

Art, Trade, and Imperialism in Early Modern French India

FOR PRIVATE AND NON-COMMERCIAL USE  
AMSTERDAM UNIVERSITY PRESS

## VISUAL AND MATERIAL CULTURE, 1300-1700

A forum for innovative research on the role of images and objects in the late medieval and early modern periods, *Visual and Material Culture, 1300-1700* publishes monographs and essay collections that combine rigorous investigation with critical inquiry to present new narratives on a wide range of topics, from traditional arts to seemingly ordinary things. Recognizing the fluidity of images, objects, and ideas, this series fosters cross-cultural as well as multi-disciplinary exploration. We consider proposals from across the spectrum of analytic approaches and methodologies.

### *Series Editor*

Dr. Allison Levy, an art historian, has written and/or edited three scholarly books, and she has been the recipient of numerous grants and awards, from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Association of University Women, the Getty Research Institute, the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library of Harvard University, the Whiting Foundation and the Bogliasco Foundation, among others. [www.allisonlevy.com](http://www.allisonlevy.com).

# Art, Trade, and Imperialism in Early Modern French India

*Liza Oliver*

Amsterdam University Press

FOR PRIVATE AND NON-COMMERCIAL USE  
AMSTERDAM UNIVERSITY PRESS

This publication is made possible in part by a gift from Elizabeth Warnock to the Department of Art History at Northwestern University.

Cover illustration: Coromandel Coast, *European Conflict in South India*, before 1763. Painted and mordant- and resist-dyed cotton, 296.5 x 261.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden

Lay-out: Newgen/Konvertus

ISBN 978 94 6372 851 5

DOI 10.5117/9789463728515

NUR 654

© L. Oliver / Amsterdam University Press B.V., Amsterdam 2019

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this book may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the written permission of both the copyright owner and the author of the book.

Every effort has been made to obtain permission to use all copyrighted illustrations reproduced in this book. Nonetheless, whosoever believes to have rights to this material is advised to contact the publisher.

FOR PRIVATE AND NON-COMMERCIAL USE  
AMSTERDAM UNIVERSITY PRESS



For Rhonda

# Contents

Transliteration and Translation	9
Currency Conversion	11
Abbreviations	13
Figures	15
Acknowledgements	19
Introduction	23
1. The Threads that Bind: South Asian Textiles and Networks of Exchange between India, France, and the West Indies	37
A Homespun Empire: Indian Textiles in their Local Contexts	40
Eastern Persuasions	52
Trade Goods as Cross-cultural Interlocutors	62
Of Aristocrats and Slaves: The Double Life of Guinea Cloth	74
The Antecedents of Industrialization	91
2. Uncommon Ground: Coromandel Craft, European Natural History, and Lessons in Mutual Intelligibility	97
Botanical Beginnings	101
Antoine de Jussieu and the Ambitions of French Bioprospecting	107
Nature in Images/The Nature of Images: Tapping Local Medical Knowledge in Early Modern India	115
South Asian Aesthetics and L'Empereur's <i>Jardin de Lorixa</i>	124
Jungles and Gardens	145
3. Shifting Terrains: Negotiating Kingship as a Tamil <i>Dubash</i> in Eighteenth-century Pondichéry	153
Travails and Portrayals of the Family Pillai	161
Ananda, Nāyak of Pondichéry	173
4. Faith and Fortunes: The Use and Abuse of Material Artifacts in the Evolving Coromandel	185
Seeing and Believing: Iconoclasm, or the Limits of Mutual Intelligibility	186

Obligatory Presents: The Evolution of Gifting	204
Epilogue: Cross-currents in the Wake of the Seven Years' War	217
Glossary	227
French Governors of Pondichéry	229
Bibliography	231
Index	253

## Transliteration and Translation

Transliterations from Tamil to English are in accordance with the standardized system established in Hermann Beythann's *Praktische Grammatik der Tamilsprache* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1943), except for instances where a Tamil word or name has taken on an alternative, standardized spelling.

I have preserved the original spelling of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French in my transcriptions. Spelling during this time was not standardized nor does it always conform to modern French spelling.

## Currency Conversion

All currency conversions are based on the value of the French livre tournois in 1640, which is estimated at 10 United States dollars in modern value (as per 2008). At the time the franc replaced the livre in 1795, the livre was valued at the equivalent of \$4 in modern value. This deflation is likely the consequence of the French Revolution, and therefore not deemed a reliable estimate for the conversions in the study.

Estimates for the gold pagoda-to-livre conversion are based on a 1702 contract between Tamil weavers and French Company officials that estimates 29,000 pagodas to be the equivalent of 152,000 livres.

# Abbreviations

CFI	Compagnies française des Indes
CFIO	Compagnie française des Indes orientales
EIC	British East India Company
VOC	Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie)

## Languages

Fr.	French ('Fr.' indicated only in the glossary)
Prs.	Persian
Skt.	Sanskrit
Tam.	Tamil

## Repositories

AN	Archives nationales, Paris
AP	Archives personnelles et familiales
ANOM	Archives nationales d'outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence
BMNH	Bibliothèque du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle, Paris
LP	Laboratoire de phanèrogamie
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
DEP	Département des Estampes et de la photographie
DM	Département des manuscrits
DMO	Département des manuscrits orientaux
MEP	Séminaire des Missions étrangères de Paris
NAIP	National Archives of India, Puducherry

## Figures

- Fig. 1: French and British trading posts in India, with the approximate extent of the Mughal Empire in 1707
- Fig. 2: Coromandel Coast, *Palampore*, c.1720–40
- Fig. 3: Coromandel Coast, *Panel with Scene Illustrating Don Quixote*, c.1740
- Fig. 4: Indian Ocean circuits of trade, based on K.N. Chaudhuri
- Fig. 5: Unknown swami, 'Fabric Painter', in *Mœurs et usages des Indiens*, c.1780
- Fig. 6: Deccan region, *Kalamkari Hanging with Figures in an Architectural Setting*, c.1640–50
- Fig. 7: Coromandel Coast, *Hanging with European and Persian Figures*, c.1640–50
- Fig. 8: Hiranand, *Da'ud Receives a Robe of Honor from Akbar's Vizier*, from an *Akbarnama*, c.1596–1600
- Fig. 9: Coromandel Coast, *Meeting of Representatives from the Dutch and Danish East India Companies with Administrators of the Sultanate of Bijapur*, 1654
- Fig. 10: Jean Berain, plate in *Ornemens inventez par J. Berain*, c. late seventeenth to early eighteenth century
- Fig. 11: View of French bedroom with *kalamkari palampores*, eighteenth century
- Fig. 12: Sébastien Leclerc I, *Colbert Visiting the Gobelins*, c.1696
- Fig. 13: Studio of LeBlond after Charles Le Brun, *Visit of Louis XIV to the Gobelins Manufactory, October 15, 1667*, 1729–34
- Fig. 14: Jean-Baptiste Henri Bonnart, *Departure of Sancho for the Isle of Barataria*, 1705–26
- Fig. 15: Unknown Indian artist, *Kai Khusrau, Farangis, and Giv Crossing the River Jihun (Oxus)*, folio from an illustrated manuscript of Abu'l Qasim Firdausi's *Shahnama*, c. mid-fifteenth century
- Fig. 16: François Boucher after Jean-Antoine Watteau, 'Kouane Tsai, or Chinese Gardener', in *Figures chinoises et tartares du château de la Muette*, c.1731
- Fig. 17: Coromandel Coast, *Palampore with Chinese Motifs*, early eighteenth century
- Fig. 18: Unknown, *Porcelain Still Life with Monkey and Birds*, c.1735
- Fig. 19: Nicolas Arnout, *Fille de qualité en déshabillé d'étoffe siamoise*, c.1688
- Fig. 20: François-Hubert Drouais, *Madame de Pompadour at her Tambour Frame*, c.1763–64
- Fig. 21: Paul Erdmann Isert, 'Akan Women', frontispiece of *Voyages en Guinée et dans les Îsles Caraïbes en Amérique*, 1793
- Fig. 22: Chevalier de Marchais, folio 89 in *Journal du voyage de Guinée et Cayenne [...]* pendant les années 1724, 1725 et 1726, 1724–26
- Fig. 23: Robert Mabon, *African Woman*, date unknown (eighteenth century)
- Fig. 24: Robert Mabon, *African Woman Sitting on a Chair*, date unknown (eighteenth century)

- Fig. 25: Unknown Indian artist, *A Lady, her Maid and a Musician in a Chinese-inspired Interior (A Lady at Rest)*, c.1740
- Fig. 26: Agostino Brunias, *Linen Market, Dominica*, c.1780
- Fig. 27: Unknown artist after Élisabeth-Louise Vigée Le Brun, *Marie-Antoinette*, c.1783
- Fig. 28: Coromandel Coast (possibly sewn in the Netherlands, tailored in England), *Banyan*, c.1750–75
- Fig. 29: Nicolas Bonnart, 'Homme en robe de chambre', in *Recueil des modes de la cour de France*, c.1676
- Fig. 30: Louis Goupy, *Portrait of Brook Taylor*, c.1720
- Fig. 31: Antoine Trouvain, *Monsieur Le Noble*, c.1695
- Fig. 32: Oberkampf Manufactory, *Motif esprit indienne*, 1789
- Fig. 33: Oberkampf Manufactory, designed by Jean-Baptiste Huet I, *Activities of the Manufactory*, c.1783
- Fig. 34: Henri Testelin, *Colbert presenting the members of the Académie Royale des Sciences to Louis XIV*, 1667, c.1675–1680
- Fig. 35: Unknown Indian painters, frontispiece of Nicolas L'Empereur's *Jardin de Lorixa*, I, c.1695–1725
- Fig. 36: Unknown Mughal artist, 'Martagon Lily', in *Small Clive Album*, c. first half of eighteenth century
- Fig. 37: Pierre Vallet, 'Martagon Lily', in *Le Jardin du Roy Très Chrestien Henry IV*, pl. 18, 1608
- Fig. 38: Pierre Vallet, 'Tulips', in *Le Jardin du Roy Très Chrestien Henry IV*, pl. 12, 1608
- Fig. 39: Frédéric Scalberge, *The King's Garden for the Cultivation of Medicinal Plants*, 1636
- Fig. 40: Vincent Albus, folio 88 in *Histoire naturelle de l'Indie osidentale*, sixteenth century
- Fig. 41: Vincent Albus, folio 36 in *Histoire naturelle de l'Indie osidentale*, sixteenth century
- Fig. 42: Letter from Binot to Antoine de Jussieu (detail with sketch of a botanical specimen), 6 January 1739, from Chandernagore
- Fig. 43: George Ehret, 'Methodus plantarum sexualis', for Linnaeus's *Systema Naturæ*, c.1736
- Fig. 44: Unknown Tamil scribe, transcription of a section of the *Tivākaram nikandu*, eighteenth century
- Fig. 45: Antoni Jacobi Goedkint and Marcelis Spleijnter, engraved by B. Stroopendaal, 'Canaga (betel nut)', in Hendrik van Rheede's *Hortus Malabaricus*, I, pl. 5, 1678
- Fig. 46: Antoni Jacobi Goedkint and Marcelis Spleijnter, engraved by B. Stroopendaal, 'Horti Indici Malabarici', frontispiece of Hendrik van Rheede's *Hortus Malabaricus*, 1678–93



- Fig. 47: Unknown Indian painters, 'Safriam', in Nicolas L'Empereur's *Jardin de Lorixa*, III, pl. 5, c.1695–1725
- Fig. 48: Unknown Indian painters, 'Acquo', in Nicolas L'Empereur's *Jardin de Lorixa*, IV, pl. 12, c.1695–1725
- Fig. 49: Unknown Indian painters, 'Caitto', in Nicolas L'Empereur's *Jardin de Lorixa*, I, pl. 43, c.1695–1725
- Fig. 50: Unknown Indian painters, 'Navangu', in Nicolas L'Empereur's *Jardin de Lorixa*, IV, pl. 56, c.1695–1725
- Fig. 51: Unknown Indian painters, 'Requet Quais', in Nicolas L'Empereur's *Jardin de Lorixa*, XII, pl. 16, c.1695–1725
- Fig. 52: Unknown Indian painters, 'Doule Goul Daudi' (detail), in Nicolas L'Empereur's *Jardin de Lorixa*, X, pl. 23, c.1695–1725
- Fig. 53: Coromandel Coast, *Panel with Scene Illustrating Don Quixote* (detail of flowering tree), c.1740
- Fig. 54: Unknown Indian painter, 'Gopis searching for Krishna among the sacred trees', in a *chitra-pothi* of the *Bhagavata Purana*, first quarter of eighteenth century
- Fig. 55: Unknown Indian painters, 'Ger Gitia', in Nicolas L'Empereur's *Jardin de Lorixa*, XIII, pl. 29, c.1695–1725
- Fig. 56: Sahibdin, *Krishna and Radha in a Bower*, page from a dispersed *Gita Govinda*, c.1665
- Fig. 57: Unknown, *Sanveri Ragini*, page from a Ragamala series (Garland of Musical Nodes), c.1700–10
- Fig. 58: Unknown painter, 'Echites', in José Celestino Mutis's *Real Expedición Botánica del Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Royal Botanical Expedition to the New Kingdom of Granada), III, pl. 1367, 1783–1816
- Fig. 59: Bhawani Das, *A Branch of a Mango Tree ('Mangifera Indica') Bearing Unripe Fruit*, c.1780
- Fig. 60: Unknown Indian painter, 'Tectona grandis', in William Roxburgh's *Plants of the Coast of the Coromandel*, I, pl. 6, c.1795–98
- Fig. 61: Coromandel Coast, *European Conflict in South India*, before 1763
- Fig. 62: Coromandel Coast, *European Conflict in South India* (detail of procession of European soldiers with Hapsburg flag), before 1763
- Fig. 63: Coromandel Coast, *European Conflict in South India* (detail of Indian soldiers and waterway), before 1763
- Fig. 64: Madurai, India, *A Nāyaka Court Scene*, c.1630
- Fig. 65: Coromandel Coast, Petticoat panel for the Dutch market, third quarter of eighteenth century
- Fig. 66: Madurai, India, *A Nāyaka Court Scene* (detail), c.1630

- Fig. 67: Unknown Jesuit missionary, 'Siege of Pondichéry by the Dutch in 1693', in *Usages du Royaume de Siam, Cartes, Vues et Plan: sujets historiques en 1688, 1693–1700*
- Fig. 68: India at the outbreak of the First Carnatic War in 1746
- Fig. 69: Unknown Indian artist(s), *Portrait of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, mid-eighteenth century.
- Fig. 70: Unknown Indian painter, *Portrait of an Unknown Pillai*, nineteenth century
- Fig. 71: Unknown swami, 'Chobdar', in *Mœurs et usages des Indiens*, c.1780
- Fig. 72: Unknown swami, 'Head of peons', in *Mœurs et usages des Indiens*, c.1780
- Fig. 73: Sahib Ram, *Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II*, c.1700–43
- Fig. 74: Unknown Indian artist(s), *Vijay Tiruvenkata Pillai III*, c.1800
- Fig. 75: Lower floor of Ananda Ranga Pillai's home, 1730s
- Fig. 76: Upper floor of Ananda Ranga Pillai's home, 1730s
- Fig. 77: Thanjavur School, *Krishna with Yashoda*, eighteenth century
- Fig. 78: Coromandel Coast, *Crucifixion*, *kalamkari* for the Armenian market, eighteenth century
- Fig. 79: Unknown Portuguese missionary, 'Malabar Christians converted by the Blessed Saint Thomas', in a codex made in Goa, sixteenth century
- Fig. 80: James Gillray, *The Three Graces in a High Wind*, early nineteenth century
- Fig. 81: Unknown Jesuit missionary, 'A Malabar Christian funeral on the Coromandel Coast', in *Usages du Royaume de Siam: cartes, plans, et vues*, 1665–1700
- Fig. 82: Unknown Indian sculptors, Outer *gōpura* of the Nataraja Temple in Chidambaram, Tamil Nadu, after thirteenth century
- Fig. 83: Pierre Sonnerat, 'Temple or pagoda of the Gentiles on the Coromandel Coast', in *Voyages aux Indes orientales et à la Chine*, I, pl. 61, 1782
- Fig. 84: Anne Claude de Caylus, 'Door to the Chidambaram Temple in India', based on a sketch by Du Rocher de la Périgne of the Thillai Nataraja Kōvil in Chidambaram, publ. in *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres*, XXXI, 1768
- Fig. 85: South India, *Palampore* for the French market, late eighteenth century
- Fig. 86: South India, *Palampore* for the French market (detail of stamp of the Compagnie des Indes on top right corner), late eighteenth century
- Fig. 87: Joseph Gabriel Maria Rossetti, *The Workshop of the Wetter Manufactory: Les Pinceauteuses*, 1764
- Fig. 88: Jean-Baptiste Huet, *The Oberkampf Manufactory at Jouy-en-Josas*, 1807
- Fig. 89: Ghasi Ram Sharma, for S.S. Brijbasi & Sons, *Way to Swaraj*, c.1930

## Acknowledgements

In the spring of 2004, as a master's student in art history at the University of South Florida, I registered for a seminar that shaped the subsequent direction of my research: 'Art, Travel, and Imperialism', led by Elisabeth Fraser. My thinking on this broad subject has evolved significantly over the years, but if it were not for the ideas and methods presented in that seminar and for the insightful mentorship of Professor Fraser during my three years of study under her direction, the project presented here would not exist. More recently during doctoral studies at Northwestern University, this book was shaped by the disciplinary rigor of S. Hollis Clayson, the careful and thoughtful reading of Robert Linrothe, and the expansive insights of Rajeep Kinra. I am thankful for the feedback and support they have provided for the duration of this project.

My research would not have been possible had I not received generous support from the following grants: a Bourse Chateaubriand through the Embassy of France in affiliation with the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris (EHESS), an exchange fellowship with the École Normale Supérieure in Paris, an Andrew W. Mellon residential fellowship with the Huntington Library in Pasadena, and a junior fellowship with the American Institute of Indian Studies (AIIS) in New Delhi in affiliation with Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU). I am also grateful for funds I received throughout my tenure at Northwestern from both the Art History Department (chaired by Jesús Escobar) and the Graduate School. These include numerous conference grants and a Shanley Grant for pre-dissertation research in Paris, along with a Graduate Research Grant and a Summer Language Grant to Tamil Nadu.

In Paris, I was fortunate to be able to participate in Samuel Weber's critical theory seminar through the Paris Program in Critical Theory. I also took a seminar with Kapil Raj at the EHESS entitled, 'Les Frontières mouvantes des sciences', which was instrumental in the development of the second chapter of this study. Professor Raj's scholarship has been a steady intellectual force behind my project from the beginning, and I'm thankful that he and the EHESS sponsored my Bourse Chateaubriand. I am also appreciative for the intellect and friendship of Melissa Lo, Nir Avissar, and Victoria Kaario during my time in France.

While in Delhi and Tamil Nadu I came across many who helped shape this book. Arvind Sinha at JNU kindly sponsored my research during my fellowship with AIIS. I also had the opportunity to be enriched by the company of Narayani Gupta on several occasions, and I am fortunate that she provided me a place to live while in New Delhi. In Gurgaon, I presented my research at AIIS's annual fellows' conference, where I received helpful feedback from Philip Lutgendorf and the AIIS fellows. I am lucky to have made the friendship of Diana Martinez, Owen Cornwall, Pankhuree Dube, Monamie Bhadra Haines, and Hayden and Roanne Kantor while in Delhi. I

would also like to thank I. Job Thomas of Davidson College for his exhaustive feedback during our meeting at Landmark Books when I was just a newcomer to Chennai.

I owe an exceptional amount of gratitude to two very special scholars in Chennai: Vijaya Parthasarathy, Professor and Head of the Botany Department (retired) at Stella Maris College, and Padma Seshadri. Dr. Seshadri regularly provided me with helpful sources from Indian publishing houses, which I would have been hard pressed to come by on my own. She and Professor Parthasarathy also took it upon themselves to spend a great deal of their time tracking down the identity of an elusive palm-leaf manuscript with nothing but excerpts of my poor Tamil transcription as their guide. I have rarely seen such generosity of spirit, intellect, and time all wrapped into one, and for this I am incredibly appreciative.

During my postdoc in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, both this project and my knowledge of textiles benefited significantly from the expertise of Melinda Watt and her generosity in sharing her expertise with me. I am also appreciative to Danna Agmon for the feedback she provided on an early version of this project. Angelina Lucento and Owen Cornwall generously invited me to present my research at the National Research University Higher School of Economics in Moscow and at the Jackman Humanities Institute of the University of Toronto, respectively, where I received excellent critiques and feedback. Christopher Pinney was an invaluable ally in helping me track down a key image in a private South Asian collection. I am fortunate for an abundance of South Asianists whose company I have valued since arriving in the Boston area, including Namita Dharia, Richard Delacy, Ateya Khorakiwala, Neelima Shukla-Bhatt, and Benjamin Siegel.

At Wellesley College, I have received helpful advice and feedback about this project from Jacki Mussacchio and from my colleagues in the Long Eighteenth-Century Studies Working Group. Hélène Bilis, in particular, kindly offered her time to edit my French transcriptions and translations. Eva Duckler, my research assistant, helped in securing image permissions for many of the artworks in this book, the copyright and reproduction fees of which were supported by a Wellesley College Faculty Award, and the color reproductions of which were made possible by a gift from Elizabeth Warnock to the Department of Art History at Northwestern University. It has also been a pleasure to work with the experienced Erika Gaffney, who has been a meticulous and reliable editor through the entire production process.

I would also like to thank several other close friends. Aside from being a reliable editor in early phases of this project, Maureen Warren has maintained a kindness and optimism over the years, which has always made the long haul more pleasurable in her presence. Srikant Seshadri's perspicacity and depth of knowledge on a wide range of subjects resulted in many conversations about trade and East India Companies that greatly enriched my perspective. Monica Biskup and Christina Day have

been sources of friendship (and have provided a vital distance from academia) since my earliest days in Chicago as a PhD student. Lastly, any acknowledgements would be incomplete without mentioning my New England family: Susan Ellison, Sara Wasserman, Julie Walsh, and Joshua Resnick.

# Introduction

The history of French India brought to life in these pages is one of antecedents—of colonialism, nation-states, even industrialization—interpreted through South India's thriving early modern cotton textile industries and the social and political worlds they impacted. And yet, when this story began in 1664, these outcomes were in no way foreseen or sought. On the heels of India's Second Carnatic War (1749–54), Charles de Bussy (1720–1785), a military general for the *Compagnie française des Indes*, embodied the heavy French nationalist and imperialist sentiment of the moment when he declared victoriously in 1755, 'the honor of my nation [has been] taken to such a pinnacle of glory that it has been preferred to all the others of Europe, and the bounds of the interest of the Company [taken] beyond its hopes and even its desires'.<sup>1</sup> Bussy was exaggerating significantly when writing these words, considering the territorial and financial losses the *Compagnie française* underwent as a consequence of this war. Despite this, however, words like 'French nation' and 'French glory' saturate Bussy's mid-eighteenth-century correspondence from India.

Noteworthy of such rhetoric, however, is not its indication of a long-standing chauvinism declared from France's outposts across the world. Rather, it is that such a proclamation of national glory was relatively new in relation to the century of French Company correspondence that preceded it. Even by the early 1730s, directors of the *Compagnie française des Indes orientales* (henceforth CFIO) in Paris were reiterating the Company's strictly mercantile nature.<sup>2</sup> In stark contrast to Bussy's correspondence, there was no talk of the Company leading France to unimagined glories and no mention of territorial conquest. Mundane topics such as meeting the bottom line and coordinating shipments were the kinds of issues on the minds of Company officials. That a company whose successes were largely built on its employment of and reliance on a significant number of Armenians, Italians, and persecuted Huguenots would later be so confidently declared an extension of the glory of the French nation requires examination.

1 'l'honneur de ma nation portée à un point de gloire qui l'a fait préférer jusqu'ici à toutes celles d'Europe et les bornes de l'intérêt de la Compagnie au-delà de ses espérances et même de ses désirs'. Charles de Bussy to Monteran, 15 September 1755, repr. in Martineau, *Bussy et l'Inde française*, 195.

2 Simon Gilly, 'Memoire et observations sur l'administration de la Compagnie des Indes (1733)', AN C<sup>2</sup> 40, fols. 89–91. In 1719, the *Compagnie française des Indes orientales* reformulated and came to be known jointly with the *Compagnie française des Indes occidentales* as the *Compagnies française des Indes* (CFI). For clarity's sake, I will still refer to the *Compagnie française des Indes orientales* (CFIO) as such throughout this study, whether referred to before or after 1719. The unification of the two companies under the CFI was an administrative and financial one. In practice, apart from coordinating shipments, the Companies' operations worked independently of one another.

This book takes as its focus the CFIO's involvement in India's east coast, known as the Coromandel, from 1664 to 1761. These dates bracket the Company's founding and its debilitating defeat by the British at the Battle of Plassey (1757), followed by the siege and fall of Pondichéry (1761). These latter events established Britain's role as the leading European presence in India and marked definitively the shift from defensive to aggressively expansionist policies there. The CFIO, the British East India Company's leading rival on the subcontinent, was chartered in 1664 under the direction of Louis XIV's chief finance minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683). Like the British East India Company (EIC), the CFIO straddled the worlds of corporation and government in the *comptoirs* under its control. It possessed its own personal army and the pledged support of that of the King, the right to send ambassadors to governments in India in the name of the King, and the right to declare war should its interests be threatened. Unlike the EIC, however, the CFIO was governed by much stricter mercantilist principles, did not have full jurisdiction over French trade with Asia relative to private French trade, and suffered from an ongoing want of capital partly owing to investors who pledged it but often did not deliver in full.<sup>3</sup> The CFIO established territories in Chandernagore (1675), Yanam (1725), and Karikal (1739) along the Coromandel. Its earliest and most important enclave was Pondichéry, located south of the prominent British enclave of Madras and founded in 1674 (Fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> From these regions, the French tapped into a thriving textile industry to expand its position in global maritime trading circuits.

The CFIO underwent several bankruptcies in the course of its history, thus making the Company's motto 'Florebo quocumque ferar' (I will flourish wherever I will be brought) sometimes appear ironic. One such bankruptcy occurred in 1708. Until this time, Chandernagore (in Bengal) and Surat (in Gujarat) were France's most profitable areas of trade in India. Unable to pay its debts to the many Indian merchants with whom it conducted business, the Company fled to the south and reconfigured its enterprise in Pondichéry. Adding to such financial hardships, the economic motivations of private investors intent on profiting from overseas trade were, for the duration of the CFIO's existence, in constant tension with the monarchy's mercantilist aims of accumulating monetary reserves by increasing the production and export of domestic goods within France. Domestic production and foreign trade would find themselves at odds with one another through the course of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thus, it may seem a contradiction that by the end of the seventeenth century Louis XIV would place so many economic restrictions on the very trading company he was responsible for bringing into existence. Most notable

3 See Wellington, *French East India Companies*, and, for comparison, Stern, *Company-State*.

4 *Comptoir* was the general term used for French overseas trading posts. The CFIO also had the *comptoir* Mahé on the Malabar Coast, which will not feature prominently in this book because it was used primarily for the pepper trade during the period of this book's focus. By the late eighteenth century, however, the French also conducted a lucrative slave trade to the Mascarene Islands from Mahé.





Fig. 1: French and British trading posts in India, with the approximate extent of the Mughal Empire in 1707. Map by Tim Stallmann.



among these restrictions were the prohibitions on the importation of Indian textiles—the CFIO’s most profitable trade good that led to the establishment of many of the *comptoirs* on the subcontinent—to protect the domestic wool and silk industries of France.

Considering the CFIO organized its enterprise and institutions in India around the thriving Coromandel textile industries, this book, too, uses these industries as a locus around which to organize three main themes: the role of trade in tracing the social life of Indian textiles across cultures, the contribution of Indian textile painters to the transmission of knowledge about India’s natural history to Europeans, and the manner in which the alignment or conflict between Indian and French political structures and cultural practices shaped the French presence on the subcontinent. The Coromandel textile industry is thus construed broadly in this study to account for the textile producers, the traders who acted as intermediaries between Europeans and the producers, the political actors who sought to shape the conditions of trade in South India, and the textiles themselves as they were understood within varying contexts of reception. The breadth of this project speaks to the far-reaching nature of Coromandel textile industries in shaping Franco-Indic relations of the early modern period, and also in tracing a French imperial project in India that was born out of trade.

Despite recent outpourings of scholarship from economic and material culture historians, which have stressed the importance of trade in formulating a social history of Europe, mercantile connections with India have not received the attention they deserve in eighteenth-century French art history.<sup>5</sup> Art historian Katie Scott, for example, has posited that the Rococo can be understood in terms of two ‘social spaces’: patronage by the elite and economic competition among workshops and market places.<sup>6</sup> But does not a Jean Berain-inspired *kalamkari* textile (Fig. 2) produced in South India for a French market point to a third arena from which factors of patronage and market competition should be triangulated? How might ‘domestic’ French aesthetic movements of the long eighteenth century be reconfigured when one takes into account that an Indian *kalamkari* of Don Quixote (Fig. 3) appeared on the market while Charles-Antoine Coypel (1694–1752) was in the midst of painting cartoons of the same story for one of the Royal Household’s greatest Gobelins tapestry commissions? The world of South Asian textile production and circulation vis-à-vis France provides a particularly apt lens through which to re-examine the historiography of early modern India and France. It simultaneously allows one to

5 The economic histories of the Coromandel textile industries are numerous and include the scholarship of Prasannan Parthasarathi, Kanakalatha Mukund, K.N. Chaudhuri, Tirthankar Roy, and David Washbrook. Historians of material culture whose work often overlaps with that of economic historians and whose focus is on South Asian textiles and their trade include Giorgio Riello, Beverly Lemire, and Anne Gerritsen, among many others. Most recent are Gottmann, *Global Trade*; and *Goods from the East*, ed. Berg.

6 Scott, *Rococco Interior*.



Fig. 2: Coromandel Coast, *Palampore*, c.1720–40. Mordant- and resist-dyed cotton, 367 × 271.2 cm. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.





Fig. 3: Coromandel Coast, *Panel with Scene Illustrating Don Quixote*, c.1740. Painted and mordant- and resist-dyed cotton, 281.8 × 261.5 cm. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

situate material culture and transregional studies with the discipline of art history so as to reconfigure ways of thinking across cultures in relation to canonical practices of Western art history.<sup>7</sup>

Historians and art historians have spent recent decades grappling with how to frame eighteenth-century India, as it fits uncomfortably between standardized periodizations of early modern/modern and precolonial/colonial.<sup>8</sup> One could argue that forgoing the use of terms such as 'precolonialism' or 'prehistory of colonialism' would help rectify the situation. But such terms, derived from what historians Blaire Kling and M.N. Pearson have coined 'seeds of empire' historiographies, are symptomatic of larger methodological approaches to Euro-Indic history that have sought to project backwards from colonialism.<sup>9</sup> Pearson and Kling's alternative paradigm, what they call the 'age of partnership', posits a pendulum fully swung in the opposite direction: a peaceful coexistence before the arrival of a force that caused the tide of history to go horribly wrong.

While colonialism in India certainly did not appear as an overnight phenomenon, neither do the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries lead us inevitably toward that conclusion. On the contrary, unstable power relations during a moment of formative, yet uncertain, economic and political development mark the period of time under consideration here. This period is most appropriately described as what economic historian Sanjay Subrahmanyam has termed the 'age of contained conflict', whereby trading ventures were protective of their profits, but not imperially driven.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, the image of Europeans as arriving, indiscriminately appropriating, and boldly conquering is one that must be wholly overturned with regard to the Indian subcontinent.

Consequently, this study participates in a growing body of scholarship that challenges approaches to modern South Asian history that have treated seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European involvement in the subcontinent and its attendant visual productions and exchanges as a 'prehistory' of European, and specifically British, colonialism. Recent scholarship—this study included—instead emphasizes the nuance and complexity that defined interactions in this formative period, and the historically specific manifestations of imperialism that it engendered.<sup>11</sup>

7 Several key exhibitions and accompanying catalogues have paved the way for this work to be done, most notably *Interwoven Globe*, ed. Peck. Other exhibition catalogues include Crill, *Chintz*; Irwin and Brett, *Origins of Chintz*; and Barnes et al., *Trade, Temple and Court*. Several key books on South India's textile industries complement these studies, including Varadarajan, *South Indian Traditions of Kalamkari*, and Ramaswamy, *Textiles and Weavers*.

8 For the debate on the designations of 'early modern' and 'modern' in scholarship, and how the eighteenth century and India fit into this, see Goldstone, 'Problem of the "Early Modern" World'; Chakrabarty, 'Muddle of Modernity'; Richards, 'Early Modern India'; and Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*.

9 Kling and Pearson, *Age of Partnership*, 3–4.

10 Subrahmanyam, *Mughals and Franks*, 6, 15.

11 Such recent works that have nuanced our understanding of eighteenth-century European imperialism include Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire*; Colley, *Captives*; and Eaton, *Mimesis across Empires*.

The themes addressed in this book are thus united around the interconnectedness of trade and imperialism in this moment, and its multifaceted manifestations. Imperialism, as we shall see, developed less out of an initial, *de facto* bid for territorial expansion and control in India, and more from defensiveness in relation to the positions of the British and other South Indian kingdoms in the power vacuum that ensued from waning Mughal control. Therefore, I define imperialism in this study to mean political influence or territorial expansion derived from protectionism of one's trading interests in relation to competing mercantile and political stakes. This protectionism, as we shall see, was mirrored domestically by France's strongly mercantilist economic policies.

Comprised of complex networks beginning with farms and ending with global shipment, the textile industries of the Coromandel included a host of actors from weavers to painters, printers, bleachers, and dyers—figures that postcolonial strains of scholarship may rightfully designate 'subaltern' due to their inability to be accessed through the written archive without an intervening voice. But their aesthetic and material output is the archive they leave, and it reveals much about how cross-cultural interactions, when not reduced to simplistic encounters, reshaped knowledge and aesthetics in significant and unexpected ways. Subrahmanyam aptly pinpoints the need to reconfigure the cross-cultural 'encounter' when he states:

The historiography of the early modern period seems to have an abiding fascination with the moment of the face-to-face encounter between the European and his Other, and its attendant *mise-en-scène* [...] Evolving fashions may turn these valencies this way or that, but the *topos* itself remains dominant, freezing rather complex processes into a memorable Kodak moment, and extracting as much metaphorical juice as can be obtained from these dramatic structural oppositions. Yet, much is obviously lost here. For each of these alleged 'encounters' in fact represented a chronology, and a series of events rather than a simple moment. If misunderstandings existed, they did not remain stable, and the degree of stability was even less when the two (or more) parties dealt with each other over an extended period of decades, if not centuries.<sup>12</sup>

Indeed, the history that follows is not one sustained by cross-cultural encounters, but relationships—nurtured, maintained, and sometimes broken amidst a world of structural integration as much as opposition.

Many studies dealing with Euro-Indic exchange by historians and art historians of Europe understandably treat cross-cultural interactions as a platform to examine Europe's perceptions and representations of other places.<sup>13</sup> This study, instead, takes a transregional approach to Franco-Indic exchange by highlighting the highly

<sup>12</sup> Subrahmanyam, *Mughals and Franks*, 6.

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, Marsh, *India in the French Imagination*; Teltscher, *India Inscribed*; and Sapra, *Limits of Orientalism*.



interconnected nature of cultures, economies, and aesthetics as a result of sustained long-distance trade, examining its impact within both France and India. My use of the word 'synthesis' to refer to the aesthetic traditions united in some of the objects in this study may conjure notions of hybridity in the postcolonial sense of the word. Without doubt, such objects were made and circulated within an interstice of cultural and aesthetic positions—what Bhabha may call a Third Space—that was never wholly one nor the other.<sup>14</sup> As Dana Leibsohn and Carolyn Dean have put forward, an examination of visual artifacts from cross-cultural exchanges cannot be distilled to a formula that presents one homogenous group meeting another—as hybridity implies—since cultures are already inherently heterogeneous.<sup>15</sup> Recourse to methods of hybridity has created a 'deception of visibility' whereby art historians seek to define objects as indigenous, European, or a combination thereof—thus ignoring, or being blind to, many other layers of aesthetic interchange that allow for multitudinous perspectives. My approach to the production of Coromandel textiles asserts the importance of Franco-Indic aesthetic entanglements along the Coromandel, while viewing those interactions as one among many in the Coromandel's engagement with other cultures, which predated European arrival by centuries. All of these interchanges were, in the words of art historians Flood and Avcioglu, in sustained 'dialogical co-existence' with one another, calling attention to the intensity and multidirectionality of cultural flows.<sup>16</sup>

A geographic area such as the Coromandel, which boasts long-standing aesthetic and cultural cross-fertilization by way of trade, would seemingly draw an array of scholars interested in visual culture relating to France's *comptoirs* and later colonies. Still, the French presence in this region during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has received little art historical attention, largely because of its distance from the Mughal world, which dominates narratives of early modern South Asian art history.<sup>17</sup> And yet, outside of the few Frenchmen who managed to gain access to the elite circles of the Mughal court, South India is where the crux of Franco-Indic ties were formed.

A project dedicated to the examination of sustained contact and relationships formed between cultures, as I aim for this to be, requires that careful attention be paid to the tension between the local and the global, or the plurality of localities. While this study is one built on highly localized relationships, the consequences were global. As Subrahmanyam notes:

One has to tread warily between the two extremes: one where interaction between domestic society and the rest of the world is treated as axiomatically unimportant,

14 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 52–53.

15 Dean and Leibsohn, 'Hybridity and its Discontents'.

16 Flood and Avcioglu, 'Globalizing Cultures', 32.

17 For studies of Franco-Mughal exchange, see Beasley, *Versailles Meets the Taj Mahal*; Dadlani, 'Palais Indiens'; and more broadly, Subrahmanyam, 'Roomful of Mirrors'.

and the other where all processes of a dynamic nature are located in a space external to the local society, leaving to the latter the role of a 'reactor' rather than of an actor in the process.<sup>18</sup>

Subrahmanyam's plea for nuance when considering the relationship of the local to the global is written with an economic perspective in mind. But the aesthetic output of India's textile industries and the economics of global trade were closely imbricated. The extent to which the South Asian textile industry fueled the economies of early modern globalization cannot be overstated. And the maritime circuits through which this happened bring to the fore the inadequacy of a nation-state framework to delineate a project involving South Asian textiles in the early modern world.

It has been two decades since Dipesh Chakrabarty's call to 'provincialize' Europe—to decenter it by examining the limitations of European social and political categories that conceptualize modernity, the nation-state being foremost among these.<sup>19</sup> As Sunil Amrith's fascinating history of the Bay of Bengal has recently shown, the implementation of nation-states—one of Europe's defining features of modernity—has divided regions of the world historically united by their shared maritime connections.<sup>20</sup> The presumption that the nation-state should form the foundation for an academic structuring of knowledge has produced area studies (South Asian studies and Southeast Asian studies being two such examples) that prove artificial in relation to historical circumstance prior to the twentieth century. As K.N. Chaudhuri has shown, trade patterns in the Indian Ocean world produced circuits of cultural, social, and aesthetic exchange that in no way align with the national and regional boundaries of today's world system (Fig. 4).<sup>21</sup> It is my hope that this study's careful consideration of the connected histories of India and France by way of trade will contribute to the ongoing postcolonial reformulation of historiographical boundaries as called for by Chakrabarty.

The circulation of goods and imagery is the primary subject of investigation in Chapter 1. This chapter analyzes how processes of exchange, both material and aesthetic, within trade networks of the Indian Ocean imbued these textiles with diverse interpretive layers, through which a contextualization of 'exoticism' can be examined. Specifically, I push against the notion that France's conflation of Indian textiles with Chinese-styled motifs was the result of nothing more than an Orientalist form of othering. Instead, I examine how such conflations related to something much more tangible: routes of trade from the Indian Ocean to France that connected the aesthetic traditions of Europe and China by way of the Coromandel textile industries.

<sup>18</sup> *Merchants, Markets, and the State*, ed. Subrahmanyam, 8.

<sup>19</sup> Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 20.

<sup>20</sup> Amrith, *Crossing the Bay of Bengal*.

<sup>21</sup> Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilization*. These circuits of trade were based largely on patterns of the monsoon winds.

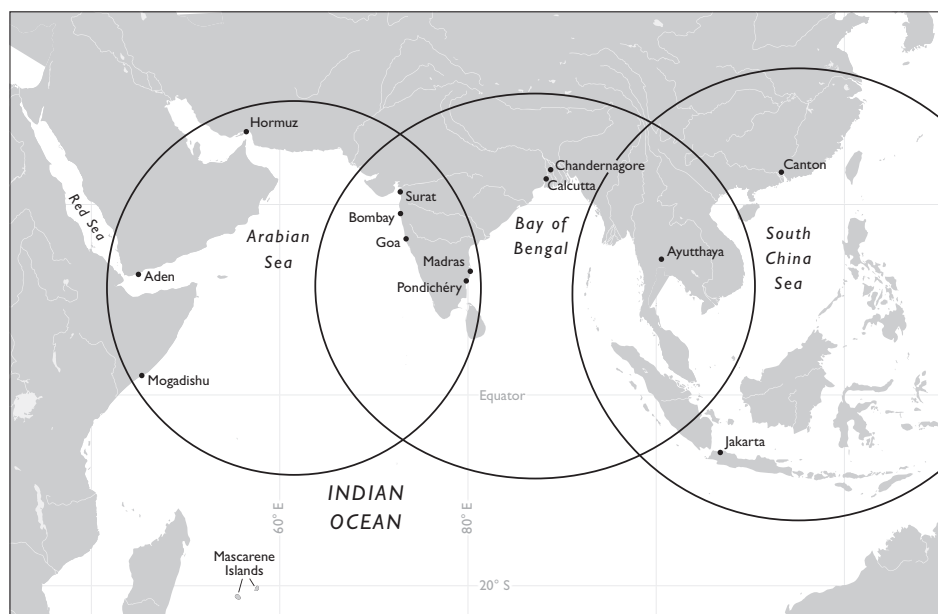


Fig. 4: Indian Ocean circuits of trade, based on K.N. Chaudhuri. Map by Tim Stallmann.

Another goal of this chapter is to illuminate how processes of exchange within global networks vested these textiles with contradictory meanings, calling attention to the malleable social life of these trade goods in their specific contexts of reception. Specifically, I examine how Coromandel textiles, popular across a wide spectrum of French society, were simultaneously traded in bulk with Africa to fund France's involvement in the Atlantic slave trade.

Chapters 2 and 3 address immediate actors of the Coromandel textile industry apart from the textiles themselves: textile painters and merchant go-betweens. Chapter 2 argues that *kalamkari* textile painters intersected indigenous and French systems of knowledge relating to natural history. In other words, their skills served as a point of convergence for both aesthetic practice and scientific knowledge about the botanical world. Historian of science Daniela Bleichmar argues that eighteenth-century European naturalists were relieved to have a single system and visual approach introduced by Linnaean classification to confront the profusion of overlapping taxonomies with which they were faced.<sup>22</sup> I draw upon eighteenth-century manuscripts of South Asian botany by French naturalists in India to illustrate how taxonomic endeavors were still marked by confusion and incoherence brought on by differences in language and local traditions. Alternatively, I examine a manuscript entitled *Jardin de Lorixa* by CFIO physician Nicolas L'Empereur (1660–1742), a fourteen-volume

<sup>22</sup> Bleichmar, 'Training the Naturalist's Eye'.



compendium of paintings of the eastern coastal region of Orissa's natural history. This manuscript exemplifies an instance of intense collaboration between European scientific knowledge and indigenous aesthetic traditions because L'Empereur commissioned Indian textile painters to illustrate its botanical samples.

The aesthetic output of textile painters for botanists illuminates how their productions could move from the realm of commodities to that of scientific objects. This, in turn, opens the doors of inquiry to the possibilities of cross-fertilization between other overlooked and seemingly disparate fields of knowledge and production in early modern South Asia and Europe. Recent studies on visual cultures of early modern cross-cultural exchange have focused on vision and its conceptual mediation as a privileged mode of understanding just how historically situated points of contact are, and have stressed the culturally and socially specific nature of what may be called 'visual knowledge'.<sup>23</sup> Such an undertaking in relation to L'Empereur's *Jardin de Lorixa* will call attention to the singularity of the optical authority of the textile painters in his employ and to the aesthetic choices they had at their disposal to make what was seen knowable to Europeans.

This chapter seeks to highlight the existence of diverse South Asian concepts of medicine coupled with aesthetics that were functioning simultaneously, and sometimes in tandem, with analogous European concepts, not as subsidiary or subservient to them. As noted by historian of science Simon Schaeffer:

Studies of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century textile printing and dying, of medical botany and chemical hardware, have shown clearly how the received geographies of technical diffusion must be redrawn, with renewed emphasis on Asian economic dynamism and on the crucial significance of regions such as the Mediterranean and the Atlantic networks wrongly judged either marginal to, or entirely dependent upon, a supposedly dominant north-western European centre.<sup>24</sup>

By examining practices of looking as expressed in illustrated botanical treatises, I aim to dismantle any a priori assumptions about the rationality of European taxonomies over alternative ways of representing and organizing the natural world. This is in keeping with one of the central aims of the book, which is to counteract the notion of modernity as something begun in Western Europe and subsequently diffused to its colonial subjects.

The second half of the book addresses the manner in which images and material goods were implicated in defining political and diplomatic relationships during the Carnatic Wars of the 1740s and 1750s, which reshaped South India's landscape as Indian, French, and British actors vied for dominance over the region and the textile

<sup>23</sup> *Seeing across Cultures*, ed. Leibsohn and Peterson.

<sup>24</sup> *Brokered World*, ed. Schaeffer et al., 13.

industries within it. Chapter 3 looks to the various forms of self-fashioning of the CFIO's chief Tamil *dubash* (translator) and broker in Pondichéry, Ānantaraṅkam Pillai (1709–1761; henceforth Ananda Ranga Pillai). Merchant go-betweens like Ananda Ranga Pillai were responsible for securing contracts with textile communities across long distances and overseeing the logistics of massive trading operations. But, as we shall see, they were also invaluable diplomats for their European employers and highly transmutable and powerful figures in Euro-Indic political relations.

Aside from Ananda Ranga Pillai's well-known twelve-volume personal diary, he also left behind a trove of other visual and literary artifacts that still exist today: a Sanskrit biography, a portrait, a mansion built in South Indian and neoclassical architectural idioms, and inventories of his personal collection of books, jewels, and other possessions. Considering Ananda Ranga's influence over French trade and politics, an examination of his self-fashioning in visual and textual realms will reveal how he negotiated between the conflicting and often antagonistic political and cultural worlds of mid-eighteenth-century South India. I first examine the unstable geopolitics of South India in which Ananda Ranga served as a *dubash* for the French—geopolitics that underpinned an increasingly overt bid for greater French control in the region. I then argue that he created a highly selective iconography to construct two complementary images of himself that synthesized temporalities, thus responding to his complex world: one that was cosmopolitan and transcultural, and one that was firmly rooted in understandings of traditional South Indian kingship.

The final chapter shifts focus away from the immediate actors of the textile industry and toward the political conditions in South India that gave rise to the imperial and national rhetoric of Charles de Bussy noted at the outset of this Introduction. Ensuring the stability of France's *comptoirs* often took the form of expanding both its territories and military presence in India, which evolved over the first half of the eighteenth century into overt bids for territorial expansion. If the case studies of the first three chapters present us with moments of fluid Franco-Indic aesthetic, sociocultural, and scientific traditions, one simultaneously cannot deny the burgeoning yet pronounced discourses of French chauvinism in relation to Indian and British competitors that had taken hold by the mid-eighteenth century. Thus, with the book's aim of presenting Franco-Indic connected history as a series of evolving relationships over time, and not as a frozen encounter, this chapter provides a diachronic reading of the intertwined discourses of French imperialism and nationalism in India.

I do so by examining abuses of artifacts—instances that betray misunderstandings and misinterpretations by the French of particular South Asian religious, cultural, and political practices. The chapter first looks to the iconoclasm of Hindi deities and the ultimate destruction of a Hindu temple by Jesuits in Pondichéry in the mid-eighteenth century, arguing that such instances call to the fore fundamentally opposed cultural practices of seeing in Hindu and Catholic contexts. That such violent acts were conducted under the auspices of the French government in Pondichéry

further attests to the city's transformation from a place of mercantile collaboration to one of colonial control. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the practices of diplomatic gifting and tribute in India, specifically examining how the French adapted and altered these practices to suit their increasingly imperial agenda during the Carnatic Wars, the Indian iteration of the Seven Years' War. This is made evident by tracing the evolution of gifting from textiles and other precious objects to large grants of land, territory, and money.

As Lynn Festa and Daniel Carey have skilfully illuminated, postcolonial theory's convergence with Enlightenment studies invites us to reconsider the Enlightenment as 'both an eighteenth-century phenomena and as a concept that bears on modern political formations'.<sup>25</sup> A goal of this study, likewise, is to align material culture and transregional histories with the discipline of art history in order to understand how the long eighteenth century generated concepts of imperialism and patterns of exchange peculiar to its time, but also foundational for practices of colonialism whose legacies loom large over our contemporary world. A risk of such an approach is: in as much as modernity is modeled on the values of the Enlightenment, they can naturalize 'a teleology in which all roads lead inexorably to an episteme associated with the West'.<sup>26</sup> This is the very orthodoxy that both Subrahmanyam's connected histories and Chakrabarty's provincialization seek, in their own ways, to undo.

Indeed, explaining the transition from a mercantile to an imperial agenda while avoiding recourse to teleology, anachronistic projections of nineteenth-century colonialism, or misrepresentation of the period as one of peaceful coexistence is a balancing act to be maintained for the duration of this study. The benefit of examining this transition, however, far outweighs the risk, as it allows that we hold in juxtaposition competing and complementary epistemologies in France and South India to understand how they informed one another's development at this moment. So doing makes manifest the extent to which traditionally conceived 'Western' epistemologies of the Enlightenment were being formulated far beyond Europe's geographic boundaries.

<sup>25</sup> 'Some Answers', 5.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.