Exploring Orientalism in Early Colonial India (c.1784-c.1883)

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Certificate

It is certified that this thesis entitled, **Exploring Orientalism in Early Colonial India (c.1784-c.1883),** submitted by me for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Arts Faculty, Jadavpur University. This work has been carried out under the supervision of Professor Mahua Sarkar, Department of History, Jadavpur University. Neither this thesis nor any part of it has been submitted before for any degree or diploma anywhere.

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This thesis has incurred many debts during its long process of incubation. It can be categorized as belonging to the genre of 'history of ideas'. This history of ideas tries to analyze the growth of intellectual and scientific culture on a global scale and its relation to society, by historical methodologies. Both qualitative and quantitative methods are required for this study. From my post-graduation days, the thrust area of my interests had been socio-cultural history. This interest was aroused by the classes on nineteenth-century Bengal, taken by Professor Mahua Sarkar. That golden period of my life left a permanent imprint on my life. In the later days, after getting a chance to pursue higher studies when I approached Prof Mahua Sarkar ma'am, she expressed her immense interest in this topic and suggested me many moderations without which this mammoth task of threading the whole picture in one single thesis could not be done so easily. The task was seemed to me so hard that I was thinking to switch over to history of science and medicine (which is the trend of the time) for my doctoral thesis. It was only her inspiration and support, I decided to stick to this topic and to pursue my research. Without her relentless guidance and perseverance, this thesis would be left unfinished. I consider myself extremely lucky to get valuable suggestions from late Prof. Subhasis Biswas, Prof. Suchetana Chattopadhyay, Prof. Rup Kumar Barman of the Department of History, Jadavpur University. As my RAC member, (Research Advisory Committee), Prof. Suchetana Chattopadhyay and Prof. Rup Kumar Barman have provided me many valuable books and journals. I am really grateful to them. I would like to convey my indebtedness to the library and museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, National Library, Town Hall library, West Bengal State Archive, Uttarpara Jaykrishna Public Library, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, The

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INTRODUCTION

This research can be located within the broader context of the history of ideas. Philosophy and the history of ideas are entwined in determining the social context of the concepts in my research. Here, in this thesis, the history of ideas is developed around the process of knowledge formation. This knowledge formation was bounded by specific socio-political and economic contexts. If knowledge is power, then, it is also political. In recent days, political scientists and theorists have developed theories about the structures of knowledge, but not so much about the ideas of knowledge. Like many other aspects of modern civilization, i.e. science, environment, knowledge also flourished within a proper socio-political structure. The main aim of my thesis is to analyze the formation of knowledge in the context of colonial Bengal (c.1784-c.1883) invoking the term 'Orientalism' in two senses. One is the formulation by Edward Said as a discourse which entailed power-knowledge dictum and another is Orientalism as a branch of epistemology, a process of formulating knowledge about the ancient past. In doing so, I have made vivid research on eight eminent Orientalists, Warren Hastings (1772-1785). William Jones (1783-1793), Charles Wilkins (1770-1786), H.H. Wilson (1808-1832), Colin Mackenzie (1784-1821), James Rennell (1767-1777), James Prinsep (1819-1838), and Alexander Cunningham (1833-1885). The years mentioned in the brackets indicate the tenure of their service in India. Their contributions in digging up Indian past was shaped by various factors ranging from Enlightenment, colonialism to capitalism. These factors indicate that knowledge became politicized and to understand the process of formation of this knowledge, we have to understand the changing nature of sovereignty, from the early days of the Company rule (1780s) to its last days (1858 and afterwards till 1880s). Arthur James

Balfour (1848-1930) or 'Bloody Balfour' as he was popularly known, gave a lecture in the House of Commons on 13th June 1910, on the controversial issue of the British presence in Egypt. He belonged to the Conservative group in the Parliament. He said,

> Western nations as soon as they emerge into history show the beginnings of those capacities for self-government ... having merits of their own… You may look through the whole history of the Orientals in what is called, broadly speaking, the East, and you never find traces of self-government. All their great centuries ….and they have been very great… have been passed under despotism, under absolute government.[1]

This passage indeed indicates the irrationality that was active behind the division between the 'masculine West' and 'feminine East'. There were many more instances of depicting British officials over a long period, especially after the 1830s, which propound this type of opinion. It is quite easy to assume that when Edward Said was writing the book *Orientalism* in 1978, he picked up these instances to establish another irrational conviction of domination of the West over the East invariably throughout the colonial period. Interestingly after some years of Balfour's lecture, in a Bengali daily newspaper *The Rashtrabit*, a passage had been written. Rajshekhar Basu, a renowned Bengali writer, wrote a story *Ulto-Puran*, where he mentioned a short part of that passage,

> Of late, we hear that self-governance is the birthright of the Britons. But my dear Britons, what kind evidence is provided by your history? You had never known what independence was. You spent your days of subordination first under the Romans, and then under other vandal tribes like the Anglicans, the Saxons, the Danes and the Normans. Those who once came to your country as conquerors had been conquered later by other races. It is impossible today to distinguish between the conquerors and the conquered… you have not been able to preserve your distinct identities.[2]

There is nothing inherently true or false in the above-mentioned representations. Such claims can only be contextual, contingent, and functional. British attitudes towards India encompassed a variety of layers. Colonial state-building and the formation of knowledge are the processes that went on side by side from the advent of the Britishers

in India. Earlier colonial administrators of the East India Company were deeply indulged in knowing the country that they were governing. In doing so, they have altered the lenses through which the West sees the East and the East comprehends the West. But historical realities and historical perceptions can be quite different. Orientalism as a historical perception has been geared up during the post-colonial period of history-writing. Orientalism as epistemology is needed to be differentiated from Orientalism as discourse, as propounded by Edward, Said from 1978 onwards. The relationship between colonialism and the rise of Orientalism is multi-layered depending on varieties of time and space and any other issues. The works of the early Orientalists in rejuvenating the country's past created a layer in the society that can alter the linear analysis of the East-West binary. By the end of the eighteenth century, there was a growing curiosity among the Englishmen in England and in India about the Company's Indian territories. The heritage of India, its flora and fauna, customs, everything became the nodal point of interest among the early administrators. The establishment of the Asiatic Society in 1784 ushered a new era in this direction. Through this institution the interaction between the colonizers and the colonized was carried on as a multi-faceted process through which both molded each other. Bengal was the first Indian territory that came under the direct rule of the East India Company. The legacy of the governmentality which prevailed during the seventeenth and eighteenth century in Bengal was a mixture of India-wide sovereigns like the Mughals and local principalities. The acquisition of power by the East India Company through the *diwani* rights had brought long-lasting changes in Bengal as well as in India. Said had described Orientalism as having authority over the 'people without history'. But on the other hand, it can also be said that according to the institutional mechanisms of colonial dominance, the 'rule of force' has been replaced by 'rule of law' through this

colonial rule as well.[3] My argument is that, the coming of the East India Company can also be interpreted as the exposure of India to the world through a complicated process of acculturation. Connection with the outer world was there since the flourishing time of the Indo-Roman trade in ancient India. But this modern period of European connection had fostered a unique image of India in the eyes of the whole world that altered the way by which Indians investigated into their own selves. The Foucauldian notion of power-knowledge has dominated the Saidian discourse throughout and in this way, 'people without history' became an important part of the study of the Orient. But here one important aspect is missing. The history of imperialism and the history of ideas of knowledge are connected yet divergent in nature. The dynamics of a political culture cannot be equalled with the contents of political discourse. Peter Burke in his book, *A Social History of Knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot*, had argued for distinguishing knowledge from information. The separation of 'knowing how' to 'knowing that' is the main thrust of this study of knowledge.[4] In the study of Orientalism by Edward Said, the connection between the history of imperialism and trajectories of knowledge formation on global scale is missing. The linkage between the function of imperial politics in the Indian context and knowledge about the Indian tradition, generated by the Orientalists, must be discussed with special reference to the epistemological authority of that knowledge. Here I argue, the word Orientalism has diverse meanings. One is the scholarly attempts of the renowned scholar-administrators of the Company, like Warren Hastings, William Jones, Charles Wilkins, H.T. Colebrooke, N.B. Halhed. Another meaning of Orientalism denotes an imposed imaginary of the Orient which helped the colonial administrators to rule. Between these two meanings, there is another connotation, rather applied relevance of the term Orientalism which means a set of factual statements based on first-hand

knowledge about the Orient which became widely accepted because of its plausibility.[5]

The encounter between two different cultural traditions through the phenomenon called, 'Colonialism', is profound and consists of many shades. Colonial past and post-colonial present are tied up with one basic issue of the relationship between power and knowledge. Two most important eighteenth-century phenomena, commercialization and decentralization, were developed on the debris of the Mughal Empire. Muzaffar Alam and Seema Alavi in their book, *A European Experience of the Mughal Orient: The ijaz-i-arsalani (Persian Letters, 1773-1779) of Antoine-Louis Henri Polier*, has shown an interesting point that European powers had started to take part in the internal politics of the native states from the first half of the eighteenth century and they often worked for the indigenous polities and acted as intermediaries between the Indian rulers and the European Companies.[6] The need for capital and credit made this inter-dependency stronger and ultimately paved the way for the European conquests in India.[7] The shared and layered concept of sovereignty of the pre-colonial era was replaced by an indivisible and unitary concept of sovereignty, imported from Europe. As Stephen P. Blake said, following Max Weber's notion of a patrimonial state, the Mughals empire was 'patrimonial-bureaucratic' in nature.[8] The intervention of the British traders and merchants in Indian economy and culture, gave rise to a new class called, *banyans* or *munshis*, the men of economy and culture. They played an important part in dispersing the economic and administrative control from the grip of the pre-colonial rulers.[9] For instance, we know about famous Ramram Basu, *munshi* of William Carey.[10] The formation of East India Companies Europe-wide from the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, itself represented the close affinity between politics and trade. Scholars like J.F. Richards had pointed out that three

centralized, large-scale organizations, the Mughal state, the Dutch East India Company and the British East India Company, played an important role in linking the European and Asian politics and trade closely.[11] There is debate regarding the nature of the eighteenth-century India, whether it was a break from the earlier times or not. W.H. Moreland in his book *India at the Death of Akbar*, once argued that the economic condition of the Indian people was the same in the early twentieth century as it was in the sixteenth century.[12] Though there is enough space for debate about this argument as in the course of the interaction of an agrarian economy and a mercantile-capitalist Company, the former always was to be exploited. Later scholars like K. N. Chaudhuri, Tapan Raychoudhuri, made a consensual argument about the poverty of the Indian weavers, relating it to the competitiveness of Indian cloth exports.[13] Nationalist scholars like R.C. Dutt argued that the agricultural base of ancient Indian society completely collapsed due to the burden of heavy taxation by the colonial rulers.[14] Amiya Kumar Bagchi, Tirthankar Roy also supported this view.[15] The main essence of the eighteenth-century political economy was localized mercantile bodies which were the results of the administrative decentralization, starting from the late seventeenth century. This localized nature of economy hugely helped a centralized mercantile body, British East India Company to spread its control over the subcontinent. It was not the case that there was no break with the previous economic condition with the coming of the colonial rule, as demanded by the revisionist historians like Burton Stein, C.A. Bayly. But it was true that there was a dynamism in the precolonial commerce and economic activities which attracted the European traders at large.[16] From this time onward, placing India in a broader context of the world economy, allow us to comprehend the participation of India in an uneven but wider process of accumulation of capital as well as knowledge that occurred across

Asia and Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Recent connected and comparative studies in history as shown by scholars like Sanjay Subrahmanyam, C.A. Bayly, had thrown challenges to the linear explanation of western domination over the east.[17] By the mid-eighteenth century, in colonial India, politics, economy, and culture were mingled with each other while diversifying in the metropole. Adam Smith, while challenging the orthodox nature of mercantile capitalism, never rendered the economy as independent of polity.[18] Throughout the colonial rule in India, the relationship between British mercantile corporation (East India Company) and its government remained as the center of debate and experiment. This fact is well reflected through various Acts like Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773, Pitt's Act of 1784, Charter Act of 1793, 1813, 1833, and ultimately the Act of 1858 by which the British Crown took direct control over the territory. Through these Acts Company and the administrative authority in the metropole were continuously reshaping and experimenting with the colonial scenario. The main noticeable fact here is that the Indian empire of Britain was not created as a part of any imperial project but as a commercial expansion of a mercantile body.

The theory of Orientalism cannot be discussed without discussing colonialism. P.J. Marshall in a famous article, 'Warren Hastings as Scholar and Patron', had once argued that the British administrative policy and the history of Oriental scholarship are very much connected.[19] The last two decades of the eighteenth century were marked by the rise of modern Indology. The arrival of William Jones in 1783, the founding of the Asiatic Society in 1784, the translation of the Bhagavat Gita by Charles Wilkins in 1785 marked that beginning. Warren Hastings' patronization to revered scholars like Jonathan Scott, William Davy, Francis Gladwin, Charles Wilkins, H.T. Colebrooke, and many more could not be

categorized ‘merely’ as the administrative policy of the British Government. The rulers of the formative period of the Company rule in India, during the late eighteenth century, wanted to retain the previous rule and order of governance. During this time, two important sources for studying those *Hanafi* laws were, the *Hidaya*, a twelfth century commentary and the *Fatawa-al-Alamgiri*, compiled during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb.[20] The last was translated from Arabic to Persian to English. This very fact indicated that there was a coterie of European scholars who were keen to perceive the knowledge about India. P.J. Marshall argued that Hastings’ urge to be acquainted with Muslim scholarship, frustrated at Oxford, was eventually to be fulfilled at Calcutta.[21] Through various acts like, choosing N.B. Halhed for conducting the compilation of the *Code*, convincing the Supreme Council to approve Wilkins’ leave of absence on full salary to continue his study at Banaras, Hastings became the representative of the class of British administrators who were stuck between the vested interests as British colonial officials and their personal ideological base created by the Enlightenment ardor. Cultivating and nurturing the indigenous culture according to their own tastes and the practical utility of those works were quite contradictory in nature. But the main essence of my thesis is to highlight the transcendental value of those works which were the products of conciliation between European and Indian knowledge system. On the flipside of the coin, it can also be argued that the early colonial was unable to reach the majority of its subjects. A handful of privileged Indians were able to come into contact with the European culture. The early colonial rulers were well-aware of the fact that benevolence and exigencies of empire could not be bracketed together. The linkage between Sanskrit and European languages helped the Europeans to assimilate new knowledge of Asia. Here, Benedict Anderson’s idea of creating ‘imaginary’ India according to European

sense is true to some extent. The nature of the 'modalities' which formed the knowledge about India, as has been discussed by Bernard Cohn, was not always imposing from the above.[22] This 'image' was based on first-hand knowledge about India. The value of this grass-root knowledge could not be ignored. The vast amount of knowledge accumulated by the Orientalists was deployed by the Anglicists from the first half of the nineteenth century to mount their attack on Indian society and culture. Underlying Orientalism, there was a tacit policy of reverse acculturation which helped in retaining the 'power-relationship' between England and India. The role of the state in processing the accumulated knowledge was changing from time to time. The post-Hastings era was marked by many imperial wars to consolidate colonial rule like the previous one, by administrators like Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793), Lord Wellesley (1798-1805), and Marques of Hastings (1812-1823), and this period also witnessed the establishment of institutions like Fort William College which created a boost for learning among the Europeans and reintroduced the Oriental culture to the indigenous people on a new scale. The need was provided by the colonial state indeed. Lord Cornwallis shared no particular interest in either promoting or discouraging Oriental learning.[23] Rather British rule of law was established and English was taking the official position of Persian in law courts. But his successors did not share his indifference which was reflected in the attempt of Lord Wellesley in creating 'Oxford of the East' in 1800. A branch of administrators- John Malcolm (1769-1833), Thomas Munro (1761-1827), Charles Metcalf (1785-1846), Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779-1859), who were conservative in their outlook but Romantic in temperament, also disdained the bureaucratic, impersonal administrative system of Cornwallis. They opted for the rule of men instead of the rule of law as they were not convinced by the applied virtue of these laws in India.[24] In 1792, when,

Alexander Read and Thomas Munro went to Baramahal for the purpose of revenue collection, they eliminated the age-old custom of collecting revenues from the middlemen and started to collect them directly from the village leaders. As Eric Stokes puts it, they saw the division of the society into rulers and the ruled as a natural one.[25] For them, Orientalism was a meticulously defined scheme of administration that fulfilled the need for a buffer zone. This buffer zone absorbed the disastrous effects of colonial rule.

From 1813 onwards, the opening of India to free traders changed the scenario. The policy of isolation was replaced with the strong determination to reform and Orientalism, no less than Anglicism, from this period onwards, became tied up with the concerns for good governance. Francis Hutchins has rightly pointed out that the ideological and religious thoughts of the colonial rulers during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century were shaped by the aristocratic English morality which was epitomized in James Mill, the renowned Utilitarian philosopher of the time. His division of Indian history into three periods was nothing but an effort to see British colonial rule as another ascendency of a particular dynasty.[26] Mill's *History of British India*, represented the change from mercantile capitalism to industrial capitalism in England.[27] With it the nature of Orientalism also changed in the early nineteenth century. To defend itself in front of the attack, made by Mill, Orientalism was muted to survive. H.H. Wilson's preface in the later editions of Mill's book indicated to those changes. In the preface, Wilson wrote,

> An incompetency to perform the most essential part of the duties of a careful and critical historian is constantly apparent in the citations which Mr. Mill has made, either in his text or his notes, from writers on India.[28]

Thus, ideology and politics were always tied up with each other. Ideology in dealing with Indian affairs was molded by the imperial experience of Britain in India. John

Gallaghar and Ronald Robinson, in their renowned article, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade' argued that the mid-Victorian 'indifference' and the late-Victorian 'enthusiasm' were deeply linked with the rise and fall of the ethics of free trade.[29] In other words, as argued by scholars like C.A. Bayly, P.J. Marshall, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century British colonial experience in India was not only shaped by the critical socio-historical phase in America, Asia, but also by Britain itself. The demarcation between metropole-periphery cannot be applied stringently during this phase of colonialism. But during the later half of the nineteenth century the scenario changed further. The concept of 'nation' found firm grip during this time and with this the nature of colonialism also changed. The early Orientalist efforts to know the Orient had been converted into a tendency to categorize the subject for the benefit of the rulers. But then also, the scenario should not be generalized. Both tendencies co-existed as we can see in the restless efforts of Alexander Cunningham to dig up the Buddhist past of India till late 1880s. Here, I argue that, Orientalism in India was diverse. Orientalism, as an epistemology, as practised by Jones in the 1780s was far different from that of Wilson's. Orientalism in the early nineteenth century had to face the wave of reform, initiated by Utilitarians and Evangelicals. Gauri Viswanathan has shown that the formalization of English as the medium of instruction in Indian education was the main indicator of that reform.[30] The English Education Act of 1835, proposed by Governor-General William Bentinck on T.B. Macaulay's advice, marked the end of the policy of endorsing Oriental studies in India. Supports from the Learned Indians like, Raja Rammohun Roy was there, behind this Act. By the 1830s, the British Parliament and the political economy of Britain started to control the knowledge gathered by the Orientalists to appropriate the need of the hour, which was to retain the Indian empire. This trend also witnessed changes during the 1880s when

Rudyard Kipling's Evangelical image of 'white man's burden' was gaining a stronghold. Systematic knowledge like ethnographic data, and census, were popularized among the colonizers. Nancy Stephan has described this process of transition in terms of phrenology. The old mental faculties of the eighteenth century - reason, will, and imagination, had been replaced by new faculties established by human behavior during the late nineteenth century.[31] It also had an inherent reformist tone. Thus, the character of Orientalism experienced continuous shifts from the late eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. The character of the knowledge produced through the practice of Orientalism cannot be determined only by its utility. In the late eighteenth century, the nature of this knowledge was colonial yet under the rubric of objective science of Enlightenment. This knowledge drew sustenance from colonialism but was objectified by the contemporary global scientific standard. Thus, epistemologically, Orientalism became detached from its original moorings and therefore became able to serve diverse political needs. By the late nineteenth century, when categorization of Indian society became a basic necessity for the colonial rulers to retain power, the concept of racial and ethnographic stratification was entangled with Oriental knowledge. By 1900, this same Oriental knowledge about the Indian past had been deployed by the early Indian nationalists to fight against European rule. In this context, they also suffered from many contradictions regarding their respect to the West, as it was the dawning phase of Indian nationalism. The idea of nationalism in this phase was imbued with the Orientalist zeal and vigor. Thus, the dynamism of the Oriental knowledge cannot be judged by any fixed binary which would denounce its importance.

The encounter between Europe and India, began much earlier, and can be traced back to classical antiquity. There is certainly no coherent history of European

inquisitiveness for India. The only identifiable historical path culminated in modern Indological research and of intercultural communication. It is a process that reflects the development of European thought in general, and through this process Europe has defined and questioned itself. The most ancient Greek accounts found India as the miraculous and the fabulous. The ancient Greeks began to speculate about the Orient to trace back the origin of their own tradition. Following their path, in the later days, the post-Classical schools like the Stoics, and the Cynics, were emphasizing the practical aspects of the Oriental in their mental and behavioral dispositions. The campaign of Alexander the Great (327-325 B.C.) ushered a new era in the history of the relationship between India and the outer world. The subsequent, imaginative, speculative, and vague interest about India was guided by various perspectives. It was a search for one's own origins, which in another way led to the search for alternatives and correctives, or a projection of completeness and fulfilment.[32] For example, The theoretical aspirations of the Stoics, concerning immunity towards pleasure and pain found practical fulfillment in the Indian gymnosophists. Others suggested that philosophy itself, the Hellenistic reliance on reason, might have its origin from the "barbarians" of India and Egypt. With the coming of Islam and with the event of Crusades, the notion of ‘barbarism’ gained strength in the thoughts of the European scholars. In the Indian contexts, value of Islamic philosophy was appropriated by the early colonial rulers for the validation of their own administrative policy. Impact of Islam was gradually ignored and there was a glorification of Buddhist past by the British Orientalists. The Portuguese explorers who reopened the seaway to India around 1500 were less interested in ancient Indian wisdom. Instead, they were looking for "Christians and spices." And the missionaries who accompanied the conquerors and merchants were not interested in the indigenous learning, but in teaching and

persuading the Western. The German Romantic movement glorified India as the country of origins, of primeval revelations, and of unadulterated childhood, in the early nineteenth century. India was not seen as a foreign tradition, but as the forgotten basis of their own European identity, and it was portrayed against materialism, rationalism, and other aberrations of modern Europe. Voltaire once argued that Indians never required any assistance from the Europeans while Europeans always had dire need of them.[33] Here the Enlightenment ideas in spreading global connections became relevant. Growing interest in non-European societies and culture became a tool for criticizing their own European selves. This tendency of self-criticism turned into a romantic representation of the Orient. J.G. Herder (1744-1803) was the pioneer of this trend. Not only Herder, but most of German Orientalists, Schlegel (1772-1829), Schelling (1775-1854), Franz Bopp (1791-1867), Hegel (1770-1831), and Schopenhauer (1788-1860) maintained this position. Though there were differences in their stance regarding the East-West relationship, all agreed to some extent about the importance of the ancient Indian texts. Texts like the *Vedas,* the *Gita*, and the *Upanishads*, came to be regarded as the quintessential Indian texts.[34] Like, British Orientalism, German Indology was also situated in a specific historical and ideological context that tended to focus on comparative philological and philosophical matters. German Philosophers of the Romantic age considered Indian literature and languages as the highest form of Romanticism and this mentality helped in the development of comparative philology in Europe. Friedrich Schlegel's work, *On the Language and the Wisdom of the Indians* (1808), must be mentioned in this regard.[35] In the course of eighteenth-century, the Enlightenment zeal for synthesizing all knowledge led to the formation of systematic comprehensive knowledge about India. Hegel was one of the most rigorous critics of the Romantic conception of India. His

sense of an irreversible direction of history and his commitment to the present distinguishes him from the Romantics. For Hegel, Indian thought was dream-like, represented the early stage of subjective rationality. Influenced by Plato and Aristotle, he divided soul into two parts, imagination and understanding.[36] He ascribed representation or imagination which is feminine, as the characteristic of the East and conceptual understanding or the ability of thinking which is masculine, as the characteristic of the West.[37] On the other hand, Schlegel repeatedly warned for any abstract generalization of European and Indian phenomena without comparing their specific conetexts.[38] Schopenhauer's inclination towards *Upanishadic* tradition, was influenced by Kantian transcendentalism. Practically there was a difference between Orientalism, practised during eighteenth century and that of the nineteenth century. The former was divided into those who actually travelled to India and those who did not. But in the nineteenth century the total authority of knowledge-formation about India was handed over to those who did not feel necessary to visit India. Among the latter category the most eminent pers was Max Muller (1823-1900), the son of Wilhelm Muller, famous Romantic Poet of Germany. Nirad C. Chaudhuri in his famous book, *Scholar Extraordinary*, has argued that the identity of Max Muller cannot be judged either as German or as British but as a representative of European institution.[39] He belonged to a romantic household and translated Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* into English. Here Said's usage of Karl Marx and his famous quotation, "They cannot represent themselves, they must be represented", in his book needs a proper treatment.[40] This line was said by Marx in his *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, addressing to the French peasants who were not united well against oppressive power.[41] Irfan Habib criticized Said for substituting the Eastern people for the French peasants and also for changing the original connotation of 'political

representation' as was used by Marx with the meaning of 'depiction'.[42] Aijaz Ahmad in an essay 'Marx on India: A Clarification', has argued that Said's treatment of Marx is too impressionistic, ignoring the real chronology.[43] However, the contributions of these German romantic scholars and their perception about India is not the main thrust of argument here. The main argument here is that production of knowledge in the late eighteenth-century world was structurally embedded in the wider context of global integration. Though the circulation of ideas had many diversified trajectories, the important end result of this circulation was the incorporation of 'world' into European knowledge system. This knowledge system was survived by the larger political-economic structures invoking connections beyond borders.[44]

The contemporary world is comprehended by the term, 'post', like post-modern, post-structural, post-national or post-colonial. This 'post' does not imply amnesia about the past; rather it denotes the legacy of the past in the present. The colonial past is always embedded in the post-colonial present. The discourse of Orientalism exemplifies the post-colonial predicament for both Westerners and South Asians. 'Imperialism' as a term was never popular in Britain. It is considered to be antithesis to 'Britishness'.[45] The terms, imperialism and colonialism used to have separate meanings. Colonialism was a particular phase of imperialism. As Lenin put it, imperialism was the highest proliferation of monopoly capitalism.[46] But this explanation can only be applied only to the period after 1880s. During the late eighteenth century, when merchant capitalism was in action through various big Companies like East India Company, the main aim was to conquer the world for the sake of good trade. Political control was just a helping hand in that free trade. This mentality guided early colonial administrators like Warren Hastings not to interfere in indigenous affairs. The concept of imperialism was unknown to these traders.

Robinson and Gallagher put it rightly that mid-Victorian period witnessed large-scale expansion which Eric Hobsbawm marked as the 'age of Empire'.[47] From this time, ideologies to retain empire also changed. Post-colonialism far from being a unified field of study indicates various levels of divergences which were inaugurated by the publication of the book by Edward Said, *Orientalism*, in 1978. Within the discursive formation, showed by Michel Foucault, Said wrote about the colonial control and categorization and codification of knowledge about the Orient. Foucault's insight about the mutual implications of power-knowledge enabled Said to argue that production of knowledge about other cultures led to the deployment of western power over those cultures.[48] This thesis engages with Saidian version of Orientalism in a specific way. In the light of history of ideas, it tends to analyse the knowledge production process in colonial India (1780s-1880s), criticising the linear binary of Saidian version. Said adopted a structuralist concept of power which encompasses the entire history of knowledge-production into abruptly constructed monolith of power.[49] Said had described the construction of 'other' through the systemization of the Orient geographically, aesthetically, historically and politically. In another book, *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), he maintained this argument in an interesting way, saying that, when a culture came to be associated with the nation or the state, it denotes to the formation of identity which in turn led to the formation of xenophobic mentality.[50] Here, in both of these two books, the idea of geography is very important. Power, mainly the European colonial power was in the key position of Said's Orientalism. Said in his book mainly focuses on the Middle East. Raymond Schwab's *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East (1680-1880)*, served as the point of departure for Said. It was originally published in French in 1950 and was translated into English in 1984. Schwab's analysis was dedicated to the development

of human consciousness in a specific historical location.[51] The theoretical developments in poststructuralism, neo-Marxism and deconstructionism and feminism, during the 1980s facilitated the context in which Said made an elaborate criticism of Orientalism.[52] Ronald Inden was first to apply Saidian version of Orientalism in Indian context in his book *Imagining India* ((1990). According to Inden, Hegel's *Philosophy of History* and James Mill's *History of British India*, were the main points of origin of the Orientalist discourse.[53] Drawing upon broad intellectual notions of 'hegemony' from Gramsci, 'polity' from Collingwood, 'discourse' from Foucault, 'human agency' from Giddens, 'deconstructionism' from Derrida, and 'normal science' from Thomas Kuhn, Inden criticized the Orientalist discourse through analyzing the constitution of imperial knowledge.[54] Here, Saidian treatment of Orientalism as a 'representing' and 'constituting' the 'Orient', is also very much instrumental. Against this dominant, linear explanation, it can be argued that the main drawback in Saidian version of criticism lies in setting aside the genealogy of Orientalism's origin, or how it was sociologically produced. The determining holistic form of Orientalism, as propounded by Said, had neglected the development of historical scholarship at large.[55] According to Wilhelm Dilthey, nineteenth-century German sociologist and philosopher, historicism preceded the sociology of knowledge.[56] According to another contemporary German philosopher, Max Scheler, every knowledge structure belongs to a specific social group that is bounded by particular historical nexus.[57] Thus, in the formation of knowledge, the relationship between the individual and the society is important and it determines all socio-epistemic phenomena. This argument can be related to the host of late eighteenth-century British scholar-administrators who felt equal responsibilities toward their colonial circumstances as well as toward their inner urge to harvest

knowledge about ancient India. They were different from their nineteenth-century successors who had special training and instructions to harvest that knowledge further. Thus, the sociology of knowledge, on the one hand, denotes the functional interrelations of social structures and on the other it denotes individual modes of intellectual life including modes of knowing.[58] Maintaining Kuhn's theory of paradigm, it can be said that every branch of academic knowledge cannot exist without a paradigm and eventually, there is an inherent notion of power in every paradigm.[59] As there should be no 'facts' without being 'known', the demarcation of 'knower' and the 'known' should be maintained. Karl Mannheim, another renowned German philosopher, influenced by Dilthey, further argued about the role of society in every facet of the human thought process.[60] This social impact is important in the quest of knowing the true essence of every civilizational events. In his book, *Orientalism*, Said mainly followed the Foucauldian power-knowledge discourse to analyse Orientalism. But this is only a mere reductionist view for understanding the broad spectrum of the knowledge-formation process. Rashmi Bhatnagar in an article, 'Uses and Limits of Foucault: A Study of the Theme of Origin of Said's Orientalism', argued that knowledge cannot be reduced to the hypothetical base of power.[61] The efforts of the early Orientalists like William Jones and others consisted of discovering manuscripts, translating books, and introducing printing press, were means to appropriate the 'otherness' of the indigenous culture. This process of bridging the gaps surely helped the colonisers most, but the participation of the indigenous population in the process minimises the risk of being understood only as an imposition from the above.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary the word 'Orientalism' was generally used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to denote the works of the Orientalists, a group of scholars well-versed in the languages and literature of the

East. This meaning of the word 'Orientalism' as given in the Oxford English Dictionary, remained more or less unchanged until the period of decolonization that followed the end of the Second World War (1939-1945). The formal foundation of Arabic studies in England, in the modern period, may be dated from the creation of a chair of Arabic, at Oxford, in 1640. The first holder of the Oxford chair of Arabic was Edward Pococke (1604–91), a scholar who had learned Arabic at an early age and lived for some years in Aleppo.[62] It should not be supposed that knowledge of the Orient and Oriental languages in the period preceding the foundation of chairs of Arabic at Oxford and Cambridge was non-existent. In the twelfth century a number of English scholars attended Islamic universities in Spain to study Arabic, mathematics, medicine and philosophy; and in 1158–59 Abraham b. Ezra of Toledo, a Spanish-Jewish scholar, visited London and taught Arabic there.[63] Debra Johanyak and Walter S. H. Lim in their book *'The English Renaissance, Orientalism and the Idea of Asia'* has argued that for early modern Europe and England, Southwest Asia (which is known as the Middle East today) had been centre of attraction from medieval times, because of the dominance of the Ottoman Empire and Persia there. The threat that the Islamic Orient offered to the political and moral integrity of Christian Europe, caused palpable anxiety in the Western world. This threat was both genuine and perceived.[64] The 'Ottoman Peril'[65] was constantly there alongside the progress of European civilisation which was reflected through their literature. From *Othello* to *Paradise Lost,* Islam had occupied the negative role dominantly. Beyond the Ottoman Empire, the concept of Orient continued to be applied to another important bastion of Islam, the Mughal India. Early-modern Europe was mostly ignorant about it. Few travel accounts like, the accounts of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas were in the hand of the Europeans which enabled them to be sure about the cultural richness and

distinctiveness of the Orient, i.e. Southeast Asia.[66] It made them curious about the Orient. Rahul Sapra has pointed out that unlike the Portuguese, who had mingled the idea of dynasty and conversions of heathens with the trading network, the English East India Company concentrated only on the trade.[67] Writing, inquiring and researching about the East had always been a project for the Europeans. Orientalism, thus can differ according to the circumstances of the colonial rule and the reactions on the part of the colonized subjects. Said's *Orientalism* is considered to be the post-colonial classic for its influence on world-wide scholarship and also for the debate it initiated through its theoretical limitations. *Orientalism* (1978) was the first book in a trilogy and the subsequent books are, *The Question of Palestine* (1979) and *Covering the Islam* (1981). In an intellectual environment, characterised by scepticism about the 'grand narrative', criticism about the Enlightenment and the excavation of the 'marginal', post-colonialism was born after the second World War with the wave of decolonization.[68] But, the legacy of the colonial remained inherent in it. Dipesh Chakrabarty in his book *Provincializing Europe* has shown that postcolonial scepticism cannot be comprehended without invocation of European epistemology. Dipesh Chakrabarty in this book have used the term 'hyperreal'. By this term, he denotes the existence of a 'Europe' that is imagined in the everyday life of the non-Europeans and thus less determined than a concept.[69] Now, the question remain as, is it possible to circumvent the European intellectual inheritance in the development of post-colonialism? Said and his successors had created another 'grand-narrative' of colonial past, perhaps to negate the 'grand-narrative' of the Enlightenment? According to Foucault, discursive constraints should be comprehended as productive as well as limiting.[70] In this way, Said's book set out various discursive boundaries for colonial discourse analysis but, the particulars which connects the history of

imperialism and knowledge is neglected. It can be argued that the post-colonial dream of discontinuity with the colonial past was vulnerable. This view had been explored through various works, developing on other theories following Said in later period. For example, the works of Homi K Bhabha on psychoanalysis, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak on deconstruction, Aijaz Ahmad on other version of Marxism, can be mentioned.[71] Their approaches, though questioned Said in various ways, were influenced by the technical apparatus of Orientalism as a discourse.[72] It is generally argued that while talking against the Western domination over the East, Said took the help of two eminent Western scholars Foucault and Gramsci. The Foucauldian discourse and Gramscian concept of hegemony were two dominant theoretical structures within which Said analysed the discourse of Orientalism. Spivak considered the book Orientalism as a 'source book' for giving marginality an important place in Anglo-American academia. In her seminal essay, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' She argued in the line of Said that the codification of indigenous laws by the colonial rulers was an 'epistemic violence'.[73] But she also disagrees with Said regarding the nature of post-colonial criticism which according to Spivak should include heterogeneity. The 'Orient' cannot be taken as a homogenous term.[74] She emphasized on the possibilities of counter-knowledge that was taking shape in the form of *Subaltern Studies.* Homi K. Bhabha in his book *Location of Culture* has argued that negative Orientalist stereotypes, as depicted by Said, put conceptual limits to the colonial presence and identity.[75] In his comments on Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks*, Bhabha has described the psychoanalytic process of identification of self. According to him, the subject always wants an objectifying confrontation with the 'otherness', and this image of the 'other' cannot be imagined as a fixed phenomenological point as opposed to the 'self'.[76] In the same book, in a chapter named, 'The Other Question:

Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism', Bhabha further argued that the relationship between the colonizers and the colonized was characterized by a complex structure of repulsion and attraction. He introduced the term 'ambivalence' by which he questioned the binary of Saidian Orientalist discourse. Through this explanation, he explored the problems, underlying in Said's treatment of Foucauldian notion of power/knowledge discourse.[77] He argued that without imagining the strategic position of the 'dominant' within the Orientalist discourse, it is difficult to understand the proper place of the 'dominated subject' within it.[78] In another chapter, 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse', he explained the concept of ambivalence with the help of Lacan's concept of 'mimicry'. The colonial discourse tended to produce such subjects who would mimic the colonizers. But instead, it produced ambivalent subjects whose mimicry was a kind of mockery. Those subjects were 'almost the same, but not the quite'.[79] Here another concept of 'hybridity' was popularized by Bhabha in another chapter named, 'Signs taken for Wonders'. Here he used the concept of 'hybridity' to highlight the flexibility of the colonial power.[80] The colonial authority found its way to appropriate in the alien cultural situation, not by domination but through disavowal. Thus, the concepts of 'ambivalence', 'mimicry' and 'hybridity' are connected together which proved the basic drawbacks in Saidian Orienatlism. In Indian context one example can be mentioned to understand this ambivalence. Lakshmayya, brother of Boria, assistant of Colin Mackenzie, was rejected by James Prinsep for the post of compiler of the Mackenzie Collection after his death. But Lakshmayya founded Native Literary Society at Madras for assisting Royal Asiatic Society in collecting materials which were necessary for completing Mackenzie Collection.[81] Thus, there was a continuous process of accommodating yet conflicting interaction between the colonizers and the colonized. Though Robert Young in his book *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* has argued that Bhabha's

concept of mimicry and hybridity invoked another concept of agency whose formation is not clear. The idea of resistance is also not clear in Bhabha's theory of ambivalence.[82] Lisa Lowe also reflected this view as she argues for a heterogenous nature of Orientalism. The diversity of cultural and historical situations is the maker of this heterogeneity.[83] She firmly pointed out that the discursive formation of any institution or practice consists of 'irregular series of regularities' that constituted the objects of knowledge. This irregularity did not approve the objects of knowledge to be static.[84] She further argues that the British occupation with Indian culture must be different from the French occupation of North Africa.[85] Kate Teltscher and Jyotsna Singh, both worked under theoretical framework given by Lowe, but also differed in one way. They found the English authority as the same, irrespective of different geographical locations. With a broad view on the English travel writings in India in the seventeenth century, Teltscher talked about a common 'English tradition'.[86] Aijaz Ahmad in his famous book *In Theory*, has pointed out the methodological flaws in Said's articulation of Orientalist discourse. He described Erich Auerbach as the 'antihero' of Said's book.[87] On the one hand Said relied on the Foucauldian discursive formulation while on the other, he had also drawn upon high-Humanism of Auerbach. Auerbach is considered to be the master of European knowledge which is the main target of Saidian version of Orientalism. Thus, Ahmad pointed out a paradoxical relationship with Auerbach which minimized the practical applicability of the Orientalist discourse. The convergence between colonial power and colonial knowledge simply cannot be assembled under the rubric of Cultural Studies because there are many other constitutive parts of history like, economic exploitation, military conquest and political coercion.[88] Said identified Enlightenment philosophy as the unified approach to both Orientalism and colonialism as his book emphasised on the

canonical texts and prioritized language and literature in articulating the Orientalist knowledge. At the same time, he ignored the basic values of humanism i.e. cultural relativism, tolerance and accommodation.[89] Thus, Auerbachian Humanism and Nietzschean anti-Humanism mingled together in Said's formulation which is uncanny in nature. His application of Foucault's theory also has many flaws as he ignored the historical mapping, made by Foucault. Foucault never applied the term 'discourse' before the sixteenth century because before that a kind of post-medieval rationalism existed. Said on the other hand traced the existence of Eurocentrism in the Classical Greek tragedy.[90] Dennis Porter also echoed same view. He argued that both Foucauldian power discourse and Gramscian 'Hegemony' are embedded in historical contexts.[91] Foucault situated his theory in the context of pre-classical, classical and modern age. Gramscian hegemony, as put forward by Raymond Williams in his *Marxism and Literature,* is all pervasive phenomena which articulate a whole body of practices and expectations, not by force, but by consent.[92] It indicates that there is a flexibility in the mother-concepts by which Said was seemed to be influenced while writing the book. But he distorted this flexibility and portrayed an unchanged, static picture of domination and subjugation which is ahistorical.

This methodological problem in Saidian discourse has also been pointed out by a number of scholars like, Bart-Moore Gilbert, Ashish Nandy, Leela Gandhi, Robert Young, David Ludden and many more. Bart-Moore Gilbert in his book *Post-Colonial Theory: Contexts, Practices and Politics,* has mentioned again and again the methodological incompatibility in Saidian epistemology. From the very beginning of his book, Said has acknowledged the fractured nature of Orientalism.[93] By doing so, Said has propounded a holistic nature of power-knowledge dictum. As Ashish Nandy in his book, *The Intimate Enemy*, has argued that colonialism is a historical juncture

where power also changed its style of persuasion and nature. He described colonialism something beyond political-economic phenomena, a psychological state where both colonizers and colonized had equal role to play.[94] Dipesh Chakrabarty in his book *Provincializing Europe*, described the formation of 'hyperreal Europe' which I have already discussed. Through this 'hyperreality', Europe has been 'provincialized' in colonial scenario.[95] Leela Gandhi in her book *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction,* has argued that Nandy's psychoanalytic explanation of colonialism is influenced by Hegel's master-slave relationship.[96] Human beings gained self-consciousness only by the recognition of other. This theorem is working behind the master-slave relationship. Nandy applied this in the colonial Indian scenario but with some modifications extending it to the psychoanalytical resistance of the colonized people to colonizer's civilizing mission. Robert Young in his famous book *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race,* has focused on Bhabha's concept of 'hybridity' in explaining two types of Oreintalism, i.e. 'manifest' Orientalism or conscious knowledge about the Orient and 'latent' Orientalism or unconscious desire about the Orient.[97] This typification indicates the layered nature of Orientalism. David Ludden in an article, 'Orientalist Empiricism: Transformation of Colonial Knowledge', has also argued about epistemological authority that was produced by certain historical contexts.[98] He demarcated the period before 1830 and after it. By 1830, British Parliament and political economy guided the course of knowledge production regarding India. But by 1880, European social theory and categorization of that knowledge became more important.[99] This knowledge has been described by C.A. Bayly as non-discursive.[100] Bayly considered the Saidian view as too extremist as it negates all the knowledge, gathered by the colonial rulers.[101] He mentioned about a web of knowledge where European knowledge system got connected with the

indigenous system of knowledge. According to him, to rule over a country which is rich in diversity in terms of culture, language and heritage, the colonial rulers had to gain knowledge about it and this knowledge was not always guided by the European discursive formation.[102] Scholars like Donald Lach in his book *Asia in the making of Europe*, had described the interaction between East and West during the period between 1500-1800, as conducted within the framework established by the Asian nations.[103] The picture of interaction was not coherent throughout history. After 1800 the nature had changed as the nature of colonialism changed. It denotes that the East-West interaction cannot be divided into static binary. Osman Bakar in his book *Islam and the Civilizational Dialogue* has argued that Huntington's views on the idea of the possibilities of a universal civilization which is exclusively western in nature, is not supported by history. Islam in parallel with the West, has developed the idea of a universal civilization. He further argued that not everyone in the West sees the rapid economic growth of Asia as a threat to western civilization, as a prelude to an inevitable clash of civilizations between East and West. One major positive consequence of the so-called East Asian 'economic miracle' is the intensified debate on the notion of the 'Asian values' and related concepts like 'Asian Renaissance', 'Asian century' and 'Asianisation of Asia'.[104] According to Osman Bakar, this debate about the 'Asian values' contributes to a better East-West understanding. Thus, only by posing East against West in a monolithic way may be very narrow in terms of understanding such a complex and multi-dimensional relationship. This emergence of Asian values has also been highlighted in recent historiography as discussed by Arif Dirlik in an article, 'Chinese History and the Question of Orientalism' and by Kuan-Hsing Chen in his book *Asia as Method: Towards Decolonization*. Arif Dirlik argued that Orientalism, though originated as a tool for distancing the Asian countries from

Europe, has evolved up into demarcating differences within global modernity, as in the postcolonial period the Asian countries especially China emerged as a crucial player in global capitalism.[105] He used the term, 'Orientalism by the Orientals' in a section of this article.[106] This view has been taken to another level by Kuan Hsing Chen. He used the term 'Asia as method' in the title of the book. After mentioning the works of Partha Chatterjee, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Ashish Nandy in the context of India and Neil Garcia in the context of the Philippines, Chen argued about a constant fear of imaginary 'West' in the historiography of the East. According to him, the question of West was an essential part of Asian subjectivity, but not the whole. Fragmented part of the West remained as an important part in the formation of Oriental identity.[107] The most influential model on the production of knowledge by Bernard Cohn and Nicholas Dirks, which has prioritized the instrumentality of that knowledge, has been challenged strongly in many ways.[108] The works of Thomas Trautman, Sheldon Pollock and Phillip B. Wagoner can be mentioned in this context. Trautman used a term, 'conjunctural knowledge' which emerged due to the convergence of western and indigenous knowledge.[109] The geographical location of the origin of this knowledge was colonial India. The early Orientalists who were working in Calcutta and in Madras, challenged Max Muller's notion of availability of Oriental knowledge for European discovery, through their works. Their collaboration with the indigenous *pandits* proved that India was the ground of this knowledge and its contribution in this conversation was very important.[110] Same argument reflected in the works of Kapil Raj. He advocated the concept of collaboration and circulation in the case of knowledge production. Sheldon Pollock, Phillip Wagoner all pointed out the dialogic nature of knowledge produced in the early colonial India. Wagoner had mentioned the collaboration between an indigenous Brahmin, *Narrain Row* and Colin Mackenzie

during 1803-1818, which ultimately changed the historiography of South India.[111] Thus a simple imposition from the above did not occur. Though, it should be kept in mind that this interaction was happening within colonial political-economy which constraints the *longue duree* impact of such interaction. Sanjay Subrahmanyam also talked about a kind of historicity existing in South Indian lullaby, folklores and songs.[112] This precolonial knowledge was incorporated in the European knowledge system when it was introduced by the early colonisers. Colin Mackenzie, while excavating in South India, was searching for this knowledge. The precolonial sense of history writing was not according to the nineteenth and twentieth-century positivist historiography. It has its own variant which has been discussed by scholars like Romila Thapar as *itihasa-puranic* tradition of India.[113] Here the views of Richard Drayton are very important. He shows that the relationship between philosophy and empire was a matter of utility and opportunity. He traced the cravings for knowledge back to the Christian Providentialism which also gave impetus to the colonial expansion.[114] Various phenomena like Scientific Revolution, Enlightenment, whose impact was not bounded by any geographical boundaries, provided a vision of 'Nature' ordered by law. Accumulation of knowledge and accumulation of capital were going on side by side and London was the centre of it. But the complete site of this accumulation of knowledge was never the metropole, but the periphery. Cultivating literature and science were means of showing the virtuous nature of the colonial authority. Warren Hastings in his defense during the impeachment in 1787 had said,

> "Whether I have shown a disregard to science, or whether I have not, on the contrary, by public endowments, by personal attentions and by selection of men for appointments suited to their talents, given effectual encouragements to it."[115]

Following this trend of promoting science in the colonies, various trigonometrical and astronomical surveys, the missions of stalwarts like Francis Buchanan, Nathaniel Wallich, had been encouraged by the government. In 1804 Lord Wellesley in his Minute had argued,

> "To facilitate and promote all enquiries which may be circulated to enlarge the boundaries of general science is a duty imposed on the British government in India by its present exalted situation."[116]

Richard Drayton has described this scenario aesthetically. He argued that knowledge was the 'unexpected gifts' that was exported along with the tobacco and calicoes from the periphery to metropole.[117] Anna Winterbottom in her book *Hybrid Knowledge in the Early East India Company World*, had shown multi-ethnic and multi-directional flows of knowledge, objects and people between settlements of the East India Company.[118] In this context the book, *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth Century India* by William Dalrymple, can be mentioned. He discussed the love affairs between James Kirkpatrick, the British resident in the court of Hyderabad and an indigenous girl, Khair and William Palmer, the British resident in the court of Pune and Sahib Begum. Both were ostracized in the reign of Lord Wellesley (1798-1805).[119] Both of them had fought many wars of expansion, but still choose a different path for their personal life. Though an imagined story, such an intense view on the lives of the British administrators really opens up many vistas for our deep understanding. This interracial sexual relationship denotes the eighteenth-century cosmopolitanism of the periphery, opposing the Victorian chauvinism of the metropole.

The main credit of Said's formulation of Orientalism is to displace the focus of imperial history, from high politics, nature of economic relationship, and social structures to the knowledge-production system and its utility in making difference

between Europe and Asia. In this knowledge-making process the participation of the indigenous population has made the scene complex. Mary Louis Pratt has talked about 'contact zone' in explaining about the interaction. Transculturation is a phenomenon of the contact zone[120] Transculturation is a process through which the dominated group of people determine and select the knowledgeable materials, transmitted to them by the dominant group. While the dominated people cannot control the origin of that knowledge, they tried to determine the absorption and utility of that knowledge. In this context, the Anglicist-Orientalist Debate regarding the issue of spending government-allotted money in educational purposes can be discussed. The cognition of Raja Rammohun Roy can be considered as the bestow of the Enlightenment and with these cognitive schemata, he realized the importance of the English education of the indigenous people. Here the issue is the utility of the knowledge that has been produced through interaction. Here the concept of 'Hybridization' of Homi Bhabha helps to assume the discrete cultural or epistemic space where the Indians were standing. There was always an unbridgeable gap between the European Renaissance and the Renaissance in the colonies as is finely described in the works of Sumit Sarkar, and Sushobhan Sarkar. Within the asymmetrical relations of power, the spontaneity of the process was hampered. But there is no ground to deny that there was interaction. On the other hand, it should also be kept in mind that this 'contact zone' and Homi Bhabha's 'mimic man' are not the same. Because according to Bhabha 'mimic man' "repeats rather than represents"[121] but the products of this 'contact zone' is more innovative in nature aiming at establishing its own identity within the colonial structure. Trautmann has stated that colonial knowledge was a production of relationship between the Europeans and the Indians. But he criticized the Said, arguing that the application of Foucauldian power-knowledge binary in Indian

scenario did not have any inherent method for proper investigation into this interaction. In this process the indigenous scholars remained only as 'content providers', according to Trautmann. He mentioned the terms, used by recent scholars, 'collaboration (Wagoner), and 'dialogue' (Irschick), but, considered these terms as inadequate to connote the true essence of the participations of the Indian scholars in the process of knowledge production. Instead, he suggested the term, 'interaction', for a neutral understanding of the long-contested idea.[122] Following Subrata Dasgupta's insightful deliberation of cognitive revolution, it can also be argued that in this process of acculturation, the schemata of the colonizers and the colonized were molded by each other.[123] Though it was guided by colonial purpose to acquire knowledge to rule, during the early nineteenth century, the nature of colonial rule was not so compact that it could stick to one standpoint constantly. This interaction was not an equal interaction as it is evident from the skeptical attitudes of the Orientalists scholars like William Jones towards his Brahmin translators. However, this asymmetrical collaboration led to the formation of a new 'public sphere'. Bourgeois political theory minutely tends to separate the domains of politics and culture. But critical theories as propounded by Theodore Adorno and Max Horkheimer in 1944, dissolves the opposition between the two and proposed for a historical totality constituted by society, culture and politics.[124] On the basis of this notion, theory Jurgen Habermas had developed the concept of 'public sphere' in his famous book *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* in 1962 before the publication of Orientalism by Said. Habermasian 'public sphere' consists of two contradictory but simultaneous trends. On the one hand it represents the trajectories of historical changes and on the other, it also acted as the critique of that change. Judging from this perspective, the creation and role of the indigenous group of collaborators in the early nineteenth

century should be analyzed in a newer way.[125] This group of collaborators were the predecessors of the nineteenth century intelligentsia who acted as the staunch opponents of various Governmental rules and regulations. Phillip B. Wagoner argued that the colonial knowledge was a conjunction of imported 'investigative modalities' of the colonial masters with the raw data provided by the colonized.[126] In a collection of drawings from this period, Charles Doyley had shown the co-habitation of Europeans and Indians. In various pictures he demonstrated the role of *munshis*, office-attendants, *hajaum* or barbers, *kedmutgars* or table-servants in the everyday lives of the British officials. Their efficiency was portrayed so deeply that in one picture we can see a British official and an indigenous *maulvis* were sitting over a table and were reading Persian together. Thus, the British presence in India was obviously shaped by the political and economic needs, but after coming to India, they found it essential to cope with the new land.[127]

Throughout the whole discussion, one point is made clearer again and again that the history of British empire in India during 1784 to 1880s was never a compact one. The common thread of linguistic and cultural heritage between Europeans and Indians, which was drawn by William Jones in the late eighteenth century had been welded into Vedic framework by the later scholars like Max Muller. His translation of Vedas which was sponsored by East India Company, was most influential in articulating the idea of Aryanism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century ethnology and history.[128] Aryanism became very much crucial for the molding of imperial ideology from this time. It had become a connecting thread between precolonial past and colonial present. After 1857, when the Indian empire came directly under the British Crown, the nature of previous collaborative approach changed. Though right from the 1820s the reformist trend had posited challenges for

the Orientalists, they had survived that trend, with the help of their potential interests in the Indian past. H.H. Wilson, James Prinsep, and Alexander Cunningham, all were eminent survivors. Uday Singh Mehta in his book *Liberalism and Empire* has argued that the nineteenth-century liberal rhetoric of James Mill and John Stuart Mill was marked by a sense of detachment from and unfamiliarity with the world it analyzed.[129] During the anxious years of the Napoleonic wars when there was fear of losing the British empire, the spread of liberalism was obvious. The early endeavors of the Orientalists to rejuvenate the country's past were seemed to be sidelined by the extensive circulation of liberalism. This kind of free environment existed in the early nineteenth century behind the creation of knowledge on a global scale. It helped in situating India in her own place in front of the whole world. It also ensured the formation of a 'public sphere' that acted as a predecessor of the matured intelligentsia who led the freedom movement in the twentieth century. The education policy of 1835 directed by Lord Bentinck and Thomas Macaulay instigated the rise of English-educated class which ensured the permanent imprint of the British culture on the Indian intelligentsia permanently. Thus, the English writings were made available to a vast range of Indian intelligentsia which was unique to India only. The progression of European scientific education was also simultaneously going on during this time. Thomas R. Malthus, a contemporary of Jeremy Bentham has come out with a great theory of population control. His work *An Essay on the Principle of Population* was published anonymously in 1798. In 1776, in the book *Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith lacked the notion of population which had been substituted by Malthus later. Both the doctrines constituted the 'liberal' political agenda for the British Government.[130] With Adam Smith as his predecessor and Charles Darwin as his successor, Malthus had influenced the future British administrators in India at Haileybury where he was a

teacher of political economy from 1805 to 1834.[131] The densely populated agrarian society like India was very much a centre of attraction to this group of officials. They became increasingly interested in the rural primeval society of India. W.W. Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal* (1872), James Wise's Notes on the *Races, Castes and Tribes of Eastern Bengal* (1883), H. H. Risley's *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (1891), had vividly described the categorization of Indian society and had thoroughly studied the nature of Indian society with the aim to control it. These publications were only meant for the colonial rulers in the metropole as it is evident from James Wise's book which was printed by her Majesty's printer Harrison and Sons in 1883, located in London, but was not published. It means that it was not for circulation as it was only for providing 'information' to the colonial officials. These publications proved that the evolution of the history of ideas from mid-nineteenth century was not only product of the European intelligence working at the metropole. The works of the British settlers, scholar-administrators in the colonies, and their tireless efforts were very much instrumental in shaping this knowledge. The emphasis on the notion of Aryanism in the late-nineteenth century India was connected with these studies. Though it cannot be said properly whether it was product of these studies or the studies were the product of this notion. But it is for sure that the comparative philology of the late eighteenth century, initiated by William Jones, was the starting point of it. Leon Poliakov in his book *The Aryan Myth* has traced the origin of the Aryanism to the Enlightenment zeal for searching varieties of mankind.[132] A trend to establish a new non-semitic origin of the European people encouraged the nineteenth century British officials to concentrate on the Indian scenario. Here, the linguistic and cultural linkage established by Jones came to be useful. This cultural racism was supported by biological racism propounded by Darwin and ultimately led to the Holocaust. Thomas Trautman in his

seminal work, *Aryans and British India*, has dealt with the notion of Aryanism extensively. But he, following Tapan Raychoudhari, dismissed the importance of this notion in making Hindu nationhood.[133] During 1870s the English historians were anxious enough due to the various factions in the essence of 'Britishness'. The Semitic, Celtic, Greek, German influences were very much vocal. There were increasingly rigid opposition between the Celts and the Saxons, the English and the Welsh and Irish and the Protestants and the Catholics.[134] Thus, the work of Max Muller were conducted within a different socio-cultural and intellectual framework than that of William Jones. Though the latter was indeed influenced by the previous one. The term 'Indo-European' was coined by Thomas Young in 1813 and the term 'Arian' was coined by James Cowles Prichard much before Max Muller's work. But it was Max Muller who popularized the notion of 'Aryanism' within the framework of European lexicon of imperial culture. So, the developments in European intellectual sphere were connected with their approaches to the outer world and both ends were never static. Thus, Saidian framing of East-West relationship in a binary was a partial picture of a full story. The early Orientalists had converted the already existing knowledgeable materials of ancient India into a structured, codified knowledge which by the time, became a tool for developing categorized knowledge about India in the late nineteenth century India. Such a process of knowledge making cannot exist without a proper socio-political structure. For India, it was colonial structure, an important junction of human civilization.

In this thesis, I have tried to show the historical specificities of knowledge production in the context of colonial India. In doing so, I have analyzed empirical evidences within theoretical framework, provided by the post-colonial scholarship. In the first chapter of my thesis, I have dealt with the contributions of the

pioneers of Orientalist tradition in India, Warren Hastings and William Jones. It aims at showing the collaboration between the political and intellectual atmosphere in early colonial Bengal and the rise of the class named, 'scholar-administrators'. The second chapter deals with translation projects, initiated by two eminent Orientalist scholas, Charles Wilkins and H.H. Wilson. Though there are many problems with knowledge, gained from translated literatures, but the efforts and the intentions behind it must be analyzed within a broader framework of world literature, the breeding ground of comparative philology. In the third chapter I have dealt with the developments of scientific knowledge in the European context and its applicability in the colonial context with reference to the works of James Rennell and Colin Mackenzie. The scientific method followed by them in excavating India's past, the cartographical measurements, the scientific methods of surveys, were products of Enlightenment science, but was shaped according to the indigenous needs and corroborated indigenous methods. The last chapter has dealt with the development of empirical historicity in colonial India with the help of James Prinsep and Alexander Cunningham. Archaeology as a branch of knowledge developed during this time and the growing interest in the Buddhist past had also emerged. From this detailed study of the contributions of earlier scholars I have raised the following questions in my research. Some of these research questions have already been cited in the post-colonial scholarship while some of these are grounded in my entry point. These questions are,

1. While undertaking a elaborative research on the contributions of these early Orientalist scholars, can we describe Orientalism as a tool of exploitation as proposed by Edward Said?
2. Inspite of its diversity, how far the idea of colonial exploitation retained a single thread for Orientalism?

3. What is the relevance of this research in the present context of history?

I have tried to answer these questions in my thesis. There are more things to discuss further which cannot be done in a single thesis and I hope to explore those issues in future research.

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KNOWING THE COUNTRY: THE ERA OF WARREN HASTINGS (1772-1785) AND WILLIAM JONES (1783-1793)

British attitudes towards India encompassed a variety of layers. Colonial state-building and the formation of knowledge are the processes which went on side by side from the advent of the Britishers in India. The earlier colonial administrators of the East India Company were deeply indulged in knowing the country that they were governing. In doing so, they have widened the lenses through which the West sees the East and the East comprehends the West. By the end of the eighteenth century, there was a growing curiosity among the Englishmen in England and in India about the Company's Indian territories. The heritage of India, its flora and fauna, customs, or everything became the nodal point of interest among the early administrators. The establishment of the Asiatic Society in 1784 ushered a new era in this direction. Through this institution the interaction between the colonizers and the colonized was carried on as a multi-faceted process through which both molded each other. Bengal was the first Indian territory that came under the direct rule of the East India Company. The legacy of the governmentality which prevailed during the seventeenth and eighteenth century in Bengal was a mixture of India-wide centrality brought by sovereigns like the Mughals and regionalism of the local principalities. The acquisition of power by the East India Company through the *diwani* rights had brought long-lasting changes in Bengal as well as in India. My argument in this chapter is that in the light of the post-colonial studies, the coming of the East India Company can also be interpreted as the exposure of India to the world through a complicated process of acculturation and not only by binaries.

Connection with the outer world was there since the flourishing time of the Indo-Roman trade in the ancient India. But this period of European connection had fostered a unique image of India in the eyes of the whole world that altered the way by which Indians investigated into their own selves. The term 'Orientalism' was coined as a branch of epistemology much earlier, but, in the post-colonial era, the term has been merged with the Saidian version of cultural imperialism, as a discursive process, by which the West dominates the East. In this chapter my primary concern will be to differentiate both meanings from each other through a critical examination of the patronization of indigenous cultures and customs by Warren Hastings and Sir William Jones and the Asiatic Society. I am hereby contextualizing these personalities in their historical time and space within the vast politico-philosophical framework of the colonial India.

The trend of cultivating India's past was fostered by Warren Hastings, consolidated by William Jones, and institutionalized by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This trend was representative of intimate concatenation of political and intellectual concerns. Sugata Bose in his book, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* has described the Indian Ocean as the 'interregional arena' where the generality of world system and the specificities of particular region mingled with each other.[1] During the late eighteenth century the East India Company was the integral part of that interregional arena and eventually the Indian empire was also made as an inseparable part of it. The connecting thread was not only the trade and commerce but also the extended knowledge system which was reflected intensively in the works of the early orientalists as well as Company officials. Bernard Cohn in his book, *Colonialism and Its forms of Knowledge* has talked about six investigative modalities that were active during the colonial rule in India. Through these modalities,

according to Cohn, the British people tried to gather information about the colony which helped them to rule.[2] But this kind of fixity by which a homogenous West is always trying to know the homogenous East is now open for criticism. The contributions of William Jones, the pioneer of the Indological studies and the rendered founder of the Asiatic Society, in the early colonial period compelled us to think about the Saidian version of Orientalism in a critical way. The kind of 'Orientalism' they practised during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century India cannot only be categorized as the Saidian indictment of 'Orientalism'. The study of the Indian grammar, languages and histories was not a new trend as the trend was there since the coming of the Jesuits during the Mughal period. With the coming of the East India Company the nature of investigations changed as the investigators were the foreign rulers themselves. As a result, the search for knowledge and the urge for knowing the indigenous customs and histories, were interpreted through the power-knowledge decorum which was fostered by the post-colonial discourse of history writing. The study of the Indian culture had an immense impact on the development of British history at home. While on his route to India in October, 1783, William Jones was making a list of subjects for possible enquiry during his stay in the subcontinent. His basic intention was to acquire knowledge about the place and not to highlight the utility of that knowledge. S.N. Mukherjee has argued that all Oriental studies in the eighteenth century had a political slant and all the policies at home were influenced by the researches made by the Orientalists.[3] It is true that their thoughts and initiatives were molded by the then immediate historical as well as political environment, but that process had two ends. Orientalists and the policymakers at metropole both affected each other and hence contextualization of works of the Orientalists within the immediate political atmosphere needs special attention. Thus, the early Orientalists

were never an isolated group. They were very much influential on the contemporary political environment as well as were affected by it.[4]

Warren Hastings in Bengal (1772-1785): The period between 1772 and 1794 in Bengal was a formative one for the Company rule. This period witnessed the Governorship of Warren Hastings. He had such inclination towards the patronization of Oriental scholarship that any British Governor in India had ever shown. The Indian career of Warren Hastings was divided into two periods. During the first fourteenth years of his residency, he served as a subordinate in the Company offices and during his second tenure from the assumption of Bengal Governorship in 1772, he actively participated in the Company rule. The Court of Directors charged him with the task of ending the 'Dual System'. Hastings himself was convinced that the efficacy of the Government was hampered by the division of power. In a letter to Lord North, dated 2nd April, 1775, Hastings was repeatedly showing his concern for the inconveniences of the Company Government caused by the lack of sufficient distinction between the departments of it.[5] He wrote about the incompatibility between the roles of merchants and administrators. In a worldwide environment of culminating ideas of free-market trade and minimal governmental intervention, the urge for separate roles of merchant and government was seeming to be very much compatible with the ongoing world politics. Following the voices of the era, from Montesquieu to Adam Smith, the need of the hour was separation of powers. Even, his views were not dissimilar with that of the Philip Francis, his staunch opposition. Ranajit Guha in his book *A Rule of Property For Bengal* has shown that Francis was anticipating the central ideas of the *Wealth of Nations* in a letter to Lord North, months ahead of the publication of the book.[6] Hastings was the voice for the contemporary need of an efficient administration while Francis was epitomizing the voice of the current philosophical trend. British

Orientalists, by whom Hastings was greatly influenced saw the dichotomous relationship between the cultural and political aspects of the colonial society. He also realized the importance of the indigenous elements in building an effective government in that direction. Thus, Hastings was hostile to the activities of the missionaries and their misinterpretations of the indigenous customs and behaviors. In the same letter to Lord North he was stressing on the maintenance of a separate office for the Persian translators which he used to believe to have immense significance in the proper working of the Company Government.[7]

As Governor (1772-1774) and then as Governor-General (1774-1785), Hastings patronized the indigenous learning on significantly large scale. He funded Hindu and Islamic legal digests and seminaries. He commissioned two of the earliest European investigations in Tibet. He sponsored dozens of projects proposed by Indian and British scholar-administrators. His first loyalty was to the Company and he was one of the most conspicuous servants of the Company. Hence, whenever the Company became the target of criticism by those who did not get its privileges, Hastings typified Company's plunder and tyranny.[8] For Hastings, to administer the newly acquired Eastern territories of the Company, a proper understanding of their past and present conditions was necessary. Jurgen Habermas has once claimed that the bourgeois public sphere in Continental Europe was created through opposition to the absolutist state[9]. In the context of the colonial Calcutta in the late eighteenth century, the creation of this public sphere was an offspring of 'Oriental Despotism', an Indophillic analogue to the Enlightened rulers of Europe. Warren Hastings was undoubtedly the architect of that 'Oriental Despotism' as he was the founder of the Orientalist political regime in the late eighteenth-century Bengal. The determination of Hastings for applying British concept of sovereignty within the framework of the

Indian political scenario involved him in the study of the pre-existing Mughal statecraft and Indian cultural background. When he was appointed as the Governor of Bengal, he was no stranger to Bengal. His early years in the Company's service has been spent there.[10] For six years he lived among the people of Bengal, not as a master, but as a humble clerk in a trading company. During these periods he acquired an understanding of lives of the indigenous people which gave him a privileged position in comparison with his successors.[11] He endeavored to give his countrymen a proper understanding of their Indian subjects. P.J. Marshall in an article, 'British Society in India under the East India Company' has argued that during the early years of the Company rule, there were limits to the conformity on the parts of the Company employers. Far from being faceless agents of a colonial state, they were men of their own values adhering to remarkable tenacity.[12] Warren Hastings was no exception. To the contemporary British officials, the primary concern was trade, not 'White man's burden'. In Britain the idea of 'empire' was suspected till as late as 1830s. Ashish Nandy in his book *The Intimate Enemy* has shown that during the early years of the British rule in India, when the British middle classes were not dominant in the ruling culture and the rulers came from the feudal background, they had not yet internalized the idea of colonialism as main prerogative.[13] Thus, these early years of the colonial rule were full of ambiguities and changing perceptions. A kind of acculturation was taking place in which the 'Britishness' of the British rule in India during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was gradually evolving. By and large, the British community felt constrained by their situation to accept the values of the Company regime which gave them employment. As Hastings wrote to Samuel Johnson in August, 1775, he regarded the encouragement to enquire into the 'history, traditions, arts or natural productions of this country' to those who had talents and

leisure for attainment of such knowledge, as his duty.[14] Francis Hutchins has rightly argued that the justness of England's retention of an Indian empire were opposed to its acquisition. Though there were many serious issues of contentions between Edmund Burke and Warren Hastings, both agreed on admiring traditional Indian society. Both Hastings and Burke, were emphasizing on the fact that India should be governed in accordance with its traditional pattern rather than imported European techniques.[15] Hastings, having witnessed the complete collapse of the native administration owing to the Company's violent intrusion, believed that the positive measures should be taken by the Company to restore the stability of the newly acquired territories. The British East India Company initially was not interested in assuming the direct rule. Until the 1790s, the home administration of the Company and the British public at large remained opposed to the expansionist wars. Hence the series of wars conducted by Hastings during the 1770s and 1780s were censored at home. On the one hand, due to these activities, Hastings lacked the time and scope for indulging in grand projects. On the other, in this formative phase, the Company was facing Janus-faced problems from its own political establishments and from Indian elites and rulers as well. Thus, the fundamental problem of Hastings's reign was how to legitimize the Company's territorial acquisitions within the enduringly mercantile idiom of sovereignty. Hastings recognized the positive associations between the commercial sovereignty and the flourishing apparatus of gaining knowledge about the indigenous customs, lifestyles etc. that according to him could be the only way to legitimate the acquisition and patronizing these kinds of efforts which became central to his administration and legacy.

The relation between the Company and its employers was very much ambiguous and subjected to continuous changes. When Hastings took over the charges

of Bengal administration, the Company was devastated with wars and Hastings' main credit was to lead the Company government in Bengal during this chaotic period to a state of stability. His staunch intention of fabricating the Company administration according to the model of classic Mughal state portrayed him as the farsighted architect of the Raj. But when the role of the East India Company in Bengal was transformed from a mercantile Company to the administrative one, the meaningfulness of the pre-existing indigenous textual tradition was altered forever. In a letter to Lord Mansfield, dated 20th January, 1776, Hastings sought approbation of his endeavors to render *Gentoo Laws* familiar to the inhabitants of this country and in Britain as well. He encouraged the translations of the laws by the competent personalities like Nathaniel Halhed.[16] Hastings arranged a London publication of Halhed's *Gentoo Laws*. Its preface provided the first English account of Sanskrit. His theories concerning the familiarity of Sanskrit with the classical European languages were further enhanced by William Jones in his 'Third Anniversary Discourse' in 1786. The textual and qualitative dimensions of Indian research simultaneously underpin the notions of legitimacy and continuity in the subcontinent and in the metropolis. Bernard Cohn looked upon the period between 1770 to 1785 as the formative one of British rule during which the Company Government had started the appropriation of 'Indian language of rule' to construct their own system of administration.[17] According to Saidian bent of argument, Cohn further described the socio-political scenario of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century India with terms like, 'formation', 'construction', 'transformation' etc. which only denotes unilateral epistemological process. But, this kind of unilateral process was not compatible with the exact mindset which was behind the efforts of the early scholar-administrators. The intellectuals, administrators of the Company who were in India during 1770s to 1790s, were

cosmopolitan rather than nationalists in their view of other cultures. David Kopf has rightly argued that the idea of tolerance which is a boon of Enlightenment was the main force behind the experiments made by Hastings.[18] In the case of colony, it was marginal tolerance. The idea of cultural and historical relativism as propounded by Voltaire, Ferguson, paved the way for a proper study of historical civilization in the eighteenth-century Europe. In this context, while politically the pre-existing Mughal constitution became the device for transformation of a trading Company into a territorial power, in the cultural sphere also, the ideological cornerstone was 'tolerance', in the case of the colony, it was marginal tolerance. The cultural relativism, which was key to the understanding of Warren Hastings, reflected Gibbon's thought. Francis G. Hutchins in his book has shown that the eighteen-century British civil servants in India did not yet view their presence in India as either permanent or inherently just. In that case, they were very different from their nineteenth-century successors. At that time, the administrators or the civil servants were men of England, mostly belonging to an aristocratic background that was unexcited by questions of new morality. To comprehend the true essence of that class, their background must be taken into serious consideration. They conquered India, but they did not despise it. From their personal experience, they knew it very clearly that traditional Indian society and political institutions were viable and eligible for admiration. They believed that the victory in the battle and the coming of the British East India Company was just an alteration of one dynasty by another and they fought the battle in the Indian context following the indigenous norms.[19] So, for the first generation of the British civil servants like, Hastings, the main concern was to survive in the new political atmosphere and by doing so, he embraced the policy of tolerance towards the indigenous tradition. The image of Warren Hastings as the main architect

behind the creation of the British Empire by rapid aggression in the late eighteenth-century, has been thwarted by one of his admirers, Lord Curzon as he argued that Hastings was not really wishing to found that Empire. Instead of annexation and territorial expansion, Hastings was more interested in alliance with the native political powers.[20] Right back in his early days as a member of Vansittart's Council he had opposed the infringement of Mir Kasim's sovereign power as the Nawab of Bengal and throughout his career he was in close proximity with Sir Richard Sullivan who strongly disliked territorial acquisitions.[21] During the eighteenth century the nature of Company rule was transforming from a commercial one to military and territorial one and the civil servants were continuously trying to cope up with the changing circumstances. The British policy towards India was under constant competing and conflicting visions of rule throughout the Company Rule. To the Evangelical and Utilitarian reformers India seemed to be in urgent need of reform. Both James Mill and Charles Grant's estimation of Indian society represented a radical departure from that of Warren Hastings and Edmund Burke. Though they were divided over what policies England should pursue in India, Hastings and Burke were united nonetheless in an admiring assessment of traditional Indian Society and both agreed that India should be governed in accordance with its traditional pattern rather than any imposed European norms of rule.[22] Hastings' interest in the civilization, thought and languages of India dated back from his early days at Kasimbazar. His first attempt on his return to England in 1765, to encourage the study of Persian at Oxford was unsuccessful, but his zeal and capacity for Oriental Studies impressed Dr. Samuel Johnson, the author of a renowned book, *Rasselas: Prince of Abyssina* (1759).[23] The intellectual and cultural interests of an administrator or politician beyond his work, as described by Denis Healey as 'hinterland' is an integral part of the understanding the multi-

dimensional role of Hastings beyond Company servant. Neil Sen in an article, 'Warren Hastings and British Sovereign Authority in Bengal (1774-1780)', has argued that the influence of Classical, Enlightenment and Oriental learning marked him out from most of his colleagues in India and in certain respect predisposed him to be sympathetic to Indian concerns.[24] Before the age of Utilitarianism and confident Rationalism, there was elements of dilettantism and vanity in his display of Eastern erudition. In a letter to Lord Mansfield dated 21st March, 1774, Hastings had clearly demonstrated his conscious understanding of the proper condition of the people of Bengal under foreign rule and he simultaneously stressed on the preservation of their own laws showing respect to their civil liberty. He perceived the problem to the core. According to him, the people of Bengal were long accustomed with the pre-existing Muslim laws and suddenly their obedience towards a foreign law could not be obtained easily.[25] When he was appointed to the Government of Bengal Presidency, he realized the stark contradiction between the primary exigencies of a mercantile corporation and the need for reconciliation with the interest of the indigenous people. In the above-mentioned letter, Hastings had repeatedly tried to convince Lord Mansfield about the intrinsic merit of the Code of Gentoo Laws which was translated from Sanskrit to Persian and to English, that it could satiate the literary as well as judicial curiosity of the ruling class. Hastings was aware of the sentiments of the people attached to the indigenous law and that made him one of the greatest eighteenth century liberal think-tanks. Ten learned pundits were invited from various parts of the country to Calcutta for compiling the Hindu laws in Sanskrit and then laws were translated into Persian and in English. Hastings had sent the copies of the first two chapters of the Law to Lord Mansfield pointing to the presence of the right of property among the indigenous people. In the same letter Hastings repeatedly argued in favor of the Mohammedan

Law praising it as rich and consistent as any laws of other countries of Europe and also argued that the Arabians at that ancient time possessed all the qualities of an enriched civilization.[26] The initiation of Orientalism as an epistemology in an organized way could be traced back to these efforts of Hastings who was representative of the Company's first ranked civil servants. They considered the gradual transformation of the Company from a mere mercantile body to a governing body as their first and foremost priority. There is no ground to deny that early trend of Orientalism started to satiate the thirst of these Company servants. Hastings, though himself never learnt Sanskrit, was deeply interested in Hindu philosophy. Macaulay ascribed to his influence the willingness on the part of the Brahmins to take part in the process of the acculturation. They laid open the secrets of their culture to the foreign rulers and the earliest fruit of it was Charles Wilkins' translation of the *Bhagavad Gita*. In the introduction of the translation of the Gita, Hastings elaborately praised the pre-existing sense of natural rights among the Indians and abated the prejudiced portrayal of the natives.[27]

To understand the role of Warren Hastings as the patron of oriental learning, his role as the Company servant needs an insightful analysis. In this early phase of colonial rule, the agenda of producing oriental knowledge was as complex as the situation of the British Government in India. Clive Dewey in his book *Anglo-Indian Attitudes: The Mind of the Indian Civil Service* has argued that the behavioral pattern of the human being is more directed by the vested ideas rather than vested interests.[28] The *zeitgeist*, as Matthew Arnold coined the term in 1840 to describe the 'spirit of the age' can also be effective in the understanding of the works of Warren Hastings and his fellow Orientalists in the late eighteenth-century Bengal. Hastings like his many contemporaries had the ability to perceive the complex things like, societies, economies, and polities, as they really were.

The nature of the British Empire during the late eighteenth century was very much complex as comprehended from the distinction between the terms like colonialism and imperialism. The idea of sovereignty was emerging and evolving at the same time. The complexities within the ideologies of rule can be well comprehended through the impeachment of Warren Hastings for misrule in India which was one of the greatest political trials in British history. Mithi Mukherjee in her article, 'Justice, War, and Imperium: India and Britain in Edmund Burke's Prosecutorial Speeches in the Impeachment Trial of Warren Hastings', has differentiated between Britain as a nation and as an empire. With the Regulating Act of 1773 and two India Bills, Fox's India Bill of 1782 and Pitt's India Bill of 1784, British Parliament was continuously trying to reshape the concept of sovereignty in Bengal, financially most important territory of the then British Empire.[29] The absolute power, that resided in the hands of the Governor -General, was invincible as proposed by Pitt's India Act despite strenuous opposition from Edmund Burke. As the proceedings of the trial went on, the true nature of sovereignty exercised by the Company became clearer. Warren Hastings was tried for his 'offensive' wars against native rulers, treaty violations, abuse of judicial authority in 1788 in Westminster which brought an enigmatic discussion regarding the nature of the sovereignty of the Company's administration. Hastings' argument in defense of the complains showed how deep he was imbued with the true essence of the decorum of the rule. He emphasized on the fact that the sovereignty exercised by Company at that time was conferred by the Diwani right and infused with the indigenous notion of power. Hastings further emphasized that this sovereignty was beyond the jurisdiction of the British Parliament and had to be exercised in accordance with the Mughal laws and customs. Even, Macaulay while criticizing Hastings and the Company rule admitted that the Company held the newly conquered territories as vassals of the throne of Delhi.[30] While coping up with the complex Indian

political scenario in the late eighteenth century, Hastings was dependent on Indian agents to carry on the proper functioning of the Government. A number of men on whom Hastings relied, attained a degree of notoriety. In the sphere of revenue collection, Ganga Govind Singh was far more reputed than any European counterpart. Revenue payers had to deal with Company through him and he was called the 'prime minister' of Hastings.[31] Krishna Kanta Nandy and Ali Ibrahim Khan were other politically powerful allies of Hastings and Ali Ibrahim Khan, a nobility from Murshidabad Court was appointed as the chief Magistrate of Benaras.[32] We all know about the relationship between Raja Nabakrishna Deb of Shovabazar and Hastings. He had played an important role in judicial hassle between Hastings and Nandakumar.[33] Raja Nabakrishna Deb also offered Hastings a handsome amount of money when Hastings appointed him as the administrator of Burdwan.[34] In later days Hastings was charged with this kind of taking gifts from indigenous rulers. But Natasha Eaton has shown that this kind of exchange was a part of the 'mimetic self-awareness'. She continued to argue that just as Hastings wanted to emulate the Mughal legacy of government, Indian rulers were also incorporating the British 'art' of giving gifts into their fold.[35] The quintessential Mughal practices of *khil'at* and *nazr* were nonetheless symbols of legitimacy which passed on from the donor to the recipient. In the late eighteenth-century the East India Company wanted to replace these prevailing Mughal practices with their own form of gifts, symbolically potent portraits. In the line of Michael Taussing's argument, Eaton further argued that this practice of giving gifts was nothing but the part of a mimetic colonial encounter which led to the hybridization of the metropolitan practices.[36] When Hastings was directed by the Court of Directors to end the 'Dual System' in Bengal and impose a direct rule, he initiated deliberately the practice of exchanging gifts as an instrument for extending Company's influence on the indigenous rulers of Bengal, Mysore, Awadh, Carnetic, and the Deccan.

Hastings being a scholar in the Westminster, had the influence of the Classical European tradition in his work. Apart from this, also being a clerk under the Company, he had acquired a first-hand knowledge regarding the prevalent Mughal administration and did not share the existing theoretical British notion of despotic, corrupt, and extortionate indigenous ruling class. He believed that Indian knowledge and experience as embodied in the varied textual traditions of the Hindus and Muslims were relevant for developing British administrative institutions.[37] *Ain-i-Akbari* which was the epitome of the governing rules and regulations of the Mughals, was the first book to be translated in English under the patronage of Hastings, followed by a series of translations of the Hindu and Muslim laws. By stressing the importance of using indigenous laws as objectified in the textual traditions, in the governance of the then 'British Empire', Hastings was rejecting the prevalent European notion that the Indian state was 'despotic'. Thus, the debate and the procedure of the impeachment of Hastings in England had opened new vistas for discussing the concept of imperial justice and imperial urge to know the country.

Orientalism as practised in the eighteenth-century political context wass a much complex phenomenon to be explained in singular way. Apparently, Hastings' efforts used to be defined as congruent with the imperialistic nature of the Company, but the broader historical context compels one to think outside the linear parameter. Robert Travers argued in the line of Prasannan Parthasarathi that the flavor of the later half of the eighteenth century was different from that of the first half of the era. Old notion of powerful Britain confronting weakened, and divided India was replaced by the notion of British traders forging allegiances with Indian traders.[38] This period witnessed the formation of the complex imperial ideology through the intersection of the exported British concepts and appropriated indigenous categories which will further support the ad hoc expansion of the British empire. The eighteenth-century expansion of Britain in India

was extremely controversial in Britain itself. Approach towards the expansion of the empire was never uniform. Anglicists, Evangelicals, Utilitarians, Orientalists, all were acting parallelly. In the ambience of the eighteenth-century European Enlightenment and Kantian Universalism there was always a conscious effort to give ideological support to the expansion in the Indian subcontinent. The intellectual discovery of the non-European societies was the most significant phenomenon in the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. The Enlightenment philosophers found that the non-European societies and their version of Oriental despotism aptly suited to the purpose of ridiculing the European claims to uniqueness and sufficiency. Francis G. Hutchins once argued that there was an inclination to identify Oriental despotism with the form of government then existing under Christian auspices in Europe and to link a common destiny between the oppressed peoples in Europe and in India.[39] So, when the philosophers of Enlightenment attacked the non-European societies they did so as an indirect method of criticizing their own societies.[40] Thus, the terms of interaction between the Europeans and the Indians in the eighteenth-century Indian context, irrespective of ideological inclinations, was guided by the intellectual and cultural progress in Europe. Placing Hastings within this intellectual environment, we can assume that the sympathetic attitudes towards Indian cultures and politics was part of the latitudinarian attitudes associated with the Enlightenment philosophy. The later progress of Orientalism was also fuelled by these developments. The battle between the Orientalist and Anglicist reformers during the 1820s and 1830s around the issues of educational reforms could be traced back to the late eighteenth-century. Warren Hastings who dreamt of fashioning the Company Government based on the Indian idioms and patronized scholarship on Indian customs, laws, religion and history, was considered as an Orientalist while Lord Cornwallis who championed the English Whig form of Government was seen as an Anglicist.[41] This distinction clearly showed the complexities and multi-dimensional

progress of British politics in eighteenth-century India. Hastings' efforts could be comprehended as a part of the Montesquieu's theory of accommodating governments according to their immediate environment. J.S. Grewal in his book *Muslim Rule in India* had shown that British Officials used Persian language to uphold the Mughal constitution as a template for their own rule. He also saw a change in this attitude towards the Mughal constitution by 1790.[42] This implied that first generation of British administrators like Hastings followed a collaborative approach in the functioning of the colonial government and ultimately resulted in the creation of a colonial government in an indigenous form in which both molded each other. Interestingly Thomas Metcalfe in his book *Ideologies in Raj* had recognized that most enduring tension between the two ideals of the British rule in India was the tension between the similarity and difference.[43] Shaped by the Enlightenment vigor of understanding all cultures, Hastings tried to accommodate Indian language of rule into the fold of colonial administrative conveniences. This mixture of scholarly curiosity and the administrative convenience was by no means unique to Hastings.[44] To those first generation of Orientalist administrators cum scholars, Indian society was derived from the study of the texts and the cooperation of the pundits. Hastings' concern for facilitating ancient laws was reflected in the employment of eleven pundits in the Revenue Board between 1773 to 1775 for compiling laws from indigenous texts. It served as a guideline for the Company Government.[45] There was a constant effort to reconciliate between the politics in the metropole and the prevailing old regime in India and for Hastings the only way was the scholarly patronage. In the preface to the Charles' Wilkins translation of the *Bhagavad Gita*, (1785) he wrote:

> Every accumulation of knowledge and especially such as is obtained by social communication with people over whom we exercise a dominion founded on the right of conquest, is useful to the state….it attracts and conciliates distant affections……and these will survive when the British dominion in India shall have long ceased to exist,

> and when the sources which it once yielded of wealth and power are lost to remembrance.[46]

This passage used to attract attention of the scholars for decades. It denotes the exact mindset of Hastings which encompasses rhetorical pairs of conquest and communication, actuality and futurity, power and impermanence. Hastings arranged a London publication for N.B. Halhed's *A Code of Gentoo Laws* or *Ordinations of the Pundits* in 1776. Its preface provided the first English account of the structure of Sanskrit. Though Halhed failed to master the language, but his theories concerning the similarity between Sanskrit and European classical languages were perfectly anticipated by Sir William Jones in his *Third Anniversary Discourse* of 1786.[47] In the later days what Ronald Robinson argued in his article, 'Non-European Foundation of European Imperialism: Sketch for a theory of Collaboration*',* that this collaborative approach is the main basis for the European expansion.[48] But during the later half of the eighteenth century this collaboration became constructive in nature which had impact on the both ends of the Company's operation. In the face of opposition from Philip Francis and Edward Wheler, Hastings took initiative to establish Company's own press under Charles Wilkins' direction. With this initiation, Calcutta as a main administrative center of Company, was transformed from scribal culture to print culture.[49] Thus, the retrieval of Indian laws was intended to bring reconciliation between metropolitan culture and Indian culture. At another level it opened new vistas for employment for the indigenous scholars. The celebrated Banesvara Vidyalankara was appointed as one of the eleven pandits. He compiled *Vivadarnavasetu* and *Code of Gentoo Laws* sponsored by Hastings. Pandit Radhakanta Tarkabagisa fulfilled Hastings' commission for a Digest of the Puranas and received a valuable price in return.[50] In 1783 he composed *Puranarthaprakasa* and dedicated it to Hastings. This work is now part of the Hastings collection of Oriental manuscripts in British Library in London. The task of Persian translation of this Sanskrit work was entrusted upon N.B.

Halhed by Hastings and the final Persian version was preserved as a part of the Halhed's collection of original manuscripts in the British Library.[51] Hastings clearly relished the role of patron and in particular an interpreter of India to Europe. By 1781, Calcutta had become seat of a great Empire and an adobe of liberal knowledge. The foundation of Calcutta Madrasa, making donation to the great Bishweshwar temple of Benaras, rewarding pandits and scholars for their dedicated works - all these initiatives implied that Hastings was trying to cope up his role as a colonial governor working in a distant unknown land with full of zeal and vigor.[52] Michael S. Dodson has shown that according to the judicial plan of 1773 the Supreme Court of Judicature required the services of pandits who were well acquainted in *dharmasastras*. It created an enormous demand for the Sanskritic pandits which propelled Jonathan Duncan to establish the Sanskrit College at Banaras in 1781.[53] Thus, there was an ambience for cooperation which ultimately led to the indigenous epistemological researches under the patronage of the colonial rulers. Hastings' policy opened up the attractive alternative of a non-commercial public-service career and Duncan grasped the opportunity. He developed linguistic proficiency, translation of official documents, close relationship with Hindu literati, all of which helped him to be the chartered member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[54] Francis Gladwin, a soldier-diplomat, and talented entrepreneur-Persian scholar translated *Ain-i-Akbari* (1783-86), a description of Indian empire under Akbar which helped to dispel the European prejudices concerning the Asiatic arbitrary political power. He was encouraged by Hastings to a great extent. He introduced *Calcutta Gazette* in January, 1784 when he succeeded Charles Wilkins as the superintendent of the Company's Press where translated Oriental poems and articles on Indian cultures were starting to get regularly featured. He became an effective booster behind the flourishing print culture in late eighteenth-century Calcutta. There was a circle of pandits, administrators, intellectuals in

late eighteenth-century India which was patronized by Hastings. In its inception Orientalism as proposed by Edward Said, reflected a linear focus on the authority of the texts but on the contrary, Hastings worked on the epistemological authority of Indology reflecting a tripartite cultural authority of the indigenous texts, of the pandit or native informants and of linguistic expertise on Indian languages.[55]

Michael Edwards has rightly described Hastings as the 'king of nabobs' in his book. The nabobism was very much part of the eighteenth-century British-Indian society that was adapting to a hybridized consumer culture. Tillman Nechtman in an article has shown that this nabobism is crucial in understanding the Britishness in eighteenth-century colonial context. Attachment to the South Asian cultural norms was a prerequisite condition for the nabobism. Nechtman argued that when the Company officials were returning to Britain in the later half of the eighteenth century, they brought with themselves a newer version of the British state as gained from the political-mercantile activities in South Asia and thus, India became an integral part of the lives and identities of the Company officials even after they returned to their homeland.[56] In this context the accumulation of knowledge in the late eighteenth-century Bengal involved reciprocal, asymmetrical process of circulation. The identities of both of the officials and the indigenous collaboratives were shaping each other. Hastings was working under a peculiar political as well as intellectual rationale which was balanced by both the rights of the conqueror and the rights of the unknown enslaved. This rationale was deeply influenced by Enlightenment relativity. The objective values of his regime were reconciliation between the Company rule according to the indigenous idioms and the universal validity of Orientalist scholarship and he acted in a best possible way to achieve these aims. He made a simultaneous contribution to the statecraft and to the development of a world-culture side by side. The translated version of Bhagavad Gita created such an enormous

boost in Europe that from then onward Europeans were eagerly waiting for the new researches and on the other hand the self-made scholars in India were also anxious to prove their worth in front of the foreign rulers. The ambience of reconciliation created by Hastings would have a far-reaching impact on the future relationship between the metropole and colony. This process of accumulation of knowledge whether could be called 'acculturation' or 'appropriation', British scholars-administrators created a political reproduction of epistemological authority which fixed the pattern of future interaction between the colonizer and the colonized.

William Jones and the Asiatic Society: New Horizon Explored (1783-1793): In September, 1783 William Jones arrived at Calcutta to take up his role as a judge in the Supreme Court of Judicature. This era 1780s-1790s witnessed the golden age of the Oriental scholarship led by William Jones and his contemporaries. His life and thoughts had been center of study among the scholars for decades. In this section of my thesis, I would like to make detailed study of his works to make a clear-cut distinction between epistemology and discursive theory. This period also witnessed the impeachment of Hastings which stirred a great intellectual wave in England regarding the ethics of rule and the reform works led by Lord Cornwallis, who is often described as the spokesperson of the rising tide of Anglicism. Thus, intellectual efflorescence and political upheavals became parallel yet complementary phenomenon in the late eighteenth century. This relationship between politics and intellectualism was part of the reconciliation process started by Hastings. The politics of knowledge remained crucial to the working of the Company Government in the early days. The notion of encapsulation of the colonized 'other' within the cultural as well as political fold of the metropole was described by Edward Said as the domination of the inferior by the superior. But, as the minute study of this period will reveal that there was a counter movement among the colonialists that has

sought to transform societies under their control, according to universal models of history.[57] Just as Hastings and other contemporaries, the life and works of William Jones, an eminent Orientalist, was far from being entangled within a linear explanation as made by Edward Said. His first years at Oxford during 1740s was marked by the study of Arabic. By 1768, he had acquired such a reputation for Oriental scholarship that King Christian VII asked him to translate the history of Nadir Shah, the *Tarikh-i- Nadiri* into French.[58] By 1770, he also completed his work on the *Grammar of the Persian Language*. It was published in 1771 in London and went through six editions by 1804. In the long history of Indian philology, there is no name that could appeal more strongly than that of William Jones. He mastered over 28 languages as he considered languages as key to the history of human mind. He introduced the West to the literary treasures of the Persians and Arabs. On his way to Calcutta, Jones envisioned a platform composed of European intellectuals and Indian scholars to do systematic, collaborative explorations of Asia.[59] He realized that the attainment of whole realm of knowledge at global scale required the participation of both the colonizers and the colonized. He thereupon founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 which heralded a new era in the Oriental learning and the scholars associated with the Society also made a huge impact in the progress of learning in the later days. O.P. Kejariwal in his book *The Asiatic Society of Bengal* has mentioned the period between 1784 to 1794 as the founder's decade as Jones was the first to use his vast scholarship and knowledge of the classical languages for the better understanding of the East and this mentality was central to the working of the Society from its beginning. This kind of whole-hearted enthusiasm only for knowing the country's past for the sake of making a connected knowledge system world-wide was unique to Jones only. His subsequent discourses on the theory of common origin of the five principal Asiatic nations i.e. India, Arabia, Tartary, Persia, China reflected his belief that only after knowing the history of the East properly

a comprehensive history of mankind could be written.[60] Arrival at India opened golden opportunities to him. In a letter to Lord Edward Gibbon dated 30th June, 1781, Jones wrote:

> With regards to Asiatic letters, a necessary attention to my profession will compel me wholly and eternally to abandon them. Unless Lord North (to whom I am already under no small obligations), should think me worthy to concur in the improved administration of justice in Bengal and should appoint me to supply the vacancy on the Indian bench……I should probably travel….through part of Egypt and Arabia, and should be able, in my way, to procure many Eastern tracts of literature and jurisprudence……..in my vacations, should find leisure to explain, in my native language, whatever the Arabs, Persian and Turks, have written on science, history and the fine arts.[61]

From the above passage the real intention of Jones before coming to India was clarified to a great extent. After his arrival at India he devoted himself with full tenacity in the studying of the Indian culture and the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal served the purpose aptly. This intention was shaped by the contemporary European intellectual atmosphere as well. By the end of the eighteenth century there was a growing curiosity among Englishmen in England and in India about the Company's Indian territories. The history and literature of India as also her flora and fauna, were yet to be properly studied. The environment created by Hastings in colonial India as well as in the metropole, was fully utilized by his condign successor William Jones. By the end of 1783, Jones had realized that his plans for Asiatic studies could not be implemented by a single man or by the individuals working independently and only united efforts will be helpful in achieving the goal of knowing the Orient thoroughly.[62] Consequently, with the help of his friends, Jones held a meeting on 15th January, 1784 at which it was resolved to establish a society under the name of the 'The Asiatick Society'.[63] Jones cognition was shaped by the Whig philosophy, classical education and by the cult of Reason. The Enlightenment cosmopolitanism was the main current of the period. The curiosity to know the East was growing in Europe since the middle-ages and the Enlightenment philosophers

enthusiastically appreciated the human institutions based on reason. Kantian theory on universalism formed the basis of the Enlightenment cosmopolitanism. Said's critique of Orientalism has the heuristic capacity to bring to the surface the questions of power and exclusion and sensitize the issue of domination of the East by the West. But the Enlightenment cosmopolitanism cannot be reduced to the level of Western chauvinism of this sort.[64] This argument was aptly explained by the speeches delivered by Sir William Jones in his First Discourse mentioning the 'intended objects' of the Society. He argued that,

> "…..what are the intended objects of our inquiries within these spacious limits, we answer, Man and Nature; whatever is performed by the one or produced by the other."[65] (15th Feb,1784).

Like Bacon, he further clarified the main parameters to analyze human knowledge which were mind, memory, reason, and imagination. With the help of these faculties human beings will be able to compare, distinguish, and diversify ideas, accumulated through their senses. In an era, imbued with the Enlightenment philosophical zeal, these speeches by Jones marked nothing but a continuation of the efforts to connect the universal with the particular. In his book, *Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose* (1784), Kant showed the path to absorb the 'other' cultures with a great flexibility and this philosophical spirit boosted in turn the growth of interests in the Orient among the European intellectuals. Jones' development as the one of the greatest philologists of the era was also influenced by the intellectual waves of the seventeenth-eighteenth century Europe led by Thomas Hobbes, Locke, George Berkley, Leibniz, Rousseau, Hume. Though there were various differences among them, all agreed upon one common issue that the study of language was the crucial factor in the study of the human development and cognition.[66] Previously in 1772, the book, *Treatise on the Origin of the Language* by (first name) Herder established a deep connection between the civilization and language.

According to him, another aspect of the study languages is translation as the mode of translation encompasses the notion of accommodation. Though this understanding of accommodative cosmopolitanism is bounded by historical limitations of conceptual framework, scientific development, and political self-reflection, we cannot deny the initial influence of this intellectual ambience in giving the colonial expansion of the European countries a more humane inclination towards logical explanations. The establishment of the Asiatic Society in 1784 and the publication of Kant's *Idea* in the same year may be a mere coincidence, but it spares us with a thought of the mutual intellectual co-relation between these two phenomena of far-reaching impact. The birth of the Asiatic Society marked a milestone in pursuing Oriental studies in the late eighteenth-century India which ushered a new hope in European circle. Jones consciously modelled the Society on the Royal Society in England. Since the King was the patron of the Royal Society in England, it was decided that the Governor-General and his council should be asked to become patrons of the new Society.[67] Thus, Warren Hastings was invited to be the patron of the Society. In a letter dated January22, 1784, from the distinguished first members of the Society, John Hyde, William Jones, John Carnac, David Anderson, William Chambers, Francis Gladwin, Jonathan Duncan, Thomas Law, Charles Wilkins, J. D. Paterson, Charles Chapman, Charles Hamilton, G.H. Barlow to Warren Hastings, it was clear that they had the huge respect for the First Governor-General of Bengal for his encouragement in the Sanskrit and Persian learning before the establishment of the Society.[68] It might be also an effort on behalf of the Society members to conciliate with the Company Government. But eventually Hastings rejected the offer as he feared that being the Governor-General, he would lack the proper efforts and time for the post offered. Jones considered himself as the bearer of the trend initiated by Hastings and his circle. In a letter to Hastings dated February, 1784, Jones argued,

> As to myself, I could never have been satisfied, if in traversing the sea of knowledge, I had fallen in with a ship of your rate and station, without striking my flag.[69]

It was through the activities made by Hastings and his 'circle', India was appeared as an alternative route for intellectual aspirations to the British scholar-administrators. Before coming to India Jones had already the taste of Oriental learning and after coming to India the cooperation from the Hastings' 'circle' created an apt environment for his dream, the establishment of the Asiatic Society. The offering of the post of patron of the Society was nothing but recognizing Hastings' efforts in the growth of Oriental learning.

Jones sent Charles Wilkins a draft of his 'Hymn to Camdeo' (1784) for comments and corrections and asked for another copy of the 'Ghazals of Hafiz'.[70] Thus, it is very evident that the coming of Jones in India ushered an era of cooperation and mutual respect that in turn helped in the growth of the Oriental studies to a great extent. While describing the objective of the Society in his first discourse, Jones was following the Baconian method of knowing nature scientifically which was also part of Enlightenment rationality. Jurgen Habermas in his book, *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Investigation of a Category of a Bourgeois Society*, provides an insightful analysis of emerging public sphere in the eighteenth-century world, the seeds of which were sown during the Enlightenment. The establishment of the Asiatic Society in Bengal in 1784 signalled the rise of a public sphere where, in Habermas' language, subjects participate actively as equals in rational discussions in pursuit of the truth and the common good.[71] In practice, the participation in the public sphere has always been restricted to a small group of literate people who represented the common interest of all humankind. In the late eighteenth-century Europe this growing notion of public sphere seemed to be utopian but worthy to pursue. Similarly, in the late eighteenth-century Bengal, the foundation of the Society gestured this notion of representation properly. It

gained an intellectual currency but began to be realized fleetingly and partially in social and political spheres as well.[72]

In an article named, *On the Gods of Greece, Italy and India*, Jones made a significant analysis among the Gods of Europe and the Asia and tended to prove a close affinity between the distinguished inhabitants of the ancient world.[73] He compared *Janus* with *Ganesha* as both have two faces and both are the Gods of wisdom.[74] Another interesting aspect was highlighted by Jones in this article. He found traces of deluge in the *Puranas* during the time of *Krishna* which according to him allegorically resembles with the universal deluge described by Moses. Jones assumes the starting point of the Hindu chronology from this time onwards.[75] Thus, *Minerva* of Italy and *Saraswati* of India, *trident* of European religion and *trishula* of Indian religion mingled with each other in Jones' analysis and the journey of the comparative symbolism, an important branch of studying religion worldwide, started with this new approach of dealing various civilizations of the ancient world. In the end he synthesized all cultures such as, Greek, Italian, Indian, Egyptian, and even Chinese and Japanese cultures by saying that all originated from one central place.[76] According to Jones the concept of three powers, creative, preservative, and destructive personified in Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshwar is very much similar with that of the Holy Trinity. He continued to argue that as the core of all religion is same, there is no need of conversion mission from church. The only humane mode of causing revolution is to translate from Sanskrit and Persian languages. Bernard S. Cohn in an article *The Command of Language and the Language of Command*, has argued that the British mode of living in India provided cultural blocks to their acquisition of knowledge beyond their problem with language.[77] Their curiosity and urge to command over Indian languages were a part of the instrumentalization of colonial control. After a detailed study of Jones' attitude towards the Oriental gods and culture

this kind of linear argument cannot be applied. Jones' thoughts reflected the speculative philosophical and aesthetical imaginings of the age. He differentiated himself from both Romantics' and Utilitarian Anglicists' efforts of otherizing India. The Romantics were fascinated with those very features of Indian Civilization spiritual, mysterious, exotic, that the Utilitarians considered as worthless and ripe for Westernization.[78] The inherent tone of colonization was there in Utilitarian dealings with India as well as the Orient. But Jones' discourse did not facilitate the colonial Government only. It also fostered Indian nationalism by helping the Sanskrit language and Hindu culture from the exclusive control of the Brahmans. His translation of *Sakuntala* and *Gita Govinda* inculcated the Sanskrit language on the world map. Jones in his *Third Anniversary Discourse* (1786) has mentioned that Sanskrit is more perfect than Greek more copious than Latin and more exquisitely refined than either.[79] In this discourse he made a conscious effort to establish a hypothesis regarding language families and with this *Third Discourse* philological studies ultimately moved from impressionistic, mythological basis to modern scientific comparative studies. His contribution and eagerness influenced various self-made scholar-administrators to take initiatives on their own terms. In this ambience, *Asiatick Miscellany* was brought out by Francis Gladwin in 1785, and it consisted mainly of translations from eastern literature, such as works of Sadi, Khusrau, Hafiz, poems on Oriental subjects and a few original papers. It represented the works of skilled linguists such as, William Kirkpatrick (1754-1812), and John Gilchrist (1759-1841). S. N. Mukherjee has argued that Jones did not approve the plan for publication of *Miscellany* as he had his own plans for the publication of *Asiatick Researches* whose standard was higher than any other contemporary magazine. The contents were carefully chosen to satiate the curiosity of the men with varied tastes. It consisted of articles on ancient land grants, a Sikh College in Patna, a journey to Patna, a journey to Tibet, on the manners,

religion and languages of the Hindus, on Indian literatures, trial by ordeal and a number of other articles on natural sciences.[80] This is was the first European journal to publish papers written by at least four Indian scholars. They were, Govardhan Kaul, Pandit Ramlochan, Radhakanta Sharman and Ali Ibrahim Khan. In a letter to Warren Hastings dated 7th January, 1785, Jones praised Ali Ibrahim Khan whole-heartedly and expressed how he had been pleased with the assistance of Ali Ibrahim Khan in Benares. In the same letter Jones expressed his deep regret on the departure of Hastings from India in 1785 comparing it with the same amount of regret felt by *Arjuna* after departure of *Krishna* as depicted in *Gita*.[81] In his trip to Benares in 1784, he sought to establish contacts with various British officers in Benares, Bhagalpur and Malda and persuaded them to write for the Society.[82]

In the first volume of the *Asiatick Researches* we found Jones' contribution to the development of the orthography of the Asian words. In an article, titled as, 'Orthography of the Asiatick Words in Roman letters', he initiated such an effort that, according to him would benefit the people who will venture into the work of translation of the Oriental literatures.[83] As a renowned philologist he certainly recognized the importance of a comprehensive, unified system of notation. In the same article he made a very important argument regarding the contribution of D'Anville in deciphering the routes of Alexander's conquest. According to Jones, as the Greeks had an unwarranted method of molding foreign names into their own tongue, it was impossible to trace their route of conquest without contribution of D'Anville. To know a country properly, the knowledge of language of that country is required because, to translate the information about history and geography of a place, one should be well-acquainted with the language of that place. In the same article, Jones accepted the indebtedness to N.B. Halhed and Chales Wilkins for their contributions to the Bengali grammar and language.[84] This

article shows the intention of Jones to involve more Europeans in the study of the languages and the depth of his own interest in the studying the languages of India, Persia, Arab in a minute way. He analyzed, compare, and translate every single letter for the sake of a comprehend knowledge. This kind of procurement of knowledge was a by-product as well as condition for the expansion of the colonial empire. He put the idea of common origin in a dramatic and fascinating way which easily captured the revolutionary European mind and stimulated further research on the subject. Finally, in 1816, Franz Bopp published the first comparative grammar in Indo-European languages.[85] Not only in comparative philology, the further study of Indology followed the methodology set up by Jones during this period. It was a methodology that included the study and deciphering the ancient inscriptions such as Brahmi, the study of the coins and the ruins, and the identification of names places and persons.[86] Jones himself identified, in 1793, a prince named in classical accounts of Alexander's invasion of India as Sandracottas to be the Mauryan Emperor Chandragupta Maurya and his capital mentioned as Palibothra, to be Pataliputra. This identification marked the beginning of scientific study of chronology in Indian history. In a letter printed in the third volume of the *Asiatick Researches* (1791), from Alexander Macleod to Jones dated 7th April, 1791, it was stated that Alexander Macleod had found copper-plate engravings which bore something written in *devnagari* scripts. He sent it to Jones for translation of it and in the same volume the translated version of the same copperplate from Sanskrit to English by Jones, has been printed with minute details.[87] Thus, the cohesive process of accumulation of knowledge was stimulated by the Society under the leadership of Jones. With his contribution in the Sanskrit learning and translation, his devotion to the learning of Hindu law was also crucial to understand his role in furthering knowledge. Prior to coming to India Jones had conceived the project of compiling a complete digest of Hindu and Muslim laws for the

use of the Bengal civil courts.[88] Jones also spoke of his desire for compiling Hindu and Muslim legal digests during his second anniversary discourse to the Asiatick Society on 24 th February, 1785.

> The Jurisprudence of the Hindus and Muselmans will produce more immediate advantage and if some standard law-tracts were accurately translated from the Sanscrit and Arabick, we might hope in time to see so complete a digest of Indian laws that all disputes among natives might be decided without uncertainty……[89]

The motivation behind Jones' project, as it had so far been conceived, was shaped by Hastings' policy of ruling British according to the indigenous laws. Interestingly, apart from his sympathetic concerns towards the Oriental languages, customs, traditions and people, in a letter to the First Marquis of Cornwallis, the new Governor-General, dated 19th March, 1788, he expressed his mistrust for the native assistants employed in the British courts to promulgate the law.

> …if we give judgement only from the opinions of the native lawyers and scholars, we can never be sure, that we have not been deceived by them.[90]

Indeed there was an eagerness on behalf of Jones to know, recover and develop Sanskrit, an ancient language but as Cohn and Javed Majeed have pointed out that Jones' pursuit for authentic knowledge was led by his conviction that Hindu and Muslim lawmakers would be untrustworthy. As for Jones Textual corruption seems inevitably imply moral corruption.[91] In this context, his excellency in Sanskrit and Persian languages can also be described as the process by which ultimately 'out-pandit' the pandits.[92] Kate Teltscher used the term 'out-pandit' to denote the *telos* of Jones' work which outran the indigenous erudite pandits. On the other hand, the financial needs compelled these pandits to cooperate with the colonial masters. Javed Majeed also argued in an article, 'James Mill's History of British India Utilitarianism as a rhetoric of Reform' that the Digest was a complementary tool for Cornwallis' Permanent Settlement.[93] In a letter to the Second Earl

Spencer dated1-11th September, 1787 from Krishnanagar, Jones eulogized administration of Cornwallis and Shore as 'just'.(764). In the same letter Jones wrote:

> I live in perfect friendship with both, but in as perfect independence of them.[94]

The relationship between Jones and Cornwallis can be interpreted as distant conciliation. Though Jones had enough contacts among the indigenous pandits, he asked the British Government to select pandits and maulvis for compilation of the Digest and also denied himself from a salary for the work. He only suggested for a legal digest with the help of the learned natives just as the Justinian Code of the Roman Empire.[95] Jones' death left the work of completing digest to Colebrook. Jones also supervised the completion of four volumes of the Shia laws. The Supreme Court's need for reliable Hindu law led him to study the original laws in Sanskrit, as the Persian translations were inadequate.[96] He realized the importance of joint efforts of the Indian pandits and Europeans. In a letter to Henry Dundas dated 26th February, 1788, Jones emphasized on completion of the digest accurately with the help of pandits and maulvis. He continued to argue that Brahmins were full of gratitude because the British were showing respect to their age-old laws which was missing during the medieval period. The maulvis were also pleased with this collaborative works.[97] This was a major advance, as the indigenous erudite people, despite of previously mentioned financial needs, they spontaneously intended to help the unbelievers to work with their sacred laws and the credit went to the early Orientalists like Warren Hastings, William Jones. For them, as A L Basham described, Jones was someone who brought world-wide prestige to Sanskrit language by translating *Sakuntala*.[98] Jones who encouraged the creative cross-cultural encounters between India and Europe. Names of pandits and maulvis were mentioned in a letter from Jones to Marquis of Cornwallis, dated 13th April, 1788, who were worthy enough to be selected as collaboratives in compiling the Digest. Among those names, for the Hindu laws, there were, Radhakanta Sarman

(Tarkavagisa), Jagannatha Tarkapanchanan, Sabur Tiwari, for the Muslim laws, there were Muhammad Kasim (for Sunni laws), Sirajul Haque (for Shia laws) and as for the writer of Sanskrit and Arabic writers, there were names of Mahtab Roy and Haji Abdallah.[99] Among them Radhakanta Tarkavagisa was most distinguished scholar. He had been associated with the court of Raja Nabakrishna, a close friend of Hastings and was employed by Hastings in compiling the *Puranaarthaprakasha* in 1783. His teacher Jagannatha Tarkapanchanana was also in close affiliation with the British.[100] In Governor-General's Minute, dated 22th August, 1788, it was stated that Jagannata Tarkapanchanana may be appointed to assist Jones in compiling the Digest on a salary of Rs. 300per month and Rs. 100 for assistants.[101] These affinities between Jones and indigenous pandits were one most important aspect of the colonial encounter during the late eighteenth-century India. It was on the strength of Radhakanta's explanations that Jones presented to the Asiatic Society in March 1788, a translation of the Sanskrit inscriptions on the Delhi-Topra Pillar that had been communicated to him by Antonio Polier.[102] The recognition of the contributions of Radhakanta by Jones in the starting of the article proves a healthy collaborative process of knowledge seeking where mutual respect was main essence of the relationship between them. When they interacted for translation work their relationship transformed from colonizer-colonized to that of the collaboratives taking parts in the work of equal importance in the knowledge-making process. He was appointed in the Sadar Diwani Adalat and never retired from there.[103] Every year, Jones took three months leave from office to spend holidays in Krishnanagar. The real intention behind those trips to Krishnanagar was to receive tenets of Hindu culture from the renowned pandits of Krishanagar and Nabadwip. In aletter to Charles Wilkins, dated September 17, 1788, he described that his mornings at Krishnanagar were occupied with studying Sanskrit Grammar and *hitapadesa* from a Brahmin named, Ramlochana.[104] Thus, there are

numerous instances which imply that the shared space between the European Orientalist scholars like Hastings and Jones and Indian pandits in producing a kind of knowledge that acquired world-wide recognition. Abhijit Mukherjee in an article has rightly pointed out that, this collaborative ventures of Europeans scholar-administrators and Indian pandits had been long ignored. He continued to argue that the stray comments by the British orientalists and a few articles in *Asiatick Researches* are only the source materials for their contributions but in the own works of those pandits should be included as the alternative source materials for the appropriate knowledge about their contribution.[105] Research in ancient Indian history and chronology seemed to be one of the main tasks of the Society under William Jones and after. Every article published in the *Researches* consisted detailed study of ancient Indian culture. Sixteen essays out of twenty-seven in the volume one were by scholars like Burrow and Wilkins. Jones himself wrote a number of essays, some of which have been discussed earlier such as, "Dissertation on Orthography", his first three "Anniversary Discourse", "An Indian Grant of Landin Y.C. 1018", "Inscriptions on the stuff of Firuz Shah", "On the Literature of the Hindus", "On the Pangolin", "Conversation with Abram", "On the Course of the Nile", etc.[106] With this varied topic of the essays it is easily comprehensible that Jones possessed interest on vast area of knowledge and not only in Oriental languages, but he had the ability to master in every field of knowledge accumulation.

Jones' translations and use of Oriental literary elements and themes excited the pre-Romantics and later Romantic poets like Byron and Shelly.[107] The concept of 'kismet' whose final culmination can be seen in the writings of Tennyson, FitzGerald, Kipling, Walt Whitman, Goethe, T.S. Eliot and so more, was introduced to the Western world by Jones' translations of Arabic poems. Wilhelm Schlegel observed striking resemblance between the translated version of *Sakuntala* and Romantic plays

originated in Europe during the nineteenth century and also argued that his fidelity is incomparable to later Orientalists.[108] Said propounded three categories of Orientalism. First of them was the epistemological version of Orientalism, then Orientalism as a style of thought and last of all Orientalism as a corporate institution that for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient.[109] Following Michel Foucault's discursive theory about knowledge and power as propounded in his book *Archaeology of Knowledge* and *Discipline and Punish*, Said structured these three categories Now, the question is where to put the ventures taken by Hastings, Jones and many other scholar-administrators during the second half of the eighteenth century in this categorization. I argued that, by mere categorization, the intellectual relationship between the first generation of Company official sand Indian pandits cannot be analyzed. While enforcing the power-knowledge decorum of the relationship, Said, and following him many other post-colonial historians and social scientists such as Raymond Schwab, Ronald Inden, Bernard S. Cohn, have ignored the politics of knowledge production in South Asian context. It could not be denied that the Enlightenment took place first in the European context which was shaped by the Universal Cosmopolitanism and shared values of human race within one Nature. The connection between Europe and Asia had been started long before the eighteenth century, the urge for knowing the exotic was the main guiding force behind that discoveries. When the British East India Company came to India for trading purpose, they conducted a process of synthesizing the Indian culture with that of the world. As the whole apparatus within which they were working, was colonial, the core-periphery dimension of that relationship cannot be ignored. But, as Subrata Dasgupta has pointed out aptly, irrespective of this colonial agenda which shaped the rise of the British Orientalism, the cognitive identity of the Orientalists as 'Orientalists' was a shared social identity rather than political.[110] The making of the British Indian Empire in the late

eighteenth-century needed a cohesive pattern which will incorporate both the rulers and the ruled. In a letter written in 1784, on the eve of the establishment of the Asiatic Society, Hastings considered the accumulation of knowledge about India is the 'gain of humanity'.[111] Since the 1978 after the publication of Said's book, the whole parameter of analyzing the works of the Orientalists has gone through drastic changes which ignores all the layers impinged in their mentality as well as in their works. The need of the hour was to know the newly acquired territories of the Company. There can co-exist two separate goals, one was political and the other was social. The unnecessary comparison between the two only creates a simplified image to describe multi-faceted events. In his Tenth Anniversary Discourse, Jones had argued that,

> Since, therefore, no unmixed form of Government could both deserve permanence and enjoy it…… In these Indian territories, which providences has thrown in to the arms of Britain for their protection and welfare, the religion, manners and the laws of the natives preclude even the idea of political freedom; but their histories may possibly suggest hints for their prosperity….[112]

Thus, the political needs and scholarly needs could co-exist parallelly and both can be treated as the requirements of the time. In a collection of drawings from this period, Charles Doyley had shown the mutual co-habitation of Europeans and Indians. In various pictures he demonstrated the role of *munshis,* office-attendants, *hajaum* or barbers, *kedmutgars* or table-servants in the everyday lives of the British officials. Their efficiency was portrayed so deeply that in one picture we can see a British official and an indigenous *maulvi* were sitting in same pattern over a table and was reading together Persian. British presence in India was obviously shaped by the political and economic criterion but after coming to India, they found it essential to cope up with the soils of the land. They were not the representative of the whole British community as the response of the metropole to the periphery in those days was multi-layered as it was evident from the impeachment of Warren Hastings. Even, the response of the renowned Orientalists like Jones was not

always linear towards the indigenous pandits. He expressed his suspicion for them in many letters, but that did not restrain him from appreciating the proper indigenous talents. In the light of the concept of 'contact zone' as proposed by Mary Louis Pratt it can be said that, since the British were encountering an ancient, rich culture, they were aware of the worth of it. The legacy of the Enlightenment cosmopolitanism led them to deal with the indigenous pandits with a cooperative mentality. They depended on them for gaining knowledge in Sanskrit and Persian, yet they sought to control them. She described the process as transculturation which was intrinsic part of the 'contact zone'.[113] Thus, the relationship between them was very much ambiguous. The *pandits* were also confused about how to react to their new rulers. Many scholars like Radhakanta Sarman first refused the service offered by colonial masters and then was compelled to accept due to the financial crisis. These scholars represented both dubious informants as well as trustworthy friends in the private space of learning. Thomas Trautman has described the traditions of language analysis and proposed that the production of the linguistic knowledge in colonial India was conjectural.[114] the pre-existing form of indigenous knowledge was crucial in the production of colonial knowledge. The Indian form of knowledge encountered with the European form of knowledge. The zeal and vigor with which Hastings patronized studies in indigenous laws, Jones studied not only the languages but also Indian botany, astrology, zodiac signs should be depicted as the process of discovering the Orient for themselves and in turn altered the nature of reciprocation. The European construction of India thus shaped by the 'others' and through the process of regularizing, knowing 'others', they molded themselves in such a newer form that they had to face opposition from their own countrymen in several times as we can notice the validity of this argument from the tensions between Burke and Hastings and many others. The birth of Orientalism as an epistemology, as a process of knowledge production drew sustenance from colonialism but became

objectified by the ideology of independent existence of separate cultures within the same nature. The thirst of knowledge possessed by Jones, the urgency of knowing the indigenous laws dominated Hastings' mind could be viewed under the Enlightenment rubric of objectivity. Colonialism reorganized India politically and empirically at the same time and the reorganizations supplemented each other spontaneously.[115] In the later days the allocation of a place for Jones within the ranks of the renowned Indian scholars completed the process of integration. In the conclusive remarks I would like to argue that knowledge is larger than cognition and more significant than the binary relationship between colonial scholars and colonized *pandits*. The dissemination of knowledge in the context of late eighteenth-century colonial India cannot be aptly described as the moribund legacy of colonialism, rather as asymmetrical yet systematical intellectual relationship by which both ends molded each other.

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TRANSLATING TEXTS, KNOWING TRADITION: CHARLES WILKINS (1770-1786) AND H.H. WILSON (1808-1832)

The present chapter deals with the translation projects of two Orientalist scholars, Charles Wilkins (1770-1786) and H.H. Wilson (1808-1832). But before dealing with their discoveries, a general discussion on the role of literary translation in colonial India is required. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the dialectics between the pursuit of knowledge and governmental pursuits were obscured by the activities of various government officials as well as Orientalist scholars. Through the journey from a mere urge to know the country to a definite body of knowledge, 'Orientalism' had witnessed various turns and individual explorations. The concept of a new kind of sovereignty which was related with colonialism, was evolving during this time. The political and empirical reorganizations were taking shapes simultaneously. This evolution indicates also that there was no fixed *modus operandi* under colonialism. The focus of the *modus operandi* was shifting from time to time. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century when the Asiatic Society of Bengal was in formation, one of the main focuses was on the religion and laws of the Indians. Scriptures were the main forms, available for study. This interest was not a newfound one. It had its legacy from the Enlightenment political thought which propounded a cohesive relationship between, history, civil society, and religion. Though it is easy to differentiate between law and religion in the western countries, in Indian society from the age of *dharmasastras*, both are non-differentiable social entities. According to Schopenhauer knowledge involves a relationship between the subject and individual knower.[1] This relationship entails a deeper bonding between the two. Opposing to Kantian notion of a distinction between representations and their objects, Schopenhauer talked about simply representations and

'thing-in-itself' and no other objects. This 'thing-in-itself' eventually came to be identified with 'will'.[2] Contextualizing this philosophical bent in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth-century colonial India, it can be argued that the religious and judicial scriptures became the main focus of attraction which according to the Orientalists represented the exact 'thing-in-itself'.[3] Long before the formulation of Bakhtin's 'heteroglossia', early Orientalist scholars in India had found newer diversified meanings in the Indian languages. By the word, 'heteroglossia', Bakhtin denotes tot the inherent ideologies in various languages which connects it to the broader soci-linguistic community.[4] The vastness of meaning and application of Indian languages was well-perceived by the Orientalists. The engagement of the Orientalists with the Indian literatures and languages was according to their own intellectual perceptions which was imbued with the Enlightenment zeal and ardor and certainly self-interest. During the governorship of Warren Hastings, two types of scholars were emerging in colonial India. There was one group of British scholars who took interest in Indian literatures to satiate their own thirst of knowledge and there was another group of scholars who wanted to know the indigenous customs, society to strengthen the British rule. The two roles often overlapped. It should be remembered that both groups were flourishing under the rubric of colonial rule. Both these efforts initiated an interaction between the *pandits* and the British scholars which ultimately led to the creation of knowledge-nexus. This interaction laid the ground for intensive translation works in the later period.

During the late nineteenth century, when Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902) proposed an exchange of eastern spirituality in return for western materialism in front of the whole world, it had been well comprehended due to the previous efforts made by early Orientalist scholars. This spirituality was embedded in the ancient religious and judicial scriptures like *smritisastras* and many other texts. Orientalism, as an epistemology

or discourse was largely developed on the study of ancient Indian scriptures or literatures. The construction of 'masculine' west and 'feminine' east, as proposed by Edward Said, was based on the difference between that spirituality and materialism. But both of this were perceived differently by the great philosophers of the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century. Renowned German philosophers like Hegel (1770-1831), Schlegel (1772-1829), Schelling (1775-1854), and Schopenhauer (1788-1860), were preoccupied with the ancient Indian religion and culture, though their perceptions differed from each other. For example, Schopenhauer, eighteen years junior to Hegel, was aware of the deep influence of Buddhism in Indian culture of which Hegel was ignorant. Through various translations, they well acquainted with Indian scriptures. Anquetill Duperron's Latin translation of the *Upanishad* from the Persian translation, made under Mughal prince Dara Sukhoh, were read by Schopenhauer and regarded by him as the "solace of my life and solace of my death".[5] The basic difference between Hegel and Schopenhauer is that, the former believed that the European culture was unparalleled whereas the latter believed in the interrelation between the cultural and philosophical traditions.[6] Thus, in the present study on the role of the early Orientalists in translating Indian scriptures and presenting them in front of the world, the perceptions of Schopenhauer became relevant. It is true that Orientalism as a practice provided the social and cultural information of the colonized to the colonial state yet, simultaneously helped in the reshaping of the own self of the British rulers. During the Governorship of Warren Hastings, a large number of translation works had been initiated. In a letter to lord Mansfield, dated 21st March, 1774, Warren Hastings said,

> The professors of these laws, who are spread over the whole empire of Hindostan, speak the same language, which is unknown to the rest of the people and receive public endowments and benefactions from every state and people, besides a degree of personal respect amounting almost to idolatry, in return for the benefits which are supposed to be derived from their studies.[7]

Thus, it is evident that he was well aware of the contemporary situation of the Bengali ecumene which he intended to utilize for enhancing the Company rule. The relation between knowledge and empire is not only of utility and opportunity.[8] Knowledge constituted indeed an important part of Britain's empire, but it did have a separate entity. London, being the metropole, could not always control the waves of learning in the colonies. Said argued that the efforts of the orientalists were another tool for controlling the subcontinent culturally. In an article, 'Text as Practice and as Idea', Said argued that, a text has two-directional activities. One is toward the past which denotes actual information and another toward the present which provides knowledge about that actuality.[9] he made an interesting argument about the preserving tradition of the West which entailed the preservation and transmission of Western classical ideas and the Bible. He further made a distinction between Arabic tradition where Koran is considered to be in the highest hierarchical position and Judo-Christian traditions where all classical texts, including the Bible, are considered to be equal.[10] In the case of both traditions, he considered 'texts' as the medium to curve out the past. In the colonial Indian context, the relevance of this view apart from the linear criticism of Orientalist efforts must be considered. The pedagogic value of the religious texts or legal texts of ancient India was enormous. According to the social construction theory as propounded by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, knowledge can be shaped by a particular socio-cultural situation and various 'typifications' also possibly can be made through reconstructions.[11] They further continued to argue that it is Nietzschean 'mood' within which this knowledge arose.[12] Within a society, human knowledge acted as 'priori' to individual experience. This 'priori' although shaped by immediate socio-cultural norms, appears to be the natural way to look into the outer world. Thus, the historic and geographic specificities are very crucial in the formation of knowledge. It should be also remembered that one cannot have

dynamic knowledge of anything that is not representational in nature. By the end of the eighteenth century, there was a growing curiosity about the historical past of India, among the British colonizers. Their interest in the material life of the Indians was an effect of the Enlightenment philosophy. Sanjay Subrahmanyam in his book *Europe's India: Words, People, Empires (1500-1800)*, has shown that in the midst of political upheavals, there were some pregnant moments in the eighteenth century when European scholars took interest in creating an Indian-knowledge system.[13] The asymmetrical and variegated nature of the interaction led to the creation of certain 'topoi'[14] which ultimately indicated the complex nature of the cultural actors, both European and Indian. Thus, the translation of religious and legal texts was only the medium to know the Indian culture. The knowledge of Indian languages was essential for establishing the legitimacy of rule. There are ample examples of translating administrative, judicial, legal, and historical texts throughout late eighteenth-early nineteenth-century colonial India. At the same time, during the early 1800s, there was a trend of learning 'oriental' languages in Europe. German and French scholars used to learn Sanskrit from Alexander Hamilton. To the early colonizers, the Indian languages encompassed not only Sanskrit but also Persian as well, because, Persian was the language of the Mughals, the immediate predecessors of the East India Company, from whom they were seeking that legitimacy. The translation of *Ain-i-Akbari* from Persian to English by Francis Gladwin in 1786 was one of the first authentic attempts to understand the prevailing customs, rules, and traditions of Indian society. He was one of the foremost Persian professors in Fort William College. This translated copy was again reprinted in 1800 which indicates its importance and popularity among the British colonisers. In the advertisement part of the book, *The Persian Moonshee*, written by Francis Gladwin in 1801, by the order of the Governor-General in Council, it had been stated that,

> ….no Civil Servant should be nominated to certain Offices of Trust and Responsibility, until it shall have been ascertained that he is sufficiently acquainted with the Laws and Regulations, enacted by the Governor-General in Council and the SEVERAL LANGUAGES, the knowledge of which is requisite for the due discharge of the respective functions of such office.[15]

This passage supplemented the previous argument about the inter-relation between the political expansion of the Company and the urge to know the local indigenous languages and texts and the only means to acquire this knowledge was to translate those earlier works. The works of John Z. Holwell (1711-1798), Alexander Dow (1735-1779), Nathaniel Brassey Halhed (1751-1830), Henry Miers Elliot (1808-1830), H.T. Colebrooke (1765-1837), and many more, were of immense importance in this regard. A bulk of the earlier translations consisted of political texts but in this chapter the focus is on the translations of religious and cultural traditional texts. *Interesting Historical Events, Relative to the Provinces of Bengal, and the Empire of Indostan,* by Holwell, appeared in three volumes during the years 1765-1771. *The History of Hindostan* by Alexander Dow appeared during 1768-69 and 1770 in two volumes (with an additional one volume in 1772). This book, for the first time, conveyed that there were an ample amount of unrevealed Sanskrit works in India which needed the attention of the British scholars. *A Code of Gentoo Laws* by N.B. Halhed also appeared in 1776. *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*, edited by H.M. Elliot and John Dowson between 1867-1877 is a compendium consisting of *tawarikhs* from the medieval period that appeared in eight volumes. All these publications denote the emergence of the bulk of translated literature which dominated the mindset as well as the administrative policies of the colonial masters.

Literature is a continuous process of re-ordering the socially constructed meaning of language available in the various layers of society. Deep knowledge of the language was also a prerequisite for knowing that society and culture. Language is

considered to be a system of signs in structural linguistics. These signs gained meaning not by themselves but through the relationship with the entire socio-cultural system to which they belong. Thus, they remained open-ended and flexible. In this context, I would like to mention a line by A.L. Basham while discussing Jones' translation of *Sakuntala*, in the Forward of the book, *The Asiatic Society of Bengal and The Discovery of India's Past (1784-1838)*. He said,

> When Jones translated Sakuntala and thus introduced the Sanskrit drama to the western world, are we to believe that he consciously thought, "I am doing this in order that my country may dominate a subject people?[16]

Here, one point should be remembered that literary translation has many problems. It not only denotes the linguistic one but also aesthetical and ideological contents too. There always will be chances to overlap between denotation or the literal meaning and connotation or the figurative language in translated works. The significance of a word can vary according to time and space. In this context translation can be seen as a revitalization of the given meaning of a set of signs within another socio-cultural structure. Here, the theory of intrusion by 'other' is not applicable because through this type of transposition, the mother culture can find its global identity.[17] Another argument can be made that after translation, the original texts still remain as it was and this can be accessed through proper linguistic training. The main concern here in this chapter is not the intention of the colonial translators like, William Jones or Charles Wilkins, but the implications of it. The major concern in front of those scholar-administrators was the abundance of history or past incidents and the lack of written history according to their parameter in India. The translation of the ancient scriptures in the early colonial period was an effort to bridge this gap. It has been previously said that Hinduism was one of the focal points of major attraction. Considering the wider relationship between the thought and practice of the British Empire, an analogy between Christianity and Hinduism was highlighted. In this

case, the essay, 'On the Gods of Greece, Italy and India', by renowned orientalist scholar William Jones, can be mentioned. In this essay, he tried to demonstrate that the European and Indian mythologies and religions are basically the same. He compared the Holy Trinity with another Trinity in Hinduism, i.e., *Brahma, Vishnu, and Maheswar*.[18] This comparative analogy was also very prominent in Rammohun Roy's thought process. But his inclination towards Christianity was often criticized by Schopenhauer who described him as, a 'brahmin turned jew'.[19] The German translation of *Sakuntala* in 1791 got inspiration from Goethe and Herder as the Indic Fatherland of Goethe got its base from it. Schopenhauer was well acquainted with religious texts from ancient India. Friedrich Mayer, whose book, *Brahma, or the Religion of the Hindus,* was published in 1819, and he was a very close friend of Schopenhauer. Apart from this, the translation of *Sakuntala* by William Jones or the *Bhagavat Geeta* by Charles Wilkins was also read by him.[20] *Upanishad* was his main attraction. Actually, the basic difference between the British Orientalism and German Indology is that the knowledge about India for the latter was completely based on the translated texts and part of Enlightenment Romanticism.[21] Moreover, the point of argument here is the utility of the translation works which made it possible for the German Indologists to know about the Indian civilization without any visit to India. They did not have any experience of colonizing India and so they read the texts and translated them only out of curiosity.

William Jones was the first and foremost European scholar who discovered India on literary terms and on the basis of his works a generation of colonial scholar-administrators like Charles Wilkins, H.H, Wilson, N.B. Halhed, H.T. Colebrooke as well as English poets like, Coleridge, Shelley, Robert Southey gained inspiration.[22] In this context the works of Charles Wilkins (1749-1836) and H.H. Wilson (1786-1860) are of immense importance. *The Bhagavat gita*, translated by Wilkins and *Vishnupurana, Rigveda Samhita* and various

fables translated by Wilson captured the attention of the European intelligence. Knowledge for knowledge's sake was the main essence of that attention, because this process of translation was not a linear transmission of knowledge from India to Europe. There were also keen efforts to develop linguistic expertise in Sanskrit and this can be traced back to the time when William Jones established the connection between Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit. A large number of Sanskrit dictionaries and grammar were published in India and in Europe from the first half of the nineteenth century.[23] For example, not only the *Geeta* but also the Sanskrit grammar by Charles Wilkins, was very popular throughout Europe. In the *Proceedings of the Oriental Translating Fund*, it had been stated that English versions of several Sanskrit works of highest interest and importance had been initiated by the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland. For these translations, the Committee admitted its indebtedness to H.H. Wilson and his selection to Boden Professorship of Sanskrit at Oxford was fortunate for his fellow countrymen with whom he shared his profound knowledge of oriental languages. Thus, these two personalities, Wilkins and Wilson, under the patronisation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, took part in a worldwide knowledge-making process.

Charles Wilkins (1749-1836) and the Translation of *Bhagavat Gita*: In the Indian Review, dated June 1915, Mr. Shumbhu Chandra Roy wrote about Charles Wilkins,

> A sketch of such an important personality….cannot fail to be interesting, not only to European orientalists, who owe him an immense debt of gratitude but also to the general reading public who take interest in the advancement and spread of knowledge.[24]

Charles Wilkins was one of the greatest men of erudition among the East India Company officials. He had a humble family origin from Somerset and was trained as a printer before he joined the East India Company. This knowledge in printing was aptly applied by him in the Indian context. One of his multifaceted contributions was

that he introduced printing in India. After learning the current dialects of Hindustan, i.e., Bengali and Persian, he invented the first print type for Bengali. For this contribution, he was euphemistically known as 'Caxton of India'. He pioneered the moveable type in Bengali and Persian fonts.[25] For his fluency in indigenous languages, he was appointed as a translator in the Revenue Department of the Company. He established a press at Hooghly and appointed many Indian people in that press.[26] From the day of his arrival in Calcutta in 1770, he was included in the 'Hastings Circle', a branch of scholar-administrators of the East India Company under the patronage of Warren Hastings who had a keen interest in the promotion of oriental learning. It was Nathaniel Halhed who persuaded Wilkins to take interest in Sanskrit in 1778. Michael J. Franklin in an article, 'The Hastings' Circle: Writers and Writing in Calcutta in the Last Quarter of the Eighteenth Century', has argued that the establishment of the printing press under the direction of Charles Wilkins, led to the transition from scribal culture to print culture in Calcutta.[27] This was an indication towards the replacement of the age-old ancient Indian profession of the scribers with the Enlightenment profession of the printers. Initially, there was reluctance among the Indian rulers to develop print culture, as it encouraged protestant vibes among the subject and there was a social hindrance to publish printed religious books. Sanskrit, being the language of the Brahmins, was far from the reach of the common people. But Graham Shaw has shown that despite the presence of these obstacles for the colonial rulers also, they had always encouraged the print culture.[28] It was very evident in the efforts of the early orientalists, including the initiatives of the Asiatic Society which tended to print and publish every information about ancient India in the pages of the *Asiatick Researches* and the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*. Thus, the transformation from scribal culture to print culture led to the creation of Orientalism

as an epistemology. The structures of knowledge in the sphere of language and literature were connected with the politics of identity. Aamir R. Mufti in his article, 'Orientalism and the Institution of World Literature', has argued that despite Said's criticism of Orientalism, during the late eighteenth-early nineteenth-century the practice of Orientalism led to the emergence of one united world order.[29] For example, German Indology was solely dependent on British Orientalism as they relied on the translations of the Indian texts by the British Orientalists. But there were continuous efforts on the part of the German Indologists to differentiate between themselves and British Orientalists. Edward Said in an article, 'Raymond Schwab and the Romance of Ideas' has argued that the process of dislocation of ideas or the interchange of cultural pursuits in the late eighteenth-century world was taking place through three great capitals, Calcutta, London, and Paris.[30] The ideas or cultural pursuits were provided by Calcutta, distributed through London and filtered by Paris.[31] Thus, during 1770s, Herder's invocation of the infusion of Oriental literature into Europe's literary world was the tone of the epoch. The appearance of the English translation of the *Bhagavat Gita* or the *Dialogues of Kreeshna and Arjoon* in London in 1785 exemplifies this argument aptly. The reception of this literary piece among the European audience was magnificent. It was the first Sanskrit work, to be translated directly into English. Indeed, the erudition of the Brahmin *pandits* in this translation work also needs special attention. But, the authority of the work was single-handedly tackled by Wilkins under the patronization of Warren Hastings. It was also translated into French, Russian, and German languages. In the year of 1787, he published translation of another Sanskrit text *Hitopadesha*, a famous version of *Panchatantra* fables. This was already well known to the European audience from a translation from Persian source, named, the *fables of Pilpai*.[32] Amir R. Mufti in the same article has

continued to argue that the imagination of one united Indian culture was first initiated in the genre of literature.[33] The philological studies during the time of Hastings were based not only on Sanskrit but also on Persian and various vernacular languages. But the affinity between Sanskrit and other Indo-European languages made it more attractive to the European audience. In the introduction of the translation of the *Geeta*, Warren Hastings wrote to Halhed that he would not hesitate to place this masterpiece of translation in the same place as the most admired French versions of the Iliad and Odyssey or with the books of venerated English poet Milton.[34]

In the field of post-colonial theory, after Said's *Orientalism*, another important work is Gayatri Chakrabarty Spivak's 'Can the Subaltern Speak?'. Here she argues that the assumption of the Europeans regarding their knowledge of the 'other' has silenced the true voices of the 'other'.[35] She also argues, all transcendental cultural logic is imperialistic in nature.[36] Challenging this argument, it can be said that all cultures have one similarity in terms of 'identity'. Hence, in spite of all criticisms, translation of literature is the only way to understand an alien culture, an alternative way to recognize the 'other'. During the early colonial period the word 'literature' here encompasses a whole range of ritual, philosophical, didactic, theoretical, poetic, and scientific texts.[37] But the post-colonial conception of 'literature' which prefers to see it as a tool for domination, does not fit with the previous one. Thus, the cornerstone of the era was diversity. No linear explanation can be applied there. Rosane Rocher has shown in an article named, 'British Orientalism in the Eighteenth Century', that there were differences between Company civil servants in the late eighteenth century and that of the early nineteenth century.[38] As Francis Hutchins shows that the eighteenth-century civil servants did not view their presence in India as either permanent or 'inherently just'.[39] Their interest in the field of ancient Indian past had

genuinely come from a mindset where responsibility toward the Company and urge to satiate personal interest went on side by side. Their interest in oriental languages was a product of the same urge. But their nineteenth-century counterparts who were trained at Fort William college were much different. Because they were going through formal training in the indigenous languages, cultures, and customs which had an imperialist tone indeed. During Wilkins' time, ancient literature and inscriptions were the main two sources in discovering India's past. Various inscriptions on the pillars, and caves of ancient India had been translated by Wilkins. One such important article of Wilkins was published in first volume of the *Asiatick Researches,* 'An Inscription on a pillar near Buddal, Translated from Sanskrit'.[40] It is considered as an important decipherment regarding the Pala dynasty of Bengal as it refers to the name Devapala. Wilkins was an integral part of all endeavors of the Asiatic Society in excavating India's past. He frequently exchanged letters with William Jones. In the same volume, in a letter to William Jones, dated March 1785, Wilkins mentioned his gratitude for giving him the opportunity to translate a unique old Sanskrit inscription. He found that the Sanskrit version used in that specific inscription was dissimilar to any present form. He mentioned the term *sardoola-veekreereeta*, which is a specific form of Sanskrit written in long verse with four pauses and nine syllables each.[41] Then in the next section of the letter he described the goddess *Durga* and the killing of *Mahishashur*. But most importantly in the last stanza of the letter, Wilkins expressed his urge for finding the rest of the inscription for which he wished for a future meeting with Jones. In another letter, William Jones had requested Wilkins to check proof of the translation of some hymns dedicated to god *Camdeo* and along with it requested further to send another copy of the ghazals of Hafiz, the renowned Persian poet.[42] These letters, and conversations indicate that the environment in late eighteenth-

century India was ripe for the study of Oriental culture, literature, and customs. It was the time when the European audience was getting to know Sanskrit closely for the first time. Wilkins' Sanskrit Grammar was published in 1808. It provided the knowledge of Sanskrit in the European model of a book as well as it did not neglect nook and crevices of Sanskrit *vyakarana*. Though after some time Halhed's grammar (1778) had been published, the popularity of Wilkins' grammar did not fade because of its simplicity. In the pages of the *Asiatick Researches*, there were instances of deciphering various inscriptions, written on the pillars or stones. One such instance is an inscription copied from a stone at Bodh Gaya by Mr. Edward Wilmot Blyden in 1785.[43] In a letter to the Secretary of the Asiatic Society following this decipherment, Wilkins wrote about his findings on the Sikhs, an important section of the Indian population other than the Hindus and the Muslims.[44] He found out that they were a military tribe or *kshetry*. Most importantly, he was contending himself with the study of their alphabets which he found similar to that of the *Devnagari*.[45] He discovered that the language was a mixture of Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, and the provincial dialect of Panjabi. Two inscriptions, one from Vindhya Mountain and another from Nagarjuna cave, were also deciphered by him. Milton Singer in his book, *When A Great Tradition Modernizes: An Anthropological Approach to Indian Civilization*, has pointed out a very crucial relationship between text and context.[46] The extra-textual criteria of a text make it difficult to differentiate between the religious and non-religious subject. Especially, in the case of ancient and medieval history, when historical and sociological texts were very scarce, religious texts were the main sources of knowledge. This knowledge encompassed not only the religious field, but the vast boundaries of socio-cultural histories of the era. Similarly, during the early

eighteenth century, the intensive study of the Indian religious and legal scriptures by the Orientalists exposed the reach of those texts beyond their specified fields.

The relationship between translation and Oriental scholarship is very ambiguous. Translation constituted a very crucial method for early orientalism. But, the imperialist structure within which early Orientalists were working cannot be ignored. Nandini Bhattacharya Panda has shown that the indigenous legal traditions had been 'invented' by the colonizers according to their own need.[47] But in the process of knowledge-formation, it is impossible to be free from ideological conditioning. In this way, the works of the Orientalists had become inevitable instruments to study the Indian culture and customs. Lawrence Venuti in his book *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*, has argued about 'domestication' and 'foreignization', two goals of translation.[48] Domestication means the assimilation of a text into foreign culture whereas foreignization denotes the flexibility of culture to adapt to the peculiarities of a foreign text. But the translation works by the Orientalists cannot be categorized in this straight binary as in this case both domestication and foreignization indicated the one-way process of knowledge sharing. It is not the case that Oriental texts were translated only to represent the 'Orient'. These theories minimized the role of Orientalism in translation and reduced it just to a mere textual literary practice. Kees W. Bolle in his book *The Bhagavat Gita: A New Translation*, has argued about several translations of the Gita which offered incomprehensible grammatical details for the European audience. According to him, it conveys the wrong information about Hinduism as it portrays Orient as a distant land.[49] Richard Jacquemond has argued that Orientalists' translation requires lengthy translator's notes and annotations which will be a scientific process to adapt and adjust a different set of linguistic signs into another.[50] The aim of the Orientalist translators was not to make the Orient distant land but to make it closer by acquiring knowledge about it. The first

generation of Orientalist scholars had constituted an image of ancient India which was very much open-ended and attracted other scholars outside India. The efforts of Halhed and Jones to establish the affinity between Sanskrit and Indo-European language groups had boosted the process of publication of dictionaries and grammar books in the Sanskrit language, first in India, then in Europe widely. The European discourse of linguistics is very much relevant here. The historical origin of linguistics as well as the comparative studies between various cultures are dependent on this affinity and the role of translation in the whole scenario is most important. Because this historical origin is entwined with the Orientalist translations.[51] In later days Durkheim and Levi-Strauss were also stressing this totality of structure.[52] Charles Wilkins' Sanskrit Grammar (1808) which was one of the best Sanskrit grammars at that point, made the European audience well acquainted with the classical Indian *vyakarana*. This grammar was well circulated with the translated copies of *Hitapadesha* (1787) by Wilkins himself.[53] This is very crucial for the development of comparative linguistic philology and literature. William Jones in his *Third Anniversary Discourse* said about Sanskrit grammar as being

"a wonderful structure….copious…exquisitely refined."[54]

The expressive capability of this language was extremely popular among the Orientalists. They used to use allegory from this language. In a letter to Charles Wilkins dated February 27th, 1789, William Jones after praising him as the first European man to gain knowledge in Sanskrit, wrote,

"I shall follow you as the star Rohini follows Chandra"[55]

In the same letter, Jones made an interesting distribution of ancient Indian texts between him and Wilkins. He requested Wilkins to leave *Dharma Sastras*, especially *Manu* in his possession, a translation of which he was tended to publish.[56] Rosane Rocher

has pointed out that Sanskrit learning had varied character throughout Europe, England and India. In England, there was a tendency to train the civil servants in the most prestigious language of the East which was an administrative necessity, and in the other parts of Europe, there was an urge to satiate the knowledge thirst about the East. In early colonial India, the Orientalist scholar-administrators had assimilated both of these tendencies into a whole.[57] In this context she also pointed to the vigorous competition between the Fort William College of India and the East-India College in England for the position of being adobe of Sanskrit learning.[58] In the early nineteenth century India, the systematic study of Sanskrit was initiated for the sake of training the Company's civil servants. But in the Fort William College Sanskrit was never a compulsory language as Arabic, Persian was. Here one point must be mentioned, that the urge for studying Sanskrit was not only in England but all over Europe. The first chair of Sanskrit was created in Paris in 1814 which was followed by the University of Bonn in 1818.[59] On the other hand the establishment of Wellesley's 'Oxford of the East' was not supported at home initially. After a long tussle with the home administration, it was established as a place for training in Indian languages with rudimentary training from the East India College at Haileybury which primarily focused on western subjects.[60] The relevance of these facts indicates the working of a total linguistic structure during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century which entailed translation of Indian texts as an effort to include them within this vast paradigm of global knowledge circulation. It was Alexander Hamilton who taught Sanskrit to the Schlegel brothers and the term 'world literature' was coined by Goethe in 1820s indicating that romanticism of the Orientalist scholars about Indian civilization went far beyond to create a body of knowledge that encompassed the birth of modern comparative philology, linguistics, comparative religious studies, comparative mythologies etc.[61] But there were variations in the scenario. Sisir Kumar Das in his book,

Sahibs and Munshis: An Account of the College of Fort William, has argued that language learning during the establishment of the Fort William College was not only based on Sanskrit learning but also it encompassed Arabic, Persian, Hindustani etc. He portrayed Sanskrit as 'venerated corpse' in comparison to the Persian and also argued that it was confined only to grammatical and philosophical learning.[62] But in general it was consensual that there was a strive for language learning centered around the College of Fort William. Interestingly, Sisir Kumar Das has described the language learning process as 'Transliteration', not as a translation.[63] The process of transliteration in the Roman alphabet was very helpful for the British novices. William Jones in an article named, 'A Dissertation on the Orthography of Asiatic Words in Roman Letters' argued that for the purpose of translation, a person must find it convenient to express the Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit words in popular European characters. As there was no uniformity in the process of notation among the scholars, it would be helpful to follow one expedient alphabetical order which was the Roman alphabet.[64] The teachers in Fort William College were very aware of this fact including Charles Wilkins himself. Here, a sublime relationship between religion and language can be discussed. William Halbfass had shown the works of Jones, Colebrooke, and Wilkins as reflective of Deistic philosophy which encompassed Enlightenment philosophical rationality. Applying Saussure's notion of 'signifier' and 'signified' here, it can be argued that signifiers serve as mediators between different types of cultures. Barthes extended this notion by arguing that the correlation between the 'signifier' and 'signified' constituted a whole sign which is related to the mother culture. Barthes continued to argue that the text which is attached to a particular culture has the ability to unsettle the reader's cultural, historical, and psychological assumptions.[65] Connecting previously mentioned Jones' argument in the case of the translation of an oriental text with Barthes' argument, it can be stated that when a 'reader' becomes 'writer',

the text is meant to be presented through a thorough process of making meanings by the reader. Hence the issue of authorship becomes blurred here.[66] Orientalist translators like Charles Wilkins had the ability to read and write Sanskrit which made his translation works open-ended, productive linguistic force. Being a post-war theoretician, Roland Barthes propounded this theory to understand the logical arrangements of different structures. In the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth-century context this argument also can be applied as the efforts to know the different cultural blocks were active in the mindset of the Orientalist scholar-administrators. Finding resemblances between European and Indian civilization initially was part of this effort. In an interesting article, 'Forging Bonds: Translating Bhagavad Gita in Colonial Context', Steve Adisasmito-Smith had made a comparison between the Bhagavad Gita translated by Charles Wilkins in 1785 and another one by Edwin Arnold, named *The Song Celestial* in 1885. Here he compared both works within a politico-cultural context.[67] The translation works by Wilkins under the patronization of Hastings was more a product of mercantile capitalism which encapsulated the philosophical and religious bent of mind of those officials. In the preface of Wilkins' Gita Hastings wrote to Nathaniel Smith, Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company,

> ".…….and you, Sir, will believe me when I assure you that it is on the virtue, not the ability of their servants, that the Company must rely for the permanency of their dominion."[68]

This line denotes that the construction of knowledge is multidirectional which entailed conciliating morals along with the logic of controlling the 'other'. Apart from the utility of such knowledge, it tended to diffuse a generosity of sentiments. On the other hand, when the author of *The Light of Asia*, Edwin Arnold translated Gita, it was part of the print capitalism which Benedict Anderson had described. Though there was the development of print capitalism during Wilkins' time as well, Arnold's time was

witnessing another level of progress. Edwin was very much influenced by the author-audience individual relationship, popularised by Charles Dickens.[69] Benedict Anderson related the rise of print capitalism with the rise of 'nation' as 'imagined community'.[70] Late nineteenth century marked the rise of 'nation' as a concept in the European mind because of the progress of this print capitalism which was not in there during the late eighteenth century. Thus, the romanticism, attached to Wilkins' translations was missing in that of Arnold's.

During the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century when Wilkins was dealing with Indian languages, the interaction between Indigenous pandits and the colonial masters used to occur mainly on the linguistic terms. Sanskrit, being the language of the upper castes in India, was far from the reach of the foreign rulers. Here the formation of colonial knowledge on linguistic terms is the main concern for discussion. William Jones and all renowned Orientalists of the era depended on their Indian associates for language learning. This relationship was multilayered. In the core of the development of the studies on the oriental literature, there lied cross-cultural sensitivity. In the preface of the *Gita*, Hastings stated that he recommended Wilkins to go to Banaras, the adobe of Sanskrit learning for the purpose of recovery of his health.[71] Here he met Kashinath, the eminent Sanskrit *pandit*. The relationship between the indigenous scholarship and the Orientalists was ambiguous. The Orientalists had to depend on their indigenous *pandits* for the first-hand information in the ancient Indian texts, yet they were suspicious about their intentions as it has been discussed earlier in the first chapter. Kasinath Pandit was the head preceptor of the Sanskrit College founded by Jonathan Duncan in 1791. For the early Orientalists, securing the help of the renowned Sanskrit pandits was a difficult one. As Mary Louis Pratt has described in her book, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, the concept of 'contact zone' can be applied here aptly. When

geographically and historically different people come in proximity despite their cultural contradictions, a new space is created which becomes the hub of the new knowledge.[72] In a letter to Charles Wilkins written in 1785, William Jones had stated that he had full faith on Wilkins' *pandit* Kasinath as he had recommended another *pandit* from Benaras, Govardhan Kaul to Jones.[73] The early Orientalist scholars like Hastings, Jones, Wilkins were much concerned about the purity of the knowledge. Their relationship with the indigenous *pandits* thus had many shades. On the one hand, the *pandits* were suspicious about sharing sacred knowledge with foreign rulers and on the other, there was doubtful behavior of the Orientalists who were anxious about the honesty of these *pandits* in translating texts. Jonathan Duncan established the college in Benaras in 1791 with a very specific aim of preserving Hindu legal and religious texts. This college was under the supervision of Kasinath *pandit*.[74] In a letter, dated 1st January, 1792, to the Earl of Cornwallis, Governor-General in Council, Duncan had described the advantages which the British government should derive from the establishment of such an educational institution.[75] First, the British government would be able to convince indigenous population about their true interest in the Indian culture by patronizing it which was the task of the previous indigenous rulers. It also indicates the replacement of the Indian political authority with that of the colonial rulers.[76] The second advantage aimed by Duncan was that the institution would be a center where indigenous and colonial scholars would be collaborated in creating holistic knowledge about Indian legal and religious scriptures.[77] Here, we can assume the similarities in the intensions of Hastings with that of Duncan. Both wanted to replace the indigenous political structures with the colonial one, but, with a proper knowledge about India. When Duncan left Benaras in 1795, the responsibility of the College was given to the committee of three members, G.F. Cherry, Samuel Davis, and Captain Wilford. In the Report of the Committee, dated 13th March,

1801, Kasinath was accused of serious malversation and he defended himself in a letter to Lord Morington where he complained against Wilford for withholding the monthly grant of the College since September, 1799.[78] In the same letter Kasinath mentioned the name of Charles Wilkins who came to Benaras to learn Sanskrit from him. He explained the context for establishing a college in Benaras by following lines,

> With a view to disseminating the knowledge of the Sastras I spoke to Mr. Wilkins that since a Madrasa for teaching Persian was set up in Calcutta, it was but proper that a pathsala for teaching of the Sastras was established in Benaras which is a holy place of the Hindus.[79]

Thus, from the above discussion, it can be assumed that the relationship between knowledge and governmental objectives was not unidirectional during these formative years of colonial rule. It should be kept in mind that the neither colonial rulers nor indigenous *pandits* were homogenous entities as they had their own hierarchical cognition by which they comprehended each other. Of course, there were intentional efforts to utilize the knowledge for governmental purpose, but there was difference between Halhed's *Code* and Wilkins' *Gita*. Because the goal of the former one was more to meet the administrative needs of the colonial government rather than satiating the thirst for 'oriental' knowledge, unlike the latter one. In Hastings' own language, as he wrote in the Preface of the translated copy of the *Gita*,

"It may, in the first event, clear the way to a wide and unexplored field of fruitful knowledge and suggest to the generosity of his honorable employers……."[80]

Thus, in the concluding remark, it can be said that Wilkins' translation of the *Gita* was more a part of globalization of religion where it aimed for a bigger audience. In the preface of the translation, Wilkins himself interpreted the text as a substitute for the *Vedas* and also stressed that ancient Indians were aware of Unitarian monotheist philosophy.[81] The message of sacrifices given by Krishna and the sacrifices made by Jesus Christ were

treated on the same foot. Thus, the value of the translation in canonizing the text in front of the global audience became most relevant. In this respect another name must be mentioned, i.e. the name of Wilhelm von Humboldt, a Minister of State of the Prussian King Wilhelm III. Among numerous European interpreters of the *Gita*, he was the first one to recognize the *karma-yoga* theory in the *Bhagavadgita*.[82] Krishna's advice to Arjuna to be obedient to the duty of a soldier tied the text with Kantian morality. The continuous efforts to reconciliate between contradictions of life rendered it vast reputation as a philosophical text among European intellectuals. Thus, it can be assumed that the stir created by the translation of the *Bhagavadgita* during late eighteenth-century Europe, owed much to Charles Wilkins. A series of translations of the same text during the following years by various scholars like A.W. Schlegel (1823), Humboldt (1825 and 1826) made it one of the most debated texts in intellectual history of Europe. Thus, the boundaries between the East and the West had also been blurred, though the east contained stories of exploitations and oppressions.

H.H. Wilson (1786-1860) and Translation of Ancient Indian Texts: H.H. Wilson came to India in 1808 as a surgeon under the East India Company. It was a period of ideological turmoil. Company administration was under many changes and the best reflection of it was the Charter Act of 1813. The relationship between the Charter Act of 1813 and knowledge, was very ambiguous and flexible in nature. It enabled the Company administration to be more conscious of indigenous education. But the nature of this education was still undecided. Various ideological stands like, Orientalism, Utilitarianism, and Evangelicalism were concerned about the issue of knowledge accumulation and distribution, but each of them followed different paths. In its mature stage, Orientalism followed the earlier trend of surviving on indigenous literature and scholarship. The role of eminent Orientalist H.H. Wilson in this context will be discussed in the last section of

this chapter. The use of excess profit in the promotion of knowledge was instructed through the Charter Act of 1813 which ultimately led to the Anglicist-Orientalist controversy over education during the 1830s. Studies have shown that the method of surveying and mapping the country, as practised by James Rennell, Colin Mackenzie, Francis Buchanan, was instrumental in strengthening the colonial authority over land and the urge to achieve expertise in indigenous languages like Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit was instrumental in reaching out peoples' mind.[83] With the passing time, the collaborative ventures with the indigenous pandits increased because of the broadening of the scale of their undertakings. During the days of Warren Hastings, William Jones, Charles Wilkins, the collaboration was extended with the small unit of individual *pandits*. But during the later days when H.H. Wilson appeared on the scene, the employment of a large team of *maulvis* and *pandits* was a very common trend.[84] The establishment of the Fort William College in 1800 by Governor-General Lord Wellesley, indicated that the British colonial possession in India was not a temporary one and it aimed for a permanent place in the subcontinent. The College of Fort St. George in Madras Presidency, established in 1812, was also another result of a similar urge to regularize the knowledge of indigenous culture and languages. It was started earlier through the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and then the Fort William College. Thus, the regularised learning of Indian laws, customs and religion was very encouraging for the British as well as indigenous intellectuals to pursue their translation works. But the home administration in London was reluctant to approve the establishment of the Fort William College because of the extra financial load. On the other hand, the staunch followers of the Clapham sect in London like Charles Grant, William Wilberforce, John Shore, and Henry Thornton, were propounding for the 'civilizing mission' in India. But their civilizing mission had different connotations which relied mainly on the spread of English education rather than bolstering

of the indigenous language learning process. The establishment of the Haileybury College in 1806 which would teach western as well as eastern subjects, was a quick response to this situation.[85] The trend of Orientalism during the time of Hastings and Cornwallis intended to graft colonial political structure over the remaining indigenous political and socio-cultural apparatus. But during the early nineteenth century, especially during the post-Wellesley time (post-1805) colonial rule was strengthening its hold through modified political structures. This trend was exemplified through the Charter Act of 1813 in the best possible way. The end of the Company's monopoly in the Indian market and the entry of the private traders turned the British attitudes towards India upside down. C H Philips in his monumental work, *The East India Company (1784-1834)* had aptly described the knowledge of these private traders about India as 'superficial'.[86] But one thing was clear in the mind of the British officials, whether Orientalist or Anglicist, that knowledge about India is incomplete without invocation of its religion and literature. A host of administrators who worked under Wellesley and Marquess of Hastings, such as John Malcolm, Thomas Munro, Charles Metcalf, and Mountstuart Elphinstone, were very much resistant to replacing the 'rule of men' with the 'rule of law'. Being from an aristocratic background and having a romantic temperament, they were keen to retain the previous political paradigm.[87] The nature of the tension between Evangelicalism and Orientalism during this time was different from the earlier time. The missionaries were actively taking part in the socio-cultural life of the indigenous people from the 1770s. But this time the interference by the Evangelicals and Utilitarians was a deep-rooted one. On the other hand, Orientalism, which sustained only on the indigenous knowledge from its origin, faced serious trouble to survive. In this scenario, the works of Wilson regenerated the impulse of the Orientalists. The vast range of translation works mainly on the Indian language and religion by Wilson after his arrival in India supported this argument aptly.

Wilson's first work was the translation of Kalidasa's *Megha Duta* in 1813. In the *Public Disputations of the Students of the College of Fort William* dated 20th September 1813, Wilson had presented to the public a copy of the translated Sanskrit verse, *Megha Duta* or *The Cloud Messenger*.[88] The European audience was first introduced to the works of Kalidasa by William Jones' translation of the prose, *Sakuntala*. The *Megha Duta* or *The Cloud Messenger* gained high reputation among the European as well as indigenous scholarship because of its simplicity of style, rich description, and literary beauty. In the same *Disputation* Wilson was described as one of the best authors in the Sanskrit language and he gained the rank of translator.[89] Lord Minto, had written two important points about this translation work. First is that the original poem in Sanskrit was published along with the translated copy. It denotes that *Megh Duta* was included in the genre of general literature. There is nothing 'colonial' in the case of knowledge production on general literature. The second point is that to render it more interesting to the readers, vivid illustrations to many passages and etymological discussions were attached to it which enhanced its metrical value to a great extent.[90] Lord Minto in the same Disputation had argued that,

> "The excellence of Mr. Wilson's version, regarding only as an English work, lifts him far above the humble, though useful rank of translator."[91]

These lines indicated that the first translation work had brought immense reputation to Wilson as a Sanskritic scholar. The importance given on Sanskrit by the early Orientalists like Jones, Wilkins, as the key source to know the Indian civilisation, was carried forward in the early nineteenth century as well. It was also reflected in the second mammoth task taken by Wilson which was a compilation of Sanskritic to English Dictionary. Scholars like Johannes Fabian, and Thomas Trautmann have shown again and again that the relation between linguistics and the cognitive structure of a culture is not unproblematic or fixed.[92]

Johannes Fabian has argued that structural stability must be ascribed to the language through which a culture is studied. Though he had studied the appropriation of the Swahili language in colonial Congo, this argument can also be applied in the colonial Indian context as well. The nurturing of the grammar of the Indian languages from the days of William Carey, H.T. Colebrooke, N.B. Halhed found its true legacy in Wilson's Dictionary. Wilson had taken up the task of compiling the Dictionary at the request of the Court of Directors with an advance of Rs. 3750.[93] The Court of Directors expressed a dire need for a good Sanskrit dictionary for Haileybury College and Fort William College. Primarily the task was entrusted to the indigenous scholars under the direct supervision of Raghumani Bhattacharya and their finished work to which the name of the Dictionary could be applied had been accomplished in 1809.[94] In the preface of the Dictionary, Wilson had mentioned various sources by which he was inspired to work in Sanskrit lexicography. First of all, he mentioned the name of *Amar Kosha* or the Sanskrit vocabulary of Amar Sinha, which had been published with a translation by H.T. Colebrooke. But he also said that it bore the obvious defects as it was the first instance in this concern.[95] Wilson made an extensive study of prevailing works on the Sanskrit lexicography and vocabulary. Apart from *Amar Kosha*, he studied, *Koshas* of Medini, Hemchandra, *Visva Kosha* by Maheswara, *Nanartha Kosha*, *Dwirupa Kosha* of Bharata Malla, *Unadi Kosha* of Rama Sarmana etc. In the same preface, Wilson had argued that

> To collect these different authorities into one compilation, and arrange their united contents in an accessible shape, were the objects of the work undertaken for the use of the College…..[96]

In doing so, Wilson had come out with various names of eminent authorities in Sanskrit language who flourished during the Gupta age in the court of *Raja Vikramaditya*. His famous nine gems among whom *Amar Sinha* was one of the greatest stars, were mentioned again and again. Charles Wilkins found an inscription at Bodh Gaya about which he wrote

in the *Asiatick Researches* (volume I). This inscription communicates that *Amar Sinha* had founded a temple of Buddha at Bodh Gaya.[97] In the same discussion the names of Indian rulers like *Raja Bhoja, Ballal Sen*, had been mentioned with a deep respect for their patronization for Sanskrit literature.[98] But these names of the ancient rulers and authors were used in the context of the literature study, with very minute observations as the historicity of the Indian lineages was a blurred area for the foreign rulers. Wilson had said that there were many *Vikramadityas* and *Bhojas* among the Indian rulers as the accomplishments of the original rulers made their names celebrated among their fellow countrymen. Thomas Trautmann had once argued in his book, *Language and Nations: The Dravidian Proof of Colonial Madras*, that the 'Anniversary Discourses' of rendered Orientalist William Jones, are ethnographical, historical as well as linguistic study.[99] Language here is the key to ethnological studies because it was used by Jones as a means to disentangle the ethnological relationship between races. Trautmann continued to argue about a paradox that was reflected in the dealings of language by the Orientalists. One of Jones' most reputed Indian assistant *Kasinatha Sarman*, compiled *Sabda Sandarva Sindhu,* containing the works of *Hemachandra, Medini,* and *Amar Kosha* and *Visva Kosha*.[100] They regarded language as an instrument of knowledge rather than a mere object of knowledge.[101] The term 'linguist' denotes the knower of language. The efforts of Wilson, with the help of his predecessors like, Major Wilford, Colin Mackenzie, Francis Buchanan, John Leyden, to enquire about India's past through a detailed linguistic survey, is nothing but another example of bolstering the linguistic linkages between various nations. One most interesting thing is that in the preface of the Dictionary Wilson tried to find out the chronological sequence of ancient Indian rulers. Wilson had admitted his indebtedness mainly to Colebrooke's work on Sanskrit language and secondly to Charles Wilkins, William Carey and Duncan Forbes's work. Many parts of the Dictionary

consisted of languages of Botany and Mythology. Wilson explained the main reason for choosing these two fields for his research on Sanskritic Lexicography as he considered

> "Their (Hindus) mythology is the main structure, their botany the chief decoration, of their poetical compositions…" [102]

For the Botanical part of the Dictionary, Wilson had taken help of William Roxburgh's Catalogue of Botanical Gardens which was published by William Carey with Hindi and Bengali names. Though Wilson had admitted his indebtedness to Colebrooke in compiling the Dictionary, his work was much different from that of his predecessors. The target audience of Colebrooke's work was well-educated scholars whwreas Wilson's work targeted those who intended to learn a foreign language as a novice. The Court of Directors patronised his work mainly because of this reason.[103] Most probably this was a need of the time. Wilson came to India at a time when the earlier trend of promoting indigenous culture was not unquestioned in the colony as well as in the metropole. During the time of Hastings, and Jones, Orientalism was much regarded as the official policy to rule India. But during the first half of the nineteenth century, Anglicism, and Utilitarianism grew in opposition to the Orientalist policy of promoting indigenous culture and education. The establishment of Hindu College (1816) sixteen years after the Fort William College, marked this tension sharply. The need for the establishment of an institution that would teach the English language and literature along with indigenous education, sprang up from a group of Calcutta-based western-educated Indians led by Raja Rammohun Roy. This tension culminated in the final form in 1835 with the famous Macaulay Minute. By 1835, English was taken out of the Sanskrit College and Madrasa and was confined to the institutions where instructions were given entirely in English. Wilson strongly objected to this as he claimed these two institutions produced many scholars who were quite well-acquainted with translation into English.[104] Here, the basic argument is that for the purpose

of translation, knowledge in both languages, in which the text was written originally and to which it needed to be translated, was required. Thus, the goal of the Orientalists, Utilitarians, or the Anglicans was the same, but their paths differed. Another important incident took place also in 1835 which was not given much importance in the discussion of the colonial policy on education. Persian was taken out as a language of the Court and vernaculars were given importance and this step gave an impetus to the study of the Bengali language.[105] Reports by William Adam in the years of 1835, 1836, 1838, testified the importance, given to the vernacular education but the execution of those plans, suggested by Adam, was doubtful.[106] C.H. Cameron, President of the Council of Education for Bengal and also Macaulay's chief advisor, had stated that

> "…every encouragement which the Government can give, would be given to the production of the original works in the native languages." [107]

In a letter from the General Committee of Public Instruction headed by Wilson since 1824, to Lord Amherst dated 18th August, 1824, it was written that English was the means of livelihood which was necessary for very few Indigenous people. The Committee argued for going with the tide of popular prejudice.[108] Here the dialectic of ideology is aptly visible. The rhetoric of reform and the respect for ancient culture co-existed. Hence justification was needed whether in the form of a book or through translated works, knowledge would be transmitted. Orientalists, Utilitarians, and Evangelicals, all were changing their policies regarding India according to the need of the hours and only one lens for examining the whole colonial period is not enough.

In the *Calcutta Review* (1854), it was written that Wilson had reported on 'Native Institutions' in 1821, for a local level superintendence of the vernacular schools and colleges which would be ultimately beneficial for the Colonial Government.[109] In the later days when, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar was introducing the Sanskrit Grammar in more

comprehensive forms (the 1850s), Wilson's belief in the beneficial learning of the Sanskrit language along with English education, was proved to be right. For the Orientalists, philological competence was key to enter to the ancient past of the Hindus. In the preface of the *Megha Duta*, Wilson had praised Sanskrit language, used in that verse as remarkable for its richness though devoid of any extravagance which had made it more comprehensible to the European audience. Being appointed as the Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1811, he took the Society to another height. In an article, 'Lecture on the Present State of the Cultivation of Oriental Literature' (1852), Wilson argued that,

> "The East, however, is a relative term, and its limit in regard to Oriental literature are not capable of geographical precision" [110]

Thus, he comprehended the main essence of being an Orientalist across geographical boundaries. According to him European Turkey, Africa, and Egypt were also 'objects' of study of the Royal Asiatic Society. In the same manner, the religion of the East was also a subject of study. He translated *Dasakumara Charita, Mahabharata, Rig Veda, Vishnu Purana*. One important aspect of Wilson's religion study is that he studied Hindu religion scientifically. Being a medical officer of the Company earlier, he applied the scientific bend of mind in the Oriental studies as well. David Kopf has rightly analyzed that with Wilson, the study of medieval Indian history had begun.[111] The growing interest in *puranic* traditions of India was initiated by Wilson because he considered the immediate past of the colonial rule, as of immense importance.[112] He mainly depended on two books from the era. One was *Sankara Digvijaya* by Ananda Giri and second was *Sarva Darsana Sangraha* by Madhavacharya.[113] But, he himself examined the reliability of these texts as he gave a long, detailed list of all sects in Hinduism including, *Vaishnavas, Saivas,* and *Saktas*. In the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, in an article on *Vishnu Purana*, Wilson gave a detailed account of the ancient Indian dynasties along with genealogies, commencing with

the lines of Sun and Moon. He used the materials provided by the previous research of William Jones, John Bentley, and Colonel Wilford.[114] Wilson's study of the *puranas,* earned him a massive reputation. In a meeting of the Asiatic Society, in June, 1832, he read a paper on the *puranas* where he started with the *Brahma Vaivertta Purana*.[115] He continued to argue that this *purana* consisted of absurd themes which did not deserve any investigations. But he also pointed out that the main contribution of this *purana* in Hindu tradition was the mention of the role of *Prakriti. Prakriti* means the co-existence of the female power along with the male-dominated three supreme triad of *Brahma, Vishnu, Maheshwar*. This type of analysis of ancient Hindu texts was very insightful indeed. David Kopf had made a distinction between modernization and westernization. But he failed to comprehend the broader politico-cultural context within which the Orientalist knowledge was produced. Indigenous Calcutta-based scholars like Rammohun Ray were protagonists in promoting western education, while Orientalists like H. H. Wilson was promoting Sanskrit learning as the process of embodying European learning in indigenous dialects.[116] Here I argue that cognitive process of human being is used to be shaped by circumstances. Despite being a staunch proponent of western education, Rammohun Ray also transgressed the Brahmanical orthodoxy in Bengal and relied on the *Advaita Vedanta*, idealised through the lens of reason. Amit Ray in an article, 'Orientalism and Religion in the Romantic Era: Rammohun Ray's Vedanta', had shown that the goal of the Orientalists' study of Indian scriptural religion was to reconcile between various contradictions apparent within Hinduism.[117] Here, P.J. Marshall's criticism of Orientalists for explaining Hindu religion on its own terms,[118] had been rejected by Amit Ray. According to him, the Vedic literature along with the *Vedanta, Upanishad* was a key to the creation of 'modern' Hinduism which would encompass characteristics of both Enlightenment philosophy and ancient Indian philosophy, Individuals like Rammohun Ray wanted a kind of system of modernization

based on western education and *Vedic* reason. On the other hand, Orientalists like Wilson who were 'foreign' to India, wanted to learn and teach Sanskrit as the medium to get access to the ancient knowledge which was proved to be a connection between Europe and India since the times of William Jones. It proved in an alternative way that the relationship between colonial rule and Orientalism was only a specific historical incident within a broader transhistorical context. During the early nineteenth century, it was difficult to demarcate the 'core' and 'periphery' in terms of ideology. The foundational ideas about Indian society had been established in the early decades of colonial rule through the works of Orientalists like William Jones, Warren Hastings, and those ideas had been deployed for opposing purposes from the early nineteenth century, by the Utilitarians, and Evangelicals. This ambiguous relationship is sharply reflected in the most popular work on India of the early nineteenth century, *History of British India* (1817) by James Mill with editorial additions by Wilson in 1840 and also in 1858. In the preface of the book (1840), Wilson had written

> "….its tendency is evil; it is calculated to destroy all sympathy between the rulers and the ruled…." [119]

He continued to argue about how imperfect knowledge had been procured by Mill using the knowledge gathered by European Orientalists. In another edition of the book (1858), he portrayed the breakout of the Great Mutiny of 1857 as the failure of Mill's theory on India.[120] The tolerance and respect for the Indian civilisation which was the main characteristic of the time of Hastings and Jones, was missing during the time of Wilson and Orientalism as a pedagogic or administrative ideology had to survive with various conflicting ideologies as well. Though the legacy of Enlightenment philosophy was dominant on Wilson like his predecessors, it was moderated largely through his circumstances. In another article, 'Analytical account of the *Pancha Tantra*, illustrated with Occasional Translations', Wilson had started with a quote from Lord Bacon,

> As the active world is inferior to the rational soul, so Fiction gives to mankind what history denies and in some measure satisfies the mind with shadows, when it cannot enjoy the substance.[121]

Following this argument, it can be easily comprehended that when Wilson emphasized on Hindu fables as the source of 'real knowledge'; he was guided by the urge to know a foreign culture through its own parameters. In the same article, Wilson admitted indebtedness for the origin of the 'Gothic or Arabic romance' to the East. He mentioned Colebrooke's translation of *Hitapadesha* and regarded it as the 'scion' of the parent stock of which *Pancha Tantra* was also an important part. Wilson, like any other Orientalist choose the text to translate because of its popularity among the Indigenous people. Here, it can be said that original nature of Hindu religion was much more plural and flexible. The rigidity of the individual religious sects varied. But the studies of the Orientalists as reflected in Wilson's study of various Hindu sects, made the indigenous people to realise the divisions strongly for the first time. Same argument can be applied to the study of Buddhism by Wilson. He divided Indian philosophers into two classes, Brahmanas and Sramanas.[122] The latter consisted the Buddhist population. The importance of language study had taken an important place again and again in Wilson's study about the Buddhist era. Here also he credited famous Orientalist, Eugene Burnouf, for being well-acquainted with Sanskrit, the language of the Brahmanas and also with Pali and Tibetan, the languages of Buddhist monks.[123] For knowing about Buddhism, Wilson relied not only on the indigenous sources, but also on the travelogues by Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsang as it provided living testimony of the geographical and political divisions of India at an early age.[124] With this knowledge Wilson advocated that the Eastward migration of the Buddhists from fifth to eighth century, was due to the Brahmanic oppression. From the travelogue of Fa hien, Wilson also found he proof to the fact that ancient Hindus were navigators and the commerce of the Red sea might have been dominated by the Indian ships.[125] Thus,

extensive knowledge about every corner of Indian life was made available through the study of Wilson. In this study he was indeed assisted by indigenous pandits. But he lamented in the preface of his dictionary that it was not possible for him to mention the names of each and every one who had helped him in his study. The most remarkable work of Wilson's career was the compilation of the materials, collected by Colin Mackenzie in South India, though there are criticisms of this work, recently made by scholars like Nicholas Dirks. Nicholas Dirks in an essay, *Autobiography of an Archive*, has argued that when H.H.Wilson took over the work of compiling Mackenzie collection, his chief priority was to satisfy his own credentials for the status of an esteemed scholar. He was succeeded in doing that as he secured the Boden Chair at Oxford in 1833.[126] Thus, the process of perceiving the past history of some place is not only a complex one but also multi-dimensional. In the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society on 19th December, 1832, President Edward Ryan, addressed H.H. Wilson on his leaving for Europe and he showered praises for his achievements in the fields of language, literature and religion of the Indians. Wilson had maintained the legacy of William Jones, H.T. Colebrooke, Charles Wilkins, in every means. After going to Europe, he pursued his career as an Orientalist there and became the Director of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

In the concluding remark, it can be said that, translatability of a culture is a very debatable issue. The scriptural knowledge about India, was gained by the Orientalists under the rubric of colonialism. Scholars like David Kopf viewed the positive effects and scholars like Ashis Nandy comprehended the negative mode of it. Hindus from Rammohun Ray to Gandhi conceived the boon of the colonial rule because of their interest in these scriptural studies. The only mode of this study was translation with the help of indigenous scholars. It is true that the originality of the text or the true essence of religion could not be perceived through translations. But, in this manner, knowledge would be

bounded by language barriers. If we are talking about the free movement of knowledge across the geographical boundaries, then the language barriers also must be overcome. Globalization of philosophy was also the need of the hour. No encounter under colonialism is innocent in nature. There are many terms to describe it, 'mimicry', 'appropriation', 'acculturation' etc. But the end result must be considered according to *longue duree* impact. If translation as a means of study of philosophies, written in other languages, was not accepted, then the present-day study of *Das Capital* or *Of Grammatology* needs a discussion. Here in the lines of Mikhail Bakhtin, it can be argued that once a discourse or a product of the discourse enters into the public domain, it becomes the subject of contestation.[127] In the same way the translated works of the Orientalists had been criticized for being instrumental in 'inventing' indigenous traditions in their own way. But, on the contrary, it can also be argued that the Enlightenment zeal for objective knowledge eradicated all subjective prejudices in the formation of neutral knowledge which involved faculty of reason and proper methodology. The study of the Orientalists like, Charles Wilkins and H.H Wilson was made under colonialism and also grew as an institution. The categorization of religious sects made by Wilson finally culminated in Risley's categorization of castes. The term 'objectification' is applied here by many scholars. But knowledge gaining process always needs objects to study. My main argument in this chapter is not the utility of the knowledge, but the detailed, scientific process itself which ultimately opened up the virtue of Indian civilization in front of the whole world.

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DISSEMINATION OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE: SURVEYS OF COLIN MACKENZIE (1784-1821) AND JAMES RENNELL (1767-1777)

Science is a universal term and historical realities and historical perceptions on science are different. The relationship between development of science and colonial rule was ambivalent throughout the colonial period. Explaining this relationship only through normative interpretations can be described as teleological. Diffusion of scientific knowledge from metropole to colonies, which was propounded by George Basalla, was not a linear Euro-centric process. This process incorporates collecting materials, initial dependence and final independence of colonial scientific developments. The comparative civilizational and historical perspective as propounded by Joseph Needham regarding the development of scientific knowledge world-wide during the twentieth century, shows newer paths for macro-analysis of the development of scientific knowledge in late eighteenth century-early nineteenth-century colonial Indian context. Within this macro-analytical framework, the sociological context of the production of scientific knowledge must be comprehended more minutely. J D Bernal once argued that the existence of knowledge depends on the proper diffusion of that knowledge, otherwise it becomes static. In his book, *Science in History,* in three volumes, he described a universal history through the development of science and technology and also stated that the deciding factor for human survival was scientific and technological competence.[1] This scientific and technological competence cannot be bounded only by Baconian 'Solomon's Society' which is more a scientific utopia. The members of the Solomon's Society prefer the accumulation of knowledge over the accumulation of material wealth. Francis Bacon in his book, *New Atlantis*, has argued that God has bestowed King

Solomon with both the material and intellectual fortunes because he was seeking not riches but knowledge. The self-serving notion of science as depicted in *New Atlantis* was supplemented by Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, in 1776. It established the notion that the self-serving interests of the few and the well-being of the many need not to be mutually exclusive.[2] The democratization of knowledge and the laissez-faire circulation made each other strong in this way. Both the 'Solomon's Society' and the *Wealth of Nations* declared that the individual intellectual enrichment and individual commercial profit led to the common good. This type of pro-capitalist notion cannot be the only parameter to judge the contributions of British scholar-administrators in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century India. When Edward Said's phenomenal work *Orientalism* was published in 1978, the main thread of criticizing the European domination over the rest of the world was developed on the basis of this kind of pro-capitalist normative discourse. But this normative discourse has been challenged by scholars like Max Horkheimer, Theodore Adorno, J D Bernal, Joseph Needham and many more.[3] There is difference between the knowledge seeking nature of the 'Solomon's Society' and the universalist diffusionist approach as described by J D Bernal. The relationship between empiricism and empire is collaborative but not absolutely linear one. In this chapter, I would like to argue that the long-lasting consequences of phenomenon like colonialism with all its negative impulses, still leave a space for rejuvenating the way of understanding of the circulation of scientific knowledge universally. The surveying techniques applied by Colin Mackenzie, James Rennell, in early colonial India cannot be overruled simply as 'the benefits of the few'. Their inquiries though were conducted under a colonial government, the broader social and political context of their work and its application should be taken into consideration. Joseph Needham shows that the technologically advanced Chinese society was lagging behind of Europe due to the

presence of a strong government which preferred isolation over cooperation. The context in late eighteenth century-early nineteenth century colonial India was just opposite. The coming of the Europeans opened up the new vistas for the Indian advancement and this process made progression by incorporating the pre-existing indigenous knowledge system, not by excluding them. Thus, the works of Colin Mackenzie could not be comprehended without the efforts of Boria, a South Indian Brahmin. Similarly, James Rennell had repeatedly mentioned the contributions of the indigenous as well as patronage from the Company authority which added additional momentum to his works.[4] The process of discovering the 'Orient' within Orient was rather a cultural sysnthesis and an antithesis of Saidian 'Orientalism'. Thus, the pleasure of learning, the tenacity to pursue it in adverse situation as shown by these early scholar-administrators deserves a much deep-insighted reading beyond the East-West binary. It may appear in mind that Colin Mackenzie, James Rennell, were not conventional Orientalists as the term, 'Orientalist' demands some expertise over indigenous languages, customs and cultures. Mackenzie himself in many writings had admitted his lack of knowledge in indigenous languages that made him dependent on the local translators.[5] But the works, compiled by them had left an immense impact on the contemporary Orientalist works. After the death of Mackenzie in 1821, his widow sold his collections to the East India Company in 1822 and the mammoth task of cataloguing them fell into the hands of H.H. Wilson. Nicholas Dirks in an essay, *Autobiography of an Archive*, has argued that when H.H.Wilson took over the work of compiling Mackenzie collection, his chief priority was to satisfy his own credentials for the status of an esteemed scholar. He was succeeded in doing that as he secured the Boden Chair at Oxford in 1833.[6] The process of perceiving the past history of some place is not only a complex one but also multi-dimensional. The works of Colin Mackenzie in South India is relevant in this

perspective. During the late eighteenth century, the 'western methods' of perceiving past and writing history were gradually imported to India through the works of various Orientalist scholars whose whole-hearted contributions, though shaped by contemporary political events, can be regarded as pioneering works in the case of initiating scientific methods in comprehending India's own past. Here the 'western method' denotes the Rankean model of writing history which emphasized basically on the individuality of the historical development. The first maps drawn by James Rennell or the antiquities collected in the South India by Colin Mackenzie, or the numerous contributions made by early colonial 'scholar-administrators' to comprehend India's past, were just the steps ahead towards this direction of making India's past visible to a broader audience.

The Antiquarian Investigations of Colin Mackenzie in India (1784-1821): In the opening of the play, *The Dreams of Tipu Sultan*, written by Girish Karnad, the conversation between the Orientalist scholar Colin Mackenzie and an indigenous historian of Mysore Mir Hussain Ali Khan Kirmani has conveyed that developing a sense of objectivity is a prime factor of being a historian. It has also in turn taught us to judge historical facts from a distance which help historians to give an unbiased comprehensibility about the facts.[7] In this fictional role, Colin Mackenzie, being the proponent of the sense of historical objectivity argued that, the flipside of every story bears another version of history without which the whole panorama could not be understood. It is evident from the pages of numerous volumes of the *Asiatick Researches* which bear the writings of company servants and their contributions and efforts to know the native land. If the British intelligentsia were ready to learn the foreign cultures, languages in the late eighteenth century, the intellectual environment in India was also ripe for such pursuits. This environ was initially personified in Warren Hastings and

William Jones as discussed in the previous chapter. Warren Hastings was surely a colonial administrator by heart but his urge for knowing the land and its people was unparalleled. William Jones, the greatest Orientalist who founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, is also remembered for uncovering the past heritage of India.[8] The Asiatic Society gradually has become the center of Indological researches. As the *modus operandi* of India during the eighteenth century was colonial rule, the nature of the scientific processes, practised to dig up the country's past is used to be considered as exploitative and instrumentalist. The surveyors or the map makers are regarded as the gatherers of information for the sake of the colonial rule. But their personal zeal for knowing the indigenous customs, habits, traditions had surpassed their role as Company servants and Colin Mackenzie is one of the most notable figures of this trend.

Colin Mackenzie (1784-1821) was one of the brightest stars among the brilliant galaxy of Indologists. The inquisitiveness of 'scholar-administrators' like Alexander Dow, John Malcom, Mountstuart Elphinstone and Colin Mackenzie and many more about the pre-colonial Indian society has brought out the ambivalences within the early colonial historicity.[9] The term, 'scholar-administrator' had been initiated for this group of people whose initial obligations were towards the East India Company but that did not minimize their role as a true knowledge-seeker. Territorial reshaping and cultural reshaping were going on side by side in the hands of these 'scholar-administrators'. Mildred Archer, the first curator to publish a catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection in the British Library, in his book *British Drawings in the India Office Library* (Vol-II) has argued that this large collection of visual materials in the library was left unnoticed which not only illustrates many of Mackenzie's own manuscripts but also documents his career.[10] Colin Mackenzie joined the Madras Engineering service in 1783 under East India Company and toured many regions in South India. First thirteen years of his career

in India were troublous times when the country was emerging from famine, penury and war. The frequent changes and removal from province to province, from garrison to camp as well as the circumscribed means of a subaltern officer prevented him from giving those undeviating efforts to the pursuit of a collector as it demanded. It was not until his return from the Ceylon expedition in 1796 that gave a fresh impulse to his dreams of collecting manuscripts and information regarding South India.[11] Mackenzie first made detailed topographical surveys of the provinces of Coimbatore and Dindigul during the end of the second Mysore War in 1783. Then it was followed by the surveys of Madras, Nellore and Guntur provinces. In the year 1796, the first map of Nizam's dominion was submitted to the Government.[12] He was also part of the successful Java expedition from 1811 to 1813 where he was also engaged in collecting manuscripts and in contributing to a journal of *Transactions* published by the Batavian society.[13] In 1810 he was appointed as the Surveyor-General of Madras and in 1815 when the office of the Surveyor- General at Madras was ordered to be abolished, he was promoted to the post of Surveyor-General of India.[14] When he left Madras for Calcutta, he brought with himself the entire literary and antiquarian collections to Calcutta with an intention of preparing *Catalogue Raisonnee*. Before he completed his work, he died at Bengal in 1821. While being at Madras, he developed a curiosity about the scripts and history of the local people. Drawing was a standard past time for the British Soldiers in India during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Mackenzie was no exception. He used to draw pictures of various places he visited. Between 1783 and 1797 he drew most of the pictures while surveying Nizam's Hyderabad. Many of these paintings are connected with the papers Mackenzie published in journals such as William Dalrymple's *Oriental Repertory* and early issues of *Asiatick Researches* and the *Asiatic Annual Register.*[15] The renowned Mackenzie Collection consisted of a vast collection of manuscripts and inscriptions on religion, history,

biography, geography, medicine, literature, science, architectural plans of various temples, drawings, coins, antiquities which were in no fewer than in fourteen languages.[16] Manuscripts occupy an important place in his collection. Telegu manuscripts are more in number in comparison with other languages.[17] Most of these documents are preserved in the Government library at Madras and in Indian Office in London. These manuscripts have become focal point of interest for the Indologists. For example, in 1828 H.H. Wilson prepared a detailed catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection preserved in the Madras Government library. Reverend William Taylor also prepared another catalog in three volumes. Then, C.P. Brown (1798-1884) prepared replicas of damaged manuscripts.[18] Later, many works also have been done around this vast Mackenzie Collection. Thus, the Mackenzie collection have remained in the focal point over centuries for the Indologists.

The Scottish Enlightenment continued to influence the philosophic basis of Indian administration during the Governors like Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm and Sir Monstuart Elphinstone as Martha McLaren has pointed out that the universality of the human nature was the main principle of the workings of these administrators.[19] The military operations and the search for Oriental knowledge overlapped with each other during the early colonial period. Colin Mackenzie as a conqueror, surveyor, in the eighteenth-century India served as the best role-model to understand these dynamics of perceiving knowledge within colonial context. After the British victory over Tipu Sultan in 1799 when he was entrusted with the task of surveying the Mysore region, he interacted with the indigenous folk, received the help of a Brahmin, named Boria and made a huge collection of illustrations, manuscripts, coins, translations, paintings which were regarded as the best primary initiatives to know the region. Colin Mackenzie had spent most of the time of his staying in India as the Surveyor-General and cartographer. The collection of historical records and artifacts he amassed, during his

staying in South India is regarded as his best achievement and contribution to the history-writing of this country. In later days Monstuart Elphinstone, Mark Wilks while reconstructing the political history of (1810) the Deccan, depended solely on Colin Mackenzie's record.[20] It is a kind of a trend during the early phase of post-colonial history-writing to believe that colonial rule was feeding on colonial knowledge which were gathered by these 'scholar-administers'.

Richard Drayton has argued that the intellectual environment created by the early British officials was amateurish in nature. But he also continued to argue that Westminster, in the initial phase chose to leave the practice of scholarship to the church or to the volunteer.[21] That also indicates that the scholarship developed during the late eighteenth-early nineteenth-century colonial India was very much dependent on the Company instructions as much as on the individual expertise and it was the periphery rather than the metropole where this kind of expertise flourished. By the time of his death in 1821, Colin Mackenzie had made a huge collection of historical artifacts that are still regarded as the largest set of sources for studying the early modern historical anthropology of South India.[22] Rama Sundari Mantena in her book *The Origin of the Modern Historiography in India: Antiquarianism and Philology 1780-1880* has given a vivid description of the works of Colin Mackenzie which is mainly concerned about the place of Colin Mackenzie in the modern South Indian historiography.[23] She mainly focused on the interplay of antiquarianism and philology in forming historical knowledge about South India. Before the coming of Colin Mackenzie, Francis Buchanan and Alexander Hamilton have made a minute observation of the newly conquered territories on the basis of the instructions given by Richard Wellesley. Though Buchanan and Hamilton differed from each other in their way of observations, they paved the way for the intensive workings of Mackenzie. Rama Sundari Mantena has pointed out that

Mackenzie differed from his two predecessors in choosing the materials for acquiring knowledge. Mackenzie concentrated mainly on the materials which were deemed to be historical.[24] He mainly focused on the *kaifiyats* and *kavilas* which were information recorded by local villagers or village assistants regarding the social, economic, financial and administrative conditions of the village.[25] These were in various South Indian languages such as, Tamil, Telegu, Kannada, Malayalam etc. By choosing these indigenous sources Mackenzie followed the path of his predecessor Francis Buchanan in prioritizing local beliefs and customs to comprehend the history of the South India.[26] To make a complete picture these sources can be juxtaposed to the high literary traditions of South India. These conventional indigenous sources on which Mackenzie had mainly focused during his survey also acted as important materials to cross-check the information gathered from other sources. Another important implication of choosing the local village records as historical source is that the static, ahistorical image of precolonial India as Said claimed to be portrayed by the colonial masters, is hampered. The local customs, belief system thus seemed to be regarded as important source for comprehending the previous history of the area by the colonial rulers. According to Professor T.V. Mahalingam, much valuable information might be in the darkness forever without the efforts of Colin Mackenzie.[27]

Looking through the memoirs and plates in the library and museum of the Asiatic Society the present research aimed at throwing a new light on the re-reading of existing history writing in South India. In a drawing album named, *Costumes of Balla Ghat, Carnatic*, there are several drawings of performance artists such as bards, acrobats, dancers etc.[28] Here one striking feature is the title of the album which denotes the notion of identifying various social groups by their dress code. This way of identification was a well-accepted method in conscious artistic traditions throughout the world. It

encouraged various South Indian artists to paint pictures on papers to illustrate the costumes worn by various Indian occupational groups and they found their patrons in East India Company officials and eventually those paintings came to be known as the Company painting.[29] Mackenzie considered the field drawings collaborated with detailed research works as a part of a broader project to help researchers and general public in Britain to amass knowledge about South India. The album, *Costumes of Balla Ghat, Carnatic*, was Mackenzie's first foray into this genre of painting. This unique technique of assimilating information collected from observation as well as from interviewing the locals had increased the reliability of the documents at large. It also proved that the Eurocentric understanding of the Mackenzie collection is very over-simplified. A number of paintings in his collection were fair copies of the originals and made by engineers such as, George Rowley, William George Stephen, Thomas and Benjamin Sydenham, and also by assistant surveyors such as, Henry Hamilton and by his draftsmen such as Christian Ignatio, Sheikh Abdullah, Pyari Lal, Najibullah, J. Newman.[30] These names implied that Mackenzie not only relied on the draftsmen and copyists trained in European survey techniques but also, he collected drawings by Indian artists. Thus, his collection became a true synthesis of different types of cultural representations. The young apprentices from Madras Surveying School, such as, J Newman were crucial part of his project of surveying as it ensured the inexpensive but technically skilled work force. Jennifer Howes further shows that Mackenzie openly shared the data he collected during his survey. His assistant Boria's detailed account on the raiyats coincided with Thomas Munros's implementation of the Raiyatwari system in 1800.[31] Munro's mistrust on the Palaikkarars which motivated him to introduced Raiyatwari system in the South was supplemented by Boria's detailed account on them. Apart from this, the drawings of numerous temples like, Mahabalipuram, Ranganatha

temple, Vinayaka temple, Amrtisvara temple, Hoysalesvara temple, Kedaresvara temple enriched his collection with such valuable information that are interpreted as the transfer of information from 'stone to paper'.[32] Most probably the article on Mahabalipuram by William Chambers in the volume one of the *Asiatick Researches*, had inspired him to look into the subject more specifically. These paintings included iconography, architectural pattern, dressing code of the locals in variegated way. The lifestyle of the people in South India before 1800 was thus well depicted through these paintings. Colin Mackenzie was familiar with the works of Thomas and William Daniell who published the monumental work *The Oriental Scenery* (1812). They depicted their travels in India and it is generally assumed that these twelve volumes collection of pictures might have had influence on Mackenzie.[33] During early years of colonial rule, there were various parallel knowledge seeking processes which influenced each other. Within the colonial context knowledge was never imparted without suspicion and direct invocation of the British authority. As most of the surveys carried out by Mackenzie coincided with the military expeditions and surveys, sometimes it was mistakenly described as the supplementary to the colonial military aggression in contemporary South India. This lessened the epistemological significance of Mackenzie Collection. By applying the globally accepted techniques of surveying, painting, like using water colors, compiling both the empirical and oral information together, Mackenzie brought the metropole and periphery to an epistemological whole. This also left an impact on the history writing of the period. The underlying force which compelled him to gather information was to carry on a coherent structure of knowledge. The fact that this process was executed in a colonial context did not leave a space for negating the hybrid nature of knowledge produced by the efforts of Mackenzie. In a letter to Alexander Johnston, Mackenzie said,

> …...I am also desirous of proving that in the vacant moments of an Indian sojourn and campaign in particular such collected observations may be found useful, at least

> in directing the observation of those more highly gifted to matters of utility, if not to record facts of importance to philosophy and science.[34]

This argument clearly shows that although bound by the service terms under the East India Company, Mackenzie had the zeal for knowledge which fed his soul. Peter Robb in an article "Completing 'Our Stock of Geography' or an Object, 'Still More Sublime': Colin Mackenzie's Survey of Mysore (1799-1810)" has argued in favor of the contributions made by Mackenzie's systematic surveying techniques in the development of the 'modern' India.(footnote) He posited a very good analysis beyond the Saidian division of Occident and Orient that applying Western methods in collecting knowledge in the Eastern colonies did not necessarily fall into the categorization of Benthamite *panoptican* and Foucauldian power/knowledge paradigm.[35] The sociology of knowledge was deeper than the political rationality and technologies of power. In the process of exchange both ends participated spontaneously and simultaneously. In a letter from England in the Public Department to the Government of Fort St. George, dated Feb 9, 1810, it was stated that the merits of Colin Mackenzie surpassed his duty as a mere geographical surveyor.[36] This letter further mentioned the inadequacy of remuneration of his work and allotted 9000 pagodas as the approbation of his efforts.[37] The adverse situation within which Mackenzie had to work, somehow made his efforts towards creating a unity of knowledge, irrespective of political and economic hurdles. In the previously mentioned biographical sketch of Mackenzie it was mentioned that Mackenzie himself stated that difficulties were arising from 'the nature of climate, of the country and of the government' itself.[38] Despite these hindrances, he continued his surveys which in later days had huge influence on the works of his contemporaries like Rennell, Lambton, Buchanan-Hamilton etc. In the 'investigative modalities' which provided the raw data on the indigenous social, cultural and economic conditions, as proposed by Bernard Cohn,

the role of the indigenous actors should be considered as equal without which the process of knowing should not be accomplished.[39]

The 'European rule' and the 'European scholarship' in the early colonial phase acted side by side to make a whole phenomenon like colonialism. The role of 'European rule' is sometimes over emphasized. The role of 'European scholarship' during the colonial rule was shaped by the domestic politics and was subjected to change from time to time. The constructive phase of British Orientalism which produced many new facets to know the subcontinent is important for the sake of the development of knowledge systems of the world. The universalist character of science as a global knowledge is to be recognized from this context. Andre Gunder Frank in the opening of his book *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* has mentioned that writing history is part of history itself.[40] According to him, it can be said that the early Orientalists were part of a knowledge making process knowingly or unknowingly and this did not bother about any metropole-colony binary.[41] Edward Said's passionate indictment of orientalist erudition as an inseparable part of a dominating imperialist enterprise has made the orientalist scholarship a single discourse, undifferentiated in space and time overlapping all types of identities.[42] Also, the concept of the homogenous west is problematic. In consensus with Andre Gunder Frank, it can be said that the creation of the Mackenzie Collection was itself a process of creation of history. David Ludden in his article *'Orientalist Enpiricism: Transformations of Colonial Knowledge'* considered the connections between the histories of political power in South Asia and knowledge about Indian traditions as very significant. He has argued that Said in the manner of Foucault detached his chosen texts from history, has lost sight of the politics that reproduce the epistemological authority of Orientalism today.[43] Ludden in his efforts to separate the knowledge from power argued that the qualitatively new knowledge which was produced

during the colonial expansion in India was not necessarily subjected to the intention of utility or subjugation. The early 'scholar-administrators' like Mackenzie were both makers of history as well as actors of history. It is true that without considering the politico-economic environs the process of acquiring knowledge cannot be comprehended. In the eighteenth-century India the nature of British imperialism was multilayered and Victorian chauvinism could not be the only parameter to judge it. The term 'Orientalism', when it is used for projecting the total subordination of the colonies to the interest of the metropole in Saidian version, does not recognize the multi-dimensional phases within the colonizers themselves. To 'manage' the 'Orient', the colonizers had to manage themselves first. The negative connotation of the word 'manage', in this context seemed to be diminutive. William Dalrymple in his book *White Mughals* has shown the cosmopolitan multiculturalism in contrast with the 'Victorian chauvinism' in the early British India which is more evident from the clash of interests between Utilitarians like James Mill and Charles Trevelyan and Orientalists like William Jones.[44] It must be understood that colonial policy in India was subjected to change from time to time due to the changes in the policy of the metropole. One aspect in this whole analysis can be consensual with Said on one point that is centrality of knowledge in the colonial system vis-à-vis world order. But the purpose of accumulation of that knowledge was never unidirectional. P J Marshall in an article, *The Whites of British India (1780-1830): A Failed Colonial Society?* has argued that the white community in India in the early colonial period was not a homogenous community. During the first half of the eighteenth century, the role of private European capital in India was a restricted one. The savings of the company officials and the Indian bankers were the main source for acquiring capital. The export of capital from Britain was initiated as late as 1830s.[45] For defending their own interest, the private British businessman and the Indian 'banians' had

opposed the interest of the East India Company though the position of the Indian 'banians' was subordinated to that of the British businessman. A small number of resident whites in India would have assimilated with the elite Indians for their own survival.[46] Thus, it is evident that there were variations within the society of the colonizers which also was reflected in their response towards the Mackenzie Collection. Nicholas Dirks has shown that despite Mackenzie's enthusiasm, British Government was somewhat reserved about the value of his endeavors. As it has been earlier mentioned that the allowances for his survey was drastically reduced and Mackenzie himself accepted the slender amount of allowance. The Board of Directors in London evaluated the Mackenzie Collection through the correspondences by Bentinck, Governor of Madras, Mark Wilks who extensively referred to Mackenzie's work in his book, John Malcolm, British resident in Mysore and Poona.[47] Mackenzie himself was in continuous anxiety about persuading the government officials of the relevance of his historical inquiries and expressed regret about lack of proper time and opportunities for studying due to his military and professional duties.[48] C. A. Bayly in his book *Empire, Information, Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India 1780-1870* has pointed out that the legacy of collecting information was carried forward from the pre-colonial times to colonial times. Knowledge is itself a systematically socially constructed heuristic device which is the marker of ongoing process of being politically and economically stable.[49] Thus, the process of accumulating knowledge cannot be separated from the socio-economic structure but can always be posited prior to it. There is a slight difference between the terms, 'collecting information' and 'collaborative mode of knowledge production'. P B Wagoner in an article, 'Precolonial Intellectuals and the Production of Colonial Knowledge' has described the collaborative method of gathering knowledge with focus on the translation of epigraphy. The individual initiatives of the Calcutta based

Orientalists like H.T. Colebrook, Charles Wilkins were compared with the vast single-collaborative project undertaken by Mackenzie which in turn gave rise to the Madras School of Orientalism in later days.[50] 'Madras school of Orientalism' as Thomas R. Trautmann coined the term in 1999, flourished totally depending on the works of Colin Mackenzie. He showed that although the Madras school had an institutional dependence on the Calcutta school of Orientalism as it was embodied in the formation of Madras College of St. George on the model of College of Fort William, Madras school was in competition with Calcutta counterpart and in this competition the main contributor was Colin Mackenzie.[51] William Jones in his presidential address in the Asiatic Society, established in 1784 as the epitome of the Orientalist studies in India, clarified the intended objectives of the Society. He argued that, the performance and production of man and nature and their cohesive coexistence in a broader context is the main objective of the study of the Society.[52] Jones argued that, memory, reason and imagination are the three main faculties according to which human knowledge, that is, history, science and art, must be analyzed.[53] When he talked about the relationship between man and nature, he must have the broader context beyond the Orient in his mind. Though there is debate whether Mackenzie can be categorized as an orientalist or not, as he himself accepted his lacuna of proper knowledge in indigenous languages which was a pre-requisite criterion for being an Orientalist, the impact of his initiatives on the Indologists as well as Orientalists cannot be overthrown. Mackenzie wrote several articles about his discoveries and investigations in William Dalrymple's *Oriental Repertory* and in *Asiatick Researches* which had served his purpose of disseminating information in the broader part of the world. In the nineteenth century C P Brown had revived the philological knowledge-seeking structure in South India on the basis of Mackenzie's work.

After many decades, Joseph Needham in his voluminous work, *Science and Civilization in China*, has properly shown the historical and civilizational perspective of science which has no boundaries.[54] Deepak Kumar, opposing Basalla's linear theory of exporting western science to the colonies, has showed ample evidences of precolonial scientific practices in India. He mentioned Fathullah Shirazi who in the sixteenth century made the first multi-barrelled cannon. He also refers to the inspiring zeal of Mughal Emperors to promote scientific researches and to enquire into nature.[55] Alongside he made references to the colonial researches which were great initiatives for the advancement of science worldwide. Thus, the scientific inquisitions are meant not only to be divided by colony-metropole binary. Rahul Bhaumik had also argued in the context of explaining George Basalla's diffusionist theory, that this linear explanation cannot comprehend the true essence of the relationship between East and West.[56] The real picture was more complex and multi-layered. The scientific knowledge that travelled from the metropole was hybridized according the colonial context. Historical inquisitions also can move beyond boundaries. In the case of Mackenzie, his search for Indian antiquities in a scientific way had no precedence. Throughout his work-life he had made it clear that the indigenous notion of historical sensibility besides the European historical awareness, was something that needed attention. According to K. Paddayya, Mackenzie occupies a place in South India comparable to that of Sir William Jones in Eastern India. He in his article *Learning from the Indological Researches of Our Early Native Masters* has highlighted the pivotal role of the indigenous scholarship along with the notable efforts of Mackenzie in making a composite South Indian history.[57] Here in lies the true essence of the early colonial interactions which were multi-faceted and multi layered. The efforts of 'scholar-administrators' and indigenous scholarship mingled together to make a total body of

knowledge. Mackenzie was concerned about the local customs, myths and relied on them to assume the true essence of the indigenous society. For example, analyzing the agricultural conditions of Malayalam country, he described *Parsu Rama,* one of the incarnations of Lord Rama, as giving the local inhabitants the advice to cultivate the land which included four distinctive parts describing the methods of cultivating land. Rev. William Taylor has argued that this information was useful for understanding the general history of agriculture of the Malayalam country.[58] Mackenzie also described subdivisions of people. 'One who abuses a Brahmin, is to have his tongue cut out' as Mackenzie pointed out in his description about Malayalam country in the section IV of book no. 3. He pointed out the different classes among the Sudras having different measures of social distance assigned to them.[59] In a search for the Muhammadans in Malayalam speaking areas he found out sixteen mosques and continued to argue that the Muhammadans did have privileges during the time of Cheruman Perumal who himself became a Mussalman and after his death the Muhammadan system disseminated in some places.[60] In the section V of the same book the name of Sankaracharya, the eminent Indian philosopher, has been mentioned alongside the names of various rajas, chiefs and tribes. From all these works it seems that while acting as Surveyor-General of the country, his antiquarian soul was also in action. Description of the Malayalam country was only one instance. There was also vivid description of Telegu, Tamil, Chola rajas and various tribes which became very important source material for the construction of South Indian history. As Rev. William Taylor remarked on the note of the Book 3 that the content of this book is of so varied value.[61] Mackenzie collected numerous historical memoirs of the royal families of the Southern region. He studied intensively the genealogical inheritance of the local tribes and chieftains. From his collection, a manuscript named *Parsu Rama Vijaya* Mackenzie claimed vehemently

that he had no doubt that all alleged *avataras* of Vishnu signified some great historical event and the incarnation of Parsu Rama points to the first acquisition of power by the Brahmins after their coming to India from the north of Himalayas.[62] Rev. William Taylor has analyzed these descriptions as 'half legendary, half historical' but continuously admitted the unique value of it as it could not be found elsewhere in Madras.[63] The mythical explanations of the origins of the local tribes rendered some references to their sociological origins. The colonial need to understand the nature of the local tribes was in the heart of these enquiries, yet by measuring the whole-hearted efforts of Mackenzie only in terms of colonial need is just a mere derogatory act. The individual mindfulness, intellectual excitement, lively curiosity and the pursuance of scientific methods, that Mackenzie had showed in building his vast collection, brought him the credit of having a separate place besides the colonial masters.

The Mackenzie Manuscripts on Botany (1804-1809) consisted descriptions of a vast range of flowers, plants etc. The scientific method of describing the well-known local flowers, plants are very interesting. Not only their scientific names and their place of origin or where they were found, had been mentioned in detail, but their utility also had been explained in a thorough way. For instance, there were two types of wild dates, *Kerry Eechel* and *Dod Eechel* and only from the later type the natives of Canara and Bednore in South India drew liquor.[64] In the same manuscript he mentioned another flower as *Hibiscus* by describing its amazing diurnal changes in the colors of the petals.[65] From the drawing of the flower we can find resemblance with the famous Indian flower *'Sthalapadma'* (Hibiscus Mutabilis) In another manuscript named, *Hindoo Antiquities, A Collection of Architecture and Sculptures Civil and Religious (1803-1808)*, Mackenzie had described the various types of funeral-monuments of Jain sects and various Brahmanical Mythologies and Mythologies of Vedas.[66] H.H. Wilson

has described the way in which Mackenzie made possible the huge task of collecting documents of almost unknown territory. He argued that,

> Col. Mackenzie's intercourse with the Brahmins impressed him with the idea that the most valuable materials for a history of India might be collected in different parts of the peninsula, and during his residence at Madura, he first conceived and formed the plan of making that collection which afterwards became the favorite object of his pursuit for 38 years of his life.[67]

The whole set of books and inscriptions had been lodged in the Madras College Library in 1828. Two years later, the Committee of Madras Literary Society and Royal Asiatic Society asked government to transfer the Mackenzie Collection to them and eventually they started to utilize the valuable information from it. H.H. Wilson had pointed out that due to the shortage of fund at first one or two subjects were selected, for instance, Jain Literature and Inscriptions.[68] Mackenzie himself admitted that not only the indigenous learned people, but also a set of Company officials, such as, William Kirkpatrick, Alexander Lead, John Leyden, Mark Wilks, were very supportive of his work. Col. Mark Wilks while preparing his *History of Mysore* relied on the Mackenzie's collection to a great extent.[69] In the later days even when Elphinstone turned to an intensive study of the Indian History beyond the Orientalist lens, he relied on the Mackenzie collection as the source material for the Deccan.[70] It must be noted that while Mackenzie was busy in surveying the Deccan and collecting manuscripts and inscriptions, there prevailed Permanent Settlement in Bengal (1793) and the Ryotwari system, the brainchild of Thomas Munro was to be introduced in Madras. Thus, the main thrust area of Mackenzie's enquiries in South, the local chiefs, village heads and other tribes were of very much importance to the colonial government as they potentially formed the bulk of the so called 'zamindar class'. It was not so difficult to assume that Mackenzie and his assistants were not unaware of the political-economic implications of their searching for

historical knowledge of the region.[71] But it never over-shadowed their ardor for knowing the land.

Said in his book once claimed that the 'Asia' has spoken through the imagination of the 'West'.[72] This argument can be contradicted by the methodology of Colin Mackenzie which emphasized the importance of the indigenous materials. In his methods of acquiring knowledge about South India, the subjectivity of imagination was mingled with the objectivity of indigenous sources. To decipher village records Mackenzie took the help of the Kavali brothers. Among them Mackenzie was very much well-aware of the potentiality of Kavali Venkata Boria who was very much enthusiastic about cartography and numismatics which helped Mackenzie in discovering the indigenous traditions with a new zeal. Mackenzie himself recognized his contribution by mentioning the name of Boria over a copy of an inscription.[73] To him, his native assistants were never mere informers, rather he always appreciated their personal knowledge. Thus, it seemed that the 'Oriental' history is not just a mere imagination of the colonizers as assumed by critics. Mary Louis Pratt in her book, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* has used a term, 'contact zone'.[74] In the context of colonial encounters, this term means the interaction between geographically and historically different people with which both sides of the participants could relate themselves with the knowledge-seeking process. Within the asymmetrical power relationship, they could find their place properly through this contact. In a letter to Alexander Johnston in 1817,Mackenzie cherished his memory by arguing that Boria's pursuits of knowledge had opened new avenues for him for gaining Hindu knowledge.[75] Mackenzie himself admitted in the same letter that the assistance of Boria, itself was an introduction for him to the 'portal of Indian knowledge'.[76] K. Paddayya in an article also argued in support of this view that, Boria's methodology was another important contribution that was

added to the efforts of Mackenzie in making South Indian historical archive. In 1802, he submitted to Mackenzie a list regarding climate, plants, soils, seasons, tribal groups of Karnataka region and the method was questionnaire which we regarded today as the most scientific one to conduct research. This methodology was applied by Mackenzie in his further surveys with remarkable results.[77] The process applied by Mackenzie, of locating sources, sorting of sources and then preparing the questionnaire to judge it, denotes a scientific process of acquiring historical knowledge. Colin Mackenzie had lamented on the early death of Boria. He described the tough situation which was ushered just after the victory of the British Government over Tipu Sultan, through which he was carrying on the search for knowledge. The working environment was full of contending passions, prejudices and interests that was again and again mentioned by Mackenzie in his letter to Johnston.[78] It must be remembered that during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century when Mackenzie came in India and made a strong foothold here, it was a period of the expansion of the British Empire. That also implied that it was difficult for him to gain a stronghold over foreign language during a period of turmoil. Thus, the assistance of the indigenous people like Boria and his brothers, for the process of making a comprehensive knowledge regarding South India became indispensable. The thread of collecting information created by Mackenzie was carried forward by his assistants. For example, Lakshmayya, brother of Boria, who was rejected by James Prinsep for the post of compiler of the Mackenzie Collection after his death, founded Native Literary Society at Madras for assisting Royal Asiatic Society in collecting materials which were necessary for completing and maintaining the Mackenzie Collection.[79] Thomas Hickey, a painter appointed by the East India Company, painted a full-length portrait of Mackenzie surrounded by his native assistants, one of whom was holding a manuscript. Historians analyzed this portrait as

the depiction of true identity and recognition of the efforts of the local translators in creating the Mackenzie Collection. In the early years of the colonial rule this recognition, though not found all over the country, surely demands special attention.

In the first volume of the *Asiatick Researches* (1788), President William Jones had once clarified the intended objects of the enquiries of the Orientalists. It was the study of the relationship between man and nature, 'whatever is performed by the one and produced by the other'.[80] In doing so, they stressed upon the study of history, science and art. The works of Mackenzie testified this objective in a true sense. If we consider the term 'Orientalism' as a discourse in the line of Said, it must be understood that colonizers and colonized both had played the role in creating that discourse. As Trautman said, Orientalism is a self-conscious intellectual formation with definite ideology.[81] The main concern was the formation of a composite knowledge in the making of which both indigenous and Orientalist urges were in action. Mackenzie while availing the assistance of Boria, had continuously appreciated the indigenous value and awareness of perceiving history and that gave rise to the complex sociology of knowledge.

The Enlightenment zeal of empiricism was in the core of Orientalism and the application of empiricism in an unknown place was never devoid of the efforts of the colonized people, though in the colonial settings British Indian interaction was hierarchical in many senses. The relationship between Dr. Heyne and Mackenzie on the other hand shows the internal tensions of the British rule. Dr. Heyne, Company's botanist on the Madras establishment accompanied Mackenzie during his first few months on the North-West frontier. But after returning to Bangalore Mackenzie reported that he had been very troublesome.[82] The life and works of Mackenzie clearly demonstrated the many facets of colonial rule. Homi K. Bhbha in his book *The Location of Culture,* has argued that the dependence on the 'fixity' in the psychological construction of otherness is

another important feature of colonial discourse. The function of ambivalence in the working of the colonial discourse can undermine this 'fixity'.[83] The constantly changing historical and discursive conjunctures in colonial India were the main catalysts to this ambivalence. Unlike Foucault, who posits epistemological breaks in defining the power-knowledge relationship, Said overlooked this ambivalence. He proposed the unified character of Western domination over the Orient. Knowledge was never imparted without suspicion and the direct invocation of British authority, but the British authority was never unified. During the early colonial rule in the knowledge making process, both the colonizers and the colonized acted as coordinators of knowledge rather than being part of a mere dominant-dominated structure. This is process of acculturation in which both parties represented themselves in a unique way. The term 'Representation' has a very nuanced connotation. It can be intentional or constructive. In the Mackenzie Collection, the indigenous plants, customs, mythologies, architectures, were represented just as it were. His zeal as a collector was reflected in his work. When he described the sculptured windows in the Jain *bustee* of *Chandragupta* on the lesser hill of *Shravana-Bellagolla* on the left and right side, his descriptions cannot be categorized as the Eurocentric urge to represent the Orient.[84] There is no doubt that in the context of the early colonial rule when Company was trying to get stronghold over the newly conquered areas, the surveys and studies of the local mythologies and the origin of the local tribes, chieftains, plants, architecture had immense political significance. To highlight the political significance, we cannot undermine the intellectual significance of the Mackenzie Collection. The *Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose* by Immanuel Kant and *Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind* (1784) by Johann Gottfried Herder paved the way for considering history as an interaction of cultures rather than separate progression of religions, individuals or states. Apart from them, Schlegel, Schopenhauer

all were propounding a sense of connectivity influenced by the Enlightenment ardor. The early colonial scholar-administrators were invoking this sense of connected history in their works. Through their efforts the late eighteenth century British Indian history, connecting world history sustained the above-mentioned idea. The economic-political presence continuously loomed behind the intellectual search for knowledge. Wilhelm Halbfass in his book *India and Europe; An Essay in Philosophical Understanding* has argued that, as Warren Hastings the Governor-General of India, explicitly encouraged the study of the Indian traditions and conceptual world to control the Indians within their own worlds, this did not hamper the sustainable development of the scholarly works.[85] Thus, it is evident from the above detailed discussion of Colin Mackenzie's work that, the imposition of a homogenous West against the homogenous East is not a historically approved fact. My argument here is that the contact between Europe and India has helped both continents to reshape each other, to define each other in a more critical way that cannot be measured just as a marginal impact of the global phenomenon like colonialism. The tenacious way of acquiring knowledge, the relentless urge to perceive the local customs, beliefs in their own terms have made Mackenzie one of the main protagonists of this postcolonial trend of writing history. After his coming to India till death the primary concern of Colin Mackenzie was to collect things to understand the South Indian life and reality. His life and work cannot be measured in the linear monolithic way of 'Orientalism'. It was not possible for British people to continue historical search in an unknown place without the help of the Company. The Company servants who searched for the Orientalist knowledge were part of the system of universal knowledge production unknowingly. The primary sources based on the letters and plates which were found in the library and museum of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, bears the evidences of Mackenzie's efforts in perceiving South Indian history impartially. The private and public

sphere of one's life is nothing but a continuum. Mackenzie's duty as Company's surveyor and later as Surveyor-General and his personal urge to bring South Indian history in front of the broader audience was the opposite sides of a same coin. His primary and main concern was to study the indigenous culture, customs and for serving this purpose he mainly concentrated on the previously untouched historical materials and by doing so, Mackenzie had linked Indian history with the broader horizon of the universal history.

James Rennell and the Importation of Western Cartographic knowledge to India (1767-1777): From the Age of Expansion in the world history, maps have acted as the tools of expansion of the imperial rule. As Joseph Conrad demonstrates in his book, *Heart of Darkness*, mapping became one of the most dramatic illustrations of existing power during the nineteenth century imperialism. According to the novels on imperialism which *Heart of Darkness* exemplifies, maps can be read as a form of language. Maps communicate not only information but also attitudes. Moving beyond a simplistic investigation of whether maps are accurate or inaccurate, an examination of cartography as a language of empire illuminates important elements of the process of imperial expansion and consolidation. James Rennell was the first Surveyor-General of Bengal and later Surveyor-General of India. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, there was a transaction of knowledge between Europe and its colonies which was the precursor of modern world system. James Rennell's contributions in the growth of cartography in colonial India, is the honest mark-bearer of this transaction. In the power dynamics between Europe and its colonies, as portrayed by Edward Said in his famous book *Orientalism*, the connection between imperial history and knowledge is missing. My argument here is that the East-West binary is not a linear process. Rather it demands to involve multi-dimensional lenses through which

the layers of the relationship between Europe and its colonies can be comprehended. This chapter focuses on the processes of knowledge formation connecting it to colonial contexts with a special reference to James Rennell's work.

Surveying and map-making as a product of knowledge which are continually formed and incessantly contested, are always subjective. It can be argued that the globalization of the geographical knowledge, scientific knowledge, technologies like map-making, surveying during the sixteenth-seventeenth century has rejuvenated a space for a synthesis and the creation of the new patterns of scientific knowledge. In a way colonialism, science, technology, constituted the conditions for the development for each other.[86] The works of James Rennell shows how military expansion and political centralisation implicated colonial knowledge. Rennell joined the Royal Navy in 1756 at the age fourteen and went to the Philippines with Alexander Dalrymple at age twenty. In 1763, the East India Company hired him to survey the routes from Calcutta to the Bay of Bengal. In 1764, he became Surveyor-General of Bengal. When he left India in 1777, he put India on the map with his comprehensive *Map of Hindoostann* which appeared in several editions afterwards. Though there are several questions regarding the accuracy of the maps and the data he provided. As afterwards those data were multiplied and maps were reorganized as the British power expanded rapidly.[87] C R Markham in his voluminous work, *Major James Rennell and the Rise of the Modern English Geography,* has correctly argued that a geographer should have possessed an all-encompassing talent and expertise over a variety of knowledge regarding surveying, discovering and exploring. He further argued that, like a poet, a geographer is born, he is not made. A geographer must be born with the instinct without which the training and preparation cannot make a finished geographer and must have the faculty of discussing the earlier works and of bringing out all that is instructive and useful in the study of the historical

geography. According to Markham such men do not rise until the time is ripe for them and for the case of James Rennell, he possessed all of above-mentioned qualities and had the advantage of succeeding the renowned works of the French geographers like D'Anville by which afterwards he gained the title, 'the English D'Anville'.[88] The patronage of the colonial government was a very necessary requisite for cartographic developments and there is no doubt that Rennell secured that patronage very likely. This good terms with the administration ascertained Rennell's allowance of Rs.1000 per year. The Governor of Bengal Henry Vansittart wrote to him,

> As the work you are now employed on will, I think, be of great use, so nothing in my power shall be wanting to put your services in such a light to the Company that they may give you the encouragement that your diligence desreves.[89]

David Ludden once argued that during 1784 when Pitt's India Act was passed, the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded and Company Raj was continuously denunciated at home, there emerged an urge among the British for knowing India for themselves, in their own terms, by indulging in the indigenous source of knowledge in their own way. He continues to argue that during this period military and political campaigns were going on side by side which constituted the context for collecting data and this process of data collection in turn gave birth to Orientalism as a body of knowledge. Thus, colonialism recognized India politically and empirically at the same time, and the two reorganizations supported each other.[90] During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries Geography ceased to become a simple description of earth and had become a 'universal science' an approach formulated by Englishman Laurence Echard in 1713.[91] The fathers of English geography were Richard Eden and Richard Haklyut who in 1555 and 1589 published the first collections of voyages and travels. They supplied the love of adventure and the spirit of enterprise. Scientific measurements and the geographical information went on side by side from the very first day. James Rennell began to survey the Bengal Delta in 1764. From

then, he spent years surveying and recording the channels of the numerous tributaries and distributaries of the Ganges-Brahmaputra River systems. *A Bengal Atlas* is one of Rennell's most important publications. The map and the *Memoir* reinforced and enhanced his reputation as cartographer of international caliber and opened professional and social doors for him within the scientific community of London.[92] In the early years his chief interest was to identify the navigable channels that connected the salt works and mapping settlements along the rivers. *A Particular Plan of the Custee Creek from the head to the bar, Surveyed June the 9th, 1764* by Rennell is among the earliest maps of Bengal made by using very limited survey techniques.[93] In his memoir James Rennell admits that,

> ……I have borrowed in a smaller degree, from d' Anville's maps of Asia and India published in 1751and 1752. When it is considered that this excellent geographer had scarcely any materials to work on for the island parts of India, but from the vague itineraries, and books of travels, one is really astonished to find them so well described as they are.[94]

The title of his Memoir explicitly equated Hindoostan with the Mughal Empire, *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan or the Mogul's Empire,* whereas the maps were of entire subcontinent. Thus, he established a conceptual equivalence between the subcontinent, India and the Mughal Empire. According to Matthew Edney, the cultural plurality of this continent was brought under a single entity. But there is nothing pessimistic in bringing a place under a single rubric politically and geographically.[95] It was quite a political trend tracing India since the ancient period which tended to denote some kind of unity. In the nineteenth century the consolidation of the idea of 'India' was the final culmination of this idea of unity on the basis of which Indian nationalism grew stronger. The concept of *asamudrahimachala* was developing during this time unconsciously. But this is not to say that Rennell possessed any greater idea about a future British Empire which would one day cover the whole subcontinent. Instead, the maps of India as a subcontinent produced by Rennell and copied by other European geographers reflected the continuing presence

of the Mughal Empire as the sole source of authority in the subcontinent.[96] The conceptual potency of Rennell's framing of India and the subsequent consolidation of that image depended on European culture's unquestioning acceptance of maps as unproblematic and truthful statement of geographical reality.[97] The formation of this cartographic ideal had two stages. First, the Enlightenment philosophy developed an epistemological ideal i.e. correct archival of knowledge could be constructed by following a rational process epitomized by map-making. The second stage was the promulgation of technological solution-triangulation which promised to perfect geographical knowledge. James Rennell provides the starting point for the eighteenth-century style of topographic map making in India. He made the first regional survey in the subcontinent, of Bengal between 1765 and 1771 and did so with a methodology derived from the techniques of map compilation. This style of survey was fast and relatively easy and it was popular with military surveyors throughout the eighteenth century. In British India triangulation was represented by the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India (hereafter GTSI). Oyndrila Sarkar in an essay has identified the GTSI as a separate phenomenon of building an identity which helped to shape colonial India by mapping its terrain and people.[98] GTSI under William Lambton and George Everest was first examined to understand the cultural, social, political, and personal motivations of modern systematic surveys. Such surveys have so dominated the western cartography that they define the modern concept of cartography as a progressive science. GTSI also published a number of papers which are of immense value to research scholars who wish to know about the progress, techniques and personnel of the survey. William Lambton's articles in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal give an account of the progress of the survey through to 1815. George Everest also wrote on the Great Arc project. Later Andrew Waugh's papers were published in the same journal. Later the GTSI published the entire work of the GTS

operations in thirty-two separate volumes. James Rennell as the producer of the first large scale map of the subcontinent, has contributed a lot to the history of surveying in colonial India as a part of GTSI.[99] By the late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth century norms of representation map-making and surveying were the epitomes of the ordered and structured creation of scientific knowledge. Michel Foucault in his book *Order of Things: An Archaeology of Human Sciences*, argued for an 'order' imposed by the dominating country over the natural order of the dominated country. He further continued to argue on another very interesting aspect of this representation. He shows that there was a coherence between this theory of representation and the theories of language, natural order and also of wealth and value. Through the process of representation, a profound historicity penetrates into the heart of the things, isolates and defines them in their own coherence.[100] Thus, the imposition of order to the naive indigenous territory was nothing but the continuity of time in which knowledge changes its form. The introduction of trigonometrical survey in India or the process of combining terrestrial and celestial measurements which constituted the mathematical cosmography, was very fundamental to the Enlightenment's scientific world order. In the early phases of map-making surveying and making maps were two simultaneous scientific processes through which knowledge about a place was constructed. In this procedure, the subject of knowledge became flexible to accommodate itself into the newer version of knowledge, produced by the Enlightenment world order. With the expeditions made by Col. Thomas D. Pearse, Joseph Huddart, Sir Robert Fullarton (active scientists in the Peninsula), the materials for Rennell's *Memoir*, increased and new editions came to be published as well.[101] The collaboration of knowledge in physics, geology, chemistry, botany, zoology came hand in hand to make a holistic picture of scientific knowledge in the colonial context. Mapmaking was not possible without the knowledge in physics, botany, and trigonometry

The touch of Enlightenment empiricism, thus, became core of the knowledge production structure. Saidian version of knowledge-power nexus does not fit here. While the colonial masters were discovering India for themselves, they were just initiating the norms of 'knowing' which were popular in their terms. This notion was relevant in any political juncture at any places. By highlighting only the colonial structure, the importance of the formation of this new empirical knowledge cannot be minimized. Two simultaneous processes, colonial political domination and the formation of empirical body of knowledge supported one another in various ways and the conversion of the indigenous places, languages, natural things from a naive innocent object to the subject of the recent intellectual and cultural development in Europe made the picture a complex one.

Rila Mukherjee in an essay, 'Space, Knowledge and Power: Geography as a machine for Mastery in the Age of European Expansion (1200-1800)', has argued that by the eighteenth century geography reinvented itself once again as the handmaiden of imperialism but in two new 'avatars' that of orientalism and cartography.[102] Under the direction of James Rennell, British mapping had turned from general maritime charts to the recording of the routeways, towns, villages, though it was still concerned with the correction of the knowledge of the ancients as well as with practical concerns.[103] Europeans possessed a knowledge about India that was wrapped in the layers of medieval mystifications. The centuries of intensive empirical contact that followed the successive years, finally peeled away the mystifications and obfuscations. Cartography is the one of the spheres where this scientific transition can be noticed. The obscure inaccurate maps of the early fifteenth-sixteenth centuries were gradually replaced by the more accurate maps in the eighteenth century.[104] The blank spaces in those early maps were the source of inspiration as well as curiosity that gave birth to an urge to create the new maps in the later days. Susan Gole in her book, *Early Maps of India,* has argued that construction of

a new map from the geographical discoveries is an arduous task as the latest knowledge demands to be expressed correctly and minutely.[105] James Rennell began to survey the Bengal Delta. From then, he spent years surveying and recording the channels of the numerous tributaries and distributaries of the Ganges-Brahmaputra river systems. *A Bengal Atlas* is one of Rennell's most important publications. He is well known for his *A Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan or the Mogul's Empire (1782)* which appeared in several editions later. The *Memoir* reinforced and enhanced his reputation as cartographer of international calibre and opened professional and social doors for him within the scientific community of London.[106] In the early years his chief interest was to identify the navigable channels that connected the salt works and mapping settlements along the rivers. Prior to him there were mainly missionaries and army engineers who took interests in the task of map making. This had been changed due to the appointment of Rennell. After the Battle of Plassey, when Company received the 24 *parganas,* there was a huge encouragement from London to know the range of the cultivable lands and the structure of the land also required to be known for the purpose of the revenue collection. Each Governor in turn, Henry Vansittart, Robert Clive, Lord Harry Verelst, John Cartier were eager to carry on map-making and was not hesitant to extend their patronage in the service of cartography. The Governor of Bengal wrote a letter to Rennell requesting him to carry a survey to find out shortest and safest routes through Ganges to reach interiors of the 24 *Parganas*.[107] The submission of regular journals had been demanded from the surveyors as a voucher of the progress made on a good direction like, gathering information about the little-known country. Rennell was no exception. Those journals included the details of the routes, rivers, creeks the surveyors passed by. Similar instructions were issued by Rennell to his assistants.[108] The earliest map of Bengal was compiled by the great Portuguese historian Jean De Barros extending Orissa on the West to the Tripura on the

East. But in his Memoir, Rennell had accepted the influence of D'Anville to some extent. He admitted that there were difficulties in carrying on the survey but D'Anville has gathered information from various sources such as vague itineraries, and books of travels and utilized them brilliantly.[109] Rennell himself had to face various hinderances during his survey. When he started his survey, Bengal was not under the regular administration of the Company servants who were still strangers in the land occupied with commerce and money-making. Added to his difficulties, Rennell had also faced shortage of assistance as well as non-cooperation from the locals. He was also attacked by the Sannyasi raiders near the Southern border of Cooch Behar.[110] Despite that he was able to compile the maps which were though not accurate, yet enough to comprehend a general view of the territory. Since 1780, Rennell had been working on the map of India in London, and as he had been to India by himself to survey the part of East coast of the Subcontinent, as well as Bengal, he was in a better position in comparison with his famous predecessor D'Anville. Rennell went further to use colors to demarcate the borders, for the first time in history, a red color was used to define borders of British India. Scientific knowledge was transmitted and utilized according to the needs of the British Empire but in the process of this transmission the knowledge of the mother country had been reformed itself. The diffusion of scientific knowledge in India can be divided into phase. like, introduction of scientific knowledge through various surveys in the early colonial phase, and the institutionalization of this scientific knowledge which was started by the initiatives taken by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Serious attempts were made by the colonial government to forge institutional links between scientific knowledge and economic developments by which medical colleges, asylums were established in India during the twentieth century. The invocation of scientific knowledge, more specifically cartography under the colonial context has been viewed by the

historians like Ian J.Barrow, Mathhew Edney, U Kalpagam and many more as the tool for legitimizing the territorial expansion. The British officials during this period collected information regarding unknown places to in an unsystematic way which was the first step towards creating an archive of world knowledge. Scholars like Raymond Schwab, Ronald Inden, Edward Said, while discussing the East-West relationship, highlighted the imperialist approach neglecting this side of global knowledge formation process through which both ends of the binary molded each other. The imposition or export of scientific knowledge beyond its place of origin was not always bounded by the norms and convention decided by the mother country but by the gestures and social rules of the host country. The process of accommodating new knowledge has always two ends. By criticizing this view, Ian J Barrow has argued that though there was a pre-existing knowledge of mapping in India and the European cartographers incorporated that knowledge in their works, the final products of those efforts were intended for the European audience.[111] He has also shown that through his works, Rennell has made Bengal a territory that was possessed by the British. He asserted that it was the British people, and not just the Company men who were the real beneficiaries of the Company rule.[112] Territoriality does not just occur and territory itself is not just an empty space. For land to be turned into territory it needs to be inhabited, appropriated or recognized in some form. The process of surveying and mapping may be the components in the transformation of land into territory. Rennell has done this to some extent. Though Barrow sees the efforts of Rennell and other cartographers within the colonial structure, I have observed that the works of Rennell had made an excessive contribution in the development of modern cartography and geographical knowledge in India. Here the point is that there is not a little space for denying that the introduction of ‘open air’ sciences in colonial India was another way round to ascertain the imperial control. The revenue

surveys, tracking numerous rivers, creeks, discovering new lands, all efforts are the markers of this intention. But by doing so, those cartographers and surveyors had altered the way of comprehending the indigenous society for the broader audience for whom they were collecting information. This was a significant contribution towards the globally emerging paraphernalia of scientific knowledge. R H Phillimore gives a glimpse of the instruments and techniques used by the eighteenth-century surveyors. There were chains, perambulators for measuring distance, compasses, circumferentors, theodolites for measuring angles. Presumably Rennell and his contemporary surveyors used chains for measuring distances which is very popular method of military surveys during that time.[113]

Bernard S. Cohn in his book *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge* had argued that the British entered a new world that they tried to comprehend with their own process of knowing and thinking.[114] But in this argument the reflections of the Saidian version of Orientalist approach is very much evident. The main tone behind the 'investigative modalities', as proposed by Cohn, was the marginalization of the indigenous source of information. On the contrary, influenced by Manuel Castells' of the place of information technology of late twentieth century social formations, Bayly demonstrated that the exchange of information between the indigenous body of translators, social reformists, learned communities and the colonial masters, created a space for developing new kind of knowledge which was molded and incorporated into the indigenous society as well. Same tone has been reflected in the book by Eugene Irschick, *Dialogue and History*, in the case of South India.[115] This cohesion though happened under the rubric of colonialism, should be comprehended as the extension of a global scientific knowledge network.

In the background of the West dominated theoretical paraphernalia on Asia, the formulation of binary by Said was based on the epistemological and ontological

distinction between the Orient and the Occident. Said described the ties between the metropole and colonies in a way in which the Foucauldian version of power-knowledge dynamics acted in a discursive formation. But the process is not a linear one as pointed out by number of scholars who criticised Said in their own way such as Aijaz Ahmad, Homi K. Bhabha, Gayatri Chakrabarty Spivak, Rahul Sapra and many more. The posing of homogenous West against a homogenous East, as Said wished to portray it, is problematic. If we consider the works of James Rennell in the broader context of transplantation of scientific knowledge on global scale, it would be easier to understand the real value of those efforts. The British colonizers in India was never a homogenous entity. James Rennell in his *Memoir* implicitly described the coming of the Muslims as a watershed in Indian History as a whole. He continued to argue that before the coming of the Muslims there was no proper history of the Hindus as the existing sources were destroyed or secluded from the common eyes by the *pandits*.[116] The *Memoir* also carried 'sketches' of the history of the 'Moghul Empire' and that of 'the Maharattas'. The narrative of the former is represented in a way that it indicates the possibility of a similar British empire in future, and the later narrative, as the formidable foes who were needed to be vanquished.[117] Early British Historiography envisioning the possibility of an Indian empire, not only provided the chronology of different rulers but also attempted to present locale of those regimes. The *Memoir* also contained the detailed notes on each of the principal states and certainly expanded what is normally said as geographical details. Compiling evidences from the recently translated *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl by Gladwin under the patronage of Warren Hastings and Frazer's *History of Nadir Shah,* Rennell sought to demarcate the *eleven Subhas* of Akbar, also referring to it as the original division of India. In doing so he marked the boundaries of the *Subhas,* noted the capitals, remarked on the Hindu practices of naming places, and most importantly noted the

revenue divisions under Aurangzeb.[118] He thus adhered to the provincial borders of *Ain-i-Akbari*. Here, we can assume the heterogenous nature of the British colonizers themselves. If we keep in mind the later works of James Mill which demarcated the medieval period in Indian history as a dark period, the ideological differences within the British Government will be clear. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, a colonial government was being introduced and these early years when Rennell came to Bengal, were ripe with ambiguities and changing perceptions about India. Edmund Burke in 1788 said about the British in India, that the British East India Company did not exist as a national colonial power. It was a seminary for the succession of officers. They were a commonwealth without people.[119] During sixteenth-eighteenth centuries politics and trade blurred into each other fostering plural and negotiated forms of sovereignty. Sugata Bose in his book *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire*, has traced on the continuing relevance of the Indian Ocean basin as an 'intermediate zone' between the levels of nation and globe and rejected the unidirectional history of the expansion of the capitalist economy.[120] This trend of rejecting the unidirectional history of the spread of capitalism in the sphere of world economic history was also reflected in the post-colonial socio-political history writing. It has diverted its focus from comprehending East-West relationship only in terms of colonial subjugation of the West to the multi-layered story of exchanging knowledge. Rennell made a scientific comparison of the different landscapes to comprehend the vast size of the Indian subcontinent. Topography as a knowledge was perceived by him beyond any fixed boundary while at the same time the different regions were cartographically ascertained. Rennell introduced for the first time the method of scientific survey which in later days was more developed into the Great Trigonometrical Survey method. The cognitive role of cartography is more important here rather than a mere tool of

imperialism. Though the colonial context within which Rennell worked to know the land geographically cannot be ignored, his contributions to the development of cartography or geographical knowledge world-wide cannot be undermined too. The totalistic approach of Saidian Orientalism should be reexamined as there are variegated nuances to be understood. In aa recent book, *Asia as Method: Toward Deimperialism*, Kuan-Hsing Chen has differentiated between Europe as power and Europe as theory. Europe as a power denotes colonial power and Europe as theory denotes the role played by it in the global knowledge production system.[121] In this global network of knowledge Europe and Asia played just as two parties creating a whole.

In the concluding remarks, I would like to argue that science and technology cannot be defined by boundaries. George Basalla's three-staged diffusionist theory gives us a simplistic view of the history of western science and technology. But a wider and deep insight is needed to comprehend the nature of the diffusion. This transfusion of knowledge was never unilinear. When Rennell came to Bengal to make proper survey of the area, he did not initiate his project on a *tabula rasa.* Rather the pre-existing revenue measurements made by Todar Mal under Akbar were followed by him with great zeal and vigor. British expansion in seventeenth-eighteenth century world was a legacy that was carried forward from the Age of Exploration in the world history. Exploring new areas and connecting them with the wider world were the two simultaneous processes that were carried on parallelly. The expansion of the colonial power during this period had two edges, one is logic another is technology. One is application and another is theoretical. The logical part of Rennell's work is colonialism and imperialism. But the technological significance cannot be undermined due to the first part. Thus, when we remember his name, we often call him the 'father of Indian Geography' despite his colonial legacy.

Diffusion of Scientific knowledge and the Colonial Governmentality: One of the important initiatives of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment had been the intellectual discovery of the non-European, non- Christian world. Imbued with the idea of converting focus from the Christian world and asserting equality and basic natural rationality of the entire human race, the Oriental philosophies, literature, became pivotal point of attention in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century European world. The importance given by Rennell to the existing political subdivisions made by Akbar or the incorporation of local histories, customs and the portrayal of his local assistants with him in the same painting, all depict the intellectual leanings of the contemporary Europe. In this way the history of imperialism and the history of identity formation is entwined with each other. The importation of trigonometrical survey or mathematical cosmology can never be applied successfully in Indian soil if the time was not ripe for it. Both process of criticizing the 'Oriental Despots' and the urge for knowing the local customs went on simultaneously and this was the main essence of this period which constitutes the diversified flow of knowledge, not in a unidirectional way. The process of making 'home' in the new colony has already been started during this time which will reach the zenith in the later days. Through the process of knowing the 'exotic' lands in the Orient, the colonizers were somehow formulating newer identity for themselves. Ian Barrow has described the process of map-making as the possession and incorporation of India within the British empire, but not its subsumption within it.[122] The concept of geographically fixed but ideologically moveable homeland was very much in the air. The scientific knowledge produced during the early phase of the colonial rule thus reproduced the metropole on the one hand and also led to the fresh production of newer scientific knowledge on the other. When early surveyors like Colin Mackenzie and James Rennell

used, descriptive narratives and conventional picturesque to depict a newly found territory, there was a conscious effort to sooth the anxiety emerging from constant warfare. Scholars like, Matthew Edney, Ian Barrow has repeatedly pointed out the close connection between science and imperialism. The application of trigonometrical survey in order to make a proper military and revenue survey led perfection and rationality to the highest peak.[123] The whole notion of East-West division in cultural, political and intellectual terms was based on the Eurocentric notion of Enlightenment and Scientific Revolution. It means, the parameters set by Europe became the main tool in criticizing Europe's colonial domination. Paolo Palladino and Michael Worboys in an article, 'Science and Imperialism' has put forward the subtle angles of the relationship between the two. Criticizing Lewis Pyenson's argument on the civilizing mission of science in the age of empire, they argued that this relationship between science and imperialism varied from one colonial context to another.[124] The history of science and imperialism is just a phase in the broader aspect of the history of science and the application of scientific and technological knowledge in the colonies by the mother country was molded by various socio-political and economic factors as well as the inter-personal relationship at the local levels. Apart from this the generalization of scientific conditions in the metropole is also an exaggeration. The scientific and cultural heritage of both colonizers and the colonized had equal important role in the creation of a complete picture of history of science. This multilayered attitude is best expressed through the Anglicist-Orientalist debate regarding education policies in mid-nineteenth century India. In 1823, the General Public Committee of Instruction with the intention of defining and enforcing educational policy in India, decided to introduce Western learning including the study of diverse scientific topics such as, mechanics optics electricity, astronomy and chemistry in Sanskrit. In this decision the Orientalist tone was largely visible. On their turn, this was a unique way to

reconcile between both western and eastern notions of scientific development. H.H.Wilson being the main proponent of this view was contradicted by Raja Rammohun Roy. Rammohun Roy propounded the 'Anglicist way' in the case of spreading scientific knowledge.[125] In his letter to Lord Amherst, he stressed on the promoting a more liberal and enlightened system of education imparted through the proper institutions. He strongly protested against the establishment of the Hindu Sanskrit College in Calcutta by H.H. Wilson. Both side of the debate can be comprehended properly by situating them in their immediate socio-cultural conditions. The Orientalists on their terms were interested in invoking a sense of synthesis between two cultures. On the other side, Rammohun Roy was expressing a cross-cultural mentality by giving importance to the western method of learning. Then, James Mill and Thomas Macaulay has highlighted the 'degenerated' condition of the Oriental society and followed the path of Charles Grant which advocated the modernization of Indian society and introduction of modern science and technology through the missionary activities. As the activities of the missionaries were strongly curtailed by the Company in the past, they never missed an opportunity to utilize the right moment. This right moment was created by the Charter Act of 1813 which abolished the monopoly of the Company. It marked the beginning of the end of mercantile capitalism in Indian subcontinent. Then, finally in 1835, Macaulay as the president of the General Committee of Public Instruction, silenced the Orientalist faction and recommended the extension of the official patronage to the development of western science and technology in India. Thus, within an the almost forty years of the death of William Jones the British authority in India fell into several serious factions regarding the policy of governing India and was ultimately subsided by the others. India may be never perceived to be a 'colony', as Canada or Australia were. The relationship between the core-periphery was never a linear one. By contextualizing within the colonies, the core always reshaped itself. As

discussed in the earlier part of the chapter, the efforts of Mackenzie in the initial years were not perceived with great encouragement by the authority and he himself mentioned about the slender amount of allowance. But he received a beautiful cooperation from the indigenous people to whom he always expressed his gratitude. On the contrary, James Rennell had received patronage of Governors of Bengal such as, Vansittart, Clive, but he faced various attacks from the indigenous folks in the course of progression in the newly conquered area. After the loss of the American colonies, Britain's great overseas investment in science as also in capital lay in India.[126] It had become the only site where the Asiatic Society of Bengal or the Great Trigonometrical Surveys were initiated from 1800 with great enthusiasm. India was the only site where scientific and technological knowledge found a path away from the 'Solomon's Society'. The creating of the inferior 'others' in order to colonize is not only a colonial phenomenon rather it is common among the powers who came in conflict since the early modern period. The teleological assumption that the practices and ideologies of the British Empire decisively contributed to the success of the empire, is a bit ahistorical. This teleological view ignored the nature of transmutation of knowledge far from its place of origin by over-stressing on the power-knowledge relationship. The colonial power cannot offer a single iteration and reiteration of a single political rationality.[127] As Partha Chatterjee argued, the concepts of 'colonial' and 'modern' are separate from each other. Rather there were political as well as cultural discontinuities which made an imperialism a complete structure.[128] The nature of the colonial state in the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century cannot be generalized with that of the late nineteenth-twentieth century. During this formative phase of the British empire rationality was drawn from the periphery and not form the metropole. When Rennell was using the previous revenue divisions of Akbar, he was trying to assimilate the western and eastern notion of governing rationality. In a report on the administration

of the Government, W M G Colebrooke, a liberal Whig, vigorously opposed the autocratic power of the Governor and proposed for a general legislative and executive council favoring the natural rights of the people.[129] Through the post-colonial parameters of rationality and modernity this kind of collaborative, wider nature of political as well as cultural rationality in the early colonial India cannot be comprehended. Without understanding this multi-layered nature of colonial governmentality, the practices and policies taken by it, cannot be properly understood. Anna Winterbottom in her book, *Hybrid knowledge in the Early East India Company World*, has argued that assumption of power by the East India Company in the eighteenth-nineteenth century was the consequence of the rise and fall of empires that occurred with no regard to the Company's policy in London.[130] The creation of knowledge within this colonial structure happened through reciprocal though asymmetrical negotiations. Those negotiations occurred at different levels extending from periphery to the metropole. The place of creation and dissemination of knowledge intersected with each other in this way. Within the collaborative openness, the works of the early geographers, botanists, geologists in colonial India should be placed. The 'natural knowledge' can be made useful knowledge' in any historical conjuncture. Knowledge whether botanical, cartographic, medical, ethnographic, or linguistic, is not born only in the category of being 'useful. Knowledge ultimately leads to uniformity not to diversity. Thus, multicultural interactions beyond the Saidian version of interpretation share new angles to recapitulate the history of dissemination of science in early colonial India.

End Notes:

1. J. D. Bernal, *Science in History*, vol-1, (London: CA Watts & Co. Ltd. 1954), 133-140.
2. Katherine Bootle Attie, 'Selling Science: Bacon, Harvey and Commodification of Knowledge', *Modern Philology*, University of Chicago Press, Vol 110, No. 3, (February, 2013), 419.
3. For details see, Max Horkheimer and Theodore W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, translated by Edmund Jephcott, (California: Stanford University Press 2002), 1-34, J.D. Bernal, 'Dialectic Materialism and Modern Science' *Science and Society*, Winter, 1937, vol 2, no.1, (Winter, 1937), 58-66, *Science in History: The Emergence of Science*, vol I, (UK: Penguin Books, 1954), 27-54, Zaheer Baber, *The Science of Empire: Scientific knowledge, Civilization and Colonial Rule in India*, (USA: State University of New York Press, 1996), 9.
4. James Rennell, *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan or the Moghul Empire,* (London, 1788), xix-lxxxix.
5. Alexander Johnston, 'Biographical Sketch of the Literary Career of the late Colonel Colin Mackenzie, Surveyor-General of India; comprising some particulars of his Collection of Manuscripts, Plans, Coins, Drawings, Sculptures, &c. illustrative of the Antiquities, History, Geography, Laws, Institutions, and Manners, of the Ancient Hindús', *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1834, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1834), 334-338
6. Nicholas Dirks, *Autobiography of an Archive*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 33.

7. Girish Karnad, *The Dreams of Tipu Sultan and Bali:The Sacrifice: Two Plays by Girish Karnad,* (USA: Oxford University Press, 2004), 7-9. This also have been used by Rama Sundari Mantena in the beginning of her second chapter on Mackenzie. But here the usage of the context is different than that of the previous.
8. O. P. Kejariwal, *The Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Discovery of India's Past*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988), 22-23.
9. Alexander Dow (1735-1779) was a Scottish historian and army officer. He wrote the book *History of Hindostan* (1768). John Malcolm (1769-1833) was another soldier-administrator of the British East India Compnay. During his course of service in India he produced many literary works including the seminal work, *The Sketches of the Political History of India* (1811). Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779-1869) was the Governor of Bombay Presidency and he wrote *History of India* which was published in 1841.
10. Mildred Archer, *British Drawing in the India Office Library*, Vol II, (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1959),473-474.
11. H.H. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection: A Descriptive Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts and other Articles, Illustrative of the Literature, History, Statistics, and Antiquities of the South India collected by Lieut. Col. Colin Mackenzie*, Calcutta, 1828, second edition, viii-ix.
12. Alexander Johnston, 'Biographical Sketch of the Literary Career of the late Colonel Colin Mackenzie', 1834, 335-338.
13. H.H. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection,* ix.
14. Alexander Johnston, 'Biographical Sketch of the Literary Career of the late Colonel Colin Mackenzie, 343.
15. Jennifer Howes, *Illustrating India: The Early Colonial Investigations of Colin Mackenzie (1784-1821)*, (New Delhi: OUP, 2010), 14.

16. H.H. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection,* ix.
17. Nadupalli Srirama Raju (ed), *Catalogue of Mackenzie Kaifiyats*, (New Delhi: National Mission for Manuscripts, 2019), xi.
18. Ibid, xi.
19. John M. Mackenzie, *Orientalism: History, theory and the arts*, (UK: Manchester University Press, 1995), 29.
20. Mark Wilks was a friend of Mackenzie and a renowned scholar of South Indian antiquities. He wrote *Historical Sketches of South of India* (1810) using materials, supplied and described by Mackenzie.
21. Richard Drayton, 'Knowledge and Empire', in P J. Marshall and Alaine Low eds *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century,* Vol II, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 243.
22. Nicholas B. Dirks, 'Colonial Histories and Native Informants: Biography of an Archive' in *Orientalism and the Post-Colonial Predicament: Perspective on South Asia*, Carol Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer (eds.), (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994), 281.
23. Rama Sundari Mantena, *The Origins of the Modern Historiography in India: Antiquarianism and Philology (1780-1880)*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 60.
24. Ibid. 20-35
25. '*Kaifiyat*' is an Arabic term. It means explanations or descriptive narration. Various *Kaifiyats* were collected by Mackenzie during his staying in South India with the help of local people. '*Kavila*' means the record kept by the village headman. A number of *Kavilas* were also collected by Mackenzie which were a part of the Mackenzie Collection. For details see, Nadupalli Srirama Raju (ed), *Catalogue of Mackenzie Kaifiyats*, xiii-xix.
26. Rama Sundari Mantena, *The Origins of the Modern Historiography in India,* 59-61.

27. Nadupalli Srirama Raju (ed), *Catalogue of Mackenzie Kaifiyats*, xiii.
28. Colin Mackenzie, *Costumes of Balla Ghat, Carnatic*, Preserved in the Museum and Manuscripts section of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Plate No. 98, 58.
29. Mildred Archer, *British Drawing in the India Office Library,* 488.
30. Jennifer Howes, *Illustrating India,* 90.
31. Ibid, 95-110.
32. Ibid, 30-55.
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BUILDING EMPIRE, KNOWING HISTORY: JAMES PRINSEP (1819-1838) AND ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM (1833-1885)

British interest in the past histories of India was very crucial in the formation of their empire during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Rankean empiricism was main tool for knowing that history. British scholar-administrators, military officers, collectors played the most significant part in collecting and disseminating that historical knowledge in India. Because after 1757, the empire building process of a merchant organization like, British East India Company was solely dependent on the military pursuits. But the simultaneous process of accumulation of knowledge was also very much crucial for sustaining that empire. This dual need was also reflected in the workings of the high-ranking employees of the Company. This chapter examines the role of two specific personalities among those scholar-administrators in rejuvenating country's past: James Prinsep (1799-1840), whose decipherment of the Brahmi script has changed the course of writing Indian history and Alexander Cunningham (1814-1893), the father of Indian archaeology. Prinsep was an integral part of the Oriental studies initiated by the Asiatic Society and Cunningham was one of the greatest archaeologists and collector of coins. Several new forms and varieties of ancient Indian coins were discovered by him for the first time. The trajectories of British imperialism throughout the nineteenth century were ambiguous. The acquisition of political power by a trading company, during 1757-1858 was also reflected in the nature of British imperialism in that period. The political victory also led to a cultural victory which required understanding of the pre-existing socio-cultural norms of the indigenous society. The earlier

efforts were to know the indigenous society without any alteration in it. Because that was not possible for the Company officials. With time, the nature of this inquisitiveness also changed. The common antipathy to traditional Indian society shared by Evangelicals and Utilitarians was a radical departure from what was propounded earlier by Warren Hastings and Edmund Burke. During the Governor-Generalship of William Bentinck (1828-1835), the dynamism created by the institutionalized Orientalist visions of the Indian society during earlier period, had been replaced by the urgent need of reform. Within this turbulent political context, James Prinsep and Alexander Cunningham continued their sincere search for India's past for the sake of formation of a knowledge system which enriched the process of history writing in India till date. It was not a sudden beginning.

In 1832, James Tod, a Scottish romantic Orientalist and James Mill, a renowned liberal Utilitarian, gave testimony to the Parliamentary committee assessing the performance of the East India Company for the revision of the Company charter. Their testimony marked the sharp contrast between the views on the nature of the Company rule, as well as about the nature of enquiry and knowledge on India.[1] The Orientalist perspective recognized the uniqueness of the Indian civilization and regarded the Indians as potentials for self-rule. On the contrary, the Utilitarian perspective viewed the Indians as barbarian, incapable of self-rule. These contestations continued to animate British thought and policies from 1858 to 1947. Thus, the long period of Company rule (1757-1857) witnessed the changing equation between power and culture. The relationship between growing British power and their inquisitiveness towards Indian culture is not proportional. *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan* (1763 and 1778) and *Historical Fragments of the Moghul Empire* (1782) by Robert Orme, and *The Annals and Antiquities*

of Rajasthan (1829 and 1832) by James Tod were the two products of early phase of British Rule in India which celebrated the Indian society and culture in various ways.[2] Robert Orme was the first official British historiographer who provided a thorough history of the continent.[3] The urge was to record immediately what was happening in India. Imbued with the Enlightenment zeal he considered the expansion of the British empire in the subcontinent as beneficial for both. Tod's portrayal of Rajputs served to valorize the glory of the martial race. Tod, while accepting Sir William Jones' Brahman-centric lineages of Indo-European languages, differed from Jones by stressing on the common ancestry shared by the Britons and the Rajputs. But with benefit of hindsight, it can be said that the publication of Mill's *History of British India* (1817) afterwards overshadowed all of these earlier efforts. Evangelicals and Utilitarians, in the guise of a just rule laid the ground for the justification for Britain's permanent control in India. When Tod was writing his *Annals and Antiquities* during the mid-1820s, Mill's *History* was widely circulated. In David Arnold's line it can be said that the detailed work on the deeds and legends of the Rajput princes, in Tod's Annals had given Indians their first 'national history' that many of his contemporary fellows like Mill and early Orientalists considered to be lacking.[4] Tod's work is one of the greatest examples of the Orientalist scholarship. Analyzing the Orientalist scholarship with the power-knowledge dictum following Edward Said is irrelevant in this context. From 1757 onwards, the merchants and soldiers of the Company had taken the responsibility to act as the sovereign which required a proper understanding of the society they were about to rule. The military background of the early Orientalist scholars was never a mere co-incident because that helped them to gather first-hand information which helped them to comprehend the indigenous society in a clear way. This new responsibility along with the urge for

knowing the country was crucial behind the working of the early Orientalists. This period from 1784 to the mid-1800s was marked by a pluralist, progressive and universalist view of history-writing which was much influenced by J. G. Herder's cosmopolitanism. When Jones started to deliver his famous discourses, this early cosmopolitanism got its strong foothold in the British empire and the colonial queries about the subcontinent got a new shape. This was possible because of the varied multi-cultural dimension of Indian society. Under this rubric the Asiatic Society of Bengal initiated the search for a true history of ancient India.[5] The identification of *Sandracottus* with Chandragupta by William Jones in his 10th Anniversary Discourse (1795) in the fourth volume of the *Asiatick Researches* or various articles by Colonel Francis Wilford on different subjects concerning chronological history of ancient India, were the bench-marker of that urge. Apart from the Puranic traditions, legends, there were only two trustworthy provincial chronicles, *Rajatarangini* of Kashmir and the *Mahavamsa* of Ceylon. As Thomas Trautmann argued for a conjectural colonial knowledge regarding the development of the historical philology[6], the same process can be applied in the context of the development of the historical writings during this early period of colonial rule. Studying history and writing history both are totally two different things. Because, as Keith Jenkins has aptly argued, the gap between the incidents of the past and historiography of the present is ontological.[7] The epistemological presuppositions should be guided by the goal of gaining empirical knowledge. In addition, it can also be said that the schemata of a historian always should be neutral in nature. The existence of a pre-colonial notion of history in South India has been recently analysed in the book *Textures of Time: Writing History in South India (1600-1800),* by Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman and Sanjay Subrahmanyam.[8] They searched for the historicity in south Indian lullaby, folk

tales and stories which according to them contain a flexibility and openness. Above all, in their opinion, the historicity of a text depends on the act of reading itself. Thus, they posed an alternative view against the claim of non-existent historicity in pre-colonial India. They relied on the ability of the reader who should distinguish the verifiable facts and fictive facts.[9] The historicity of the genealogies, chronicles, the proses and verses should be judged by their *texture.* With respect to this view, it can also be said that, British historians had initiated a new kind of archival history which helped Indians in the later period to mingle with the broader global network of knowledge production. The traditional Indian folktales, poems, stories denote a genre of history writing where the perception of history was much dependent on the reader not on the main texts. This kind of locally produced historical knowledge was certainly part of the everyday lives of the indigenous people.

The economic implications of the rise of the British-Indian Empire in the late eighteenth century was deeply knit with its grass-root social implications. In this macro-history of the British empire the local micro-histories occupy a unique place but, that does not minimize the relevance of the macro-history. According to S.N. Mukherjee, the major contributions of William Jones and his colleagues to modern historiography of India was to draw attention to the early period of Indian History and to Indian historical traditions, so as to evolve a methodology which was to be improved by later scholars.[10] He further argued that the identification of *Sandrocottas* with 'Chandragupta' and *Palibothra* with 'Pataliputra' by Jones was revolutionary in the path of building history of the subcontinent. Jones was also aware of the distinction between historical facts and fables. In an article named, 'On the Gods of Greece, Italy and India', in the *Asiatick Researches* (volume I) he pointed out that one of the four principal sources of mythology is that,

"Historical or natural truth has been perverted into fable by ignorance, imagination, flattery or stupidity".[11]

Here lies the basic difference between the perspectives of William Jones and James Mill in viewing Indian tradition of history writing. As mentioned earlier, being a staunch Utilitarian, Mill in his book *The History of British India* (1817), vehemently attacked Indian literary and historical traditions as well as the works of rendered Orientalists like, William Jones, Charles Wilkins, or Alexander Hamilton. The criticisms made by James Mill paved the way for the Saidian counter-criticism of Orientalism. While Jones intended to recover historical materials out of the mythologies of India, Mill discarded the past stories of India totally as ahistorical. Rev. William Taylor in his *Catalogue Raisonnee* of Oriental Manuscripts, had mentioned that after his return in Hyderabad in 1798, he was engaged in obtaining proper knowledge of geography and history of South India. He argued,

> "the Dekkan was in fact then a terra incognita, of which no authentic account existed, excepting in some uncertain notices and mutilated sketches of the marches of Bussy and in the travels of Tavernier and Thevenot which by no means possess that philosophical accuracy demanded in modern times."[12]

These lines indicate the one valid binary between subjectivity and objectivity while documenting a historically important incident. A story and a historical account differ from each other on the point of approaching the subject from an objective standpoint. Here by 'philosophical accuracy' Rev William Taylor probably denoted to this objectivity which according to the Enlightenment philosophy, was the only way to write history in scientific way. H.H. Wilson in an article, 'An Essay on the Hindu History of the Cashmir', in the *Asiatick Researches* (1825), mentioned the work of Kalhana, as historically consistent as it,

> "….contains fewer extravagancies than most of the works to which the name of History has been assigned, by the unphilosophical and credulous natives of the East."[13]

By judging these two arguments, both of William Taylor and H.H. Wilson, it can be said that both of them analysed the historicity of ancient Indian traditions by their norms of historical traditions. But what was crucial here is to understand the emerging new historical parameters which on the one hand, was not delegitimizing the older version of the past written in verse but, was simultaneously constructing an archive with those texts and literatures which could be used as raw materials in creating new histories on a universal scale. In this context the works of William Robertson must be mentioned which were the epitome of universal history in the eighteenth century. In 1791, William Robertson, an eminent Scottish historian published his work on India, *An Historical Disquisition Concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of the Indians*. Inspired by James Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, Robertson was attracted to Indian culture and like many of his contemporaries he made a comparison between the civilisations of the Mediterranean and the Indus throughout recorded history.[14]

During the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, a close affinity between the domestic issues and global issues was felt and the rise of Utilitarianism was crucial to this understanding. It must be understood that when Mill was criticizing the historical past of India, it became crucial to the existence of the survival of the British Empire in India and gaining support at home. Because at this juncture the French Revolution made it very clear that without analyzing the cultural identity, the proper assessment of a nation could not be possible. Thus, it was the need of the hour which compelled the Englishman from William Jones to James Mill to rejuvenate the country's past according to

their own understanding of the delicate relationship between the politics and the culture of a colonized country. The German philosopher Hegel, unlike his English contemporary James Mill, admired the intellectual achievements of India but discarded the existence of history. Under the rubric of Enlightenment, the philosophy of history was deeply conversed with statehood. According to Hegelian thought, a people or a nation lacked history not because it did not know writing history but because it lacked the necessary statecraft and had nothing to write about.[15] Later the Hegelian indictment of 'non-existent' historical knowledge in India has created debates among the Indian historians. They saw it as a part of cultural imperialism besides the economic imperialism of the late eighteenth century. Further, it should be taken into consideration that during late eighteenth and early nineteenth century the British empire was facing a challenge from French Revolution and the contemporary revitalisation of conservatism was a reflection of the threat posed by the Revolution of 1789.[16] The urge was to know the alien and complex cultures in India as well as to perceive the nature of the British rule in India. Francis G Hutchins had once argued that the Victorian Englishmen in India, by his situation as well as temperament, was singularly ill-suited to gain a favorable impression of Indian character[17]which appears to be correct in the present research. As P J Marshall argued that during the formative period of British imperialism, the British officials had tried to retain their own identity. He called them 'a commonwealth without people'.[18] But both Englishmen and Indians viewed each other in ways conditioned by their own culture and consequently often criticize each other as per their own rational judgements.[19] Besides the staunch criticism of having no history, there was strive to write history for the students of the Fort William College during the early nineteenth century. *Raja Pratapaditya Caritra* by Ramram Basu, was written in conformity

with the western model of historical writing. It was published from Serampore in 1801. It bore the evidence of the adaptation which was taking place in early nineteenth century Bengal. Ranajit Guha argued that two important drives of the contemporary Europe, i.e. one overseas expansion and passion for history, intersected with each other in colonies.[20] Thus, Orientalism as practised in late eighteenth-early nineteenth century India was much different from that of the Saidian version of it in the post-colonial era. In this context of this much-debated discussions about the historical past of India, the works James Prinsep and Alexander Cunningham are relevant.

James Prinsep and the New Phase in the Indian History Writing (1819-1838): The process of accumulation of knowledge and the building of empire seemed to be a matter of utility and opportunity. The epistemological authority cannot be detached from its immediate political and historical context. Considering this argument, the generalised Saidian version of power-knowledge dictum can be challenged. For this purpose the period of James Prinsep in the history of Asiatic Society (1830-1840) can be analysed in detail. The field of archaeology in constructing Indian history was prioritised by the Orientalists from the beginning. The early group of enthusiasts, from 1784 to 1834, whom Alexander Cunningham had called 'closet archaeologists', included scholars like William Jones, H.T. Colebrooke, Charles Wilkins and many more.[21] The archaeological research during this phase was mainly literary. But a new era had opened with the coming of James Prinsep who coordinated between various individual works and gave flesh to the skeleton. Prinsep first used the term, 'field archaeology' or 'travelling antiquarians'.[22] From the beginning he was emphasizing the value of accurate field survey and precise recording. His knowledge in

architecture which he had demonstrated in the early 1820s in the execution of accurate plans and drawings of the streets and buildings of Benaras, had found a proper outlet in the field of archaeology. He was a gifted genius who possessed versatile talents in numerous fields of civil engineering, meteorology, mining, town-planning, architecture, astronomy, natural science, anthropology, archaeological discipline specially numismatics and epigraphy and history. He came to India in 1819 and at first was the assay-master of Banaras mint and after the abolition of the Banaras mint he became the deputy assay-master of the Calcutta mint under H.H. Wilson. It was Wilson who recognized the hidden talents in him and introduced him to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1830. On 5th September, 1832, a meeting held in the Asiatic Society of Bengal which was attended by three of the Prinsep brothers, Charles Robert Prinsep, H.T.Prinsep and James Prinsep. Charles Robert Prinsep who practised law at Calcutta Bar from 1824 was the eldest and James Prinsep was the youngest one.[23] Outside the Society the battle for pursuing Indological studies was losing political and ideological ground in Bengal. It was the biggest challenge to continue the same pace for Indological studies in the face of the reformist and Utilitarian trends propounded by James Mill, Thomas Macaulay, Lord Bentinck. James Prinsep appeared in this scene with all his talents and efforts to establish the importance of studying Indian past in a newer form. He was elected unanimously as the Secretary of the Society.[24] His scientific method in rejuvenating the country's past was based mainly on study of inscriptions and coins. Thus, alongside the appreciations for the legends and traditions, Indian history writing received a new boost. The Rankean positivism was very much an integral part of this kind of history writing. This new rendition which was added to the pre-existing notion of historicity, introduced India with the Enlightenment notion of world-history. During this time, the conception of history

was itself an evolving idea in Europe. According to Kant, the unified progress of human history required the encapsulation of reason. Thus, the science of history must have reason which will bind the past with the present. In 1829, Major J.D. Herbert initiated the publication of a periodical called, *Gleanings in Science,* which was discontinued after he joined as the Astronomer in the court of Awadh. James Prinsep took up the responsibility of the publication of the same periodical in the name of *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (monthly) from 1832. In his hand, the main aim of the periodical, to convey the Europeans about the latest discoveries in India, was accomplished in a more compact way. His secretaryship in the Society from 1832 onwards marked a new beginning of the scientific quest about Indian past. In the preface of the first volume of the *Journal* as the editor, Prinsep explained that the main object of the *Journal* would be to give publicity to the ample oriental matters which would arouse curiosity among the antiquarians, linguists, travellers and naturalists.[25] Remembering the renowned founder of the Asiatic Society, William Jones, it is stated in the end of the same preface that,

"the bounds of its investigations will be the geographical limits of Asia; and within these limits its inquiries will be extended to whatever is performed by man or produced by nature"[26]

But immediately after becoming Secretary, he faced immense financial problems in pursuing the publications. The Bengal Government bestowed the privilege of free postage on the *Gleanings* and the *Journals,* on the condition of the publication of the statistical reports of Dr. Buchanan Hamilton. But the Editor decided not to publish the statistical reports in the *Journals*, but as a separate work. In a response to this decision in 1833, G.A. Bushby, the officiating Secretary to the Government conveyed James Prinsep that the Governor-General had decided to cease the benefit of free postage for the *Gleanings* and

the *Journal*.[27] Prinsep expressed his fears that many subscribers from the distant stations might not be able to continue their support to the work as the cost would be enhanced by the postage. The financial crisis was deepened with time. In the Proceedings of the Society dated 30th October, 1833, it was resolved that the funds of the Society were not sufficient to allow a contribution towards the objects from the African expedition.[28] In another proceeding dated 20th February, 1833, Prinsep announced that the Committee of Papers had disposed of two notes with the value of Rs. 5500 for the liquidation of debts standing against the Society.[29] The governmental initiatives were not always against the Asiatic Society. During 1832-1833 the Asiatic Society was unable to bear the expenses of the publication of Mr. Cosma de Koros' Tibetan Grammar and Dictionary which H.H. Wilson had intended to publish and handed over to the Society before his departure. In a letter dated 12th February, 1833 W.H. Macnaghten, the Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government wrote to Prinsep that the Government would take upon itself the expenses for the publication.[30] Thus, it was evident that the Government was never reluctant to pursue such initiatives which enhanced the knowledge about the subcontinent. But, in spite of all these initiatives, the Asiatic Society during the secretaryship of James Prinsep witnessed worst kind of financial crisis. The sale of *Asiatick Researches* either in Europe or in India has been very limited and the cost of printing was also increasing. Babu Ram Kamal Sen had proposed to transmit the matter of publication to Europe in future where the cost of printing would be less because, "a printer may be found to print it on his own account".[31] In the Proceeding of the Month of June,1833, a committee of four members, Dr. J. Tytler, Major Benson, Dr. J.T. Pearson, and Mr. J. R. Calvin, proposed that the transmission publication of the Researches to England would denounce the reputation of the Asiatic Society at large and it

would eventually minimize the importance of the Society in front of the London Asiatic Society.[32] The Committee further proposed,

1. At least Rs. 100 should be kept aside from the annual income of the Society for the purpose of printing Researches.
2. Octavo form of printing should be substituted as it would ensure the large-scale circulation of copies.
3. The Medical Society should contribute some funds to the Asiatic Society as it permanently occupied some portion of the Society's apartments.
4. The Museum should be a source of income by charging for the admission of strangers to inspect it.
5. Amount of subscription to the Society should be increased.[33]

Thus, the rising financial problem of the Society was handled with great care. In the preface of the third volume, the Editor James Prinsep announced that the friends and the public had not allowed the circumstances materially to affect their support.[34] By then the *Journal* had gained a world-wide reputation and it continued to receive ample number of valuable papers which consisted of various new researches on the antiquities.

Hegel's *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* was published in Europe in 1837. During this time the notion of historical West and non-historical East was gaining popularity. In this explanation a teleological view of the progress of human civilization can be noted. Even in the Kantean notion of 'Cosmopolitan History' is not devoid of this teleological view. Kant himself acknowledged this *telos* as indispensable for any kind of methodological knowledge.[35] This methodological knowledge was regarded as the main

parameter for a culture to have a historical past. The conjunction between history as the historical narratives and history as deeds and events was the basis of Hegelian notion of world history. In Hegelian sense the absence of written historical record was considered enough to exclude a culture from having historical consciousness which have been strongly criticized in the recent book *Textures of Time*.[note] Here the authors had mentioned the division between the 'factual' and 'fictional' narrative within a same genre of history writing.[36(duto book r naam dite hobe)] In analysing Prinsep's contribution in making Indian history visible to the European world, both of these notions have gained same stronghold. His study of coins of the Greeks and the Bactrians revealed the collision between Indian legends and tangible historical remnants which made the Indian past audience-friendly. Under his supervision, in the *Journals* of the Asiatic Society, the efforts to conjure up the Indian old traditions with the European methodological history writing had been very prominent. In the preface of the fourth volume of the *Journal*, the Editor stated that despite the withdrawal of the support of the Government from the learned natives of the country, the conduct of the Asiatic Society to rescue the half-printed volumes in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian would be applauded by every learned person in Europe.[37] It must be remembered that Prinsep's historicity flourished in a time when history meant mainly the chronicles of the rulers. Depending solely on the inscriptions and coins, Prinsep stepped into a world of history writing that opened various facets of unknown part of the known history of India. Insightful investigations led to the corroboration of imperfectly known dynasties and persons. It added historical credibility to the already existing meagre outlines of those dynasties and persons. A large number of investigators and researchers co-operated in these ventures together, such as, Lieutenant Alexander Burnes, M. Csoma de Koros, Dr. Gerard, Charles Masson, General

Ventura, Sheikh Karamat Ali, Mohun Lal and many more. In an article by Prinsep named, 'On the Greek coins in the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society', he acknowledged indefatigable efforts of Major James Tod in collecting coins. Tod had described the whole process in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*. He had collected more than 20000 coins mainly from Mathura, some of which were of Parthian dynasty.[38] These coins revealed unknown part of that dynasty. His interest was transmitted to his fellow officers as well. With the help of his contemporaries, Prinsep had amassed huge information about the coins. It was Colonel H.H. Wilson who permitted Prinsep to have some drawings of the coins, he collected from Persia. Lieutenant Burnes handed him over some of the specimens he collected from Ancient Bactria. Even the urge for collecting coins was so intense that Prinsep acknowledged the contribution of General Ventura, Italian General of Ranjit Singh's army, in discovering numerous coins and relics that had been untouched for many centuries.[39] With the help of this vast collection of coins, the untold histories of the ancient past had been discerned minutely. In another article by Prinsep, 'On the Ancient Roman Coins in the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society' (4th July, 1832), he wrote that it was until 1814, that the Society opened a museum and publicly invited contributions of the natural productions, antiquities, coins and other curious monuments of the country to it.[40] Before it, the popular trend was to carry the coins and antiquities to England where these fell into oblivion amidst of large number of similar objects in the public and private cabinets of European antiquarians. A vast part of Colin Mackenzie's collection was thus transferred to the Museum of the honorable Company at Leadenhall Street.[41] But, after the establishment of the Society's Museum, there was a nucleus which would attract vast collections of antiquities India wide and would encourage similar kinds of investigations further. The

Society's library consisted of vast references of numismatics works that were printed in Europe. Prinsep admitted that with the help of these works he was able to decipher and classify the Roman coins accurately. With the help of the Roman coins found in the Indian subcontinent, it was assumed that, there were flourishing trading relations between India and Roman Empire. But he continued to argue that there was huge circulation of Roman coins in India and also there was an absence of Indian coins on a similar level. He found that the Indian coins of Kanauj and the Deccan and Indo-Greek coins were evidently successors of the Bactrian coinage from the types of which they gradually progressed into Hindu models and ultimately gave space to the Islamic coinage.[42] Prinsep's skill as paleographer flourished with these extensive studies. In the later volumes of the *Journal*, a series of papers had been published by him which embraced the history and decipherment of a large number of coins mainly from north-western India, such as Behat, Kanauj. Those coins represented the earliest type of money transactions in India. But there were also some instances that proved which Prinsep could not escape the trend of his time which strictly believed in the non-existent historical past of the East. While making a note on the Lieutenant Burnes' collection of ancient coins, Prinsep argued that the 'natives' were unable to comprehend the significance of the relics of the antiquities discovered by Lieutenant Burnes.[43] He further described the difficulties faced by Burnes in collecting those coins due to the suspicions of the 'natives'. But these Bactrian coins which were distributed by Burnes between, European Scientific Society, Bombay Literary Society and Asiatic Society, helped in rejuvenating the history of Macedonian Princes at Bactria. There were also detailed descriptions of the coins of Antiochus of Syria, Menander, Sassanian dynasty and many more. With the help of these coins Prinsep was about to prepare a list of Bactrian rulers but

he lamented that none of those names resembled with the list provided by Schlegel in the *Journal Asiatique* in 1828.[44] Among these discoveries he acknowledged the importance of a very special copper coin which was procured by Lieutenant Burnes in the neighborhood of *Manikyala* in the north-west of the subcontinent. On the obverse side this coin had an engraving of a king or warrior holding a spear in the left hand and with the right sacrificing on an altar. On the reverse side a priest or a sage was standing and holding a flower in his right hand and on the left the letters *NANAIA* was written with usual Bactrian monogram with four prongs.[45] Prinsep assumed that the name engraved on this coin may be of king Kanishka and had a great value in the study of Bactrian antiquity. Kanishka, as revealed by the study of Csoma de Koros, seemed to be the celebrated king of northern India, mainly of Rohilkhand. He reigned for four hundred years after the Sakya clan when the Buddhists were divided into various sects in India and in Tibet. H.H. Wilson's chronological table of the History of Kashmir also supported these assumptions. It confirmed the overthrow of the Bactrian rulers by a line of Scytho-Parthian princes. Also, from these coins Prinsep traced the linkage between the Bactrian and Indo-Scythian princes and the spread of Buddhism. With the spread of Buddhism, the Bactrian princes were influenced by it and embraced the religion so intensely that their coins started to bear the mark. Previously, on the reverse side, there used to be the national emblem of the Bactrians which displayed the Bactrian horseman with Macedonian spear. Later in the place of it, there appeared a sage holding flower and having a glory around his head. Secondly, the first series of coins of the Bactrian dynasty bore the engravings of the Greek words but the later series bore the engravings of the script similar to that of the Delhi and Allahabad Pillars. Through a long discussion on the Bactrian coins and Indo-Scythian coins, Prinsep went on to argue about the gradual

Indianization of foreign rulers. Another Indo-Scythian coin from the north-west, bore an engraving of a bull accompanied by a priest in Indian common dhoti. Colonel Tod named this figure as 'Shiva with his bull Nandi'.[46] Based on these views, Schlegel further initiated a thought of Indian origin of these foreign rulers. Earlier Schlegel had already propounded a hypothesis based on the relationship between Sanskrit and other European languages. He suggested that all the people speaking languages related to Sanskrit might have migrated from India to the other part of the globe. Now, the numismatic evidences helped him to believe more strongly what he had suggested earlier. The repetition of this emblem denoted the prevalence of the Brahmanical faith among the Indian successors of Bactrian and Indo-Scythian rulers. Thus, a more connected and comprehended version of ancient Indian history had been portrayed in front of the world. In another essay Prinsep discussed in detail the contribution of Dr. Swiney in creating a huge collection of Bactrian and Indo-Scythian coins. Dr. Swiney was deeply influenced by Colonel Tod and he followed a unique process of collecting coins which included the employment of a Muslim tailor to buy old paisa.[47] These paisa had been handed down from generation to generation and were regarded as useless. These were collected by Dr. Swiney along with some one or two Bactrian coins. He admitted that the coins collected by General Burnes could not be procured in India anymore. While discussing these coins Prinsep had also noticed an analogy between earliest Indian coins and those of the Macedonian rulers. The employment of the Greek workmen ensured the continuation of the Greek legends on the coins and the art of die-cutting was introduced during this time as well. The Hindu coins were from Agra, Mathura, Ujjain, Ajmer, and Bengal and these coins bore the engravings of numerous mythological subjects such as, the bull of Shiva, the lion of Durga, Garuda of Vishnu, Ganesha, Hanuman etc.[48]

These coins were prevalent in India on the eve of the medieval period. After that they were interdicted by the Sultanate coinage.

Here an interesting term was used by Prinsep. He used the term 'colonists' for the Macedonian rulers.[49] It denotes that for the British colonial masters during the mid-1800s, the term, 'colonists' could be applied to anyone who had come from outside to India. But in the later period while Indian history was written, this term was never applied to anyone but only to the British rulers. India had a long tradition of confronting foreign invasion from the ancient period and the British rulers in the eighteenth and nineteenth century considered all of them as 'colonists'. But the post-colonial construction of colonialism has always highlighted only the British rulers as oppressive colonial masters but the prior invasions were portrayed with much compassion. Thus, there leaves a space for a critical analysis of post-colonial rise of Orientalist scholarship. The cultural particularities should be taken into consideration for the intercultural dialogues. In the light of this discussion, the much-debated version of re-creating Indian past by the Orientalists needs a proper introspection. The comparative studies on Indo-European languages opened up new vistas for the comparative historical studies which were reflected in these articles discussed above. Europeans found ancient India a good subject to think which could be reconceptualized in the deep past of Europe within a wider picture of the ancient world.[50] The German philosopher, Martin Heidegger, German philosopher once made a distinction between curiosity and wonder. The publication of European national histories inspired by overseas expansion and colonial projects cannot be isolated from the strong historiographical awareness throughout Europe which always had a curiosity about the continent's place within the wider globe.[51] But it should be remembered that Enlightenment

cosmopolitanism of Voltaire, Robertson paved the way for the Hegelian world history where the teleological concepts of human progress and the great narratives of the European civilization were aligned together. Daniel Woolf in his seminal work, *A Global History of History* had distinguished between 'History' and 'history'. The former denotes the Hegelian version of world-history in which *Geist* works and the latter denotes literary or non-literary representations of things and incidents.[52] The digging up of India's past was very much part of knowing that local representations of history and then there was an effort to combine it with their version of global history. Under the guidance of Prinsep, the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society had become the nucleus around which the diffusion of European values, scientific knowledge, historicity was taking place with a respect to the Indian traditions. Ram Kamal Sen in the second volume of the *Journal*, in an article, 'A Short Account of the Charak Puja Ceremonies and a Description of Implements Used', had described the age-old Indian festival named, *Charak Puja*, and along with it he presented the instruments used in the Puja to the Society's museum.[53] It should be remembered that the audience of the *Journal* was mainly European who took a deep interest in Oriental culture. Other contemporary works like *Oriental Fragments* (1834) by Edward Moor, also propounded this view. It consisted of various articles on Indian related topics like, 'Mughal seals', 'Comparison between Papacy and Hinduism', and 'Various Sanskrit derived European names'. His another book, *Hindu Pantheon* (1810), was the first detailed work on the Hindu deities. According to Saidian version of Orientalism, India was constructed as an external object to the Orientalist gaze. The portrayal of static oriental despots as described by Hegel and Marx was often highlighted to boost this version. But, for the tireless efforts of the scholars of the Asiatic Society, this must be a generalized version. Orientalism as practised in the late eighteenth

century was changing with time. During the mid-1800s, the old Orientalist trends of reading texts and learning Sanskrit and Persian paved the way for more deeper search for the country's past. New Orientalists administered the fruits of modern knowledge and government while being careful not to upset India's presumed traditional beliefs.[54] Prinsep was one of them. O.P. Kejariwal in his book *The Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Discovery of India's Past* had filled up an important gap in our understanding of the role of the Raj in making Indian history.[55] He tried to neutralize the legacy of Edward Said's Orientalism. The contributions of the scholars, antiquarians around the Asiatic Society of Bengal can never be judged by the Saidian version. Those scholars devoted their leisure time in re-creating country's past not only for controlling the country with a firmer grip but their real urge was for clearer understanding of India's past. There were no hidden agendas or manipulations.[56] History for knowledge's sake was very much integral part of their investigations.

The contrast between the Enlightenment cosmopolitanism of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century and culturally dismissive philosophical radicalism as propounded by Said in the late 1970s was very interesting part of this whole study. The year 1834 witnessed a huge number of contributions under enthusiasms of Prinsep which were published in the third volume of the *Journal*. It included the study of Allahabad Pillar Inscriptions by T.S. Burt, discovery of an ancient town near Behut by Captain P.T. Cautley, translations of inscriptions in Pali and Burmese languages by H. Walters, study of the coins and relics (discovered by General Ventura) by James Prinsep and many more. Among these discoveries the most important was some real progress Prinsep made towards deciphering the inscriptions on the pillars at Delhi and Allahabad.

Prinsep discovered that the two inscriptions were identical with each other and had their counterparts on the rocks at Girnar, (Rajasthan) at Dhauli (Odisa) and in some Buddhist temples, and also noticed similar characters in the topes of Sanchi and Bhilsa.[57] With the translation of the Allahabad inscriptions, the genealogy of the Gupta kings was well depicted for the first time. The data collected from the stone monuments, inscriptions on rocks and caves, and the copper-plate engravings were considered to be the most accurate for adjusting the chronologies of the Indian princes. Here again, we can notice the prevalence of the positivist approach for studying history writing. The encounter between the two cultures led to the creation of new process of history writing. The modern idea of history and history writing was gradually taking shape during this time. It was never a neatly packaged body of knowledge that was formed in metropole and imported to periphery.[58] Through this process the pre-colonial practices of history were appropriated by the colonial antiquarian practices which produced a new historical method that was embraced by both Indians and colonial officials.[59] The facsimiles of the Allahabad inscriptions, no.2 was identical in character with the Gaya inscription which had been previously deciphered by Dr. Charles Wilkins. It was made over at the meeting of the Society by Captain Troyer, Secretary of the Sanskrit College who deciphered it with help of Madhava Ray Pandit, the librarian.[60] Their examination revealed names of several princes, especially of Chandragupta Maurya. Prinsep stated this discovery as the most interesting one as it showed the connection with an epoch in the histories of the Western world. It was a little step towards the creation of a connected history. Dr. Wilkins had imagined the Gaya inscriptions to be as ancient as Christian era. There was a constant effort to identify the Indian kings like *Chandragupta*, *Samudragupta* with the dynasties of the contemporary outer world. Thus,

not only the identification but also the contextualization of ancient Indian dynasties was taking place on the norms of modern history writing. Prinsep also found vast similarities between Sanskrit character of the inscription and Tibetan characters.[61] It was very much obvious that through these historical investigations, new practices of history were taking place which added new flavors to the metropole-colony dichotomy. It was the urge for accuracy that dominates the minds of Prinsep and his contemporaries. He wrote,

> "The accuracy of the copy from the MS, has been verified by careful examination, but the native engraver, to save space, has unfortunately carried on the whole text continuously, so that it does not show the commencement of each line according to the original. This defect I have endeavored to remedy by placing small figures to mark the beginning of the lines, as it was hardly worth while to re-engrave the whole plate."[62]

These lines appeared to be very important in respect to the general picture of searching India's past. If we consider the colonial rule as the rule of dominance, the value of this intellectual encounter in unravelling India's past will be minimised. After a careful comparison between three inscriptions, Bettiah, Allahabad and Delhi, Prinsep concluded that these three were identically same and they all had same language which was *Devnagari* as suggested by Mr. B.H. Hodgson. In a short note following detailed explanations of these inscriptions, Prinsep had admitted his lacuna of necessary knowledge in Sanskrit. His main intention behind all these fortuitous discoveries was to help other investigators in their search for country's history through minute examination of the inscriptions.[63] Orientalists took longer time in deciphering the Bhilsa inscriptions, (Madhya Pradesh). Prinsep admitted that he might have made some mistakes in exhibiting the inscriptions in front of the whole world but the more it would be known to the outer world, the more there would be possibilities of deciphering the inscriptions. The scholars, investigators of this era of colonial rule prioritized the global connection for a better intellectual ambience. Cultural

exchange was the main tool for enhancing knowledge. All these investigations were never the fruit of the efforts of Prinsep alone. After his detailed work on the Allahabad inscriptions, W.H. Mill had made a supplement to that work and continued to fill up the gaps. Based on the prior works done by Colonel Tod and H.H. Wilson, W.H. Mill and Prinsep set forth the genealogy of the Gupta kings from *Ghatotkacha* to *Samudragupta* including *Chandragupta* in the middle. W.H. Mill along with Prinsep followed the method of cross-checking these names from various indigenous sources like, ancient Sanskrit texts, the *Bhagavat*, the *Hari-Vamsa*, and the *Vamsa-lata* and also lists of names from royal lineage of Malwa by Abul Fazl. Through this process they also found the contemporary kings of *Samudragupta*, like, *Dhananjaya*, *Ugrasena* etc. In the Proceedings of the Society, dated 14th January, 1835, it had been stated that, there was an abundance of papers in the past volumes of the *Journal*, which included the papers on the Bactrian antiquities by General Ventura, M. Court, Dr. Martin, Mr. Masson, Dr. Gerard, Syed, Keramat Ali, Mohun Lal, discovery of a submerged town by Captain Cautley, translation of various Hindu inscriptions including Allahabad Inscriptions by W.H. Mill and Captain Troyer.[64] As it has been mentioned earlier that from the beginning, under the leadership of Prinsep, the *Journal* became the nucleus which attracted as well as inspired various deep-rooted investigations. The indigenous ecumene which was represented by Syed Keramat Ali, Mohun Lal, had maintained the legacy of co-operation since the time of William Jones. Rama Sundari Mantena while discussing about the relationship between Colin Mackenzie and the Kavali Brothers has shown that colonial rule had given the Indians the opportunity to re-create the country's traditions and cultures according to the western modes of intellectual inquiry. According to her, this interaction gave rise to a 'new problem space' which provided great

complexities to Indian thought and culture.[65] Thus, the East-West interaction was a more complex process. The urge for constructing a scientific genealogy in Indian history, had led Prinsep and his contemporaries to collect numerous empirical sources which ultimately had relevance till today. After discovering connection between Indo-Scythic coins, Greek inscriptions and Hindu coins from Kanauj Dysnasty, Prinsep hoped for developing a complete genealogy from the time of Alexander. All these works had created a boost for knowing the Orient among the audience. In the preface of the fourth volume of the *Journal*, Prinsep had admitted that,

> The list of subscribers in India remains in numbers much the same as before: but the demand for the work in England increases daily and much of the new matter it contains is greedily transferred to the pages of European literary and scientific periodicals of wide and established circulation.[66]

Meanwhile, the Government under the Lordship of William Bentick had discontinued the flow of funds. G.A Bushby, Secretary to the Government, in a letter to Edward Ryan, President of the Asiatic Society, had written that, the Government had resolved to discontinue to fund the publications of the Oriental works. He added that,

> "….a great portion of the limited education fund had hitherto been expended on similar publications to little purpose but to accumulate stores of waste papers….."[67]

According to the dominant Reformist trend of the period, the main focus of the Government was on the imparting of European science and English education. The nature of searching for knowledge had changed from previous era to the mid-1830s. Here, the difference between knowledge and information should be taken into account. Need for a census or proper statistical knowledge was the need of the hour. But the digging up the lineages of ancient dynasties was regarded as accumulation of 'waste papers'. The searching for

numerous inscriptions, their internal relations, finding the linkages between ancient dynasties world-wide were not that much centre for attraction for the Government at that time. In this circumstance, Prinsep in the preface of the fifth volume of the *Journal* had described the Oriental research as *'secluded estuary'* which was only surviving with popular encouragement.[68] Co-operation from the sister societies of France and Paris in completing a series of suspended Oriental works had been highly appreciated. Prinsep had further admitted that the translations and critical examinations of the Oriental works should be better undertaken by the professors and philologists in Europe and the only task that could be perfectly done by the Asiatic Society was to collect and print the original texts with the help of the indigenous *pandits* and *maulavis*.[69] This staunch mentality in the tough situation had led to another successful year. In 1837, the Court of Directors to the Government of India had instructed the Society to subscribe 40 copies of the *Journal* from the time of its commenecement.[70] This announcement was indeed a sheer encouragement for the Society. In the same year another landmarking incident had taken place in the decipherment of the Brahmi script by Prinsep. According to K Paddayya, this constituted another early and excellent example of the role of bold conjectures in achieving breakthroughs in knowledge.[71] In 1837, he came across some facsimiles of the short epigraphs found on the railings and gate pillars of the Buddhist stupa at Sanchi. These facsimiles were forwarded by Captain Edward Smith to the Society. The inscriptions on the Sanchi monument provided Prinsep with the key to Asokan inscriptions. H.H. Wilson in an article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, had argued that though the *lat* inscriptions or the pillar inscriptions had been discovered many years ago, it remained undeciphered until Prinsep took the charge of making it comprehensible in front of the

world.[72] After a detailed observation of the Delhi pillar inscriptions, Girnar inscriptions, Dhauli inscriptions, he concluded that

> "the identity of the language with the grammatical Pali were explained and confirmed."[73]

The extensive distribution of the documents over the districts, led him to conclude that the whole area might had been under one Indian monarch to whom the epithets, *devanampriya Priya darsi*, might be applied.[74] Later the tireless efforts of his contemporaries like Grierson, Senart and others deciphered the whole inscription and Buhler compiled the complete table of early Brahmi characters. These contributed in reshaping the ancient Indian history immensely. H.T. Prinsep, brother of James Prinsep, in a memoir of him, in a book named *Essays on Indian Antiquity*, had argued that Prinsep cultivated Indian history with such an ardour that carried his discoveries beyond those of his learned predecessors.[75] Though for a little retrospection, it can be said that, as Prinsep worked with the facsimiles of original coins and inscriptions, it was vulnerable for some inaccuracies. But, as Roland Barthes has once argued, meaning can only be constituted, not found. The making of ancient Indian history out of the piles of raw materials can only be credited to Prinsep. According to Barthes the nomination of historical objects leads to the articulation of a strong discourse.[76] In this way, Prinsep's contribution in Indian history had compelled us to notice the replacement of Hegelian *Geist* by Kantian rule of Universalism. Barthes further argued in his *The Discourse of History*, that the task of a historian is to collect facts as signifiers and to relate them in order to establish a positive meaning and to fill the gap of a pure series.[77] This aptly allude to the real nature of Prinsep's historical investigations. The materials collected by General Ventura. Colonel Tod, Dr. Swiney, Dr. Gerard, General Masson and

many more were indeed properly utilized by Prinsep. Though there were variations in their perceptions about India. Thus, the discovery of India's past by the Orientalist scholarship under the Asiatic Society of Bengal, developed an intellectual project mainly dictated the colonial masters. But this frame was not uniform to fit into the Saidian paradigm of Orientalism. It is true that these discoveries helped in the conceptualizing of Indian history for the first time and also brought in front of the world the cultural similarities between the East and the West. The process had been started from the late eighteenth century under the leadership of William Jones. In the nineteenth century the apart from similarities, the divergence between materialist West and philosophical East had been highlighted. In line with the term, 'comparative advantage from economy', it can be said that in exchange of its spiritual and philosophical lending, India received the materialistic technicalities from the West. It is true that all these discoveries led to the tri-partition of Indian history which had been criticized by many historians. But during the Swadeshi movement or after independence when nationalist historians sought to write the country's own history, they could not ignore the utilities of those discoveries made by British Orientalists. Importance of these discoveries persisted throughout Indian history till date. Prinsep's findings created great sensation among others and his example was followed by others. The result was not always the same and there were different dimensions of understanding the East. Among them another familiar name was Alexander Cunningham who is popularly known as the father of Indian archaeology. The contribution of Alexander Cunningham will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Alexander Cunningham and Indian Archaeology (1833-1885): From his arrival in India in 1833, Alexander Cunningham devoted his time, which he could spare from his

military duties, to the study of the material remains of ancient India. In 1862, when the post of Archaeological Surveyor was created by the government, he was appointed to that post and until 1885, when he retired, he was deeply indulged in unravelling the country's past with single-heartedness. Military officers had played an important role in disseminating knowledge in early colonial India. Richard Drayton in his article 'Knowledge and Empire' had argued that knowledge was a fundamental aspect of British colonial expansion. Those who volunteered in this process of knowledge accumulation, were often the exploiters of others' labour and expertise.[78] This understanding also explains the creation of hyphenated terms like, 'scholar-administrators'. Warren Hastings, William Jones, James Rennell, Colin Mackenzie, James Prinsep, Alexander Cunningham all fell into this category. Alexander Cunningham came to India in 1833 at the age of nineteen as an army engineer of the British East India Company. His career neatly falls into two distinct parts. The first is his army life which was up to 1860 and the second was as the Director of the Indian Archaeological Survey until 1885 (with a short break from 1866-1870 when the first Survey was abolished). Cunningham in his distinguished career first as the Archaeological Surveyor to the Government of India from 1861 to 1866 and then as the first Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India (hereafter ASI) from 1871 to 1885, produced an astonishingly vast twenty-three volumes of Archaeological Survey reports. The first two volumes of this series published in 1871 contain the four reports of the surveys made by Cunningham between 1861 and 1865 when he was entrusted with the charge of Archaeological Surveyor. The introduction of the volumes of 1871 is of crucial importance as it is here that Cunningham discussed the contributions of his predecessors and contemporaries in the field of the understanding of India's ancient past. Abu Imam has

argued about the involvement of this army engineer in the archaeology of the sub-continent.[79] For answering this question, the intellectual milieu of the British Calcutta of the time must be taken into account. The officers of the Company active there at that time were imbued with uncommon talents, unlimited curiosity and unbounded energy. During this time, the Company's currency system was under refurbishment. This aroused his interest about the heritage of the past coinages of India. Prinsep was a stalwart in this respect as discussed earlier. He had been an apprentice under H. H. Wilson, the great Sanskrit scholar, who was his former chief in the mint. Alexander Cunningham bore his legacy most honestly. After Sir William Jones, Indology owes more to General Sir Alexander Cunningham than to any other worker in this field. The significant results of the efforts of Mackenzie and Tod in collecting antiquities in the course of their official duties had been known for a long time. During this time first ever tours were undertaken in India solely for archaeological purposes by Scottish indigo-planter Fergusson (1835-42), and their lessons could not have been lost on Cunningham. During the following years Cunningham became more and more attracted towards the study of Buddhism, and its formation, history and archaeology in India. This was the beginning of that predominance of Buddhism in Indian archaeology that was to characterize it in the following centuries for the best part. The historic decade of 1830s was marked by important discoveries about Buddhism by a host of British military official-scholars like, Hodgson, Csoma de Koros, Turnour, Lassen, Barnouf as it is evident from the pages of the *Asiatick Researches*. Cunningham's attitude towards Indian history and archaeology decided the future course of Indian historiography with a great significant effect. His activities at Sarnath, his articles in defense of Hiuen Tsang, and finally his explorations in Sankissa in 1842 and his excavations at Sanchi in 1851 are the landmarks in

his progress towards his Buddhism-centred archaeology.[80] Alexander Cunningham was the pioneer of field archaeology, although he heavily relied on text-based sources like the travel accounts of Fa Hien (AD 404-14) and Hiuen Tsang (AD 630- 44). Cunningham was primarily followed the directions given by them .[81] In the reports of Archaeological Survey of India (vol. XVII) Cunningham says,

> On my return, I marched along the old line of the road in the Gangetic Doab, from Karra towards Kanauj, in the hope of discovering some of the sites described by the Chinese pilgrim Hsuen Tsang. In this hope I was disappointed, but I was partly repaid by the identification of several places of the old route recorded by Abu Rihan[82]

According to Abu Imam, Cunningham had an experience of arduous geographical explorations combined with field-archaeology. But the most decisive role in determining the future course of Cunningham's career was played by the translation of Fa-Hien's travel account, the epoch-making publication of the decade. The impact of this publication on the world of Indology is difficult to estimate today. With it Indian history was infused with a kind of reality for the first time that it had lacked before. Also, for the first time, this translation of Fa-Hien, however imperfect it may have been, provided some reasons for finding the traces of the lost cities of India and Cunningham was quick to realize this. The discoveries about Buddhism had a deep impact on the Western perception about Indian history. It made the Western intellectuals to believe that the Brahmanical religion was not static and it faced various hinderances from outside as well as from within. In 1847, in accordance with a detailed suggestion from Lord Hardinge, the Court of Directors gave a liberal sanction to certain arrangements for examining, delineating, and recording some of the chief antiquities of India.[83] Meanwhile, the turmoil created by the Revolt of 1857 had disrupted the flow of inquisitive searches. It was not until 1861, that the government could

be aroused to a sense of responsibility towards the archaeological findings in the country.[84] The Revolt had brought India into the mainstream of British politics and India was increasingly viewed in the broader context of imperial requirements.[85] The new British undertaking sought to recue Indian society from chaos and mutual annihilation to regularize their destructive propensities. The urge for projecting a unified national image as well as knowing the country's past deeply was very clear at that time. Cunningham's work does not merely reflect trends of contemporary Buddhist scholarship; it must also be connected to wider currents in Britain's approach to India's past which had its legacy from the days of Sir William Jones who had developed the idea of an India that had declined from a golden age. They defined this golden age as the period in which the Vedic texts were composed. For the progression of India, it was needed to rediscover this past and learn from Europe through the medium of its own languages. This gave impetus to the process of discovering and translating ancient Indian texts. A counter-movement, developing from the late eighteenth century and being matured in the mid-nineteenth century through the efforts of James Mill and Thomas Babington Macaulay, rejected this view of the past. Instead, according to these Utilitarians, India had never a past that could be valued. Progress could only be made through a discontinuity from the country's past and an Anglicization of its language and society. The two approaches, labeled as Orientalism and Anglicism by David Kopf, were in conflict in the early part of the nineteenth century, even further. Accounts of this Anglicist-Orientalist debate have tended to underplay the role of archaeology in constructing Indian history and the Anglicist trend won in the end. In the Minute of the Governor-General of Bengal, dated 22nd January, 1862, it had been directly recognized that the investigations in Indian antiquities so far were personal efforts which reflected the

indifference of the government. In the same Minute, it had been proposed that Cunningham should be entrusted with the mammoth task of carrying it and a memorandum had been attached which was drawn by Cunningham, for systematic and complete archaeological investigations. Some very interesting lines can be quoted in this regard,

> Colonel Cunningham should receive Rs. 450 a month, with Rs. 250 when in the field to defray the cost of making surveys and measurements and of other mechanical assistance. If something more should be necessary to obtain, the services of a native subordinate of Medical or Public Works Department, competent to take photographic views, it should be given.[86]

These lines denote that the colonial government took serious interests in excavating ancient sites during this time. The consolidation and expansion of empire was definitely related to this growing interest but the personal enthusiasms showed by numerous military officials as well as intellectuals in unravelling India's past could be judged only by linear parameters. Cunningham showed very serious concern like his predecessors, in maintaining accuracy of his investigations. While surveying the North-Western Provinces and Bihar he made a list previously of the places to be visited and examined. That list included places like, *Mathura, Sankissa, Haridwar, Khalsi, Kanouj, Kausambi, Allahabad, Jaunpur* and many more which had taken an important place in rejuvenating ancient India's historic image in front of the world. In the first volume of the Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Cunningham outlined a blue print about how he wanted to proceed to materialize his plan,

> I would attach to the description of each place a general survey of the site, showing clearly the positions of all existing remains, with a ground plan of every building or ruin of special note, accompanied by drawings and sections of all objects of interest…… Careful facsimiles of all inscriptions would of course be made, ancient coins would also be collected on each site, and all the local traditions would

> be noted down and compared. The description of each place with its accompanying drawings and illustrations would be complete in itself, and the whole, when finished, would furnish a detailed and accurate account of the archaeological remains of Upper India.[88]

These lines indicate towards the urge for initiating a proper knowledge-making process in Indian context. Cunningham was well-aware of the historical richness of Indian subcontinent because of the contributions made by his predecessors. Two most important discoveries he communicated to the Asiatic Society of Bengal were the discovery of the site of Sarnath in 1836 and other was the facsimile of the inscription on the Bhitari lath near Gazipur together with a drawing of the pillar. The inscription of the Bhitari pillar was read by Dr. W.H. Mill and the text was forwarded to the Society.[89] The Bhitari inscription added three more important names to the Gupta dynasty which were *Chandragupta II, Kumaragupta and Skandagupta*.[90] It seems that coordination and co-operation was the main essence of the working ambience among the nineteenth-century Orientalists. J.G.A. Pocock in his book *Barbarism and Religion*, had argued that the growth of a historicist philosophy was a late-eighteenth century phenomenon which had made history central to human life. Consequently, the growth of archives or antiquarian searches led to the opening of the archives which in turn made history 'the memory of the state'.[91] From this juncture, the objective enquiries became the supplementary to the philosophical historicism and it led to the reorganization of academic and intellectual life. Empiricism spread over the world with the expansion of the British rule. The surveys of Hamilton Buchanan, Colin Mackenzie, James Rennell, generated authoritative facts that constituted traditional India within a conceptual template for the outer world. These group of scholars especially had developed a well-connected network in both within and outside India. What they had discovered and wrote, aggravated much of the romanticist readings about Indian society and culture. The

discoveries about Buddhism by Cunningham and his contemporaries blurred the boundaries between facts and fiction. Edwin Arnold in July, 1879, wrote a poem, *The Light of Asia*. It had a phenomenal impact on how Western people comprehended Buddha and his teachings. Thus, both the facts and fictions went side by side in constructing the image of India.

Within a short span of time from 1861 to1865, Cunningham was able to cover a vast area from Gaya in the East to Indus in the North-West and from Kalsi in the North to the Narmada in the South. All these ventures had a huge approbation among the intellectuals in London as well as in India. But in 1866, under Lord Lawrence those useful efforts came to an abrupt end with the abolition of the Archaeological Survey of India in February, 1866. Then from January, 1871, Duke of Argyll, the new Secretary of State made an appeal to the Government of India for a new systematic start by establishing a central department that will be helpful in knowing the country's past more deeply. Eventually Cunningham resumed his unfinished task from February, 1871. At the same time the world of archaeology was also witnessing one of the largest excavations at Hissarlik by Heinrich Schliemann (1871-1873). For the site of operation, Cunningham selected North-Western Provinces and for the purpose of the survey, he divided the whole country in three nearly equal sections. All the districts to the north of the Jamuna river constituted the northern or Agra section. Those to the west of the Grand Trunk Road from the from Agra to Indore formed the south-west or Ajmer section and those to the east of the Road formed the south-east or Bundelkhand section.[92] He entrusted the survey of Rajputana to Archibald Campbell Carlyle and the survey of Bundelkhand to J.D.M Beglar. Recently a book by Upinder Singh, *The World of India's First Archaeologist: Letters from Alexander Cunningham to JDM Beglar*, published in January, 2022, consist of 193 letters from Cunningham to Beglar

describes the true essence of the Indian archaeology. The writer portrays the Cunningham as a strong personality whose immense interest in discovering India's past ultimately enabled us to get glimpses of many major ancient Indian sites.[93] The main aim of Cunningham was to explore as much as possible and he instructed his fellow archaeologists to carry a memorandum prepared by him and a map so that repetitive works could be avoided. To Cunningham, archaeology was not limited to the study of old and broken structures and buildings or ruins, but it included everything that was part of the world-history. History as the archaeology of the past had been mingled with history as narrative of human actions in the past. There seemed to be no rivalry between the two. As Cunningham said,

> The study of architectural remains is therefore one of the most important objects of most Indian archaeologists. But our researches should be extended to all ancient remains whatever that will help to illustrate the manners and customs of former times.[94]

Cunningham lamented that many ancient sites (mounds) were dug indiscriminately for laying roads in the frontier regions for military purposes and used the mud, bricks and stones in the constructions. The north-west region where Hindu kingdoms and culture existed centuries before Christ came under tribes from Central Asia in the medieval times. The towns and monasteries were destroyed beyond recognition. He had always shown a greater respect to Buddhism out of his 'Orientalist' bias on the religion of the East. He had perhaps ignored the value of Islamic philosophy due to his preconceived notion about Islam which he had inherited from the European attitudes since the days of Crusade. He found that most of the Buddhist structures like, *stupas, chaityas* and universities, were razed to ground during the Muslim invasions. Muslim conquerors treated Buddhism equally as idolatrous like Hinduism. They persecuted both. He came across many such ruins of old sites during

his general survey and took interest in the archaeological exploration of these regions simultaneously. He was also influenced by the European attitude towards Islam and forgot to mention that all invasions whether launched by Christianity and Islam are disastrous. Most probably his concern was to preserve the ancient monuments intact and he felt very much disheartened when he discovered the ruins being hampered by the locals or indigenous folks. Such was the case of discovery of the Buddhist site at Sarnath. A large brick *stupa* at Benaras, near Dhamek had been previously excavated by Babu Jagat Singh, diwan of Raja Chait Singh of Benaras for the purpose of obtaining bricks for the erection of a market-place in the city, named, Jagatganj.[95] Cunningham firmly blamed Jagat Singh for the dilapidated state of the lower part of Dhamek tower who to save few rupees in purchase of new stones deliberately destroyed the beautiful facing of this ancient tower.[96] The urge for restoring the ancient structures and their value were not known among the indigenous people. But the British officials like Prinsep, Cunningham were very much aware of the empirical value of those monuments. Between 1873 to 1877, Cunningham, explored the areas like Central Provinces, Bundelkhand, Malwa. During this time his attention was directed to the magnificent stupa of Bharhut. In 1879, he wrote a book on the *stupa* of Bharthut, where he discussed his experiences in excavating the *stupa* in details. He discovered the stupa for the first time in November, 1873. He and J.D. Beglar jointly executed the excavation. Beglar discovered the famous Presenajit Pillar at Bharhut. He made photographs of the sculptures as they were found. Cunningham used to exchange letters with Buddhist priest Subhuti of Ceylon regarding the explanations of the *Bharhut* sculptures and *Jataka* stories. The lack of historical sensitivity among the indigenous people had always been a matter of disgrace to Cunningham. He argued that indigenous people had no interest in excavating the ancient

buildings, works of arts or the records of the ancient times. They were only interested in digging up hidden treasures, they used to believe to be buried under those sites.[97] During 1871-1872, in treating Indian antiquities, he considered that the archaeological remains were so scarce at that time that would create hinderance in making a proper periodization of Indian history or to demarcate between various styles of buildings. The historical method followed by him in understanding the country's past was spectacular. He rudimentarily made a division between Hindu and Muslim architectural remains which he believed would be helpful for a more compact knowledge about India's past. He argued,

> The great advantage of such a chronological arrangement is its safety, as it disturbs nothing and is not misleading, while it seems to indicate the exact period to which the particular styles belong.[98]

Then he divided the Hindu period from B.C. 1000 TO A.D. 1200 and the Mohammedan period from A.D. 1200 TO A.D. 1750 according to the archaeological remnants. But when it comes to the geographical division, Cunningham had created another division of Indian history which was 'Budhhist era'. In his renowned book, Ancient Geography of India (1871), he divided ancient geography of India according to religious and political affiliation, into three major groups, Brahmanical Period, Buddhist Period, and Muhammedan Period. But he declared to concentrate only on the Buddhist period for his present enquiries.[99] As mentioned earlier, Buddhism had always been a center of attraction for the later Orientalists as it helped in projecting an alter version of 'static' Brahmanism. Cunningham had been criticised for his preoccupation with Buddhism. But it was the circumstances of the time which provided him with a reason to study Indian archeology from that context.

The relationship between the Asiatic Society with all these archaeological excavations was quite paradoxical. Initially Prinsep, though was one of the pioneers in the field of excavations, was reluctant in any organised archaeological survey. The lack of response from Government or the lack of funds, whatever the reason might be, Asiatic Society of Bengal had turned down the suggestions by Colonel Tod and Kaveli Venkata Lachmiyya, one of Mackenzie's *pandits* for more comprehensive surveys. In a letter to Lachmiyya, in response to his application, Prinsep wrote,

> For the collection of new materials, the zeal of the numerous members of the English and native literary societies of Madras, will need only the suggestions and directions of a leader so well qualified, to accumulate them, without any necessity for a paid establishment.[100]

Upinder Singh in her book *The discovery of Ancient India: Early Archaeologists and the Beginnings of Archaeology*, had made a subtle division between antiquarians and archaeologists. She argued that the forays of men such as Buchanan Hamilton, Colin Mackenzie, James Prinsep, Charles Masson gave rise to the early antiquarian documentation of India's past.[101] The term 'antiquarian' denotes one who not only collects artifacts for the sake of collecting, but also is driven by the belief that various sources of knowledge would lead to the greater understanding of the past. There were various archaeological writings, reports on field surveys in the *Journals* of the Society, which encapsulated the rising interests in the field of archaeology. These included Alexander Davidson's report to the Society on the discovery of the Roman Coins at Nellore near Madras (1788), Jonathan Duncan's account of the discovery of Buddhist monuments at Sarnath (1798), J. Babington's illustrated account on the megalithic graves of Malabar (1823), and Captain Rober Young's account on the megalithic burials near Hyderabad (1827), P.T. Cautley's

description of Behat near Saharanpur in Uttar Pradesh.[102] The works of these military officers, surveyors created a high tide in the field of excavations and field investigations apart from the literary translations of the earlier period. Upinder Singh portrays the career of Cunningham as the conduit between the antiquarian investigations of the earlier period and the adoption of archaeology as a discipline. His first essay on Roman coins found in the Manikyala stupa was published in the Asiatic Journal in 1834.[103] During 1840s, he wrote another paper on the coins of the Indo-Bactrians and Indo-Scythians and also on the coinage of Kahsmir.[104] He was one of the foremost coin collectors of his time. Thus, the 'Cunningham phase' in making Indian history was a transition phase which led to the flourishing phase of archaeological excavations in future. But, none of his manifold activities evolved into systems of study. Epigraphy had to wait for a Fleet, numismatics for a Rapson and excavations for a Marshall. Yet the fact remains that the quality of Cunningham's archaeological works is impressive enough, and as regards to its sheer quantity it has no equal.[105] Perhaps his greatest contribution was the listing of the immense number of sites all over Northern India and particularly in areas hitherto unsuspected of antiquarian potentialities. The most important contributions of these, are the wild tracts of the Vindhyan mountain region and the areas of Malwa and Rajasthan. He introduced Western subjects like geography and epigraphy to decipher Oriental cities and important places thus making a symbiosis between two distinct forms of knowledge system. Even a casual reading of the *Corpuses of the Inscriptions of India* which include a large number of inscriptions he discovered and collected, convinces us of our great debt to him. These inscriptions, in their turn, when deciphered, many of them by Cunningham himself, helped to illumine many dark corners of Indian history. The same is true about coins. He was one

of the greatest collectors of coin of all time. His collection included many new types and varieties of coins which were for the first time discovered by him. He provided with the first chronological framework for the whole series of ancient Indian coins in his prolific numismatic papers in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. In the course of his innumerable journeys from end to end of Northern India, he came to know the country and its people intimately. Professor Codrington has aptly said that 'he learnt India by walking it'.[106] This knowledge gave him a peculiar insight into Indian society, culture and history that others lacked. He had baffled all the ingenuity that Jones and Wilford could muster. It has however to be remembered that attempts to elucidate Indian geography with reasonable success were going on much before he wrote his *Geography* in 1870. We have already taken note of the magnificent efforts of Lassen, Wilson and V. St. Martin. After having such precedents, there left little space to explore except to undertake arduous travels to visit all these places to search for evidence in confirmation of their guesses. And Cunningham performed precisely this useful task. Cunningham had to share the credit with Wilson, St. Martin and even Kittoe. As in the closing comments of the introduction of ASI report, vol. I, Cunningham argued broadly that,

> I beg it to be distinctly understood that we field archaeologists make no claim more than ordinary scholarship, and that if we have been successful in many of our archaeological researches, we can truly ascribe our success in great measure to the hitherto difficult path having been smoothed by the labors of our great Sanskrit scholars whose translations have placed within our reach nearly all the chief works of Indian learning.[107]

According to Edward Said, Orientalism is a field with considerable geographical ambitions. He conceptualized the term ‘imaginative geography’ as prioritizing one culture over another and the inferior culture did not need to recognize the distinction between the two.[108] He argued for production of distance by imaginative geographies which

ultimately led to the production of identities. Constellation of geographical knowledge and power had been an integral part of the Saidian projection of Orientalism. But in the archaeological investigations made by Prinsep or Cunningham, the knowledge of geography is an essential part of understanding country's history. The glaring division between historicism and historiographical knowledge had been overlooked by Said. It is true that India at that moment lacked the Western type of historicism, but there were constant efforts to adapt those methods and to cooperate. In describing the term 'imaginative geography', Said had ignored the wider social relations of geographical knowledge. There is no space for denying the fact that the artifacts or the relics or the ancient sites, excavated by Cunningham and his various associates, had a deep influence in creating a unified image of India in front of both the Europeans and Indians. The archaeological excavations after Cunningham under John Marshall and R.D. Bandopadhyay, which led to the discovery of the Indus Valley Civilisation, bore the legacy of the trend. The first relics of India's oldest cities were noticed by Cunningham, many inscriptions were read and translated and thus, a new era in Indian history had been initiated. In the introduction of the ASI reports for the years 1862,1863, 1864 and 1865, while discussing the researches of his predecessors and contemporaries starting from Sir William Jones, to James Princep, Francis Buchman, James Fergusson, Markham Kittoe etc Cunningham includes the name of an Indian Dr. Bhau Daji into the list. To quote from Cunningham,

> "……. I feel that Dr. Bhau Daji is a worthy successor of Dr. Stevenson, and that he has well sustained the cause of Indian Archaeology in the Bombay Presidency."[109]

In the reports of the Bundelkhand and Malwa tour, Cunningham says,

> In my last report (vol.IX), I gave an outline of what appeared to me to be a possible method of fixing the initial point of Gupta era. Since then, with the kind aid of my friend Bapu Deva Sastri, the able professor of Mathematics in the Benaras College, I have been able to complete the investigations…….[110]

Not only here, but there are quite a few instances when he was indeed forthcoming in his positive opinion and recognition of the Indian scholarship. Following the usual practice of the European scholars of the age Cunningham took help of the Sanskrit 'Pundits' well versed in traditional knowledge while translating and understanding the inscriptions. He also took the help of the new generation of Western educated Indian scholars who had a blending of western training and traditional knowledge such as Rajendralala Mitra, Bhagwanlal Indraji, P.C.Ghosh and Deva Sastri. Cunningham gave due credit to his friend Raja Shiva Prasad for drawing his attention to the ancient remains which ultimately resulted in his explorations in the sites of Bhita, Bhitargaon and Gadhwa. Jamna Shankar Bhatt, the draftsman of Cunningham was mentioned for his individual discoveries. All these are a few instances which reflect the basic honesty of Cunningham whose vision was not so overwhelmingly colored by the racial prejudices like Fergusson who tried to minimize and ridicule the attempts of the audacious 'natives' as 'Babu' Rajendralala Mitra. In spite of having difference of opinions on several issues with Rajendralala Mitra, when asked for his opinion Cunningham strongly supported the prospects of the publication of Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa* on a subsidised rate by the Government of India. As Upinder Singh argued, Cunningham's tone of warm and generous recognition of other's work, even those with different approach and opinion, is also notable in developing a healthy work ambience.[111] She also admits that the indigenous understanding of ancient Indian history indisputably existed before the colonial period. But colonial 'discovery' of India introduced the western method towards exploring ancient Indian history. Cunningham relied on the

scientific process of cross checking in the case of deciding dates of historical facts. In the preface of the first volume of the ASI report, he said,

> I have copied part of the inscription in the great cave with my own hand, and, after comparing my copy with that of the Mr.West, I can see no difference of the age between the characters used in the great cave and those in the other caves……I therefore concenrated to the great mass of the Kanheri inscriptions to the first and second centuries of the Christian era, so that there is a difference of at least four centuries between Mr. Fergusson's mean date and mine.[112]

The work ambience created by Cunningham was very much co-operative that helped in development of amalgamation of different thoughts and experiments. In various volumes of the *Journals* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, there were innumerable instances that showed the contemporaries of Cunningham were incorporating his excavations and his opinions in their writings. James Wise in deciphering an inscription from Khwaja Jahan Mosque in Dhaka, mentioned Cunningham who helped him in the task.[113] It was one of the oldest inscriptions found in Bengal. A.M. Broadley, in his descriptions of the Buddhist remains in Bihar, acknowledged Cunningham's extensive survey of the area.[114] Thus, the Orientalist claim of inventing Orient through texts needs a retrospection. It is true that textual traditions were an integral part of knowing India's past, but the parallel track of inquiry in the form of archaeological excavations was very much important in exploring the non-textual pasts.

In the concluding remarks it can be said that, Alexander Cunningham was a natural successor of Colin Mackenzie and James Prinsep. In 1885, Cunningham retired from the post of Director General of Archaeological Survey and was succeeded by James Burgess which initiated another significant era for Indian history. Burgess started a famous yearly Journal, The *Indian Antiquary* (1872) and an annual epigraphical publication, *Epigraphia Indica* (1882). Cunningham had genius, Burgess had method. Cunningham's true place in

Indian history had been accurately summed up as the true pioneer of Indian archaeology. He only demarcated the field, leaving it to others for further explorations. He belonged to the old school, but his indefatigable devotion to the subject was marvelous. He left us with a rich legacy of archaeological inquisition which molded the future generation of British and indigenous archaeologists in various ways and in turn, shaped the course of Indian history writing.

End Notes:

1. Lloyd I. Rudolf and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *Romanticism's Child: An Intellectual History of James Tod's Influence on Indian History and Historiography*, (New Delhi: OUP, 2017), 58-60.

2. James Tod was the First British political agent to Rajasthan. He wrote *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* in two volumes (1829-1832). Tod's romantic conservatism was reflected in this book. This book is an important document for understanding the inner conflicts of British policy of India. He propounded his views in a time when James Mill's liberal utilitarian views were in the air. Tod showed respect, admiration and even imagined a common Scythian origin of the Britons and Rajputs. Tod's theory of chivalric Rajputs also became relevant during the Nationalist phase of Indian history. For more details see, Jason Freitag, *Serving Empire, Serving Nation: James Tod and the Rajputs of Rajasthan*, Leiden: Brill, 2009, Florence D'Souza, *Knowledge, Mediation and Empire: James Tod's Journeys among the Rajputs*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), Norbert Peabody, 'Tod's Rajasthan and the Boundaries of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth Century India' in *Modern Asian Studies*, Feb, 1996, vol 30, no.1,185-220.

3. Robert Orme was the first British Official who witnessed the victories of East India Company and it encompassed the shifts in the relationship between Britain and its colony. Before the age of James Rennell, Colin Mackenzie, Buchanan Hamilton, Orme's map provided the British empire with deep-sighted glimpses of the country. For details see, 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,* Nov, 1992, Third Series, vol.2, no. 3, 363-376.

4. David Arnold, *The Tropics and The Travelling Gaze: India, Landscape and Science (1800-1856),* (USA: University of Washington Press, 2006), 88.

5. P.T. Nair, *Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society 91784-1884),* (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1986), 156- 200.

6. Rama Sundari Mantena, *The Origins of Modern Historiography in India: Antiquarianism and Philology (1780-1880),* (USA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 18.

7. Keith Jenkins, *Rethinking History,* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 5-26.

8. Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Textures of Time: Writing History in South India (1600-1800),* (New York: Other Press, 2003), 3-22.

9. Rama Mantena, 'The Question of History in Precolonial India', *History and Theory,* Oct, 2007, vol.46, no.3, 407.

10. S.N. Mukherjee, *Sir William Jones: A Study in Eighteenth Century British Attitudes to India*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 110.

11. *Asiatic Researches or Transactions of the Society situated in Bengal for Inquiring into the history and antiquities, the art, sciences and literature of Asia*, London: T. Maiden, 1806, vol.1, fifth edition, 222.

12. Rev. William Taylor, *A Catalogue Raisonnee of Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of the (Late) College, Fort Saint George*, (Madras, 1857), xii-xv.

13. H.H. Wilson, 'An Essay on the Hindu History of the Cashmir', *Asiatick Researches,* (Serampore: Mission Press, 1825), 1-119.

14. *An Historical Disquisition*, written by William Robertson, which explored the cultural and economic relationship between India and the Western world. It encompasses glimpses of Scottish Enlightenment in viewing Indian society and culture. His sympathetic attitude towards Indian culture, especially Hinduism made his work unpopular in Britain. His work epitomised the trend of early Orientalism in British India. For details see, Stewart J. Brown, 'William Robertson, Early Orientalism and the *Historical Disquisition* on India in 1791', *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 88.2, no. 226, 289-312.

15. Ranajit Guha, *History at the Limit of World History*, (New Delhi; Oxford University Press, 2003), 9.

16. Javed Majeed, 'James Mill's History of British India and Utilitarianism as a rhetoric of Reform', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol.24, issue 2, May, 1990, 212.

17. Francis G. Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence: British Imperialism in India*, (New Jersy: Princeton University Press, 1967), 53.

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CONCLUSION

My thesis, 'Exploring Orientalism in Colonial India (c.1784 - c.1883)', deals with a vast span of almost 100 years' time and the changing nature of the colonial cultural policy in the light of postcolonial scholarship. After decolonization, there was a growing encouragement for searching the roots of the misery of the 'third world'. The exploitative nature of the British colonial rule in India was highlighted in this regard, undermining the variations, it possessed. Early Orientalism was developed along with the Enlightenment and this helped in coalescing important notions like, rationality, historicity, and modernity. The early Orientalist searches for similarity between the East and the West, had been changed in the latter half of the nineteenth century, when they had to accommodate themselves within the challenges put by reformist trends. Thus, when Warren Hastings patronized the translation of *Bhagavadgita* by Charles Wilkins, he found in it the same moral principles as in the Biblical texts. But under the rubric of colonialism, it was not only a matter of taste, but also, a matter of politics. Hastings sent the translated *Gita* directly to London for publication, without any governmental application.[1] By marking the similarities, the colonial scholar-administrators sought to show the home administration, the need for ushering 'common law' for the restoring of Indian civilization. The diffusion of the concept of power within the process of knowledge-production thus problematizes the proper analysis of the 'sociology of knowledge'. As P.J. Marshall has written an interesting article, using the phrase, 'failed society' for the British residents in India during the period 1780-1830.[2] He argued that the colonial rulers in India were detached from their counterpart at home and also there were factions within themselves in India. They survived by bargain, one with the home administration and another within themselves. German Orientalism always negates the structure of Saidian discursive

explanation as they did not have any colonial possessions in India. But that does not indicate that every parallel process that accompanied colonialism in eighteenth and nineteenth century India, can be dismissed as an imposed behavior. With the passing time, as a mercantile body embraced more and more administrative and governing character, the methods of empiricism were utilized as the tool for forming systematized knowledge. From a period when Persian was prioritized as the state language to a time when James Mill's *History of British India* became the textbook at the Haileybury College, British colonial policy was never a monolithic one. A transnational mercantile organ like, British East India Company found it necessary to initiate state-formation in a vast colony, India, for which they needed the support of the reformist trend of the Utilitarians and the Anglicists. Saidian discourse of Orientalism which only comprehend the history of colonial India in a holistic manner is a deterministic way of approach. Through all the four chapters in my thesis, by highlighting the efforts and contributions of the early colonial scholar-administrators, to dig out India's past, I have concluded that the term Orientalism and Orientalists have been used in a broader epistemological context which was neglected in Saidian version. In this process the conflict between two opposite sides of the world, East and West, must inherit the Classical legacy of coercion and survival. The trends of representation, conquer and controlling the resources, are the world's oldest path to survive. Representation did not always mean inferiorization. But as the nineteenth century matured, the process of searching India's past changed in to the methods of categorization for the sake of the 'good governance'. This trend, as reflected in the works of administrators like James Wise, H.H. Risley, W.W. Hunter, cannot be neglected also within the framework of knowledge-production in a colony. The periphery was the site of production, but the core has always affected its course of

development. There was always suspicion about the indigenous collaborators in the minds of the early Orientalists like Jones, but that never stopped them to take help from those collaborators. It is obvious that within a structure of colonialism, the relationship was always dominated by the rulers. But there were variations. There was a subtle difference in the nature of the *munshi* of William Carey, Ramram Basu and the assistant of William Jones, *Pandit Radhakanta Tarkavagisa*. The former was representative of a group of indigenous collaborators who found good fortune in assisting the foreign rulers, but the latter represented such a group who were reluctant to teach their auspicious Sanskrit language to the foreign rulers. But on both cases, interaction was there which affected both sides. There is no space for denying that in this interaction the colonial rulers were in the advantageous position. The browbeating and arrogant attitude towards Indian civilization, of some colonial administrators, like James Mill, Charles Grant who were guided by the Evangelical logic, and the parallel wars of expansion, led by Warren Hastings, Lord Minto, Lord Dalhousie, Mountstuart Elphinstone and many more cannot be ignored. There is no denying that economic exploitation was there, ruthless wars of expansion was there. These incidents influenced Said to judge the situation in colonial situations in a deterministic way. The single threat of exploitation can only be traced rightly by Saidian discourse. The notion of Neo-Orienatlism explored through the reading of the Israel-Palestinian power struggle, is also emerging, But this is a very recent trend. My approach is mainly based only on eighteenth and nineteenth-century colonial India. The entire story of colonial rule in India which traverses through the parts and the whole, contains elements of conciliation as well as coercion. But in my thesis, I have not elaborated on the issues of ‘othering’ as it is already a much-explored section. Rather I have concentrated on the epistemological whole where some people were benefitted

at the cost of many; global knowledge system benefitted the most which is beyond any criticism. I have followed both qualitative and quantitative methods in analyzing the detailed works of some renowned Orientalists, contextualizing them historically in the early colonial India (c.1784 - c.1883). I would like to explore it further in my future research.

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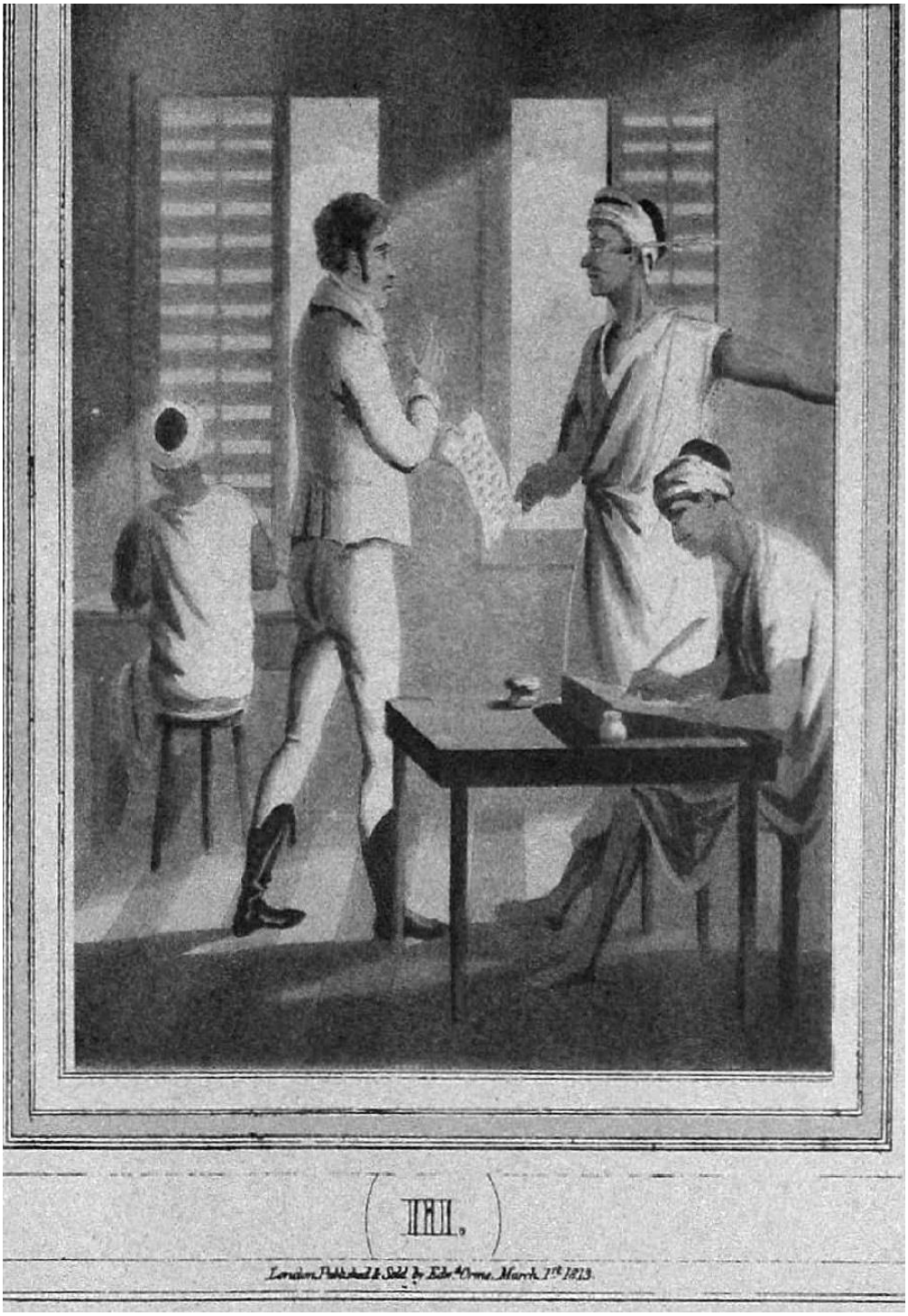

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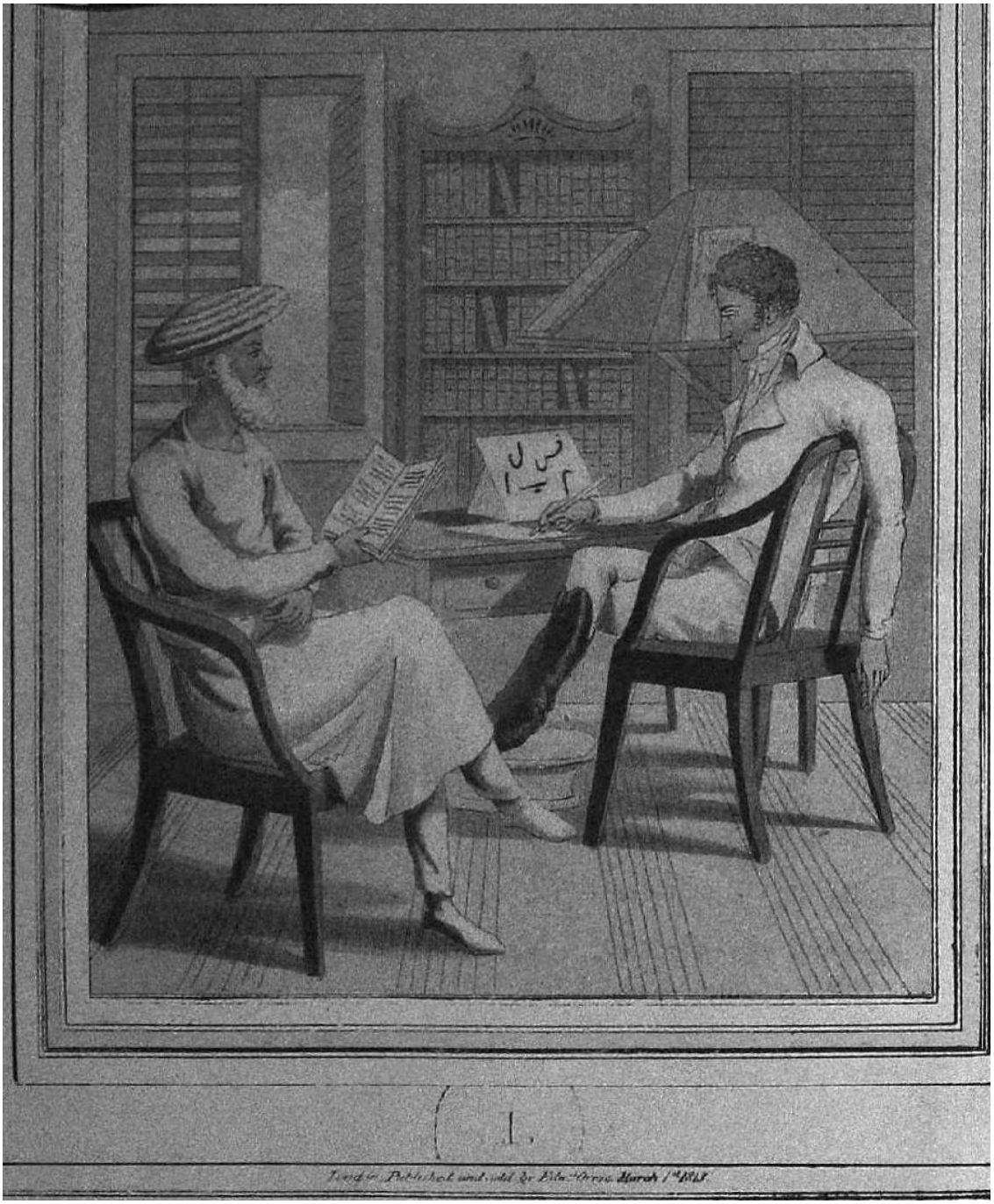

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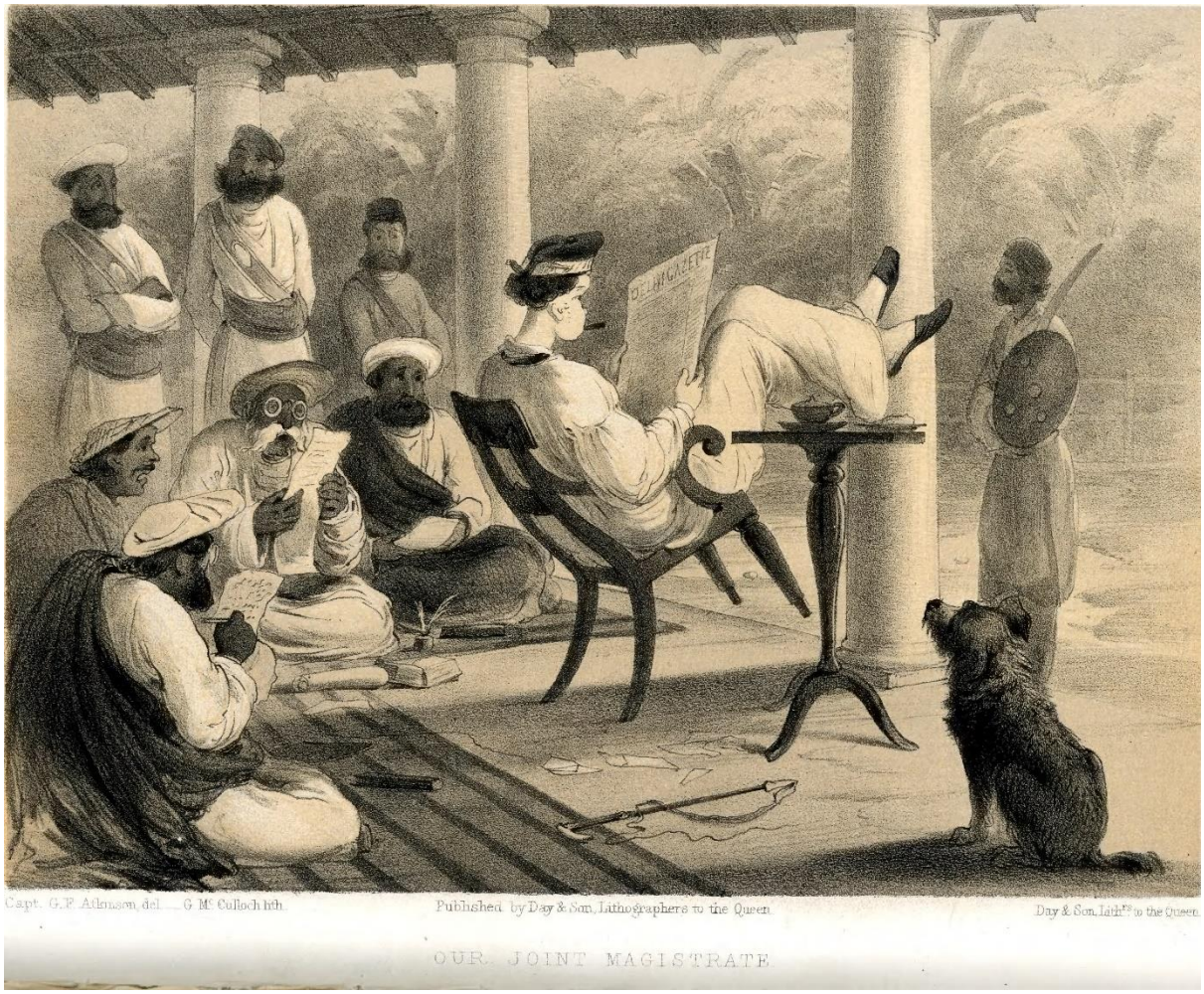

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