



NEW TRANSCULTURALISMS, 1400–1800

Eastern Resonances in Early Modern England

Receptions and Transformations from the Renaissance to the Romantic Period

Edited by
CLAIRE GALLIEN
LADAN NIAYESH



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New Transculturalisms, 1400–1800

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Claire Gallien · Ladan Niayesh
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to the Romantic Period

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New Transculturalisms, 1400–1800

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Claire Gallien
Ladan Niayesh

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Claire Gallien and Ladan Niayesh

Resonance is music's hidden architecture.
Maximianno Cobra, conductor and musicologist
(private conversation, August 2017)

As with many experiences in life, the full meaning of a research project often unravels in time and through protracted ripple effects. When thinking of putting together this volume, our aim was to problematise Britain's receptions of its multiple Asian Easts from the Renaissance to the Romantic period, not along rigidly adversarial or simplistically subordinative lines, but by exploring patterns that could accommodate multi-directional, indirect, or redirected modes of exchange. In other words, our project was to unpack politics and modes of reappropriation that reached beyond a merely polar understanding of cultural encounter, or a regional ordering of a bordered world (Sakai 2009; Solomon 2016).

The notion of “resonance” gradually imposed itself on us as a way of replacing both the binaries of structuralism and the Foucauldian subordination of knowledge to power by a more phenomenological approach to

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experience, making room for what Veit Erlmann, summing up Stephen Greenblatt's use of the notion in "Resonance and Wonder," calls the "productive intimacy" brought about by cultural practice and circulation (Erlmann 2015, p. 176; Greenblatt 1990, pp. 216–246).

The general definition of "Resonance" provided by the *OED* is the "reinforcement or prolongation of sound by reflection or by the synchronous vibration of a surrounding space or a neighbouring object." Resonance is therefore different from the echo, which also prolongs a sound, but does so on a descending scale, gradually fading away. Resonance on the contrary acts as an amplifier of sound, bouncing off on an enclosed, hard surface and producing new vibrations, and is as such associated with an eruption of force and new energy. Resonance also offers a refreshing alternative to the ocular paradigm of reflection, which suggests a disjunction of subject and object, be it through a gaze, a mirror, or a veil. Honouring "the claim of the ear" rather than "the primacy of the eye" (Dimock 1997), resonance entails the collapse of the boundary between perceiver and perceived, as in the example of the practice in jazz or pop music of "corner loading" detailed by Peter Doyle. This happens when a musician recording in studio faces a plastered or wood-panelled corner:

A feedback loop is set up: the musician makes sounds, the sounds resonate off the walls, the musician hears that resonance, as well as the sounds coming directly from the instrument, and accordingly adjusts and intensifies his own manipulation of the sound-making apparatus, be it voice or instrument. [...] He plays the room. (Doyle 2005, p. 77)

In this scheme of things, Doyle continues, "room architecture itself is enlisted so as to become a temporary aspect of the self," (Doyle 2005, p. 78) as the distance between self and surroundings is replaced by an osmosis and a synergy between what is self and what is other.

Using soundscape, and more particularly resonance, as a model therefore allows for displacing the focus to environments, rather than just defining acting subjects and acted-upon objects in them.¹ In doing so, our project turned to the rich musical lexicon recurrently used by critics in recent years to address circulations in the field of cultural geography.

¹Emily Thompson defines the soundscape as "simultaneously a physical environment and a way of perceiving that environment" (Sterne 2012, p. 117).

Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's definition of territory through the notion of "ritournelle" or refrain has been inspirational in this respect. In *A Thousand Plateaus*, the two authors adapted the motif from a purely musical sense to a philosophical concept related to time and territory. Their chapter "Of the Refrain" reshapes our understanding of physical space classically defined through three linear dimensions, with objects having relative positions in it, determined by coordinates. For Deleuze and Guattari the practice of space—be it through birds' songs in the example taken by them or through human equivalents—transforms it into "milieus" which are not preconditioned to accommodate specific objects or events, but are in a perpetual state of coding and transcoding:

...one milieu serves as the basis for another, or conversely is established atop another milieu, dissipates in it, or is constituted in it. The notion of the milieu is not unitary: not only does the living thing continually pass from one milieu to another, but the milieus pass into one another, they are essentially communicating. (Deleuze and Guattari 2005, p. 313)

Deleuze and Guattari's theorisation complements earlier work by Deleuze, in particular in *Difference and Repetition*, in which he invited a move from the negative determination of difference—what is "not-this"—to a positive approach. For him repetition is that which differs in itself, that which returns but is never the same: "[d]ifference inhabits repetition," he asserts (Deleuze 1994, 76). While acknowledging repetition, his approach to difference is thus resolutely non-essentialist.

Accordingly, although the contributions in this volume all address interactions involving early modern England and different parts of Asia, we have chosen to primarily entitle our project "Eastern" rather than "Asian" resonances. Our "East" is neither an Orientalist, essentialist fiction, nor a single, geographically bounded entity, but primarily a matter of practised spaces and connected milieus. Following the current "global turn" in research across disciplines (Berg 2013), our interest is in the accumulation of meanings that people, objects, and cultural phenomena acquire in their journeys across seas and lands. As with Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello's example of a seventeenth-century ivory knife from the Victoria and Albert Museum collections, combining a blade made in Sheffield and a handle carved in Goa (Gerritsen and Riello 2016, p. 17), what is of interest to us is to investigate how the narratives of people, objects, and cultural phenomena acquire and shift their

meanings through circulations and interconnections. In this endeavour, resonance becomes for us not just an underlying metaphor but a method of investigation.

There are grounds for such an approach within the philosophical and aetiological thinking of the early modern period itself. Mapping the works of such key figures of the Scientific Revolution and of the Enlightenment as René Descartes and Denis Diderot, Veit Erlmann invites us to reconsider that period as “a moment in Western cultural history when reason and resonance developed in contiguity” as they faced “strikingly similar problems concerning the foundations of subjectivity, truth, and sensation” (Erlmann 2010, pp. 11–12). Erlmann underlines in particular the frequent play on the two meanings of the French verb “entendre”—hearing and understanding—in Descartes’ writings (Erlmann 2010, p. 31) and the latter’s reflections on the formation of the foetus and the sympathetic resonance of the unborn child’s body parts with the mother’s heart.² Erlmann also quotes the sensualist philosopher Diderot’s image of the human harpsichord—“un clavecin organisé,” as he calls it in an *Entretien* with D’Alembert (Diderot 1951, p. 880)—apprehending the world and constructing its own rational self through haphazard combinations of fragmented sensations:

But vibrating strings have yet another property – to make other strings quiver. And thus the first idea recalls a second, and these a third, then all three a fourth, and so it goes, without our being able to set a limit to the ideas that are aroused and linked in a philosopher who meditates or who listens to himself in silence and darkness.³

A similar approach to the human mind as “endued with a natural disposition to resonance and sympathy” (Jones 1792, p. 57) is represented in our volume in the contribution made by Michael J. Franklin on the work of one of the defining figures of Orientalism, William Jones. Taking as its chamber of resonance the treatise “On the Musical Modes of the

²See in particular the development in *Compendium musicae* (1618), in Descartes (1985, pp. 7–14).

³Mais les cordes vibrantes ont encore une autre propriété, c’est d’en faire frémir d’autres et c’est ainsi qu’une première idée en rappelle une seconde, ces deux-là une troisième, toutes les trois une quatrième, et ainsi de suite, sans qu’on puisse fixer la limite des idées réveillées, enchaînées, du philosophe qui médite ou qui s’écoute dans le silence et l’obscurité (Diderot 1951, p. 879; translated in Erlmann 2010, p. 9).

Hindus” (1792), Franklin analyses the contributions of the matter of India to the making of Jones’s proto-Romantic emotionalist theory of the arts and also looks at the ways it is inflected by his earlier tyrannicidal “Ode in Imitation of Callistratus” (1782), urging the “triple Harmony” of the mixed republic and the call for manhood suffrage. Though not directly taking root in a reflection on eastern musical traditions, the other contributions in this volume follow the same method in using eastern resonances as ways of bringing about reconfigurations of thoughts, identities, and objects in the West. They are presented here in a manner that distinguishes between three types of resonances—symbolic, discursive, and material. Within each section, the chapters broadly follow a chronological order, but with internal resonances between them, according to our main method of investigation.

The first part dedicated to symbolic resonances reflects on questions of models, circulations, and correspondences between England and its multiple Easts. Supriya Chauduri opens this section with an essay on the Bolognese traveller Ludovico de Varthema’s *Itinerario* (1510) as a work placed at the junction between geographical knowledge, autobiographical account, and translation and print circuits. She locates Varthema as part of the larger community of *passeurs culturels* and trickster-travellers famously studied by Sanjay Subrahmanyam and Natalie Zemon Davis (Subrahmanyam 2011; Davis 2008), and interprets his account in the light of the larger history of travel writing. The chapter unpacks various strategies of *bricolage* used by Varthema to define his persona and his mode of writing. It also investigates the resonances of his work in various European linguistic and cultural spaces, in languages such as Latin, German, Dutch, French, and Castilian, and in many forms including engravings. Finding repercussions and disseminations in English travel compendiums (Richard Eden, Richard Willes, Samuel Purchas), the Varthema type even becomes a century later an ancestor to Thomas Coryate, “traveller for the English wits” (Coryate 1616), who recycles the model of the *Itinerario* for his own self-staging. Considering the ensemble formed around Varthema, Chauduri signposts the stages through which the early modern traveller became a historically resonant figure for his contemporaries and for later generations and asks about the stakes of his resonance for us today at the occasion of a recent exhibition devoted to Varthema in Delhi.

In the following contribution, Matthew Dimmock discusses another complex set of shape-shifting associations in English and other cultural

frames, this time involving the figure of the legendary Queen of Sheba. Early modern English geographers and playwrights placed the figure of Sheba, which looms large in all three monotheistic traditions, in increasingly eastern and Islamic locales, but they also frequently turned her into a symbol of the church submitting to Henry VIII and a useful model for the celebration of female monarchy for Elizabeth I. In the latter case, Dimmock argues that the model is in fact an ambivalent one, with some texts positioning Elizabeth as Sheba, while others feminise the monarchs who send emissaries to her as Shebas, allowing Elizabeth to take the symbolic position of Solomon. The chapter also reflects on the ways in which this “eastern” figure of Sheba resonates in the context of Anglo-Islamic contacts resulting from the Anglo-Spanish conflict and the new alliances contracted by England in the 1580s. As Dimmock’s analysis of the letters exchanged between Elizabeth I and the Ottoman Sultan Murad III demonstrates, the identifications created deep resonances in England but also at the Ottoman Court. Dimmock’s chapter thus complements Helen Hackett’s landmark *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen* (Hackett 1995) by arguing that alongside the list of icons already identified by Hackett, such as Cynthia and Gloriana, we need to include the Queen of Sheba in order to account for the new positions that England and its queen meant to play on the international scene. For Dimmock, the absence of Sheba from Hackett’s list is indicative of a gap to be filled in terms of critical engagement with a late sixteenth-century English culture that was deliberately looking to North Africa and the Ottoman Empire and therefore had to shape an image of its queen in a way that could resonate with these new strategic partners.

The first part closes with Michael Franklin’s reflections on William Jones’s fascination with—and enquiries into—Indian music and music theory. Drawing on a number of lesser studied works by the prolific orientalist, Franklin retraces for us the resonances of classical and Indian music theories in Jones’s political and literary writings. In Britain, Jones’s classically composed “Ode in Imitation of Callistratus” had urged the power of rhythm and harmony at the service of a political ideal of universal suffrage, while in Bengal Jonesian Orientalism extolled Emperor Akbar’s peaceful path of *Sulh-i-Kulh* as a model of governance that both preserved and harmonised Vedantic and Sufi culture, art, philosophy, and religion. Jones’s syncretic endeavours culminate in the hymns he composed after Indian models—“A Hymn to Náráyena” and “A Hymn to Sereswaty”—foregrounding in them the virtues of comparative research,

cultural pluralism, and religious syncretism. And yet, Franklin warns us in conclusion about the limits of the romantic orientalist ideal that was formed in the early stages of the British colonisation of India, when in practice administrators such as Jones, who served as a judge at the Supreme Court of Calcutta, also compiled and translated the codes that would help them govern Hindus and Muslims as separated subjects, while firmly believing in the “unexampled felicity of our nation” in the process (Jones 1792, p. 62).

Gathering its case studies from a period running over three centuries and bringing together the figures of a trickster-traveller, a mythical queen, and an orientalist as varieties of transcoding *passeurs culturels*, this opening section in our volume offers options for thinking about the East not just as an object to be looked at, inspected, and fantasised about, but rather as an agent of resonance throughout the early modern and Enlightenment periods, never a would-be “original” brought in submission to English shores, but always avowedly reterritorialised and dialogised.

The second part, which is more directly concerned with textual resonances and questions of receptions, transformations and translations, opens with Jane Grogan’s chapter devoted to textual reception as resonance, theorised as a far more dynamic and dialogic model than direct intertextuality. Grogan’s enquiry centres on a densely annotated copy of the first 1552 edition of the English translation of Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia* now held at the Huntington Library. She considers the multiple temporalities at stake in the reception of this volume, as they can be retrieved from its annotations in one or several Tudor hands and the use late eighteenth-century possessors made of it while editing a variorum edition of Shakespeare’s works and trying to prove that the Bard’s classical knowledge had come to him through translated works such as this one rather than originals in Latin and Greek. In the course of her study of the annotations, Grogan also underlines how much the early modern image of Persia in England owed to ancient accounts of the Achaemenids, to the point of obstructing at times data about the country under contemporary Safavid rule, while the appealing figure of Cyrus the Great gets mobilised and reterritorialised in a cultural and political imaginary specific to Tudor England’s preoccupations. Calling for an accretionary approach to the reception of this volume and its contents, Grogan traces a vibrant tradition of scholarly and pedagogic commentary around it over a period of two and a half centuries. Multiple and

unpredictable, the resonances of the matter of the East in and around this copy pertain to an often neglected “sociology of texts” advocated by D. F. McKenzie (1986) and taken up by Grogan in her refreshing approach to reception studies.

Louisiane Ferlier and Claire Gallien’s contribution pursues the exploration on the wayward trajectories of the enterprises of textual transmission and reception, tightening the scope this time on a period of thirty years covered by four very different translations of a same twelfth-century Arabic philosophical tale, Ibn Tufayl’s *Hayy Ibn Yaqdhan*. The translations/adaptations were made by George Keith, George Ashwell, George Conyers and Simon Ockley, respectively in 1674, 1686, 1690, and 1708. These in turn inspired two adventure novels—Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and John Kirkby’s *Life and Surprizing Adventures of Don Juliani de Trezz* (1722)—offering variations on the figure of the isolated man on a utopian island, while in 1721 Cotton Mather defended the concept of natural theology with a reference to the same tale in his *Christian Philosopher*. Returning to the four translations and to their paratextual apparatuses, Ferlier and Gallien examine the question of textual resonances across and between languages, from Arabic to Latin and then English, and contexts, as well as the translators’ negotiations with the original text, paying particular attention to the ways in which they manipulated the Eastern philosophical tale to support their personal endeavours and respond to each other. Here, *Hayy Ibn Yaqdhan* is treated at once as a unique editorial phenomenon and as a case study for the ways in which Eastern texts reverberated in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England against the backdrops of theological controversies and a fashion for the Oriental tale best exemplified by Antoine Galland’s translation of *One Thousand and One Nights* (1704–1717). Ferlier and Gallien point out that the authors were less interested in providing accurate versions in English of the *Hayy* narrative than in creating new resonances, by bending the tale to their own theological and literary purposes. In scrutinising the contexts of the four versions, Ferlier and Gallien underscore how a shift from a religious to a romantic use of the oriental tale occurred between these translations, echoing the larger transition in Arabic learning at the time from theological to literary concerns.

In the final chapter of this section, Laurence Williams tackles the complex discursive reverberations in English of the fall of the Ming dynasty at the hands of the Manchu “Tartar” Qings in 1644, as

transmitted to the West through the historical account of the Jesuit missionary Martino Martini, *De Bello Tartarico Historia* (1654), translated into English by John Crook. Approaching resonance primarily as a disruptive process of vibration and destabilisation within a preexisting movement, Williams considers the many ripple effects contributed by the new stereotypes of the would-be Tartars' warlike nomadism forced into an existing body of Chinese stereotypes of effeminate and indolent civilization. Those ripple effects are followed by him into a vast literary body including heroic plays celebrating the Tartars' reinvigorating masculinity, Miltonian metaphors demonising the wandering threat, picaresque novels dealing with Tartary as a place of both geographical and rhetorical extremity, refracted in narrative digressions and nonsense speech. The process culminates with the vogue of *Chinoiserie* satires where, Williams argues, the "Tartar trope" appears as a rich reservoir for transgressive grotesque and cultural hybridity, lurking on the borders of the British dilettantes' enthusiasm with China. This satirical dimension in turn spills over the whole growing appetite of the age for *Chinoiserie*, ironically making the Tartars stand out as imaginative invaders and reappropriators of British upper-class homes and gardens. A final section in this chapter helpfully contrasts seventeenth- and eighteenth-century resonant treatments of the tropes of Tartary and China with those of the Victorian age, in which the territorial domination exemplified by such episodes as the onset of the Great Game in Central Asia (1839) and the first Opium War (1839–1842) went hand in hand with an imaginative curbing of the Tartar and Chinese materials in literary works.

The influence of *Chinoiserie* in English gardening and architecture hinges Williams's contribution to the next one, by Vanessa Alayrac-Fielding who opens the third and final section in our volume, bringing into play the connection between material culture and artistic sensibilities. Here, Alayrac-Fielding analyses the contribution of Chinese models to a new conception of landscape gardening in the post-Glorious Revolution context. She argues that it was in response to a garden image of continental despotism represented by French gardens' symmetry and central designs that England developed its own landscape gardening, using Chinese motives and praising the supposedly far-eastern ideal of "sharawadgi" to value irregular beauty and disorder. Thus the matter of China was made to resonate with an English construction of national identity and sensibility against continental models. Alayrac-Fielding traces those far-eastern resonances into several works, including William

Temple's "Upon the Garden of Epicurus" (1685) and a 1712 essay by Joseph Addison in the *Spectator*, before considering the degree of manipulation and accommodation involved in the process through the case study of the illustrations from Matteo Ripa's *Thirty-Six Views of Jehol* (1711–1713), adapted into English as *The Emperor of China's Palace at Peking* (1753). Ultimately, she concludes that China does not merely contribute exotic ornamentation to English gardens, but rather engages in a full transnational and transhistorical conversation, a process overall studied by Srinivas Aravamudan as a marker of Enlightenment orientalism (Aravamudan 2011), as opposed to its nineteenth-century imperialistic counterpart famously denounced in the Saidian paradigm.

With Diego Saglia's contribution, we return once more to India, focusing this time on British fictional and non-fictional responses in the long eighteenth century to the aesthetic and ideological challenge of India as an overwhelming profusion of signs and objects. Revisiting Nigel Leask's interpretative model of the Romantics' East as inflected by a shift from mercantilism to colonialism (Leask 1992), Saglia argues that the romantic moment itself resonates within a larger temporal frame. Accordingly, in this chapter he follows the reverberations and modifications of what he calls "the aesthetics of the bazaar" over the course of two centuries, starting with the classical image of India as a *cornucopia* as it can be gathered from seventeenth-century accounts, such as the letters of Sir Thomas Roe (1615) at the dawn of English diplomatic and commercial relations with India. Yet, as the British empire expanded, Saglia notes how the ideological consensus about it receded, paving the way for critiques of commercial and colonial expansionism in a context of enlightened and revolutionary movements, calling into question the topos of India as a repository for endless wealth and bringing in dystopian images of potential economic exhaustion and decay, as in Thomas Beddoes's *Alexander's Expedition* (1792). Next replacing the topos of the bazaar within the rising literary trend of the prose sketch at the turn of the nineteenth century, Saglia underlines how this trend records a failure to totalise and control the excess of India and to dominate it through a textual process of accumulation and multiplication. For Saglia, the textually fragmentary and incomplete depictions of India relay its untamable superabundance and thereby its resistance to assimilation and digestion by the empire. For him, post-romantic India marks its departure from that of the Romantics by still demanding to be represented while resisting an exhaustive figuration.

The closing chapter of our volume doubly places itself at the edge of the British empire in India, chronologically and spatially. Here, Anne-Julie Etter turns to the antiquarian activities of the East India Company employees in the post-Hastings period and focuses on the process of constitution of private and public collections of Indian statues. Etter's study blends personal biography and material culture for a multilayered approach to meaning. Her work engages with Richard Davis's concept of the "lives of Indian images" and how objects are given renewed significances while being successively appropriated by diverse communities (Davis 1997), as well as with Maya Jasanoff's concept of "self-fashioning" in colonial contexts and through collecting activities (Jasanoff 2005). She details the different modalities through which British collectors acquired statues, from thefts and spoliations to gifts as the Raj was getting put in place, and how these various modalities may in turn have affected the ways in which the objects resonated for their collectors. By taking into account both individual and collective resonances of objects, Etter weaves affective memory with knowledge acquisition and imperial fashioning, as statues were transferred from the houses of homebound collectors to East India Company offices, libraries, and museums.

Etter's contribution marks a *terminus ad quem* for the investigation on Eastern transfers undertaken in our volume. The method we have followed throughout has been close to Walter Benjamin's conception of translation as "*fortleben*" ("afterlife") in his essay on "The Task of the Translator" ("Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers," 1923). As noted by Caroline Disler, the compound "suggests progress (*Fortschritt*), separation (*Fortgehen*), complementarity, supplementation, futurity, transformation" (Disler 2011, p. 189). She further argues that translating "*fortleben*" as either "afterlife" or "survival" (for which the German equivalents would be "*überleben*" or "*weiterleben*") does not render full justice to the concept:

There has been no death, no damage, no catastrophe to the original. There is no afterlife. There is no survival. Neither is there a simple continuation of the original that was. There is *Fortleben*, metamorphosis, evolution, transformation, renewal, renovation, supplementation. (Disler 2011, p. 193)

The Benjaminian conception of "connection of life" in translation, i.e. transformation and renewal between source texts and translated texts rather than imitation between original and copy, has had a deep impact

on our own perception of Eastern resonances in the early modern and Enlightenment English imaginations. Firstly, the volume has sought to dissociate itself from declinist positions premised on the fallacy of an original losing its supposed authenticity as it moves across various cultural landscapes. Instead, we have investigated Eastern resonances as *fortleben*, i.e. as transformations, renewals, and supplementations of objects, images, and texts coming to Britain from the parts of the globe it orientalistised. Secondly, we have tried to operate within a frame that is intra- rather than intercultural, considering that the objects and forms that circulate over the period do not belong to separate cultural blocks which would merely exchange with each other, but are the productions of specific locations moved by affective, political, and economic forces. Finally, the multidirectional approach we have endorsed in studying resonances has been concerned with difference in repetition, with the new inflections given to Eastern texts, objects, and tropes as they were moved and relocated in the West. The musical trope used throughout has been crucial for thinking of the presence of the East in English culture not as fixed copies of an alien original, but as multiple and shape-shifting reformulations. It has enabled us to place the emphasis not on fading traces of objects *as dislocated*, but on their renewed presence and meaning *as reterritorialised*. For us, Eastern resonances have constituted sites where English identities could be defined, confirmed, questioned, split, or reconfigured, but in all cases where their autonomy and homogeneity as ontological subjects were challenged and where polarities were unsettled.

Ultimately, as Nick Nesbitt cogently summarises: “A body can only resonate with another if they have certain characteristics in common” (Nesbitt 2004, p. 70). Accepting the share of the other within the self implies making room for it in our conception of hospitality, along the lines defined by Jacques Derrida in *Writing and Difference*. There, Derrida suggested that hospitality cannot simply mean reaching out to the other but must also imply the clearing of a space within the self to accommodate the dissenting voice of the other, making the self accessible, vulnerable, and open to questions framed in ways that are not familiar (Derrida 1978, p. 131). This is what we have tried to do in this volume by looking into the transformations of Eastern objects inside the spaces cleared for them within early modern English works. We hope the result we have reached is in tune with Juliana De Nooy’s summary of Derrida’s developments on alterity within identity through the metaphor of resonance:

...getting a buzz from the buzzing. Sound produced here by sound waves coming from ... where? This is the otherness without the *presence* of the other, without direct access. The other is not there to behold but leaves traces in the form of echoes. The other sets off reverberations that strike a chord within us as sympathetic vibrations transmitted from one space or body to another. Resonance is produced within sameness as sympathetic vibrations, but reproduces otherness, doubling it. In doing so, it disturbs what seemed like a simple opposition: same/other, known/unknowable, inside/outside, us/them. Suddenly we can see that the other is also within. (De Nooy 1998, p. 9)

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PART I

Resonant Identities: Models,
Circulations, Correspondences



CHAPTER 2

“Not Fit for Any Other Pursuit”: Shifting Places, Shifting Identities in Ludovico de Varthema’s *Itinerario*

Supriya Chaudhuri

In *Three Ways to Be Alien: Travails and Encounters in the Early Modern World*, Sanjay Subrahmanyam suggested that Italian travellers in the Indian subcontinent, “unattached, footloose, and flexible in their political orientation ... appear at first sight therefore to represent an ideal of the ‘go-between’ or what in French has sometimes been termed the *passeur culturel*.” This intermediary status stems from the fact that they were not a direct part of an imperial presence, but belonged rather to a motley crew of border-crossers, mercenaries and renegades “who represented either small states and powers, or nothing much besides their own malleable destinies” (Subrahmanyam 2011, p. 137).¹ These observations came powerfully to mind some years ago, when I viewed an exhibition organized at the National Archives of India (Delhi, 17–31

¹Among Italians mentioned are Bernardino Maffei, “surgeon to the great Mogol king,” buried in the Christian cemetery at Agra (d. 11 August 1628), and Nicolò Manucci (or Manuzzi, 1639–1717), historian of the Moghols, who died in Madras a century later.

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October 2012), around the sixteenth-century Bolognese traveller Ludovico de Varthema's *Itinerario*, first published in 1510. The exhibition, featuring representative illustrations of Indian scenes from manuscripts in the Biblioteca Casanatense and the Archivio di Stato in Rome, drew attention both to the popularity of the work in its time and to its place in several intersecting histories: of trade and commerce, of religion and politics, and of print culture. Varthema's book, widely billed as the first "travel best-seller" on the East, had achieved extraordinary popularity in Europe, with numerous editions throughout the sixteenth century, and versions in Latin, German, Castilian, French, Dutch, and English. Richard Eden translated it for inclusion in his *History of Trauayle*, edited and published after his death by Richard Willes (1577); some sensational extracts from this, professedly corrected out of Ramusio, were printed in Samuel Purchas's *Hakluytvs Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (Purchas 1625, II:9:vii, pp. 1483–1495).²

There can be little doubt, then, that Varthema's work served to transmit the resonances of the east to English readers in the latter half of the sixteenth century. His translator Richard Eden (c. 1520–1576), preceding Hakluyt as an "advocate of empire," was a crucial textual intermediary within the chain of financial interest, political patronage, scientific labour, mercantile investment, and physical risk-taking that produced the first English voyages to both the New World and the Old (see Parker 1991). I will argue in this essay that Varthema also provided, for English readers, the model of a new kind of traveller: directed not so much by commercial or religious interests, but by curiosity and the desire for novelty; recording his own physical travails as much as the lands he traverses; and placing his narrative midway between the literature of pleasure and literature of knowledge. To an extent unprecedented in earlier travel narratives, Varthema *addresses* his imagined readership, offers his own misadventures and sufferings as a means of establishing bodily empathy, and builds up, through devices common in fabliau and picaresque fiction, a personality that, in its multiple shifts, guises, and devices, authenticates the constantly mutable experience of the traveller. If the resonances of these exploits are heard in Renaissance England—both before, and certainly after, Eden's translation—what is being forged at the same time, perhaps slightly at a tangent from the imperial projects of early modern

²Purchas included Varthema's visits to Mecca and Medina, his viewing of two "unicorns," and his imprisonment and feigned madness.

Europe, is a new kind of identity: an identity bound up with movement, disguise, adaptation, and estrangement. Such identities are not so much part of official histories as of the odd conjunctures between history and fictions of the self, especially the self in movement. Varthema’s book helps to inaugurate travel writing as a new and distinct genre.

Richard Eden’s early translations—*A treatyse of the newe India* (1553), from the fifth book of Sebastian Münster’s *Cosmographiae Universalis* (1544), and *The Decades of the new worlde or west India* (1555), from Pietro Martire d’Anghiera’s *De orbe novo decades* (1511–1530)—gave prominence to American material, and figure among Edward Arber’s “first three English books on America.” The first, dedicated to the Duke of Northumberland, has also been described as “a piece of sponsored publicity” for one of Northumberland’s projects, the voyage of Sir Hugh Willoughby and his pilot Richard Chancellor in search of a Northeast Passage to China in 1553 (Gwyn 1984, p. 24). Eden (possibly the “Johannes Eden” referred to as “Cosmographus et Alchumista” by Lawrence Humphrey in his *Interpretatio Linguarum*), may have become secretary to William Cecil in 1552, and he survived the Marian regime (Humphrey 1559, Sig. L4; Gwyn 1984, p. 31; see Arber 1885, pp. xxxvii–xlvi).³ His reading of Peter Martyr at this critical juncture has drawn attention to the complex religious and political histories of the two writers, matters debated in successive issues of the journal *Connotations* (Hadfield 1995/1996, pp. 1–22; Hamlin 1996/1997, pp. 46–50; Jowitt 1996/1997, pp. 51–64; Pagden 1996/1997, pp. 65–66; Brennan 1996/1997, pp. 27–45; Hadfield 1996/1997, pp. 310–315; and see also Parker 1965, 1991). But while Eden was closely associated with the principals of the Muscovy Company (incorporated in 1555), notably Sebastian Cabot himself, much less attention has been paid to the possible influence of his Varthema translation on the merchants of the Turkey and Levant Companies (incorporated in 1581 and 1592 respectively) and, ultimately, the East India Company, which obtained the queen’s charter on 31 December 1600. Indeed, in February 1583 the Turkey Company principals, Edward Osborne and Richard Staper, despatched five

³For Eden as secretary to Cecil, see Arber’s magisterial note (p. xxxviii): “1552. About this date, Eden was, I believe, acting as private secretary to Sir W. Cecil. I have, however, lost the reference to the authority for this.” For Eden’s intentions in translating *De orbe novo decades*, see Eden (1555), “The Epistle’ dedicatory to Philip and Mary, Sig. aiii^r–aiv^v.”

representatives, including John Newbery, John Eldred, and Ralph Fitch, by ship to Tripoli and points east, carrying letters from Elizabeth to the Mughal Emperor Akbar and the Emperor of China. Meanwhile Thomas Stephens, possibly the first Englishman in India, had embarked on his Jesuit mission to Goa in 1579. When Richard Willes, a minor Latin poet, dedicated his edition of Eden's unfinished work to the Countess of Bedford in 1577, he chose to focus upon this inclusive vision of geography as the new science of the sixteenth century:

Geography laye hidden many hundred yeeres in darknesse and obliuion, without regarde and price: of late who taketh not vppon him to discourse of the whole worlde, and eche prouince thereof particularly, euen by hearesay, although in the first principles of that arte, he bee altogether ignorant and unskilful? This tyme is now. (Eden 1577, Sig. [.jii^v])

Willes's confidence in the birth of a new discipline is founded upon the material returns gained, he says, by Portuguese navigators to the east, by Spain in the New World, and "the great commodities our nation reapeth by the traueyle of our countrymen into Barbary, Guiny and Moscouia," which "wil be a sufficient testimony vnto all vs Englishmen, what it is to be a skilful traueyler, what to bee a painefull Geographer, and learned" (Eden 1577, Sig. [.jiv^r]).

Ludovico de Varthema's name certainly figured prominently in these new networks of geographical knowledge. Yet in his dedicatory epistle to Agnesina Feltria Colonna, mother of the poet Vittoria, he claims no identity beyond that of a traveller, saying that "I do not see that I am fit for any other pursuit" (Varthema [1928] 1997, p. 6).⁴ The title-page of his *Itinerario*, printed at Rome in 1510 by Stephano Guillireti de Loreno and Hercule de Nani, describes him as Bolognese, but his name sounds more German than Italian. Eden calls him "Lewis Vertomannus, Gentelman of the citie of Rome;" Garcia de Orta had referred to him as Milanese (Eden 1577, Fol. 354^r; Orta 1563, Fol. 27^v). The "privilege to print" was secured to him and his heirs for ten years by a special mandate of Pope Julius II, and by 1535 there were seven Italian editions (Varthema 1510, Sig. Aiii^r). A Latin translation appeared in

⁴"...così poi che ad altro studio non me uedo essere idoneo" (Varthema 1510, Fol. vi^r). This concluding section of Varthema's dedicatory epistle to Agnesina Feltria Colonna was not translated by Eden.

1511 (again 1610, 1611); the German translation (Augsburg, 1515) was illustrated with 46 woodcuts by Jörg Breu the Elder, and followed by five more editions up to 1615; there were four Spanish editions between 1520 and 1576; and French (1556), Dutch (1563, 1615, 1655), and English (1576) translations make up a total of 31 editions up to the mid-seventeenth century. The *Itinerario* was included in the collections of travel literature compiled by Johann Huttich and Simon Grynaeus (*Novus orbis regionarum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum*, Basel 1532); by Giovanni Battista Ramusio (*Navigazioni et viaggi*, Venice 1550); by Jean Temporal (*Description d'Afrique*, Lyon 1556); and by Eden and Purchas, as we have seen. The world map of 1532 by Sebastian Münster has marginal woodcuts, probably by Hans Holbein the Younger, showing Varthema himself and his adventure in Aden. The cartographic information he had provided was already being utilized by Martin Waldseemüller in 1516, and Julius Caesar Scaliger and Girolamo Cardano were drawing upon him by mid-century.

In his own account, Varthema was the first European to visit Mecca and Medina, and his extensive travels in India, especially in regions controlled by the Portuguese, helped to provide both a map and a narrative for his successors. Yet despite his espousal of the eye-witness account, Varthema is a puzzling and controversial figure, possibly even a version of the "trickster traveller" proposed by Natalie Zemon Davis in her account of Leo of Africa (Davis 2008). He left few traces of himself except in his own narrative and in the disparaging notices he attracted from his critics. Varthema claimed to have spent seven years between 1502 and 1508 travelling through Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and Persia, to India, Ceylon, Burma, Malacca, Sumatra, and the Spice Islands, but the Spanish-Portuguese naturalist, Garcia de Orta, said he had never gone beyond Calicut and Cochin (Orta 1563, Fol. 27^v–28^v, translated by Markham in Orta 1913, pp. 61–62). In many ways, Varthema's career is suited to Subrahmanyam's terms of description, and to his interest in the ruses of identity adopted by wayward, individual travellers who function as cultural "go-betweens." Still, Subrahmanyam doubts the actual agency of subaltern figures whose instinct for self-preservation enables them to survive situations of extreme peril: "For despite the many, and quite well-known, instances of imposture that characterize intercultural dealings in the early modern world, it is easy to exaggerate the protean character of identity" (Subrahmanyam 2011, p. 13). He is sceptical, therefore, of "the constant claims by Christian travellers that they were

able to impersonate Muslims well enough to travel with them in groups, or even to enter the holy cities of Mecca and Medina,” citing the example of the unmasking of the Russian trader from Tver, Afanasi Nikitin, when he claimed to be a Muslim merchant in the Bahmani Sultanate in western India in the second half of the fifteenth century (Subrahmanyam 2011, p. 13). Nevertheless, it remains the case that some of the most fascinating histories of travel in this era of what Subrahmanyam calls “contained conflict” are produced by persons who resorted to some degree of dissimulation or imposture during their travels—from west to east or east to west—and historians have achieved deeply attractive (even if “fictional”) results by focusing upon the relatively unknown individual, the person *lambda*, to resolve what Subrahmanyam describes as the “structure-agency tension” between historical processes and individuals, looking particularly at moments of uncertainty and danger where the individual’s choice illuminates a larger historical context (Subrahmanyam 2011, p. 5).

The background to all this, in Subrahmanyam’s narrative, is Stephen Greenblatt’s “lapidary” pronouncement that “self-fashioning occurs at the point of encounter between an authority and an alien” (Greenblatt 1980, p. 9, cited in Subrahmanyam 2011, p. 4). Whatever our view of self-fashioning as a cultural process, it is impossible, when studying histories of travel, not to ask how the shifts of identity to which travellers must resort inflect not only their histories, but also the genre of the travel narrative, as well as related literary forms: picaresque, the European novel, and late Renaissance drama, which uses the figure of the traveller, if not the form of his tale. In one way or another, every traveller, as Thomas Nashe knew, is unfortunate, and must shift for himself in situations of extreme exigency. One cannot but be grateful for the exemplary detective skills of those who have pursued early modern travellers not just through their own accounts but through the traces—sometimes so faint as to be fictional—that they have left in the archive: two recent instances being Natalie Zemon Davis on Leo of Africa (al-Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Wazzan) and John-Paul Ghobrial on Elias of Babylon (Ilyas ibn-Hanna al Mawsili; see Ghobrial 2012, 2014). Most striking is the extent to which they have constructed—or recovered—a distinct personality for each of their subjects, in effect making an identity out of non-identities, out of the differential traces of lives spent in movement, change, adaptation, and even disguise.

Varthema's self-representation as a traveller has been admirably studied by Joan-Pau Rubiés, who notes the mingling of curiosity and mendacity in his narrative persona, and stresses the wholly secular orientation of the travel account he offers (Rubiés 2004, pp. 125–163). More recent scholars have noted his contribution to the “imagining” of the East in Europe (Phillips 2014; Juncu 2016). Less directly, Stephanie Leitch also provides a fascinating account of the “traveller's gaze” as caught by Jörg Breu the Elder in the illustrations to the Augsburg edition of 1515, so widely circulated as to constitute a separate archive of images of the east (Leitch 2010, pp. 101–146; see also Voigt and Brancaforte 2014, pp. 365–398). In his dedication, Varthema states that he is unfit to pursue knowledge by intellectual or spiritual means, and must therefore rely upon personal experience and the proof of his own eyes, “remembering well that the testimony of one eye-witness is worth more than ten heard-says” (Varthema 1510, Fol. v^v; translated by Jones in Varthema [1928] 1997, p. 5). The validity that he claims for his travel record, and its consequent importance to the College of the Signoria in Venice by whom he was questioned and rewarded, is that of *autopsy* (see Rubiés 2004, p. 125, citing Sanuto).⁵ Moreover, he presents himself as a traveller driven not by commercial, military or religious interests, but purely by curiosity and the lust of the unknown: “When we came to Alexandria, a city of Egypt, I, longing for novelty (as a thirsty man longs for fresh water) departed from these places as being well known to all, and, entering the Nile, arrived at Cairo” (Varthema 1510, Fol. vi^v; translated by Jones in Varthema [1928] 1997, p. 7). Though he travelled in the guise of a slave soldier, or *mamluk*, under the Arabic name of Iunus [Yunus], and later accompanied a merchant, Cazazionor or Cogiazenor [Khawāja Junair], he was neither soldier nor merchant except by exigency. For the Papal officials who overlooked his actual or simulated conversion to Islam during his travels (like that of his predecessor Nicolò de Conti), he appeared as a useful informant who could help build up the archive being assembled by the Holy See from the thirteenth century onwards. Unabashedly, his book addresses the early print market, offering the vicarious pleasures of *reading* as a commodity: “for that, whereas I procured the pleasure of seeing new manners and customs by very great dangers and

⁵As recorded by Marino Sanuto in vol. VII, p. 662 of his *I Diarii* (58 vols. Venice 1879–1903).

insupportable fatigue, they will enjoy the same comfort and pleasure, without discomfort and danger, by merely reading” (Varthema 1510, Fol. v^v; translated by Jones in Varthema [1928] 1997, p. 6).⁶

Varthema’s narrative is thus one of the first travel texts to position itself—as travel writing is subsequently to do—between the documentary and the hedonistic, between the literature of knowledge and the literature of pleasure. This ambiguous status problematizes his claim to “truth.” On the one hand, he is clearly drawing on some of the familiar devices of late medieval fabliau and early modern picaresque, creating a semi-fictional persona for his narrative. On the other, he seems to feel the need to fill out his travels with factual information gleaned from other sources, possibly from fellow travellers, and to construct a journey that is clearly impossible in respect of all its geographical details. He was dismissed as a lying vagrant by the German humanist Johannes Boemus, who printed his own account of lands and peoples from the same Augsburg press that had published Varthema, with the express purpose of exposing his errors (Boemus 1520, Sig. Aii^r; and discussion in Vogel 1995, pp. 20–24; Rubiés 2004, p. 126).⁷ And even apart from Garcia da Orta’s critique, serious questions persist. Briefly, there is a clear illogicality in his account of Persian travels after having arrived in Diu and Goa, and too little time for his “Indian” travels, sandwiched between his arrival in Cambay in October 1504, and becoming a factor for the Portuguese in Calicut and Cochin in August 1505 (where he remained until his homeward journey, commencing 6 December 1507). Varthema describes himself as having been present during the Siege of Cannanore (Kannur, 27 April–27 August 1507), subsequently taking part in the Portuguese naval assault on the port of Ponani on 24 November 1507, a service for which he was knighted by the Portuguese Viceroy Francisco de Almeida, with Tristan da Cunha as his sponsor. But earlier, within the space of ten months or so (October 1504–August 1505) he claims to have visited Cambay, Chaul, Goa, Bijapur, Sadashivagarh, Cannanore, Vijayanagar, Dharmapatam, Calicut, Quilon, Ceylon, Tenasserim, Bengal, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, the Spice Islands, and Java, from where

⁶Rubiés comments “I do not know of any earlier example of a travel narrative written and printed on the traveller’s own initiative with the purpose of addressing an open market” (Rubiés 2004, p. 131, note 16).

⁷Boemus’ book was translated into English (without the dedication) by William Waterman as *The fardle of facions* (Boemus 1555).

he returned by stages to Calicut. Justified scepticism was expressed by some of Varthema's nineteenth-century editors, while his itinerary has been elaborately explained and defended by Richard Carnac Temple (see Varthema [1928] 1997, pp. xix–xxvi).⁸

In his scrupulous discussion of the problems raised by Varthema's "misstatements," Rubiés concludes that:

Varthema's experience of India in general and of Vijayanagara in particular cannot be separated from his interaction with Muslim merchants first, and with the Portuguese later. While the Italian traveller stands as an independent figure in his *Itinerario*, he was effectively functioning as a spy, with claims to originality (duly exaggerated) in a context in which information was quickly becoming part of an imperial project. (Rubiés 2004, p. 130)

This suggestion adds an interesting twist to Subrahmanyam's notion of the *passeur culturel*. But if Varthema was a spy, he seems to have been one only fitfully and erratically. Near the start of his journey, having reached Damascus from Cairo and spent some months learning Arabic, he joins a company of *mamluk* guards, whom he describes as "Christian renegades," accompanying a large caravan of Muslim pilgrims to the holy cities of Medina and Mecca. There he is recognized by a "Moor" (the term he uses for all Muslims) and is forced to admit his "Roman" origin, asserting that he had been converted in Cairo. He claims that he wishes to use his military expertise against Christians, since he is "the most skilful maker of large mortars in the world" (Varthema 1510, Fol. xx^v–xxi^r; translated by Jones in Varthema [1928] 1997, pp. 22–23).⁹ This pleases his interlocutor so much that he conceals Varthema in his house, to be fondly attended to by his wife and fifteen-year-old niece. Subsequently, Varthema sets out with another caravan bound for India, and arrives at the port of Jeddah, taking refuge in a mosque, where he lies groaning all day, pretending to be dying, and emerging only at night to buy food. Such stories, told by the narrator as an instance of the operation of the human intellect (his own) in conditions of extremity, are characteristic in their blend of false identity claims, unmasking, bodily feigning, and the

⁸For a negative response, see Aubin (1993); for a full discussion of the inconsistencies, see Rubiés (2004, pp. 126–130).

⁹"Io li rispose chio era el miglior maestro de far bombarde grosse che fusse nel mondo" (Varthema 1510, Fol. xx^v–xxi^r).

receiving of sexual favours. There is no way of establishing whether these are fictional episodes utilizing familiar features of the Italian *novelle* of the same period. What is interesting is the flexible and ingenious *persona* Varthema creates for himself, to act out what we might call an *embodied* narrative, in which the traveller is not simply a recorder or observer, but a body that enters into, that feels and suffers, the “travayles” to which he is subject. Even in his dedicatory epistle, Varthema characterises himself as one who has “endured, innumerable times, hunger and thirst, cold and heat, war, imprisonment, and an infinite number of other dangerous inconveniences” (Varthema 1510, Fol. vi^r; translated by Jones in Varthema [1928] 1997, p. 6).¹⁰

The most celebrated of Varthema’s adventures is his imprisonment and pretended madness in Aden. Again, it begins with a form of “unmasking”: called a Christian by one of his companions, he is immediately imprisoned, though his life is spared. Produced before the Sultan, he claims to be a good Muslim, but the words of the *shahada*, “la ‘ilaha ‘illa-llah, muhammadur-rasulu-llah” (There is no God but God, Muhammad is the messenger of God), elude him, and he is imprisoned again. He resorts to feigning madness, in a way that involves extreme bodily indignities and violence. Children throw stones at him, he strips himself naked, he beats a sheep and a donkey to death for not knowing the *shahada*, he receives grievous injuries from one of his guards (whom he later kills), suffers self-inflicted starvation and confinement, and is mocked by being given earth to eat. At the same time, he is favoured by one of the Sultan’s three wives, who offers him a bath, clothes, food, and many endearments. However, Varthema steadfastly refuses her advances, preferring to submit himself to the Sultan’s mercy. Ultimately, he escapes by pretending illness and obtaining leave to visit a holy man who might cure him. This expedient enables him to secure a secret passage to India. One recurrent element in these stories is Varthema’s self-projection as irresistibly attractive to women (even when filthy, half-starved, and pretending to be mad), while on his own part he demonstrates exceptional cunning and presence of mind by resisting sexual advances, telling persuasive lies, and resorting to unscrupulous violence. Not only does Varthema draw out through graphic description the sordid physical details of such episodes, he tends to use the “novelistic” device of

¹⁰“... doue infinite uolte ho tolerata fame & sete: freddo & caldo: guerra: pregiione: & infiniti altri pericolosi incomodi” (Varthema 1510, Fol. vi^r).

direct speech (often a rather garbled and erratically transcribed Arabic) in recording personal interactions.¹¹ In fact, such use abounds throughout the narrative, almost as a marker of Varthema's command of Arabic and his resultant ability to act as a knowledgeable informant about the east.

Mētis, or cunning—the wiliness ascribed to the legendary voyager Odysseus—turns out to be the traveller's chief resource, and this is not surprising given the actual dangers of the route, and the generic compulsions of the material Varthema draws on, rogue narratives and survival stories that parody late medieval heroic quest romances. Varthema refers to "the most wise and eloquent Ulysses" as a type of the long-suffering traveller in his dedicatory epistle, but his adoption of trickery, deceit, and disguise brings him closer to the hero of the rogue novel (Varthema 1510, Fol. vi^r; translated by Jones in Varthema [1928] 1997, p. 6). Yet in fact the formal picaresque, exemplified in Mendoza's *Lazarillo de Tormes*, dates from the mid-sixteenth century, and is therefore much later than Varthema's text. Structurally, the picaresque resembles an inverted romance, besides owing something to the *Odyssey*, and in some ways the linearity of the travel account affiliates it to such generic models. But in terms of content, another resource that appears to be only second in importance for the traveller—and which bears out, to some extent, Rubiés' speculations about espionage—is *information*, practical knowledge put to work in a variety of situations by the classic *bricoleur*. Varthema escapes not just because of his guile, but also because he manipulates and exploits networks of knowledge. Having little by way of mercantile capital—despite his association with merchants—he capitalizes on friendships formed through his travels, on his acquaintance with the Muslim holy sites of Medina and Mecca, and his knowledge of Arabic and Portuguese. He claims to have not only military, but medical skills. Planning an escape to the Portuguese at Calicut, he makes the "hypocritical" assertion to his patron the Moorish merchant that "my father was a physician in my country," and recounts the scatological details of a

¹¹Rubiés comments that "even when his reports are basically accurate, Varthema tends to dramatize situations in a literary fashion, and invents funny dialogues in a rather intuitive Arabic (in a way not dissimilar to the use of direct speech in various *novelle* of the period). In Portuguese India, Varthema is the most obvious precursor to Fernão Mendes Pinto, whose *Peregrinação* (1614) is obviously a literary recreation of a personal experience written as a novel" (Rubiés 2004, p. 128, note 9). Later he observes how many Renaissance novels, like those of Cervantes and Mendes Pinto, were constructed from a series of separate episodes (Rubiés 2004, p. 140, note 37).

treatment for constipation that includes hanging the patient upside down for a quarter of an hour. The resultant purging, followed by exercise and diet, gained, he says, “great credit for my hypocrisy.” Meanwhile, he segues into the rôle of a Muslim *fakir*, taking up residence at the mosque, putting on a sober countenance, and pretending to eat neither fish nor flesh, though at night he resorts to the house of his Italian friend Ioan-Maria, “where every night we ate two brace of fowls” (Varthema 1510, Fol. lxxxiv^v–Fol. lxxxvi^r; translated by Jones in Varthema [1928] 1997, pp. 94–96).¹² Having deceived two Persian merchants to escape from the “Moors” at Cannanore, he passes on information about “all that was doing at Calicut to the Portuguese viceroy” (Varthema 1510, Fol. lxxxix^r; translated by Jones in Varthema [1928] 1997, p. 100).

Bodies—both his own and those of others—figure very largely in Varthema’s discourse. He has no scruples about narrating his own bodily trials (chaining, stoning, nakedness, public exposure, and various scatological indignities); he describes skin colour, physiology, and costume; and he repeatedly pretends to be ill or to treat illness. His narrative differs signally from earlier examples of the travel genre by the central place given to physical experience. What emerges is not just *embodiment* but a new focus on the individual, self-directed traveller’s private ends. Risk and discomfort are endured not for public, but personal reasons. Deserting from the *mamluk* guard in Mecca, escaping from the Sultan and his wife in Aden, deceiving his generous friends, Varthema pursues novelty, geographical variety, and self-interest, indifferent even to sexual temptations. The Persian merchant offers Varthema his beautiful niece, “with whom I pretended to be greatly pleased, although my mind was intent on other things” (Varthema 1510, Fol. xxxix^r; translated by Jones in Varthema [1928] 1997, p. 44).¹³ The point is not whether the account is invented, but how it functions to create the persona of the European traveller, and his role in a newly “connected” world. For despite the strangeness of much of the information Varthema provides, and his own emphasis on novelty, the focal presence of the European narrator provides an identifiable point of entry for the curious reader, a means of naturalizing strange customs and habits. This is all the more

¹²“Come io me finì Moro Sancto” (Varthema 1510, Fol. lxxxvi^r), “Come me feci Medico in Calicut” (Varthema 1510, Fol. lxxxiv^v).

¹³“... della quale finì de esserne molto contento, anchora che l’animo mio fusse ad altre cose intento” (Varthema 1510, Fol. lxxxix^r).

important because in some sense what the traveller sees is what he has already “seen” in imagination.

Varthema’s descriptions became the basis for European visualizations of the pagan gods, spawning an iconography in advance of its object. The best-known instance is his description of the “Deumo” at Calicut, with its three crowns “like that of the papal kingdom,” four horns and four teeth, with hands like a flesh-hook, and feet like those of a cock, flanked by a “Sathanas” in the process of seizing and devouring souls, which inspired a famous woodcut by the Augsburg illustrator Jörg Breu. This account was summarized by Martin Fernandez de Figuerola in 1512, and is drawn upon in the cosmographies of Sebastian Münster and André Thévet, as well as the travel accounts of Englishmen like Ralph Fitch, William Finch, and Thomas Herbert, and the Dutchman Jan van Linschoten. The art historian Partha Mitter comments:

As late as 1667, when the monster tradition is well on the way out, we find Varthema’s description of the Deumo of Calicut quoted *in extenso* by the influential comparative philologist, Athanasius Kircher, in his *China Illustrata*. (Mitter 1977, p. 27)

The observant traveller, as Stephanie Leitch has argued, is consciously the seeing eye, or “I,” through whom the scene is refracted (see Varthema 1510, Fol. xlix^v–Fol. l^r, translated by Jones in Varthema [1928] 1997, pp. 55–56; and Leitch 2010, pp. 101–146). Yet the pagan god that Varthema “sees” is, unlike anything in the Hindu pantheon, always-already refracted through familiar European images of the devil. Mitter cites the great fresco by Francesco Traini in the Campo Santo in Pisa (1350), but surely a much closer visual “source” for the Bolognese traveller, almost impossible to dismiss from memory, would be the hugely dramatic, and now notorious, fresco of Satan devouring souls in hell painted by Giovanni da Modena for the Basilica of San Petronio in Bologna in 1410. If Ludovico de Varthema was indeed a citizen of Bologna, it would be this visual representation of the Devil that he would be carrying in his head from childhood. Interestingly, Mitter notes that “the papal triple crown worn by the Sathanas of Calicut reminds one immediately of the tradition of popes in hell, and the most notable one in Dante” (Mitter 1977, p. 18, referring to Dante’s *Inferno*, Canto XIX). Giovanni da Modena’s fresco actually *represents* a scene from the *Inferno* (Canto XXVIII). The central figure lacks crowns or

horns, though it does have webbed feet, a notable departure from the tradition of cloven hooves, and it is flanked by many devils, like the idol of Calicut in Varthema's account.

After 1515, Jörg Breu's illustrations would form part of the image-repertoire upon which this visual construction is built. Whether Breu could have seen Giovanni da Modena's fresco is uncertain, though the posture of his devil is rather similar. However, he seems more intent on reproducing as many as possible of the details mentioned in Varthema's account, and concentrating them in a single figure, where Varthema actually speaks of a central statue flanked by other "pictures." Leitch comments on the "visual perspective" provided by Varthema's text to the Augsburg illustrator:

In contrast to the spectral presence of armchair travellers, Varthema assumed a distinctly new self-conscious authorial position in the text, as well as in the images. Not only did he foreground himself as a narrator, Varthema also mutated into a spy or a ventriloquist as the occasion demanded. (Leitch 2010, p. 104)

For Leitch, therefore, Varthema's authorial persona, his eye/I, is the clue to the new language of "viewing" in Breu's illustrations, giving the traveller "a unique purchase behind the lens" (Leitch 2010, p. 104). Breu shows Varthema within the text as well as on the title-page, making the text a description, not just of strange lands and peoples, but of *one man's journey*. In Leitch's reading, Breu's illustrations (several of them recycling earlier material and drawing on sources other than Varthema) constitute a real advance in the way in which ethnographic information is disseminated in sixteenth-century Europe. We may recall, too, the figure of Varthema in the margin of Sebastian Münster's world map of 1532, as well as Münster's use of an image of the idol of Calicut in his *Cosmographiae Universalis* (1544). But the detail and vividness of Varthema's accounts have prompted other kinds of image association as well, notably with the watercolour illustrations in the splendid mid-sixteenth-century Portuguese manuscript (MS 1889) preserved in the Dominican Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome.

What binds these texts and images together is Varthema's invention of a new kind of travelling persona. He projects himself as a narrator directly addressing his readers, describes his bodily travails in a bid to

establish somatic identification, and creates the fiction of a person who, through his tricks and disguises, lends credence to the changing fortunes of the traveller. This is a phenomenological advance on his predecessors, and even on contemporaries whose veracity is better attested, such as Duarte Barbosa, the Portuguese factor at Cannanore and Cochin at almost exactly the same time. That the personality itself is made up of shifts and contrivances, of a flexible and temporizing approach to truth, leaves a distinct stamp on the travel account as a mode of self-representation. If that mode is derived, as we have argued, from fictional sources, we can surely also claim that it in turn influences fiction—Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594), for example. The travel narrative, intersecting with geography, history, fiction, and autobiography, offers new kinds of knowledge, but it also tells a personal story that rubs up against world-historical events. At the end, Varthema claims to have been sponsored for a knighthood by the great navigator Tristan da Cunha himself, but effectively he is lost from history in the very act of recording it; he forms no part of the official record of conquest and exploration that will be told around his supposed patron.

When the resonances of Varthema's journey reached Renaissance England, through Eden's translation but perhaps even earlier, the consequences were multiple. Not only might Varthema have inspired the merchants of what was to become the East India Company to send their emissaries to India and points east, but he may have also have served as a model for more unofficial, idiosyncratic ventures. Varthema illustrates a new kind of travelling identity, one that does not lack later exemplars in England. While stories of trade and colonial expansion dominate the kind of English maritime epic attempted in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, minor figures, like Varthema himself, have a more popular appeal. These are travelling *personae*, best instanced by such renegades and eccentrics, a hundred years apart, as the Italian Ludovico de Varthema and the Englishman Thomas Coryate, who walked from England to India to present himself to the Mughal emperor at Agra. Few official emissaries to India, propelled by mercantile and religious motives, come close to matching Varthema's own blend of curiosity and recklessness. Perhaps it is Thomas Coryate, "traveller for the English wits," sending greetings to his Odcombian friends from the Mughal court in 1616, and presenting himself to the Emperor Jahangir as a

beggar, a *fakir-dervish*, who is a much reduced, almost bathetic version of Ludovico de Varthema. Uniquely in his time, he too seeks as it were to *prove* travel in and through the body, and to create a travelling persona, “not fit for any other pursuit” (Coryate 1616; see Harris 2015, pp. 187–211).

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CHAPTER 3

“A Pattern to All Princes”: Locating the Queen of Sheba

Matthew Dimmock

In 1576, when revising his earlier 1573 edition of Lodovico Guicciardini's *Garden of Pleasure*, the skilled and prolific translator James Sanford made a few significant changes. He retitled the book *Hours of Recreation* and he transferred his dedication from Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, to the rising star in Elizabeth I's court, Sir Christopher Hatton (Guicciardini 1576).¹ In the process he also redrafted the dedicatory epistle, which celebrated England and its queen in ways that were initially entirely conventional. Following an identification of his country with the heavenly realm, he turned to his monarch: “no doubt we ought to think that we have a Prince skilful, not only in Plato's Philosophy & all good learning,” he wrote, “but also in the heavenly Philosophy, for the setting forth whereof the Almighty doth every way bless her” (Guicciardini 1576, sig. A3^v). He then moved to a specific example, which is a useful starting point for this chapter: “The Queen of *Saba* [or

¹The previous edition, titled *The Garden of Pleasure Contayninge Most Pleasant Tales, Worthy Deeds and Witty Sayings of Noble Princes* was produced by the same printer in 1573.

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Sheba] wente very farre to see *Salomon* [or Solomon] and heare his wisdom, and very many in these dayes haue come out of farre countreys to see the Queene of England endewed with *Salomons* wisdom." For no one is ignorant "that hir highness withoute interpretour vnderstandeth the Embassadors of diuers countreys, and so wisely aunswereth them in theyr owne language" (Guicciardini 1576, sig. A3^v–A4^r).

Let antiquity keep its Muses and its Sibyls, let the Pythagoreans keep their women Philosophers, and Greece its women Poets, he exhorts, since none can compare to the "learned and eloquent" Queen of England and her ladies "of the same sort" (Guicciardini 1576, Sig. A4^r). This litany of legendarily learned women, precursors to the present Queen, is triggered by a reference to the Biblical narrative of the Queen of Sheba. Yet Sanford refrains from directly associating Elizabeth with Sheba, as we might expect. Instead he cannily chooses to align her with King Solomon, ruler of Jerusalem and epitome of wisdom, and feminises all those foreign potentates and their ambassadors who come to England. They become so many Shebas, allured by Elizabeth's fame to hear her wisdom and learning, a gender realignment of sorts that does not compromise but instead enhances the Queen's exceptionality. It also squarely places Elizabeth in the seat of godly power occupied by Solomon in the original narrative: she does not perform obeisance to others, nor does she seek them out—she is sought.

If there is something fantastical about this vision of England at the centre of the world and its queen as a Solomonic centripetal force drawing that world inwards to herself, that is because it was largely fantasy, one attempt amongst many made by English writers in the 1570s to disguise or to fictionally redress a sense of their own peripherality. Such fantasies often involved metamorphosing their Queen into classical and religious roles, sometimes male (suggesting the androgyny of regal power) and sometimes female (see King 1980; Marcus 1986). Other, non-English and sometimes non-Christian writers attempted to do something similar with Elizabeth. Central to this process—and of particular relevance to the key concerns of this volume—is the way in which Sanford and others looked east for valid resonating agents, figures whose fame and virtues crossed geographical, religious and cultural boundaries. Sanford's repeated enlisting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba in his dedicatory epistle demonstrates how both had become such agents, the former an icon of wisdom, the latter an exemplary and widely recognised emblem of non-Christian strangeness (or foreignness).

My contention is that the incorporation of Sheba distorts both queens in different ways.

The narrative of the Queen of Sheba occurs twice in the Old Testament—in the first Book of Kings, chapter 10, and in Chronicles, book 2, chapter 9, and is also referred to briefly by Jesus in the gospels of Matthew (12:42) and Luke (11:31) in the New Testament. The first version, as it appears in the late sixteenth century English Geneva Bible, records that “the Queene of Sheba hearing ye fame of Salomon” travelled to his court in Jerusalem “with a verie great traine, *and* camels that bare sweete odours, and golde exceeding much, and precious stones.” More than impressed, Sheba was “greatly astonied” and she declared that Solomon “hast more wisdom & prosperitie, then I haue heard by report.” Indeed, “Happy are the men, happie are these thy seruants, which stande euer before thee, and heare thy wisdom.” She gave Solomon “sixe score talents of golde, and of sweete odours exceeding much, and precious stones” and in return was given “whatsoever she would aske.”² It seems clear why Sanford would want to associate his queen with Solomon in this narrative—the writer of a 1601 text entitled *Caesars Dialogue* pointed out that exactly the same praise Sheba offers to Solomon (“Happy are the men, happy are these they servant...”) had been justly given by many to Queen Elizabeth (Nisbet 1601, p. 106). Each of the qualities that Sanford sought to extol in his dedication—fame (especially concerning faith), pre-eminent wisdom, godliness, generosity, good governance—are present in King Solomon in this narrative, as the unnamed Queen of Sheba, who is clearly not Christian, witnesses. And her witnessing and approval are crucial elements of the story. Indeed, as James Pritchard has noted, “the theme of a pagan admiring or praising the achievements of Israel and blessing its god ... is one frequently used for polemical purposes in the Bible.” Examples include Melchizedek, the Pharaoh, Rahab the Harlot, and Naaman the Syrian (Pritchard 1974, p. 12).

When we consider that this narrative became, in Christian traditions, emblematic of the conversion of non-believers to the true faith, Sanford’s use of it acquires a further evangelical dimension. This parallel celebrates Elizabeth but also the universality of Anglicanism. Other traditions emerged too, that are less likely to have been signalled by

²All quotations from the Bible come from the English Geneva edition, here from pp. 126–127. This section is also quoted in full in Jones (2003).

Sanford: for instance, the implication that there was an erotic dimension to the encounter that resulted in a son (the Ethiopian constitution of 1955 identifies a founder in Menelik I, son of the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon). It was also reported and widely depicted that Sheba discovered the wood from which the True Cross would later be made; and some medieval writers sought to depict her as a dangerous—even demonic—challenge to gender norms (Lassner 1993, p. 1; see also Pritchard 1974, pp. 115–145). It is important to note that alongside this Christian mythology rich traditions concerning Sheba also developed in Judaic and Islamic theological contexts, with the Christian Solomon and Sheba reimagined in a much-elaborated encounter between Shelomo ben David ha-Melekh and Sheba in Jewish tradition, and between Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-Nabī and the mysterious Bilqīs in the Qurʾan and Islamic tradition (an issue to which I shall return, but see Lassner 1993, pp. 133–134).

One final challenge when approaching this episode is the issue of geography. Without access to any specific point of reference, throughout the medieval and early modern periods writers disputed where this queen had come from. In his *Antiquities* the influential Jewish historian Josephus identifies Sheba with a queen of Egypt and Ethiopia named Nikaule, and the New Testament description of her as “Queen of the South” confirmed an African origin to many (Pritchard 1974, p. 117; also Jones 2003, paragraph 10).³ Others—perhaps most prominently Walter Raleigh—insisted that she was Arabian, an assertion supported by some early sources and by the reference in the First Book of Kings to her gifts of gold and “of sweet odours exceeding much”—which was presumed to refer to perfumes and incense, both of which were closely associated with Arabia in this period (quoted in Summit 2003). So although widely depicted in Renaissance art—and, as Anne Rosalind Jones has noted, typologically associated with the Magi bringing gifts of frankincense and myrrh to the infant Christ—different artists depict Sheba’s origins differently, although almost all portray her as conspicuously white and European (Jones 2003, paragraph 8). Jennifer Summit, in discussion of the same issue in relation to the appearance of Sheba in later seventeenth century English needlework, has perceptively suggested that this kind of work “transfers Sheba’s exoticism – and perhaps even

³This connection is made explicit in the marginal annotations of the English Geneva Bible concerning Solomon.

her eroticism, her status as desiring subject and desired object – from her body to her goods" (Summit 2003, paragraph 7).

Goods are indeed prominent: a number of paintings of the encounter between Solomon and Sheba (including Tintoretto's celebrated painting of 1545) feature an elaborately dressed entourage carrying highly wrought gifts. A roughly contemporary example by Bonifazio Veronese (born as Bonifazio De'Pitati) from I Friari in Venice depicts turbaned attendants, decorated vases and Islamic silverware, against a conspicuously Venetian backdrop. In this context Sheba offered a way of conceptualising the relationship between Christians and non-Christians, particularly those from the Old Worlds of the south and east, which reassuringly confirmed Christian universalism and superiority in the figure of Solomon. As motifs of tribute as well as geographical markers, the goods play a central role and other examples of the same encounter feature camels and African entourages. Early modern English exegetical writers and translators argued at great length over which was the likely point of origin for Sheba, but the key point for my argument is that for an educated reader, much of North Africa and Arabia were lands within the Ottoman empire, and thus associated with Islam.

What results is a curious hybrid effect, with the figure of the Queen of Sheba imagined as belonging to what was loosely imagined as the "East" (and exactly what that encompassed might vary from writer to writer) but also as somehow beyond or outside of it—she could be an icon of non-specific "strangeness," described as coming "from the utmost parts of the earth" in Luke 11.31. So Philip II, King of Spain, could present himself as descending from King Solomon in the context of Hapsburg/Ottoman rivalry because the gifts presented by the Queen of Sheba implied the subjection of Islam to Christianity, or the "East" to the "West."⁴ In terms of origins, this figure was probably the product of an oral tradition before being recorded in scripture and then developed independently in different religious traditions (Pritchard 1974, p. 7). Scholars have argued for years over her historicity, over whether she existed or was instead the invention of a creative celebrant of Solomon and his court, but more important for the purposes of this chapter is the way in which the figure of Sheba *resonated* between traditions and between cultures in the early modern period, gaining new

⁴It was in this context that the Escorial palace was modelled on Solomon's temple—see Blanco (2005, pp. 169–180).

purpose and validity in early modern England as the Anglo-Ottoman, Anglo-Moroccan and even Anglo-Persian relationships flourished in a period from the late 1570s to the early seventeenth century.

In my opening example from James Sanford's translation of Guicciardini Elizabeth I was, in a gender reversal, identified with King Solomon receiving multiple Shebas from foreign courts. Sanford did this to extol the Queen's fame, and particularly her wisdom and learning, but another example shows a slightly different dimension to this identification. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Elizabeth was not the first Tudor to be identified with Solomon. In a celebrated image from the late 1530s by Hans Holbein—perhaps the first image Holbein produced in England—there is another courtly scene in which Sheba, surrounded by her entourage and gifts, appraises Solomon with her back to the viewer.⁵ The image is adorned with multiple scriptural quotations, including a paraphrase of 1 Kings 10:9: “Blessed be the Lord thy God, which delighted in thee, to set thee upon the throne of Israel” and Sheba's words from 2 Chronicles 9:6: “You have surpassed with your own virtues the reports that I have heard”—with its emphasis once more on fame. As Paul F. Watson has noted, “the key to Holbein's drawing is Solomon, who is neither the gentle patriarch of medieval tradition, nor the pretty youth of the Italian Renaissance. Holbein's Solomon is squat, stocky, sprawling, and scowling. He is, in fact, a thinly disguised portrait of Henry VIII of England” (in Pritchard 1974, p. 131). Here another traditional interpretation of Sheba is pressed to the fore in a response to the immediate political and religious landscape: Sheba as an emblem of the church, submitting to Henry rather than the Pope in the wake of his break with Rome. Henry's opinion of this image is not recorded, although Holbein's subsequent employment in the English court suggests it was successful (Foister 2006, p. 136).

Manipulating the parallels between Solomon and Sheba was not always so easy to stage manage, especially not in dramatic terms. James I was inordinately fond of identifying himself with King Solomon, a parallel pursued at great length in the oration given at his funeral by the Bishop of Lincoln, John Williams (1625). A now infamous incident took place in the midst of a masque-like entertainment organised by the king's

⁵The architectural frame of this image is strikingly similar to the image of “The Royal Throne of Solomon” that appears in the English Geneva Bible, *The Bible That Is, the Holy Scriptures*, p. 127.

principal secretary, Robert Cecil (the Earl of Salisbury), to celebrate the visit of James' brother-in-law King Christian IV of Denmark in 1606, soon after he came to the English throne. The two monarchs were to be celebrated as two Solomons—wise, judicious, godly—with the world submitting to their royal authorities. It did not quite work out that way. The courtier and diarist Sir John Harington recorded that "the lady who did play the Queen's part, did carry most precious gifts to both their Majesties," but:

...forgetting the steps arising to the canopy, overset her caskets into his Danish Majesties lap, and fell at his feet, though I rather think it was in his face. Much was the hurry and confusion; cloths and napkins were at hand to make all clean. His majesty then got up, and would dance with the Queen of Sheba; but he fell down and humbled himself before her, and was carried to an inner chamber and laid on a bed of state; which was not a little defiled with the presents of the Queen bestowed on his garments; such as wine, cream, jelly, beverage, cakes, spices, and other good matters. (Harington quoted in Steele 1968, p. 151)

The disarray only intensified with the drunken and chaotic entrance of Hope, Faith and Charity that followed. This was a courtly farce and the associated debauchery was evidently disapproved of (but also enjoyed) by Harington. Not only does this episode once again demonstrate the enduring resonance of the meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba in courtly contexts, a way of thinking about how monarchs liked to see themselves, but it should also serve as a reminder that the courtly ideals embedded in this often replayed scenario, freighted with symbolism, were not always lived up to in the debased realities of the present. The proponents often fell well short of the ideal, as Harington himself notes in this account. So an attempt to celebrate two monarchs—James I and Christian IV—as beacons of wisdom and godly authority in the world inadvertently ends up demonstrating almost the exact opposite.

Although we have already seen that, like her father Henry VIII, and her successor James I, Elizabeth I might be represented as another King Solomon in reference to this Old Testament exchange, as her reign progressed she became more regularly identified with the Queen of Sheba. Over this long period on the throne Elizabeth acquired many mythic, poetic or religious surrogates as her subjects enlisted ideal female models of wisdom, beauty and authority to the cause: Astraea, Cynthia,

Deborah, Diana, Lady Beauty, the Goddess of Spring and Zabeta are just the more prominent names.⁶ As an earthly “Eastern” queen Sheba stands out in this company, and the only similar example is probably Dido, the north African queen of Carthage, with whom Elizabeth was occasionally associated (Sell 2006, p. 120). Sheba, in contrast, became a frequent point of reference from the 1580s onward.

The playwright and satirist Ulpian Fulwell, writing as part of a series of dialogues concerning flattery, places the legitimate praise of his queen in the mouth of a stranger to the realm. This stranger reports that he is determined to make his journey to England, “as well for the singular good report that I hear of the most renowned Queen of that realm, compared to the godly and virtuous Queen of Saba (Elizabeth by name) as also for the good hope of welcome unto that famous nation” (Fulwell 1579, Sig. C1^v). In a similar vein the prolific Thomas Lodge writes of “wise Saba now governing,” whilst in the third volume of his influential chronicles Raphael Holinshed refers to 1558 as “the first year of the now reigning Elizabeth the Saba of England,” and Richard Bancroft (who would later become Archbishop of Canterbury) asks that God “knit the hearts of all true English men unto their Queen of Saba, their Hester, and their most royal Elizabeth.” Around the same time Bancroft was prosecuting libelers who had compared Elizabeth to “that woman Jezebel” of Revelation 2:20, indicating that other, “Eastern” princesses might be used as counter-models for Elizabeth (Lodge 1584, Sig. F2^v; Holinshed 1586, p. 1286; Bancroft 1593, p. 31; Cranfield 2004/2008; see also Hackett 1995, p. 132).

There are many other examples of the parallel with Sheba. John Philips, in “A friendly farewell given to honorably and vertuous ladies” in his *Commemoration of Lady Margrit Duglasis* (1578), celebrates Elizabeth by telling his fellow Britons that she promises “for wisdom a Saba your bliss to revive” (quoted in Jones 2003, note 23). Most famously, the final scenes of Shakespeare and Fletcher’s *Henry VIII* or *All Is True* (normally dated to around 1612) feature the birth and christening of the future Queen Elizabeth. In the final scene of that play, thought to be one of Fletcher’s contributions, Thomas Cranmer enters and demands to speak to the assembled court:

⁶Many of these models are discussed at further length in the various essays that comprise Archer et al. (2007).

This royal infant – heaven still move about her! –
 Though in her cradle, yet now promises
 Upon this land a thousand thousand blessings,
 Which time shall bring to ripeness. She shall be –
 But few now living can behold that goodness –
 A pattern to all princes living with her,
 And all that shall succeed. Saba was never
 More covetous of wisdom and fair virtue
 Then this pure soul shall be. All princely graces
 That mould up such a mighty piece as this is,
 With all the virtues that attend the good,
 Shall still be doubled on her. (5.5.14–28)

When considered cumulatively, these examples suggest something curiously transformative is going on. There remain the traditional associations that come with the Queen of Sheba—she is after all an implicitly legitimate model for an unmarried female monarch. Wisdom—a crucial element of public princely authority—is repeatedly highlighted, and this is an important element of the original Old Testament tale. As George Pettie in *A Petite Pallace* of 1576 reminds his readers, “Solomon was most wise and learned, yet Saba was able to dispute with him” (Pettie 1576, p. 221).

Virtue, contrary to some medieval interpretations, is another emphasis. A new stress on the sacred element of Sheba, an aspect that is not present in the original narrative, suggests that the primary point of reference is not the Old Testament account in the First book of Kings or in Chronicles, but the New Testament reference made by Jesus to the Pharisees and recorded in Luke. This is brief, but offers a different dimension to Sheba: “The Queene of the South shall rise in iudgment, with the men of this generation, and shall condemne them: for she came from the vtmost partes of the earth to heare the wisdom of Solomon, and beholde, a greater then Solomon *is* here” (11:31). This is the passage that many of these later examples refer to. For instance when Richard Robinson talks of “our most sacred Saba ... honouring and advancing to our great comfort and consolation the wisdom of Christ himself better than Solomon,” he makes Sheba the pre-eminent figure in the exchange with Solomon (in his preface to Strigel 1591, Sig. A3^r). She thus becomes a perfectly appropriate parallel with a Queen who had ensured the maintenance of the Protestant faith in England, a reforming Sheba advancing the “wisdom of Christ himself.”

This repositioning and revision see English writers move away from Solomon as the model ruler and instead force the Queen of Sheba to resonate afresh in order to celebrate a Protestant English Queen in the late sixteenth century. This strategy reaches its apogee in a panegyric on Elizabeth preached at St. Paul's Cathedral in November 1599, and printed soon after, by Thomas Holland. Holland was a renowned linguist and a Professor of Theology, and he uses his learning to press this Protestant reconfiguring of Sheba, implying a series of parallels with Elizabeth from the off. He describes her as a "great person ... a woman" who was "by vocation, a Queen; in wealth abundant; in knowledge a rare Phoenix; in observation, discreet; in behaviour, honorable and wise; in train, magnificall; in rewarding Saloman, heroically; in religion, studious, zealous and fervent" (Holland 1600, Sig. G1^v). He talks of "the beauty of her face, and comelines of her body ... her magnificent train ... her princely vertues and rare knowledge [for which] she obtained a glorious report in earth, and by the integrity of her faith a crown of glory in heaven" (Holland 1600, Sig. G1^v–G2^r). He goes even further: "In that she was a Queen, she was to be honoured; in that she was a learned Queen, she was to be admired"; in that "she regards to keep the decorum of her person, she was to be commended; in that she takes pains to travel so long, and so laborious a journey, she is by all lovers of virtue remembered." Furthermore, "in that she is able to dispute in deep questions of Divinity with king Salomon, she is to be registered in the book of the just"; and "in that she rewardeth king Salomon so heroically with fame's trumpet, she is to be celebrated." To conclude: "in that she was not only learned, but religiously learned, she was to be revered; lastly in that she receiveth such a testimony of our Saviour in the new testament, she was thereby in the book of life canonized" (Holland 1600, Sig. G2^r). So the Arabian Queen of Sheba that emerged in this late Elizabethan context had been remade by English writers and theologians to resonate in very specific ways: She was a model for legitimating Queen Elizabeth's authority, her gender, her wisdom and her Christ-authorised godliness (and thus the implied truth of English Protestantism, perhaps in opposition to Philip II's pretensions to be a new Solomon), and for celebrating her international fame.

There was however another element to this Elizabeth/Sheba identification: the way in which this use of Sheba in English panegyrics establishes a useful framework for thinking about and celebrating Elizabeth's fame in increasingly global contexts. This is either implied or is explicit

in most of the later examples I have already mentioned—the two shared “greatness,” “fame” and “renown” that extended beyond the bounds of their own realms and their own religions. But again, English writers needed to be inventive. One celebrated example comes immediately to mind. In 1600/1601 the Moroccan embassy of King Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur was in London. Writing towards the end of this period to Dudley Carleton from Englefield, John Chamberlain commented that:

...the Barbarians take theyre leave sometime this weeke to go homeward, for our marchants nor marriners will not carry them into Turkie, because they thinck yt a matter odious and scandalous to the world to be too frendly or familiar wth infidells: but yet yt is no small honor<to us> that nations so far remote and every way different should meet here to admire the glory and magnificence of our Quene of Saba. (National Archives SP 12/275/94)

The tone of this reference is clearly familiar from my earlier examples, and yet there are some curious elements to Chamberlain’s account. Elizabeth is once again being positioned as the Queen of Sheba, with the emphasis on her international renown, itself triggered by the simultaneous residence of a Moroccan and a Russian embassy in London at this point (see Musvik 2002, pp. 225–240). In James Sanford’s attempt to manipulate the original Old Testament scenario with which I began, where he celebrated how “very many in these days have come out of far countries to see the Queen of England endowed with Salomon’s wisdom,” he associated Elizabeth with Solomon as the obvious model of international fame, to whom, as he noted, Sheba came having heard of his famous wisdom (Guicciardini 1576, Sig. A3^v–A4^r). In this letter, written a quarter of a century later, Chamberlain presents the opposite, continuing the adaptation of the scenario along New Testament lines developed by Thomas Holland and others. Solomon no longer features at all, and in his absence, Sheba takes on his attributes: whereas the whole point of the original tale was that she travelled to Solomon’s court, here it is others that travel to her, to admire her glory and magnificence (a reference that should remind us of the glorious “magnifical” train with which Sheba travelled in Holland’s sermon). In England in 1601, Sheba had come to embody every element of the original narrative.

Another revealing element of Chamberlain's description is the way in which it uses Sheba to counteract, or at least mollify, the antagonistic position of some of his countrymen, those merchants and mariners who refuse to carry this embassy out of England. The infidelity of these "Moors"—their "Mahometan" nature—is central to this opposition, but to see them solely in this way, Chamberlain seems to argue, is to miss the point (and there is no doubt a class inflection here). It is to the honour of the country that "nations so far remote and every way different" travel to celebrate Elizabeth, whose non-Christian alliances seem to require her identification with a mutually recognisable "Eastern" figure, and thus subtly make her "Eastern" in the process. The sentiments here are in keeping with the rhetorical question that Lancaster asks of Edward II in Marlowe's play of the same name to demonstrate how his state is failing: "What foreign prince sends thee ambassadors?" (2.2.169). The converse is true, as Chamberlain's remarks suggest: the more ambassadors a nation receives, and the further they have travelled, the more flourishing that nation. So the reception of infidels, far from being odious and scandalous, is a sign of England's increasing stature on a global stage.

In a fashion characteristic of the strategy pursued by the English court, Chamberlain's remarks neatly sidestep the real substance of the complaints made by the English merchants and mariners, which are surely a reflection of the controversy that surrounded the Anglo-Ottoman and Anglo-Moroccan alliances.⁷ In this sense, the Sheba identification was a kind of glittering distraction. A further, tantalising example comes from within the Anglo-Ottoman relationship and suggests again the usefulness of Sheba as an enabler of cross-cultural engagement. In his monumental 1864 edition of the *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the Archives of Venice*, Rawdon Brown recorded a report written from the Venetian Bailo or ambassador at Constantinople immediately following the first English mission to the Ottoman court, led by the merchant William Harborne, which arrived in 1578. The unnamed ambassador reports that Sultan Murad III "is so pleased with Elizabeth's embassy to him ... that he compares her to the Queen of Sheba, and himself to Solomon" (Brown 1864, p. xxxix). Unfortunately, nothing else of this letter is

⁷No full study has yet been made of popular and official knowledge of, opposition to, or support for these alliances. The details of each are outlined in MacLean and Matar (2011, pp. 42–61).

reproduced in this volume, nor in any that follow, but these scant remains raise some intriguing possibilities. Although there is no available source beyond Brown's few sentences, there is no reason to doubt the veracity of the comments he reproduces. It was certainly not unusual for Ottoman rulers to identify themselves with Solomon—Murad III's grandfather Suleiman "the Magnificent" did so routinely and celebrated his connection to Solomon in inscriptions on numerous buildings and public fountains, as Gülru Necipoğlu-Kafadar has extensively detailed (Necipoğlu-Kafadar 1985, pp. 103–104).

From the brief context given we can extrapolate that Murad remarked on the Solomon/Sheba parallel in a public context or audience which involved the Venetian ambassador, or was reported to him. What is intriguing is whether the parallel would have been read the same way by the Christians and the Muslims present. It is not hard to imagine that the English emissary and later ambassador William Harborne would have been delighted, as the identification of his queen as the Queen of Sheba indicated that his determined efforts to press her fame in the Ottoman capital had succeeded. But it also suggested he had achieved the exclusive favour and privileged access he sought for the English in Constantinople, forged out of a common enemy in the Roman Catholic Hapsburgs and a closely related common abhorrence of idols and idolatry, an identification between Protestantism and Islam that both sides worked to sustain in subsequent years (see Skilliter 1977, pp. 100–101; Horniker 1942). Although the Solomon/Sheba parallel implies that the Ottoman court was the centre of wisdom and godly power to which Elizabeth had been drawn, and that the English had accepted a tributary role in the formal Capitulations established in 1580 (which is in any case what had happened, as the official documentation reveals), the Sheba-centred rewritings that took place from the 1570s onwards in England meant that the English could turn such resonances to their advantage (Skilliter 1977, pp. 86–104).

For Murad and the Ottoman court there may have been slightly different connotations. In the Qur'an Sheba is identified as a sun-worshiper summoned to Solomon, and her conversion is a key element of the episode (in Sūrah 27:15–44; for detailed commentary see Lassner 1993, pp. 36–38). In Elizabeth the Ottomans encountered a Queen of the North who might be made equivalent to Sheba, the "Queen of the South," and some of the extensive epithets Elizabeth is given in the letters she received from the Ottomans further indicate these

connections. In one striking example Murad III likened the “most reverend Elizabeth” to a “fountayne of moste nobleness and virtue” which “all nations dooe seek” in order to “submite them selves” (BL Add MS 27909 A–H, 18^r; see also Skilliter 1977, pp. 123–125). The remark Brown reproduces offers a different perspective on the Anglo-Ottoman relationship of the late sixteenth century: the suggestion that rather than Elizabeth working “the Turkes conuersion” the opposite might have been the case, if only symbolically (Nelson 1591, Sig. B3^r). Such exchanges are a reminder that defining Sheba was not solely a prerogative of the English, despite assumptions of the universality of their faith.

In her landmark study *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (1995), Helen Hackett scrutinised the complex web of myths that developed around the English queen. She collated numerous religious and classical figures that were identified with Elizabeth, including the redirection of Marian devotion as well as Esther, Flora, Judith, Mercilla, Oriana and others. In the last fifteen years of her reign, Hackett argues, the most common image of Elizabeth was as the moon goddess Cynthia, Diana or Phoebe (Hackett 1995, pp. 163–197). Alongside such icons needs to be placed the Queen of Sheba, whose absence from Hackett’s influential analysis indicates a wider lacuna in critical work, a lack of engagement with a late sixteenth-century English culture that was deliberately looking to North Africa and the Ottoman Empire and fashioning an image of their queen that might resonate accordingly. The evolving role played by Sheba in English projections of Elizabeth’s engagement with the wider world offers an insight into the new political world that emerged from Anglo-Spanish conflict and the new alliances of the 1580s. Long-established identifications remained—Cynthia, Gloriana—but new figures like Sheba were needed if England and its queen were to resonate anew.

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CHAPTER 4

“Endued with a Natural Disposition to Resonance and Sympathy”: “Harmonious” Jones’s Intimate Reading and Cultural Translation of India

Michael J. Franklin

This chapter will offer an original approach to one of the founding figures of orientalism, William Jones, by exploring his natural disposition towards resonance and sympathy—a characteristic which in his own time led John Courtenay to dub him “Harmonious” and prompted Dr. Johnson to describe him as “the most enlightened of the sons of men.”¹ Jones believed in political harmony and reconciliation, the poetry of politics, and the politics of poetry. The dictates of patronage, however, had ensured a discordant mismatch between Jones’s political principles and

¹“Harmonious Jones! who in his splendid strains / Sings Camdeo’s sports, on Agra’s flowery plains: / In Hindu fictions while we fondly trace / Love and the Muses, deck’d with Attick grace” (Courtenay 1786, p. 23). Major John Cartwright described his friend as “God-like Jones, whom Johnson esteemed ‘the most enlightened of the sons of men’” (Cartwright 1807, p. 564).

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his professional prospects. Lord Sandwich, first lord of the Admiralty, and substantial patron of music, was a key player in East India Company politics whose patronage might prove decisive if Jones was ever to obtain the Calcutta judgeship. But Jones was constantly irritating Sandwich by his strenuous attempts to prove the illegality of Admiralty press-warrants. To his former pupil Viscount Althorp, the great-great-great-great uncle of Princess Diana, Jones wrote: “Lord Sandwich appears to me a wonderfully pleasant man in society; he is quite what the French call *aimable*, and possesses in a high degree the art of putting all around him at their ease. I never saw so much of him before: I like his conversation and his musick, but I fear that his politicks and ours would not make good harmony” (Letter of 13 January 1788, *The Letters of Sir William Jones*, ed. Garland Cannon, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 1: 338).

In the early autumn of 1780 Jones was despairing of British politicians and their failure to restore “the broken harmony of our limited republic, and to promote a conciliatory act for the cessation of hostilities against the Americans” ([Jones] 1780, pp. 14–15) on terms of mutual benefit. The second administration of the Marquess of Rockingham, however, offered some encouragement in their convictions that the American war was unwinnable and that monarchical power was increasing (Elofson 1996, pp. 120–122).² In response Jones penned his tyrannicidal “Ode in Imitation of Callistratus” (1782) to celebrate the achievements of “Wentworth, [Rockingham] fix’d in Virtue’s cause,” “Lennox, [duke of Richmond] friend to Equal Laws!” and “FitzMaurice [Shelburne] For collected virtues prais’d.” Set to music by Charles Burney, it was sung at the anniversary dinner of the Society for Constitutional Information on 14 May 1782. Callistratus, an Athenian poet (*fl. c.* 500 BCE) had composed his congenial hymn (*skolion*), entitled the “Harmodiou melos,” in tribute to the two lovers and heroes Harmodius and Aristogeiton who assassinated the tyrant Hipparchus and restored equality before the law and *isonomia* (equal distribution of justice) to the Athenians. Jones’s friend, the Oxford professor of poetry Bishop Robert Lowth declared that the popularity of Callistratus’s *skolion* was such that “at every banquet, nay, in the streets and in the meanest assembly of the common people, that

²Rockingham had written to Edmund Burke on 14 February 1771: “I fear indeed the future struggles of the people in defence of their Constitutional Rights will grow weaker and weaker. It is much too probable that the power and influence of the Crown will increase rapidly.”

convivial ode was daily sung” (Lowth 1787 [1753], vol. 1, p. 23). The final stanza of Jones’s “Ode in Imitation of Callistratus” urges the “triple Harmony” of the mixed republic and the call for manhood suffrage:

Rise, BRITANNIA, dauntless rise
 Cheer’d with triple Harmony,
Monarch good, and *Nobles* wise,
People valiant, firm, and FREE! ([Jones] 1782)³

In similarly musical vein, but thinking now of Plato’s *Republic*, and especially what Socrates says in Book III about the unique power of rhythm and harmony to find their way into the soul, he writes to Lady Spencer on 21 October 1782:

How happy would it be, if statesmen had more *musick in their souls*, and could bring themselves to consider, that, what harmony is in a concert, such is union in a state! But in the great *orchestra* of the nation, I have found since my return to England, so many instruments out of tune, and players out of time, that I stop my ears, like Hogarth’s musician tormented [“The Enraged Musician” (1741)], and wish myself at the distance of five thousand leagues from such fatal dissonance. (Cannon 1970, vol. 2, p. 582)

So let us transport him—married, appointed as a judge of the Bengal Supreme Court, and knighted—those “five thousand leagues” to Bengal in what he termed “this wonderful country.” Imagine for a moment Anna Maria and her Sir William in the April of 1784 settled in pastoral content in a garden house at Bhawanipur, conveniently close to Hastings at Alipore. The “Music of the Eastern Nations” had been a key element of the 16 “Objects of Enquiry” (Jones 1807, vol. 2, pp. 4–5) he had listed on his passage to India, and now he was beginning to appreciate how the *rāgas* were intimately connected with the erotic devotion of *bhakti*. The Joneses are “literally lulled to sleep by Persian nightingales,” after hearing Bengali musicians perform evening *rāgas* mirroring the tranquil mood of the river at sunset (Jones 1807, vol. 2, p. 37). Having conversed with the performers, he had been reminded of

³A regicidal version was sung at a joint meeting of the SCI and the London Corresponding Society on 2 May 1794 (see Barrell 2000, p. 214). Wordsworth’s own translation of the “Harmodiou melos” was published in the *Morning Post* of 13 February 1798 over the signature “Publicola.”

Hartley's observation: "Musical Sounds afford, like articulate ones various Instances of the Power of Association" (Hartley 1749, p. 321). His delight in Indian music's infinite variety of moods and modulations is convincing him that it is based "upon truer principles than our own," for "all the skill of the composer is directed to the great object of their art, the natural expression of strong passions" (Jones 1807, vol. 3, p. 17).

Jones's mind was mated by India: He was making all kinds of Indocentric cross-cultural connections. A crucial letter of the 24 April, to Charles Wilkins, the eminent Sankritist who was translating the *Bhagavadgītā* in the holy city of Banaras, reveals the turmoil of his mental activity. He passionately envies his friend's priority upon "the untrodden paths of Hindu learning," "settled among the venerable scholars and philosophers of that ancient city," and would like to emulate him. But the polyglot fears that his Supreme Court duties and his key project of producing a digest of Hindu and Muslim law will preclude his learning Sanskrit: "life is too short and my necessary business too long for me to think at my age of learning a new language, when those which I have already learned contain such a mine of curious and agreeable information" (Cannon 1970, vol. 2, pp. 646–647).

The letter continues to illustrate how his capacious mind was being expanded daily: "A version of the Jōg Bashest was brought to me the other day, in which I discovered much of the Platonick metaphysicks and morality; nor can I help believing, that Plato drew many of his notions (through Egypt, where he resided for some time) from the sages of Hindustan." This was doubtless the "Persian version of an Abridgment of the Jōg Bashust" [*Yoga Vāsiṣṭha*] which his friend and neighbour John Shore, future governor-general of Bengal, had translated with the help of Rādhākānta, a Brahman "pandit of extensive learning and great fame," as Jones described him (Shore 1843, vol. 1, p. 111).⁴ The *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha* is an important philosophic, spiritual, and inherently syncretic text embracing key elements from Vedantic, Jainite, and Mahāyāna Buddhist traditions. It records how the youthful Rama, avatar of Visnu the preserver, achieved self-realization through the instructions of the *ṛṣi* (sage) Vāsiṣṭha. This work had a profound effect upon Jones, it constituted a poet's philosophy, not simply in its copious and powerful imagery, but in its exploration of the analogies between the creations of

⁴For a detailed consideration of the evangelical Shore as an Orientalist, see Franklin (2016).

divine and human consciousness. It advances a doctrine of subjectivism, *drishti-srishi-vada* (seeing-creation-theory), wherein the world exists because we perceive it, having no independent existence beyond that perception. Apparent reality is only a reflection of the supreme mind whose divine creative power is personified in the goddess *Māyā* (illusion). Each individual consciousness is ultimately part of the one indivisible divine consciousness. Coleridge would later define the “primary imagination” as a “repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I AM” (Coleridge 1817, vol. 1, pp. 295–296). Jones had been thinking about the modes of Hindu music, but now his attention was engrossed by modes of mind, human and divine, cross-cultural divine self-identifications, and by eggs both avian and cosmic:

Such is the nature of God, whom no words can express and who is called the Ego or the subjective “I am that I am”. God is beyond the power of speech to describe. All that is seen is only the leaves, fruit, flowers and branches of the all-creeping vine of Consciousness which, being diffused in all, leaves nothing that is different from it. (*Yoga Vāsishtha* 2013, Book VI, Part 1 On Liberation, Chapter 33, p. 17)

The rising and setting of the passions and affections in the mind are mere modes of the mind. So the being and not being of anything, the presence and absence of the world are mere modes of the Divine Mind. (Book VI, Part 2, Chapter 171, p. 21)

As the multi-coloured feathers of a peacock’s tail are contained in the moisture within its egg, so the diversity of creation is ingrained in the Divine Mind. The judicious observer will find the one self-same Brahman present everywhere before his sight. He will perceive His unity amidst all diversity, as in the yolk of the female peahen. (Book VI, Part 1, Chapter 47, p. 29)

As a poet Jones was fascinated by the thesaurus of imagery presented by the *Yoga Vāsishtha*; as a philosopher, he was intrigued by the doctrines of early Advaita (non-dualist) Vedānta expounded in its 29,000 *ślokas*, or verses.⁵ Jones’s researches into the intricate and interconnected harmonies of Indian culture, art, philosophy, and religion were simultaneously

⁵In the opinion of the Supreme Court pandit, Govardhana Kaula, of the very many commentaries on the Hindu scriptures “that of VASISHTHA seems to be reputed the most excellent” (Jones 1807, vol. 4, p. 106).

intellectual and spiritual, scholarly, and poetic. Four months earlier he had decided to write a projected series of eighteen “Hymns to Hindu Deities” beginning with Camdeo, or Kāma, the Hindu god of love, a form of the Vedic fire-god Agni, born of the Primal Waters. On the 15 December 1783 he wrote from the Court House to the scholarly Richard Johnson: “Can you supply me with some poetical names of the *places* in India, where Camdeo may be supposed to resort?” On the 6 January 1784, just nine days before he instituted the pioneering Asiatic Society of Bengal, he sent Wilkins a proof of his “Hymn to Camdeo” (Cannon 1970, vol. 2, pp. 624–625). Its first stanza introduces the intense reverence of a *bhakta* [intensely devoted] persona with all the power of first-person fervour: “I feel, I feel thy genial flame divine, / And hallow thee and kiss thy shrine.” Recognition of the awful power of this “God of Gods” is ensured by the divinity’s insistently repeated questioning and the humility of the devotee’s descriptive acknowledgement:

“Knowst thou not me?” Celestial sounds I hear!
 “Knowst thou not me?” Ah, spare a mortal ear!
 “Behold”—My swimming eyes entranc’d I raise,
 But oh! they shrink before th’ excessive blaze.
 Yes, son of Maya, yes I know
 Thy bloomy shafts and cany bow,
 Checks with youthful glory beaming,
 Locks in braids ethereal streaming,
 Thy scaly standard, thy mysterious arms,
 And all thy pains and all thy charms. (Jones 1995, p. 100, ll. 11–20)

The poet whose five-month honeymoon passage from Portsmouth had been spent in the “sweet little *Crocodile*” frigate was amused to discover Kāma’s emblem and *vahana* (vehicle) was the *makara*, a shark-like sea creature, or crocodile. But Jones acknowledges a pagan god with profound intercultural respect.⁶ The emphases here upon recognition, love, and knowledge reflect his excitement with all that he is learning about Hindu culture.

⁶The talented sculptor, Thomas Banks (1735–1805), produced the mould and painted plaster cast of ‘The Hindu Deity Camadeva with his mistress’, on a crocodile’, c.1794, see: Sir John Soane’s Museum, London, <http://collections.soane.org/object-a12>. Banks also executed some superb chimneypieces and friezes portraying Hindu subjects for Warren Hastings’s Daylesford House; see *Annals of Thomas Banks*, ed. C. F. Bell (Cambridge: CUP, 1938), pp. 88–90.

In hymning the Hindu deities he would discover his own personal *moksha* (liberation). He comes to realize in Bengal just how essential to his psychological integration is his creative imagination. In a syncretic mingling of Vedantism and Platonism, Jones's "Hymns to Hindu Deities" celebrate "Primeval Máya" (the spell-binding power of illusion), the mother of Kāma (the god of love and created nature), and associated with the "empyrean train" of Indra whose "veil of many-colour'd light" is woven of "song and sacred beauty" and "mystic dance." Jones's reading of the *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha*, augmented by daily conversations with pandits, was now clarifying his own conception of the Romantic creative imagination. With his pandit friends Jones also discussed the goddess Sarasvatī, "the Minerva Musica" of India, who symbolizes the integration of illusion/perception, and of the sister arts of music and poetry, having the power both to wake to melody "the fretted Vene" and "To fix the flying sense / Of words." In the letter to Wilkins of 24 April 1784, immediately following the description of his intercultural enlightenment upon reading the *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha*, Jones announces:

My present pursuit is the Indian system of music, which is comprised, I am told, in a book called *Sengheit Derpen* [*Sangīta-darpana*], or the *Mirror of Melody*; and that book, they say, is not ill translated into Persian. A little tract, called the *Prosody of Musick*, enabled me yesterday to discover that the Hindu scale *sarigamapadany* consists of two tetrachords exactly equal, and differing only in the sixth and seventh notes from our major mode, or, as it is called, the sharp key. I find, also, that the Indians have not only semitones, but even an *enharmonic* kind, or thirds and quarter of notes. Any hint on this subject will be particularly acceptable to me. (Cannon 1970, vol. 2, pp. 646–647)

This early insight was to be incorporated into his groundbreaking treatise, the first European-authored academic study of Indian music, "On the Musical Modes of the Hindus," which was not published until 1792, but bearing the subtitle "*Written in 1784, and since much enlarged*," the product of much enthusiastic research and intensive revision (Jones 1792, pp. 68–69).

More than ten years earlier Jones had demonstrated that while reinventing Orientalism he was facilitating Romantic revolution. In his "Essay on the Arts Commonly Called Imitative" appended to his *Poems* (1772) he had used both Eastern and European poetry to establish a revolutionary expressive and emotionalist concept of art, which anticipates the

subjectivity of Romanticism. Rejecting Aristotelian mimetic concepts, he established the impassioned and original lyric impulse as the primary and universal prototype for both poetry and music. An ode of Sappho or the Song of Solomon is “not an *imitation* of nature, but the voice of nature herself” (Jones 1995, p. 341). Nearly thirty years before Wordsworth’s famous formulation, “poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings,” Jones defines poetry as “originally no more than a strong and animated expression of the human passions” (Jones 1995, p. 339).

“Classical” Jones defines “true musick to be no more than poetry, delivered in a succession of harmonious sounds, so disposed as to please the ear.” He admires the ancient Greek musical modes such as the Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Ionian, Eolian, Locrian, “each of which was appropriated to a particular kind of poetry, and a particular instrument [...] wholly passionate or descriptive, and so closely united to poetry, that it never obstructed, but always increased its influence: [...] [creating] a delight of the soul, arising from sympathy, and founded on the natural passions, always lively, always interesting, always transporting” (Jones 1995, pp. 342–343).

At a time when even Jones’s friend, Robert Orme, who had heard and lightly dismissed Hindu melodies (stating that “their ideas of music, if we may judge from the practice, are barbarous”), the metropolitan view was that “the Hindoo music and musicians are in a very wild and uncouth state” (Orme 1799, p. 3).⁷ Sympathy is the harmonious dominant key to understanding Jones’s immediate receptiveness to Indian music, and he embarks upon the first western study of Indian music. Jones was an immediate convert to Indian *rāgas*, despite his undying regard for western classicism.

“The Musical Modes of the Hindus” resounds with the excitement Jones feels in discovering a “*pure and original musick* [...] not an *imitation* of nature but the voice of nature herself.” He deeply considers the effects of harmonious sounds upon the human body, describing

⁷On this aspect, see also Elizabeth Bruce Elton Smith’s philistine rhetorical question: “How could Sir W. Jones, having the gift of his two ears withal, permit himself to compose an elaborate essay on the music of the Hindoos?” (Smith 1832, p. 144). See also Bennett Zon, ‘From “acute and plausible” to “curiously misinterpreted”: Sir William Jones’s “On the Musical Modes of the Hindu” (1792) and its reception in later musical treatises’, in *Romantic Representations of British India*, ed. Michael J. Franklin (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 197–219.

“the human frame as the noblest and sweetest of musical instruments, endued with a natural disposition to resonance and sympathy, alternately affecting and affected by the soul, which pervades it” (Jones 1792, p. 57). The sympathetic relation between musician and instrument is mirrored in that between the music and the “sonorous body” of both performer and listener. For the health of his Garden Reach neighbour, the evangelical Sir John Shore, he recommends a European musical prescription mingling Italian and German traditions: “Take a concerto of Corelli, / An air of Leo, or Pergolesi, a trio of Haydn,⁸ &c.—Mixtura fiat” (Cannon 1970, vol. 2, p. 115).

For his own health, however, Indophile Jones prescribes the “mental repose” inspired by the harmonious resonances of *rāgas* and Hindustani airs, which aid the digestion in a hot climate, “*putting the soul in tune*, as MILTON says, for any subsequent exertion” (Jones 1792, p. 57).⁹ Jones was fascinated by Indian music and music theory and determined to see how it integrated into his proto-Romantic emotionalist theory of the arts. In his conviction that the greatest effect of poetry and music was in the expression, rather than the representation or imitation, of passion, he was approaching that central question of the Indian sister arts concerning the relationship between the complex musical concept, *rāga*—“which I translate a *mode*, properly signifies a *passion* or *affection*” (Jones 1792, p. 71)—and the theory of *rasa* (aesthetic emotion), involving the extent to which “pure” music can communicate a specific effect and affect from performer to listener.

There is little doubt that Jones considered himself a *rasika* (a connoisseur of *rasa*) and a *sahrdāya* (one sensitive to literature), deriving from his sympathetic responses or *hrdayasamvadā* (Shah 2006, pp. 49–50) Jones loved the early sixteenth-century works of Bhānudatta Miśra, described by Sheldon Pollock as “probably the most famous Sanskrit poet that no one today has ever heard of.” Bhānu’s “Bouquet of Rasa” and “River of Rasa” were composed under the patronage of the Nizam of Ahmadnagar in western India. They were translated into Persian

⁸Friedrich Hugo von Dalberg translated Jones’s essay on Indian music as *Über die Musik der Indien* in 1802, the same year in which he translated Jones’s translation of *Gītāgovinda*, and presented a copy to Haydn.

⁹Cf. the last lines of Milton’s “At a Solemn Music”: “O may we soon again renew that Song, / And keep in tune with Heaven, till God ere long / To His celestial consort us unite, / To live with Him, and sing in endless morn of light!”

by Abu al-Fazl, the preeminent scholar at Akbar's syncretic court, but Jones would later read them in the Sanskrit, writing of the *Rasamañjarī* ("Bouquet of Rasa") which he termed "The Analysis of Love, a poem": "I have read this delightful book four times at least" (Jones 1807, vol. 13, p. 409). The poem's modern editor Pollock underscores Jones's enthusiasm, declaring that the Sanskrit rhymes in this description of a *nāyikā*, or heroine, "aspir[e] to the condition of music":

When nighttime lets down its thick black hair
all around and you leave your house, slender girl,
who will be there to stand by your side
on the riverbank at the edge of the forest?
(“Bouquet of Rasa”, vol. 111, Bhānudatta 2009, p. xxix)

Jones was also delighted by the mingling of music, poetry, and painting in the graphic illustration of the modes “represented by delicate pencils in the *Rāgamālās* (garlands of *rāgas*), which all of us have examined, and among which the most beautiful are in the possession of Mr. R. JOHNSON and Mr. HAY.”¹⁰ Indian cultures delight in the confluence of various streams and these traditional paintings counterpoint the ways in which North Indian music represents a hybrid fusion of cultures, instruments, and techniques. As painting celebrates music the boundaries between sister arts become porous and culture inseparable from nature. The accompanying verses or *dhyānas* encourage the harmonies of devotional *bhakti* and yogic meditation. The moods and colours of *rāgamālā* paintings supply religious focus and visual interpretation of Indian *rāgas* reinforcing their devotional evocation of environmental and elemental, temporal and topographical, sensual and seasonal aspects of the universal *Rāsa Lilā* (Dance of Divine Love) of Lord Kṛṣṇa and the milkmaid Rādhā. Emperor Akbar, himself of Turkic, Mongol, and Indic ancestry, facilitated and celebrated a syncretic musical culture, and the Mughal Nawab Ali Vardi Khan, whose good government Ghulam Husain had

¹⁰Jones continues to imagine a harmonizing and cultural synthesizing Ost-Westliche scheme of his own: “A noble work might be composed by any musician and scholar, who enjoyed leisure and disregarded expense, if he would exhibit a perfect system of *Indian* musick from *Sanscrit* authorities, with the old melodies of SÓMA, applied to the songs of JAYADÉVA, embellished with descriptions of all the modes accurately translated, and with Mr. Hay’s *Rāgamālā* delineated and engraved by the scholars of CIPRIANI and BARTOLOZZI” (Jones 1792, p. 74).

praised, commissioned several rāgamālās. The apocryphal but enduring idea that the sitar with its shimmering resonances of the sympathetic wire strings was invented by the Indo-Persian poet Amir Khusrau in the thirteenth century highlights the syncretic Indo-Persian traditions and the cross-cultural nature of Indian music.

In May 1784 Jones had been reading about Kṛṣṇa in a Persian translation of the *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam*. As he confesses to John Hyde, a colleague on the Calcutta bench: “[I]t is by far the most entertaining book, on account of its novelty and wildness, that I ever read” (Cannon 1970, vol. 2, p. 649). By June Jones is in harmony with the devotional intensity of a *bhakta*, announcing to Richard Johnson: “I am in love with the *Gopia*, charmed with *Crishen*, an enthusiastick admirer of *Rām*, and a devout adorer of *Brimha-bishen-mehais*: [Brahma, Vishnu, Siva: the *tri-murti*] not to mention that *Jūdishteir*, *Arjen*, *Corno*, and the other warriours of the *M’hab’harat* appear greater in my eyes than Agamemnon, Ajax, and Achilles appeared, when I first read the Iliad” (Cannon 1970, vol. 2, p. 652). This was indeed intimate reading and, for the comparative critic, the western cultural heritage seems to pale alongside the brighter resonances of these subcontinental texts.

Even as he wrote of such devotion, Anna Maria and William in their Garden Reach house by the Hugli “low-roomed and consequently damp,” found themselves “both much out of order and out of spirits.” A jocular letter from Richard Johnson however, deserved an accordingly facetious reply and Jones’s spirit rises as he complains of being tormented by a nearby herd of asses who “contrive night and day so to gall and fret my ears, and the ears of all my musical friends with their incongruous melody.” Distraught at the prospect of losing his Ragās and Raginis, he imagines the case coming forward at the next sessions:

The property of them lies between two redoubtable knights, Sir Elijah [Impey] and Sir Robert [Chambers]; but, until they interplead and adjust their claims, my *Raugs* and *Raugns* [sic] swear they will not stay with me, your *Raugmālās* in imminent danger of going with them; and such, indeed, is my hell, that, if I can no otherwise get rid of these long-eared musicians, I must sacrifice them at once to the Ganges, as Mr Shore offered his five-legged calf to Mahadeo [Śiva]. (Cannon 1970, vol. 2, p. 652)

Four days later, oppressed by raucous equids, the intense heat, and moisture-laden monsoon winds, they sailed upriver in their pinnace

budgerow on the 26 June, bound for the cooler climes of Banaras and more musical friends. It was a long and difficult journey which they accomplished by stages, stopping with their Asiatick Society friend Peter Speke, Resident at Jangipur, and with Charles and Mary Chapman at Bhagalpur. Here they met Hastings in early November, who described Jones as “a perfect skeleton,” but he revived on hearing extracts from Wilkins’s *Bhagvadgīta*. The prospect and proximity of death had concentrated Jones’s mind upon “the divine works of Cicero,” especially the Stoicism of the “On the contempt of death” section of the *Tusculan Disputations*, of Aristoxenus, the musician and philosopher, and of Simmias and Socrates. It is significant that these ultimate thoughts upon harmony and the soul were subsequently incorporated into “On the Musical Modes of the Hindus”:

The old musician, who rather figuratively, we may suppose, than with philosophical seriousness, *declared the soul itself to be nothing but harmony*, provoked the sprightly remark of Cicero, that *he drew his philosophy from the art which he professed*; but if, without departing from his own art, he had merely described the human frame as the noblest and sweetest of musical instruments, endued with a natural disposition to resonance and sympathy, alternately affecting and affected by the soul which pervades it, his description might, perhaps, have been physically just. (Jones 1792, pp. 56–57)

But Jones’s resonant and sympathetic “human frame” was to be restored and reinvigorated in the holy city of Banaras where the dancing limbs of Śiva as Natarāja (Lord of the Dance) symbolize the fivefold harmonies of creation, preservation, dissolution, unveiling of *māyā*, and liberation. Anna and William stayed, as Hastings had suggested, with the Resident, Francis Fowke and his affectionate sister Margaret at their bungalow at Sicrole in delightfully wooded country. The air was “bracing & salubrious” and there was “riding of a morning and airings, chess, & music of an evening were our constant amusements.” Francis “was an excellent classical, French & Oriental scholar,” with a “talent of raillery, which he always managed with a sportive tact.”¹¹ Brother and sister delighted in music and had set up a Band at the Residency for their talented amateur performances, but both were also pioneering aficionados of Indian

¹¹See National Library of Wales, MS Ormathwaite, FE 5/1 Memoir of Margaret Walsh [née Fowke].

music. The talented violinist Francis had developed a scholarly fascination with the *vīṇā*, a sitar-like instrument with a seven-stringed fretted fingerboard and a resonating gourd at each end. This had been facilitated by the fact that Jeevan Shah (c. 1732–1810) and his brother Piyaṛ Shah were the most eminent players of the Rudra (Śiva) *vīṇā* at the Banaras court of Mahipat Narayan Singh who continued a tradition of sophisticated musical patronage. Jeevan produced the drawings to illustrate Fowke’s article, which carefully compared the intervals by having the *vīṇā* tuned to his harpsichord: “The music seems to consist of a number of detached passages, some very regular in their ascent and descent; and those that are played softly are most of them most uncommon and pleasing” (Fowke 1788, reprinted in Franklin 2000, p. 298).

When Jones returned to Calcutta he practised similar intercultural comparative experimentation to establish a degree of similitude between eastern and western tonality:

I tried in vain to discover any difference in practice between the *Indian* scale, and that of our own; but, knowing my ear to be very insufficiently exercised, I requested a *German* professor of musick to accompany with his violin a *Hindu* lutanist, who sung *by note* some popular airs on the loves of CRISHNA and RÁDHÁ; he assured me, that the scales were the same; and Mr. SHORE afterwards informed me, that, when the voice of a native singer was in tune with his harpsichord, he found the Hindu series of seven notes to ascend like ours, by a sharp third. (Jones 1792, p. 70)

Jones’s attention here to “popular airs on the loves of CRISHNA and RÁDHÁ” reveals that he was not exclusively concerned with researching Hindustani classical music. He was also fascinated by the contemporary *bhakti* song tradition in which Margaret Fowke was such an enthusiastic collaborator with Indian musicians. She had recently delighted Hastings on his visit to Banaras with her performances of “Hindostannie airs.” She had subsequently sent him her transcriptions and Hastings’s letter of thanks, as Ian Woodfield has shown, reveals his belief in “the beneficial political effects of musical contacts between Indians and Europeans.” Hastings, always enthusiastic about genuine acculturation, writes: “I have always protested against every Interpolation of European Taste in the Recital of the Music of Hindostan” and he expresses his gratitude in his “public Character” for the visit he made with Prince Jawan Bakht, the eldest son of emperor Shāh ‘Ālam: “I have had the Pleasure to hear

them all played by a very able performer, and can attest that they are genuine Transcripts of the original music, of which I have a perfect Remembrance” (letter of 9 January 1785 from Warren Hastings to Margaret Fowke, cited in Woodfield 2000, p. 174).

Hastings’s opinion that these transcriptions were faithful to the “original” music and not mere Orientalist “fusions” is not to be taken lightly as he fully understood the rich melodic freedom of Indian music. A workaholic, like Jones, he agreed with his friend “that melody alone will often relieve the mind, when it is oppressed by intense application to business or study” (Jones 1792, p. 56). Jones was certainly impressed with Margaret’s transcriptions of the “Hindostannie airs” she performed with Indian musicians, such close collaboration with native informants had marked his Orientalist researches since his time in Oxford, and would continue to characterize his often porous work and leisure regimes. Margaret Fowke’s sensitive appreciation of *bhakti* song was infectious and Jones was soon collaborating with her, exchanging festive Holi songs which he translated for her.¹²

All that Jones had learned and experienced at Banaras concerning north Indian music, the vibrant popular tradition of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*, the possibilities of sophisticated acculturation, fed into “the wide hollows of [his] brain,” energizing his research and inspiring further creativity. Significantly, it was also at Benares that “a Cashmirian” informant, Charles Wilkins’s eminent pandit Kāśinātha, clarified for Jones the concept of *māyā*, as “the first inclination of the Godhead to diversify himself (such is their phrase) by creating worlds.” His further study of the *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha* confirmed that “the word MÁYÁ or delusion, has a more subtle and recondite sense in the Vedanta philosophy, where it signifies the system of perceptions, whether of secondary or of primary qualities, which the Deity was believed by Epicharmus, Plato, and many truly pious men, to raise by his omnipresent spirit in the minds of his creatures, but which had not, in their opinion, any existence independent of mind” (“On the Gods of Greece, Italy and India” [1784], in Jones 1807, pp. 322–323).

¹²See British Library, APAC, Fowke MS Eur E5, 65; Jones to Margaret Fowke, Maldah, 17 January 1785. For a consideration of two translations of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* songs in Jones’s hand located among the Hastings papers (BL, Add. MSS. 29,235, ff. 48–49) which appear to be two of the three he sent to Margaret, see Franklin (2011, pp. 32–33).

Jones was soon intensely working on a second hymn, intrinsically syncretic and profoundly sublime, his “Hymn to Náráyena” (Moving on the Water: [Vishnu]).¹³ From his Courtroom lunch-break of 14 April 1785, he sends the incomplete hymn to Charles Wilkins, requesting “*more of his names &c.*” for another Pindaric stanza:

The subject is the sublimest that the human mind can conceive; but my feeble Muse cannot do justice to it. How I lament my inability to read the two Purāṇs of the *Egg* and the *Lotos*. The doctrine is that of Parmenides and Plato, whom our *Berkeley* follows, and I am strongly inclined to consider their philosophy as the only means of removing the difficulties which attend the common opinions concerning the *Material* world. (Cannon 1970, vol. 2, pp. 669–700)

Jones’s “Argument” to the hymn underlines the vast nature of its subject: the strong affinity and congruence of ancient and modern, of Hindu, Persian, Ionic and Italic theosophies, of Orpheus and Plato, “the great VASISHTHA,” Berkeley and Pope. Its second sentence typifies the commanding compass of his vision, even before he had begun to learn “the language of the Gods,” Sanskrit:

It will be sufficient here to premise, that the inextricable difficulties attending the *vulgar notion* of *material substances*, concerning which

“We now this only, that we nothing know,”

induced many of the wisest among the Ancients, and some of the most enlightened among the Moderns, to believe, that the whole Creation was rather an *energy* than a *work*, by which the Infinite Being, who is present at all times in all places, exhibits to the minds of his creatures a set of perceptions, like a wonderful picture or piece of musick, always varied, yet always uniform; so that all bodies and their qualities exist, indeed, to every wise and useful purpose, but exist only as far as they are perceived; a theory no less pious than sublime, and as different from any principle of Atheism, as the brightest sunshine differs from the blackest midnight. (Jones 1995, p. 106)¹⁴

¹³Cf. “And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters,” Genesis, 1:2.

¹⁴Jerome McGann asserted this sentence “might be used as an epigraph for a collection of romantic writing. It defines [...] salient features of many different romantic styles,” placing “Hymn to Náráyena” as the opening poem in his *The New Oxford Book of Romantic Period Verse* (McGann 1993, p. xxii).

The first stanza, Jones continues, “represents the sublimest attributes of the Supreme Being, and the three forms, in which they most clearly appear to us, *Power*, *Wisdom*, and *Goodness*, or, in the language of ORPHEUS and his disciples, *Love*.” Clearly in India Jones had also been re-reading his Berkeley:

The hidden force that unites, adjusts, and causeth all things to hang together and move in harmony—which Orpheus and Empedocles styled Love—this principle of union is no blind principle, but acts with intellect. This divine Love and Intellect are not themselves obvious to our view, or otherwise discerned than in their effects. Intellect enlightens, Love connects, and the Sovereign Good attracts all things. (Berkeley 1744, p. 124)

“Only connect” became “Harmonious” Jones’s motto long before Forster was to employ it as an epigraph, it underscored all his comparative researches, cultural pluralism, and religious syncretism. With the pandit Rādhākānta he had discussed the exotic familiarity of Vāsiṣṭha’s words:

He who connects all the worlds with himself, like a thread connecting pearls in a necklace, is the man who possesses everything by renouncing all things from himself. The soul is unattached to all things, yet it connects and passes through them like the thread of the Divine Soul [...] the spirit that is warm with its affection is like a lamp with oil that burns with universal love and enlightens all objects around it. (*Yoga Vāsiṣṭha*, Book VI, Part 1 On Liberation, Chapter 93, p. 49)

Occident and Orient, East and West, *bhakti* and Berkeley, coalesce in a harmonious vision of universal and infinite “Sovereign Good” or, in Jones’s words, “Goodness unlimited.” Here is the resonant first stanza of Jones’s “Hymn to Nārāyena,” acknowledging the creator of the Musica Universalis, the Nāda Brahman, the ultimate Harmony of the Spheres:

SPIRIT of Spirits, who, through ev’ry part
Of space expanded and of endless time,
Beyond the stretch of lab’ring thought sublime,
Badst uproar into beauteous order start,
Before Heav’n was, Thou art:
Ere spheres beneath us roll’d or spheres above,

Ere earth in firmamental ether hung,
 Thou satst alone; till, through thy mystick Love,
 Things unexisting to existence sprung,
 And grateful descant sung.
 What first impell’d thee to exert thy might?
 Goodness unlimited. What glorious light
 Thy pow’r directed? Wisdom without bound.
 What prov’d it first? Oh! guide my fancy right;
 Oh! raise from cumbrous ground
 My soul in rapture drown’d,
 That fearless it may soar on wings of fire;
 For Thou, who only knowst, Thou only canst inspire.
 (“A Hymn to Nārāyena”, ll. 1–18; Jones 1995, p. 108)

In the productive summer of 1785 Jones completed his “A Hymn to Sereswaty,” celebrating the Minerva Musica of India in thirteen 13-line stanzas. The Sarasvatī of the Vedic hymns is a powerful river goddess, bringer of purity and fertility, whereas she is celebrated in her later nature as “the moon-bright goddess” of invention, imagination, eloquence, music, and harmony. Sarasvati means “Flowing-One,” but her cleansing current is now a formidable stream of divine eloquence. According to the tenth-century Sanskrit critic Bhatta Tauta: “There are two paths of the goddess of speech: one is the *śāstra* [philosophy] and the other is *kavikama* [poetry]” (Kulkarni 1993, p. 5). Jones underscored this comment, honouring Sarasvatī as the “great parent” of “fair Science” and “playful Fancy,” she is the consort and *Śakti* (active power or manifest energy) of the creator god Brahma and owns:

All-ruling Eloquence,
 That, like full GĀNGA, pours her stream divine
 Alarming states and thrones:
 To fix the flying sense
 Of words, thy daughters, by the varied line
 (Stupendous art!) was Thine.
 (“A Hymn to Sereswaty”, ll. 28–33; Jones 1995, p. 116)

As the source of rhetoric, eloquence and powerful precision, she has the respect of both the lawyer and the linguist in Jones. He addresses her as “the *Goddess of Harmony*, since the *Indians* usually paint her with a musical instrument in her hand: the seven notes, an artful combination

of which constitutes *Musick* and variously affects the passions.” Jones is concerned to demonstrate that his Hymn “exhibits a correct delineation of the RĀGMĀLĀ, or *Necklace of Musical Modes*,” which he considers “the most pleasing invention of the ancient *Hindus*, and the most beautiful union of Painting with poetical Mythology and the genuine theory of Musick.” The Hindu modal arrangement is praised as “elegantly formed on the variations of the Indian year, and the association of ideas; a powerful auxiliary to the ordinary effect of modulation”:

The Modes, in this system, are deified; and, as there are six seasons in India, namely, two Springs, Summer, Autumn, and two Winters, an original RĀG, or God of the Mode, is conceived to preside over a particular season; each principal mode is attended by five RĀGNYS, or *Nymphs of Harmony*; each has eight Sons, or *Genii* of the same divine Art; and each RĀG, with his family, is appropriated to a distinct season, in which alone his melody can be sung or played at prescribed hours of the day and night. (The Argument of “A Hymn to Sereswaty”, Jones 1995, p. 114)

The sixth and seventh stanzas of the hymn describe the evening fire *rāga*, “the mode of DEIPEC (Dipaca, Dipaka), or CUPID the *Inflamer*, [which] is supposed to be lost; and a tradition is current in Hindustan, that a musician, who attempted to restore it, was consumed by fire from heaven.”

Ah! where has DEIPEC veil'd
His flame-encircled head?
Where flow his lays too sweet for mortal ears?
O loss how long bewail'd! (ll. 66–69)

Dipaka's *raginis* have fled into the forest: according to the *Sangīta-darpana* “In the forest, dressed in yellow and with lovely hair, Kāmodī looks about on every side with terror. Thinking of her lover, even the cuckoo's happy cry fills her with desperation” (*Sangīta-darpana* 2.68, quoted in Daniélou 1968, p. 272). And Jones underlines the danger of performing *rāga* Dipaka:

But, earth-born artist, hold!
If e'er thy soaring lyre
To *Deipec*'s notes aspire,
Thy strings, thy bow'r, thy breast with rapture bold,

Red lightning shall consume;
Nor can thy sweetest song avert the doom. (ll. 56–91)¹⁵

In conclusion, Jones always stressed the exceptional opportunities for extended study and definitive research upon a myriad of topics; leisure alone was lacking. The final words of "On the Musical Modes of the Hindus" read: "I must now with reluctance bid farewell to a subject, which I despair of having leisure to resume." The frustration is palpable because he personally knew of scholars, both Hindu and Muslim, intimately familiar with Indian and Persian theory and practice. The best musicians in India "would cheerfully attend our concerts and we have an easy access to approved Asiatick treatises on musical composition, and [...] the best instruments of Asia, may be masters of them, if we please." The single discordant note in what Jones writes baulks somewhat major for postcolonial tastes: "The unexampled felicity of our nation, who diffuse the blessings of a mild government over the finest part of India, would enable us to attain a perfect knowledge of the oriental musick, which is known and practised in these *British* dominions" (Jones 1792, p. 62). To be masters of the Indian Vina is one thing, to be masters of the Indian subcontinent is quite another, and at some distance from the "unexampled felicity of [their] nation." A certain cultural relativity might be self-consciously urged, but perhaps it is best to remain in Jones mode as he pursues Hindu modes contemplating "the concurrent labours, or rather amusements" of the Asiatick Society's attainment and communication "of correct ideas on a subject so delightfully interesting." Subcontinental collaborative research remained Jones's presidential goal: "Such would be the advantages of union, or, to borrow a term from the art before us, of *harmonious accord*, in all our pursuits, and above all in that of knowledge."

¹⁵Compare the many versions of the legend on the performance of this *rāga* by the brilliant Vaishnava (devotee of Viṣṇu) musician Mian Tansen (c. 1500–1586), who could make oil lamps light up. When Tansen was commanded by the emperor Akbar at whose syncretic court he was one of the "nine jewels," the singer was obliged to obey. As all the lamps flared up and flames began to lick at his robes, he asked his daughter Saraswati to sing the monsoon *rāga* Megh Malhar which created an extinguishing cloudburst. For a less incendiary illustration to Dipaka Raga, see the *rāgamālā* painting in opaque water-colour on paper, which portrays a prince with a lighted candle in his turban, listening to a female musician, while a female attendant fans him, Deccan, ca. 1690, Victoria and Albert Museum, IS.10–1952.

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PART II

Textual Resonances: Receptions,
Translations, Transformations



CHAPTER 5

Ancient Persia, Early Modern England, and the Labours of “Reception”

Jane Grogan

One autumn day in 1786, the Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, Richard Farmer, gifted his friend Isaac Reed an early printed book: a first edition of *The Bookes of Xenophon, contayning the discipline, schole, and education of Cyrus, the noble Kyng of Persie*, William Barker’s English translation of Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia*. A semi-fictional biographical account of the Achaemenid emperor, Cyrus the Great, the *Cyropaedia* was written by a contemporary of Plato’s in the fourth century BCE and was among the earliest English translations from the classics. Farmer probably gave it to Reed during the latter’s two-month-long visit to Cambridge that year. Printed in 1552, it was a little-known edition at that point, although a manuscript note on the title-page of this copy dated it to 1550, impossibly early. It comprised six of Xenophon’s eight Books, describing the education of the Persian Cyrus and his conquest of Assyria, Lydia, and numerous other Near Eastern kingdoms.¹ It was the

¹This copy is available to view on Early English Books Online (EEBO). The second edition (1567) presented the complete textual translation, but Reed never acquired this edition.

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first substantial translated text about Persia—ancient or contemporary—to be printed in sixteenth-century England, and it emerged from the printhouse of the Protestant Dutch immigrant Reyner Wolfe.² The copy was heavily annotated by at least one hand, and there is good reason to suppose that the annotations date from the 1560s.

A gift full of meaning for both men, it turned not on their interest in ancient Persia, however, but on their shared interest in Shakespeare.³ Reed and Farmer had first met only four years earlier, but quickly struck up a close friendship, with Reed visiting Farmer in Cambridge annually, while Farmer would join Reed for dinner or trips to the London theatre several times a year.⁴ Reed had recently taken up the editorship of the Variorum Shakespeare begun by George Steevens (1766, 1773, 1778); ever-expanding editions led by Reed were printed in 1785, 1793, 1803, and 1813. Farmer, in turn, counted among his friends some of the major Shakespeare editors of his day: not just Reed but George Steevens and Edmond Malone too.⁵ But Farmer had also made a significant contribution to Shakespeare scholarship himself, encouraged by none other than Samuel Johnson, who had asked Farmer to produce a catalogue of English translations to which Shakespeare could have had access. The ensuing catalogue of “Ancient Translations” that Farmer produced appeared in all the Variorum editions from 1773 to 1821.⁶ More influentially still, Farmer wrote an *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare* (1767), deriving from his work on those translations. The essay had an immediate and lasting impact in the world of Shakespeare scholarship. It ran to several editions and was itself printed within the

²Some basic details of Barker’s life can be found in Kenneth Bartlett’s *ODNB* entry for him, as well as in Parks (1957) and Hosington (2006), and in the introduction to Bond (1904). The most recent and useful source on Reyner Wolfe is Blayney (2013).

³Nonetheless, in 1791 Reed also acquired a copy of the first English translation of Herodotus (1584), which comprised translations of Books 1 and 2, on Persia and Egypt. This was also bought by Heber and is now held at the Huntington Library.

⁴Farmer was also a member of several clubs and literary societies, among them the Unincreasable Club, which met at the Queen’s Head, Holborn, of which Reed was sometime president. Reed would later write the biographical sketch of Farmer in Seward (1799, vol. 2, pp. 579–598).

⁵Malone issued a defence of his Shakespeare edition in the form of a published letter addressed to Farmer.

⁶Johnson himself accorded significant status to the translation activities of his early modern subjects in his seminal *Lives of the Poets* (1779–1781; see 2006 edition).

different Variorum texts of 1778, 1793, 1803, 1812, 1813, 1817, and 1821. Arguing for Shakespeare's use of English translations rather than original sources in other languages, it was Farmer's *Essay* that ensured that Jonson's posthumous charge of Shakespeare's "small Latine and less Greeke" stuck, not just for his contemporaries but for almost two hundred years thereafter. Farmer set out the argument that, whatever his grammar school education, all of Shakespeare's classicism could have been accessed through English translations or other English textual intermediaries. So this early English translation of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, gifted by Farmer to Reed, betokened a scholarly agreement between the men on this score. That the translation concerned an ancient Persian emperor rather than any Roman mattered little; this classical Greek account of ancient Persia was easily absorbed under the aegis of Tudor classical learning, for Farmer and Reed.

But ironically, this flattening of the diverse forms, provenances, interests, and genres of the classical heritage available to Shakespeare and his contemporaries through the tendentious focus of these late eighteenth-century editions of Shakespeare's work, itself endured. It forced the argument about classicism—Shakespeare's or any other early modern writer's—into a simplified debate about access or not, pitting elite classical education against the availability of translations (without recognizing, for example, their interdependence and mutuality). It even fostered the undying, suspiciously class-based Shakespeare-authorship quarrel in which either Shakespeare wrote his works or almost any nobleman but he did. This chapter returns to the copy of the *Cyropaedia* that Farmer gave to Reed to try to recover a richer and more dynamic sense of reception acknowledged by both scholars even if it was ultimately sacrificed to their Shakespearean agenda. The argument here is that English interest in ancient Persia might be recovered as part of the cultural and political landscape of Tudor England, and in a more dynamic and dialogic model of reception than abstract intertextuality, the mode in which such interactions are most commonly characterized. In so doing, it joins this volume's interest in the sonic model of "resonance" as one of multi-directional connection, and especially in its appreciation of the endurance of objects (such as this copy of the *Cyropaedia*) to allow for multiple temporalities to be evoked.

Traditional scholarship of reception relies on the notion of *distance* between an originary act of composition or moment of dissemination and a later moment or geographically-distant space of "reception."

Modern scholars usefully challenge this model, proposing instead that reception is instantiated in every reading: “there is nothing but reception,” Philip Hardie avows (2013, p. 192). The advantage is in the opportunity to examine the reception of a text in a particular moment in a more pluralist, complex, historically-embedded way, without necessarily privileging the originary moment but also without enforcing historical limitation to the text’s hermeneutic, cultural, social, and political possibilities. Certainly, it is a more enabling way of examining the eighteenth-century reception of a sixteenth-century English reader’s encounter with ancient Persia by way of a Tudor English translation of an ancient Greek text. And, crucially, it allows us to accommodate the full material dimensions of Farmer and Reed’s reception of Barker’s translation of Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia*: that is, an encounter not just with an English translation that Shakespeare may have known, but with at least one sixteenth-century reader who annotated their copy with copious scholarly comment.

From today’s critical perspective, two further historical factors add value to this sixteenth-century act of reception also witnessed by Farmer and Reed: firstly, early modern English theories and practices of reading, which demanded active elucidation of the texts of classical antiquity in usable modern terms, and secondly, the relative paucity of English accounts of contemporary Persia at a time when contemporary (Safavid) Persia was increasingly foregrounded as a potential European ally and trading partner. In 1552, when the first edition of Barker’s translation was published, Safavid Persia was a distant and little-thought-of entity in the England of Edward VI, where internal struggles for power dominated. By 1567, when the second edition of Barker’s translation (containing the full eight Books) appeared, agents of the Muscovy Company had met Shah Tahmasp in Qazvin, furnished with diplomatic letters from Queen Elizabeth seeking a trade and diplomatic alliance, to which the Shah eventually proved receptive.⁷ But at that moment, accounts of the Muscovy Company voyages to Persia were still only

⁷Several trade voyages to Persia nonetheless took advantage of local trading privileges in Astrakhan, and travelled through Persia to prominent trading-posts such as Bukhara. Little more than a decade later, however, the struggling Anglo-Persian trade would be stymied by moves to establish relations with Persia’s Ottoman enemies, with the establishment of the Turkey Company in 1581, the same year as the return to London of the final English Muscovy Company voyage to Persia.

available to those connected with the Company or court, at least until 1577 when the narratives of Anthony Jenkinson, Geoffrey Ducket and others were published in the travel collection *The History of Trauayle* (1577). In other words, for the annotators of Barker's translation during the 1560s, Xenophon's *Persia* was still the primary source of information about Persia in early modern England. Along with Barker's translation as itself an interpretative encounter, this textual encounter with Persia attested in these readers' marks is therefore a rich source of evidence of Tudor English engagement with Persia at a moment when the country was on the cusp of establishing formal Anglo-Persian diplomatic and commercial relations. The story the annotations tell is of an England deeply curious in the whys and wherefores of a highly successful, divinely-sanctioned imperial world proximate and pertinent to their own.

The provenance of this copy can be partially mapped from Farmer's life, and in terms of our questions about reception, the lack of conclusive answers is not as disappointing as might be expected. Born in Leicestershire, Farmer's taste for early printed books—particularly of “our old English authors”—dated to the late 1760s when an appointment as a preacher at Whitehall caused him to spend several months a year in London. While in London, he stayed with his fellow alumnus of Emmanuel College, Dr. Anthony Askew, a noted book-collector, whose interests rubbed off on Farmer (see Mellmann 1800, pp. 394–395). He returned to become a fellow (and at one point, tutor in classics) and later Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Besides London, Farmer did not travel far from Cambridge, and it seems likely that he acquired his copies of Barker's translations either in London or in the Cambridge area; indeed, an educational context may be suggested by the nature of the annotations, as we will see. A biography shortly after his death recorded that Farmer “was as often seen at the end of an old book stall, as in the splendid shops of more respectable booksellers, and the *sixpence apiece* books were to him sometimes of more value than a Baskerville classic, or a volume printed at Strawberry-Hill” (Mellmann 1800, p. 395). Farmer eventually owned both sixteenth-century editions of Barker's translation, giving Reed the first edition but keeping the 1567 (complete) edition until his death in 1797 (see Mellmann 1800, p. 393). For his part, Reed kept his 1552 copy safe—though neither he nor Farmer ever changed the incorrect dating of the *Cyropaedia* translation recorded in his Variorum catalogue of

“Ancient Translations.”⁸ Following his death in 1807, Reed’s copy was sold, and “Xenophon on the Education of Cyrus, englished by Wylliam Barkar, b.l. [blackletter] 1550” (as the catalogue described it) would be snapped up by the great collector Richard Heber, eventually to make its way into the collections of Henry E. Huntington in San Marino, California, where it remains today.

If the provenance of Farmer’s copy is uncertain, then, that it fell into capable hands is not. But Farmer’s own reception of the text is evidenced not just in the catalogue of ancient translations for the Variorum Shakespeare, but also in his *Essay of the Learning of Shakespeare*. In a posthumous biographical sketch of Farmer, Reed himself describes the *Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare* as an immediate hit “which completely settled a much litigated and controverted question, contrary to the opinions of many eminent writers, in a manner that carried conviction to the mind of every one who had either carelessly or carefully reflected on the subject.” Nor was it simply a successful argument, for Reed. “It may in truth be pointed out as a masterpiece, whether considered with a view to the sprightliness and vivacity with which it is written, the clearness of the arrangement, the force and variety of the evidence; or the compression of scattered materials into a narrow compass; materials which inferior writers would have expanded into a large volume” (Seward 1799, vol. 2, pp. 579–598). Farmer derives much polemical force by argument *a contrario*: comparing Shakespeare’s Latinisms to those of the autodidact and avowed non-classicist, John Taylor the Water-Poet, who boasts, he suggests, “more scraps of *Latin* and allusions to antiquity than are any where to be met with in the writings of *Shakespeare*” (Farmer 1767, pp. 34–35). A keen bibliographer, on several occasions Farmer cites his own library of early modern books, or those of friends or indeed of Emmanuel College library, to vouch for the possibility of Shakespeare’s having had (hitherto unacknowledged) access to one

⁸Farmer and Reed may also have had Persia on their mind, if less consciously: after the fall of the Safavids in 1736, Persia fell into instability (from which the British East India Company profited) until the establishment of the Qajars in 1785. So the matter and history of Persia certainly attracted British attention in the latter half of the eighteenth century, strengthened by the fashion for “oriental” writings such as Montesquieu’s *Lettres Persanes* (1721), translated by John Ozell as *Persian Letters* in 1722, and the phenomenon of the *Arabian Tales/ Les Mille et une Nuits*, first printed in Europe by Antoine Galland (1704–1717).

or other classical translation or intermediary (Farmer 1767, pp. 72 and 91).⁹ He shows a pronounced interest in early translations and translators, including figures such as Skelton and More, and in the early black-letter translations printed by Thomas Berthelet (Farmer 1767, p. 79). On several occasions he alludes to copies in his own possession as being the only known copies of these translations or other texts.¹⁰

Nor does he content himself with disproving Shakespeare's knowledge of Greek and Latin; his knowledge of modern languages (Italian, Spanish, French), too, comes into question for Farmer, the whole business troubled by the prevalence of "typographical errors" emerging from printed copies of the plays that emerged from performance texts not authorized by Shakespeare, as he sees it. Focusing on phrases, plots, and sources, Farmer expands a battery of examples of Shakespeare's imitations and unpacks ostensible errors as either originating in his translated sources or as mere typographical errors. Correcting errors is a mainstay of Farmer's method, whether deducing classical ignorance from Shakespeare's errors or mocking Shakespeare's defenders for their credulity and laboured evidence. The second edition of the essay, also printed in 1767, was greatly expanded by additional amplificatory footnotes and comments; now, for example, Shakespeare might have picked up a few words of French or Italian not just "in the course of his conversation" but "in the Writers of the time," a point which Farmer footnotes with reference to Roger Ascham's note in the preface to *Toxophilus* (1571) condemning English writers' habit of sprinkling foreign words among their works (Farmer 1767, p. 93). Farmer also shows a very modern alertness to Shakespeare's collaborative activities, doubting his authorship of large parts of *The Taming of a Shrew*, for example, and pointing to the work of other hands in *Titus Andronicus* (not unusually) and in *Hamlet* (Farmer 1767, pp. 65 and 69). But it is a step too far—in fact,

⁹See also his comment on the "*Hystorie of Hamblet*," a fragment of which he had seen thanks to "a very curious and intelligent Gentleman" and later as a book held by the Duke of Newcastle (Farmer 1767, pp. 57–59).

¹⁰The first edition of the *Essay* (also 1767) cites the 1590 edition of Sidney's *Arcadia* as a book he owns, predating the earliest known edition in Ames's *Typographical Antiquities* (p. 23). Farmer also refers to William Painter's two volumes of *The Pallace of Pleasure* (1566, 1567) as a gift from a friend not known to Ames (second edition, p. 61), and a collection of "novels" from which Shakespeare derives plot-material. But in the third edition, Farmer worries about Shakespeare's sources in "old books, which are now perhaps no where to be found" (p. 58).

a *reductio ad absurdum*—to attribute to Shakespeare, “our Immortal Dramatist,” some knowledge of Arabic from the “Arabian Tales” not because of anachronism but on the basis of some evocative phrases by Malvolio in *Twelfth Night* (Farmer 1767, p. 2 and Preface).¹¹ Farmer’s argument concludes with a friendly chiding of his readers: “I hope, my good Friend, you have by this time acquitted our great Poet of all piratical depredations on the Ancients: He remembered perhaps enough of his *school-boy* learning to put the *Hig, hag, hog*, [hic, haec, hoc] into the mouth of *Sir Hugh Evans* [in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*]; and might pick up in the course of his conversation a familiar word or two of *French* or *Italian*: but his *Studies* were most demonstratively confined to *Nature* and *his own language*” (Farmer 1767, pp. 93–94).

Shakespeare’s knowledge is firmly domestic, for Farmer, his genius confined to studying “*Nature* and *his own language*.” Wide and diverse as the classical legacy is, and the classical world to which it testifies, Shakespeare’s dramatic work and its materials are primarily *of* England, he argues. As Farmer influentially frames it, the argument against Shakespeare’s classical learning, then, is not an argument against the relevance or richness or diversity of the classical heritage available to him, whether in translation or otherwise, but is instead an argument *for* his native genius. Again pre-empting modern views, Farmer sees in Shakespeare not an isolated genius but a dependent—in fact, interdependent—one indebted to English scholarly culture. It is difficult not to see in this argument a proud endorsement of the editorial work of and around the Variorum Shakespeare editions in which he and his friends were heavily involved. But it is also important to see this argument as a fulcrum in literary history: from a moment in which Tudor English interest in Persia, accessed through the classical heritage and evidenced by the strikingly early translation of a work about the ancient Persian empire, gets absorbed into a more pressing cultural-political argument about the sources and origins of national culture. It is (only?) the rich and full-some presence of a host of scholarly translations of classical and contemporary texts, “the general learning of the times,” that allows Farmer to keep Shakespeare in view—as he must—as a great writer, *the* great writer. Translation and translators are, in fact, the real heroes of Farmer’s essay,

¹¹The Preface has no page numbers.

the enablers of an autochthonous national literary tradition.¹² “[S]olicitous only for the honour of Shakespeare” in unravelling the intricacies of Shakespeare’s alleged classicism, Farmer foregrounds instead his more educated literary contemporaries and forebears, translators and fellow-writers such as Golding, North, Lodge, Turberville, Stanyhurst and Phaer, as well as Jonson (Farmer 1767, Preface). For Farmer, it was these scholars who allowed Shakespeare’s genius to flourish, a domestic talent nurtured even to classicized international stature by more educated English peers and predecessors whose scholarly work flourished in appreciative and ever-expanding company.

The copy of Xenophon that Farmer donated to Reed would only have strengthened this belief in the scholarly editions and conversations surrounding (and available to) Shakespeare. The translator had just the kind of profile that Farmer had in mind: a relatively obscure but highly educated Cambridge fellow who travelled to Italy and knew the scholars and courtiers Sir John Cheke, Roger Ascham, (both of whom were also royal tutors) and Sir Thomas Hoby, William Barker produced several translations directly from Greek to English (St Basil of Caesarea, Appian, and a Latin translation of Isocrates) as well as translations of contemporary Italian materials (Ludovico Domenichi, Giovanbattista Gelli). But what Farmer and Reed also encounter in their copy of Barker’s translation of Xenophon is copious, erudite, and critical scholarly annotation—evidence of the translated book as a space of early modern scholarly interaction with antiquity, both by the translator and by sixteenth-century readers. To say that the book Farmer gives Reed is marked on almost every page by at least one assiduous, enquiring and well-educated reader is only to observe the bare facts: particularly notable are the scholarly and dialogic qualities of the annotations, the range of learning brought to bear, the seriousness and focus of the inquiry, along with more typical evidence of a reader culling commonplaces and wisdom for future use. The annotations seem to be in two hands, both late Tudor. One hand (accounting for approximately 80% of the annotations) can be dated to the 1560s, the other, unfortunately, offers less evidence by

¹²It is true that Farmer cites, with some relish, Nashe’s 1589 dig at the grammar-school-educated readers of English translations, who “feed on nought but the crumbs that fall from the translator’s trencher” (from Nashe’s preface to Greene’s *Menaphon*, 1589). But this was by no means the dominant view on translations, but more likely betrays Nashe’s attempt to establish himself early in his career by way of provocation.

which it can be dated, but also looks Elizabethan.¹³ There are few overlaps in the annotations themselves. The Farmer-Reed copy of Barker's translation of the *Cyropaedia*, in other words, attests to an early and attentive reception of its account of Persia, a reading that scrutinizes the interpretative qualities of the translation itself, and that records and enlarges its reading of Xenophon's text by means of an extensive apparatus of marginal annotation. Before this copy even reaches Farmer and Reed, it attests fulsomely to multiple overlapping and dialogic acts and moments of reception: between and across author, translator, and readers. Those acts and moments of reception are not simply intertextual exchanges, but involve numerous transformative imaginative movements back and forth across the cultural spaces and temporalities of England, Greece, Europe, and Persia. For such movements, "reception" is all too bare a word, its agency too delimited; it may well be the case that the sonic model of "resonance" might provide a richer frame for understanding, a model in which, in the words of Steve Goodman, "[the] vibratory nexus exceeds and precedes the distinction between subject and object, constituting a mesh of relations in which discreet entities prehend each other's vibrations" (Goodman 2012, p. 71).

The readers' marks are extensive, detailed and learned, encompassing lists, summaries, glosses, dates (using a universal chronology), testy comments, intertextual references, cross-references, manicules, and even pictographs. The very title-page is annotated, with biographical information about Xenophon ("Xenoph. fuit discipulus Socrates"), short title and summary of its contents ("Xenophon lib. Institutio. Regis. / Xenophon. lib. rei militaria"), glossing of "Cyrus, the noble kyng of Persia" as "Monarche," a reference to another source on Cyrus ("Herodotus. Hys."), as well as the incorrect publication date (1550), noted twice.¹⁴ A complete set of interpretative textual apparatus appears in the blank spaces of the paratexts at the beginning and end of the volume, woven

¹³One reference directs readers to the 1560 edition of the English translation of Carion's *Chronicle*, and an internal reference to Thomas Lanquet's contribution to the text that became known as Cooper's *Chronicle* indicates that it cannot be earlier than 1559. Given that the full eight Books of the *Cyropaedia* appeared in 1567, one must presume that a reader as engaged, knowledgeable, and interested in the *Cyropaedia* as this annotator is would have had the interest and means to acquire the second edition as soon as possible.

¹⁴The STC date is 1552, and given that the title by which Barker addresses his dedicatee were only awarded Herbert in September 1551, there is no additional authority for believing a 1550 date inscribed on this copy.

around the verso of the title-page and Barker's dedicatory epistle to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. The verso of the title-page presents tables of some of Xenophon's other works, as well as the main alternative classical and scriptural sources on the life of Cyrus (Herodotus, the books of Daniel, Chronicles, Ezra and Isaiah, the *Jewish History* of Josephus). Throughout, attempts are made at dating particular events within a universal chronology, although it does not appear to match those of Carion or Johannes Sleidan, two of the most prominent contemporary versions within the Protestant chronographic tradition. The biblical references are precise and accurate; at one point, Cyrus's name is written in Hebrew lettering. The dedicatory epistle is followed by one blank leaf, each side ruled into two columns, three of which are filled with lists of topoi from the text; the final column (on the verso) lists the peoples conquered by Cyrus, as described in the *Cyropaedia*. The volume has been paginated throughout, and the lists are easy to follow into the text, where we often find glosses or other supplementary marginal comment, along with underlining, manicules, more headnotes and summaries, and mnemonic markers.¹⁵

Of the topoi into which the text has been organized in these tables, most frequent are directions to Cyrus's orations, but prominent, too, are references to the Persians' diet, to Cyrus's education, to his judgment and piety. The framing of these topoi is predictably pithy, but occasionally illuminating in its phrasing: "how to mak men obay," "Rules to gou[er]ne" and "Seruantes duty" attest to the political interests of the reader. Nor does the reader let up once the book has been read through. Another set of follow-up notes appears at the end of the main text. The tone of the annotations is didactic, amplificatory, heuristic: "Rede Carion Chron, folio 32 et lanquet," we are instructed, before the annotator summarizes the events in Cyrus's life that Barker has omitted in this first edition by finishing at the end of Book 6 rather than Book 8. Here, too, the annotator shows considerable learning, adding in the Herodotean version of Cyrus's death rather than that of Xenophon ("He warreth w[i]t[h] Sythians and ys slayne | By Tomyriss the queene // 25 yere of his Reign"). Finally, another set of directive topoi are signalled on the verso of that final page, reflecting concerns closely allied with those of the earlier lists of topoi: for example, "what a Rulers dyett ys," or "the

¹⁵On sixteenth-century readers' marks, see Sherman (2008). The marks found in this copy are consonant with those Sherman describes.

things requyred in a captayne,” as well as summary headings for key plot-points. Animating these annotations is a wish to identify the nature and source of Cyrus’s imperial achievements, material that Xenophon locates in Cyrus’s Persian identity.

But the comments are not confined to the body of Xenophon’s text, or even its subject. The dedicatory epistle attracts a series of scathing comments directed principally at Barker (to which I will return), but also a direct question for Xenophon himself. A small blank space at the end of the dedicatory epistle is filled with explanatory notes as to Cyrus’s parentage, and with a challenge to Xenophon that itself has the ring of a commonplace—indeed, originates in Erasmus’s *Adagia* (I iii 1), “Aut regem aut fatuum nasci oportere” (“One ought to be born a *king* or a *fool*”): “Xenophon tell ys it better to be a lord and a foole or a philosopher and poore. The king a foole I pytty a wyse man and a Beggar I enuy for a philosopher yf he fall can ryse again” (Erasmus 2001, p. 52). Print is “an interactive technology,” Frances Dolan writes (2013, pp. 11–12). She summarizes what scholarship on early modern reading practices has taught us about early modern readers: that they were not just goal-oriented and embedded in reading networks (as Grafton and Jardine showed in their seminal essay, “How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy”), but were also “active, creative, impertinent, opportunistic, and unpredictable” (Dolan 2013, p. 10). Implicit in those additional epithets—and unmissable in the examples here—is “dialogic:” that is, reception and reading practices involve an interaction imagined as one between people as much as between texts, as an open rather than programmatic conversation. This English encounter with Persia is framed by the annotations as an encounter between an ancient Persian, a slightly less ancient Greek, an English Tudor contemporary and the reader. The occasionally robust exchange of views presented in the marginal annotations works in all kinds of different directions. If, on the one hand, it attests to a lively and topical interest in ancient Persia in Tudor England, and an interrogative attitude towards cultural and historical intermediaries past and present, for Farmer and Reed it attests to a lively English culture of scholarliness and classicism conducted precisely through and within such intermediaries. The danger for reception studies is to subordinate, substitute or otherwise separate one act of reception to/from another; the challenge is to find a methodology that allows for this enriched model of reception without losing sight of unique historical positions and possibilities. Book history that recognizes

a “sociology of texts” (on D. F. McKenzie’s model) as part of a more expansive cultural history offers one such model (McKenzie 1986).¹⁶

The often evaluative, only apparently disaggregating marginal annotations on this copy themselves give some direction. Besides the interest in tracking Cyrus’s life and achievements in terms of a universal chronology, this reader tries to view Xenophon’s Cyrus from different angles as a cultural and historical composite: to place him in biblical history as well as in the pagan records of classical history, to evaluate his actions according to his own standards as well as by comparison with other accounts of him. Overall, the reasoning is not just inductive but accretionary, even if the structuring of topoi and the occasional outburst betrays a hankering towards a more fixed and knowable set of values. As the tendentious formulations (“how to mak men obay”) of the interpretative categories suggest, the ultimate aim of these sixteenth-century readers seems to be to excavate what kinds of lessons the *Cyropaedia* might hold, specifically about forms of government, in an age of imperial expansion and imperial rivalries within and across Europe, the Middle East and the Far East.¹⁷ As such, the annotations confirm the influence of the *Cyropaedia* on early modern English educational, literary and political theory more broadly. A taste for hunting, moderation in diet and appetites and the inculcation of principles of justice in education are the Persian qualities most valued by the annotator(s), to judge from the location and number of comments and marks across the text. This matches the qualities with which Persia is associated in sixteenth-century English writings more broadly: pedagogical texts such as Roger Ascham’s *The Scholemaster* (1561) or Sir Thomas Elyot’s *The Boke Named the Governour* (1531), political texts such as King James VI of Scotland and I of England’s *Basilikon Doron* (1599), literary texts such as Edmund Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene* (1590–1596) and Sir Philip Sidney’s *Defence of Poesie* (1591). So, for example, in King James’s mirror-for-princes written to his son Henry, Xenophon’s praise of hunting is presented as a short-hand argument for the nobility and usefulness of hunting as military

¹⁶An excellent and relevant recent example of work that combines book history with an appreciation of Tudor translation as an agent of literary and political change is Coldiron (2015).

¹⁷Sanjay Subrahmanyam identifies “inter-imperial competition” as one potential framework through which the world history of the early modern period could be studied on a global level (Bentley et al. 2015, vol. 1, p. 6).

training.¹⁸ Moderation in diet, which attracts numerous underlinings and glossing in this copy, is reaffirmed particularly by educational writers such as Sir Thomas Elyot, who presents a long section on Persian diet, closely paraphrased from the *Cyropaedia*, in the *Governour* (1:18). The Persian reputation for justice finds expression across a range of forms—on stage, for example, in both Thomas Preston’s tragedy, *Cambyses* (1570, but performed from 1560) and Farrant’s romance *The Warres of Cyrus* (printed in 1594, but performed in the late 1570s).¹⁹ Its widespread acceptance and familiarity may also be visible in the ease with which Sidney reaches for the phrase “the portraiture of a *just* empire” to translate (and abbreviate and remodel) Cicero’s cautious compliment to Xenophon’s depiction of Cyrus (“effigiem iusti imperii”) (Sidney 1989, p. 103). The willingness to read Xenophon’s account alongside less flattering versions of the life of Cyrus, notably that of Herodotus, which we find in Edmund Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene*, for example, also finds corroboration in these marginal annotations (see Grogan 2014, pp. 92–98).

But the Farmer-Reed copy of Barker’s translation of Xenophon also presents opportunities to pursue new lines of enquiry, not just into Xenophon’s political thought but into Tudor political theory. For example, Xenophon foregrounds Cyrus’s ability to command obedience from his subjects and allies far and wide. In fact, this is the distinguishing feature of Cyrus’s rule for Xenophon, who begins the *Cyropaedia* with a short reflection on the best forms of government and an expression of wonder at the voluntary nature of the obedience Cyrus elicits from his distant and diverse imperial subjects. For Xenophon, this can be ascribed to Cyrus’s qualities and actions as a charismatic ruler: justice, piety, friendship, but also cunning, deception and a genius for strategy, military and otherwise. Although Barker goes along with this agenda by emphasizing how Cyrus attained “the friendship of so many nations” (Sig. B2^v), the same cannot be said of our annotating reader.

¹⁸“I cannot omit heere the hunting, namely with running hounds; which is the most honourable and noblest sorte thereof: for it is a theeuish forme of hunting to shoote with gunnes and bowes; and greyhound hunting is not so martiall a game: But because I would not be thought a partiall praiser of this sport, I remit yon to Xenophon, an olde and famous writer, who had no minde of flattering you or me in this purpose: and who also setteth downe a faire paterne, for the education of a yong king, vnder the supposed name of Cyrus” (James 1918, pp. 48–49).

¹⁹Wiggins argues for a 1580s date for *The Warres of Cyrus*, based on its influence from *Tamburlaine* (Wiggins 2008).

Instead, a tension emerges between the scriptural Cyrus as the providential instrument of God and forerunner of Christ the liberator of humankind, and the classical Cyrus of intelligence and virtue, but also a talent for “stratagems” (Sig. [L7]^v), masterminding imperial success and enforcing universal obedience by means of his cunning military and social tactics.²⁰ This tension breaks out in caustic comments directed at both Barker and Xenophon: to Barker’s contention that Xenophon’s narrative of Socrates (in the *Memorabilia*) teaches “what is to be folowed as good, and auoided, as euell,” this reader retorts, “The bible teacheth these far exceedyngly better” (Sig. A5^v). To Xenophon’s praise of Cyrus for his successful dominion, we find the chiding, ‘nay all is from god’ (Sig. B1^v). At the very end of the first Book, that in which Cyrus’s Persian and Median education is punctiliously described and praised, our reader intervenes to admire the Christian God instead, using a tag from St Paul’s epistle to the Romans (Romans 1:14): “god debter to ma[n]y” (Sig. [F6]). Nor is this simply a dogmatic piety; the godly reader proves particularly attentive to Cyrus’s less virtuous qualities, and signals his moral failings even where they prove not to be political failings. “Cyrus forgott this lesson,” is the riposte to Cyrus’s father’s final warning not to seek to be “lordes of all” (Sig. F6). Ironically, in this sense the godly reading shadows that of Machiavelli, whose instrumental reading of the *Cyropaedia* saw him identify and praise Cyrus’s powers of deception of friends and enemies alike for political purposes.²¹ In focalising the shape and principles of Cyrus’s government, and in observing contradictions or tensions between divine and human authority in that sphere rather than simply analysing and adducing the imperial outcomes of Cyrus’s acts (as Sidney had), the annotations point to the existence and motivations of more sceptical early modern attitudes to imperial ambition—including, surely, contemporary English imperial ambitions.

²⁰As the liberator of the Babylonian Jews, Cyrus is praised in the 1560 Geneva Bible: “For he was chief Monarche, and had manie nacions vnder his dominion, which this heathen King co[n]fesseth to haue receiued of the liuing God” (note on Ezra 1:2; sig. 2F3^v). Johannes Carion describes him as “rekened one amonge the moost doughtyest kynges & lordes of the worlde. For besyde the manyfold excellent and very princely vertues had God geue[n] and endued him wyth sundery luck and fortune in rulyng, and very excellent vyc-tories of hys enemyes” (Carion 1550, Sig. [D7]).

²¹Especially in *Discorsi* 2.13 and 3.20 (Machiavelli 1965).

But the annotator(s) hold dear not only the Christian God, but the capacities of the English language too: to Barker's conventional translator's apology for English as a "rude and barren tong" compared with the Greek, this reader chastises Barker once again, "nay you[r] grosse wit and ar[r]ant to dispray[se]" (Sig. [A6]). Here, we can speculate, Farmer and Reed may have concurred: as a domestication of a classical Greek source, by way of other continental intermediaries, Barker's translation needs no apology. A certain pride in the capacities of English language and scholarship can be detected, a pride chary of comparison with (or acknowledgment of its origins in) the most prestigious European culture. Speculative though this is, it seems important to note the effect of a crucial shift in literary history that may well have taken hold at this rich point of convergence between sixteenth- and eighteenth-century readers, readers who perhaps found themselves mirrored—and nurtured—in the company of this text, this book. What Farmer gave his friend Isaac Reed in 1786 was an old, well-used book, one that was already heavily inscribed by sixteenth-century readers with the kind of scholarly annotations that Reed was himself producing for his Shakespeare editions. This act of reception and resonance was social and material as well as textual and historical. It testified twice over to a canon-shaping environment of scholarly dialogue about classical literature out of which Shakespeare's informed classicism could emerge: not just the editorial and critical work of Reed and Farmer, but the lively culture of criticism of such classical work evidenced by both the Tudor translator and annotator(s). For Reed and Farmer, the effect must have been a self-bolstering one, bringing their own scholarly conversations and Shakespearean projects into an older tradition of English scholarly commentary, and commentary that the eighteenth-century scholars can presume was accessible to Shakespeare too. What their Shakespeare gained from contemporary English translators, then, was not just the translated text, but the resonances of a vibrant tradition of scholarly and pedagogic commentary with it. Yet what was lost in their subordination of the testimony of this copy to their larger aim of confirming Shakespeare's native and collaborative English genius was the sense of testing, world-changing thought conducted through sixteenth-century English engagement with ancient Persia, focalized again and again in readings of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* from the very moment of its translation into English, if not before.

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CHAPTER 6

“Enthusiastick” Uses of an Oriental Tale: The English Translations of Ibn Tufayl’s *Hayy Ibn Yaqdhan* in the Eighteenth Century

Louisiane Ferlier and Claire Gallien

INTRODUCTION

Ibn Tufayl, the author of *Hayy Ibn Yaqdhan*, was born in Al Andalus in the twelfth century. Doctor of the caliph Abu Ya’qub Yusuf, philosopher and theologian, he engaged with the philosophy of al-Ghazali and Ibn Sina, and influenced the thought of Ibn Rushd.¹ *Hayy Ibn Yaqdhan*, which translates as “Alive, Son of the Awake,” is the only extant text by

¹For more information on the author Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn Tufayl, see Conrad (1996). See also Ben-Zaken (2011) and in particular, his first chapter “Taming the Mystic” in which he recontextualises Ibn Tufayl’s work within the political and philosophical controversies of his days, pp. 15–41.

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Ibn Tufayl.² It tells the story of a child living in complete isolation on an Indian island but reaching philosophical and religious truths through sensorial experiments and reasoning. This philosophical tale was part of a theological debate over the ways in which man may communicate with God. Al-Ghazali had developed a Neoplatonic approach that opposed a lesser rational understanding of worldly things to true spiritual knowledge of the divine, while Ibn Tufayl viewed reason as the way to understand God through nature. *Hayy*'s journey towards natural and godly knowledge embodied Ibn Tufayl's belief in a form of religion devised rationally through experiments and observations.³ This vision of revelation as a spark igniting the human mind found a particular resonance in the context of the Socinian controversy in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain.

The first publication of Ibn Tufayl's tale in England dates back to 1671. This Arabic and Latin edition was published by Edward Pococke (1648–1727), son of the first Laudian Professor of Arabic at the University of Oxford.⁴ Only three years later, a young Scottish Quaker theorist and controversialist, George Keith, translated the Latin text into English after having discovered the Dutch publication of the tale (Keith 1674).⁵ Although he remained close to the Latin translation, Keith's publication

²Another partial text, *Al-Urjuza Al-Tawila fi l-tibb*, "Rajaz Poem on Medicine," is kept in Fez, Ms. 3158, Al-Qarawiyyin Library, Fez, Morocco (Conrad 1996, Note 27, p. 8).

³On Ibn Tufayl's definition of revelation and its relation to Ibn Sina's, al-Kindi's, al-Ghazali's or al-Farabi's theologies, see, Radtke, Bernd. "How can man reach the mystical union? Ibn Tufayl and the divine spark" (Conrad 1996, pp. 165–194).

⁴And so, not Edward Pococke the elder (1604–1691), as Ben-Zaken repeatedly asserts in *Reading Hayy Ibn Yaqzan*. Ben-Zaken's confusion may be explained by the fact that it was the father and not the son who was the driving force behind the project. Still, the translation was the work of the son and Pococke the elder prepared and sent copies to various eminent orientalist scholars in France in order to introduce his son and secure the Laudian chair of Arabic in Oxford for him. As it turned out, Pococke the younger never proved as dedicated and as gifted as his father and it was Thomas Hyde who was chosen to replace Pococke the elder, when the latter died in 1691.

⁵The Dutch translation was published in 1672 by Johan Bouwmeester. As discussed in (Israel 2006, pp. 628–631), the work was commissioned by the literary society *Nil Volentibus Arduum*, rather than Spinoza directly as had been conjectured by some studies on the basis of the second translation attributed to S. D. B. (Conrad 1996, p. 276; Russell 1993, Note

was part and parcel of his religious and philosophical defence of the Quaker creed. In reaction to this partisan translation and as the popular interest for the fable grew, George Ashwell, an Anglican rector, published his own adaptation in 1686, which was included ten years later in an abridged and romanced version by George Conyers, a London bookseller who specialized in popular formats (Greene 1696). Then in 1708 a moderate Anglican and Cambridge scholar, Simon Ockley, went back to the original Arabic text in response to the two previous editions.

Hayy has been discussed in studies that deal with Ibn Tufayl and Al Andalus, or the impact of his work on eighteenth-century fiction and natural philosophy, especially on John Locke (Russell 1993, pp. 224–265; Attar 2007, pp. 1–18 and 37–62), but very little has been said about the role of the translators in the textual resonances achieved by this twelfth-century Eastern tale in late seventeenth- early eighteenth-century Europe.⁶ The intrusion of the translators in the text was motivated by their will to reveal their own understanding of the theological value of the text, as has previously been underlined by Justin Champion (2010, p. 446). Champion’s analysis is that whereas the first edition of the text in Arabic and Latin resulted from a scientific desire to enrich and enlarge knowledge on Arabic literature, the 1674, 1686 and 1708 translations were calculated to serve theological agendas.

Building on this claim, we would like to suggest that, rather than proceeding to a complete distortion of the original message, Keith and Ashwell entered into a skillful theological commerce with the text. By adding paratextual comments and by concealing some problematic passages, their motivation was to steer the readers towards their own religious positions. Ashwell had a more cavalier treatment of the Latin source text and stripped it, for instance, of its introduction in which the position of the text in the philosophical debates that divided the Muslim community in twelfth-century Spain is explained. This permitted a more

16, p. 255). The impact of Ibn Tufayl’s philosophy on the circle around Spinoza, Pierre Bayle, John Locke and Jean Le Clerc remains regardless a fascinating topic deserving further study.

⁶The main secondary sources on the circulation of the tale in Europe are Attar (2007, pp. 20, 37, 40, and 99) and Ben Zaken (2011, pp. 10 and 119–120). Attar treats of the translators in a particularly cavalier way, even misidentifying Ashwell as “the Catholic vicar of Banbury” (37). They also leave out Conyers’s edition, which is mentioned in the full list included in (Hassan 1980, pp. 4–10).

popular version of the text to emerge and be re-appropriated by book-sellers such as George Conyers, whose aim was to procure an entertaining exotic tale for the London general public in his 1708 abridged translation. Ockley embraced a somewhat different polemical commerce with the text as both a minister in the Anglican Church and an orientalist scholar at Cambridge. Indeed, his ecclesiastical role is crucial to understand how he handled the tale, but his intrusions in the text are also symptomatic of a new desire in orientalist scholars to popularize Eastern literature.

Thus, the tale was valued for its potential theological, scholarly, and romantic resonances and we argue that from Keith to Ashwell and then Ockley a change of focus occurred from the first theological “enthusias-tick” uses of the tale to a more mundane form of literary “enthusiasm,” also known as “fashion” for the East. This contribution understands textual resonance as a three-stage process including transfer, re-rooting, and amplification, and deploys it in order to analyze which aspect—theological, orientalist, or romantic—of *Hayy Ibn Yaqdhan* gets, amplified, when, how, and why.

KEITH AND ASHWELL: A THEOLOGICAL COMMERCE—THE THEOLOGICAL RECYCLING OF THE NOTION OF “ORIENTAL PHILOSOPHY”

Hayy Ibn Yaqdhan’s story appeared in English at a time when the religious book market was thriving with the constant exchange of arguments on the rationality of various doctrines or sects. Despite the myriad of proofs used across religious debates, the appearance of “Mahometan” discourses remained problematic. The authority granted to “Oriental Philosophers” was as limited as was the general knowledge on Islam or Islamic philosophy.⁷ Despite this restriction, *Hayy Ibn Yaqdhan*’s story

⁷We must remember that the first translation of the Qur’an in English (most certainly completed, as Noel Malcolm argued, by Hugh Ross and not Alexander Ross) dated from 1649. It was not a work of scholarship but was based on Du Ryer’s French translation of 1647. Despite the development of orientalist studies in Protestant countries in the seventeenth century and the high level of exchanges between Dutch and English orientalist scholars, and between Protestant and Catholic orientalisms, the perception of Islam was still largely depreciative and it was used as a foil in quarrels opposing Catholics and Protestants (Holt 1957; Weitzman 1965; Hamilton and Richard 2004; Malcolm 2012).

attained an extraordinary appeal because of its universal message—the figure of a man living outside society but still able to reach religious truth through the observation of nature and the use of reason.⁸ In spite of the deeply rooted antagonism towards Islam, Keith and Ashwell found in Ibn Tufayl's text an aspiration to reconcile natural philosophy and religion that corresponded to their project (Conrad 1996, p. 7). They found in the tale an exemplary support to their idea that God could be observed in the natural world. Entering a form of intellectual negotiation with the Arab philosopher and in exchange for Ibn Tufayl's rhetorical support, they proposed versions of the text that they thought would transcend at least some of the public suspicions towards oriental sources.

The long title of Keith's translation, *An Account of the Oriental Philosophy, shewing the Wisdom of some Renowned Men of the East; and particularly, the profound wisdom of Hai Ebn Yokdan both in Natural and Divine things* etc., manifests his reverence for the philosophical conclusions of the tale. Whereas Pococke's original title, *Philosophicus Autodidactus*, concentrated on Hayy's specific intellectual journey, Keith turned the fable into the exemplary image of "Oriental Philosophy." The idea that the text embodies "Oriental Philosophy" was actually reflected in Ibn Tufayl's own introductory prologue. His opening address to the reader announced he would present "what ever [he] could, of the mysteries of the Eastern Philosophy," and indeed the author described how Ibn Sina, al-Ghazali, Ibn Bajjah and Aristotle theorized the nature of knowledge (Keith 1674, pp. 1–15). The use of Hayy's story as *exemplum* of "Oriental Philosophy" is conspicuous in the very layout of Keith's publication. Indeed, the preliminary account is only separated from the tale by a single line, the pagination continuing between both parts, without titles or decorated first letter (16). This smooth shading from Ibn Tufayl's introduction to the actual narrative indicates that Keith put the first on a par with the second. Keith's emphasis on the representative value of the tale is in fact a misinterpretation of Ibn Tufayl's intention. In the epistle, the author insisted on the variations and differences between philosophers and did not seek to unite them in a single school of thought. He even concluded that philosophy was a highly individualistic activity. Moreover, Keith seems unaware that philosophers were not accepted in Al Andalus and that their activities were considered

⁸ On Ibn Tufayl's vision of nature, see Kruk, "Ibn Tufayl: A Medieval Scholar's View on Nature," in 1996, pp. 69–89.

as disruptive in the context of the consolidation of the religious pillars of the Almohads.⁹

This erroneous re-creation of Arabic philosophy went along a general imprecision on the geographical location of the “Orient.” Keith used the terms “Eastern” and “Oriental” interchangeably and the geographical elasticity of these two terms is truly baffling. Keith confuses his vision of the “Orient,” here the Arabic world, with Ibn Tufayl’s own conception of an imaginary Eastern territory, as a fantasized India (Keith 1674, p. 16).

Keith’s disorientation announced a series of ambiguities in the translation. Like Ashwell, he seemed to hesitate on the fictive nature of Hayy Ibn Yaqdhan. In his preface, he announced that the tale proved that “the Author, or yet the *person* of whom he writeth [have] been good men” (Keith 1674, p. 3, emphasis added). Keith’s confusion between history and fiction is significant as it led him to associate Eastern wisdom with the fictional character Hayy, rather than with his inventor, Ibn Tufayl. Despite his genuine interest for “Oriental Philosophy,” Keith’s imprecisions reflected the general ignorance of Arabic philosophy in Europe and the fact that the East largely remained an imaginary continent.

As opposed to Keith’s, the title page of George Ashwell’s 1686 *History of Hai Eb’n Yockdan, an Indian Prince: Or, the Self-Taught Philosopher* directs the reader’s attention to the narrative.¹⁰ Ashwell clearly differentiated between the two geographical spheres of the tale: India, the place of the fiction, and the Arab-Muslim world where the text was originally produced. This presentation announced that Ashwell was less interested in Ibn Tufayl’s own philosophical conclusions than in using the narration of Hayy’s intellectual awakening to support his natural philosophy. The first sign of this editorial choice is the

⁹As Laurence Conrad sums up: “In the generation preceding Ibn Tufayl, Ibn Bajja compares the philosopher in Spain to the odd weed that here and there sprouts among the crops –unsown, uncultivated, unwelcome, and isolated, and subject to the ruler’s dictum that the crop must not be allowed to suffer for the sake of the weeds” (Conrad 1996, p. 13).

¹⁰The long title reads: *The History of Hai Eb’n Yockdan, an Indian Prince: or, the Self-Taught Philosopher. Written Originally in the Arabick Tongue, by Abi Jaafar Eb’n Tophail, a Philosopher by Profession and A Mahometan by Religion. Wherein is demonstrated, by what Steps and Degrees, Human Reason, improved by diligent Observation and Experience, may arrive to the Knowledge of natural things, and from thence to the Discovery of Supernaturals; more especially of God, and the Concernments of the other World. Set forth not long ago in the Original Arabick, with the Latin Version by Edw. Pocock M.A. and Student of Christ-Church.*

suppression of Ibn Tufayl’s introductory epistle. The fable, now deprived of its intellectual background, focuses on the universal figure of the isolated hermit. In his own preface to the text, Ashwell briefly presented Ibn Tufayl and the story, but his publication was premised on the notion that in order to make the fable’s moral even more obviously universal, the translator should minimize references to Islam.

In a sense, Ashwell’s recomposition of the text and Keith’s imprecisions are the signs of what Justin Champion interpreted as a lack of interest in diffusing an authentic Hayy and as a desire to introduce a religious discourse in concordance with their own theology. Rather than confining the text to an element of a larger “rhetorical stockpile,” the translators extracted and manipulated this text to emphasize its theological value (Champion 2010, p. 447). The fact that these translations are Keith’s and Ashwell’s only orientalist publication indicates that they found something essential in this specific text that supported their understanding of religion.

THEOLOGICAL TRANSACTIONS

Keith and Ashwell prefaced their publication by regretting that *Hayy* supported the Islamic faith of the author. Their enthusiasm for the fable was openly selective—only “some things,” “some sentences,” “some lessons” could do “some good” to the readers (Ashwell 1686, pp. 10–11; Keith 1674, Advertisement to the reader, n.p.). By all accounts, Ibn Tufayl’s text was largely incompatible with orthodox Christianity: as Hayy and his disciple chose to die isolated rather than suffer the corruption brought by the rules of the established Church, the conclusion of the tale could easily be summed up as a rejection of religious institutions. However, Keith found in the fable’s conclusion a literary evocation of his Quaker theology of the “inner light” and Ashwell’s anti-Socinian campaign predisposed him to consider favourably a tale built on the discovery of religious truths in nature.¹¹

Keith’s attitude towards Islam was similar to his use of the Kabbalah, the mystic Hebraic tradition. At the time of his edition of *Hayy*, Keith corresponded with the editors of the *Kabbalah Denudata*, Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (1636–1689) and Franciscus Mercurius van

¹¹ Ashwell used anti-socinian arguments to defend his intellectual support of the Anglican Church (Mortimer 2010, Chapter 5).

Helmont (1614–1698), and in one of his letters to the former, he considered that exchanges with traditions outside of Christianity were beneficial for Christian readers and that these “common notions” helped spread the Christian message.¹² Understanding these traditions allowed him to use a common language to convert the Jews, or here the Muslims, to Christianity and it confirmed his belief in universal salvation. This position is clearly at the centre of *Hayy*, as he writes:

If it appears unto thee [reader], that the Author, or yet the person of whom he writeth, hath been a good man, and far beyond many who have the name of Christians, that have had better outward opportunities to learn to be good then he, such as the use of the Holy Scriptures and other helps; think not strange of it, but remember there have been instances of good men mentioned in the Scriptures, who had not the Oracles of God. (Keith, “Advertisement to the reader,” 1674)

This is one of several instances, in which Keith argued that a Turk, a Jew, a Native American or an unbeliever could impart more wisdom and a better knowledge of religious truth than a Christian. Keith’s choice to let the reader judge of the good and bad in the tale is directly informed by his belief that one’s conscience must only be guided towards the truth and not forced to accept it.

His version of *Hayy* took indeed part in a larger editorial project to theorize the notion of “inner light” central to the Quaker doctrine. Along with Robert Barclay, the other leader of Scottish Quakerism, Keith viewed religious truth as resulting from an inner individual revelation inspired by nature. He coined the term of “immediate revelation” in order to refer to this theory. In his introduction to the fable, we find the idea that the tale “showeth excellently how far the knowledge of a man whose eyes are spiritually opened, differeth from that knowledge that men acquire simply by hear-say, or reading” (Keith 1674, p. 2). This quote concurs directly with the idea that the “inner light” and revelation come from within and that, as Ashwell insisted, a spiritual interpretation of natural phenomena surpasses any rational computation. Keith’s insistence on the necessity of a direct contact between the thing known and man’s mind was intended as a criticism of established religion. According

¹²“*Commercium Epistolicum Knorrianum*,” MS Cod. Guelph Extrav. 30.4, f. 16. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

to the Quaker, the only authority in religious matters should be an individual's reason, not the lessons taught by a minister. Hayy then doubly symbolized what immediate interaction with religious truth meant for Keith: having received revelation directly from nature without any outward help, when in contact with other men Hayy did not try to convert them but conversed with them, thus refusing any prophetic role. The idea that only conversations and observations were valid means for theological interactions came out quite powerfully in Keith's translation.

Although his translation suffered from a certain imprecision, a lack of knowledge of the Arabic source, and despite the fact that his prose was not fluid, it did respect the narrative. Keith was the only one among the early translators who adhered to Ibn Tufayl's theological discourse, drawing an unexpected bridge between Ibn Tufayl's interpretation of Islam and the doctrine of the Society of Friends. The tale presented a greater challenge for an Anglican translator than for the sectarian. As a result, Ashwell resorted to an uncompromising edition/reduction of the text.

Ashwell transformed and reduced the text in order to erase a large number of Quranic quotes or figurative expressions too clearly associated with Arabic literature. Although Ashwell recognized that Quranic quotes "pass for elegancies and ornaments, as well as proofs, among the Mahometans, as Citations out of the Old Testament or the Talmud, do with the Jews" (Ashwell 1686, pp. 18–19), he still cut passages "which I conceived little or nothing pertinent to the main Design of the History" (14). Ashwell diminished at once the canonic value of the Quran and its literary richness. He sought to disconnect the philosophical conclusion from the author's religious and literary context and transformed the narrative.

Ashwell explicitly concentrated on the powerful moral incentive contained in the fable as far as it supported his natural theology. In his epistle dedicatory, Ashwell presented the tale as a moral guide towards a reasonable practice of religion "among Men of this licentious Generation" (2). The translator opposed the "phancy" or enthusiastic religious beliefs of his compatriots to the natural spirituality of the fictional character created in twelfth-century Islamic Spain. By doing so, he transgressed the code of representing the Christian British man as the sole model figure for the true form of religiosity.

An additional and potent sign that the fabrication of an accessible Eastern narrative was there to sustain the moral and religious messages of

the translator was the insertion after the tale of a theological treatise written by Ashwell, entitled “Theological Ruris sive Schola & Scala Naturæ: or the Book of Nature, Leading us, by certain Degrees to the Knowledge and Worship of the God of Nature.” Although Ibn Tufayl’s fable was not mentioned in this addition, its function was to clarify what Ashwell thought Hayy’s revelation symbolized. Ashwell explained how, through a careful observation of nature, one may understand the nature of God and how the lower world can lead to the contemplation of Heaven. Ashwell used the parable of Hayy’s revelation to defend a natural theology and refute Socinianism, he opposed the “hydra” of rationalist pamphlets of the Restoration to advocate a symbiotic relation to nature.¹³ This position was illustrated by Ashwell’s editorial practices, as when he omitted passages where Ibn Tufayl insisted on purely scientific rationality (such as the calculation of the longitude and latitude). Ashwell’s *Indian Prince* can therefore be regarded as an editorial enterprise to support an Anglican natural theology. The simplification of the narrative also indicates that Ashwell’s intention was not only to outdo Keith’s previous translation, but to turn the account into a popular easy-read rendering his praise for a natural religion accessible. This transaction appears best in the romanticized title of Ashwell’s production: the “self-taught philosopher” has now become an Indian Prince.¹⁴

Although Keith’s and Ashwell’s translations asserted the authority of the Christian creed, they did not fully lose sight of the intellectual Islamic ground on which Ibn Tufayl built his tale. The idea of a theological commerce illustrates that the translators perceived themselves as intermediaries. While they retained the essential message of the tale, it was necessary for them to adapt the text for a Christian readership unfamiliar with Arabic literature. In order to convince the readers that an Eastern source may have authority in religious matters, they undermined many of the original subtleties and Islamic references, but did not perceive these transformations as betrayals. Keith and Ashwell

¹³On Socinianism and “rational religion,” see Spurr (1988), McLachland (1951), and Mortimer (2010).

¹⁴We would concur with Parveen Hasanali, who argued in her 1995 doctoral dissertation “Texts, Translators, Transmission: ‘Hayy Ibn Yaqzan’ and its reception in Muslim, Judaic and Christian Milieux” that this insistence on the narrative announces Kirkby’s or Defoe’s approaches to the tale.

stood therefore as religious translators of an Arabic text, whereas with Conyers and Ockley, the Orient was to become a subject of attraction and fascination.

CONYERS AND OCKLEY: ORIENTALIST RE-FASHIONINGS—FROM PHILOSOPHICAL TO ROMANTIC TALE

In a 1980 study, Nawal Muhammad Hassan mentioned the existence of one short English rendition of *Hayy* called "The Story of Josephus the Indian Prince," which he described as "a shorter anonymous English translation of *Hayy Bin Yaqzan* bound with Robert Greene's *The History of Dorastus and Fawnia*".¹⁵ In 1696, the bookseller George Conyers published a new edition of the moralistic romance written by Greene in 1588, to which he appended an abridged and romanticized paraphrase of Ashwell's 1686 translation. The pages run continuously from one story to the other. The anonymous "Story of Josephus" is not mentioned on the title page, which would indicate it was an arrangement by the printer for the bookseller who could well have redacted the text himself.

The story starts as a word for word rendition of Ashwell's translation, except that the name "Hai Eb'n Yockdan" is replaced by "Josephus." Then, the text consists of a summarized version of the main stages of Hayy/Josephus's development. Ibn Tufayl's philosophical, spiritual, and theological speculations, already reduced to a pared down version in Ashwell's translation, are cut away in Conyers's abridgement. The bookseller then followed Ashwell and skimmed over fifty years of Hayy/Josephus's life to arrive at the episode with the mystic Asal.¹⁶ Conyers's full title presented both stories as "a pleasant winter-evening's entertainment" offering his readers a heart-warming easy-read rather than a theological reflexion on the nature of revelation.

Thus, on at least three aspects, Conyers anticipated the pseudo-oriental fashion or vogue which took hold of the European literary imagination and taste following the publication of the *Arabian Nights* by Antoine Galland at the very beginning of the eighteenth century. His brisk handling of the text manifested an enthusiasm for Eastern romances

¹⁵The original title was: *Pandosto, the Triumph of Time*.

¹⁶To compare editorial similarities between the two texts, see in particular Ashwell (1686, pp. 156–188) and "The History of Josephus, The Indian Prince" (1696, pp. 71–78).

and tales, a propensity to pilfer and plagiarize, and finally a partiality for the use of sequels or supplements as narrative devices. Even before Scheherazade's nightly continuations, things Oriental were linked with motifs of abundance and proliferation, and easily turned into cultural prejudices and negative stereotypes of the East as lascivious and monstrous. However "latent" or "manifest"¹⁷ Orientalism is not what preoccupied authors or booksellers like Conyers whose primary concern lay in the marketability of their products. Indeed, with Conyers, we enter a new age where things and texts oriental became objects of imaginary popular delight and consumption. Orientalist scholars, such as Simon Ockley, would play a crucial role in this market (Ballaster 2005a, b; Berg 2005).

STRADDLING THEOLOGY AND ORIENTALISM

Simon Ockley's translation in English was based on the manuscript that Edward Pococke the younger had used some forty years earlier for his Latin translation.¹⁸ This manuscript was part of a luxurious collection of 420 manuscripts, most of which in Arabic, that had belonged to his father, Edward Pococke the elder, and had been bought for the Bodleian Library in 1692 (Toomer, "Pococke, Edward [1604–1691]"). Ockley did not work on new source material; rather, his originality lies in the fact that he used English, instead of Latin, to circulate the tale beyond orientalist circles.

His intentions also differed from Keith's and Ashwell's in his treatment of the source text. Indeed, he was less interested in producing a polemical translation than in publishing a scholarly yet approachable edition of Ibn Tufayl's philosophical tale. Thus, he translated *Hayy* into English with an extensive apparatus of footnotes. The explanations and information contained in these notes were, most of the time, extracted from Pococke's *Specimen Historiæ Arabum* (1650). The *Specimen* contained the edition and translation of part of Abū al-Faraj's *Kitāb al-Mun-taẓam* on the history of Islam, to which a substantial endnote section

¹⁷For the distinction between the two, see Said (1978, pp. 201–207).

¹⁸*Risālah Hayy ibn Yaqzān*, MS Pococke 263, ff. 23–71, Pococke Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Pococke's Latin translation, *Philosophus autodidactus*, first published in Oxford in 1671 went through a second edition in 1700. Even though Edward Pococke the younger appears as the nominal translator of the Arabic philosophical tale, it was noted by G. J. Toomer that it was in fact his father who had conceived of the project and who had largely executed it ("Pococke, Edward [bap. 1648, d. 1726]").

was added. This translation and more particularly its paratext were considered as a major reference work for eighteenth-century orientalists. Thus, Ockley not only offered the original *Hayy* to a wide readership, he also paraphrased and translated portions of seventeenth-century orientalist scholarship in English. The religious polemical aspect of the English edition was not abandoned but it was distinguished from orientalist scholarship, which marks a first step in the secularization of orientalist studies in the eighteenth century and beyond.

Differences in the treatment and functions assigned to the tale were perceptible in each of the English versions of Ibn Tufayl's text and were highlighted on their title pages. For instance, in the case of Conyers's version, the reference to Josephus, the "Indian Prince" achieved a displacement from the world of philosophy to that of fables. Indications concerning the translators and information on the paratext also conveyed different interpretations of the tale. On the title page of Ockley's version, the translator is not presented in his capacity as orientalist, but as "Vicar of Swavesey in Cambridgeshire." A reference to the Church of England recurs in the penultimate section of the title page, which describes the contents of the appendix.

It clearly indicates that Ockley was aware of the recycling of the text at the hands of dissenters and that he considered them as inappropriate and even dangerous. Moreover, the fact that the first edition of his translation was distributed by two publishers established in Blackfriars and Stationer's Hall in the vicinity of St Paul's Cathedral, indicates that it was circulated from the heart of the religious book trade. Thus, the intellectual and geographical inscription of Ockley's version into the world of English theology removes it from a purely orientalist background. The position of the text placed between theology and orientalism reflects the position of the translator himself, whose entire life was divided between two activities, that of vicar and of Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University (Holt, "Ockley, Simon," 2008).

Simon Ockley's interests both in the advancement of orientalist learning and in the future of the Anglican Church are key to assess the nature and function he assigned to *The Improvement of Human Reason*. Indeed, Ockley envisaged his new translation as a response to what he called "Enthusiastick" misappropriations of the text (Ockley, "The Preface," 1708), refuting Keith's uses of Ibn Tufayl's notion of direct revelation from God and direct access to salvation. He suggested that the tale may be used for moral purposes—to teach virtue, the love of God, and to reject mundane pleasures—but not for overruling the Anglican Church

(167). The appendix was used to reaffirm the role of “external means,” i.e. priests, for guidance, and to dismiss dissenting, or what the translator called “wild,” notions, as much as Ibn Tufayl’s mysticism would have been disallowed by what the orientalist understood as orthodox Islam.

One may argue that a purely polemical interpretation of the translation would be reductive. Indeed, the defence of priesthood appears as an appendix to the translation and not in the translation per se. Rather, by returning to the Arabic source, and by appending a large critical apparatus, the translator put forward a philological approach to the text. Ockley left the religious debate in the background and used the paratext, and most significantly the footnotes, for the dissemination of orientalist knowledge. The bookseller of the second edition of the text, William Bray, insisted on this aspect in his address to the reader:

[Ockley’s] Design, in publishing this Translation, was to give those who are as yet unacquainted with it, a Taste of the Acumen and Genius of the Arabian Philosophers, and to excite young Scholars to the reading of those Authors, which, through a groundless Conceit of their Impertinence and Ignorance, have been too long neglected. And [...] we hope that it will not be altogether unacceptable to the curious Reader, to know what the state of Learning was among the Arabs, five hundred Years since. (Ockley, “The Bookseller to the Reader,” 1708)

Ockley’s translation is thus also to be evaluated in the light of its position in the history of Arabic studies in England. Indeed, Ockley’s bookseller and Ockley himself were aware that they were producing a work for the “instruction” of the common reader. Shifting from Pococke’s Latin version to an English version would not have dramatically increased the number of readers with scholarly expertise since Latin still was the *lingua franca* of the European cultural elite. However, it would have marked a change in the type of readership targeted, as a new emphasis was placed on the popularization of orientalist knowledge.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF HUMAN REASON AND MODERN ORIENTALISM

It is, however, premature to consider Ockley’s research as marking a new turn in the history of the discipline. Indeed, the success of the book was moderate. It was first printed in 1708 and then reissued in 1711. It

also circulated in a pirated version printed in Dublin by and for Samuel Fuller in 1731.¹⁹ However, it was not re-edited or re-printed later in the century and never mentioned in the catalogues of eighteenth-century circulating libraries. The title appeared in the library of men of high professions, as indicated in the auction sale catalogues of deceased academics, barristers, practitioners, or members of the clergy.²⁰

Indeed, as far as Ockley's production was concerned, his compilation and translation of the history of the Caliphate, under the Rashidun and the first Umayyad rulers, represented a larger success. *The History of the Saracens* (1718) appeared more frequently than his translation of Ibn Tufayl in catalogues of books for sale, and it was also present in circulating catalogues, such as those of Thomas Lowndes (1758?, 1761?), William Bathoe (1767?), John Bell (1774, 1778), Gilbert Dyer (1783), and in the circulating library in Leeds (1785), Halifax (1786), Edinburgh (1786?), and Bath (1790?). Interestingly enough, *Hayy* was lined up along Ockley's other "minor pieces," or "small publications," and it was kept separate from his "major" work, *The History of the Saracens* (1718), which was considered as "the most considerable by far of all the professor's performances."²¹

Furthermore, Ockley's translation never superseded Pococke's in terms of circulation. In fact, Pococke's Latin translation appeared more

¹⁹The Copy Right Act of 1709 did not extend to Ireland. Thus, the market of books greatly developed in Dublin, where printers did not have to pay a licence and could re-print London issues without additional fees. Dublin printers would normally choose editorial successes and print cheaper and smaller versions. This was the case for the 1731 Dublin edition of *Hayy*, which was published in a duo-decimo format, while the previous versions were in-octavo. Furthermore, it only contained one illustration of low quality. The fact that *Hayy* was re-printed in Dublin testifies to its popularity (Pollard 1989; Kennedy 2005).

²⁰In the "Eighteenth-Century Collections Online" database, only 8 occurrences of Ockley's *Hayy* are to be found in catalogues of books for sale, usually after the death of their proprietors, namely, in 1733, in the catalogue of Charles Bruce, Earl of Ailesbury, in 1742, in the catalogue of "a late eminent Serjeant of Law," Dr. Edmund Halley, in 1756, in the catalogue of the President of the Royal Society, Martin Folkes, lately deceased, in 1763, in the catalogue of "an eminent counselor of the law," in 1784, in a catalogue, including the collection of the late Mr. John Millan, a Capital Law Library, in 1786 in the catalogue of John Lewis Pettit's collection of books (apparently a physician), in 1786 again, in the catalogue of books to be sold by auction, by Samuel Paterson, and, finally, in 1792, in Lackington's catalogue of second-hand books for sale.

²¹*A New and General Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 9, pp. 14–15.

frequently in these catalogues than Ockley's. It can thus be argued that on the one hand, Ockley's choice to translate *Hayy* into English was not enough to turn the book into a bestseller, but on the other hand, his use of English extended its readership beyond academic circles. Indeed, the label "philosophical tale" stuck onto the book is misleading, in the sense that Ibn Tufayl's treatise can only be remotely associated with the genre. In its Arabic version, the tale appears as a mere frame story, on the mode of *Thousand and One Nights*. The metaphysical and theological topics addressed in the Arabic text are of a highly complex nature, and are part of a larger controversy involving Ibn Tufayl against al-Ghazali on the question of a more rational approach to divine communication (Conrad 1996, pp. 238–267).

Ockley did not wish to renege on his scholarly mission but at the same time he aimed to open the discipline to a non-specialist audience, adding footnotes on "some great Man," or "some Custom of the Mahometans" for the instruction of English readers (Ockley, "The Preface," 1708). This presentation by the translator was developed in the bookseller's address to the reader, in which the various functions of the publication were stated, namely to give a taste of Arabic literature to the general public, to excite young scholars into learning Arabic, and to expand the knowledge of curious readers.

The book is not evenly annotated. Most of the footnotes occur in Ibn Tufayl's erudite introduction to the tale,²² in which the Arabic philosopher discussed how the question of the mystic union of man with God was dealt with in Eastern philosophy (Ockley, "Introduction," 1708, pp. 5 and 2). Furthermore, Ockley conceived of his footnotes as introductions to Arabic learning, with explanations of phrases that did not exist in the English language, explanations of "obscure" terms, references to the works of orientalist scholars or translations in Latin, and brief accounts of the life and works of philosophers mentioned in Ibn Tufayl's text, such as "Avicenna" (pp. 3–4), "Avenpace" (p. 5), "Alpharabius" (pp. 14–15), "Algazâli" (pp. 17–18). For instance, on page 2, he provided his readers with a rather long explanation of the Muslim creed "I testify that there is but One God, and that he has no Partner," while commenting on its

²²Out of 31 footnotes, 18 belong to the introduction (23 p.) and 13 to the rest of the book (137 p.), and most of the footnotes placed in the body of the text are actually used for referencing and not explaining or commenting the main text.

opposition to the Christian belief in the Trinity. Another significant example is Ockley's note on "The Doctrine of the Suphians" (18). The note begins with a comparison of the Sufis to "Quietists and Quakers" and is followed by a succinct explanation of their doctrines and ends with the philological controversy surrounding the term "Suphian." These and many other comments were very unlikely to catch the attention of scholars in the field but were more likely to appeal to general public.

Also indicative of the readership targeted was the addition of "proper figures" in the 1708 and 1711 editions, apparently pilfered from the 1701 Rotterdam edition (S. D. B. 1701). Five of them were inserted in the volume, and the sixth was placed facing the frontispiece. These illustrations encapsulate turning points in the plot but they do more than just illustrating it, they tip the balance towards the tale, at the expense of the philosophical and theological reflections that these episodes are initially, in the Arabic version, just supposed to support. In other words, they bring to the forefront elements that were only secondary to the objective of the Arabic author. As such, the illustrations take part in a more general redirection of the Arabic text for the English book market and, placed alongside the orientalist paratext, mark an epistemological turn in orientalist studies, now concerned with questions of vulgarization and the cross-fertilization of popular and erudite representations of the East.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we compared the four English versions of *Hayy Ibn Yaqdhan*, which were published by George Keith, George Ashwell, George Conyers and Simon Ockley respectively in 1674, 1686, 1696, and 1708. These publications were part of a theological controversy opposing dissenting movements to the Anglican Church and also reflected the growing enthusiasm for oriental imagery.

Scottish Quaker George Keith envisioned the text as a theological illustration of the "Immediate Revelation," which was at the core of his Quaker doctrine connecting thereby the Quaker inner light with images of divine transmission at the heart of Sufism. George Ashwell conceived of his 1686 publication as an editorial transformation. By cutting passages out of the text, omitting Ibn Tufayl's original account of "Eastern Philosophy," erasing many expressions from the Quran and entitling his translation *An Indian Prince*, he simplified the narrative to create an Orientalist easy-read. But by adding after the text a theological pamphlet

entitled “The Book of Nature,” Ashwell also advocated a contemplative religion inspired by Nature that continued to inscribe Ibn Tufayl’s discourse in early modern debates on “natural religion.” Concerns for philosophy and religion disappeared altogether from Conyers’s abridged version, which used the Oriental figure of Josephus as entertainment for the growing market of novel readers.

Finally, Simon Ockley, who acted at once as a specialist of Arabic and a member of the Anglican clergy, was dissatisfied with the previous translations and returned in 1708 to the original Arabic text. Although his translation was considered as a “minor piece,”²³ it manifested a changing editorial policy regarding Eastern publications: the addition of engravings of Hayy’s coming of age and the insertion footnotes addressed to readers unlettered in orientalist studies, were signs of a vulgarization of readership. Nevertheless, Ockley’s version does not mark a total rupture from previous editions—theological controversy is still present but only now separated from the tale and placed in an appendix. Ockley’s translation offered more room for readers to consider the tale as an allegory in favour of the experimental method. It comes therefore as no surprise that pillars of the Royal Society, Edmond Halley and Martin Folkes would own copies of his translation.²⁴ With Ockley, we see the ideological commerce with the text shift towards orientalism.

The rapid sequence of such different translations placed the tale at the centre of arguments on the nature of revelation and in 1721 Cotton Mather defended the concept of natural theology with a reference to the tale, including a full page of Ibn Tufayl’s in the introduction to his *Christian Philosopher* (5), while in 1719 and 1722 two adventure novels offered variations on the figure of the isolated man on a utopian island—Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* and John Kirkby’s *Life and Surprising Adventures of Don Juliani de Trezz*.²⁵

The division of interest between Ibn Tufayl’s philosophy and theology on the one hand and the tale’s narrative on the other was anticipated

²³ *A New and General Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 9, pp. 14–15.

²⁴ See Note 22.

²⁵ Kirkby, John. *The life and surprising adventures of Don Juliani de Trezz: who was educated and lived forty-five years in an island of Malpa, an uninhabited island in the East-Indies. Translated from the Portuguese*. The London edition is dated 1725, but the pirated Dublin edition dates from 1722, which would indicate that a first edition would have been published in London prior to 1722 and may have disappeared.

by the early translators. Keith and Ashwell—who were in turn building on Jan Bouwmeester's translation into Dutch—centered on the natural philosophy and its religious applications, preparing the ground for the inclusion of Hayy as a figure of the autodidact philosopher. This reading influenced directly Locke and Mather who were both in Keith's indirect or immediate circle. Conyers and Ockley highlighted instead the narrative structure which would then be transposed in different imaginary landscapes by Kirby and Defoe, while still contributing to a growing taste for orientalist imagination and scholarship that the first translator, Pococke, had hoped to encourage.

Hayy Ibn Yaqdhan is thus subjected to a series of theological, literary, and intellectual negotiations resulting both in the distortion of the text and the creation of an imaginary Orient. *Hayy Ibn Yaqdhan* appears therefore at once as a unique editorial phenomenon and one that reveals the various resonances Eastern texts could take on the British book market at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

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The Manchu Invasion of Britain: Nomadic Resonances in Eighteenth-Century Fiction, *Chinoiserie* Aesthetics, and Material Culture

Laurence Williams

Quaker William, the plain-speaking pirate in Daniel Defoe's *Captain Singleton* (1720), runs aground on the coast of Ceylon and is warned that, if he does not surrender, the Ceylonese king will "send all his Army down" to "burn your Ships." William responds to this grim situation with self-assurance: "Tell him, if he try, he may catch a *Tartar*," he threatens (Defoe 1720, pp. 280–281).

This curious, now obsolete idiom—to catch a *Tartar*—is first recorded in English in the early 1670s, its appearance illustrative of the way in which distant and dimly-understood events in central Asia could resonate in the early modern British imagination.¹ To catch a *Tartar* means

¹See *Oxford English Dictionary*, "Tartar, Tatar, *n.*", A.2. The first recorded use (in slightly divergent form) is in Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* (1674) ("Now thou has got me for a Tartar...").

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to encounter a foe who displays unexpected strength; to find yourself in a fight that you can't win or escape from; to bite off more than you can chew. The phrase alludes, in part, to the historical invasions of the Mongol "hordes" of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while the word *Tartar* itself originates in a medieval pun in which the "Tatars," the name of one of the most powerful Eastern Mongolian tribes in the Crimea and Caucasus, were conflated with the classical underworld of Tartarus.² By Defoe's time, the word was used to refer, in a largely undifferentiated way, to the Mongol-Turkic tribes of central Asia, understood to lead a "wandering" existence unchanged since the time of Genghis: "a People that change their Habitations every Month, and all their Life-time wander up and down the Country," in the words of Sir John Chardin (1686, p. 107). The vast space they occupied—a "Tartary" stretching from the borders of Eastern Europe to the Great Wall of China—was a largely unknown and often fantastic geography for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britons, less a space than a "pseudo-mythic ... symbol of ancient conquest and the permeability of borders between East and West" (Yang 2002, p. 332).

The sudden appearance of Tartars in the Restoration imagination is most directly due, however, to the conquest of China by Manchu "Tartars" in the middle decades of the seventeenth century—an event which, despite its distance from Europe, was swiftly recognized as an event of world-historical significance. The key events in the fall of the Ming and the rise of the Qing dynasties—including the invasion of Beijing in 1644 by the peasant rebel leader Li Zicheng, the suicide of the Chongzhen emperor, and the defeat of Li's forces later that year by Manchu forces allied with the defecting Ming general Wu Sangui—were transmitted to Europeans through a 1654 history, *De Bello Tartarico Historia*, by the Jesuit missionary Martino Martini (1614–1661). This text was swiftly translated into numerous European languages, including an English version in the same year published by John Crook (Ward 2010, p. 35). Martini crucially redefines European concepts of "Tartary"—hitherto based largely on classical ideas of Near Eastern "Scythia"—to include "the Oriental *Tartars*, hitherto unknown to us in *Europe*", and provides a genealogical framework for understanding the "Niuche" [Manchu] as descended directly from the "antient Western

²On the medieval derivation of the word "Tartar", see Crossley (1979, pp. 1–4) and Morgan (1994, pp. 56–57).

Tartars” led by Genghis (Martini 1654, pp. 1–3). Perhaps most evocatively, Martini presents the Tartars as an ambivalent force of destruction and reinvigoration, which had entered China “like a Lightening ... over-run[ning] all, spoiling and burning all Towns and Cities,” overthrowing the decadent Ming dynasty, and creating a hybrid state in which a ruling class of Manchu Tartars imposed their language and culture on a vast nation of Han Chinese (p. 25). This event is, as Dongshin Chang (2015) and Peter Kitson (2007) have argued, the crucial event in shaping the Restoration and eighteenth-century tendency to understand “China” through an opposition between the two identities, with the Tartars as China’s “perennial enemy, its political and cultural other” (Chang 2015, p. 6).

Despite studies of the cultural poetics of China and *chinoiserie* by Eugenia Zuroski Jenkins (2013) and David Porter (2010), there has been remarkably little research exploring the diffusion of the Tartar trope into eighteenth-century imaginative culture. This chapter makes the claim that the concept of *resonance*—understood here as a process of imaginative vibration or destabilization of the self in response to an external “movement”—is particularly apt for explaining the indirect, subtle, yet pervasive ways in which the Qing conquest of China was felt in British culture, in ways ranging from minor ripples within other aesthetic patterns, to more powerful disruptions. The Manchu invasion could be celebrated in the heroic mode (Yang 2011; Chang 2015) in plays such as Elkanah Settle’s *The Conquest of China by the Tartars* (1675) and Nicholas Rowe’s *Tamerlane* (1702). These texts emphasize the power of masculine nomadism to reinvigorate the effeminacy and indolence of civilization, imagining that the invasion has resulted in “the blending of Tartar and Chinese into a harmonious entity of the Qing empire” (Yang 2011, p. 42). Outside the genre of Restoration tragedy, however, with its characteristic concern with questions of virtue and heroism, the Tartars often take on more ambivalent and destabilizing associations. The phrase *to catch a Tartar* appears in the decades after Martini’s history, along with the first use of “Tartar” as a synonym for a violent and implacable individual (and, by extension, a shrewish wife). Milton revives the word “Tartarus” as a synonym for Hell in *Paradise Lost* (1667), and in Book III compares Satan, preparing to descend on Eden, with the “roving Tartar” who preys on “the barren Plaines / Of *Sericana* [the Gobi desert], where Chineses drive / With Sails and

Wind thir canie Waggon light” (2007, vol. III, pp. 432 and 437–439).³ Popular knowledge of this event seems to have been widely assumed by British authors until well into the eighteenth century. Even Quaker William’s threat, which might be interpreted as merely a familiar cliché, seems to rely, in part, on a historical allusion to Manchu Tartars sweeping across the Great Wall to put the Chinese imperial house to the sword. The Ceylonese king, William implicitly threatens, may share the same fate as another ruler who made the mistake of underestimating a marginal, “wandering” threat.

The Tartars, therefore, hold a quite different set of imaginative associations and possibilities for eighteenth-century Britons than the “settled” empires of the East. They represent a “nomadic” aesthetic which is constantly on the verge of chaos or cacophony; a wandering which can be figuratively connected with hubris, madness, or (as in *Paradise Lost*) with the transgression of the rebel against God. Eighteenth-century writers often attempt to “catch Tartars” in fiction and satires, using the idea of a sudden and terrifying nomadic invasion of civilization, suggested by the events of 1644, to resonate with other generic and aesthetic destabilizations in eighteenth-century culture, including the rise of the novel and the popularity of imported Eastern designs.

The first half of this chapter explores the connections that novelists including Penelope Aubin, Daniel Defoe, and Laurence Sterne draw between the wandering Tartar and the digressive, experimental narrative path of the early eighteenth-century novel. I focus in particular on Defoe’s use of Tartars in *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719) to examine the psychological stability of his most famous fictional protagonist, Crusoe, and to explore broader generic questions about the tendency of the picaresque novel itself to wander without reaching a destination. The second half explores how eighteenth-century satires on *chinoiserie* taste by writers including Nicholas Rowe, John Gilbert Cooper, and William Chambers exploit the idea of Tartary as a madness that lies on the fringes—geographically and figuratively—of discourse about China. These texts, I suggest, exploit historical memories of the Manchu invasion, presenting China as a mannered but fragile aesthetic, possession of which leaves Britons vulnerable to sudden inversion by

³Mingjun Lu (2015, pp. 177–179) argues that Satan’s ambitions to establish a “global Leviathan” can additionally be read as a historical allusion to the Mongol empire of Genghis Khan.

Tartar insanity. The conclusion compares these eighteenth-century uses of the Tartar trope with a much later Romantic-period text, Thomas De Quincey's *Revolt of the Tartars* (1837), written at a period in which the category of the "Tartar" is beginning to disappear from British discourse on China. De Quincey's awareness of Russian and Chinese colonization of Central Asia (as well as growing British imperial interest in the region) inspires, I argue, a sense of the Tartars as a more domesticated and confined literary trope, more easily assimilable to British definitions of taste and narrative harmony.

TARTAR WANDERING AND NARRATIVE DIGRESSION: AUBIN, DEFOE, AND STERNE

Throughout most of the eighteenth century, virtually no Britons had the opportunity to encounter Asiatic Tartars (including of course merchants trading to China, who were confined to the southern port of Canton).⁴ Nevertheless, two early novels by Penelope Aubin and Daniel Defoe stage imaginative journeys to the region. Both authors significantly place the "Tartar" episodes at the end of their narratives. *The Life and Adventures of the Young Count Albertus* (1728), by the Catholic novelist Penelope Aubin (1679?–1738?) is, like Aubin's previous novels *The Noble Slaves* (1722) and *The Life and Adventures of the Lady Lucy* (1726), a meandering picaresque tale of virtuous protagonists subjected to a series of ordeals in Eastern locations. The German count Albertus turns Jesuit missionary on the death of his wife and sets out for China, only to be captured by the Moors and waylaid by a series of adventures in Barbary, which occupy the majority of the narrative. Nevertheless, he remains restless for a "Crown of Martyrdom" and travels at last to "the Province of *Xensi* [Shaanxi], which lies on the Confines of *China* next *Tartary*; which is separated from that great Empire, only by that famous Wall so much spoken of in History" (Aubin 1728, pp. 161 and 163).

Aubin's previous literary treatment of Tartars had been in the heroic mode, in a translation of François Pétis de la Croix's *The History of Genghizcan* [Genghis Khan] *the Great* (1722), dedicated to the Prince of Wales, the future George II, which had pointedly (and improbably)

⁴A noteworthy exception is the Scottish physician John Bell, who joins a Russian embassy to Beijing in 1719–1722, and publishes an account of *Travels from St Petersburg in Russia, to Diverse Parts of Asia* (1763).

praised Genghis as a model of Asiatic virtue and manliness: “A Prince who was Chaste, Just, and Temperate; an excellent Husband, Father, Friend, and Master, and a great General” (p. 1). In *Count Albertus*, however, the Tartars seem primarily introduced as a wandering barbarism against which the “fixity” of Albertus’s resolution for martyrdom can be dramatized. As it had in 1644, the Great Wall provides a conveniently penetrable barrier, allowing Albertus to be captured in one of the frequent Tartar “Excursions” and abducted into “Turquestan” (Aubin 1728, p. 163). Although initially spared as a teacher of European science, he is discovered preaching the gospel and beaten to death “with Stones and Clubs” while “praising God, with such Faith and Constancy, that even his Murderers were filled with Admiration” (p. 166). For readers familiar with Catholic martyrology, Albertus’s death would have also recalled the fate of the first beatified martyr in China, St Francis Fernández de Capillas (1607–1648), who was captured by raiding Manchu Tartars in Fujian Province and reputedly beheaded while he recited the Mysteries of the Rosary.

In contrast, Daniel Defoe’s use of the Tartars in the *Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719) raises more profound questions about narrative closure and the psychology of his most celebrated protagonist. This lesser-known sequel, published in the same year as the original *Strange Surprising Adventures*, is, as Robert Markley has proposed (2006, pp. 181–185), less a continuation of the first volume than a thorough-going challenge to many of that novel’s implied conclusions about virtue, trade, and colonialism. An ageing and melancholy Crusoe—at sixty-one years of age when the narrative begins, he is approximately the same age as Defoe, who was born around 1660—finds that riches, marriage, and age fail to “fix” him on his return to England. Craving one final series of adventures, he embarks on a circumnavigation of the world, first back to his island in the Brazils, and then on a trading voyage to the Far East. However, Crusoe’s travels no longer lead to material accumulation and spiritual growth, but only loss and melancholy. His old island turns out to be an unsustainable colony, plagued by infighting among his European subjects; his manservant Friday, “my old Servant, the Companion of all my Sorrows and Solitudes”, is killed in a skirmish with natives in the Brazils; and, attempting to redeem his losses by trade to the East, he becomes embroiled in a massacre of natives at Madagascar, fomented by his own men, which shows him the savagery of which “civilised” Europeans are capable (Defoe 2008, p. 121).

Where the first novel had drawn Biblical inspiration from the tale of the Prodigal Son, the *Farther Adventures* looks instead to Ecclesiastes (1:8) in its meditations on the vanity of human action: “my Eye, which like that, which *Solomon* speaks of, was *never satisfy’d with Seeing*, was still more desirous of Wand’ring” (p. 145). In what we might see as a deepening self-awareness of his own generic status as picaresque character, Crusoe seems increasingly aware of his “native Propensity to rambling” (p. 5)—repeatedly excoriated as “chronical Distemper” or deep-rooted sinfulness—as a more fundamental aspect of his identity than the roles of merchant and colonialist assumed at other points during his travels. Finally accepting an invitation to travel to China, he reflects that “if Trade was not my Element, Rambling was” (p. 144), and that the movement of a merchant, “like a Carrier’s Horse, always to the same Inn, backward and forward” is alien to his own temperament: “on the other Hand, mine was the Notion of a mad rambling Boy, that never cares to see a Thing twice over” (p. 146).

This theme of the instability of worldly things provides a context for understanding Defoe’s presentation of China as a civilization ravaged and threatened by the nomads. Landing at Ningbo, Crusoe travels to Beijing, where he joins a Russian trade caravan. His narrative follows a route which will become familiar in eighteenth-century fictions (later enacted for real in travel accounts of the Macartney Embassy in 1792–1794), in which “China” is encountered along a trajectory moving from Han Chinese to Tartar and northwards across the Great Wall and into Tartary. Markley interprets Crusoe’s chauvinistic remarks about China as a sign of British insecurity concerning trade at Canton, in which “the Qing Empire and the crises of self-representation that it provokes” are displaced onto “a far weaker antagonist on the steppes of Siberia” (2006, p. 201). In fact, however, Defoe’s understanding of the balance of power between Tartar and Chinese seems reversed, reflecting the continued authority of Jesuit frameworks for understanding Chinese history and culture, even after the establishment of direct trade at Canton. The Chinese state is declining in power and menaced by the nomads on its borders, its northern inhabitants “confin’d to live in fortify’d Towns and Cities, as being subject to the Inroades and Depredations of the *Tartars*” (Defoe 2008, p. 183). Chinese civilization is presented as a curious but fragile accomplishment, symbolized in the porcelain “Gentleman’s House built all with *China* Ware” (p. 180) seen near Beijing, and the “Great *China* wall,” metonymically connected with the fragility of

porcelain, which Crusoe ironically remarks (in an allusion to the 1644 invasion that Defoe evidently anticipated would be familiar to his readers) is “a most excellent thing to keep off the *Tartars*” (p. 183).

The imaginative geography of Tartary seems, in many ways, intended in opposition to Crusoe’s island in the first book. If the island colony had symbolized the creativity and mastery of the European *homo economicus*, Tartary by contrast demonstrates the limits of his agency in a world in which (as Defoe writes elsewhere) “Infidels possess such Vast Regions, and Religion in its Purity shines in a small Quarter of the Globe” (Defoe 1718, p. 4). Although Defoe relies on geographical information in a seventeenth-century Russian travel account by Adam Brand, he departs from the Romanov imperial depiction of Tartary as a fecund and increasingly settled space subject to Moscow (Bridges 1979, p. 231). Crusoe reports that Tartary is a “*no Man’s Land*” (Defoe 2008, p. 185): “the greatest Piece of solid Earth, if I understand any thing of the Surface of the Globe, that is to be found in any Part of the Earth” (p. 190), where only the clouds of dust produced by moving Tartars provide any variation in the landscape, and the Russians have abandoned “about two hundred Miles” of land as “desolate and unfit for use” (p. 189). The Tartars are spied “roving about,” a “meer Hoord or Crowd of wild Fellows, keeping no Order, and understanding no discipline” (p. 184). Defoe’s use of the word “Hoord” significantly connects the Manchu Tartars to the medieval “hordes” of Genghis Khan. Most disturbing, in terms of the challenge it poses to Crusoe’s conceptions of divine and aesthetic order, is an idol named “Cham-Chi-Thaungu” (p. 197) carried around by the Tartars in procession over the country.⁵ Defoe’s description of this idol, which lacks “Feet or Legs, or any other Proportion of Parts” (p. 192), seems to anticipate Bruce Chatwin’s playful suggestion that one might distinguish the “art of urban civilisations,” which is “static, solid, and symmetrical,” from nomadic art, which embodies the “violent motion” of its creators, being “portable, asymmetric, discordant, restless, incorporeal and intuitive” (1970, p. 98). Through the idol, Defoe seems to imagine a distinctively *nomadic* aesthetic, one “certainly not so much as resembling any Creature that the World ever saw; Ears as big as Goats Horns, and as

⁵ Cham-Chi-Thaungu’s name suggests “Cham” (Khan), a word used since the medieval period to refer to the rulers of China and Tartary (and later revived as an ironic epithet for Samuel Johnson, “the Great Cham”).

high; Eyes as big as a Crown-Piece; a Nose like a crooked Ram's Horn, and a Mouth extended four Corner'd like that of a Lion, with horrible Teeth, hooked like a Parrot's under Bill" (p. 192).

Defoe seems less interested, however, in presenting the Tartars as demonic, than in exploring how the encounter with them seems to destabilize Crusoe. Generations of readers have been troubled by the extremity of Crusoe's reaction to the "vile abominable idol" (Defoe 2008, p. 193), which he attacks with his sword, and, repelled by the Tartars, obsessively plots to return and destroy. Melissa Free has argued that discomfort with "Crusoe's prejudicial violence" (2006, p. 110) may have been an important reason for the decline in popularity of the *Farther Adventures* in the nineteenth century. Particularly troubling is Crusoe's approving recollection of the massacre at Madagascar, which he had earlier strongly condemned, and his plan to emulate the way that his shipmates "burnt and sack'd the Village there, and kill'd Man, Woman, and Child" (Defoe 2008, p. 443). Although his comrades dissuade him from this atrocity, he exacts a savage revenge on Cham-Chi-Thaungu, which he stuffs with gunpowder, sets on fire, and watches "'till the Powder in the Eyes, and Mouth, and Ears of the Idol blew up; and we could perceive had split and deformed the Shape; and in a word, 'till we saw it burn into a meer Block or Log of Wood" (p. 197). Finally, he flees the village, still disguised as a Tartar, riding westwards toward Europe at the head of "a very great Body of Horse" (p. 198), ironically reenacting the advances of Genghis Khan five centuries earlier.

Contemporary readers of the *Farther Adventures* seem to have recognized the Tartar episode as a moment in which Defoe's protagonist finally wanders too far. Charles Gildon's satirical response to Crusoe, *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Mr Daniel De Foe* (1719), chooses to ignore Defoe's apparent ironic intention, and to interpret the Tartar episode as a manifestation of Defoe's own "rambling" madness. Gildon imagines a dialogue between Crusoe and "Dan Defoe", in which Crusoe complains bitterly that his creator has made him "a Whimsical Dog, to ramble over three Parts of the World after I was sixty five" (Gildon 1719, pp. viii–ix). Defoe defends himself by arguing that he too is a "Rambling, Inconsistent Creature" (p. x), who has spent his life wandering between parties and political stances. Crusoe's journey through Tartary is satirically paralleled with Defoe's own perilous moments of political opportunism: *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (1702), for which he spent time in the pillory, and the obliquely ironic anti-Jacobite

pamphlet *But What if the Queen Should Die* (1713), which provoked a controversy from which he was rescued only by a pardon obtained by the Earl of Oxford. Gildon's "Defoe" protests that "like you, my Son *Crusoe*, in burning the Idol in *Tartary*, I went a little too far, and by another Irony, instead of the *Nutcrackers* [the pillory], I had brought myself to the *Tripes* [the gallows] at *Paddington*, but that my good Friend that set me to work got me a Pardon" (p. xiii).⁶ Defoe and *Crusoe*, Gildon concludes, have both traveled through life "in a sort of a Whimsical *Caravan*," always tempted away from the rational route in order to "catch a Tartar, that is, take a Leap into the Dark" (p. xv).

The resonance of *Tartary* can also be felt in novels whose attention is more narrowly focused on Britain or Europe. In Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (1759–1767), allusions to other geographies and times are largely confined to Europe and to the Classical past, although there are a series of fleeting references to *Tartary* as a space of geographical and rhetorical extremity ("Curse on her! and so I send her to *Tartary*, and from *Tartary* to *Terra del Fuogo*, and so on to the devil" [Sterne 1978, p. 669]). The most suggestive connection with the *Tartars* comes, however, in the debates in Books III and IV surrounding *Tristram's* nose, crushed at birth by the incompetent Doctor Slop. The absence of a nose functions on a number of levels: often symbolic of venereal disease in eighteenth-century culture (itself an affliction associated with madness), it is also ironically offered as a physiological explanation for *Tristram's* rambling prose style. As *Tristram's* father explains, "beings inferior, as your worships all know,—syllogize by their noses" (p. 280), while the "false bridge" (p. 253) made for *Tristram* by Doctor Slop anticipates the logical lapses and detours of his later narrative. In addition, *Tristram's* deformity can be understood as explicitly locating him in the emergent racial and phrenological hierarchies of the mid-eighteenth century, developed by George-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon, and later Johann Blumenbach, which had concurred in placing the *Tartars* at the fringes of humanity, a judgment in part based on the shape of their noses.⁷ Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle* (1749–1788) describes the *Kalmyk Tartars* as "the most ugly, and the most deformed, of all human beings," with noses "so flat, that two holes are barely perceivable

⁶The glosses of Gildon's terms are from Rogers (1995, p. 44).

⁷See also Kitson's discussion (2007, pp. 179–182) of "Tartar" as an Enlightenment racial category denoting the borders of the human.

instead of nostrils” (Buffon 1775, vol. 1, p. 179), an assessment echoed in the entry on “Mungls, or Moguls” in the *Modern Part of an Universal History* (1747–1768), which described how “the bridge of their nose is quite flat, and almost level with the face, so that there is nothing of a nose to be seen but the end, which is very flat also, with two great holes, which form the nostrils” (1759, p. 298). This anthropological hierarchy of noses is spatially visualized in Sterne’s tale at the beginning of Book IV of *Slawkenbergius*, the famous scholar of noses, who arrives at Strasbourg on his journey between two points of nasal extremity, from the “promontory of NOSES” to the “borders of *Crim-Tartary*” (p. 289). It is reinforced again in a dissertation by “Prignitz,” another fictional scholar of noses discussed by Tristram’s father, who (in an implicit challenge to contemporary racial hierarchies) adds the suggestion that the flatness of Tartar noses may be because (like Tristram) they are crushed at birth: “the mensuration and configuration of the osseous or boney parts of human noses, in any *given* tract of country, except *Crim Tartary*, where they are all crush’d down by the thumb, so that no judgment can be formed upon them,—are much nearer alike, than the world imagines” (p. 275).

Sterne’s use of noses to suggest a link between the rambling of his narrator and the wandering of Asiatic nomads remains admittedly oblique and marginal: one of the numerous figures of digressive narrative movement that the novel draws from ideas including hobby horses, the retrograde movement of the planets, and Corporal Trim’s cane. The ironic contrast between Qing China’s cultural dominance in East Asia, and its oblique and often distant resonance in Europe, is addressed by Sterne in Volume VII, when Tristram, visiting Lyon during his European tour, has the idea of visiting the Jesuit college in order to see a copy of the “General History of China”: notably, the other sight in the city that attracts him is the broken clockwork of the “great clock of Lippius of Basil” (Sterne 1978, p. 625). Although this book shares a name with an actual four-volume 1735 work by the French Jesuit Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, it is imagined by Sterne as a work of monumental length (in “thirty volumes,” it exceeds even Tristram’s own narrative) and linguistic strangeness, “wrote (not in the Tartarean but) in the Chinese language, and in the Chinese character too” (p. 626).⁸ Tristram’s apparent desire

⁸Jean-Baptiste Du Halde’s *Description de l’Empire de la Chine* (Paris, 1735) was published in octavo by John Watts as *The General History of China* (4 vols., 1736), although

to see the “Manchu” language (in fact an official language of the Qing court) seems an ironic commentary upon his attraction to a “nomadic” language imagined as even more wandering and incomprehensible to Europeans than the Chinese. In a novel which never reaches its destination, it is unsurprising that he eventually abandons “the project of getting a peep at the history of China in Chinese characters—as with many others I could mention, which strike the fancy only at a distance; for as I came nearer and nearer to the point—my blood cool’d—the freak gradually went off, till, at length I would not have given a cherrystone to have it gratified” (p. 642).

CATCHING TARTARS IN *CHINOISERIE* SATIRES: FROM NICHOLAS ROWE TO WILLIAM CHAMBERS

The eighteenth-century tendency to understand China as a sophisticated but fragile civilization, vulnerable to sudden overthrow by nomadic forces, also has significance for our reading of *chinoiserie* satires on imported East Asian material culture. Direct trade with China had begun around 1700, after a period of earlier trade with the exiled Ming loyalist regime on Taiwan (1670–1683), resulting in a dramatic increase in imported Chinese tea and luxury goods (particularly porcelain, silks, and lacquerware) in the early decades of the eighteenth century. As David Porter has shown (2010, p. 9), in addition to the familiar debates about mercantile trade and luxury raised by the import of tradable goods such as porcelain and silk, the introduction of Chinese objects into England posed a visually seductive but troubling challenge to British “hierarchies of gender, aesthetic value, and national identity.” The Chinese trope occupied an ambivalent cultural position, “dialectically combining the tantalizing allure of superficial beauty with the troubling spectre of transgressive monstrosity” (p. 8). Porter’s analysis, while invaluable, omits the way in which these binaries between the beautiful and the monstrous, between feminized refinement and masculine violence, are overlaid onto the Chinese-Tartar opposition derived from seventeenth-century history.

the more lavishly-produced English version was the folio translation published by Edward Cave, *Description of the History of China* (2 vols., 1738–1741), read by numerous eighteenth-century writers including Johnson and Walpole.

Eighteenth-century satires on *chinoiserie* operate, I want to suggest, by imagining China as a delicate, seductive, and unstable state, vulnerable to destabilization by the nomads on its borders. The “Tartar” trope figures in these texts as a form of madness, associated with violence and cultural hybridity, which lurks on the borders of enthusiasm for China, ready to “catch” and overthrow the unwary British dilettante.

Although satirical treatments of Chinese imported objects in England can be found as early as William Wycherley’s *The Country Wife* (1675), one of the first literary responses to the opening of trade with Canton is found in Nicholas Rowe’s play *The Biter*, performed at Lincoln’s Inn Fields in 1704, with Thomas Betterton in the lead role of Timothy Tallapoy, an East India Company merchant grown rich at Canton and now settled in Croydon. Anticipating later eighteenth-century satires on expatriate “nabobs” in India, the figure of Tallapoy—who fills his house with Chinese art and “ridiculously habited” servants (Rowe 1705, p. 18), forced to perform “Tartarian ballet” (p. 50)—expresses emergent anxieties about how “the Oriental mimicry of Englishmen long resident in the East Indies threatened to undermine national and civil identity to the point of madness” (Orr 2001, p. 229). However, the “China” that is the object of Tallapoy’s admiration is not the enlightened Confucian hierarchy described by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Jesuit writers, but an unstable hybrid Qing state presided over by a violent and despotic “Tartar” trope. Tallapoy’s admiring references to “the most potent Cham of Tartary” (p. 21) as a model of patriarchal authority ironically echo Marco Polo’s praise of Kublai Khan. His daughter Angelica’s request to marry is rejected with the oath that “By the Great *Lama*, I had as soon see you marry’d to the Giant *Tansu*, who inhabits in the prodigious Mountains of *Tartary*, and eats a Hundred and Fifty Virgins every Day in the Week, but *Fridays* and *Saturdays*, and then he lives upon old Women, as good Catholics do upon Stock-fish, by way of Mortification” (p. 20). His other rambling outbursts about Chinese culture, such as his praise of “the great *Callasusu*, who was Nephew to the Great *Fillamaso*, who was descended from the Illustrious *Fokiensi*, who was the first Inventa[r] [sic] of eating Rice upon Platters” (p. 18), seem to suggest that the orderly hierarchical culture praised by the Jesuits has become deranged by Tartar rule.

One of the subtler ironic effects produced by *The Biter* is the casting of Betterton, who had previously played the lead role in Rowe’s *Tamerlane* (1702). This play, departing from the vainglorious and blasphemous Elizabethan Tamburlaine depicted by Christopher Marlowe,

had presented its Tartar protagonist as a heroic “Scourge of lawless Pride, and dire Ambition, / The great Avenger of the groaning World” (Rowe 1703, p. 1). Rowe’s preface, dedicated to William III, traces a (somewhat strained) parallel between Tamerlane’s conquest of Central Asia and the Glorious Revolution of 1688, pointedly praising Tamerlane’s “Hate of Tyranny and Oppression, and his zealous Care for the Common Good of Mankind” (n.p.). If the transformation of Tamerlane into Tallapoy can be read as a parodic juxtaposition of nomadic heroism with rambling madness, it also allows Rowe to explore the satirical idea of a Tartar “invasion” of London to scourge the decadence of the metropolis. Tallapoy’s rage is directed in particular against modern beaux—the “vain frothy young *Mandarins* of that imperial, but abominably vicious City of London” (Rowe 1705, p. 20)—and their fashionable game of “biting” (pulling one’s leg), from which the title of the play derives. The play’s representative “biter” is Pinch, the rakish squire, and suitor of Angelica, who attracts Tallapoy’s rage through his foolish promise to “bite the *Cham* of *Tartary*” (p. 25). Subverting audience expectations of the triumph of youth and cunning overage, the play ends with Pinch’s humiliation and imprisonment by Tallapoy in the cellar: the spectacle of the “biter bit” is, we might note, analogous in meaning to “catching a Tartar.”

This satirical idea of the Chinese material presence in England as a *Tartar* invasion recurs in mid-century essays on the growing fashion for *chinoiserie* taste in the homes and gardens of the English upper classes: a shift in fashion heralded by a series of popular books on Chinese design by William Halfpenny (1752a, b) appearing around the middle of the century. A letter published in the journal *The World* on 20 September 1753, purportedly by the country gentleman “Samuel Simple” (the name is taken from Colley Cibber’s 1709 comedy, *The Rival Fools*), rehearses many of the class, gender, and racial anxieties provoked by this new fashion. Simple complains that his modish new wife, horrified to find his traditional English home “so frightful, so odious, and so out of TASTE!,” has engaged “Mr Kifang,” a Chinese designer, to remodel it in a more “foreign and superb manner” (1.38, pp. 240–241). Simple discovers that the “Chinese” taste, despite its reputation as a polite aesthetic associated with female consumers (Alayrac-Fielding 2009, pp. 659–668; Porter 2010, pp. 33–36 and 57–77) and embodied in porcelain teacups, delicate latticework, and gardens of Cathay, transforms his house into scenes of the grotesque and demonic:

In short, sir, by the indefatigable zeal of this Chinese upholsterer, in about four months my house was entirely new-furnished; but so disguised and altered, that I hardly knew it again. There is not a bed, a table, a chair, or even a grate, that is not twisted into so many ridiculous and grotesque figures, and so decorated with the heads, beaks, wings and claws of birds and beasts, that Milton's *Gorgons, and hydras, and chimeras dire* are not to be compared with them. (1.38, p. 241)

A similar line of satire can be found in John Gilbert Cooper's *Letters Concerning Taste*, published three years before David Hume's essay "Of the Standard of Taste" (1757), which combines a defense of neoclassical principles of harmony and proportion with an attack on the spread of the "Chinese madness" (Cooper 1754, p. 62) in England. The main target of Cooper's satire is the London suburbs inhabited by the gentry and by wealthy middle-class tradesmen, which (as in Rowe's depiction of Tallapoy's home in Croydon) are figured as realms of barbarism ringing the metropolis: "I am quite sick, my dear Friend, of the splendid Impertinence, the unmeaning Glitter, the tasteless Profusion, and monstrous Enormities, which I have lately seen in a Summer's Ramble to some of the Villas which swarm in the Neighbourhood of our Metropolis" (p. 61). Once again there is the sense that "beyond" China is a (both geographical and figurative) space of Central Asian eclecticism, in which the delicate rococo patterns of *chinoiserie* are transformed into nomadic chaos: "You would imagine that the Owners, having retain'd the horrid Chimæras of a fev'rish Dream, had jumbled 'em together in a waking Frenzy. In one Place was a House built from an aukward Delineation plunder'd from an old *Indian* Screen, and decorated with all the Monsters of *Asia* and *Africa*, inhospitably grinning at Strangers over every Door, Window, and Chimney-Piece" (p. 61).

These mid-century satires provide a useful context for understanding the imaginative geography and narrative structure of William Chambers's influential *Disertation on Oriental Gardening*, which uses a fanciful and exaggerated depiction of the "Chinese garden" style (supposedly seen first-hand by the author at Canton) to mock the supposed tedium of the plainer landscape gardens championed by Capability Brown. Chambers's pamphlet describes the journey of a solitary wanderer through a vast imperial garden, in which initial scenes of delight and enchantment are succeeded by scenes of horror associated with demonic imagery and the geography of Central Asia, including "enormous dogs of Tibet"

(Chambers 1772, p. 42), (recesses, filled with colossal figures of dragons, infernal fiends, and other horrid forms" (p. 39), and "plants, sacred to Manchew [Manchu], the genius of sorrow" (p. 39). Where Chambers differs from Cooper is, of course, his sense—however ambivalent and ironic—that the Tartar invasion of English gardens might be welcomed for its ability to harmonize with the late eighteenth-century aesthetic shift toward Gothic sensationalism.

TAMING THE NOMADIC: CENTRAL ASIAN COLONIALISM AND DE QUINCEY'S *REVOLT OF THE TARTARS* (1837)

The subtle ways in which Tartar nomadism reverberates in eighteenth-century literature demonstrates not only the oblique and creative action of cross-cultural resonance, but also the power of the Manchu invasion of China to "destabilize" the British imagination until well into the eighteenth century. As Peter Kitson has argued, Tartars seem to exert a lesser influence on the Romantic imagination (with the exception of Coleridge's 1797 poem "Kubla Khan"), and the nineteenth century sees the gradual disappearance of the concept of "Tartary" itself from the British racial and geographical consciousness in favor of "a more monolithic grouping of far Eastern peoples" (Kitson 2007, p. 182). A later essay by Thomas De Quincey (1785–1859), "The Revolt of the Tartars" (1837), located on the cusp of Romantic and Victorian attitudes toward Central Asia, provides an instructive contrast with the earlier texts considered in this chapter. This essay, originally published in *Blackwood's Magazine*, draws its inspiration not from the 1644 invasion but from a more recent historical incident, which De Quincey had read about in an 1804–1805 German travel account by Benjamin Bergmann: the 1771 migration of hundreds of thousands of Tartars from Russian-annexed Kalmykia to their ancestral lands in Dzungaria, ruled by the Qing dynasty. As a result of bandit attacks and starvation, fewer than half survived the journey. In introducing this event to his readers, De Quincey seems struck by the fact that, despite the magnitude of the event, the Kalmyk migration has failed to resonate in the Western imagination in a manner comparable to the Manchu invasions: "There is no great event in modern history, or, perhaps it may be said more broadly, none in all history, from its earliest records, less generally known, or more striking to the imagination, than the flight eastwards of a principal Tartar nation across the boundless steppes of Asia, in the latter half of the last century" (De Quincey 1920, p. 1).

De Quincey's treatment of this exodus is striking for its reimagining of nomadism—formerly a force lurking on the fringes of civilization, emerging unpredictably and with terrifying effects—as a more controlled and predictable movement, channeled between the “two terminal objects” of the Russian and Chinese empires: “the mightiest of Christian thrones” and “the mightiest of Pagan” (De Quincey 1920, p. 1). Entwined with this is a sense that the constraints imposed on nomadic life by imperialism paradoxically increase its narrative coherence and aesthetic pleasure for the English reader. The behavior of the Tartars themselves still contains a rhetorical wildness redolent of William Beckford's *Vathek* (1786), as in De Quincey's description of how many Kalmyks lost their minds, “some in a more restless form of feverish delirium and nervous agitation, and others in the fixed forms of tempestuous mania, raving frenzy, or moping idiocy” (p. 55). In broader terms, however, the Kalmyk “exodus” is now assimilable to the narrative patterns of classical and Biblical history, to “Miltonic images” of the flight of Satan, and through comparisons with events in the natural world, such as “those almighty instincts that propel the migrations of the swallow and the lemming” (p. 1–2). In perhaps the most striking passage of the essay, De Quincey argues (echoing the romanticized eighteenth- and nineteenth-century pictures of nomads by Jean-Baptiste Le Prince and Thomas Witlam Atkinson) that even the suffering of the Kalmyks can, when viewed through the framing lens of Western narrative, produce a picturesque effect:

Viewed in this manner, under the real order of development, it is remarkable that these sufferings of the Tartars, though under the moulding hands of accident, arrange themselves almost with a scenical propriety. They seem combined as with the skill of an artist, the intensity of the misery advancing regularly with the advances of the march, and the stages of the calamity corresponding to the stages of the route, so that, upon raising the curtain which veils the great catastrophe, we behold one vast climax of anguish, towering upwards by regular gradations, as if constructed artificially for picturesque effect. (p. 27)

De Quincey ends with a poem, attributed to the Qianlong emperor (1711–1799), welcoming the refugees as “Wandering sheep who had strayed away / from the Celestial Empire ... now mercifully gathered again, after infinite sorrow, / Into the fold of their forgiving shepherd”

(p. 56), framing the homecoming of the Tartars not only within the Qing dynasty rhetoric of benign stewardship over Central Asia but also within Christian parables of providential return. As Peter Kitson argues (2013, pp. 12–13), De Quincey’s political and aesthetic judgments on China are often idiosyncratic: his favorable presentation of the Qianlong emperor, in particular, goes against the grain of increasing British cultural hostility toward China in the years preceding the first Opium War (1839–1842). In other respects, however, “The Revolt of the Tartars” can be read as representative of a broader transition in Romantic and Victorian attitudes toward Central Asia. Whereas for Britons reading Martini’s account of the Manchu invasions, “Tartary” had suggested unknowable geographical vastness and unconquerable nomadic force, by the nineteenth century Central Asia appears a much more bounded and controlled space, the object not only of Russian and Chinese colonization but also of growing British imperial interest (De Quincey’s essay appears shortly before the first major conflict of the so-called “Great Game” for control of Central Asia, the First Anglo-Afghan War of 1839).

What seems particularly suggestive about De Quincey’s essay, in terms of our understanding of the relationship between cross-cultural resonance and imperialism, is the manner in which the political subjection of Tartary to European and Chinese control is connected to a growing sense of aesthetic command over the Tartar trope. This transition is evident in a number of later travel accounts written around the time of De Quincey’s essay and the First Anglo-Afghan War, including Vere Monro’s *A Summer Ramble in Syria, with a Tartar Trip from Aleppo to Stamboul* (1835) and James Baillie Fraser’s *A Winter’s Journey (Tâtar) from Constantinople to Tehran* (1838), in which the notion of a “Tartar trip”—a brief horseback journey, led by a hired “Tartar” guide, often an Ottoman government courier—becomes a convenient narrative device to stage the notion of a whirlwind journey through the East, in the manner of the flying ebony horse in the *Arabian Nights’ Entertainments*. George Fowler, during his 1841 account of a “Tartar gallop” between Tehran and Tabriz in the company of a guide named Ferrajulah, describes the uplifting experience of being driven along, horse and rider, by “the magic of the Tatar’s whip” (Fowler 1841, 1.238): “This is a most spirit-stirring mode of travel, and the animation of a Tatar gallop is perfectly bewitching; it excites, I may almost say *creates*, faculties unknown before” (1.233). This reinvention of the “Tartar” as a largely controllable, predictable, and domesticated trope—a novel way to approach

the touristic goal of threading together romantic, varied images of the East—provides a clear contrast with earlier ideas of Tartary, marking a convenient endpoint for this discussion of long eighteenth-century representations. In becoming themselves an increasingly “caught” and defined entity, Tartars by the early Victorian period seem to lose the power—which had been at the heart of their imaginative appeal in earlier periods—to “catch” British readers through sudden acts of destabilizing inversion.⁹

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⁹The question of how British involvement in the Crimean War (1853–1856) may have affected later Victorian perceptions of the Tartars is an interesting one, although outside the boundaries of this essay.

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PART III

Aesthetic Resonances: Material Culture
and Artistic Sensibilities



CHAPTER 8

From Jehol to Stowe: Ornamental Orientalism and the Aesthetics of the Anglo-Chinese Garden

Vanessa Alayrac-Fielding

Polyphthon: Pray, Sir, what kind of a Building have we yonder, that struck our Sight as we crossed that Alley?

Callophilus: We will walk up to it if you please: It is a Chinese House.

Polyphthon: A mighty whimsical Appearance it makes truly.

Callophilus: In my Opinion it is a pretty Object enough, and varies our View in a very becoming manner. [...] It is finely painted in the Inside.

Polyphthon: Finely painted indeed! Our Travellers tell us the *Chinese* are a very ingenious People; and that Arts and Sciences flourish amongst them in great Beauty. But for my Part, whenever I see any of their Paintings, I am apt, I must confess, in everything else to call their Taste into question. [...] [The] whole Mystery [of the wretched art of painting of the Chinese] consists in daubing on glaring Colours: Correctness of Drawing, Beauty of Composition, and Harmony of colouring, they seem not to have even the least Notion of. (Gilpin 1748, pp. 35–36)

In William Gilpin's *A Dialogue Upon the Gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham at Stow in Buckinghamshire*,

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published in 1748, the two fictional characters Polyphthon and Callophilus are engaged in a conversation about the various features they are discovering as they take a stroll in Lord Cobham's garden at Stowe. While discussing the relationship between art and nature, they pass the Temple of Contemplation, when the colourful Chinese Pavilion suddenly catches Polyphthon's attention. In the dialogue, China interestingly appears as a mere architectural ornament, yet it elicits an intellectual conversation about art, and painting in particular, revealing in passing a negative judgement on Chinese painting, unregulated, in the eyes of Polyphthon, by the Western rules of perspective. Surprise, variety, pleasantness are characteristics brought by the presence of the Chinese House. It is "a pretty object" which appeals to the senses and to the imagination, not unlike its chinoiserie counterpart in interior decoration which, in the eighteenth century, brought a delightful and exotic frisson of novelty and defamiliarisation. Indeed the "prettiness" of the Chinese House evokes the playful and feminine beauty of the rococo style and seems to have served a mainly decorative purpose.¹ Its primary function appears to have been that of an eye-catcher intended to create a visually interesting scene, to bring pleasure, variety, and diversion in the garden and, in terms of aesthetic reactions, to contrast with the more intellectual reflections demanded by the encounter with the British Worthies, the view of the Temple of Contemplation or that of the Temple of Ancient Virtue.

In the eighteenth century, the Chinese house seems to have fed a strategy of accommodation, offering a picturesque and playful entertainment in a highly heterotopian² garden, and to bring a touch of exoticism rather than a reflection on Chinese moral or philosophy (indeed, no mention of Confucius is made in the dialogue). Yet, Stowe can be regarded as what Jurgis Baltrušaitis has called a "world-garden" (1995 [1983], vol. 1, p. 208), a visual representation of Alexander Pope's allegorical conception of the world as he described it in *The Temple of Fame* (1711). In this conception of the garden as microcosm, architectural features such as pavilions, bridges, temples, ruins evoke different parts of the world. In Pope's *Temple of Fame*, the "eastern front [...]" glorious

¹For more information about the history of the Chinese House at Stowe, see Conner (1979a, pp. 236–237) and Jackson-Stops (1993, pp. 217–223).

²I borrow Michel Foucault's concept of heterotopia ("hétérotopie") which he developed in "Des espaces autres," p. 752.

to behold,” displays a niche in which “Superior, and alone, Confucius stood, / Who taught that useful science to be good” (Pope 1711, p. 206). Could the Chinese pavilion in Stowe only be, then, a mere decorative ornament? It is hard to think that William Kent, who was responsible for designing the garden and evolved in the circle of the sinophile Lord Burlington, would not have been familiar with scholarship written on China’s customs, politics, and moral philosophy that was widely circulated throughout Europe. The renowned wisdom of the Chinese was a common *topos* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The presence of a House of Confucius in Kew Gardens, another famous eighteenth-century garden designed by William Chambers, indicates that if the reference to China offered apparent connotations of picturesque exoticism, the grandeur of Chinese civilisation also provided a backdrop for the setting of horticultural chinoiserie. China, symbolised by its Pagoda, House of Confucius and Menagerie at Kew or by its pavilion at Stowe, entered conversation within the global transnational and trans-historical meaning of the garden, in which a form of cultural and visual dialogue with other monuments and buildings was penned, allowing for historical and cultural comparisons, reminiscences and echoes.

The ornamental presence of China, in the form of pavilions, kiosks, pagodas, or bridges was prevalent in eighteenth-century English landscape gardens and urban parks. Yet English garden theorists also drew on the model of the Chinese garden to find a new type of natural garden which could best convey an image of England’s new cultural identity at a period of intense political, artistic, scientific, and cultural transformations. Garden history provides a particularly fruitful field for the analysis of the cultural syncretism and strategies of accommodation which occurred between China and Britain’s styles of gardening. The aesthetics of the “Anglo-Chinese” garden must be linked to the intellectual, aesthetic, and philosophical ideas of England to understand its reception. Chinese horticultural resonances in England must also be situated within a general reflection on orientalism and eighteenth-century cosmopolitanism. As is the case with objects and subjects of study in the field of global, interconnected or “entangled” history, investigating the resonance of China in English gardens necessitates an exploration of the modalities of its reception through the concepts of transfer, transposition, even transplantation, and accommodation.

I offer to look at the presence of China in the English garden through the lens of “ornamental orientalism,” defined as a multifarious

discursive and visual mode of representing China as decoration and/or structure. Indeed, a representational duality marked the reception and interpretation of China, a tension between surface and depth. It is the very ambivalent nature of ornamental orientalism which led to the creation of a hybridised Anglo-Chinese grammar of ornament and helped England shape its cultural identity.

“SHARAWADGIAN” POLITICS IN THE ENGLISH LANDSCAPE GARDEN

The first decades of the eighteenth century were marked by an increasing desire to find a new model of gardening that broke away from the baroque style of the famous French gardens which displayed topiary work and symmetry, an image of France’s centralised state and a symbol of Louis XIV’s absolute monarchy. On top of representing the magnificence of the baroque, the geometrical layout of French gardens mirrored Cartesian rationalism and political absolutism. The formal approach taken by André Le Notre at Versailles and Vaux-le-Vicomte represented man’s mastery over nature and made a statement about the King’s powerful and all-encompassing statecraft. With the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the ensuing passing of the Bill of Rights in 1689, England rejected absolute monarchy to embrace a constitutional monarchy, a new political system of checks and balances based on the central concept of exchange, which sealed an agreement, of a contractarian nature, between King and Parliament, and respected the principles of individual liberties. Politics joined nature as England turned to China to create a new style of garden that sought to reflect the nation’s specific political regime. In its quest for a new horticultural model that could emulate the French one, England held up the concepts of sinuosity and irregularity, evoked by nature’s wilderness, to signify the concept of liberty.³

Britain moved away from symmetry and geometrical principles to turn to a more informal, natural, irregular layout in gardens and found in the Chinese garden model a distant, counter-example to the continental model, an oriental material it could identify with. The importance of Sir William Temple’s essay “Upon the Garden of Epicurus,” written in

³See Chapter 5 for an interpretation of the Anglo-Chinese garden and the taste for China in the English landscape garden (Alayrac-Fielding 2016, pp. 267–349).

1685, is well known in the genealogy of the Anglo-Chinese garden. A diplomat and man of letters, Sir William Temple was Ambassador to the Hague in 1688 and was familiar with travellers' and Jesuit missionaries' accounts of China. In "Upon the Gardens of Epicurus," which became a founding text in the history of the English landscape garden, Temple introduced the famous notion of "sharawadgi"⁴ to praise the idea of irregular beauty and beautiful disorder, which also delivered a new conception of the relationship between beauty and art:

The Chineses [*sic*] scorn this way of planting [...] their greatest reach of imagination is employed in contriving figures where the Beauties shall be great, and strike the eye, without any order or disposition of parts, that shall be commonly or easily observed [...]. We have hardly any notion of this sort of beauty, yet they have a particular word to express it, and, where they find it hits their eye at first sight, they say the *sharawadgi* is fine or is admirable, or any such expression of esteem. (Temple 1690a [1685], p. 131)

The word "sharawadgi" came to represent irregularity and fuelled the on-going debate on nature and its relationship with art. It seems that China resonated on the English soil in writings on gardening in a tentative quest for a coalescence of identities, an Anglo-Chinese mythology where China served as an aesthetic and political model for Britain. Temple's description of the concept of *sharawadgi* was further developed by Joseph Addison in one essay of *The Spectator*'s famous series on "The Pleasures of the Imagination." In the essay, Addison advocates sinuosity and irregularity as natural principles to follow in laying out gardens. Following an empirical approach in his conception of the English landscape garden, he calls for an interplay between art and nature in landscape design in order to stimulate the work of the imagination:

Writers, who have given us an account of China, tell us, the inhabitants of that country laugh at the plantations of our Europeans, which are laid out by the rule and line; because, they say, any one may place trees in equal rows and uniform figures. They chuse rather to show a genius on work of this nature, and therefore always conceal the art by which they direct themselves. [...] Our British gardeners, on the contrary, instead of humouring nature, love to deviate from it as much as possible. (Addison 1712, p. 143)

⁴See for the origin of the term (Murray 1998, pp. 34 and 37; Shimada 1997, pp. 350–352).

The concept of sharawadgi reappears in this sensualist conception of beauty, defined as a harmonious balance between the work of nature and that of the artist: “They have a word, it seems, in their language, by which they express the particular beauty of a plantation that thus strikes the imagination at first sight, without discovering what it is that has so agreeable an effect” (Addison 1712, p. 143). Temple’s praise of China’s aesthetic of sharawadgi was in direct link with the worship of China’s political system of government, its moral and philosophy, a common trope among sinophile philosophers and men of letters in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Temple’s commendation of the Chinese horticultural model must be linked to the admiration he felt towards China’s moral, political, and social organisation, which he expressed in his essay “Of Heroic Virtue,” published in 1690:

Upon these Foundations and institutions, by such methods and orders, the Kingdom of China seems to be framed and policed with the utmost Force and Reach of Human wisdom, Reason and Contrivance; and in Practice to excel the very speculations of other men, and all those imaginary Schemes of the European wits, the Institutions of Xenophon, the Republic of Plato, the Utopia’s or Oceana’s of our Modern Writers. All this will perhaps be allowed by any that considers the vastness, the opulence, the Populousness of this Region, with the ease and Facility wherewith ’tis govern’d, and the Length of Time this Government has run. (Temple 1690b, p. 332)

William Temple’s appreciation of Chinese gardens must be read in conjunction with his respect for Chinese civilisation, which, he claimed, had reached a stage of greater advancement in politics and philosophy than European nations. In “Of Heroic Virtue,” Temple presents the Chinese empire as the far eastern actualisation of fictional utopias written by both ancient and modern authors. Temple’s knowledge on China was undoubtedly based on the Jesuits’ encyclopedic publications, such as Athanasius Kircher’s *China Monumentis Qua Sacris Qua Profanis [...]* (1667), or Arnoldus Montanus’s *Atlas Chinensis* (1671), and travellers’ accounts, such as Johannes Nieuhof’s famous *Embassy from the East India Company of the United Provinces to [...] China* (published in London in 1669). These works provided iconographical material depicting Chinese landscapes where the intermingling of natural elements—mountains, water, rocks, and vegetation—coexisted with human presence materialised by architectural elements such as pavilions

and pagodas. One famous, widely circulated engraving in Nieuhoff's *Embassy [...] to China*, "Cliffs made by Art" (Fig. 8.1), depicting ragged rocks became a metonymy of the natural, textural, and irregular qualities of Chinese gardens, and served as an iconographic model for the design of grottos in English landscape gardens, such as Pope's grotto in Twickenham or Hamilton's at Painshill (Sirén 1990, p. 46).

English politics and aesthetics both looked for a visual representation of the idea of liberty which could be found in wild nature and reproduced in horticultural naturalism. Sharawadgi as a new, foreign aesthetic appeared concomitantly with the shift of the political paradigm in England which set the nation apart from absolutist Europe, established a contractarian nature of government seen as a free agreement between sovereign and parliament and the result of the English people's determination to fight for their individual liberties, among which self-preservation and the protection of private property. References to China's meritocracy, respect of hierarchy and preservation of tradition, as well as morality in the art of government found a favourable resonance among both Whigs and Tories, the former being in favour of reforms and social mobility through meritocracy, the latter seeing in China a more agrarian type of traditional society ruled by the strong figure of the Emperor as an enlightened despot.

To return to the case of Stowe, Lord Cobham's garden in the 1730s was a visual expression of contemporary English politics. It stood for anti-Walpole propaganda and represented the Patriots' crusade against Robert Walpole's government.⁵ The crumbling Temple of Modern Virtue stood for the corruptive state of the Walpole administration, and offered a striking contrast to the Temple of Ancient Virtue which could evoke Temple's references to "Plato's republic" and "Xenophon's Institutions." China's political system, materialised by the Chinese house in the garden joined other classical buildings in the network of references used to symbolise the Patriots' resistance to the perceived contemporary political corruption, and their call for meritocracy, morality, and reforms in English politics. The Chinese house then does not aim at being a faithful copy of Chinese architecture, but is incorporated into Stowe's trans-historical, trans-generic, and heterotopian programme, which, in

⁵See Gerrard (1994). On the links between the image of China, literary chinoiserie in the form of the oriental tale and the movement of the Patriots in the 1720s and 1730s in the press, see Alayrac-Fielding (2016, pp. 162–168).



Fig. 8.1 “Jardin chinois”, tiré de Johan Nieuhof, *L'Ambassade de la Compagnie orientale des Provinces unies vers l'empereur de la Chine* (Leyde: J. de Meurs, 1665. NB-A-095032, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

the end, is concerned with the fashioning of England's political identity. The Chinese house stood as a viewpoint: it worked as a metonymic transposition, transforming China into chinoiserie, to serve the mythopoiesis of Englishness. Its presence in the garden is less concerned with a visualisation of China as it is with a fictionalisation of China, offering, rather, an English narration of China.

Not unlike an oriental tale, the Chinese House spins a fiction about China, written, told and fabricated by English authors. The Chinese pavilion, like the House of Confucius in Kew Garden, and other chinoiserie buildings may have played the role of eye-catchers, but it also played the role of a critical eye/I enabling a blurring of identities between the “wise Chinese” and the Patriots. In that regard, the Chinese House in Stowe garden can arguably be regarded as the mirror-image of George Lyttelton's *Letters from a Persian in England* (1735) which offered a disguised oriental I/eye, voiced by an English Patriot author evolving in the circle of Lord Cobham, to satirise contemporary England politics. William Hazlitt had compared the reading

of Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World* to "walking in a garden full of traps and pitfalls" (1841, p. 211). In a chiasmic reversal of polarities, walking in Stowe Garden can also be seen as analogous to reading a body of texts, including oriental tales and English novels, with their many twists and turns, meandering paths, overlapping histories, and references. The English landscape garden is both a palimpsest and a collection of intertexts: it keeps mnemonic traces of distant lands and civilisations, bridges geographical distances and historical gaps, weaves them into its own fabric, adorning itself with it. The philosophical conflates with the material. Chinese horticultural resonances in English gardens as ornaments correspond to the cosmopolitan fluidity between self and other identified by Srinivas Aravamudan (2011) as Enlightenment orientalism. Metaphorically China played the role of an underlying structure, or a foundation in the creation of English political identity and subjectivity in a cosmopolitan, dialogic conversation between self and other.

A constant ambivalence existed in the reception of China as decorative ornament or ornamental structure, hovering between decorative practice and theory, surface and depth.⁶ William Temple observed that the founding principles of Chinese gardens could be seen transferred on Chinese export commodities. Talking about the art of the Chinese he claims that "whoever observes the work upon the best India gowns, or the painting upon their best screens or purcellans, will find their beauty is all of this kind [that is] without order" (1690a, [1685] p. 131). The contemporary interpretation of Chinese theoretical garden material revealed the productive duality of ornamental orientalism. The concept of sharawadgi took shape and was enacted in artefacts, was consumed and aggregated onto the self, adorned the English body. Numerous examples of plates, vases, cups and saucers (Fig. 8.2) and other porcelain wares show designs of Chinese "sharawadgian" landscapes, with winding paths and the combination of natural and architectural elements that served as observable iconographic material, but also as consumable, portable one. Chinese philosophy underwent a process of commodification, with the threat of having its content exhausted by aestheticisation through the material and ornamental transfer operated.

⁶For more theorisation about the poetics of ornament, see the introduction to Laurent (2005).



Fig. 8.2 Cup and saucer with a landscape design, Qing dynasty (1723–1735). Musée national des arts asiatiques Guimet, Paris, G2675 (Photo RMN-Grand Palais [MNAAG, Paris]/Thierry Ollivier)

FROM SHEN YU'S *EMPEROR'S POEMS*
TO MATTEO RIPA'S *THIRTY-SIX VIEWS OF JEHO*

Indeed, oriental ornamentalism, understood here as a form of display, or spectacularisation of material China, was one aspect of ornamental orientalism. The study of the reception of the illustrations of the Kangxi emperor's summer palace and gardens near Jehol (Chengde), first turned into woodblock prints by Chinese court artist Shen Yu, then engraved as the *Thirty-Six Views of Jehol* by Italian missionary Matteo Ripa and finally revised and reinterpreted in a set of unsigned engravings, published in England by Robert Sayer in 1753, illustrates the cultural and political agenda at work in the process of transferring, as well as the resonance of Chinese gardens in the development of garden theories in England.

Neapolitan missionary Matteo Ripa worked as an engraver to the Kangxi emperor between 1712 and 1723 in Beijing. In 1712 the Kangxi emperor commissioned his court painter Shen Yu to provide illustrations of thirty-six scenes he had chosen in his summer garden to accompany poems he had composed about them. Shen Yu's *The Emperor's Poems on the Thirty-Six Views at Bishu shanzhuang* (Yuzhi Bishu Shanzhuang Sanshiliu Jing Shi) were subsequently turned into woodcut prints. Kangxi then commissioned Ripa to engrave the views, which resulted in a collection of copperplate engravings adapting the woodcut illustrations rather than strictly and faithfully copying them. When Ripa returned to Europe with a view to founding a missionary school in Naples, he travelled from Canton on board an English East Indiaman and arrived in London in 1724. He was received by King George I and it is believed he presented the King with a volume of the engravings and that he possibly gave one copy to Lord Burlington, introducing him and his circle (which included William Kent) to Emperor Kangxi's summer palace and gardens.

Ripa's *Thirty-Six Views of Jehol* shows the cultural construct inherent in Ripa's reception of the original woodcut prints. Instead of keeping the voids present in the woodcut illustrations, Matteo Ripa almost systematically added hatchings in the empty spaces of the prints, although he did retain some of the blanks in some prints. In a famous print, entitled "Xiling Chenxia" ("Clouds over the Western mountains at dawn"—Fig. 8.3), he added clouds in the sky and also an image of the sun. The river and the sky left purposefully blank by Shen Yu are filled by cross-hatching and effects of chiaroscuro. Ripa also introduced relief, texture, and detail in the treatment of natural and architectural elements. The outlining of branches and minute precision of leaves, the flying flock of birds in the sky, convey a sense of observation on the part of the artist together with his desire to individualise the scene, but also call for the viewer to engage in an active observation of the scene. Ripa, voluntarily or not, overlooked the daoist, spiritual dimension of Chinese garden and garden painting to overwrite it, instead, with the presence of Christian spirituality, emblematised by an omnipotent Christian God, symbolised by a glorious sun the rays of which sweep away the menacing storm and rain-loaded clouds in a typically European allegorical fashion. Emptiness in Chinese landscape painting is paramount to the viewer's experience of Daoism. Emptiness is the space for the revelation of daoist cosmology,

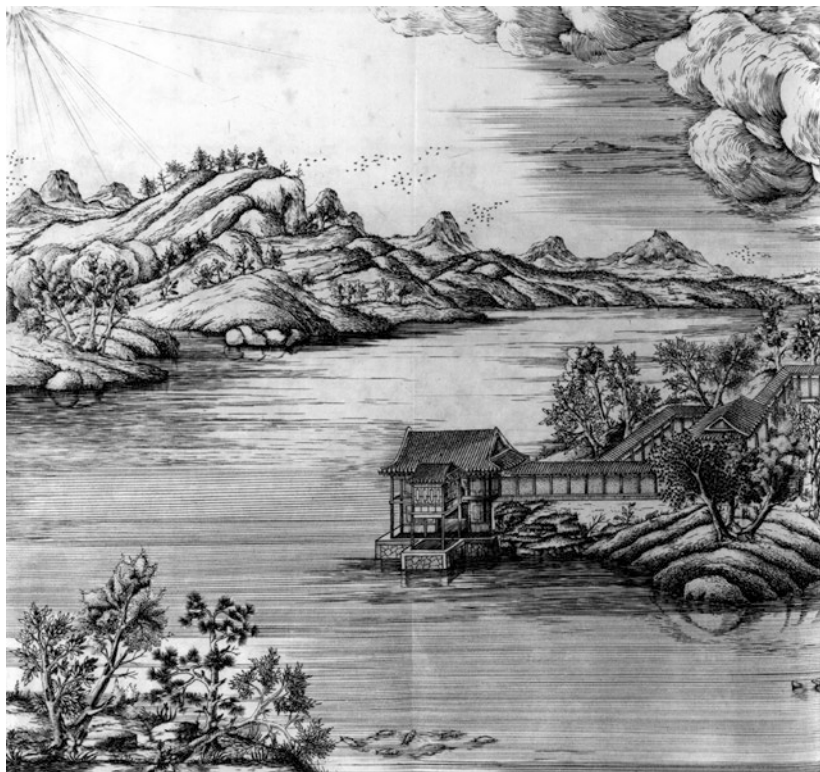


Fig. 8.3 Matteo Ripa, “Monte occidentale sul quale la mattina è un bel vedere le nubbi (Morning Glow on the Western Ridge), *Xiling Chenxia*,” from *Thirty-six views of the Imperial Summer Palace at Jehol*, Beijing, 1711–1713, museum number: 1955,0212,0.1.27, London, British Museum (© The Trustees of the British Museum)

marked by a constant transformation of Qi energies, transcribed in the constant movement between mountains and water.

The immersion into Chinese landscape painting is thus a means for self-cultivation. Contrary to western, naturalistic attempts at rendering the grain, texture and details of the landscape, empty spaces, voids, reserves in the Chinese prints act as silent spaces which allow for circulation between Li, the immaterial principle of the cosmos, and Qi,

the material force-Yin and Yang, guided by Li.⁷ Emptiness enables the enactment of the transformative powers of Qi. Yue Zhuang has shown that Shen Yu followed the stylistic tradition of landscape painting of the Southern School and displayed the Song scholars' neo-Confucian ideology in the imperial publication *The Emperor's Poems*. The prints typically present empty spaces suggesting sky, water, and clouds with the use of mountain ranges as "a diagonal tilt, suggesting depth and recession [...] and winding path of the river [...] articulated by two outcrops, in the left foreground and the right middle distance" (Zhuang 2015, p. 144). The atmospheric space of misty hills, villages, and natural elements conveyed neo-Confucian philosophy, which used Daoism to represent a particular order of the cosmos. Chinese gardens and Chinese landscape painting represent spaces for contemplation: scholars and viewers were expected to imagine the connections between sky, water, and mountains, to understand the spiritual dimension of nature and to strengthen their knowledge of the cosmos, which was seen as a means for self-improvement. This expanded vision enables them to find a balance "an equilibrium between [their] human mind and moral reason," (Zhuang 2015, p. 147) in accordance with the Confucian line of conduct.

The imperial publication *The Emperor's Poems* was also intended to assert the Qing dynasty's imperial power and authority. Confucian ritual practices played an important role in Kangxi's political and social construct of the Empire. The daoist, neo-confucian order of the cosmos seen in these landscape paintings called for moral self-cultivation and symbolised the Emperor's art of governing according to the Confucian doctrine. Ripa's attempt to articulate the void of the Chinese woodcut illustrations shows a different *épistémè*, manifest in the absence of comprehension of Chinese cosmology. Ripa's hatching of the Chinese void also has "an ordering function" creating a perspectival effect, putting the spectator into the position of an observer of the scene whose vision is framed by the horizontal hatching overriding the Chinese landscape. It also operates a shift in power-holding, as it shifts imperial authority to papal authority; the imperial Chinese landscape mastered by Kangxi is transformed into Pope Clement XI's extended Christian sphere of influence. In the context of the Chinese Rites controversy, Ripa's adaptation of the Emperor's poems worked as propagandistic Christian

⁷For the analysis of Ripa's adaptation of Shen Yu's illustrations, see Zhuang (2015, pp. 143–157). I follow Zhuang's argument here.

material. Dismissing the Chinese Rites controversy arguments, Ripa presents China's nature, or cosmos, organised through the presence of a Christian God "impos[ing] on the Chinese image a European visual order" with divine rays of sunlight symbolically illuminating the garden. Ripa's engraving process was thus analogous to a "mapping device." This ordering practice identified by recent scholars is a prime example of ornamental orientalism: it is the result of a discourse woven into the visual fabric of the object—be it a print, a garden, a silk dress, an oriental tale. As a missionary, Ripa's task consisted first and foremost in evangelising and propagating faith.

The *Thirty-Six Views* act as Ripa's catechesis, analogous to a narration, a form of fiction, a hybrid Sino-European fabrication, a tale of "entangled" stories and histories, personal and national, among which one can read the (hi)stories of Chinese imperial politics and daoist philosophy, and those of Catholic mission and the birth of new aesthetics in Europe. The cross-hatchings are metaphorically aligning Chinese philosophy with Christian religion, or entangling them, like dashes on a page. Ripa historicised the imperial garden, encoded it with western political and religious preoccupations, so that it would take new resonances when reaching a European audience. He told a cross-cultural story through his addition of western visual elements as structural ornaments. Ripa used these visual additions, especially the hatchings, to sign his authorship and at the same time to signify Papal authority. These ornaments both adorn the original prints and structure them in a discursive fashion, and similarly give voice to Ripa. *The Views* hold both China and Europe together, as well as their respective historical contexts and aesthetics, which hybridises the prints and makes them palimpsestic.

Consciously or not, Ripa certainly endeavoured to map out and delineate the religious geographical territories of Clement XI's Christian influence, resulting in a palimpsestic rewriting of the image of Chinese imperial gardens. Yet the reception of Ripa's work did not necessarily match the artist's deliberate or unconscious intentions. On his return to Europe, *The Views'* exegesis in England must have been quite different from Ripa's intended message. The reception of the *Views* in England, a Protestant country, distrustful of the Catholic creed, must have certainly differed from that in France. Ripa's transformation of a Daoist vision of the world into a Christian one opened up an empirical reading of the illustrations. The hatching of the void, the use of linear perspective, the link between natural elements reinforce the position of the viewer

as an observer of the scene, and invite him to a minute observation of Nature's sharawadgi, in a progressive mode, inscribed in temporality. The cross-hatchings act as structural ornamentation here: they break away with the notion of a-temporality, present in the Chinese prints, and contribute to the recontextualisation and historicisation of the views. Arguably, Ripa maintained a certain level of stillness in his plates, but he paved the way for England's empirical mode of reception of the Chinese garden model and its interpretation as picturesque, serpentine, natural, varied, and irregular. Ripa's plates offered an iconographic model of nature, diversity, asymmetry, and variety, which would resonate with new meanings in England.⁸

THE CULTURAL TRANSFER OF THE *THIRTY-SIX VIEWS* IN LONDON: TRANSPOSITION, ADAPTATION, ACCOMMODATION

The idea of irregular, natural beauty was grounded in the epistemological revolution and rejection of Cartesian mechanism to embrace a new aesthetic based on living forms, movement, natural sciences, the ever-changing course of Nature, undirected by the hand of man. Jean-Denis Attiret's letter on the irregular, sinuous beauty of the Yuan Ming Yuan and on its progressive discovery through observation of its many scenes, found an echo in England in the contemporary theorisation, by William Hogarth in particular, of concepts such as beauty, liberty, nature, under the common sharing ideas of movement, sinuosity, and irregularity.⁹

Ripa's *Thirty-Six Views* underwent one last transposition in England (Figs. 8.4, 8.5, and 8.6). In 1753 a series of unsigned engravings, copied from Ripa's plates, entitled *The Emperor of China's Palace at Peking, and His Principal Gardens*, was published by Robert Sayer in London.¹⁰

⁸For more information on Ripa's influence on the creation of English landscape gardens and on his presence in London, see Gray (1960, pp. 40–42), Jacques (1990, pp. 180–191), and Conner (1979b, pp. 429–440).

⁹See Attiret "Lettre du 1er novembre 1743 à M. d'Assault," 1979. Attiret's letter was translated into English by Joseph Spence and published in 1752 in London under the title *A Particular Account of the Emperor of China's Gardens Near Peking*. See Loehr (1976, pp. 69–84). For an analysis of the notion of *progress* in the epistemological and aesthetic contexts of eighteenth-century England, see Ogée (1991, pp. 56–65).

¹⁰See for more details about the album (Miller 1984, p. 184).

A prime example of ornamental orientalism, eighteen of the twenty etchings reproduced Ripa's plates with many visual additions. Sayer's engravings are infused with a sense of life, of dynamism and of visual narration. The engravings appear orientalised with chinoiserie-like vignettes that bear a strong resemblance to the daily life scenes depicted on Chinese export wallpaper or on porcelain ware. The English engravings have cropped Ripa's original titles and replaced them with approximate English translations.¹¹ Whereas there was no trace of human presence in Ripa's plates and Shen Yu's woodcut images, the English version added Chinese characters, fishermen, sailors, workers, palace women, and Mandarin-looking figures dressed in floating robes and wearing conical hats, who often appear in groups of two or more engaged in conversation or taking a stroll in the landscape. Birds, animals, some of a fantastic nature like sea-serpents or phoenix birds, clouds, boats, in particular junks, resembling those found in chinoiserie design pattern books, light and shadow, were also added into the prints. In "The Figure of Heaven is all Delightful [...]," three junks sailing on the water bring life into what initially was a void, a blank, and white space used to signify the very presence of water. The compositional, pace-inducing arrangement of the boats in the scene guides the movement of the eye from the foreground into the middle-ground and lastly into the distance, offering, in that regard an empirical, progressive and dynamic discovery of the scene. These visual compositional arrangements were in keeping with the tradition of the linear Western perspective. Far from aiming at a contemplative mood to behold the scene, the scene is restless, calls for the eye to be busy, mobile, distracted and also entertained by the observation of the numerous activities depicted in the landscape. Sayer's engravings transform the initial experience of the imperial publication the *Emperor's poems* as a place for scholarly reflection and philosophical contemplation into a landscape intended for empirical observation, dynamic discovery, pleasure, and entertainment.

However, the atmosphere of fanciful chinoiserie pervading the prints does not preclude a more serious representation of China as a political, philosophical, and moral model for the West. Chinese gardens can be regarded here as an orientalised version of the Horatian precept of "*placere et docere*," pleasing and teaching. The entertaining aspects of

¹¹ See for another discussion of these engravings (Strassberg 2007, pp. 88–137).



Fig. 8.4 Shen Yu, *Tian Yu Xian Chang*, from *Yuzhi Bishu shanzhuang shi* (View from *The Emperor's poems on the thirty-six views of the Mountain Retreat from the Summer Heat*, Beijing, 1712) (Philadelphia Museum of Art, Purchased with the John T. Morris Fund, 1935, 1935-40-2n)

the scenes co-exist with the political and philosophical image of China. Indeed, in displaying several scenes of conversation between various groups of characters, the engravings emphasise the civilised, polite characteristic of Chinese society. This conversational imagery builds an Edenic vision of China as an agrarian nation, ruled by Confucian ideals, philosophy, and meditation. Shown in peaceful harmony with nature, China is pictured as a Golden Age. The English engravings offer correspondences between Classical Antiquity and a Chinese Arcadia and invite the viewer to reflect upon this trans-historical syncretism. At the same time, the imagery fosters a dynamic individual and personal aesthetic experience of the scenes. The English hybridisation of the Chinese landscape painting in Sayer's publication reveals the cultural construct at



Fig. 8.5 Matteo Ripa, plate from *Thirty-six views of the Imperial Summer Palace at Jehol*, Beijing, 1711–1713, museum number 1955,0212,0.1.2, London, British Museum (© The Trustees of the British Museum)

work. The image of the Chinese imperial garden of Jehol was manipulated, re-written, re-encoded. Next to the gothic style, the aesthetic of ruins or the rustic style, the Chinese style was incorporated into a cosmopolitan English grammar of ornament seeking to stimulate the imagination and create surprise and variety. Anglo-Chinese horticultural ornamentalism was the result of a cultural construct. William Chambers's interpretation of the Chinese garden model in his *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*, published in 1772, illustrates this practice.

In his battle against Lancelot Capability Brown who advocated a return to more natural gardens, stripped of their architectural ornaments



Fig. 8.6 “The Figure of Heaven is all Delightful, A View of the Temple serv’d by Eunuchs and of the delicious Round Island it stands upon,” *The Emperor of China’s Palace at Pekin, and his Principal Gardens*, London (Printed by Robert Sayer, 1753, 92-B26685-019, Getty Research Institute, Research Library)

seen as vain follies, William Chambers famously used the reference to Chinese gardens in order to defend “ornamental gardening,” aimed at rendering English gardens picturesque according to a sensualist aesthetic based on empirical epistemology (Alayrac-Fielding 2009, pp. 95–116; 2016, pp. 295–318). In so doing, he called for a Chinese resonance in English landscape design to make English gardens “natural, without resemblance to vulgar Nature; new without affectation, and extraordinary

without extravagance; where the spectator is to be amused, where his attention is constantly to be kept up, his curiosity excited, and his mind agitated by a great variety of opposite passions” (Chambers 1772, p. 94). He also prescribed a touch of sinicisation of English gardeners to transform them into “Gardeners [...] of genius, experience and judgment; quick in perception, rich in expedients, fertile in imagination, and thoroughly versed in all the affections of the human mind” (p. 94).

Chambers also insisted on the need for dramatisation in laying out a garden, justifying the use of eye-catchers to create variety, surprise, and various moods for the visitor. Moreover, Chambers’s transcription of principles of the Chinese garden is strangely similar to Burke’s categories of the sublime. Indeed, Chambers distinguishes three types of scenes in the Chinese garden—the enchanted, the horrible and the pleasant scenes—that trigger different emotions. In this sensualist conception of horticultural aesthetic, nature and the disposition of natural elements, enhanced by man’s artistic design, call for a sensory experience of the garden, which then leads to emotions, ideas, and feelings. Chambers’s interpretation of Chinese gardens elaborates on John Locke’s empirical epistemology, where the latter explains how our ideas are formed by our senses, marked by pleasure or pain. Chambers’s Chinese sensualist psychology gives pride of place to the senses and the work of the imagination, establishing a filiation from John Locke’s *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* and Joseph Addison’s *Essays on the Pleasures of the Imagination*, to Burke’s theorisation of the Sublime and the Beautiful. Chambers thus anglicised the Chinese garden of plenitude and turned it into an experimental garden:

[T]he principal parts of this supernatural Gardening consists in a display of many surprising phenomena [*sic*], and extraordinary effects, produced by air, fire, water, motion, light, and gravitation, they may be considered as a collection of philosophical experiments, exhibited in a better manner, upon a larger scale, and more forcibly than is common. (1772, pp. 156–157)

CONCLUSION

The resonance of China in what became the Anglo-Chinese garden represents one of many Enlightenment engagements with the East. In his differentiation between “Enlightenment Orientalism” and the Saidian version concerned with nineteenth-century Britain and France, Srinivas Aravamudan sees in the particular modalities of encountering the Orient

through oriental tales and other so-called minor fictional genres a “Western style for translating, anatomizing, and desiring the Orient” (2011, p. 8). Rather than talk of “pre-Orientalism,” he dismisses a teleological history of the relationship between the East and the West that would find its resolution into imperialistic dreams of domination in the nineteenth century. Instead, Aravamudan offers a reading of orientalism as a multi-faceted relationship between the East and the West which concerns both self and other: “inside and outside the nation, self-critical and also xenotropic, philosophical and also fantasmatic” (2011, p. 8). Ornamental orientalism can be seen as one branch of Enlightenment orientalism.

Chinese gardens, along with their pictorial and textual representations, served as ornament for the creation of the English landscape garden and the further development of the so-called Anglo-Chinese garden. The iconography and various texts that circulated in England helped to establish and theorise the idea of nature and the natural, central to the foundation of the new landscape garden in England, through the dissemination of the concept of *sharawadgi* and its link to a conception of beauty that integrated wildness, irregularity, disorder, sinuosity, and asymmetry. Here the concept of ornamentation provides a theoretical framework for articulating the apparent ambivalence of the artistic reception of the image of China. If the Chinese garden model provided a substratum for a theorisation of the principle of English gardens, it also fed a vast repertoire of pleasing, unfamiliar, exotic ornaments to bring variety and novelty in the English garden. Cosmopolitanism played a crucial role in the process of English identity-building (see Rousseau and Porter 1990; Pheng and Robbins 1998). Conversation was one of its tenets. The cosmopolitan spirit of English Enlightenment was manifest in various cross-cultural dialogues, real and metaphorical, that took the form of travels and travelogues, epistolary correspondence and oriental tales, missions, trade, the artistic taste for the Orient, and especially the fashion for *chinoiserie*. Certainly, the conversational, syncretic nature of the Anglo-Chinese garden was dominant in the eighteenth century, before England turned into a more aggressive and imperialistic attitude towards China at the dawn of the nineteenth century.

The English landscape garden acted as a representation of English culture, emblematised by the concept and practice of conversation, or dialogism. A microcosm of the world at large, the English garden, not unlike a cabinet of curiosities, offered, through architectural follies, references to various countries and historical periods: Rome, Ancient Greece,

China, the Middle East.¹² It established a diachronic and transnational conversation through visual devices, as seen for instance in Kew Gardens, where oriental architectural features such as the Alhambra, the Mosque, the Chinese menagerie, the House of Confucius, not to mention the famous Pagoda, engaged in a dialogue with the Temple of Bellona and that of Aeolus. The progressive discovery and experience of the garden's numerous scenes and sites stimulated the imagination and proposed a reflection on correspondences, comparisons between various geographical places and historical periods.¹³ This transnational and trans-historical conversation between the monuments led to a second type of social interaction, namely the art of conversation between friends visiting a garden, the embodiment of enlightenment through reflection, debate and critical judgment in the public and private spheres.

Finally, ornamentation implies a recognition of beauty in the eyes of the decorator, for one only decorates an object or a subject that one finds beautiful and desirable. Adorning is thus an act of adoring. The resonance of China, inscribed in several English landscape gardens through the presence of bridges, pavilions, and other sorts of monuments, analysed in this essay as a manifestation of a type of ornamental orientalism, participated in the productive and dynamic modes of expression of English culture. The use of China as a mode of horticultural ornamentation through rewriting, transposing, and grafting was a testimony to Britain's fascination for China and its resulting self-reflexive way of othering and sinicising itself, while at the same time anglicising the Chinese Other.

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¹²On the allegorical function of architecture in eighteenth-century gardens, see Mosser (2002, p. 259).

¹³A colonial and imperialistic reading of the garden as a pre-colonial catalogue and display of foreign possessions of the world is another facet of ornamental orientalism that I develop elsewhere. See Alayrac-Fielding (2017, pp. 230–231).

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“A Mart for Everything”: Commercial Empire and India as Bazaar in Long Eighteenth-Century Literature

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From the early modern period to the end of the Raj, the historical and cultural relations between England and Britain on one side and India on the other were beset by issues of size and scale. India was too large, diverse, and ancient. Managing this enormous (real and imaginative) terrain posed serious problems to practices of representation and, as European interests in the Indian subcontinent developed and consolidated, to commercial, diplomatic, administrative, and military practices, too. This chapter examines how British figurations of India rose to the aesthetic and ideological challenge of its potentially overwhelming excess of signs and objects—its constantly resonating material and immaterial manifestations—against the backdrop of historical transformations characterizing the long eighteenth century.

In this period, Britain’s expanding presence in the subcontinent bore on an increasingly structured network of what Edward Said calls forms of imperial “attitude and reference” (1994, p. xxvi), generating an ever tighter connection between acts of inscription and forms of

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commodification of India. In other words, the long eighteenth century witnessed a more and more fecund cross-pollination between commercial activities, imperial policies, and discursive configurations. Within this process, India came to represent a complex, cumulative site of practices, goods, and texts, an object of desire and a heraldic device bespeaking imperial greatness (Leask 1992, pp. 8–9). Representations of India also problematized notions of exhibited excess in keeping with a discourse of luxury which, “once associated with the preservation of social hierarchies, and its limitations with Christian economic ethics, became associated with the expansion of markets, wealth, and economic growth” (Berg 1999, p. 68). In addition, discursive configurations of Indian profusion drew upon a “literary topology of mercantilism,” a combination of iconography and rhetoric aimed at demonstrating that “trade rather than territory constituted the more peaceful and economical way to national prosperity” (Kaul 2000, p. 205). Together, these modes of representation anticipated the “aesthetics of particularism” that Nigel Leask sees as distinctive of Romantic-period exoticism and its production of detailed accounts of other places through mapping, description, and footnoting; yet also an aesthetics, as he goes on to argue, that sets off forms of resistance to and containment of this absorption of British representation by the semiotic superabundance of the exotic Other (1998, p. 168).

In the long eighteenth century, the British imagination envisaged and narrated India’s plurality through an interaction of these rhetorical constructs, images, and discourses, thus crystallizing what may be called an “aesthetics of the bazaar,” a repertoire of ideologically loaded figurative instruments aimed at mastering the subcontinent’s profusion of signs and artefacts. Intriguingly, this knot of questions was brought into focus by the ambassador to the Moghul court Sir Thomas Roe at the dawn of English diplomatic and commercial relations with India. In a letter of 14 February 1615 to Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, he wrote: “I had thought all India a China shop, and that I should furnish all my Friends with rarieties” (Roe 1899, vol. I, p. 134). Exploring the implications of this vision of India from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century, the following sections throw light on the ways in which the figurative category of the bazaar combined the mercantile and the exotic, merged aesthetic and imperial-economic concerns, and translated the overwhelming abundance of India into images of trade routes and emporia, markets, stores and shops. As this chapter demonstrates, the aesthetics of the bazaar was a crucial component in the literary and

more broadly cultural relations between Britain and the subcontinent, one which bears out the deep-lying link between the development of aesthetic discourse in Britain and the growth of its maritime supremacy and commercial imperialism in the East. By the same token, this chapter engages with this book's central concept of resonance by investigating how India reverberates across different modes of textual inscription (from travel writing to epic verse and prose sketches), thus weaving together discourses of production and consumption with a textual economy made up of recurrent themes, motifs and tropes related to material superabundance. The analyses that follow contribute to an examination of the resonance of India in Britain's literary culture by throwing light on its position at the centre of lines of transit and exchange that, by intersecting continuously from the early seventeenth to the early nineteenth century, coalesce around a significantly multifarious aesthetics of the bazaar.

IMPERIAL PANEGYRICS AND THE INDIAN *CORNUCOPIA*

In the long eighteenth century the figurative repertoire of the Indian bazaar acquired strategic importance as the expanding British presence in the subcontinent helped solidify an increasingly structured matrix of notions and images of India. Under the aegis of commercial capitalism, the image of the country as a *cornucopia* of wonders, dating back to Greco-Roman culture (Dalby 2000, p. 191), mutated into that of a storehouse of conquerable and tradeable commodities and goods, and the source of an endless flow of commercial spoils of empire. In this process, age-old images interacted with, and were transformed by, a new mercantile ideology that was a staple trait in constructions of the national character. As Daniel Defoe put it in *The Complete English Tradesman* (1726–1727), the English were “not only a trading country, but the greatest trading country in the world,” while “the rising greatness of the British nation” was entirely “owing to trade” (1987, pp. 212 and 219). The fact that the English (and the British) came to see themselves as “a rational and trading people” was also the effect of continuous struggles for colonial expansion, “raw materials and tropical commodities,” “markets and the carrying trade which served them” (Langford 2000, pp. 3 and 77). If national identity had been traditionally characterized by insular pride based on the topos of the “Fortunate Isles” and the superiority of Great Britain over all other countries (Langford 1989, p. 291),

it was now inextricable from Britain's global expansion and a new awareness of the transcontinental reach of its power.

The conclusion to John Dryden's "Annus Mirabilis" (1667), his seminal panegyric to England's commercial expansionism, imagines a resurgent London after the fire of 1666, "a City of more precious mold" (l. 1170, Dryden 1958, vol. I, p. 103) that "like a Maiden Queen" receives the offerings of her "Suppliants," among which is "[t]he East with Incense" (ll. 1185–1187, vol. I, p. 104). The city's greatness as a future "fam'd Emporium" (l. 1205, vol. I, p. 105) is proleptically founded on its flourishing trade with Asia in a vision depicting the nation as a collectivity of merchant venturers: "Thus to the Eastern wealth through storms we go," and, "the Cape once doubled," "A constant Trade-wind will securely blow, / And gently lay us on the Spicy shore" (ll. 1213–1216, vol. I, p. 105). As Suvir Kaul notes, the poem "marries mercantile promise with millenarian prophecy" (2000, p. 79) so that the prospect of an English (and then British) empire appears to be enmeshed with "question[s] of national identity, the dynamics of mercantile expansion, the science and technology that would support the projection of state power overseas, [and] the proper culture of a would-be empire" (p. 83). The forces powering these geographic and temporal shifts are Eastern incense and spices, which function as metonyms for the conquerable treasure house that was India in the British commercial imagination.

Alexander Pope significantly worked this imagery into the conclusion to *Windsor Forest* (1713), in several respects "a high Augustan recension" of Dryden's poem (Rogers 2004, p. 203). In its final section, a personified River Thames conjures up the picture of commercially sourced wealth reaching London from across the seas: "For me the Balm shall bleed, and Amber flow, / The Coral redden and the Ruby glow, / The Pearly Shell its lucid Globe infold, / And *Phoebus* warm the ripening Ore to Gold" (ll. 393–396, Pope 1963, p. 209). Its products transported from the shores of the "barb'rous *Ganges*" (l. 365, p. 208) by ships "born by spicy Gales" (l. 392, p. 209), India once again features as one of the main purveyors of Britain's globally acquired wealth. The dizzying planetary scope of these vistas is paralleled by the equally awe-inspiring material sublime of India's inexhaustible treasures, a striking combination that continued to ripple across poem after poem by known writers—Edward Young's "Ocean an Ode" and *Imperium Pelagi* or Richard Glover's *London*—as well as in the works of anonymous panegyrists, such as "India" (*London Magazine*, February 1735) which sang

the praises of the "spacious empire" of the Great Moghul, around whose golden throne "the dazzling blaze / Of diamonds, rubies, sapphires strike the eye," and celebrated all the "treasures *Indian* climes may boast," from "diamond quarries" to coconut palms (Anonymous 1735, pp. 94–95).

An emblematic instance of the aesthetics of the bazaar, this imagery was encapsulated in Spiridione Roma's painting "The East Offering its Riches to Britannia" (1778), which aptly decorated the ceiling of the Revenue Committee Room at East India House in London's Leadenhall Street (Almeida and Gilpin 2005, pp. 102–103). Admittedly, only a selected few could admire this picture, yet the imagery was given wide currency not only by poetry but also by commercial treatises, whose figurations of India combined mercantile motifs (exchange, movement, transformation, and progress) with the profusion, accumulation, enumeration, and sensuous imagery typical of the aesthetics of the bazaar. A landmark in this genre, Malachy Postlethwayt's two-volume *Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce* (1751–1755, republished in 1757, 1766 and 1774) described Asia as favoured by "surprisingly bountiful" nature and uniquely stored with "inestimable commodities" and an "infinite fund" of goods that, by contrast, had been "either sparingly communicated, or utterly denied to the rest of the world" (1774, vol. I, n.p.). Similarly, in *Britain's Commercial Interest Explained and Improved* (1757), Postlethwayt depicted the subcontinent's trading outposts through an alternation of objective and taxonomic description and desire for a land brimming with treasures. A significant example of this appears in his account of Pondicherry on the Coromandel coast, the headquarters of the French East India Company since 1674, an account which blends praise for a well-run commercial centre with envy for a territory belonging to Britain's main imperial competitor. Characteristically, Postlethwayt notes that the "magazines of the company, and of private persons, are numerous and magnificent" and "full of all the commodities and manufactures, not only of the coast of Coromandel, but of the other parts of the Indies, such as Bengal, Surat, and the coast of Malabar" (1757, vol. II, pp. 197 and 198). The city's trade comprises "piece-goods, of which the finest are in Golconda," "great quantities of silk, raw and manufactured, gold and silver brocades, perfumes, spices, and diamonds" (vol. II, p. 199), and numerous other covetable materials and products, which Postlethwayt enumerates with a mixture of mercantile practicality, admiration, and desire. His overview interestingly culminates

in the picture of a global commercial web—"certain it is, that the India trade of France has laid an extraordinary foundation for the increase of their European trade in general" (vol. II, p. 199)—in which national jealousy of a competing power translates into a vision of India as a magazine of commodities and merchandise at the centre of a worldwide network of lines of trade and communication.

Images of India as part of this network continued to proliferate in commercial works and especially those focusing on Asia such as *Oriental Commerce* (1813) by William Milburn of the "East India Company's Service." Once again, this was an eminently practical repertory of facts interspersed with ecstatic accumulations of exotic goods including "chintz handkerchiefs," "muslins," "shirts" for all classes of buyers, "shawls, real India," rice, sugar and sugar candy, soap, timber, coffee, "jars sweetmeats," "jars pickles," "bottles soy," "dried ginger," spices like turmeric, pepper, cardamom, cinnamon, sago (a kind of edible starch) and "most kinds of Chinaware" (vol. I, pp. 46–48). Recording the average quantities of each Indian commodity and manufactured product imported into Britain each year, Milburn's account harnesses the aesthetics of the bazaar and particularism to a representation of India promoting the Company's commercial policy, global geopolitics and ideological premises. His treatise also intimates that, if India is a shop, it is primarily a moveable one, its "infinite fund" transported as freight to be sold around the world. From Milburn's perspective, the country and its inexhaustible store of goods belong in a worldwide marketplace dominated by the English East India Company, whose charter was coming up for renewal in 1813, the year of publication of his work.

COMMERCIAL PROFUSION IN ANTI-IMPERIAL DISCOURSE

Long eighteenth-century representations of India as a repository of tradeable goods reinforced a sense of imperial supremacy that was neatly summarized by Edward Stratford, 2nd Earl of Aldborough, in his *Essay on the True Interests and Resources of the Empire* (1783): "we are, and shall continue, the greatest empire, as to riches, commerce, and manufactures, in Europe, mistress of its seas, and the balance of its power" (p. 30). In the same period, however, as Britain's empire expanded beyond the extent of ancient and modern ones, ideological consensus about it changed. On the one hand, as C. A. Bayly notes, between the 1790s and 1830s the empire was "the expression of a revived nation-state operating

at an international level according to general principles – the protection and glorification of Crown, Church, law and trade” (1989, p. 102). On the other, as Jack P. Greene suggests, from the Seven Years’ War onwards a “substantial critique” of Britain’s commercial imperialism employed “the languages of humanity and justice” to undermine the ethical and political bases of empire (2013, p. xii). In literature, poets in particular led the van in voicing anti-imperialistic denunciations that also inevitably addressed representations of India as a bazaar.

An emblematic intervention in this respect was Thomas Beddoes’ *Alexander’s Expedition* (1792). An experimental doctor based in Bristol and known for his use of laughing gas (Coleridge and Southey took part in one of his experiments), Beddoes was a fervent democrat and supporter of French revolutionary ideals, as well as a vocal critic of Britain’s policies of colonial expansionism, military aggression, and slavery (Porter 1992, p. 166). Heavily laden with notes and appendices, his poem is a recognizably neoclassical reprise of epic that, while depicting the ancient hero as a model of Enlightenment, refuses to use epos to extol Britain’s supposed present-day greatness. Instead, the initial success and eventual failure of Alexander’s Indian campaign highlight the flaws of contemporary imperialism, undermine its mythology of commerce, and critique images of India as an overflowing repository of goods and commodities.

In the poem, after Alexander crosses into India, where “Plenty dwells” (l. 226, Beddoes 1792, p. 27), rajahs hasten to bring “spice, gold, and gems, and fine-wrought fabrics” in order to “soothe with gifts out-spread the Stranger-King” (ll. 81–82, p. 14). This scene consciously reworks the image of Asia pouring its *cornucopia* at the feet of Britannia seen in Spiridione Roma’s painting, yet Beddoes puts it to a different use. Though depicting Alexander as an imperialist proclaiming that “Earth shall kneel before her Grecian Lord” (l. 202, p. 25), he also seeks to correct earlier denigrating interpretations and especially Pope’s definition of the Macedonian as a “mere madman” (p. 24) by casting Alexander as a forerunner of contemporary enlightened views. Thanks to the “originality” of his genius, the “enlargement of his conceptions” and “equity of his mind,” the conqueror is an early promoter of “liberal policy in the treatment of his conquered subjects” and one innately opposed to slavery, in contrast to present-day “West-India planters” and their allies in power (p. 25).

Conventionally, Beddoes portrays the beneficial effects of Alexander’s imperialism by deploying the mythology of commerce, its civilizing

influence and unstoppable diffusion: “Lo! in redundant current, Commerce pours, / Obedient to thy call, her Eastern stores,” while India’s “spicy bale perfumes thy chosen strand” (ll. 247–248, 250, Beddoes 1792, p. 29). However, though the aesthetics of the bazaar is made explicit by the commercial terms “store” and “bale,” commerce does not primarily contribute to the enrichment of the metropole, but rather to “GENERAL CONCORD” on a global scale (l. 253, p. 29). As Nigel Leask observes, Beddoes’ poem demonstrates how “the evils supported by British conquest and monopoly” in the subcontinent, and their noxious effects at home, “would be dispelled by free trade and its inevitable concomitant social modernization” (1992, pp. 92–93). More broadly, it highlights the universal advantages that would accrue from redirecting the Indian bazaar from a desire for conquest and possession to a selfless promotion of peace and prosperity.

Ultimately, Alexander’s vision fails owing to his early death and, later, the brutal Muslim and British invasions of India urged by a “savage chace of blood and gold” (l. 288, Beddoes 1792, p. 32) and “Empire’s fatal thirst” (l. 361, p. 41). Still, by monumentalizing Alexander’s failed project the poem formulates a powerful denunciation of all “monarchies and hierarchies” (p. 58) and the global exporting of Britain’s brand of conquest and exploitation promoted by William Pitt’s government. Aptly, in a note “On the possessions of the British in Hindostan,” Beddoes condemns the notion of possessing India, for it appeals “at once to our pride and avarice” (p. 82). “As a Man and as an Englishman,” he laments “the extension of territory in India as a heavy calamity” (p. 89) and, in contrast to traditional panegyrics, asks: “shall we vainly flatter ourselves that Commerce can be so doatingly fond of one particular country, that no outrage shall expel her?” (p. 89). His modified version of the aesthetics of the bazaar and postulation of two types of commerce (the liberating and the enslaving) open up alternately utopian and dystopian visions of the future based on Asia and India as exhaustless funds of materials and goods.

Among Beddoes’ patients at his Clifton “Pneumatic Institute” was probably Anna Letitia Barbauld, who suffered from asthma and took nitrous oxide at his clinic in the summer of 1797 (McCarthy 2008, p. 403). Since Beddoes was familiar with Barbauld’s work as an educationist (Stansfield 1984, p. 82), it is highly probable that she knew his works, too, and thus *Alexander’s Expedition*. Both also published with Joseph Johnson in the 1790s and contributed to Ralph Griffiths’

dissenting *Monthly Review*. More than mere biographical coincidences, these connections point to a possible intertextual link between Beddoes' *Alexander* and Barbauld's *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven* (1812), which similarly subjects British colonial and commercial expansionism to a severe critique that calls into question the topos of India as a repository of commercial wealth.

Most visibly, Beddoes' rhetorical question on commercial prosperity (1792, p. 89) resonates at the beginning of Barbauld's poem:

And think'st thou, Britain, still to sit at ease,
An island Queen amidst thy subject seas,
While the vext billows, in their distant roar,
But soothe thy slumbers, and but kiss thy shore? (ll. 39–42,
Barbauld 2002, p. 162)

Like Beddoes, Barbauld conjures up a vision of Britain's declining commercial power, as she predicts that "The golden tide of Commerce leaves thy shore" (l. 62, Barbauld 2002, p. 163). Also, adopting a medical outlook that mirrors Beddoes' professional specialism, she describes the effects of commerce as a disease of the national body ("Enfeebling Luxury," l. 64, Barbauld 2002, p. 163). The Eastern treasures ornamenting London and heraldically celebrating its power ("Gems of the East her mural crown adorn," l. 307, Barbauld 2002, p. 172) are a function of Plenty's *cornucopia*, which "at [the city's] feet pours forth her horn" (l. 308, Barbauld 2002, p. 172). As in Beddoes' poem, moreover, this accumulation of familiarly celebratory tropes is neutralized by the final image of economic decay, where "Commerce, like beauty, knows no second spring" (l. 316, Barbauld 2002, p. 173). Yet, if *Alexander* passed unnoticed by contemporary reviewers, Barbauld's jeremiad attracted scathing criticism from conservative detractors, most notably John Wilson Croker in the *Quarterly Review*, who accused her of antipatriotic feelings and meddling where women should not interfere (Keach 1994).¹

Barbauld's critique was all the more pointed because, though her lines seemingly address an undifferentiated East, their vision is centred on India. Critics usually read her polemical redirection of the panegyric and

¹For an in-depth analysis of Barbauld's poem, see Clery 2017. Since this study was published when the present chapter was already ready for publication, it has not been possible to engage here with its many important critical contributions and insights.

the progress poem in *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven* as indebted to James Thomson's *Seasons* or Pope's *Windsor Forest* (Barbauld 2002, p. 161). Yet, if we envisage her poem in light of Beddoes' problematizing of India as a storehouse and a bazaar, then her anti-commercial and anti-imperial attacks constitute an updating of his concerns at a time marked by global conflict and the imminent renewal of the East India Company's charter. An expression, as Jeffrey Cox observes, of "the era of global military ventures, of a rise in travel writing, of an international slave trade" (2014, p. 108), the poem engages implicitly with specific developments that kept the empire in the subcontinent at the centre of public attention. And, in 1811, the main event concerning India was the conquest of Java, a territory of the Dutch East India Company that, along with the Netherlands, had fallen under French control, by a combination of British units and Company sepoys (Duffy 1998, pp. 202–203). Part of Britain's anti-Napoleonic global strategy and its defence of India, this campaign confirmed further the nexus of trade and empire that lies at the basis of Barbauld's apocalyptic vision.

In addition, the harmful effects of Oriental wealth at home include forms of conspicuous consumption, as Barbauld hints at the cultural and ethical issues raised by Asian goods in such images as "The sons of Odin tread on Persian looms, / And Odin's daughters breathe distilled perfumes" (ll. 275–276, Barbauld 2002, p. 171) while their "Light forms beneath transparent muslins float" (l. 291, p. 172). A heraldic device bespeaking imperial supremacy, the *cornucopia* of the East (Persian rugs and exotic scents) and India (its muslins) constitutes a major cause of crisis, decline, and decadence. Thus, while Barbauld's lines rehearse earlier controversies on luxury, they also update them in the context of a Romantic anti-imperial discourse informed by religious dissent and political radicalism, one which, as Saree Makdisi notes, marked "the earliest sustained (though largely doomed) attempt to articulate a form of opposition to the culture of modernization – including but not limited to imperialism – from its very beginning" (1998, p. 9). Nevertheless, since opposition to imperialism competed with a powerful pro-imperial ideology, it rarely translated into claims that Britain should abandon its empire (Greene 2013, pp. xvi–xvii). Since literary discourse generally viewed empire in India as a negotiable but inevitable actuality, images of it as a bazaar continued to multiply and blend with representations of consumption and shopping well into the 1820s and 1830s. Indeed, Sir Thomas Roe's expectations about India as an enormous "China shop" (1899, vol. I, p. 134) went on sustaining British fantasies about it at the

end of the long eighteenth century and pervading literary depictions of "the possessions of the British in Hindostan" (Beddoes 1792, p. 82).

SHOPPING AND SKETCHING

The consolidation of Britain's Asian territories at the turn of the nineteenth century coincided with the growing availability of Eastern products at home and the concurrent diffusion and intensification of consumer practices. Consequently, even as a different kind of stress was laid on figurations of India as a repository of goods, which came to be increasingly associated with material everyday qualities, pictures of fabulous treasures and products gave way to much more prosaic scenes of shopping.

This transition is discernible in William Beckford's *Vathek* (1786), which combines the wondrous *mirabilia* of the Orient with a representation of India as a bazaar of purchasable objects. In its opening chapter, the titular caliph grants an audience to a grotesque-looking traveller hailing from "a region of India, which is wholly unknown," a *giaour* laden with "extraordinary ... merchandise" and "beautiful commodities" (Beckford 1983, pp. 5, 6, and 14). Vathek is initially repulsed by his monstrous aspect, but "joy succeeded to this emotion of terror, when the stranger displayed to his view such rarities as he had never before seen" (p. 5)—slippers, knives, and sabers "not less admirable for their workmanship than for their splendor" and "enriched with gems, that were hitherto unknown" (1983, p. 5). Coveting these precious and magic objects, the caliph orders "all the coined gold to be brought from his treasury" as payment for the "rude merchant" (pp. 6 and 7). This exchange, which ultimately sends Vathek on his doomed quest, visibly blends autobiographical, aesthetic and cultural-historical features. The author lends Vathek his own passion for rare, exotic and priceless artefacts, which led him to invest a large part of his fabulous fortune to become one of the leading connoisseurs and collectors of the age. The scene also rehearses the topos of India as a bazaar in its medieval and early modern forms by conjuring up marvels and wonders—the slippers move "by spontaneous springs," the knives cut "without motion of the hand" (p. 5).

Moreover, the narrative allusively depicts a contemporary customer gazing at and desiring merchandise that he eventually purchases. In other words, the gaze of the caliph, whose "attention" is transfixed by the Indian's commodities (p. 5), mimics that of buyers in 1780s London, where, as the German traveller Carl Philip Moritz noted, "one shop jostle[d] another" (p. 18) and competed for the attention and

money of increasing numbers of purchasers. While deploying the language of Eastern marvels from his much loved *Arabian Nights*, Beckford represents, with a good dose of caricatural intention, what readers would have recognized as the contemporary pleasure of looking at and desiring exotic consumer objects, and Indian ones in particular.

Oriental products had been available in London since the early modern period in such venues as the Royal Exchange, which provided “some of the finest luxury goods ... as well as spices and rarities from the East” (Adburgham 1979, p. 16); and, as Sandy Isenstadt remarks, “with British merchant fleets dominating international trade in the seventeenth century through consortia, such as the vast East India Company ... customers in London shops could see themselves playing a role in global relations” (2015, p. 8). Following on the expansion of Britain’s commercial empire, the influx of Eastern and Indian goods, such as those described in Postlethwayt’s and Milburn’s lists, gradually became part of the fabric of London’s shopping experience in the decades between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

New consumer habits bore on representations of India by converting the magical and mythical overtones of the aesthetics of the bazaar into increasingly realistic figurations, preferentially in prose. A significant instance of this is Phebe Gibbes’ novel *Hartly House, Calcutta*, published in 1789, a mere few years after *Vathek*, and offering depictions of modern Indian shopping in contrast to Beckford’s fantastic scene. Here, the caliph’s desire for fabulous goods transmutes into that of a female British shopper, the protagonist Sophia Goldbourne, for the products and objects to be found in the streets of Calcutta “inhabited by trades-people” and “distinguished by the name of the *beisars*, or, traders, by which they are occupied” (Gibbes 2007, p. 30). Alongside the European shops stocking “British finery” (p. 30), Sophia lists the “bada beisar (fruit and pastry),” “muchee beisar (the fish-market),” “chine beisar (sugar-venders)” and so on, in a litany of exotically sounding venues (p. 30). If this depiction is another indication of the protagonist’s gradual acculturation, that is to say her adoption of native cultural attitudes and actions, it also testifies to a changed approach to India as a place of tradeable goods and purchasable products, one that, despite the exotic context, conforms to more mundane forms of shopping.

Hartly House also registers a change in the inscription of India as a bazaar by filtering it through the ideally panoramic and exhaustive approach of travel writing and its tendency to view single phenomena as

illustrations of an entire people or land. Structured as a series of letters about the heroine's journey to Calcutta and her experiences there, the novel mimics contemporary travel accounts, which frequently depicted India as a storeroom of goods mixing exotic and rare, as well as more prosaic, products. An exemplary source of such descriptions is Maria Graham's *Journal of a Residence in India* (1812), also written as a series of letters to a friend, where, for example, the lively trade between Bombay and the Persian Gulf is said to provide the Company's outpost with "horses, pearls, coffee, gums ... honey, and *ghee*," as well as "dried fruits, ottur of roses, tobacco, rose-water ... Schiraz wine ... books, worked slippers, and silk shawls" (1813, pp. 12–13). Harking back to the enumerations in eighteenth-century commercial treatises, this descriptive approach finds particularly fertile ground in those early nineteenth-century travel writings on India which, structured in the form of "scenes" or "characteristics," jettisoned panoramic aspirations in favour of the selective views afforded by the prose "sketch," which was also the term Graham employed to define her *Journal* (1813, p. ix).

Emerging in early nineteenth-century literature as a development of the homonymous visual form (Graham's *Journal* significantly blends both senses of the term), the sketch was a short text of an episodic nature offering a consciously limited and incomplete representation of reality. Defined by Paul Fyfe as an "omnibus genre" eschewing totalizing vision or precision (2015, p. 71), the sketch aimed to offer an "outline description" of its subject through a form of "designed incompleteness" (Sha 1998, p. 165) combining "particularity"—a familiar category in orientalist discourse—with elements of imperfection and indeterminacy (Amanpal 2012, p. 96). As a result, the sketch lent itself naturally to the aesthetics of the bazaar and its highlighting of details, peculiarity, the unusual and the exotic. Its avoidance of a perfectly achieved and exhaustive depiction chimed well with the impossibility of producing a comprehensive picture of India and its material *cornucopia*.

The conjunction of this form and the aesthetics of the bazaar is fully visible in William Huggins' *Sketches in India* (1824), where this indigo planter from the district of Tirhoot declares, for the benefit of his metropolitan readers, that the country is "a mart for every thing" (p. 95). Based on familiar images of India's wealth of products and commodities, this statement refers specifically to its status as a marriage market. As Huggins goes on to observe, India has "long been a receptacle for such ladies as could not find husbands at home, or whose connexions in

that country are respectable" (p. 95). Subsequently, rehearsing the language of trade and economics, Huggins points out that if the number of European women was initially small, so that, "like every other scarce article, they became highly valuable," their numbers grew exponentially and "the value of such connexions became depreciated" (p. 96). Yet, besides recording the mutable nature of the Indian marriage market, the sketch highlights that this phenomenon is associated with a country that is a general market, one where buying and acquiring are plain, even banal, actions no longer enveloped in an aura of fabulous Eastern magic. The trappings of India's *mirabilia* having been dispelled, its transactional features as a bazaar are now in full sight.

This shift in the representation of India's profusion of goods through the techniques of the sketch characterizes Emma Roberts' essay "Indian Scenes: Shopping," published in *The Athenaeum* in September 1830. Here, the bazaar is both a central theme and an object to be redefined, as Roberts begins by noting that, although Western readers entertain "magnificent ideas of an Eastern bazaar," in reality these shops are "dingy depots;" at the same time, though, she confirms that they contain a superabundance of merchandise—"a multifarious assortment of articles, more distinguished for their variety than for their beauty, and heaped together with a very slight attention to method in their arrangement" (Roberts 1830, p. 570).

Roberts first travelled to India in 1828 with her sister and brother-in-law, an officer in the 61st Bengal Infantry. She then returned to London in 1832, but went to India again in 1839, adventurously taking the overland route through Egypt and the Middle East. In her many literary transcriptions of her Indian experiences, she exploited the country's exotic allure and the "far-famed luxuries of the East" (Roberts 1835, vol. I, p. 34) in the lyrics of *Oriental Scenes* (1830), while adopting a more factual and disenchanting approach in her prose output. Collectively, her writings testify to the transition from a vision of India as an oneiric *cornucopia* to that of a land seen through the lens of current market economics. In particular, her 1830 depiction of shopping in India offers a realistic view that reformulates the topos of Eastern *mirabilia* by endorsing a fragmentary outlook in line with the incompleteness typical of the sketch.

Roberts returned to Indian shopping in her three-volume *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan, with Sketches of Anglo-Indian Society* (1835), a popular work that went into a second edition in 1837.

Each chapter is a combination of scenes and sketches highlighting the peculiarities or "characteristics" of India, the word "bazaar" appearing repeatedly as a major feature in the country's economic, social, and cultural structure. True to the mode of the sketch, the opening chapter of volume three, on "Shops and Shopping," assembles a variety of facts, remarks, and comments about the consumer experience. Without aiming to produce a coherent narrative, it tellingly ends with yet another list of purchasable goods. The author/reporter describes at length the "native bazaars" in Calcutta (Roberts 1835, vol. III, p. 19), where "all the necessities and conveniences of life, are to be found" (p. 21), as well as the European shops filled with imported goods, so that native and European retailers—wealthy jewelers, shoemakers, and booksellers—produce a lively and competitive commercial scene. The theme of abundance first appears in the description of "Tulloh and Co.," the "Howell and James of the city of palaces" (p. 12), an auction house and department store stocking "a multifarious assortment of merchandize" which Roberts depicts as a combination of imported and Eastern goods including "British and foreign *bijouterie*," "silk mercery and linen drapery," and a suite of lacquered furniture "made in Japan, to order, from drawings or models sent from Calcutta" (pp. 13–14).

As this description results in a jumble of things ("the merest trumpery being often placed in juxtaposition with articles of great value," p. 13), Calcutta emerges as an emporium of "Chinese silks and satins," "the Cashmeres, the Dacca muslins, and the Benares tissues" (p. 24) and thus as the meeting point of several international trade routes. However, Roberts' sketch also significantly registers a sense of exhaustion and decay by presenting the city as a cemetery of goods and products: the end-result of India's legendary wealth and profusion are piles of unused and unwanted things. Noting that there exist "vast accumulations [of goods], which seem to be utterly forgotten, in the *godowns*, or warehouses, belonging to every merchant," Roberts declares that "[p]erhaps, in no other place are there such numerous commodities put out of sight, and totally out of memory, as at Calcutta" (p. 17). These repositories of unused and untradeable products conjure up the impression of an advanced commercial system which, menaced by the glut that "choke[s] up" Calcutta's warehouses (p. 18), displays the consequences of global commercial expansion. Aside from Roberts' multiple reprises of the topos of India's material profusion, it is this picture of manufacturing overproduction and commercial stagnation that best conveys the effects

of the deep-rooted, insatiable British desire for the control of India's wealth, and provides a fitting end point for the textual trajectory delineated in this chapter.

Roberts' composite sketches reinterpret traditional figurations of India as a repository of covetable goods in light of contemporary imperial, commercial, and consumer practices. In doing so, they testify to the diffusion of what Edward Said defined as the nineteenth-century "virtual epidemic of Orientalia," a proliferation of texts, goods, commodities and artefacts confirming the extent to which the Orient had become "an integral part of European *material* civilization and culture" (Said 1991, pp. 2 and 51). Re-envisioning the link between exotic materiality and aspirations to control and own it, Roberts' texts offer yet another instance of the uninterrupted resonance of an aesthetics of the bazaar repeatedly employed, throughout the long eighteenth century, as an instrument to give shape to the otherwise intractable multifariousness and untameable profusion of India.

Nigel Leask has importantly highlighted how the Romantic period's "shift from a mercantilist to a colonialist phase of imperialist ideology" forged "a new relationship between the metropolitan spectator and the exotic ... image" (1998, p. 170). Yet, as this chapter has shown, this process did not result in a complete break, and several deep-lying and significant lines of continuity persisted between commercial and literary discourse. The gradual accretion of themes, images, and tropes which I have placed under the rubric of the bazaar indicates that India resonated uninterruptedly within British culture through different modes of literary inscription, as well as through a close dialogue between commercial imperialism and textual economy, from the early seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. As the works examined in this chapter reveal some of the historically specific manifestations of India's resonance in British literary culture, in turn, they illuminate how the materiality of India both demanded representation and challenged figuration. Within the long-term shift from mercantilist to colonialist practices stressed by Leask, this protracted resonance was conveyed by an aesthetics of the bazaar which functions through accumulation, enumeration and multiplication, connecting texts as distant and multifarious as, at one end, Thomas Roe's description of "all India" being "a China shop" and, at the other, Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1900–1901) and its protagonist's experiences in Lurgan Sahib's Simla shop that anticipate his final panoramic statement: "I saw all Hind" (Kipling 2008, p. 288). Aiming to domesticate India's

superabundance of signs and objects, in the long eighteenth century and beyond, the aesthetics of the bazaar repeatedly worked to break down and manage India's *cornucopia*, marshalling its plethoric materials and making them available to, and resonant within, the metropolitan imagination in the context of a gradually expanding and evolving imperial and commercial framework.

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CHAPTER 10

Collecting Statues in India and Transferring Them to Britain, or the Intertwined Lives of Indian Objects and Colonial Administrators (Late Eighteenth Century to Early Nineteenth Century)

Anne-Julie Etter

The British Museum's Enlightenment Gallery, whose aim is to show how people in eighteenth-century Britain understood their world, displays several Indian statues, such as a bronze image of Ganesha on his rat vehicle. Someone curious about Indian statuary can also pay a visit to the Clive Museum at Powis Castle (Wales), which holds bronzes from South India. Aside from the fact that they represent Indian divinities, these objects share a common story: they were collected in India at the beginning of the colonial period and subsequently traveled to Britain. The first one, acquired by the British Museum in 1940, was initially part of the collection of Edward Moor (1771–1848). While in India from 1782 to 1806, this military employee of the East India Company (hereafter EIC) gathered a large collection of paintings and images, which he

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used as materials for his book on Indian deities and mythology entitled *The Hindu Pantheon* (1810). The previously mentioned Ganesha statue is reproduced in the frontispiece of this work. As for Powis Castle's bronzes, they were probably collected by Edward Clive, who was appointed the governor of Madras in 1797, together with his wife, Lady Henrietta Herbert (Skelton 1987, p. 112).¹ The stories of such objects lie at the heart of this chapter, which examines their peregrinations between India and Britain.

Indian statues reached Europe before the eighteenth century, as exemplified by the "Hedges" Vishnu, acquired at the end of the seventeenth century by the newly founded Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.² However, the phenomenon remained marginal. Even if early inventories contain references to Indian images, only few pieces of importance arrived before the eighteenth century, when missionaries sent images to countries like Italy and Denmark (Skelton 1985, p. 280). Travelers also brought back objects—for example, Abraham-Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron stole a statue of Nandi from a temple in Jogeshwari in 1760, which he later donated to French antiquarian Caylus (Anquetil-Duperron [1762–1765] 1997, pp. 398–399). The displacement of Indian statues developed significantly from the last decades of the eighteenth century onward, in the wake of the establishment of British power in the subcontinent. As the EIC came to control more and more territories, it sent a growing number of employees to India, who served as army officers, judges, surgeons, tax collectors, and engineers. Residing in diverse parts of India, sometimes for many years, they gathered a great range of objects—statues, but also manuscripts, weapons, decorative objects, coins, and paintings. These objects became part of collections, either private or public, in India and in Europe, enriching the museums of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta and the Literary Society of Bombay, as well as that of the EIC in London.³ Available

¹ Edward Clive was the son of Robert Clive, a key figure in the establishment of British rule in India.

² This statue from the Pala period (eleventh century) is known as the first identifiable Indian piece of sculpture acquired by a museum in the West; it was donated to the Ashmolean Museum by Sir William Hedges, EIC's governor in Bengal (Harle and Topsfield 1987, pp. ix and 39–40).

³ From the very beginning, the Asiatic Society, founded in 1784, became the repository of many objects; its museum was officially created in 1814, one year before that of the Literary Society of Bombay. The initiative of an "Oriental Repository," to be established at

documentation, on the rare occasion that it records how these objects were acquired and displaced, does not do so in detail. It is, however, clear that administrators-turned-collectors proved concerned to bring their collections back home. As a result, many objects found their way to Britain.

This chapter explores how Indian objects, specifically statues, resonated in Britain, with a focus on the last decades of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Taking into account that “the act of collecting could have aesthetic, religious, scientific, political and social resonances” (Bleichmar and Mancall 2011, p. 3), it highlights collectors’ practices and analyzes how and why statues were collected in India, transferred to Britain, and then displayed there. The issue of contemporary integration of British objects into Indian collections is set aside, as well as that of Indian reactions to British collecting activities (which mainly took the form of appropriations and spoliations) or their long-term effects.

Relationships between peoples and things lie at the core of material culture studies, which put forward the notions of agency and biography.⁴ The volume on *The Social Life of Things*, edited by Arjun Appadurai (1986), and notably Igor Kopytoff’s essay on “The Cultural Biography of Things,” have been influential in anthropology and other disciplines as well. Adopting Kopytoff’s processual approach, Richard Davis (1997) explored the lives of Indian religious images during various historical periods; he showed how they were given renewed meanings and roles while being successively appropriated by diverse communities, for example at the time of colonization.⁵ As for Maya Jasanoff (2005), she prompted the concept of “self-fashioning” to analyze how collectors in India and Egypt from the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth

EIC’s London headquarters, dates back to 1798. For more details on the creation of these institutions and the growth of their collections: Etter (2012, pp. 193–210).

⁴For an overview, see, for example, Hoskins (2006).

⁵Davis underlines that there are two reasons that Indian religious images can be considered alive. Objects of worship are enlivened as divine persons through a ritual of establishment, maintained by liturgical activity. Furthermore, images’ identities evolve along with their successive displacements, which confer upon them renewed audiences and functions, and enrich their biographies. This approach can be applied to the study of objects that have been looted and collected during the colonial period (Davis 1997, pp. 143–185).

century used their collections to outline new cultural and social identities for themselves. Somehow mixing these different approaches, the biographical method deployed in this paper consists in interweaving the trajectories of objects, collections, and collectors.⁶ The evolving functions and statuses of objects and collections are set in relation to collectors' careers, both as EIC's servants and aspirant scholars.

HOW TO COLLECT AND CONVEY STATUES

The practice of collecting statues in early colonial India has not been systematically studied. It is true that they were gathered in much fewer numbers than other items, such as manuscripts, paintings, and decorative objects, which were more easily procurable and transportable. As religious artifacts, statues were not easily transferrable to European collectors, not to mention the latter's Christian prejudices toward Indian statuary, considered an embodiment of idolatry and paganism (Mitter 1977). By comparison with other collectibles, they were not readily available in detached parts and there was no proper organized system for their purchase (Davis 1997, p. 159). Material considerations should also be underlined. Statues, notably those made of stone, could be heavy and thus difficult and expensive to carry from one place to another. Administrators willing to transfer their collections to Britain had to bear the related costs of freight and insurance. Yet in spite of these various constraints, statues are to be found in inventories of belongings that were transferred to Britain. Lord Minto, governor-general of Bengal (1807–1813), brought back a “Hindoo image,”⁷ along with a voluminous set of papers, books, paintings, and other objects. In other cases, larger sets of images were conveyed to Britain.

Thefts and spoliations represented the most common mode of acquisition. The name of Charles Stuart, one of the first collectors of Hindu statuary, remains attached to the stealing of antiquities from active places of worship. However, spoliations mostly took place in abandoned or ruined monuments, where there was no priest or keeper of any sort to

⁶Echoing the process of the commoditization of collections, the distinction between collections as wholes and objects as items of collections derives from the fact that collectors may decide, at given periods and for specific reasons, to part with selected objects of their collections, if not with all of them.

⁷National Library of Scotland (Edinburgh), MSS 11364, f. 58.

prevent it. Collectors procured statues through other modes as well, which helps qualify the idea that there was no market for their collecting. They could receive statues as gifts from Indian acquaintances, acquire them through monetary transactions, and even commission them. Edward Moor, who reported having been presented with a fine bronze statue of Bhadrakali “by a Brahman” (1999 [1810], p. 159),⁸ also explained that he bought statues from agents. Examples given in *The Hindu Pantheon* suggest that political and military upheavals, entailing circulations and redistributions of objects through processes of looting but also voluntary transfer, contributed to putting statues on the market, thereafter available for sale. The sales catalogue of David Simpson’s collection, put in auction in 1792, confirms that military and political troubles created opportunities for acquiring statues. This EIC employee, who spent several years in South India, bought what he called “domestic idols” from people who appeared to be in distressed financial situations due to the troubled context of the time. Simpson also commissioned a model of a *ratha*, a great chariot carved in wood and drawn by devotees during festivals, which was made in Srirangam under the supervision of Brahmins. Charles Townley and Richard Payne Knight bought a great part of Simpson’s collection (Eaton 2006, p. 235). The set of wooden statues kept at the British Museum, identified as coming from the Townley collection and containing among others a statue of Krishna playing the flute, on display in the Enlightenment Gallery, may have originally been part of the model. It is in any case clear that Simpson commissioned objects, as other collectors did, for that matter. Edward Clive and his wife probably commissioned some of the South Indian bronzes which now belong to the Clive collection (Skelton 1987, p. 112). Many items in this collection are small in size, measuring between 5 and 15 inches high, and they include a series of divinities. The promotion of series seems to be a characteristic feature of commissioned works, which often contain objects representing Hindu deities similar in size, materials, and workmanship. The set Charles Wilkins had made at Benares, which later found its way into the EIC museum in London, was thus comprised of statues of Brahma, Surya, Shiva, and Vishnu’s avatars.

Collectors had several options at hand to deal with transportation issues. Whether or not the objects were commissioned, they could

⁸This statue, reproduced in plate 28 of *The Hindu Pantheon*, is now held by the British Museum.

privilege light materials, such as wood, and statues of small dimensions. Many statues in Edward Moor's collection measured only a few inches. The transport also gave way to negotiations with EIC's authorities. In 1824, military servant and Orientalist William Francklin asked the Directors of the EIC in London to be allowed to transfer his collection of minerals, inscriptions, and statues free of freight on one of the Company's ships, stating that he could not afford the expense. To incline them toward answering his request favorably, he highlighted that he had donated objects to the Court of Directors more than ten years before.⁹ Such donations, which were quite common among administrators, contributed to the constitution and enrichment of the collections of the EIC's museum. Some collectors considered them a way of solving transport problems. Surgeon Robert Tytler donated his collection of coins to the Directors at the beginning of the 1820s, arguing that he was about to change posts regularly and could not "convey it with more essential luggage."¹⁰

All these examples tend to show that the range of modes through which statues were collected and transported was wider than what is usually presumed. Keeping this in mind helps us understand their resonances in Britain. Following Susan Pearce's categorization of collecting modes (1993), I mobilize two keys of analysis to detail the ends to which Indian statues were collected and the uses they were put to: accumulation of souvenirs and scientific classification,¹¹ the latter mode being refined in order to encompass collectors' strategies as well.

INDIAN SOUVENIRS

Statues operated as memories of administrators' residence in India. In that way, they were invested with affective and personal dimensions, which helps explain why collectors were desirous of bringing them back home. This is well exemplified by a story told by James Forbes in his

⁹British Library (BL), Oriental and India Office Collections (OIOC), IOR F/4/806 21 709. The gift made in 1812 is comprised of the manuscript account of Francklin's visit to the ruins of Gour, copies of inscriptions, drawings of ornaments, and decorated stones from Gour (National Archives of India, New Delhi, Home, Public, Original Consultations, 17 April 1812, No. 45, p. 5).

¹⁰BL, OIOC, IOR F/4/699 18964, p. 7 (letter dated 27 October 1821).

¹¹The third mode identified by Pearce—fetishism—is here set aside.

Oriental Memoirs. Forbes, who arrived in Bombay in 1765 as an EIC writer, spent several years as a collector in Dabhoi (Gujarat), a town with remains of fortifications and temples dating back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Following the first Anglo-Maratha war (1775–1782) and the treaty of Salbai (1782), Dabhoi was retroceded to the Marathas and Forbes had to leave the town. Upon departure, he was invited by a delegation of prominent inhabitants to accept a gift and he formulated the wish to be authorized to select a few pieces of sculpture from among the ruins of the city. He mentioned the “delightful association of [his] own ideas, when [he] should behold in [his] own country the precious relics transported from a distant spot endeared by a thousand tender recollections” (Forbes 1813, vol. 3, p. 361). Forbes alluded to the evocative power of statues, enabling oneself to recollect a given place or period of time through a process of sensitive or mental association. It worked with other collectibles, such as “Company Paintings,”¹² which administrators collected in great numbers. These works suited perfectly their wish to carry home memories of their Indian sojourn. Easily transportable, they were designed to describe and circumscribe the diversity of the Indian sociocultural world, depicting topics such as castes, monuments, landscapes, and religions. Pieces of furniture, textiles, weapons, or decorated works of art, which symbolized the Indian way of life, notably that of Mughal elites, also served as media for memories. In Britain, all these objects were acclimatized to their new environments, being integrated into the interiors and exteriors of houses. This was the case for the Dabhoi pieces of statuary, which were incorporated into the small temple erected by Forbes in the gardens of his house, Stanmore Hill (Middlesex).

STATUARY, KNOWLEDGE, MUSEUMS

Forbes referred to the affective dimension of objects in reply to a question of Dabhoi inhabitants, who were curious to know why “a Christian wished to possess Hindoo idols” (Forbes 1813, vol. 3, p. 361). He also put forward another argument: “the general curiosity of Europeans, the gratification it would be to shew them those specimens of oriental

¹²This expression applies to works made by Indian artists for Europeans, the former altering their own style and topics to meet their patrons’ demands and tastes. See, for example, Archer (1992).

sculpture” (vol. 3, p. 361). This exchange echoes the distinction Walter Benjamin established between the “cult value” and “exhibition value” of works of art. Forbes’ statement shows the extent to which the meanings and functions of images changed parallel to their displacements. Originally produced and handled in a religious framework, statues tended to become objects of curiosity and knowledge when becoming part of a collection or being displayed in a museum. At a time when there was little aesthetic appreciation of Indian art, statues were particularly sought for their documentary value. In the context of a growing scholarly interest in Indian religion and mythology, they were resorted to as materials allowing a better understanding of religious beliefs and practices, as well as religious history.

Statues were considered very useful tools for getting to know the Hindu pantheon. Collectors meant to arrange, and hence master, its numerous components thanks to well-classified collections, which gathered representative specimens of deities, especially the major ones, under their different forms and with their distinctive attributes. The ideal of both representativeness and comprehensiveness manifests very clearly in sets of commissioned statues and “Company drawings,” with their samples of Vishnu’s avatars and other series of deities. It is also to be found in the catalogue published for the sale of Simpson’s collection, which offered the following comment as a means of promoting its quality: “The whole forms a very complete System of Hindoo Mythology” (*A Catalogue of Indian Idols* 1792, p. 3).¹³ The method, which consisted of using objects to study Hindu divinities and systems of beliefs, is probably best exemplified by *The Hindu Pantheon*. It was through a minute description of plates depicting objects and statuary in monuments that Moor defined functions and attributes of divinities and described corresponding mythological episodes. He used statues in his collection, but also objects belonging to other collectors, such as Lord Valentia and Charles Stuart, as well as statues deposited in the EIC museum.

The story of this institution is not well-known, since the available documentation is fragmentary—this reflects the destiny of the museum, which was dissolved in the second part of the nineteenth century, its collections were then divided between the British Museum and the South

¹³Charles Townley and Richard Payne Knight connected the objects they acquired on this occasion to their thoughts on universal religion and cults, and on phallic cults and fertility in ancient times.

Kensington Museum. Furthermore, no comprehensive inventory was ever compiled, while remaining inventories and registers give the impression that acquisitions were not rigorously recorded. An incomplete catalogue of the museum up to 1841, kept at the British Library, corroborates this idea. It contains numerous erasures and corrections concerning donors' names. The geographic origin of statues is rarely mentioned; this is not very surprising, given that collectors of that time, in India or elsewhere, were not necessarily in the habit of mentioning the exact places where they found or plundered such artifacts. More interestingly, corrections were also brought to the identification of figures: for example, statues first registered as figures of Buddha were at some later period described as "Jain Tirtha."¹⁴ European knowledge of religions of ancient India was still embryonic at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, which explains the difficulties in identifying images and relating them to a given religion. Antiquarians meant to document systems of beliefs and practices and to trace Indian religious history, clarifying relationships between Brahmanism, Jainism, and Buddhism, and their respective chronologies. In that perspective, it was interesting to turn to material remains, alongside with texts. William Erskine's works on Buddhism are representative of this endeavor. He set up a typology of monuments, which made it possible to relate edifices to religions on the basis of their structure and decoration, and at the same time to disentangle the issue of ancient religions' history and mutual links.¹⁵ The study of statuary, both statues adorning monuments and those in collections, was part of that broader scheme. The sales catalogue of Stuart's collection thus asserted that objects put in auction constituted "a most instructive, and, in many respects, a novel series, illustrative of the opinions of the Buddhists, the Jain Sect (hitherto little known), and the Brahmanical system" (*A Catalogue of the Very Extensive and Valuable Oriental Museum* 1830, title page).

Documenting Indian religions was one of the main functions assigned to statues kept in museums like those of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the EIC. This raises the issue of the audience(s) these objects addressed. The Calcutta museum was essentially oriented toward scholars. As for the EIC museum, it became a popular London attraction in the course

¹⁴BL, OIOC, Mss Eur D562/33, p. 35.

¹⁵See, for example, Erskine (1823).

of the nineteenth century, but visitors were not primarily concerned with statuary. By contrast, Indian statues kept in missionary museums, like the London Missionary Society's Museum, created in 1814, addressed a much larger audience and had a very different resonance (Oddie 2011). These institutions displayed artifacts that had been relinquished by converts when embracing their new faith. They were meant to depict Indian religious customs and practices as superstitious and barbarous and hence to embody missionary triumph over idolatry and paganism. This was in accordance with the main goal of such museums, which was to promote missionary work and impress visitors so as to raise funds and recruit personnel for missions. Statues were displayed as trophies of conversion and can be compared to the trophies of victory people came to see at the EIC's museum. Acquired through military victories, the latter objects, especially regalia belonging to fallen sovereigns, were displayed to represent the transformation of the EIC into a great political power in India and at the same time justify its power. The famous mechanical tiger formerly belonging to Tipu Sultan, which was part of the numerous spoils acquired at Seringapatam in 1799, was one of the museum's greatest attractions. It was shown as an embodiment of the cruelty of the defeated sovereign of Mysore and, more generally, of Indian despotism. Statues that were part of the collections of the same institution did not have this kind of role or meaning and fell far from achieving such fame among the public.

OBJECTS AND COLLECTORS' ENTANGLED TRAJECTORIES

The documentary value conferred upon statues is key to understanding why and how they came to be associated with collectors' careers both as administrators and scholars. As already mentioned, donating objects to the EIC's museum was a way of freeing oneself from material and financial constraints linked to overseas transport. The gift of selected objects was simultaneously a means of drawing Directors' attention toward a particular request, having to do for example with gratification or professional advancement.

Military engineer and surveyor Colin Mackenzie was one of the main promoters of the study and collection of Indian antiquities at the beginning of the colonial period. After having conducted surveys in several parts of India, he was charged with the Mysore survey (1799–1808) and later on appointed surveyor-general of India. Mackenzie took the

opportunity of the Mysore Survey to develop antiquarian researches. However, the latter were not part of his official duties as such and he led them partly on his own initiative and at his own expense. Lack of funds and official support is a recurrent topic of his correspondence with his superiors, and he strove to promote the importance of his work, especially its antiquarian side. Soliciting the Madras and Calcutta governments many times on the issue, he also publicized his work thanks to materials transmitted to London.

It was in this context that, in 1808, he presented a statue of Jina Parsvanatha to the Directors. This statue, discovered in a ruined temple near the village of Gersoppa, in the northwestern part of Karnataka, is now kept at the Victoria and Albert Museum (Howes 2010, pp. 71–74). Mackenzie had it transported to Madras at his own expense, as he wrote to Charles Wilkins, then in charge of the EIC's library and museum. Mackenzie addressed Wilkins as an eminent Orientalist and epigraphist: he told him about his research on Jainism, which the statue served to highlight, enclosed a facsimile of the inscription on its base, and described epigraphic activities he had developed with his Indian assistants. But Mackenzie also hoped that Wilkins, as an apt go-between, would plead his cause with the Directors. He reminded him that, a few months before, he had sent a register of his collection of inscriptions, containing more than 1100 references, and added: "The 7 Volumes of Materials of the Mysore Survey now sent home with the Maps contain a good deal of information, which it is my intention to follow up further if the Court of Directors wish to encourage it; but at this distance from England we naturally look for support from them."¹⁶ According to him, his undertaking, "so interesting to the Literary World in general," had been "hitherto rather unfortunate in its Design & Plan not being fully explained at home; as what was sent home four years ago for that purpose was supposed to be lost at Sea in the Prince of Wales."¹⁷ This was precisely the function he attributed to the Jain statue, which pertained to his campaign of communication and promotion. Embodying his antiquarian activities, it was meant to obtain the Directors' support so as to secure financial and logistic aid toward their amplification.

¹⁶Letter from C. Mackenzie to C. Wilkins (Madras, 25 October 1808). BL, OIOC, Mss Eur Mack Gen 18A, p. 277.

¹⁷Ibid.

Objects deposited in the EIC's museum signal the close intertwining between administrators' professional and scholarly activities, which mutually nourished one another. This enabled some administrators to take advantage of their Indian experience to get recognition in learned circles, and objects played a role in this process as well. This can be seen through a correspondence involving Adam Blackader, who had spent several years as a Company surgeon in Madura, a South Indian town famous for its Minaksi-Sundaesvara temple. In June 1789, Sir Joseph Banks received a letter from him that described the temple's structure and decoration, as well as its ceremonies. It was accompanied by a set of drawings depicting a pillared hall known as Tirumala Nayak's choultry and a metal model of parts of it. Blackader wished Banks to transmit the whole to the Society of Antiquaries. He addressed him as a key figure of the contemporary scientific world: a naturalist, Banks was the president of the Royal Society and a member of numerous learned bodies and official institutions dealing with scientific affairs.

In his letter, Blackader depicted himself as an amateur, whose task was to communicate raw material to specialists possessing skills appropriate for exploiting them. His intention in documenting Indian monuments such as the Madura temple was supposedly to "convey some idea of them to those who make antiquities more particularly their study" (Blackader 1792, p. 449). He added: "In this account I have confined myself to such circumstances as are well ascertained, leaving to the more versed in the history of India the explanation of the Hindoo mythology, which is exceedingly obscure, and in general very little understood" (p. 450). Nevertheless, the whole letter told another story, attesting to a rather sound knowledge of the place and its history. Blackader reported having devoted his leisure time for three years to make drawings of the temple. He spent a lot of time on the spot, which gave him the opportunity to minutely examine the pillars, interact with the priests and inhabitants and even access the temple's archives. The contents of the memoir and the method he used to have it publicized signal that Blackader was advocating new forms of legitimacy in the shaping of scholarly activity. His contribution to learning and knowledge proceeded from his local experience, which was symbolized by the drawings and model of carved pillars he communicated to Banks. In a way, these objects grounded his claims to recognition as a full actor in the learned world. Blackader's memoir was read to the members of the Society of Antiquaries soon after Banks received the letter and published in *Archaeologia*, the society's journal, in 1792. The set of more than 140 drawings is now at the

Victoria and Albert Museum, while the model is kept between the latter institution and the Ashmolean Museum (Guy 1990).

This example raises the broader issue of relationships between metropolis and colony in knowledge production and circulation¹⁸ and that of the diversification of learned career paths in the wake of long-distance trading networks and colonial expansion. Administrators who led antiquarian activities sought to fashion themselves as scholars. In many cases, initial steps consisted of becoming members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal or Literary Society of Bombay, drafting memoirs to be published in their journals and presenting these bodies with varied objects, like minerals, fossils, music instruments, inscriptions, statues, and coins—all gifts being duly acknowledged in the volumes of the *Asiatic Researches* and *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*. Blackader's initiative underlines that the legitimization process also took place in Britain. This is partly due to practical considerations: administrators had more time and opportunity to devote themselves to learned activities during periods of leave and even more so after their retirement from Company service.¹⁹ Moreover, even if India-based institutions such as the Asiatic Society quickly earned recognition among European scholars, metropolitan institutions remained major sources of the validation and promotion of learned careers. Administrators mobilized the expertise they had developed on the field to integrate these networks.

In his *Oriental Fragments*, Edward Moor compared his trajectory to that of Major David Price (1762–1835):

Not unobservant while in *India* of the people among whom our early fortunes cast us, or of their languages or literature, we have, since our return, during the lapse of another quarter of a century, resorted to the Press; and have published to our Countrymen the results of such observances – with this difference, – that yours have been chiefly directed to *Mahommedan*, mine to *Hindu* literature: and with this farther difference; – that you have made the most of the advantages of a good and classical education, while I have had to contend with the disadvantages of a bad one. You have drank deep, while I have only sipped at those Oriental Literary springs. (Moor 1834, p. iv)

¹⁸For an in-depth analysis of these relationships, see Raj (2006).

¹⁹In such a context, it was for instance easier to devote oneself to publishing activities. The functioning of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland is also interesting: created in 1823, this institution was mostly animated by former EIC employees.

Moor identified both convergences and divergences between Price's career and his own. They served in the same army, were involved in the same sieges, and devoted themselves to Orientalist works. Back in Britain, they both published works, dealing respectively with Persian studies and Hindu mythology. More than this difference in topics, Moor emphasized an educational contrast. Price was educated at Christ College, Brecon and Jesus College, Cambridge. Penniless, he had to leave Cambridge the year after he matriculated. Like many other people entering the EIC's service, it was in search of money and new prospects that he sailed for India in 1781 (Lane-Poole 2004). As for Moor, he obtained a cadetship soon after Price, in 1782, but he was then under twelve years old. He did not receive the kind of classical education Price did and he contended that this strongly differentiated them in terms of oriental expertise. The renown of *The Hindu Pantheon*, which remained for several decades the most detailed and comprehensive compendium on Hindu mythology and religion, rather contradicts this view. As Moor underlined it himself, he spent several years in India, where he familiarized himself with languages, collected materials, and interacted with Indian people, including pundits. This enabled him to acquire skills and knowledge that more than compensated for what he deemed to be educational deficiencies. Regardless of their backgrounds, administrators had the occasion of becoming European specialists on Indian antiquities. A decisive factor was their locally acquired expertise, which the objects they collected in India and donated to metropolitan institutions came to embody. Traveling statues, be they ancient or commissioned ones, served as instruments of legitimacy and contributed to promoting renewed modalities of knowledge construction as well as validation of scholarly achievements.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Artifacts of memory, pagan idols displayed in missionary museums, or objects of knowledge embroiled in learned networks and strategies: Indian statues were given new meanings and set into various modes of display and organization when transferred to Britain. Changes in statuses and functions were not mutually exclusive and did not follow any specific order; borders between images' potential identities could be porous and overlapping. Scrutinizing their peregrinations parallel to collectors' trajectories enables us to study afresh practices of collecting in

early colonial India and their resonances in Britain. Many people entered the EIC's service in search of professional opportunities and quick fortune and meant to come home once these objectives had been achieved. Indian experience could be a way to make one's career in various fields, but also to "become gentlemen scholars on returning home" (Raj 2006, p. 17). Administrators wanted to take their collections of antiquities back to Britain on account of the objects' evocative power, and because they provided a means of fashioning themselves as scholars and integrating scientific circles. Material and financial constraints weighing on collections' transfers partly explain the practice of donating chosen artifacts or whole collections to various institutions, which also had the advantage of favoring advancements in professional and learned careers. Given all this, a biographical approach combining the stories of objects and collectors sheds light on various topics, such as the history of the EIC and the administrative machinery of early colonial power, the history of Indian collections in Britain, and that of knowledge dynamics and operational modes of scientific networks at the turn of the nineteenth century.

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- A Catalogue of the Very Extensive and Valuable Oriental Museum, Comprising Mss., Sculptures, Bronzes, Articles of Female Dress and Ornament, Weapons, and Natural History, Which Was Formed at Great Expense by the Late General Charles Stuart, of Bengal; Which Will Be Sold by Auction, by Mr. Christie, at His Great Room, 8 King Street, Saint James's Square, On Friday, June the 11th, and Following Day, and On Monday, June the 14th, 1830, and Following Day, at One O'Clock Precisely.*
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