Introduction

Mary Mackenzie's funeral in Stornoway in the Outer Hebrides was, as later reported, 'one of the last of the great funerals of the old style … a relic of the olden days' in Scotland.[1] Shortly after the old lady's death a wake was held where the mourners refreshed themselves from a cask of Madeira wine. The house remained brightly lit throughout the night and then, on the following day, a long procession made its way to the cemetery outside the town of Stornoway. Without any great ceremony the coffin was lowered into a prepared grave, and then the real festivities began, in a tent put up a few metres from the graveyard for which, according to reports, cartloads of food and drink had been brought in. After some short prayers and a sumptuous meal the 120 or so guests then got stuck in to the whiskey and wine, and the wake soon turned into such debauchery that the clergy decided to go home as quickly as possible. More and more people now poured into the tent to take part in the festivities and the shindig took on such proportions that it only came to an end when the participants ran out of steam. Many of the guests just lay down where they were, while one of them even had to be taken back into town on Mary's own bier.[2]

When she died, in 1827, at the age of seventy-nine[3] Mary Mackenzie was not only by far the richest inhabitant of Stornoway but also one of the most popular, known especially for her generosity. During her last years she had repeatedly given large sums of money to charity and, under the terms of her will, a foundation was set up for the poor of the town and a further bequest supported a girls' school. What is more, she left about a hundred of her fellow townspeople sums of between twenty and fifty pounds, thus establishing a reputation as a benefactor of the town of Stornoway.[4] She was not, however, born with a silver spoon in her mouth; on the contrary, she had grown up in an impoverished and highly indebted family which barely had the means to give her an adequate education. It was not until the 1790s, when she started

Notes from this chapter begin on page 16.

to receive regular transfers of money from her brother Colin, in India, that her situation substantially improved, and it was his legacy that in 1821 made her a rich woman.[5]

Although a monument to Colin Mackenzie was erected next to his sister's grave, he is not remembered so much for his beneficence to Stornoway as for what he did as a scientist and officer in the East India Company (EIC). He is known in particular for his massive collection of manuscripts, copies of inscriptions and other material in various Indian languages and alphabets that he put together during the last twenty-five years or so of his life, and which is regarded to this day as one of the most important collections on the precolonial history and culture of South India.[6] At the time of his death his Scottish roots were, of course, not quite forgotten: 'the Highland may justly consider him', one of his obituaries pointed out, 'one of their brightest Ornaments, for to the Qualities of a gallant soldier and Gentleman, he united the attainments of a man of profound science'.[7] Memories of Colin Mackenzie are marked above all, however, by the importance and uniqueness of his collection, and he himself would certainly have agreed with the remarks made about his life's achievements by his friend John Seely a few years after his death: Mackenzie, said Seely, had been a 'victim to science'. It was, according to Seely, to men like him, who alongside their often numerous public duties and sacrificing their own personal interests had dedicated themselves to research, that the British owed virtually all their knowledge of India.[8]

A portrait by the Irish artist Thomas Hickey, painted in Madras in 1816, (Figure 0.1) shows how Mackenzie himself wanted to be remembered.[9] At the time it was painted Colin Mackenzie was at the zenith of his career. A year earlier he had been appointed as the first Surveyor General for the whole of India and, after almost twenty-five years' service in the EIC's army, had been promoted to lieutenant colonel and was one of the first of its officers to be appointed to the Order of the Bath.[10] The painting shows Mackenzie as a confident British officer who, although leaning comfortably on a cane, does not look his age of about sixty-three. What is particularly interesting, however, is the background and the people surrounding him, whose depiction in the portrait can certainly be seen as a programmatic statement on Mackenzie's life's work. The three Indians surrounding Mackenzie can be identified as long-standing co-workers who played an essential part in his research projects.[11] On the left-hand side of the picture is the 75-year-old Dharmaiah, a Jain and expert in ancient languages whom Mackenzie had described as an 'old man worthy of veneration'; behind him is Kavali Venkata Lakshmayya, Mackenzie's chief interpreter and friend – to him he later left part of his fortune; and finally, to the right of him, his *harkara* Kistnaji, who by this time had already worked for him for seventeen years.[12] As *harkara*, or specialist in geographical issues, Kistnaji is holding a telescope, a reference to Mackenzie's cartographical work,

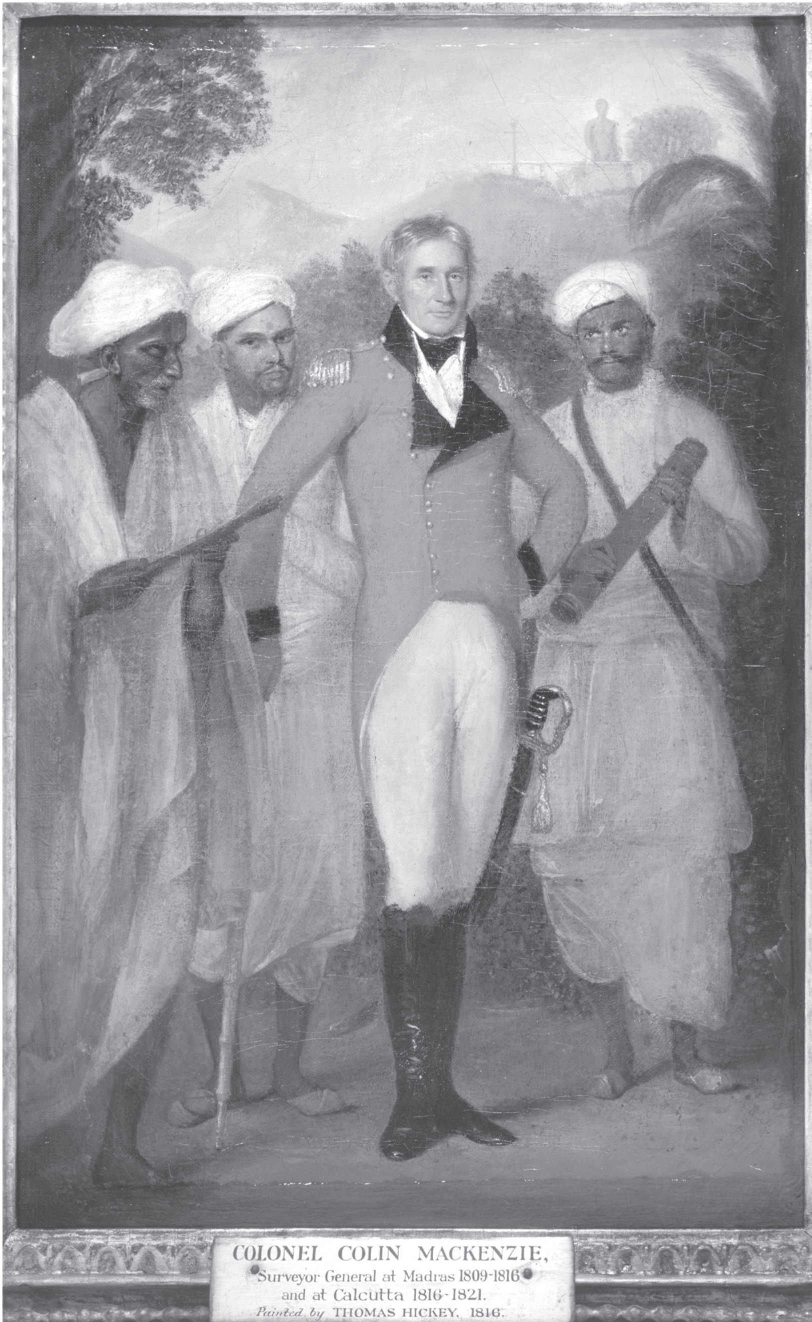

Figure 0.1 Thomas Hickey, Colin Mackenzie, 1816.
Source: © The British Library Board.

while the object in Dharmaiah's hand must represent a rolled palm-leaf manuscript, referring to his literary activity. Finally, in the background is the holy Jain site of Sravana Belgula in Mysore, with the seventeen-metre high statue of Bahubali, symbol of the discovery of the Jain religion, which Mackenzie considered to be one of his greatest achievements.[13]

In his later years Mackenzie increasingly came to regard his contribution to research on Indian geography, culture and history as his life's most important achievement. He himself contributed to the construction of a myth that depicts his life as geared to one single goal – entirely in the sense of a 'biographical illusion' as delineated by Bourdieu, who sees behind every autobiography the writer's desire to give their life meaning. In this process the person's life is described as a series of necessary steps that are as coherent as possible.[14] 'We do not *live* stories,' Hayden White once wrote in his deep insight into the narrative structures of historiography, 'even if we give our lives meaning by retrospectively casting them in the form of stories'.[15] The story of his life that Mackenzie told in the years before his death was that of a selfless researcher whose life's work was discovering and collecting Indian history, culture and geography. So the only autobiographical retrospective he ever wrote is primarily a look back at the history of his collection. His life before he arrived in India, in 1783, is only mentioned in a few subordinate sentences; and his first thirteen years on the subcontinent, which were of little importance for this collection and are described only in passing, seem to represent a period of almost inexcusable failures.[16]

Even though initially written as a private letter to his friend Alexander Johnston, just a few years after his death this autobiographical report became a kind of 'official' version of his life. Johnston published it for the first time in 1822 as a sort of obituary for his friend and, as it was reprinted in a number of respected periodicals in the following years, it influenced the public image of Mackenzie more than any other obituary.[17] This was not, of course, by any means Alexander Johnston's only contribution to the 'biographical illusion', which is what memory of Mackenzie's life increasingly became. In a parliamentary hearing in which Johnston, as co-founder and vice president of the Royal Asiatic Society, sought public funds in order to carry on Mackenzie's research, he set up another central building block of his story by declaring that his friend went to India exclusively because of his orientalist interests. In Britain, Johnston declared, he had already begun to research into Hindu culture and his employment in the EIC was therefore just a logical step towards further research.[18]

This new detail, not added until more than ten years after Mackenzie's death, was now published as well – in versions not entirely free of contradiction but reprinted in learned books and journals;[19] the most accessible to the British public however was the popular *Saturday Magazine,* which also

THE

Saturday Magazine.

No. 127. JUNE 28TH, 1834. PRICE ONE PENNY.

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE COMMITTEE OF GENERAL LITERATURE AND EDUCATION, APPOINTED BY THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

COLONEL MACKENZIE AND THE BRAHMINS.

VOL. IV. 127

Figure 0.2 Title page of the *Saturday Magazine*, 28 June 1834.
Source: Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen

carried a print of Hickey's painting on the title page (Figure 0.2).[20] By the time Mackenzie's assumed early interest in Asia was included in the *Dictionary of National Biography* in the 1890s, it had become an established component of his biography.[21]

The problem with this image of Mackenzie's life as a series of logical steps solely directed towards his great project of research on India is not that he did not devote a large part of his life to extensive research work, but the persuasive power that this narrative gains from its inner logic has distorted the view of many other aspects of Mackenzie's life, which are made to seem fairly incidental or insignificant. For instance, the fact that in his youth Mackenzie was denied any formal higher education for financial reasons, and only acquired the means that were later to make his sister the richest woman in Stornoway during his career in India, has hardly attracted any attention. Indeed his connections with Scotland, on a social and intellectual level, have hardly been dealt with at all even though, in my view, they were of great importance for his work in India.

Above all, however – and this is not without a certain irony – Johnston's narrative often led to a distorted view of Mackenzie's scientific project itself by implying a pretty clear dividing line between public duties and private interest in his research on Indian culture and history. From this perspective his activity for the EIC becomes merely a means of achieving goals that had been set long before and at the same time, paradoxically, a permanent obstacle to achieving them because of the time and energy it took up. Robbed of any agenda other than personal curiosity and fascination, Mackenzie mainly appears to be an obsessive collector, driven by an 'almost demonic urge to reveal to the West the history of South India'.[22] This book will show that Mackenzie's project would have been inconceivable without his own initiative, great personal commitment and even a degree of obsession – but this does not mean that it should be seen in isolation from his personal ambitions within the Company or his other responsibilities as a surveyor.

'The dead', as Thomas Trautmann puts it, 'have no rights over the narratives they appear in'.[23] Still, the aim of this book cannot be simply to replace a 'biographical illusion' by a version of Mackenzie's life for which there is more evidence. A biographical narrative inevitably creates a certain coherence – but it can also discuss the breaks and turns, as well as the historical constellations, that are what make Mackenzie's long career in the EIC and the part he played in forging the colonial state comprehensible in the first place. The biographical approach here is not intended to produce a psychologizing description of a life but rather to shed light on the personal experiences and intellectual influences that lay behind Mackenzie's activities. This seems to be particularly useful because, in the EIC's transitional phase on the path to becoming a state administrative apparatus, ambitious climbers had great influence on shaping certain areas of the administration. So concentrating on a man who, from humble

origins rose, during a career of forty years in India, to become head of a central administrative department, is ideally suited to discussing certain key questions surrounding the genesis of colonial statehood.

This book's protagonist is certainly not unknown to historians of South and Southeast Asia. It profits from a number of earlier works dealing with individual aspects of Mackenzie's career. As India's first Surveyor General he received considerable coverage in historiography on British surveying projects in India, foremost among them Reginald Henry Phillimore's profound, multi-volume *Historical Records of the Survey of India* and Matthew Edney's *Mapping an Empire*.[24] His activities on Java, where he played an important role during the British occupation from 1811 to 1813, were dealt with in detail by John Sturgus Bastin around the middle of the last century.[25] David M. Blake, Bernard S. Cohn and Nicholas Dirks have made valuable contributions on the origins of his collection,[26] while Peter Robb in his important essay on the Mysore Survey has emphasized Mackenzie's pioneering achievements in terms of how knowledge is produced for the state.[27] Phillip Wagoner examines in even more detail Cohn's and Dirks' central theses about the forms of cooperation between Indians and Europeans in the context of epigraphical research under Mackenzie's leadership,[28] while Jennifer Howes has examined the rich visual material produced by Mackenzie and his co-workers during his forty years in India.[29] A collection of essays edited by Thomas Trautmann deals with the connections between Mackenzie's collection and the Madras School of Orientalism.[30] Finally, Rama Mantena has looked at the accumulation of Mackenzie's collection as one of the starting points for 'modern historiography' in India.[31]

The only specifically biographical work on Mackenzie, however, is much older and was written by a Scottish local historian, William Cook Mackenzie.[32] This work is not without its problems since the author gets many of the details wrong.[33] What is even more difficult for the academic reader, however, is the author's claim to have written a 'popular biography',[34] which means that the main themes it deals with are those that would appeal to a broad contemporary public. Mackenzie's war experiences, for instance, are dealt with in epic proportions while the broader context of his career is barely mentioned. What is more, this work deals with roughly the first thirty years of Colin Mackenzie's life, which he spent in Britain, on just a few pages, borrowing heavily from Alexander Johnston's account.

Robb's article on the Mysore Survey makes a more valuable contribution to an understanding of Mackenzie's career even if it concentrates on the years after the institution of the Mysore Survey in 1799. Robb paints a picture of a man who, driven less by personal ambition than by a deep conviction that his project made sense, overcomes all obstacles and realizes his vision of the survey as an instrument of the state. Of abiding importance in Robb's view are, firstly,

the connection his project established between knowledge production for the state and the government's objectives and, secondly, the restructuring of the territory on the basis of supposedly 'objective' and 'universal', yet ultimately European, criteria.[35] Robb's ideas about the importance of the survey for the state are the key starting point for my view of the project, even if my interpretation differs in some respects, for instance regarding the question of Mackenzie's personal ambitions or the significance of abstract criteria in relation to his cultural sensitivity for his project.

The focus of most recent publications is on Mackenzie's impressive collection of documents on and artefacts of Indian history and culture. In particular, recent authors have subjected Dirks' older view, namely of Mackenzie as a sort of solitary, virtually quixotic fighter trying to assert his vision of historical research on India against an obstructive colonial apparatus,[36] to fundamental revision. Wagoner was the first to point out the manifold connections between Mackenzie's project and the Orientalist School of Madras,[37] and in the meantime it seems clear that Mackenzie's project should certainly not be looked at in isolation but against the backdrop of his multifarious relations with orientalists in various parts of India.[38]

At the same time, dealing in more detail with Mackenzie's co-workers – it was undoubtedly a valuable achievement by Cohn and Dirks to have emphasized their key role for the first time – has led to a reassessment of their importance; they were far more than passive informants and made an intellectual contribution of their own. Wagoner emphasized their active role in developing a methodology for historical epigraphy in India,[39] while more recent works look at their intellectual activities in Madras after Mackenzie's death, in 1821.[40] All in all recent research conveys an image of Mackenzie's collection that depicts it as an independent part of a broader collective research project on India's history and culture that was carried along by various European orientalists but was based on cooperation with Indian intellectuals to a degree that should not be understated. Furthermore, it is becoming increasingly apparent that his collection was by no means a 'beached whale' without any great consequences but a valuable source that had a lasting effect on the development of historiography, archaeology and philology in South India.[41]

Focussing on the collection leads, quite understandably, to an image of a project in which Mackenzie's main aim was to acquire material. Howes, for instance, argues that Mackenzie collected 'raw material' that he wanted to make available to orientalists and the British public for further assessment.[42] Mantena gives fascinating insights into how Mackenzie's cooperation with his Indian co-workers led to new historical methods, but in her narrative Mackenzie also sometimes appears as a 'colonial antiquarian' in the tradition of European antiquarianism: 'The antiquarian is by definition excessive; he collects for the sake of collecting and is driven by the belief that various sources of knowledge

would contribute to a better understanding of the past'. In marked contrast to the historian who profits from his work, the antiquarian however is much more interested in 'the particularity of the object itself' than in developing a 'general historical narrative'.[43]

In situating Mackenzie's collection within the context of contemporary European amateur antiquarianism, Mantena offers a valuable perspective for a better understanding of his project, and it would be tempting to take this perspective as the basis for a biographical narrative. It would be the story of a man who, from fairly humble origins, lacked the classical education and thus the philological knowledge on which to base orientalist research, but who, since he did develop an interest in such research, and furthermore yearned for the reputation connected with it, decided to serve the project of researching India in a different way. In this version he uses his extremely advantageous position as a surveyor who not only travels extensively in the country but also has a large number of co-workers available to him in the various regions of India to collect material that will not only be given to others for further assessment but that will also guarantee Mackenzie himself a place amongst the learned elite of the British in India. What then developed over the years would be a passionate chase after manuscripts and artefacts that make him into the prototype of the 'colonial antiquarian' who increasingly sees his collection as an end in itself.

Although such a narrative would contain pertinent and quite accurate explanations for the motives behind Mackenzie's collection – his interest in Indian culture and history, his desire to acquire 'cultural capital',[44] and finally the documentary impetus behind his activities – it does not really do the project justice, especially given the value that Mackenzie himself attached to it. He stressed, for instance, that his investigations should not be misunderstood as 'dry investigations into remote & obscure periods of antiquity of Legend & of Fable', but should be regarded as 'procuring authentic information of the condition & sentiments of Millions of subjects'. Of his research into the Jains in South India, who had ruled a large part of the area 'under a spirit of administration not unfriendly to the comforts of the people', he says that it was a 'subject of interest superior certainly to mere antiquarian Research to which however I have not been indifferent'.[45] Such statements suggest that Mackenzie's antiquarianism was by no means an end in itself.

One of this book's central arguments is that Mackenzie's surveys – including his collection – should be seen as an integrated project that was in line with his view of what British rule should be like, and was based on a comprehensive vision of the connections between past, present and future. Mackenzie certainly did not bring with him to Madras a 'ready-made' project for documenting Indian history; nor can this vision be considered as the 'starting point' for his activities there. For most of the nearly thirty years that Mackenzie spent, with short breaks, in the Outer Hebrides in Northern Scotland a career in India was

nowhere in sight. I will argue, however, that this period nonetheless represents an important background for deeper understanding of his activities in India. This is particularly true since it was here that Mackenzie was able to see at first hand the consequences of radical modernization, connected with an attack on Gaelic culture, which led to some appalling social consequences. This space of experience, one could argue, in an individualizing (and quite possibly also trivializing) version of Reinhart Koselleck's view, structured his horizon of expectation,[46] specifically as regards his ideas about a good government for India.

Emphasis on Mackenzie's Scottish background links this book with a number of works that look at the specifically Scottish contribution to building the Empire.[47] However, such works – the most important for India are by Martha P. McLaren and Jane Rendall – mainly concentrate on the intellectual influences of the Scottish Enlightenment and the curricula at Scottish universities in whose orbit their protagonist moved during certain phases of his life.[48] Mackenzie, however, came from relatively humble origins in the Highlands, never went to university and spent most of his time in Britain far from the cultural and economic metropolises. So looking at his biography presents a new perspective in this respect as well, and leads to focussing less on the theoretical drafts of the Scottish Enlightenment than on the actual experiences concomitant with the modernization of Scotland in the eighteenth century.

Ironically, from a biographical perspective Mackenzie's career loses much of its aura of uniqueness. In some respects it can be regarded as typical of the EIC's transition from trading company to colonial administrative apparatus. Although he joined the EIC comparatively late, at the age of almost thirty, the motives and ambitions, difficulties and setbacks connected with his career in India were the same as those experienced by many of his contemporaries. Like so many others, he had to find his way through the jungle of relationships and patronage and look for a niche within the apparatus that would make personal advancement possible without London's support; and like the majority of the Company's employees he too regarded India primarily as a chance to improve his financial position. It was not until five years after his arrival that, in search of promotion, he started to establish himself as a surveyor, and it was another seven years before he began to develop the concept of a detailed survey, and thus also of his collection, along with his friend Kavali Venkata Borayya. The image of an almost obsessive researcher who subordinated all other personal interests and ambitions almost exclusively to his scientific life's work applies, if at all, only to the last third of his life.

The period between about 1780 and 1840, into which Mackenzie's Indian career fell, can be considered as a phase of 'colonial transition'.[49] During this time the EIC – due to its spectacular military successes especially in South and Central India and subsidiarity treaties with many nominally still independent states[50] – emerged as the undisputed leading power on the subcontinent. At the

same time not only did the Company's apparatus become more closely tied to the British state, but also attempts were made to control the corruption amongst its employees, increasingly regarded as problematic, through a series of internal reforms, and to set up a more efficient administrative system. A number of measures were taken to regulate the conquered territories internally. Since the time of Warren Hastings, attempts had been made to establish a regular legal system, and the Permanent Settlement in Bengal sought to settle the key issue of revenue on a lasting basis.[51] As corporate bearer of sovereignty rights, even before 1757 the Company was not totally unprepared for its new role as an administrative apparatus,[52] but there is no denying that the internal expansion of the emerging colonial state also represented a phase of experimentation in which there were various competing ideas about what form British rule should take, without any uniform and established colonial ideology to draw on. Both at the ideological level and in practice the position of those in charge oscillated between seeking to maintain precolonial structures and customs and a more far-reaching transformation of the political system and social norms.

At a more abstract level David Scott, along Michel Foucault's lines, has described the transition from the eighteenth-century trading company to the colonial state of the later nineteenth century as a sort of breakthrough from the 'political rationality of mercantilism', designed simply to extend and secure power, to modern 'governmentality'.[53] This was no longer characterized by a direct connection between sovereign and subjects in the form of power and obligation. The 'population' was now increasingly regarded as an object of intervention and tactics were developed for influencing the conditions in which the people moved, in order to influence the social field's own dynamics. This new form of government, he said, implemented in Europe around 1800, found its colonial expression in India with the attempts by liberals and utilitarians at modernization. These, he went on, had conceived of the Indian 'society' as an object of intervention and had aimed to transform it radically by changing its fundamental conditions on the basis of abstract norms, in contrast to earlier 'defensive' and 'conservative' ideas.[54]

Scott's theoretical approach is certainly too schematic to understand the phase of colonial transition in its own right. Even in Foucault's work the dividing line between mercantilism and modern governmentality seems much more fluid, and even in the colonial context the transition from mercantilist to governmental rationality was probably far slower and less rigidly defined than Scott would suggest. These days, for instance, the notion he puts forward, going back to Stokes, of Munro's policy as purely 'conservative' and 'defensive' has rightly been called into question.[55] At the same time, if the militarism of the Company-state is taken as an indicator, the 'mercantilist rationality' of securing and extending rule existed far beyond the break Scott posits. Military fiscalism, understood as aggressively levying revenue to finance the military,

and the influence of military elites in all spheres of political and administrative decision making, remained characteristic of most of British rule in India, even if its intensity varied from region to region.[56] And finally, as Gyan Prakash argues, in the colonial context authoritarian and governmental forms of exercising power were never mutually exclusive.[57]

If, like David Scott, we want to regard 'colonial governmentality' as an attempt at a 'systematic redefinition and transformation of the terrain on which the life of the colonized was lived',[58] then little more than embryonic precursors of such aims will be found in the approaches to government during the transitional phase. In fact, many of these approaches point in the opposite direction by seeking continuities and gradual change in harmony with what were supposed to be India's cultural norms. Nonetheless the concept of 'governmentality' does seem well suited to describe certain changes during the transitional phase since new political-administrative perspectives open up here that go beyond an interest simply in retaining power, and within which new government responsibilities were defined. This is precisely where Mackenzie's surveys – starting with the Mysore Survey, where the focus was by no means on military and fiscal interests but on intensive research into India's history, culture and society – should be located. On the one hand they aimed, by producing knowledge for the state, to define the government's objectives – but on the other they established knowledge production itself as a task for the state. The broad support his project enjoyed shows that many of those in charge shared Mackenzie's ideas, but at the same time the enduring opposition he encountered, from the military in particular, is evidence that they were by no means universally accepted.

The conditions that made it possible to carry out this expensive project comprised not only the restructuring of administrative responsibilities in India, but also the emergence of a new relationship between state and science in the decades around the turn of the century. Although there was no state institution for the sciences in Britain, unlike the countries of continental Europe, with their academies, here, too, private scientific initiatives and semi-official establishments such as the Royal Society gained increasing influence over the administration. Joseph Banks played a particularly important role in this. As president of the Royal Society he had been an advisor to various governments and had taken on the role of 'unofficial minister for science'.[59] The great opportunities for science offered by the British Empire were always the focal point of Banks' interest and, via his parliamentary contacts and as an advisor, he exerted considerable influence on the EIC.[60] The British state and the EIC increasingly made funds available for science. During the decades of war between 1760 and 1815 this was initially motivated by neo-mercantilist considerations against the backdrop of international competition, and successes in science were supposed to bring Britain prestige and accelerate its economic growth.[61] In the final years of the century the EIC in particular extended its commitment to science and

around 1800 was regarded as one of the most important patrons of scientific projects. As Richard Drayton argues, in keeping with mercantilist logic imperial actors such as the EIC could derive military, economic and also propagandistic advantage by supporting scientific projects: 'Service to the cause of knowledge lent dignity to an enterprise which might have appeared otherwise as mere plunder and rapine'.[62]

This essentially pro-science climate within the EIC not only made the Mysore Survey possible, but also provided an important basis for Mackenzie's successful career as a surveyor. At the same time, however, his surveys demonstrate a new development in the relationship between state and knowledge production which, in the medium term, implied that the colonial state was no longer exclusively interested in narrowly defined projects that would serve its military and economic ends, and no longer took the position of an early modern sovereign – as the patron of individual scientific enterprises. In fact, under Mackenzie's leadership a project for producing knowledge for the state was set up for the first time in India in systematic and increasingly institutionalized form which, due to its breadth of content, was supposed to become the basis of the government's policies.[63] Mackenzie and his co-workers had a major impact on how the project was conceived, in terms of organization and content, and his determination and belief in the value of his surveys played a big part in their success. However, it was a long path from surveying routes for military purposes at the start of his career to becoming Surveyor General with a professional apparatus at his disposal and the ability to investigate huge sections of South India using a uniform system. How this came about can only be understood against the backdrop of the specific historical constellations within which Mackenzie's career ran its course.

Although the emergence of a new understanding of 'government' and the increasing perception of science as a potential instrument of state had many parallels in Britain itself, it is hardly surprising that the first state-funded project of this size, including the administrative structures, was carried out in India. During the nineteenth century the permanent problems arising from lack of knowledge about things Indian continued to produce veritable 'information panics' within the administration,[64] even though since the time of Warren Hastings, if not earlier, various initiatives had been started to overcome these shortcomings, at least in part. Of course, the knowledge produced here went far beyond simply acquiring 'information' since it was the selection, ordering and structuring of the data that gave it any actual significance.[65] It is hardly necessary to mention that Mackenzie's surveys also produced 'orientalist' knowledge, if the very general definition of 'orientalism' as put forward by Breckenridge and van der Veer is accepted: a 'way of conceptualizing the landscape of the colonial world that makes it susceptible to certain kinds of management'.[66]

So this book can also be read as a contribution to the debate on the nature of 'colonial knowledge' that recent researchers have embraced with such intensity,[67] and in which the processes of knowledge production are given attributes ranging from 'epistemological violence' to 'dialogue' and 'conversation'.[68] If it looks at the processes of knowledge production in detail this is not only to emphasize the manifold forms of cooperation, but also to demonstrate the way in which precolonial knowledge formed a basis for the surveys' results, such as maps and statistical descriptions. However, it seems to me to be less important to make a distinction between two fundamentally divergent knowledge systems that arguably even finds expression in concepts such as 'fusion',[69] than to illustrate the basic compatibility of certain attitudes which makes differences seem surmountable and clearly suggests a sphere beyond ideas of 'cultural incommensurability'.[70] This is all the more important since the debate about the nature of 'colonial knowledge' is partly characterized by the image of two integrated, largely homogeneous cultural blocs that come together in the asymmetrical power structure of the colonial situation.[71]

The power relationships in the process of knowledge production were by no means as clear as a perspective of this sort implies, and it is Mackenzie's project that shows the boundaries of the respective knowledge systems to be far more fluid. From the point of view of personnel, Mackenzie's surveys were anything but a purely European project; many were carried out by Indo-European and Indian co-workers. They can be seen as an expression of the specific characteristics of colonial transition in South India, as David Washbrook has described them: the relatively open contact between the diverse ethnic groups; hierarchies that were far less racist than in later phases of British rule in India; and the power basis, by no means solid despite military dominance of the British, who represented a vanishingly small minority compared to that of Bengal.[72]

Placing less emphasis on differences during the phase of transition should not, however, disguise the fact that, around 1800, the EIC's apparatus for rule clearly had colonial structures – the most obvious example is perhaps the fact that Indians were excluded from all high offices.[73] Even in the case of Mackenzie's surveys, putting a non-European in charge would have been inconceivable. Although Washbrook rightly warns against over-simple teleologies when looking at the phase of transition, and against being too quick to apply the attribute 'colonial',[74] there can be no doubt that during this phase, characterized not least by war and violence, the foundations were laid for the colonial state of the later nineteenth century. Nonetheless, a certain caution is called for when describing Mackenzie's project as 'colonial' if this attribute is meant to signify content rather than context. This applies not only because his surveys can be compared with similar projects for mapping and inventorizing territories in Europe itself, but also because the aims and motivations behind this project cannot simply be reduced to the same interests of the colonial

state of the later nineteenth century. In fact, during the last years of his life in Calcutta, Mackenzie himself was very sceptical as to whether his superiors understood his project and his ideas about British government in India that were bound up with it.

All the same, Mackenzie's surveys represent an important starting point for the mid-century colonial state, which could benefit not only from their results but also from the administrative structures set up with them. Paradoxically, in some ways Mackenzie's project pointed to something beyond itself: if it created a body of knowledge based on assessment of precolonial archives and collaboration with Indian intellectuals and local administrators, then in consequence it made these strategies for producing knowledge seem less indispensable. The project was supposed to document, not bring about any sort of direct changes – but this documentation did bring change in many ways, for instance by slotting local knowledge into the new contexts of statistical and historical memoirs, or concepts of territorial order into the strict framework of cartographical logic. Mackenzie wanted his surveys to create a body of knowledge that would guarantee continuity between the British and their predecessors and, on this basis, facilitate cautious changes that would improve the population's living conditions in a way that harmonized with their own interests. But at the same time, he created the basis for more stable and more self-assured colonial rule in which, because greater knowledge of India supposedly existed, it was also possible to draw stricter dividing lines between the colonizers and the colonized. In this respect, too, Mackenzie's project embodied the phase of colonial transition.

This book is based on sources from archives in India and Britain. The most important individual collection is the *Survey of India Records* held in New Delhi, containing the correspondence and reports of the Surveyor General's departments in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras; this also provides a good overview of Mackenzie's surveys. Although many of these files are not listed in the collection's published catalogue,[75] there is a sort of transfer list, possibly drawn up when the material was moved from Dehra Dun to New Delhi after Indian independence, and this makes it possible to assess the material systematically. These sources, which are essentially administrative, were supplemented by using the India Office Records in London. Apart from the official correspondence between India and London they also contain numerous copies of documents produced in India. What proved to be particularly useful here was the *Board's Collection* consisting of dossiers on many individual projects put together for the Board of Control.

Along with these files concerning Mackenzie's official activities for the EIC, other material was consulted that provides further information about the circumstances of his career. His collections held in the *Oriental and India Office Collections* were particularly useful. They contain not only translations of Indian manuscripts but also his own, often fragmentary reflections on certain topics;

likewise his private correspondence, held today in various collections, for instance in London and Edinburgh, in the Scottish National Library and Scottish National Archives. The latter also contains valuable holdings covering Mackenzie's youth in Scotland that throw new light on the background to his career in the EIC.

Mackenzie does not make life easy for the historian. His handwriting, often virtually illegible, and his predilection for leaving no square centimetre of paper uncovered, are the least of the problems; they do at least have the positive side effect of making the conditions in which he wrote most of his letters and reports more accessible – writing by candlelight in a tent after a strenuous day's work somewhere in South India, I imagine, and always with the threat that the paper supply might run out. Another difficulty is Mackenzie's habit of writing copious official reports, some over a hundred pages long, detailing the occurrences of just a few weeks of survey. Many of them are highly repetitive, and contain information that could have been summed up on just a few pages. The reader does not fare much better with his correspondence. His letters are overlong and, as the popular biographer W.C. Mackenzie complained: 'The real trouble is the absence of private as distinct from official or semi-official that the reader of biographies demands above all others'.[76] And Nicholas Dirks is quite right in characterizing his official correspondence as 'voluminous, detailed and dry'.[77]

Still, although it is not easy to gain access to Mackenzie's thinking on the basis of individual manuscripts, taken together they do provide a fount of historical information, especially on his surveys, the like of which exists for no other contemporary British project in India. Furthermore, the very fact that Mackenzie's official correspondence exists at all, due to his insistence on correct filing and archiving, points to his extraordinary bureaucratic abilities and the great attention he paid to the transparency of certain administrative processes. On closer inspection his massive reports that official committees had to deal with turn out to be a sharp weapon in the bureaucratic battle for certain objectives. There can be little doubt that he was disinclined to commit theoretical reflections to paper, but this does not mean that it is impossible to reconstruct certain key elements of his thinking from his writing. And finally, his letters and memoranda are by no means as devoid of content as a superficial inspection might suggest; on the contrary, studying them in greater detail also reveals the contribution to the project of a detailed survey made by those whose voices have long been thought to be lost.

Notes

1. E. McIver, *Memoirs of a Highland Gentleman Being the Reminiscences of Evander McIver of Scourie*, ed. George Henderson (Edinburgh, 1905), 200.

2. Cf. J. Shore, Lord Teignmouth, *Sketches of the Coasts and Islands of Scotland and of the Isle of Man: Descriptive of the Scenery of Those Regions*, 2 vols (London, 1836), vol. 1, 182–87; and id., *Reminiscences of Many Years*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1878), vol. 1, 347–50; McIver, *Memoirs of a Highland Gentleman,* 199f.
3. Mary Mackenzie died on 2 September 1827. Cf. the death notice: 'Deaths', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 22(133) (December 1827), 768.
4. Cf. *The New Statistical Account of Scotland, by the Minsters of the Respective Parishes, under the Superintendence of a Committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy*, 15 vols (Edinburgh, 1845), vol. 14, 125; McIver, *Memoirs of a Highland Gentleman,* 199f.
5. Her inheritance is estimated by various sources to have been thirty thousand pounds. Colin Mackenzie had left her a little under half his estate, but calculating the amount she received was complicated by the fact that he made various different wills, the last of which was incomplete. Cf. versions of the will in BL/IOR/L/AG/34/29/33, 249–53; Mary Mackenzie to Mrs. S. Mackenzie of Seaforth, 24 June 1822, NAS/GD/46/15/25; *New Statistical Account*, vol. 14, 125; McIver, *Memoirs of a Highland Gentleman*, 198f.
6. The only catalogue of the whole collection, albeit with gaps, is by H.H. Wilson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts and Other Articles Illustrative of the Literature, History, Statistics and Antiquities of the South of India, Collected by the Late Lieut.-Col. Colin Mackenzie, Surveyor General of India*, 2 vols (Calcutta, 1828).
7. 'Colonel C. Mackenzie', *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* 3(12) (December 1821), 642. Other obituaries were published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Asiatic Journal*. The first is a very short description of his career as officer and scientist while the second mainly discusses his publications. 'Col. Colin Mackenzie', *Gentleman's Magazine* 91(2) (October 1821), 378; 'Biographical Memoir of Colonel Mackenzie, C.B., Late Surveyor General of India', *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and its Dependencies* 12(72) (December 1821), 537–40.
8. J.B. Seely, *The Wonders of Elora, or The Narrative of a Journey to the Temples and Dwellings Excavated out of a Mountain of Granite and Extending Upwards of a Mile and a Quarter*, 2nd extended edn. (London, 1825), 226.
9. For Thomas Hickey see M. Archer, *India and British Portraiture, 1770–1825* (London, 1979), 205–33.
10. Cf. 'The Late Colin Mackenzie C.B', *The East India Military Calendar Containing the Services of General and Field Officers of the Indian Army. By the Editor of the Royal Military Calendar* 3 (1826), 311. The medal itself is not in the portrait.
11. The painting has often been discussed. See for example M. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765–1843* (Chicago and London, 1997), 154; S. Jaireth, 'Close Encounters of the Colonial Kind or Looking for Colin Mackenzie's Pandits', *Social Alternatives* 20(4) (2001), 55–60; Archer, India and British Portraiture, 232f.
12. Cf. Colin Mackenzie, 'General Report on the State of the Surveying Department at Fort St. George and Draft reports of Progress for 1817', NAI/SIR/REP/3, Appendix 3 (1 August 1816), 37–76, here 73; 'Detailed List of the Establishment attached to the Superintendant of the Mysore Survey for the Month ending 30th April 1809 per Order of Government of 28th February 1809', NAI/SIR/SGO/90A, 213.
13. Mackenzie dealt extensively with the history of Sravana Belgula and published some of his material. Hickey possibly used an illustration from Mackenzie's collection as a model. See Kavali Venkata Borayya and C. Mackenzie, 'Account of the Jains: Collected from a Priest of this Sect; at Mudgeri. Translated by Cavelly Boria, Brahmen, for Major Mackenzie', *Asiatic Researches* 9 (1809), 244–86, esp. 262–65; John Newman, *N. view of the hill of Sravana*

Belgola (Mysore), with statue of Gommatesvara. 17 August 1806. Copied by Newman in 1816 from an original sketch by Benjamin Swain Ward taken in 1806, BL/OIOC/WD/576.

14. P. Bourdieu, 'Die biographische Illusion', in id., *Praktische Vernunft: Zur Theorie des Handelns* (Frankfurt/Main, 1988), 75–83, here esp. 76f.
15. H. White, 'The Historical Text as Literary Artifact', in id., *Tropics of Discourse. Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore and London, 1986), 90. Emphasis in the original.
16. Published by Alexander Johnston in connection with a description of his collection written by Mackenzie himself: 'Statement of the Literary Labours of the Late Colin Mackenzie, C.B. (Originally Communicated to the Asiatic Journal)', *Asiatic Journal or Monthly Register for British India and its Dependencies* 13(75) (March 1822), 242–49; and 13(76) (April 1822), 313–25. Of the first thirteen years Mackenzie wrote here (13(75), 243): 'on the whole of this period ... I look back with regret; for objects are now known to exist that could have been then examined; and to traits of customs and of institutions that could have been explained, had time or means admitted of the inquiry'.
17. Ibid. Reprinted twice in a slightly edited version: '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 Hindus; Contained in a Letter Addressed by Him to the Right Honourable Sir Alexander Johnston V.P.R.A.S &c. &c.', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1(2) (1834), 333–64; and *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* 2(8) (1835), 262–90 and 2(9) (1835), 354–69. An abridged version is already to be found in 'The Late Colin Mackenzie C.B', 311–31. Wilson quotes the letter extensively in the introduction to his catalogue, as does a later catalogue of the part of the collection brought to Madras. Wilson, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts,* vol. 1, ii–xvi; see, also, W. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnée of Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of the (Late) College, Fort St. George, Now in Charge of the Board of Examiners*, 3 vols (Madras, 1857–62), vol. 1, iii–ix.
18. See A. Johnston, 'Statement by Alexander Johnston, 19 July 1832', in *Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company and Also an Appendix and Index*, 6 vols [London, 1832], vol. 1: Public, 254–57, para. 1930. In his autobiographical letter, as edited by Johnston, Mackenzie does indeed mention that he was interested in Indian culture before his departure from Britain but does not claim this to be the reason for his entering the EIC. Cf. 'Of the Literary Labours of the Late Colin Mackenzie', 242.
19. Johnston's statement was reprinted in full: 'Copy of Sir Alexander Johnston's Evidence Relating to the Mackenzie Collection', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 2(2) (1835), xxx–xxxiii. In this statement he dates Mackenzie's plan for his collection to his (wrongly dated) visit to Madura in 1783, but in the same volume of the journals he gives the date for this as 1796, which is what Mackenzie himself stated. Cf. Johnston's contribution at the society's meeting: 'Proceedings of the Anniversary Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society Held on Saturday, the 9th of May 1835', ibid., ix–xvii. See also M. Napier, *Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston, his Lineage, Life, and Times, with a History of the Invention of Logarithms* (Edinburgh and London, 1834), vi–vii; Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnée*, i–iii. See also the reprinted excerpts of Johnston's statement in 'The East Indies', *London Literary Gazette or Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences &c.* 817 (15 September 1832), 586–88. The fact that Johnston's narrative was reprinted in academic journals meant that it also reached an international readership, for instance in C. Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, vol. IV, I, Section 2 (Berlin, 1836), 422–24.
20. 'Importance of British India to the Merchants and Manufacturers of Great Britain', *Saturday Magazine* 127 (28 June 1834), 241–43. The engraving under the title 'Colonel Mackenzie and the Brahmins' was modelled on a drawing privately owned by Johnston. The *Saturday*

Magazine, published weekly by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, between 1832 and 1844, was one of the first cheap widely distributed magazines of the nineteenth century that tried to popularize the sciences from a distinctly Christian point of view. Cf. A. Fyfe, *Science and Salvation: Evangelical Popular Science Publishing in Victorian Britain* (Chicago and London, 2004), 48–50, 63.

21. H.M. C[hichester], 'Mackenzie, Colin (1753?–1821)', *DNB.*
22. B.S. Cohn, 'The Transformation of Objects into Artifacts, Antiquities and Art in Nineteenth-Century India', in id., *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Oxford, 1996), 88.
23. T.R. Trautmann, *Aryans and British India* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1997), 40. Trautmann is referring to his reassessment of William Jones' role in the history of linguistics.
24. R.H. Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, 4 vols, (Dehra Dun, 1949–58); Edney, *Mapping an Empire*. See also I.J. Barrow, *Making History, Drawing Territory: British Mapping in India, c. 1756–1905* (New Delhi, 2003), 76–80, 88f; C.R. Markham, *A Memoir on the Indian Surveys*, 2nd edn. (London, 1878), 73f, 80; T.B. Jervis, 'Memoir on the Origin, Progress, and Present State of the Surveys in India', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 7 (1837), 138f.
25. J.S. Bastin, *Raffles' Ideas on the Land Rent System in Java and the Mackenzie Land Tenure Commission* (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, vol. 14) (s-Gravenhage, 1954).
26. Cohn, 'Transformation of Objects into Artifacts'; N.B. Dirks, 'Colonial Histories and Native Informants: Biography of an Archive', in C.A. Breckenridge and P. van der Veer (eds), *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament. Perspectives on South Asia* (Philadelphia, 1993), 211–32; id., 'Guiltless Spoliations: Picturesque Beauty, Colonial Knowledge and Colin Mackenzie's Survey of India', in C.B. Asher and T.R. Metcalf (eds), *Perceptions of South Asia´s Visual Past* (New Delhi, 1994), 279–313; id., *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton and Oxford, 2001); D.M. Blake, 'Colin Mackenzie: Collector Extraordinary', *British Library Journal* 17(2) (1991), 128–50.
27. P. Robb, 'Completing "Our Stock of Geography" or an Object "Still More Sublime". Colin Mackenzie's Survey of Mysore', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 8(2) (1998), 181–206.
28. P.B. Wagoner, 'Precolonial Intellectuals and the Production of Colonial Knowledge', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45(4) (2003), 783–814.
29. J. Howes, *Illustrating India: The Early Colonial Investigations of Colin Mackenzie 1784–1821* (Oxford, 2010). See also J. Howes, 'Colin Mackenzie and the Stupa of Amaravati', *South Asian Studies* 18 (2002), 53–65.
30. T.R. Trautmann (ed.), *The Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South India* (Oxford and New York, 2009). See also id., *Languages and Nations: The Dravidian Proof in Colonial Madras* (New Delhi, 2003).
31. R.S. Mantena, *The Origins of Modern Historiography in India: Antiquarianism and Philology, 1780–1880* (Palgrave Studies in Cultural and Intellectual History) (New York, 2012).
32. W.C. Mackenzie, *Colonel Colin Mackenzie: First Surveyor-General of India* (Edinburgh and London, 1952). W.C. Mackenzie died before it was published so the town of Stornoway took it over. Cf. A. MacLeod to Reginald Henry Phillimore, 12 June 1953, BL/OIR/354.54.
33. For example, he reported – probably following a mistake in the index to Mark Wilks' history of Mysore – on a work by Mackenzie on the Third Mysore War unknown to him, but which was actually by Roderick Mackenzie; and a piece that he discusses as Mackenzie's concluding report on his tasks in Java is, according to Bastin, a document with which a Dutchman answered a query from Mackenzie. See Mackenzie, *Colonel Colin Mackenzie*, 209; M. Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India in an Attempt to Trace the History of Mysore*, 3 vols, (London, 1810–1817), vol. 3, 525; R. Mackenzie, *A Sketch of the War with Tippoo Sultaun;*

or, a Detail of Military Operations, from ... 1789, until the Peace ... in February 1792, 2 vols (Calcutta, 1793–1794); J.S. Bastin, 'Colonel Colin Mackenzie and Javanese Antiquities', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde* 109 (1953), 273–75.

34. William Cook Mackenzie to Reginald Henry Phillimore, 29 April 1940, BL/OIR/354.54.
35. Robb, 'Completing "Our Stock of Geography"', 192, 198–206.
36. See, however, Dirks' own relativization of this position: N.B. Dirks, 'Colin Mackenzie: Autobiography of an Archive', in Trautmann, *Madras School of Orientalism*, 29–47.
37. Wagoner, 'Precolonial Intellectuals', 799–804.
38. For the manifold influence of Mackenzie's collection on the work of Indian intellectuals and European orientalists see the essays in Trautmann, *Madras School of Orientalis*m; for connections with individual orientalists also Howes, *Illustrating India*, Chapter 2.
39. Wagoner, 'Precolonial Intellectuals', 788f, 810f.
40. See esp. L. Mitchell, 'Knowing the Deccan: Enquiries, Points, and Poets in the Construction of Knowledge and Power in Early-Nineteenth-Century South India', in Trautmann, *Madras School of Orientalism*, 151–82; R.S. Mantena, 'The Kavali Brothers. Intellectual Life in Early Colonial Madras', ibid., 126–50; ead., *Origins of Modern Historiography,* Chapter 3.
41. T.R. Trautmann, 'Introduction', in id., *Madras School of Orientalism*, 1–25, quote 13; Mantena, *Origins of Modern Historiography,* 84; Wagoner, 'Precolonial Intellectuals'.
42. Howes, *Illustrating India,* 8, 52 (quote), 75.
43. Mantena, *Origins of Modern Historiography*, 51.
44. For the concept of 'cultural capital' see P. Bourdieu, 'Ökonomisches Kapital, Kulturelles Kapital, Soziales Kapital', in R. Kreckel (ed.), *Soziale Ungleichheiten* (Göttingen, 1983), 183–98, esp. 185–90.
45. Colin Mackenzie to William Bentinck, 23 June 1805, BL/OIOC/Mss Eur/F/228/39, 15, No. 11.
46. See R. Koselleck, '"Space of Experience" and "Horizon of Expectation": Two Historical Categories', in id., *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time,* Translation and Introduction by Keith Tribe (New York, 2004), 255–75.
47. See T.M. Devine and J.M. Mackenzie (eds), *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series) (Oxford, 2011). See also T.M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600–1815* (London, 2003); J.M. MacKenzie, 'Essay and Reflection: On Scotland and the Empire', *International History Review* 15(4) (1993), 714–39; and *Empires of Nature and the Natures of Empire: Imperialism, Scotland and the Environment* (East Linton, 1997).
48. M.P. McLaren*, British India and British Scotland, 1780–1830: Career Building, Empire Building and a Scottish School of Thought on Indian Governance* (Akron, Ohio, 2001); Jane Rendall, 'Scottish Orientalism: From Robertson to James Mill', *Historical Journal* 25(1) (1982), 43–69. See also A.A. Powell, *Scottish Orientalists and India: The Muir Brothers, Religion, Education and Empire* (Worlds of the East India Company vol. 4) (Woodbridge, Suffolk and Rochester, NY, 2010), 6–10.
49. See esp. the *Special Issue* of *Modern Asian Studies* 38(3) (2004) including essays by Ian Barrow, David Washbrook, Michael H. Fisher, Susan Bayly and Robert Travers. Summarizing: I.J. Barrow and D.E. Haynes, 'The Colonial Transition. South Asia, 1780–1840', ibid., 469–78.
50. For these forms of indirect rule see M.H. Fisher, *Indirect Rule in India: Residents and the Residency System 1764–1858* (Delhi, 1991).
51. These processes have been examined most thoroughly in the case of Bengal. See for example R. Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth Century India* (Cambridge, 2007); M. Mann, *Bengalen im Umbruch: Die Herausbildung des britischen Kolonialstaates 1754–93* (Stuttgart, 2000); P.J. Marshall, *Bengal: The British Bridgehead: Eastern India 1740–1828* (The New Cambridge History of India pt. 2, vol. 2) (Cambridge, 1987).

52. Cf. P.J. Stern, 'From the Fringes of History: Tracing the Roots of the English East India Company-state', in S. Agha and E. Kolsky (eds), *Fringes of Empire: Peoples, Places, and Spaces in Colonial India* (New Delhi, 2009), 19–44; and in more detail J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India* (Oxford, 2011).
53. D. Scott, 'Colonial Governmentality', *Social Text* 43 (1995), 191–220. Fundamental for Scott is M. Foucault, 'Governmentality', in G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller (eds), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Chicago, 1991), 87–104. See also M. Foucault, *Geschichte der Gouvernementalität I. Sicherheit Territorium, Bevölkerung: Vorlesung am College du France 1977–1978*, edited by M. Sennelart (Frankfurt am Main, 2004).
54. Scott, 'Colonial Governmentality', 204f. He refers explicitly here to E. Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India* (Delhi, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, 1959).
55. See McLaren, *British India and British Scotland*, 249–54.
56. See for example D.M. Peers, 'State, Power, and Colonialism', in D.M. Peers and N. Gooptu (eds), *India and the British Empire* (Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series) (Oxford, 2012), 16–43; and *Between Mars and Mammon: Colonial Armies and the Garrison State in India 1819–1835* (London and New York, 1995); D.A. Washbrook, 'India, 1818–1860: The Two Faces of Colonialism', in A. Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, vol. 3: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford and New York, 1999), 395–421.
57. G. Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton, 1999), 126, 260 fn 11.
58. Scott, 'Colonial Governmentality', 205. U. Kalpagam, 'Colonial Governmentality and the "Economy"', *Economy and Society* 29(3) (2000), 419, talks in this context of a 'process of "normalizing" the colonial terrain' on the basis of universalist norms.
59. J. Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire: Joseph Banks, the British State and the Uses of Science in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge, 1998), 23. See also J. Gascoigne, 'The Royal Society and the Emergence of Science as an Instrument of State Policy', *British Journal for the History of Science* 32(2) (1999), 171–84.
60. Cf. Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire*, 135–45; R. Desmond, *The European Discovery of the Indian Flora* (Oxford, 1992), 44–46. Banks' influence is also manifest in many individual projects in India. See for example A.P. Thomas, 'The Establishment of Calcutta Botanic Garden: Plant Transfer, Science and the East India Company, 1786–1806', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 16(2) (2006), 165–77; S. Sangwan, 'The Strength of a Scientific Culture: Interpreting Disorder in Colonial Science', *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 34(2) (1997), 217–49; and 'Natural History in Colonial Context: Profit or Pursuit? British Botanical Enterprise in India 1778–1820', in P. Petitjean and C. Jami (eds), *Science and Empires: Historical Studies about Scientific Development and European Expansion* (Dordrecht, Boston and London, 1992), 281–98; A. Grout, 'Geology and India, 1775–1805: An Episode in Colonial Science', *South Asia Research* 10(1) (1990), 1–18.
61. The term 'neo-mercantilism' was taken up especially by John E. Crowley for British economic policy towards the end of the eighteenth century, when economic liberalism combined with economic nationalism. John Gascoigne's argumentation in relation to Banks follows this approach, but mainly stresses the national element. Cf. J.E. Crowley, 'Neo-Mercantilism and the Wealth of Nations: British Commercial Policy after the American Revolution', *Historical Journal* 33(2) (1990), 342; Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire*, 65–110, 213, fn 101.
62. R. Drayton, 'Knowledge and Empire', in P.J. Marshall (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, vol. 2: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford and New York, 1998), 249; see also id., *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World* (New Haven and London, 2000), 107f, 115–20.

63. The institutionalization of the project distinguished Mackenzie's survey from similar enterprises, especially Francis Buchanan's surveys. This meant that it went beyond what Arnold described as the Company's 'fitful flirtation' with the sciences: D. Arnold, *Science, Technology and Medicine in Colonial India* (The New Cambridge History of India, pt. 3, vol. 5) (Cambridge, 2000), 25.
64. C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge, 1996), for example 171–73, 316.
65. Cf. N. Peabody, 'Knowledge Formation in Colonial India', in Peers and Gooptu, *India and the British Empire*, 89; and ibid., fn 40. This criticism of Bayly originally comes from Dirks. See Dirks, *Castes of Mind*, 309f.
66. C.A. Breckenridge and P. van der Veer, 'Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament', in eid., *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament*, 6. Obviously they refer to E. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1979).
67. See the recent summary in Peabody, 'Knowledge Formation in Colonial India'; also helpful is the discussion in Wagoner, 'Precolonial Intellectuals', 783–86.
68. N.B. Dirks, 'Foreword' in B.S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge,* xii; and *Castes of Mind*, 9; Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*; and *Languages and Nations*; E.F. Irschick, *Dialogue and History. Constructing South India, 1795–1895* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1994).
69. A similar objection could, of course, be raised against the term 'precolonial' as opposed to 'colonial', which I have used for lack of suitable alternatives. What is meant is the chronological significance, in other words, 'from the time before British rule'.
70. On this important point about the compatibility of certain attitudes I agree with Wagoner, 'Precolonial Intellectuals', 798f. For a valuable discussion of the concept of 'cultural incommensurability' see S. Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters: Translating Courtliness and Violence in Early Modern Eurasia* (Cambridge, Mass, 2012), 1–30.
71. See Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, for example 4, 18f; and the criticism by W. Pinch, 'Same Difference in India and Europe', *History and Theory* 38(3) (1999), 389–407. For colonialism as 'cultural project of control' see N.B. Dirks, 'Introduction: Colonialism and Culture', in id. (ed.), *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor, 1992), 3.
72. D.A. Washbrook, 'The Colonial Transition in South India, 1770–1840', *Modern Asian Studies* 38(3) (2004), 481–83.
73. Cf. Marshall, *Bengal. The British Bridgehead,* 101, 138f.
74. Cf. Washbrook, 'Colonial Transition', 482f.
75. National Archives of India (ed.), *Catalogue of Memoirs of the Survey of India, 1773–1866* (New Delhi, 1989).
76. W.C. Mackenzie to Henry Reginald Phillimore, 29 April 1940, BL/OIR 354.54.
77. Dirks, *Castes of Mind*, 100, 306.