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The Origins of Modern Historiography in India

Antiquarianism and Philology, 1780–1880

Rama Sundari Mantena

Palgrave Studies in Cultural and Intellectual History

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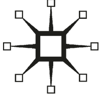

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In memoriam Ravindra Varma Mantena and Dandu Lakshmikantamma

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Introduction: The Origins of Modern Historiography in India

It is indisputable that the status of historical knowledge in modern India has been highly contested in the colonial and postcolonial eras. Because history and history writing were so essential to the nationalist project, they were accorded a central place in postindependence India—whose first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, was himself an accomplished amateur historian. While a political prisoner in the early 1940s, Nehru wrote his sweeping history of India, *The Discovery of India*, which provided a unitary narrative of historical becoming of the Indian nation-state—a bildungsroman of sorts with the nation-state as its protagonist.[1] For Nehru, a believer in science and progress, the discipline of history provided powerful tools for the young nation in its formative phase. History provided a rational account of the progress and unity of India from time immemorial. And history, with its reliable empirical method, could be used to dispel superstition and myth. This particular strand of nationalist historiography, which believed in the science of historical truth, came to occupy a prominent place in postindependence India.[2] This category of history has been repeatedly singled out as a nonexistent one in Indian, specifically Hindu, literary traditions ever since the British took upon themselves the task of writing Indian history. Early colonial historians and Orientalist scholars employed by the English East India Company (EIC) conceded that both Arabic and Persian had stronger traditions of historiography. However, history, as defined according to the European positivist tradition, found that much of ancient Indian as well as early modern Indian genres did not measure up to standards of scientific history. It was this lack that colonial historians emphasized.[3]

The Origins of Modern Historiography in India revisits the early colonial period of British rule to chart the ways in which colonial rule instigated profound shifts in the practice of history and history writing in south India. With the political ascendance of the EIC in the latter half of the eighteenth century, new patronage networks and

institutional sites were put in place to promote the arts and letters in the newly acquired territories. The EIC encouraged scholar-officials to compile collections, textual and material, in their endeavor to search for authentic historical sources for India. The late Bernard Cohn persuasively demonstrated that colonial governance in the early colonial period relied heavily on an understanding of India's past.[4] His work led to the formulation of critical theories on the production of colonial knowledge (knowledge produced for the colonial state; knowledge that the state relied on in governing the new territories). Nicholas Dirks's pioneering research on Colin Mackenzie, the famed first surveyor-general of India and a dedicated antiquarian, and his native assistants has sparked a great deal of scholarly attention on the role of native assistants in the formation of colonial knowledge.[5] Since the initial formulations of colonial knowledge put forward by Cohn and Dirks, there has been considerable work in interrogating the category of colonial knowledge, its relationship to the state, and the role of native assistants (or the term "intellectuals," which I have preferred to use in the book to give coherence to their body of work) in the making of colonial knowledge. In contrast to this earlier approach, *Origins* is not exclusively interested in the instrumental use of colonial knowledge and the dynamic of power in the production of knowledge; rather, through the examination of the extensive collection that has been assembled by Colin Mackenzie (1753–1821), the book sets out to illuminate the conditions under which practices of history underwent dramatic shifts. I place the Mackenzie collection within a context for uncovering the "little" practices of history—the collecting enterprise, the Indian assistants and their travails, and Mackenzie's relationship to other antiquarians and philologists in India and in England. By placing the collecting activities of Mackenzie in the context of a broader historical scholarship, the book is oriented toward illustrating how colonial archives not only aided colonial historiography, but also destabilized Indian practices of history and created the conditions for the ascendance of positivist historiography in nineteenth-century India.

Origins examines the institutional sites of knowledge production in the context of the emergence of modern disciplines, particularly the disciplining of historical knowledge. Apart from EIC historians, who followed in the tradition of Robert Orme, eclectic antiquarians such as Colin Mackenzie undertook the arduous task of collecting antiquities and texts. Mackenzie, in addition to being an amateur collector, was assigned important surveying duties in Mysore—initially during the military conflict in south India with the reigning Tipu Sultan

and later as surveyor of India, based in the colonial city of Calcutta. We may at first glance find Mackenzie's duties as surveyor incongruent with his interests in gaining historical knowledge of south India. However, before the disciplines of history, archeology, geography, and demography took shape in the nineteenth century, Mackenzie's ability to navigate between his surveying duties and his historical investigations was not unusual. Mackenzie, like his counterparts in Ireland and Scotland (General Charles Vallancey, William Roy, and John Sinclair), was interested in producing a *statistical* account through the documentation of the physical, historical, and cultural topography of south India.

Over and above producing knowledge for the colonial state, however, Mackenzie epitomized the amateur antiquarian as he went about collecting and collating an archive in order to produce a historical record for south India. Colonial antiquarianism deliberately sought out textual traditions in order to unearth what it deemed to be historical "truths" and facts regarding south Indian pasts. In his search, Mackenzie employed native assistants, such as the importantly placed Kavali brothers from the Telugu-speaking regions of Madras Presidency, to aid his ever-expanding researches across the south Indian territories. The native assistants in turn brought their localized knowledge of the multifarious textual traditions of south India together with their newer conceptions and adaptations of historical method as disseminated by their mentor Mackenzie. *Origins* examines in detail the methods that Mackenzie employed in constructing what he deemed "accurate" historical knowledge of south India and the ways in which he communicated with and taught the methods and procedures of collecting to his native assistants. Mackenzie relied on lists of questions, outlines of histories, oral interviews, and the collection of material remains. Mackenzie documented all this in his communication with his native assistants, who were often the primary collectors aiding him in the collecting project. What resulted was the basis of a new historical method that privileged the establishment of "fact" and a linear "chronology" over and above precolonial narrative traditions of legitimacy, which were differently structured to convey historical truths. The new historical method was highly attuned to facts as essential components of historical truth. The emergence of fact as a central component of the new method was ushered in by a new regime of truth that privileged historical truth-claims guided by an empirical method.

The colonial archive, as construed by Colin Mackenzie, did just that: it compiled facts. Mackenzie's project to amass an archive

was precisely aimed at elevating facts as essential and critical in the new conception of history. Because his antiquarian sensibility enabled him to include diverse material rather than dismissing them as too full of myth and fantasy, as others would have done, Mackenzie's antiquarianism allowed him to collect a great deal of textual material that was of historical importance. His archival project was inclusive of a diverse set of material (textual, visual, and physical), which suggested Mackenzie's expansive understanding of the practice of history. This expansive understanding of history, I argue, can be attributed to his antiquarianism and his antiquarian method.

Antiquarianism in south India led to the construction of colonial archives, which also allowed for the intermingling of distinct textual and intellectual practices and traditions. The Indian assistants who were employed by Mackenzie brought their own knowledge of south Indian textual traditions and, thereby, differing conceptions of history with them when aiding Mackenzie in his researches. Precolonial practices of history, whether in the genealogical or biographical mode—two primary modes that historical narrative took—were firmly rooted in early modern Telugu literary practice. When the British arrived with new practices and understandings of historical fact, historical narrative, and historical truth, they encountered these established practices of history not only in the high literary forms but also in the "lower" ones that had been preserved over generations in the local village record offices. In the process of collection, Mackenzie through his assistants came upon the *kaifiyat* (village records) tradition, which presented to Mackenzie and his assistants a tradition where practices of history seem to approximate to what the British sought and ultimately privileged. With its emphasis on the accounting of particulars—from documenting land use in a village to writing the origin stories of villages and towns in which humans and gods often interacted—the kaifiyat presented an alterative to the high literary traditions of historical narrative in Telugu (*caritra* [story], *abhyudayamu* [a Telugu literary genre that takes its subject as the day in the life of a king], *etc.*).[6] The kaifiyat became easily appropriated by the new historical method with its emphasis on fact and chronology. And this happened, in part, because it demonstrated two things to the British: (1) that the Indians did in fact keep records of village particulars and genealogies, and (2) that the past was regarded as important to record. Therefore, the kaifiyat, in a sense, revealed that there were in fact many "little" practices of history in India's regional traditions.[7]

It becomes clear that the encounter, which involved surveyors, collectors, antiquarians, philologists, and their Indian assistants, gave rise to "little" practices of history that crystallized as the discipline took institutional shape in the early decades of the twentieth century. By suggesting that "little" practices of history emerged, *Origins* uncovers the everyday practices surrounding the acts of collecting, surveying, and antiquarianism in the early colonial period. Moreover, I argue that the practices of history were disciplined by the intellectual encounter, rather than suggest that there was a diffusion of ideas and concepts as a result of the imposition of colonial rule. In other words, the discipline of history was not simply a European "import." The modern idea of history and history writing was not a neatly packaged body of knowledge that had been formed back in England and had then been simply transported and disseminated in India. Instead, it might be more apt to view historical practice as undergoing profound change and as a culture of historicism that was taking root simultaneously in England and India in the last decades of the eighteenth century.[8] In England, antiquarian practices converged with the practices of philosophical history to produce a new emergent historicism.[9] In India, precolonial practices of history were being appropriated by colonial antiquarian practices, which produced a new historical method that was embraced by both Indians and colonial officials. Conceptualizing it as an intellectual encounter disrupts the narrative that colonialism in India was a rule of sheer domination.[10] If we consider colonialism or colonial rule to be solely about a rule of dominance, then it would be an impossible task to unravel the discourses that surround practices of history in precolonial India in all their complexity and overlapping allegiances. The explanatory power of the rule of dominance would be at a loss to demonstrate the emergence of new practices of history taking shape in the encounter itself. In the past few decades, in our zeal to overturn earlier assumptions that colonialism successfully undermined Indian intellectual traditions and practices through the introduction of English education and European knowledge systems, we may have neglected to pay attention to the particular ways in which colonialism enabled Indians to creatively reconfigure Indian traditions and cultures after confronting Western modes of intellectual inquiry. However, it may not be premature to say that we have now entered a new "problem space" (making new demands on critical scholarship after the postcolonial moment) that is compelling us to consider new questions in order to provide greater complexity to Indian thought and culture in the encounter and confrontation with British

thought.[11] The questions that animate this study are concerned with how we can understand these encounters to get at the emergence of new ideas and concepts while still keeping attuned to the strength of colonial power and the asymmetrical relations that it fostered and sustained. In other words, how do we give weight and power to new ideas without succumbing to the binarism of imperial logic that posits impenetrable differences between European and Indian traditions? One significant practice (amongst multiple enduring practices that emerged in this productive intellectual encounter between Britain and India) was the modern practice of history—especially so its positivist variant.

Eighteenth-Century Patronage and the Transition to Colonialism

The encounter between the two intellectual worlds and traditions was profound and enduring. However, by locating the origins of modern history writing at the inauguration of colonial rule in India, my intention is not to reduce the idea of history in India to its colonial origins. Rather, it might be more apt for us to think of origins, as Foucault insists, as disparity: "What is found at the historical beginning of things is not the inviolable identity of their origin; it is the dissension of other things. It is disparity."[12] The late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in south India was a period of crisis that brought about a process of "dissension" of cultural institutions and the "disparity" in patronage networks. The dissension of patronage networks, of oral and written cultural practices, reflected the broader political transformations of the eighteenth century—the most radical being the political ascendance of the EIC in eastern and southern India by the latter half of the eighteenth century. Before the political dominance of the EIC, the sociopolitical world of southern India, which was populated by the Nizam of Hyderabad, Hyder Ali, and Tipu Sultan of Mysore and smaller polities, such as the Rajas of Vizianagaram and Bobbili on the northeastern coast of Andhra, unraveled due to the pressures of war and competition between rival Indian polities as well as rival European powers (primarily the British and the French)—conflicts that were pervasive in eighteenth-century south India.

Eighteenth-century indigenous courts—more extensively in the flourishing (former *Nayaka* or leader) capitals of Tanjavur and Madurai in south India—provided various levels of patronage for regional languages and literatures.[13] Institutions of patronage that were critical to

the sustenance of literary cultures, oral performative traditions, and historical as well as scribal practices underwent dramatic change with the rise of the EIC state in south India.[14] With the dissolution of the old regimes, institutional sites where written and oral cultural practices were cultivated and reproduced, new sources of patronage were shifting.[15] In the eighteenth century, Indian courts were still active patronage sources for the cultivation and preservation of textual and literary practices. However, since the seventeenth century, Christian missions entered the field, offering patronage and shaping the textual and literary production of south Indian regional languages. Clearly, while the older sources did not completely dry out, the EIC stepped up its role, being especially conscious of their political prominence in the Indian subcontinent, to offer institutional means of preserving older textual and cultural forms and more importantly to encourage new linguistic and literary practices. Although the EIC was not entirely comfortable and often showed ambivalence in its new role as patron of Indian arts and letters, it nevertheless encouraged company officials to do the drudgework of collecting Indian texts and cultural artifacts and commissioning the production of knowledge concerning Indian culture and literature. While at the Maratha court of Tanjavur, innovative dramas and other higher arts were commissioned and performative traditions were cultivated, in contrast, the EIC decided to concentrate its energies in commissioning the writing of histories, grammars, and dictionaries.[16] This difference in emphasis is worth noting. The emergence of new patrons and the encouragement of new textual practices characterized the transition to a new colonial era.

The cultivation of grammars, dictionaries, and the writing of histories can be traced back to the presence of Christian missions even before the EIC took on the role of patron. From the seventeenth century, with the arrival of the Jesuits, and later, the Protestant missions, Christian missions began to patronize regional languages and literatures. And it was only when the EIC's political role began to deepen and became entrenched in the latter half of the eighteenth century that these efforts were taken up by the early colonial state. After having subdued the Indian polities that were resistant to colonial expansion in the eighteenth century, Madras began to transform into an intellectual center in southern India with the active patronage of the EIC. By the 1770s, a printing press was brought to Madras, which subsequently became known as the Government Press (the printing press was originally captured from French Pondicherry and transferred to Vepery under the control of the Society for the Promotion of

Christian Knowledge (SPCK) until it obtained its own press in 1766).[17] The impact of print on shaping patronage, textual practices, and literary cultures has been convincingly argued by Stuart Blackburn—especially with regard to Tamil, but it is an argument that can as well be extended to Telugu. Madras began to take on a central role in attracting new talent and technology. SPCK's activities shifted to Madras, away from the Danish mission town of Tranquebar, and even the court at Tanjavur began to loosen its centrality for Tamil and Telugu literary production as the EIC in Madras began to establish institutions to attract *pandits* and *munshis* (native scholars) who aided colonial officials in translation work—away from their traditional circuits of patronage.

It is clear that the cultural and intellectual roles of the company state were equally shaped by its efforts toward preservation as well as the active cultivation of new textual forms. The broader cultural role that the EIC took involved both the study of languages and the compilation of texts (philological work) as well as the amassing of collections and the constructing of archives. Starting in the closing decades of the eighteenth century, the EIC began to cultivate, by institutionalizing the learning and teaching of South Asian languages for facilitating colonial governance, the languages of South Asia in its new governing role. Therefore, it is in this context of the shifting institutional sites of patronage and the cultivation of cultural and textual forms that I locate the rise of modern practices of history in India.[18]

Colonial Archives

In his monumental work on the place of memory in modern France, *Realms of Memory,* Pierre Nora astutely argued that the discipline and practice of history in the past century accorded itself a scientific arsenal and enforced the view that historical method was produced to establish true memory.[19] In effect, it sought to gain control over our access to our diverse pasts by discrediting other genres (oral and written) through which the past was often filtered into the present. Scientific history and other conceptions of the past exist in a dynamic tension in modern society where scientific history (institutionalized in academic history) tries to rein in other conceptions of the past but often is unsuccessful. Creative imaginings of the past—as disseminated in story literature, oral tales, state monuments, and in visual media—interact with scientific history by appropriating elements from it but not necessarily becoming

subsumed by it. Interestingly, this idea of history as a rational science was itself new in Britain in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. What is curious about the ascendance of the science of history was how vigorously it was advocated in colonial India by British administrators, where it was seen as especially necessary in the face of what was viewed as an absence of historical consciousness. History, as disciplinary practice, has been generally seen as an inheritance from the West via British colonialism. However, rather than perceiving modern practices of history writing in India as derivative, my study of antiquarianism and philology challenges that presumption and argues that new practices of historical method and history writing underwent radical shifts in the early colonial period in India, particularly in south India. The changes can be characterized more aptly as shifts rather than as an acceptance of the description of colonial observers of what they hoped to see in India: the "dissemination" and adoption of Western forms.[20] In fact, I would argue that colonial antiquarianism and philology brought about increased attention to precolonial modes of historiography by assessing the traditions and practices of history and elevating some traditions of textual practice over others. The new historical method and historiography that emerged through the processes of archivization, therefore, contained traces of precolonial practices of history. In other words, the new historiography was shaped by its various levels of engagement (appropriations, entanglements, and estrangements) with precolonial practices of history.[21] It is in this sense that the intellectual encounter was productive—giving rise to new practices of history with both Indian and British adherents to the new methods and practices.

Certainly, British interest in the status of history and of historical narrative in India was very much at the heart of the formation and consolidation of the colonial state in India. More importantly, it also brought under scrutiny Indian conceptions of historical "fact" and truth. Starting in the late eighteenth century, collections were compiled by collector-antiquarians to expand historical knowledge of India. These rather vast and disparate collections I call "archives" in order to signal the broad intellectual shifts taking place under colonial rule in terms of the organization of knowledge and the concomitant cultivation of empiricism within the burgeoning colonial governing apparatus.[22] In the elaboration of governmental apparatuses in late-eighteenth-century southern India, the compilation of colonial archives and collections represent the radical shifts entailed in the reorganization of knowledge that accompany the transition to

colonialism.[23] The making of archives refers to the enormous amount of energy expended by colonial antiquarians in compiling archives that brought about changes in the organization of knowledge systems as well as the dissemination and transmission of knowledge in colonial south India. During the process of archivization, practices of empiricism were elevated through disciplinary protocols such as the sifting of facts, the positing of historical truth, and the production of "sources" as well as through the accompanying set of concerns with the separation of mythic and magical elements from historical facts—elements particularly crucial for the new emergent practices of history.

Critical literature on the constitution of colonial archives is now vast.[24] Taking a cue from Bernard Cohn's compelling work on colonial antiquarians but elaborating from his own engagement with colonial archives, Nicholas Dirks suggests, "Colonial conquest was about the production of an archive of (and for) rule. This was not an archive that was imagined as the basis for a national history, for it was only designed to reap the rewards and to tell tales of imperial interest."[25] The colonial archive authorized the narration of tales of conquest, of a conquered society and its peoples and was, in no way, an archive that would enable the narration of a nascent nation. Whereas these earlier studies of colonial archives were pivotal in gaining an understanding of colonial power and the forms and methods of controlling subject populations and their cultures, they did not fully explore the depth and complexity of *intellectual encounters* between multiple knowledge systems in the context of colonial rule. In his eloquent study of Haitian history, Michel-Rolph Trouillot cautions us to think critically about the impartiality of the archive but also points to its creative aspects. He writes, "Archives assemble. Their assembly work is not limited to a more or less passive act of collecting. Rather, it is an active act of production that prepares facts for historical intelligibility."[26] Hence, archives are momentous not only for their power to centralize sources for the state along with the pragmatic benefits of preservation; they also have the power to make particular kinds of stories available for narration. Trouillot argues that the problem of power is inscribed in the very beginning of the archival process with the assemblage of sources. This claim is significant because it locates the inscription of power in the act of collecting itself. On the productive and creative function of archives, Jacques Derrida proposed that every archive "is at once institutive and conservative" or, to put it another way, archives are both "Revolutionary and traditional."[27] He went on to

state that in fact archivization "produces as much as it records an event," which flies against our received understanding of archives as impartial repositories of past events.

In arguing for a more critical engagement with archives, Antoinette Burton cautions against reading the colonial archive as one that is identical with the colonial state. She questions the "seduction of the total archive" in recent work on the colonial/imperial archive. She asks, "Is it because such archives were themselves born out of a determination to survey, an outgrowth of states convinced of their all-seeing and all-knowing capabilities?"[28] Referring to the numerous studies on the construction of colonial knowledge and the collusion of knowledge apparatuses with the expansion of the colonial state, Burton asks: If the state is collapsed with the archive, then are we historians limited to exclusively telling the narratives of the state? Rather, Burton proposes that one should consider the fissures in the panoptical desires of the colonial state. Recent work on archives has drawn attention to the productive aspects of archives that transcend the preservative aspects. The argument is that whether or not an individual or a state is collecting and preserving records of the past and present, they do not have absolute control over the reading of those records. The possible narratives from those archival collections are, of course, limited to the kinds of material collected. However, those narratives are not always the ones that are imagined by the collectors. In effect, the excesses of the colonial archive need to be accounted for in order to understand the productive nature of the archive.

The "archival turn" in colonial studies shows a greater sensitivity to the process of archiving itself.[29] Archives should not be viewed as static objects, but rather, as processes. This can be done by keeping attuned to the practices of assemblage, collation, and collection, which would lead us to gain deeper insights into the particularities of colonial archives and allow us to desist from viewing archival documents as objects that provide us with already formulated "stories for a colonial history." Such a view would also urge us to reconsider them "as active, generative substances with histories."[30] Stoler calls for an ethnography of the archive "to move away from treating the archives as an extractive exercise to an ethnographic one."[31] This call for an ethnography of the archive is particularly apt for Colin Mackenzie's archive, which is laden with stories. His field journals and reports as well as his native assistants reveal innumerable stories about how the early colonial state constructed ideas of historical truth and falsities—fact and fiction. The archive is a rich source

for a more nuanced understanding of the processes and institutions within which standards and practices of empiricism and conceptions of historical truth unfolded in colonial south India.

This study begins with the establishment of colonial archives in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when the EIC rapidly expanded its territorial empire in southern India. Accompanying the political expansion of empire was a thrust toward historical knowledge of India. The series of wars against Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan in the latter half of the eighteenth century provides the context for the rapid expansion of the production of colonial knowledge in southern India. As the British were gradually gaining territory from the Nawabs of Mysore, the EIC sent surveyors to assess the newly acquired territories in order to provide knowledge about its natural resources, geography, and historical artifacts. The EIC sent surveyor-collectors to not only assess the new lands of the empire but also encouraged them to compile varieties of knowledge that would be useful for the colonial administration. One surveyor-collector sent to the former territories of Tipu Sultan was Colin Mackenzie, who amassed an archive that is now housed in both Britain and India. He employed many Indian assistants to help him collect manuscripts of literature and history in southern India, which resulted in numerous English journals and also in a vast collection of manuscripts of literary texts in Telugu, Tamil, Kannada, and Marathi as well as sketches and drawings of ruins and archaeological remains of religious sites. The collection depended on native assistants who carried out the day-to-day work of collecting, translating, and traveling, often on foot, from one village to another. The head translators working under Mackenzie's supervision noted these day-to-day activities down in journals. The primary native assistants associated with Mackenzie's archive were the Kavali brothers (Borayya, Lakshmayya, and Ramaswami) who form the subject of chapter 3, which also explores their place in the larger network of intellectuals in nineteenth-century Madras.

Not surprisingly, the findings from Mackenzie's collection were incomprehensible to the preeminent Sanskrit philologist, H. H. Wilson, who was given the task of cataloging it upon Mackenzie's death in 1821. The collection included many hand copies of inscriptions found in various temples without sufficient explanation on where and how they had been recorded. What was absent in the collection, according to Mackenzie's critics, was a logic within which the materials had been collected. Wilson also held a deep distrust of the Indian assistants: "The native agents had set to work upon the Colonel's death to

make short catalogs of the articles and books accumulated, and these were completed under my supervision. In the course of examining the lists as well as I could, I found them not only too concise to be satisfactory, but in many cases evidently erroneous, and altogether devoid of classification or arrangement."[32] According to Wilson, not only were the activities of Mackenzie devoid of an obvious method, but his team of Indian assistants seemed to be ignorant as to what they had accumulated. Although Wilson saw the Mackenzie collection as generally containing material of mixed worth, what resulted from his readings of the archive are rather fixed notions of what constitutes history, literature, myth, and legend. Wilson's reading of Mackenzie's collection gives us an insight into how early colonial scholar-officials encountered Indian textual traditions. Wilson's engagement with the textual traditions contained in Mackenzie's collection produced a new classification of genres and texts. Wilson attempted to separate what he saw as history or of historical value as distinct from what was obviously fictional. Even as Wilson acknowledged the Indian classification of historical genres, he delegitimized them as being of questionable worth. Wilson believed that the so-called Indian historical genres he encountered in Mackenzie's collection were deficient because their representational strategies in depicting a past did not separate fact from fiction and truth from falsity. This concern with fact, reason, and realism is what precisely characterizes early colonial strategies of reading Indian textual traditions—especially with regard to the status of history and historical truth. More substantially, through the examination of the making of Mackenzie's collection, I argue that the assemblage of colonial archives brought about a crisis in historiographical practices in southern India, which enabled the adoption and formulation of a new method and of new practices of history. The practices of archivization by Mackenzie and his assistants converted and transformed texts into raw information for the historian to then reconstruct into a historical narrative. The acts of collecting, collating, and assessing the historical record of south India enabled practices of empiricism to shape the new historical method.

In the process, however, colonial archives delegitimized precolonial practices of history—rendering them ahistorical (or nonverifiable) in light of the new historical method. The narratives themselves got demoted to information and genres were dismissed. V. S. Pathak thought that it was a travesty that colonial scholar-officials were unable to read historical narratives from the Indian textual traditions as conveying the past in a meaningful way. However, it is important to keep in mind that these Orientalists were not entirely dismissive of

Indian textual traditions; they were not in agreement with Thomas Macaulay who famously dismissed Indian literary achievements. Rather, Pathak accused the Orientalists of neglecting the development of historical prose and genres that were devoted to conveying the past in Indian languages. In fact, the colonial scholar-officials charged that Indian traditions were underdeveloped in this arena of historical prose and historical consciousness. Therefore, one of the enduring consequences of the archival projects of the colonial state was the emphasis on the recovery of history through the search for raw information or "facts." The process—a process perfected from the beginning of colonial rule in late eighteenth-century India—was indeed violent to the integrity of the narrative, especially to the different genres that history often took shape within. Colonial historians throughout the nineteenth century (starting with the Orientalists) to the twentieth century (such as an early generation of historians like Nilakanta Sastri) who used positivist methods decried the presence of the so-called "mythic" in the historical as polluting to a conception of history and attempted to separate the two. It is for this reason that historians of South Asia have also been compelled to ask whether Indian textual traditions gave little attention and space to the status of history and historical narrative. This line of thinking brought forth the ambitious work of V. Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam in their collaborative work *Textures of Time*.[33] Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam respond to the colonial charge that there were no historical genres in India by reclaiming the complexity of writing practices in precolonial India. To this they contend that in fact a "historical awareness" emerged in seventeenth-century south India. Despite these efforts in reclaiming the complexity of precolonial textual practices and a more nuanced understanding of historical genres, however, it is clear that colonial encounters with Indian intellectual practices profoundly altered understandings of history and practices of history. Even while colonial reading practices destabilized precolonial modes of historiography, the textual record, as it was construed by the processes of archivization, was subject to appropriations by the new historiography. The practices of collecting and constructing colonial archives produced a historical record for south India and cultivated a new historical method.

Early Colonial Intellectual Encounters

Central to the book's argument is the claim that the emergence of new practices of history was conditioned by the *encounter* between

British and Indian intellectual practices. My focus on intellectual "encounters" in the new burgeoning colonial public sphere allows for an analysis of power as it frames the kinds of interactions possible between Europeans and Indians. Regrettably, the study of the impact of colonialism in the fields of culture and intellectual practices has often been mired in debates over the "influence" or "diffusion" of ideas and concepts from Europe to colonial India. Partially, the forcefulness and strength of the "diffusion" thesis comes from the colonial context itself. From the early part of the nineteenth century Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–1859) and Charles Trevelyan (1807–1886) were already anticipating and crafting an imperial model of diffusion of ideas and concepts from English civilization to Indian culture. Trevelyan believed that Indians could potentially reach the heights of civilization just as the British themselves had benefited from the ancient Roman Empire. He was quick to point out that the Indians were not unique in requiring such a process. The British themselves once stood in the same position in relation to the Romans. For Trevelyan, imperial Rome became the filter through which an imperial Britain could be legitimately imagined in relation to their new territories in the Indian subcontinent.

In his treatise advocating a new educational policy in India, Charles Trevelyan wrote: "The Romans at once civilized the nations of Europe, and attached them to their rule by Romanising them; or, in other words, by educating them in the Roman literature and arts, and teaching them to emulate their conquerors instead of opposing them…The Indians will, I hope, soon stand in the same position toward us in which we once stood toward the Romans."[34] Trevelyan upheld imitation as the means by which Indians could benefit from an intellectual encounter with the British. Macaulay too suggested that it was by example and imitation that Indians could benefit from the imperial experience and turned his gaze back to the time when the British themselves had been imitating and learning from the Romans: "Had our ancestors…neglected the language of Cicero and Tacitus; had they confined their attention to the old dialects of our own island; had they printed nothing and taught nothing at the universities but Chronicles in Anglo-Saxon and Romances in Norman-French, would England have been what she now is?"[35] However, both Macaulay and Trevelyan asserted that the literature of England was ultimately much more valuable than the literature of classical antiquity. Therefore, the value of the "diffusion" of English ideas and institutions in colonial India was indisputable because they too would then possess the capabilities to surpass the British.

Trevelyan and Macaulay indeed believed that the British surpassed the Romans. The success of imperial diffusion (the example of Rome and Britain) authorized Macaulay to put forward an argument for the education of Indians, while Trevelyan laid out a plan for the process of "anglicization" in India. For Trevelyan, it was this process—a process with historical roots in Imperial Rome—that would be foundational for an enduring relationship to be forged between Britain and India.

One of the most fascinating aspects of the anglicization theory formulated by Trevelyan in his argument for why English education was a necessary colonial policy was the classical imperial model of diffusion (or filtration) of knowledge within the colonial context. Because the vernaculars were viewed by Trevelyan as "unformed" tongues—not having achieved civilizational superiority—Anglicists offered programs to reform these unfortunate languages and to bring them into modernity. At this early stage, the filtration theory was offered as an appropriate way to affect changes in the languages. Trevelyan spells out the path of diffusion that less-developed languages would follow when encountering the advanced languages of Western civilization (following the example set by the Roman Empire):

> In those cases the foreign systems of learning were first studied in the original tongue by the upper and middle classes, who alone possessed the necessary leisure. From this followed a diffusion of the knowledge contained in the foreign literature, a general inclination of the national taste towards it, and an assimilation of the vernacular language, by the introduction into it of numerous scientific and other terms. Last of all, the vernacular tongue began to be cultivated in its improved state; translations and imitations sprang up in abundance, and creative genius occasionally caught the impulse, and struck out a masterpiece of its own.[36]

It was Trevelyan's belief that English achieved this new status, of a language possessing more superior knowledge capable of replacing the language of "old traditional knowledge," that is, Sanskrit.[37] An important aspect of the long career of this theory of cultural encounter—filtration—is the indisputable fact that influence was unidirectional, flowing from the West to the East. The model of imperial cultural diffusion that Macaulay and Trevelyan were elaborating upon was based on a prior imperial experience of Europe under the ancient Roman Empire. This diffusionist model presumes that ideas and concepts already formed in one geographic space and historical context could successfully be transplanted elsewhere where

those ideas are then subsequently taken up (imitated) by the "lesser" cultures in order to achieve the same level of civilizational grandeur of the former. The diffusionist model paved the way for an earlier generation of historians of India to chart the progression of Western ideas that were taking root in Indian culture and society.[38] There are obvious flaws in these earlier formulations of cultural encounter within which discourses of civilizational superiority were often left unquestioned.

More recently, Jon Wilson has rightly questioned the "influence" theory of intellectual history where ideas from one historical context get transported to another—an especially thorny issue in the context of colonial rule in India. Wilson's point is that British ideas of rule—such as the urge to codify laws—were not derived from a singular intellectual tradition (a tradition already formed in Britain) but rather that those ideas emerged from the practice of rule and the anxieties that surrounded the ruling of a conquered India.[39] This is a useful warning to reorient the problem of colonialism in the intellectual history of India. If we begin to look at intellectual practices as embedded within institutions and networks of circulation—rather than as wedded to nations—we get a better understanding of shifts in intellectual practices that give rise to shifts in concepts or ideas. There has been a productive turn in recent scholarship toward the examination of intellectual practices and institutional sites of practice in order to understand the encounter between British and Indian intellectual practices. An encounter was often invoked by an earlier generation of scholars on British colonialism and its cultural impact, most notably David Kopf, who offered a sophisticated framework for the emergence of what he termed "The Bengal Renaissance." However, there were a large number of questions that remained unanswered in these earlier formulations, such as: What was the nature of the encounter? How did colonial power structure the relations between the Indians and the British? Who was setting the intellectual agendas? Ultimately, there was an implicit assumption that modernity itself was simply a colonial import.[40]

For a more nuanced model of intellectual history to understand the colonial encounter, Thomas Trautmann proposes that we should think of the production of colonial knowledge as conjunctural.[41] In his study of the languages and nations project that was elaborated in British India, Trautmann argues that it was precisely due to the convergence of the following critical elements: mosaic ethnology of the Bible, the study of word lists in Europe, the expansion of the British Empire, and finally, Indian vocabularies and grammars. However,

it was the last element, Indian traditions of language analysis, that leads Trautmann to propose the concept of conjunctural knowledge. He defines it as a process in which Indian forms of knowledge encountered Western forms. Trautmann has argued that historical philology developed with knowledge from the colonies and indeed relied on Indian forms of knowledge—specifically Indian traditions of language analysis. It is potentially a radical proposal in that it locates the production of knowledge in India itself. And if we extend the logic a bit further, we can state that historical philology itself would not have emerged had it not been for British Orientalists' reliance on Indians and Indian forms of knowledge. What are the broader implications of this proposal? That historical philology—what we have always thought of as Western—was in fact reliant on indigenous knowledge systems in India. Trautmann shifts the locus of intellectual production to British India so that the center of intellectual production and innovation is shifted to the so-called "periphery." Trautmann's extensive work on British Orientalists both in Calcutta and Madras has convincingly demonstrated that Max Mueller was wrong to see India's ancient languages as being simply and passively available for Europe's historical recovery and future renewal. We can now rightly view historical philology as emerging and taking shape in India itself.[42] This model restores Indian contributions to the conversation about the historical relations between nations through language study. This is an important contribution in rethinking the production of knowledge in colonial India and those who participated in the process of its production.

Recent work in the field of cultural and intellectual history of colonial India has challenged the highly influential model of the production of knowledge formulated by Bernard Cohn and Nicholas Dirks. They relied heavily on the imperial instrumentality of that knowledge.[43] In a critical discussion on the production of colonial knowledge, Phillip B. Wagoner rightly contests the domination model of the formation of colonial knowledge and instead draws on the model of conversation and of collaboration as an appropriate framework for understanding the interaction between Indians and British Orientalists in the early colonial period.[44] In his theory of collaboration, Wagoner suggests that colonial forms of knowledge were a product of a dialogue—of exchange—that ideas traveled both ways. The idea that early colonial interaction between the British and the Indians went into the construction of colonial knowledge, that British colonialism did not simply impose a structure of knowledge production onto Indian society is indisputable. However, the

problem with this formulation is the sense of equal exchange that the idea of dialogue invokes. If we were to view the encounter between Europeans and Indians as one of a dialogue that is free of power, we would be left with the sense that Indians were able to freely participate in the new spaces for intellectual exchange, for example, the Asiatic Society of Bengal. We know that this was not the case and that there was much tension between the British and the native assistants, which often erupted in the new institutional sites of what C. A. Bayly has called the "Anglo-Indian public sphere."[45]

Criticisms of the "domination" model that Wagoner points to are useful in drawing out the complexities of the production of colonial knowledge in south India—primarily, that native Indians and their contributions to colonial knowledge formation are dismissed and marginalized by the domination model. David Washbrook has also called attention to the anachronistic reading of late colonial rigidities of racial hierarchies in the domination model. This is ironic because the so-called "domination" model was formulated precisely to highlight the workings of colonial power and the marginalization of native contributions. While I am sympathetic to any proposal that intellectual history of early colonial India was one of much interaction between British officers and Indians, I maintain that the question of power in the formation of colonial knowledge is not resolved in these formulations. Indian assistants were active, sentient beings who encountered new experiences with eagerness and excitement in the early colonial period. However, even with the active participation of Indian assistants, one cannot ignore asymmetrical relations between the British and the Indians under colonial rule. Ultimately, the question that should be posed is: How do these asymmetrical relations of power shape intellectual practices and ideas?

C. A. Bayly visits the question of the production of colonial knowledge in his magisterial *Empire and Information*. Bayly views the Saidian critique of Orientalist knowledge as too extreme because, as he puts it, that view assumes that "Europeans never knew anything significant about indigenous societies, and indeed can never know anything about them because of European conceptual biases."[46] He goes on to say that, to the contrary, Europeans must have reached some degree of understanding of the conquered societies in order to rule over them. Bayly writes: "In India, colonial knowledge was derived to a considerable extent from indigenous knowledge, albeit torn out of context and distorted by fear and prejudice. People from different races and cultures, possessing different degrees of power, could and did achieve a broad agreement over claims to truth about

the phenomena they observed."[47] Bayly's approach is similar to Trautmann's in that he too posits that indigenous knowledge systems were sophisticated and complex before colonial conquest and rule (early modernists would agree with this proposition). Bayly's analysis of the informational order in North India reveals that in fact there were complex informational orders already in place that the British had to tap into in order to rule successfully. Both Trautmann and Bayly in that sense posit the existence of preexisting Indian knowledge systems, which the British later encountered.

When we look at the broad transformations of the status of the native assistant that took place over the space of the nineteenth century, we find that there were significant shifts in the social position of the native intellectual. Here it might be useful to recount Tapati Guha-Thakurta's comparative discussion of Ram Raz, the native south Indian author of a treatise on architecture, and Rajendralal Mitra, the first native Indian member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to show how constrained Ram Raz's participation and contribution to colonial knowledge was in the early colonial period.[48] Tapati Guha-Thakurta describes the gradual transformation of native assistants into modern scholars during the course of the nineteenth century. Ram Raz's success in the early part of the century depended on Western patronage and employment. He was recognized for his work by being admitted as a corresponding member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Guha-Thakurta writes: "To his colonial masters, Ram Raz offered an exceptional blend of vernacular knowledges adapted to modern administrative needs."[49] He overcame the travails of modern textual scholarship in authoring his "Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus." His distinguished position among Western/colonial patrons sprung from his ability to translate Hindu knowledge for a Western readership. In order to successfully translate, he needed to mediate between indigenous knowledge systems and the new scientific and technical languages of his colonial masters. Guha-Thakurta ultimately suggests that Ram Raz, though highly distinguished and respected by his Western patrons, was never able to make the transition from the status of "native assistant" to one of modern scholar. However, he paved the way for later native Indian antiquarians to transition from the position of translators/informants to scholars in their own right.[50] It is in this light that Guha-Thakurta discusses the work of Rajendralal Mitra in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Mitra, in contrast to Ram Raz, was able to transform himself from "pandit into the honorary orientalist."[51] Max Mueller commented that Mitra "has

proved himself completely above the prejudices of his class, freed from the erroneous views of the history and literature of India in which every Brahman is brought up, and thoroughly imbued with those principles of criticism which men like Colebrooke, Lassen and Burnouf have followed in their researches into the literary treasures of the country."[52] Mitra hence was not seen simply as a translator or a mediator but rather as a scholar in his own right who possessed the powers of reason, the principles of criticism, and the discernment that is necessary for modern scholarship.

It is worth pondering what social impediments prevented Ram Raz and his contemporaries from being accepted into a community of modern scholars. Strategies of exclusion kept Ram Raz and other natives from gaining entry into scholarly communities despite their adherence to "rational" methods. Notions of intellectual practices of reason and a general empiricism guided what was considered new sciences of scholarship that the native assistant/translator was seen as lacking. Ram Raz, along with the Kavali brothers—the assistants to Mackenzie and who form the subject of chapter 3—were viewed simply as translators of Indian texts. Despite his accomplishments, Ram Raz was not fully accepted into a community of scholars. Kapil Raj builds on Trautmann's argument that colonial philology was motivated by ethnological considerations rather than purely linguistic concerns. However, Raj suggests that the ethnology led Sir William Jones to establish intercultural civility and trust with native assistants. Through historical philology, Jones was able to establish that Indians and Britons were of the same common ancestry, which allowed Jones to legitimize the authority of the native mediatory on the basis of cultivating an intercultural trust. The problem of trust is key to understanding the interplay of social interactions between Europeans and Indians as well as the intellectual work they produced in this early colonial period.

Moreover, Sudipta Kaviraj has described the ideological process of disqualifying Indian forms of knowledge as a wholesale rejection rather than as one being conducted through a rational procedure of engaging with knowledge systems and their construction of the truth. He further notes, "Thus the victory of the new rationalist science over its adversaries was done against its own methodological procedure, by breaking the rules it proclaimed as fundamental rules of good scientific practice."[53] Alongside the ideological rejection of Indian forms and methods of knowledge, it is clear that there was a concomitant ambivalence toward Indian practitioners of new disciplinary practices. Colonial institutions reproduced structures of

asymmetrical relations between the Indians and the British, which very much shaped the historical record of intellectual practices in currency at that time.

I would, therefore, resist using "collaboration" as a model of intellectual inquiry because it is not suggestive of the exclusionary strategies that kept Indian mediaries at bay from inclusion into a global scholarly community. When we iron out the differences between the British and the Indians, we lose any sense of what colonialism as a political form might have been. Even while David Washbrook cautions us to be sensitive to differences between north and south as well as to differences between early and late colonialism, colonial rule was in fact being formulated, debated, revised, and institutionalized starting in the last decades of the eighteenth century in southern India.[54] Undoubtedly, it is essential that we remain sensitive to the active involvement of native Indians in the production of knowledge and archives. However, by highlighting the institutional and ideological constraints placed on the individual ambitions of native intellectuals, we gain a more nuanced understanding of the *encounter* between intellectual practices and, ultimately, the reception of intellectual ideas.[55] The encounter indeed produced and legitimized asymmetricies. In this way, we avoid viewing native participants as passive recipients of ideas and concepts and rather acknowledge that they were in fact active participants in the making and molding of new historical practices.

My analysis of the Kavali brothers and the work they produced under these asymmetrical conditions attempts to do just that—to show the institutional constraints placed on the brothers and their intellectual activities as well as to examine their actual work/output that they were able to conduct, produce, and reflect upon. For instance (as examined in chapter 3), why was Kavali V. Ramaswami so set on proving to colonial audiences that he was indeed well versed enough in the English language as well as in English ideas and literary sensibilities to write and produce original work? If he had been concerned with native audiences (traditional audiences) he would not have been involved in cultural translation at all, which he had constantly been attempting to do in his published works.[56] And when we witness the resistance that Kavali V. Lakshmayya faced from the Asiatic Society of Bengal, we cannot ignore the kinds of expectations and standards that natives were held to. When the Asiatic Society of Bengal deemed Lakshmayya to be inadequate in continuing Mackenzie's researches, he, as a native, was told to turn away from Mackenzie's researches because he was incapable of pursuing

such higher scholarly endeavors. These incidents reveal the ways in which constraints were in fact placed on native intellectual work and practice. In turn, an analysis of the institutional constraints reveals the workings of colonial power and ideology and elucidates how colonial power structured native intellectual practices in early colonial south India. Indeed, they had to work within a new scholarly community that employed strategies of inclusion and exclusion with regard to native skills and practices of authority. The new scholarly community demanded adherence to new methods of historical valuation and practices of validation.

Language and History in Precolonial and Colonial South India

Because the primary site for Colin Mackenzie's collecting activities was located in south India, this study takes the regional focus of south India, in particular the Telugu-speaking regions of the Madras Presidency. Besides Telugu being prominent in Mackenzie's archive and being the principal language of his chief assistants (the Kavali brothers), its rich literary cultures in history makes it a compelling subject for studying intellectual encounters in colonial India.[57] First, it is important to note that profound transformations took place during the transition to colonialism with regard to the polyglot worlds of early modern South Asia. Recent work on regional languages brings to critical scrutiny the forces of monolingualism that shaped separate and distinct linguistic communities and literary cultures in the colonial era.[58] Sheldon Pollock's extensive work on the polyglot literary cultures of early modern South Asia illustrates the vast and rich literary and linguistic terrains of precolonial South Asia.[59] Those polyglot worlds transformed under colonial rule and unleashed new forces of monolingualism under the patronage of both the EIC and Christian missions that were working in southern India since the seventeenth century. Through Christian missionary intervention in textual and literary practices of south India as well as through the impact of the arrival and distribution of the printing press in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, we can begin to see new modes of linguistic practice emerging—especially those centered around the distinct regional languages.[60]

Colonial philological work on South Asian languages increasingly distinguished vernacular languages as having separate distinctive histories and identities. Colonial philology, through the study of classical and regional languages of India, projected a progressive

history onto South Asian vernacular languages by insisting that each language had an originary moment, that it developed in stages, and that it reached (if fortunate, or at least it had the potential to reach) a high literary stage.[61] Set against these set of philological processes, vernacular languages emerged in colonial South Asia as languages that were marked by regional distinctiveness. As persuasively argued by a number of historians working in regional languages and traditions, colonial policy sought out vernaculars as languages of governance (displacing Persian) in the early part of the nineteenth century, which provided institutional patronage to the vernaculars contributing to profound changes in shaping those languages.[62] Colonial institutional fostering of vernaculars was also set in place with the establishment of textbook societies and schools.[63]

South Indian linguistic and literary development differed from its North Indian and East Indian counterparts (Punjab and Bengal) due to the existence and entrenchment of Persian as an administrative and literary language in the North and the East. Although Persian and Urdu were languages that were in circulation in the Deccan, especially in Hyderabad, the south Indian regional languages were also in competition for prestige.[64] Telugu and Tamil were indeed court languages and enjoyed court patronage as much as Persian and Urdu in the south and therefore were endowed with sufficient prestige. Under Krishnadevararaya's reign, during the height of the Vijayanagara Empire, as well as in the subsequent Nayaka courts, Telugu enjoyed a high status. As a point of contrast, consider the changes that Bengali underwent in the course of the nineteenth century. Anindita Ghosh's work on the transformations of Bengali in the nineteenth century suggests that Bengali underwent a purification process in order to align itself with high-culture status and that it battled for the prestige that was being accorded to Persian while it simultaneously removed any "Muslim" elements and returned to its former "pure" stage.[65] Ghosh argues that the rise of the Bengali middle classes (professional and nouveau riche) shaped the new Bengali in the nineteenth century. It was under colonial conditions (the impact of print, its institutionalization through administrative uses, as well as the circulation of Victorian sensibilities) that a standardized, Sanskritized version of Bengali emerged—lifting it from its "vulgar" stage.

Telugu as a literary language flourished especially in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries that led up to the colonial era. The heyday of courtly patronage for Telugu is often cited as falling under the reign of Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara

in the sixteenth century, and it continued into the successive centuries with the emergence of new Nayaka courts in Tanjavur, Madurai, and Senji. Krishnadevaraya's court saw the ascendance of great poets such as Allasani Peddana and Pingalli Timmana, who crafted the Telugu *prabandha* (Telugu classical poetic tradition that combines elements of the *kavya* [Sanskrit poetic tradition], lyric tradition, and courtly drama). The subsequent Nayaka courts also gave rise to innovative genres in Telugu, Marathi, Tamil, and Sanskrit. The collaborative work of Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam has quite profoundly impacted our understanding of literary and cultural production in early modern south India and of the innovations that Telugu as a courtly language underwent. The early modern world within which Telugu flourished was firmly polyglot as Pollock and others have shown. It is from this polyglot world that Telugu begins to transform under colonial policies and the EIC's emerging network of institutional patronage. Although the processes of language standardization were not inevitable in the colonial era, philological intervention under colonial conditions contributed a great deal in shaping the regional vernaculars—through practices such as the compilation of dictionaries and grammars, new ideas of language emerged. Additionally, print brought about profound changes to Telugu literary production in the nineteenth century without displacing preprint literate, oral, and performative cultures.[66] The latter point is important to note for it brings to light the boom in Telugu print culture in nineteenth-century south India alongside the persistence of oral cultures.[67] This is the world of Telugu that Mackenzie and his native assistants, the Kavali brothers, encountered.

Colonial Antiquarianism and Philology

A sustained focus on the making of colonial archives in south India reveals two prominent intellectual practices that emerge in the early colonial period that shaped the organization and production of knowledge in south India: colonial antiquarianism and colonial philology. Colonial antiquarians such as Colin Mackenzie produced vast and, at first glance, disparate archives in colonial India. When delving into the specific collections, it becomes immediately clear that the late-eighteenth century was a period in which historical research encompassed a wide range of practices that gradually became disaggregated in the course of the next century as the disciplines of archaeology, history, and art history took shape in the

colony. However, before the formation of disciplinary boundaries, the methods of investigation employed by these colonial officers might be appropriately termed as antiquarian. The colonies made available a vast laboratory of knowledge, which was waiting to be collected and assessed, for the antiquarian. My study revolves around the collector-antiquarian Colin Mackenzie who combined interests in surveying, collecting antiquities (material and textual), and visual representations of material remains to produce a monumental archive—an archive that proved to be unwieldy in his own lifetime but subsequently transformed into an invaluable asset for the study of south Indian history. Tapati Guha-Thakurta's magisterial study of the emergence of the disciplines of art history and archeology in colonial India and their afterlives in postcolonial India illuminates the visual archive produced by two prominent colonial antiquarians in the nineteenth century.[68] The two influential antiquarians who were critical in the disciplining of art history and archeology in the colony and central to her study were James Fergusson and A. Cunningham. Like Mackenzie, Fergusson and Cunningham possessed antiquarian sensibilities and an insatiable appetite for collecting historical sources of India—Fergusson for the purposes of elucidating architectural history of the Indian subcontinent, Cunningham for the purposes of a broader agenda in building a case for archeological evidence in reconstructing Indian history, and finally, Mackenzie, in amassing texts, material artifacts, and a visual archive of historical sites and monuments of south India.

While antiquarians were busy collecting and building colonial archives, philologists based in Madras were excavating Indian languages to throw light on the deep history of south India. Thomas Trautmann has argued in his *Languages and Nations: The Dravidian Proof in Colonial Madras* that Francis W. Ellis's persistent work on south Indian languages was critical in discovering that their origin was distinct from that of Sanskrit.[69] Although Ellis was an active member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta, he felt that the knowledge produced there was insufficient to understand south Indian languages, literatures, and history. In fact, there were two interrelated projects under way in Madras in the early nineteenth century, which led to very different conclusions regarding south India than those that were being arrived at in Calcutta. One involved philological researches led by British colonial administrators and civil servants with the help of native scholars at the College of Fort St. George. The other was Colin Mackenzie's archival project. Besides charting out two different arenas of research, both antiquarianism and

philology as intellectual practices also employed different types of native expertise. While colonial antiquarianism in south India drew upon bureaucratic knowledge that the Brahmins and the other upper castes possessed while employed in precolonial regimes, philology drew upon pandit knowledge—the latter entailed more traditional forms of knowledge sustained by the "higher" literary traditions of South Asia.

Colonial philology and antiquarianism were parallel projects in Madras that shaped the formation of disciplinary knowledge. Recently, Trautmann proposed a distinct Madras School of Orientalism, which, he argues, asked a different set of questions and which was critical in shaping knowledge produced in Madras.[70] The interplay between philology and antiquarianism needs more attention—especially in other colonial centers such as Calcutta and Bombay.[71] Philology and antiquarianism were sometimes at odds with each other and proposed opposing methods. They claimed greater legitimacy and accuracy to their respective methods in their opposition to each other. However, both had enduring intellectual legacies: (1) antiquarianism in the colony gave way to the emergence of new disciplines—the formation of the disciplines of history, archeology, art history, and literary history; and (2) philology, on the other hand, contributed to productive discussions on the deep historicity of language itself. Philological research in the colonies also imputed the centrality of language to the culture and history of a nation, thus providing anticolonial nationalisms of the twentieth century with endless ammunition for claims of cultural and historical distinctiveness.

The Structure of the Book

The book begins with a focus on the making of colonial archives and considers the uses of historical precedent by the early colonial state, the origins of colonial historiography, the impulse toward collecting, and antiquarianism in south India. The first chapter, "Conquest and History: The Making of Colonial Archives" asks some key questions: What is the relationship between conquest and history? Why would a colonial power find it necessary to turn to the past of the conquered? Is it an altruistic impulse on the part of the colonial state to prevent the past from disappearing, or is it instrumental knowledge? Through an analysis of EIC documents on the need for archives and the preservation of historical material, I argue that the combined efforts of the colonial historians and the collectors-antiquarians made it possible for positivist methods of historiography to take hold

in late-eighteenth and early nineteenth century south India. The reading practices of the colonial scholars, however, cannot simply be collapsed as instrumental in terms of serving the political might of the emerging British Empire in the Indian subcontinent. Rather, I argue that there were larger epistemological gaps and refusals on the part of colonial historiography in their engagement with Indian conceptions of history and Indian textual traditions. Chapter 2, "Colin Mackenzie and the Search for History" centers on how a new historical method was assembled and employed through the focal point of the monumental archive compiled by Mackenzie. Mackenzie gathered around him a slew of native assistants to carry out his collecting project. This chapter examines Mackenzie's relationship to the colonial administration, the methods of collection that he employed, his relationship with his native assistants, and finally, his understanding of what constituted historical knowledge of south India. Mackenzie's archival project encapsulates the extension of antiquarianism to colonial India and the production of colonial knowledge.

The structure of the archive reveals the incredible mediation that was involved in the process of collection. From the initial gathering of materials by Mackenzie and his Indian assistants to collating and classifying the collection that H. H. Wilson was engaged in, the colonial archive was not a neutral space. The foundational moment of the archive did not represent a clean break with the past and the inauguration of a new future. Rather, it was a messy affair. The exposure of disparate Indian material to forces of archivization generated new definitions of history and the practices of history. Chapters 3 and 4 turn to the sources that were constructed by Mackenzie's archival project as well as to his native assistants who helped to produce the archive. Often in the historiography of this period, there is exclusive attention paid to the British philologists and the antiquarians at the expense of the native assistants who were integral to the archival and philological projects. These chapters examine the work of the native assistants, especially the Kavali brothers and their interactions with other natives employed in the colonial administration in the Madras Presidency.

In chapter 3, "The Kavali Brothers: Native Intellectuals in Early Colonial Madras," I turn to the intellectual work of the Kavali brothers, who helped Mackenzie in his archival project. This chapter also looks at the various institutional sites in colonial Madras as new spheres of intellectual exchange between the Europeans and the Indians. I particularly focus on the work of the Kavali brothers in and around the College at Ft. Saint George, the collecting project led by

Colin Mackenzie, and finally, on attempts by native Indians to start literary societies in Madras. What becomes apparent when looking at the intellectual lives of Indians in colonial Madras is the clear hierarchy that structures the relations between the Europeans and the Indians and that shapes the kind of knowledge they eventually produce. Talal Asad writes that there is a desire to see historical actors in the position of "history makers" rather than as passive objects or victims who are at the receiving end of structures of domination.[72]And in this desire for agency in history, the historian has the potential to neglect an analysis of structures of power within colonial society that produced disparities between the Indians and the British. In the collecting endeavor—the making of colonial archives and the evaluation of Indian textual traditions—although Indian assistants were given prominent roles in the archival project, they were also demoted to secondary status in the colonial record. The structuring of power and hierarchy in colonial society is critical in elucidating the production of colonial knowledge by antiquarians and philologists, which oftentimes placed Indians in prominent positions.

In chapter 4, "Colin Mackenzie's Archival Project and the Telugu Historical Record," I examine the kaifiyats that were collected by Mackenzie with the help of his native assistants. This chapter proposes new understandings of how the past was imagined in kaifiyats and why they emerged from the archival projects of the colonial state as privileged sources for modern historians. The kaifiyats were privileged over literary sources, first by colonial historians and later on by the earlier generation of Indian historians, precisely because of their attention to details of genealogy and village economy. However, they were also blamed for being inconsistent in details. The presence of the verifiable (historical) and the nonverifiable (mythic) within one document complicated the qualification of the kaifiyat as historical.

Chapter 5 looks at how language was taken to be a kind of archive by colonial philologists. For a society that had been condemned as antihistorical by colonial observers, the discovery that language could provide an accurate record of a past was a monumental one. Although it is true that Mackenzie's archival project was both the inauguration of a new technology of knowledge as well as the assertion of the consolidation of political power as the colonial state became increasingly interested in bringing control over the activities of its officials and their collections. The building of colonial archives such as Mackenzie's was precisely in response to the idea that there was an absence of historical record in India. However, the concern with historical record led some British scholars of India, primarily

the philologists, to turn to language as historical source. This chapter, "Colonial Philology and the Progressive History of Telegu," explores how a new conception of historical time entered discourses on language in nineteenth-century south India. Particularly, I look at the work of C. P. Brown, a prominent scholar of Telugu in the nineteenth century, who through his philological intervention—his Telugu grammar, dictionary, and definitive editions of Telugu literary classics—worked arduously to preserve the language. I argue that because colonial philology saw language as having a progressive history, that is, the unfolding of language in progressive stages toward constant improvement, it instigated a profound intervention in language practices and thought and foreshadowed the great debates at the turn of the twentieth century on "modernizing" languages. The philologists, along with the antiquarians, brought into circulation in colonial south India new ideas and practices of history.

The Origins of Modern Historiography in India offers a new perspective on the nature of colonial conquest and intellectual encounter. It examines the political and epistemological implications of the collecting projects of colonial officials, the production of archives in the colonies, and the Orientalist study of Indian languages. In arguing a case for a general crisis in intellectual and cultural production at the inception of British colonial rule in India, this study attempts to shift the debate in colonial studies away from whether colonialism undermined and overrode indigenous traditions or whether or not traditions were left intact. Rather, with the premise that historical change was not only possible but was also inevitable under colonialism, the aim is to focus on the uncertainty that ensued from the entry of a new political force, that of British colonial rule in India. Specifically, the crisis pointed to an uncertainty of what the outcome of the new political conditions would be. This crisis was felt on many different levels that ranged from the political to the economic and the cultural. It is within this framework of a crisis that I approach the cultural and intellectual history of early colonial south India. The study sheds new light on the relationship between colonial officials and native assistants in the production of knowledge as well as offers fresh readings on how the formation of colonial archives generated new conceptions of historical truth, facts and, ultimately, what constitutes historical knowledge.

1
Conquest and History: The Making of Colonial Archives

Conquest and Preservation

In 1798, the Court of Directors of the English East India Company (EIC) issued a "General Letter" to the colonial government in Bengal addressing the growing need for a library to house Oriental manuscripts:[1]

> You will have observed by our despatches from time to time, that we have invariably manifested as the occasion required our disposition for the encouragement of Indian Literature. We understand it has been of late years, a frequent practice among our Servants—especially in Bengal to make collections of oriental Manuscripts, many of which have afterwards been brought into this Country. These remaining in private hands, and being likely in a course of time to pass into others, in which probably no use can be made of them, they are in danger of being neglected, and at length in a great measure lost to Europe, as well as to India, we think this issue, a matter of greater regret, because we apprehend, that since the decline of the Mogul Empire, the encouragement formerly given in it to Persian Literature, has ceased, —that hardly any new works of Celebrity appear, and that few Copies of Books of established Character, are now made, so that there being by the accidents of time, and the exportation of many of the best Manuscripts, a progressive diminution of the Original Stock, Hindostan may at length be much thinned of its literary stores, without greatly enriching Europe, To prevent in part, this injury to Letters, we have thought, that the Institution of a public repository in this Country, for oriental writings, would be useful[.][2]

The letter expressed a remarkable intention on the part of the colonial government to actively take on the responsibility of cultural

and historical preservation. What is perhaps surprising to a student of empire is the timing of the discourse of preservation—on the eve of colonial conquest. The EIC, even while the wars of conquest to overthrow and transform Indian polities continued, proposed saving historical and cultural artifacts (those remnants of other pasts, political or otherwise) for incorporation into the new political regime. The colonial state in its early years of political ascendance expressed a strong desire for historical preservation. The glaring question to consider is, why did the EIC possess a humanistic impulse to preserve the history and letters of conquered peoples?

The letter quite explicitly points out the dangers to literary production in India as a result of British imperial conquest. It states that the EIC's duty was to "prevent in part, this injury to Letters." After the military conquest of Bengal in 1757 at the Battle of Plassey, the granting of *diwani* (rights to collect revenue from the territories) to the EIC conceded by the Mughal throne in 1765, and the final defeat of the south Indian ruler of Mysore, Tipu Sultan, in 1799, the British not only gained a firm political foothold in India but also began to reflect on their rights and responsibilities in the Indian territories.[3] The EIC, from its very beginnings, when it established trading posts in India from the early 1600s onwards, was limited to seeking privileges to trade in the territories from various native Indian rulers. After the military conquests of Bengal and southern India in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the British began to rethink their role in India from that of merchants to that of governors. The empire in India was an anomaly according to Thomas Babington Macaulay—the usurpation of India by a group of merchant-adventurers.[4] In 1826, John Malcolm wrote: "This conquest was made, not by the collective force of the nation, but by a company of merchants".[5] Malcolm was an influential EIC official who later wrote *The Political History of India*. And consider Macaulay in the 1830s who, while a member of the India Council, wrote, "But scarcely any man, however sagacious, would have thought it possible that a trading company, separated from India by fifteen thousand miles of sea, and possessing in India only a few acres for purposes of commerce, would, in less than a hundred years, spread its empire from Cape Comorin to the eternal snow of the Himalayas;"[6] Here the surprise and wonder at the successes of the English wars in India may seem disingenuous since, by the time Malcolm and Macaulay were reflecting on these earlier events, the British had secured their military advances and had firmly instituted political authority in India. Macaulay also commented on the newness of the imperial

adventure of the EIC in eighteenth-century India:

> That Empire is itself the strangest of all political anomalies. That a handful of adventurers from an island in the Atlantic should have subjugated a vast country divided from the place of their birth by half the globe—a country which at no very distant period was merely the subject of fable to the nations of Europe—a country never before violated by the most renowned of Western Conquerors—a country which Trajan never entered—a country lying beyond the point where the phalanx of Alexander refused to proceed;—that we should govern a territory 10,000 miles from us[.][7]

It was this sense of newness that propelled the British to desperately search for models to help forge relations between the peoples of India and the Britons. The relation between Indians and Britons had to necessarily differ from earlier forms of imperial authority that bound Britain with its colonies in North America and the Caribbean. Whereas the latter were settler colonies driven by slave economies, the new empire emerged out of oceanic trade conducted for over a century between European powers and India. Since the idea of colonial settlement was not at the forefront of the new empire, the structure of colonization had to differ as well. The idea of an empire extending into the Indian subcontinent made the British reconsider their relationship with colonial subjects of a different race.

At the helm of the new imperial enterprise was the production of colonial knowledge (knowledge deemed instrumental for the establishment and expansion of the colonial state) based to a large extent on historical precedent.[8] Rather than seeing India as an empty space, as the New World was often perceived, it was seen to be heavily peopled as well as to possess deeply rooted populations, languages, and cultures—all of which could not be easily uprooted and displaced. Instead, a form of rule had to be devised that could address the differences that the British encountered in the peoples and cultures of the Indian subcontinent. As for conquest, the British made gradual incursions into the interior from the various port cities in India where their factories were established for conducting their trade. Rather than in a "fit of absence of mind," as J. R. Seeley wrote at the end of the nineteenth century, the British conquered India deliberately and by using a fair amount of violence.[9] One look at the EIC historiographer Robert Orme's *A history of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan, from the Year 1745* (1763–1778) would give one sufficient idea of the violent upheavals of eighteenth-century India and

British intrigue that fueled native political rivalries.[10] Nevertheless, the British in India were interested in history in the search for imperial legitimacy. Early colonial policy makers, in the closing decades of the eighteenth century, often made gestures toward recovering existing institutions of law and custom, in other words, they looked for historical precedent. Warren Hastings's call for the reinstatement of India's "ancient constitution" was one such gesture.[11] An alternative ideology of British colonial rule in India proposed radical societal transformation with the introduction of English principles of law and property.[12] Although it is to a large extent undeniable that colonial rule instigated radical transformation in Indian society, it is significant to note that the British had a keen interest in historical precedent. This interest in India's past ranged from understanding the customs and the laws of the land to engaging with India's deep historical past.[13]

The regions of Bengal and Madras were critical sites for early colonial debates over the preservation of Indian institutions of law and property. The foremost concern after the wars of conquest in Bengal and southern India was how to calculate and collect land revenue from those who owned and farmed the lands before they fell under direct control of the EIC. After Lord Cornwallis instituted the system of permanent settlement in the regions of Bengal, he appointed Alexander Read to the Baramahal in 1792. Baramahal was taken over by the EIC after the British defeated Tipu Sultan in the Third Anglo-Mysore War. Thomas Munro was one of Read's principal assistants for conducting investigations into forms of land settlement that had been implemented in these areas by previous indigenous regimes. It was in Baramahal that the initial outline of the *ryotwar* [tax collection settlement with individual cultivators] system was constructed.[14] In opposition to previous characterizations of Munro's system, the historian Burton Stein analyzes Munro and his policies against the backdrop of military activities dominant in the early period of colonial rule.[15] The impetus for seeking an alternative to the zamindari system, Stein argues, came from existing conditions of political and economic instability in the Baramahal. It was primarily due to political considerations that the ryotwar system was formulated. Stein argues that the greatest threat came from petty warriors and other remnants of indigenous political authority. Stein believes that both Cornwallis and Munro shared a common vision toward the state of the company and its affairs in India at the turn of the century. In order to counter the commercialism of the company government, they offered a military alternative oriented toward security issues. In other words, both Cornwallis and Munro were interested in establishing military hegemony and centralizing political authority.

The system that was ultimately developed in Baramahal was responsive to these issues of security and it was subsequently transported to other areas that Munro was associated within south India. Munro's system was explicitly formulated toward the dissolution of older forms of political authority and the creation of new power bases that would place the EIC at its center.

More important, Stein demonstrates that the way in which the alternative settlements were fought for was through claims of historical precedent. He suggests that this claim was important for these early statesmen as it provided evidence for a basis for rule in India that did not require significant modifications.[16] The question of historical precedent became important for colonial officials who were involved in working toward an appropriate land settlement for British India. Munro's proposal for the ryotwar made historical claims of its supposed origin from the fourteenth century as did his opponents (such as Lionel Place, Francis Ellis, and John Hodgson) in their proposals for alternatives.[17]

However, the use of history as a way of developing governing institutions in colonial India had further consequences. The interests in law and revenue launched the EIC into India's historical past, the preservation of which was taken up by the numerous collectors and surveyors employed by the EIC. This chapter argues that conquest and preservation were intimately linked on two different but related levels. On the one hand, the interest in preserving and reconstructing Indian history became a concern at the moment of British conquest in order to legitimatize colonial rule as a set of appropriate political transformations in India. Second, by turning toward preservation and the compiling of colonial archives, the early colonial state had a profound impact on the emergence of new practices of history and the rise of history as disciplinary knowledge in the nineteenth century. Colonial archives brought about the disciplining of historical practices and shaped new perceptions of the status of history and historical knowledge in India.

Conquest and Colonial Historiography

Immediately after the defeat of Tipu Sultan in 1799, the British put William Kirkpatrick in charge to take stock of Tipu Sultan's library and to help preserve its contents by adding them to their own growing collection of Indian texts.[18] When Kirkpatrick was sent to the site of the last Mysore war (1798–1799) against Tipu Sultan, he gathered together the contents of the library. Kirkpatrick began his career in the Bengal infantry in 1773 and joined Lord Cornwallis's staff

as Persian interpreter in the Mysore war of 1790–1791. He was also appointed as one of the commissioners for the partition of Mysore after the Fourth Anglo-Mysore war in 1798–1799. The British were embroiled in a series of wars against Tipu Sultan's father, Hyder Ali, in the latter half of the eighteenth century. However, it was Tipu Sultan's reputation that became infamous in British writings of the period. Tipu Sultan posed a formidable challenge to the expansion of the British into south India in the 1780s. Whereas the British had already set up an administration in Madras that expanded north all the way to the modern-day borders of Orissa, the incorporation of Tipu Sultan's lands increased the territorial base of the British Empire in south India. Despite writers of the period almost unanimously labeling Tipu Sultan as an oriental despot, there was considerable interest in investigating his governing institutions.[19]

In 1795, after the Third Anglo-Mysore war in which portions of Tipu Sultan's territories were conceded to the British, Charles Francis Greville (1749–1809) wrote an assessment of Tipu Sultan's rule.[20] Greville never resided in India. However, as a member of the Board of Trade and as an MP from Warwick during the tumultuous 1780s and 1790s, he became acquainted with the affairs of the EIC and delved into some of the more contested issues surrounding land tenure in India. Greville argued for the necessity of reconstructing the historical pasts of south Indian society in order to legitimately prop up colonial power at the turning of a new era:

> The prosperity of Great Britain and the prosperity of India now depend on the judicious discrimination of the real circumstances, laws, opinions, and rights of the natives of British India, hitherto enveloped in obscurity, artificially increased by the native managers of a nominal Mogul government, and by Banyans, the native managers of the concerns of the Company's servants, by whole agency or collusion public or private peculation has been conducted; and by whole art and misinformation every financial system of faithful and able servants of the Company has hitherto been frustrated. It will therefore be proper to bring to more general notice the actual practice of an existing Mahomedan government, and to consider what principles of former theorists are compatible with the beneficent purposes of the present act, and with the rights and prosperity of British India.[21]

Greville spoke of the shift from the varied and often elusive interests of the EIC in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries to a

more permanent footing in the late-eighteenth century for the British to establish enduring relations with Indian society and its peoples. Rather than leaving aside the management of native affairs to the middlemen—the go-betweens or the *dubashes* (of two languages)[22]—who perpetuated and left native custom and opinion in "obscurity," Greville suggested the consideration of "the actual practice of an existing Mahomedan government" and the "principles of former theorists" in order for the colonial government to work toward the "rights and prosperity of British India."

Greville's *British India Analyzed* set out to prove that the decision for parliament to authorize oversight of the company affairs in the territories was a timely one. And more important, he believed that there was no sense in propping up a native puppet government when Britain needed to regulate its activities more directly in India. With regard to the debates over land tenure, Greville was a critic of the revenue systems that had been established in Bengal and proposed an alternative by calling for an investigation of previous systems and, in particular, the system adopted by Tipu Sultan. Greville appended a text that explained the system of land revenue collection in the state of Mysore during Tipu's reign. Greville argued that the British should investigate which systems of revenue collections were in place in India before setting up a new system in the new territories. He vehemently opposed the Bengal systems and used the counter example of what was in existence in Mysore. Part of his argument was to demonstrate that historical precedence was indeed important and that the colonial government should investigate not only which systems were in use but also those of their features that were successful in maintaining the rights of the individual cultivators while the government rightfully collected its share of the revenue. Greville argued against what he saw as the Bengal administration's abuse of powers—of its inability to adhere to the separation of revenue and judiciary offices for assuring the proper working of justice. In his charge against the Bengal administration, he formulated an ideology of rule that was based on what he called historical precedent.

Greville's plan in the three volumes of *British India Analyzed* was to outline the main problems encountered by the British as their territories and responsibilities increased in India. Greville in essence was attempting to forge an ideology of rule based on an understanding of the relation between conquest, rule, and responsibility. He believed that previous inquiries into the political, cultural, and economic institutions that were conducted prior to British rule led to abuses and inefficiencies. Furthermore, he argued that a proper investigation of

India's past institutions would lead to fruitful results. One chapter from this book was entirely devoted to "On the Use and Abuse of Precedent," in which Greville outlined his argument about historical precedent drawing on past models of political conquest (in particular, William the Conqueror). In line with assuring the rights of the Indians and the preservation of their institutions, Greville argued for historical precedence as an appropriate path to forge political rule in India. Moreover, he pointed to the importance of British colonial officials becoming familiar with native textual traditions. Greville stated that

> no adequate inducements have been held out to encourage a painful and, in itself, generally speaking, an unprofitable study of the eastern languages, So necessary to develop the true efficient principles of a system of political economy; and even among the few individuals who, rather from motives of private satisfaction or a natural bent, may be said to have misspent their time in eastern literature, scarcely one is to be found who has gone through a course of general oriental history, much less has perused, or perhaps ever heard of, many of those dry, incorrect, and tedious narrations, which contain the particular annals of Hindostan in detail, and which, though often mortifying to the pride of freedom, in instances of the most servile flattery or unmeaning praise bestowed on rulers, as well as always disgusting to Christian humanity; in exhibiting in native deformity the horrid depravity, oppression, and tyranny of Mahomedans; may yet be of some universal utility in conveying a true knowledge of facts more or less important to the interests of mankind, and are indispensably necessary to the perfect understanding of the past and present system of local administration, or to the framing of a new and more intelligent one for the future.[23]

It was this move to examine not only the existing systems of legal codes and land revenue collection but to inquire into the historical pasts of these dethroned polities that begs the question of the relationship between the state form and history. Greville's argument on the necessity of uncovering historical precedent makes explicit that the colonial state's interest in delving into India's historical past was not only to uncover past systems of local administration but to also to project new futures onto it. Hence, his argument brings into sharp focus the idea that a successful conquest depends upon the forging of a legitimate historical narrative through the recovery of

true knowledge of the facts connected to past systems. The historical projects of the colonial state, Greville argued, involved an immersion in the mass of Indian textual traditions—what the British, for the most part, saw as deformed, depraved and ultimately incoherent.[24] And yet, he nevertheless wrote, there was "universal utility" in unearthing "true knowledge" from Indian history or the belief that Indian sources (even if nontraditional) were useful for documenting an unknown part of the history of mankind. It is this universality of knowledge that Greville was speaking of when referring to the encouragement of the study of Indian languages and texts. Although Greville makes an argument that the company state's interest in history is necessary for legitimizing colonial rule in India, he also suggests that there is "universal utility" in shedding light on the history of mankind. In other words, Greville articulates a dual purpose for the production of historical knowledge of India. Most important at the time was the use of history, which was called forth by the exigencies of colonial rule. Second, the universalist impulse that is characteristic of Enlightenment thought called for the production of historical knowledge of India to move us further toward a greater understanding of a universal humankind.

With the intermeshing of the company state's interest in historical precedent (as clearly articulated by Greville) and the antiquarian interest in reconstructing Indian history, it was not an accident that the EIC began to commission histories of the British in India. It was in the latter half of the eighteenth century, when the company was delving head-on into the political affairs of its Indian territories. In this early phase of colonial historiography, two prominent historians of the British in India stand out especially for eighteenth-century south India: Robert Orme (*A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan,* first published in 1763) and Mark Wilks's (*History of Mysore* first published in 1810). Both Orme and Wilks wrote historical narratives that meticulously documented the political ascendancy of the British in India and that documented the expansionist phase of the EIC's wars in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Robert Orme, although known for his history of the Mughal Empire, had important connections to south India that allowed him to write *Military Transactions,* which concerned the wars between the French and the British up and down the eastern coast of India. He was born in Anjengo (southernmost English factory on the western coast of India) in 1728 and began to collect material for his history from the time he entered the company's service in 1742.[25] He was first stationed in Calcutta and then later, in 1754, in Madras.

Orme earned a favorable reputation during his first decade of work in Bengal, which led him to rise up the ranks rather quickly by the time he moved to Madras. Very early in his career, in 1755, Orme was appointed to a coveted position on the Madras Council that afforded him access to English records in the Madras Presidency and enabled him to correspond with Indian chiefs and princes. Orme was sent to Vellore on some very sensitive diplomatic missions as a member of the Madras Council to appease the current ruler there. He was also sent to Mysore on the council's disputed claims on Trichinopoly during a very tense period of relations between the British and the Nawabs of Mysore. Orme became so influential that he was able to convince the council to send adequate forces to combat the troubles brewing in Bengal with Robert Clive as the commanding officer and to entrust him with bringing stability to Bengal. Eventually, Orme became embroiled in disputes within Madras. Though he seemed to be on the path of becoming governor of Madras, he had made enough enemies, which led him to leave Madras and return to England in 1758.

Orme's *Military Transactions* was written after Robert Clive's defeat of the Nawab of Bengal in the Battle of Plassey in 1757 and was at the heart of the controversies surrounding the Nawab of Arcot and the oscillating Anglo-French rivalry on the southeastern coast of India. All the white, Orme was a member of the Madras Council. After leaving behind the scandals and wars of the British in south India, Orme turned to revive his scholarly pursuits. When he was back in England, Orme was elected as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1769. Orme also went on to hold the position of the EIC's official historiographer from 1769 to 1801. Orme's history clearly illustrates the political crises of the eighteenth century and the uncertainty of what the future would hold in that region. Orme writes: "From the year 1745 to the conclusion of the late peace, the English have continually engaged in war, in one or other of these divisions: and the preservation of their commerce in the East Indies absolutely depended on the conduct and success of the wars of Coromandel and Bengal."[26] It is from this uncertainty that a historiography emerged that articulated a strong desire to secure political futures in the narrative itself. Orme ends his preface to *Military Transactions* stating that the Indians

> have cultivated the various and valuable productions of their soil, not to the measure of their own but to that of the wants of all other nations; they have carried their manufactures of linen to a perfection which surpasses the most exquisite productions of

> Europe, and have encouraged with avidity the annual tributes of gold and silver which the rest of the world contest for the privilege of sending to them. They have from time immemorial been as addicted to commerce, as they are averse to war. They have therefore always been immensely rich, and have always remained incapable of defending their wealth.[27]

Orme salutes the productivity of India and the creativity of Indians in cultivating their resources and in conducting good commerce. However, he is quick to point out that although Indians have "always been immensely rich" they have never been able to successfully defend their wealth forecasting the full conquest of India by the British. Orme's *Military Transactions* narrates the Anglo-French rivalry and ultimately defends the legitimacy of British interests in India. During his later years at the end of the eighteenth century, Orme seemed to be distant from political developments in India—especially from all the financial scandals that caused many in England to question the role of the EIC in India. Although he defended British interests in India, he was attuned to the strength of Indian polities (those of the Marathas and the Mughals in particular) and the formidable challenge that they posed to the British in India. As a historian, he respected and drew upon native Indian sources such as "Account of the Justice Administered in the Carnatica and History of the Province of Arcot from the Year 1710," written by Rayasam Papiaya, one of which was written by Rayal Pandit, who wrote an account of Madura and Tinnevelly.

Mark Wilks came to Madras to become a cadet in the Madras Army in 1783. He became involved in the British wars against Tipu Sultan until 1792 and then in 1803 was stationed at the office of the Resident in Mysore until 1808. He was familiar with Indians who were in the service of both the Wodeyars and of Tipu Sultan.[28] Soon, Wilks became increasingly interested in documenting the history of Mysore, specifically the history prior to that of the Muslim rulers whom the British had recently deposed. Wilks wrote most of *Historical Sketches* on the voyage back to England in 1808 and published the volume in 1810.[29] While in India, Wilks carried on a noteworthy exchange with George Buchan, the Chief Secretary to Government at Fort St. George. In 1807, Wilks related some interesting details to Buchan on the merits of gathering materials for a historical understanding of India. He began with a rather routine assertion that history in India was "so deformed by fable & anachronism, that it may be considered as an absolute blank in Indian Literature." However, he then went

Figure 1.1 Frontispiece to Mark Wilks's *Historical Sketches*... (1810–17), vol. 1, © The British Library Board.

on to describe useful documents, such as religious grants made on copper and stone plates, which he claimed were "found in every part of the South of India." He also claimed that they were "documents of a singularly curious texture, they almost always fix the chronology... with all that is remarkable in their civil institutions or religious reforms."[30] His insistence on the practicality of the grants in discerning an accurate chronology was notable. Most importantly, Wilks proclaimed that the endeavor toward historical knowledge of India would be most useful for the British precisely for its applicability in their strivings to formulate a proper colonial government in India. Wilks asserted:

> If it should be found practicable to trace by a series of authentic documents the history of landed property on the South of India, I imagine that no subject of Superior interests & importance can

> be presented to the attention of a British Government. The light mutually reflected by civil institutions & historical facts appears to furnish the fairest hope that the successful investigation of this subject will be found practicable, but it is certain that the result would unfold the most useful information on many important points, connected with the political economy & good government of India.[31]

Whereas Orme defended the commercial interests of the British and wrote his histories to acquaint those who were back in England with the affairs of the EIC in India, Wilks's more explicit purpose was to use his historical knowledge of India to devise better government in India. Wilks writes his *History of Mysore* several decades after Orme and his history reflects the EIC's firmer footing in India after Pitt's India Act of 1784 and Cornwallis's Permanent Settlement Code in 1793.

Both Orme and Wilks were writing their histories of the British conquests in India at a time when the British were gaining tighter political control of eastern and southern India. Hence they closely scrutinized the military activities of the British with regard to the native Indian rulers and ultimately narrated the triumph of the British over the local rulers. However, what was remarkable in these early colonial efforts in historiography was their insistence on collecting sources on the existing Indian polities in the eighteenth century. Orme and Wilks made use of native Indian accounts of the region and of historical events—they relied on native accounts to weave together their histories. However, in narrativizing the events, the colonial historians privileged the political chronology of the British as their ultimate aim was to document the progress of empire in eighteenth-century India. Ranajit Guha, in a provocative essay, "A Conquest Foretold," argues that built into the historical narrative of early colonial historiography is a teleology that seems to foretell the coming of the British.[32] Orme's and Wilks's histories are prime examples of British histories of India that narrate the events dealing with the conquest of India and the political incorporation of native rulers into the early colonial state. Despite their interests in propping up British power in India, both by defending the EIC's commercial interests there as well as by contributing to expanding knowledge of Indian institutions and history in order to devise better government, the colonial historians brought greater attention to native sources of historical evidence. There was a more heightened awareness of the need to write accurate histories, and thus the search for native sources prompted a collecting frenzy during this period.

Surveyors, Collectors, and Archives

The recasting of south Indian history by colonial historiography relied on archives that had been brought together by collector-antiquarians in early colonial south India. In the last decades of the eighteenth century, a curious set of collectors came into prominence, who viewed the new colonial territories in India as a vast source of knowledge. Their interest in expanding Western knowledge of these new languages, histories, peoples, and cultures that they encountered directly coincided with the EIC's increasing need politically to become familiar with (and ultimately to govern) the new territories. Because of a governmental push for systematically collecting and collating accurate knowledge of India, the EIC employed a variety of officials. These employees saw the colonies as an avenue for transforming themselves into gentlemen scholars.[33] Initially, an important avenue for producing useful knowledge of the Indian territories was the numerous surveys (cadastral surveys, topographical surveys, etc.) that began in the latter half of the eighteenth century.[34] Although a variety of surveying techniques was developed during the EIC's military campaigns, those disparate practices soon became centralized with increased scienticization of methods coinciding with a centralization of the EIC's dominion over Indian territories. The British colonial tradition of land surveys began with James Rennell (1742–1830), who served under Robert Clive during the campaigns against the Nawab of Bengal in the mid-eighteenth- century. Rennell constructed maps of the new territories of Bengal and Bihar after the war and became the surveyor-general of Bengal. This earlier tradition was soon replaced by a concern with accuracy and scientific detail as historians of British cartography suggest. Clements Markham, writing in the late nineteenth century on the history of Indian surveys, remarked that the processes of constructing maps from route surveys and astronomical observations were deemed inaccurate and that they "were only of service while India was an unknown region, to be traversed by armies and ceased to be tolerable when that vast country became a British imperial possession, requiring to be administered."[35] The need for greater political control of the Indian territories accompanied the thrust toward a more scientific method in surveying and mapping. However, Kapil Raj cautions us to resist seeing mapping in the colonies as a progressive narrative of gradual scienticization of method. Rather, he argues that surveying and mapping relied heavily on native knowledge systems and as well as on the efforts of native assistants, which gets left out of

the histories of British mapping in the colonies.[36] The history of colonial mapping provides us a parallel to colonial antiquarianism for the dynamic between producing knowledge for the state and the universalist impulse for expanding knowledge. Raj also points out the importance of native knowledge systems and native assistants in these intellectual endeavors by the colonial state. If we focus purely on the history of cartography in British India as the scientific discipline of mapping, we lose sight of the complexity of surveying in the colonies, which brought together military and antiquarian interests together as well as tapped into a vast resource of native expertise and knowledge systems.

Undoubtedly, maps became critical to Britain's new imperial project in India. A copper engraving that accompanied James Rennel's first map of India showed Britannia dressed in Roman garb to signify its imperial dimensions and the handing over of books by Brahmins—symbolic of the Orientalist project of constructing an archive for the British in expanding their knowledge of India.[37] The engraving is a testament to the changing face of British colonialism in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The gesture toward Rome as the model for building empire is not insignificant. The imagery of Rome and Rome as imperial predecessor was quite prevalent during this period.[38] Rome provided the imperial framework for the British to take on the civilizing project—the turn to empire brought on new responsibilities, which included the preservation of the precolonial past (albeit in a way that questioned the legitimacy of those pasts). The engraving illustrates the process of collecting in relation to the growth of British imperial power. Matthew Edney argues: "In the case of the British conquest of south Asia in the hundred years after 1750, military and civilian officials of the East India Company undertook a massive intellectual campaign to transform a land of incomprehensible spectacle into an empire of knowledge."[39] For Edney, the Indian landscape was transformed into systemized knowledge for the Company state to rule more effectively. Thus if we follow this line of thought the movement toward building an archive in India was very much at the heart of imperial power. The centrality of maps in this enterprise should not be underestimated. Mapping the regions was both part of the antiquarian enterprise as well as critical to the institution of new political authority in the Indian territories.[40]

Surveying provided the initial impetus for the British to carry out historical and ethnographic investigations of the new territories that came into their possession. The most notable surveyor, who was also

a collector-antiquarian, was Colin Mackenzie. Mackenzie provided for south India a monumental colonial archive. However, because he was not well versed enough in any of the south Indian languages to be able to read and translate them, he relied on native assistants to provide him with translations and summaries. Mackenzie employed numerous Indian assistants to help him collect manuscripts of literature and history in the region, which resulted in over 200 fascinating journals in English. Beyond these journals, Mackenzie amassed a vast manuscript collection encompassing the languages of the Dekkan: Telugu, Tamil, Kannada, and Marathi. There were also in his collection over 2000 sketches and drawings of ruins and archaeological remains of religious sites. Indeed, the archive comprised both visual and textual material resulting in a unique and immensely rich collection. It was Mackenzie's belief that there were valuable texts and material objects spread across the villages in south India—remains of a rich political and religious past—that led him to amass a vast archive in order to make historical sources available for narrating a more accurate history of south India. The archival project was to precisely centralize those historical sources and to make them accessible for the British and the Indians.

Statistics and Colonial Knowledge

What may strike us as a unique feature of collecting practices of the eighteenth century is the similar approach to the study of what we today might see as disparate areas of knowledge. Eighteenth-century collector-antiquarians traversed the newly acquired colonial territories in the Indian subcontinent and documented the flora and fauna of the conquered regions and the customs and habits of the peoples alongside the histories of the regions. It might be useful to recall that Ernst Cassirer, reflecting on the intellectual history of the eighteenth-century in Europe, remarked, "The philosophy of the eighteenth century from the outset treats the problems of nature and history as an indivisible unity...it endeavors to ask the same questions and to apply the same universal method of 'reason' to nature and history."[41] The unity, Cassirer argued, was in their common approach of applying a "universal method of reason" both to the natural world and to the world of man. The application of a singular "universal method of reason" to study both nature and history marked a shift toward the scientific examination of human artifacts and nature. Although specialization of disciplines had not yet divided the study of history from that of the natural world, the application of "reason" for

understanding the natural and human worlds in eighteenth-century collecting practices produced new conceptions of truth and of what counted as fact. Truth was to be empirically derived on the basis of evidence. Peter Pels argues that rather than the unity of method applied to the study of both nature and history, the methods developed in the study of nature were transferred to the study of history. Pels writes: "Dominated by the model of natural history, science sought to reach behind everyday phenomena by comparing specimens of species, languages or forms of civilization and establishing their basic units and the relations between them." He argues that "True history had to resemble geology, or natural history, but not Indian chronicle."[42] A scientific method based on personal observation, comparison, and classification became the model for the study of history.

Statistics, as classificatory practice, was deployed by the early colonial state in India to systematically survey the newly conquered territories. In fact, it was in India that statistics was extensively deployed and the practitioners of statistics in India went on to establish it as a scientific discipline back in Britain.[43] The emergence of statistics and statistical knowledge in the colonies displaced older "voyage" accounts of distant lands and peoples. This shift from travelogue to survey implied a corresponding shift in method for the purpose of gathering knowledge. The new empirically driven method relied on personal observation, the use of questionnaires, and classification. The global extension of eighteenth-century British knowledge systems was due to, as David Ludden rightly argues, "the expanding scope of empircism." Ludden further elaborates that surveys (of the kind that Mackenzie was involved in), philology, and commission reports all came to share an "epistemological terrain with positivist knowledge about all societies, cultures, and political economies" in the interest of global or world history.[44] Ludden in fact argues that a convergence takes place of the various schools of knowledge in India from the collector-antiquarians to the Orientalist-philologists in the interests of imperial expansion.

In that light, the geographical surveys conducted by the EIC were not unique to colonial India. The British employed surveyors in Ireland and Scotland to document a variety of information that was deemed useful for governing. An interesting parallel to Colin Mackenzie's work were the surveys of General Charles Vallancey (1721/26–1812) of Ireland in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. Vallancey was interested in collecting information on languages, religious practices and histories as well as material artifacts of Ireland (just as Mackenzie had been interested in doing) during his

topographical surveys of south India.[45] Vallancey followed the "discoveries" of the Calcutta Orientalists closely, most prominently those of Sir William Jones, and he persevered in his own researches on the historical origins of the Irish language and culture and its purported relationship to the East (*Vindication of the Ancient History of Ireland,* 1786 and *The Ancient History of Ireland, Proved from the Sanscrit Books of the Bramins of India*, 1797). The discovery of the Indo-European language group and the antiquity of the Sanskrit language by Jones inspired Vallancey to make links between India and Ireland.

In Scotland, Mackenzie's counterpart for map surveys, William Roy, supervised the "British Military Survey of Scotland" between 1747 and 1755. Roy routinely employed draftsmen to accompany him on his surveys—a tradition that Mackenzie also maintained.[46] Mackenzie left behind over 2,000 drawings from his surveys, which showed how integral they were to his researches. One practice that was started by Paul Sandby, a watercolor painter, depicted Roy's map survey in progress. Sandby's work received praise and he was appointed Chief Drawing Master at Woolwich Academy. Sandby's tradition of representing territory through watercolors became part of British military surveying. Mackenzie emerged from the same tradition and the drawings contained in his collection reflect these influences, especially those of published military painters such as Sandby. Besides parallels with the work of William Roy, Sir John Sinclair's (1754–1835) *Statistical Account of Scotland* (1791–1799) shares close links with Mackenzie's researches. Sinclair's *Statistical Account* was a comprehensive survey of Scotland that was parallel to the surveys conducted in India and Ireland. It documented the physical, demographic, historical, and cultural topography of Scotland. Sinclair drew up 160 questions, which he sent to the local parishes and which were to be answered, written down, and then promptly returned. Sinclair believed that a survey on this scale would help in conveying to the government a slice of the true nature of the body politic in order to further advance government and especially to improve the condition of the people of the country. The *Statistical Account* exemplified the collusion between empirical investigations into the physical and social attributes of a nation and the sciences of government. The relationship between the state and knowledge was indeed an intimate one.[47] Colin Mackenzie, as Vallancey and Sinclair did in their respective geographic regions, was able to bring together antiquarianism, philology, and the statistics that often intersected with one another but that also diverged significantly in their uses by the state. Mackenzie's surveys were not only *instrumental* in the colonial

government assessing the new territories that came into their hands, but the knowledge gathered by him and his assistants exceeded what was deemed necessary for management of the colonial state.[48] Arjun Appadurai argues that statistics generated by the colonial state in India had unintended consequences in that they fueled new forms of communitarian and nationalist identities. However, the early colonial state produced statistical knowledge of a different nature. Mackenzie's statistical and more specifically, as I argue, his archival practices that had been shaped by his method derived from gathering statistical knowledge had other "unintended" consequences besides giving rise to empiricism—the disciplining of historical method and the practices of history in colonial India.

Antiquarians and the Historical Method

Colin Mackenzie was clearly part of a broader network of antiquarians, historians, and philologists working in colonial south India. Philippa Levine's study of antiquarianism in England and of its relationship with the emerging disciplinary fields of history and archaeology gives us greater insight into the place of antiquarianism and the particular work of antiquarians in the colonies. It is noteworthy that even before the nineteenth-century championing of the discipline of history based on rationalist principles (positivist method), there were significant changes taking place within England that surrounded the practices of history. Levine suggests that antiquarians, historians, and archeologists worked alongside one another but remained within their distinct networks in the late eighteenth and into the nineteenth century. However, by the latter half the nineteenth century, history and archeology developed into professional academic disciplines and separated their distinct communities apart from the "amateur" antiquarians. However, before the professionalization of history and its incorporation into the university system, the antiquarians stood out because they were better organized than the historians and hooked up with larger networks of their copractitioners working within Britain. Antiquarians were also well respected, along with historians.

J. G. A. Pocock provides a useful discussion of the interplay between antiquarianism and the rise of modern historiography in late-eighteenth-century England. Despite the tendency toward a teleological narrative in which modern historiography displaces the eighteenth-century versions of philosophical history and antiquarianism, Pocock's analysis of the rise of modern practices of history

in the eighteenth century elucidates their complex configuration in a critical period of their emergence. Pocock's principal argument is that antiquarian scholarship was on the decline at the turn of the nineteenth century, as modern historiography was taking shape. Pocock's discussion veers from Levine in that rather than a focus on the institutional changes that impact the practices of antiquarianism and history, Pocock turns to the transformations in historical methodology. He posits the following critical developments that shaped the modern character of history writing in the nineteenth century: (1) the growth of a historicist philosophy, (2) the opening of archives, which made history the memory of the state, and (3) the reorganization of academic and intellectual life.[49] All three developments were critical in shaping the practices of modern history in nineteenth-century Britain and, as we shall see, helped to shape the new practices of history in colonial India as well. The antiquarian was critical in these developments because, as Pocock argues, antiquarianism provided a tradition of erudition and a more rigorous focus on method. Pocock makes a keen observation that "Moderns, however, had inherited from antiquity a vast baggage of cultural objects—texts, inscriptions, sculptures and other sign-bearing artifacts—not all of which could be organized into the recognized genres and fields of enquiry, such as poetry, philosophy and narrative history."[50] Antiquarians preserved this "vast baggage of cultural objects" and with their tradition of erudition found this unorganized inheritance fascinating by the mere fact of its existence. Antiquarian practices of erudition validated the pleasure a scholar took in the acquisition of the object itself. Whether the object contributed to the expansion of a particular kind of knowledge was not initially a concern for the antiquarian. The object "could not be assimilated" to philosophical knowledge of human nature by the antiquarian because he developed a different method toward constructing historical knowledge of past societies. The antiquarian carefully extracted factual information from an artifact, whereas philosophic historians constructed a macronarrative, a civil history of mankind, "the 'Enlightened narrative', which followed the Latin provinces from the decline and fall of the Roman empire, through the Christian millennium of barbarism and religion, papacy and empire, into the emerging Europe of states and manners, commerce and Enlightenment."[51] The philosophic historians were preoccupied with this macronarrative and disavowed the importance of the appraisal of artifacts. The latter was left for the antiquarians, who in turn provided the ground for the development of a historical method. In other words, Pocock attributes the

crafting of a historical method to practices of antiquarianism. Susan Manning, in her discussion of eighteenth-century Scottish thought, draws attention to the productive tension between antiquarianism and philosophic history within the Scottish Enlightenment.[52] Manning points out that philosophic history and the general inquiry on the sciences of man rested on a stadial theory of society, which posited that other societies can be studied accordingly and their stages can be conjectured even if there is no firm evidentiary base. Antiquarianism, on the other hand, focused on the particularity of the object itself, irrespective of its placement in a general historical narrative. Antiquarians were chided for their narrow vision and obsession with objects, but at the same time, the philosophic historians relied on the evidence provided by the antiquarians to conjecture not only the stages of other cultures and societies but also to formulate their grand narratives—abstractions from the particular—toward a general theory of mankind.

The object or the artifact maintained its separate identity within antiquarianism. This point is crucial for understanding the relationship between the impulse toward collecting and antiquarianism—especially so in the colonies. The antiquarian is by definition excessive; he collects for the sake of collecting and is driven by the belief that various sources of knowledge would contribute to a better understanding of the past. However, it would be misguided to say that there are no rules of classification at all that govern an antiquarian mode of study. The antiquarian is concerned with collecting, classifying, and cataloging texts and artifacts. Not only are methods of collection central to the identity of the antiquarian but also rules of classification, which alternately involve processes of appraisal and legitimization. More importantly, the antiquarian devises a historical method in the examination of an object.[53] The antiquarian, with his practices of appraisal, transforms historical artifacts into sources because he develops methods for extracting information and assessing the authenticity of the object. The two processes of assessing authenticity and extracting information became the basis for a new historical method. On this point, Arnaldo Momigliano writes: "In the formation of the new historical method—and consequently in the creation of modern historical writing on the ancient world—the so-called antiquaries played a conspicuous part and posed essential problems. They showed how to use non-literary evidence, but they also made people reflect on the difference between collecting facts and interpreting facts."[54] Momigliano too argues that modern historians in fact inherited a method from antiquarianism. By

developing methods for historical documentation, antiquarians precipitated the growth of historical method (the evaluation of disparate sources) before they were gradually incorporated into a community of historians. Despite the fact that Pocock's narrative of the rise of historicism and historical method is uncritically teleological and assumes the seamless convergence of antiquarianism and philosophical history, his discussion of the antiquarian origins of a historical method, which is central to the practices of modern historiography, places antiquarianism squarely at the center of the transformation of practices of history at the turn of the nineteenth century in Britain as well as in the colonies.[55]

Antiquarians in the Colony

The colonies provided suitable conditions for the elaboration of the new historical method. Colonial antiquarians, along with their Indian assistants, were critical in amassing archives and forging an historical method as well as in providing colonial historiography sources for writing the history of British expansion into India. In colonial India, antiquarians stood out among the historians and the philologists. This was so because they could be credited with widening the scope of historical research with their concentrated focus on the object itself—whether it was a text, an inscription, or a stone object. The founding of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 by Sir William Jones provided the institutional foundation for colonial scholars to meet and exchange their researches with one another. In Madras, the College of Fort St. George (1812) provided the necessary institutional foundations. The Asiatic Society of Bengal and the College of Fort St. George became centers for Orientalist learning encompassing both philological and antiquarian researches. Within these institutional spaces, Britons and Indians came into close proximity and conducted researches and discussions that led to many prominent discoveries that were published in the *Asiatic Researches*.[56] The discovery of objects and texts through the mediation of native assistants—often scholars in their own right—prompted consideration of method drawing on the intellectual traditions of the Britons and the Indians. Antiquarians, along with historians and philologists, came upon diverse textual traditions that did not resemble the genres that were familiar to them from the European context. The encounter with alternative textual traditions brought forth new appraisals and judgments of those traditions. Antiquarians, historians, and philologists in colonial India attempted to understand the

texts that they encountered by employing novel reading practices. Often these scholarly endeavors were presented as one-sided affairs, but as recent work by Trautmann and others has shown, there were deeper conversations that led to the formation of new knowledge.[57]

Initially, colonial historians made use of native accounts and sources to construct histories of the British conquest of India. The plunge into native textual practices necessitated novel reading practices by historians such as Mark Wilks and Robert Orme. Whereas for Wilks and Orme the primary motive for writing histories of the conquest of India was to give legitimacy to British ascendency in the subcontinent, they nevertheless thought there was an Indian historical record yet to be unearthed. What made it possible for Wilks to state both that the "department of History" in India was "deformed" and at the same time to concede that Indians were able to record history in their limited capacity? It seems that he was, in fact, making a distinction between the status of historical narrative in India, on the one hand, and the recording of past events themselves. Even as history (the representation of that which happened) was neglected, these historians felt that India's pasts could be recovered from the historical record (however flawed that record may be). Wilks pointing to the rich tradition of inscriptions on copper plates as having documented an accurate chronology reveals a strong impulse to convert the forms and genres that the past was filtered in precolonial India to mere information or 'document', that is, to strip the text of its form to the bare "recorded" elements. The disregard for the literary form that conveyed the past was a central tenet in colonial historiography and a general tendency in the new historiography emerging in Britian as well that relied more heavily on an evidentiary method. Colonial historiography sought a historical narrative that could make use of records in a manner that would reveal the true sequence of events in the past.[58] Indian textual traditions were gathered together as the raw material for those new narratives. Therefore even the Indophobes, who had little interest in the past textual traditions and literary achievements of India, felt that for the purposes of unearthing an accurate chronology for India, it was necessary to collect sources for the new historiography. Orme's request for native Indians to provide accounts of historical and political transformation in the conquered regions arose from this basic impulse to receive as much information as possible for writing an accurate history of India.

Colonial antiquarians were given institutional legitimacy and encouragement by Jones's pronouncements on the necessity of expanding British knowledge of Indian history and traditions under

the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Inspired by the researches undertaken in various fields of inquiry that ranged from natural history to the social and cultural institutions of India, antiquarians pursued the collection of inscriptions, copper plates, and palm leaf manuscripts and commissioned new histories as in the case of Mackenzie and his assistants. These antiquarians in the colonies, with the aid of native assistants, assessed each document for its content, from what was likely to have been true to what was obviously false.[59] The pages of the *Asiatic Researches* attest to the experimentation in assessment of every finding of colonial officers and their native assistants. Reviewers who gave further scrutiny in the *Edinburgh Review* also elaborated on methods that knowledge of the new colony should be based upon.[60] The relationship between the colonial officers and their native assistants is therefore extremely important in understanding the colonial context for the emergence of the new historical method and the new historiography. While it is no easy task to trace the intellectual lineages of the European collectors-antiquarians in the colonies, it is even more challenging to speculate on the intellectual trajectories of Indian collector-assistants whose presence in the colonial archive is inconsistent. Yet, this relationship is crucial in understanding the particularities of antiquarianism in colonial India and its centrality in forging a new historical method. Antiquarian practices depended on the knowledge of native assistants, especially with regard to local languages and localized knowledge of the oral and written textual traditions circulating in the region. Antiquarianism back in Britain too relied on localized knowledge, particularly knowledge concerning the exact location of valuable objects worthy of collection. In India, however, colonial officers often lacked the linguistic competency and the cultural knowhow to be able to enter villages and to communicate the purpose of their visit. The colonial context made it a sensitive endeavor for British colonial officers to enter Indian villages. It would have been virtually impossible to gain entry into localities without inducing fear and, potentially, anger at the blatant intrusion into their inner cultural worlds. As the chapters that follow document, there had to be an elaborate set of Indian mediators that made it possible for colonial antiquarian-collectors to acquire objects and texts.

Conclusion

In the latter decades of the eighteenth century, the EIC embarked on the business of historical preservation from the very moment that

it began to envision a greater imperial role in India. Early colonial policy makers—from Warren Hastings in Bengal to Thomas Munro in Madras—were all concerned with investigating historical precedents in land revenue and in legal institutions in order to make the transition to colonial rule as smooth as possible. For these early statesmen, the need to stabilize a new political order was of primary importance, and for them the best way to go about it was to look to the past for models. However, as I have argued, even while the turn to historical precedent for instituting new political authority was a motivating factor for the production of colonial knowledge, there were other enduring consequences to the early company state's shift to historical knowledge. Company servants, such as Robert Orme, Mark Wilks, and Colin Mackenzie, although appointed to prominent positions within the colonial administration, spent a considerable amount of time and energy attending to their particular historical/antiquarian interests. Orme and Wilks fashioned themselves as historians and were primarily interested in using source material to construct their historical narratives, particularly those of the political ascendance of the British in India.

On the other hand, Colin Mackenzie, who had been employed initially as a military surveyor and had ended his career as the Surveyor General of India, used the mobility that surveying enabled, skills acquired through surveying, and the network of native assistants he was able to build through his work to amass a monumental archive. The archive exemplifies the antiquarian enterprise in colonial India in two important ways. First, it enabled the collection and collation of wide array of textual, visual, and material sources. Second, antiquarianism, through its engagement with the disparate sources, devised ways toward the appraisal of facts contained in the sources. Antiquarianism, as such, brought together company servants, who were immersed in the project of producing sources, with a whole slew of native assistants, who also sharpened their skills through their collective involvement in the making of colonial archives.

2
Colin Mackenzie and the Search for History

In a remarkable episode of the Indian playwright Girish Karnad's *The Dreams of Tipu Sultan*, Colin Mackenzie is depicted as the spokesperson for a "European" mode of historical knowledge:

> *Mackenzie:* Surely you're being melodramatic now. Every bit of evidence we've gathered proves he asked for it.
>
> *Kirmani*: Yes. For you, he's made up of bits of evidence, bits of argument that prove that your side was right. And that's what I don't understand. You have your version of history, all worked out. Why do you want my side? Why do you care?
>
> *Mackenzie*: I am interested in the other side. You could say that's how we Europeans are brought up...to be interested in the other side as well. That I suppose is our strength.
>
> *Kirmani*: I find a lifetime insufficient to understand my own. Besides I spent my life serving him and his father. And now I work for you, his enemies. What does that make me? A traitor? Am I trustworthy anymore? Doesn't that worry you? It worries me.
>
> *Mackenzie*: Our loyalty is to history, Kirmaniji. Keep emotion out. Stick to the facts.[1]

The fictional dialogue between Mackenzie and Hussain Ali Kirmani (Tipu Sultan's official historiographer) after the death of Tipu Sultan in 1799 brings into sharp focus the perceived difference between European practices of recording history and Indian ones. Mackenzie's triumphant declaration of his "loyalty" to history is all the more revealing at the end of the war with Tipu and his final defeat by British forces. While Mackenzie makes clear that being a victor should have no bearing on British interests in the record of events leading up to the battle, Kirmani insists on the futility of their adherence to the idea of impartiality in writing history. Mackenzie's idea of history is

called on to judge the events leading up to the defeat of Indian polities in the late eighteenth century. The irony of this request is lost on Mackenzie, who, if we recall, had already judged Tipu, in his opening remark, as having "asked for it." Kirmani, on the other hand, points to the compromised position he is called on to occupy in narrating "his" side of the story. Girish Karnad's dramaticization of political conquest and the conflicting practices of history represented by the two characters bears directly on the emergent colonial historiography of late-eighteenth-century India—in particular the idea that Western modes of historiography ("bits of evidence") were impartial even at the moment of political conquest.

Mackenzie's critical role in the wars of conquest, military surveys, and his more intriguing role as antiquarian placed him at the center of the apparatuses of colonial knowledge in the newly emerging colonial state in India. The intimate link between knowledge and conquest was especially productive in the figure of Mackenzie and his many roles in colonial India. As Bernard Cohn and Nicholas Dirks persuasively argued, colonial knowledge not only enabled political conquest, but was also produced by it.[2] In other words, conquest enabled India to become knowable and thereby governable. Mackenzie's identity as an antiquarian produced a particular kind of colonial knowledge through which historical knowledge of India became elevated. Mackenzie's archive, collected in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first two decades of the nineteenth century, brought into focus debates over what counts as history and myth. It also generated speculation on whether Indians were unable to distinguish between fact and fiction as well as whether Indian propensity for lying shaped a particular kind of literary output in Hindu traditions. The nature of the discussion differed considerably from the European encounter with "people without history" or those societies that were located at the "primitive" end of the evolutionary stages of history. Indian society was seen by those Europeans who first encountered it between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries as highly developed in cultural and religious forms. However, the charge that Indians possessed no history was directed at Indian *textual traditions*. These debates over the status of history in Indian textual traditions were pervasive in the early decades of the nineteenth century and had a profound impact on the shaping of modern Indian historical practices and the status of history in nineteenth-century India. I have argued in the previous chapter that antiquarianism precipitated a new historical method in colonial south India. This chapter looks at the ways in which Mackenzie gathered together native assistants, maintained correspondence with other

antiquarians and philologists in India as well as in Britain, collated the information gathered by his assistants and, finally, at the manner in which he assessed the historical record he came upon.

Eighteenth-Century South India

After the defeat of Tipu Sultan in 1799, Richard Wellesley (governor-general of India) issued orders to Francis Buchanan, a trained physician and botanist, to survey the agricultural products and the conditions of the people of Mysore and Malabar. In the introduction to his *A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar,* Buchanan included a copy of the governor-general's instructions, which stated that he should be concerned with acquiring knowledge of the agriculture of the regions and specifically with the following headings that were listed as areas to be considered: "Esculent Vegetables, Cattle, Farms, Cotton, Pepper, Sandal-wood, and Cardamoms, Mines, Quarries, Minerals, and Mineral Springs, Manufactures and Manufacturers, Climate and Seasons of Mysore, and finally Inhabitants." What makes Buchanan's journal fascinating was that it was devoted to a wide range of phenomenon that spanned areas as diverse as agricultural products and the skills of the people. It was an attempt to gain ethnographic knowledge of the regions—Buchanan does this through the use of mediators and with direct links to people. He gained knowledge of their beliefs and performance of everyday tasks through direct observation.[3] Buchanan's ethnography epitomized the empirical method being followed by collector-antiquarians whether they were collecting antiquities or gathering information on natural history. However, fellow Scotsman Alexander Hamilton criticized Buchanan for what he deemed to be an imprecise method of direct observation of customs and mores of the people of south India. This method cannot be accurate, Hamilton argues, because a common man might not know the origins of the customs and practices that he is immersed in. Hamilton privileged philological method and textual knowledge and expressed a frustration with what he saw as the haphazard method employed by Buchanan and his lot. Because philological study was geared toward the production of general theories of mankind (as in the many pronouncements of Sir William Jones up to F. Max Mueller in the latter part of the nineteenth century), Hamilton was partial to philology rather than to antiquarianism, with the latter's fascination with the object itself. Therefore, Hamilton advocated a more erudite approach to the study of India and its pasts. Hamilton was not only an active

member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, he was one of the founding members of the *Edinburgh Review* and had intellectual affinities with Scottish Enlightenment thinkers, such Dugald Stewart, and attended lectures by Alexander Fraser Tytler on the history of civilizations. Hamilton clearly saw the two fields of philology and what Buchanan was engaged in as being profoundly at odds with one another. On the other hand, Buchanan promoted his method of "direct observation" over and above the philologists and what he saw as their exclusive reliance on textual knowledge.[4] Both schools of philology and a form of ethnology (advocated by Buchanan) championed their methods as being more appropriate and accurate for the construction of knowledge concerning India.

Mackenzie, another Scotsman, was sent by the governor-general to conduct topographical surveys of the regions after the Mysore wars. Mackenzie's primary duties were to map the territories and to report on the conditions of the lands. Mackenzie became very intimate with the geography of Hyderabad and the Carnatic regions and therefore played a central role in the military campaigns against the Mysore state. His surveying duties required him to inquire into the revenue systems and the actual state of the lands. Still, over and above these duties, Mackenzie began to amass an archive for writing south Indian history. His collection included manuscripts, transcription of inscriptions, translations, and sketches of archeological curiosities. Mackenzie's collections ran into hundreds of journals and manuscripts that are currently spread across India and Britain. Mackenzie differed from Hamilton and Buchanan in that he was primarily concerned with what were deemed historical materials. He exemplified the antiquarian impulse with his focused interest on collecting all textual and material objects relating to the pasts of south India. Mackenzie took an interest in philological researches as he was tied closely with some prominent philologists in Madras, such as Francis Ellis and John Leyden and also maintained correspondence with such renowned philologists as H. H. Wilson and Charles Wilkins. However, Mackenzie himself was not a philologist as he lacked training in languages.

Mackenzie came to India from Stornoway, Isle of Lewis, in the Outer Hebrides.[5] His father was the postmaster of Stornoway, and Colin was one of four children. They were three brothers and one sister. All three brothers had contact with the Empire in one way or another, in the east and in the west. Alexander (not to be confused with Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the famed explorer in Canada) and Kenneth went to Canada for work and both seemed to have been rather unsuccessful

there, while Colin went to the East, to India and had a successful military career.[6] Before setting forth to India, Mackenzie received training in the sciences and mathematics in Stornoway, which gave him valuable skills for his engineering work in India.[7] Soon after arriving in India, he was transferred to the engineers and began the first detailed topographical surveys in 1783–1784 at the close of the Second Mysore War. He first worked in Coimbatoor and Dindigul and later surveyed Nellore, Guntur, and the Ceded Districts. He possessed critical knowledge of the lands that he surveyed, which immediately came in use in the last war against Mysore in 1798–1799. Arthur Wellesley (the future duke of Wellington and younger brother to Richard Wellesley, the then governor-general of India) during the campaign against Tipu Sultan in 1798–1799, remarked that he "never saw a more zealous, a more diligent, or a more useful officer."[8] Phillimore refers to Mackenzie at 6ft 2in as energetic and determined—an opinion that seems to have circulated at that time regarding his stature in the immediate aftermath of the Mysore wars. His military career was an illustrious one, with involvement in the successive wars against Mysore in the latter half of the eighteenth century, British campaigns against the Dutch in Ceylon, and the capture and destruction of French Pondicherry in the 1790s. Mackenzie was also part of the successful Java expedition that the British carried out in 1811, where Mackenzie stayed on until 1813. Meanwhile, in 1812, he married Petronella Jacomina Bartels, a woman of Dutch origin, who was born in Ceylon at Lutheran Church Batavia. After returning from Java, Mackenzie set up a home in Calcutta in the last years of his life.[9] Besides his military achievements, Mackenzie excelled as a surveyor.[10] In 1809, Mackenzie was appointed as the surveyor-general of Madras. Later, in 1816, he was promoted to the post of surveyor-general of India.

As the first surveyor-general of India, Mackenzie was critical in the expansion of colonial knowledge in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Mackenzie, like his fellow Scotsmen who flocked to the East India Company (EIC) for careers, was trained in mathematics and possibly in surveying, geography, and history—all subjects that were deemed important for advancing one's career in India.[11] Certainly, Mackenzie's technical skills helped him in his surveying, but his knowledge of geography and history also came in use in his collecting endeavors. As the Scottish education system was not exclusively devoted to classical learning, it offered nontraditional subjects such as geography and history. Those schooled in Scotland before setting out to India seemed to possess a penchant for writing history. Mackenzie thought it necessary to be familiar with Asian

geography, which he felt was a prerequisite for a student of Indian history.[12] He was reading the writings of his predecessor, James Rennel, whose maps of Bengal and India he consulted. Mackenzie also listed Gibbons's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* as an important work of history as well as other histories with a global reach. He was interested in the memoirs of Mughal emperors. Finally, he read historians of British India, such as Robert Orme (*Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire* and *History of the Military Transactions in India*) and John MacPherson (*History of the East India Company*).[13] History became an important contribution of the Scottish in India as evidenced by the number of histories written by Mackenzie's near contemporaries such as John Malcolm (*The Political History of India 1784 to 1823*, 1826) and Monstuart Elphinstone (*The History of India*, 1841), who wrote notable histories while working in India, as well as the more renowned William Robertson (*An Historical Disquisition Concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients has of India*,1791) and James Mill (*The History of British India*, 1815).

From his brief correspondence with the Madras government as well as with his contemporaries, Mackenzie made known his interest in history. In 1804, Mackenzie wrote to George Buchan, the chief secretary to government, that the collection he was building was with the intention of "illustrating the General History of this part of the Pensinsula, and which I conceived, might be useful to the Interest of my Employers as tending to the acquisition of authentic information of the Revolutions and Institutions of a Country whose internal Government may be assisted by this species of knowledge."[14] As surveyor, Mackenzie was called on to report on the conditions of the land and people in order to help the colonial state settle the new territories that came under their jurisdiction.[15] In a letter to his friend, Alexander Johnston (1775–1849), Mackenzie wrote: "Consonant to my original ideas, I considered this occasion favorable for arranging a plan of survey embracing the statistics and history of the country as well as of its geography."[16] Mackenzie certainly felt that historical knowledge could aid the EIC in its efforts to settle the land, which led him to conceive of a broader plan of collecting information that encompassed statistical, geographical, and historical knowledge of Britain's south Indian territories. With respect to his collecting objectives, Mackenzie used his position as surveyor to help in his broader project to build an archive that could give the British access to south Indian pasts. Mackenzie wrote in a letter to George Buchan in 1804 that "from an early period of my service in the Country I endeavored to avail myself of the opportunities that my more immediate duties

had afforded in several extensive Journeys into the Interior Provinces, to preserve such notices as casually came in my way."[17] Throughout his forty-year stay in India, Mackenzie pursued an extensive collection of historical and ethnographic materials in the belief that a more complete understanding of Indian society and culture could be achieved through collecting wide-ranging sources.

Mackenzie and Historical Knowledge

Mackenzie's archival project gathered together into one collection as well as created historical sources for the new emergent colonial historiography. The vastness of the archive was a result of its inclusive nature—Mackenzie and his assistants were set on collecting any source that might have been valuable in reconstructing what was seen as a blank in Hindu history in south India. It must be kept in mind that Mackenzie began his historical inquiries in the midst of military campaigns against the most powerful Muslim polity in India at the time, Tipu Sultan. However, Mackenzie believed that Hindu history had been obscured by Muslim polities and their interpretations of the Indian past.[18] He believed that the Muslim conqueror was bound to distort that past and give to it a bias. Ironically, Mackenzie was not self-conscious about the fact that he now occupied the position of the conqueror and his delving into Indian history might compromise his goal of capturing an objective Indian past. From the moment he landed in India, Mackenzie became interested in the ancient pasts of India and was determined to be part of the search for history. His first introduction to "native" institutions of knowledge, we are told by his friend Alexander Johnston, was in Madurai where he went to stay with the fifth Lord Napier's daughter, Hester (Johnston's mother).[19] Lord Napier (who was related to the mathematician John Napier) along with the Earl of Seaforth (Lord Francis Humberstone Mackenzie) were both Mackenzie's patrons in the Isle of Lewis.[20] Hester had introduced Mackenzie to the Hindu college where he met with prominent *pandits*. It was here in Madurai that Mackenzie began his quest for Hindu texts, history, and chronology.

In the few remnants of Mackenzie's reflections on his collecting project, he repeatedly laid emphasis on Hindu history. In his "Introductory Memoir: Of the Use and Advantage of Inscriptions & Sculptured Monuments in illustrating Hindoo History," Mackenzie writes: "On undertaking the Survey of Mysore in 1800 it occurred that an attempt to illustrate the History of the South of India . . . might be assisted by a series of Investigations on that Country, which from its remoteness hitherto from European research & Observation, was

supposed still to contain more monuments that might have escaped the fanatic depredations of the Northern Invasions & the equally destructive Civil Contentions of the indigenous Natures, than the more exposed Provinces near the Sea Coast." In other words, the Mysore territories presented a potentially untouched part of the subcontinent—remote from "Northern Invasions" or Muslim polities from the north. Mackenzie viewed the interior remoteness of the districts that were incorporated after the Mysore Wars as the perfect location for reconstructing "purely Hindoo" or an "unmixed Hindoo Government." Through a letter between one of Mackenzie's principle assistants, Kavali Venkata Lakshmayya, and another prominent assistant, Narrain Row, we learn that Mackenzie communicated his desire for Hindu pasts. From Pune, Narrain Row writes: "Since I came down to this Country I do not find any Chronological Accounts or ancient books in the hand of Natives as well as the Mysoore Country except Persian Accounts of former kings in the hand of Fakeers or different Moosulmans."[21] Narrian Row pursued Hindu accounts but ended up collecting Persian accounts. Although the latter were still deemed important as historical record of the region, the search for "Hindoo History" is critical in understanding one of the primary motivations for Mackenzie's archival project. The idea that Hindu historical record was poor compared to the record of Muslim rulers in India set the tone of his assessment of the place of history in Hindu textual traditions.

In the "Memoir," Mackenzie expresses his frustration with disregard "of Historic truth" in the texts he collected:

> The contentions of their Philosophic & Religious Sects all equally hostile to the Monuments & writings of their opponents; the Despotic Nature of their System of Government, unfriendly to the just development of Historic truth; & concurring with these, to the mode of education & to Superstition may be attributed as much perhaps as to Climate, that peculiar Apathy & indifference to the passing occurrences of the day, as well as to the more important events of former times, that so remarkably distinguish the present race of hindoos in regard to Ancient History while so much of their serious attention is occupied by Legendary Tales or Romantic Stories.[22]

Here, Mackenzie provides a broad explanation for why historic truth did not reign in Hindu culture. He finds a "peculiar Apathy" and "indifference" to history that mark present-day Hindus. He speculates

whether the apathy resulted from the "Climate," "Superstition," or "mode of education." He opposes what he finds as the apathy to "Historic truth" in the textual traditions of south India to what he considers to be "serious attention" given to "Legendary Tales" and "Romantic Stories." Mackenzie's more scientific notion of history, which is supported by an enlightened government, clearly distinguished between fiction and fact. The narratives that he encountered in the archive, which mixed both fictional and factual elements, displayed what he thought were the inadequacies of the Hindu historical record. Therefore, Mackenzie turns to a wider pool of historical evidence that might give clues to the ancient history of the region:

> In such circumstances when more authentic authorities are wanting recurrence for information could be only made to
>
> 1. Such Monuments of Antiquity as have survived the wrack of ages of the numerous changes of Government & of Religion consisting of Inscriptions, Sculptures, Coins etc. and the remains of Ancient Cities, temples & other Edifices.
> 2. To the Literary Records of Hindoo Science, Philosophy, & Religion still preserved in their Books & Writings; or in the Records of their Temples; which tho' generally defective in Chronological arrangement were yet presumed to contain some notices of remarkable events. Celebrated personages, & changes of Dynasties that by the aid of existing Ancient Monuments might elucidate the History & Institutions of this Country.[23]

This list suggests that although Mackenzie was a sympathetic critic, he nevertheless still found Indian literary traditions "wanting," especially with regard to historical narrative. He was comfortable about settling for other sources besides the literary record that ranged from "Collection of Historical materials designed to assist a Series of Enquires into the History chronology & antiquities of the Southern Parts of India" and "translations of Original Papers illustrative of Manners, Customs, Institutions and Antiquities" to "Ancient Coins and Explanatory Notes" and "Drawings of ancient sculptures."[24] Mackenzie lays particular emphasis on material artifacts (coins, sculptures, inscriptions, and architectural remains) in order to compensate for the defects in chronology found in literary records.

Mackenzie's "Memoir" is brief yet informative on his own ideas of what constituted historical records in India and the various methods

he resorted to in the collating and creation of sources. He writes that what motivated him in undertaking such a task of collecting historical records was that "some previous knowledge of the Country & of the existence of certain Establishments of different Sects, where it might be presumed Records, Monuments or Vestiges of either kind were still preserved encouraged the hope that some information might be gradually recovered of Revolutions & changes of which we had yet but an obscure & faint idea." Even as "the variety of languages necessary to be used & the reserve of the Natives presented Serious difficulties at first when viewed at a distance," Mackenzie felt that "the time was favorable; & the opportunity not to be lost which it was hoped might excuse the presumption of an undertaking that was still viewed with a just degree of diffidence."[25] Mackenzie did not have working knowledge of Indian languages. In a letter to Charles Wilkins (the first English translator of *Bhagavad Gita*), Mackenzie wrote of this handicap: "My own want of knowledge of the languages, has rather impeded my progress; but I have the advantage of able native assistants; & I have been fortunate enough to obtain much interesting materials, the details of which I must at present refrain from."[26] The physically exhausting survey work left Mackenzie with little time to learn the regional languages for conducting historical research. He states at numerous points during his forty-year stay in India his intention to write on his researches and his collecting endeavors. As a meticulous antiquarian, Mackenzie longed for more time to appraise his collection of coins, drawings of architectural remains of temples and other buildings, translations of inscriptions and summaries of literary records to present his findings to the community of antiquarians and philologists in the colonial centers of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay.

Producing Mackenzie's Archive

> Major Mackenzie has been particularly happy in the choice of his instruments—one of those ingenious Natives, whom he had the misfortune to lose, had the merit of first tracing the outline of the Plan, which has been so successfully pursued and his surviving Brother is a man of singular Literary zeal and scrupulous research.[27]
>
> —Mark Wilks, 1807

In 1804, Mark Wilks wrote to George Buchan that Kavali Venkata Borayya may have devised the outline of a plan for the collection.[28] Borayya's name appears frequently in Mackenzie's journals and

letters. Mackenzie himself wrote with glowing praise of Borayya's dedication to the archival project, "the deceased C.V. Boria Bramin, the principal Interpreter, on the Mysore Survey, and previously in the Dekan, to whose ingenious conciliatory talents, much of the successful results from Native intercourse, may be fairly referred."[29] It seems likely that Borayya, and after his death, Kavali Venkata Lakshmayya, Borayya's younger brother, may have directed much of the historical researches. Mackenzie writes, "to the zeal and Fidelity of the surviving Brother, C. V. Lechmyah Bramin, I consider myself indebted for following up with effect, the Plan traced and by his Brothers for investigating the Civil and Religious Institutions of these Countries." The Kavali brothers were indispensable for Mackenzie in his quest for a diverse set of historical materials. These principal assistants had their own assistants who were sent out to different villages, towns, and cities to gather material. Two important assistants of Lakshmayya (who appear frequently in his journals) were Narrian Row and Nitala Naina. Besides the translators, who became prominent in Mackenzie's historical researches, he also employed Eurasian draftsmen, copyists, and surveyors trained at the Madras Observatory School run by Michael Toping.[30]

Lakshmayya's trip, which uncovered a wealth of historical material in the seaside temple town of Mahabalipuram, illustrates the productive relationship between Mackenzie and his principle assistants. Mackenzie advised Lakshmayya on his visit to Mahabalipuram in May 1803 to "make yourself however acquainted at first with the most respectable people of the place & of the Pagodas; & the Mootadars managers of the district & endeavor with civility to get their good will & carefully avoid to give offence by any indiscreet interference beyond your own business." He urged him to "keep a journal during your absence for my information of your journey & your remarks on the country, buildings, temples, sculptures, & every remarkable objects." Mackenzie instructed his assistants to follow a "method" in conducting their historical researches. After following the social protocols of a given region ("country"), Lakshmayya is asked to seek "written accounts" if they are preserved and to obtain the "originals," if possible. Beyond the written accounts, Mackenzie asks him to make copies of inscriptions. In addition to historical records, Mackenzie asks Lakshmayya to inquire with the locals about "any curious or ancient customs, laws or historical facts."[31]

The Indian assistants of Mackenzie traveled to far corners of south India armed with questions such as "Who was Durma-Vurma[?]" and "What is the meaning of the title Vurma?" or to find out the

"List of names of the 20 kings of the south ... said to have ruled 1119 years ... is any history preserved of them & of their transactions?"[32] They translated manuscripts and provided summaries of those that were too long to translate in their entirety. Certainly, Mackenzie knew a great deal in order to formulate an outline for his Indian assistants to fill in the blanks. In 1804, Mackenzie wrote a memorandum on the kinds of information needed from Brahmins in southern Tamil Nadu.[33] The memorandum was intended for his assistants to use in their inquiries into the histories of the region. He asks for a "list of the names of the ancient kings of Cholla or Sora & their dates & reigns" and instructs his assistants to look for "any accounts of their transactions, their capitals & their endowments with dates? Which of them & at what period erected the first works on the Caavery—the great anicut?" The series of questions was supposed to bring "the ancient history of the south down to the 13th century & to the first appearance of the mahomedans." Mackenzie lays out a clear framework for the assistants. The memorandum frames a history of south India and indicates to what extent Mackenzie was familiar with rulers, places, climates, religious sects, and the history of land tenure in the region. He lists three headings that are also of primary importance for Mackenzie: "Ramanoojoo," "Sankar-Achary," and "Establishment of the Pandarums." Mackenzie states in advance that he was looking for accounts of distinguished figures in religious history and, more importantly, that the most useful accounts would be those that could give weight to information gleaned from other sources. This emphasis on corroboration—of assessing the veracity of native Indian accounts through comparison—was a method favored by Mackenzie (rather than the kind of uncompromising "objective" historical method advocated by James Mill).

In a noteworthy endnote to an entry in his journals, Mackenzie noted down: "These Enquires were made on the spot & the results committed to writing by my Bramin Cavelly Boriah assisted by Mharatta Telinga & Canara Bramins employed in collecting M.S. Inscriptions & oral information directed by queries prepared before I went down or arising from the materials coming to hand."[34] The entry displays the multiple layers of authorship that went into the production of a source. First, Mackenzie notes that the inquiries were made on the spot, which indicated the immediacy of the oral account and the subsequent act of recording by reliable Indian assistants proficient in Telugu, Kannada, and Marathi. The same assistants were also employed for collecting inscriptions and for supplementing

oral accounts. The journals privilege written accounts that were based on oral transmission. These written records were accorded greater veracity precisely because the production of these sources was highly controlled. The exact transmission is recorded in the journal entries in order to lay bare the circumstances of the production of sources. Finally, the inquiries were directed by Mackenzie's prepared lists of questions and outlines of histories in need of information—if not from his direction he says they could also arise from the materials themselves. What we learn from such entries in the Mackenzie journals is the attention given to recording such detail—from the place of the oral transmission, the witnesses present, to how it was recorded down—all to establish a level of authenticity. Mackenzie's use of personal observation, the controlled production of sources, and the use of questionnaires—all of which were elements that the science of statistics also laid emphasis on—shaped a new emergent historical method.

On occasion, Mackenzie's assistants reported that they faced resistance and at times stubborn refusals to cooperate. On March 10, 1807, Nitala Nainah (assistant to Kavali Venkata Lakshmayya) wrote that "the two Bramins are preventing of my getting the informations [sic] in the place by the protection of Raumacoone Swamey whose a friend to Shashayah Bramin . . . If I inquire any informations [sic] in this part the aforesaid people . . . they will acquaint to the writer, frighten them not to give anything."[35] Nainah was particularly peeved with the two Brahmins he considered to be obstructing his efforts to obtain valuable manuscripts. The day before, on March 9, Nainah wrote: "I have wrote lately about the desconsented [*sic*] behaviours of Sevaraumiah & Soonoaroodoo Just they preventing much for my informations [*sic*] by the protection of the gentlemen Servants, therefore I hope you should get recommendation soon to the Collector & Gentlemen from our M. Otherwise I will not be able to provide the information in the Country".[36] Nainah indeed needed the assistance of Mackenzie to intervene to validate his presence there for the purpose of obtaining material from the local community.

Nainah's reporting of these glitches was balanced by the successes he also achieved. On April 18, 1807, Nainah wrote: "After M. Gorrow ordered to his people to Give me informations [sic], I have collected 20 Inscriptions & am writing history of this Place . . . I have enquired here Some of the Copper Plates of the different Augrahaurums of Bhavaungooll Country".[37] In fact, Nainah seemed to have collected many inscriptions as well as *kaifiyats*, both of which were valuable

sources. In a letter dated April 27, 1807, Nainah wrote:

> Your Servant Netala Naina Presents his compliments to your honor, that I am in good health at Bavaunigooll to the 27th of April & hope you will write frequently your happiness, that, on the 12th of Instant M. Garrow had been sent the Order Over the ameldars of Erode, & Dhauraupoorum, to get the different kyfeyutts of the famous at Places, I am copying out the Canada Stone Inscriptions in the office, part of the Country, I am enquiring the extension & boundary limits & of the 24 Nauds in Caungam Country—I shall soon despatch the Inscriptions which I have wrote to you formerly I saw a number of Curious Stone Inscriptions in the Country & Copied them.

Nainah reports on how he collected the kaifiyats from the different villages. Here he seemed to have been warmly welcomed by the local leaders and handed valuable historical material as requested by Nainah. Besides the kaifiyats, Nainah copied inscriptions and inquired from knowledgeable people about more material on land tenure in the region.

Settling Land: History as Precedent

Mackenzie's archival project was indubitably part and parcel of state apparatuses of knowledge.[38] In his journals, there are explicit references to the need for political knowledge of the Indian territories. One document on the "principal revolutions" that was in Ballaghaut since the fourteenth century begins with a statement that "a History of a country as a source of political information, being essential to the acquiring a competent knowledge of its affairs and the many occasions I have lately had for enquiring into the changes that have taken place in Ballaghaut, to *enable me to decide on a variety of claims upon landed property*, and the revenues, have rendered it necessary to ascertain the commencement and termination of each Government, and in some degree, to connect the chain of events, which is all that is attempted in the following sketch done by the held of Sunnuds and other documents that may be deemed authentic. [my italics]"[39] The author notes that the historical inquiries would help him to decide on property claims—the possibility of such actions clearly link the collecting endeavors to the political and economic aims of the colonial administration.

Figure 2.1 Portrait of Timmana, the Raya of Anegundi with his two grandsons, January 1801, WD1069, f.75 (OIOC), Mackenzie Collection, © The British Library Board.

During one of his survey trips, Mackenzie recorded entries that documented the claims of local landholders. This was one mode in which history was invoked and was deemed important in colonial records—the recovery of family histories or genealogies. In an entry from October 1800, Mackenzie included in his journal a letter from Mardeo Gooroo to the Rajah of Anegundi. Anegundi had gone through a turbulent history in the eighteenth century, changing hands from the Marathas to Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan and then finally to the Nizam of Hyderabad and the British. A figure that appears in Mackenzie's journals, Mardeo Gooroo, after having met with Mackenzie, was questioned by him about the local rulers: Who were they? How long were they the chief sovereigns of the region? After the meeting with

Mackenzie, Mardeo Gooroo wrote to the then current claimant to the Vijayanagara throne, Timmappa, to let him know that there may be hope for his family to receive help from the British.

> C Mackenzie & an officer of the Honorable Company having come here by order of his Superiors to observe the state of this Dominion, had requested to obtain some knowledge of the chiefs of these countries when I informed him that the Anagoondy kings were the Sovereigns in former times & are now in distress; & that he should support measures to reinstate them in their property; he then enquired for the History of the Ancient Lords of your family which I informed him could be got at full length from you. Therefore if he applies for this purpose when he arrives with you I recommend that it be given as required; for surely his mentioning this to the Gentlemen of the Honorable Co. will be of infinite use to your affairs.[40]

Both Mardeo Gooroo and Timmappa were interested in reinstating the royal family's property. They both realized that this could be achieved by narrating the family's history or genealogy. If Timmappa would provide the British with a history of their family's rule, he would be providing proof of his family's rights to their ancient properties. Nicholas Dirks has argued persuasively that Mackenzie's interests in collecting the genealogical records of "little kings" was for the benefit of the colonial state in sorting the claims of local political rulers in south India.[41] Mardeo Gooroo's account of the meeting with Mackenzie illustrates the convergence of the interests of the former kings with the interests of the colonial state. The subsequent history that Mackenzie collected was a verbal account that traced the ancestors of the Anegundi family back to the Vijayanagara rulers and brought it down to the ascendance of the British; there is mention of Hyder Ali, Tipu Sultan, and Colonel Munro in this historical narrative.[42] Timmappa was drawing on the genealogical tradition to lay claims on the royal properties—a tradition that was recognized by the British in their efforts to not only gain an understanding of property-holding in south India but also to recognize historical rights to land. Their confluence of interests aligned the genealogical tradition in South Asia with British preoccupation with historical precedent and the transfer of property.

Mackenzie's general collection contains many documents of inquiries being made on the historical origins of property rights and revenue systems. An interesting document in the collection is the

description of property rights compiled through oral communication. The document was called "Short Notice of the Canee-Ackee Right claimed by the Vellalls or Husbandmen of Tondamundalum. Explanatory of the Papers Accompanying by C. Mackenzie to Sir B. Sullivan, 1808. Composed by C.V. Lech." It describes the origin of the practice of *kaniyatchi* (hereditary property in lands), how certain groups were given rights to cultivation lands, and the rules of hereditary accompanying those lands. Kavali Venkata Lakshmayya is attributed authorship of this rich document that provides an explanation of the materials collected on such rights in the region of the lower Carnatic. Lakshmayya describes the practice, its origins in that region, and the differences introduced by various rulers. It also documents the various sources of information and historically traces the practice down to the present as is clearly stated at the end of the document. At times, the text lays bare the comparative nature of the colonial project—that there were standards to which the collectors were looking in order to make sense of what they encountered. For instance, Lakshmayya writes:

> In the period this arrangement took place, it is handed down by tradition that the country was divided into provinces (Nads) subdivisions (Catums) & villages; inhabited & assigned to Bramins (agraharums); or the Shudra. Husbandmen, Vellaler or Cooddeyanauer; (called Natums). This tradition so far as regards the subdivisions, is confirmed by the grants in stone, (Silla Sasanums) & Copper, still existing; where reference is constantly made to these divisions, subdivisions, & in *like manner as in England to counties, parishes* etc.—the landmarks & boundaries are described with a precision sufficiently indicating the estimation in which the property conveyed was held; & apparently corroborating the opinion that something more permanent than an annual lease was intended;—*In every civilized country fixed measurements & landmarks have always been the inseparable attendant of permanent property in the soil*[.][43] [My italics]

Lakshmayya points out that there is a similarity between traditions in England of divisions of the country into counties and parishes and the tradition of dividing the land into provinces and subdivisions in south India. He states that there are clear landmarks (in stone at times) that confirm that there is an idea of permanent property in south India. Lakshmayya ends with a most telling statement on the idea of permanent property as one of the essential components of a civilized country,

which reveals that he understood quite clearly what the British were in search of in their historical inquiries into land settlement.

The Colonial State and Mackenzie's Archive

The colonial administration's support of Mackenzie and his collecting project was evident from early on. This support can be seen in the public consultation series of the Madras Presidency and the survey records. The records document the keen interest taken by the colonial administration in the collecting activities of its officers. What is fascinating about this relationship between the colonial state and its focus on history is the variety of interests it expressed through the framework of history—from property rights and revenue systems to cultural preservation. In other words, the colonial state was responsible for preserving as well as reconstructing and rewriting history. In 1803, Mackenzie received a letter from the chief secretary to government at Fort St. George, George Buchan, acknowledging the receipt of materials sent by Mackenzie earlier that year. Buchan wrote of "a degree of satisfaction proportioned to His Lordship's opinion of the valuable materials which you have collected, and of the utility of the information which has been derived from your enquiry into the resources of the territories of Mysore."[44] He assured Mackenzie that this information would be forwarded to the Court of Directors and that he would do his best to make sure that Mackenzie was compensated for all his private efforts. Often the records show an acknowledgment that the individual officers were involved in researches and that they were driven by their own ambitions of gaining recognition and rising up in the bureaucracy of the colonial state. That effort was not lost on the EIC. The administration in London as well as in India paid close attention to the historical collections of their officers. In 1803, Mackenzie sent a long detailed progress report on the survey of Mysore. A year later, Mackenzie wrote to George Buchan and referred to an earlier letter dated July 6, 1803, in which the Court of Directors expressed a desire to collect information on "General History." Mackenzie went on to state that he supported such a venture and would like to contribute to the effort by enclosing in a dispatch to Europe a list of papers toward the above purpose that had been expressed by the Court of Directors. He declared: "These papers contain specimens of various materials referred to in my Report of 12th July last—much of which are yet to be translated and arranged chiefly collected at my private Expense with a view of illustrating the General history of this part of the Peninsula, and which I conceived, might be useful to the Interest of my Employers."[45] He proceeded to describe his

own efforts in trying to gather historical material for the project of constructing a general history of the region and drew attention to its deficiencies as well. Primarily, he pointed to his employment on the survey of Mysore, which prevented him from fully devoting himself to historical research, and indicated to the colonial government that consistent patronage from them would have been optimal. Such full attention to historical research would have fulfilled the goal outlined by the Court of Directors in their letters to the Madras Presidency for company servants to aid in their efforts to develop a general history of the region.

Mackenzie, in his report on the survey, sent memoirs of the "Northern Purgunnahs," which he assured Buchan would satisfy the Court of Directors' request. The letters to Buchan reveal the close connection that Mackenzie had with the government and his efforts to legitimize his collecting endeavors. The description of the list of papers that he was to send at a later date was contained in the letter to Buchan, which shows the extensive nature of Mackenzie's enterprise in constructing an archive (See Table 2.1). The list included everything, including descriptions of coins, drawings of monuments, translations of histories (of important royal families), and papers with ethnographic detail on the manners and customs of the people. When Buchan received Mackenzie's letter and the list of collected materials, he acknowledged that the government at Fort St. George would support his efforts and that the letter would be forwarded to the Court of Directors along with the accompanying papers.

In 1808, Mackenzie wrote to the acting chief secretary to government at Fort St. George on his progress on the survey of Mysore, and expressed his intention to send to the Court of Directors a map of Mysore that he had been working on. The government at Fort St. George, while sending the dispatch to England, acknowledged Mackenzie's merits. There is one very important document that demonstrates the colonial state's full knowledge and support of Mackenzie's historical inquiries. It is a memorandum to the judicial, medical, revenue, and diplomatic departments in the Madras Presidency.[46] The government at Fort St. George sent the memorandum to their officers to explicitly aid Mackenzie in his project to build an archive of historical materials. The memorandum is quite extraordinary for the details that it outlines. It begins by stating that Mackenzie, along with friends, (those sympathetic to his project) collected much information but that more would be needed to complete the entire picture. It further states that Mackenzie believed that those gaps could be "illustrated by materials of various descriptions, in the hands of the Natives, and

Table 2.1 Mackenzie's list of historical materials collected, 1803

N. 1 M.S. Volume, Collection of Historical materials designed to assist a Series of Enquires into the History chronology & antiquities of the Southern Parts of India

Selected on the present occasion from a considerable body of Materials collected for this purpose.

N. 2 M.S. Volume, containing translations of Original Papers illustrative of Manners, Customs, Institutions and Antiquities

Some blanks are unfilled in this volume, chiefly owing to the necessity of sending them off, before explanations could be obtained of several obsolete terms and expressions which may be afterwards communicated.

N. 3 Two Sheets of Ancient Coins and Explanatory Notes

These are communicated as illustrative of names and dates in corroboration of Historical events by the evidence of such monuments.

N. 4 Historical account of the succession and acquisitions of the Mysore Vadeyaroo Family

From an Original M.S. specimen of materials designed to illustrate the History of the Families of the Rajahs and other Chiefs of the Carnatic.

N. 5 History of the Ancient Family of Warancull.

Translated from a Tellinga M.S. in illustration of the History of the Tellinga Empire, as a Specimen of the materials on that subject to be corroborated and confirmed by collateral evidence of other Documents, Grants/as in No. 6/and Coins/ as in No. 3/

N. 6 Translation of a Grant of Ganaputty Rajah King of Waruncull.

Illustrative of the former and a Specimen of the Ancient Grants preserved, to be confirmed by Similar documents some of which are given in No. 1.

N. 7 Extracts from Historical Documents relating to the Expulsion of the Hindoo Naiks of Tanjore

In elucidation of some doubts in the European Writers on this Subject.

N. 8 Drawings of ancient sculptures.

Madras C. Mackenzie

Feb. 28th 1804

Source: TNSA, Madras Public Consultations, 1804, *List of Papers relating to the History of India to be sent to England for communication to the Company's Historiographer, agreeable to Paras 3 of the General Letter of the Court of Directors of* 6th *July 1803. Translated for and compiled under the inspecting C. Mackenzie.*

which from their obscurity are liable to be neglected and lost; but might be still recovered by the interposition of the Gentleman in the Diplomatic, Judicial, Revenue, and Medical Departments[.]" In this way, he imputed prominence to an archive for the preservation of texts and artifacts that could give access to the historical pasts of India. Also, what is noticeable is the urgency with which the collecting is argued for. It calls for officials in the various departments to proactively gather materials in their respective regions. The document then moves to highlight the important regions that need more information. From Madurai to Tanjore to Tinnavelly, it states exactly what should be sought for. In Madurai, the memorandum claims that there are notices in the hands of Brahmins on political history as well as religious history. In Tinnavelly, it highlights that there may be ancient documents of legendary accounts of religious establishments in the area. It then goes on to give a warning about what to expect in these materials: "Regular Historical narrations and Tracts are seldom found among the natives; and such notices as exist are generally preserved in the form of Religious Legends and Popular Poems and Stories." The warning is that what is normally seen as historical in European traditions will not appear in Indian textual traditions. In fact, Indian history was thought to be recorded through legendary tales and poetry. It then goes on to list all the different genres and forms in which historical information could be embedded. It is very comprehensive in covering a variety of materials from *vamsavalis* (genealogies) to ancient coins.

This document is pivotal in understanding how extensive the Mackenzie project became—aided by an entire slew of company servants and their entourages of native assistants, who were gathering material in the hopes of preserving valuable Indian texts. These different departments of the government were working in conjunction with one another to build the archive. This specific memorandum and the general letters issued by the Court of Directors, which started in the 1790s, show the cooperation between the administration and individual officers. The Court of Directors was very much invested in receiving help from the company's servants stationed in India. As early as 1797, the Court of Directors, in a letter to the Madras Presidency, articulated a desire to aid the Company's historiographer:

> In order to enable the Company's Historiographer to complete General History of the British affairs in the East Indies and as we mean that a plan of such a work should comprehend the

> History of India and such part of that of China as is Connected with our trade in general, we direct such of our Servants as may be in situations to promote this work, be instructed to transmit to you for the purpose of being forwarded to us, such information as the Chronology, Geography, Government, Laws—political Revolutions, the progress of the Arts, Manufactures and Sciences—and of the fine Arts as they may be in Station to afford, or may from time to time be able to Collect.[47]

Thomas Hickey (1741–1824), a painter employed by the EIC, dovetailed the desires of the Court of Directors with his own interests and offered a set of paintings and engravings to accompany the general history of the British in India.[48] Hickey wrote that

> unfolding the Comprehensive design of the Hon'ble Court of Directors suggested to the undersigned artist that a Paintors' talents if directed in India towards the accomplishments of their plan might to no inconsiderable degree be Conducive and in the course of his professional exercise in the pursuit be instrumental to the most effectual measures being taken for carrying that design into execution by exiting a Spirit of inquiry as to the leading points upon which the Honourable Company's servants to obtain the fullest information.[49]

Hickey pressed upon the Court of Directors to consider a collection of engravings on a range of different subjects (see table 2.2).

Hickey believed that the illustrations would be an asset to the collection of texts, artifacts, and discovery of monuments that was enlarging British views of the Indian past at the time. His most notable portraits in India were the ones he was commissioned to paint after the fall of Seringapatam in 1799. He painted a full-length portrait of William Kirkpatrick with his native assistants positioned behind him. In 1816, Hickey painted a rare and valuable portrait of Colin Mackenzie surrounded by his native assistants. In the portrait, Mackenzie is standing, flanked by his Indian assistants. One of them wears the marks of a Jain scholar, the second is Kavali V. Lakshmayya, and the third holds a survey instrument. The three Indian figures symbolize the three different roles of Mackenzie: a scholar, an antiquarian, and a surveyor. Hickey's portraits of Kirkpatrick and Mackenzie and the careful details he paints of their native assistants clearly show his intimate knowledge of the antiquarian projects that preoccupied the early colonial officers in

Table 2.2 Letter from Thomas Hickey to the Court of Directors, 1804

1. Figures representing the characteristic, but Select, formation of the native Indoo inhabitants—
2. Figures explanatory of the different Casts by which the Indoo people are distinguished.
3. Figures of the native Indoos in the dresses peculiar to the Several Regions, Provinces and Districts.
4. Figures of Indoo Mythology—not as imitations of the barbarous Specimens of Art in the Sculptured representations with which their temples are so profusely furnished—but as far as may be according to the descriptions and information of learned Bramins upon the Subject, so as to form an exposition of their religious System in a way as favourable as its' doctrines will admit of and by intelligent development of the allegorical allusions in the Symbols of their Worship to Separate from it as much as it will allow the reproach of in Conceivable idoltry.
5. Views of ancient Indoo temples.
6. Such views of Country as may unite picturesque and Singular assemblage with local discrimination.

Source: TNSA, Madras Public Consultations, Thomas Hickey to Court of Directors, July 7, 1804.

India. The composition of the portraits indicates the importance of the Indian assistants to the self-identity of the colonial officers as scholars. The placement of the colonial officer-scholar surrounded by his assistants, who are depicted as looking to him rather than at the painter, suggests that Hickey believed this critical relationship was on amiable terms. Whereas Mackenzie's portrait gives equal weight to each of the assistants within the composition, Kirkpatrick's portrait seems to be weighed down on one side, with the Indian sepoys and pandits overcrowding one another behind their patron.

While Hickey answered to the Court of Directors' call for company officers to aid in the project to collect historical sources, at the district level, notices were circulated to procure historical materials. Table 2.3 is an example of a desiderata from the Godavari District in the Madras Presidency.

In contrast, a letter to the collector of Guntur from the government at Fort St. George, which was written in 1835, expresses a different sentiment. There is hesitancy in allowing employees of the state to indiscriminately gather material from native Indians.

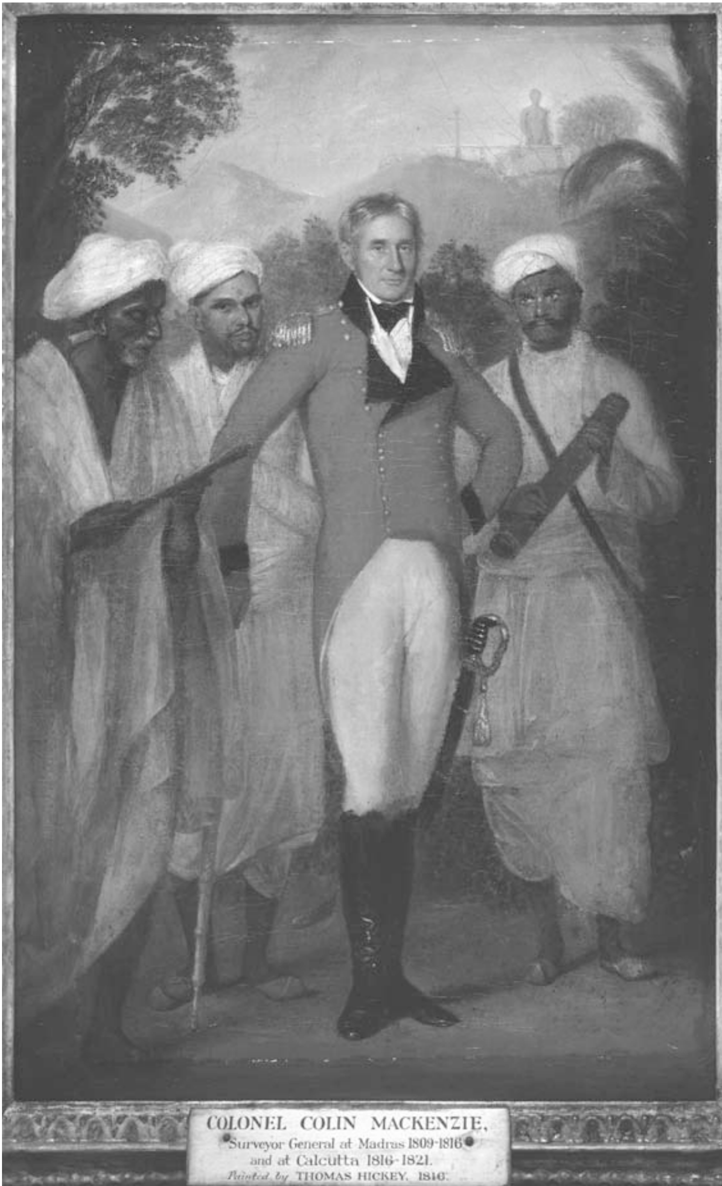

Figure 2.2 Thomas Hickey's portrait of Col. Colin Mackenzie with his assistants, 1816, f13, © The British Library Board.

Table 2.3 Desiderata and enquiries connected with the Presidency of Madras, 1807

Language and Literature
Fac-similies of ancient inscriptions, with translations and alphabets of their characters.
Well written alphabets of all the modern languages.
It is certain that the Hindu languages of the south of India are not derived from the Sanscrit, and it is a tradition which this circumstance confirms that the Brahmans, with their religion and language, came from the north. The question regarding the time when the Vadamozhi or northern tongue (the Sanscrit) was introduced, is one of great interest.
A comparison of the different languages of the south and an examination of what they have borrowed from the Sanscrit, with an accurate account of the geographical limits of these languages.
Which is the most ancient character in use in the south of India?
Is there any trace of a language which may be considered the parent of those now existing in Southern India? If so, what is its name? Where was it vernacular? And how far has it entered into the formation of the other peninsular languages?
Does the Purvada Hali Canada answer in any degree this description? Some account of this language with a well written alphabet of its characters as appearing in inscriptions, it is believed may be obtained from learned Jain Brahmans. One of this Sect, employed by Colonel Mackenzie, thoroughly understood it, and if still living, might probably furnish the information here desired.
Copies and translations of the inscriptions at the caves of Kenera in the island of Salsette, which are in this character, might be useful for this purpose.
Notices and catalogues raisonnees of Libraries at Native Courts, in Pagodas, & c. accounts of their foundation, how they are maintained; if additions of books are occasionally made to them, and by what means they are obtained.

Source: APSA: Godavari District Records, 1807.

H. Chamier addresses the collector:

> You will of course understand that this person is not to be furnished by you with any authority to demand the production of papers, Books, or other literary property in the possession of private individuals without their consent, or supplies of any kind

> from the inhabitants of the villages which he may visit, without payment—nor is he to be permitted to enter Pagodas or other places of worship, on the pleas of searching for inscriptions, unless his admission thereto is perfectly consistent with the rights of caste and the Mamool of the country.[50]

The attention paid to the procedure of collecting—to make sure no custom or tradition is trampled upon in the process—is noteworthy. And it provides a point of difference to the earlier notices on the procedure of collecting. In Mackenzie's journals, the entries relating to the correspondence between Mackenzie and his assistants show some of the strains that are inherent in the collecting process. In particular, the problems they encountered were the villagers' refusals to hand over old manuscripts and records that were in their possession. Another important difference is that in the case this particular letter, the person referred to is not a European officer, but rather Kavali Venkata Lakshmayya, who had applied to receive help from the administration to continue his work on the Mackenzie collection. Besides paying heed to the customs and practices of villagers, there seems to be a greater hesitancy in allowing access to historical material to a native Indian—in case he may violate some caste or social law unbeknownst to the British.

The assistants, although valued by Mackenzie, were thought to be suspicious and often untrustworthy in the eyes of the colonial administration. When Mackenzie died in 1821 in Calcutta, his collection was not catalogued, and Mackenzie was not able to transform his collections into published histories. Mackenzie's close associate until his death, Kavali Venkata Lakshmayya, wrote repeatedly to the government of Fort Saint George to allow him to continue Mackenzie historical researches. In 1835, the secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, H. Harkness, wrote from London to Lt. Gen. Sir Frederick Adam, governor of Madras, requesting him to assist Lakshmayya in his literary and historical endeavors.[51] However, Lakshmayya was passed over and Rev. William Taylor (whom C. P. Brown called "an ignorant illiterate man"[52]) was appointed in 1837 by the government in Fort William for an "examination and Collation of the Manuscript works in the vernacular Languages collected by the late Colonel Mackenzie."[53] Lakshmayya's fall from the lofty position that he had gained while employed by Mackenzie demonstrates the vulnerable space in which Indian assistants found themselves. Caught between European patrons, there was very little room for sustaining their own independent intellectual pursuits.

Conclusion

The thrust toward greater political control provided the context for the proliferation of historical research in colonial India. Although the British decried the absence of history in Indian traditions, historical research proliferated in the late-eighteenth century and encompassed a wide range of practices. Antiquarians gathered textual material and the material remains of buildings, while Orientalists studied languages to unearth the wealth of information that was contained in the languages themselves. Sir William Jones, in 1784, voiced his plans for fostering an intellectual community in British India for the purpose of carrying out investigations into Indian forms of knowledge. Jones was not only a leading figure in the Asiatic Society and in providing an intellectual base in the Indian empire, he also represented a particular strand of intellectual inquiry. As a master of languages, which included Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit, Jones stood out among the rest. The vast majority of men involved in such research at the local and regional level did not harbor such grand visions of conquering multiple languages of India. Because of the grandeur of the status of philology in colonial India, the other collectors of historical antiquities, who did not possess complete knowledge of languages, and those scholars of the "minor" or "vernacular" languages of India came to be seen as a subset of the larger researches of the Asiatic Society. However, these antiquarians carried on their investigations minutely without an end in mind. There were some common investigative techniques that bound the dabblers and the serious scholars who worked in colonial India. Both groups possessed an insatiable appetite for texts and artifacts. Their scholarly interests encompassed a vast number of subjects, with often only one central guiding factor, which was the locality around which their investigations were focused. Flipping through the pages of the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, it becomes startlingly clear that the authors were deemed to be experts on their particular locales.

Antiquarians produced archives that provided historical sources for the new historiography. Collectors such as Francis Buchanan and Colin Mackenzie developed methods of collection in order to amass colonial archives for furthering knowledge of newly conquered territories in India. Mackenzie was called upon by the colonial state to report on the conditions of the land and its people. Mackenzie complied with their wishes and devised plans to acquire a comprehensive collection of materials to expand colonial knowledge. The collection of historical materials alongside other useful knowledge

was not accidental. History was deemed to be important for colonial governing. However, the creation of colonial archives also had a profound impact on the practice of history in nineteenth-century India. Colonial archives not only aided colonial historiography (writing the history of British colonialism) but they also destabilized Indian practices of history and assured the ascendance of positivist historiography in nineteenth-century India. Although it is true that the colonial state relied on conquering historical knowledge for shaping the kind of rule that would be appropriate for its territories, it is equally important to recognize that the colonial state, in its quest for documenting historical precedence, exceeded those pragmatic needs and amassed vast collections of texts and artifacts that had very little to do with governance. Rather, the amateur collectors were busy translating and devising methodologies to make Indian society knowable. As such, the accumulation of historical objects and information had reverberations in the emergence of the disciplines of history, archaeology, and philology.[54]

With increasing scienticization of methods and the coming together of both strands of colonial knowledge-formation in colonial India, philology and antiquarianism contributed to the creation of archives in colonial India. While philology privileged erudition and textual traditions as giving the most accurate understanding of Indian society and history, antiquarianism in the colony laid emphasis on empirical methods of arriving at the truth of Indian society and history. Ideas of historical truth were conditioned by classificatory practices of the early colonial state. Historical truths, according to the method devised by colonial antiquarians (such as Mackenzie and his assistants), were to be derived empirically from legitimate sources—sources that were carefully collated and constructed by these travelling collectors.

Undoubtedly, Colin Mackenzie was essential to the archival projects of the early colonial state. His efforts in collecting texts and artifacts for the "reconstruction" of south Indian history made him invaluable for generations of historians to come. Whereas the early historians (such as Robert Orme, Mark Wilks, and John Malcolm) set themselves the task of documenting the rise of British power on the Indian subcontinent and attempting to assess the rule of the Mughals, Mackenzie was interested in collecting sources for historical research—in effect constructing a historical record for south India. Mackenzie was different from the colonial historians in that his concern was with collecting disparate historical materials and not with the writing of history itself. In this respect, he was very much a

dedicated antiquarian. He was interested in the minutiae of collecting in order to expand historical knowledge of south India, and he went about collecting with the belief that a better understanding of Indian history would be possible with access to new sources. Unlike James Mill, he believed that Indians were capable of recording the past. However, he was also aware that the British needed better tools to approach the historical record of south India. Mackenzie, with his network of native assistants, his relationships with a broader community of antiquarians and philologists in India, and the encouragement he received from the colonial administration (both from the Court of Directors as well as from the Madras administration) was able to succeed in his endeavors to help build an archive for south India.

3
The Kavali Brothers: Native Intellectuals in Early Colonial Madras

Spheres of Exchange in Early Colonial Madras

John Leyden, a Madras Orientalist, wrote piercingly of the inhospitable relationship that existed between Indians and Europeans in Madras.[1]

> The prejudices of the Bramins have, however, relaxed very little in our presidency, and excepting Mr. Ellis, there is scarce a person that has been able to break ground in this field of literature. Major Wilks, acting Resident at Mysore, informed me, that some years ago, incited by the example of Wilkins and Sir William Jones, he attempted to study Sanskrit at Madras, and exerted a great deal of influence very unsuccessfully. The Dubashes, then all-powerful at Madras, threatened loss of cast and absolute destruction to any Bramin who should dare to unveil the mysteries of their sacred language to a *Pariar Frengi*. This reproach of *Pariar* is what we have tamely and strangely submitted to for a long time, when we might with equal facility have assumed the respectable character of *Chatriya*, or *Rajaputra*.[2]

His frustration centered on the "Dubashes," who formed a seemingly impenetrable barrier between Europeans and Indians and made it difficult for Europeans to become intimate with Sanskrit knowledge. Leyden voices his suspicion of the Brahmin's tight hold on the mysteries of "their sacred language," that is, Sanskrit. Moreover, not only do the dubashes admonish the Brahmins for giving away the "secrets" (presumably on matters of religion, law, and literature) that Sanskrit contains but they also liken the British to the "*Pariar*" (of

an untouchable caste) rather than the "*Chatriya* or *Rajaputra,*" (of a higher caste, the warrior/ruler castes), a more appropriate caste status, Leyden believes, for the new valiant conquerors of India. Leyden's imperial pride leads him to seamlessly identify the British with the warrior castes, the "*Chatriya.*" Leyden, as Thomas Trautmann has suggested, did not hide his motivations for "unveiling" the mysteries of Indian languages. In his plan for researching the languages of southern India, he declared: "India is as it were the literary property of the English nation... it is only by the individuals of this nation that the literature and languages of India... can be properly investigated."[3] While it is certainly plausible from his remarks on the relations between Indians and Europeans that Leyden may have been calling for greater dialogue, what is equally palpable is his desire to master "the mysteries of their sacred language" so as to bypass the dependence on the wily dubash.

The rift that Leyden witnessed between the British and the Indians in early colonial Madras may not be surprising for a student of modern European imperialisms. However, it is useful to take note that relations between Europeans and Indians were not uniform throughout the colonial period in India and that the texture of relations was indeed shaped by the changing nature of colonial contact and rule of the Indian territories. An important distinction Leyden brings attention to is the contrast between Calcutta and Madras, which reminds us that even within Britain's Indian territories there is a great deal of variation. The specific histories of the colonial cities of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras reveal a difference in social and intellectual life of both the native Indians as well as the British residents. Judging from Leyden's remarks, there seems to be a pervasive feeling that in Calcutta, unlike in Madras, the relationship between Indians and the British resulted in greater intellectual output. This view is echoed in the remarks of a native resident of Madras, P. Ragaviah, who in 1807 wrote to Thomas Strange (1756–1841)[4] regarding the necessity of founding a literary society in Madras equal in stature to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta. Ragaviah describes why the literary researches of the Asiatic Society of Bengal were so fruitful: "The terms of association between the Europeans & Natives were established at first on a liberal & inviting footing; the Pundits flocked round the Gentlemen who wished for information & communicated it without reserve, a circumstance which must have contributed to the success with which the Gentlemen persevered in their studies."[5] Ragaviah envisions relations between the respected European "Gentlemen" and the "Pundits" at the Asiatic Society of Bengal

as one of harmonious exchange, which resulted in good scholarship.[6] Although acknowledging the intellectual "discoveries" of the Calcutta Orientalists, he is not without reservations regarding the kind of scholarship published in the pages of the *Asiatic Researches*. He derides the "long Dissertations without being able to arrive at any point" and questions the usefulness of the society's comparative focus where "A few names only of Vistnoo, Seevoo, Brumha, & their female halves of Rivers, Carriages, & sacred places; have been often handed, & underwent such mutilations & additions to establish the probability of their having been the same with Asris, Isis, & the famous Bull of Egyptian Mythology; or Jupiter, Bacchus; Venus & the muses of Greece." Rather, he asks "To what an extent true knowledge might have been advanced . . . had an arrangement of a different kind been adopted methodically."[7] Ragaviah's was a scathing critique of the production of knowledge under the aegis of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The reference to the gods of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman mythology as having affinities with Hindu ones indicates his dismissal of the kinds of questions that informed and shaped the society's researches.

Ragaviah proposes a different plan for fostering greater understanding between the British and the Indians—especially in terms of arriving at good government and the protection of property. He was deeply aware of the relationship between the production of colonial knowledge and governance. He writes,

> for the Laws & Languages are inseparable companions, this is easily proved since the leading characters, either in the formation of the Asiatic Society or its improvement afterwards have been distinguished for their attachment in those pursuits. The Benevolent Office of a Judge assist in the knowledge of the laws & manners of the People, whose lives & property are entrusted to his sacred care; & it is only advancing one step farther to obtain an acquaintance of their languages & Religious Institutions, & in this, their exertions, & pursuits must be attended with success as their own Office & duties afford opportunities for it.[8]

His account of why it was only natural for the Asiatic Society of Bengal to have been established in Calcutta reveals his understanding of the necessity of particular forms of knowledge (about native society) that was crucial for colonial governance. He understood that the knowledge produced under the auspices of the society was not without its uses for the colonial administration. While it might be

strikingly obvious why cartographic knowledge (and the concomitant statistical, historical, geographical, and political knowledge that British surveying spawned) was instrumental for the expansion of the empire, it is Ragaviah who brings to our attention the Asiatic Society of Bengal as another primary site of colonial knowledge. He acknowledges the necessity of collating, compiling, and translating accurate knowledge of the laws, politics, and ethics of the Hindus for arriving at an agreement "in matters which concerns the happiness of the people, and the advantage and the Reputation of the Government."[9] Agreement in matters of government is of utmost importance and it is toward this goal that intellectual pursuits should be directed. In a curious aside, he writes that agreement in matters of religion is virtually impossible and, more importantly, not necessary:

> I have been so much brought up among you that I unawares forgot myself as Hindoo, not in these points of ceremonies and Religion, where it is not possible to have a general agreement & where it is not at all necessary, but in matters which concerns the happiness of the people, and the advantage and the Reputation of the Government.[10]

Ragaviah anticipates in some ways Indian nationalist strategies of the latter part of the nineteenth century to shield matters relating to family, religion, and custom from public colonial scrutiny while demanding an increased governmental role for Indians to participate in.

Despite his sharp analysis of the confluence of knowledge production and the smooth functioning of the colonial government, Ragaviah remains loyal to the British government in India.

> No persuasion is required nor assurance wanted to induce the inhabitants of India to believe the truth of the good disposition and ardent desire of British Govt. to give security to their property and render them happy in every other respect. It is manifest that from this honorable and Human Principles that Courts of Justice have been established all over the country and other precautionary modes adopted to prevent abuses to these good intentions.[11]

However, through his cursory correspondence with Major-General William Kirkpatrick, we come to know of his often sharp criticism of Orientalist scholarship that emerged from Calcutta and the naïve writings of company officers trained at the College of Fort William.[12] In a passionate defense of Hinduism against an essay written by a

recent graduate of the College of Fort William, Ragaviah takes comfort in that "the British government in India have a better description of the People than what superficial information represents them to be."[13] He reproaches the upstart student (Mr Newnham) for failing to acknowledge how civil and inviting Indians are to strangers and points out that although the climate may take a toll on Indians physically, they are nevertheless eager to work and to serve the British government. Ragaviah's critique of the Calcutta Orientalists and the training that British officers were receiving at College of Fort William also points to the perceived difference of social and religious customs and practices in the Madras Presidency. Ragaviah calls for new intellectual work by the Indians and the British in Madras for furthering the cause of better understanding and governance. We can see Ragaviah's call as indicative of his own sense that south India posed intellectual questions that the work being produced in Calcutta could not answer. Furthermore, Ragaviah expresses his dissatisfaction with the direction that colonial policy was taking in the early decades of the nineteenth century with the establishment of the College of Fort William and the training of junior civil servants in the vernacular languages of India. Ragaviah doubts the usefulness of this policy and ultimately its effectiveness in facilitating the relations between the British and the Indians. Rather, he proposes that the British government in India should direct their attention and resources to the promotion of the English language and to encourage native Indians to acquire proficiency in it. The latter "will contribute very materially to approximate the manners and principles of the subjects to those of the rulers, that the attachment will be strengthened; esteem and friendship will be added to obedience and civility."[14]

His rhetorical style oscillates between the dutiful native subject appealing to the colonial government to address more fully the needs of Indians and the rebellious subject who clearly resents the instances of racist and cultural prejudices coming from colonial officers. In the latter guise, Ragaviah asserts that Indians, when insulted, do have the "spirit to resent it." However, they rightfully "seek redress by an appeal to a regular channel of Justice."[15] Thus, the translation of Hindu texts and a proper understanding of the laws and morals of Hindu society is necessary for an efficient government and the maintenance of civility and cordiality between Indians and the British. In proposing a literary society, Ragaviah offers up his services toward this goal and also suggests the names of several other notable Indians in and around Madras: "These people, of whom I beg leave to name is few, as Tirvarcadoo Mootiah, Gueriah, B. Sunkariah, Runganadem, &

Yagapa Chetty at Madras, C. Gopal Row & Narsid at Masulipatam might afford an essential service, each presenting the Society with a genuine Translation of such Poorana's or parts of them as may suit his inclination, abilities, & leisure."[16] His writings reveal his ties to intellectual life in Madras in the first decade of the nineteenth century. He was acquainted with Sir Thomas Strange, the chief justice of Madras, and addressed the proposal for a literary society in Madras to him and asked him to become its principle patron and guiding spirit. It seems that Strange communicated to Ragaviah the necessity of translating Hindu texts such as the Puranas; Ragaviah opens his proposal with "my recollection your Philanthropical intention the Poorana's translated, which you have been kind enough to communicate to me in conversation at Madras." He also refers to a text, *Mucti Chintamani*, given to him by Strange, which Ragaviah proceeded to translate.[17] It seems quite probable that Ragaviah provided considerable assistance in Strange's study of Hindu law on which he later published *Elements of Hindu Law* in 1826.

We get a glimpse of intellectual life in Madras from Ragaviah's letters and the motives he outlines for why a literary society would be critical for bringing together the intellectual talent and skills of both the British and the Indians in that presidency. We need to keep in mind that it was not until 1812 that the College of Fort St. George was founded and that it was not until 1818 that the Madras Literary Society was formally established with Sir John Newbolt, chief of justice in Madras, as its president.[18] On the surface, it would seem that Madras was slower to provide formal institutional spaces for intellectual work than were the other presidencies. However, even though it is of a later date, there seems to have been much passion by both native Indians as well as by British residents in Madras to initiate literary societies and libraries in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Bearing in mind John Leyden's remarks and Ragaviah's failed attempt to initiate a literary society in Madras that would be on par with the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta, we might not be too far off the mark if we come to the conclusion that relations between the British and Indians were rather caustic at this time. When Ragaviah approached Sir Thomas Strange in 1807, Madras was recovering from the scandals surrounding the Arcot debts, and Strange himself became embroiled in "acrimonious disputes." Reflecting on the tense atmosphere of the early decades of the nineteenth century in Madras, Rev. William Taylor commented that Strange "spoke with a fair measure of sense; but between every member of a sentence, and sometimes between every three or four words, there was a cough of very unpleasant

effect."[19] It was Mackenzie's acquaintance with Strange that brought Ragaviah's proposal into his hands, thus, linking Ragaviah's concerns over intellectual life in Madras with Mackenzie's own scholarly ambitions.[20] While Ragaviah appears in Mackenzie's journal, he does not take part in the making of the archive nor does he come into direct contact with Mackenzie's assistants. This rift might be indicative of the different intellectual circuits present in Madras. Ragaviah's correspondence with prominent colonial officials, Sir Thomas Strange and William Kirkpatrick, show his own intellectual ambitions as different from those of Mackenzie's assistants.

College of Fort St. George and Colin Mackenzie's Archival Project

Given that a number of Indian scholars worked closely with British counterparts in the newly formed College of Fort St. George, why were Mackenzie's assistants not part of its active intellectual life? While we know that Mackenzie was in contact with a number of Madras Orientalists, such as John Leyden and Francis W. Ellis, as well as with numerous British officials in and around Madras, we know little of what intellectual ties Mackenzie's assistants had to the college's native instructors. A dynamic group of Indian scholars was closely associated with the college. In particular, V. Pattabhirama Shastri and B. Sankaraiah were pivotal in conversations on south Indian languages with Orientalists such as Ellis and A. D. Campbell. In 1807, Ragaviah mentions Sankaraiah as being one of the prominent native Indians in Madras. Ragaviah also mentions Gopal Row of Masulipatam, with whom William Brown consulted on his Telugu grammar (submitted to the College of Fort St. George in 1809).[21] The grammar was subsequently harshly criticized by Sankaraiah. The tussle between William Brown and the college board occasioned discussions leading to the Dravidian proof, an episode dramatically narrated by Thomas Trautmann in *Languages and Nations*. To some extent, the college provided the kind of intellectual exchange between the British and Indians that Ragaviah had envisioned in his 1807 proposal. However, Ragaviah disappears from the colonial record by the time the college is established in 1812, leaving us to guess as to what intellectual work he may have been ultimately involved in. As we have seen, Ragaviah names some of the individuals who later become associated with intellectual work at the college, such as Sankaraiah and Gopal Row. The former developed into a close associate of Ellis as his *sheristadar* (head of staff at the Collectorate of Madras), and the latter became

someone whom the college board wanted to consult on the accuracy of William Brown's grammar of Telugu.

There were certainly interactions among Indian intellectuals in Madras, as seen in Ragaviah's proposal. Consider one Telugu scholar from Masulipatam, who was in contact with the college board regarding Brown's grammar: Mamadi Venkayya. Venkayya interestingly appears in the 1804 journal of Mackenzie's principal assistant, Kavali V. Lakshmayya, which reports on the possibilities of locating historical information in the region. Lakshmayya records that he received a letter from Venkayya on March 29, inquiring into a "curious account of the northern people [and] other valuable books according to my list which I sent him lately." Lakshmayya received another letter from Venkayya on September 24: 'I got a letter from the banion of muselopatum wherein he mentioned that he composing a true Gentoo dictionary for the use of the world as soon as it finished he promised that he proposed to get a copy of it for my master'.[22] Venkayya offers Mackenzie his dictionary, which becomes critical for Francis Ellis to build his case for the separate origin of the south Indian languages. What is intriguing in the exchange between Venkayya and Mackenzie is that we glimpse Mackenzie's own interest in south Indian languages. The exchange even suggests that Mackenzie may have been in conversation with Venkayya, who was responding through Lakshmayya to his interest in south Indian languages.

While the Mackenzie project and the work at the College of Fort St. George formed a distinctive Madras School of Orientalism that differed from the one in Calcutta, we may ask: What was the nature of the intellectual work conducted under the auspices of Mackenzie's archival project? Certainly, there were links between the work at the college in Madras and Mackenzie's archival project. Besides Venkayya's relations with Lakshmayya, there are references to Indian assistants who worked with Mackenzie moving on to the college in one manner or another. In 1812, we learn from A. D. Campbell, secretary to the Board of Superintendence for the College of Fort St. George, that the board only knew of one person in Madras "who has a Grammatical knowledge of this language [Malayalam] he is a *nair* (a caste group from Kerala) entertained by Lieutenant Colonel M Kenzie—and though in general constantly employed in aiding the researches of that Gentleman he has on this occasion, afforded the Board the benefit of his services."[23] The nair was needed to translate important documents from Travancore for the Madras government.

The movement of Mackenzie's translators between his researches and the college provide proof of the porous boundaries separating his

archival project from the intellectual work of the college patronized by the Madras government. Venkayya's presence in both spaces certainly suggests that the linguistic breakthroughs of the Madras Orientalists reflected a preoccupation in Madras with language, among natives and British alike. However, we must ask if the knowledge Mackenzie's assistants produced was different from what was coming out of the college, and if so, what was the nature of that difference? What qualities made their intellectual work distinctive? By analysing the work the Kavali brothers did for Mackenzie, I hope to disaggregate the interactions of the brothers within a wider set of individuals and institutions in the Madras Presidency and to understand their distinct contribution to intellectual life in early colonial Madras.

The Kavali Brothers

Mackenzie's most prominent assistants undoubtedly were Kavali Venkata Borayya and Kavali Venkata Lakshmayya.[24] The two worked very closely with Mackenzie from the very beginning of Mackenzie's survey tours in southern India. Borayya was his primary interpreter/translator, and when he died in 1803, his younger brother Lakshmayya took his place. Borayya anticipated and carefully prepared for Mackenzie's arrival in different towns and villages by appeasing the local Brahmins and assuring them that the knowledge that Mackenzie was after was neither dangerous nor detrimental to them in any way. Borayya also provided structure to Mackenzie's historical researches. Plans drawn up by Borayya himself give us a glimpse into what he thought was useful historical knowledge. Judging from the translations he provided for Mackenzie, he was fluent in Telugu, Marathi, and Kannada.

Mackenzie employed five Kavali brothers in all: Borayya, Lakshmayya, and Ramaswami were the most prominent, and two others—Narasimhalu (Naraseemoloo) and Sitayya (Seetiah)—appear in Lakshmayya's journals as assistants working directly under him. However, it seems that Mackenzie was only aware of four brothers.[25] He may not have had contact with the latter two as much as with Borayya, Lakshmayya, and Ramaswami. Mackenzie's researches also involved other relatives of the Kavalis. Lakshmayya mentions relations of his at the Arcot court (Seetaramia), his father-in-law in Kondapalli and another relation named Pavane Venkcata Soobia, who was prominently placed in Kalahasti. Clearly, Lakshmayya's familial ties stretched to a number of administrative posts around the Madras Presidency.

The Kavalis were Niyogi Brahmins settled in Ellore, in West Godavari District of present-day Andhra Pradesh.[26] However, it seems

Borayya was schooled in Masulipatam, where he also took up his first official post as a writer in the Office of the Military Paymaster.[27] Ellore and Masulipatam were part of the territories known as the Northern Circars in northeastern Andhra Pradesh. The Northern Circars also included Kondapalli, where Lakshmayya's father-in-law resided and from where he sent historical information. Masulipatam had become an important port city during the reign of the Qutb Shahi Sultanate of Golkonda (1518–1687), but when it declined in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Europeans had shifted their commercial activities to other ports in the Bay of Bengal. Because the brothers were from the coastal areas of Andhra, they would have witnessed the competing political and commercial interests that characterized the area during the latter half of the eighteenth century. The Northern Circars came under the rule of the Sultanate in the sixteenth century, and in 1687, when the Golkonda Sultanate was defeated, they came under the control of the Mughals and were passed on to Asaf Jahis of Hyderabad in 1724. When the Nizam of Hyderabad was in cooperation with the French, the Northern Circars were virtually handed over to them in 1754. The principle *zamindars* of the coastal regions (the Rajas of Vizianagaram, Bobbili, and Peddapur) acquiesced to French power when they were made *mansabdars* (a rank greater than a mere zamindar landholder's—mansabdars were ranked nobles in the imperial system developed by the Mughals). Soon the alliance between the French and the coastal zamindars fell apart, and the latter called in the British to help them defeat the French: one of the battlefields was Masulipatam, in 1759.

Masulipatam was familiar territory for the Kavali brothers. Not only was Borayya schooled there, but both Lakshmayya and Ramaswami became involved in an acrimonious dispute there between 1816 and 1818, when a civil suit was brought against Lakshmayya in the Supreme Court. This dispute, and the behavior of both brothers during it, left them in disfavor with the Madras government. In 1816, it seems that the Board of Revenue was acting to dispossess one Seetummal (widow of Ramachundra Appa Row) of her zamindari of "Nauzet" in the "Zillah of Masulipatam" after her husband died. Lakshmayya claimed to Seetummal that he had influence with the board and that he would try to get her back the zamindari. One Nursimma Charry, on behalf of Seetummal, advanced an amount of 6,000 pagodas to Lakshmayya. When Seetummal did not get back her property, Nursimma Charry took the dispute to the Supreme Court in 1818. The verdict came down against Lakshmayya, and he was to pay back the remaining 4,000

pagodas (it seems he may have returned 2,000 earlier). Meanwhile, Ramaswami brought perjury charges against Nursimma Charry that the Grand Jury threw out because of "false and contradictory evidence." When the Madras government learned of this incident, they recommended that Ramaswami be dismissed and that his monthly pension of 25 pagodas from the Office of the Surveyor General be withheld. Furthermore, the collector of Masulipatam deemed illegitimate a claim by Lakshmayya that his family had possessed the village of Satyavole for generations.[28]

Both Lakshmayya and Ramaswami did eventually recover favor with the Madras government. In 1827, when Lakshmayya arrived in Madras, he wrote to the government asking it to grant him and Ramaswami marks of distinction for their services. His request was supported with letters from the Board of Revenue and the "Supreme Government" in Calcutta. The board asked Lakshmayya what marks of service he considered were appropriate for him. He responded with a number of items: "a pair of valuable shawls, a Palankeen [palanquin] with the usual allowance; a pair of silver Chapdar sticks, with the requisite allowance for the Chapdars, and Umbrella, with an allowance for the bearer, and an allowance for two Musaljees: and that these allowance may be granted to him for 3 lives." The board in response requested the Madras government to bestow marks of distinction upon Lakshmayya that were appropriate to the "usages of this Presidency." The highest reward of service for "Civil officers of the first rank on this establishment is the grant of a Shotrium, which Vencata Lutchmiah has already obtained, and the highest additional honorary distinction…is the present of a Palankeen, accompanied by the grant of an allowance for its establishment."[29] The grant of Shotrium for three years that Lakshmayya had obtained earlier was the *Jagir* (territory) of "Tenanoore."[30] He was also given a monthly pension of 300 rupees as head of the Native Establishment of the late Surveyor General Colonel Mackenzie. The palanquin was purchased and presented to him in 1827, and his claim that the village of Satyavole was his ancestral property was finally rejected. Ramaswami was not granted a palanquin (with its allowance) from the office of the surveyor general as it exceeded the amount of his pension. However, the Board of Revenue did decide to present Ramaswami with a pair of shawls as marks of favor. Apparently, when Mackenzie's establishment in Calcutta broke up, Ramaswami was granted a monthly pension of sixty rupees for life.[31]

Drawing on the historical memory of the Deccan, Ramaswami writes that his family had traditionally been ambassadors to the Vijayanagara Court.[32] As Niyogi Brahmins, they were employed in

nonreligious work, and Ramaswami himself tells us that they worked in occupations more elevated than the *karanam* (village accountant). His boasting of his family position also gives us a sense of the family's self-identification with past courtly traditions. Certainly, Ramaswami's ambitions as a writer were bound up with this elevated lineage that he projected for himself. It also indicates that the Kavalis did not see themselves as mere clerks. In fact, Ramaswami praises his older brother Borayya and his poetic talents and raises him to the status of an accomplished poet of the Deccan.

Borayya is the first of the brothers whom we encounter in Mackenzie's journals, and he was apprenticed to him around 1796 after Mackenzie returned from an expedition in Ceylon. Borayya remained as his head interpreter until his death in 1803. We know little about how he died, but on several occasions, Mackenzie expressed the loss he felt. Borayya was replaced by his younger brother, Lakshmayya, as head interpreter, and Mackenzie was clearly grateful for Lakshmayya's perseverance in conducting historical inquiries and recruiting, training, and directing a number of assistants in the vast archival project:

> The translations from Sanscrit, Canara &c., into English since 1803 were done by C. V. Lechmyah Bramin Chief Interpreter to the Survey; those previous to that year by the deceased C. V. Boria—to the indefatigable industry, genius & unremitted application of these brothers the Results of these Investigations are much owing, not only by their own successful cultivation of the Canara, Sanscrit & Maratta Languages in their respective branches; but in its encouragement to other Natives employed in this Service.[33]

As early as 1797, Mackenzie had mentioned Borayya in his journal as they made preparations for an expedition to Amaravati:

> In consequence of notices received at Ongole, I determined to call at Amresvaram [present day Amaravati] to see the antiquities lately discovered there, as the place is near the banks of the Crishna, and we could reach the place whither our tents were to be sent early in the day. I therefore, dispatched my interpreter Boria, accompanied by some Brahmens and two Sepahis, in the evening to Amresvaram, with directions to make some previous inquiries into the history of the place: and to conciliate the inhabitants; particularly the Brahmens, who are apt to be alarmed on these occasions.[34]

In this passage, we get a sense of the kind of assistance that Borayya provided for Mackenzie. As indicated, both Brahmins and soldiers

accompanied Borayya to Amaravati in order to appease the resident Brahmins who Mackenzie thought might resist their historical inquiries. Mackenzie was shrewd to employ Brahmins who could act as mediators with their own caste. This gives us a sense of the intricate network of Brahmins that Mackenzie tapped into.

Borayya, the Historian-Ethnographer

Borayya accompanied Mackenzie into the Mysore territories after the fall of Seringapatnam in 1799. His younger brother, Ramaswami, the author of *Biographical Sketches of Dekkan Poets and Sketches* (1829) and *Description of Dekkan Cities* (1828), records that Borayya accompanied Mackenzie during the campaign of 1798 against Tipu Sultan and that during this time he kept a journal. Apparently a zamindar in the Nizam's dominions plundered Mackenzie's papers and Borayya was asked to recover them. While executing this task that was given to him by Mackenzie, Borayya was imprisoned, denied food, and treated harshly. However, according to Ramaswami, he was released on account of his poetic talents and "conciliatory behaviour." After this incident, he accompanied Mackenzie to Seringapatam and "was present at the storming and capture of that fortress, and described all the incidents attending it in animated versification: the planting of the British colours on the ramparts, was excellently described."[35] In his travels, accompanying Mackenzie, Borrayya collected a number of oral accounts of those regions. One interesting account that he obtained from interviews on the spot from Anegundi was the "Account of the Present State of the Anagoondy Country."[36] In his journals, Mackenzie attributes this narration to Borayya and also indicates that Maratha and Kannada Brahmins assisted him by collecting inscriptions and oral testimonies. Mackenzie writes that he himself directed the interviews, but concedes that parts of the written account came from the materials themselves. However, Borayya inserts himself into the narrative when he explains: "Anagoondy was in ancient times called Kishindapatam & was the capital place of Vallee & Soogreeva Kings of the Apes, whose story is mentioned at length in the book of Ramayanum. This tale may perhaps have its origin in the great numbers of apes & monkies still found in these hills." Borayya thus offers an explanation for the origin of the stories by linking the natural environment with the emergence of narrative traditions.

While Borayya provided reliable translation work, he also drew up outlines of plans for historical inquiries that would lead to a more comprehensive history of the Carnatic. Borayya's broadly conceived

understanding of historical knowledge was inclusive of religious and anthropological knowledge of the region. In Mackenzie's journals he appears as a budding ethnographer of sorts. In one instance, he conducts extensive interviews for Mackenzie in Mysore and Mudgeri on the Jains and their books. His "Account of the Jains" that appeared in the *Asiatic Researches* in 1809 covers a great deal of the customs and manners of the Jains.[37] Mackenzie appears in the footnotes of Borayya's account and attaches extracts from his own journal from February 24, 1797, at its end.[38] Mackenzie's publication of his findings on Jainism in south India was of major importance. H. H. Wilson commented: "The papers relating to the Jains were the most novel and important, and first brought to notice the existence of a Sect, which is very extensively dispersed throughout India, and includes a considerable portion of its most respectable and opulent natives."[39]

Judging from the use of the third-person narrative in referring to the Jains, Borayya probably assembled the account from interviews with the "priest" at Mudgeri. He intersperses the account with quotations from Jain texts that elucidate Jain rites, rituals, and beliefs. Such accounts were common during this period when information was being compiled by the British, for the British, on the peoples and cultures they were encountering in their Indian territories. Mackenzie's native assistants were readily providing him with local accounts of religious practices. Borayya, in another instance of ethnographic fieldwork, interviews the Boyas, a tribe spread across the present-day Indian states of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. Mackenzie had asked him to inquire into the tribe's origins and their present conditions and wrote at the beginning of Borayya's narrative:

> The great numbers of Boya people that appear in the population of the Northern Districts of the late Mysore dominion having induced me to direct some enquiry to be made regarding their origin, customs, and present situation; the following is the result of some communications with persons of some intelligence among them, compared with further information in the progress of my journey. I have chosen to confine this to nearly a literal translation of the original both to give some idea of the sentiments of the natives and because my time does not yet admit of more minute details from my own observations or investigations into the history of their Rajahs. The present may in the mean time serve as a foundation for further enquiry.[40]

Figure 3.1 A low-ranking Boya from Chitradurg, June 1800, WD1069, f.29, June 1800 (OIOC), Mackenzie Collection, © The British Library Board.

Table 3.1 Kavali Venkata Borayya's 1802 plan for a history of the Carnatic

1.	Of God and of the Davatas
2.	Of the Creation of the Universe, the Elements etc. of Mankind
3.	Of Chronology
4.	Of the Ancient Kings in the early ages
5.	Of the Present Age or Callee Yoog
6.	Of the Origin of the 4 Castes of the Hindoos of the inferior Tribes, Customs etc.
7.	Regulations, Laws, & Customs of the present age
8.	Of the Division, Extent, Limits etc. of the 56 Desoms
9.	History of the World & Rajahs since the Commencement of the Callee Yoog
10.	Account of the Carnatic Dominion
11.	Of the Religion of the Carnatic
12.	View of the Customs & peculiar manners of the Carnatic compared with other Countries of India
13.	Of the Carnatic; Towns, Forts, Rivers, Pagodas, Woods, Animals, Productions etc.
14.	Of Regulations, Civil, Military, & Commercial of the Carnatic in Ancient & Modern times.
15.	Of the Frontier & Boundaries of the Carnatic, Ancient & Modern with Notices of the principal Forts, Ports, Towns etc.
16.	Of the Natural Productions, Manufactures, Minerals etc. of the Carnatic.
17.	Of the Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Woods etc. & Division into Balla Ghaat & Payen Ghaat.
18.	Of the Learning Letters, Inscriptions, Alphabets or Written Characters, Books, Languages of the Carnatic.
19.	Of the most remarkable Poets, Authors, Caveeswars & men of letters that have flourished in the Carnatic with Notices of their Lives & Works.
20.	Particular account of the most Ancient & Modern Buildings, most remarkable Pagodas, Temples, Palaces & their origin & other Ancient Monuments.
21.	Account of the various Inferior Tribes & Hill People their Customs, Laws & Regulations.
22.	Of the History of the Carnatic subdivided as follows
23.	Origin, Rise & Decline of the Jain Religion & Empire.

Continued

Table 3.1 Continued

24. History of the Carnatic Hindoo Kings from Ancient to Modern time, of the Kings of Worungull, of the Beejanagur Rayeets, the Kings of Madura, Callian, Marattas of Ginjee, Tanjore etc.
25. Of the Mharatta History Ancient and Modern Deogurr etc.
26. Of the History of Mysore, Bednore, Trichinopoly etc.
27. The History of the Mahomedan Conquerors & States established in different divisions of the Carnatic & Duckan from the Commencement with the Bahamanee Kings down to Aulum Geer & thence to the present Nizam.
28. The Life of Hyder and his Conquests on the Frontier Dominion.
29. The History of Tippoo Sultan to his death.
30. The Establishment of the British Government in the Carnatic.
31. Of the Extent, Situation, Divisions of Countries lately acquired by Cession or Conquest to the British Government & to its Allies.
32. Of the Climate, Seasons, Soils etc.
33. Of the Sea Ports, Foreign Commerce, Exports & Imports by Sea
34. Of the Internal Commerce. Manufacturers & Commercial Productions.
35. Miscellaneous—Ancient Buildings—Veraloo—Boya—Palli—etc. etc.

Source: OIOC, Mackenzie Collection, General, 9/1, *Paper submitted to me by C. Boria Bramin. Heads under which a History of the Carnatic may be composed viz.: October 30*th*, 1802.*

While Borayya provided Mackenzie with the account, he adds his own perspectives and describes the Boyas as descendents of Valmiki because, he says, they slept with women of Valmiki's caste. He also states that they dwelt in forests and ate the flesh of animals. He claims they had no cultivated arts to speak of, but says that the more refined tribes (those that became powerful and ruled kingdoms) reformed themselves and stopped eating meat. A more important document Borayya produced for Mackenzie was a paper he submitted to him in 1802, an outline for a rather ambitious history of the Carnatic (see Table 3.1).[41]

The plan is extensive, spanning the history of the regions from ancient to modern times. It was to include explanations of customs and religious practices, and the architectural, literary, and political history of the "Carnatic" and its surroundings. The first dynasty Borayya names as important is the Kakatiya dynasty. This is followed by the Vijayanagara Empire, the Nayakas, the Bahmani Sultanate, the reign of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan, the Nizam, and finally the

British establishment in the region. The plan emphasizes the need to obtain information on the seaports, cities, and towns, and mentions the region's manufacturing and commerce. If Borayya had carried the plan through, he would have composed a voluminous history of India that would have competed with the tomes of Orme, Wilks, and Malcolm. This would have pleased the British for its attention to detail and chronology and to local particularities of south India's peoples, cultures, and religious practices. Moreover, it would have diverged from the sorts of historical narratives that the British were collecting from village karanams throughout the region.

It was Borayya's "conciliatory talents" that Mackenzie relied upon in his encounters with natives in the Carnatic. He not only felt grateful to Borayya for his talents of mediation but also considered himself "indebted for following up with effect, the Plan traced and by his Brothers for investigating the Civil and Religious Institutions of these Countries".[42] These personal debts that he felt for both Borayya and Lakshmayya increased his loyalty to them, especially in taking up their interests with the East India Company (EIC). In a letter to the government at Madras, Mackenzie wrote on the necessity of recognizing the work of his native assistants: "The Public advantage of encouraging Natives, who have, as in this case, distinguished themselves by uncommon assiduity and attachment to our establishment for 13 years, under my immediate inspection, and under Circumstances of peculiar inconvenience and some times of distress without any advantage."[43] After Mackenzie's death, we find his very close friend Alexander Johnston taking on the task of explaining to the company's Court of Directors the worth of Mackenzie's historical project as well as the talents of his native assistants.

Lakshmayya, the Antiquarian

When Borayya died in 1803, his younger brother Lakshmayya took on the important role of Mackenzie's principal interpreter. Lakshmayya appears in Mackenzie's journals, which were started in 1802 with the translation of Kannada and Telugu manuscripts and inscriptions into English. Lakshmayya spent a considerable portion of 1802 in Nellore collecting manuscripts, interviewing local Brahmins regarding their views on whom they considered accomplished poets, collecting information on local libraries and their contents, and finally, on translation work. His work on the Mackenzie project was considerable and consistent in nature. Mackenzie's historical inquiries began with one or two interpreters, but by the first decade of the

nineteenth century the number of assistants had notably increased, judging from the entries in Mackenzie's journals. Lakshmayya, after 1803, began to manage and direct the other assistants and kept a journal of his communication with them to relate back to Mackenzie. In 1804, Lakshmayya was in contact with Narrain Row in Tirupati, Vincataroyloo Bramin, Madiara, Turoomalarow and Seetaramia in Arcot, Kylasapaty in Madurai, Bramin Mutala Narayana in Cuddalore, Mahamud Hoonoma in Black Town and Moonishey MurragarCawn and Maumade Vinkia in Masulipatam. Some of these men, including-Narrain Row, Madiara, and Kylaspaty were his assistants, while the others were men he made contact with for acquiring manuscripts. In his journal, Lakshmayya narrates the ways in which he goes about acquiring a manuscript, from hearing about a text from one contact and getting a hold of it to settling with the owner (or their liaison) on how to make a copy or purchase it.

Besides his work on the *kaniyatchi* (hereditary property in lands), one of Lakshmayya's substantial contributions to Mackenzie's historical inquiries was his work at Mahabalipuram.[44] Mackenzie sent him there in 1803 with instructions on how to conduct historical investigations. These instructions are in striking contrast to those issued to Borayya, which reveal Mackenzie's relationship with Borayya. The latter's contributions show a spirit of independence that was not found in Lakshmayya's work. We learn from Lakshmayya's journals and letters that he is far more dependent on Mackenzie, which is not to say that he lacked confidence in his work. Their relationship is telling regarding the way in which Lakshmayya viewed his own role. He was exceptional at managing Mackenzie's day-to-day affairs.

After Mackenzie's death in May 1821, Lakshmayya began to appear more frequently in the public records of the colonial archive. He stayed on in Calcutta to oversee Mackenzie's archive and to help H. H. Wilson in his catalog of the collection. In 1827, when Lakshmayya returned to Madras, he wrote to the Madras government: "I humbly entreat you to inform the Honorable the Governor in Council of my arrival at this Presidency.'"[45] C. P. Brown mentions that he became acquainted with Lakshmayya in March 1829.[46] After Wilson published his catalog in 1828, the manuscripts were sent from Calcutta to Madras in the care of Kavali V. Ramaswami. Lakshmayya, after establishing himself in Madras, spent a considerable amount of his time in the pursuit of reviving Mackenzie's historical researches. In 1833, in an earnest request to the Madras government, he wrote on the necessity of restarting the

collection of historical materials:

> I most humble beg leave to take the liberty to submit these following few lines to the benign notice of your Excellency as it appears from the Communication, that the Royal Asiatic Society of the Literature of London is very desirous to Collect more Materials relating to the General History, Drama, Pictorial, and Sculptural as well as the arts and Sciences in aid of researches carried by me in the time of my late lamented Master Colonel—C. Mackenzie, under his Superintendence to complete his valuable collection.[47]

Lakshmayya did receive encouragement from the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (henceforth referred to as the Royal Asiatic Society), particularly through the testimony of Alexander Johnston. In his extensive letter to the Madras government, Lakshmayya points to this support from the society, but also draws attention to the urgency of his request to restart Mackenzie's researches.

> As I wish to expedite their wish in the mean time as well as I could from the different Quarters of the Peninsula, until the final orders come out from home to sanction a sufficient Establishment by the Government for the quick progress of the completion of the above alluded Collection . . . I therefore humbly solicit the permission of the Governor in Council to circulate the Orders to all the authorities, Civil, Judicial, and Military & of the different Zillahs under this Presidency, to furnish me every requisite informations [sic] on my applications to them and to pass all my communications on the foregoing subject free of Postage.[48]

Official cooperation from the colonial administration was necessary to continue the archival project. Lakshmayya clearly relied on the old networks that he himself had cultivated under Mackenzie's patronage. However, after Mackenzie's death, his efforts met with a lukewarm response from the Madras government.

From his numerous appearances in the public records in Madras, we can conclude that this setback did not prevent Lakshmayya from maintaining an active intellectual life. In 1835, he once again approached the government for support. This time he employed a different tactic; rather than ask the government to place complete trust in him as a lone individual to continue Mackenzie's research, he decided to found the Madras Hindu Literary Society as a way to

draw financial support for his intellectual pursuits. Now his focus expanded beyond the more narrow goals of the historical researches initiated by Mackenzie to include larger goals for the native populations of Madras. The two goals were nevertheless interrelated in that an institution of this kind could train native students to undertake historical and literary research themselves. Lakshmayya founded the Society "for the attainment of Literary Researches, in this part of the Country as well as to disseminate scientific knowledge in the English and Oriental Languages to our youths, for which purpose the Madras Hindoo Literary Society have established four seminaries for instruction in English, Sanscrit, Tellinga and Tamul."[49] The move from seeking individual patronage to requesting institutional patronage was significant. The society's purposes were to enrich native youth and to give them instruction in languages, which included English, and to disseminate scientific knowledge. Its expansive goals show Lakshmayya's own transformation from being just an assistant in Mackenzie's project to someone concerned with the progress of the Madras native population. He further states,

> Many of the respectable Natives are watching a favorable opportunity to observe to what extent the Government will bestow their aid towards the support of this Society, and unless the Government are graciously pleased to forward its interests with their patronizing care, I feel confident that the exertions of the Natives would be lukewarm and of little or no utility in prosecuting the various objects for which the Society was established.[50]

Government support of native intellectual endeavors is critical in Lakshmayya's eyes, especially toward cultivating a trust of sorts between the government and the native population. What seems buried beneath Lakshmayya's polite prose is a plea for native advancement in the Madras Presidency. In the same letter, he alludes to what he perceived to be the higher position of natives in Calcutta. The establishment of the Madras Hindu Literary Society and consistent governmental support, he believed, would lead the natives of Madras toward a future with more opportunities.

In his 1833 letter to the government, Lakshmayya, from his tone, seemed quite confident that he would be able to continue the research started by Mackenzie. He was encouraged by the Royal Asiatic Society's support for setting up a native literary society. Much of the encouragement seemed to have come from Alexander Johnston, who acted as a mediator between Lakshmayya, on the

one hand, and the Board of Control and the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, on the other. Johnston appealed to the government to soften its attitude toward learned native Indians.[51] He made a case for why native institutions of learning and literary pursuits needed government encouragement, and he proceeded to name native Indians who had excelled in such pursuits:

> These decisive proofs of the respect entertained for literature and science by the Hindus in ancient times, and the universal desire of improvement shewn by the most respectable and enlightened of their descendants in modern times, convinced me long ago that it would be very easy, and very desirable for the British Government by proper encouragement to revive amongst the present race of Hindus throughout the Peninsula, that love of science and literature which prevailed amongst their ancestors during the most brilliant period of their history; and I am confirmed in this opinion by the conduct of an Honorary Member of this Society, the late Raja of Tanjore, the well known Patron of European arts, Sciences, and Literature; and by that of three of its most efficient Corresponding Members—Cavelly Vencata Lutchmiah, the old friend and faithful servant of the late Colonel McKenzie, who has devoted the greatest part of his life to the collection of authentic materials for a general history of his country; Ram Raz, the late Native Judge in the Mysore, who wrote for, in English, and presented to the Asiatic Society, a most valuable treatise on the Hindu system of architecture, and Ramaswamy Mudeliar, a considerable proprietor of land in the province of Trichinopoly, who with a spirit of liberality which would do honor to the most enlightened land holder of this, or of any other country in Europe, after expending a large sum of money on the improvements of an island of which he was the proprietor, in the river Cavery, and constructing a stone bridge of 1000 feet over a branch of that river, last year presented to the Asiatic Society in this Country, by way of illustrating the principle upon which bridges are constructed according to the ancient usage of the Hindus, a most ingenious model in wood of that bridge, and a most interesting account, written in English, by himself, of the object and extent of his different improvements.[52]

Johnston's testimony spoke to the high regard he held for Indian intellectuals and his own passion for fostering intellectual life in Madras. In the letter, he mentions having testified on the nature and value of the collection made by Mackenzie to the sub-committee

of the House of Commons two years before, which led to the EIC's purchase of the collection for £10,000. Johnston also argued for the need to continue the historical researches, begun by Mackenzie, by a qualified person in order to "throw so much light upon the History, Religion, antiquities, Manners, Laws, and Usages of the Hindus of the Southern Peninsula of India."[53] He, in fact, had a qualified person in mind: "Cavelly Vencata Lutchmiah, the venerable Brahmin who with so much ability and perseverance assisted Colonel McKenzie in making that collection."[54] Johnston had written to Lakshmayya to encourage him to continue his historical and literary researches by forming literary societies by drawing together "Hindus of Madras" and "those of the principal places of the Peninsula of India."[55]

The secretary of the Asiatic Society, J. Prinsep, responded in 1836 that Lakshmayya's proposal to continue the researches that had been initiated by Mackenzie was an undertaking unsuited for a native. He wrote: "That such an extensive scheme would need the control of a Master head accustomed to generalization and capable of estimating the value and drift of inscription and legendary evidence—It would be hard to expect the requisite qualifications for such an undertaking in any Native, nor can we pronounce Cavelly Venkata an exception judging by the "Abstract" he has submitted to Government." James Prinsep, who was crucial for the development of Indian epigraphy, doubted Lakshmayya's ability to continue Mackenzie's project. The Asiatic Society of Bengal seemed reluctant to allow Lakshmayya to take over Mackenzie's project, while the Royal Asiatic Society in London seemed more impressed with Lakshmayya's work and his commitment to Mackenzie's researches and with his own intellectual pursuits in Madras. Instead of Lakshmayya, in 1837, Prinsep proposed Rev. William Taylor as an appropriate person to sort through Mackenzie's journals and papers to make them accessible to researchers. Taylor's remarks on Mackenzie and his assistants reveal a regrettably unsympathetic view of the latter and their work:

> It appears that Major McKenzie sent out three or four agents to travel in different directions; in the Malayalam country; in the Tamil and Telugu countries; and in the Canarese country, newly made over to the British, and termed the Ceded Districts. These agents were furnished with a string of questions, to guide their inquires; bearing on past history, and antiquities; and especially regarding temples, tanks, reservoirs, inscriptions; inclusive of groves, and natural productions, such as different kinds of grain . . . It would seem that these agents wanted sufficient expansion of mind to

> comprehend the spirit of their instructions; and, as to the letter, an attention to minutiae prevailed. It becomes tiresome to note the number of tanks, and of trees particularized, and the kinds of corn; while a few vague traditions suffice for the historical portion: possibly they could glean nothing better.[56]

The negative judgments on Lakshmayya and his abilities by Prinsep (as secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal) and Taylor stand in striking contrast to those of Johnston and the Royal Asiatic Society and their encouragement of native intellectuals. We would not even have encountered Lakshmayya in the colonial record after Mackenzie's death in 1821 had it not been for Lakshmayya's persistent efforts in continuing the antiquarian researches begun by Mackenzie and his older brother, Borayya. Lakshmayya, in fact, was the true successor to Mackenzie and his archival project. Even more so than Borayya, it was Lakshmayya's antiquarian sensibilities that were a closer parallel to Mackenzie's. However, because of the colonial state's distrust of a native's ability to continue such historical research without the powers of abstraction as implied by James Prinsep, Lakshmayya was, in effect, prevented from completing Mackenzie's archival project. The colonial public was by no means a medium for the free exchange of ideas between natives and Europeans. Prinsep's distrust of Lakshmayya is reminiscent of John Leyden's remarks (quoted at the beginning of this chapter) where he points to the often tense relations between natives and Europeans in colonial Madras. Lakshmayya's appearance in the colonial record after Mackenzie's death shows his vulnerabilities as a native who is without a European patron.

Ramaswami, the Writer

Meanwhile, Kavali Venkata Ramaswami, the youngest of the three brothers, became a prolific writer. Ramaswami is remarkable for his accomplishments. While Lakshmayya attempted to carry on his antiquarian research through a variety of means in Madras and faced severe setbacks in those efforts, Ramaswami managed to bring to publication three significant books in the early colonial period. He wrote two important books based on his travels and researches with Mackenzie. The first is a book called *Descriptive and Historical Sketches of Cities and Places in the Dekkan; to which is Prefixed an Introduction Containing a Brief Description of the Southern Peninsula, etc.,* which was published in 1828, around seven years after Mackenzie died. In this extremely rich text, Ramaswami extols the virtues of creating an

archive of historical records, repeating what Mackenzie and English historians before him had expressed, that there needed to be a way to counter the dearth of existing material. Reflecting on his travels with Mackenzie, Ramaswami seems quite proud to have been part of the project of creating an archive for south India. He writes that besides collecting literary materials, they also collected oral testimonies and legends as supporting evidence to strengthen the other materials. One reason given by Ramaswami for the dearth of records, both textual and physical (architectural remains), was that religious and philosophic factions would destroy the writings and monuments of their opponents in order to propagate their own views. Often governments did the same to one another. To this, Ramaswami adds a curious note:

> But the conquest of these regions is recorded in poetical works, which forcibly exemplifies the superiority of literature over the monuments of art; for the envious prince could dilapidate pillars of victory, and rage to the ground triumphal columns, but he had not power or influence enough to expunge the records of conquest from the works of eminent authors, or to stop the pen of those writers, who have transmitted down to posterity the name of the victor.[57]

When poets were memorializing a conquest and the name of the victor, they were in fact legitimizing their patron's power. Ramaswami goes on to provide an explanation of the superior nature of literary records. Literature, he wrote, provided a historical record of sorts, one even greater and more enduring than monuments or stone records. This is because, in Ramaswami's eyes, the written word lives on beyond the years of a particular ruler. Even during those turbulent moments of a transfer of power, the written text is more difficult to destroy than are public monuments in stone. Ramaswami recognizes an important aspect of historiography in Indian traditions: history was often recorded in poetical form, and furthermore, works of art—textual or physical—were legitimate historical records. While for Mackenzie and other European scholars this showed the lack of historical sensibility in Indian textual traditions, for Ramaswami, the preservation of history in poetical forms was of obvious importance. It assured the survival of historical records as poetry or works of art in general that would withstand the test of time (and political revolutions). His 1828 book on cities was published at the same time as Wilson's catalog of the Mackenzie collection.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OF

Dekkan Poets,

BEING

MEMOIRS OF THE LIVES

OF SEVERAL

EMINENT BARDS,

BOTH ANCIENT AND MODERN,

WHO HAVE FLOURISHED

IN

DIFFERENT PROVINCES

OF THE

INDIAN PENINSULA,

COMPILED FROM AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS,

BY

CAVELLY VENKATA RAMASWAMIE,

LATE HEAD TRANSLATOR AND PUNDIT IN THE LITERARY AND ANTIQUARIAN DEPARTMENT.

CALCUTTA :—1829.

Figure 3.2 Title page of Kavali Venkata Ramaswami's *Biographical Sketches of Dekkan Poets*, 1829, Shelfmark 817.b.24, © The British Library Board.

In 1829, Ramaswami published a second book called *Biographical Sketches of Dekkan Poets, Being Memoirs of the Lives of Several Eminent Bards, Both Ancient and Modern Who Have Flourished in Different Provinces of the Indian Peninsula, Compiled from Authentic Documents*. Here too, Ramaswami writes of his indebtedness to Mackenzie: "The materials to compile the present biographical sketches were collected by me while I followed in an official capacity through different provinces of the Peninsula, my late lamented master Col. Colin Mackenzie, surveyor General of India."[58] Ramaswami begins his book on the poets of the Dekkan with the following passage:

> According to Aristotle all poetry consists in imitation, and if we allow the remarks of Hermogenes to be true, that whatever is delightful to the senses produces the beautiful, we could not pitch on a spot of the world more abundant in natural objects to excite poetic effusions, than the Peninsula of India, where the face of nature is furnished with features that strike the imagination with scenes, the most sublime, imposing, and delightful, so as to raise all human powers of fancy to an elevation that exalts them to the very sublime, and beautiful: there have consequently been several very eminent bards, who have flourished at different periods in India.[59]

Ramaswami displays his knowledge of European Romanticist sensibilities in order to announce to his audience that India is in fact rich with poetry and poetic traditions. He then goes on to write that in most courtly traditions, the poet and the historian were essential. The former for writing "genealogy, martial deeds and other actions" while the latter for being placed in a royal court to "record transactions, and expound the histories of celebrated dynasties."[60] The poet and the historian, in Ramaswami's mind, seem to have overlapping and related functions. Ramaswami then proceeds to write on the origins of poetry in the vernaculars in India and the relationship between Sanskrit and the vernaculars. He states that the arts and sciences were introduced into the Dekkan from the north of India through the Sanskrit language. Sanskrit was subsequently cultivated in the south and flourished in the different regions. Although, Ramswami writes, Sanskrit was a dead language, it was used by various courts in the south to "write down public records, and in deeds of gift, or grants of land to bramins."[61] Whereas the great dynasties of the south used Sanskrit for recording deeds and land grants as well as for poetic compositions, the vernacular languages too were patronized

by the courts. Ramaswami states that besides the great kings who patronized poets, "The Nayogi bramins, who held official appointments, as ministers, ambassadors, and village accountants liberally patronized poets and many individuals of talents were maintained by them."[62] Ramaswami acknowledges that Niyogi Brahmins were also essential to the patronage of poetic compositions as well as for maintaining historical records in the Dekkan.

His preface, however, ends on a very self-deprecating note, reflecting at once the tremendous pressure he must have felt from writing in English and from allowing himself to be judged by a colonial "public":

> The manner in which I have executed the task I have undertaken I leave an enlightened public to judge, well knowing they will not expect well turned periods, or elegance of diction from the pen of a native; some topographical errors will be found in this Work, which my harassed state of mind has prevented me correcting and, I implore the indulgence of the public towards a native who has endeavored to merit approbation.[63]

He states that the biographical sketches derive from "the records as I received them, and find them, acknowledged by the most learned men who have written on Hindu Theology, and leave it to the candor of the English reader, to whom this work is principally addressed."[64] The colonial public in British India came to exist as a complexly differentiated space in which Europeans and Indians interacted with a great deal of trepidation and tension—with the constant danger of delegitimization. It was a new discursive space of exchange where Europeans became vulnerable to critiques formulated by Indians. Indians, on the other hand, often took on the burden of justifying indigenous society and culture, whether they were in support of or criticized British rule. The project of translating indigenous concepts was primary. The new arena was enabling for Indians because it was an ostensibly liberal public that was made available for British and "native" subjects alike. This new sphere of exchange was constituted through the formation of literary societies, education institutions, textbook societies, printing presses, and so on. Ramaswami was able to take advantage of this opportunity to participate in the new sphere of exchange, the new colonial public.

However, it is with great trepidation that Ramaswami weaves his historical narrative and interjects at critical moments explanations for why a fabulous account at times was more "true." For example,

in the entry for Sankaracharya, he writes that one can date him back to about one thousand years from a manuscript that Mackenzie had collected on the kings of Konga Des, yet he finds that the dating in the "traditional and authentic records," which he does not name, pushed Sankaracharya still further back and was therefore more likely to be true. For most other literary figures, he does not introduce contradiction in source material. He retells wonderfully graphic stories of how poets acquired their skills. One tells of a poet who did not master Sanskrit until the age of thirty. He was laughed at by all for investing so much effort while never reaping any benefits. Finally, after a woman ridiculed him, he was determined to learn Sanskrit and decided to visit a learned man in town, who happened to be his brother's guru. One day, the guru was sick and called for the poet's brother, but as the brother was not around the poet himself went to him and the guru promptly vomited in the poet's lap. The poet consumed the guru's magical effusions in their entirety and became a very learned man. Stories of this kind make up the bulk of Ramaswami's history. The work is arranged chronologically and is divided into sections on Sanskrit, Telugu, Tamil, and Marathi authors. Biographical descriptions of individual authors are interspersed with legends of how they became writers, acquired knowledge of the languages, and became gifted with literary talents. Included also are summaries of their works. Thus, within the body of the text, his evaluative tools assessed what was historical as opposed to mythological, yet his biographical descriptions mimicked the storytelling traditions from which the details were taken. To a certain extent, he reproduced the same legends that were the content of traditional accounts (whether oral or written). The curious mix of critical tools evident in Ramaswami's text can be attributed to the heteroglossic, discursive terrain of the early nineteenth century. Ramaswami was eager to show his European sensibilities alongside his deep knowledge of the textual traditions of India. Most interestingly, Ramaswami's work displays a new culture of learnedness.

Besides these two books, he published in 1836 a cookbook (*Pakasastra, Otherwise Called Soopasastra, or the Modern Culinary Recipes of the Hindoos*, compiled in Teloogoo by Saraswate Boy) and, in 1837, a book on caste (*A Digest of the Different Castes of the Southern Division of Southern India*). The latter is a visual representation of the different castes, mainly in southern India. Ramaswami clearly drew on the earlier work of his brothers while charting out his literary history. For example, he evidently relied on Borayya's translation of a part of Krishnadevaraya's *Amuktyamalyada,* dated 1798, found

Table 3.2 Kavali Venkata Borayya's 1801 list of Andhra poets

Names of the authors	Names of their Works & Subject	Remarks
1. Nunnayabattoo	He translated 2 1/2 chapters of the Mahabarat	
2. Arrapragada	Do" ½ chapter Do"	
3. Tickhana Somayajee	Do" 15 Do" Do"	
4. Bommana Potarauze	He translated 12 chapters of the Baagvat.	
5. Bhaskaroodoo	He translated 6 chapters of the Ramayanum.	
6. Streenaud	Nishad	A history of Raja Nal.
7. Valmoolavada Beemacavee	Vamana Joateeshom	A system of stronomy or rather Astrology.
8. Rattanee	Rattanee muttom	Of the seasons and weather.
9. Allasany Peddana	Manoo Chareetra The history of Manoo	A celebrated poet of Beejanagur in Vistna Rayeels reign.
10. Vassoo Chareetra Buttoomoortee	Vasoo Chareetra	The history of Vasoo.
11. Pingalee Sooranah	Lingapooranum	
12. Tinnallaramalingom	Pandoorangamahotam	Tinnell Rama Lingama celebrated wit or humorist of Kistna Rayeels time-many anecdotes of him are related.
13. Moohootimmana	Parey Jatapaharanum	
14. Chamacoora Letchmanah	Veejaya Veelasom Sarangadara Chareetra	A very pretty moral tale.
15. Tackana	Veecramark Chareetra	A chareetra or romance under the name of the famous Vickramark.
16. Radamadavoo		

Source: OIOC, Mackenzie Collection: General 21/7, *"The Most Celebrated Caveeswars in the Andra or Tellinga Language," from Cavelly Boriah, September 13, 1801.*

in Mackenzie's journals.[65] Krishnadevaraya, the sixteenth-century ruler of the Vijayanagara Empire, wrote a poem called "The String of Pearls." The text was subsequently canonized. The preface was written by Peddana, a sixteenth-century writer known for his innovative *Prabandha* style. In the same volume, Borayya drew up a list of "Andra" poets.[66]

Interestingly Borayya does not place Krishnadevaraya's *Amukta malyada* as one of the principal works of Andhra poets, but he does mention Peddana's *Manucaritram*. The list is limited to Andhra poets or poets who wrote in Telugu. In the same volume, Mackenzie placed Lakshmayya's list of poets as told by Telugu Brahmins of Andhra. Lakshmayya also sent a list of Hindu books that had been preserved in the libraries of Brahmins in Nellore[67] and provided explanations of the literary works and their authors. The lists are not limited to Telugu works, but also include Sanskrit works under the broader heading of Hindu literature pertaining to the South. In addition, Mackenzie provides a list of important Jain works. These lists are early instances of compiling literary histories, especially as they pay close attention to chronology. However, it is important to note that Borayya's list is limited to "Andra" poets writings in Telugu, whereas Lakshmayya's is wider in scope. While Borayya constructed his own list, Lakshmayya, we find out, faithfully transmitted information gathered in his travels. These lists represent preliminary work that clearly paved the way for the younger Ramaswami, especially for his biography of the Dekkan poets.

Telugu, Ramaswami writes, is an ancient dialect of Sanskrit. Interestingly, the discoveries that were being made at the College of Fort St. George did not trickle down to Ramaswami when he published his book on the Dekkan poets in 1829. This may be due to his insularity within the orbit of Mackenzie's archival project. However, more significantly, it may be that Ramaswami, along with his brothers Borayya and Lakshmayya, was concerned with historical and literary historical connections over and above the question of language and the relationship between languages (as was the preoccupation at the College of Fort St. George). This shows a divergence of interest and a focus between the intellectual work at the college as opposed to the work under the auspices of Mackenzie's archival project. Even as Ramaswami gets some things "wrong," his achievements are many. What did the three brothers accomplish within the orbit of Mackenzie's patronage, and outside it? Above and beyond being active participants in the making of Mackenzie's archive, it is clear that all three were deeply influenced by the archival project

and its wide set of intellectual agendas. One element of this that we can see in all three brothers is their belief that written sources or records were important for producing historical knowledge. All three seem to have had profound reverence for the written record. And judging from the work they accomplished in compiling lists of the genres of written records in the vernacular languages as well as in Sanskrit, they were able to successfully communicate to Mackenzie what exactly to look for. Contrary to the judgments of H. H. Wilson, Rev. William Taylor, and James Prinsep, the Kavali brothers were not only familiar with what their European patrons were seeking, in terms of historical documents, but they, along with others who were working in conjunction with them were also able to structure and direct Mackenzie's archival project. Prinsep was clearly unable to accept that the collection was mainly a product that had been created by Mackenzie's assistants. Mackenzie, of course, pioneered the effort to archive historical documents pertaining to south Indian history by disseminating antiquarian skills through the instruction he gave to his assistants. However, Mackenzie's archival project was successful largely due to the efforts of the native assistants, and their imprint is everywhere in the collection.

Conclusion

Mackenzie's assistants moved between the world of the Europeans in Madras, Black Town, and the many villages and towns scattered throughout the Carnatic, Mysore, and Northern Circar regions. Phillip Wagoner has rightly pointed to the prevalence of Niyogi Brahmins employed by Mackenzie, and his tracing of Narrian Row's history with the Arcot Court is especially riveting.[68] The connections Wagoner unravels through Narrain Row's writings help give us a sense of the ease of movement between the Arcot bureaucracy and Mackenzie's project enabled by the administrative skills associated with the Niyogis. Another perspective on the "secular" scribal practices that developed in parallel with pandit skills is well worth mentioning. Velcheru Narayana Rao's work in this arena offers an important contribution to an understanding of the sociology of colonial knowledge production. His analysis of the particular type of scholar the college recruited shows that the pandit was chosen over the karanam. Rao argues that a particular kind of prose was generated by this recruitment, which had a great deal to do with the particular institutional sites of production. Rao writes that karanams "were good scribes in that they could make their copy intelligible

and beautiful to the eye, or, if they so chose, impossible to decipher except by the initiated." Furthermore, he writes: "They prided themselves as being masters of knowledge of land use, dispute settlement, local history and penmanship almost exclusively."[69] Mackenzie's assistants were clearly not part of the pandit world and the skills associated with it. Rather, the Kavali brothers were Niyogi Brahmins who did not hesitate to delve into the gritty, unglamorous world of the karanams. Bhavani Raman's work on the emergence of new scribal practices in the Madras Presidency examines the movement away from the skills associated with the karanams toward a new *munshi* (writer) culture appropriate for the needs of the new colonial administration.[70] The Kavali brothers seem to inhabit a world caught between the two, which explains the sorts of troubles both Lakshmayya and Ramaswami faced in relation to the Madras government. The Kavali brothers were able to traverse the world of the Europeans (and the conversations with them) as well as the world of the karanams in towns and villages scattered throughout the Madras Presidency—worlds that went beyond the pristine ones of the pandits to the *cutcherry* (administrative office), where unequal exchanges, charges of corruption, and levels of misunderstanding seemed to be the standard fare of everyday life.

The experience and skills gained from the work on Mackenzie's archival project led Ramaswami to venture into the field of writing and to establish himself as an author in his own right. For Lakshmayya, the work on Mackenzie's collection led him to pursue the building of institutions within the city of Madras for the dissemination of those intellectual practices and skills (that he himself had gained) to natives with scholarly ambitions. He clearly desired to continue historical researches begun by Mackenzie but that was evidently not his sole preoccupation. Lakshmayya spent considerable energy in trying to start a literary society (an institutional site for the pursuit of his intellectual agenda) for native scholars. When Lakshmayya laid out the goals for a literary society devoted to native scholars in 1835, there had already been some significant achievements carried out by his contemporaries.

After Ragaviah's proposal of 1807 fell on deaf ears, the Madras Literary Society was established in 1818 with Sir John Newbolt, chief justice of the Supreme Court, as its first president. A major contribution of the Madras Literary Society was the establishment of a library for the expanding scholarly community that was thirsty for "Oriental" knowledge. In 1819, the society requested to be allowed to house their library in the College of Fort St. George building.[71]

This was an obvious choice as there was much interaction and traffic between the Madras Literary Society and the College of Fort St. George. Later in 1830, the Madras Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland was formed. By 1817, Both of Ragaviah's old connections in the colonial administration, Major-General William Kirkpatrick and Sir Thomas Strange, had retired and departed from India. New patrons arrived and therefore new ties had to be forged for native Indians to be allowed entry into the "Anglo-Indian" public sphere. However, the Madras Literary Society was not the inclusive society that Ragaviah had envisioned. It was not until 1830 that a native Indian appeared in the records of the Madras Literary Society. The first Indians to have made an appearance were Kavali Venkata Lakshmayya and Ram Raz. Ram Raz appeared to have presented on Hindu temple architecture to the society and was made an honorary member in 1830.[72] Finally, another vibrant society was formed around George Norton, advocate-general in the Madras Presidency. This was the Hindu Literary Society, whose prominent members included Komalesvarapuram Srinivasa Pillai and Enugula Veeraswamayya. Pillai, as a noted educator in the Madras Presidency, went on to work with the Madras Native Association (formed in 1852).[73] Veeraswamayya published a remarkable book on his travels called *Kasiyatra Charitra,* in 1838.[74]

In the midst of the emergence of these literary institutions, Lakshmayya was persistent in establishing the Madras Hindu Literary Society that was devoted to what he saw as the particular needs of native scholars, which had not been addressed by the previous societies. Whereas the Madras Literary Society's explicit purpose was to provide a forum geared toward the presentation and discussion of work by colonial officials and was similar in structure to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Hindu Literary Society was formed to fulfil the needs of native scholarly ambitions under colonial patronage. The latter seemed to have gained legitimacy and posterity precisely because of its association with the generous patronage of George Norton. On the other hand, Lakshmayya's struggles as a lone native scholar, who was starting the Madras Hindu Literary Society to continue historical researches under its auspices, faced considerable setbacks. Part of the reason seems to be that despite his prominence after the work accomplished under the direction of Colin Mackenzie, Lakshmayya was unable to pursue his intellectual agendas as he was no longer attached to a colonial patron. These setbacks that he faced, especially from the Asiatic Society of Bengal (under the direction and leadership of James Prinsep), which felt that Lakshmayya's

scholarly work did not measure up to the standards of modern scholarship, reveal the limits of colonial patronage in Madras in the early decades of the nineteenth century. In part, this confirms the thesis that Tapati Guha-Thakurta put forward that the native scholar was not able to come into his own until the later decades of the nineteenth century when there was a larger network of institutions that enabled Indians to take part in multiple scholarly communities. This was partly due to the dearth of institutional encouragement of natives in the early colonial period to cultivate scholarly skills and practices. While individual colonial officer-scholars gave encouragement and the necessary patronage to their Indian assistants (pandits or otherwise), the latter were left to fend for themselves when their patrons left their posts in India. Although native scholarly authority was rarely questioned when it came to knowledge of the textual traditions (whether Sanskrit, Telugu, or Tamil), when it came to practices of history, there were lingering doubts regarding native authority in this field. Therefore there was a combination of factors that left the efforts and achievements of the Kavali brothers in relative historical obscurity in the early colonial period. First, there were institutional constraints—the lack of institutions that encouraged and cultivated native scholarly ambitions. Second, there were explicit ideological constraints working against native Indian scholars, such as the Kavali brothers, from asserting that they were doing the "rational" work of historical scholarship.

Despite the exclusions the three Kavali brothers faced, they managed to contribute a great deal toward expanding the scope of historical knowledge in early colonial Madras. Although the college and Mackenzie's project shared similar goals of producing knowledge for the colonial state, they were very different sites of production. These different institutional sites produced not only different kinds of knowledge, but also different kinds of intellectuals. The boldness of Ramaswami (as manifested in his published works), the confidence of Borayya's plans for histories, and finally the meticulousness of Lakshmayya's documentation of his own historical researches may all have been the result of the expansive intellectual world to which the Kavali brothers had access, initially through Mackenzie but later through their own persistent efforts. Mackenzie's archival project enabled Indian assistants, such as the Kavali brothers, to make significant contributions toward producing historical knowledge of south India by collating and assessing a historical record.

4
Colin Mackenzie's Archival Project and the Telugu Historical Record

Recovering a Hindu Historical Record

Warren Hastings's policies in his early years as governor-general set an explicit intellectual agenda toward recovering original and "pure" Hindu social and political institutions from historical obscurity.[1] This Hindu orientation, which was also taken up by the research agenda at the Asiatic Society of Bengal, characterizes much of early colonial engagement with Indian textual traditions. Colin Mackenzie felt the reverberations of this as he himself was quite close to the scholars and researches coming out of Calcutta at the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In fact, throughout his travels and collecting adventures, Mackenzie maintained frequent correspondence with the historian Mark Wilks and with Orientalists such as H. H. Wilson and Charles Wilkins. With Wilson and Wilkins, Mackenzie shared documents and texts in which he felt they would take particular interest. With Wilks, Mackenzie shared his ideas of history, the chaos of the historical record in India, and the need to collect historical materials for the Hindu history of the subcontinent. There was a discernable bias toward Hindu history as Mackenzie relied on Brahmins to provide texts on the political and religious history of south India. During the mid-nineteenth century, when C. P. Brown examined the contents of the Mackenzie archive, he immediately recognized the prevalence and importance of Hindu accounts. In the preface to his translation of a Maratha history of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan of Mysore (a document found in Mackenzie's collection), Brown commented that whereas there are several reliable histories of the reign of Hyder and Tipu, there has not been in circulation a history written by a Hindu:

> The histories of Hyder and Tippoo have been excellently written by Colonel Wilks, Colonel Kirkpatrick, Major Beatson and

> some other contemporary officers in the English army: these writers were enemies to Tippoo, and their statements may be contrasted with the Persian Memoir written by Mir Hussein Ali Khan Kirmani...But to this day no English history has appeared translated from accounts written by Hindus. Whether governed by Mahometans or others, the Hindus were sufferers.[2]

Brown began his preface by commenting on how historians in previous ages were less critical of the documents they came across and would not feel the need to see multiple histories from different perspectives. His reasoning for publishing this particular Hindu history of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan is that the period in which he was living possessed a critical faculty and that the new historians were in the habit of comparing for veracity the multiple documents presumably employing new historical method.

In an important memorandum drawn up by Mackenzie in 1804 (see Appendix 2), there is an explicit Hindu orientation to his inquiries. The memorandum seeks historical information on Sreerungam and Trichinopoly. Mackenzie indicates that any intelligent Brahmin can be approached for these inquiries and that questions should be addressed to them on the ancient history of these regions up to the period of Muslim rule in south India. Clearly the idea was that Brahmins would have preserved memories of the ancient period before the advent of Muslim rule in these parts. In this particular memorandum, there is also an explicit concern with investigating the origins of Hinduism in south India as well. Mackenzie relied on Brahmins as key to the ancient past of south India as well as to directing inquiries toward particular kinds of sources: such as *vamsavalis* (genealogies.) In another memorandum sent by the Madras government in 1808 concerning Mackenzie's historical inquiries, it urges "Gentlemen in the Diplomatic, Judicial, Revenue, and Medical Departments" to seek historical documents concerning the ancient history of south India (See Appendix 1).[3] The memorandum lists the kinds of historical documents to seek. It cautions the gentlemen collectors that it is rare to find pure historical narrations, but that they will find instead historical "notices" that exist in legends, poems, and stories. The memorandum also explicitly identifies the more historical documents that are absolutely necessary to collect. Again, the memorandum directs colonial officers to seek out these authentic documents from religious institutions and learned Brahmins. Mackenzie felt that Hindu accounts would be more accurate in their representation of the historical events of the Hindu kingdoms than the Persian ones as

the Persian accounts would necessarily be uncritically triumphant in their representation of the defeat of the Hindus.

Constructing the Telugu Historical Record: Karanams, Kaviles, and Kaifiyats

With the awareness that the textual record is mired in poetical forms and sometimes even in legendary tales, Mackenzie set out to wade through the textual record to find the truest historical record that was free from legend and myth and that could consequently come the closest to resembling its counterparts in European historical traditions. The memorandum of 1804 that the Madras government sent to its district officers lists carefully the kinds of records that Mackenzie was seeking: *Vamsavali* (genealogies); *Dandakavali* (chronological registers); *Charitra* (historical tales)); *Mahatyam* and *Puranam* (religious legends); *Sassanum* (inscriptions); *Dana Patrum* (grants); ancient coins; and sculptures from temples and other historical buildings. As an antiquarian, Mackenzie certainly did not want to exclude any document, whether relating to legendary tales or historical tracts, whose sole purpose was to preserve information for posterity. Furthermore, the list indicates that Mackenzie was highly aware of what kinds of documents were circulated in and were preserved in south India. The emphasis was laid on those records that were solely devoted to preserving historically useful information. The primary written documents that were highlighted concerned village records—land grants, deeds and genealogies of prominent families, etc.

Not surprisingly, Mackenzie's search for authentic Hindu history led him to the institution of the village *karanam* (accountant) in the Telugu speaking regions of the Madras Presidency and the kaifiyat (village records). Mackenzie's vast collection contained a large number of kaifiyats or "local tracts." H.H. Wilson described these local tracts as "short accounts in the languages of the Dekkin of particular places, remarkable buildings, local traditions, and peculiar usages, prepared in general expressly for Col. Mackenzie by his native agents, or obtained by them in their excurs."[4] Most of the kaifiyats of the villages and towns of present-day Andhra Pradesh that had been collected by Mackenzie and his assistants were written down in the late-eighteenth and (for the most part) early nineteenth century.[5] The accounts contained details of the villages, which ranged from agricultural products, to history of temple donations, to transcriptions of epigraphical records and genealogies of local families.[6] In this sense, kaifiyats should not be seen as a genre of writing: rather,

they are archives unto themselves.[7] Archive might be an appropriate term to describe them in that they were prepared by karanams to preserve on record the particulars (one definition of kaifiyat is just that: particulars of a place—whether the particulars were family histories or registers of land grants). Kaifiyats are collections of disparate documents that a village accountant kept as historical record and transmitted from one generation to another. They come to occupy a prominent place in the late eighteenth century in south India when Mackenzie and his Indian assistants brought attention to these collections as holding the key to local and regional history. Thus, Mackenzie's archival project was the result of considerable time spent collecting historical accounts through the karanam.

The word *kaifiyat* comes from Persian[8] with meanings that include circumstances, account, statement, report, particulars, story, and news. The word appears in the 1854 *Dictionary of Mixed Telugu* by C. P. Brown and is defined as circumstances or particulars. In Gwynn's *Modern Telugu Dictionary* (1991), kaifiyat is defined as a "statement in writing." In the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when Mackenzie and his assistants were collecting the local tracts known as kaifiyats, these records had taken on the meaning of village accounts. Karanams in the Telugu-speaking regions prepared the kaifiyats. The origin of the practice of recording village particulars (from genealogies, to the variety of crops grown, to who owns the land) predates Mackenzie and his collecting endeavors. One tradition of historical writing, the *dandakavile* (village chronicles), in south India has been associated with karanams before the advent of the kaifiyat. The kaifiyat seems to have taken on the mantle of this earlier tradition of recording at the village level.[9] By the time Mackenzie was collecting material in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the kaifiyats had become the documents that preserved village accounts. Whether it is a dandakavile or kaifiyat, it was the office of the karanam that was responsible for preserving, accounting for, and transmitting information concerning property rights and family histories in a particular village. The office of the karanam can be traced back to the Kakatiya rulers of Warangal (1158–1323). By the time of Kakatiya rule, *ayagaras* (types of officers) looked after the administering of the village.[10] One of the officers mentioned in the inscriptions of the Kakatiyas was the karanam, whose duty it was to maintain village accounts. N. Venkataramanayya and M. Somasekhara Sarma describe the tasks of the karanam:

> The *karanam* (like the northern *patwari*) kept the accounts and plans of the village, called collectively *gudikattu* or *ayakattu*, in

> which were set out the boundaries of each hamlet, the extent and the limits of the site, the crematorium, the lands owned by cultivators, the holders of the *vrittis* and tax-free lands granted by the king to the brahmans and to the temples, the origin and history of these, and in general everything concerning the land belonging to the village. Besides this he had to measure the extent and keep the accounts of the cultivable, the non-cultivable, and the waste lands, gardens, dry fields, and pastures.[11]

Venkataramanayya and Sarma's outline of the karanam's duties, which included measuring the boundaries of properties, give us a sense of what the office was concerned with over the ages. Venkataramanayya and Sarma also mention, interestingly, that they held accounts of the origin and history of land grants to brahmins and temples. These duties of a karanam also make it understandable why the Kavali brothers (while working for Mackenzie) were drawn to them to collect historical information. Karanams played an important bureaucratic role in south Indian polities from the twelfth century onward.[12] Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam, the authors of *Textures of Time,* also cite the karanams as playing a pivotal role in the development of historical prose in Telugu, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In this sense, it is not accidental that Mackenzie, the surveyor-collector, through his native assistants, went to the karanam in their efforts to assemble historical sources. Because the karanam's primary duty was historical preservation, it was only logical that Mackenzie and his assistants would turn to him for his antiquarian researches.[13]

Recent scholarship has given rise to productive discussion concerning the role of karanams in shaping early modern practices of history and history writing in south India. Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam have convincingly proposed that a distinctive style of history emerged under the influence of karanams. They have called this karanam historiography. This historiography is defined by the particular prose that it generated. Karanam prose paid close attention to the constitution of historical facts and historical truths. They argue that history was in fact written in many genres throughout south Indian history, which demonstrates that there was a longer tradition of forms of historical consciousness or awareness in south Indian textual traditions. More importantly, they argue that there were distinctions made within karanam historiography—between the factual and the fictional (mythical). Rather than let a particular historical genre have a monopoly on the preservation of the past, they identify a historical mode of representation that signaled the importance of preserving

a particular historical fact, event, institution, or person for posterity. This historical impulse then did a great deal to leave behind a vast corpus of texts that had been composed for the remembrance of battles, royal families, and lineages. Karanams in particular were centrally placed to take on the mantle of the preservation of historical memory because of their critical bureaucratic roles that gave them access to and placed them in intimate proximity with record-keeping practices. In light of Rao, Shulman and Subrahmanyam's analysis of karanam historiography and the shaping of a particular mode of historical representation within different genres in the Telugu textual tradition, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the kaifiyats that Mackenzie and his assistants collected can be linked to these wider historiographical practices that they propose. If we take the kaifiyats as representing these wider historiographical practices, then the question to ask is whether the kaifiyats absorbed these wider practices or whether they were in fact the origin of a particular karanam historical sensibility, which went on to be cultivated in the higher textual traditions. If we take the latter to be true, we can propose that there is more to it than simply the village karanam's record-keeping practices that exemplifyied the desire of early modern states to preserve records concerning land use and rights to land. The karanam kept records that were useful for maintaining land rights, but the act of preserving documents from generation to generation—especially of genealogies of leading families—must have given the karanam the responsibility and power not only to preserve historical narratives but also to compose them and to innovate and embellish them if needed. In other words, the karanams played a central role in creating and shaping new forms of historical writing. The record-keeping practices that karanams were skilled in helped to foster "little" practices of history, which went on to shape historical prose in the "higher" genres. It is more apt to see the interaction of the "high" literary forms and bureaucratic prose as traveling both ways.[14] Because the prose contained in the kaifiyats fell outside the well-established literary genres in Telugu, I suggest that kaifiyats were amenable to easy manipulation and were transformed into historical record and made legible by colonial antiquarians. By this, I suggest that there was a convergence of interests between the colonial antiquarian and the village karanam. Because colonial antiquarians were specifically looking for historical sources, they sought out texts that they believed contained clues to the chronology of south Indian history. The karanam's main role was the preservation of village records, and for this reason the kaifiyats came to be seen as the primary sites for extracting factual data.

The kaifiyats contained a number of different "records," which included genealogies, accounts of prominent castes in the region, lists of *inam* (rent-free) lands and crops that were native to the region. This variety of document, unlike the one for the more elaborate historical narrative, was circulated only within the confines of the village karanam's office. Often we even get the signature of the karanam who noted down an account. In the collection of Guntur kaifiyats, one document begins with a personal note from the writer, Mallayya, in 1811. He writes:

> Having heard that this village has much kaifiyat we stayed for two days. The karanams having gotten approval from the government did not find any *dandakavile*, so we wrote down the existing inscriptions in the area.[15]

The accounts or records in the kaifiyats vary a great deal from one another. From the Nellore kaifiyats, the following account should give a sense of the texture of these records (unlike the storytelling mode of the more proper prose-chronicles):

> In this year a poligar named Khojnaavappa came and having built a fort there he brought under his control the revenue of the villages of the jagir. Then in the year of viroodhi, NawabAbbula HabatukhanBahadurJanparuJangguu was given the Jagir by HajaratNawabSaheb after the jagir was seized.
>
> Then the jagir came into the possession of NuuruddiMahannad Khan. Then in the year of Raudri the East India Company having seized the jagir are currently ruling it.[16]

This account (*Panurapuram Kalakateru*) ends with the company seizing the jagir of the ruling families. However, there is no lamenting of this fact. It is just plainly stated. After this snippet, the writer goes on to document what is grown there, what kinds of animals roam in the forests, and so on. Another record in the Nellore collection is one on Mahimaluru (*Mahimalurugramakaranalayni Nagarajucalam Vamaluru Surappavrayinccinakaiphiyyatu*.) The account tells us about the origins of this place from the year 1300, when it was a forest: how it was settled and who came to settle there; what was built; what was cultivated there; and who the rulers were throughout the ages. It ends with what was grown in the forest, on cultivated land; what animals roam in the forest; which *jatis* have settled there, etc. It essentially tells a history of the place from the beginning

of settlement in the area.[17] There are some entries that are just a few lines long, which tell about the origin of the village name. *Gokinenipalli* is from the Guntur District kaifiyat collection and it tells the story about a Brahman who does *tapas* (meditation) and a god who descends to earth to ask him what he desires. The Brahman answers that in order to continue his devotion to the god, he should grant him a boon. The boon seems to have been a village (*Gokarnapuram*) named after him and and later transformed to *Gokarnapalli*. Soon, the village inhabitants forgot the name of the god and it became known as *Gokinenipalli*. That is the entirety of the matter. The common features of these types of entries are an originary person who founded the village, a god that showed mercy on this individual and allowed him to settle on the land (clearing the forest and so on) and then it could go in one of many directions. The shorter accounts do not go into a genealogical listing of important families whereas the longer ones recount the land-owning families and the principal rulers of the region, such as the Gajapatis and the Reddi kings. That usually comprises the narrative part, and is followed by the listing of inam lands or principal crops of the region. The rich sociological information that village karanams preserved in the kaifiyat collections gives us access to a whole array of textual practices that were considered marginal to the higher literary genres.[18]

Genealogies, Kaifiyats, and the Telugu Historical Record

The prevalence of the genealogical form in the kaifiyat collections is worth probing further. Genealogies, according to Romila Thapar, are narratives of legitimacy that are central to the assertion of political power/legitimacy in Indian polities from the ancient period. The kaifiyats contained genealogies precisely for this reason: they too were documents worthy of preserving by the village karanam, along with documents on property measurements, agricultural produce, and so on. The genealogy was maintained as record along with the more mundane preservation of records. Two forms of genealogy prevalent in the Telugu-speaking areas were the *purvottaram* [an ancient story] and the *hakikat* [account or statement]. Whereas the *hakikat* tradition was maintained to assert legitimacy—the genealogies were narratives of legitimacy—the kaifiyats, more broadly—as recorded and preserved by the village karanam—were village archives (collections) that appropriated the genealogical traditions alongside the tradition of recording

village "particulars." It is for this reason the kaifiyats were held in such high regard by Mackenzie and his assistants. Indeed, Mackenzie singled out the office of the village karanam as holding the key to unearthing new historical sources because the karanams preserved both historical narrative and other property-related records.[19] In that respect, the karanam's office was a gold mine of potential historical sources for the colonial antiquarian.

As such, the kaifiyats were privileged, by colonial antiquarians and historians and later on the earlier generation of Indian historians, over literary sources precisely for their attention to details of genealogy and village economy—two important sources for the new historiography. However, they were also blamed for being inconsistent in details. Readers (starting from the nineteenth century to the present) of the kaifiyats who were using positivist methods pointed out both the consistencies as well as the inconsistencies in the narratives. Within the narrative parts of the stories, there is great value attributed to the mythic (or nonhistorical—the world of the gods), especially as it provides a moral framework for the actions of the protagonist. We can see much interaction between the superworldly parts and the worldly affairs of humans as dynamism between the mythic and the historical. There is an ease of movement from the mythic to the historical and vice versa. This has a longer history in the Indian historical record, in particular, in the tradition of vamsavalis—the composition of which included the deliberate movement between the mythical and the factual.

In the Sanskrit tradition, from the early *vamsa*, (the royal genealogy), which was to be recorded in a land grant to later *charitas* (biographies) of contemporary kings, the genealogy was intimate with historical narrative. The historian V. S. Pathak links the emergence of charitas to the rise of courtly culture and courtly literature in the medieval period. The form of historical narrative, he argues, shifted when there was a sociopolitical transformation from the tribe to the court.[20] Romila Thapar has argued that the genealogical form constituted a large part of *puranic* (collections of legendary stories concerning Hindu gods in the post-Vedic era) literature in the Sanskrit tradition and that it was central for kings to assert legal rights and social status as well as to preserve tribal identity.[21] The preservation of the past embedded in and transmitted through a genre, such as the genealogy, was crucial for Indian polities for both the assertion of a new political authority as well as the maintenance of an old one. Besides genealogies, there were other genres that were concerned with the transmission of the past.

When we turn to south India and to the more recent past, historical narrative (narratives that placed emphasis on sequence) developed in a number of genres in the Telugu tradition in seventeenth-and eighteenth-century south India. These ranged from vamsavalis to dynastic histories (prominent examples of which include *Tanjavuriandhrarajulacaritra* and *Rayavacakamu*), and kaifiyats, which do not constitute a genre, perse, but, rather, are archives of local historical narratives.[22] Phillip Wagoner proposes that there were a number of genres that constituted historical literature in Telugu and that they mostly belonged to the written tradition. In addition, he suggests that the oral tradition, the *katha* (local epic), also interacted with the written genres, which is evident in the early form of *caritramu* (history/biography). Wagoner examines a very important Telugu historical narrative from the seventeenth century, the *Rayavacakamu*. *Rayavacakamu,* as a historical narrative in particular, stands out for its innovative narrative structure—using dialogue and what Wagoner calls anachronism to construct a unique perspective on the past. Phillip Wagoner persuasively argues that the way in which the text constructs the Vijayanagara past (its predecessors) was part of an "ideological argument for the political legitimacy of the Madurai Nayaka regime."[23] Many of these historical genres served to maintain and assert the political authority of a ruler. The ways in which they upheld or asserted the authority of a king differed with the genre. Romila Thapar argues that for those kings without a clear family origin, they often reverted to mythical gods granting a boon or wealth, thereby giving rise to a family dynasty. Although Thapar offers a rational explanation for why gods were part of the narrative of the royal genealogy, it is certainly not the only explanation. Gods were integral to the form of the genealogy for a number of reasons, primarily the desire to elevate royal lineage to divine origins. However, the overriding need to legitimize the authority of the king led to the creative elaboration of the genealogy as an important historical narrative tradition.

Whereas the genealogical tradition, as discussed by Thapar, and the two important texts mentioned above in the Telugu tradition, *Tanjavuriandhrarajulacaritra* and *Rayavacakamu*, are concerned with very powerful kings and empires, the genealogy in the kaifiyat collections were concerned with smaller principalities. Legitimacy is still the aim in the latter collections, but the scope and claims of the kaifiyat genealogies are much smaller. In that sense, the presence of the genealogy within the kaifiyat collections demonstrates the importance of the genealogy as historical record and not solely as a cultivated literary genre. It is clear that the genealogical mode appears in

textual traditions (from land grants to formal biographies of kings) in Sanskrit as argued by Romila Thapar and V. S. Pathak. It is also prevalent in Telugu textual traditions in a variety of genres as outlined by Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam in their collaborative works. However, their discussion is primarily centered around the presence of the genealogy in established literary and oral traditions concerning rather important royal personages. In contrast, its appearance in the village record office clearly illustrates the wider accessibility and mobility of the genealogical mode. As Sumit Guha persuasively argued with reference to the regional/vernacular documentary records that absorbed vocabulary from the "high" cosmopolitan languages of Persian and Dakhani, the kaifiyat records too absorbed the "high" literary modes of expression but were put to different uses in rather different contexts.[24]

Historical Narrative and the Kaifiyat Tradition

For instance, the kaifiyats for Vijayanagaram district are fascinating for their sheer emphasis on narrative (in the storytelling mode) over and above lists (of inscriptions of temples found in the village, accounts of *mirasi* (hereditary property rights), and other property rights, as well as agricultural products pertaining to village economy). The emphasis on story and narrative-telling of Vijayanagaram's history signals the importance of the immediate past in this particular region and is indicative of a rich oral storytelling tradition as well. The stories are also especially concerned with establishing the Pusapati family's dominance in the region. Vijayanagaram (not to be confused with the Vijayanagara kingdom based in modern-day Karnataka) was a small princely state, or zamindari estate, which retained some level of autonomy from the French and the English in the eighteenth century. The conflict between Bobilli (kingdom north of Vijayanagaram) and Vijayanagaram remains prominent in the historical memory of the communities on the northeastern districts of present-day Andhra Pradesh. Even Robert Orme devoted considerable space in his voluminous history to comment on the antagonism between Ranga Raya (of Bobilli) and Vijaya Rama Raju (of Vijayanagaram) and how the latter brought the French into the regional conflict in order to successfully defeat Ranga Raya of Bobilli.[25] Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam have elucidated upon the intricacies of this conflict between Bobilli and Vijayanagaram through their reading of the multiple renderings of this battle.

The conflict erupts in the Northern Circars, which experienced a turbulent period in the eighteenth century. In 1754, the Nizam of Hyderabad handed over the Northern Circars of Ellore, Mustafanagar (Kondapalli), Rajahmundry and Chicacole to the French.[26] The Northern Circars came under the rule of the Qutb Shah Sultanate in the sixteenth century, and in 1687, when the Sultanate of Golkonda (1518–1687) was defeated, it came under control of the Mughal Empire. After this, in 1724, the region was passed onto the Asaf Jahs of Hyderabad. Sarojini Regani suggests that the zamindaris (the most important of which were Vijayanagaram, Bobbili, Peddapur, Pithapuram, Mogaliturru and Nuzvid) on the eastern coasts were quite independent minded. As soon as the French entered into negotiations with Hyderabad, they carved out the eastern regions as these were important for their own trade, especially as they had factories on the coast in Masulipatam and Yanam (the English were in Masulipatam, Narsapur, Ingeram, and Visakhapatnam). The French, under De Bussy, negotiated to gain control in those regions. In 1754, De Bussy managed to do so and had to settle the administering of the regions by negotiating with the zamindars individually. The zamindars acquiesced to French power. Vijaya Rama Raju was made *mansabdar* (ranked nobles in the imperial system developed by the Mughals) and was given the title of Munna Sultan Mirza, and the rajas of Bobbili and Peddapur were also made mansabdars. The alliance between the zamindars and the French and English was by any means a trustworthy one. Soon Vijaya Rama Raju aligned with the French to defeat Ranga Raya of Bobbili and, immediately after, was killed by a minister of Ranga Raya's court.[27] Vijaya Rama Raju's son Ananda Gajapati favored the English, opened correspondence with Robert Clive, and urged Clive to come down south and help them defeat the French. The raja and the English then divided up the territories on the Godavari and then marched on to Masulipatam and Narsapur and defeated the French forces there in 1759.

This episode is narrated by the English East India Company's official historiographer, Robert Orme in his *Military Transactions*. Orme begins his history with the assertion that Indians have lost all memory of the early ages when their belief system was instituted.[28] A belief that compels him to begin his narrative with a chapter on the Muslim conquerors—who in Orme's eyes successfully established their rule in India but never made any attempts to change the culture of the people or to improve them. This is where the British come in to set the Indians on a path of improvement. For Orme, the eighteenth century was a decisive century for the fate of the English in

India. He carefully documents every war that was fought between Indian kingdoms and ones that had been fought with the British and the French. Orme states at the beginning of his history that these wars were important not only for British rise to power in the Indian subcontinent but also for national pride—for it was of this imperial arena that the British should remain proud. His history provides a point of contrast to the histories of the wars that were fought in the Northern Circars, details of which were provided in the kaifiyats. In contrast to Orme, the most important war that is repeatedly recorded in many different kaifiyats and was popular in oral history as well as in literary works of the period was the Bobbili War. For Orme,this war was one among innumerable wars during the mid- eighteenth century.

The multiple renderings of the story in Telugu from the folk ballad to a historical kavya demonstrate the popularity of this historical event of the battle between Vijaya Rama Raju and Ranga Raya of Bobilli. Dittakavi's *Ranga Raya Caritramu*, which in *kavya* style narrates the origin of the rivalry between Bobbili and Vijayanagaram:

> A sardar called Sher Muhammad Khan (*sermahamadukhanudu*) came to conquer our [Srikakulam] area for his Mughal overlords. Two powerful men came with him. One was Peddarayudu, who had helped out Sher Muhammad Khan in the battles of the time; so the Padshah rewarded him with the local kingdom (*samsthanamu*) of Rajam. The second, Madhava Varma, became the first ruler of Vijayanagaram.
>
> At the time Peddarayudu was awarded the Rajam kingdom, he was also given the hereditary title of Raja Bahadur along with other titles; even more important was the right to symbols of royalty—the white flag, the *naubat* and *dhakka* drums, and so on. When the battles in the Northern Circars (*uttarapusrakarulu*) subsided, Peddarayudu passed on the new kingdom to his son Lingappa and returned to his ancestral kingdom of Venkatagiri. [1.115–16][29]

The original story coincides with an important document from the collection of Vijayanagaram kaifiyats called the *Hakikattu Pusapati Vijayaramaraju* (HPV). *Hakikattu,* as defined in Brown's dictionary, refers to "an account, a statement, a representation of occurrences or affairs."[30] In this document, Madhava Varma is the ancestor of the Pusapatis of Vijayanagaram, who himself was given two *parganas* (administrative units) in the district of Srikakulam. However, what was important for the hakikattu was to establish that before this,

Madhava Varma had been a powerful ruler in Bezwada where the village Pusapadu was located. The narrative begins in historical time. *Hakikat* in Hindi/Urdu means truth or statement. This definition combined with the definition of kaifiyat as statement of fact points to the prevalence of narrative accounts that signify historical truth-claims. The fact that the hakikattu of the Pusapatis begins in historical time, in the immediate past (rather than in a distant or remote past), with Madhava Varma being given control of several coastal districts, is important to note. Another account from the Vijayanagaram *kaifiyats*, the *Pusapati Rajalayokka Purvottaram* (PRP), on the other hand, is written in the genealogical mode where the ancestors from the distant past are also invoked to show the strength and legitimacy of the long line of descendants.

The PRP begins with the childhood of the founder of the Pusapati lineage, Madhava Varma. The beginning comprises one of the rich episodes of the story. We are told that Madhava Varma is from a noble family and then told of his good fortune. He worships the deity Kanaka Durga, the patron goddess of the district that his village is located in. Because of his dutiful worship, he comes under her protection. This is important because she figures prominently several times in the story as the Pusapati family leaves the district and relocates to another place where they establish their kingdom. As part of his good fortune, a rain of gold showers him one day and descends to the ground. He divides the gold into two piles, keeping one for himself, and burying the other. This establishes Madhava Varma as being dutiful, righteous, and fortunate—all qualities of a good ruler. There is also a mention to making a good name for himself in the community—almost as if he naturally rose up to become a leader. The PRP incorporates stories of gods with stories concerning historical figures. In contrast, the hakikat begins in historical time. These genres show the myriad ways in which the past was conveyed in genealogies. It is important to note the incredible variety of genealogies that appear in south Indian textual traditions, which attests to the centrality of genealogy in the construction/composition of historical narrative. Furthermore, what we see in the Vijayanagaram kaifiyats is the textual richness of historical memory in that region.[31]

Wars of the Rajas

Charles P. Brown published a remarkable text that elaborately displays the historical sensibilities present in the kaifiyat collections. However, it also illustrates a marked departure from previous

customs in that the historical narrative is a response to the colonial state's demand for legitimacy. *The Wars of the Rajas, Being the History of Anantapuram* was written in Telugu between the years 1750 and 1810.[32] The title page of the published translation tries to categorize the text as history, as tales, and as annals. Brown does not state who the author of the text is and only mentions that it was a Telugu historical volume collected by Mackenzie and preserved at the College Library in Madras. The history is of Anantapuram and the ruling family from the time of the Vijayanagara dynasty, which began in 1364, according to Brown's dating. The narrative does not begin with the mythological origins of the Hande dynasty; rather, it immediately situates the history in a specific time and place. Consider the following passage taken from the beginning of the text:

> While Bucca Rayalu ruled Vidyanagar [Vijayanagar] on the banks of the Pampa, his chief servant Chikkappa Wadeyar in the S. S. year 1286 answering to "Krodhi" [A. D. 1364] built a lake: it was near Devaraconda, in the province of Nandela" south of Vidyanagar. He saw the river Pandu, which rises in the Chambu-giri-swami hills: at Devaraconda he stopped it with an embankment and thus formed a lake: at the two (marava) outlets of which he built two villages. The one at the eastern (marava) mout he named Bucca Raya's Sea [also called BuccaSamudram; about 50 miles South East of Bellary]; thus naming it after his lord. And the village at the Western mouth he named after his lady, Ananta-Saga-ram [also called HandeAnantaPuram]. He also observed the river Chitravati which rises in the hill sacred to Vencateswara, lord of Varagiri, in the Elamanchicountry, sixteen miles South of Bucca Raya Samudrami here also he built a lake. And at each end of the bank he built a village. The one at the east end he called BuccaPatnam; and the Western village he named Ananta Sagaram [also called Kotta Cheruvu, or New Tank]. At this place Chiccappa Wadayar departed this life.[33]

The origin of the village, Hande Anantapuram, is established even before the introduction of the Hande warriors. Because it is a history of the place as well as of a family, the narrative begins with a geographical description. Throughout the text, the dates are of all important events, such as deaths, successions, a particular raja's contribution to the development of the land and major calamities, such as floods. The method for dating used is that of the lunar calendar. The history narrates the turbulent wars between regional powers

from the Nayaka period until the time of the British conquest of the regions. The stable center amid this turbulence is the village, Hande Anantapuram, and its ruling family. The text is carefully crafted to be a history of Anantapuram and not simply a genealogy of the Hande family. In this way, it conforms to the structure of the kaifiyats that we discussed above—the village became the center of the narratives. Yet throughout the text, the Hande family is legitimated in various ways as the true heirs to Anantapuram.

The history begins with a description of the lake Bukka Samudram, in the region of Nandela, and the village of Anantapuram. The lake and village were named during the time of Bukka Rayalu's reign of Vijayanagara. Soon the narrative shifts to a possession story in which a girl named Musalamma is possessed by Ganga Bhavani and sacrifices herself to prevent flooding from the overflow of Bukka Samudram. The episode ends with the narrator telling us that there is no better village than Anantapuram and no better lake than Bukka Samudram to be found anywhere. Then it moves on to the reign of Krishnadevaraya and his successors, Rama Raya and Tirumala Raya. It was after Krishnadevaraya's death and the succession wars that we meet the ancestor of the Hande family, Hande Hanumappa Nayudu.[34] Hanumappa Nayudu helps Rama Raya and Tirumala Raya to regain Vijayanagara as well as to defeat the Muslim chieftains in the region. In fact, Hanumappa Nayudu captures the nizam and brings him to Rama Raya and Tirumala Raya. We see Hanumappa Nayudu as a brave, selfless warrior who reliably comes to the aid of Rama Raya and Tirumala Raya. However, when asked what he wished for as a reward for his bravery in the wars, Hanumappa Nayudu leaves it to the rajas to decide on how to compensate him. Rama Raya and Tirumala Raya give him the villages of Nandela, Bukkaraya Samudram, Dharmavaram, Kanekallu, Bellary, and Karugodu. Now that we have been introduced to the villages, to who named them and to how they came into the possession of the Hande dynasty, the history shifts to the descendants of Hanumappa Nayudu.

We are then told of how the descendants of Hande Hanumappa Nayudu were able to make peace with the various rulers after the defeat of Vijayanagara's rulers. Hanumappa Nayudu's grandson Malakappa Nayudu had to negotiate directly with the Muslim chieftains from the north to keep their villages under their rule after the defeat of Vijayanagara's ruler at the time, Sriranga Raya. After negotiating with the Muslim chieftains, he was able to keep the Hande family's former lands as well as to gain two more villages: Bukkapatanam and Ananta

Sagaram.[35] Here is where we hear of the origin of the place Hande Anantapuram. Malakappa Nayudu returned to Bukkaraya Samudram and was unhappy because he had no sons to continue his line. One day, he went to Ella Reddi's house in Ananta Sagaram and thought that if he lived there he too would have many offspring. He returned to his home and told his wives this and they approached Ella Reddi. Malakappa Nayudu moved his household to the new palace built on the site of Ella Reddi's house. This same Ananta Sagaram then was renamed Hande Anantapuram.[36] Thus the two important elements of the texts are origin of place/village and genealogy, the former to situate the geography of the villages, the productivity of the lands, rivers, lakes and dams, the latter is to show that the descendants of the Hande dynasty are the legitimate claimants to Anantapuram. The tradition of genealogy, geographic description and the particulars of a place seem very much in line with the kaifiyat tradition.

Most dramatic and novel, however, is the ending. The text comes to a full circle with Hande Siddappa Nayu, the contemporary descendent of the Hande family, being asked to narrate his entire history to Colonel Thomas Munro:

> And his honour the Colonel himself arrived at Dharmavaram with a view to settle the revenue. He sent for the Seristadar and the Amaldars and the villagers in these districts, and came to an understanding (chukaya) about the (jumabandi) revenue. Then Hande Siddappa Nayu who was at Siddaramapuram came to Dharmavaram, and visited the Colonel, and stated all his history.
>
> His honour the Colonel listened to his statement and said 'come along with me and present yourself at HandeAnantapuram.' Accordingly he came to that place with him, and there waited on Munro Sahib: who desired him to state and present his whole story in writing. Accordingly he made four of the oldest farmers sit down, and also Sinappa the vakil of Newtank, and Balappa, and Narasappa of the Vamanna family, and Timmanna (desai) the head man and Venganna and others. They wrote out and gave the entire history.[37]

The scene depicted at the end of the history brings to light the ways in which these historical narratives were collected and recorded at the instigation of the British. Yet the history differs from the "historical sketches" or kaifiyats that make up the bulk of historical writing in the Mackenzie collection. The primary difference is that *Wars of the Rajas* fully narrativizes the particulars that the kaifiyats preserved

under the office of the karanam. In other words, it is a fully elaborated narrative that draws on narrative traditions high and low. The context of its production is made explicit in the above passage—the colonial state's desire for the history to legitimize the descendant's claim to ancestral lands. It is remarkable in narrating events and placing them in historical time without interspersing mythic elements more typical of genealogical traditions. Here, because the text was produced for the colonial state, there was little room for religious explanations of historical events. The history is a lament of the loss of the lands that were within the Hande family's possession for hundreds of years. In the eighteenth century, with the turbulent conflicts between the nawabs of Mysore, the Marathas, and the British, the Hande family is dispossessed of Anantapuram. Because Munro and the colonial state were the primary audience for which Siddappa Nayu was compiling his history of his family and their legitimate claims to Anantapuram, mythic elements seem conspicuously absent. Especially so since Munro, knowing that genealogical narrative was an important tradition in the region, asked Siddapa Nayu to present the family's purvottaram. However, rather than traditions of genealogy that may have been important for strategies of legitimacy in precolonial India, Siddapa Nayu, in order to appeal to the colonial authorities, presented a more "realistic" account of his family history—a history that was also agreeable to village elders (consider the gathering of village elders as witnesses that Munro insisted on). In this act of representing the family history of the Hande dynasty, Siddapa Nayu appropriates older modes, such as the purvottaram, and other genealogical modes but also conforms it to the expectations of Munro and the colonial state. There is a remarkable confluence of interests between Siddapa Nayu and the colonial state in agreeing to a historical mode in which a family history would be legitimately written.

The purpose of conveying the richness of the historical narratives in the Vijayanagaram kaifiyats and the *Wars of the Rajas* text edited and translated by C.P. Brown is to demonstrate that the production and circulation of historical narratives was very much a part of the polyglot textual traditions of south India before colonial rule but became intensified during colonial rule, especially so with the colonial preoccupation with propertied classes. However, what we become aware of in the *Wars of the Rajas* text is that in the compilation and production of historical narratives that answer the colonial state's requests for historical records, the kaifiyat records are written into a broader narrative history. The kaifiyats that were

compiled and collected under Mackenzie's supervision were compositions that reflected the polyglot heterogeneous nature of kaifiyat records. The kaifiyats, as documents, moved from genealogical recording of important families and their lineages to origin stories of the village names and finally often to a detailed accounting of land use in the village.

Historical narrative, as memorialized in both "high" and "low" genres, shows that it was central to the textual traditions of south India. Furthermore, as evidenced from the prevalence of historical narrative and the genealogical mode in the kaifiyat collections, we can assert that the importance of historical narrative as a privileged practice of preserving memory clearly filtered down to the kaifiyat collections, hence the centrality of historical narrative in the Vijayanagaram *kaifiyats*. The *kaifiyat* collections that Mackenzie and his assistants put together contained historical narratives along with land records, agricultural information, and sociological information on the caste groups prevalent in a particular village, which demonstrated that narratives (in the genealogical and historical mode) were treated as historical record. This explains why the village karanams preserved genealogies of principal families along with other records of village information. When Mackenzie and his assistants asked village karanams to give them access to what historical records they possessed, the karanams, by providing kaifiyats, indicated that they maintained village accounts in their families for generations even if the accounts were not uniformly and regularly maintained by all karanams. The village karanam then was key in procuring material for Mackenzie and his assistants for their antiquarian projects. For Mackenzie, the colonial antiquarian, the kaifiyats and the record-keeping practices of the village karanams represented "raw" material that he was searching for in his quest for an accurate historical record. The kaifiyats presented the antiquarian with traditions of genealogy as historical narrative that was present in Telugu textual traditions high and low along with the broader record-keeping practices of preserving and maintaining land grants.

Confronting the Kaifiyat Tradition: The Afterlives of Mackenzie's Archive

The task of assessing Mackenzie's archive began early after his death in 1821. Almost immediately, H. H. Wilson—the prominent Orientalist scholar—was offered the work of cataloging Mackenzie's collections to make them accessible to historians and others who would be

interested in researching India's authentic past with credible documents. Wilson was quite a monumental figure and was revered both by the East India Company (EIC) government and by his fellow philologists in Calcutta, Madras, London, and Europe. Wilson was in correspondence with Mackenzie just a year before Mackenzie died of ill-health at the age of 68 in Calcutta. Mackenzie, as was his habit, wrote to his friends who shared his passion for collecting, updating them on his progress with what he called his historical researches. After informing Wilson of the worship of the *lingam* (phallic symbol representing the Hindu god Shiva) that he found an interesting text on and inscriptions on copperplates that he was making copies of, Mackenzie wrote of his ill-health and his plans to take a vacation by the sea to recover.[38] Just a year later, Mackenzie died, and soon Wilson was called on to take on the project to catalog and annotate Mackenzie's collection. Wilson may have felt a sense of duty to continue Mackenzie's researches, having had personal contact with him as well as having known the worth of Mackenzie's archive. He would have known of the often enthusiastic support and encouragement Mackenzie received from the government at Madras and London and a number of other EIC officials who were involved in historical researches in India. Wilson himself was well placed in the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta at the time and was an obvious choice for the EIC to hand over the collection to. His catalog to the collection was published in 1828, and a few years later, in 1832, Wilson left for England to assume a position at Oxford: the Boden Chair of Sanskrit.[39] By that time, he had already established himself as a well-respected scholar in Sanskrit studies. He had been appointed secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1816 and in 1821 had published his essay on Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, a history of Kashmir, which was written in Sanskrit. However, Wilson, as a philologist, was unable to make sense of the polyglot and heterogeneous nature of Mackenzie's archive. He was able to identify some of the texts he encountered in the collection as being literary genres/traditions arising from Sanskrit and Telugu but reserved his praise for the established "high" literary practices and often dismissed the other documents. Because he lacked an antiquarian's sensibility, Wilson could not make sense of the notes and annotation provided by Mackenzie's native assistants, and as a result, was unable to find in Mackenzie's collection what he could consider a legitimate historical "source."

After Wilson's departure, we begin to see the efforts of Mackenzie's native assistant to take over the researches begun by his master/patron. Kavali Venkata Lakshmayya, Mackenzie's principal assistant,

accompanied him to Calcutta in 1818 when the latter was appointed surveyor-general of India. Mackenzie took along his collection in order to catalog it and prepare translations from it for publication. However, the plan did not come to fruition as Mackenzie soon died of illness. After Mackenzie's death in 1821, Lakshmayya stayed on in Calcutta until 1828 while he worked with Wilson on his *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Manuscripts*.[40] In 1829, Lakshmayya left for Madras and immersed himself in intellectual life there; a major undertaking was his founding of the Madras Hindu Literary Society. Lakshmayya applied in 1829 to continue to work on Mackenzie's researches and managed to move the manuscripts to the Library of the Madras Literary Society in 1830. Before that time, much of the manuscript collection and the inscriptions in south Indian languages had been housed in the Madras College library, after the EIC purchased the collection for 10,000 pounds from Mackenzie's wife after his death.[41] However, due to a complex set of constraints and limitations that native scholars faced in the new colonial regime, Lakshmayya was denied the opportunity to continue researches on Mackenzie's collections that he himself had been central in putting together. Rather, Rev. William Taylor was handed the job of cataloging and assessing Mackenzie collections in order to make them accessible for researchers. Taylor dismissed much of what he saw in Mackenzie's collection and instead highlighted what he found to be a Hindu proclivity for lying in the story traditions. Here again, Mackenzie's collection was misrecognized as a worthless set of storytelling traditions and collections instead of being acknowledged for encompassing a wider scope of literary practices. However, Charles Philip Brown managed to not only preserve much of the Telugu portion of the collection through copying key manuscripts and publishing parts of the collection, but he was also instrumental in making the Telugu portion public to Telugu speakers in the second half of the nineteenth century. He too misguidedly tried to make sense of the kaifiyats as literature. However, Brown was able to see the larger significance of examining the wider terrain of Telugu textual practices.

The complex process of collating and cataloging Mackenzie's collections in the nineteenth century reveals the vulnerabilities that the collection was subjected to. It is clear that very different colonial scholars handled the collection, which determined the ways in which the collection would be received by their successors. The collection was often misunderstood and misread by many. There seemed to be a cloud of suspicion on the part of the British because native

contributions were apparent everywhere. The collection could not be easily attributed to the sole efforts of Mackenzie. It was apparent that the collection was a result both of Mackenzie's efforts (enabled by his contacts with other British scholars around the Indian subcontinent) and his very able native assistants. As I argued in chapter 3, the travails of the Kavali brothers were not insignificant in terms of the eventual fate of Mackenzie's collection. Although Wilson's descriptive catalog assured that Mackenzie's collection would not be forgotten by historians, the efforts of the native assistants such as Lakshmayya and Ramaswami also assured that the collection would be recollected by subsequent generations of Telugu intellectuals—however, in rather different ways. The Mackenzie collection within Telugu intellectual circuits had an interesting history in the latter part of the nineteenth century as well as in the twentieth century. Even before twentieth-century Indian historians became interested in recovering and making available historical documents, literary and language reformists found something uniquely valuable in the collection. Kandukuri Veeresalingam (1848–1919), Gurzada Apparao (1862–1915), and Gidugu Venkata Ramamurti (1862–1940) saw particularly in the kaifiyats—documents collected by Mackenzie's assistants throughout southern India—everyday prose that could be resuscitated for educational purposes as well as for literary purposes. Gurzada Apparao, an important modern Telugu playwright, argued that Telugu prose was indebted to the work of Mackenzie and his assistants. This was indeed a bold claim, which had important consequences within Telugu intellectual history. Apparao conceded that samples of Telugu local tracts in the Mackenzie collections may not have been of equal or of high merit compared to literary texts but claimed that they reflected what was rare in Telugu literature: he wrote that the tracts reflected "the mind of the people and bear impress of the times."[42] Apparao proclaimed that the language used in the local histories was simple, direct, and vibrant precisely because it reflected local and everyday forms of language-usage. He was not alone in this perception. Other Telugu writers at the turn of the twentieth century also venerated this "simple" Telugu prose. Gidugu Ramamurti, an outspoken leader of the modern Telugu movement in the early part of the twentieth century, included a sample kaifiyat from Mackenzie's collection as an example of innovative use of modern simple prose style at the dawn of colonial rule in the Telugu-speaking regions.[43] The circulation of Mackenzie's project within Telugu intellectual circuits demonstrates the profound impact the project had on intellectual practices within south India. The archival

project not only shaped colonial historiography and historical practice within south India but also had other repercussions—most uniquely in Telugu literary arenas. The speech forms as recorded in the kaifiyat collections were taken up as important in shaping a new literary prose.

Within historical scholarship, in more recent times, T. V. Mahalingam published short narrative descriptions of the manuscripts in the Mackenzie collection. Mahalingam's descriptive catalogs of Mackenzie's collection remain authoritative to this day. However, it was K. A. Nilakanta Sastri who was the first Indian historian, back in the 1930s, who began the task of producing summaries of the manuscripts. Nilakanta Sastri began the task with the idea that the source material contained in the manuscript collection would be invaluable for historians of south India. This earlier generation of Indian historians in the first few decades of the twentieth century was keenly interested in unearthing new historical sources and therefore had sympathy for Mackenzie's researches that had been conducted a century earlier. In Madras, the first chair in Indian history and archaeology had been founded in 1914 at the University of Madras for S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. As a professional historian, Aiyangar was interested in making available what he considered to be "non-historical" or literary vernacular sources. For the earlier generation of Indian academic historians, Mackenzie's collection among others figured in their assessments of the state of the Indian historical record.[44] Owing to his prominent position at the University of Madras, Aiyangar was able to direct historical research, and toward this end he published vernacular sources. Nilakanta Sastri also followed in this tradition as did a great number of historians in the first half of the twentieth century. However, within Nilakanta Sastri's own lifetime, he was not able to complete the project of summarizing the contents of Mackenzie's collection and publishing the catalog. The work then continued into the 1970s when T. V. Mahalingam brought out two volumes, one devoted to Tamil and Malayalam and the other to Telugu, Kannada, and Marathi. Nilakanta Sastri gathered a number of scholars who were fluent in the various languages to translate and write synopses of the manuscripts.[45] Interestingly, this process mimicked what H. H. Wilson had done a century earlier. Nilakanta Sastri's assistants include: K. Sivaramakrishna Sastri, M. Ramakrishna Kavi, K. Srinivasachari, G. Harihara Sastri, M. Venkateswarlu, C. Munikrishna Rao, and N. Venkata Rao. There are 244 summaries in Mahalingam's volume, and around 40 percent of the total number of manuscripts are in Telugu. While it is clear that in the first half of the twentieth century, historians of south India made use of Mackenzie's collection, this

was done without a sustained critical look at how the collection came to be formed. While Nilakanta Sastri, M. Somasekhara Sarma, and N. Venkatamanayya, historians of early and medieval south India, made enormous strides in using the documents found in Mackenzie's collection, there was very little scrutiny of the collections themselves and of the colonial conditions of their production.[46]

More recently, there has been a remarkable return to the Mackenzie collection by scholars of colonial south India. Bernard Cohn's pioneering work on colonial classification practices brought to light the work of Colin Mackenzie in the production/construction of colonial knowledge for use by the state. For Telugu in particular, Peter Schmitthenner brought renewed attention to the collection through his study of the nineteenth-century philologist Charles Philip Brown, who had devoted considerable energy in preserving the Telugu manuscripts of the Mackenzie collection.[47] Cynthia Talbot carefully mined the collection of Telugu kaifiyats within Mackenzie's archive for historical narratives concerning early modern Andhra.[48] It was, however, Nicholas Dirks's investigations of the Mackenzie project and Mackenzie's relationship with his assistants that provided a radical shift in scholarship. Dirks painted a compelling portrait of a lone colonial official who was quite clearly central to the history of cartography in British India but whose antiquarian work was left in historical obscurity.[49] Dirks engaged with the entirety of Mackenzie antiquarian practices—from his surveying work to his collecting practices—and asked whether it would be more apt for us to see Mackenzie's work as distinct from the kinds of intellectual questions formulated within the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In other words, we cannot simply group Mackenzie with other Orientalists who were working under the patronage of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—especially as Mackenzie was not fluent in Indian languages. If he represented something starkly different in the production of colonial knowledge, how are we to understand his collecting project? In what way was the knowledge produced within the confines of Mackenzie's project different from Orientalist scholarship? This has led to not only my own study of Mackenzie's collection, but to broader discussions of the relation between Mackenzie and intellectual cultures of early colonial south India.[50]

Phillip Wagoner directly challenges Dirks and addresses the question of native authority in the formation of the collection and proposes a collaborationist model of intellectual inquiry as the basis for the collection's emergence.[51] Wagoner more straightforwardly addresses the question of native authority in the formation of the archive and

argues that Mackenzie was able to tap into precolonial institutions of knowledge and practices to construct the archive. Wagoner's method diverges from the others and reveals a more complex process in the production of colonial knowledge. He shifts to investigating the native assistants in order to carefully track their paths from precolonial institutions, within which they were able to cultivate and hone their intellectual practices and skills, to colonial ones. In this way, Wagoner is more concerned about showing the continuities between precolonial practices and colonies ones. He challenges Dirks in that Wagoner believes the project was collaborative between Mackenzie and his assistants, whereas Dirks implies that the native assistants were merely informants. It is clear that Wagoner is entirely correct to point out the institutional sites within which native assistants arose thereby eliminating the shroud of mystery surrounding the extent of native involvement in the collecting project. Native assistants were critical in mediating between Mackenzie's project and the local spaces, where they began to document textual and historical practices. With regard to Mackenzie's archival practices and the shaping of the Telugu historical record, the prior training and institutional location of the native assistants was undoubtedly critical in their being able to join up with the new scholarly endeavors of colonial officials. However, as I have argued earlier, the collaborationist model that Wagoner formulates as a way to elucidate relations between colonial officials and natives might not be the most appropriate. And it is here that Dirks's emphasis on colonial power as a way of understanding the production of colonial knowledge cannot be discarded. Whereas a greater engagement with new sources (as Wagoner's research demonstrates) provides a clear picture of the transition to colonialism in late-eighteenth-century south India, the analysis of colonial power and the structuring of colonial knowledge is not so easily dispensable.

Conclusion

Almost two centuries of engagement with the Mackenzie collection have passed and what we see is a project (that began with Mackenzie and Kavali Venkata Borayya in the last decade of the eighteenth century) that had become overlain with successive generations of scholars bringing critical historical concerns to the collections. One primary focus of historians of the late-twentieth- century has been to locate the authority of the pasts that have been preserved in the archive: how do we trust the narratives? In light of the work of Dirks

and Wagoner, we can now ask the question of how we are to understand the relationships forged between Mackenzie and his assistants. My examination of Mackenzie's archive attempts to bring together these concerns to not only address the problem of authority in the construction of the colonial archive but to also engage the issue of the shifts in historical practices and historical sensibility—especially in the colonial encounter with different traditions of historical narrative in the archive. I have argued that Mackenzie's archival project reveals not just the problem of native authority in the production of colonial forms of knowledge but also the construction of a Telugu historical record through the cultivation of antiquarian/historical practices among colonial officials and native assistants. Colonial officials and native assistants both centered their investigations in their search for an authentic historical record on the set of records that the village record-keepers (the karanams in the Telugu-speaking areas of the Madras Presidency) kept: the kaifiyats. The collections of kaifiyats became central to the construction of a historical record for Telugu in order to make south Indian pasts legible. The antiquarian practices of assessment helped to shape those records and to put in place new practices that were taken up enthusiastically by the native assistants.[52]

Mackenzie and his assistants encountered a diversity of textual traditions in south India when they traversed it in search of a historical record. They encountered textual practices that did not quite fit into the canon of literary texts and practices. However, it is clear that the practices they encounted, particularly in the village record office, reflected a broader spectrum of forms of historical narrative. These precolonial practices of history were firmly in place, whether in the genealogical mode or in the biographical mode, when Mackenzie moved across south India in search of an authentic historical record. Because Mackenzie was not a philologist and his sole concern was not with a single literary tradition and language, he was able to amass an expansive archive that was inclusive and often did not make distinctions between higher and lower genres and higher and lower textual practices. While in precolonial south India, the Telugu kaifiyat tradition of preserving historical particulars and narratives presented an alterative to higher literary traditions of historical narrative, in colonial times, the kaifiyat became easily appropriated and assimilated into new practices of history generated by the construction of colonial archives. As such, the kaifiyat as it entered the colonial archive, converged with the protocols of an emerging historiography.

As I have suggested, the colonial encounter was indeed productive as it gave rise to new historical practices in nineteenth-century south India. The shift was not sudden and revolutionary; rather, the movement was gradual as historical practices and record-keeping practices in south India were being reorganized. As Bhavani Raman recently argued, the new *munshi* culture in the Madras Presidency tried to reform the disparate practices associated with the karanam office—such as scribal practices—which freely used many scripts, languages, and separate offices in record-keeping institutions. Along with the reform of the office of the karanam, I suggest, came a gradual shift in historical practices as such to build a consensus on what constitutes historical writing and practices. My analysis of the Telugu kaifiyats began with looking at the institution of the village karanam and his duties, which called for him to collect genealogies and histories for villages along with keeping records of property, registers of what crops are grown in the region, and sometimes even what castes live in the village. There were two types of kaifiyats that I analyzed: those that were composed in the precolonial period and were not written at the request of Mackenzie; and those, such as *The Wars of the Rajas,* that were written as a response to colonial inquiries. However, within the kaifiyats themselves, older modes of historical composition continue. Moreover, the kaifiyat itself was transformed during the process of colonial archiving. The kaifiyat was read as information—a text from which information could be extracted. This reading strategy indicates a shift in historical sensibility, which privileges fact that can be attested to by evidence (an empirical method). The gradual movement from the genealogical tradition to the privileging of the kaifiyat as record shows the shift in the practices of history and history writing, in which the collection of kaifiyats that accounted for particulars of a region and a family was elevated in the new historiography.

5
Colonial Philology and the Progressive History of Telugu

> Language is therefore a kind of archive in which human discoveries are protected against the most harmful accidents, archives that flames cannot destroy and that cannot perish unless an entire nation is ruined.
>
> —Johann David Michaelis, 1759[1]

Maurice Olender, in *The Languages of Paradise*, argued that language was thought to be an archaeological record of a civilization by many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century theorists of language. The historical orientation of philological study became pertinent precisely in a climate that perceived Indian conceptions of history as poor and underdeveloped. Philology therefore became a privileged method for understanding India's pasts through an intense engagement with its rich literary cultures.

Whereas antiquarianism in south India was attuned to the production of historical sources and the forging of an accurate historical record, Orientalists who were trained in philological studies were concerned with using language study to reveal the deep history of Indian cultures and traditions. After the critique of Indian conceptions of history and the European discovery that there was an apparent lack of a historical record in India, Europeans delved into language study with fervor. For the philologists, the record of language promised to provide India with a deep historical past in the absence of historical genres in Indian textual traditions. Language as an object of study was indeed one of the earliest preoccupations of European travelers, missionaries and, most importantly in the nineteenth century, for the Orientalists. Ever since the sixteenth century, when sea-trade routes brought increased contact between Europeans and Indians, language acquisition naturally became a necessity for the numerous European adventurers who landed in southern Asia. However, before

official colonial state patronage of language study in the early part of the nineteenth century, European missionaries were the first to begin the process of documenting Indian languages. William Carey at the Serampore missionary was notable as a pioneer in compiling, collating, and writing grammars and vocabularies and in translating the Bible into the regional languages of India. Although the primary goal was undoubtedly conversion, the impact of these early efforts extended far beyond the narrow scope of conversion. Starting from the latter half of the eighteenth century, missionary intervention in language study prepared the way for European philologists to begin their investigations into the historical origins of Indian languages.

Missions and Language Study in South India

One of the earliest missions to take up the study of Telugu was located in Chandragiri in 1598, where Jesuit fathers learned both Sanskrit and Telugu. Soon afterwards, at the famous Madura mission, Robert de Nobili (1577–1656) learned Tamil, Telugu, and Sanskrit. In 1700, Rev. Beschi, after arriving in Goa, proceeded to Trichinopoly to study Tamil, Telugu, and Sanskrit. These early missionary forays into the study of Telugu were isolated efforts at best. There was no sustained effort that went beyond the basics of language acquisition for the explicit purpose of translating Christian scriptures. However, the work of the Reverend Benjamin Schultze stands out in the formative phase of the history of Telugu printing. Shultze was part of the Danish Mission at Tranquebar, on the southeastern coast of India, founded in 1705. In 1711 the EIC Court of Directors received an offer from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) to provide and maintain, in Madras, charity schools through the agency of the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar. The Danish missionaries arrived in Madras in the early part of 1717. The following entry, dated May 27, 1717, from the Madras Proceedings, is:

> the President lays before the Board a paper of proposals delivered him by Mr. Grundier, one of the Danish missionaries lately arrived from Tranquebar, for erecting two charity schools in this city.It is agreed that liberty be given for erecting two charity schools—one for Portuguese in the English town, and another for Malabars in the Black Town.[2]

As an agent of the SPCK, after working for nine years in Tranquebar, Schultze shifted to Madras in 1726. While in Madras, he embarked

upon opening a school in the Black Town section of Madras in 1728.[3] At this time, Schultze also wrote a Telugu grammar in Latin, *Grammatica Telugica*, published in Madras in 1728.[4] Schultze returned to Germany in 1742 and soon books in Telugu were printed in Halle, Germany, in the Roman script. Schultze also printed dialogues in Telugu. A total of six Telugu books were printed in Halle, all of which were on Christian themes.[5] In addition, Schultz is credited with being one of the first Europeans to compile a Telugu dictionary.[6] In this vein, Schultz figures prominently in histories of Telugu literature as a pioneer in the field of print technology for Telugu.

In the late-eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century, other prominent missions were established in the Andhra region, beginning with the London Missionary Society (LMS) that sent out its agents in 1795 to Bengal, Madras, Visakhapatnam, and Tranquebar. The mission arrived in Visakhapatnam in 1805; the reverend Augustus Des Granges and George Cran erected a mission house in 1806. The Bellary Mission arrived in 1812 and set up a press in 1825.[7] The Vernacular Tract Society was established in Bellary in 1817 and another one in Visakhapatnam in 1840. Godavari Delta Mission was set up in Narsapur in 1839. And in 1843, the North German Missionary Society was in Rajahmundry, which later passed on to the American German Lutherans in 1848. The Church Mission Society (CMS), which arrived in Masulipatnam in 1841, is best known for establishing the Noble school in the 1850s. The Madras Male Asylum press started in 1800 and the Madras Bible Society was established in 1802. All of this missionary activity contributed to the establishment of print technology in Telugu, as well as to the creation of teaching materials for the Telugu language. Most often, the Telugu books that were printed were translations of the Bible or dialogues of a religious nature meant for proselytizing.

It is worth noting that the missionaries were the first in developing typeface for many of the regional languages and in establishing printing presses in order to disseminate religious literature in south India. Print technology was developed as part of missionary work and was then transferred to the colonial state, which provided an institutional framework to develop educational material, first for the training of junior civil servants and then for the purposes of native education. With the establishment of the Madras School Book Society in 1820, the Government Press for the printing of the Fort St. George Gazette in 1831, the Madras Upayukta Grandhakarana Sabha that brought out elementary works in Telugu in 1847, and the district presses, which were started in 1855, printed books in Telugu

were brought out at an accelerated rate by the mid-nineteenth century.[8] The history of printing in Telugu takes a substantial leap forward with the steady stream of patronage it receives from the colonial state, which started in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Stuart Blackburn has persuasively argued that it was only when the resources cultivated by the missionaries shifted to Madras from provincial towns did "a print-led literary culture" emerge in the nineteenth century. Print revolutionized Telugu literary culture at an accelerated rate after the centralization of print technology in colonial centers such as Madras. This was not the case in the other important centers of print and literary activity, such as Tanjavur and Tranquebar. New patterns of patronage shifted away from the court of Serfoji II (1777–1832) and the mission town of Tranquebar. Tanjavur was the center of Tamil literary culture since the rule of the Cholas, from the medieval era, until and throughout the rule of the Marathas, between 1675 and 1855. However, Tanjavur was not free of contact with missions and the EIC. A Protestant mission was established in Tanjavur from the mid-eighteenth century. Serfoji himself was tutored by Protestant missionaries and he was known to have great appreciation for European literature and scientific inventions. In 1805, he installed a printing press in his palace. However, it was the colonial city of Madras—the commercial center of the EIC in southern India—that became the center of patronage by the end of the eighteenth century. It drew pandits and their text-making skills to the center of print technology and public patronage, thereby fostering new literary cultures in south Indian languages.[9]

The EIC and Official Orientalism

The arrival of Sir William Jones in Calcutta in 1783 is not insignificant, as it marked the colonial state's increasingly self-cultivated role in "preserving" Indian textual traditions. The first governor-general of India, Warren Hastings promoted the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, an institution that soon became renowned for its discovery of the Indo-European concept linking Indian languages genealogically to ancient Greek. Thomas Trautmann has meticulously documented how this discovery was made in the colonial city of Calcutta by Jones and his associates. The discovery of the Indo-European concept sent tremors through European intellectual circles in that it became the point of contention between advocates of biblical notions of time and proponents of secular time that the Orientalists and their supporters were part

of.[10] The Orientalists and their work with Indian languages and literatures were favorably received and consumed by literary Romanticism in England as well as in continental Europe. German Romanticism was notable in its reception of Sanskrit in the figures of Friedrich and August Wilhelm Schlegel, who studied Sanskrit and disseminated its literature in Germany.[11] The Asiatic Society was the principal means of philological research in India, and it firmly established the centrality of language in historical studies.

Besides the classical languages that were the primary focus of Orientalist scholarship, there were efforts to learn and teach the vernacular languages. It was pragmatic for the colonial state to encourage the learning of regional languages in order to facilitate the governing of new territories.[12] The establishment of the College of Fort William in Calcutta in 1800 and the College of Fort St. George in Madras in 1812 gave incentives to colonial officers to pursue study of vernacular languages. It is within this context that a strand of Orientalist scholarship toward the "revival" of vernacular languages and literatures developed. For nearly every major Indian language, there was a European patron to whom credit for "recovering" the respective regional language from the ruins of history was attributed.[13] Charles Philip Brown, the principal patron of Telugu, was the son of a missionary who became familiar with India at an early age. He was, however, sent back to England for his schooling and was trained to become a colonial civil servant. When he returned to India, he immersed himself in language study. He, like the other British scholars of Indian languages, began to write dictionaries, grammars, and printed manuscripts of literary texts. This set into process the standardization of languages or language as an identitarian form—a now familiar argument made by Benedict Anderson among others, in relation to nationalism and modernity.[14] However, rather than simply seeing modernity as unleashing processes of the standardization of language, I argue that Orientalist language study produced a new historical understanding of language. Mainly, that implicit in the idea that languages needed to be revived from a state of decay that the British found them in is the workings of new ideologies of progress that are unfolding in linear historical time. The commentary on the state of Indian languages and literatures was precisely focused on the degeneration of Indian languages and literatures as a result of political decay of the old regime. The new understanding of historical time had embedded within it a necessary critique of the old regime.

In other words, alongside the antiquarian preoccupations of colonial scholar-officials who were looking to produce an accurate chronology

of south India history, philological researches of Indian languages (what I will subsequently refer to as colonial philology) fostered a new conception of history that entered the discourse on language imputing a linear directionality to it, as well as on leaving behind enduring consequences for the future of those languages. By a new conception of history, I mean to signal a progressive narrative that gave languages a biological necessity for growth and development. This new conception of history arose within the context of the institutionalization of researches on Indian languages through the Asiatic Society of Bengal, based in Calcutta, and what has recently been coined as the Madras School of Orientalism, based in the colonial city of Madras.

Thomas Trautmann proposes that there was a distinct school of Orientalist scholarship in Madras—a group of colonial scholar-officials who differed from the Calcutta Orientalists primarily in their offering of new readings of the history of India with access to a different set of materials. As a consequence, they were able to make radically different discoveries in the arenas of language, law, and religion. The discoveries surrounding language were the most exceptional and the most relevant for an understanding of colonial philology and the cultivation of a new conception of history. Within language study, one of the notable discoveries that was made in Madras related to what Trautmann has called the Dravidian Proof. Francis W. Ellis led the investigations into the discovery of the separate linguistic group under the heading of Dravidian, which was distinct from the Indo-European concept proposed by the Calcutta Orientalists. The Dravidian group, Ellis and his associates argued, were not derivative of Sanskrit, and they encompassed the south Indian languages of Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam. Trautmann argues that in these linguistic investigations carried forward by the Madras Orientalists, two traditions of language analysis converged: European historically oriented language analysis and the Indian vyakarana-based grammatical knowledge of Sanskrit, Tamil, and Telugu, which came together to produce the Dravidian Proof. It is this historically oriented language analysis that was current in Europe and that left behind other consequences besides the discoveries of the Indo-European and Dravidian language groups.

C. P. Brown and the Revival of Telugu

In the nineteenth century, Telugu was one of the first languages taught in the colleges of Fort William (Calcutta) and Fort St. George (Madras) and subsequently became embroiled in philological debates over the

origins of Indian languages in the early part of the century. At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, a movement arose that concerned itself with democratizing Telugu and making it accessible to all and asserted that all uses of Telugu constituted one linguistic community.[15] Now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, Telugu claims the largest number of speakers, after Hindi and Bengali. Certainly, Telugu has a unique place in the history of twentieth-century India in that it was at the forefront of the movement toward the reorganization of states along linguistic lines in postindependent India.[16] A century and a half of colonial intervention and engagement with Telugu had lasting consequences in shaping the trajectories of modern Telugu literature and modern Telugu educational initiatives.

Charles Philip Brown[17], the foremost scholar of Telugu in the nineteenth century, often referred to the degraded status of Telugu when he began his work. In 1824, Brown wrote in his preface to translations of the seventeenth-century Telugu poet Vemana: "During the eighteenth century, the incursions of the Mohamedans effectually crushed the literature of Telangana; it has fallen low; and the colloquial dialect has become equally corrupt—men are now rarely met with among them who can read or explain the classical authors of the language."[18] Brown's words draw attention to what he saw as the state of decay that Telugu literature supposedly fell into in the eighteenth century. Furthermore, he believed that his efforts in writing grammars and compiling dictionaries as well as in printing Telugu manuscripts were invaluable in reversing that trend. In the following passage, he expounded on the impact of the British on Telugu literary production:

> Twenty-five years of peace in Telangana under the British government have now afforded opportunities for some revival of literature. The establishment of the Honourable Company's College at Madras, and the encouragement there held out to good scholars in the language may have effected some revival; but much remains yet to be done. No poem or classical composition in Telugu has hitherto been printed; and I believe no translation of a classic into English has been attempted.[19]

In 1824, Brown began his philological career as a scholar of Telugu with the publication of this translation and outlined the tasks ahead of him for the "revival" of Telugu literature. He was committed to leaving his mark on Orientalist scholarship, a scholarly practice initiated and patronized in British India by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

With his claim that Telugu was in a state of disarray due to historical conditions before the full conquest of Andhra by the British, Brown nevertheless conceded that Telugu had accomplished a great deal in the field of literature. However, even as he acknowledged that Telugu, at a point in time, did enjoy a higher status according to his own idea of a universal scale of literary achievement, he felt that the lowly state of Telugu, as he found it in the early nineteenth century, was primarily due to *neglect* on the part of Telugu writers. He proposed that without proper grammars, dictionaries, and a dynamic literary community, the program of reviving Telugu literature would be rendered futile. By clearing the ground for his intervention, Brown set about to revive and reform Telugu literature.

Whereas for Brown it was "neglect" that adversely affected Telugu literary culture, H. H. Wilson, the eminent Sanskritist, who was one of the principlal cataloguers of the Mackenzie collection of manuscripts in the East India House Library instead pointed to the "derivative" nature of Telugu as a sign of its stagnation. In Wilson's words, "Although however the Telugu dialect is not derivative from Sanscrit, its literature is largely indebted to the writings in that language."[20] For Wilson, then, the moments of literary achievement in Telugu were almost entirely indebted to Sanskrit; for the "principal portion of *Telugu* literature is Translation," writes Wilson.[21] Interestingly, nineteenth-century literary historians of Telugu pick up on this theme of "translation" as the moment when Telugu literary culture emerged.[22] For these historians, the borrowing of Sanskrit syntax and form by the Telugu poets was not seen as a flaw in the history of Telugu literature, but rather, Sanskrit was most often seen as the source of creative and expressive literature. In contrast, Wilson viewed translation, the originary moment of Telugu literature, as indicative of the derivative nature of this particular vernacular tradition. The idea of translation as the inverse of originality, a fairly common view held by colonial scholars of literatures of South Asia, lent itself to the subsequent misrecognition of what Telugu writers ultimately saw as a creative relationship, not one of dependence (or parasitic) as was interpreted by Wilson and Brown.

Even Brown, with his acknowledgement that Telugu literature had a dynamic history, wrote scathingly of a dominant strand in Telugu literature, specifically, what he saw as brahminical dominance in Telugu literary production that shaped a certain kind of literature. Brown stated: "In truth I consider the higher poets mere rubbish. Or else, mere translations—unworthy study." He then asserted:

> Those that are even called originals are imitations of Sanscrit. All these are of three sorts: Instructions, Learned, and Licentious. The

> instructive (teaching idolatrous foolery) consists of translations of the Mahabharat the Bhagavat and the Ramayan: with other Chronicles: and mystic volumes. The Learned (wretched pedantry) consist of the Vasu Charitra & other poems which European readers would consider pedantic. The Amorous or demoralising consists of the Sara Vijaya Anirud.[23]

From these comments made by Brown, it is hard to believe that he was in fact sympathetic to the history and future of Telugu literature. Brown's views on translations, imitations, and originals in Telugu literature coincided to some degree with H. H. Wilson's. However, Brown attributed the tendency toward imitation in Telugu literature to brahmins and their adherence to the Sanskrit *marga* (way) tradition.[24] Wilson, on the other hand, focused his critique on what he believed were the putative claims of the literary integrity of Telugu as it stood apart from Sanskrit literary culture. Even in light of the newly discovered separate group of languages that comprised the Dravidian group, including Telugu, along with Tamil, Kannada, and Malayalam, Wilson seemed incapable of making sense of Telugu tradition, as distinct from Sanskrit.[25] Wilson's reading of Telugu literature in this manner elided centuries of Telugu literary production.

We know from the literary record of a number of Indian languages that regional literary cultures had a longer history of unification and standardization than what is apparent from colonial scholarship. Despite being aware of the rich literary history, colonial philology managed to bring down the vernacular literary cultures to a "ground zero" point from which new and modern literary languages were constructed in order to facilitate modern literary production, the development of new genres of writing, and modes of communication. What happened to the prior historicity of these literary cultures in the refashioning and reinvention of languages and literatures in nineteenth-century India? How was the infantilization of the vernaculars possible when these languages possessed already formed literary cultures? In other words, how did this scholarship encounter the highly developed literary cultures of South Asia? And in what ways was that history contained and tamed in order for colonial philology to build new proposals for literary transformation in the vernaculars? It is my contention that colonial philology's historical understanding of language allows it to view Indian languages and literatures as developing in progressive time, as stagnating and also as degenerating in certain historical moments (especially so in the immediate precolonial period before British colonial rule).

Premodern Telugu Literary Culture

I take the case of Telugu, a language whose literary history goes back to the mid-eleventh century, with the composition of Nannaya's *Mahabharata,* composed under the patronage of the Eastern Chalukyas.[26] Nannaya described himself as the *kula-brahmana* (family guru) for Rajarajanarendra (1018–1061) who ruled from Rajahmundry in present-day West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh.[27] Prior to the first expressive literary work in Telugu, Telugu prose had appeared in the inscriptional record that dated back to the middle of the first millennium. And the first inscription that showed a developed literary style was from the seventh century C.E. This record shows that before Nannaya, Telugu was indeed spoken in the region for a very long time and was also the inscriptional record, both of which indicate that there was a gradual development of Telugu as a literary language. Narayana Rao and Shulman have argued that Telugu developed into a literary language only after the absorption of Sanskrit literary culture. This differs from the Tamil record in that Tamil (maybe because of the presence of an older literary culture) gradually absorbed Sanskritic forms over a longer period of time. Telugu, on the other hand, absorbed these Sanskritic forms quickly and completely before it emerged as a literary language in its own right. This influence is evident in Nannaya. For example, Rao and Shulman have demonstrated that his literary style combines long Sanskritic compounds with Dravidian-based Telugu words, which consequently becomes characteristic of the classical style in Telugu for almost an entire millennium.[28]

This classical style emerged in Telugu as the pinnacle of literary achievement by the late-fourteenth century, when Telugu was elevated to the status that was previously enjoyed by Sanskrit. Nanne Coda, a twelfth-century poet, wrote:

> Earlier, there was poetry in Sanskrit, called *marga*.
>
> The Calukya kings and many others caused poetry to be born
> in Telugu and fixed it in place, as *desi*, in the Andhra land.[29]

These lines of Nanne Coda indicate the emergence of regional tradition that was evolving during his lifetime. Scholars of Telugu literature have argued that with the emergence of vernacular literary cultures in South Asian languages, as soon as the literary cultures became established as "marga" in their own right, a split between *marga* (great tradition) and *desi* (local tradition) ensued within the regional literary culture. When Telugu was emerging as a language

that was worthy of literary achievement, it compared itself to the dominant tradition of Sanskrit. Telugu had to come to terms with its identity as a regional, vernacular, literary culture that was subordinate to Sanskrit. However, when Telugu became a "marga" tradition itself, it took on the role of the purveyor of aesthetic ideals: a role that Sanskrit had previously enjoyed.

Sheldon Pollock's work centers precisely on this thrust toward vernacularization that occurred simultaneously across a vast geography that ranged from Western Europe to southern Asia and that acknowledged significant differences between the European case and the Indian one. Pollock questions the factors that led to the breakdown of the cosmopolitan languages and their role in unifying peoples and cultures across a vast region. The Sanskrit cosmopolis, for instance, stretched all the way from Afghanistan to Southeast Asia. It must be kept in mind, though, that the Sanskrit cosmopolis consisted of literary and political elites who had access to traditions of learning, which enabled them to become equipped with literary skills in Sanskrit. Yet, at a certain point in time, these literary and political elites across this vast region began to turn to local languages rather than to the cosmopolitan options for their literary endeavors. Whether this inward gaze toward the local and the regional reflects larger political and economic shifts across southern Asia needs further historical scrutiny. For Telugu, the inward shift is indicated by the creative work of accomplished poets such as Nannaya and Nanne Coda in the eleventh century.

A fifteenth-century poet, Srinatha, wrote:

> Seeing its diction, some say it's tough as Sanskrit.
> Hearing the idiom, others say it's Telugu.
> Let them say what they want. I couldn't care less.
> My poetry is the true language of this land.[30]

Here, Srinatha draws a connection between the language and the region in which it resides; he indicates that what he cares to communicate in his poetry is the language *of* the land.[31] When Nanne Coda and Srinatha assert that their language is more authentic because it is particular or local and that their poetry is more true to the land, they are resisting the imprint of the marga tradition. Yet, they also participate in the consolidation of the cosmopolitan vernacular, the elevation of Telugu to the status of a transportable tradition. Pollock's definition of cosmopolitan as that which can travel and the vernacular as that which stays local is a useful way of understanding the dialectic between the two ways in which literary

cultures functioned within a language. Therefore, two strands of literary culture developed within Telugu: one, the marga tradition, and the other, the desi tradition. The marga/desi, which in the earlier period had described the relationship between Sanskrit and the local/regional languages, shifted in the vernacular millennium to an internal division. In order for a Telugu marga tradition to establish itself, it had to undergo processes of standardization and unification long before the advent of modernity and print capitalism. However, the forces of standardization and unification that Pollock signals as constitutive of premodern development of vernacular languages are quite different from those of its modern counterparts. Lisa Mitchell's recent work on how the idea of a mother tongue emerged in Andhra offers an alternative understanding of these early modern processes of language unification that took place in south India. Mitchell modifies Pollock's formulation by suggesting that these earlier instances of shifts in literary communities and their choice and use of language did not correspond to new views of language as an *identity* marker—a claim she reserves for the late colonial and postcolonial period in which cultural and linguistic nationalisms were on the rise.[32]

Brown and Colonial Philology

This detour we have taken in considering how Telugu underwent processes of standardization and unification in the early modern period should not detract us from the radical ways in which colonial philology transformed the conceptualization of vernacular languages. Whether or not processes of standardization of languages that were carried out through print—what Benedict Anderson argued in *Imagined Communities*—contributed to the formation of national consciousness is outside the scope of this chapter.[33] However, the teleology of Anderson's model, which implies that standardization was inevitable, following the processes of modernization that the colonial state fostered, needs to be grappled with and contested. As Pollock has argued, in precolonial times, languages did undergo forms of standardization as well as express forms of regionalism.[34] Then, what were these new processes that were unleashed by colonial philological studies, and how were they different from those that preceded the colonial period? Philological study of Telugu provided a particular kind of unification to the language through the compilation of dictionaries, the writing of "modern" grammars, and the printing of literary manuscripts.[35] It introduced a new temporality

in its conceptualization of Telugu by placing it within a narrative of progressive modernity.

In fact, Telugu literary histories unscrupulously take on the narrative of British enlightenment. One history of Telugu literature, which was written in English during the early part of the twentieth century, frames the modern period in the following manner:

> The advent of the British brought the Andhra culture into contact with the vitalising influences of Western literatures and arts. The intelligentsia acquired a knowledge of English literature. Under its influence, literary tastes are changing, and literary ideals undergoing radical transformations. New ideals challenge attention and evoke enthusiasm; new watchwords are springing up. On the one side, love for the vernaculars is being intensified; on the other side, there is a growing, almost a petulant, impatience with the old forms and ideals.[36]

Along with colonial observers, native Telugu intellectuals too began to refer to the changes taking place with Telugu during the latter part of the nineteenth century as a triumph of modernization. How and why do Telugu writers begin to take up the call for modernizing the language? Charles Philip Brown and his work on Telugu that started in the early nineteenth century may provide some clues.

Brown left an indelible mark in the field of Telugu literature in three different ways: (1) as a writer of dictionaries; (2) as a writer of grammars; and (3) as a collector of literary manuscripts. Brown was the foremost nineteenth-century British scholar of Telugu and saw himself as reviving Telugu literature from the state of "decadence" that it had supposedly reached at the end of the eighteenth century. Telugu literary histories, even to this day, honor Brown with the title of the "savior" of Telugu and as one who brought Telugu to its modern form.[37] There is an important tradition of literary history at the turn of the twentieth century that looks upon Brown's scholarship as giving rise to modern prose in Telugu.[38] In this particular historiography, Brown is sometimes presented as an advocate of the desi traditions, ones that rely on *accha* (good) or pure Telugu, rather than on the Sanskritic marga literary culture on which there was an orthodox brahminical hold.[39] Through his researches and collaborations with Telugu scholars, Brown he is credited with constructing a comprehensive literary history of Telugu. In Brown's own words, he unabashedly attributed the promotion of Telugu literature to himself. In several published papers as well as in private notes, he wrote

of his triumphs and failures in the "revival" of Telugu literature. In an unpublished paper titled "Plans for the Revival and Promotion of Telugu Literature," Brown outlined his progress in the course of thirty years while working on Telugu.[40] This progress began with his proposal for a Telugu library in 1827 made to the numerous publications that followed.[41] First, his explanation of Telugu prosody, which was published in 1827, established Brown as an expert in Telugu. Then in 1829 came his edition of the seventeenth-century Telugu poet Vemana's work with accompanying English translations. The other major project that he embarked upon was the Telugu dictionary project of the 1820s. Subsequently, between 1838 and 1844, he published several Telugu and Sanskrit books; finally, in 1852, he published his magnum opus, the dictionary of Telugu. In 1868, Brown, after reflecting on his studies and on his entire stay in India, asserted, "In 1825 I found Telugu literature dead; In thirty years I raised it to life."[42] Leaving aside his posturing of single-handedly bringing the language and literature of the Telugus to the modern era, there is, implicit in his understanding of Telugu in the nineteenth century, the awareness that colonial intervention was necessary for the "revival" of the language. It is this latter point that I am concerned with.

It was important for Brown to see himself as the sole authoritative scholar of Telugu, working not only to bring to the surface all the literary treasures that the tradition contained but also to be able to pronounce judgment on it with the assuredness of a native Telugu speaker. Even while Brown repeatedly asserted his authority, there was a constant strain of insecurity that ran through his writings: the fear that he would not be taken seriously by the native Telugu intelligentsia because of his foreignness and because of his late introduction to the language. These are the contradictions of Brown: on the one hand, he was adamant about proving to himself as well as to other Orientalists and Western scholars that Telugu was worthy of philological study as it held the key to understanding the worldview of the Telugu speakers, and on the other hand, he was impatient with what he saw as the brahminical hold on the literature that encouraged a parasitically dependent relationship to Sanskrit. At times, the latter seemed a legitimate concern for Brown as he presented himself as the champion of the "popular" in literature and religion. He proclaimed that to "promote the lower against the higher author is a rebellion worth aiding. Let Yema beat the Vasu Charitra and the Palnat Charitra above the Manu Charitra. No Englishman can become a sincere supporter of the old rule, why

should he sell himself to advocate nonsense."[43] He continues,

> In conclusion we may observe that the entire library of the Telugus furnishes ample proof of their being indeed a literary people but still a luxurious priest ridden race, like that of South America frequently conquered, all indolent, some devout & some visionary.[44]

However, most often, his derogatory comments on brahmins and Sanskrit seemed to be derived from the constant feeling that he was excluded from the inner circle of brahminical knowledge. Brown oscillates between praising brahmins for their knowledge systems (and feeling a sense of pride himself for mastering these systems) and deriding Telugu brahmins for their unoriginal contribution to Telugu literature, in particular, their "dependence" on "translations" from Sanskrit.

Despite his insecurities regarding the brahmin community, Brown did not hesitate to compliment his own philological efforts. In one of his first publications on Telugu, Brown introduced the literature as having a long established history. He concluded:

> Telugu is a principal language of the peninsula of India. It is ancient; and has been highly cultivated. The nation of the Telugus was in former times very powerful, and its princes gave considerable encouragement to literature...It possesses a very scientific grammar, and a system of prosody nearly as highly polished as that of the Greeks.[45]

His conclusion was that his efforts were not wasted on an unworthy language. It was important for him to ascribe to Telugu the status of high culture. The parallel he drew with Greek was a way of attributing a strong and established literary history for Telugu. That Telugu literature was ancient, that it was encouraged and sustained by royal patronage as well as a scientific grammar, that there was a notion of the science of language within the tradition—all of these attributes made for a highly cultivated language, in Brown's eyes. The praise worked as a double-edged sword in that it made Telugu that much more worthy of extensive philological study.

Writing Dictionaries and Grammars

Philologists in the nineteenth century believed that one of the principal characteristics of a "developed" language was the possession of a comprehensive dictionary and a scientific grammar. Hans Aarsleff,

in his erudite *The Study of Language in England, 1780–1860*, argued that Sir William Jones, at the forefront of the new philology in the Indian subcontinent, viewed language study as instrumental; that the larger philosophical questions concerning Man and Nature were the ultimate goal in the study of language.[46] The new philology came to be seen primarily as the means by which the accumulation of knowledge would take place on the ever-expanding horizon of European knowledge through colonial conquests. Ultimately, researches into the languages of South Asia were to shed light on greater philosophical questions, as Jones explicated in his inaugural speech for the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Aarsleff writes that Jones was in fact aligning himself intellectually with Samuel Johnson, who wrote in his preface to his dictionary that language study was not an end in itself. However, Jones goes further than Johnson and makes the claim that language study opens up the possibility of the historical understanding of a culture and a civilization. The idea is that a historical study of language, through an examination of its textual traditions, can reveal the historical stages of a culture's development and trace what the culture was capable of producing at a certain point in time. This understanding of philology gained status through its association with the new society based in Calcutta. This philological inquiry, which viewed language study as not an end in itself but, rather, as an opening up of philosophical questions concerning civilizational achievements of humankind, enabled comparison, which then produced new sets of philosophical observations.

Interestingly, C. P. Brown invokes Johnson's dictionary when venturing into the business of writing a grammar for Telugu and compiling a Telugu dictionary. Brown, not as philosophically ambitious as Jones, comfortably takes on the role of the "writer of dictionaries" that Johnson laid out in the preface to his dictionary:

> Among these unhappy mortals is the writer of dictionaries; whom mankind have considered, not as the pupil, but the slave of science, the pioneer of literature, doomed only to remove rubbish and clear obstructions from the paths through which Learning and Genius press forward to conquest and glory, without bestowing a smile on the humble drudge that facilitates their progress.[47]

Brown explicitly saw himself as carrying on the drudgery of language work. Following a precedent in colonial India, he began to study the existing grammars and dictionaries in Telugu in order to assess not only the language as it stood but also to seek out ways

to improve Telugu. Brown held great admiration for Orientalist scholarship—from philosophical speculations to the meticulous scholarship that is entailed in language study. However, he laid emphasis on the minutiae of language work: the compiling of lists of words for comprehensive dictionaries; the collecting, collating, and finally, the translation of literary manuscripts. Brown had a number of predecessors who had written grammars and dictionaries for use in the College of Fort St. George in Madras.[48] However, he sought outside models. Brown had Johnson's dictionary bound with blank pages in order to make notes for a Telugu dictionary. His use of an interleaved copy of Samuel Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language* was a tribute to Johnson and the latter's dictionary project was a source of inspiration for his own work toward a comprehensive Telugu-English dictionary.[49]

Brown, reflecting on the compilation of the dictionary proclaims:

> He who writes a dictionary of an unexplored language is often misled. When I was first reading the Telugu Mahabharat in 1825 (having first numbered each stanza) when I came to a new word, my learned assistant gave me the meaning in colloquial Telugu [+or Sanscrit or Hindee+]; and this I recorded in my dictionary. But it occurred again twice or thrice and each time I had to record a new meaning. At last I remonstrated on this, pointing out the different passages I had collected with the contradictory interpretations given by him. He replied, "Sir, if you write down all we say, who can endure it? Perhaps the word in question is unknown to me; I therefore suggest some interpretations."[50]

Brown was aware of the labor that went into dictionaries. There were a few precedents to Brown's dictionary of Telugu, first published in 1852. His dictionary is still in print and remains one of the more comprehensive dictionaries for modern Telugu. However, when Brown embarked on the dictionary project, he faced competition from the other colonial scholars who were working on Telugu. In addition to publishing a grammar of the Telugu language, A. D. Campbell, Brown's predecessor, also published a Telugu dictionary in 1821. Before that, William Brown brought out a Telugu dictionary in 1818. In 1832, J. Nicholas printed "A Vocabulary of English and Teloogoo," and in 1835, John Carnac Morris published "a Dictionary English and Teloogoo," with the second volume, published by the board for the College of Fort St. George, coming out in 1839. There was another vocabulary in 1841, before Brown's dictionary, which

was composed by a native Telugu speaker, C. Ramakrishna Sastrulu, entitled "Vocabulary in English and Telugu." Finally, Brown's dictionary was printed in 1852, and later, in 1854, his "Dictionary of the mixed Dialect and foreign words used in Telugu."[51]

Brown often refers to the "Dravidian" origins of Telugu. As a consequence of this discovery that Sanskrit was not the "originary" language, Brown could only conclude that the relationship between Sanskrit and Telugu was one of dependence, implying that it was an unproductive and parasitic relationship. He commented:

> Our earliest English Grammars were arranged on the Latin system; and the oldest grammatical treatises on Telugu were constructed on the Sanscrit plan, though the two languages are radically different. The native grammarians of the present day are fond of the expression that "Sanscrit is the mother;" but this does not allude to its origin; it merely denotes dependance [sic], because we cannot speak Telugu without using Sanscrit words.[52]

When reflecting on this very role that he had taken on in relation to Telugu, Brown wrote the following in the Preface to *The Grammar of the Telugu Language*: "Innovations can only be made by poets; and even such as they make do not always become current. My province was merely to observe, record, arrange, and explain facts, and to produce quotations in proof of my statements."[53] Although Brown understood that a poet had a very special relationship to language, one that elevated language to a higher status, the grammarian was the custodian of language. The role of the custodian included monitoring changes in language and providing explanations for the different uses of the language as well as acting as a guide. Brown understood his role as one imbued with scientific rigor in devising methods to properly study language and to record it for the benefit of its speakers. This role of the philologist as scientist, one that involved specialized skills, evokes Johnson's idea of the "writer of dictionaries."

However, Brown does not mourn the secondary status of the grammarian.[54] Partly, this was due to his conviction that Telugu literature had reached a state of decay in the eighteenth century, a view that largely resulted from early colonial historiography.[55] In order for literary innovation to be at the helm of language again, Brown believed that Telugu had to be "revived" as well as "reformed." Therefore, in his view, the role of the grammarian was central because without that kind of work, poetic innovation would be impossible. Brown elevated his own role to that heightened status.

When Brown undertook the task of preparing a definitive grammar for Telugu, he encountered "indigenous" practices. In the preface to his grammar, he outlined the process of study he underwent and offered improvements. The underlying reason for the reformulation of what a grammar of Telugu should entail was to aid the study of the language, so that the grammar became a tool for beginners to embark on the acquisition of Telugu, Telugu not being their mother tongue. The tradition of grammars within Telugu, as it was inherited from Sanskrit, was not for these explicit purposes. In fact, traditional grammars in Telugu were mainly for those interested in literature, whether they were writers or critics, in other words, those who were already quite adept at written Telugu. Velcheru Narayana Rao's astute remarks on grammars in medieval Andhra demonstrate that the role of grammars was not primarily to initiate a new speaker into a language; rather, they were composed in order to sanctify language: to attribute language with godly characteristics. A grammar, writes Rao, "was not merely a set of rules that describe the language; it was the knowledge given by god to create a sanctified language—the very essence of ultimate reality."[56] Rao suggests that the ideological motivations of language scholars in late medieval Andhra involved the negotiation of the relationship between marga and desi traditions. The aura of Sanskrit in the early modern period was linked to its unintelligibility.[57] The task of the marga poet was to spread this message. Rao suggests that Appakavi, the seventeenth-century grammarian of Telugu, elevated Telugu to a sanctified status.

Brown, on the other hand, could not see any merit in the Telugu grammarians, starting with Nannaya:

> According to European arrangements the Chintamani is not a Grammar: it is merely a learned essay intended to convey to Bramins, on Sanscrit principles, the peculiarities of Telugu. The author notices every rule which seems to accord with Sanscrit and without reason excludes a great number of those which are indigenous. Learned bramins believe Sanscrit to contain every principle worth knowing; and are apt to reject as base and worthless every new fact in philology.[58]

Brown, with his knowledge of and training in the new philology, felt that he was equipped to judge Telugu and its achievements (through its literary traditions) in an objective manner. Philology, for him, was clearly a rational set of rules to examine language—rules that could be deployed for any language. Through his philological lens, he found

Telugu grammars to be flawed. The primary flaw was their lack of objectivity and their blatant support of brahminical hierarchy. Because of what he saw as brahminical maneuverings, grammars were not objective: rather, they put forward their ideology. In Brown's grammar of Telugu, he evaluates Appakavi's grammar. From that grammar, Brown appropriates Appakavi's system of etymology and disregards the rest. Brown takes from Appakavi the four classes from which the origin of words in Telugu can be traced: "In etymology Appacavi discriminates Telugu words into four classes, called I. Tatsama, II. Tadbhava, III. Desya, IV. Gramya. I omit other refinements: but these four phrases so often occur that they call for remark."[59] The first two refer to words derived from Sanskrit, the third to words of ancient indigenous words, and finally, the fourth to "foreign" words that have entered Telugu. Lisa Mitchell has established that colonial philologists like Brown and his predecessor A. D. Campbell reinterpreted these categories very differently from their precolonial uses. Mitchell writes that "Gramya" originally referred to village dialect, whereas Brown interprets it as "foreign."[60] Brown employs this same system of etymology in his dictionary project. There the four levels were similar to Appakavi's, except that instead of dividing the first two classes of words derived from Sanskrit, Brown classified them into one group and added another one for English influences.[61] Brown used Appakavi's work as a guide to further his studies toward an appropriate grammar for modern use.

Additionally, Brown encounters another traditional tool, the vocabulary, in the tradition of the *Amara Kosha* in Sanskrit. Also, Brown studies the treatises on Telugu prosody. Brown ultimately considered all these traditional works on language inadequate for modern language training. It must be kept in mind that Brown's work on the grammar, dictionary, and Telugu readers, all had one explicit purpose. The readership of these works would be comprised entirely of British officers who were being trained in the colonial colleges that were set up to train officers in the spoken languages of the British territories. However, Brown made use of many or all of the traditional tools in mastering Telugu himself. Even though he freely criticized the methods of native tutors, he knew that he was indebted to those very methods:

> Our learned assistants will disapprove the course of reading I have marked out: they zealously recommend books (especially the Bhagavat) which would soon discourage the student. A perusal of the volumes they venerate is considered an act of homage to the gods, conferring merit on the teacher and on the learner. *But*

> *the Brahmans are excellent instructors, patient, humble, and admirably skilful.* Until I had studied the poems with them for seven years, *I did not perceive how perfect they are in learning* [my italics].[62]

In this rare occurrence, Brown reserved praise for the Brahmin pandits and expressed his admiration for their techniques in learning. Nevertheless, through his experience in acquiring knowledge of Telugu from pandits and traditional methods, Brown understood the inadequacies of using these materials for the training of civil servants. He compared Hindu grammarians to those of China, because they too neglected the colloquial dialect and only taught "poetical peculiarities": "They are willing to aid our studies, either in Telugu poetry or in Sanscrit; they are reluctant to teach us the language of common business: but unless we first surmount this, the lowest step (which natives attain untaught) how can we climb to the highest?"[63] Brown charged that the classical languages that Brahmins were willing to teach Europeans were full of pedantry and not in any way useful for practical and local knowledge.[64] Brown was convinced that there was a Brahmin conspiracy that was working to keep the English from gaining local knowledge. Brown conceded that the traditional methods employed by Telugu pandits were useful for teaching poetry, but when it came to the kind of language acquisition that was indispensable for the colonial state and the training of civil servants, they were inadequate.

The grammar and dictionaries that Brown assembled were meant to cater precisely to these needs and to cater to non-native speakers so that they could learn Telugu to conduct business and for daily communication. Brown did rely on "indigenous" practices for understanding the language and literature of the Telugus. However, the methods devised for making language training easier, especially for the non-Telugu speaker, are derived from Brown's philological training. His insistence on a scientific engagement with language, when he wrote that his job was to "to observe, record, arrange, and explain facts, and to produce quotations in proof of my statements," was to proclaim that although he was not a literary innovator in Telugu, he would clear the ground to enable new innovations in the language for others to take on. He elevated his philological approach over and above the traditional methods of language analysis that he encountered in the study of Telugu. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century theories of language and debates that surrounded the deployment of the new philology in India informed Brown's conceptualization of the history of Telugu. More importantly, they informed his ideas

of his own role in transforming and shaping the language. Even as Brown relied upon and recovered traditional tools from Telugu grammarians, his model for language study was based on the new philology.

Brown's intervention radically transformed the dissemination of Telugu through the work he did in collating and compiling a grammar and dictionary for Telugu. However, he initially oriented the grammar and dictionaries of Telugu to the teaching of the language to British junior civil servants—to new speakers. Initially, that orientation constructed an ideal pupil for modern grammars and dictionaries for the purpose of disseminating linguistic knowledge to both native and foreign speakers. Lisa Mitchell's work provides a much-needed perspective on how the rewriting of Telugu grammars and dictionaries reorganized the ways in which knowledge of language was transmitted and how language was newly and singly conceived as the foundation for knowledge.[65] Brown's sustained interest in bringing scientific rigor to language study was an explicit call to bring *order* to the study of Telugu language and literature. Ultimately, although Brown considered himself a "custodian" of language, to use Johnson's phrase, he believed that a scientific understanding of language, which was gained from a more rationally organized set of grammars and dictionaries, would aid in reviving the Telugu language. A revival of Telugu would only occur with better-equipped users and speakers. Brown's primary motive was to clear the linguistic grounds through the preparation of modern grammars and dictionaries for the purpose of reviving Telugu literature from the state of decay he felt he found it in. This is precisely why language, as conceptualized by philologists such as Brown, became important. The idea that language developed in stages that correspond to political and social development followed philosophical history's stadial conception of history. Colonial historiography represented the immediate precolonial period as being ripe for conquest because of its social and political disunity. This historical understanding corresponded to literary and cultural decay in Brown's view. Therefore, the disciplinary rigor provided by colonial philology was seen as indispensible to help revive Telugu.

Progressive History

When F. Max Muller,[66] in the latter half of the nineteenth century stated, with much enthusiasm, that the discovery of Sanskrit added a "new period to *our* historical consciousness [my italics]," he pointed

to the centrality accorded to India in European self-understanding.[67] He wrote, "India is not, as you may imagine, a distant, strange, or, at the very utmost, a curious country. India for the future belongs to Europe, it has its place in the Indo-European world, it has its place in our own history, and in what is the very life of history, the history of the human mind."[68] By the late-nineteenth century when Muller was writing, the historical work of philology had already been accomplished. The Indian past was reconstructed through philology and, as Bernard Cohn has argued elsewhere, as a consequence, "the Indians would receive a history."[69] The belief that language would grant access to the temporal dimension of a civilization loomed large in the discoveries concerning Indian languages, which had been made by the early Orientalists. Since the discovery of the Indo-European concept in 1786 by Sir William Jones, philological study in colonial India proposed the historical linking of the languages of the Indian subcontinent to European languages.[70] Along with the discovery that there was a historical relation linking Sanskrit with Latin and Greek, the overarching concern in philology became the need to understand why vernacular languages were so underdeveloped compared to their European counterparts. If the languages of India and the languages of Europe were, at a certain point in time, one and the same, then what led to their divergence? Philology purported to provide the answers to the question of divergence. By conceptualizing language as an organism that developed over time and that went through historical stages, just as human societies did, philologists were able to chart the historical development of Indian languages, specifically as emplotted in their literary production.[71] This allowed philologists to compare the literary "development" both of European and Indian languages. Once the comparison was made, it became possible to offer reforms to shape the "underdeveloped" languages of India.[72] Consequently, colonial philology (the study of languages, the production of grammars and dictionaries, and the compilation and printing of definitive editions of literary manuscripts) had enduring effects in the field of literary practice and production in India.[73] Not only did these effects impress upon the classical (or "cosmopolitan") languages of Sanskrit and Persian, but more importantly, the regional or "vernacular" languages of India felt the brunt of this scholarly practice in the nineteenth century.

There are uncomplimentary connotations to the term "vernacular" from its etymological ties to *verna* (home-born slave), to the pejorative reference to that which is provincial in its scope and distinct from a cosmopolitan ethos.[74] In fact, the negative connotations were easily

transported to the colonies when Orientalists studied the languages of South Asia. In the context of colonial India, "vernacular" was not simply invoked in reference to the regional languages of South Asia as a descriptive term, but rather to signify the subordinate position of the regional languages in opposition to a more refined and developed language, such as Sanskrit, for centuries and European languages during colonial times.[75] I employ the term vernacular for two reasons: one, simply because the term circulated in the philological writings in nineteenth-century India and two, because the vernacular as subordinate was resurrected in colonial debates regarding the positioning of these languages in a modern society. The term indeed underwent significant transformations under the scrutiny of colonial philological studies. Ranajit Guha has argued that in colonial India, the term "'vernacular' established itself as a distancing and supremacist sign which marked out its referents, the indigenous languages and cultures, as categorically inferior to those of the West and of England in particular."[76]

However, even before colonial times and the advent of a distinct notion of vernacular from European history, the idea of the vernacular (as local) existed in South Asian literary cultures. The relationship between Sanskrit and the regional languages was conceptualized as a dynamic one between marga and desi. Sheldon Pollock, in his work on the Sanskrit cosmopolis, a space for Sanskrit culture, argued that this cosmopolis preceded the emergence of vernaculars in southern Asia (Pollock, 2000). He also pointed out the striking similarities between southern Asia and Western Europe, specifically the parallel between Sanskrit and Latin in their relationship with vernacular literary cultures. One of the many insights in Pollock's work is its focus on the striking similarity between Latin and Sanskrit—their ability to be readable across space and time. Pollock argues that both these languages were readable across space because they were moveable. They did not belong to one particular place, and they were readable across time for precisely the same reasons, their mobility. It is precisely the cosmopolitan ethos of Latin and Sanskrit that depended on the erasure of their historicity. The universality of the cosmopolitan languages was also substantive. In both literary cultures, there were similar modes of cultural discipline, care for language, and study of literary canons as well as works of systemic thought.[77] The vernacular or desi literary cultures emerged following the breakdown of the Sanskrit cosmopolis at the end of the first millennium. The process of "vernacularization" that ensued tended to emphasize the local character of literary

culture. Moreover, even with the shift to the local and the regional, the dynamic between marga and desi persisted and continued to impress upon literary production in the regional languages of the Indian subcontinent. Keeping in mind the prior history of the relationship between Sanskrit and the vernaculars, or marga and desi, the reinvoking of the desi in the study of Indian languages by colonial scholars became a complicated process.

Colonial philology, even as it saw itself as reviving and restoring the lost glory of the vernacular literary cultures, felt compelled to subordinate them to English and to European literary cultures. Because vernacular literary cultures were represented as lacking in certain characteristics (they were primarily condemned for the dearth of prose in the literary traditions), the thrust toward modernizing the languages and fostering "modern" forms of writing (essays, novels, and short stories) and "modern" modes of communication (newspapers and speeches) seemed necessary to colonial scholars. In this vein, philological study took upon itself the task of standardization and modernization the unruly vernacular languages of India through the production of new grammars and dictionaries.

The new philology of Sir William Jones and the Asiatic Society of Bengal, as well as the work conducted under the aegis of the College of Fort St. George (the Madras School of Orientalism), suggested that language study would open up the possibility of the historical understanding of a culture and its civilization. Along with the idea that language could provide access to the past—language as archive—was the idea that language developed in stages. Through colonial philology, a progressive notion of history entered the discourse on Telugu and shaped the way that language was thought about. Brown's intervention was critical in bringing into circulation a new understanding of language in the study of Telugu. Brown's philology, through his work on a Telugu grammar, dictionary, and definitive editions of Telugu literary classics, made it possible for later reformers to take on programs to "modernize" Telugu. In the end, Brown brought in a historical dimension to Telugu through his extensive engagement with it. Ultimately, colonial philology was not only crucial in shifting and shaping modern conceptions of Telugu, but it also redistributed and shifted power and status away from the previous dominant "cosmopolitan" literary language, mainly Sanskrit. The developmental path of European vernaculars was the model that was invoked as the proper path for Telugu. Through the process of historicizing Telugu, colonial philologists placed Telugu within a progressive historical narrative. Philology

produced a modern conception of language—as an alienated object of knowledge—a conception that revolutionized our understanding of the relationship between language and knowledge. Language as an alienated object of knowledge could then be given a progressive narrative of its development through a history that corresponded to a people's historical-civilizational achievements.

Conclusion

The establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta and the founding of the College of Fort St. George in Madras institutionalized Orientalist scholarship in India. This institutional foundation for furthering philological research—especially the methodology that it employed and the access to native texts that it enabled—found validation back in Europe and England. Unlike antiquarianism, which did not enjoy the same institutional standing in colonial India because it was often sustained by self-motivated individual collectors, philology benefited from institutions such as the colleges at Fort William and Fort St. George, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, as well as the Royal Asiatic Society in England. Importantly, along with the ascension of the new historical method forged by antiquarianism, colonial philology assured the triumph of the new historical consciousness that could not envision a modern future without the aid of a new conception of historical progress.

Colonial philology and antiquarianism—both important scholarly practices that were prominent during the early colonial period—helped to shape the formation of disciplinary knowledge in India. Antiquarianism compiled and collated archives, laid the foundations for a new historical method, and instituted new practices of history. Philology, on the other hand, became important precisely because it emerged and coalesced at a time when the Indian historical record looked poor and unruly to British scholar-officials. Although antiquarianism and philology were parallel projects in colonial Madras, they were often at odds with each other as they proposed different methods for constructing historical knowledge about India. Initially, it was the study of language—historical philology—that gave British Orientalists a new tool to access the Indian past. The critical tools of philology—even as they were shaped by the encounter with Indian schools of grammar and understandings of language—purported to provide legitimacy to the antiquity of Indian civilization.[78] Philology

firmly placed language study in a central position in the production of historical knowledge. Both antiquarianism and philology claimed greater legitimacy and accuracy for their respective methods. Both produced enduring legacies by shaping the emergence of the disciplines of history, archaeology, epigraphy, art history, and literary history.

Conclusion

The Origins of Modern Historiography in India set out to argue that what resulted from the two disciplinary dispositions of antiquarianism and philology in early colonial India was a greater adherence to a *progressive* conception of history and an empirical historical method that privileged the establishment of "fact" and a linear "chronology" over precolonial narrative traditions of legitimacy, which were differently structured to convey historical truths. In precolonial India, historical memory and knowledge were indeed embedded in a variety of forms in Indian textual traditions. While oral transmission was an important avenue for historical memory to remain in circulation, recent scholarship has shown that regional and local traditions indeed produced distinct record keeping practices and narrative traditions—inclusive of chronicles, genealogies, and other narrative forms.

The new scholarship has brought into view multifarious regional practices of history in precolonial India.[1] While previous generations of historians were skeptical in using historical narratives from Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, and Telugu, the new research on precolonial modes of history has caused a radical shift in historical scholarship.[2] The shift in historical scholarship indicates a movement beyond the kind of skepticism that surrounded these historical texts with an earlier generation of scholars. The new research attempts to read historical narratives in regional languages as legitimate conceptions of the past.[3] For instance, in their second collaborative work, *Textures of Time,* Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam take up the question of history and propose that the defining characteristic of historiographical practices in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century south India is the "texture" of historical narrative.[4] Texture, they argue, is a unique feature of history writing in south India and is distinct from genre as it concerns the internal structuring of a given narrative. They look for internal structuring of a given text in order to evaluate whether we can discern historical awareness within the text. By reading for texture, they propose, we can begin to access the historiographical

modes of the precolonial past. Moreover, their work cautions us not to judge all textual traditions in India, especially historical narratives (the genealogy or *vamsavali* and the chronicle, a prose genre that can include elements of biography and accounts of historical battles, etcetera), on the basis of what kind of verifiable facts they contain, but to look at the narratives themselves and see how they constitute a particular kind of historical thinking. There is no consensus on whether one should look for a genre, for a tradition of history writing in Indian textual traditions, or whether one should be concerned with identifying historical consciousness or a historical awareness in India, more broadly. The latter is a broader philosophical inquiry into the status of historical knowledge in Indian knowledge systems. The former, on the other hand, is a more worthy and concrete project for historians, as it brings us closer to understanding the many textual traditions in precolonial India and the differing practices of history, whether they had been found in high literary genres in Sanskrit and/or in regional languages or in "little" genres written by village accountants who were untrained in the higher arts.

Sumit Guha has suggested that historians of South Asia have too often relativized history so as to allow indiscriminately multiple imaginings of the past to count as history.[5] Rather, he proposes, we modern historians share much with premodern historians when it comes to Indian conceptions of history. In other words, that there was no absolute break between the precolonial traditions of historical writing and colonial ones. Guha brings to our attention to the *bakhar* (a corpus of writing in Marathi). He argues that it represents a tradition of history writing that comes close to our conception of history. His contention is that bakhars were written in a factual mode. Their purported aim is to cause us to think critically about the ideological contexts for the production of historical narrative in precolonial India. Guha contends that there are distinctions between what counts as history and what does not. His skepticism regarding what counts as historical narrative in Indian textual traditions is welcome as it pushes us to think more critically about the specificity of what we mean by historical discourse, historical sensibility, and historicity. However, whereas it is true that not all that was written and that contained a *sense* of the past should be categorized as history, the question remains as to what criteria we are to use to distinguish that which *is* history. It seems that Guha is particularly fascinated with the Marathi bakhar for its unique context of production: the court of law. Where, he writes "People have long had the incentive to produce credible narratives of contested parties."[6] It was within this context of

law and legitimacy that a tradition of credibility arose, a characteristic that, Guha argues, is central to our very own conception of history in the present. By straightforwardly linking the bakhar to discourses on credibility and truth-value, Guha tries to resuscitate the bakhar to make it conform to our modern standards of academic history.[7]

Indeed, the regional textual traditions that colonial antiquarians confronted were rich and complex. When perusing the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, especially the first two decades of its publication, one is inevitably struck by the sheer volume of material that colonial scholar-officials were collecting and with which they were engaging. It is in the pages of these journals and the discussions held at institutions such as the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the College of Fort St. George that we encounter the assessments and judgments of colonial antiquarians and philologists. However, a careful examination of the archival records of the collectors and their assistants, in this case, Mackenzie's journals, letters, and notes, reveals a more complex picture of the transactional nature of the intellectual encounter than what is apparent in the published material of the time. The published record displays a self-confident Orientalist scholarship that seemed very much a product of individual efforts. However, we learn from a broader source base that native Indian assistants were quite prominent in the day-to-day work of traveling to villages, introducing themselves to *karanams* (village accountants) and other important figures, inquiring into manuscripts, inscriptions, and genealogies and finally reporting back to their colonial mentors. Moreover, what we learn from the broader historical record is that native Indian assistants were in constant interaction with and carried on complicated transactions for colonial scholars (philologists and antiquarians). Ultimately, we learn of how native Indian assistants did not simply imbibe new practices of history but also shaped them while immersed in daily collection, collation, assessment, and translation activities.

The new historical method construed by the antiquarians, the philologists, and their assistants profoundly shaped access and perception of the Indian past. Despite the fact that the new historical method did not displace the diverse ways in which the past was transmitted, it inaugurated a new historiography that became a privileged mode, not only as academic history but also as being capable of producing expert historical knowledge that can be activated and reactivated in the public sphere.[8] With the use of native Indian accounts, colonial antiquarianism was able to extract and glean for content and discard the form in which the past was conveyed as irrelevant. The

disqualification of previous genres was a form of ideological rejection and symbolic violence directed at precolonial Indian forms of knowledge. V. S. Pathak, a historian of ancient India, lamented the textual discoveries made by the British in this early colonial period—the period in which colonial archives were amassed:

> Unfortunately, the *Harshacharita* was discovered and studied at a time when literary antiquarianism was transforming itself into an archaeological discipline and positive philosophy was influencing the orientalists in India, with the result that they neglected to study the idealising process and contented themselves with the externalities of the narrative.[9]

Pathak regrets that with the emergence of modern practices of history, there was a tendency toward making every text a potential source. In doing so, the text, whether a piece of prose or verse, was picked over for the "kernels" of historical fact. This is what Pathak calls the pick-and-choose method of positivist history, in which the empirical fact was the most important element. In picking out the kernels of fact, textual genres were reduced to mere information. What gets lost in the process is the narrative integrity of the texts. M. I. Finley, too, questions the modern historian's impulse to look for the kernel of history in the epic form. Finley argues that myth, as it is employed in epics, presented particular aspects of the past and conveyed truth, albeit of a universal quality, not of the particular—as is the goal of positivist history. Modern history that is based on the positivist method—with its goal of conveying the truth of the fact of the particular—is suspicious of truths conveyed by the epic form. Historical truths could be derived from the new approved method even in India where the textual traditions, as the British observed, did not seem to cultivate a recognizable form of historical narrative. Antiquarianism picked over the texts that it encountered for information. Indian texts could then be converted to information for the use of the new historiography.

In a sense, the combined efforts of the philologists and the antiquarians made it possible for new historical methods to take hold in early nineteenth-century India. The new historiography proved to leave an enduring legacy for the twentieth century. In converting the texts to information, the colonial archive often neglected to pay attention to the integrity of the narratives themselves—to engage them on their own terms. Recent attempts at rereading those texts have restored some of that narrative integrity by offering new

readings of historical narratives.[10] Whereas colonial reading practices saw Indian texts as essentially flawed, the new historical method nevertheless converted those very texts into historical sources—through processes of assessment and appraisal. Therefore, even while colonial reading practices destabilized precolonial modes of historiography, those very same historical narratives were also subject to appropriations by colonial practices of history. Ultimately, the archival projects in late-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century south India were aimed at preserving Indian pasts. In doing so, they transformed texts that were collected in the archive into "raw" information—producing a historical record for latter generations of historians to engage with. By examining early colonial strategies of producing historical knowledge, this book traced the colonial conditions of the production of "sources," the forging of the new historical method, and the ascendance of positivist historiography in nineteenth-century India.

These early origins of modern historiography certainly impact the latter developments and institutionalization of historical practice in India. A sustained scrutiny of the "origins" of modern historiography in India reveals the radical shifts in practices of history that led to the dispersal of older paradigms and the coalescing of new methods. It also gives us fodder to think critically about the rise of history as disciplinary and expert knowledge in India during the Nationalist and post-Independence periods. While looking back to the early decades of the twentieth century when considering the emergence of the modern category of history in India, it is worth noting that the first chair in Indian history and archaeology at the University of Madras was founded in 1914 and the first department of Modern History was founded in 1919 at the University of Calcutta.[11] The institutionalization of academic history is an important indication of when the practices of the new historiography were already pervasive and in circulation in the decades that led up to it becoming an academic discipline. While the practices of modern history writing in India have been shaped by the dissemination of disciplinary protocols through institutions of higher education throughout India, the institutionalization of the discipline of history does not adequately explain the origins of the new historiography based on empirical methods of deriving historical truths. Whereas Dipesh Chakrabarty persuasively argues that Jadunath Sarkar was one of the earliest proponents in India of Rankean ideals of "scientific" history, my contention is that "scientific" or empirical methods of gathering documents, the reading of those documents, and the establishment of historical "facts" and "truths" through new practices of history emerged a century

earlier when colonial archives were being assembled by both colonial scholar-officials and native Indian assistants.[12] Jadunath Sarkar, writing in the early decades of the twentieth century, represents a historiography that had already inculcated the practices of positivist history—practices that were shaped starting in the early intellectual encounter of colonial antiquarians and philologists with the complex textual traditions and practices of India.

Appendixes

Appendix 1
On Mackenzie's Historical Enquiries: A Memorandum. Madras—Feb. 14th, 1808.

Major Mackenzie has for some time past/ thro' the good offices of his Friends/ Collected various Materials, that are supposed to convey considerable information, on the Ancient History, State, and Institutions of the South of India, but he finds Several parts are still doubtful; which he believes might be yet illustrated by materials of various descriptions, in the hands of the Natives, and which from their obscurity are liable to be neglected and lost; but might be still recovered by the interposition of the Gentlemen in the Diplomatic, Judicial, Revenue, and Medical Departments particularly—He has already derived much aid from the liberal Support of such as he has the honor to be acquainted with, and doubts not but others would be equally willing to forward a design presumed to be advantageous to the Cultivation of this branch of General knowledge,

In the Southern Provinces he is desirous of obtaining Copies or Originals of any Native MS in any language; relating to the ancient Government, of the Pandeyan and Cholla Kings or other Dynasties, that have ruled in these Countries; several accounts are already obtained, but they are still defective, and it is supposed further considerable lights are procurable,

At Madura and other ancient Religious Establishments some notices, it is supposed are still preserved in the hands of the Bramins, which may throw light on the Ancient Government, and Colonies that are supposed to have emigrated to the Western and Eastern parts of the Coast as appears by traces in these Provinces—Accounts are also said to be preserved of the Religious contentions, that took place between the Bramins, Jain and other Sects.

In the Tanjore Country at Trivalloor, Cumbaconum, and other places, some Notices of the same description are supposed to

exist; and at Sreerungam, Chidumbram and in the Tondaman's Country.

In Tinnavelly at Trichendoor, and other places also at Rameswaram Ancient Documents may exist exclusive of the Mahatyams or Legendary accounts of their Religious Establishments.

Regular Historical narrations and Tracts are seldom found among the natives; and such notices as exist are generally preserved in the form of Religious Legends and Popular Poems and Stories.

Yet exceptions appear tho' rare which induces an opinion that others may yet exist that have escaped the ravages of time & the troubles of the Country, these appear under the description of

1. Vumshavelly; or Genealogies of the several Dynasties and Considerable Families,
2. Dunda Caveley: or Chronological Registers, and Records; sometimes preserved by official persons; and some supposed still to exist.
3. Calliganums: literally prophecies; but sometimes really conveying under that assumed disguise, Historical information with more apparent freedom than could be addressed to Oriental Sovereigns,
4. Cheritra & 5. Cudha Frequently applied to Tales and Popular Stories, but Sometimes containing Correct information of remarkable Characters & events approaching to the Nature of our Memoirs.
6. Rakas; have existed in the upper Country and it is presumed that, the Mahratta Bakeers are of the same description, Records of this description tho' possibly under another name/ may have been kept to the Southward, these were in fact Financial Records, and Registers of the Ancient Revenues, and resources of the Country, arranged under its Divisions, Subdivisions, and villages with their assessment of Revenue, Taxes, Customs. It appears that they were kept in certain Families/ the Hereditary officers of the Ancient Regime/ and that exclusive of the change in the District, Historical Notices of Changes of Government, and of facts connected with local Establishments were recorded in them. It need scarcely be observed, that the recovery of any of these Ancient Records would be very desirable.
7. Registers Containing the number of Families, classed under their several Casts, were also kept; and it appears to have been the practice to enumerate the Forts, Religious Edifices and Establishments; the classes of Artificers, Weavers, Husbandmen this appears to have been very Ancient, and the practice is still retained in the

Upper Country, affording ready means of Statistic information of the Resources of a Country at all times important.

8. In the Temples & Agrarams of the Bramins, the Mutts of the Jungums Priests of the Linga... Sect, and the Bustics and Temples of the Jain—two species of Records, were kept, the Mahatyams or Religious Legends which appear to consist of passages, extracted from the Pooranums and applied to the local circumstances of the Establishment these contain but little Historical information or what is obscured by Table, or Superstition, they however form the Grand work of the Ancient History of each place or the Stala Pooranum which after this Introduction from the darker ages is carried thro the earlier periods of rel history to modern times detailing the dates of the several Grants of land to the Pagodas Agrarams of the Immunities and benefactions granted and the Donors Names Titles and genealogy. Copies of the Grants and Documents were entered in Books, which are some times preserved when the Originals are lost—considerable information has been derived from these Documents which are Checked and confirmed by others in distant places, this particularly applies to the Bramins, but the Jains and the Jungums have also kept Records of the same Nature and there is reason to think that some of the most correct accounts are still preserved by the latter Description of Religious.
9. Sassanums. Inscriptions, Grants, engraved on Plates of Metal or on Stone,
10. Dana Patrum, Grants or Deeds of Gift literally Leaves of Gift.
11. Ancient Coins. all these are very useful in ascertaining Dates names and Historical information to a considerable Collection already formed in the Carnatic above and below the Ghaats the further addition of the Southern and Northern Documents of this kind is respectfully solicited.
12. In Ancient buildings on the sites of the former Capitals, and the Religious Edifices belonging to the several Sects Bramin Jain, Jungam Mutts, Vestiges, illustrative of their former state are sometimes procurable, the recent discovery of Ancient Coins Sculptures, Hindoo or Roman of the same description & Reigns in distant parts of the Country, promise to throw light on the Ancient state of Commerce, and of communication between Europe and the East in former times.
13. A species of small rude buildings composed of a few rude flat stones are some times met in remote places of them the Accounts are very obscure, and generally an early period is assigned to them,

Information of the Several places where they are found, and a comparison of the Circumstances attending them, can only explain their use and intention, the Tradition of different district assign them/ tho' doubtfully/ to the early age of the Pandoos, others to Colonies if Pandya, to a smaller Race of Men their use and real age is doubtful, Coins are said to be found among their ruins sometimes.

14. Veeracull literally Heroic Monumental stones, in Memory of remarkable persons that have fallen in Action are frequently met, sometimes with Inscriptions, and generally with Figures sculptured on them, Notices of their Origin with Inscriptions, and Drawings are useful as tending to confirm or illustrate certain events in the History of the Country.
15. More considered remains of Antiquity with sculptures, Inscriptions, Images, are sometimes found such as the remarkable Dippall-Dinna,/ literally Hill or place of lights/ ornamented with sculptures of a Superior kind at Amreswerum in Guntoor, the remarkable Inscriptions and Sculptures at Mavellipoor, Ellore, the Caves of Kurla. It is possible some of the same kind may exist to the Southward, and indeed it is known that a place of lights, probably of the same description as at Amreswerum, formerly existed some where to the southward—Notices of this, and of any vestiges of antiquities found among them would be extremely desirable—Fac Similies of the Characters if rare and Sketches of their appearance would be satisfactory.

Upon the whole a general Investigation and comparison of what is really known to exist despersed in different parts of the Coast it is presumed would throw considerable light upon the Ancient History of the Country, and its Civil and religious Institutions.

Any information or Notice of the State and Progress of Commerce in Ancient times and particularly of the Communication with the West from India would be useful in elucidating the Ancient Geography of this Country it is supposed some things of this Nature remain with the Bramins at Madura in the hands of the lobby and Moply descendants of the Ancient Arab Navigators at Devipatam and other places along the Sea Coast.

Madras
Feb. 14th 1808
***Source*: TNSA: Madras Public Consultations, 1808**

Appendix 2

Memorandum: Of Information Required from any of the Learned & Intelligent Bramins of Sreerungam & Trichinopoly, 1804.

1. Who was Durma-Vurma, the first founder of the temple of Runganaad at Sreerungam? is it the same with Durma-Rajah? & what is the meaning of the title Vurma?
2. What were the circumstances & supposed Era; or how many years since the City of Warriore, the Capital of some Chollan or Soran Kings, was destroyed by a shower of sand, or what is the History of these kings?
3. List of the names of the 20 kings of the south from Earoon-Samoodrum to Sankaran or Sangran—they are said to have ruled 1119 years—at what capital; & is any history preserved of them & of their transactions?
4. List of the names of the Kings from Salleevahan & BoojaRajah downward or; with any amount of their history & actions, & dates if possible, & when the last of them reigned?
5. List of the names of the ancient kings of Cholla or Sora & their dates & reigns particularly six of them who are said to have reigned from Crema-Conda-Chollen & Caree-Chollen. Any accounts of their transactions, their capitals & their endowments with dates? which of them & at what period erected the first works on the Caavery—the great anicut?

The above it is supposed will bring the ancient history of the south down to the 13th century & to the first appearance of the mahomedans; the earliest amounts of whose transactions to the southward, would be desirable; notices of which no doubt exist as connected

with the history of the establishement of hindoo religion which first begins to be then disturbed from abroad—but tho the history of the Rayers following it, it better known, yet any additional notices from Sreerungam & Trichinopoly would be desirable, as well as of the Naiks of Madura & Trichinopoly, down to latter times.

Some accounts of certain distinguished Personages, considerably involved in the history of their own times, & particularly of the established religion of the country previous to the 13th century, it is presumed might be obtned at Sreerungam more satisfactorily which would be important & useful in corroborating what we learn in other quarters—Of these the most remarkable, & whose history would illustrate that of their own times & of the civil & Religious History of the country are viz.

1. Ramanoojoo the celebrated reformer of the Vistnava Sect (or Long Marked Bramins) who is the Founder of the present establishments at Sreerungam, Mailcotta, Tripetty—Some notices of the real Era he lived in, of the sovereigns; & of the persecution of his sect; & the Events that led to that & to their reestablishment at Sreerungam—a list of his writings?
2. Sankar-Achary the equally famous Founder of the Smartava School; Sect & Mutt, his age is much earlier, but obscure; & the precise ascertaining of it would tend much to clear up several doubtful points regarding the Institutions & great reform of the Bramin religion, that took place in his time—he is stated to be a native of Kerala or Mallialum; & several of the Civil Institutions (exclusive of the religious customs) that distinguish that country so much from other parts are said to have been established by him—the Bramins of Sreerungam have an aversion to this sect & will probably not profess much knowledge of his history or tenets; but it is possible in asserting their own tenets, that light be thrown on the age in which he lived—A paper that fell in ino my hands giving a statement of some differences among the Vistnoo-Bramins at Sreerungam, regarding the claims of their own chief officers of the temple, has given rise to some of these suggestions & a memoir sent down some years ago has to others & I should suppose they must b in possession of MSS that detail the transactions of the times particularly Ramanooja's persecution, flight & return.
3. The Establishment of the Pandarums at the temples of the south; the reasons for it involve discussions that might considerably illustrate the History of Insitutions & Religion—they seem to have

been supported by the sovereigns of one sect (the followers of the Seeva Mutt) to strengthen their party; much in the same manner as the monastic institutions of Europe, to support the Papal influence; & a striking similarity to western events frequently occurs exhibiting the same motives in different Ages & Countries, operating on the human mind, & carrying a considerable interest in the History of Institutions, of Laws & of government—At these Pandarum Mutts some authentic materials are presumed to be preserved.

These are the chief objects that it is supposed might be obtained at the establishment of Sreerungam; but there are others that possibly might incidentally occur among which the following are hinted at viz.:

1. The History of the Charan Kings which though frequently alluded to is much more dark than the former; & even the scite of that kingdon is uncertain, supposed to be Coimbatoor & the same with
2. The Congo Kings
3. The History of the Pandian Kings who reigned at Madura & terminated in the 13th century—several notices of them are already preserved, more are wanted?
4. Collateral notices of the sovereigns of Malliallum or Kerala who received Kings from Pandeya & Cholla & therefore may be preserved to be mentioned in some of these Southern Accounts.

The Colonies of Bramins, of Husbandmen & of artists repeatedly introduced to the south, & sometimes from one kingdom to another, is frequent subject of mention, & some knowledge of them even now is not devoid of interest, since a knowledge of the origins of the casts & their various customs is extremely desirable in the present times—involving objects of some importance, the origin & nature of rights, of property & particularly the long continued claims of the Vellaller tribe which we find generally prevail throughout the south of India the Dravida country particularly—that is, wherever the Tamul language is that of the indigenous natives.

***Source*: OIOC, Mackenzie Collection, General, 1, 367–9.**

Appendix 3
Proposal for a Literary Society at Madras by a Native of Madras.

Dated June 4th 1807, by P. Ragaviah addressed to Sir Thomas Strange.

"Allow me the liberty now of bringing to your Notice the sujbect of a Literary Society, if it has not already engaged your attention.

The perusal of the recent Publications in the Madras Gazette in this laudable subject brought to my recollection your Philanthropical intention the Poorana's translated, which you have been kind enough to communicate to me in conversation at Madras.

I waited to know the result of the discussion in the Paper began by N.C. & C.N. But as both the advocate for the Establishment of the Society this Polite but pretended antagonist gave over the contest considering probably, & I may almost venture to say justly, what had been already advanced was sufficient to raise the spirit of the votaries of Saraswatee on this side of the Coast, & to announce to the literary World, that the respectable Members of this Settlement are neither deficient in ambition for literary fame, not of abilities & local knowledge to entitle them to a just portion of the honor, the laying open of Asiatic Literary mints has conferred on the Gentlemen of the Bengal Establishment.

Every project or plan requires a beginning, & it is not altogether within the sphere of human foresight to determine the probable success of a measure before it is allowed to advance a few progressive paces.

Rome was not built in one day, nor had the builders of the Pillar of Babel any reason to apprehend the ill fortune which subsequently attended their undertaking & themselves—a successful termination of any project must therefore depend on the Will of Divine Providence.

The great obstacle spoken of against the possibility of establishing a Society is the want of a founder or President like Sir William Jones.

This is visionary, & bears the colour of indolence seeking an excuse to avoid exertions from any cause apparently plausible. In the first instance, it is paying an ill & unjust compliment to suppose, that the extensive circle of learned Society at Fort St. George does not contain one person in some degree capable of laying the first stone of the foundation, & in the next, unreasonable to imagine that no institution of Society can be formed or begun upon without the first rate abilities, & genius being united in its founder.

It sometimes happens that the best of Societies, Colleges, & even Governments are founded by men of good disposition probably of moderate Talents.

If I am not mistaken, The Royal Society in London commenced in an humble manner, was incorporated when its usefulness became apparent by the rage of Royal favour, & in succeeding time numbered a Newton, a Locke & many others among its members. No great art is required in planting the Seed, but much art & attentions are required to nourish the plant as it grows.

Causes unknown to human intelligence may exist to account for the indifference with which the Gentlemen of this Establishment have overlooked the pursuits of Settlers. But as far as it suits a general Mode is reasoning, I think of proceeds from the circumstance of an impression being received, that the Institution of Calcutta had superceded the necessity of forming any other.

As the parent of British Empire in India it may be imagined that the first rate of Characters & learning were selected for the Superintendance of the Principal Situations at Calcutta; but we are to carry in our recollection that the early Establishment of Judicial Courts both by His Majesty's & the Honorable Company's Governments must have contributed in a considerable degree; for the Laws & Languages are inseparable companions, this is easily proved since the leading characters, either in the formation of the Asiatic Society or its improvement afterwards have been distinguished for their attachment in those pursuits. The Benevolent Office of a Judge assist in the knowledge of the laws & manners of the People, whose lives & property are entrusted to his sacred care; & it is only advancing one step farther to obtain an acquaintance of their languages & Religious Institutions, & in this, their exertions, & pursuits must be attended with success as their own Office & duties afford opportunities for it.

The terms of association between the Europeans & Natives were established at first on a liberal & inviting footing; the Pundits flocked round the Gentlemen who wished for information & communicated

it without reserve, a circumstance which must have contributed to the success with which the Gentlemen persevered in their studies.

Altho' there is an apparent deficiency in some respects, yet there is no want of Learning, knowledge, & zeal, among the Members of this settlement for the creation & nourishing the plant of a Literary Society. We also possess at present one great advantage over those of either of the other Presidencies/ Bengal & Bombay in having several natives of an adequate knowledge in the English Language.

These people, of whom I beg leave to name is few, as Tirvarcadoo Mootiah, Gueriah, B. Sunkariah, Runganadem, & YagapaChetty at Madras, C. Gopal Row & Narsid at Masulipatam might afford an essential service, each presenting the Society with a genuine Translaton of such Poorana's or parts of them as may suit his inclination, abilities, & leisure. I doubt not that then men have that just ambition for the literary fame of their names as to be desirous of appearing in the Print & being taken notice of by the World; which is the vital principle, that gives life & Energy to the talents of every man. The Establishment of a Society & an offer of admitting them to the honor of becoming its Members will afford them an opportunity of the highest gratification. Emulation & even Envy will by turns aid their exertions independent of the pecuniary support & honorary Rewards that the Society may please to confer on the indigent & the Worthiest.

To benefit in a just manner by experience acquired at the pains & expense of others is a liberal maxim that every honest Man may derive an advantage from, without any diminution of his own reputation & merits. The original intention of the Society for Asiatic Researches were to enquire into the History & Antiquities; the Arts, Sciences, & Literature of Asia. How far they have been realized in the minds of its members & Advocates must perfectly be known to you. But it is no crime to state my humble opinion to you, not uncorroborated by those of some others, that there is an alienation from the original mark chalked out. How often an ordinary letter is perplexed, nay, vexed in travelling over the tardy ground of long Dissertations without being able to arrive at any point. Indeed no strained Etimological discussions endeavouring to draw a parallel between the Evds, not the attempt of connecting points of Nations different in every respect but that of being human Specia, could convey information with all the Ingenuity & great learning of the Writer.

A few names only of Vistnoo, Seevoo, Brumha, & their female halves of Rivers, Carriages, & sacred places; have been often handed,

& underwent such mutilations &additions to establish the probability of their having been the same with Asris, Isis, & the famous Bull of Egyptian Mythology; or Jupiter, Bacchus; Venus & the muses of Greece.

To what an extent true knowledge might have been advanced . . . this, had an arrangement of a different kind been adopted methodically. Such as to lay the rule of having the Translation of a Poorana or Treatise on each of the several branches of the History, Religion, Arts, & Sciences connected, with the object of the enquiry previous to the admission of a Dissertation on any one of them.

Maha-Bharet, consisting eighteen Purvas or Books, is a compendium of every thing that is deserving of notice. It is very wisely denominated by the Pundits the fifth Veda, & the Essence of Poorana's—a complete system of Ethicks, and extensive explanation of the duties of men in their Temporal & Spiritual . . . ,the art of War & Fortification & the Policy of good Government, are all to be learned in it.

Vistnoo-Poorana on Cosmography & Geography, Harivensa/ the last volume of Bharet/ on the Genealogy of the Sun's & Moon's Dynasty; the Stala-Mahatmeya of the principal Sacred Temples & Rivers; Prabhoda-Chundra-Bodea on Theology & Metaphisics, and Sancalpa-Soorea-Odea with copious Notes, & the Biographical Histories of the three Bhashea-Cara's or Commentators, Sree-Sankara, Ramanoja & Madhoa-Acharies; Vydea-Durpena or the mirror of Physic; a part of Pancha-Ratra-Agama, & some other Books on Architecture; Turea-Sungraha, & Moocta-Avali on Logic, PratapaRoodra on Rhetorick & Prosody; Camundacum & Moodra-Rachasa on the System of Politics; will not only afford the . . . information on all points, but may serve for the compilation of an Hindoo Pantheon & a Dictionary of the Arts & Sciences, & Religious Tenets of the Hindoos.

The version of these Books & the fame of an successful compilation of oriental Researches awaits the Society at Madras; & I am therefore Solicitous to remind your goodness of the present favourable opportunity for bringing forward the Talents & knowledge of several Gentlemen in the Service who have no intention of becoming authors of separate Publications. To effect this, & show them together it is only necessary to announce, that His Lordship& yourself will do them the honor to become a Patron & President to the society."

***Source*: OIOC, Mackenzie Collection, General, Miscellaneous, 176**

Notes

Introduction: The Origins of Modern Historiography in India

1. Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994).
2. Most recently, nationalist historiography came under intense scrutiny in the 1980s by the Subaltern Studies Collective, which challenged the dominance accorded to the narrative of the nation-state. The Subaltern Studies historians provided a radical critique of the centrality of the nation-state in historiography and argued for the use of nontraditional and non-state-centered sources and the study of marginal communities that had been left out of the colonial and nationalist archives. By turning to nontraditional sources, the Subaltern Studies historians innovated methods and reading practices in constructing new histories. The movement toward nontraditional sources in Indian historiography also brought about a critical perspective to the status of colonial archives. Ranajit Guha, in his key essay "The Prose of Counter-insurgency," in Gayatri Spivak and Ranajit Guha, eds., *Selected Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), challenged historians of colonial India to question colonial "truths" and "facts" as recorded in official documents and urged historians to read official state documents against the grain to reveal silences, pauses, and, ultimately, moments of insurgency. This was a critical moment in colonial studies, which brought increased scrutiny to the archive itself and offered more nuanced ways of reading the colonial archive.See *Selected Subaltern Studies* and *Subaltern Studies I–VI*.

   The move toward nontraditional sources was a broader shift in historical studies—oral history, history from below, and so on.
3. Ranajit Guha argues that British colonial scholars saw that native Indian knowledge was "of course informed by a sense of the past, but it did not constitute for the specialists a historical past." See Ranajit Guha, *An Indian Historiography of India: A Nineteenth-Century Agenda and Its Implications* (Calcutta: K.P. Bagchi & Co., 1988), 11. Dipesh Chakrabarty, who took part in the initial discussions of the Subaltern Studies Collective, which reflected in the early 1990s on the historical work of the Subaltern Studies Collective, suggests that historians (of India) should be wary of an uncritical adherence to the category of history itself. Such an adherence, he argues, would replicate the elite-subaltern dynamic (unraveled by the Subaltern Studies Collective) between Europe and India (its colonial other). Within this dynamic, in the global practice of modern historiography, Indian history would seem to be forever caught in the logic of imitation in order to "catch-up" to the state of the discipline in Europe. Calling for the provincialization of Europe to make apparent the Eurocentric assumptions of the practice of professional history and the continued persistence of Europe as

referent in modern historical studies, Chakrabarty's seminal essay brought to the foreground the question of the category of history and the status accorded to history in modern India. More recently, Chakrabarty reconsiders the question of history and identity in the world today somewhat differently by moving away from the problem of Europe as referent. He argues that the status of historical knowledge in India, particularly after the Subalternist critique and the most recent challenge from *Dalit* (formerly known as "untouchable" castes) writers, has been in crisis and has resulted in a discursive field of conflicting narratives. Chakrabarty identifies this trend more broadly as characterizing a worldwide crisis in historical knowledge today. In contemporary India, the effect has been the decentering of modern practices of history writing especially by "popular" history. By "popular," Chakrabarty refers to nonacademic practices of history and history writing. However, these instances of the public and political life of history—the proliferation of historical (often conflicting) narratives circulating in the public sphere in the twentieth century—reinforce the indisputable centrality accorded to historical knowledge in modern Indian society. See Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for 'Indian" Pasts?'" *Representations* 37 (Winter 1992): 1–26 and Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The Public Life of History: An Argument out of India," *Public Culture* 20, no.1 (2008): 143–168.

4. Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).
5. Most notable are Nicholas Dirks, "Colonial Histories and Native Informants: Biography of an Archive," in Carol Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer, eds., *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993) and Philip Wagoner, "Precolonial Intellectuals and Production of Colonial Knowledge," *Comparative Study of Society and History* 45, no. 4 (2003): 783–814.
6. Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Symbols of Substance: Court and State in Nayaka Period Tamilnadu* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992).
7. See Prachi Deshpande's *Creative Pasts: History Memory and Identity in Western India, 1700–1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); Sumit Guha, "Speaking Historically: The Changing Voices of Historical Narration in Western India, 1400–1900," *American Historical Review* 109, no. 4 (2004) 1084–1103 ; Bhavani Raman's "Document Raj: Scribes and Writing Under Colonial Rule in Madras, 1771—1860" (PhD, thesis, University of Michigan, 2007).
8. I am not suggesting that the modern idea of history took shape in the colonies first and was then brought back to England, either. This kind of argument was made very persuasively by Gauri Viswanathan with her *Masks of Conquest* back in 1989 in which she argued that the subject of English literature was formulated in colonial India and was then instituted back in England as a subject that was equivalent to the study of Greek and Latin. See Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).
9. An argument that is most clearly articulated by J. G. A. Pocock in *Barbarism and Religion: The Enlightenments of Edward Gibbon, 1737–1764.* 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999b). See chapter 1 for a fuller discussion of Pocock.

10. Ranajit Guha in "Dominance without Hegemony" argued that the colonial state exercised dominance rather than hegemony in the sense that colonial subjects could not possibly consent to colonial rule. However, Guha's argument regarding political dominance in colonial India might not be adequate for understanding the porous nature of the intellectual encounter. See Ranajit Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997a).
11. David Scott defines problem-space as the enunciatory space of criticism. He further elaborates: "They are conceptual-ideological ensembles, discursive formations, or language games that are generative of objects, and therefore of questions. (8)" I find the term useful in that it identifies the conceptual shift to a new set of questions that some of us historians of South Asia are asking concerning the interplay of Indian and European intellectual traditions during the period of British colonial rule after the exhaustive work of the last generation's focus on anticolonial nationalism with its successes and its promises as well as its failures. See David Scott, *Refashioning Futures: Criticism after Postcoloniality* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).
12. Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," *Language, counter-memory, practice: selected essays and interviews* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980), 142.
13. The Nayaka period refers to the rule of successor kings in the aftermath of the decline of Vijayanagara Empire in south India that started in the sixteenth century. See Stuart Blackburn, *Print, Folklore, and Nationalism in Colonial South India* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003); and Stuart Blackburn and Vasudha Dalmia, eds., *India's Literary History: Essays on the Nineteenth Century* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004).
14. For a compelling new study of the dramatic shifts in scribal practices in the Madras Presidency, see Raman's "Document Raj" (2007) and Rosalind O'Hanlon and David Washbrook, "Introduction," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 47, no. 4 (2010): 441–43.
15. See Stuart Blackburn, *Print, Folklore, and Nationalism* (2003) and Sheldon Pollock, *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
16. David Washbrook, "South India 1770–1840: The Colonial Transition," *Modern Asian Studies* 38, no. 3 (2004) 479–516; Indira Peterson, "Between Print and Performance: The Tamil Christian Poetry of Vedanayaka Shastri and the Literary Cultures of Nineteenth Century South India," in *India's Literary History: Essays on the Nineteenth century*, eds. Vasudha Dalmia and Stuart Blackburn (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004). Tanjavur was not just the site of the continuity of traditional literary forms in Telugu, Tamil, and Marathi; Raja Serfoji II (1777–1832), the Maratha ruler at Tanjavur at the turn of the nineteenth century, was quite enamored by, and receptive to, European ideas. He himself was educated by German missionaries who were given permission to settle in Tanjavur.
17. Blackburn, *Print, Folklore, and Nationalism*, 58.
18. Modern historiography in India emerged in the context of colonial engagement with Indian textual traditions and in the context of the consolidation of the colonial state. The practices of history writing thereby underwent radical change, and it is important to see the emergence of history as disciplinary knowledge (expert knowledge) in colonial/modern India more broadly as part of the transformation of the modern state in India. It is not a mere

coincidence that the modern state in India emerged at the same time that history (as a disciplinary knowledge) became prominent. In fact, historical knowledge produced by modern historiography was central to the project of legitimizing the early colonial state in India. History and the modern state were thus mutually constituted and were mutually dependent. For more on the role of the colonial state and the production of historical knowledge, see Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996); Nicholas Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001) and Sudipta Sen, *Distant Sovereignty: National Imperialism and the Origins of British India* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

19. Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).
20. Prominent examples of this approach through colonial policy in India are Thomas Babington Macaulay's infamous "Minute on Education in India, 1835," in M. Carter and B. Harlow (eds), *Archives of Empire: from the East India Company to the Suez Canal*, vol. 1 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003). and Charles Trevelyan's *On the Education of the People of India in the sphere of educational policy* (London: Longman, 1838).
21. See chapter 4: "Colin Mackenzie's Archive and the Telugu Historical Record."
22. David Ludden, "Orientalist Empiricism," in *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament:Perspectives on South Asia*, ed. Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993). In this seminal essay, Ludden argues that there were large-scale transformations in the production of colonial knowledge in the nineteenth century that upheld an empirical method, which was in distinct contrast to the earlier reliance on amateur accounts by travelers and missionaries. More recently, Bhavani Raman lends support to that thesis with her pioneering research on scribal practices in early nineteenth century Madras Presidency. Specifically, she argues that there were radical shifts in scribal practices that emphasized fact collecting and that there was a discernable turn to empiricism in the early colonial record. See Ludden, "Orientalist Empiricism," 250–278, and Raman's "Document Raj," 1–51.
23. Ibid., 5–6. Raman argues that the *kacceri* (company office) became the site for the accumulation of paper that made up the colonial archive.
24. Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993). Thomas Richards's study of the Imperial archive employs the Saidian thesis. However, earlier, Bernard Cohn's work on the production of colonial knowledge had brought attention to colonial collectors, philologists, and historians. See his collections of essays: *An Anthropologist among the Historians* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987) and *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge* (1996).
25. Dirks, *Castes of Mind*, 144. Also see Nicholas Dirks, "Annals of the Archive: Ethnographic Notes on the Sources of History," in Brian Keith Axel, ed., *From the Margins: Historical Anthropology and its Futures* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002) and "Colonial Histories and Native Informants: Biography of an Archive," in Breckenridge and van der Veer, eds., *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament*1993).
26. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History.* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995), 52.

27. Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, 1996), 8.
28. Antoinette Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home, and History in Late Colonial India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 140.
29. See Derrida, *Archive Fever* ; Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon, 1972); Carolyn Steedman, "The Space of Memory: In an Archive," *History of the Human Sciences II*, 4 (1998): 65–84; Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid, and Razia Saleh, eds. *Refiguring the Archive* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 2002); Antoinette Burton, *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).
30. Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 1.
31. Ibid., 47.
32. H. H. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts* (Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1828), 12.
33. Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Textures of Time: Writing History in South India 1600–1800* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001).
34. Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India* (1838), 196–97. Charles Trevelyan, colonial administrator in India, was also father of the historian George Otto Trevelyan and brother-in-law of Thomas Babington Macaulay, the author of the influential "Minute on Education in 1832" that promoted the study of English education in India.
35. Macaulay, "Minute on Education of 1835," in *Archives of Empire* (2003).
36. Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India*, 36–37.
37. He uses the example of how Etruscan was replaced by Greek.
38. For an example of Kopf's thesis on the Bengal Renaissance and how the reception of Western ideas and concepts transformed Bengali culture and inaugurated modernity, see David Kopf, *Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969). This is one example of a diffusionist model that sees the emergence of nationalist thought as a product of the introduction of English education. The literature on the introduction of English Education in India and the transformations it wrought is vast.
39. Jon Wilson, "Anxieties of Difference: Codification in Early Colonial Bengal," *Modern Intellectual History* 4, no. 1 (2007): 7–23.
40. Rao, Shulman and Subrahmanyam have proposed a complex early modernity in their collective work. See Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam, *Textures of Time: Writing History in South India 1600–1800* (2001). And for a critique of early modernity in India, See Pollock's "Pretextures of Time" *History and Theory,* 46.
41. Thomas R. Trautmann, *Languages and Nations: The Dravidian Proof in Colonial Madras* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).
42. Thomas R. Trautmann, *Aryans and British India* (New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 1997).
43. Cohn's essays on the classification and statistical knowledge generated by the colonial state were pivotal in early formulations of colonial knowledge and colonial power. See Cohn's essays in *An Anthropologists among the Historians* (1987). Also see Dirks's "History as a Sign of the Modern." *Public Culture* 2

(1990a): 25–33; and Dirks, *Castes of Mind* (2001). See chapter 1: "Conquest and History" on the production of colonial knowledge.

44. See Wagoner's "Precolonial Intellectuals and Production of Colonial Knowledge," *Comparative Study of Society and History* (2003): 783–814. Also see Trautmann, *Aryans and British India,* and Eugene Irschick, *Dialogue and History: Constructing South India, 1795–1895* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). David Washbrook has a compelling critique of both the Cohn and the Dirks approach to the study of colonialism and the "epistemic" ruptures it entailed in India and the "dialogue" model put forward by Irschick and Trautmann. See Washbrook, "The Colonial Transition," 479–516. On the collaboration model and theories of nationalism in India, see Anil Seal's *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: competition and collaboration in the later nineteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).
45. C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence gathering and social communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
46. Ibid., 7.
47. Ibid., 7.
48. Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories*.
49. Ibid., 90.
50. Ibid., 95.
51. Ibid., 96.
52. Ibid., 96.
53. Sudipta Kaviraj, "The Sudden Death of Sanskrit Knowledge," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 33 (2005), 15.
54. Washbrook, "The Colonial Transition," 479–516.
55. See the insightful essays of Kapil Raj on encounter and the circulation of ideas, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650–1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). For a more involved discussion of how traditional forms of knowledge in India was discredited under colonial conditions, see Sudipta Kaviraj's compelling essay "The Death of Sanskrit Knowledge" (2005): 1–24.
56. The two important published works of Kavali V. Ramaswami are *Descriptive and Historical Sketches of Cities and Places in the Dekkan; to which is prefixed an introduction containing a brief description of the Southern Peninsula, etc.* (Calcutta: Messrs. W. Thacker and Co. St. Andrew's Library, 1828) and *Biographical Sketches of Dekkan Poets, Being Memoirs of the Lives of Several Eminent Bards, Both Ancient and Modern, who have flourished in Different Provinces of the India Peninsula*. (Calcutta, 1829).
57. I take a cue from Pollock's discussion of the historical conditioning and shaping of literary cultures as opposed to insisting on literary histories as a form in South Asia. See Pollock, *Literary Cultures in History*, 1–38.
58. Blackburn, *Print, Folklore, Nationalism*; Peterson, "Between Print and Performance," 25–59; Anindita Ghosh, *Power and Print: Popular Publishing and the Politics of Language and Culture in a Colonial Society, 1778–1905* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006); Lisa Mitchell, *Language, Emotion, and Politics in South India: The Making of a Mother Tongue* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009).
59. Sheldon Pollock, "India in the Vernacular Millennium: Literary Culture and Polity, 1000–1500," *Daedulus* (Summer 1998b). Pollock argues that

regionalization of language takes place earlier in the beginning of the second millennium with the rise of vernaculars. Also see Rao et al., *Textures of Time*, 1–24.

60. Stuart Blackburn's work on the transformations that Tamil underwent with increasing Christian missionary activity in South India identifies translation as a primary mode of linguistic exchange. See Stuart Blackburn, *Print, Folklore, and Nationalism* (2003).
61. See Rama Mantena, "Vernacular Futures: Colonial Philology and the Idea of History in Nineteenth-Century South India," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 42, no. 4 (2005) special issue, coedited with Bate and Mitchell.
62. Farina Mir, "Imperial policy, provincial practices: Colonial language policy in nineteenth-century India," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 43, no. 4 (2006); and Mitchell, *Language, Emotion, and Politics*, 100–126
63. Blackburn, *Print, Folklore, Nationalism*.
64. Washbrook, "The Colonial Transition," 495. Washbrook paints a brilliant picture of the cultural plurality that characterized South Indian society long before the establishment of colonial rule. He illustrates this plurality with the example of the prevalence of multilingualism: "Persian, Marathi and Telugu were ubiquitous languages of state; 'Hindustani' the lingua franca of war; Gujarati, Armenian and Telugu were languages of commerce" (495). And as Mitchell argued from Kavali V. Ramaswami's work,the Kavali brothers existed in a polyglot/multilingual context that traversed not only Tamil, Kannada, and Telugu-speaking regions within the Madras Presidency but also invoked the Deccan as a region that was inherently polyglot, which gestures to a flourishing multilinguality in precolonial south India.
65. Ghosh, *Power and Print*, 1–28.
66. Blackburn, *Print, Folklore, Nationalism,* 1–25; and Ghosh, *Power in Print*, 29–65.
67. Blackburn, *Print, Folklore, Nationalism*, 73–116.
68. See Guha-Thakurta's *Monuments, Objects, Histories*, 3–42.
69. Trautmann, *Languages and Nations*, xiii.
70. Thomas R.Trautmann, ed., *The Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009).
71. Calcutta provided the basis for numerous early studies of Orientalists at the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the purported Bengal Renaissance. See David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of India Modernization, 1773–1835* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969); Om Prakash Kejariwal, *The Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Discovery of India's Past, 1784–1838* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988); Brian Hatcher's *Idioms of Improvement: Vidyasagar and Cultural Encounter in Bengal* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996); Most recently, Andrew Sartori, *Bengal in Global Concept History: Culturalism in the Age of Capital* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008). However there is less on the formation of modern disciplines. See Partha Chatterjee, ed., *Texts of Power: Emerging Disciplines in Colonial Bengal* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995) and Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories*.
72. Talal Asad, *Geneaologies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

1 Conquest and History: The Making of Colonial Archives

1. The proposal was to place the manuscripts in the India House on Leaden Hall Street back in London. The Court of Directors was the governing body of the EIC.
2. "General Letter" May 25, 1798, quoted in Tamil Nadu State Archives (TNSA): Madras Public Consultations (MPC), 1801.
3. See P. J. Marshall, *Bengal: The British Bridgehead* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). Other studies on land tenure debates are also relevant for understanding the broader changes that were instigated by the transformation of colonial rule: Ranajit Guha, *A Rule of Property: An Essay on the Idea of Permanent Settlement* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996), Eric Stokes's *English Utilitarians in India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), Burton Stein's *Thomas Munro: The Origins of the Colonial State and His Vision of Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), Thomas Metcalf's *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); and Uday Mehta's *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1999). Also see Sudipta Sen, "Colonial Frontiers of the Georgian State: East India Company's Rule in India," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7, no. 4 (December 1994), *Empire of Free Trade: the East India Company and Making of the Colonial Marketplace* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998) and *Distant Sovereignty: National Imperialism and the Origins of British India* (New York: Routledge, 2002). And, more recently, Jon Wilson's *The Domination of Strangers: Modern Governance in Eastern India*, 1780–1835 (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
4. Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Macaulay's Essay on Lord Clive*, ed. Eugene D. Holmes (American Book Company, 1912).
5. John Malcolm, *The Political History of India, From 1784–1823* (London: John Murray, 1826).
6. Macaulay, *Macaulay's Essay on Lord Clive,* 13.
7. Thomas Babington Macaulay, *A Speech of T.B. Macaulay, Esq. M.P. on the Second Reading of the East-India Bill, in the House of Commons, 10*th *July, 1833* (London: T.C. Hansard, , 1833) 20–21.
8. Nicholas Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 9. For more recent discussions on historical precedent being an early EIC concern in Bengal, See Robert Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India: The British in Bengal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) and Jon Wilson *The Domination of Strangers: Modern Governance in Eastern India*, 1780–1835 (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) and David Washbrook, "South India 1770–1840: The Colonial Transition," *Modern Asian Studies* 38, no. 3 (2004).
9. To be fair, Seeley was drawing attention to the fact that English provincialism prevented them from paying attention to the consequences of their own successful imperial/colonial expansion in the New World as well as in Asia. However, Seeley does point out that "Our acquisition of India was made blindly. Nothing great that has ever been done by Englishmen was done so unintentionally, so accidentally, as the conquest of India. (143)" In other words, he implies that the British did not intend to conquer India. In fact, he states that the British did not really *conquer* India, but rather that India

"conquered herself" since it was with the manpower of the Indian sepoy army that Robert Clive defeated the Nawab of Bengal at the Battle of Plassey in 1757. Seeley goes to great lengths to prove that the British conquest of India was not a foreign conquest, but rather, it was an internal revolution of sorts caused by the power vacuum that had been created as a result of the breakdown of Mughal authority in India. In other words, the British were almost forced to take advantage of the political "anarchy," which has been described by Seeley, as the ripe conditions for the ascendancy of the British in India. See J. R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1971).

10. Robert Orme, *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan, from the Year 1745* (Madras: Atheneum Press, 1861).
11. For a compelling discussion of how the British perceived what was thought to be the "ancient constitution" of India, See Travers, *Ideology and Empire,* 1–30.
12. For discussions on the radical proposals for land tenure put forward by the early Company government, See Ranajit Guha, *A Rule of Property: An Essay on the Idea of Permanent Settlement* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996); and Eric Stokes, *English Utilitarians and India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).
13. Jon Wilson, *Domination of Strangers,* contends that Ranajit Guha had it wrong and that in fact that early colonial rule was very much seeking to reinstate existing principles of law or custom. See Travers, *Ideology and Empire,* 1–30 for an argument about the British search for an ancient constitution in India.
14. The ryotwar system, a system in which payments were made by individual petty landholders, dominated in both the Madras and the Bombay Presidencies. The same system was adopted elsewhere in Sind, Assam, and Burma. The other type of revenue administration was permanent settlement, which was based on fixed payments from zamindari holdings. The latter type was implemented mostly in Bengal,Bihar, and a few districts in Madras (along the Andhra coast). The difference between the two systems consisted in the provincial government's relationship to landholders. The two different systems were a source of contention for colonial officials throughout the nineteenth century. Opponents of permanent settlement claimed that this system created a powerful Indian aristocracy (power that was open to abuse) that was held responsible for extracting revenue from their subordinates.
15. See Stein, *Thomas Munro: Origins of the Colonial State.*
16. Wilson, *Domination of Strangers,* 45, argues that historical precedent was an attempt to recover the ancient constitution of India in order to devise a rule and to anchor their sovereignty.
17. See C. P. Brown, ed., *Three Treatises on Mirasi Right: by Francis W. Ellis, Lieutenant Colonel Blackburne, Sir Thomas Munro, with Remarks by the Court of Directors, 1822 and 1824*. (Madras: D. P. L. C. Connor, 1852) and Burton Stein, ed., *The Making of Agrarian Policy in British India, 1770–190*0 (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992).
18. OIOC: Mss. Eur. F228. Maj-Gen William Kirkpatrick (1754–1812), unbound correspondence.
19. For recent scholarship on the rule of the Mysore nawabs, see Irfan Habib, ed., *Resistance and Modernization Under Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2001) and Kate Brittlebank, *Tipu's Search for Legitimacy: Islam and Kingship in a Hindu Domain* (Oxford, 1998).

20. Charles Francis Greville was himself a collector of antiquities, whose collections were especially important for mineralogy and horticulture.
21. Charles Francis Greville, *British India Analyzed: The Provincial and Revenue Establishments of Tipoo Sultaun and of Mahomedan and British Conquerors in Hindostan, Stated and Considered* (London: Printed for R. Faulder, 1795), xix.
22. The dubashes were interpreters, translators, secretaries, supervisors, and, more generally, mediators between Indians and company officials in the eighteenth century. See Susan Neild-Basu, "The Dubashes of Madras" *Modern Asian Studies* 18, no. 1 (1984) for the historical role of dubashes in colonial India. Neild-Basu argues that because of their intermediary role between the Europeans and the Indians, the dubashes inhabited an important place in the colonial psyche. They were both vilified and revered at the same time.
23. Greville, *British India Analyzed*, 160.
24. With the exception of the early generation of Orientalists, most importantly Sir William Jones, who did not condemn Indian traditions as incoherent or depraved. See Raymond Schwab's *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Discovery of India and the East, 1680–1880* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), Wilhelm Halbfass's *India and Europe: An Essay in Understanding* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988) and Thomas Trautmann's *Aryans and British India* (New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 1997).
25. Robert Orme was born in Anjengo in Travencore to a surgeon, John Orme, who was initially stationed in Bombay. See Charles Wilkens's "An Authentic Account of the Life and Character of the late Robert Orme, Esq. F. A. S. Historiographer to the Honourable the East India Company," *Asiatic Annual Register* (1802), 45–55; C.S. Srinivasachariar, "Robert Orme and Colin Mackenzie—Two Early Collectors of Manuscripts and Records," *Indian Historical Records Commission. Proceedings of Meetings*. vol. VI. Sixth meeting held at Madras. Jan 1924; and Sinharaja Tammita Delgoda, "'Nabob, Historian, and Orientalist,' Robert Orme: the Life and Career of an East India Company Servant (1728–1801)," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Third Series)* 2, no. 3 (1992): 363–76.
26. Orme, *Military Transactions*, 33–34.
27. Ibid., 7–8.
28. The Wodeyars were Hindu kings in Mysore before Hyder Ali and his son Tipu Sultan ruled Mysore. They were reinstated after the defeat of Tipu Sultan. Among others who witnessed Tipu Sultan's fall from power was Major-General William Kirkpatrick. He was in charge of handling Tipu Sultan's library with its collection of printed books and manuscripts. Kirkpatrick and Wilks were in correspondence.
29. In 1813, after being appointed governor, Wilks went to the island of St. Helena, to where Napoleon Bonaparte was exiled in 1815. He worked there for two-and-a-half years before returning to London where he continued to participate in the activities of the Asiatic Society and the Royal Society until his death in 1831. See M. Hammick's "A Note on Colonel Mark Wilks" in *Historical Sketches of the South of India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore from the Origin of the Hindu Government of That State, to the Extinction of the Mohammaedan Dynasty in 1799. Founded chiefly on Indian Authorities*. First published in 1810. This is a reprint of the edition printed in 1930 edited by Murray Hammick (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1989).
30. OIOC: MSS Eur F 228/39. Mark Wilks to George Buchan, March 4, 1807.
31. OIOC: MSS Eur F 228/39. Mark Wilks to George Buchan, March 4, 1807.
32. Ranajit Guha, "A Conquest Foretold," *Social Text* 54 (Spring, 1998): 85–99.

33. Kapil Raj, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650–1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
34. The earliest of the surveys was one of the coasts in the early part of the seventeenth century with the first voyages to India. For a fuller discussion on the variety of surveys conducted by the early surveyors such as James Rennell, William Lambton, and Colin Mackenzie see Matthew H. Edney's *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765–1843* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1997). The gradual rise and development of the colonial state relied on statistical knowledge through surveys.
35. Sir Charles R. Markham, *A Memoir on the Indian Surveys* (London, 1871), 43.
36. Raj, *Relocating Modern Science*.
37. See James Rennell's, *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan; or the Mogul's Empire: With an Examination of Some Positions in the Former System of Indian Geography* (London, 1783; 2^d ed., 1793), xii., explanation of the emblematical frontispiece to the map:"Brittannia [*sic*] receiving into her Protection, the sacred Books of the Hindoos, presented by the Pundits, or Learned Bramins: in Allusion to the humane Interposition of the British Legislature in favor of the Natives of Bengal, in the Year 1781. Brittannia is supported by a Pedestal, on which are engraven the Victories, by means of which the British Nation obtained, and has hitherto upheld, its Influence in India: among which, the two recent ones of Porto Novo and Sholingur, gained by General [Eyre] Coote, are particularly pointed out by a Sepoy to his Comrade."
38. Charles Trevelyan invoked Rome in his *On the Education of the People of India* (London: Longman, 1838), as did Thomas B. Macaulay in his various writings on India. See Rama Sundari Mantena, "Imperial Ideology and the Uses of Rome in Discourses on Britain's Indian Empire," in Mark Bradley, ed., *Classics and Imperialism in the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
39. Edney, *Mapping an Empire,* 2.
40. See Peter Robb's "Completing 'our Stock of Geography', or an Object 'Still More Sublime': Colin Mackenzie's Survey of Mysore, 1799–1810." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Third Series)* 8, no. 2 (1998): 181–206 and Edney's *Mapping an Empire*.
41. Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951), 199.
42. Peter Pels "The Rise and Fall of the Indian Aborigines: Orientalism, Anglicism and an Ethnology of India, 1833–1869," *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000), 87.
43. The Statistical Society of London (1832) was founded by William Henry Sykes, among others, who was a statistical reporter of Bombay. See Pels "The Rise and Fall," 88.
44. David Ludden, "Orientalist Empiricism: Transformations of Colonial Knowledge," in Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia, eds. Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994), 258.
45. See William O'Reilly, "Nurturing Knowledge: Culture, Science and Empire in the Emerging Global Order 1780–1830." Paper delivered at Exporting Identities 1750–1830. Cambridge University, UK, September 11 and 12, 2003.
46. Jennifer Howes, *Illustrating India: The Early Colonial Investigations of Colin Mackenzie (1784–1821)* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 160–61.

47. Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of knowledge* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 80.
48. Arjun Appadurai writes: "But the less obvious point is that statistics were generated in amounts that far defeated any unified bureaucratic purpose." Appadurai argues that the colonial practice of statistics resulted in "unintended" consequences, such as new forms of self-representation or that it fueled new forms of communitarian and nationalist identities. See Arjun Appadurai, "Number in the Colonial Imagination," in *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia*, eds. Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter Van der Veer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 316–17.
49. J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion: Narratives of Civil Government*, vol. 2 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999a), 7. Philippa Levine also argues that before the ascendance of professional history through the establishment of institutions dedicated to historical scholarship and established a community of scholars, there were diverse practices of history. See Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838–1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
50. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion*, 14.
51. Ibid., 24.
52. Susan Manning, "Antiquarianism, the Scottish Science of Man, and the Emergence of Modern Disciplinarity," in L. Davis, I. Duncan and J. Sorensen, eds., *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
53. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion*, 22.
54. Arnaldo Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," *Studies in Historiography* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 2.
55. Manning argues that antiquarianism remained in constant tension with philosophic history in the emergence of a new historiography: "I would argue that it continued to inhabit a contested position at the margins of a self-consciously new historiography, despite the fact that its enumerative investigations represented an earlier stage in the same empirical methodology as that of its 'philosophical' rival." See Manning, "Antiquarianism, the Scottish Science of Man, 63.
56. Thomas Trautmann has done the most extensive work on both the Asiatic Society of Bengal and Orientalist scholarship in Madras. His reading on Jones and his circle in Calcutta as well as on Francis Ellis and his circle in Madras has shed light on the extensive nature of the scholarship that was produced. His work has also drawn attention to the work of native assistants. See chapter 3 "Native Intellectuals in Early Colonial Madras" for a more extensive discussion of who these native assistants were, especially in Madras. See Trautmann, *Aryans in British India*, and *Languages and Nations: The Dravidian Proof in Colonial Madras* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).
57. Thomas R. Trautmann, ed., *The Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009). Michael Dodson, *Orientalism, Empire, and National Culture: India, 1770–1880* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
58. See Hayden White's discussion on the importance of narrative in the tradition of historiography in the Western European tradition in "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse*

and Historical Representation (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1987), in which White asks: "What is involved, then, in that finding of the 'true story,' that discovery of the 'real story' within or behind the events that come to us in the chaotic form of 'historical records'?" (4)

59. V. S. Pathak, a historian of ancient India, has called this the 'pick and choose' method: "Like children picking pebbles from the sea-shore, they contented themselves with the extracting of facts from various places in the narrative on no basis other than their predilections." However, this method involved a distortion, Pathak argued. "First, the facts were torn out of the context" and "secondly, they were given an arbitrary subjective setting by historians." Pathak was concerned with restoring the integrity of the literary text to its original form prior to its subjection to a positivist historiography that indiscriminately tore out data from its context in order to reconstruct history. For Pathak, the modern conception of history is European and its ascendance in India marked a break with past traditions because those traditions suddenly appeared "monstrous" and "disfigured" in the new conceptual framework of modern historiography. See V. S. Pathak, *Ancient Historians of India: A Study in Historical Biographies* (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1966). 32.
60. Alexander Hamilton, "Review of Francis Buchanan's Travels in the Mysore," *Edinburgh Review* 8 (October 1808): 82–100.

2 Colin Mackenzie and the Search for History

1. Girish Karnad, *The Dreams of Tipu Sultan and Bali: The Sacrifice. Two Plays by Girish Karnad* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004).
2. See Nicholas B. Dirks's "Foreword" to Bernard S. Cohn's *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, JN: Princeton University Press, 1996), ix.
3. *Edinburgh Review* published a scathing critique of Buchanan's methods by Alexander Hamilton. See Alexander Hamilton, "Review of Francis Buchanan's *Travels in the Mysore" Edinburgh Review* 8 (Oct 1808): 82–100. Also see M. Vicziany's "Imperialism, Botany and Statistics in Early Nineteenth-Century India: The Surveys of Francis Buchanan (1762–1829)" *Modern Asian Studies* (1986), 20: 625–60.
4. Peter Pels, "The Rise and Fall of the Indian Aborigines: Orientalism, Anglicism, and the Emergence of an Ethnology of India, 1833–1869," in *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology,* eds. Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 88–89.
5. See W. C. Mackenzie, *Colonel Colin Mackenzie: First Surveyor-General of India* (W. & R. Chambers Ltd: Edinburgh and London, 1952), with a foreword by Colonel R. H. Phillimore C.I.E., D.S.O.
6. Colin Mackenzie was appointed Ensign of Engineers by the EIC in 1783 and he was promoted to to lieutenant in 1789, to captain in 1793, to major in 1806, and to colonel in 1819. See Mackenzie, *Colonel Colin Mackenzie*.
7. There has been a great deal of speculation as to what Mackenzie's training in Scotland was like based on Alexander Johnston's account of Mackenzie early life in Madras as well as his familial background in Scotland, which was reproduced in H. H. Wilson's catalog of the Mackenzie manuscripts. There are a couple of references Mackenzie makes of his early childhood that are cited by his biographer (Mackenzie, *Colonel Colin Mackenzie*. However, thanks

to the Stornoway historical society's secretary Willie Foulger who brought to my attention a work by George Clavey. Clavey was a historian of a masonic lodge called the Fortrose Lodge No. 108 founded in Stornoway in 1767 Clavey has documented the following: "Alexander Anderson - Schoolmaster. He attended the first meeting and became a member of the Lodge on the 16th August 1769. Reputed to be a brilliant tutor of the Sciences and Mathematics, he was responsible for the early education of Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Colin Mackenzie, Surveyor-General of India. Colin Mackenzie wrote in a letter many years later 'I must however attribute some part of the early seeds of passion for discovery and acquisition of knowledge to ideas first implanted in my native isle.' For a short time Alexander Anderson was also Procurator Fiscal in Stornoway". See George Clavey, *History of Lodge Fortrose No. 108* (Lodge Fortrose, Stornoway, 1993), 159.

8. Colonel R. H. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India, Volume 1: 18th Century* (Dehra Dun (U.P), India: Survey Of India, 1945), 351.
9. Petronella, after the death of Mackenzie in 1821 was remarried to Lt. Robert Page Fulchner at the Cape of Good Hope in 1823.
10. See Peter Robb's "Completing 'our Stock of Geography', or an Object 'Still More Sublime': Colin Mackenzie's Survey of Mysore, 1799–1810," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Third series)* 8, no. 2 (1998): 181–206; and Matthew Edney's *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765–1843* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
11. Martha McLaren, *British India & British Scotland 1780–1830: Career Building, Empire Building & a Scottish School of Thought on Indian Governance* (Akron, OH: University of Akron Press, 2001), 22. Kapil Raj also suggests that the Scots were at an advantage over their contemporaries in England, than did their contemporaries in England, because of their educational system, which allowed themto gain access to higher education. Raj also suggests that a focus on history, geography, and mathematics distinguished them from the dominance of classical learning in England. See Kapil Raj, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650–1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
12. Nicholas Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006)
13. Dirks, *Scandal*, 259–61.
14. MPC (Madras Public Consultations: Tamil Nadu State Archives, Chennai, India): February 28, 1804, Colin Mackenzie to George Buchan, chief secretary to government at Fort Saint George.
15. Bernard Cohn writes that Lord Wellesley, who possessed an imperial vision for the future of India, ordered numerous surveys that were modeled on John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland* and that recognized the need for information on the land, manufactures, and the social and economic conditions of the new territories after the defeat of Tipu Sultan in 1799. See Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*: *The British in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 80.
16. H. H. Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts* (Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1828), 6.
17. MPC: February 28, 1804, Colin Mackenzie to George Buchan, chief secretary to government at Fort Saint George.
18. In the preface to C. P. Brown's translation of *Memoirs of Hyder and Tippoo, Rulers of Seringapatam, Written in the Mahratta Language by Ram Chandra Rao*

'Punganuri' (Madras, 1849), Brown writes that this historical account is important because it presents an authentic Hindu account of the rule of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan. Brown believed that a Hindu account would be different from a history by Tipu's historiographer, Ali Kirmani as well as from the histories of Mark Wilks and other colonial historians.

19. Alexander Johnston's letter is reprinted in Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection,* ii-xii. Sir Alexander Johnston became chief justice of Ceylon and was active in establishing the Royal Asiatic Society in London in 1823. Throughout his career, he championed the extension of rights of native Indians.
20. See Mackenzie, *Colonial Colin Mackenzie*, and Jennifer Howes, *Illustrating India: The Early Colonial Investigations of Colin Mackenzie (1784–1821)* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010).
21. OIOC (Oriental and India Office Collection: British Library, London, U.K.): *Mackenzie Collection: Miscellaneous,* 172, April 15, 1806, Narrainrow to C. V. Lutchmiah.
22. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection: General, 18 (copy B), *Introductory Memoir: Of the Use and Advantage of Inscriptions & Sculptured Monuments in Illustrating Hindoo History.*
23. Ibid.
24. MPC: February 28, 1804, Colin Mackenzie to George Buchan, Chief Secretary to Government at Fort St. George.
25. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection: General, 18 (copy B), *Introductory Memoir: Of the Use and Advantage of Inscriptions & Sculptured Monuments in illustrating Hindoo History.*
26. Mackenzie goes on to write: "The 7 volumes of materials of the Mysore Survey now sent home with the maps contain a good deal of information, which it is my intention to follow up further if the Court of Directors wish to encourage it; but at this distance from England we naturally look for support from them; as we conceive that a pursuit of objects so interesting to the Literary World in general & that may redound to the credit of the National character, & even to their interests, will not be deprived of the fostering aid & protection of that Great Commercial Body to whom the national interest in India are committed." MPC: 1808, Colin Mackenzie to Charles Wilkens.
27. MPC: February 23, 1809, Colin Mackenzie to George Buchan. Mark Wilks's report of March 10, 1807, cited by Mackenzie in his letter to George Buchan.
28. OIOC: MSS Eur F 228/39.
29. MPC: February 23, 1809, Colin Mackenzie to George Buchan, chief secretary to government at Fort St. George.
30. Jennifer Howes, "Colin Mackenzie, the Madras School of Orientalism, and Investigations at Mahabalipuram," in *The Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South India,* ed. Thomas Trautmann. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009). Many of the drawings of architectural and archeological antiquities in Mackenzie's collection were by these draftsmen.
31. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection: General 21, 26. May 12, 1803, Colin Mackenzie to Lakshman.
32. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection: General 1, 38, *Memorandum: Of information Required from Any of the Learned & Intelligent Bramins of Sreerungam & Trichinopoly, 1804.*
33. See Appendix 2.

34. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection: General 11, 17.
35. OIOC: Mackenzie Miscellaneous, 172. March 10, 1807, Nitala Nainah to C.V. Letchmiah.
36. OIOC: Mackenzie Miscellaneous, 172. March 9, 1807, Nitala Nainah to C.V. Letchmiah.
37. OIOC: Mackenzie Miscellaneous, 172. April 18, 1807, Nitala Nainah to C.V. Letchmiah.
38. Nicholas Dirks has persuasively argued for Mackenzie's centrality in the formation of early colonial knowledge in India, even if the colonial state found much of Mackenzie's archival material to be "too sullied by myth and fancy" for developing administrative policies. See Dirks, *Castes of Mind*, 82. See also Nicholas Dirks, "Guiltless Spoliations: Picturesque Beauty, Colonial Knowledge, and Colin Mackenzie's Survey of India," in Catherine B. Asher and Thomas R. Metcalf, eds, *Perceptions of South Asia's Visual Past* (New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1994). Bernard Cohn's monumental work on colonial knowledge can be found in his two collections, *An Anthropologist among the Historians and Other Essays* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987) and *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).
39. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection: General 9, 4. In the margins, there is a note that this entry was transcribed from Col. A. Read's MS. Alexander Read was surveyor in the Baramahal and Salem regions in Tipu's domains. Read, in this manuscript, also refers to the Code of Regulations written during Tipu's reign.
40. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection: General 10, 6.
41. Dirks, *Castes of Mind*, 86.
42. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection: General 10, 2 and 10, 8b.
43. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection: General 1, 36A.
44. MPC: 1803, George Buchan to C. Mackenzie.
45. MPC: February 28, 1804, Colin Mackenzie to George Buchan.
46. MPC: "Of Mackenzie's historical enquiries. A Memorandum. Madras—Feb. 14th 1808." See Appendix 1 for the entire document.
47. MPC: July 17, 1804, quoted in Thomas Hickey's letter to the Court of Directors.
48. Thomas Hickey, born in Dublin, spent some time in Rome when he was a young painter. It was in 1780 that he received permission from the EIC to go to India. However, on his journey to India, he faced some grave challenges. Hickey was captured by the French and the Spanish and imprisoned. Relatively soon after this, he went to Lisbon and established himself as a portrait painter. He made another attempt, this time successful, to go to India in 1784.
49. MPC: July 7, 1804, Thomas Hickey to the Court of Directors.
50. MPC: April 3, 1835, H. Chamier to the collector of Guntoor. H. Chamier was chief secretary to the government at Fort St. George.
51. MPC: July 6, 1835, H. Harkness to Frederick Adam.
52. Charles Philip Brown, *Literary Autobiography of Charles Philip Brown* (Tirupati: Sri Venkateswara University, 1978).
53. MPC: May 10, 1837, H. Prinsep to R. Clerk.
54. See Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Post-Colonial India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

3 The Kavali Brothers: Native Intellectuals in Early Colonial Madras

1. In 1808, John Leyden was promoted by Lord William Bentinck, governor of Madras, to the office of surgeon and naturalist under the superintendence of Mackenzie to survey the Mysore territories conquered from Tipu Sultan. Leyden, an Orientalist scholar, died while perusing yet another stash of manuscripts in a library that he had encountered in Java.
2. Rev. James Morton, *The Poetical Remains of the Late Dr. John Leyden, with Memoirs of his life* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1819), lxvi.
3. Thomas Trautmann, *Languages and Nations: The Dravidian Proof in Colonial Madras* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).
4. Ragaviah helped Strange on his researches into Hindu law. See Thomas Strange, *Elements of Hindu Law*, (London: Payne and Foss, 1825).
5. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection: General, Mack. Misc. Volume 17. See Appendix.
6. Sisir Kumar Das's important work on the Fort William College reveals a much more tense and unequal partnership between natives and Europeans. However, Das makes a clear distinction between the college and the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta. The college, he points out, was primarily devoted to producing civil servants in India, whereas the Asiatic Society of Bengal was concerned with philological research. Das is also careful to note that the British students found it difficult to be taught by native instructors whom they considered to be their subordinates. See Sisir Kumar Das, *Sahibs and Munshis: An Account of the College of Fort William* (New Delhi: Orion Publications, 1978).
7. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection: General, Mack. Misc. Volume 17.
8. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection: General, Mack. Misc. Volume 17.
9. OIOC: Kirkpatrick Collection, MSS Eur F 228/20.
10. OIOC: Kirkpatrick Collection, MSS Eur F 228/20.
11. OIOC: Kirkpatrick Collection, MSS Eur F 228/20.
12. Ragaviah kept correspondence with Major-General William Kirkpatrick. Kirkpatrick began his career in India as a Persian interpreter in Bengal in the late 1770s, working alongside Lord Cornwallis in the 1790s during the Mysore war. Kirkpatrick was also appointed resident with the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1795 and was made one of the commissioners for the partition of Mysore after the fall of Seringapatam for which he received 10,000 pagodas. He was considered an Orientalist in his own right and helped select the books that had been deposited in the library at India House in Leadenhall street. The letters between Ragaviah and Kirkpatrick range from brief summaries and translations of Sanskrit texts to his opinions on the latest controversies concerning the political and intellectual life of colonial India. The latter reveal an intimacy between the two that allowed for Ragaviah to give frank opinions on the policies of the British in India.
13. OIOC: Kirkpatrick Collection, MSS Eur F 228/20.
14. OIOC: Kirkpatrick Collection, MSS Eur F 228/20.
15. OIOC: Kirkpatrick Collection, MSS Eur F 228/20.
16. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection: General, Mack. Misc. Volume 17.
17. OIOC: Kirkpatrick Collection, MSS Eur F 228/20.

18. There are conflicting opinions on the date of the founding of the Madras Literary Society. While N.S. Ramaswami in his *Madras Literary Society: a history, 1812–1984* (Madras: Madras Literary Society, 1985) maintains that it was founded in 1812, at the same time as the college, according to the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society,*it was established on the February 4, 1818. A meeting was held at the College of Fort Saint George. See *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society. Volume III, Part I: 1817–1832*, ed. P. Thankappan Nair (Calcutta, 1980), 310–11. I am going with the later date because Sir Thomas Strange was chief justice in Madras until 1816, and from all accounts, Sir John Newbolt was the first president of the society when he was chief justice in Madras. Also, in the *Calcutta Journal*, on October 6, 1818, it was reported that the Madras Literary Society was formed that year and that it held its first meeting. See *Selections from the Indian Journals, Vol 1: Calcutta Journal*, ed. Satyajit Das (Calcutta, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1963), 10.
19. Ramswami, 28.
20. OIOC: Mackenzie Miscellaneous 176. Mackenzie to Strange, November 2, 1807. In the letter Mackenzie was critical of Ellis's Tamil translation.
21. MPC (Madras Public Consultations): April 22, 1809, William Brown to A. Falconar, chief secretary of government at Madras.
22. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection, Translations XII, 9, "Monthly memorandum & report of C. V. Lutchmia," 1804.
23. MPC: November 13, 1812, A. D. Campbell.
24. I have used the more contemporary spellings of Borayya, Lakshmayya, and Ramaswami to replace the many different variations that appear in colonial records.
25. MPC: February 23, 1809, Mackenzie to George Buchan, chief secretary to government at Fort St. George.
26. Cynthia Talbot, in *Precolonial History in Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)., shows that already in the twelfth century a distinction between two types of Brahmins appears in the records. Brahmins engaged in 'secular' occupations—essentially administrative or clerical—bore different titles than the religious specialists: *amatya*, *mantri*, *pregada*, or *raju* for the former; *bhatta* or *pandita* adopted by the latter. However, the term Niyogi was a later development (57).
27. Ramaswami, 72.
28. MPC: March 29, 1822, A. Dickinson, secretary to government at Fort St. George to C. Lushington, acting chief secretary to government at Fort William.
29. MPC: January 10, 1827, Lakshmaiah to D. Hill, chief secretary to government of Fort St. George.
30. MPC: May 2, 1833, R. A. Bannerman, acting secretary to the Board of Revenue to the chief secretary to government at Fort St. George. The village yielded an annual revenue to the government of 908–26 pagodas—subject to an annual rent of 400 pagodas (subsequently commuted to free tenure).
31. MPC: May 2, 1833, R. A. Bannerman, acting secretary to the Board of Revenue to the chief secretary to government at Fort St George.
32. . Memories of the Vijayanagara kings and their successors, the Nayakas, were still present in areas that the Kavali brothers have traveled through while working for Mackenzie. See Talbot, *Precolonial History,* 174–207, for an interesting discussion on Telugu historical memory.
33. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection, General, 18B. Mackenzie mentions Borayya and Lakshmayya in a note just before the translations in volume 18B, under

the heading "Specimen of Translations, Showing How They May Be Useful in Elucidating Historical Events, Dates and Institutions."

34. Colin Mackenzie, "Extract of a Journal by Major C. Mackenzie," Asiatic Researches IX (1809), 273.
35. Ramaswami, 159.
36. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection: General, 11/7, "Account of the Present State of the Anagoondy Country. In the Salleevahan Year 1722 or English Year 1800 (From Information on the Spot Corrected by Observation in December 1800)."
37. Kavali Venkata Borayya, 244–271. .
38. Colin Mackenzie, 274, mentions that Mr. William Brown discovered some Jain sculptures and inscriptions.
39. H. H. Wilson, 8.
40. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection, General, 21/44.
41. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection, General, 9/1.
42. MPC: February 23, 1809, Mackenzie to George Buchan, chief secretary to government at Fort St. George.
43. Ibid.
44. For Lakshmayya's document on the kaniyatchi, see OIOC: Mackenzie Collection, General, 1/36A. For his work on Mahabalipuram, see OIOC: Mackenzie Collection, General, 21/56; and Jennifer Howes, "Colin Mackenzie, the Madras School of Orientalism, and Investigations at Mahabalipuram," in *The Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South India,* ed. Thomas Trautmann (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009).
45. MPC: January 10, 1827, C. V. Letchmiah to D. Hill.
46. OIOC: MSS.Eur.B.62. C.P. Brown, "Plans for the Revival and Promotion of Telugu Literature, 1825–1858–1867."
47. MPC: March 14, 1833, C. V. Lutchmiah to Sir Frederick Adam.
48. Ibid.
49. MPC: August 4,. 1835, C. V. Letchmiah to Sir Frederick Adam.
50. Ibid.
51. MPC: March 10, 1835, Alexander Johnston to Charles Grant, president of the Board of Control.
52. MPC: March 10, 1835, Alexander Johnston to Charles Grant.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. William Taylor (1857–62), 548.
57. Kavali V. Ramaswami (1828), xii.
58. Kavali V. Ramaswami (1829), xx.
59. Kavali V. Ramaswami (1829), vii.
60. Kavali V. Ramaswami (1829), viii.
61. Kavali V. Ramaswami (1829), xiv.
62. Kavali V. Ramswami (1829), xviii-xix.
63. Kavali V. Ramswami (1829), xi. P. Ragaviah at this time expresses similar sentiments: "But before I commence upon such a comment, I should beg leave to observe, that I possess very poor abilities to give beauty to my language or artificial colour to my arguments, yet simplicity in the one & truth in the other will I hope be sufficient to convey my Ideas to the readers in whose penetraction & candour I place great confidence." He is responding in the *Monthly Review* to a harsh critique delivered by an English officer in the same journal. OIOC: Kirkpatrick Collection, MSS Eur F 228/20.

64. Kavali V. Ramaswami (1829), 4.
65. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection, General, 10/1, "The Vamsavali or Genealogical Tree of Cristna-devarayaloo Forming the Prefactory Address to the Poem Camooclamatia or The String of Pearls by Allasani-Peddana Chief of the Cavishars of Andhra," translated by C. Boria in 1798.
66. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection: General, 21/7, "The Most Celebrated Caveeswars in the Andra or Tellinga Language," from Cavelly Boriah, September 13, 1801.
67. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection, General, 21/8, "List of the Most Celebrated Caveeswars or Authors and of Their Works, Known among the Tellings Brahmins of Andra Dasum Sent by Lechman from Nellore 1802, Ancient or Early Authors or Divine Caveeswars." And see OIOC, Mackenzie Collection, General, 21/9, "List of the Hindoo Books Generally Preserved in the Libraries of Bramins or other Men of Learning in the Nellore Country," collected and sent by Lechmun from Nellore in June 1802.
68. Phillip Wagoner, "Precolonial Intellectuals and Production of Colonial Knowledge," in *Comparative Study of Society and History* 45, no. 4 (Oct 2003).
69. Velcheru Narayana Rao, "Print and Prose: Pandits, *Karanams* and the East India Company in the Making of Modern Telugu," in *India's Literary History: Essays on the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Stuart Blackburn and Vasudha Dalmia (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004), 150.
70. Bhavani Raman, "Document Raj: Scribes and Writing Under Colonial Rule in Madras, 1771–1860" (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 2007).
71. MPC: April 23, 1819.
72. Ramaswami, *Madras Literary Society,* 63. See Ram Raz's "Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus" (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1834).
73. R. Suntharalingam, *Politics and Nationalist Awakening in South India, 1852–1891* (New Delhi: Rawat Publications, 1980), 38
74. Arudra, *Samagra Andhrasahityam [A Comprehensive Literary History of the Andhra People]: Tommidava Samputam, Kumphiniyugam -I* (Prajasakti Bukhaus: Vijayawada, 1989), 73.

4 Colin Mackenzie's Archival Project and the Telugu Historical Record

1. Michael Dodson, *Orientalism, Empire, and National Culture: India, 1770–1880* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 22.
2. Charles Philip Brown, ed., "Preface," in *Memoirs of Hyder and Tippoo, Rulers of Seringapatam. Written in the Mahratta Language by Ram Chandra Rao 'Punganuri,'* trans. Charles Philip Brown (Madras: Simkins and Co., 1849).
3. MPC: On Mackenzie's historical enquiries. A Memorandum. Madras, February 14, 1808.
4. H. H. Wilson, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Manuscripts* (Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1828) p. xii.
5. There has not been much study of the manuscripts themselves. Because they were collected in the early part of the nineteenth century, selections of them have been hand copied and published over the past two centuries. In the last few decades, there has been a renewed interest in the kaifiyats, and both the Andhra Pradesh State Archives and the Tamil Nadu Governmental Oriental Manuscript Library have published a select few of the kaifiyats for researchers

to make better use of them. The actual manuscripts are in need of greater preservation. The dating of the manuscripts has not, to my knowledge, been done up to this point. Scholars have relied on reports in the Mackenzie collection that give us an insight into how they were collected.

6. OIOC: Mackenzie Collection: General 7, 5a–c.
7. See Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Textures of Time: Writing History in South India 1600–1800* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001).
8. John T. Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi, and English*. From the Digital Dictionaries of South Asia Project. Entry for "kaifiyat" (p. 0889), http://dsal.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/philologic/search3dsal?dbname=platts&query=kaifiyat&matchtype=exact&display=utf8.
9. See Introduction by P.V. Parabrahma Sastry to *Gramakaifiyatulu: Gunturu Taluka* (Hyderabad: AP State Archives, 1984).
10. N. Venkataramanayya and M. Somasekhara Sarma, "The Kakatiyas of Warangal," in *The Early History of the Deccan,* ed. by G. Yazdani (London: OUP, 1960) and P. V. Parabrahma Sastry, *The Kakatiyas of Warangal* (Hyderabad: The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1978), 193.
11. Venkataramanayya and Sarma, "The Kakatiyas of Warangal," in *Early History of the Deccan*, 675.
12. The role of the karanam is parallel to that of the munshi in the Mughal administration as Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam discuss in their "The Making of a Munshi," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*. 24, no. 2 (2004).
13. The karanam held land records. Bhavani Raman argues that the karanam held a polyglot set of records/deeds recording land rights. The colonial state insisted on the use of one language/vernacular for the recording of land rights. See Bhavani Raman's "Document Raj: Scribes and Writing Under Colonial Rule in Madras, 1771–1860" (PhD, University of Michigan, 2007).
14. See Sumit Guha, "Transitions and Translations: Regional Power and Vernacular Identity in the Dakhan, 1500–1800," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 24, no. 2 (2004).
15. *Guntur kaifiyats*, Vol. 1, from "Poturu Grama Kaiphiyyatu," p. 40. My translation.
16. "Panurapuram Kalakateru" from *Nellore Jilla Kaiphiyyattulu,* ed. Dr. S. K. Pachauri (Hyderabad: Andhra Pradesh State Archives, 1993a). My translation.
17. Ibid., 212–20.
18. This point is made in relation to the Marathi context by Guha in his "Transitions and Translations, 26. Guha points to a number of documents that circulated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the Dakhan (inclusive of Telugu, Tamil and Kannada- speaking areas, along with Marathi). He mentions the hakikat along with a number of other documents. Guha argues that they represent the kinds of literate practices that commoners had access to rather than the higher poetic compositions (associated with courtly culture).
19. J. Sinclair went to villages in Scotland and asked questions similar to the ones that Mackenzie had asked.
20. V. S. Pathak, *Ancient Historians of India: A Study in Historical Biographies* (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1966), 21. The emergence of historical narrative in the Sanskrit tradition has been compellingly analyzed by V.S. Pathak. He

proposes that historical narrative has had a very long history, which started from the Vedic period. He looks at references to oral genres that preceded the *itihasa-puranic* (period of epics and histories) traditions and then traces the development of different strands of historical narrative. A large part of those narrative traditions were concerned with royal eulogies and geneaologies and were connected with the court.

21. See Romila Thapar, "The Tradition of Historical Writing in Early India," in *Ancient Indian Social History* (New Delhi: Orient Longman Limited, 1978), 271.
22. See Phillip B. Wagoner, *Tidings of the King: A Translation and Ethnohistorical Analysis of the Rayavacakamu* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), cf 1, 171. For study of traditions of historical writing in South India, see Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, Sanjay Subrahmanyam's *Symbols of Substance: Court and State in Nayaka Period Tamilnadu* (New Delhi; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.) and *Textures of Time*. Another important work on exploring the idea of ethnohistory is Nicholas Dirks's *The Hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1993b).The authors of *Symbols of Substance* and *Textures of Time* have engaged with a wide variety of literary genres to rethink the place of history in south Indian textual traditions. They draw attention to specific forms prevalent in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century southern India, such as the *abhyudayamu* (a Telugu literary genre that takes its subject as the day in the life of a king) and *vamsavali* to point to a kind of historical consciousness present in the genres. Dirks's work (along with that of B. Cohn) provides another perspective by bringing in a discussion of ethnohistory as way of approaching historical narrative in Indian traditions.
23. Wagoner, *Tidings of the King*, 10.
24. Guha, "Transitions and Translations, 26.
25. Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam, *Textures of Time*, 60–61.
26. Sarojini Regani, *Nizam-British Relations 1724–1857* (Hyderabad: Booklovers Private Limited, 1963), p. 71. Regani uses several kaifiyats in her study, some of which have been published and some manuscripts from the Government Oriental Manuscript Library (GOML.)
27. The kaifiyat *Bobbili* includes the episode of Vijayarama Raju's death at the hand of Bobbili Ranga Raya's *Baumaridi* (brother-in-law),24.
28. Orme , *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan, from the Year 1745: To which is Prefixed a Dissertation on the Establishments Made by Mahomedan Conquerors in Indostan*. Madras: Atheneum Press, 1861.
29. Rao, Shulman and Subrahmanyam, *Textures of Time*, 63.
30. Brown, Charles Philip. *A Telugu-English Dictionary*. New ed., thoroughly rev. and brought up to date, 2nd ed. Madras: Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1903.
31. *Textures of Time's* analysis of karanam historiography is broader than what is contained within the kaifiyats, yet their analysis is telling of the richness of historical memory—that historical memory was important and recorded in myriad ways. The Bobbilli histories that this work focuses on reveal a particular attention to historical details.
32. Charles Phillip Brown, trans., *The Wars of the Rajas, Being the History of Anantapuram*. Madras: The Christian Knowledge Society's Press, 1853. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar included some passages pertaining to Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara fame in his *Sources of Vijayanagar History* (Madras: University of Madras, 1919), 178–81.

33. Ibid., 1. The translation is Brown's.
34. Ibid., 3.
35. Ibid., 6.
36. Ibid., 6.
37. Ibid., 82–83.
38. OIOC: Letter from Colin Mackenzie to H. H. Wilson, February 10, 1820. H. H. Wilson Private Papers (Letters).
39. First chair of Sanskrit at Oxford.
40. H. H. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts and Other Articles Illustrative of the Literature, History, Statistics and Antiquities of the South of India Collected by the Late Liet.-Col. Colin Mackenzie, Surveyor General of India* (Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1828).
41. MPC: Volume 640A, 1835. Letter from Alexander Johnston to Charles Grant (president of the Board of Control), March 10, 1835. Alexander Johnston was instrumental in encouraging the EIC to purchase the collection and to advocate to them the importance of Mackenzie's collection. Johnston also provided much encouragement to Lakshmayya to continue Mackenzie's researches by forming literary societies in Madras as a way to encourage literary pursuits. His letter to Charles Grant is extraordinary in his revered description of ancient traditions of education and literary creativity in south India. Johnston employed that history to argue for the continuance of historical researches with the encouragement of the government and to foster an intellectual exchange and appreciation between India and England.
42. Gurzada V. Apparao, *Kanyasulkam* (Hyderabad: Visalandhra Publishing House, 1992). Preface to the 2nd ed.,1909.
43. Gidugu Ramamurti included one such kaifiyat in his anthology of Telugu prose, *Gadya Chintamani [Treatise on Prose]* (Madras, 1933). The Modern Telugu movement was spearheaded by Gidugu V. Ramamurti, who having had experience in teaching Telugu in schools and having studied modern linguistics, was compelled to call for reforms in the teaching of Telugu in schools. This in turn shaped into a larger critique of the use of *granthika* (classical Telugu) by writers and educators. Ramamurti felt that the use of granthika Telugu made Telugu inaccessible to most Telugu speakers, placed barriers on the language from the influences of everyday life and speech, and ultimately that it removed Telugu from history.
44. C.S. Srinivasachariar, "Robert Orme and Colin Mackenzie—Two Early Collectors of Manuscripts and Records," *Indian Historical Records Commision. Proceedings of Meetings*. vol. 6. Sixth Meeting Held at Madras. January 1924.
45. These are the original kaifiyats collected by Mackenzie's assistants. Much of the collection is still preserved in the GOML in Madras.
46. M. Somasekhara Sarma, N. Venkataramanayya, and P. V. Parabrahma Sastry come to mind. Regani's *Nizam-British Relations,* 325–334 makes liberal use of the kaifiyats. She used both printed kaifiyats: Samalkot kaifiyat, Pusapativari kaifiyat, Korukonda kaifiyat, Kimmoori kaifiyat, Mogaliturru kaifiyat, Peddapura Samsthana Charitramu, and Sri Ravu Vamsiya Charitra. The manuscripts from the GOML were Kalingapatam Hakikat, Ganjam Hakikat, Sarvapavaram kaifiyat, and Samalkot kaifiyat.
47. Peter Schmitthenner, *Telugu Resurgence: C. P. Brown and Cultural Consolidation in Nineteenth-Century South India* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2001).

48. Cynthia Talbot, *Precolonial India in Practice: Society, Region, and Identity in Medieval Andhra*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
49. See Nicholas Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton, IL: Princeton University Press, 2001) and "Colonial Histories and Native Informants: Biography of an Archive," in Carol Breckenridge and Peter Van Der Veer, eds., *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).
50. Thomas Trautmann, *The Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009).
51. See Phillip Wagoner's "Precolonial Intellectuals and Production of Colonial Knowledge," in *Comparative Study of Society and History* 45, no. 4 (Oct 2003). Also see Thomas Trautmann, *Aryans in British India*, (New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 1997) and Eugene Irschick, *Dialogue and History: Constructing South India, 1795–1895*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
52. See chapter 3 for a discussion of Kavali Ramaswami's work.

5 Colonial Philology and the Progressive History of Telugu

1. Maurice Olender, *The Languages of Paradise: Race, Religion, and Philology in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 5.
2. C. D. Maclean, *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency* (Asian Educational Services: New Delhi, 1987), 1:566.
3. Ibid., 566.
4. *Grammatica Telugica* (Halle-Wittenberg: Martin Luther Universitat, 1984).
5. J. Mangamma, *Book printing in India: With Special Reference to the Contribution of European Scholars to Telugu, 1746–1857* (Tirupati: Bangorey Books, 1975), 34.
6. Peter Schmitthenner, *Telugu Resurgence: C.P. Brown and Cultural Consolidation in Nineteenth-Century South India* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2001). At the Tranquebar mission, Kanambadi Vathiar, a 24-year-old Tamil scholar, entered service in 1709 and taught languages.
7. Mangamma, 73.
8. Mangamma, 113.
9. Stuart Blackburn, *Print, Folklore, and Nationalism in Colonial South India* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003), 73–74.
10. Thomas R. Trautmann, *Aryans and British India* (New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 1997).
11. Most importantly, August Wilhelm was influential in formulating the idea of the "Aryan" as a race, from the philological evidence.
12. Missionaries have had a longer history in the study of vernacular languages from the obvious advantage of their proselytizing efforts.
13. For Telugu, there is C. P. Brown; Hindi, John Gilchrist; Bengali, William Carey; Tamil, Father Beschi.
14. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).
15. See Lisa Mitchell, *Language, Emotion, and Politics in South India: The Making of a Mother Tongue*. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009) 35–67.

16. See Robert D. King, *Nehru and the Language Politics of India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).
17. Charles Philip Brown (1798–1884) was born in Calcutta to David Brown, one of the pioneering Evangelicals in India, who promoted the establishment of Christian missions in Bengal. David Brown was also in contact with Orientalists at the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the College of Fort William in Calcutta. C. P. Brown was sent to England to receive proper training to enter into the civil service in India. In 1817, on his return to India, Charles was sent to Madras, where he first encountered Telugu. Thus began his long association with Telugu—the language, the literature, and the peoples.
18. C. P. Brown, *Verses of Vemana* (In the Telugu Original with English Version) (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1989), i–ii.
19. Ibid., ii.
20. H. H. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts* (Madras: Higginbotham & Co. 1828), xxxviii.
21. Ibid., xxxix.
22. Lisa Mitchell, *Language, Emotion, and Politics in South India: The Making of a Mother Tongue*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009, 177–83.
23. OIOC: MSS.Eur.D.290. See his notes before the text. C. P. Brown, "Essays on the Language and Literature of the Telugus."
24. Marga literally means "way" or "path" in Sanskrit while desi refers to a particular locale. While marga refers to Sanskrit literary culture, one that contained a cosmopolitan idiom and aesthetic, desi, is limited in its scope and refers to the local.
25. In 1816, Francis Whyte Ellis (d. 1818) proposed that there existed in South Asia a separate group of languages that was distinct from the Indo-European group (which included Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali, etc.). This was the Dravidian language group that included languages from southern India. This discovery had an enormous impact on Orientalist interpretations of the relationship between the classical languages and the vernaculars (See Trautmann, *Languages & Nations*, 1–41.
26. The *Mahabharata* is one of the principle epics in Sanskrit literature. Nannaya is the first known Telugu poet. His works are our first textual record of Telugu literature in the eleventh century.
27. David Shulman and Velcheru Narayana Rao, *Classical Telugu Poetry* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), 75.
28. Ibid., 16.
29. Ibid., 116.
30. Ibid., 173–74.
31. Lisa Mitchell makes an argument regarding what it means to say "language of the land" in this early modern period as opposed to language of a people—an identity marker in modern times. See Mitchell's *Language, Emotion, and Politics,* 35–67
32. See Lisa Mitchell's *Language, Emotion, and Politics,* 35–67
33. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*. See Lisa Mitchell for a longer discussion on now print contributed to formulations of ethnic identity corresponding with language. See Mitchell's *Language, Emotion, and Politics*, 68–99
34. Sheldon Pollock, "Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History," *Public Culture* 12, no. 3, (2000).

35. Mitchell's work on the impact of print technology on Telugu grammars and primers shows how colonial philology has had other revolutionary consequences in shaping the dissemination of knowledge through printed textbooks to native pupils rather than through the pandit—a figure that Mitchell cites as the embodied purveyor of forms of knowledge in precolonial times. See Mitchell's *Language, Emotion, Politics,* 68–99.
36. P. Chenchiah and Raja M. Bhujanga Rao Bahadur, *A History of Telugu Literature* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1988), 109. First published in London in 1928.
37. From the late nineteenth century, praise for Brown and his work in Telugu literature was not uncommon. See Gidugu V. Sitapati, *History of Telugu Literature* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1968).
38. Gidugu V. Ramamurti, *Gadya Chintamani* [Treatise on Prose]. Guntur: Telikicherla Venkataratnam, 1933.
39. Mitchell provides a fascinating discussion of the emergence of "accha" or "pure" Telugu in the nineteenth century See Mitchell's *Language, Emotion, Politics,* 100–126.
40. OIOC: MSS.Eur.B.62. C. P. Brown, "Plans for the Revival and Promotion of Telugu Literature, 1825–1858–1867."
41. The proposal, dated February 22,. 1827, was sent to the government to the Secretary to the Board of Superintendence of College.
42. OIOC: MSS.Eur.B.62. C. P. Brown, "Plans for the Revival and Promotion of Telugu Literature, 1825–1858–1867."
43. OIOC: MSS.Eur.D.290. C. P. Brown, "Essays on the Language and Literature of the Telugus."
44. Ibid., 142.
45. Brown, *Verses of Vemana*, i.
46. Hans Aarsleff, *The Study of Language in England, 1780–1860* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), 122.
47. Samuel Johnson, *Selections from the Works of Samuel Johnson* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1909), 29.
48. Heading that list was Alexander D. Campbell (1789–1857). Campbell was in the Madras civil service between 1807 and 1842. In 1816 he published a grammar of Telugu, *A Grammar of the Teloogoo Language.* (Madras: The College Press, 1816). Campbell was a very important and influential figure in Madras, especially at the College of Fort St. George during the first half of the nineteenth century.
49. C P. Brown's interleaved copy of Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language*, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras (Tamil Nadu), India: Tel.MSS.D.3142. fol. 286 (see Schmitthenner, *Telugu Resurgence*, 222, and Bangorey and G. N. Reddy, eds. *Literary Autobiography of C.P. Brown* (Tirupati: Sri Venkataswara University, 1978), 43.
50. Bangorey and Reddy, eds. *Literary Autobiography of C. P. Brown*, 35.
51. Mangamma, *Book Printing in India*, 157–59.
52. Brown, *Grammar of the Telugu Language*, vi.
53. Ibid., vi.
54. I use the term grammarian to refer broadly to the scholars of the vernacular languages in the nineteenth century.
55. Nicholas Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).
56. Velcheru Narayana Rao, "Coconut and Honey: Sanskrit and Telugu in Medieval Andhra," *Social Scientist* 23, no. 10–12 (1995), 36.

57. Rao asserts that one of the first challenges to the status of Sanskrit in the Andhra region was the thirteenth-century follower of Basavanna, Palkuriki Somanatha, who criticised Sanskrit for that very reason(being unintelligible) and created his own oppositional style. Soon the oppositional style lost its radical critique of the aura of Sanskrit and became absorbed into the marga tradition (Rao, "Coconut and Honey," 28
58. OIOC: MSS.Eur.D.290. C. P. Brown, "Essays on the Language and Literature of the Telugus," 71.
59. Brown, *Essay on the Language and Literature of the Telugus*, 12.
60. Mitchell, *Language, Emotion, and Politics*, 111–12.
61. Brown, *Dictionary Telugu-English*.
62. Ibid., iv.
63. Brown, *A Grammar of the Telugu Language,* ii.
64. Bernard Cohn writes that John B. Gilchrist (1759–1841), scholar of Hindi, expressed a similar distaste for Sanskrit and the pandits.Cohn, 41.
65. Mitchell, *Language, Emotion, and Politics,* 213–218
66. Friedrich Max Muller (1823–1900), German Orientalist, who also ventured into the study of comparative religion, was at the University of Oxford from 1849–1875. He is most prominently known as the editor of the *Sacred Books of the East Series*, numbering 51 volumes, published from the 1870s to the end of his life.
67. Friedrich Max Mueller, *India: What Can it Teach us?* (Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, 1961), 28.
68. Ibid., 13.
69. Bernard Cohn, "The Language of Command and the Command of Language," in *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 54.
70. The "discovery" caused a revolution in intellectual circles in Europe. Raymond Schwab aptly called this the Oriental Renaissance, the consumption of texts brought out by philologists studying the languages of the "Orient" (See Raymond Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance, 1680–1880,* trans. Gene Patterson-Black and Victor Reinking. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).
71. Literature was also seen to be conditioned by history, or, in other words, the development of literature unfolded in stages, from poetry to prose. Giambattista Vico (1668–1744) laid out the most comprehensive theory of the development of historical consciousness through literary forms (See Vico, Giambattista, Thomas Goddard Bergin, and Max Harold Fisch, *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*), special ed. (New York, N.Y.: Legal Classics Library, 1996).
72. Sir Charles Trevelyan (1807–1886), colonial administrator in India, father of the historian George Otto Trevelyan and brother-in-law of Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–1859), was the author of the influential minute on education in 1832, which promoted the study of English education in India. Trevelyan in his highly influential book, *On the Education of the People of India*, (London: Longman, 1838), argued against the official promotion of "vernacular" languages in British India. Trevelyan based his argument around the notion that the "vernaculars" were "unformed tongues." He believed that promotion of English education would revive the vernaculars and that this would happen through the filtering of knowledge by translations from English.

73. See Cohn's "The Language of Command and the Command of Language," 16–56.
74. See entry for "vernacular" in *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary*, Volume II (1971).
75. Ranajit Guha, "The Authority of Vernacular Pasts," *Meanjin*, vols 1–2, (Winter 1992).
76. Ibid., 299.
77. Sheldon Pollock, "Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History," Special Issue on Cosmopolitanism in *Public Culture*, 12, no. 3, 2000: 600.
78. Thomas Trautmann, *Languages and Nations: The Dravidian Proof in Colonial Madras*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

Conclusion

1. Prachi Deshpande, *Creative Pasts: Historical Memory and Identity in Western India, 1700–1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); Sumit Guha, "Transitions and Translations: Regional Power and Vernacular Identity in the Dakhan, 1500–1800," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24, no. 2 (2004); Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Textures of Time: Writing History in South India 1600–1800* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001).
2. Historians of south India, including Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanna, did not dismiss historical narrative from the precolonial period: rather, they were skeptical of the truth-value of the narrative itself.
3. For Telugu, see Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Symbols of Substance: Court and State in Nayaka Period Tamil Nadu* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992); Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam, *Textures of Time*; Phillip B. Wagoner, *Tidings of the King: A Translation and Ethnohistorical Analysis of the Rayavacakamu* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993); Cynthia Talbot, *Precolonial History in Practice: Society, Region, and Identity in Medieval Andhra* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). In the other language traditions, see Ranajit Guha's *An Indian Historiography of India* and Ranajit Guha's *History at the Limit of World-History*; Deshpande, *Creative Pasts*.
4. For a critical discussion of the book, see Rama Mantena, ed., "Forum on *Textures of Time*," *History & Theory* 46, no. 3 (2007).
5. Sumit Guha, "Speaking Historically: The Changing Voices of Historical Narration in Western India, 1400–1900," *American Historical Review* (2004) 109, no. 4.
6. Sumit Guha, "Speaking Historically", 1093.
7. Prachi Deshpande's work on the status of history in Maharashtra today and on Marathi literary tradition demonstrates the power of the new colonial category of history. Deshpande tracks the emergence of modern history writing in Western India through an analysis of how colonial historians such as Monstuart Elphinstone sidelined Marathi texts, such as Bakhars, which purported to be historical, in writing the history of Western India before British colonial rule. Deshpande argues that the rise of modern historiography in India was not a smooth process of simple adoption by Indian intellectuals: rather, the process was full of entanglements with precolonial modes of historiography. In particular, she points to the process of demoting the

Bakhar from history to literature, which colonial scholars were engaged in. See Deshpande, *Creative Pasts*, 19–39, 203–210.

8. On December 6, 1992, the Babri Mosque in the city of Ayodhya was demolished by *Hindutva* (the Hindu Right) activists, who claimed that a temple devoted to the god Rama was originally built on the very site of the mosque. The dispute has become politically charged, and both sides have involved archeological and historical expertise to bolster their rival claims. The use of evidence employed by Hindutva forces mimics the disciplinary protocols of modern historiography. They have not eschewed the use of historical and archeological evidence for legitimizing their version of history, namely, the claim that the site of the mosque was indeed the very site of the Ramjanmabhoomi temple—the purported birthplace of Rama (the god-hero in the Sanskrit epic The Ramayana). The reaction of the historical discipline in India has been to oppose vociferously the demolition of the Babri Mosque. Historians and archeologists have mobilized their expert knowledge to dispute the historical claims of the Hindutva activists. Armed with archeological evidence, the historians have challenged Hindutva historical claims in Ayodhya. However, the Hindutva side has not forsaken scientific history to further their own claims to historical truth. They too claim there is scientific evidence proving that there had been a temple devoted to Rama on the site of the mosque. Ashis Nandy has pointed to this commonality to demonstrate that the secularist historians and the Hindu Right historians share the same idea of history and that both try to enforce their version of the past using similar methods and tools of modern historiography. The fact that both parties rely on scientific history to further their claims of historical truth should cause us to critically consider the status of history in modern India. See Anish Nandy, "History's Forgotten Doubles," *The Romance of the State: And the Fate of Dissent in the Tropics* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 83–109.
9. V. S. Pathak, *Ancient Historians of India: A Study in Historical Biographies* (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1966), 30
10. Most notable are Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam, *Textures of Time*; Deshpande, *Creative Pasts*; Guha, "Transitions and Translations".
11. See Burton Stein, *Vijayanagara* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989), 4. A chair in Indian History and Archaeology was established at the University of Madras for S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, whose role in historical scholarship in south India represents a shift from the older tradition of colonial historiography that had mostly been headed by British scholars. Aiyangar is most famously known for editing and publishing *Sources of Vijayanagar History* (Madras: The University of Madras, 1919). For a new crop of historians, *Sources* made available a compilation of "non-historical", that is, literary sources, from Sanskrit and Telugu as opposed to relying exclusively on European travel accounts for the history of Vijayanagara. Also see Dipesh Chakrabarty's "Bourgeois Categories Made Global: Utopian and Actual Lives of Historical Documents in India," *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. XLIV, no. 25 (June 20, 2009), 68. Chakrabarty suggests that the establishment of archives—and the idea of a "public" repository for authentic historical documents—in colonial India had a rather complicated history.
12. Jadunath Sarkar (1870–1958) is most famously known for his historical research on the seventeenth-century Maratha king, Sivaji, and has written extensively on the Mughal Empire. See Chakrabarty, "Bourgeois Categories Made Global," 68.

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Madras Public Consultations (MPC), 1792–1840

Other Libraries and Archives Consulted

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Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Hyderabad (APSA)
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Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi (NMML)

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