



Changing patterns of patronage across South Asia in the early modern and colonial periods

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BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

1. Mahmood Kooria (Universiteit Leiden),

Matronizing Islam: Matronage of Religious Institutions in Kerala and Lakshadweep

Patronage by default assumes the centrality of a patriarchal social system and excludes the potential contributions of women, even though scholars have endeavoured to foreground different nuances of "female patronage", "noble patronesses", etc. In this essay, I explore matronage as an analytical category that can inform us on the women's philanthropic initiatives within and beyond the patriarchal frames of patronage cultures. I focus on women endowers, donors and leaders of Islamic institutions in northern Kerala and the Lakshadweep Islands where Muslims have predominantly been matrilineal, matrilocal and even matriarchal. During the reign of the Arakkal Sultanate of Kannur, the only Muslim dynasty in southwest India, the queens (called Bivis, Sultanas and Adirajas) extended their power of protection from a micro unit of family as matrilineal wives to the larger households as clan matriarchs, and further as queens with power stretching transregionally from Malabar to Lakshadweep and Maldives. Religiously, they possessed a wider power as heads of religious judges, the *qadi al-qudat*, along with their financial and administrative support for Islamic institutions such as mosques, *madrasas* and printing presses and festivals like *mawlid*s and *nerccas*. The royal women were not the only endowers, but many other ordinary women also provided financial and social support for diverse religious ventures in the region. In fact, some of the most iconic Islamic structures in the islands and mainland emerge from donations and protections provided by certain matriarchs or matrilineal households. Their historical contributions to the making of local and translocal Islam continue to be neglected in the existing studies. Exploring the nuances of their support with emphasis on class, gender, religion and caste, this paper zooms onto their backing of intellectual and literary initiatives where they encouraged the production and circulation of some of the earliest works in Islamic law, exegesis, ethics, etc. With a comparative and connected analysis of similar trajectories among matrilineal and matrilocal Muslims of Indonesia, Malaysia and Mozambique, this paper thus will problematize our understandings of "cultures of patronage".

2. Abhilash Malayil (Sankaracarya University, Kalady),

Patrons and Pontiff: An Tales of Prestation and the Eighteenth-Century in the Sivaite Temple of Peruvanam.

In this paper I plan to speak about the Peruvanam temple chronicle and describe an 18th century moment of conflict and shifting patronage. The Śiva temple of Peruvanam presents us with an exemplary early modern case, but from the Coast of Malabar.

3. Jarek Zapart (Patronage Project, Jagiellonian University),

Ideology of Patronage and the Forming of Dādūpanthī Identity

Ideology of Patronage and the Forming of Dādūpanthī Identity In the Dādū Janma Līlā – the earliest hagiography of Sant-poet Dādū Dayal (1544–1603), composed by his disciple Jangopāl (in c. 1620) – Dādū is shown as rejecting gifts and offers of patronage from the Mughal emperor Akbar (1542–1605). The impulse for writing this paper came from the need to illuminate Dādū’s position, which is all the more perplexing when put against the backdrop of a rich history of royal patronage in the post-17th century Dādūpanth. Reading the Janma Līlā as contextualized by this history, led to the postulate that Dādū’s refusal of patronage – particularly when considering the types of manuscripts this hagiography was most likely disseminated in – paradoxically, makes the most sense when read as a ‘pedagogical strategy’ deeply concerned with client-patron relations. Furthermore, one is led to believe that the meeting (with Dādū preaching to Akbar) was given a prominent place in the Janma Līlā to maximize its overall pedagogical import. Firstly, it sought to build an authoritative image of Dādū, which became a foundation for the identity of the early Dādūpanth, and secondly, it enabled the increase of prestige of the sect and the winning over of new recruits. In a wider sense this paper is about the reciprocal relations between patronage and ideology and, subsequently, between ideology and identity. In Dādūpanthī sources it is clearly visible that patron-client exchanges are shaped and provoked by ideological assumptions often affected by the context of political power and/or submission. All these considerations give this paper a fourfold structure for the purpose of tackling the following issues: 1) Dādū’s rejection of Akbar’s gifts in the Janma Līlā and the reasons behind it; 2) the origin of this hagiography and the problem of its function; 3) the question of the impact patronage – taken both as a historical fact and a literary event – had on the structure of the Janma Līlā and its subsequent history as a text circulated in manuscripts of the guṭkā type addressed to lay, merchant-based communities; 4) the historical growth of Rajasthani Dādūpanth in a changing socio-political environment shaped by patronage relations. While the first three questions concern the support of lay communities, the last part concentrates on the formative potential of royal patronage, most importantly, on analyzing how a close relationship with Rājput courts propelled the Dādūpanthīs to adopt a Vaiṣṇava identity.

4. Biljana Zrnič (Patronage Project, Jagiellonian University),

Looking in two directions: Textual patronage in Surdas and the changing function of vinayas

The paper aims to investigate the shifting position of a particular genre of petitionary poems (vinayas) in the transmission process of Surdas’ poetry stimulated by religious communities which have taken Surdas under their patronage. The objective is to demonstrate the different functions of vinayas in Vallabhite and Dadupanthi religious settings and their adaptation to the changing patronage patterns. The development of Surdas’ tradition was operating in two opposite directions leading towards a newly established poems’ hierarchy and a different image of the poet. While one was centred at Krishna’s narrative story and characterized by a strong intention to expand and organize the textual corpus, the other, more conservative, compiled in the Dadupanthi scribal milieu, focused exclusively on vinaya poems. Print in Sūrdās’ case proved to be a powerful tool for the articulation of new socio-cultural codes associated with a particular religious community and had a specific aim to establish a close relationship between the poems ascribed to the poet and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. This concept was influenced by the Vallabhite community, which took Sūrdās under its patronage from the mid-17th century. As a result, we can observe how early print regroups poems and thereby places the vinayas at the very beginning of Vallabhite’s editions, reflecting their perspective on the chronological composition of poems. According to Vallabhites, the vinayas were composed before the poet’s alleged encounter with their spiritual teacher, and therefore before his initiation in Krishna’s lila. Recent research on manuscript tradition has rejected such an arrangement of the poetic material and revealed a rather opposite image of the transmission process. Early manuscripts examined by the editors of *Poems from the Early Tradition* are incompatible with the structure promulgated by the early print. Therefore, the editors of the

critical edition of Sursagar have decided to shift the vinayas' position from the beginning to the very end of the compilation of poems, assuming they were composed in the poet's later age. The situation becomes even more complex when we consider the neglected Dadupanthi collections. For them, as a nirguni inclined community, the vinayas constitute the very core of the compilatory process. By examining vinayas' various functions in different religious milieus and their shifting position across manuscripts and editions, I will demonstrate how early print overlooks this poetic genre to disseminate its doctrine. I will also show how the nirguna sampradaya considered vinaya poems privileged in the commercial endeavour of manuscript production.

5. Keith Cantú (Patronage Project, Jagiellonian University),

The role of a sacred tumulus (jīva-camāti) and meditation hall (maṭālayam) in the formation of Tamil Vīraśaiva yogi patronage networks in the guru-line of Kumāratēvar.

This presentation introduces the historical role of networks of so-called “jeeva samadhis” (*jīva-samādhis*), or “sacred tumuli,” where yogic adepts are usually entombed beneath a Śivaliṅga, in the guru-line of the circa eighteenth-century Śaiva reformer Kumāratēvar. The wealth of early printed literary publications from authors in Kumāratēvar's line are compared with ethnographic data I have collected in Tamil Nadu, such as recorded interviews and photographic evidence, all of which demonstrate their connection with the patronage of ritual arts, music, and mantra-based devotion at these sites. Specific attention is also given to the development of “Meditation Halls” (*maṭālayams*, < Skt. *maṭha*) and small temples that have accompanied the establishment of these tumuli from at least the nineteenth century onward.

6. Sohini Pillai (Kalamazoo College),

Bridging the Court-Temple Divide: Patronage Claims in Sabalsingh Cauhān's Bhasha Mahābhārat.

As the late Anne Monius aptly pointed out in a forthcoming essay: “often in contemporary scholarship” on premodern South Asian literature “the study of the courtly and the political proceeds independently of the religious, and vice versa.” The court/temple divide is especially visible in studies of the Mahābhārata tradition. The only theoretical work on premodern Mahābhārata retellings that were composed in regional languages is found in Sheldon Pollock's magnum opus, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men* (2006). In this book, Pollock makes the sweeping claim that premodern vernacular Mahābhāratas (such as Pampa's tenth-century Kannada *Vikramārjunavijayam*, Nannaya's eleventh-century Telugu *Mahābhāratamu*, and Viṣṇudās's fifteenth-century Old Hindi or Bhasha *Pāṇḍavcarit*) were literary representations of the political power of local courts that had nothing to do with religion. As with the Mahābhāratas of Pampa, Nannaya, and Viṣṇudās, Sabalsingh Cauhān's seventeenth-century Bhasha Mahābhārat makes courtly patronage claims. In the prologue of his sixteenth book, Cauhān describes himself performing his poem before a king named Mitrasen and the sixth ruler of the Mughal Empire, Aurangzeb, in Delhi. He also praises Mitrasen in the prologue of the seventh book and Aurangzeb in the prologues of the sixth, eighth, ninth, and seventeenth books of the Bhasha Mahābhārat. Yet while Cauhān's Mahābhārat makes pronouncements of courtly patronage, this does not mean that this text is devoid of religion. Through close readings of the different prologues of Cauhān's Mahābhārat, I will demonstrate how bhakti or “devotional” concerns and courtly concerns are deeply intertwined in this poem and ultimately argue that Cauhān's text is part of a premodern pan-South Asian development in which religious and political literary cultures were closely linked.

7. Oskar Podlasinski (Patronage Project, Jagiellonian University),

Poetry and legitimacy at the Mughal court: Selected tasks of a poet according to the text of Čahār čaman by Chandar Bhan Brahman

The aim of the present paper is to explain the key role of a court poet in providing the necessary service in the task of upholding the legitimacy of the government and its institutions in Mughal India. Such information can be inferred from the text of *Čahār čaman*, a detailed description of the life at the Mughal court written by the state secretary Chandar Bhan Brahman. In the aforementioned work the author describes various occasions that require the presence of court poets, who recite their poems in exchange for patronage of the government. This paper provides a detailed study of the complex relation between a poet and the court founded on the basis of mutual exchange of services benefiting both sides. The occurrences involving poets and the Mughal state described by Chandar Bhan Brahman present an unique opportunity to study the necessity of the function of court poet in sustaining the legitimacy of the Empire. Since the author of *Čahār čaman* had an inside knowledge of the mechanics and workings of the court it is crucial to examine his insights in order to explain the complex nature of the patronage over literature, especially poetry and its role in maintaining the legitimacy of the government, its institutions and the ruler himself. The present study is conducted on the original Persian text of *Čahār čaman* in order to provide a thorough and factual analysis of the text, sustaining the arguments presented in the paper.

8. Anjana Singh (RUG Groningen, South Asian & Global History),

Actors, Networks and Patronage in Early Modern Malabar and the Netherlands: A case study of Van Reede's Hortus Malabaricus

Individual initiative and dedication is quintessential to production of knowledge. Yet knowledge creation and circulation is difficult without networks and patronage, particularly in the early modern world where knowledge --often for the first time in print-- and re-circulated across the globe. During this time, knowledge was gathered locally using local or regional systems of patronage and transported to Europe where it was re-organised, re-classified, re-produced and re-circulated using local or regional systems of patronage. Thus actors, networks and patronage played an indispensable role in the creation, circulation and preservation of knowledge. Hendrik Adriaan van Reede, a servant of the Dutch East India Company, popularly known by its Dutch acronym VOC (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*), was an actor that belonged to multiple networks and played the role of both client and patron to achieve his goals. After Van Reede's death, some of his patrons continued the work to fulfil his aim of creating an illustrated encyclopaedia on the plants of Malabar, the *Hortus Malabaricus*. The end result was a set of 12 volumes containing illustrations and descriptions of 742 plants of Malabar belonging to 691 modern species. It remains one of the largest collections of botanical information on plants outside Europe and a landmark in the development of botany as a natural science in the 17th and 18th centuries. This article aims to focus on the role of actors, networks and patronage in the different stages of production of the twelve volumes of the *Hortus Malabaricus*.

9. Piotr Borek (Patronage Project, Jagiellonian University),

Reading history out of media transition. Politics of print in early editions of a Brajbhasha poetical treatise

With regard to the actual historical importance of the 17th-century book in Brajbhasha, commissioned by Shivaji in 1673, meagre traces of its dissemination between 1761 and 1845 remain somehow puzzling. Although Shivaji might have had resources to put this and many other books to print, he never recurred to such form. In case of the potential addressees of Bhuṣan's *Śivṛājbhūṣan* who can be identified throughout the internal evidence of the text, sticking to the traditional form of manuscript production seems to us all the way

understandable. Then, a possible lack of interest in this oeuvre between 1761 and 1845 can be also explained with the pragmatical functions making the book most actual only short after its composition. Finally, in 1889 the book has been shifted to the new media. On the one hand, it coincides with a substantial rise of vernacular publishing in the last quarter in of the 19th century, on the other we might ask ourselves why so much attention has been put into a bunch of books of poetics like the one composed by Bhushan. Within less than two decades it has been put to print enthusiastically in at least three different areas, with different motivations and by different agents, some of them unaware or negating the existence of the others. The presentation aims to look at those three instances with the aim to determine entirely disparate forms of print patronage that stood behind such text.

10. Julien Jugand (Nanterre University),

Institutionalizing Music Patronage: the Merchant Princes of Banaras and the Music Reform Movement (1875-1919)

At least since the mid-18th c., the wealthy families of bankers and merchants of Banaras constitute the main source of music and dance patronage in the city. Hosting *mehfil* in their courtyards and gardens, they nurtured a rich artistic milieu where courtesans and their accompanists held an esteemed place. From the end of the 19th c. to the first decades of the 20th c., the changing economic and political environment, the emergence of a new public sphere as well as powerful reform movements deeply reconfigured what music patronage meant and how it could still exist. The merchant princes of Banaras (called *rais*) were not passive in front of these changes. Albeit targeted for the decadence of music by important reformers, they took an active part in reshaping their own discourses and practices toward music and dance. From the writings of Bharatendu Harischandra on music to the creation of the first music society in the city and the hosting of an “All India Music Conference” in 1919, this paper will explore how the *rais* of Banaras addressed these shifts in values’ systems during this key period while maintaining their *mehfil* at the heart of their daily life. Analysing this apparent duality will allow us to nuance the global mainframe of music patronage history in 19th-20th c. North India and to better understand the specificities of Banaras regarding the “music reform movement”.

11. Safia Begum (University of Hyderabad), and Abu Saleh (Kolkata)

Patronage, Translation and Circulation: The Translation Bureau of the Princely State of Hyderabad.

The present paper tries to trace the history of the Translation Bureau which the last Nizam of Hyderabad has patronized. The paper argues that translation has always been a source of the colonizers to know the culture of the colonized people where rulers and the dominant class have always used translation for their own benefit to understand cultures of the ‘other’ as well as for its distortion. At the same time translation has always played a significant role in developing education. However, it is interesting to see how the native rulers, in this case the last Nizam of Hyderabad, have used translation for their own benefit. Thus, in this context the present paper intends to see the role of Nizam’s Translation Bureau, established in 1917 and its contribution in the field of education. The paper also traces its role in promoting education through translations of various texts into Urdu from English and so many other languages. However, the purpose behind the establishment of the Translations Bureau is an important area which may bring into fore the different policies like administration, religious and so on. Further points to ponder would be: What kinds of text were translated, the selection of the texts and reasons for that. The paper tries to find out the possible reasons behind the translations of these texts, if possible. How those texts are relevant for society and their impact in both the source as well as in the target literary world? The primary sources for this paper are books related to history and translations like *My Life and Experiences* by Mohammed Abdur Rahman Khan (1951) and *The Nocturnal Court Darbaar-e-Durbaar: The Life of a Prince of Hyderabad* (2004) by Sidq Jaisi, a poet-courtier of the last Nizam of Hyderabad which was later translated into English by Narendra Luther. If needed, it will also use other secondary sources and archival documents too.

12. Eloisa Stuparich (Cornell University),

The Yogi, the King, and the Lord of Cows: Rethinking Nepalese royal patronage in the age of Hindutva

Recipients of royal sponsorship for the upkeep of their maṭhas, Nāth Yogīs have long been entangled in the political vicissitudes of Nepal and, following Prithvi Narayan Shah territorial expansion in 1789, the divinized yogi Gorakhnath was worshiped as a personal protector of the Shah monarchs. The life and work of Yogi Naraharinath (1918-2003) provides a case-study on the religio-political dynamics that characterized the relationship between the Nāth sampradāya and the broader political context in the second half of the twentieth century. Mahant of the Nāth maṭha of Mrigasthali from 1947 to 2003, Naraharinath pursued a religio-nationalist project that presented Nepal (in contrast to India, marked by a history of coloniality) as a land of uncontaminated Hinduness, with Gorakhnath as the divine embodiment of the "defense of the cow" (gorakṣā) against beef-eaters (the Europeans and the Muslims). With the political developments of the post-1951 set up, in fact, discourses on Hinduness had become central to the conceptualization of Nepal as the only Hindu kingdom of the world (ekmātra Hindu-rājya) and Naraharinath's work on the literary history of the Nāth sampradāya, with its Sanskritizing agenda, reflects this new political context. It also echoes, however, the shift in self-representation of the Nāth Yogīs in India: if for centuries the fluid identity of the Nāth world had functioned as a catalyst for heterodox (and often anti-brahminical) tendencies, the sampradāya now strived to project itself as a wholly Sanskritized religious school, perfectly compatible with the Hindu mainstream. Following the establishment of the so-called "Panchayat democracy" in 1960, Naraharinath's interests will revolve around three interconnected trajectories: establishing institutions of Sanskrit learning, organizing large scale public gatherings for the promotion of Hindu dharma, and celebrating Koṭi Homas, vedicized fire-oblations for the purification of the kingdom. In almost all of these enterprises, we will find king Mahendra as sponsor and guest of honour, thus reinterpreting the old tradition of royal patronage of the Nāth Yogīs in a historical context marked by the rise of Hindutva politics.

13. Christophe Vielle (UC Louvain, FNRS),

Print, Performance, Manuscripts... and Print: Catholic missionary patronage strategies in 16th-19th c. Kerala.

Several printing press were settled by Portuguese Missionaries in India, starting in Goa (St. Paul College, 1556). The printing activity extended to works in Indian languages after the Jesuit Provincial Congregation of Goa declared in 1575 that various instructional works should be prepared for the native Christians, including a Catechism, a Confessionary, a Doctrina Christiana and a Saints Lives. Fr Henrique Henriques (1520-1600) was ordered to prepare such works for the Tamil area. With the financial help of the Parava Christians of the Fishery Coast, using Tamil characters a small catechism Doctrina Christam or tampirān vaṇakkam was printed at the College of the Saviour, Quilon (Kollam), in 1578 ; then a longer Doctrina Christam or kiricittiyāni vaṇakkam and a Confessionario were printed at the College of the Mother of God, Cochin (Kochi) respectively in 1579 and 1580, before a huge Flos Sanctorum was printed in 1586. However, no Catholic printing in Tamil language was thereafter produced until the Catechism of Fr Roberto de Nobili (1577-1656) was printed in Ambalagakad in 1675. The audience of such works seems to have been restricted to the priestly milieu of the Jesuit colleges and seminaries. In the meantime, a popular form of theatrical art, the caviṭṭu-nātakam, inspired by native forms of theatre mixed with Christian themes, was developed in Roman Catholic communities under the same Jesuit patronage. In the 18th century, like the Tamil literary writings of Fr Costanzo Giuseppe Beschi (1680-1747), the Malayalam poetry of Arnos Padiri/Fr Johann Ernst Hanxleden (1681-1732) aimed to provide the local Christians with works as beautifully carved as the ones of the Brahmin elite. In both cases the works circulated in

manuscript form, became popular and were integrated in the local liturgy. The printing of a new Roman Catholic catechism by the Discalced Carmelite Clemens a Iesu (1731-1782) came only in 1772, and was this time produced in Roma, at the Propaganda Fide press: the *Samskṣepavedārtthaṃ* being the very first book printed in Malayalam characters, again restricted in its use to the local clergy. The first Malayalam printing press was only established in 1821 by the (Anglican) Church Missionary Society in Kottayam. Among the several books it printed, there was Arnos Padiri's *Miśihācaritraṃ* (1844) and the Sanskrit (Hindu) *Śrīrāmodantam* (1850)!

14. Elena Mucciarelli (IIS Rijks Universiteit, Groningen),

Printing the image of a community: the story of a Nampūtiri

Kāṇippayur Śankaran Nampūtirippāṭ, born in 1891 near Kunnankulam, in the Thrissur district, was a Sanskrit scholar and an important social figure of his time. In 1929, during a period of profound social, religious and cultural reform Kāṇippayur established and developed the Panchangam Press. The first printed materials were jyotiṣa manuals (almanacs) prepared by him. Later he published also an edition of the *Manuṣyālaya candrika* with Malayalam commentary in an effort to rejuvenates *vastuśāstra* knowledge system that he was fading away together with the memories of his community, the Nampūiris, the most prominent Brahmins of Kerala already since at least the IX century. The printing press was for him part of a cultural project which in the first instance represented an act of preservation; to this end he composed a four volumes memoir "Enṛe Smaraṇakal". Kāṇippayur articulated his autobiography as a form of history where the self at the centre of the story does not gesture towards individualism or subjectivity but rather merges in a societal past that he claims to represent as the "common man". A diagnostic feature of patronage is its relational nature, the (economic) exchange between two parties. The king as patron of poets and religious communities. In Kerala Nampūtiris have been the recipient of patronage system, but they also acted as patrons of religious art forms such as Kūṭiyāṭṭam by way of sponsoring the performances in the temples. In a moment of great transformation, how does the Nampūtiri's understanding of the concept and modalities of patronage adapts to the new forms of power, of political discourse (social reform), and of knowledge production (print technology)?

15. Cezary Galewicz (Patronage Project, Jagiellonian University),

Indulekha's books that have not been inked: Patrons, readers and the cultural economy of media communication in early Malayalam Novel

A scene from the 1889 *Indulekhā* by O. Cantumenon shows an aged head (*kāraṇavan*) of a rich traditional matrilinear family (*taravāṭu*) from Malabar complain on the changing times in which his charming and well-educated grand-nephew daughter allegedly started to contempt books that have "not been inked." By the last decades of 19th century, Malabar seems to have had the new idiom ready in which the old regime books came to be referred to by the opposition to the new and now "normal" printed, i.e., "inked" books. The previous medium for circulating texts in South India made use of processed palm leaves and stylus with which letters used to be precisely incised (often double side) to the surface of a prepared palm leaf. No ink involved. The script made no easy read until being blackened before reading with soot or a sooted substance. The process of incision did not involve the use of a quill or print and its inking technique. The technique, the channels of distribution and the patronage types that made their operation possible have been in continuous and active use in the region for several centuries. No doubt that they helped evolve not only a set of customs, traditions and rituals but also a type of economy that suddenly happened to when challenged by the newcoming print technology and commercial publishing in the environment that hardly ever saw anything like a public sphere. The print seems to have eventually taken root in the British Malabar after three centuries of rather unsuccessful attempts from the times since the Portuguese first printing establishments in Kollam and Kochin beginning with 1556 and centres that operated with mixed fortunes and chequered success during the 17th

century(like that of Angamali finally reduced to ashes by on of the Hyder Ali's inroads by the end of 18th century). The initial success of the second half of the 19th century rode horseback on the the new missionary zeals and lucrative British government commissions that only were able to assure the minimum of orders for printing enterprises to continue in an alien environment that required considerable effort and a leap of imagination in order to create the reading and buying public so that "publishing" on commercial basis could be economically sustainable.

16. Everton Machado (Universidade de Lisboa),

Le patronage intellectuel de l'Instituto Vasco da Gama à Goa ou la création des Brown Sahibs locaux" / The intellectual patronage of the Instituto Vasco da Gama in Goa or the creation of local Brown Sahibs (to be delivered in French)

During the two years that the celebrated Portuguese poet and statesman Tomás Ribeiro (1831-1901) remained in Goa – in the southwest of India and formerly part of the Portuguese Empire in Asia –, he had a strong influence on the native Catholic elites from a cultural and political view. He was general secretary of the Vice-Governor and, in 1871, oversaw the creation of the Instituto Vasco da Gama (now Institute Menezes Braganza, named after a nationalist) in the same spirit of Thomas Macaulay in British India, whose famous 1835 minute advocated the formation of "Brown Sahibs". In the first issue of the institute's magazine, Ribeiro said: "In the physical and moral world, miracles are still recognized today: they are those of culture and those of education". The intellectual patronage of this institution not only contributed to the emergence of a category of individuals in the 19th and 20th centuries that resembled the "orientalists from within" that appeared in the first modernity as a result of the patronage of the Church, but also gave rise to a "regulated mimicry", through which both the Portuguese and the Catholic Goan controlled the power and the representations of local society.

17. Heleen De Jonckheere (Ghent University/Chicago University),

Some ink for thought: continued patterns of Jain textual production.

To search for history's early signs of modernity is not necessarily a successful quest within Jain publishing contexts. As John Cort has noted earlier, textual production by the Jain community remained a practice of pen and paper well into the 20th century. The shift to printing press, especially among Śvetāmbara Jains, showed a preference for retaining traditional text formats. This continuity makes it all the more interesting to look at the different actors and purposes for textual production. The proposed presentation will give an overview of text copying in the Jain community from about 1600 CE up to the early 20th century, drawing on primary material besides recent research from scholars in Jain Studies. It will show that Jains 'inked out' an independent space for their textual production in which laymen took the leading roles. Whether for their own reading or for religious giving, it was through lay patronage that Jain libraries became so richly stocked. Patronage by lay individuals seems to have given way to more institutionalised lay patronage. This is especially the case when Jains did indeed start using print relatively late. The presentation will query economical or sociological motivations for doing so and ask how religion comes into play in these decisions that balance tradition and modernity.

This paper considers the revival of Sanskrit classics in Sri Lanka enabled by the introduction of accessible print technology in the second half of the 19th century, concluding with some reflections on the significance of Sanskrit print culture within a formative moment in the development of Sinhala nationalist literature. The Sri Lankan Sanskrit Renaissance took place in two domains: one centered at the newly established Buddhist monastic colleges of the Colombo suburbs, and another in the secular realm of urban theatre, music, and recreational reading. In addition to literary renderings and dramatizations related to the history of Buddhist kingship on the island, Sinhala Buddhist authors and playwrights of the time made use of a broad palette of source materials, for example staging productions of the Ramayana, the story of Nala and Damayanti, and Kalidasa's *Abhijñāna Śakuntalā*. Such inspiration taken from Indian Sanskrit classics reflects a perception among Sri Lankans, prevalent at the time, of a shared cultural heritage with the broader South Asian region—as I will argue, this involved not only a perception of a pan-Indian literary heritage, but one which in addition privileged traditional Sanskrit disciplinary knowledge in the medical and technical arts (*śāstric* disciplinary knowledge) as well as Sanskrit philological apparatuses in a broader movement to restore indigenous knowledge and pedagogy, combatting what many Buddhists perceived to be the erosion of such knowledge practices under pressure from the organs of colonial governance. I consider the motley sources of patronage underwriting Sri Lanka's classical revival (including the King of Siam, Sinhala speakers of the urban middle class, and even the British colonial government) to compare late 19th century Colombo with contemporary literary movements taking place in Bombay and Calcutta.