Notes

Introduction

4. This amalgamated and simplified account of the British in India draws from various sources, such as Metcalfe and Metcalf, A Concise History of India; and Asher and Talbot, India before Europe.
5. Edney, Mapping India.
7. For variations in colonial ethnographic practices, see Morrison, “Three Systems of Imperial Ethnography.”
8. Frere, Old Deccan Days, xix. See Prasad, “The Authorial Other” for a contextualization of this period and an assessment of Frere’s collection. To understand the history of Europe’s interest in antiquarian subjects before Mary Frere’s mid-nineteenth-century call, see Cocchiara, History of Folklore in Europe. For instance, William Camden’s 1586 Latin work Brittania emerged from his “walking tours” through English counties to reconstruct traces of Britain’s past; the natural philosopher John Aubrey’s two-volume Miscellanies (1696) recorded English beliefs about the marvelous; the clergyman Henry Bourne defended “popular customs” in his Antiquitates Vulgares (1725); and Bishop Percy’s Reliques of Ancient English Poetry (1765) celebrated oral ballads. Influenced by Giambattista Vico’s Scienza Nuova (1744), English scholars turned away from Roman roots and looked to their Gaelic heritage to recover an English identity—for example, James MacPherson’s Works of Ossian (1765) presented a Gaelic counterpart to Homer. Continental philosophers Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Johann Gottfried Herder bolstered interest in rustic cultures. See Bendix, In Search for Authenticity, for the emergence of folklore studies in Germany and North America.
9. For how institutional attempts were made to systematize this effort at mapping India, see Islam, A History of Folklore Collections; Datta, Affinities between Folkloristics and Historiography; Korom and Lowthorp, South Asian Folklore in Translation.
10. For instance, Sadhana Naithani in In Quest of Indian Tales shows how the administrator William Crooke appropriated tales that had actually been collected and translated by the scholar Ram Gharib Chaube of Uttar Pradesh; Gloria Raheja, in “The Illusion of Consent,” studies the extensive collection of proverbs by British administrators across north India. She finds that British collectors severed proverbs from their vital lived contexts and expediently used them in administrative discourse to serve whatever administrative end they could be made to serve.
11. For an incisive analysis of Richard Carnac Temple’s role in seeding the study of folklore in India, see Naithani, “The Colonizer-Folklorist.”
13. Rouse, The Talking Thrush and Other Tales from India, viii.
14. There is a rich literature that traces the many careers of the term “folklore” in the Indian context. The term “folklore” had been coined as a “good Anglo-Saxon” word in 1846 by the antiquarian William Thoms. See Emrich, “Folk-Lore.” Unsurprisingly, it developed in the background of Greco-Roman understandings of classicality; see Porter, Classical Pasts. For how the wide range of linguistic, cultural, and philosophical orientations in South Asian cultures made the term extremely imprecise, see Blackburn and Ramanujan, Another Harmony. For a further reassessment, see Korom and Lowthorp, South Asian Folklore in Transition.
17. Letters dated October 20, 1920, and January 22, 1922, University of Reading Publisher Archives, Records of Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 88/8.
18. Day, Folk-Tales of Bengal, ix. Gammer Grethel is the pseudonym of the famous narrator of the Grimms’ tales. The Grimm brothers tell us that in real life she was a Frau Viehmännin, wife of a peasant from the state of Hesse-Cassel in western Germany.
19. For example, see Crooke, review of Indian Folklore, 368.
22. Scott, Domination and the Arts of Resistance, xii.
23. Hatcher, Vidyasagar, 111.
25. Foucault, Power/Knowledge; Agamben, State of Exception. See also Stoler, “On Degrees of Imperial Sovereignty.”
27. Talbot, Precolonial India in Practice, 147.
30. Mayaram, Against History, Against State.
33. Dirks, Castes of Mind.
34. Two analyses of Kantian moral vocabulary are especially useful; see essays by Thomas Hill and Andrews Reath in Sensen, Kant on Moral Autonomy.
36. Newton, Narrative Ethics, 11.

1. The Ruse of Colonial Modernity

1. Steel and Gardiner, The Complete Indian Housekeeper, ix.
3. *Lascar*, from a Persian word for soldier; a tent lascar was a native tent pitcher.
4. See Leela Prasad, “‘Folk’ and ‘Classical’” in India: Conversations in Continuity” (MA thesis, Kansas State University, 1991); also Prasad, “Anklets on the Pyal,” and the encyclopedia entries “Folklore about the British,” “Mary Frere,” and “Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastri.”
6. October 18, 1867, Frere letters, John Murray Archive.
7. The book was translated in Europe into German, Hungarian, and selectively into Danish, and in India into Marathi, Gujarati, and “Hindustani.”
8. Frere, “The Collector’s Apology,” in *Old Deccan Days*, 4th ed. (1898), xix. All quotations from *Old Deccan Days* are from this edition unless I indicate otherwise.
10. Narayan points out in her edition of *Old Deccan Days* that some reviewers of the book praised the reproduction of “broken English” while others disliked it.
11. The handwritten manuscript held in the OIOC of the British Library is closest to the third edition of 1881. It does not, however, contain Bartle Frere’s introduction, the notes, and the glossary. In addition, the manuscript has accretions presumably from the original draft of 1868, such as blocks of text that did not make it into any edition.
12. In a delightful coincidence of interests, Kirin Narayan and I both found ourselves fascinated by this collection and referred to it in various publications. During the period 2001–2, when she was working toward a new introduction to an ABC Clio edition of *Old Deccan Days* and I was working on an article about the collection (Prasad, “The Authorial Other”), we shared our research stories with each other. She alerted me to the Frere papers in the OIOC in the British Library, and I drew her attention to Frere correspondence in the John Murray Archive. Much in agreement with each other, we discussed our findings and shared some notes that informed our individual publications.
22. See Bhabha, “The Other Question.”
23. Kipling, *Something of Myself*, 4, emphasis added. I chased down Kipling’s papers at his archives in Sussex in the UK to check whether Kipling’s Portuguese Roman Catholic ayah was Anna Liberata. The physical description had matched, and the Freres’ return to England in 1867 coincided with the hiring of Kipling’s Goan ayah by his parents in Bombay. Further, the Kiplings and the Freres had known each other socially (See Lycett, *Rudyard Kipling*). But I discovered that Kipling saw his ayah again in 1891, by which time Anna had died, so Anna could not have been Kipling’s ayah.
24. Colesworthey, *Anglo-Indian Domestic Life*. There is vast scholarship on various facets of the “domestic empire.” On the status of the ayah per se in English homes,
see Chaudhuri, “Memsahibs and Their Servants in Nineteenth-Century India”; Conway, “Ayah, Caregiver to Anglo-Indian Children”; and Walsh, Domesticity in Colonial India. For examples from South Africa, see Comaroff and Comaroff, “Home-Made Hegemony.” More broadly, for how the notion of the family came to be variably restructured in colonial domesticity, see the essays in Chatterjee, Unfamiliar Relations. For the impact of colonialism on employer-servant relationships in middle-class families in colonial Bengal, see Banerjee, Men, Women, and Domestics. The question of how conceptions and practices of empire were profoundly gendered has been studied considerably; see, for instance, Burton, Dwelling in the Archive; Chaudhuri and Strobel, Western Women and Imperialism; Grewal, Home and Harem; Procida, Married to Empire; Sangari and Vaid, Recasting Women; and Sen, Gendered Transactions.

25. Such as Paget, Camp and Cantonment.
26. Steel and Gardiner, The Complete Indian Housekeeper, 86.
37. Narayan estimated this time frame in 2002.
38. Mary Frere to John Murray, October 29, 1867, Frere letters, John Murray Archive. I could not locate the actual photograph referenced here.
42. The size of this contingent of helpers should not surprise us; after all, a married British couple, usually of lower- to middle-class status in Britain, without children in the Bombay Presidency would employ upwards of twenty servants. See Chaudhuri, “Memsahibs and Their Servants”; and Burton, Dwelling in the Archive.
44. “Preface,” x.
46. “Preface,” x.
48. Chatterjee, Black Hole, xi–xii.
58. Mary Frere to John Murray, September 14, 1888, Frere letters, John Murray Archive.
59. In a letter from Mary Frere, September 22, 1896, Frere letters, John Murray Archive.
61. Edward Whymper, a well-known Victorian mountaineer and illustrator, was commissioned by John Murray to create the woodcuts for Old Deccan Days.
62. Mary Frere to John Murray, December 12, 1867, Frere letters, John Murray Archive.
64. In 1862, after the dissolution of the East India Company, the college building and grounds were converted to a high school called Haileybury, which today has a residence hall named the Bartle Frere House after its imperial alum. https://www.haileybury.com/explore/boarding/boarding-houses/bartle-frere-boys.
65. Later Frere lost the affections of Parliament with his fiasco in Africa. In 1876, after Frere had worked to advise the Council of India and completed two foreign missions (first, to curb the Zanzibar slave trade, and second, to accompany the Prince of Wales on his tour of India), he was asked to become the governor of Cape Colony. In Frere’s eyes, this was the compensatory equivalent of India’s viceroyalty, which he had been tipped for but never given. Here he met his political downfall in attempting to create a confederation of the various states and colonies of southern Africa. The idea received stiff resistance from the independent African polities, and in a miscalculation, Frere issued a near impossible ultimatum to the Zulu king, Sekhukuni. The resulting Zulu-British war of 1879 resulted in heavy losses for the British, and soon afterwards, in 1880, Bartle Frere was recalled to England. A glorious career came to an ignominious end. See Benyon, “Frere.” Also Ranade, Sir Bartle Frere and His Times; and Martineau, Life and Correspondence of Sir Bartle Frere.
66. George, “Homes in the Empire.”
69. Hull, The European in India, 112.
70. Lewis and Siemiatycki, “Building Urban Infrastructure.”
71. From the diary of Joseph Fayrer, physician to Queen Victoria and the Prince of Wales, we know that the entourage stayed in the government houses that once had been home to the Frere family. While Fayrer met with his former domestic staff, there is no indication in either this memoir by Fayrer or the Frere correspondence that Bartle Frere looked up Anna or any of his old servants. Fayrer, Notes of the Visits to India, 73.
73. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency: Dharwar, 539.
74. Tripathi, The Oxford History of Indian Business.
77. Chatterjee, The Black Hole of Empire, 197.
78. Frere, “Note B,” in Old Deccan Days, 217–18.
83. Bloomer, Possessed by the Virgin, 10.
84. Dempsey, Kerala Christian Sainthood, 53.
86. Stokes, “Notes,” in Indian Fairy Tales, 237.
87. Mill, The History of British India, 98.

88. In 1826 two vernacular schools were opened by the government. By 1865–66 there were ninety-six schools: eighty-three vernacular, eleven Anglo-vernacular, one high school, and one training college. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency: Poona, 52.

90. Nagarajan, “Children of Macaulay.”
91. Elphinstone, Report of the Territories, 53. An earlier version of the report was circulated to Elphinstone’s collectors in 1819.
93. That policy on “education of India” remained a contentious issue throughout Company and Crown rule is evidenced by the observations of Arthur Mayhew, the director of public instruction, who said in 1926: “[British] education has done far less for Indian culture than for the material and political progress of India. She looks to our schools and colleges for equipment in the struggle for existence: for the secret of happy living, vivendi causae, she looks elsewhere.” Mayhew, The Education of India, 4. One would, of course, want to debate whether “material and political progress” was such an assured achievement.

95. Mary Frere to John Murray, October 20, 1870, Frere letters, John Murray Archive.
97. An ayah in Bombay in the 1870s was paid eighteen rupees per month (less than £2). See Hull, The European in India.
99. The Little Papers, 7.
2. The History of the English Empire as a Fall

1. Email communication, July 17, 2013, reproduced with permission.
2. See Parthasarathy, “A Deceptively Naïve First Play in Tamil,” 44.
4. By this phrase, Dipesh Chakrabarty refers to the decentering of the imaginary but influential figure of Europe as the default referent and standard of modernity prevalent in scholarly discourses and everyday thought. See Chakrabarty, Provincializing Europe.
5. Ramaswami Raju, The Tales of the Sixty Mandarins, xi–xii.
7. Letter to the Secretary of University College London, December 9, 1882, UCL Special Collections, MS 1640/246/291.
8. Today the high school in Kanchipuram exists as a college. Pachiappah’s has several branches in Tamil Nadu.
9. Although I have not been able to trace it, the search committee report (1883) mentions that Ramaswami Raju had written a Telugu play called Subba Bhatlu, or the Village Poorohit (priest), which, we learn from a testimonial, had been “performed with great success by the Sanskrit Dramatic Society.” UCL Special Collections, MS 1640/246/291.
10. Report of the Committee on Lectureships in the Vernacular Languages of India, April 12, 1883, UCL Special Collections, MS 1640/246/291.
11. Letter dated March 5, 1883, UCL Special Collections, MS 1640/246/291.
12. The names Gog and Wire come from the world of towboats and steamships, apt for a seafaring country. Gogs, or chains and ropes, and wires are essential to the technology that brings ships into the harbor—implying the mechanics of a colonial enterprise that depended on its naval strength. House, Marine Emergencies.
13. Ramaswami Raju, Lord Likely. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations from the play are from act 3, scene 1, 22–23.
14. Ramaswami Raju, Śrīmat Rājāṅgala Mahodyānam; henceforth The Great Park.
15. Lord Likely, act 2, scene 3, 13–16.
17. See Shresth, “Sahibs and Shikar.”
18. Davis, Lives of Indian Images; de Almeida and Gilpin, Indian Renaissance.
19. Chatterjee, Black Hole of Empire.
22. Wahi, “Henry Miers Elliot.”
24. Bhabha, The Location of Culture, 88.
27. *Sixty Mandarins*, xv. Maha Mondon, we will later see, is a sacred place in the imaginary cosmos of Ramaswami Raju’s *The Great Park*—in which he tells us it is between Varanasi and Allahabad in north India. More on this later in the chapter.


30. Alfred C. Lyall, home secretary to the government of India, represents a fairly standard English view that England’s occupation of Asia, and particularly of India, had brought a “flood of clear daylight in upon Asia at large.” *Lyall, Asiatic Studies*, vi.


32. *Sixty Mandarins*, 84.


38. These conversations took place in in English and Telugu between 2013 and 2018.

39. Email conversations over the summer of 2018.

40. Later collectively published as *Indian Fables* (1889).

41. Oral conversation, July 24, 2013. Interestingly, some of the testimonials in the P. V. Ramaswami Raju Correspondence, UCL Special Collections (MS 1640/246/291), mention this work, although I have been unable to find a copy. It is possible that Ramaswami Raju may have begun conceptualizing *Rajangala Mahodyanam* (*The Great Park*) and perhaps even composed small parts of it that colleagues and others learned about.

42. Oral conversation, April 2014.

43. *The Great Park*, 44.

44. Ramaswami Raju does not use diacritical marks. He makes his position on the subject clear: “The spelling of the English language has its own patent imperfections. They have been regretted from time to time by distinguished men, who have perceived the necessity for their mother tongue being represented by rational combinations of sounds. But *mamool* [habit] is all powerful. All the tyranny of the despots of the world, from the last day of the deluge to the minute that we pen these lines in, cannot compare with the tyranny of the custom which has been keeping the Queen’s English in the condition in which it is in the manner of spelling. In spite of this, some savants in the west have nobly endeavoured to give to themselves a programme of phonetic representation anent Sanscrit names which has done more justice to their eagerness to sound Sanscrit reasonably than to the capacity of the people at large to utilize it. We need not trouble ourselves with these learned representations of Sanscrit sounds for the present.” *Ramaswami Raju, Stray Thoughts on the Religious Life of the Hindus,* 84.

45. *The Great Park*, unnumbered last page.

46. Page numbers in citations of *The Great Park* henceforth will refer to Ramaswami Raju’s English translation, while verse numbers will refer to Giridhara Shastry’s translation of the Sanskrit text.

47. The subject of self-translation, gawky as the term may be, in translation studies questions the vocabulary that has been standard in the field. Concepts such as
“original,” “author,” “translator,” and “source text/target text” become unsettled in a literary practice in which the author and translator are the same individual, who explores and performs his or her many authorial selves, sometimes contrapuntally. For an overview, see Grutman, “Self-Translation.” Self-translation draws attention to where the translational process occurs across the texts in question, amidst the movements of self across time and place, and across different language cultures and political circumstances. See Skaria, Unconditional Equality, for instance, for how Gandhi translates from Gujarati to English; Pannikar, “Self-Translation as Self-Righting,” for translation practices across Malayalam and English in the works of Vijayan; and Asaduddin, “Lost/Found in Translation,” on Qurratulain Hyder’s translation of her Urdu and English-language novels.

48. Narayana Rao and Shulman, Śrīnātha, 72.
51. Mandalas are prominent in Buddhist, Jain, and Hindu art, ritual, architecture, and individual spiritual practice. While the symbolism of the mandala varies widely across history and tradition, a core conceptualization is that it metaphorically reflects and reins in individual and cosmic energies. Bühnemann, Mandalas and Yantras.
52. “Three Maha Mondon Pur” we may remember is where Wazir Abdul Ali, whom Ramaswami Raju consulted for Sixty Mandarins, lived.
53. “Consciousness is infinite”; “I am that infinite”; “You are that [infinite]”; and “The self is infinite.” Respectively, prajñānam brahma, ayaṃ ātmā brahma, tat tvam asi and aham brahmāsmi.
55. The Great Park, unnumbered last page.
56. Edgar, The Royal Parks.
57. The Great Park, unnumbered preface.
58. The Great Park, 2.
59. Shastry, trans., The Great Park, verses 43 and 45.
60. The mantra is part of the Rudram, which forms two chapters in the Taittiriya Samhita of the Krishna Yajurveda.
61. Rig Veda 3.62.10.
63. For an excellent ethnographic study of mantra theory and practice in everyday life, see Rao, Living Mantra.
64. The Great Park, 5.
67. The Great Park, 21, 29.
68. There is a great deal of scholarship on this subject, some of which I have summarized in Poetics of Conduct. For a focused treatment, see Elizabeth Kolsky, Colonial Justice in British India: White Violence and the Rule of Law (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
69. The Great Park, 7.
70. The Great Park, 21.
71. See, for example, Doty, Mythography.
3. The Subjective Scientific Method

1. One version of this popular story can be read at https://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-features/tp-sundaymagazine/The-temple-of-Munroe/article15401887.ece.

2. Venkataswami, Tulsemmah and Nagaya, 86. Almost every region of India robustly told and performed stories about the colonial British, their policies, everyday interactions with them, and their cultural otherness and othering. See Prasad, “Folklore about the British.”

3. Gumasta is a word of Persian origin for “clerk” or “accountant”—who could in fact oversee a broader range of tasks in an administration. Mahanadu in Telugu parlance means “great assembly.”


5. At the time when Venkataswami was studying at Hislop, it was an affiliated college of Calcutta University.

6. Venkataswami, The Story of Bobbili; Tulsemmah and Nagaya; Heeramma and Venkataswami; Folk-Stories of the Land of Ind; Life of M. Nagloo; and 101 Essays.


10. Daston and Galison, Objectivity, 204. See also Pels, “After Objectivity.”

11. Daston and Galison, Objectivity, 204.


13. See, for example, Steel and Temple, Wide-Awake Stories, widely considered a model for folktale collection and presentation.
14. For instance, Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014). Clifford and Marcus, *Writing Culture*; Clifford, *Predicament of Culture*. This turn, however, did not extend to recognizing the politics of gender, as was called out, for example, by Gordon, “Writing Culture, Writing Feminism”; Mills, “Feminist Theory and the Study of Folklore”; Visweswaran, *Fictions of Feminist Ethnography*; and Behar and Gordon’s anthology *Women Writing Culture*.


16. The Folk-Lore Society of London records that he was a member in 1898.


18. Other stories similarly puncture the power and superiority ascribed to the British. One, for example, ascribes the greater gifts of the English to the delay on the part of the Indian in reaching God, who was bestowing boons; the Indian and the Englishman were both answering the call of nature. The Indian had lost time washing himself thoroughly with water, while the Englishman quickly “made himself clean at once with a piece of paper that lay by, and running speedily presented himself [to God] first.” Heeramma, 140.


23. Nagloo, vi.


25. Nagloo was known as Maidara Nagaya or Nagannah in his community but among Europeans as Nagloo.


27. The summary becomes necessary because the book is not easily available to readers.


31. *Nagloo*, 36. “Palmer Sab” is the controversial financier William Palmer, who made large loans to the Hyderabad government and later fell out of favor with the East India Company. See Leonard, “Banking Firms.”

32. *Nagloo*, 47. Bandar is the popular name of Machilipatnam (then Masulipatnam), a coastal town, then part of the Madras Presidency. *Basti* is the Urdu word for “settlement” or “neighborhood.” In the context of the biography, Bandarbasti is the neighborhood in Kamptee where people from Bandar (“Bandarawandlu”) lived.


34. Richard Temple’s son was Richard Carnac Temple, author of the three-volume *Legends of the Punjab* (1884–1900) and *Wide-Awake Stories* with Flora Annie Steel (1884).

35. *Nagloo*, 90.


38. Bhonds are people from the Kurmi caste, an agricultural community; Somasis are from the Mahar caste, generally weavers or laborers; the Pola bullock festival is celebrated by members of the Kunbi agricultural caste. Some glosses from R. V. Rus-

41. Nagloo, 191.
42. Nagloo, 208.
43. Nagloo, 208. The verse translation is Venkataswami’s.
44. See Chakrabarty, The Calling of History for an elaboration of Sarkar’s opinion on the matter of historical truth.
46. Nagloo, i. The reference is to a story in the Chandogya Upanishad about a young boy, Satyakama, who, as was the custom, in order to be accepted as a student by his prospective teacher, was required to reveal his patrilineal lineage. When Satyakama asks this information of his mother, Jabala, she tells him that since she had moved among various men during her youth when she was working, she did not know who the father was. She suggests he identify himself as Satyakama (“one who loves the truth”) and take on Jabala” as his lineal name. The sage who hears this from Satyakama admires him for this honesty, remarking that only a Brahmin could have spoken thus, and accepts him. The story has been variously interpreted to understand what the word “Brahmin” means. See Chandogya Upanishad 4.4.9, in O’Flaherty, Textual Sources for the Study of Hinduism, 32–33.
47. Nagloo, vi.
48. For an insightful and thorough assessment of the many entanglements around this issue in the public sphere, see Viswanath, The Pariah Problem.
51. Venkataswami’s ethnographic observations on caste are revealing. They expose the wooden understanding of caste in nationalist reform agendas. Lived realities, instead, show that caste designations are fluid, particular to region and to local conceptions of honor.
52. These exchanges are explored in Kumar, Radical Inequality; and in Skaria, “Gandhi’s Politics,” which work out the stakes involved in Gandhi’s and Ambedkar’s arguments over terminologies.
54. Nagloo, 214.
58. Nagloo, vi–viii, 159. The Greek biographer Plutarch (first to second century CE) influenced the evolution of the essay, biography, and historical writing. His Parallel Lives was especially influential in Europe between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. Duff, “General Introduction.”
61. Here we must be careful to distinguish the concept of “ample history” from Robert Orsi’s “abundant history.” For Orsi, an abundant history is one that recog-
nizes the presence of the transcendent in a religious practitioner’s life. A historian, Orsi urges, should construct abundant histories that engage interactions between transcendent time and worldly time. Such a representation would call for a rethinking of the analytical terms generally used by historians. Orsi, *History and Presence*.


64. Nagloo, 50.


67. Two immensely popular Telugu films were based on it, *Bobbili Yuddham* (1964) and *Tandra Paparayudu* (1986).

68. Narayana Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam, in their “On the Battle of Bobbili, January 1757,” compare three prominent Telugu tellings of the Bobbili story: Peddada Mallesam’s *Bobbili Yuddha Katha*, recorded in 1832; *Pedda Bobbili Raju Katha* (undated); and Dittakavi Narayanakavi’s *Rangaraya Charitramu*, 1909. It is not my focus here to understand Venkataswami’s version in light of the essay’s insightful argument that each version presents a unique historical configuration with its own poetics, a “texture of time.” According to the authors, C. P. Brown employed a minstrel by the name of Mallesam who recited the *Bobbili Yuddha Katha* in addition to two other oral epics in 1832. The Telugu scholar M. Somasekhara Sarma collected various manuscripts of the *Bobbili Yuddha Katha* and published an edited version (1956); he notes that many of these manuscript versions are attributed to Mallesam, who now appears as a bardic figure in them. The ways in which versions and variants crisscross with each other is fascinating to study. *Pedda Bobbili Raju Katha*, which Venkataswami disparages, and Mallesam’s version both seem to have taken their material from some even earlier telling that would have been closer to the events of 1757. What is especially interesting for us is a detail that Somasekara Sarma provides—that among earlier versions of the Bobbili story is an ending in which the surviving son of Ranga Ravu meets the nizam of Hyderabad twelve years after the war. A reconciliation takes place in Venkataswami’s version, making me wonder if Venkataswami’s bards were telling a fairly early version of the story, or at least incorporating its elements.


70. Bobbili, xii. I have not been able to trace the particular Telugu history of Bobbili that Venkataswami refers to. It is possible, however, that Venkataswami, who had been in touch with Venkata Swetachalapati Ranga Rao, the raja of Bobbili, for his photograph to include on the title page, was aware of the raja’s book *A Revised and Enlarged Account of the Bobbili Zemindari* (Madras: Printed by Addison, 1900).


72. The *Pedda Bobbili Raju Katha* is an oral epic that was most likely a performance transcript. For a translation of its telling of the story, see Narayana Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam, “On the Battle of Bobbili, January 1757,” 42–50.

73. Bobbili, xvii.
74. Bobbili, ix.
75. Bobbili, 72.
76. Bobbili, 68.
77. Bobbili, 65.
78. Bobbili, xvi.
82. Sarkar, “Foreword,” c.
84. Tulsemnah, xi.
85. For a history of this effort, see Falconer, “‘A Pure Labor of Love.’”
86. See Mathur, *India by Design*, for an excellent study of how some Indians resisted being displayed.
89. Nagloo, 174, 175, 132.
90. Lakshmi Narayana is a form of Vishnu.
91. Heeramma, 181.
92. Heeramma, vi.
93. Heeramma, viii. James Lubbock was a nineteenth-century astronomer.
94. Heeramma, 181.
95. Heeramma, 83.
96. Heeramma, 192.
97. Pinney, *The Coming of Photography in India*.
100. Gordon, “A City of Mourning.”
101. Chaudhary provides an incisive analysis of this project in *Afterimage of Empire*, especially in chapter 1.
102. Desmond, “19th Century Indian Photographers in India,” 315.
106. Nagloo, 185.
108. Heeramma, 123.
110. I follow Venkataswami’s use of “cenotaph” and “tomb” interchangeably—a usage that is in keeping with the family’s practice of interment and memorialization.
111. Heeramma, 124.
112. Nagloo, 196.
113. Heeramma, x.
115. Nagloo, 244.
117. Heeramma, 96–98.
118. Heeramma, 96.
120. Khanna, Dark Continents, 25.
122. Email communication, March 24, 2004, reproduced with permission.
123. 101 Essays.
125. 101 Essays, 153–54.
127. Audio-recorded conversation, August 20, 2013.
129. Audio-recorded conversation, June 14, 2014.

4. The Irony of the “Native Scholar”

1. As I describe in chapter 2, Mr. Muthaiah later helped me trace the descendants of Ramaswami Raju. Mr. Muthaiah passed away in April 2019.
2. The most detailed biographical sketch is an anonymously authored note in “Men and Women of India” (1908), included in the posthumously published Indian Folk-Tales by Natesa Sastri. R. E. Asher, in “Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastri (1859–1906): Pioneer Tamil Novelist,” and Kamil Zvelebil, in Tamil Literature assess Natesa Sastri’s impact on Tamil literature and also provide biographical details about Natesa Sastri. Stuart Blackburn considers Natesa Sastri’s contribution to Tamil nationalism in Print, Folklore, and Nationalism.
5. Italics in this transcript indicate my observations and explanations. Text in brackets is also mine, mostly to provide detail.
7. Ramanujan, Folktales from India, xxiii.
8. Prasad, “Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastri” and “The Authorial Other.”
17. For instance, in his article titled “Kalakshepas—Old and New,” he decries what he regards as degradation in new-style puranic storytelling performances, arguing that storytellers had become flamboyant and possessed only a “smattering [of] knowledge of a few puranic tales.” Natesa Sastri, Hindu Feasts, 55.

18. Govindarajan, Builders of Modern India.

19. It is no longer news that idiosyncratic remuneration, dis-acknowledgment, and seismic textual transformations characterized colonial knowledge projects. See Cohn, Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge; Dirks, Castes of Mind; Raheja, “Caste, Colonialism, and the Speech of the Colonized”; and Bayly, Empire and Information.

20. Guha-Thakurta, Monuments, Objects, Histories, 89.


22. Hatcher, “What’s Become of the Pandit?” 693, 696. Wilson’s remark was made in 1836, but the sentiment prevailed throughout the colonial era.


25. Beauchamp, incidentally, was the editor of the second edition (1897) of J. A. Dubois’s infamous Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies, a work that the French scholar Sylvia Murr found was plagiarized.


27. This is an extremely rare use of the term. One other instance where it appears is in Bengali Household Tales (1912) by the missionary William McCullough, who describes the narrator this way: “[The young Bengali Brahman man] possessed fine gifts, both as a talker and a raconteur” (v).


34. This detail is also mentioned by Stuart Blackburn, who cites the Tamil encyclopedia Kalaikkalaṇciyam (1959) published by the Tamil Propagation Society. Blackburn, Print, Folklore, and Nationalism, 167.

35. Sewell, Lists of the Antiquarian Remains. 5.


38. Hindu Feasts, 40–41.

39. Hindu Feasts, 4. Sudras are broadly the labor caste in the traditional varna or caste system, and are not taught the Vedas and the Upanishads. Many Hindu shastras and the Brahmanical tradition prohibit Sudras from reciting Vedic texts.

40. For example, he translated and adapted into Tamil Sudraka’s Mrçchkaññatītika and Vishakadatta’s play Mudraraksasa on the Mauryan king Chandragupta’s life, and also rendered into prose Kalidasa’s celebrated epic Raghuvamsa.

41. Natesa Sastri, Folklore in Southern India, pt. 3, ix.

42. We might recall that Richard Carnac Temple’s father was Richard Temple, who had been commissioner of the Central Provinces when Nagaya was setting
up his hotel (chapter 3), and had been the governor of Bombay in whose bungalow Marianne North ran into Anna de Souza (chapter 1).

45. Print, Folklore, and Nationalism, 170.
46. Srinivas’s fieldnotes and analytical materials were destroyed by an arsonist’s fire while he was visiting Stanford University, and the richly detailed book is a testimony to the resilience and creativity of human memory and experience. M. N. Srinivas, The Remembered Village (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

49. “The Conquest of Fate,” tale 19, in Tales of the Sun, 237; and tale 26 in pt. 4 of Folklore in Southern India, 323.
50. Jacobs, Indian Fairy Tales, 232.
53. Chichester and Burges-Short, Records and Badges of the British Army.

My thanks to Stephanie Jenkins, who maintains this website.

55. Fenby, Other Oxford, 81.
59. Naithani, Folktales from Northern India and In Quest of Indian Folktales. Such appropriation of credit is a recurrent theme in colonial context. See Dirks, Castes of Mind for how the first surveyor general of India, Colin Mackenzie, passed off the findings of his brilliant polyglot “assistants,” the scholar-brothers Kavelli Venkata Boria and Lakshmaiah, as his own.

61. Natesa Sastri, Tales of an Indian Detective (1894).
62. See Asher’s “Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastri (1859–1906)” and “The Tamil Renaissance” for a summary and analysis of Natesa Sastri’s six novels. The other novels’ translated titles are The Rejuvenation of Komalam (1902), The Two Orphans (1902), A Wife Condoned (1903), The Mother-in-Law in Council (1903), and Curtain Lectures (1907). For a review of the emergence of the Tamil novel in the nineteenth century, see Sundaram, “Pioneers of the Tamil Novel”; and Sundararajan, “The Tamil Novel as a Social Document.”

63. Preface in Gopalakrishnan’s translation, iii.
64. I use Gopalakrishnan’s unpublished translation of Dinadayalu.
68. One is reminded of Jahan Ramazani’s observations about A. K. Ramanujan’s poetry: “With its multiple reflections and opacities, its sameness and difference, the family is frequently the locus of Ramanujan’s poetic acts of self-definition. Across a
wide array of lyrics, the poet defines himself by sorting through his resemblances with his grandparents, parents, children, siblings, and wife.” *The Hybrid Muse*, 97.

69. Personal email communication, February 21, 2002.

70. Oral conversation, July 8, 2016.

71. Chap. 10 of Gopalakrishnan’s translation, 10. The Karna mantra is recited during the final moments of a departing person’s life.

**Conclusion**


3. The account I provide relies on Arshia Sattar’s translation of the Valmiki Ramayana (2018), and on the oral tellings that I heard growing up in various parts of India. The Valmiki Ramayana has Hanuman narrating the story of Rama many times in the text, each intervention contributing to the mood and direction of the epic. See Sattar’s dissertation “Hanuman in the Ramayana of Valmiki” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1990) for Hanuman’s various roles as a narrator.


