

manuscript cultures

Hamburg | Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures

ISSN 1867-9617



Publishing Information

Originators: Transformation and Collaboration in the Production of Original Written Artefacts

Edited by Janine Droese, Ulla Kypta, Uta Lauer, and Jörg B. Quenzer with the assistance of Laura Schmalfuß

Every volume of *manuscript cultures* has been subjected to a double-blind peer review process and is openly accessible at no cost on the CSMC website <<https://www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de/publications/mc.html>>. We would like to thank the German Research Foundation (DFG) for its generous support of the Cluster of Excellence EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts', which has made the printing of this journal volume possible.

Editors

Prof. Dr Michael Friedrich
Universität Hamburg
Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures
Warburgstraße 26
20354 Hamburg, Germany
Tel. no. +49 (0)40 42838 7127
Fax no. +49 (0)40 42838 4899
michael.friedrich@uni-hamburg.de

Prof. Dr Jörg B. Quenzer
Universität Hamburg
Asien-Afrika-Institut
Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1 / Flügel Ost
20146 Hamburg, Germany
Tel. no. +49 (0)40 42838 7203
Fax no. +49 (0)40 42838 6200
joerg.quenzer@uni-hamburg.de

Translations and Copy-editing

Liz Carey Libbrecht, Traductions Savantes; Joe MacIntyre,
Hamburg; Peter James Pritchard, Lüneburg

Editorial Office

Dr Irina Wandrey
Universität Hamburg
Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures
Warburgstraße 26
20354 Hamburg, Germany
Tel. No.: +49 40 42838 9420
Fax No.: +49 40 42838 4899
irina.wandrey@uni-hamburg.de

Layout

Nora Harms

Cover

William Forsythe and Kendall Thomas, *Human Writes*, Performance view, 2010, Radialsystem, Berlin. Photography by Dominik Mentzos.



www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de

Funded by



Deutsche
Forschungsgemeinschaft
German Research Foundation

ISSN (Print) 1867-9617

ISSN (Online) 2749-1021

© 2023

Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC)

Universität Hamburg

Warburgstr. 26

20354 Hamburg

Germany

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

2 | On the Concept of 'Originators'

Jörg B. Quenzer

ARTICLES

11 | Divine Authorship in the Mesopotamian Literary Tradition

Szilvia Sövegjártó

23 | A Two-Line Letter Fragment and its many Originators

Uta Lauer

39 | Images of the Four Evangelists: Visual Discourses on the Originators of the Word of God

Bruno Reudenbach

53 | From one Cast and yet with Many Contributors: Medieval Bronze Baptismal Fonts and their Originators

Jochen Hermann Vennebusch

75 | Nichiren's *Daimandara*: Originators and Originating Factors in the Serialised Production of Written Artefacts

Steffen Döll

94 | Creating Multiple Originals of Estate Inventories in Fourteenth-century Jerusalem

Said Aljoumani and Anna Steffen

119 | Creating, Confirming, Reconstructing Authority – The Originators of the *Hanserezesse*

Ulla Kypta

135 | One *Miserere* – Many Originators: Manuscripts of 'Allegri's *Miserere*' as Originals

Oliver Huck

159 | A 'Fake' Original and an 'Original' Fake – Two Cases in the Mackenzie Collection

Neela Bhaskar

173 | Abu Bakar, the Temenggong of Johor, and the Creation of a Unique Type of Malay Land Deed

Elsa Clavé

187 | The Scribe, the Speaker, and the Political Body: Parliamentary Minutes and their Originators in Nineteenth-century Germany

Hannah Boeddeker

197 | James Last's *Instrumentals Forever* – Autographs of Popular Music and the Network of Originators

Janine Droese and Knut Holtsträter

224 | Written Artefacts in Performance, Writing as Performance: Origination and Dissemination

Franz Anton Cramer

233 | Contributors

236 | Index

Article

A 'Fake' Original and an 'Original' Fake – Two Cases in the Mackenzie Collection

Neela Bhaskar | Hamburg

1. Introduction

In the early nineteenth century, the literary world of South India bore witness to a unique literary phenomenon: an unlikely collaboration between a British military official, Colin Mackenzie (1754–1821), and a few South Indian scholars. Lasting around a decade, this collaboration spawned a large, important manuscript archive of the first distinctively historical texts in South India. This is significant for several reasons. Yet, in direct relevance to the idea of originator/original, the line between the product (in this case a particular manuscript) and its producer (a South Indian scholar) is blurred. On the one hand, Colin Mackenzie, who by his own admission knew no Indian languages,¹ left his collaborators to work independently. They sent him reports of their travels across peninsular India, informing him of the procurement of a certain manuscript that he sought, or of the completion of their translation (into English) of a text. On the other hand, the 'ownership' of the manuscript, so to speak, remained, and remains, with the name, idea and context of Mackenzie. Additionally, Mackenzie's emissaries worked largely on the basis of oral reports that they collected from their travels. In this light, I investigate how exactly the written artefacts of the Mackenzie Collection,² as it is now called, must be perceived. Do they qualify as originals for the simple reason that they were created for the first time? Or is the true original the now lost, or less tangible, oral report upon which their work was based? Were their translations then originals too,

or was the transition from one language to another simply for the result of a practical decision?

A further layer of complexity is observed when one considers the colonial (and thus largely oppressive) environment under which Mackenzie's collaborators worked. The combination of the already existing practice of scribal anonymity,³ and the need for colonial powers to claim that which was Indian as their own,⁴ explains the difficulty in determining what really qualifies an original, or who qualifies as an originator. Mackenzie's efforts, in terms both of conviction and of his own personal finances being used to create the archive, resulted in the Collection that is named after him. Yet he never wrote a single manuscript, nor could he read most of them. Is he the originator of the archive, but not the originator of the individual written artefact?

In discussing the Mackenzie Collection, I strive to respect the complexity of the circumstances under which it was created. At the same time, the material object takes precedence, and its story is rather straightforward, as we will shortly see. In other words, the circumstance is complicated, but the manuscript is not. Essentially, the role of my research is to prioritise the material object, and only then, its creator. It will nevertheless be necessary to revert to discussing the circumstance now and then, for it ultimately decided the fate of the archive as a whole, and thus of all the manuscripts in it. Throughout this article, I view every manuscript as an authentic creation, but argue that it is not necessarily an 'original'. My definition, or rather idea, of an original is that

¹ Wilson 1828, 2 has a copy of a letter written by Mackenzie to his friend Alexander Johnston, where he states: '[A] knowledge of the native languages, so essentially requisite, could never be regularly cultivated, in consequence of the frequent changes and removals from province to province; from garrison to camp, and from one desultory duty to another.' Mackenzie moved extensively around India on account of his military career.

² Wilson 1828, 15: 'At the time of his death, he was in possession of a vast archive that comprised 1,568 manuscripts in 15 languages, 2,070 regional histories and chronologies in four languages, 8,076 transcriptions of inscriptions, 2,159 translations of manuscript material into English, 79 plans, 2,630 drawings, 6,218 coins, 106 images, and 40 antique objects.' This is the extent of the Mackenzie Collection.

³ An editorial colophon is rare among Tamil palm-leaf manuscripts. The author of the text is often mentioned, but the scribe rarely. The Mackenzie manuscripts do not have any colophons, but this is unsurprising. Most Tamil manuscripts are anonymous anyway.

⁴ This process has been dealt with by Cohn 1996, Dirks 2010 and Ebeling 2018. Several Orientalists made their fame on the alleged 'discovery' of Indian languages, probably assisted by several Indian scholars who went unmentioned. This will be evident in both the examples I discuss below in this article.

which is genuine to its creator, whether that is on purpose or by mistake. My reason behind this understanding lies in two specific instances that are the focus of this article. The first is the case of an ubiquitous text that was sold to the colonial authorities as an original manuscript (thus, a new discovery). Its seller knew that it was not an original, but Mackenzie considered it to be one, and treated it as such in his archive. At the same time, this sale represents an original idea, in that the seller of the material object established its value through the notion that it was something that it was not. The second instance is that two Orientalist scholars, namely Horace Hayman Wilson (1786–1860) and William Taylor (1796[?]-1881),⁵ wrongfully inherited the Mackenzie Collection after Mackenzie's death in 1821. Both refused to cooperate with, and essentially replaced,⁶ Mackenzie's emissaries, who were probably the only ones who knew how to navigate this Collection in its entirety. Yet, in an effort to protect their reputations, they benefitted from the ignorance of their Orientalist colleagues, and produced histories that they claimed were authentic accounts based on the manuscripts of the Mackenzie Collection, even though they were not. They thus produced an original (that is, a completely self-formulated work of literature), but presented it as a chain of historical writings that originated with the Mackenzie manuscripts. We therefore have two instances – one in which an ubiquitous text is passed off for a rare (i.e. original) one, and another in which an unintentionally original text is marketed as being based on other, earlier texts. In both cases we witness a lack of authenticity in the behaviour, towards either the acquirer of the material object

or the reader of the text. This speaks for the larger scheme of issues surrounding this collaborative project. Authenticity was questioned at the convenience of the British, who at the time were all-powerful colonisers in India. At the same time, it was concealed at the discretion of South Indian scholars, in the hope of protecting the narrative of their land's past.

In the concluding portion of this article, I attempt to contextualize my understandings and arguments of how the original is perceived in the Mackenzie Collection, in relation to how manuscript studies and cultures of South India operate today. I hope to show how the main idea of originality is a matter of interpretation, especially when socio-political power dynamics are the ultimate deciders of the fate of an archive.

2. The interpretation of originality

2.1 Case 1: The 'fake' original

Mackenzie's emissaries, namely Kavali Boriah, Kavali Lakshmiah and Sreenivasiah⁷ (among many others), were responsible for the collection of manuscripts from across South India, and then for their translation so that Mackenzie and his British colleagues may peruse them (Fig. 1). Those translations are stored in the British Library in London,⁸ alongside the personal correspondences the emissaries sent to Mackenzie during their travels.⁹ In these letters they sometimes wrote about their successes in procuring a certain rare manuscript, or of the unwillingness of locals to share such precious documents, or else they requested a leave of absence from work for personal reasons. The resultant documents are the only insight we have into how a manuscript archive was built in South India.¹⁰ In one such manuscript,

⁵ According to Penny 1904, 362, William Taylor was born in Madras in 1796 and died in 1881. However, Taylor's book *Madrasiana* (1889) which was published under the pseudonym W. T. Munro, states that Taylor was born around 1796 elsewhere and came to India around 1814. This work does not tell us when, or where, he died.

⁶ Kavali Venkata Lakshmiah, the second of the five Kavali brothers, took on the role of Mackenzie's primary translator after the death of his older brother, Boriah, in 1803, see Mantena 2012, 95. Little is known about Lakshmiah's life, but he began to appear in Mackenzie's journals in 1802, see Mantena 2009, 137. Lakshmiah, wishing to take over the Mackenzie project, sent a request to the British government to acquire the Mackenzie Collection. He was, however, rejected. A letter by James Prinsep documents this rejection and reads thus: 'The qualifications of Cavelly Venkata for such an office, judging of them by his "abstract" or indeed of any native, could hardly be pronounced equal to such a task, however useful they may prove as auxiliaries in such a train of research...'. 'This gentleman [Taylor] has already gone deep into the subject. At a great expense and sacrifice of time, he has published a variety of "Oriental Historical Manuscripts" in the original character and in translation, with a connective commentary, shewing [*sic*] their bearing on the general history of the country.' See Prinsep 1836, 440–441. As Taylor took charge of the Mackenzie Collection, Lakshmiah disappeared from public records after 1835.

⁷ There is significant amnesia concerning Mackenzie's South Indian emissaries from the time of Mackenzie's death in 1821. With few, very recent exceptions, the memories and contributions of Boriah, Lakshmiah, Sreenivasiah and many others have been forgotten, see for instance, Mantena 2009, Mantena 2012, and Dirks 2001. Thus, it is difficult to produce a timeline of their lives or interactions with one another. All that remains of their work is Lakshmiah and Sreenivasiah's (among others') manuscripts in the British Library, which tell us with certainty that they travelled extensively to collect manuscripts on Mackenzie's behalf between approximately 1809 and 1815. Boriah died tragically young in 1806 and his death left a tremendous impact on Mackenzie. Mackenzie apparently wished to build a monument in Boriah's memory. See Howes 2010, 67 for a discussion on the same.

⁸ Inventorised under the shelf mark British Library, Mss Mack Trans Class I–XIV, with one exception explained below.

⁹ British Library, Mss Mack Trans Class XII – Letters and Reports.

¹⁰ The only other comprehensive documentation on the collection of manuscripts that I am aware of is the autobiography of U. Vē Cāminātaiyar, almost single-handedly credited with the preservation of Tamil texts from the early first millennium. His autobiography, titled *En Carittiram* ('my history'), speaks of his many long journeys across South India on foot to try and procure palm-leaf manuscripts that he then edited and had published.

ent some m^{rs} the Books
 writers, to buy the Books
 must contrive & send the Draft
 on any body here; as Mr. Ward
 ne on his survey, it is very hard
 to me money here
 ou forwarded the following
 counts — — —
 are Ramacharitra — — —
 t. from auct. to ~~Left D.~~
 must write me the safe arriving
 em — — —

 I am your most
 obt & humble
 L^r Jui.

Fig. 1: British Library, Mss Mack Trans Class XII —Letters and Reports 1-3 and 8-12, last page of the manuscript in which the signature of the scribe (unidentifiable, but probably Lakshmiah or Sreenivasiah) is visible.

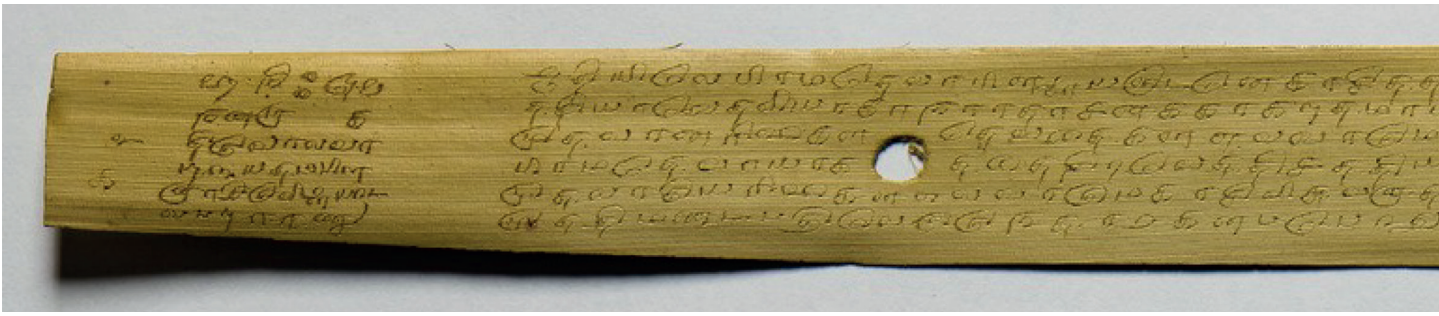


Fig. 2: Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Indien 291 (Collection Eugène Burnouf), 2.5 cm × 37.0 cm, fol. 1^r; the beginning of the *Tiruvīlaiyāṭal Purāṇam* in prose.

we find notes from Mackenzie's emissary Sreenivasiah, who was tasked with the procurement and subsequent translation of a particular history.¹¹

From 1st March to the 30th 1813 — I finished a history of Puttanam Pilla and Varagoona Pandia Raja.

From 1st April to the 3rd May 1813 — I finished history of Pandiyan Cheran and Cholun.

From the 1st May (?) to the 30th December 1813 — I finished the whole Book of Madura Pooraanum of 64 chapter [*sic*].

The very last line of this transcription is significant.¹² The text that Sreenivasiah had translated for Mackenzie's use was the 'whole Book of Madura Pooraanum of 64 chapter [*sic*]'. This is, in fact, a ubiquitous Tamil text called *Tiruvīlaiyāṭal Purāṇam* ('the legend of the holy sports'), divided into 64 chapters. It traces the divine origins of the city of Madurai to the actions of Lord Cuntarēcuvarar (one of many incarnations of the pan-Indian Hindu God Śiva) and his divine consort Mīṇāṭci. The other two texts that this excerpt speaks of relate to the same body of legends, but not as directly. The 'original' (and I use that term loosely here) version of the story is a metrical text by Parañcōti, a seventeenth-century poet.¹³ In

the early to late nineteenth century, several re-tellings of this work in prose emerged (Fig. 2).¹⁴ Yet Mackenzie's emissaries were tasked particularly with finding historical manuscripts. These are legendary texts, with no dates or timelines, no complete chronologies, and very few mentions of non-divine themes. There is an awareness in them of the Pāṇṭiya dynasty, whose capital was Madurai, but no more than nine kings are mentioned, of which one is Lord Cuntarēcuvarar himself, and the other, Mīṇāṭci. The other human kings seem to have ruled for an average of 3000 years each. Therefore, it qualifies by no standard as a historically viable text.

The additional 'issue' with this entry in Sreenivasiah's letter is that we have several distinctly marked historical (versus legendary or ahistorical) accounts of Madurai in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras (now the city of Chennai), which hosts the bulk of the Mackenzie Collection. Some examples of histories on Madurai include the manuscripts D. 437, D. 3184, and R. 2327, all titled *Pāṇṭiya Rācāṅkaḷ Carittiram*. They are perhaps among the earliest written histories in Tamil.¹⁵ My first question is, why were these manuscripts not translated, instead of the legendary account? In an attempt to find an answer, I looked through the English translations of the Madurai legends by

¹¹ British Library, Mss Eur Mack Trans XII: No. 56. There is unfortunately no page number available for this portion of the manuscript. I manually located the relevant passages which consist of three pages after the label 'No. 56' in a bound volume. The passage I have consulted in my comment above is contained in those three pages.

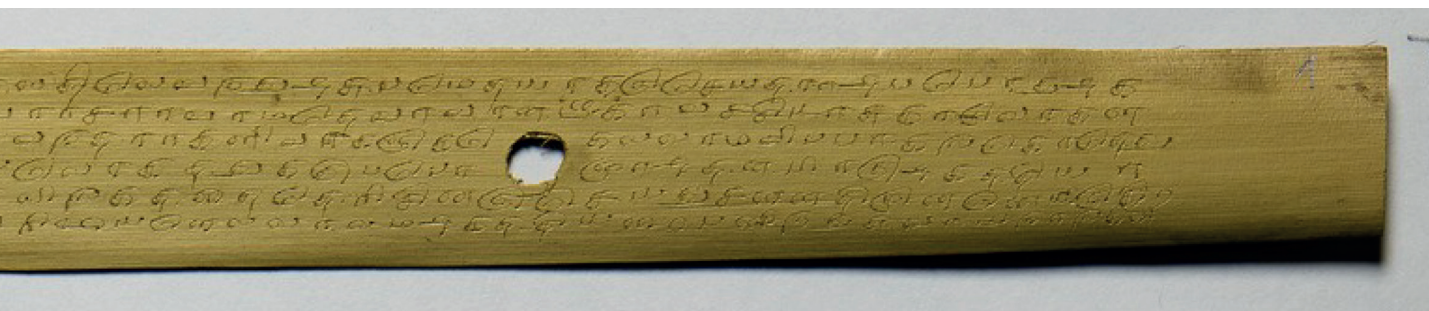
¹² All manuscripts quoted in this work are transcribed by me.

¹³ There are several versions of this text. The first extant one is by Nampi (twelfth to fourteenth century CE), see Wilden 2014, 24, after which a Sanskrit version called *Halāsyā Māhātmya* was produced in the sixteenth century. Parañcōti's version is a transcreation of the Sanskrit one. It remains the most popular version to date, while Nampi's text has in comparison fallen into obscurity. As for Parañcōti himself, little is known of his life or circumstances outside of the creation of this important text. This is not uncommon in the Tamil literary world. Authors mentioned their names in the texts they wrote, but no significant research was, or has since been, conducted on

their lives. For the purpose of this article, I would also suggest here that he was fundamentally an originator, as his text has since inspired almost every textual version of the *Tiruvīlaiyāṭal Purāṇam*.

¹⁴ I have located three prose re-tellings (called *vacaṇam* in Tamil), all on palm-leaf, all unpublished. The first is Indien 291 in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. The other two are RE27530 and RE25375 in the library of the Institut Français de Pondichéry, in Pondicherry/Puducherry, South India.

¹⁵ Here, I exclude epigraphical evidence. Inscriptions that name Pāṇṭiya kings do not match with this, or any, written historical account. A separate project needs to be undertaken to compare the two sources and find correlations. Unfortunately, that is beyond the scope of this contribution. It is nevertheless worth noting that the Mackenzie Collection represented the first Europeanised histories in the Tamil language. Before this, traditional systems of historical writings existed, but were intermingled with literature, legends and story-telling traditions, both written and oral.



This manuscript contains glosses of Parañcōti's poetic text, the prose portion seems to be a mini-commentary to it.

Mackenzie's emissaries. I found Mss Eur Mack Trans III.27 in the British Library, which seemed to be the result of a combined effort by Lakshmiah and Sreenivasiah. It is the translation of the Tamil D. 437 in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. Yet it was never used by Mackenzie's Orientalist successors Wilson and Taylor, who instead consulted (or rather, claimed to consult – I discuss this in the following section) the three translations by Sreenivasiah mentioned above. This brings me to my second question: why was the historical translation overlooked, but the legendary one maintained and used?

I realised that the comfortable environment that Mackenzie created for his emissaries, and the loss of that environment upon his death in 1821, was the main reason. Horace Hayman Wilson, a Sanskritist, reluctantly inherited the Mackenzie Collection in 1821, and was charged with producing a descriptive catalogue of the Collection. He, by his own admission, knew no South Indian language, and relied primarily on Mackenzie's emissaries to interpret the texts that were in a state of disarray. Yet there is reason to believe that Wilson did not treat them well. Cohn writes, 'Wilson...seems to have dismissed most of Mackenzie's staff, undertook the task of organising and publishing a catalogue of the papers [= the Collection] ...'.¹⁶ Keeping this in mind, Wilson produced an index of abstracts of the Mackenzie manuscripts, somewhere between 1822 and 1823 (Fig. 3). The index has been preserved in the British Library under the category 'Wilson Mss', along with a small collection of Wilson's private letters.¹⁷ In his index, the only mention of a Pāñṭiya manuscript reads as follows: 'Index of

the Pandya Rajaghall Charitra Sangraha' (Fig. 4).¹⁸ There is no abstract (unlike in other entries) and no mention of this dynasty anywhere else. This would mean that Mackenzie's reluctant emissaries simply avoided telling him that other versions (namely, the translation of D. 437) existed, and produced a 'false' index entry of the Pāñṭiyas. This is reflected in Wilson's catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection, which is disorganised and has several errors, particularly in terms of the Pāñṭiya histories.

Thus, one does not have to look far to realise that Mackenzie's emissaries, dissatisfied by the way they were treated by Wilson, simply did not think it necessary to provide him with accurate information. This brings me back to the three non-historical (i.e. legendary) manuscripts that were translated. They were, as I see it, produced as a matter of duty. Those legends are, even today, important texts in South India. Yet they were added to Wilson's catalogue instead of the more historically sound ones, for the same reason as above, that Wilson was not respected and nor was his work. A 'fake' original was thus given, and a non-historical text, posed as a history, made it to Wilson's index.

2.2 Case 2: An 'original' fake

Following the release of Wilson's erroneous catalogue in 1828, he published two works on the Pāñṭiya dynasty, allegedly based on the Mackenzie manuscripts. He first wrote *Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pāndya* (1836), in which he attempted to trace the chronology of the Pāñṭiya dynasty. However, he based it entirely on the legendary *Tiruvilaiyāṭal Purāṇam*, which he probably obtained from Mackenzie's emissaries. He presented this article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Britain and Ireland*, a routine publication that was written by, and catered to, elite British research circles in South India and England. Several

¹⁶ Cohn 1996, 83.

¹⁷ Wilson's index is listed in Rusby and Johnston 1937, 1169, under the heading 'The Wilson Mss'. It must be noted that it is not considered a 'manuscript' but a 'record' under the shelf mark Mss Eur. D. 431.

¹⁸ 'The Wilson Mss', p. 75.

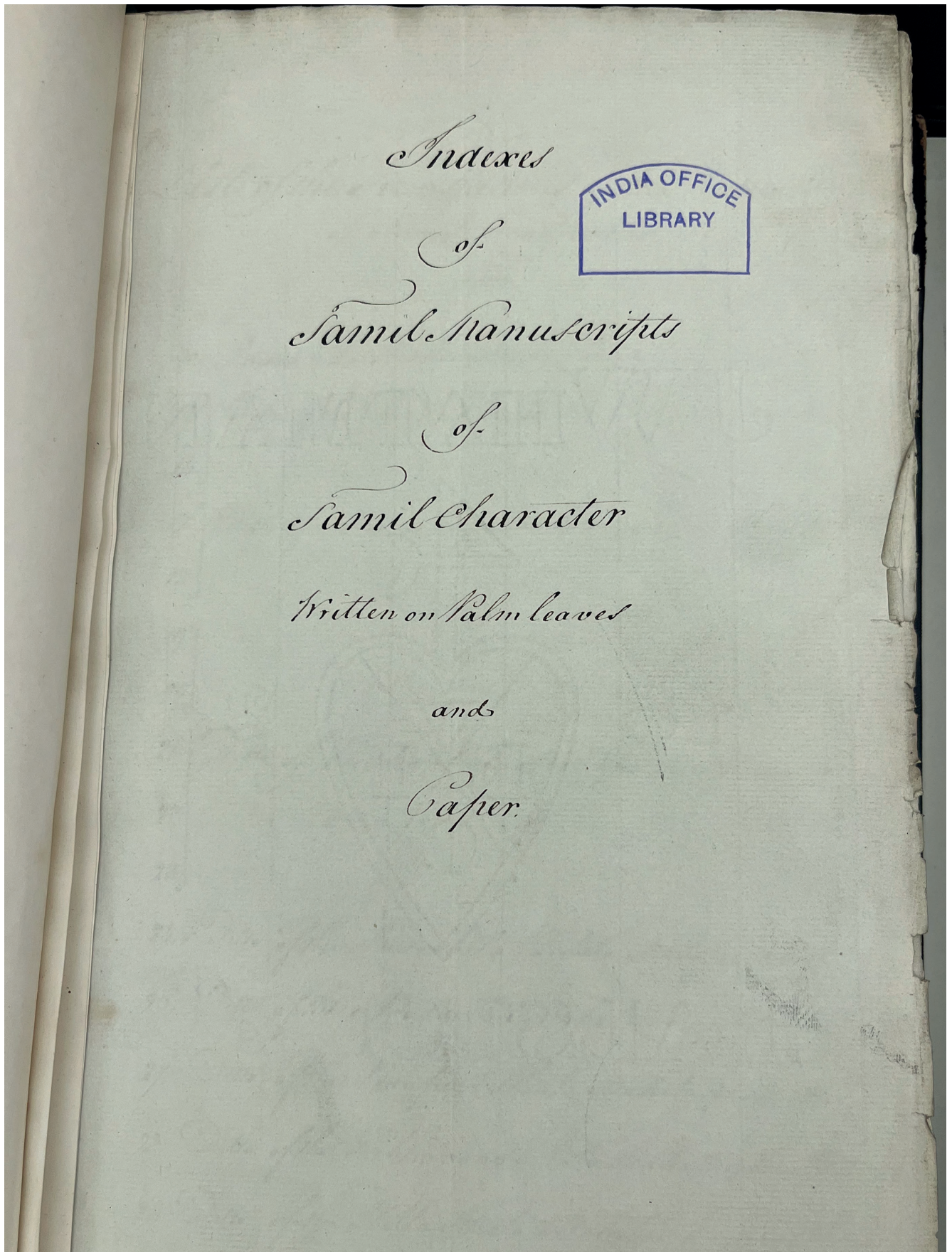


Fig. 3: British Library, Mss Eur. D. 431, Wilson's Index of Mackenzie manuscripts, written between 1822 and 1823, title page.

prominent Orientalists made their contribution to this journal, such as Charles Philip Brown (1798–1884), a scholar of Telugu. Yet nobody noticed, nor criticised, the erroneousness of his so-called historical work, except for William Taylor. Taylor began his work on the Mackenzie Collection around the same time, Lakshmiah having been denied the job.¹⁹ He published a scathing review of Wilson's *Historical Sketch* in his first publication on the Mackenzie Collection, titled *Oriental Historical Manuscripts in the Tamil Language*.²⁰ Taylor's own investigation of the Pāṇṭiyas does not match what Wilson had published not so long before that.²¹ The premise of Taylor's argument against Wilson was that the latter's identification of the Pāṇṭiya capital was wrong, as was his genealogy of kings (I discuss Wilson's errors below). In response to Taylor's criticism, Wilson published the *Supplementary Note to the Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pāṇḍya*, also in 1836. He justified the slight difference in his genealogy from that of Taylor's as a matter of differing opinions and source-material. He stated, that:

Madura and the Pandya kingdom are essentially the same; and whether it was founded by a native of Oude, named Pandya, as I have it, or by an agricultural Pandion from the north, as Mr. Taylor states, does not appear to me to be so exceedingly different, that, where the latter occurs it can be said that there is no warrant for the former. The difference, as far as it extends, appears to be that of translation; and the question of accuracy depends upon the relative competency of the translators. Admitting, however, that Mr. Taylor's version is correct, it does not follow that there were no traces whatever [*sic*] of such an interpretation as I have followed, and which, though not perhaps literally, is substantially the same with his own.²²

The only significant part in this quote is Wilson's claim that the origin of the Pāṇṭiyas ('Pandya' above) was in Oude. No manuscript of the Mackenzie Collection, be it the original Tamil, or its translation, claims this. Oude is an extraneous

location, far north in the modern state of Uttar Pradesh in India. The Pāṇṭiya hometown and capital has always been Madurai, across all accounts of them, and its main port, Korkai. This tells us that Wilson's source was not only erroneous, but also not among the Mackenzie manuscripts, which brings us to the work of William Taylor. In his publication of six reports in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, he touched upon the question of the Pāṇṭiyas, but simply produced once more of the *Tiruvīlaiyāṭal Purāṇam*.²³ This proves that his (and Wilson's) sources were not from the Mackenzie Collection, even though they claimed them to be so. In terms of historical authenticity, this is indeed questionable, as they published under the auspices of the Mackenzie Collection. In terms of originality, they claimed it by producing their own, creative work that was historically incompatible. In other words, it was a historical fake, but a textual original (Fig. 5).

A chain-reaction began when Wilson's index did not accurately document the Mackenzie Archive. Wilson's own catalogue was erroneous and therefore so was his work on the Pāṇṭiyas. Taylor, who claimed to have extensively worked on the Mackenzie Collection, solved some of the archiving errors of his predecessor in his *Catalogue Raisonné* (1862), but his literature on the Pāṇṭiyas was just as unreliable as Wilson's. My proof, as it were, of the inaccuracy of Taylor's writing lies in the fact that in his catalogue he did not list the manuscripts that he claimed to have used in the production of Pāṇṭiya history. In 1835, prior to the publications in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, he compiled a dedicated history of the Pāṇṭiyas, in which he used three manuscripts in Tamil.²⁴ One of these three manuscripts is transcribed, translated and provided in this publication. He did not use the original Tamil title of the texts, but provided his own translation of them, namely, *Pandion Chronicle*, *Madura Stalla Purana*, and *Supplementary Manuscript*. The second one is quite clearly a translation of the 64 chapters of the *Tiruvīlaiyāṭal Purāṇam*. The first, although different in name, is similar, but claims the origin of the Pāṇṭiyas to be from Northern Indian royal families. The third, unspecified manuscript offers an overview of the kings (including the Pāṇṭiyas) who ruled over Madurai. It focuses on a very distant, ancient (thus largely legendary) past that attributes the origin of the kingdom of Madurai to divine sources (not unlike the narrative of the *Tiruvīlaiyāṭal Purāṇam*). Keeping this in mind, one wonders exactly *what*

¹⁹ Taylor also published on the Mackenzie Collection, in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* (vols 7–10) between 1838 and 1845. Yet his criticism of Wilson's work was earlier, as I explain below.

²⁰ Taylor 1835, vol. 2, 63–66.

²¹ Wilson's publication came out in 1836, a year after Taylor had criticised it. I would surmise that the first edition of his work is now lost, or that Taylor had access to a private copy. As it happens, the same paper was published multiple times across several Orientalist journals and was distributed in scholarly circles.

²² Wilson 1837, 388.

²³ Taylor 1835, Taylor 1839.

²⁴ Taylor 1835, vol. 1.

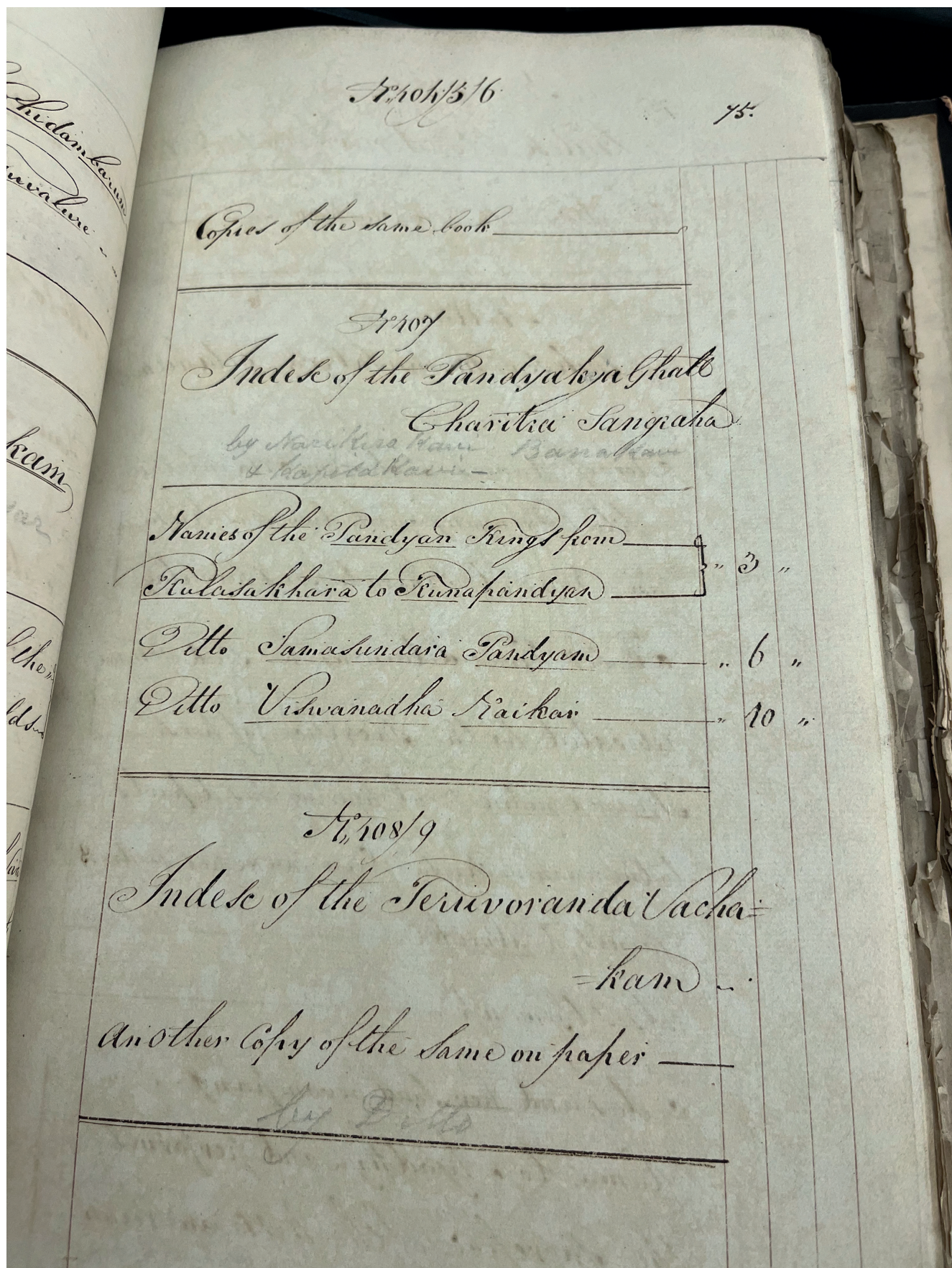


Fig. 4: British Library, Mss Eur. D. 431, Wilson's Index of the Mackenzie manuscripts, written between 1822 and 1823, p. 75: showing the meagre entry for the Pāṇṭiya manuscripts; the entry contains the names of three Pāṇṭiya kings, but without further description.

to Wilson, those South Indian scholars once employed by Mackenzie saw no reason to remain faithful to Wilson. They resented his leadership and knew that his knowledge of Tamil was scant. They thus formulated their own legendary tales based on the *Tiruvīlaiyāṭal Purāṇam* which they claimed was a historical source (a 'fake' original). At the same time, the complexity of defining 'original' is augmented through the study of Wilson and Taylor's works. Their (and therefore, the British) understanding of originality was somewhat skewed. They too believed that the more authentic (i.e. the more cited and provable) a work was, the more viable it was in the scientific world, but their own work did not reflect this understanding. Instead, they freely criticised their Indian predecessors for their alleged lack of authenticity. Their claim of having produced authentic works has been disputed by me above, and I thus argue that the result of their efforts were more 'original' fakes, namely Taylor (1836, vol. 1) and Wilson (1836). Ironically, the inauthenticity of Wilson's history was criticised by Taylor, who still then produced flawed histories in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*. His use of manuscripts, not translations, could be traced back to a single manuscript. Essentially, he created his own, original work of fiction, and his social power and conviction took precedence over the less influential but more accurate histories of Mackenzie's Indian emissaries.

The impact of perceiving a manuscript in a certain way is huge. When Mackenzie died in 1821, those manuscripts that were deemed useful by British authorities were shipped to London, and those that were not remained in India. The useful manuscripts consisted largely of paintings, drawings, and maps. The translations of the Mackenzie manuscripts into English in fourteen volumes was also included in this list of useful manuscripts. I would suggest, albeit tentatively, that the notion of originality already determined this choice of dividing the Collection. In terms of European value systems, an original painting was priceless. Yet its copy was worthless (so copies were left behind). This perception affected the state of the Mackenzie manuscripts left behind in Chennai: they are in disarray, many are damaged, and most originals have been lost. When viewing originality through the lens of history, the image is often deceptive.

Through the examples described in this article, I hope to have shed light on this early source of historical writing and on how our perception of it was shaped through our perception of originality.

REFERENCES

Manuscripts

Chennai, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library

D. 437 (original, five vols): *Pāṇṭiya Rācākaḷ Carittiram* (paper).

London, British Library

Add MS 13660: Reports, Letters and Papers of Major Colin Mackenzie, relative to the Survey of the Mysore, carried on under his superintendence, 1800–1805 (paper).

Add MS 52735: Cockerell Papers, vol. CXIII (143 folios): Colin Mackenzie, at Stogursey, letter to S. C. Cockerell (paper).

Mss Eur. D. 431: Wilson Papers classified as 'record' in the British Library catalogues] (paper).

Mss Eur E118: Miscellaneous correspondence and papers including documents relating to the Batavian Society and letters from Thomas Horsfield: stray volume from the Mackenzie Private Collection (paper).

Mss Eur E301/11: Miscellaneous papers and undated letters, India Office Records and Private Papers. Letters to H. H. Wilson – 1848–1849 (paper).

Mss Eur E301/15: Miscellaneous papers and undated letters, India Office Records and Private Papers. Letters received by Horace Hayman Wilson, Orientalist – 1812–1860 (paper).

Mss Eur Mack Trans II: Tamul, etc. (95 parts) (paper).

Mss Eur Mack Trans III: Tamul. (90 parts) (paper).

Mss Eur Mack Trans XII: Letters and Reports, India Office Records and Private Papers (81 parts) (paper).

IOR/F/4/713/19470: Colin Mackenzie's Collection of books and manuscripts relating to the East Indies is forwarded to London. Sept 1821–Apr 1822 (paper).

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

Indien 291: *Tiruvīlaiyāṭṭar purāṇam*, prose (palm-leaf).

Pondicherry, Institut Française de Pondichéry

RE25375: *Maturai Purāṇa Vacaṇam* (palm-leaf).

RE27530: *Tiruvīlaiyāṭṭar Purāṇam* (palm-leaf).

Manuscript catalogues

Blagden, Charles Otto (1916), *Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages Belonging to the Library of the India Office*, vol. 1: *The Mackenzie Collections*, part 1: *The 1822 Collection and the Private Collection*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burnouf, Eugène (1854), *Catalogue des livres composant la bibliothèque de M. Eugène Burnouf*, Paris: B. Duprat.

Cabaton, Antoine (1912), *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits indiens, indo-chinois & malayo-polynésien*, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits.

Chandrasekharan, T. et al. (1948–1960), *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Tamil Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras*, vols VI–XI (D. 2174–4065), Madras: Government Oriental Manuscript Library.

— and P. Thirugnanasambandan (1960–1963), *A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts for the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras*, vols X–XIII (R. 1606–7362), Madras: Government Oriental Manuscript Library.

Kaye, George Rusby and Edward Hamilton Johnston (1937), *Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages Belonging to the Library of the India Office*, vol. 2, part 2: *Minor Collections and Miscellaneous Manuscripts*, London: Oxford University Press.

Raṅgācāryā, M., S. Kuppuswami Sastri, and P. S. Subramanya Sastri (1912–1939), *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Tamil Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras*, vols I–V (D. 1–2173), Madras: Government Oriental Manuscript Library.

—, —, and — (1913–1949), *A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts for the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras*, vols I–IX (R. 1–1605), Madras: Government Oriental Manuscript Library.

Subramaniam, P. et al. (1993–1996), *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Tamil Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras*, vols XXV–XXVII (R. 7363–8780), Madras: Government Oriental Manuscript Library.

Tiyaagarajan, S. and K. Damodaran (1998–1999), *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Tamil Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras*, vols XXIX–XXX (R. 8781–9036), Madras: Government Oriental Manuscript Library.

Tacarataṇ, A., Mo. Marutamuttu, and Mū. Parimaṇaṇ (1998–2000), *Araciṇar kīṭṭicaic cuvaṭikaḷ tamīḷ cuvaṭikaḷ viḷakka āṭṭavanai* [*Descriptive Catalogue of the Tamil Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library*], 4 vols, Chennai: Ulakat Tamīlārāycci Niṟuvaṇam. [in Tamil]

Sastri, S. Kuppuswami (1932–1951), *An Alphabetical Index of Tamil Manuscripts in the Governmental Oriental Manuscript Library Madras*, Madras: Government Press.

Taylor, William C. (1835), *Oriental Historical Manuscripts in the Tamil Language: Translated; With Annotations*, 2 vols, Madras: Charles Josiah Taylor, Purswaukum.

— (1857–1862), *A Catalogue Raisonné of Oriental Manuscripts in the Government Library*, vols I–III, Madras: United Scottish Press.

Varadachari, V. (1986), *Catalogue descriptif des manuscrits / Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts I (Mss. 1–115)*, Pondicherry: Institute français d'Indologie.

- (1987), *Catalogue descriptif des manuscrits/ Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts II (Mss. 116–275)*, Pondichéry: Institute français d'Indologie.
- (1990), *Catalogue descriptif des manuscrits/ Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts III (Mss. 276–375)*, Pondichéry: Institute français d'Indologie.
- Vinson, Julien and Léon Feer (1801–1900), *Catalogue des manuscrits tamouls (1–574) et télingas (1–65)*, Access No. BnF Indien 577, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Wilson, Horace Hayman (1882), *The Mackenzie Collection: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts, and Other Articles Illustrative of the Literature, History, Statistics and Antiquities of the South of India; Collected by the Late Lieut. Col. Colin Mackenzie, Surveyor General of India, to which is Prefixed a Brief Outline of the life of Col. Mackenzie and of the Steps taken to Catalogue and Utilize his Collection*, 2nd edn complete in one [with anonymous introduction], Madras: Higginbotham & Co. [1st edn Calcutta: Asiatic, 1828].
- Secondary literature
- [anonymous] (1809), 'Account of the Jains: Collected from a Priest of this Sect, at Mudgeri, Translated by CAVELLY BORJA, Brāhmen, for MAJOR C. MACKENZIE', *Asiatic Researches*, 9: 244–286.
- Aravamuthan, T. G. (1930), 'The Oldest Account of the Tamil Academies', *Journal of Oriental Research*, 4: 183–201, 289–317.
- (1931), 'The Maturai Chronicles and the Tamil Academies', *Journal of Oriental Research*, 5: 108–124, 196–214.
- (1932), 'The Maturai Chronicles and the Tamil Academies', *Journal of Oriental Research*, 6: 89–105, 275–294, 322–340.
- Blackburn, Stuart H. (2003), *Print, Folklore and Nationalism in Colonial South India*, New Delhi: Permanent Black.
- Brita, Antonella and Janina Karolewski (2021), 'Unravelling Multiple-Text Manuscripts: Introducing Categories Based on Content, Use, and Production', in Jörg B. Quenzer (ed.), *Exploring Written Artefacts: Objects, Methods, and Concepts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 25), Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter, 460–490, available at <<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110753301-024>> (accessed on 14 March 2024).
- Buchholz, Jonas and Giovanni Ciotti (2017), 'What A Multiple-text Manuscript Can Tell Us about the Tamil Scholarly Tradition: The Case of UVSL 589', *manuscript cultures*, 10: 129–144, available at <<https://www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de/publications/mc/files/articles/mc10-buchholz-ciotti.pdf>> (accessed on 14 March 2024).
- Cāminātaiyar, Ū. Vē (1940–1942), *En Carittiram* [serialised and published as articles], *Ananda Vikatan*, Cennai: Tiyaṅkarāca Vilācam.
- Chevillard, Jean-Luc (2014), 'Snapshots of the Tamil Scholarly Tradition', in Sylvie Archaimbault, Jean-Marie Fournier, and Valérie Raby (eds), *Penser l'histoire des savoirs linguistiques, hommage à Sylvain Auroux*, Paris: ENS Éditions, 255–271.
- Cohn, Bernard S. (1996), *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ebeling, Sascha (2010), *Colonizing the Realm of Words: The Transformation of Tamil Literature in Nineteenth Century South India*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- (2020), 'Appeasing the Assembly: Competition among Poets and the History, Poetics and Social Logic of the *avaiyaṭakkam* Stanza in Tamil Literature', in Eva Wilden and Suganya Anandakichenin (eds), *Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanzas: Paratextual Elements and their Role in the Transmission of Indian Texts*, Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg, 139–180.

- Friedrich, Michael and Cosima Schwarke (eds) (2016), *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 9), Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter, available at <<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110496956>> (accessed on 14 March 2024).
- Fuller, Chris J. (2001), *Orality, Literacy and Memorization: Priestly Education in Contemporary South India*, London: Cambridge University Press.
- (2004), *The Camphor Flame: Popular Hinduism and Society in India*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Howes, Jenifer (2010), *Illustrating India: The Early Colonial Investigations of Colonel Mackenzie (1784–1821)*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- James, Gregory (2000), *Colporul: A History of Tamil Dictionaries*, Chennai: Cre-A.
- Mahalingam, T. V. (ed.) (1972), *Mackenzie Manuscripts, Summaries of the Historical Manuscripts in the Mackenzie Collection*, vol 1: *Tamil and Malayalam*, Madras: University of Madras.
- Mantena, Rama Sundari (2012), *The Origins of Modern Historiography in India: Antiquarianism and Philology, 1780–1880*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Munro, W. T. [= William Taylor] (1868), *Madrasiana*, Madras: Caleb Foster.
- Murdoch, John (1865), *Classified Catalogue of Tamil Printed Books*, Madras: The Christian Vernacular Education Society.
- Meenakshisundaram, K. (1974), *The Contribution of European Scholars to Tamil*, New Delhi: Asian Publication Services.
- Nield-Basu, Susan (1984), 'The Dubashes of Madras', *Modern Asian Studies*, 18/1: 1–31.
- Penny, Frank (1904), *The Church in Madras: Being the History of the Ecclesiastical and Missionary Action of the East India Company in the Presidency of Madras in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, vol. 3: *From 1835–1861*, Madras: East India Company Missions.
- Pickford, John (1871), *Maha-Vira-Carita: The Adventures of the Great Hero Rámá, an Indian Drama in Seven Acts, Translated into English Prose from the Sanskrit of Bhavabuti*, London: Trübner & Co.
- Prinsep, James (1836), 'Report of the Committee on Papers on CAVELLY VENKATA LACHMI' A'S Proposed Renewal of Colonel Mackenzie's Investigations', *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 4: 439–440, available at <<https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/176544#page/485/mode/1up>> (accessed on 14 March 2024).
- Raman, K. V. (1972), *Some Aspects of Pandyan History in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, Madras: University of Madras.
- Rajesh, V. (2007), 'The Written and the Oral in Early Tamil Society', in B. P. Sahu (ed.), *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 66th Session, Santiniketan 2005*, Delhi: Indian History Congress, 102–109.
- Taylor, William (1838), 'First Report of Progress Made in the Examination of the Mackenzie MSS., with an Abstract Account of the Works examined', *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 7: 1–51, available at <<https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/176198#page/13/mode/1up>> (accessed on 14 March 2024).
- (1838), 'Second Report of Progress Made in the Examination of the Mackenzie MSS., with an Abstract Account of the Works examined', *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 7: 277–378, available at <<https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/176198#page/301/mode/1up>> (accessed on 14 March 2024).
- (1838), 'Observations Regarding the Site of Kurkhi, the Residence on the Pandyan Kings of Madura', *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 7: 379–381, available at <<https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/176198#page/403/mode/1up>> (accessed on 14 March 2024).

- Taylor, William (1838), 'Third Report of Progress Made in the Examination of the Mackenzie MSS., with an Abstract Account of the Works examined', *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 8: 1–86, available at <<https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/176474#page/15/mode/1up>> (accessed on 14 March 2024).
- (1838), 'Fourth Report of Progress Made in the Examination of the Mackenzie MSS., with an Abstract Account of the Works examined (*To be continued*)', *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 8: 215–305, available at <<https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/176474#page/229/mode/1up>> (accessed on 14 March 2024).
- (1838), 'Fourth Report of Progress Made in the Examination of the Mackenzie MSS., with an Abstract Account of the Works examined (*Continued from the last No.*)', *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 9: 1–52, available at <<https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/176471#page/15/mode/1up>> (accessed on 14 March 2024).
- (1839), 'Fifth Report of Progress Made in the Examination of the Mackenzie MSS., with an Abstract Account of the Works examined', *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 10: 1–42, available at <<https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/176770#page/15/mode/1up>> (accessed on 14 March 2024).
- (1844–1845), 'Sixth Report on Mackenzie Manuscripts (*Concluding Section*)', *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 13: 57–115, available at <<https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/176660#page/83/mode/1up>> (accessed on 14 March 2024).
- Trautmann, Thomas R. (2006), *Languages and Nations: Conversations in Colonial South India*, Berkley: University of California Press.
- (ed.) (2009), *The Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Venkatachalapathy, A. R. (2006), *In Those Days There Was no Coffee: Writings in Cultural History*, New Delhi: Yoda Press.
- (2012), *The Province of the Book: Scholars, Scribes and Scribblers in Colonial Tamilnadu*, New Delhi: Permanent Black.
- Wilden, Eva (2014), *Manuscript, Print and Memory: Relics of the Caṅkam in Tamilnadu* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 3), Berlin / München / Boston: De Gruyter, available at <<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110352764>> (accessed on 14 March 2024).
- (2020), 'On the Threshold Between Legend and History: The Afterlife of a Mackenzie Manuscript', *manuscript cultures*, 8: 92–98, available at <<https://www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de/publications/mc/files/articles/mc08-wilden.pdf>> (accessed on 14 March 2024).
- Wilks, Mark (1869), *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, Madras: Higginbothams & Co.
- Wilson, Horace Hayman (1836), 'Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pándya', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 3: 199–242.
- (1836), 'Supplementary Note to the Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pándya', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 3: 387–390.

PICTURE CREDITS

Fig. 1: © British Library, London; photography by Neela Bhaskar.

Fig. 2: Open access, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, available at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52511254m>> (last accessed on 4 April 2024).

Fig. 3: © British Library, London; photography by Neela Bhaskar.

Fig. 4: © British Library, London; photography by Neela Bhaskar.

Fig. 5: Open access, Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, available at <<https://projectmadurai.org/>> (last accessed on 4 April 2024).

ISSN 1867–9617

© 2023

Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC)

Universität Hamburg

Warburgstraße 26

20354 Hamburg

Germany

www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de