

# Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ix
<i>Map</i>	xi
Introduction: Aryanism and the Webs of Empire	1
1 The Emergence of Aryanism: Company Orientalism, Colonial Governance and Imperial Ethnology	18
Trade to dominion: the birth of Company Orientalism	20
Language and colonial power	22
Patronage and the institutional basis of colonial knowledge	23
Sir William Jones, Sanskrit and human origins	26
Language and cultural comparison	27
Colebrook and the Vedic golden age	30
The impact of Sanskritocentrism	32
Indocentrism: the Scottish Enlightenment in ‘Further India’	33
Orientalism, the Irish Enlightenment and settler self-fashioning	35
Prichardian ethnology and the Anglo-Saxon revival	38
Max Müller and the Aryan theory	41
Aryans, India and 1857	44
Aryanism as an ethnological tool	48
Regional variation and the limits of racialization: Punjab	52
Conclusion	54
2 Indocentrism on the New Zealand Frontier: Geographies of Race, Empire and Nation	56
Pacific exploration and the question of origins	57
The Semitic Maori?	58
Richard Taylor and the emergence of Indocentrism	62
Indocentrism consolidated: Edward Shortland	66
Colonial science and philology	68
J. T. Thomson and the ‘Barata’ race	70
Tregear and the Aryan Maori	74
Conflict, consensus and synthesis: Indocentrism 1885–c.1930	77

The death of Indocentrism: racial origins and the rise of nationalism	79
Conclusion	81
3 Systematizing Religion: from Tahiti to the Tat Khalsa	83
‘Religion’	85
Presence and absence: Tahiti and New Zealand	87
A discourse of negation: the search for Maori religion	89
Missionary ethnography	90
Affirmation: religion in India	94
The structure of Brahmanical Hinduism: <i>vaidik</i> and <i>laukik</i>	95
Evangelical critiques of Hinduism	97
The ‘jungle’: Hinduism and ethnography	99
Sikhism: Nanak and the Indian ‘Reformation’	102
Dissenting voices: Evangelical attacks on Sikhism	106
Macauliffe: the dialogics of Orientalism	109
Military recruitment and preserving Sikh identity	111
Conclusion	116
4 ‘Hello Ganesha!’: Indocentrism and the Interpretation of Maori Religion	118
Material transformations and textualizing traditions	119
Fixing ‘tradition’	122
Maui, evolution and comparative religion	124
Colonial comparative mythology	127
Hindu-centrism: Indian gods in the Pacific	129
Religion and the crisis of imperial authority	132
Maori phallic cults	134
<i>Tapu</i> , rank and caste	138
Religion and rationality: the Tohunga Suppression Act	142
Conclusion	144
5 Print, Literacy and the Recasting of Maori Identities	146
Historiographical models	147
Pre-colonial social structure and identity	149
Explorers and missionaries: a fatal impact?	150
The coming of print and Christianity	152
Literacy and social change: newspapers	154
Literacy: a social revolution?	156
The Bible and recasting Maori identity: Maori sectarianism	158

Christianity and unity: Kingitanga and its critics	161
Israelites not Aryans: the discourse of origins	164
Conclusion	167
6 The Politics of Language, Nation and Race: Hindu	
Identities in the Late Nineteenth Century	169
Sources: 'Arya' and the Vedas	170
Arya, religion and race	172
Dayananda Sarasvati and the Arya Samaj	176
Tilak and the rewriting of the history of civilization	179
'Arya', anti-colonialism and Hindu nationalism	181
Conclusion: Arya and the definition of Hindu identity	185
Conclusion: Knowledge, Empire, Globalization	188
<i>Notes</i>	197
<i>Bibliography</i>	235
<i>Index</i>	256

# Introduction: Aryanism and the Webs of Empire

Concepts like 'nation,' 'society,' and 'culture' name bits and threaten to turn names into things. Only by understanding these names as bundles of relationships, and by placing them back into the fields from which they were abstracted, can we hope to avoid misleading inferences and increase our share of understanding.<sup>1</sup>

Eric Wolf

Eric Wolf's insistence that historical writing should unravel the 'bundles of relationships' that constituted the past underpins this study of the complex networks that constituted the British empire. Wolf's quotation continues to resonate today as, despite increasing calls for transnational and global histories, most historical writing continues to treat nations, cultures and societies as abstract and bounded entities. Despite the work of historians on long distance trade, the integration of Eurasia (or in Marshall Hodgson's formulation Afro-Eurasia), and capitalism over the *longue durée*, most history continues to be organized on the basis of a fixed geographical referent generally congruent with a modern nation-state.<sup>2</sup> This study moves away from a narrow focus on one nation or civilization, instead conceiving of the British empire as a 'bundle of relationships' that brought disparate regions, communities and individuals into contact through systems of mobility and exchange. It does not dispense with the nation-state altogether, for India, New Zealand and the United Kingdom remain prominent throughout, but rather re-imagines these nations as dynamic and diverse communities constantly being remade by the migration, trade and international conflict born out of British imperialism.

Such an approach sets this study at odds with the established traditions of colonial history, where most historians continue to write within firmly established traditions of national, and frequently nationalistic, history. Colonial histories are often stories of the nation, as they trace the long journey from the onset of colonialism through to independence. The Bicentenary (1988) and Mabo decision (1991) have served to foreground the nation in Australian historiography while, across the Tasman, New Zealand historians have fashioned a national history that traces and legitimates the emergence of biculturalism as the foundation of government policy and national identity. South Asian historiography, more voluminous and theoretically sophisticated than its Australasian counterparts, has also exhibited a stubborn preoccupation with the nation. Even the Subaltern Studies project, which is grounded in a critique of nationalism and the power of national elites, has tended to focus on the nation or nationalism, at the expense of developments before the nineteenth century and the history of other cultural or economic spaces, such as the Islamic world or the Indian Ocean.

If nation-focused colonial histories efface the porous nature of national boundaries and erase the complex global and regional currents that shape national development, older traditions of metropolitan-focused imperial history are similarly limited. Viewing the empire and its history from London not only returns indigenous people to the margins of history while foregrounding 'gentlemanly capitalists' or Madeira merchants who saw themselves as 'Citizens of all the World', but it also identifies Britain, England or London as the nexus of empire from where capital, power and ideas flowed out to the colonies in the periphery.<sup>3</sup> This approach has recently been challenged by the work of historians of migration, travel and popular culture who have insisted on the manifold ways in which the experience of empire actually constituted metropolitan culture, undercutting a simple opposition between metropolitan and colonial culture.<sup>4</sup> Yet, in many ways, such projects have merely reinstated the nation as the seemingly natural unit of historical analysis, reinforcing what Kaviraj has termed the 'narrative contract' between history and the nation-state.<sup>5</sup> With the 'New British history' (which has returned Scotland, Wales and Ireland to a prominent place in the 'national' history), 'Britishness' itself now promises to engulf the whole empire. In Pocock's formulation, it is an analytical framework that is applicable to an 'Atlantic archipelago' that encompasses the United Kingdom, Ireland and 'British' North America, but also reaches out to the distant Australasian colonies as well.<sup>6</sup> While it is important to acknowledge the cultural, institutional and linguistic continuities that tied the colonies to

the United Kingdom, fundamental differences in the demographic, economic and ecological frameworks of the 'new' societies prevented the simple re-creation of models inherited from Britain. The use of 'Britishness' as an analytical apparatus not only marks a return to C. W. Dilke's celebration of Britishness and empire, but also is an impoverished and reductive model for the history of multi-ethnic and polyglot colonial societies far removed from the United Kingdom.<sup>7</sup>

This opposition between nation-based colonial histories and metropolitan-focused imperial history has been consolidated by the recent five-volume *Oxford History of the British Empire*. Although each volume contains some valuable thematic essays, a basic division between views from the metropole and essays on specific colonies remains their main feature. While this editorial strategy, of course, merely reflects prevailing historical practice, it further legitimates the division between imperial and colonial history. This division of academic labour has been pernicious, as it has disassembled the empire into a series of discrete components, rather than conceiving of the empire as the product of the 'bundles of relationships' that Wolf identifies as being at the heart of history.

Thus, this study rejects both the metropolitan-focused project of imperial history and the tradition of colonial history that accepts the bounded and self-sufficient nation-state as its analytical frame. Instead, I attempt to foreground the relational quality of the imperial past, emphasizing the complex and shifting relationships that constituted the empire. To this end, I have adopted a mobile approach, an analysis that is not firmly rooted in one space, but rather travels between locations to take stock of the constant traffic of people, ideas and material goods. By focusing on imperial networks and patterns of cultural exchange, this volume traces both the integrative power of the empire (as it drew previously disparate communities into systems of exchange) and the indigenizing forces that worked to adapt introduced commodities, technology and ideas to local imperatives, even within the constraints of the unequal power-relations of colonialism.

This approach allows me to trace the path of one idea (in all its multiple reconfigurations), the belief that certain peoples could be understood as 'Aryan', through the archives of British imperialism. Aryanism became a crucial element within the culture of empire, providing a powerful lens for analysing the pre-colonial past of colonized societies and for the interpretation of the imperial present. At a fundamental level, the idea came to explain the very fact of empire itself. The empire could be divided into vigorous Aryans (most notably the 'energetic' British colonizers themselves), degenerate Aryan communities whose cultural

vitality had been enervated by intermarriage, and backward non-Aryan peoples whose cultures might be 'leavened' through contact with Aryan rulers.<sup>8</sup> Within India, various commentators, not only Britons but also South Asians with a stake in the maintenance of British authority, used the Aryan theory to reconfigure British imperialism from being a series of fundamentally unequal political, social and economic relationships into a 'family reunion' between long lost Aryan cousins.

These arguments that embraced Aryanism to render colonialism anodyne, even benevolent, remind us that ideas and representations cannot be understood as autonomous constructs that are somehow free from power-relationships. In this sense, what follows is not conceived as a contribution to the 'history of ideas' – a field that struggles to break out of its narrow focus on European elites – rather it is a history of the cultural and intellectual transformations enacted by colonialism both in the colonies and in Europe itself. Historians continue to present the rise of comparative philology, the emergence of racial thought or changing theories of religion as products of the salons and studies of Europe, tracing a lineage of linguists from Locke to Saussure, narrating the rise of race from Blumenbach through to Darwin and beyond, or charting the emergence of religion as a universal analytical category from Hume to Durkheim. This study challenges the privileged place of 'Europe', at least a Europe insulated from the effects of imperialism, in shaping conceptions of race, religion and language. I locate shifting understandings of these categories within what we might term the disruptive power of empire, as the cross-cultural engagements set in train by imperialism called European beliefs and practices into question. It was the increasingly frequent encounters with societies which challenged European 'norms' that made the theoretization of race, language and religion so urgent and invested the comparative visions of the Enlightenment with cultural authority. Moreover, by insisting that 'race' or 'religion' were not simply the product of metropolitan intellectual labour, this study takes the work of British settlers, colonial administrators, indigenous leaders and intellectuals seriously. Just as we are beginning to appreciate that frontiers were contact zones where new identities and social formations were fashioned out of the unequal colonial encounters, they were also productive spaces of intellectual engagement and innovation.<sup>9</sup>

### **Aryanism and empire**

Indeed, the popularity of the Aryan idea in the British empire in the long nineteenth century (not to mention twentieth-century Europe),

was a product of the cultural authority of the Orientalist learning produced by the agents of the East India Company in India itself. The new ethnological and historical models arising out of Aryanism were underpinned by the ability of British scholar-administrators to access Sanskritic tradition. After all, the concept of an Aryan people, so prominent in nineteenth- and twentieth-century European nationalisms, was not European; rather it was deeply embedded in Vedic tradition. The *Rig Veda*, composed around 1500 BCE, recorded the incursion of tribes of pastoralists who identified themselves as 'Arya' (lit. noble) into India. As these settlers from Central Asia encountered the indigenous populations of north India and developed new polities and religious traditions, 'Arya' continued to function both as a marker of community and as an evaluation of cultural sophistication.

Despite the continued cultural weight of this concept within Sanskritic tradition, it remained beyond the reach of Europeans until the East India Company consolidated its position as a territorial power in South Asia. Until the 1780s, Europeans viewed Sanskrit as an enigma; the central oral and textual traditions of Brahmanical Hinduism were unattainable and leading European Orientalists doubted whether the British would ever decipher Sanskrit. But, as we shall see, the deep-seated social and cultural changes accompanying the Company's rise as a territorial power (from 1765) enabled a new generation of Company employees to learn Sanskrit and to access Brahmanical tradition. The fundamental reconfiguration of indigenous knowledge production in the wake of the Bengal famine of 1770, as well as the emergence of the East India Company as a powerful new patron of 'native learning', facilitated the work of Sir William Jones and his contemporaries. Their steady flow of dictionaries, vernacular texts and translations into a variety of European languages not only provided the linguistic apparatus that underpinned the operation of the colonial state, but also effectively textualized core Brahmanical traditions relating to history, law and religious practice. Drawing on the fruits of this process, together with his own extensive linguistic repertoire, Jones confirmed the genetic relationship between Greek, Latin and Sanskrit and mapped a new comparative vision of global history, an interpretation that insisted on the commonalities between Europe and Indian history.

In effect, Jones's ten 'Anniversary Discourses', delivered to the Asiatic Society of Bengal from 1784, mapped a new vision of global history and established a common Indo-European cultural heritage (even though the term Indo-European would not be coined until 1813). In

Jones's wake, this common heritage was welded onto a Vedic framework by a later generation of scholars, most notably Friedrich Max Müller. Max Müller, whose Company-sponsored translation of the Vedas (six volumes, 1849–74) marked a pivotal point in the reconfiguration of understandings of religion and ancient history, was the most influential Victorian popularizer of 'Aryanism'. His work, which reached a large popular audience in Britain and its colonies, depicted the Vedas as the foundational source for the study of 'civilization' and made the term 'Aryan' an indispensable part of the analytical vocabulary of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ethnology and history.

Within nineteenth-century Europe the Aryan concept was much more than a heuristic device: Aryanism was woven into the intellectual fabric of various European nationalist traditions. As Chapter 1 demonstrates, from the early nineteenth century the concept was prominent in new genealogies being fashioned for emergent nation states and it was used by various British and continental thinkers to delimit ethnic and racial boundaries within Europe. By the time Max Müller arrived in England, John Kemble and Benjamin Thorpe had elaborated a strong Anglo-Saxonist tradition, which emphasized the linguistic connection between English and its Germanic and Indo-European ancestors. Within such a context, Aryanism fortified both nationalist and imperialist ideologies, either by deepening the genealogy of the national community or through its use to police the nation's boundaries: in the British case, to delineate a series of cultural oppositions between the Saxon descendants of the Indo-Europeans and the Celtic peoples of Ireland, the Scottish highlands and Wales.<sup>10</sup> The 'Oriental Renaissance' engendered by the dissemination of Company Orientalism in Europe was not simply a quest for spiritual revivification through the embrace of 'Oriental learning', but was also a series of cultural and political reconfigurations as the boundaries of community were reimagined.<sup>11</sup>

The work of Jones, his contemporaries and his successors also had a profound impact outside of Britain and continental Europe. Rendall has demonstrated the centrality of Jones's comparative method in framing European and colonial interpretations of the cultures of South-East Asia.<sup>12</sup> Even in Australia, where settlers consistently asserted the fundamental 'otherness' of Aboriginal language and culture, Jones's work was influential. It was too influential for some, as J. D. Lang, the Principal of the Australian College and Senior Minister of the Church of Scotland in New South Wales, disputed the value of Jones's work

and railed against the centrality of Asia in post-Jonesian work on language and migration.<sup>13</sup> Lang's complaints were in vain, however, as the Aryan theory became an increasingly potent, if contentious, idea within the empire. As this study makes clear, Aryanism was particularly authoritative in the Pacific where it came to provide not only an important ethnological paradigm, but also a narrative used by some white colonists to emphasize that they belonged to a long history of Aryan migrations into the region, justifying their presence in the Pacific by transmuting colonization into 'settlement'.

Although Aryanism became such an important feature of nineteenth century culture it has received uneven analytical treatment. Poliakov's *The Aryan Myth* charted Aryanism's rising influence in continental Europe to formulate a genealogy of European racial thought, constructing a narrative that led inexorably to the Holocaust. Poliakov's work, however, underemphasized the contested position of the idea in nineteenth-century European thought and neglected its remarkable influence outside Europe. Despite its recurrence in the archives of empire, historians of British imperialism have paid scant regard to Aryanism. While Leopold sketched the idea's influence among British and South Asian elites and Thapar examined the place of Aryanism in the interpretation of ancient Indian history, it was not until the publication of Trautmann's *Aryans and British India* (1997) that the Aryan idea received extended treatment.<sup>14</sup> In this path-breaking work, Trautmann recovered the significance of Aryanism in British India, tracing the ways in which it moulded British interpretations of Indian ethnology and history as well as its influence in Europe.

Nevertheless, Trautmann's work had three significant weaknesses. Firstly, he provided only limited discussion of the role of South Asians in making and contesting the theory. The place of Aryanism in discourses on the Hindu self or Hindu nationhood receives scant attention, being briefly sketched in an epilogue that is overly reliant upon Raychaudhuri's study of the Bengali intelligentsia in the late nineteenth century.<sup>15</sup> This approach glosses over divergent intellectual traditions, both within Bengal and beyond. In effect, by merely synthesizing Raychaudhuri's work Trautmann reinscribes the centrality of Bengal and *bhadralok* (Bengal's educated middle class) intellectual production, rendering other important indigenous voices silent. As a corrective to this approach, I demonstrate in Chapter 4 the very different role of Aryanism in debates over the boundaries of religious identity in late nineteenth-century Punjab, while Chapter 6 delineates important arguments about Aryanism elaborated by Indian Christians.

Secondly, in presenting what is essentially an intellectual history of Aryanism, Trautmann exhibits only limited interest in the material and political outcomes of this idea. Its pivotal influence in reshaping colonial military recruitment, in the articulation of new forms of political mobilization, and nationalist debates over the boundaries of the nation (what was the status of Muslims, south Indians and low caste people?) are only hinted at. In what follows, I insist that we must locate the history of Aryanism within colonialism's reconfiguration of power-relations. Aryanism was not simply an ideological veneer of imperialism, rather it was central to constituting colonial subjects and fashioning the very structures of colonialism (and anti-colonial nationalism). In response to both the overly literary turn of some postcolonial criticism, which has resulted in an inattention to power, and critiques of 'representation' as a purely cultural problematic, I argue that the Aryan idea is a potent reminder that representations are social and political facts.<sup>16</sup>

Thirdly, although *Aryans and British India* provided an important window into debates over the Aryan idea in India and Europe, Trautmann seems reluctant to cast his study as an 'imperial' story. He not only underplays important shifts in knowledge production arising from colonialism, but also neglects the impact of Aryanism beyond the drawing rooms of British India, Britain and Europe. This, taken together with his relative inattention to South Asian actors, means that he follows Poliakov to cast the Aryan theory as essentially a European story and its influence in other imperial contexts such as Malaya, Ireland, Argentina, Nigeria or the Pacific remains unspoken.<sup>17</sup> In contrast, this study foregrounds the hybrid nature of the Aryan idea. Extracted from its Indian context and widely transmitted within the empire, Aryanism was localized in a variety of specific cultural locations as its meaning was constantly renegotiated in debates between a variety of British, settler and indigenous groups.

### **The archives of empire**

The increasingly global reach of Aryanism reflected the centrality of knowledge production and dissemination within the imperial project. Recent research in South Asian history has stressed the pivotal role of intelligence-gathering and the rise of the 'disciplines' (history, sociology, literary studies) in the construction of imperial authority in colonial India. Such work has typically focused on the role of knowledge in

the constitution of the colonial state or regional intellectual cultures (especially Bengal); the place of the larger framework of empire remains largely unexplored. This study uses Aryanism as an analytical lens that allows us to move beyond an unproblematized focus on the local or national to examine the broader knowledge structures of the empire. It suggests that we can conceive of the empire as a series of archives, each arising out of local concerns, but braided together, however imperfectly, by institutional exchanges, webs of personal correspondence and shared bodies of knowledge.

This model for understanding the empire draws our attention to the important role of knowledge gathering in imperial contexts. Writing, collecting and circulating documents were foundations of imperial power. While the ultimate basis of imperial authority was force or the threat of force, colonial states fetishized written records and the value of documentation. J. S. Mill underlined this in 1852, as he noted 'the whole of the Government of India is carried on in writing', suggesting that 'no other [government] probably has a system of recordation so complete.'<sup>18</sup> Mill's observation on the superior extent and thickness of the colonial archive underlines the pivotal role of colonialism in the constitution of state practices and modernity itself. Recent scholarship has emphasized that modernity was not fashioned in Europe and then projected out to colonies in the periphery, but rather that the key enumerative and surveillance apparatuses of the modern state – from fingerprinting to the survey, from the census to the passport – were elaborated and refined in colonial contexts.<sup>19</sup> In light of this, the precociousness of *kaghazi raj* (rule by paper) in British India is less surprising, as it embodied the bureaucratization of modern governance, a process that Richard Drayton has recently identified as one of the most durable, if overlooked, legacies of Britain's global empire.<sup>20</sup>

The 'total' archive became an important imperial fantasy, best encapsulated in Borges' short story which recounts an empire that was so attached to the accuracy of its cartographic archive that it constructed a map that was the exactly the same size as the empire itself.<sup>21</sup> Historical empires, however, functioned not in the idealist world of Borgesian fictions, but in a real world limited by capital flows, labour supply and strict timetables: the total archive never became a reality. In addition to the finite resources of colonial regimes, the ability of indigenous groups to exploit the fissures and limits of colonial authority meant that colonial knowledge of 'native' society and politics remained imperfect. Aware of these limitations, imperial agents

worried constantly about flows of knowledge and their ability to identify 'hidden cults', unravel 'secret languages' and forestall rebellion on the fringes of empire.<sup>22</sup> These 'information panics', as Bayly has termed them, intensified as indigenous groups were 'pacified' by the state's coercive power in the wake of uprisings against British rule and during periods of political mobilization by indigenous groups.<sup>23</sup> Colonial concern with such forms of 'rebel consciousness' (to borrow a phrase from Guha), was an important stimulus for the study of folk religion, local dialect and the surveillance of new religious movements on the frontiers of empire.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, in characterizing the empire as a series of interwoven archives, this study recognizes that archives themselves were fundamentally implicated in the processes of colonialism. For historians of colonialism the archive is deeply problematic; the manuscript collections, parliamentary papers, court records, periodicals and newspapers we use are not simply documents that allow us to access the colonial past, but rather were constitutive of the inequalities of that past. Within the uneven terrains of power that characterize colonial societies, the archive was a site of authority, a lens through which colonial subjects were monitored and a textual framework from which discourses of 'improvement' and 'modernization' were elaborated. The archive also could provide the basis for the formulation of colonial policy, as Prior has shown with regard to the compilation of historical narratives that moulded the colonial state's intervention in communal conflict. In effect the archive constituted the 'memory of the state', as its records of the pre-colonial past moulded the 'official mind' and guided the policy-making process.<sup>25</sup>

In light of this function of the archive, I think we need to reconceptualize the place of 'native informants' and 'indigenous voices' in the historiography of colonialism. Although historians of colonialism have paid considerable attention to the censorship and the surveillance of print, we know less about the ways in which colonial states solicited and channelled indigenous opinion. This is a crucial lacuna in our understanding of the workings of colonialism, given the ways in which colonial officials valued indigenous 'authenticity' as they searched for pure archives of indigenous knowledge, untainted by rebellious intent and unembellished by inventive informants.<sup>26</sup> This suggests that colonial authority frequently hinged on the state's ability to induce the subaltern to speak, rather than on its capacity to suppress indigenous voices. Colonial governors, from Warren Hastings to Sir George Grey, believed that a careful attention to indigenous religious idioms and an

understanding of the valences of indigenous diplomacy were the very basis for the consolidation and extension of British authority.<sup>27</sup> There is no better embodiment of the global aspirations of such projects than Grey's personal collection of manuscripts, ethnographic reports and printed works of ethnology that provided the intellectual foundation for his administrative crusades in South Africa, South Australia and New Zealand.<sup>28</sup>

Despite the prominence of indigenous voices in such archival collections, many studies of colonialism rely solely on supposedly hegemonic English-language texts, neglecting vernacular sources or the importance of indigenous thinkers. Our disciplines, as well as realities of colonialism, have prevented the subaltern from speaking. As Parry has observed – within her response to Spivak's reading of Rhys's *Wide Sargasso Sea* – postcolonialism's attribution of 'absolute power' to colonial discourses has led to a 'deliberate deafness to the native voice where it can be heard'.<sup>29</sup> Certainly it is important to acknowledge Spivak's analytical starting point – that the complex transformations of colonialism mean that it is impossible to fully recover subaltern subjectivities – but this must be balanced by an attention to the spaces and occasions where indigenes interrogated the experience of colonialism.

In order to avoid the historical deafness that Parry warns against, this study draws extensively on Maori and Hindi sources (in addition to European language texts) in an attempt to recognize the powerful and divergent indigenous engagements with Aryanism. This linguistic breadth enables me to trace more fully the mobility of the Aryan idea, recovering the ability of South Asians to contest British appropriations of the concept, as well as tracing the efforts of Maori leaders to fashion a discourse of resistance that rejected Orientalism and invoked instead the ethnological authority of the Old Testament. Thus I use these texts to map the various strategies used by indigenous reformers, prophets and politicians to localize new ideas and to chart major shifts (and fractures) in 'native opinion'. Such an approach allows me to underline a striking but often neglected feature of anti-colonial movements: their outward looking nature and their comparative sensibility.<sup>30</sup> This is a crucially important point, as the literature on decolonization tends to view indigenous nationalisms as nationally bounded and self-sufficient. Yet, it seems that imperial connections arising out of print and travel led to the active cross-fertilization of anti-colonial ideologies and models; provocative evidence hints at important ties between Irish and Indian nationalists, Coptic Christianity and the Indian National Congress, the Haitian revolt and Maori proto-nationalism.<sup>31</sup>

Re-imagining anti-colonial movements and decolonization as the product of inter-colonial exchanges suggests that colonial intellectual life was energized by the movement of ideas and information. Although Innis and Anderson emphasized the pivotal role of print in the constitution of the nation, print also facilitated the flow of information across national boundaries.<sup>32</sup> We are increasingly aware that print created important transatlantic networks, where political models, evangelical sermons and travel narratives circulated freely within an enlarged public sphere.<sup>33</sup> In a similar vein, the proliferation of newspapers and popular journals, both in the metropole and in the colonies, also ensured the rapid circulation of a shared body of news and energized intellectual debate within the British empire. Reportage in both English-language and vernacular newspapers transcended local concerns, updating the public about developments in distant parts of the empire and beyond. Maori language newspapers, for example, carried news from Sydney to London, Delhi to Paris, New York to New Guinea.<sup>34</sup> The global breadth of these reports also reminds us that empires were not hermetically sealed systems and the circulation of the printed word wove states and empires together in important ways. For example, the heavy intellectual traffic between Britain and the German lands, not least in Orientalist learning, in the late eighteenth century was facilitated by swift translations and the rapid dissemination of the printed word.<sup>35</sup>

The authority of Orientalism in European and imperial culture had profound implications for the study of colonial cultures beyond India. As ethnology and ethnography became increasingly prominent within the nineteenth-century empire, Orientalist learning provided an important framework for the analysis of non-Christian religions and non-European languages. Antiquarians in Ireland attempted to relate the round towers of the Irish countryside to Phoenician sun worship or Hindu fertility rites, while colonial lexicographers in the Pacific attempted to find the connection between Sanskrit and various Pacific languages. These intellectual ventures reflected the disproportionate significance of Orientalist learning in a period when the second British empire was expanded and consolidated and when new institutions, including libraries on imperial frontiers, were developing. Celticists in Dublin or philologists in New Zealand could draw from the important Indological texts (such as *Asiatic Researches*, Mill's *History of British India*, or Max Müller's edition of the *Rig Veda*), that were to be found in most significant nineteenth-century athenaeums, learned societies and university libraries. Thus, at one level, we might see the global influence of Orientalism as a product of the ways in which the cultural

authority of Orientalist knowledge was undergirded by the chronology of imperialism and patterns of institutional growth in the colonies.

The importance of these enmeshed archives is clear in the work of Alfred Kingcombe Newman. Newman, an important figure in the sports, politics and science of colonial New Zealand, devoted almost a decade of his life to identifying Aryan influences in the cultures of the Pacific.<sup>36</sup> Convinced of the Indian origins of the Polynesians, Newman's research drew upon the holdings of the Polynesian Society's library, which had assembled a significant collection of texts on Asian languages and cultures. In its early years, the Society formalized exchange relationships with the Society of Arts of Batavia (Jakarta) and two Calcutta-based journals, the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society* and the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, in addition to receiving works from the Bengali scholar Nobin Chandra Das.<sup>37</sup> But, most intriguingly, Newman fleshed out his argument from the large collection of ethnographic manuscripts and 35 volumes of dictionaries, grammars and ethnological works donated to the Society by the Assam-based ethnographer Samuel Peal.<sup>38</sup>

In order to confirm his Indocentric vision of Pacific history, Newman journeyed to India, retracing his footsteps back to his childhood home (he was born into an East India Company family in Madras). Newman's research focused on the Gangetic valley, 'the heart of India', as he visited Banaras and other sacred sites with the hope that he could identify cultural continuities between India and the Pacific. Still haunted by his Indian childhood and deeply interested in Polynesian culture, Newman found innumerable connections. One such link was the swastika and Newman's *Who Are the Maoris?* provided several 'secret Maori symbols' that were supposedly variations on the Hindu symbol: in Newman's eyes this was telling testament of the Indian origins of Maori (see cover illustration). The map used by Newman in the same volume to trace the migration of the Polynesians from India not only represents his vision of the region's history, but also embodies the dissemination of ethnological paradigms from South Asia to Polynesia and charts Newman's own voyage from an Indian childhood to his new home in New Zealand (see Map on p. xi).

## Webs of empire

The complex history of migration and the meshing of archives that underpinned Newman's work are useful starting points for the broader reconceptualization of the British empire, and by extension imperial

history, undertaken in this work. As I have already suggested, this study insists on the need for a multi-sited history of the empire that neither privileges the metropole nor accepts the nation-state as the self-evident unit for historical analysis. Recent work by Grove on colonial science, Cook on policy exchanges between India and Ireland, and Porter on missionary networks suggests that the traditional metaphor for conceptualizing the empire, the spoked wheel, is in desperate need of revision.<sup>39</sup> The wheel metaphor, where lines of communications, finance and personnel radiate out from London to each colony in the periphery, structures both metropolitan-focused imperial histories and the national histories of individual colonies.

To transcend the limits of the centre vs. periphery opposition and the interpretative limitations of the nation-state, this study uses webs as its organizing analytical metaphor. The exchanges traced in this volume crossed national boundaries, as ideas moved along lines of personal correspondence, through the circulation of the printed word, as a result of institutional exchanges and exhibitions and because of the mobility of travellers, missionaries and administrators. These forms of transmission did not merely transect the national boundaries of Britain or the individual colonies of its empire, but also reached out into other states, nations and imperial systems, collapsing geographical and cultural space. I emphasize, for example, the pivotal influence of both French- and German-speaking scholars on British Orientalism and Pacific studies. None of this is to deny the significance of the nation-state altogether, as this study traces both the ways in which the nation-state increasingly organized knowledge in the nineteenth century and the ways in which diverse nationalist traditions utilized the idea of Aryan origins. Rather, I am insisting that we be more sensitive to the interplay between the local, the national and the imperial: historians must adopt a more mobile approach to the imperial past to enable them to recover the transnational cultural movements which were so central in the constitution of empires.

The metaphor of the web has several advantages for the conceptualization of the imperial past. At a general level, it underscores that the empire was a *structure*, a complex fabrication fashioned out of a great number of disparate parts that were brought together into a new relationship. To my mind, the central problem with the 'cultural turn' in imperial history has not been a narrow focus on representation, but rather the inability of scholars to develop Said's insistence that Orientalism was a system of circulation. Rather than narrowly focusing on the rhetorical construction or ideological context of any given text,

we need to begin to trace the transmission of ideas, ideologies and identities across space and time. The web captures the integrative nature of this cultural traffic, the ways in which imperial institutions and structures connected disparate points in space into a complex mesh of networks. Moreover, the image of the web also conveys something of the double nature of the imperial system. Empires, like webs, were both fragile, prone to crises where important threads are broken or structural nodes destroyed, yet also dynamic, being constantly remade and reconfigured through concerted thought and effort: the image of the web reminds us that the structure of empire was constantly reworked and remade.

The web metaphor also draws our attention to the crucial, but generally overlooked, horizontal linkages between colonies. The British empire, as much as a spider's web, was dependent on these inter-colonial exchanges. Important flows of capital, personnel and ideas between colonies energized colonial development and the function of the larger imperial system. Such exchanges have received only limited attention in the historiography of the British empire because they transgress the analytical boundaries of both metropolitan-focused imperial history (where the empire is viewed from London out) or histories of individual colonies (where the view is from the colony towards London).

The inherently relational nature of the empire is also underlined by the image of the web. Where the spoked-wheel reduces the empire to a series of metropole-periphery binaries, the web reinforces the multiple positions that any given colony, city, community or archive might occupy. Calcutta, for example, might be seen as being in a subaltern position in relation to London, but it in turn might be a sub-imperial centre where important lines of patronage, accumulation and communication flow out into the South Asian hinterland and beyond to South-East Asia or even the Pacific.

But we might go even further than this. If we conceive of the empire not as a single web, but as a complex agglomeration of overlapping webs, it is possible to envisage that certain locations, individuals or institutions in the supposed periphery might in fact be the centre of intricate networks themselves. We will see this in the case of Samuel Peal, whose tireless correspondence from the frontiers of Assam fashioned an extensive network of intellectual exchange that reached out to Canada, the United States, the Pacific islands and Australasia, and incorporated metropolitan figures, including Max Müller himself. In turn, Elsdon Best and Percy Smith, the founding members of the

Polynesian Society and important figures in Peal's network, themselves occupied a central position in a related web of exchange. The Polynesian Society quickly became a leading centre for the study of Pacific ethnology and its membership and institutional exchange tapped considerable intellectual resources, allowing Best and Smith to assume a position of great authority in Pacific studies. This intellectual authority exercised from Wellington also reflected New Zealand's assumption of an imperial role in the Pacific: at once a colony and an imperial power, New Zealand fashioned its own webs of influence in the Pacific with limited input from Britain.

While I am suggesting that Calcutta or Wellington could function as imperial centres, I am not advocating an entirely decentred view of empire. It is crucial to recognize the disparities of power inherent within the empire and that many imperial networks, as well as economic power and imperial authority, were concentrated in Britain itself. Even at the level of intellectual production there is no doubt that Britain continued to exercise substantial power as metropolitan learned institutions, missionary and reform societies and, of course, the British government had the ability to exercise considerable influence over distant colonies. And, of course, the substantial resources available in London, Oxford or Cambridge allowed for exhibitions, museums and libraries on a scale beyond the reach of the colonies and also facilitated the work of grand theorists such as E. B. Tylor or Max Müller. It is necessary to balance this recognition of Britain's position as an imperial power that was able to fashion a global empire with an awareness of the ability of administrators, missionaries, settlers and indigenous groups in the colonies to construct bodies of knowledge and meaningful networks of exchange: metropolitan interests might have wished to dominate the empire, but they never enjoyed the hegemony they aspired to.

Thus, this study rejects a vision of Orientalism or colonial knowledge as the hegemonic imposition of metropolitan ideologies upon colonial societies: 'a mask of conquest' in Viswanathan's formulation.<sup>40</sup> In doing so, it moves beyond a literary focus on the static text to focus on imperial systems of circulation, recovering the transmission of ideas, information and identities across the empire. Such an approach allows us to recontextualize prominent imperial concerns that would otherwise appear marginal or even nonsensical: a correspondent to *Panjab Notes and Queries* wondering whether the nose-flute played by low caste peoples in north India indicated a cultural link with eastern Polynesia, Elsdon Best's search for remnants of Hindu phallus worship among

Maori of the rugged Urewera mountain ranges, or the important contribution of Samuel Peal to debates over Polynesian origins from his tea plantation in Naharani in Assam.<sup>41</sup> Like Newman's Maori 'swastikas', these are striking examples of a deep-seated concern with ethnic origins and cultural continuities within a multi-ethnic empire characterized by mobility, exchange and conflict.

# Index

- Aborigines 118, 120  
Abraham 95  
Abraham, C. J. 69–70  
*Adi Granth* 103, 105–8, 110  
Africa 130, 135  
Agni 170  
*ahu* 88  
Ajmer 179  
*Akbar Nama* 29  
Allahabad 24  
Allard, Hugo 56  
American Oriental Society 139  
*amgrezi raj* 173, 182, 185  
Amritsar 107  
Anand Marriage Act 116  
anti-Catholicism 98  
anti-colonialism 11, 169, 181–5  
Anderson, Atholl 153  
Anderson, Benedict 12  
Anglicanism 148, 159, 161, 165  
Anglo-French rivalry 25  
Anglo-Irish settlers 36–7  
Anglo-Saxon revival 39–40  
Anglo-Sikh Wars 113  
anthropology 79–82, 125  
architecture 51–2  
archives 8–13, 59, 91, 94  
*ardas* 107  
Argentina 8  
*ariki* 60, 163  
art  
    South Asian 51, 131  
    Maori 13, 131–2  
    Pacific 131–2  
Aryan ‘invasion’ 49, 186  
Aryanism  
    and the Bible 27–8  
    in British nationalism 6  
    in India 26–55, 146, 169–87,  
        188–91, 195–6  
    and Indian nationhood 49  
    and military recruitment  
        49–50  
    and mythology 136  
    in New Zealand 56–82, 130,  
        145–6, 167–8, 195–6  
    in the Pacific 7, 126, 140, 188,  
        195–6  
    in Punjab 52–5  
Aryas 5, 42, 137, 169–87  
Arya Samaj 176–9, 184, 190–1  
Aryavarta 172, 177, 179, 183  
Arnold, Matthew 41  
Arnold, Thomas 40, 69  
Asad, Talal 85  
*Asiatic[k] Researches* 32  
Asiatic Restriction Bill 80  
Asiatic Society of Bengal 5, 26  
astrology 180  
Assam 78  
Atkinson, A. S. 74–5  
*atua* 130, 165  
*aukati* 162–3  
Australasia 56, 146  
Australia 2, 6, 18, 56, 80, 90, 119,  
    120  
Awadh 102  
  
*babu* 46  
Ballantyne, J. R. 47  
Ballara, Angela 149  
Banerjea, Krishna Mohan 173, 176  
*banians* 25  
Banaras 136  
Banaras Sanskrit College 46–7  
Banks, Joseph 32, 57–8, 88–90, 94,  
    193  
Barrier, N. G. 108  
Barstow, R. C. 73  
Bastian, Adolf 75  
Basu, Rajnarayan 183  
Bay of Islands 11, 138, 152, 192  
Bayly, C. A. 10, 24, 181  
Beaufort, L. C. 37–8  
Belgrave, Michael 76  
Belich, James 76, 159

- Bengal 7, 20–5, 49, 137, 170–189,  
 176, 181–4, 185, 190, 191–2  
 Berar 100  
 Best, Elsdon 15, 16, 78, 79, 80, 124,  
 128, 135–6, 138, 167, 194  
*Bhagavad-Gita* 96  
 BJP 187  
 Bible 11, 28  
   Maori engagement with 151–3,  
   165–8  
   New Testament 148, 165  
   Old Testament 148, 165–68  
   as an 'Oriental text' 28–9, 58, 60–1  
 Biblical criticism 125  
 Bihar 20  
 Bingham, Hiram 139  
 Binney, Judith 148, 166  
 Blavatsky, Madame 53  
 Blyth, W. H. 73, 130–1  
*Bombay Gazette* 134  
 Bopp, Franz 62, 67, 70  
 Bouchet, Jean 95  
 Bourke, Ulick 38  
 Bowen, C. C. 80  
 Bowen, Sir G. F. 69, 133–4  
 Brahma 95  
 Brahmans 85, 95–6, 99, 100–1, 104,  
 139–41, 145, 171, 173–4, 177–8  
 British empire  
   analytical models 1–3, 14–17,  
   188–97  
 Britishness 2–3, 40–1, 69–70, 98, 189  
 Brockington, John 171  
 Brothers, Richard 41  
 Brown, William 138  
 Browne, James 102, 111  
 Bryant, Jacob 29  
 Buchanan, Claudius 98  
 Buchanan, Francis 22, 34  
 Buck, Peter (Te Rangi Hiroa) 79  
 Buddhism 105, 137  
 Buller, James 93, 139  
 Bunsen, Baron 42  
 Burke, Edmund 32  
 Burma 137, 194  
 Caird, Edward 125  
 Calcutta 15, 16, 23, 48, 136  
 Caldwell, Rev. Robert 50  
 Calvin 117  
 Cambridge 60  
 Campbell, Ian 151  
 Caroline Islands 87  
 Carroll, James 142–3  
 caste 54, 139  
   and history 97, 104  
   and Maori 129, 138–42  
   and military service 49  
   in Pacific 60, 140–1  
   in the Vedas 171–2  
 Catholicism 86, 93, 98, 140, 148,  
 158–9, 165  
 Celticism 6, 12, 35–8, 41, 69  
 Chatterjee, Bankimchandra 183  
 Chatterjee, Partha 184  
 Chattopadhyay, Tarinichandra 184  
 Chatham Islands 166  
 Chidester, David 86, 118  
 Chinese 28, 81–2  
 Chiplunkar, Vishnu Krishna 182  
 Christianity 82–7  
   and comparative mythology 125  
   and Maori 144, 148–68  
   racialization of 45–6  
   and the Vedas 173–6  
   vernacularization of 84, 86, 91,  
   119, 142, 148, 159–60  
*Church Missionary Intelligencer* 132,  
 133  
 Church Missionary Society 58–61,  
 90–4, 106, 152–3, 159  
 citizenship 80–1  
 Clark, Henry Martyn 115  
 Clarke, George 155  
 Cleave, Peter 163  
 Colebrooke, H. T. 21, 24, 30–2, 174,  
 180  
 Colenso, William 93, 141, 148  
 College of Fort William 25–6, 30  
 'company Orientalism' 18–23, 25  
 colonial science 23–6, 48–52, 62–79  
 communalism 102–6, 111–6, 181–6  
 comparative mythology 125, 127–9  
 comparative philology  
   Aryan/Dravidian opposition 50  
   and Celticism 39–40, 69  
   in India 26–30, 46–7, 173–4, 181  
   methodology 27–9, 72, 75–6, 190

- comparative philology (*continued*)  
 in New Zealand 60–1, 69–71, 132  
 and Polynesian languages 57–8  
 and Sir William Jones 26–30, 71  
 in Southeast Asia 33–5
- Cook, Captain James 18, 57–8, 89–90, 150–1, 193
- Cook Islands 128
- Cook, S. B. 14
- Cowell, E. B. 44–5
- Cox, Lindsay 150
- Craik, George Lillie 60
- Crawford, John 34–5, 47, 62, 65
- Cunningham, Alexander 53–4
- Cunningham, J. D. 53, 103
- Cust, Robert Needham 103–5, 108
- Dalits 187
- Dalmia, Vasudha 170
- Darwin, Charles 65
- Darwinism 47, 65, 125
- Das, Nobin Chandra 13
- Dasa 170–1, 176
- Dasam Granth* 105–8
- Davis, Charles 123
- Davis, Richard 93–4, 153
- de Brosse, Charles 56
- de Commerson, Philibert 87
- Defoe, Daniel 41
- Degeneration  
 in New Zealand 72, 77–8, 127–9  
 in South Asia 30–2, 43, 48, 50–2, 55, 97, 103–4, 174–8, 184–5
- Delhi 24, 102, 134
- Dening, Greg 147
- devanagari* script 180
- Dewaki 131
- dharma* 86
- dialogics 109–11, 146, 192
- Diderot, Denis 88
- Dieffenbach, Ernst 138
- Dilke, C. W. 3, 75
- Disraeli, Benjamin 45
- Dow, Alexander 95
- Dravidian 50
- Drayton, Richard 9
- Duke of Buckingham 133
- Earle, Augustus 93, 94, 138, 140
- East India Company 18–26, 189, 193, 195  
 as *diwan* 20–1, 94  
 Evangelical critiques of 98–9  
 and F. Max Müller 42
- Easter Island 64, 131
- Eden Commission 113
- Edinburgh 34
- education 70
- Edwards, W. F. 41
- Egypt 77–8
- Elephanta 64, 66
- Elsmore, Bronwyn 59
- Enlightenment 87–8, 90, 94–5
- ‘ethnic theology’ 29, 58–9, 64, 77
- eugenics 185
- Eurasia 128
- Euro-Americans 146, 147
- Evangelicalism 91, 94, 97–9, 103–5, 106–9, 138
- evolution 65, 78, 128
- Falcon, R. W. 114, 115
- ‘fatal impact’ 146, 151, 158, 169
- Fenianism 70
- Fenton, Francis Dart 77, 79
- Fergusson, James 51–2
- Findlay, John George 143–4
- Finnegan, Ruth 157
- Firishtah, Muhammad Qasim 29
- Firth, Raymond 80, 82, 149
- Fitz-Roy, Robert 120
- Fornander, Abraham 75, 137, 140–1
- Forster, Georg 32–3, 35–6, 193
- Forster, Johann Reinhold 88, 193
- Fox, Richard 111–3, 116
- Fraser, Charles 70
- frontiers 4, 86
- Froude, J. Anthony 75
- ‘further India’ 33–5, 56
- Galway 195
- Ganesh 132
- Garuda 132
- gender  
 in colonial South Asia 46, 49–50, 53, 113, 182–3, 191  
 in Maori society 136, 138

- Genesis, as ethnological model 28,  
 39, 42, 58  
 German Romanticism 33–4, 190  
 Ghose, Aurobindo 183  
 Ghosha, Ramachandra 174–6, 183  
 Gill, William Wyatt 75, 78, 126  
 Ginzburg, Carlo 148  
 Gisborne (Turanga) 158, 161, 164  
 globalization 195–6  
 Goethe 32  
 Goldman, Irving 149  
 Gorakhnath 103  
 Gorst, John 165  
 Grant, Charles 97–9  
*granthis* 106–7, 114  
 Green, J. R. 41  
 Grey, Sir George 10–11, 120–4  
 Grierson, George 189  
 Griffin, Lepel Henry 105, 108  
 Grove, Richard 14  
 Gudgeon, W. E. 128–9  
 Guha, Ranajit 10, 149  
 Gupta, Rajanikanti 182  
 Guru Gobind Singh 105, 107, 114  
 Guru Nanak 103–7, 114, 116  
  
 Hadfield, Octavius 64, 161  
 Halbfass, Wilhelm 171  
 Hale, Horatio 78  
 Haileybury 34  
 Halhed, Nathaniel Brassey, 23  
 Ham 29, 42, 77  
 Hamilton, Alexander 34  
*hapu* 149–50, 151, 163  
 Haridwar 176  
 Harishchandra, Bharatendu 170,  
 182  
 Harlow, Vincent 18–9  
 Harrison, Peter 86  
 Hastings, Warren 10, 22–5, 95  
 Hauhausm (Pai Marire) 133–4,  
 165–6, 191  
 Hawaii 75, 88, 131, 137, 139, 140–1,  
 149  
 Hawaiki 57–9, 67, 121  
 Hawkesworth, John 57–8, 90  
 Head, Lindsay 161  
 Heke, Hone 120, 156  
 Herder 33  
  
 Hiatt, L. R. 118  
 Hika, Hongi 60, 120  
*Hindi Pradip* 182  
 Hinduism  
   Brahmanical models of 95–6  
   and Buddhism 105  
   and Christianity 95–6, 101, 117,  
   173, 176–9  
   ‘classical’ 95  
   ‘high’ (*vaidik* or *shastrik*) 94–7  
   as ‘jungle’ 97, 99–102  
   law 23, 96  
   and Maori religion 130–2, 194  
   and nationalism 169–87  
   ‘popular’ (*laukik*) 85, 94–7,  
   115–16, 117  
   Shaivism 97, 104  
   and Sikhism 112  
   Tantrism 97, 104  
   Vaishnavism 97  
*Hinduism Today* 186  
 Hindu Mahasabha 185  
*hindutva* 185  
 Hitler, Adolf 185  
 Hodgson, Brian 50  
 Hokianga 155  
 Howe, K. R. 74, 153  
 Howell, J. Z. 36  
 Howitt, A. H. 129  
*hui* 164  
 Hume, David 40  
 Hunter, W. W. 54, 176  
  
 Ibbetson, Denzil 54  
*Imperial Gazetteer of India* 189  
 Imperial Legislative Council 116  
 Inden, Ronald 181  
 ‘Indocentrism’ 66–8, 74–81, 127,  
 129, 146  
 Indo-European 43  
 Indian Home Rule Leagues 179  
 Indian rebellion 133–4  
 Indian National Congress 179, 183  
 Indonesia 137  
 Indra 136, 170  
 Innis, Harold 12  
 ‘information panics’ 10  
 Io 123–4, 129  
 Iran 28

- Ireland 8, 12, 18, 19, 35–8, 146, 194–5
- Irish Enlightenment 19, 36–7
- Irschick, Eugene 11, 192
- Islam 45, 106, 132, 133, 184
- Israelites 145
- iwi* 142, 149, 151, 156, 161, 163–4
- Jaffrelot, Cristophe 185
- Jagat Seth 25
- Jaipur 173
- Jameson, R. G. 153
- janam-sakhis* 104
- Japhet 29, 42
- Jats 108, 114
- Java 78, 132, 137
- Jones, Sir William 5–6, 23, 26–30, 42, 44, 99, 174, 180, 188–9, 193  
influence 32–6, 39, 56–7, 60, 66, 67, 71, 77
- Jury, Te Whatahoro 123, 167
- Kabir 103
- Kadir, Abdullah Abdul 71
- Kali 131, 136
- Kali yuga* 176
- Kapiti 163
- Kames, Lord 29
- Kanpur 45–6, 134
- Kapur, Rajiv A. 115
- Kaviraj, Sudipta 2
- Kaye, J. W. 45
- Kejariwal, O. P. 21
- Kemble, John 6, 40
- Kendall, Thomas 59–60, 92, 152
- Khalsa 105, 107–8
- khande ki pahul* 114–15
- Khalsa, The* 111
- Khan, Muhammad Reza 21
- Kidd, Colin 37, 58
- King Country 162
- King, John 152, 158
- Kingitanga 133, 161–9
- Knox, Robert 41
- Kohimarama 164
- korero* 150
- Kororareka (Russell) 61
- Ko Te Karere o Nui Tireni* 153
- Krishna 95, 125, 131, 176
- Krishnanagar 27
- Lang, Andrew 129
- Lahore 53, 106
- Laing, Samuel 48, 55, 66
- Lambert, A. 21
- Lang, Andrew 124
- Lang, J. D. 6–7, 62, 73
- language  
as test for race 40, 46–8, 71–2, 78  
history of 26–31  
'fossils' 71–2
- languages  
Anglo-Saxon 6, 40, 70  
Arabic 35  
Bahasa Malay 35, 60, 64, 73  
Bengali 50  
Celtic 40  
Dravidian 50, 183  
Egyptian 77  
'Greater Polynesian' 35  
Greek 27, 46, 64, 70, 188  
Hebrew 59, 61  
Hindi 30–1  
Javanese 35  
Latin 27, 46, 70, 188  
Malayo-Polynesian 62, 67  
Maori 58–66, 75, 91, 150, 152  
Persian 22–3  
Punjabi 50, 107, 108  
Rajasthani 50  
Sanskrit 5, 23, 26–33, 39, 40, 42–3, 46–7, 64–6, 70, 99, 141, 171–2, 174, 176–7, 180, 188  
Tahitian 58, 89  
Tamil 183  
Tongan 60  
Turanian 50–1, 53–4, Welsh 40
- Latham, R. G. 41
- Lee, Samuel 60, 64, 152
- Leyden, John 35, 62
- literacy 84, 86, 146–68
- Logan, J. R. 62
- London 15
- Long, James 98
- Lucknow 24

- Luther, Martin 117  
 Lyall, A. C. 100–101
- Macauliffe, Max Arthur 108–11,  
 115–16, 195  
 Mackenzie, Colin 22  
 McKenzie, D. F. 148, 156–7, 168  
 MacMunn, G. F. 113  
 McLean, Donald 164  
 Madagascar 71, 78  
 Madras 192  
 Madurai 51  
 Maine, Henry Sumner 38, 48, 51–2,  
 55  
 Majeed, Javed 22, 29  
 Majoribanks, Alexander 61  
 Malaya 18, 71, 73, 130, 137, 146  
 Malinowski, Bronislaw 80  
*Man* 124, 135  
*mana* 148, 150, 155, 163, 167  
 Manu 131  
 Maori  
   as Africans 77–8  
   and alienation of land 143, 146,  
   158, 161, 163  
   and art 131  
   as Aryans 11, 62–8  
   Christianity 63, 92, 124  
   and commercialization of  
   knowledge 122  
   compared to Tahitians 88–90  
   as conservative 68  
   depopulation 72–3, 79, 122, 146,  
   158  
   flag 163  
   first encounters with Europeans  
   150–1  
   and the French 159  
   and Ganesh cult 132  
   as ‘Gangetic’ 78–9  
   and gender 136, 138  
   as Hamites 77  
   idols 132  
   and Io 123–4  
   ‘irreligious nature’ of 116  
   Malay connection 60, 62, 67, 73  
   material culture 121, 154–5, 169  
   meaning of 150–1  
   as ‘mixed race’ 64–6  
   and monotheism 123–4  
   mythology 120  
   ‘native teachers’ 158, 160  
   newspapers 148, 153, 154–6  
   as ‘obstacle’ to colonization  
   72–3  
   oral traditions 58, 67, 91, 123–4,  
   147–8, 157  
   and ‘Oriental despotism’ 60  
   and pan-tribalism 161, 163  
   as ‘Peruvians’ 73  
   political discourse 120  
   prophetic movements 151  
   religion 63, 118–69  
   and social change 157  
   ‘secret cults’ 134–5  
   sectarianism 158–61  
   and Semitic theory 58–65, 77  
   and sexuality 135–6, 138  
   social organization 149–50  
   and textualization of culture  
   119–25, 129–30, 133, 142, 145,  
   192  
   as Tiu/Hurai (Jews) 148, 164–8,  
   191  
   as Turanians 73–4  
*marae* 88, 143, 156, 158  
 Marsden, Samuel 59, 94  
 Marsden, William 34–5, 36, 62  
 Marshall, William Barrett 61  
 martial races 49–50, 113  
 masculinity 50, 53  
 Massey, Gerald 77–9  
*matakite* 166–7  
 Mathura 176  
 Maui 126, 127, 131  
 Maungapohatu 134, 143  
 Maunsell, Robert 61, 165  
*mauri* 121–2  
 Metcalf, Thomas 45  
 Metcalfe, Sir Charles 52  
 Methodism 148, 159, 165  
 ‘military Orientalism’ 113  
 Mill, James 12, 99, 139  
 Mill, J. S. 9  
 millennialism 134–5, 147  
 miscegnation 80–1, 104

- missionary ethnography 58–62, 90–4  
 Mitcalfe, Barry 157  
 Mitra, Tarinicharan 25  
*mleccha* 171–2  
 modernity 9  
*moko* (tattooing) 61, 90  
 Monier-Williams, Monier 96, 103, 137  
 Moorehead, Alan 147  
 Moses 95  
 Mughals 20, 185  
 Muir, John 46–7, 50, 66  
 Müller, F. Max 6, 12, 15, 38, 41–4, 75, 125–7, 140, 173, 176, 180–1, 193  
     influence of 52–3, 55, 56, 66, 70  
*munshi* 172  
 Murihuku (southern South Island) 150  
 Mussolini, Benito 185  
  
 Nadia 23  
 Nagas 79, 194  
 Natal 80  
 nation-state 1, 80–2  
     India 49  
     New Zealand 63  
 nationalism  
     British 2–3, 40–1, 69–70, 98, 189  
     Hindu 169–87  
     Maori 161–8  
     Pakeha 75, 80–2  
     and Sikhism 103  
 Nazism 33, 185  
 networks 1–17, 193–6  
     Anglo-French 69  
     Edward Tregear 75  
     Georg Forster 32–3  
     Ireland–India 36  
     John White 120  
     migration 81  
     Samuel Peal 78–9  
     Sir William Jones 32–3, 36  
 Newman, Alfred Kingcombe 13, 17, 80–1, 131–2, 135–8, 141–2, 194  
 New Zealand 12–13, 15–16, 56–7  
     Chinese migration 80–1  
     colonization of 63, 69, 121, 134  
     Exhibition (1865) 67  
     Gujaratis in 81  
     Institute 68–9, 75  
     nationalism 75, 80–2  
     and the Pacific 16  
     Parliament 144, 154  
     Parsis in 80  
     Sikhs in 80  
     and South Asian migration 80  
     Wars 118, 122, 133–4, 160, 165, 193  
*New Zealand Herald* 75  
 Ngai Tahu 124  
 Nga Puhī 92, 120, 149, 155  
 Ngaruawahia 164  
 Ngati Haua 163  
 Ngati Kahungunu 164  
 Ngati Porou 89  
 Ngati Toa 163  
 Nigeria 8  
  
 Oberoi, Harjot 112, 114  
 O'Brien, Henry 38  
 O'Halloran, Sylvester 37  
 'Oriental renaissance' 76  
 Orientalism  
     authority of 67  
     Company 18–55, 97  
     classical sensibility of 23, 27, 30–2, 99–100  
     critiques of 97–9  
     dailogics of 109–11  
     empirical turn 100–2  
     and military 50, 111–16  
     Saidian model 14, 116, 188  
 origins  
     British 41, 190  
     Celtic 39–41, 190  
     of humanity 28–9, 31, 39, 58, 60–1  
     Irish 36–9  
     Maori 57–82, 137, 141–2, 167–8, 19  
     Polynesian  
     South Asians 47, 179–81, 190  
 Orissa 20, 137  
 Osborne, W. T. 112  
 Otago 71, 72  
 Otaki 161  
 Oxford 39, 42

- Pacific  
 'caste' in 60, 140-1  
 cross-cultural contact in 87-8  
 as extension of India 13, 16, 56-7,  
 60, 62, 66-7, 78, 82  
 religion in 87-9, 128
- Page, Jesse 141
- Paihia 152
- Pailin, David 125
- pandits 23-5, 27, 95-6, 172
- Pani 170-1
- Panini 31, 48
- Panjab Notes and Queries* 16, 115
- Papatuanuku 126
- Paraea, Hone 155
- Parihaka 134, 167
- pare* 132
- Parsis 80
- Parsons, Lawrence 37
- Parsonson, Gordon 147
- Patriots 35-6
- Parkinson, Sydney 89
- Parry, Benita 11
- Patna 111
- Paxton, Nancy 46
- Peal, Samuel E. 13, 17, 78-9, 135-6,  
 194
- Pere, Wi 144
- Persia 136
- Peru 73
- Peshawar 53
- Petrie, George 38
- phallus worship 38, 79, 87, 118,  
 134-8, 174, 176
- Pictet, Adolphe 40
- Pocock, J. G. A. 2
- Polack, Joel S. 61
- Poliakov, Leon, 7
- Pollock, Sheldon 33
- Polynesian Society, The 16, 79
- Pompallier, Bishop 93, 159
- Porangahau, 149
- Porter, Andrew 14
- Potatau, Te Wherowhero 162-3
- Poverty Bay 134
- Prichard, James Cowles 38-41, 190  
 influence 56-7, 66
- Priestly, Joseph 95
- Prior, Katherine 10
- print culture 12-3, 32, 63, 68, 84,  
 110, 124, 148, 152-68
- Protestantism 83-4, 86, 95, 98, 140,  
 144-5
- Punjab 49-50, 52-5, 113, 137, 172,  
 178, 192
- purbia* 114
- Puranas* 100, 108, 183
- Queensland 69
- Queen Victoria 162, 182
- race 4, 39-40  
 and aesthetics 37-8, 51-3  
 Aryan (*see* Aryan above)  
 Aryan-Mongolic 137  
 'Barata' 71-4  
 and character 113  
 Chinese 7  
 and climate 47, 49  
 Caucasian 129  
 and diet 47, 49-50, 113  
 Dravidian 50-1, 71, 78, 183, 189  
 'Gangetic' 78, 131, 137  
 Hamitic 60, 77  
 'Himalic' 78  
 and hybridization 131  
 immutability of 50  
 Indo-Pacific 67  
 and intermarriage 50-1, 64-5, 67,  
 140
- Japhetic 43
- Madagascan 71
- Malay 71, 73, 78, 133, 134
- martial races 113, 114
- Masai 78
- 'Mon-Anam' 78, 135
- Mongolic 129, 131, 137
- Native American 88, 130
- 'Negroid' 72, 77, 78
- Papuan 67, 78  
 and Punjabis 112-13  
 and religion 45-6
- Semitic 33, 41, 48, 59, 64-5
- and Sikhism 112
- Tibetan 71
- Turanian 50-1, 53-4, 71, 72,  
 73-4, 130-1, 176
- rahiras* 107

- Raffles, Stamford 34  
 Ragozin, Zenaide 49  
*rahit-namas* 107  
 Rai, Lala Lajpat 183  
 Rajasthan 172  
 Ramlochan, Pandit 23  
 Ranade, Mahadeva 183  
*rangatiratanga* 162  
 Ranginui (Rangi) 123, 126  
 Rashtriya Swayamsevak Singh 185  
 Rask, Rasmus 38–9  
 Rawene 155  
 Raychaudhuri, Tapan 7, 170, 181–2, 185  
 Rebellion, 1857 44–8  
 Reilly, M. P. J. 122  
 religion  
   Aboriginal 118  
   and degeneration 127–8  
   and evolution 125–7, 144  
   Heliolatry 127  
   and hybridization 131  
   ‘infidel’ 93  
   meaning of 4, 83–7, 123  
   and monotheism 95–7, 102–6, 123–4, 129, 174–5  
   ‘natural’ 101, 125, 127, 135  
   paganism 88–9  
   Polynesian 116, 131, 145  
   and polytheism 139, 175  
   priesthood 88–9, 94, 97  
   ‘primitive’ 116, 125, 135  
   and print 83–7  
   and race 45–6, 101  
   and rebellion 132, 133, 142–4  
   scripture 88, 94–5  
   ‘secret cults’ 134–5  
   and sexuality 135  
   solar mythology 126–7  
   Sotho-Tswana 118  
   ‘superstition’ 91  
   as a system 85–7, 90–5, 100–1  
   and textualisation of culture 86–7, 119  
   Xhosa 118  
   Zulu 118  
 Rendall, Jane 6  
 Reeves, William Pember 81  
 Risley, H. H. 54  
 Roberts, Gwyneth Tyson 114  
 Robertson, William 34  
 Rongowhakaata 161  
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 88  
 round towers 38  
 Royal Asiatic Society of London 173–4  
 Royal Irish Academy 37–8  
 Rua Kenana 134, 143, 151, 167, 191  
 Ruapehu 133  
 Russell, W. H. 45  
 Said, Edward 14, 116, 188  
 Sakhi Sarvar 109  
 Salmond, Ann 90  
 Salsette 64, 66  
 Sanderson, Kay 161  
 Sanskrit (*see under* languages)  
 Sanskritic tradition 49  
 ‘Sanskritocentrism’ 31–3, 55  
 Sarasvati, Dayananda 176–9, 184, 190  
 Sarda, Har Bilas 179, 190  
 Satan 93–4, 97  
 Scotland 6, 33–4  
 Scottish Enlightenment 19, 33–5, 72–3, 190  
 Schlegel, Frederich von 32, 34  
 Scrafton, Luke 96  
 Sen, Keshab Chandra 173  
 Sen, Krishna Bihari 173  
 ‘settler self-fashioning’ 35–8, 57, 69–70  
 sexuality 46, 97–8, 134  
 Shem 29  
 Shiva 175  
 Shortland, Edward 67–8, 120, 121, 156  
 Shuckford, Samuel 29  
 Singapore 71  
 Sikhism 53, 80, 85, 94, 102–17  
   and caste 105  
   and Christianity 102–3, 117  
   Evangelical critiques of 106–9  
   and Hinduism 102, 105, 115–17  
   historiography of 102  
   and Islam 105  
   and military recruitment 112, 114  
   and militarism 114

- and racial determinism 112  
 as 'Reformation' 102–3, 105, 107,  
 109–11  
 'Singh' 112, 114  
 Simpson, Jane 123, 124  
 Sinclair, Keith 151  
 Singh, Bhai Prem 111  
 Singh, Bhai Sant 111  
 Singh, Maharaja Ranjit 112  
 Singh Sabha 112, 114  
 Smith, Percy S. 15, 78, 79, 80, 167  
 Smith, Vincent A. 53  
 Society for the Promoting Christian  
 Knowledge 96  
 Society for the Propagation of the  
 Gospel 45–6  
 Solvyns, Baltazard 21  
 Sorrenson, M. P. K. 59, 63, 66  
 South Africa 118, 120  
 Southeast Asia 18, 34–5, 71–3, 78–9,  
 195–6  
 Stack, James 93, 159  
 Stocking, George W. 69  
 Stubbs, William 41  
*Subaltern Studies* 2  
 Sutton, Douglas 149  
 swastika 13, 17, 131
- Tahiti 87–9, 149  
 Tahitians 87–9  
 Tainui 163  
 Taitokerau 150  
 Tamati Waka Nene 120, 156  
 Tamil revivalism 183  
 Tane 136  
*tapu (tabu)* 58, 61, 86, 91, 118,  
 121–2, 124, 129, 138–42, 164, 194  
 Taranaki 134, 160, 165  
 Tarkachudamani, Sasadhar 182  
 Tarkavagisa, Radhakanta 24  
 Tat Khalsa 85, 111, 113–17  
 Taylor, Richard 63–6, 70, 71, 73,  
 127–8, 192–3  
 Te Arawa 120  
 Te Heuheu, Iwikau 162  
 Te Kooti Arikirangi 134, 151, 166–7,  
 191  
 Temple, Richard 54  
 Te Pukuatua, Henare 155
- Te Rangikaheke, Wiremu Maihi 120  
 Te Rauparahau 163  
 Te Takurua 122  
 Te Tarapipi, Wiremu Tamihana 163  
 Te Ua 165–6, 191  
 Te Whiti-o-Rongomai 134, 151,  
 167, 191  
 Thames-Waikato region 153  
 Thapar, Romila 171  
 Theosophy 76  
 Thomson, A. S. 130  
 Thomson, J. T. 70–4, 78  
 Thorpe, Benjamin 6, 40  
 Tibet 177  
 Tieck, Ludwig 33  
 Tikanga Hou 160  
*tiki* 64, 66, 135–6  
 Tikopia 149  
 Tilak, Balwantrao Gangadhar  
 179–81  
*tipuna* 150  
 Tod, James 182, 190  
 Tohu 151  
*tohunga* 119, 123, 130, 139–40, 142–5  
 Tohunga Suppression Act 119,  
 142–4  
 Tongariro 133  
*Transactions and Proceedings of the New  
 Zealand Institute* 68–74, 92–3  
 translation  
 and religion 86–7, 106–7  
 in South Asia 23, 106–7  
 in New Zealand 89  
 in the Pacific 89  
 Trautmann, Thomas 7–8, 19, 29, 47  
 Tregear, Edward 68, 74–7, 79, 80  
 'Teutonmania' 40–1  
 Treaty of Waitangi 63, 148, 156,  
 162  
 Trumpp, Ernest 106–8, 110  
 Tuhoe 124, 135, 138, 143, 194  
*tuna* 136  
 Tupaia 58, 89–90  
 Turner, Nathaniel 153  
 Tylor, E. B. 16, 78, 127, 193
- Uma 131, 136  
 Uawa (Tolaga Bay) 89–90  
 Ullathorne, W. B. 159

- Upanishads* 175  
 Urewera 134–5  
*utu* 150
- Vallancey, Charles 19, 36, 40  
 Varuna 170  
 Vedas 5, 27, 32, 52–3, 104, 125,  
 170–87  
   as ‘Bible’ 95  
   Brahmans and 95–6  
   dating of 181  
   and race 171–2  
   *Rig Veda* 5, 42–3, 46, 126, 170–1  
   Vedic ‘golden age’ 31, 43, 97, 100,  
     174, 177, 179–80, 184–5, 189–90  
 Vidyalkar, Mrtyunjay 25  
 Vigne, V. T. 112  
 Virjananda 176  
 Vishnu 127, 132  
 Viswanathan, Gauri 16  
 Von Humboldt, Wilhelm 62
- Waiapu 142  
*waiata* 150  
 Waikato 161  
*Wai puia* (hot springs) 155  
 Wairoa 165  
 Waitangi Tribunal 149  
*waka* 149, 163  
 Wales 6, 41  
 Walker, Joseph Cooper 32, 36
- web as model for empire 14–17, 82,  
 145–6, 194–5  
 Wellington 16  
 Wellington Philosophical Society 75  
 Wellesley, Governor-General 20, 22,  
 25  
 Wesleyan Missionary Society 158  
*whakapapa* 149–50, 167, 191  
 Whakarewarewa 155  
 whaling 121  
*whanau* 121, 149–50  
*whare* 162  
*whare wananga* 89, 91  
 White, John 121–3, 128  
 White New Zealand Defence League  
   81  
 Whitmore, G. S. 80  
 Wilford, Francis  
 Wilkins, Charles 96, 102–3, 111  
 Williams, Henry 160  
 Williams, William 93, 94, 153, 158,  
   161, 165  
 Wilson, H. H. 22, 100  
 witchcraft 144  
 Wolf, Eric 1  
 Wood, Sir Charles 45  
 Wright, Harrison 151
- Yama 126
- Zoroastrianism 48