



**Tranquebar Initiativets
Skriftserie**

A kaleidoscopic Story on the Place Tranquebar

**Cultural Exchange on the Coromandel Coast of India.
Results from the Tranquebar Initiative of the
National Museum of Denmark
2004-2016**

Edited by

ESTHER FIHL

No. 13, 2017

(to be continued in no. 14)

Tranquebar Initiativets Skriftserie, no. 13, 2017

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No. 13 is to be continued in no.14 which will present the Tranquebar Initiative's studies on intercultural heritage and historical identities. In addition, no. 14 contains the closing remarks and lists of produced publications, films and videos, and web-based educational material.

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The land gate in Tranquebar.

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Tranquebar Initiativets Skriftserie

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Edited by
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(to be continued in no. 14)

Preface

The National Museum of Denmark launched the Tranquebar Initiative as one of its core activities during the years 2004-2016. The aim of the initiative has been to highlight and preserve Indian-Danish cultural heritage, both material and immaterial, as well as to promote cross-cultural understanding through ethnographical studies of life-worlds in modern Tranquebar (today known as Tharangampadi).

Thanks are due to the many institutions, colleagues, research assistants and students at home and abroad who over the years have been involved in the activities of the Tranquebar Initiative. These activities are manifold and include locating relevant source material in archives and museums; collecting and systematising fieldwork material; carrying out restorations; disseminating via films, exhibitions or digital on-line; and not least contributing to the large bulk of publications from the initiative.

From the institution credit list presented in the following, I should like, on behalf of the National Museum of Denmark, to especially thank the Indian antiquarian authorities, that is the Archaeological Survey of India and the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology who collaborated on excavating parts of the former moat of Fort Dansborg in Tranquebar. Thanks also to the Tamil Nadu State Department of Tourism and the Pondicherry Chapter of INTACH (the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage) for carrying out the restoration of the building which in the period 1784-1845 served as official residence of the Danish governor. For close research collaboration thanks are due to the Madras Institute of Development and Change (MIDS) in Chennai, which institution also hosted several of our researchers during their studies in India. At this institution we are thankful in particular to professor A. R. Ventakachalapathy for his informal supervision of PhD students during their stay and for co-editing two of the peer reviewed books from the Tranquebar Initiative.

With the rest of the steering committee I want to express gratitude especially to the twenty-four principal investigators named in the following list. It has been really exiting to follow the many tracks and roads taken by the projects into the study of Tranquebar. As evident from the list of publications, as well as the video interviews with some of the principal investigators, some studies have focused on matters back in history while Tranquebar was a Danish trading station in India during the period 1620-1845. Others have

concentrated on subjects of today and again others have worked across time and place investigating aspects of memory, historical identities or the restoration of historical buildings enabling them to serve practical functions in today's Tranquebar.

The overall strategies on preservation, restoration, dissemination and research have been defined by the steering committee of the Tranquebar Initiative on the basis of a commission from the leadership of the National Museum and an agreement of collaboration by Ingolf Thuesen, head of Department of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies (ToRS), University of Copenhagen. The idea to launch the Tranquebar Initiative as an interdisciplinary core activity across sections in the museum came from previous director general of the National Museum, Carsten U. Larsen. In 2004 he invited professor Esther Fihl from ToRS to enter the future steering committee and to formulate the initial theme and goals for the initiative and to prepare future collaboration with other institutions at home and abroad. As research leader of the Tranquebar Initiative during the following years she was engaged in formulating several of the project descriptions when applying for funding and she had the professional contact to each of the 24 projects (PhD projects, postdocs, collective projects and senior projects). Likewise she organised the joined workshops, colloquiums and other kinds of joint research activities and responded on most of the publications. Thanks to Esther Fihl's inspiring research leadership and her immense work put into the initiative, the Indian-Danish history (as seen through cultural encounters in Tranquebar) not only became a central research field over the past years, but moreover she left a lasting mark on the careers and thinking of many scholars, students, PhDs and postdocs who operated under her guidance or in collaboration.

In the steering committee, research coordinator at the National Museum, Birgit Rønne, also took part in the formulations of project applications and, in a very professional way, she handled the many budgets as well as the reports to the external foundations.

At the National Museum the Tranquebar Initiative has right from the start been hosted by the Ethnographic Collection (now part of Section for Modern History and World Cultures) and I thank the previous heads, Per Kristian Madsen, Espen Wæhle, Ulf Dahre, Bente Wolff and Karin Tybjerg, for their subsequent seats in the steering committee and the work they put into managing the external grant for the restoration of the residence of the former Danish governor in Tranquebar before I became head of section and

thus host of the Tranquebar Initiative and Principal Investigator on the restoration project. In the start-up period of the initiative the steering committee was assisted by former academic secretary Martin Appelt followed by Einar Lund-Jensen, to whom we owe thanks for their great help. In the initial years the steering committee was headed by Per Kristian Madsen, now director general of the National Museum, and in the committee we are grateful for his support and for handling the personal contact to some of the external funds.

The Tranquebar Initiative has depended on external funding and has received grants from research agencies as well as a number of private foundations. We are grateful for the generous support from: HM The Queen Margrethe's and Prince Henrik's Foundation; the Crown Prince Frederik's Fond; the Danish Council for Independent Research, Humanities (FKK); the Research Minister's PhD Elite Travel Price; the PhD travel grants from Aarhus University and University of Copenhagen; the Ministry of Education's Virtual Galathea3 (VG3); the National Lottery, administered by the Ministry of Science; the Marie Curie Fellowship, European Research Council; the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, Ministry of External Affairs; the Augustinus Fonden; the Bikubenfonden via Dansk Ekspeditionsfond-Galathea3; the Carlsberg Foundation; the Carlsbergfondets Mindelegat for Brygger J. C. Jacobsen; the Aktieselskabet Damskibsselskabet Orient Fond; the Denmark-America Foundation and the Fulbright Foundation; the Farumgaard-Fonden; the Konsul George Jorck og Hustru Emma Jorck's Fond; the Lauritzen Fonden; the Nordea-fonden; the TK Foundation; the Aage og Johanne Louis-Hansens Fond; and also an anonymous private foundation.

Last but not least, we are grateful to the local people of Tranquebar/Tharangampadi who shared their time and views with participants of the Tranquebar Initiative. Without local people's interest in the shared Indian-Danish cultural heritage and their friendly collaboration during the multitude of ethnographical fieldwork studies, collecting of objects for the museum, excavations and restorations, the Tranquebar Initiative would not have been possible.

Christian Sune Pedersen, chairman of steering committee
The Tranquebar Initiative of the National Museum of Denmark
April 2017

Steering committee and list of principal investigators

Steering Committee:

Host of initiative and chairman:

Christian Sune Pedersen, head of Section for Modern History and World Cultures, National Museum

Research leader:

Esther Fihl, professor, Department of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies (ToRS), University of Copenhagen

Economic coordinator:

Birgit Rønne, research coordinator, National Museum

Principal Investigators / Close Project Participants:

A. R. Venkatachalapathy
Bente Wolff / Caroline Lillelund
Bente Wolff / Ramachandran Nagaswamy
Christian Sune Pedersen / Niels Erik Jensen / Simon Rastén
Esther Fihl / Frida Hastrup
Esther Fihl / Hanne Baumann / Mads Emil Kjersgaard
Esther Fihl / Louise Sebro / Simon Rastén
Esther Fihl / Caroline Lillelund
Frida Hastrup
Helle Jørgensen
Josefine Baark
Karen Vallgård
Keld Grinder-Hansen
Keld Grinder-Hansen / Rune Clausen
Kenneth Zysk
Kirsten Thisted
Kjeld Borch Vesth / Simon Rastén
Niklas Thode Jensen
Nils Engberg
Nils Finn Munch-Petersen
Per Kristian Madsen / Martin Appelt / Einar Lund Jensen
Peter B. Andersen / Oluf Schönbeck
Sabine Karg

Institution credit list

Denmark

HM The Queen's Reference Library, Amalienborg Palace
Danish National Archives
Design Museum
Embassy of India, Denmark
Maritime Museum
Moesgaard Museum
Museum of Copenhagen
Museum of National History
National Art Library
National Gallery
National Museum
National Open Air Museum of Urban History and Culture
Reventlow Museum
Rosenborg Castle
Royal Danish Geographical Society
Royal Library
Sorø Academy
Strandingsmuseum St George
Thorvaldsen Museum
Trankebar Association
University of Aarhus
University of Copenhagen
University of Southern Denmark

India

Archaeological Survey of India
Commissioner of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu
Commissioner of Museum, Tamil Nadu
Commissioner of Tourism, Tamil Nadu
Consulate of Denmark in Chennai, India
Embassy of Denmark, India
INTACH-Pondicherry Chapter
Indian Institute of Science, Education and Research, Mohali
Madras Institute of Development and Change, Chennai
New Jerusalem Church, Tranquebar
Saraswati Mahal Library, Thanjavur
Tamil Nadu Archives, Chennai

France

Musée Carnavalet, Paris
Musé des Arts Décoratifs, Paris

Germany

Centre for Modern Oriental Studies, Berlin
Franckesche Stiftungen zu Halle
Ev. Luth. Missionswerk, Leipzig
Northern European History, University of Kiel

United Kingdom

British Library
Department of History of Art, University of Cambridge
Government Art Collection
Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham
National Army Museum
National Gallery
National Maritime Museum
National Trust Collections, Powis Castle
Victoria and Albert Museum

Netherlands

National Archives at the Hauge
Rijksmuseum

New Zealand and Australia

Asian Religions, University of Otago
State Library of New South Wales, Sydney

Norway

Department of History, University of Oslo
Museum of Cultural History
National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design

USA

Asian Studies, Mount Holyoke College
Department of Anthropology, University of Arkansas
Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 1. Map of the Indian sub-continent, showing both historical and modern names, drawn by Pernille Sys Hansen, 2017. Reproduced from *Governor's Residence in Tranquebar. The House and the Daily Life of its People, 1770-1845* by permission of Museum Tusculanum Press.

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No. 14

Intercultural Heritage and historical Identities

Cultural Exchange on the Coromandel Coast of India. Results from the Tranquebar

Initiative of the National Museum of Denmark 2004-2016

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Introduction

Tranquebar – or Tharangampadi – is a village on the Coromandel Coast of south India. It has an intriguing intercultural history documented in historical buildings, rich archival sources, old and new ethnographic collections, and a series of recent studies from the Tranquebar Initiative of the National Museum of Denmark (2004-2016). See, Fig. 1.

In the medieval period Tranquebar belonged to the Chola Empire (mid-9th – early 13th century) where it was part of an expanding regional and international trade network. From the 14th century the area first attracted Muslim merchants of Arabic decent and later Portuguese traders some of whom settled in Tranquebar as in other towns along the Coromandel Coast.

In 1620 a Danish trading station was established in Tranquebar due to an invitation issued by King Raghunatha Nayak (reign 1600–1626)¹ of

¹ King Raghunatha Nayak is traditionally believed to have died in 1634. There is, however, a document in the National Archives of Denmark which states that he died and was cremated together with his 119 wives on 25 November 1626, whereupon the reign of Thanjavur was taken over by his son Rambadra Nayak; see RA: Danske Kancelli 1616–1660. Akter vedr. Ostindisk Kompagni. B169. Letter from Roland Crappe written 11 September 1628 to Christian IV. See also, P. S. Ramanujam: “The Indo-Danish connect”, in *The Hindu*, 2 May, 2015 <http://www.thehindu.com/features/magazine/the-indodanish-connect/article7164265.ece> (assessed 4 October 2016).

Thanjavur. In return for a yearly tribute he offered Tranquebar to envoys sent to Asia by Christian IV, who was king of the United Kingdom Denmark-Norway² and who was eager for his kingdom to gain a future share of the lucrative European trade in the Indian Ocean. As in other north European nations, from the early seventeenth century the Danish king supported the establishment of shareholding companies to enter into mercantilist trade and production on a global level.

The Danes constructed Fort Dansborg with the help of Raghunatha Nayak and his men and in decades to come the whole town was fortified and furnished with European houses, a Sea Gate and a Land Gate. In 1706 the first Protestant Christian mission was established in Asia by German missionaries sent to Tranquebar by the Danish king, Frederik IV. Besides proselyting the Christian faith in and around Tranquebar, the missionaries established schools for Indian children and the place became the cradle of book printing in India. The trading station was for many years run by a trading company of shareholders with a trade monopoly on Danish trade in Asia issued by the Danish king. In 1777 the trade station was taken over by the Danish Crown until, due to economic decline, it had to be given up in 1845 when it was sold for a minor sum of money to the British. From the Danish era a lot of material is saved to this day especially in Danish, Norwegian and German museums and archives as well as in India in the Tamil Nadu State Archives in Chennai.

In the year 1845, a Danish research expedition onboard the corvette *Galathea* visited Tranquebar on its circumnavigation of the globe. On that occasion Captain Steen Bille lowered the Danish flag Dannebrog from the flagpole of Fort Dansborg during an official ceremony. The visit took place in connection with the transfer of the Danish properties in India to the British. During their stay expedition members travelled inland registering

² The kingdom, ruled from the king's palace in Copenhagen, also included Iceland, the Faroe Island and made claims on Greenland besides ruled part of modern day Sweden in the first part of the seventeenth century. The king was also the grand duke of Schleswig-Holstein now part of modern day Germany. Until the Napoleonic Wars the kingdom was relatively strong due to its agrarian production, its centralised royal state apparatus and the fact that it possessed one of the largest fleets in Europe. Denmark and Norway were part of the same kingdom from 1397 until 1814 when Norway was forced to enter a union with Sweden as part of the 1814 peace treaty. For the sake of convenience, I shall in the following refer generally to this multinational and multilingual kingdom, simply as "Denmark", its subjects as "Danes", and their belongings as "Danish".

daily life in some of the villages on the former Danish territory and a collection of objects was brought home to the Royal Ethnographical Museum (1845-1892), which is now part of the National Museum of Denmark. This old research interest in Tranquebar was celebrated on the modern Galathea3 research expedition launched in 2006 by the Danish Ministry of Research, Technology and Development. Fifteen of the projects in the Tranquebar Initiative were given a land-based platform in Tranquebar, from where they transmitted various forms of results to a wider audience in Denmark.

Today vestiges of the Danish era are still visible in Tranquebar. Fort Dansborg, straight streets, colonial style houses, the Land Gate, schools, churches and churchyards all bear witness to the common Indian-Danish legacy. In 1984 the Tamil Nadu Government declared Tranquebar a protected cultural heritage site and it was decided to develop the village into a destination of heritage tourism, and in the course of the 2000s, several of the old streets and colonial buildings were thoroughly renovated.

The National Museum of Denmark launched the Tranquebar Initiative as one of its core activities during 2004-2016. The goal was to strengthen the ongoing Indian-Danish efforts to preserve the intercultural heritage, both material and immaterial, as well as to explore cultural encounters from 1620 up till today and to challenge theoretically the concept of cultural encounters. The initiative was planned to work in collaboration with Tranquebar scholars at home and abroad and to recruit new young scholars with an interest in the study of Tranquebar and its historical and modern international entanglements.

The Tranquebar Initiative is an interdisciplinary endeavor and ranges from grounded research projects to targeted restorations of buildings from the Danish era and to establishing of ethnographical collections to elucidate present daily life as well as to exhibition activities in Denmark and India. It also includes a series of anthropological fieldwork-based studies related to the processes of social and cultural transformation taking place in modern Tranquebar within almost all sectors, not least due to the catastrophic deaths and destructions which took place on 26 December 2004, when Tranquebar was hit by the Indian Ocean Tsunami especially in the northern part of the village and with sea water reaching as far as two kilometers inland. The following reconstruction period exposed the population to yet a new world of national relief work as well as international NGOs development projects

resulting in new kinds of cultural exchange. The construction of new settlements for the many homeless has added new neighborhoods further inland. The townscape differs from before and the introduction of boulders on the beach has profoundly changed the workspace of the fishing community.

The following pages will convey to the reader some examples of the results from the Tranquebar Initiative (2004-2016). A kaleidoscopic story on the place Tranquebar will be told mainly by bringing abstracts covering a number of the detailed studies which have been published by the initiative. Further activities will be presented in vol. 14 in the section on intercultural heritage and historical identities where will be described aspects of the excavations, restorations and the collection of new ethnographical objects as part of the initiative. Finally, the topics of memory and historical identities at play shall be illuminated through selected abstracts of detailed studies.³

³ A great part of the following consists of abstracts on publications from the Tranquebar Initiative of the National Museum of Denmark. Some of these abstracts have previously been formulated by the authors themselves or in collaboration with me. For this present booklet no. 13 and no. 14 of the Tranquebar Initiativets Skriftserie, I have formulated yet several new ones or edited and expanded on existing ones. The same amounts to the illustrations and their captions in the following. Thus, any mistakes introduced on content during this process should rest on my shoulders. For language editing, thanks are due to Valeri Walsh. Some of the texts are also visible on the website for the Tranquebar Initiative where I thank especially previous research assistants Helle Jørgensen and Caroline Lillelund for their help in preparing some of the descriptions, assistant curator Bente Gundestrup for web-design and supervision, and research assistant Manasa Bollempali for English language editing. See <http://en.natmus.dk/historical-knowledge/historical-knowledge-the-world/asia/india/tranquebar/> (Assessed 21 January 2017).

I

A place of cultural exchange

**A selection of abstracts on publications
from the Tranquebar Initiative**

What makes Tranquebar a Place?

Tranquebar is a place not only in India but also in the world. It has carved out its own significant space in history through the many different kinds of human activities at that particular spot, from ancient times up until today. See, Fig. 2.

People dwell there for longer or shorter periods of their lives, as husbands or wives brought in from other villages, or as merchants, school teachers or pupils from nearby towns, currently living in the boarding schools or the teacher training centre. Some also come as national or international tourists to visit Tranquebar for a day or two, or they arrive as national or international NGO staff members, stationed there for a limited time in order to do social work or to renovate old buildings, vernacular as well as colonial, as a part of Tranquebar's current cultural heritage revival. And they come on national holidays and hot days when they travel from the hinterland to the Tranquebar coast in order to enjoy the coolness of the sea. Others come to visit the old Shiva temple, Masilamani Nathar, as worshippers or simply to have their wedding photos taken in front of this picturesque, albeit partly collapsed, temple, lashed by the waves; or they may arrive as Christian pilgrims to the New Jerusalem Church, the mother church of all Lutheran Protestants of Asia; or in the past, when they disembarked from the large sailing ships anchored at the roadstead off Tranquebar and were taken through the heavy surf in smaller boats rowed by locals, stepping ashore to serve as soldiers, colonial civil servants or Christian missionaries, sent from distant places such as Denmark, Island, Norway, Germany or England. Or when, as distinguished envoys and representatives of the Nayak or Raja in Thanjavur, they turned up on elephants in pomp and circumstance to collect the yearly tribute from the Danish colonial governor. Or when they entered the village as religious heads of Shiva temples and were received by processions of musicians and local temple dancers.

People have over the years, however, not only come to this place known as Tranquebar. Some have also left the place to be married and to live in other villages, or they have temporarily departed on business trips or migrated to work in Ceylon (later Sri Lanka) or to other parts of India and abroad, recently often to Saudi Arabia, Malaysia or Singapore.



Fig. 2. Prospect and sketch of Tranquebar depicting the lay-out of the fortified part of town. The explanations of signatures are written in Danish. The map dates from the period between the years 1718 and 1775. The first year relates to the construction of the New Jerusalem church and the second year relates to the filling-in of the Dansborg moat. The map is slightly more detailed than a comparable coloured map by German cartographer Matthias Seutter from 1756. (Inv. no. missing, National Museum of Denmark).

These very different kinds of movements in and out of the place throughout history, are what make Tranquebar an interesting place to study. They testify to the fact that Tranquebar is connected to the wider world in various ways. As a place the experiences Tranquebar affords are not only for those who have spent longer or shorter periods of their lives there, today or over the centuries. The experiences and imaginations it affords are also for people in other parts of the world who perhaps received letters or reports from sisters, brothers, envoys, missionaries or other people stationed there, or who consumed the exported products, such as spices and textiles, which may have altered not only their cooking habits but also their means of furnishing their beds. These distant consumers started to demand pepper in their food or cotton linen on their beds, that is linen coloured with indigo and imported from India, just like the coveted pepper.

Indeed, there would be no place at this location were it not for all the activities in which its inhabitants have engaged and all the movements of people, ideas and items across borders. This has produced tracks and routes internal to Tranquebar, in addition to tracks and routes between it and other places. The cross-cultural marks stamped on these tracks and routes by the coming, going and staying bring these together into a single field of inquiry.

In the above sense, the place called Tranquebar constitutes a topic rather than a natural object. From the perspectives of a diverse range of academic disciplines, social anthropology, art history, sociology of religion, ethnography and history, the book *Beyond Tranquebar* examines people grappling across cultural borders, along routes and tracks related to this particular place in south India.

See, Fihl, Esther & A. R. Venkatachalapathy (eds.) (2014), *Beyond Tranquebar: Grappling across Cultural Borders in South India*. New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan.

Cultural encounters in Tranquebar

The special double issue published by the journal *Review of Development and Change* (RDC) takes the reader to the small coastal village of Tharangampadi, literally ‘the village lashed by the waves’ and known as Tranquebar in European discourse. Located in the Nagapattinam district of Tamil Nadu, its unique history as a former Danish trading post, site of foundation of the first Lutheran church in India and the cradle of the Indian print history, makes this village a privileged setting for the study of cultural encounters.

In the past Tranquebar was the locus of interesting encounters related to colonial politics as well as missionary activity; today the area is integrated in a wider global context especially due to the export of fish, migration of labour, tourism and not least, the presence of international NGOs in the aftermath of the Indian Ocean Tsunami in December 2004.

Both names — Tharangampadi and Tranquebar — are today in use locally and they reflect the long history of the place. In the following we will use the name Tranquebar since internationally this name is more widely known as it is associated with the rich historical sources archived mainly in India, Denmark, Norway, England and Germany.

Today, Tranquebar is a village of less than 10,000 inhabitants and about half the population is employed in fishing. With its impressive Land Gate, the former Danish Fort Dansborg on the seashore and linear streets with Lutheran churches, it has in 1984 been designated a heritage town by the Tamil Nadu State. See, Fig. 3 & 4.

An obvious cultural encounter takes place in the definition of the history of Tranquebar as it inflicts on the modern use of the old buildings and thus also on life-worlds, spaces and property. In addition there are encounters at the level of religious practices in the village today as well as back in history.

From the vantage point of different disciplines—history, social anthropology, religious studies, literary studies and the history of ideas—this relatively small geographical place of Tranquebar will in this double special issue of the journal RDC be examined to let it grow in depth, revealing the multi-layered processes of change related to cultural encounters.

See, Fihl, Esther & Stine Simonsen Puri. (2009). “Introduction: The study of cultural encounters in Tharangampadi/Tranquebar”, in Esther Fihl & A.R. Venkatachalapathy (eds.), *Cultural Encounters in Tranquebar: Past and Present. Special issue of Review of Development and Change*, vol. XIV, no. 1-2. http://natmus.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/natmus/forskning/dokumenter/Tranquebar/RDC_XIV_Tranquebar.pdf (Assessed 21 January 2017)

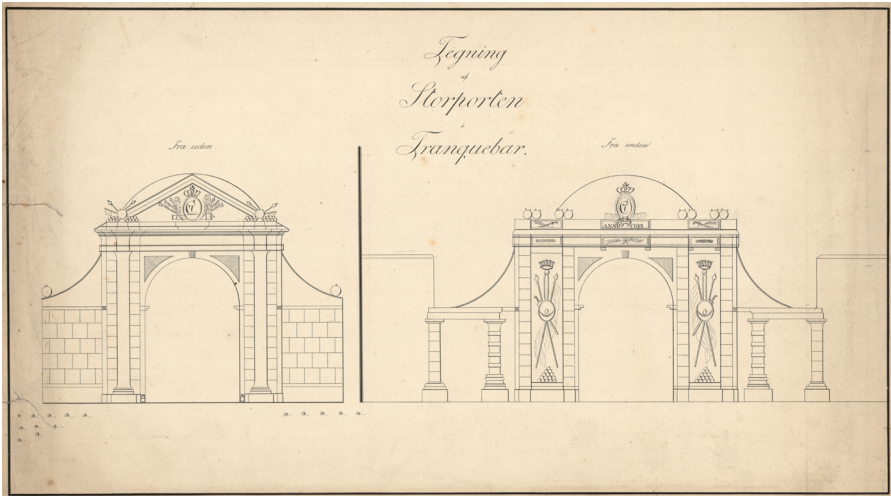


Fig. 3. The present Land Gate in Tranquebar was constructed in 1792 on top of an earlier gate from 1660. In the Danish era it functioned as a gateway in the fortification wall surrounding the town and it led to the surrounding rural areas and villages ruled from Tranquebar. At the gate people had to stop to pay a land duty while bringing certain goods into the town or to be questioned by the soldiers on guard. The heavy wooden doors were closed at night. (Inv. no. 1958:134, National Museum of Denmark).



Fig. 4 The Land Gate in Tranquebar is today declared a cultural heritage monument and protected by the Archaeological Survey of India. Most of the masonry work is intact but much of the decoration has disappeared. The top of the gate with its decorative canon bullets is preserved. Traffic with heavy busses and trucks have over the years taken their toll on the walls and the heavy wooden doors situated inside the opening of the port. Seen to the left are research assistants Santosh Mohan and Mads Emil Kjergaard perpetuating the gate with their cameras. Photo, Esther Fihl, 2013. (National Museum of Denmark).

II

The Danish era

**A selection of abstracts on publications
from the Tranquebar Initiative**

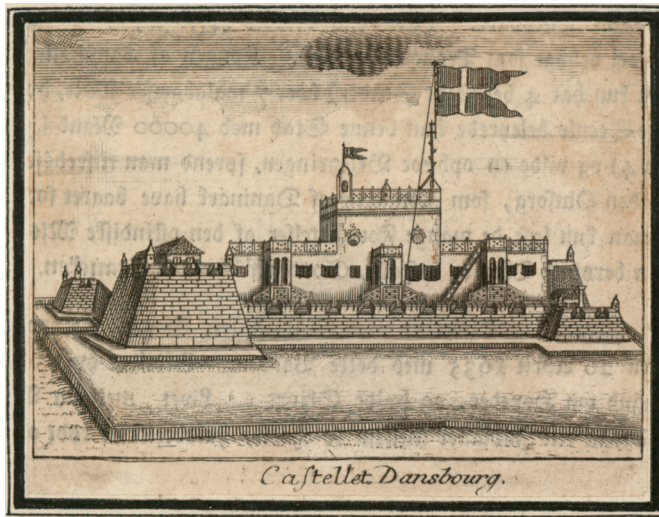


Fig. 5. Fort Dansborg in Tranquebar. The royal Danish envoy and admiral Ove Giedde organised the construction of Fort Dansborg in 1620 with help and permission from King Raghunatha Nayak in Thanjavur. The purpose was to protect Danish and Indian merchants and civil servants and to store trading goods to be sold either on the Indian Ocean markets or taken onboard Danish ships to be sold in Europe. (Inv. no. missing, National Museum of Denmark).



Fig. 6. Fort Dansborg is today protected by the Tamil Nadu State as a cultural heritage building and has since 1977 functioned as a public museum. On national holidays such as Pongal, the Tamil harvest festival in January, many people from the inland pay a visit to the beach and the museum. Photo: Nils Finn Munch-Petersen, 2006. (National Museum of Denmark).

First Indian–Danish contact, 1620

This study by Esther Fihl focuses on the complications involved in the very first Indian–Danish cultural encounter leading to the establishment of the Danish trading station in Tranquebar as it was called by the Danes in 1620. The analysis is based on the report sent to Danish King Christian IV by his envoy Ove Giedde on his return from India. It begins with a description of the voyage to the East Indies in order to introduce the reader to the troubles, aspirations and actors from the Danish side. The friction created when the Danes encountered the aspirations of Raghunatha Nayak of Thanjavur and the role of the gift is analysed next.

The argument of the publication is that the south Indian partner of the encounter is rather cross-culturally experienced and actually eager to allow the Danes to settle in the area. The analytical perspective on the encounter is concentrated on events described by Ove Giedde. The focus is on the actual meetings in 1620, of agents with disparate cultural backgrounds and aspirations, and who in their grappling with one another create a contact zone of new forms of social interaction. See, Fig. 5, 6, 7 and 8.

See, Fihl, Esther. (2009). "Shipwrecked on the Coromandel: The first Indo–Danish contact, 1620", in Esther Fihl & A.R. Venkatachalapathy (eds.), *Cultural Encounters in Tranquebar: Past and Present*. Special issue of *Review of Development and Change*. Vol. XIV no. 1-2. http://natmus.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/natmus/forskning/dokumenter/Tranquebar/RDC_XIV_Trานquebar.pdf (Assessed 21 January 2017). See also, Fihl, Esther. (2017). "The South Indian Setting. Kingship, Trade and Agriculture", in Esther Fihl (ed.). (2017). *Governor's Residence in Tranquebar. The House and the Daily Life of its People, 1770-1845*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press; Fihl, Esther & Asger Svane-Knudsen. (2017). "Tranquebar etableres 1620-30: Fodfæste på Coromandekysten", in Niels Brimnes (ed.): *Indien: Tranquebar, Serampore og Nicobarerne*. Copenhagen: Gads Forlag.



Fig. 7. Hollow ostrich egg with carvings depicting Fort Dansborg and on the other sides carvings of the Cape of Good Hope and a town plan of Tranquebar. The item, probably produced by a seaman during the long journey to or from Tranquebar, found its way to Museum of Nordic Antiquities in 1820. (Inv. no. CCXXI, National Museum of Denmark).



Fig. 8. Drawing of a temple festival procession with musicians, female temple dancers (devadasi) and Brahmin priests with parasols as emblems of high status. From the walls of Fort Dansborg the soldiers on guard could daily watch the temple life and sometimes temple processions in relation to the largest temple in Tranquebar, the Masilamani Nathar temple, which lay opposite the fort. The precise temple depicted in the drawing is not known and we may only speculate that it may be the Masilamani Nathar temple, which was built in 1305 at the behest of the Pandyan king Maravarman Kulasekaran. During the temple procession, the temple priests would lead the rituals by taking the divine image out of the temple and placing it in the processional chariot, which was pushed and pulled by men from lower-ranking communities. Typically, the temple processions would pass through the main streets of Tranquebar and offerings of food, and often coins, would be brought to the procession by the villagers. The temple priest would present food to the divine image and give it back to the villagers as a kind of sacred food to be enjoyed by the family. Watercolour, year and artist unknown. Photo: John Lee & Arnold Mikkelsen (Inv. no. Du.703, National Museum of Denmark).



Fig. 9. Portrait of Raja Serfoji II (1777-1832) of Thanjavur. This portrait was given to members of a Danish embassy that the Danish governor of Tranquebar in 1800 sent to the royal court in Thanjavur where they received it as a gift meant for the crown prince of Denmark, who later became Frederik VI. A portrait of the crown prince was given in exchange to Serfoji II. Indian miniature painting on ivory, silver frame with engraving. Indian artist unknown, c. 1800. Text Louise Sebro. Photo: John Lee. (Inv. no. Dc.197, National Museum of Denmark).

Tranquebar Tribute

With the establishment of Tranquebar as the first Danish trading post in India, the Danes became part of a complex south Indian political system based on the reciprocal exchange of gifts and tributes between princely states. Until Tranquebar was sold to the British in 1845, an annual tribute was paid to the nayak and later to the rajah of Tanjore, a payment that was closely connected to ceremonial honours and symbols at the court. Rajah Serfoji II (r. 1798–1832), who had been placed on the throne by the British East India Company, considered the receipt of the tribute from a European power particularly honourable and received it in public with great ceremonies every year as an important symbol of his sovereignty. See, Fig. 9.

By closely analysing a dispute over the tribute that arose in the aftermath of the British occupation of Tranquebar in 1808–1816, this paper by Simon Rastén explores Indian, British, and Danish perceptions of the Tranquebar tribute. The paper seeks to understand Tranquebar in a south Indian context by focusing on diplomatic relations and disagreements. It is argued that the right to define the significance of the tribute was constantly being negotiated and contested in this colonial encounter.

See, Rastén, Simon. (2009). "The Tranquebar tribute: Contested perceptions during the reign of Rajah Serfoji II of Tanjore", in Esther Fihl & A.R. Venkatachalapathy (eds.), *Cultural Encounters in Tranquebar: Past and Present*. Special issue of *Review of Development and Change*, vol. XIV, no. 1-2. http://natmus.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/natmus/forskning/dokumenter/Tranquebar/RDC_XIV_Tranquebar.pdf (Assessed 21 January 2017). See also, Sebro, Louise. "Everyday Life between Private and Public. Governor Families and Their Servants", in Esther Fihl (ed.). (2017). *Governor's Residence in Tranquebar. The House and the Daily Life of its People, 1770-1845*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.



Photo: Arnold Mikkelsen (Inv. no. 1861b, National Museum of Denmark).



Photo: John Lee (Inv. no. 450, National Museum of Denmark).

Fig. 10. Historically, the taxing work of tending to paddy fields and irrigation canals was most often carried out by members of the landless Pallar and Paraiyar castes. Members of the Paraiyar community would also take care of funerals and were not allowed to join in religious processions. Indian miniature paintings, gouache on mica, artist and year unknown. (National Museum of Denmark).

Danish civil servants and Indian elites

This is a study by Kjell Hodne and it focuses on the internal politics in Tranquebar from 1777, when the Danish crown took over the administration of the trading station, until 1808 when it for some years became occupied by British military troops. The main actor is governor Peter Anker, who stayed in India from 1788 to 1806.

It is argued that the interaction between Danish-Norwegian civil servants and Indian elites led to conflicts that marked colonial life through most of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Not only prominent Indians took part, also institutions like the caste assembly was involved. The ultimate consequence of the strife had an impact on the entire area where part of the population of landless labourers of the Pallar and Paraiyar castes reacted with mass actions in protest and on more occasions they deserted the settlement or threatened to do so.

Members of other castes, who considered themselves superior, often referred to these groups in the non-honorific singular, *Pallan* and *Paraiyan*, respectively.⁴ They were discriminated against and referred to as untouchables, outcasts and social pariahs, but in these conflicts they were used as cannon fodder by the elite castes.⁵ See, Fig. 10.

Among the civil servants, it was first and foremost high ranking members of the council in Tranquebar who were involved, but also lower civil servants took part. For the Indian elite in Tranquebar, the conflicts were mainly a result of a struggle for access to economic resources through tenures and positions as *dubashes*. See, Fig. 11.

The strife however, also had social and ritual connotations. The fight stood

⁴ In Tamil, the so-called 'rational' words denoting people or deities, normally have singulars in *-an* (masculine) or *-al* (feminine) and plurals in *-ar*. Apart from denoting actual plurality the plural is frequently used as an honorific singular, and using a singular form can thus take on a specifically non-honorific or even pejorative meaning. See Fihl, Esther. (2017). "The South Indian Setting. Kingship, Trade and Agriculture", in Esther Fihl (ed.). (2017). *Governor's Residence in Tranquebar. The House and the Daily Life of its People, 1770-1845*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press (note 34).

⁵ In fact, the word 'pariah' itself is generally taken to be a Europeanisation of the Tamil word *paraiyar* meaning literally 'those who hereditarily beat the drum, (*parai*)'. The *parai* drum was used to communicate messages to people and alert danger, for example the danger of being symbolically polluted by an approaching funeral procession and even the sounds from the funeral drumming would be symbolically polluting.

between two groups or parties. When members of the council could not agree on how to resolve the conflicts and the strife became endemic, the reasons seem to have been complex. In an early phase there were different opinions on how to resolve the strife. However later on the conflicts became part of a power struggle within the council. This struggle for power can probably be attributed to Anker's policies during his first years in the colony. Anker had tried to purge the administration. One of the clearest breaches to a clean administration was the interaction between Danish civil servants and Indian elites with the aim of utilizing the colony's resources to their own advantage.

Hodne, Kjell. (2008). "Danske embedsmenn og indiske eliter i kolonien Trankebar", *Tranquebar Initiativets Skriftserie*, no. 5, National Museum of Denmark. http://natmus.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/natmus/forskning/dokumenter/Tranquebar/Skriftserie/Tranquebar_Initiativets_Skriftserie_nr_05_2008.pdf (assessed 21 February 2017). See also, Sebro, Louise. (2017). "Navigating international Relations. A Pan-European Community"; Jørgensen, Helle. (2017). "Peter Anker: Governor in Times of Intrigue", in Esther Fihl (ed.), *The Governor's Residence in Tranquebar. The House and the Daily Life of its People, 1770-1845*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.



Fig. 11. Supremannia of the *Saluppar Chettiar* caste. He was a member of the local Indian elite and in conflict with Peter Anker, governor of Tranquebar 1788-1806. Anker characterised him as not only the “richest and wittiest” of the local subjects in Tranquebar, but also as a man who united “natural Malabarian talents for roguery with European pettifoggery”. The painting belongs to Anker’s collection brought home from Tranquebar and he furnished it with the title “Supremane Setty, the famous *dubash* in Tranquebar 1791”. Watercolour and gouache, artist unknown. (Museum of Cultural History, Norway).



Fig. 12. The ship bell bears the name of *Crown Princess of Denmark* and is furnished with the monogram DAC (Danish Asiatic Company) and the year 1745 which is the year for the construction of the ship. Photo: Manja J. Hansen. (National Museum of Denmark).

Onboard a ship bound for Tranquebar

Danish colonial history has recently been the subject of intensive exploration, and the rich archives of the large trading companies have made it possible to shed light on many different aspects of Danish trading activities in Asia. Due to a Danish trade monopoly issued by the Danish king, the shareholding Asiatic Company was for many years in the eighteenth century the only stakeholder in Denmark that had the right to trade with India and China.

Almost every year, the Danish Asiatic Company completed at least two voyages to Asia to purchase especially Indian cotton and pepper as well as Chinese tea and porcelain. The trips are very well documented through ship protocols and ships' logs which give a very good insight into the working and living conditions of the crew on board. However, there has previously been no publication of the source material relating to such a single voyage. This has now been remedied with the book, its title cited below, written by Palle Kvist, Michael Dupont and Jørgen Mikkelsen. It deals with the ship *Kronprinsessen af Danmark* (*Crown Princess of Denmark*) who was on a voyage to and from Tranquebar in the years 1748-50. See, Fig. 12.

The book contains the transcription of the entire ship protocol, i.e. the official diary for the ship. The sources provide insight into life on board the ship with a crew of 125 men and a large cargo of food also consisting of sheep, pigs, chickens, ducks, and turkeys to be slaughtered *en route* since the ship had authorisation to go ashore only at very few places on the route to Tranquebar. We must assume that in the load was also a large amount of silver coins for the purchase of wares in Tranquebar since experience had shown that it was very difficult to sell Danish products there. The sources on this voyage reflect various dramatic conflicts and lawsuits during the voyage. One of them was of a corporal who had made death threats against the captain and the chief officer. Another was about the kitchen chef's unsanitary cooking which ended with the chef committing suicide.

See, Kvist, Palle, Michael Dupont og Jørgen Mikkelsen (2011): *Mellem København og Tranquebar. På rejse med Asiatisk Kompagnis skib Kronprinsessen af Danmark 1748-1750*. Udgivet af Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til Dansk Historie i samarbejde med Handels- og Søfartsmuseet på Kronborg, Nationalmuseets Tranquebar Initiativ og Statens Arkiver.



Fig. 13. Dewaprien, assessor at the civil court for Indian citizens in Tranquebar. Except for this information, no other archival notes have been found on this picture. There is a chance that it portrays one of the leaders of the Muslim community called Marakayar, whose members were traditionally engaged in trade along the Coromandel Coast, in Ceylon and in Southeast Asia and therefore generally spoke more languages besides Tamil. In Danish Tranquebar, besides its president (the *providiteni*), the civil court had six Indian assessors comprising of two Muslims, two “Malabars” (meaning Hindu Indians) and two Christians. Indian miniature painting, gouache on paper, 1804, artist unknown. Photo: John Lee. (Inv. no. Du.540, National Museum of Denmark).

Tranquebar Registers

In this e-publication P. S. Ramanujam presents a collection of original archival documents relating to Tranquebar:

- 1) Church Register of the Zion Church 1767-1845
- 2) Census of Tranquebar 1790
- 3) Census of Tranquebar 1834

The original documents pertaining to the Church Register of Zion Church are kept at the Tamil Nadu State Archives, Chennai, India and a copy of the documents can be found as microfiche at the National Archives in Copenhagen, Denmark. Already in around 1935 when the missionary Knud Heiberg transcribed the texts as typed sheets, some of the text had been unreadable. He published part of the texts as a booklet: *List of marriages registered in the Danish Church Register of Zion Church, Tranquebar 1767-1845, Introduction by Knud Heiberg*, Government Press, Madras (1935). An introduction to the Copenhagen microfiche written in 2004 by Henrik Jahnsen – “A few words about the Trankebar files” has been included as an introduction to this present e-publication of the church register and the author has transcribed and reorganised chronologically Heiberg’s transcription of Zion Churchbooks.

In addition, P. S. Ramanujam has transcribed the two censuses relating to the town of Tranquebar from 1790 and 1834 respectively. The latter does not include the native citizens of the town. These two censuses are kept by the Danish National Archives. See, Fig. 13.

See, Ramanujam, P. S. (2013). *Tranquebar Registers*. Copenhagen: The Tranquebar Initiative, National Museum of Denmark. http://natmus.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/natmus/etnografisksamling/dokumenter/Tranquebar_Registers__Ramanujam_2013.pdf (Assessed 21 January 2017).

III

Present day life

**A selection of abstracts on publications
from the Tranquebar Initiative**

A village in rapid change

Tranquebar is today a medium-size Indian village of around 7,000 inhabitants including the settlements to the north and west. The village hosts a series of trades with fishing off the coast of the Coromandel and fishing related activities as the main occupations. The majority of the population is Hindu and belongs to the community of fishers. Other large groups include different low-caste landless workers who traditionally have been employed in agriculture. Present are also minorities of Christian and Muslim communities of different occupations.

As in most other villages in the region, religious and caste differences most often play a rather axiomatic, but however telling, role in the interactions between Tranquebar's residents. Segregated habitation has since olden times



Fig. 14. A series of long temporary shelters were erected to house some of the around one thousand families whose homes were washed away in the Indian Ocean tsunami waves on 26 December 2004. Several of the families suffered from severe grief having lost one or more family members in the tsunami and the little space and cramped conditions for each family and the noisy environment in the shelters were felt as a hard time for many of the victims, many of whom waited two years to be able to move into their new concrete houses built further inland and given as tsunami relief. Photo: Esther Fihl, 2005. (National Museum of Denmark).



Fig. 15. The interest in restoring heritage buildings encompasses houses constructed in Tamil vernacular building style. Here preparations are taking place for the inauguration of five newly restored houses on Goldsmith Street. Text and photo: Helle Jørgensen, 2007. (National Museum of Denmark).

been the norm with each community living in a separate street or part of the village.

On 26 December 2004 the tsunami in the Indian Ocean hit Tranquebar with tremendous force and washed away houses, boats and livestock along the coast and submerged agricultural areas further inland. See, Fig. 14.

In Tranquebar, several hundred people lost their lives, the large majority belonging to the fishermen caste. The catastrophe of the tsunami profoundly changed the life and townscape of the village. In the first years after the tsunami comprehensive construction work took place to build new houses for the many homeless and more than one thousand families have been rehoused in rather uniform concrete houses further away from the seashore.

Parallel to the reconstruction work after the tsunami, Tranquebar evolved into a destination of international heritage tourism. Restoration projects by NGOs, international companies, and the Tamil Nadu Government, have tried to recreate the elegance and charm of some of the old colonial and vernacular buildings, paved roads. See, Fig. 15.

A public 'tropical park' has been laid out in the southern part of the village and cultural heritage hotels established for economically upper-end national and international tourists.

See, Jørgensen, Helle. (2008). "Tranquebar: Dansk-indisk kulturarv". *Nyt fra Nationalmuseet*, nr. 119. http://natmus.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/natmus/forskning/dokumenter/Tranquebar/tranquebar_dansk_indisk_kulturarv.pdf (Assessed 21 January 2017). See also, Bønnelycke, Julie. (2009). "Skole og uddannelse i Tranquebars fiskersamfund", *Tranquebar Initiativets Skriftserie*, no. 6, National Museum of Denmark http://natmus.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/natmus/forskning/dokumenter/Tranquebar/Skriftserie/Tranquebar_Initiativets_Skriftserie_nr_06_2009.pdf (assessed 21 February 2017); Andersen, Peter B. (2014). "Processions and Chariot Festivals: Cultural Markings in Tharamgampadi and Veilankanni", in Esther Fihl & A. R. Venkatachalapathy (eds.), *Beyond Tranquebar: Grappling across Cultural Borders in South India*. New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan.



Fig. 16. Orchestra of Vettiyars playing outside the house of the diseased. All four play the drum named tappu. Text and photo: Caroline Lillelund, 2006. (National Museum of Denmark).



Fig. 17. A funeral procession with drumming on its way to the graveyard with a diseased fisherman. Text and photo: Caroline Lillelund, 2006. (National Museum of Denmark).

A musical tradition and a degraded low-caste profession

As the feudal, caste-based organisation of labour in rural India has given way to capitalist market forces and wage labour relations, traditional low-caste professions are beginning to disappear. One of these professions is the inherited, highly stigmatized, office of funeral drummer and graveyard attendant, called *vettiyan*.

Caroline Lillelund has in the article, title cited below, examined the gradual disappearance of the *vettiyan* profession in Tranquebar and the neighbouring villages in relation to the general changes in the economic, social, and symbolic status of the low castes. It looks into the ambiguous symbolic meanings of drums and drumming, and compares the *vettiyan* profession to that of other drummers and musicians from the Paraiyar caste.

The article focuses on the subtle cultural encounters between people who belong to the same caste and share almost similar cultural backgrounds but still define each other as ‘cultural others’. It argues that the few remaining *vettiyan*s are used by their Paraiyar caste fellows as symbolic repositories of the negative degrading connotations of untouchability and impurity that are still associated with their existence and which they vehemently strive to escape. See, Fig. 16 and 17.

See, Lillelund, Caroline. (2009). “The last Vettiyan: A musical tradition and a degraded low caste profession”, in Esther Fihl & A.R. Venkatachalapathy (eds.), *Cultural Encounters in Tranquebar: Past and Present*. Special issue of *Review of Development and Change*, vol. XIV, no. 1-2. http://natmus.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/natmus/forskning/dokumenter/Tranquebar/RDC_XIV_Tranquebar.pdf (Assessed 21 January 2017).



Fig. 18. Fishers leaving with their catamaran in the early morning for fishing. Up till the early 2000s the predominant vessel used in fishing was the catamaran, a sailing raft made from three to seven logs tied together and driven by a handheld sail. Since then the plastic fibre boat is in use and the outboard diesel motor allows the fishermen to visit fishing grounds further away from the beach. However, during the last decades the environmental problem of overfishing has escalated due to the actions of trawlers and industrial fishing along the Coromandel Coast. This has caused the resources on which the inshore fishers depend to dwindle rapidly. Photo: Esther Fihl, 1981. (National Museum of Denmark).

Disputed moralities among fishers

In this study, Esther Fihl focuses on the cultural meanings which have been ascribed to economic transactions over the last couple of generations of fishers in their community in Tranquebar. In the aftermath of the tsunami in 2004 these meanings were challenged by the sudden influx of relief money, which members of the fishing community sometimes spoke of as ‘the second tsunami’.



Fig. 19. In the temporary tsunami shelters and in her hand carrying photos taken by ethnographer Esther Fihl on earlier visits, local field assistant Renugadevi helps the ethnographer to find the survived members of families who on her visits since 1981 had become core interlocutors and close friends. Photo: Esther Fihl, 2005. (National Museum of Denmark).

This involved a grappling across cultural borders that had not been previously experienced. The work is based on ethnographical fieldwork carried out on and off since 1981 and among many of the same fisher families. See, Fig. 18 and 19.

See, Fihl, Esther. (2014). “The ‘Second Tsunami’: Disputed Moralities of Economic Transactions among Fishers”, in Esther Fihl & A. R. Venkatachalapathy (eds.), *Beyond Tranquebar: Grappling across Cultural Borders in South India*. New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan.



Fig. 20. Concrete houses in the new fisher village further inland, built as tsunami relief. Photos: Esther Fihl, 2007. (National Museum of Denmark).

Recovery in the wake of the tsunami

The tsunami in December 2004 severely affected the large community of traditional Hindu sea fishers in Tranquebar. The book written by Frida Hastrup provides an in-depth ethnography of the disaster and its effects on the community and explores how the villagers lived with the tsunami in the years succeeding it and actively worked to gradually regain a sense of certainty and confidence in their environment in the face of disempowering disaster.

What appears is a remarkable local recovery process in which the survivors have interwoven the tsunami and the everyday in a series of subtle practices and theorisations, resulting in a complex and continuous recreation of village life. By showing the composite nature of the tsunami as an event, the book adds new theoretical insights into the anthropology of natural disaster and recovery. See, Fig. 20 and 21.

See, Hastrup, Frida. (2011). *Weathering the World: Recovery in the Wake of the Tsunami in a Tamil Fishing Village*. New York: Berg Publications.



Fig. 21. As ruins continue to testify, many buildings in the town were destroyed when the tsunami struck and hundreds of people from the town perished in the waves while much property was lost. The most destructive impacts occurred in the low-lying northern end of the town which is inhabited by fisherfolk. Text and photo: Helle Jørgensen, 2008. (National Museum of Denmark).



Photo: Julius Christian Aschengreen, 1973. (National Museum of Denmark).

Photo: Esther Fihl 2005 (National Museum of Denmark).

Fig. 22. These two photos illustrate one of the cultural heritage buildings in Tranquebar before and after restoration. In the British era in Tranquebar inaugurated after the Danes left in 1845, this house functioned as residence of the British Collector. In modern day Tranquebar the house was, until recently, known locally as the “Nadar House”. The exact date of original construction of the building is unknown but it is estimated that the building is from the Danish era and from about 1830. It is constructed with three wings and a fourth that was added later to the north towards the garden. Archival records state that Arabella Mathilda Wright, married in the Zion Church on 7 February 1821 to Danish civil officer Wilhelm Petersen, inherited the building in December 1857 after the demise of her husband. After ten years she sold the building to Thiru Vellia Nadar whose descendants maintained the building for 125 years by renting it to the British Raj who used it as the collector’s residence. In the early 1990s, the house was sold by the Nadar family and taken over by the Neemrana Group of hotels. A restoration process began in January 2003 preparing the building to host a cultural heritage hotel. The eight-room hotel, named “Bungalow on the Beach”, was to be opened at the end of 2004 but the Indian Ocean Tsunami left the building with some damage. After the repair work was completed the heritage hotel finally opened three months later.

The fishing community and heritage tourism

The growth of tourism in Tranquebar/Tharangampadi has benefited in several ways from the post-tsunami reconstruction efforts of the state government. While fisher people are being relocated to a new inland housing complex about 590 meters from the coast, the area of historic Tranquebar, comprising the southern section of the village, is being claimed by a variety of tourism interests seeking to develop the area's 'heritage' sites. See, Fig. 22.

This paper by Raja Swamy argues that the cultural encounter embodied in the relationship between the growth of tourism and the displacement of the fishing community is centred on a process of silencing that is central to the hegemonic production of place in Tranquebar. The state and central government's neo-liberal orientation provides a central basis for silencing the spatial claims of the fishing community by devaluing artisanal fishing as an activity and promoting tourism as a means to expand the GDP. Simultaneously, the production of heritage involves a selective reading of the colonial past where the fishing community is conspicuously absent. A critical re-encounter with the historical geography of Tranquebar's fishing community, and the fishing complex it belongs to, can provide a tentative direction towards unravelling this process of silencing.

See, Swamy, Raja. (2009). "The fishing community and heritage tourism in Tarangambadi", in Esther Fihl & A.R. Venkatachalapathy (eds.), *Cultural Encounters in Tranquebar: Past and Present*. Special issue of *Review of Development and Change*, vol. XIV, no. 1-2. http://natmus.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/natmus/forskning/dokumenter/Tranquebar/RDC_XIV_Trานquebar.pdf (Assessed 21 January 2017).



Fig. 23. The Zion Church situated at the corner of King Street and Queen Street. This church was inaugurated in 1701 and replaced the old church hall in Fort Dansborg. The Zion Church had a Danish pastor employed until 1845 and he served the European community in Danish colonial Tranquebar which is documented, among other things, in the church book's many entries on weddings. In the 1780s, the Zion Church underwent significant renovations and got its present appearance. Architecturally, the building is characterized by both European and Indian style features. Among other things, the large arched vault, covering the church room, is a construction commonly used in Indian temple buildings. Today, The Zion Church belongs to the Church of South India and serves the Anglican congregation in Tranquebar and its surroundings. It is the oldest existing Protestant church in India. In the graveyard behind the Zion Church can be observed grave monuments for some of the many Danes who died in Tranquebar in the 1700s and 1800s. Photo: Nils Finn Munch-Petersen, 2006. (National Museum of Denmark).

Tranquebar as a tourist destination

Tranquebar is the best preserved, and least changed, of the former European trading stations along the Coromandel Coasts of India. An historic meeting place for Indian and Danish cultural elements and agendas. King Street and Queen Street with the big old Danish houses, the fortification towards the sea, the Land Gate, the Danish churches and cemeteries not only demonstrate the site's colonial past but also modern ways of living with this past in Tranquebar. See, Fig. 23.

The old Fort Dansborg with its the Parade Ground beautifully situated on the long coastline, and a quiet urban atmosphere with a minimum of traffic, provide some of the best conditions for the development of a combined beach and cultural heritage tourism. However, it is for modern day Tranquebar of utmost importance, to ensure that the tourism development will take place in harmony with the local society and that it will ensure the conservation of the Indian-Danish heritage in the form of buildings, plants and street grid which might be a difficult task as India is at the same time experiencing a rapid economic growth also within sectors based on mass tourism.

In his article, title cited below, Nils Finn Munch-Petersen discusses what could be suitable tourism planning for Tranquebar. The article is based on fieldwork at the site and the author's own experiences from research-based tourism planning in other parts of India and Asia. It takes into account international guidelines and discusses, inter alia: legislations on building and coast regulation, building maintenance, activity planning, hotel business, transportation, parking and water supply, waste water and solid waste.

See, Munch-Petersen, Nils Finn (2008). "Tranquebar som turistdestination", *Tranquebar Initiativets Skriftserie*, no. 1, National Museum of Denmark. http://natmus.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/natmus/forskning/dokumenter/Tranquebar/Skriftserie/Tranquebar_Initiativets_Skriftserie_nr_01_2008.pdf



Fig. 24. Sidda medicine and herbal doctor Mr Vaiithilingam on his way to visit patients in Queen Street, Tranquebar. Photo: Esther Fihl, 1981. (National Museum of Denmark).

Siddha medicine

The author, Kenneth Zysk, presents a detailed insight into the principles and practices of the Tamil medical tradition of Siddha which includes reading signs on and in the human body. Siddha's history along with its principles of diagnosis and treatment is compared to that of north India's Ayurvedic medical tradition. In this way both traditions of Indian medicine are understood in relationship to one another.

Tradition attributes a divine origin to Siddha medicine. Both the universe and the human body derive from the same five basic elements: wind, space/ether, fire, water and earth. They combine to provide each individual with his or her unique configuration of the three basic *humours* or *doshas* in human beings: wind, bile, and phlegm, called the person's basic nature. A skilled physician uses various methods, including the examination of the patient's pulse and urine, to diagnose an imbalance in the patient's basic nature. Treatment, aimed at the restoration of the imbalance, involves the use of plant-based and especially metal- and mineral- based medicines, which are said to be imbued with an esoteric substance called *muppu*. See, Fig. 24.

See, Zysk, Kenneth. (2008). "Siddha Medicine in Tamil Nadu", *Tranquebar Initiativets Skriftserie*, no. 4, National Museum of Denmark. http://natmus.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/natmus/forskning/dokumenter/Tranquebar/Skriftserie/Tranquebar_Initiativets_Skriftserie_nr_04_2008.pdf (assessed 21 February 2017). See also, Zysk, Kenneth. (2013). "An Indologist Looks at Siddha Medicine in Tamilnadu", in Dominik Wujastyk; Anthony Michael Cerulli & Karin Preisendanz (eds.). *Medical Texts and Manuscripts in Indian Cultural History: Manohar*. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors; Zysk, Kenneth (2016). *The Indian System of Human Marks*, 2 Vols. Leiden: Brill.



Fig. 25. Festival at night celebrating the birthday of the Hindu god Ganesh, in Tamil also often called Vinayaka. The festival is studied by associate professor Peter B. Andersen who describes how the Vinnayaka's birthday was celebrated traditionally only within the families who worshiped Vinayaka as their family god. However, from the late 1990s certain caste groups in Tranquebar and villages further inland have begun to utilize the festival as an event of Hindu mobilization and started to arrange that statues of Vinnayaka are put up in streets in the villages for his birthday. During the night the statues are next transported each in their long procession to the seashore at Tranquebar and in front of Fort Dansborg the statues are left in the sea to demolish. In 2007 some of the processions on their way to Tranquebar developed into street fights with groups of other religious faiths and the police arrested one of the leaders who had tried to create conflict. Photo: Peter B. Andersen, 2007. (National Museum of Denmark).

Religious Coexistence

Clashes of faith are increasingly common in different parts of the world and it is sometimes argued that the intensification of globalization often gives fuel to religious conflicts around the world by helping those who assert incompatible differences between their own faith and the faiths of others. As a result the study of religious conflicts is also increasing.

The above perspective is reversed in a book written by Oluf Schönbeck with contributions by Peter B. Andersen where they address a case of peaceful religious coexistence and social cohesion, namely in the south Indian town of Tranquebar in Tamil Nadu. The birthplace of the Lutheran mission to India in 1706, this former Danish colonial settlement is now a famous heritage site. Although badly hit by the 2004 tsunami, and today numerically dominated by members of a Hindu fishermen's caste, so far the town has managed to steer clear of the kind of religious conflicts too often found in a number of states in present-day India, including Tamil Nadu.

An in-depth study based on fieldwork studies in 2006 and 2007 and later updates, the book examines the way in which Hindus, Muslims and different Christian denominations interact in their day-to-day lives in the post-tsunami village. It demonstrates that the role played by religion – as far as social cohesion is concerned – is invariably tied up with several other factors (social stratification, economic development, educational institutions and such social communities as caste councils, etc.) and may serve as a basis for unity as well as division. See, Fig. 25 and 26.

Schönbeck, Oluf (with contributions by Peter B. Andersen). (2012). *All Religions merge in Tranquebar: Religious Coexistence and Social Cohesion in South India*. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.



Fig. 26. As part of the celebration of the national Indian Independence Day students from the male teacher training college run by TELC (Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church) are about to leave in procession with signs agitating for a moral life attending to the environment and not to throw garbage in the streets. Photo: Daniel Henchen, 2007 (National Museum of Denmark).

IV

The legacy of the Danish- Halle mission

**A selection of abstracts on publications
from the Tranquebar Initiative**

The establishment of a Christian Protestant Mission

With six elementary and secondary schools and two teachers' training institutes, Tranquebar is today a local centre of education in the wider area. The majority of schools are Christian and led by the Catholic St. Theresa's convent and by the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church (TELC), the latter is a descendant of the *Royal Danish-Halle Tranquebar Mission*. Several of these schools were established by missionaries in the Danish era of the village's history. See, Fig. 26.

In 1706 two missionaries Bartholomæus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau arrived in Tranquebar. They founded the first organized missionary undertaking in the history of the Protestant Church. An effective school system was established along with a printing press that came to play a decisive role in the dissemination of printed Tamil literature.

However their mission work among the local population of Indians was at first opposed by the Danish trading company whose civil servants had a policy of non-interference in the lives of the locals. Ziegenbalg was imprisoned for four months on the charge that by converting natives in Tranquebar he was disturbing the prevailing peace among the local groups of castes as well as encouraging a rebellion.

The two missionaries had been sent by Danish King Frederik IV and both were recruited from the Pietistic Francke Foundations (Franckesche Stiftungen) in the German town Halle.

The Portuguese language was at this time the usual colloquial language of communication between Europeans and Indians in the trading post and upon arrival the missionaries immediately began to learn to familiarize themselves with the local vernacular Tamil. Ziegenbalg in particular had a gift for languages and, to support the mission work, he drafted Tamil dictionaries and translations of Luther's Catechism and the New Testament. As part of this work a printing press was established in Tranquebar in 1712 which came to play a decisive role in the dissemination of printed Tamil literature.

Education was a central element in the pietistic strategy of the Tranquebar Mission to convert the local population to Christianity. Within a few decades the mission established an effective school system in Tranquebar which made it possible for a broad segment of the local youth to receive basic

school education. The mission schools opened new perspectives and possibilities for social mobility especially for children from the lowest ranking castes that previously had no access to any kind of schooling. The educational success of the missionaries soon spread from the Tranquebar area to other parts of south India where the missionaries established a number of schools. See, Fig. 27 and 28.

Between 1706 and 1818 thirty-eight missionaries came to Tranquebar from Halle with around eight to ten missionaries staying in Tranquebar at a time. After the Napoleonic wars (1803-1815) the Tranquebar Mission was weakened and debt-ridden and had lost the support of the Danish crown. In 1825 the mission was in effect closed due to lack of economic and political support from the Danish state.

When the Tranquebar Mission ended in the 1820s, the German Leipzig Mission took over the buildings and activities of the mission in Tranquebar until the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church (TELC) was founded in 1919. TELC today counts about 100,000 members in around 110 pastorates and is a direct descendant of the Tranquebar Mission and an important religious community in contemporary Tranquebar.

See, Grinder-Hansen, Keld. (2009). "The schools of Tranquebar: An educational field of cultural encounters and conflicts", in Esther Fihl & A.R. Venkatachalapathy (eds.), *Cultural Encounters in Tranquebar: Past and Present*. Special issue of *Review of Development and Change*: Vol. XIV no. 1-2. http://natmus.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/natmus/forskning/dokumenter/Tranquebar/RDC_XIV_Tranquebar.pdf (Assessed 21 January 2017); Liebau, Heike. (2014). "Translocal Networks: Tranquebar Mission Press in Eighteenth-century South Asia", in Esther Fihl & A. R. Venkatachalapathy (eds.), *Beyond Tranquebar: Grappling across Cultural Borders in South India*. New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan.



Fig. 27. The missionaries sent illustrations of the mission school's work to the Danish king and to their home institution in Halle in order to report home and appeal for additional funding. These four paintings were published in 1735 in a missionary newsletter and show the composite elements in the philosophy of learning applied in the education of children of Indian, European and creole descent (the latter were often designated "Indo-Portuguese" or simply "Portuguese"). Emphasis was put on educating the children in science, mathematics and language as well as "useful skills". (Franckesche Stiftungen zu Halle, Germany).



Fig. 28. Statue of Bartholomæus Ziegenbalg (1682-1719) inaugurated in Tranquebar in 2006 as part of an international celebration of the 300 years since the introduction of the first Protestant Christian mission in Asia. The statue is placed on the corner of King Street and Queen Street. Photo: Nils Finn Munch-Petersen 2006. (National Museum of Denmark).



Fig. 29. Idealised image of the early missionaries among local people in and around Tranquebar. (Franckesche Stiftungen zu Halle, Germany).

Ziegenbalg's path in understanding Indian culture

The historiography of European encounters with other cultures in the modern period has begun to extend beyond the frame of what had hitherto been an almost exclusive focus on works produced in the context of formal colonial rule. The missionary, Bartholomæus Ziegenbalg, spent about ten years in Tranquebar during the first two decades of the eighteenth century. He wrote two large books on Hinduism which, together with a host of shorter reports and letters, are documents of enduring value in the attempt to understand the history of society and culture of the region. Yet Ziegenbalg's primary purpose in coming to Tranquebar was not to understand Indian culture, but to transform it through conversion. See, Fig. 29.

It is often difficult to identify the Indian sources used by early European writers, like Ziegenbalg on Indian religion, but it is by no means impossible. In his essay, title stated below, Will Sweetman has demonstrated how identifying the sources used by one early writer on Hinduism allows us to escape the iron cages set up by the analysts of colonial discourse and to allow for those moments where cultural borders were crossed, albeit in a limited and imperfect manner.

See, Sweetman, Will. (2014). "Retracing Bartholomæus Ziegenbalg's Path", in Esther Fihl & A. R. Venkatachalapathy (eds.), *Beyond Tranquebar: Grappling across Cultural Borders in South India*. New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan.

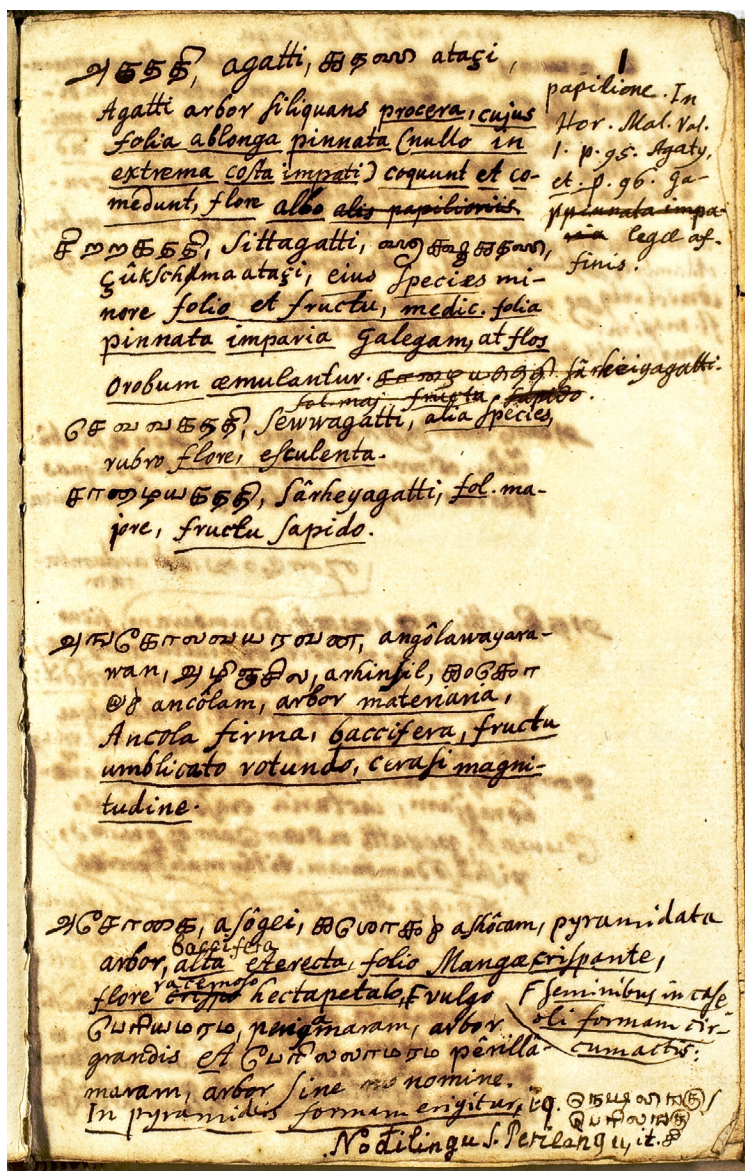


Fig. 30. Traditional palm leaf manuscript containing the musical drama Rama Natakam based on the Ramayana which deals with Vishnu's latest incarnations as Rāmā. It is written by the poet Arunachalendran (1711–1779) who was born in the village Thillaiyali on the former Danish territory and who became a famous Tamil poet and also a composer of music. Text: Esther Fihl & P. S. Ramanjuram. Photo: Esther Fihl & Simon Rastén, 2014. (Inv. no. Da.337, National Museum of Denmark).

Printing press and the tradition of palm leaf manuscripts

In his book and paper, titles cited below, A. R. Venkatachalapathy attempts to put together dispersed information in the missionary archives and to reconstruct the pioneering work of the Danish missionaries in bringing print to the Tamil country in the early eighteenth century. The specific locus of the interaction was the small town of Tranquebar on the Coromandel Coast. In the process of reconstructing the interaction, this paper seeks to understand how a new communication technology—the print medium—encountered a culture with a long history of textual production on palm leaves. This cultural interaction entailed a dialogue between missionaries from the west who had deeply imbued a negative understanding of indigenous culture and were impelled by a desire to proselytise, and a native elite steeped in indigenous forms of cultural production and reproduction. The missionary access to knowledge was mediated by native intellectuals who held their ground. The quest for knowledge to understand indigenous culture also led them to seek out palm leaf manuscripts. Not only the content but also the material artefact of the indigenous book, written as it was on palm leaves, posed a challenge to the missionaries. It is to the credit of the Tranquebar press that they could adapt the technology of the Gutenberg movable type to the Tamil language. Evidence indicates that the printed material from Tranquebar was received by a series of native converts and made a profound impact on their worldview. See, Fig. 30.

See, Ventakachalapathy, A.R. (2012). *The Province of the Book: Scholars, Scribes, and Scribblers in Colonial Tamil Nadu*. Delhi: Permanent Black; Venkatachalapathy, A.R. (2009). "Written on leaves in the Malabarian manner: Print and the cultural encounter in eighteenth century Tranquebar", in Esther Fihl and A.R. Venkatachalapathy (eds.), *Cultural Encounters in Tranquebar: Past and Present*. Special issue of *Review of Development and Change*, vol. XIV, no. 1-2. http://natmus.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/natmus/forskning/dokumenter/Tranquebar/RDC_XIV_Tranquebar.pdf (Assessed 21 January 2017). See also, Mylvaganam, Raja. (2014). "The Life of a Tamil Convert: William Roberts Proselytising in the Wake of the Enlightenment", in Esther Fihl & A. R. Venkatachalapathy (eds.), *Beyond Tranquebar: Grappling across Cultural Borders in South India*. New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan.



Circulation of Scientific Knowledge

From their arrival in Tranquebar, the missionaries of the Protestant Danish-Halle Mission engaged with many different kinds of knowledge present in local Tamil society and environment. This chapter focuses on activities in the field of natural history or science, especially medicine and botany, from the time of the arrival of the Mission Doctor, Samuel Benjamin Cnoll, in 1732 until approximately 1744. See, Fig. 31.

The establishment and formation around this time of the office of the European mission doctor appears to have been an important moment in developing the connection between the Mission and scientific enquiry.

Niklas Thode Jensen presents in his case study a window into the complex connections between medicine, science, religion and economy in the early eighteenth century, both locally in colonial south India and in global networks. The case shows how the Royal Danish-Halle Mission in Tranquebar was a ‘node’ in the circulation of knowledge in such a global network. As part of the circulation process new scientific knowledge about the colonial ‘periphery’ was constructed in a contingent local fusion of knowledge negotiated between multiple local actors such as Brahmins, Tamil doctors, Muslim merchants, mission staff of mixed descent, missionaries, the mission doctor etc., as well as between interests in south India and in faraway Europe. Often these processes of collecting, understanding, transforming and fusing knowledge were shaped by the practical and personal problems of life in Tranquebar.

Jensen, Niklas T. (2014). “Making it in Tranquebar: The Circulation of Scientific Knowledge in the early Danish-Halle Mission”, in Esther Fihl & A. R. Venkatachalapathy (eds.), *Beyond Tranquebar: Grappling across Cultural Borders in South India*. New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan.



Fig. 32. Indian miniature painting of an Indian *devadasi*, late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. The term *devadasi* refers to a girl who was obliged to worship and serve a deity or a temple for the rest of her life, similar in some ways to a marriage to the deity. In addition to performing rituals the *devadasi* would often learn to practice other classical artistic traditions, including the arts of dance, music and sexual performances. As the arts of dance and music were essential parts of temple worship, *devadasi* activities and the *devadasis* themselves were considered auspicious in the Hindu religious traditions and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries *devadasis* enjoyed relatively high social status. Conversely, many contemporary Europeans in India considered *devadasis* to be prostitutes. Photo: Arnold Mikkelsen. (Inv. no. D.2037, National Museum of Denmark).

Christian encounters with south Indian temple dance

In the first part of her article, which title is cited below, Stine Simonsen Puri describes how one of the eight national dances of India, Bharatanatyam, partly originates from the area around Tranquebar. During the time that Tranquebar was a Danish colony, the institution of female Indian temple dancers, the *devadasis*, was supported by the Thanjavur royal court and local patrons.

In 1623 Jon Olafsson, the Danish–Icelandic soldier, routinely observed *devadasis* dancing outside the Masilamani Nathar temple in Tranquebar. His accounts of the dancers are interesting at two levels. First they provide us with unique data on the role of the *devadasis* at village level in seventeenth century Tamil Nadu. Secondly, they shed light on a certain imagination and perspective on Indian religion grounded in European Christian thought at the time. See, Fig. 32.

Since the eighteenth century, partly out of encounters with westerners, the dance of the *devadasis* has been taken from its original temple setting and, in the twentieth century, to a national middle class stage on which girls of very different backgrounds learn Bharatanatyam. A second part of Puri's article is based on her fieldwork done in a Bharatanatyam dance institution situated in New Delhi and deals with a Christian student and her experiences enacting stories from Hindu mythology in the dance. The focus is on how she reflects on Hinduism as well as Christianity through her dance practice. Though set in very different contexts, the two accounts shed light on Christian perspectives on Hinduism through their encounter with a dominant south Indian dance form.

See, Puri, Stine Simonsen. (2009). "Between Jesus and Krishna: Christian encounters with South Indian temple dance", in Esther Fihl & A.R. Venkatachalapathy (eds.), *Cultural Encounters in Tranquebar: Past and Present*. Special issue of *Review of Development and Change*, vol. XIV, no. 1-2. http://natmus.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/natmus/forskning/dokumenter/Tranquebar/RDC_XIV_Tranquebar.pdf (Assessed 21 January 2017). See also, Fihl, Esther. (2017). "The South Indian Setting: Kingship, trade and agriculture", in Esther Fihl (ed.), *The Governor's Residence in Tranquebar. The House and the Daily Life of its People, 1770-1845*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.



Fig. 33. Missionary wife Olga Elisabeth Hornbech with her daughter and students from the mission's boarding school for girls in Tirukkoiyilur, south India, 1915. (Courtesy of Danmission, Denmark).

Imperial childhoods and the Christian Mission Society

Making an important addition to the highly British-dominated field of imperial studies this book by Karen Vallgård shows that, like numerous other evangelicals operating throughout the colonised world at this time, Danish missionaries invested remarkable resources in the education of different categories of children in both India and Denmark.

Like other Christian missionaries operating throughout the colonised world, the Danish evangelicals who traveled to India in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries invested remarkable resources in the upbringing and education of children. At the same time as they sent most of their own children back to Denmark, they took south Indian children into their care.

Through an extensive literary production they also sought to educate children in Denmark about the 'heathen' world. From the perspective of the Indian-Danish mission encounter, this study examines the heavy ideological weight that different categories of children in India and Denmark were made to carry in both local and imperial politics. Employing a postcolonial history of emotions approach, Karen Vallgård documents the centrality of emotional labor to the changing imagination of childhood. This book reassesses general assumptions about the history of childhood within the Western world by probing its entanglements with broader imperial developments. It suggests that interactions between transnational actors in different parts of the colonised world contributed to the contemporary emotional and scientific reconfiguration of childhood. Furthermore, it shows how projects of rescuing 'brown' children from their parents and societies helped portray imperialism as a benevolent and justified endeavor. See, Fig. 33.

See, Vallgård, Karen A.A. (2014). *Imperial childhoods and Christian Mission. Education and Emotions in South India and Denmark*. London: Palgrave/MacMillan.



Tempelelefanten ved jubilæumsfesten i Trankebar

Fig. 34. “The temple elephant at the jubilee celebration”: The ordination of Bishop Manikam took place exactly 250 years after the arrival of Bartolomäus Ziegenbalg as the first protestant missionary to Tranquebar. This elephant from a nearby Shiva temple led the procession of Christian dignitaries. Text: Daniel Henchen. Photo: Det Danske Missionsselskab. Årbog 1956, p. 26. (Danmission, Denmark).

Danish missionaries and Indian independence

In 1956, R. B. Manikam was ordained the first Indian leader of the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church (TELC) and assigned the title of Bishop of Tranquebar. This was a central event for Indian Protestants in general and for the missionaries from DMS (Danish Mission Society) especially. Although the missionaries worked in the neighbouring Arcot Lutheran Church (ALC) they participated as a matter of course as guests in the ceremony on Fort Dansborg. Manikam and the retiring Bishop Johannes Sandegren, a member of the Church of Sweden Mission, performed the central part of the ceremony: the laying on of hands. See, Fig. 34.

In his paper, title cited below, Daniel Henschen views the missionaries as representatives of a particular European entity working and living in a former colony and as exponents of a potentially marginalised praxis trying to find its *modus vivendi*. The study thus investigates the changes in the missionaries' self-perception with an emphasis on the consequences of their attitude towards Indian culture and society.

Since the founding of the Lutheran mission in Tranquebar in 1706, the missionaries as well as their Indian co-religionists have worked to create an Indian-Christian, Lutheran community in Tamil Nadu. One main challenge was to try to distinguish which parts of indigenous culture could be separated from Hinduism and accepted among Indian Christians. The objective of Henschen's analysis is to cover this history almost to its end, that is the missionary activities that took place during the first decades after India won independence in 1947. Covering the years between the end of World War II in 1945 and the election of Indira Gandhi in 1966, the study demonstrates how, in only twenty years, the Danish missionaries changed from adversaries of Indian independence to advocates of Indian culture in general and the development programmes of the Indian National Congress in particular. It is a strange and monumental change in mentality that went so far as to make some missionaries question the local Christian community itself.

See, Henschen, Daniel. (2014). "The Bishop of Tranquebar and Shiva's Elephant: Danish Missionaries and Indian Independence", in Esther Fihl & A. R. Venkatachalapathy (eds.), *Beyond Tranquebar: Grappling across Cultural Borders in South India*. New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan.

Is to be continued in Tranquebar Initiativets Skriftsserie, no. 14.