṣṇu.'

An anonymous commentary on the Śivadharmottara is preserved in a fragmentary Malayalam manuscript. Although this commentary generally gives basic glossing of its mūla text and does not indulge in elaborate discussions of the meaning of the text, it devotes considerable hermeneutic effort to transform the descriptions of hells in the Śivadharmottara into a perfectly Śaiva teaching by rather forcibly reading Śaiva elements into the wordings of the text.

The proposed paper will first give an overview of the chapter of hell in the Śivadharmottara, and then examine how the commentary introduces Śaiva elements into the interpretation of the mūla text, thus clearly reflecting the reception of the Śivadharmottara in the circle in which the commentary was composed.







Towards a Critical Edition of Tamil Civatarumōttaram (16 c.CE), a Tamil translation of a Sanskrit Śivadharmottara (7 c.CE), with special reference to the tenth chapter Civañanayōkaviyal.

Rajarethinam Thillaichidambaram (EFEO, Pondicherry, India)

In this paper, I will discuss the progress done in the critical edition of the *Civataru mōttaram* and its commentary, with a special focus on the edition of chapter ten, the 'Chapter on the śivajñānayoga' (*Civañāṇayōkaviyal*). The *Civatarumōttaram* (sixteenth century CE) is a Tamil translation of the Sanskrit scripture Śivadharmottara (seventh century CE). This translation was the work of the prominent Śaivasiddhānta teacher *Maṇaiñāṇa Campantar* in sixteenth-century Chidambaram, while a Tamil commentary on it was written by his disciple *Maṇaiñāṇa Tēcikar*, who was also the author of works in Tamil and Sanskrit. The *Civatarum ōttaram* gained popularity in Tamil Śaiva circles, and it has been frequently quoted in later works, from the Śaivasiddhānta and the Vīraśaiva milieu. Furthermore, in the eighteenth century the poet-scholar Kacciyappa Muṇivar abridged the text and presented it as a chapter in his *Tanikaipuranam*.

The *Civatarum ōttaram* with its commentary first appeared in print in the nineteenth century (1867), and since then four printed editions have been published—in 1867, 1888, 1937, and 1998, the last one with a modern commentary. However, none of the editors has so far exhaustively examined all the manuscript evidence available to us, and which amounts to ca. thirty-one manuscripts preserved in libraries in India and Europe. The current work of the Śivadharma Project team is highlighting how several variant readings, as well as the paratexts and colophons found in the manuscripts, have not been included in the collations by the former editors, and how this has affected our understanding of the text.







#### **Early Telugu inscriptions**

Jens Christian Thomas (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany)

Compared to other inscriptions from the Indian subcontinent early Telugu inscriptions (up to c. 1000 AD) belong to the lesser studied epigraphical sources. The majority of these rather short inscriptions stems from what is now Southern Andhra Pradesh. Besides being of interest for historical linguistics they also offer a glimpse into some aspects of the local political situation and administrative structure.

The talk will give an overview over the genres, styles, and contents of these important documents.







### Digital Devotion: Exploring Hare Krishna Resilience in COVID-Times

Sonya Marie Tillman (Lund University, Sweden)

Can a person become immersed in religious life purely through digital mediums? This research centers on contemporary religious conversion via online methods for religious groups that rely on the physical temple for an embodied spirituality. Remarked through their ecstatic public chanting and dancing, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) serves as a case study to investigate the COVID-19 induced shift to online prophetization through its religious function, format, and viability. By addressing the gap in ISKCON literature through an added emphasis on "religions online", this research investigates this transfer of religious prophetization using a qualitative approach directed at three Swedish ISKCON temples. This approach integrates context analysis and remote observations of each temple's website, Facebook page, and YouTube channel. Additionally, semi-structured interviews focused on the religious function of online ISKCON prophetization were utilized. Analyzed through a Durkheimian lens, the themes of "sacralizing the secular", "secularizing the sacred", and acting upon collective ritual memory emerged to understand the contemporary role, boundary formation, and format of online prophetization within religious conversion. Additionally, digital devotion played a role in furthering select spiritual connections, but on the question of viability Swedish ISKCON devotees positioned it as a "temporary solution".







# Remaking Literature: Innovation and Reinterpretation of Genres in Muslim Tamil Literature Torsten Tschacher (Universität Heidelberg, Südasien-Institut, Deutschland)

Muslims are commonly credited with introducing no less than five new genres into Tamil literature between the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which are assumed to have been developed drawing on genres current in Arabic and Persian literature. Despite the popularity of this narrative, however, there are fundamental problems with the idea of the 'Muslim genres', not least that many of the texts ascribed to one of these genres in fact self-identify as belonging to widely recognized and popular genres such as the *purāṇam*. On closer investigation, the idea 'Muslim genres' in Tamil owes its origin to the choices made by editors and printers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, who assigned titles to many poems in the transition from manuscript to print. Increasingly, the notion took hold that certain words found in these assignd titles indicated distinct genres. Paradoxically, the reinterpretation of Muslim texts through the frame of distinct Muslim genres appears to have eclipsed an actual case of generic innovation made by Muslim authors two centuries earlier. This presentation aims at recovering the specific historic contexts that led to this innovation in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and its reinterpretation through the framework of 'Muslim genres' in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.







#### Zeit im Bild. Zur Lesrichtung buddhistischer Stūpa-Reliefs

Simone Voegtle (Université de Lausanne, Switzerland)

Die an den Stūpas der ersten Jahrhunderte unserer Zeitrechnung angebrachten narrativen Reliefs hatten, sofern sie am Tambour des Monuments angebracht waren, eine explizite Lesrichtung: Im Rahmen des rituellen pradakṣiṇapatha wurden sie von rechts nach links abgeschritten und auch im Zuge dieser Bewegung betrachtet. Die bekanntesten Beispiele sind Reliefs aus den Regionen Gandhāra im Nordwesten und Āndhra im Süden des Subkontinents.

Unter den narrativen Darstellungen Südasiens ist die fortlaufende Form nur eine von mehreren möglichen Arten des visuellen Erzählens. Die Betrachtung des Bildes folgt hier einer linearen Bewegung, die zwar nicht zwingend gerade verläuft, aber trotzdem einer grundsätzlichen Richtung folgt. Dieser Beitrag untersucht, welche Konsequenzen diese räumliche Rahmenbedingung auf der strukturellen Ebene des Bildes hatte und in welchem Verhältnis sie zu den von der Schrift geprägten Sehgewohnheiten stand. Dazu werden Beispiele aus den erwähnten Gebieten analysiert und mit Reliefs oder Malereien verglichen, deren Lesrichtung nachweislich gegenteilig, also von links nach rechts, verlief. Neben dem süd- und zentralasiatischen Raum werden dabei auch narrative Darstellungen aus dem griechisch-römischen Kulturraum hinzugezogen.







The use of the coronation name during the Somavamsin dynasty: a mark of a religious enthronement, a respectful expression, a statement of legitimacy or a political claim? Amandine Wattelier-Bricout (Humboldt-Universität, Berlin)

Within the copperplate corpus of the Somavaṃśin dynasty from Orissa, consisting of about fifty land donations, the ruling king is always referred to by two distinct names to which honorific and sectarian titles are affixed. Indeed, he is called in the dated part by his personal name and in the formal part by his coronation name always associated with the coronation name of his predecessor forming a father and son couple designated as Mahābhāvagupta and Mahāśivagupta. Although this practice seems to be attested in all the land-donations made by the kings of this dynasty, the coronation name doesn't always appear in donations made by third parties and is absent from stone inscriptions. Also noteworthy is the fact that the coronation names are totally absent from Indraratha's records, while a detailed genealogy confirmed his legitimacy. Surprisingly, the same Indraratha is omitted in the genealogies of his successors.

Is the coronation name only the result of a religious consecration ceremony? Does it contribute to claim legitimacy? Or is it simply reserved for a filial power transfer? If this coronation name confers legitimacy, why is it not mentioned systematically? Does its use indicate a political stability and its absence the opposite?

This paper will seek to determine the functions and the scope of the Somavamśin coronation name. It will be based on a diachronic and synchronic study of the different names used by the Somavamśin kings to designate themselves and those used by their contemporaries, whether suzerains, allies or enemies.







#### Sanskrit-Grammatik von der amüsanten Seite

Malgorzata Wielinska-Soltwedel (Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Polen)

Die traditionelle Sanskrit-Grammatik, insbesondere Pāṇinis, ist nicht gerade für ihren Humor bekannt. Im streng logischen System, in dem die Kürze zu einem der wichtigsten Prinzipien erkoren wurde und das Aussparen der Hälfte eines kurzen Vokals wie die Geburt eines Sohnes gefeiert wird, scheint es keinerlei Platz für unnötiges Schmunzeln zu geben. Allerdings wusste Patañjali bereits, dass für das Lernen und das bessere Verständnis komplexer Sachverhalte nicht unbedingt und ausschließlich die Kürze wichtig ist, sondern auch andere Mittel, die wir heute Mnemotechnik nennen würden. Einprägsame Verse, Visualisierungen und Vergleiche erweisen sich oft als effektiver für die Präsentation und das Erlernen der schwierigen Materie als trockene Regeln. Der Vortrag stellt humoristisch anmutende Aussagen bei Patañjali und seinen Nachfolgern vor und behandelt die Frage, wie sie in den Kontext der Sprachdidaktik einzuordnen sind.







#### Śraddhā as cause and effect in dānadharma

Harald Wiese (Universität Leipig, Germany)

Dharmic giving was high on the premodern Indian moral agenda: "Whether small or large, the size of a gift does not bring about its benefits, but rather the spirit of generosity (śraddhā) and the means available to the donor associated with a gift. Indeed, only these two things cause prosperity or ruin." This paper attempts an explanation of dharmic giving from the point of view of decision theory. In particular, I am interested to show how the cause-and-effect relationship between śraddhā in the sense of trust or confidence (cause) and śraddhā in the sense of joy in gifting (effect) can be understood in decision-theoretic terms.

Relatedly, the paper discusses a difficult passage on reciprocity:

mṛtavatsā yathā gaur vai trṣṇālubdhā tu duhyate aparasparadānāni lokayātrā na dharmavat adṛṣṭam aśnute dānaṃ bhuktvā caiva na dṛśyate punarāgamanaṃ nāsti tasya dānam anantakam







#### Forgotten Sources: Manuscripts that Did Not Make It into Print

Eva Maria Wilden (Hamburg University, Germany)

The goal of this presentation will be to provide an overview with some statistical value by searching some current manuscript catalogues based on actual manuscripts rather than on earlier manuscript lists for items that appear to represent prose genres. Two obvious choices exist in terms of actual accessibility of the material objects. One is the catalogue of Cabaton for the about 800 Tamil manuscripts that went to Paris (currently in the process of being catalogued and digitised by the ANR-DFG project TST), because this collection contains some of the oldest manuscripts surviving for Tamil. The other is the electronic list of the about 16,000 manuscripts belonging to the French Institute in Pondicherry, a collection that is completely digitised and contains about 40% of Tamil manuscripts.

This survey will be complemented by colophon material if and where possible in order to find of more not only about the dates and places of composition but perhaps about the motivations of the composers or scribes.







# Private Praśasti: praise and historicity beyond the court in early modern Bengal Samuel Wright (Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient, Germany)

Although praśasti is nearly always studied in its capacity as inscribed poems in praise of ruling elites, a significant amount of praśasti exists in which private individuals and groups of private individuals are praised. Two well-known examples of private praśasti are the twelfth-century Nālandā inscription in praise of the monk, Vipulaśrīmitra; and the fifth-century Mandasor inscription in praise of silk weavers from Laţa.

In this paper I examine a selection of praśastis connected with private individuals that are found in the inscriptional corpus of early modern Bengal. The examples addressed here from Bengal show the praśasti of private individuals utilizing a range of aesthetic tropes and registering larger political changes in the region—just as is found in royal praśasti of ruling elites from the region during this period. However, because they articulate and inscribe praise in non-courtly and non-royal contexts, private praśasti cannot be interpreted as an expression of a 'royal historicity' (as theorized by Sheldon Pollock). Instead, private praśasti, in articulating and inscribing praise outside the domain of the court, expresses a historicity of the individual. After working through select examples of private praśasti, the paper concludes by exploring this larger claim and suggesting further directions of analysis.







# "By the threefold venerable king's venerable mother": On formalism and procedure of queens' land grants in early modern Nepal

Astrid Zotter (Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Deutschland)

Nepalese royal inscriptions from the early Śāha Period (1768–1846) attest to land grants to Brahmins, ascetics and other special humans as well as to deities and trusts for the upkeep of temples or rituals. Copperplate deeds were not only issued in the name of kings, but also by a number of queens who ruled for their (step)-sons or grandsons. As elsewhere in South Asia these texts are highly formulaic in character. This contribution will discuss their structure and formal features in relation to cosmopolitan and local norms. Moreover the practical embedding of the inscriptions will be looked at. As evident from their textual and historical context they were part of a multi-step process, which involved the donation ritual, the formal measuring of land and the issuing of a donation deed (dānapatra) to implement and validate the act. In these procedures apart from the royal donor, a number of state functionaries was to act in prescribed roles. A special focus of the paper will be on variations that occur in texts and rituals when the royal donor was a queen, instead of a king.