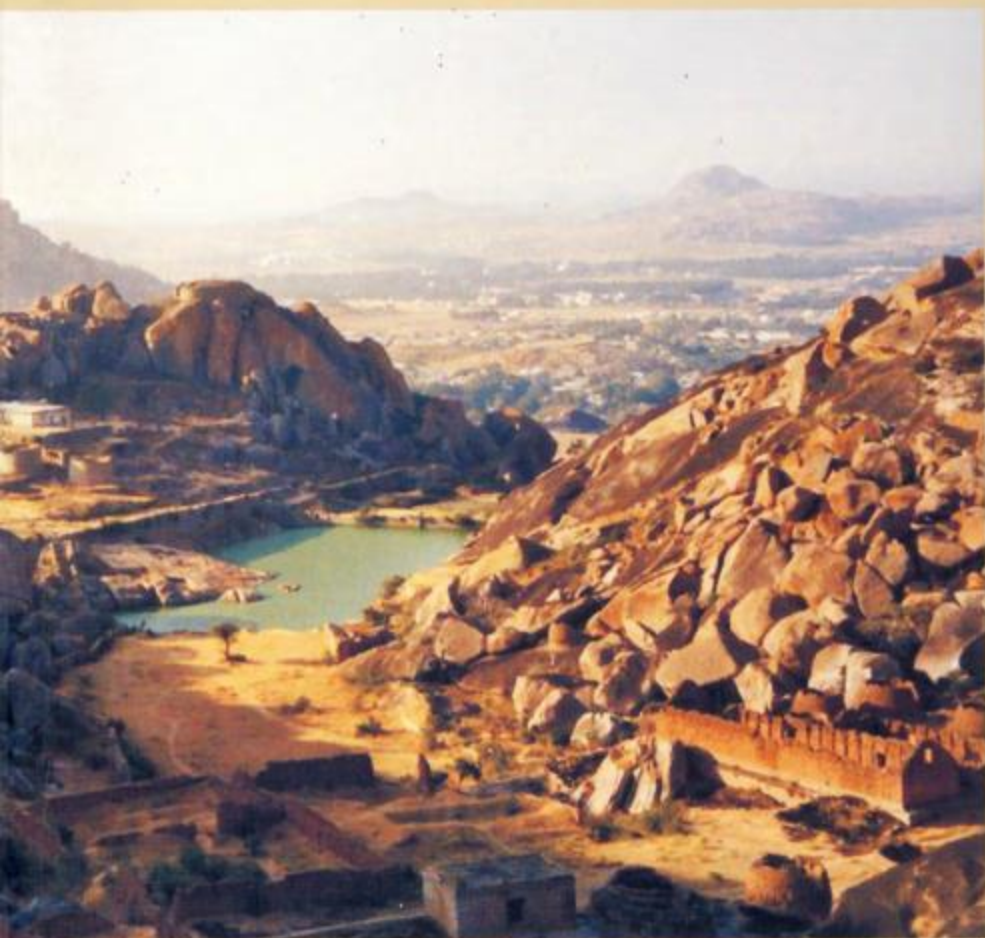


LECTURE SERIES PUBLICATION-6

Chitradurga in the Early 1800s

Archaeological Interpretations of Colonial Drawings

Dr. Barry Lewis



Indian Council of Historical Research
Southern Regional Centre, Bangalore

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PREFACE

Established in 1972 by the Government of India as an autonomous organization, the Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR) has been promoting the scientific writing of history. One of its objectives is to undertake the compilation and publication of historical works. The Council has brought out on its own more than three hundred books and journals besides extending financial assistance for publication to over three thousand historical works.

The Southern Regional Centre, (SRC) of ICHR at Bangalore (established in 1997-98) has successfully organised a series of lectures on different themes which can now be brought out as separate monographs. This is the first publication of this Centre under this scheme.

I am grateful to the learned speakers who have delivered these lectures and congratulate the staff working in the SRC for publishing the same.

20th June 2006

Professor D. N. Tripathi
Chairman, ICHR.

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CHITRADURGA IN THE EARLY 1800s:

Archaeological Interpretations of Colonial Drawings*

- Dr. Barry Lewis**

In the preface to his recent book *Historical Archaeology of India*, M. K. Dhavalikar (1999:xii) laments that the historic period is "...the most neglected aspect of Indian archaeology". It is regrettable that this should be true, given the outstanding opportunities that exist in India for interdisciplinary research that draws on the nation's rich historical and archaeological resources. Equally unfortunate is archaeology's enduring image as a "handmaiden to history" (Hume 1964), a view that is by no means unique to India. As Trautmann and Sinopoli (2002:501) demonstrate in their insightful overview of the changing relationship between archaeologists and historians over the past couple of centuries, "much historic period archaeology in South Asia remains focused on the illustrative use of monuments, sculpture, and elite productions to adorn the pages of history texts".

* Paper presented to ICHR, Southern Regional Centre, Bangalore on January 18, 2005.

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Although no one would deny the immense interpretive value of historical documents, it is evident that, for many questions about the past, the most robust answers are those that find support in both documentary and archaeological evidence. My objective here is to turn the gaze to the role that history also often plays in service to archaeology. I examine the significance of colonial drawings for the reconstruction and analysis of the major spatial features of Chitradurga, an important central Karnataka town as it was around 1800, before events of the past two centuries dramatically changed the face of this community. In this example, history has much to offer archaeology, but neither discipline can serve as the single authoritative voice for the past. Taken together, they generate a valid and reliable reconstruction that could not be created by either discipline acting alone.

This analysis focuses on three complementary drawings of Chitradurga made by British military engineers between 1801-1803. They depict the town and fort as it existed at the end of the Fourth Mysore War, a watershed event in central Karnataka history that spelled the end of the chronic political instability that dogged the region after the fall of Vijayanagara in 1565. Although the changes ushered in by this era were no less sweeping in their impact on Mysore society, they manifested themselves on the landscape and in the built environment in ways that soon reshaped the appearance of Chitradurga and most other Mysore cities and towns. By the year 2000, many important, if not defining, features of Chitradurga and places like it had been recycled, built over, or generally obliterated to such an extent that its 1800 plan can now only be identified on the ground with great difficulty, if at all.

Chitradurga

The town and hill fort of Chitradurga (Figure 1) rose to regional prominence between the late sixteenth century and the

reestablishment of the Mysore kingdom under the Wodeyars after the death of Tipu Sultan. It was already an old city, as indicated by inscriptions and ancient temples on the hill (Krishna 1993:14-22, 199; Rice 1903), and the locality's association with the city of Chandravalli, the remains of which spread across the valley to the west of the hill (Sundara 1985; Wheeler 1948:180-310).

By the early 1600s, Chitradurga was the capital of a major Nayaka period polity (Hayavadana Rao 1930:V:1380-1387; Ota 1999; Srisathyan 1967:53-61). The political fortunes of the Chitradurga *nayakas* were varied and it was at times an independent kingdom, a tributary of Srir, a tributary of Mysore, and finally, after it was conquered by Haidar Ali in 1779, a Mysore province (Hayavadana Rao 1930:V:536-537). Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan garrisoned the fort and it competed briefly with Bednore (Nagar) and Bangalore as one of the key Mysore strongholds between 1780-1799. At the end of the Fourth Mysore War in 1799, Chitradurga fell into the hands of the British, who held the fort until 1809, after which it reverted to the Mysore government. It continues today to be an important regional center and district headquarters town.

Given Chitradurga's significance in Karnataka history and the hill fort's excellent state of preservation, it is surprising that the site has received relatively little attention from archaeologists or historians. Krishna (1993:14-22, 199) published brief descriptive accounts of the Chitradurga hill fort and other archaeological sites in this district in the early 1930s. Local historians, such as M. S. Puttanna (1924; Sujatha 1991), H. S. Jois (Srinivas 1991), and Laxman Telagavi (1976, 1999; Telagavi and Venkannachar 1979) have done much to bring the rich history of the region to the public, but their work, which is mostly in Kannada, has yet to reach a large audience outside of Karnataka. The notable exception among local publications is

an English language tourist guidebook (Shankar et al. 1984), which gives a brief history of the town and identifies the fort's major landmarks.

The late C. S. Patil and I began archaeological reconnaissance surveys in Chitradurga district in 1996, with emphasis on Nayaka period fortified sites (Lewis 1997; Patil 1999). The fieldwork has been augmented by archival research on eighteenth and early nineteenth century British and Indian records (Lewis 2005, 2006; Lewis and Patil 2003). In the year or so before his death, C.S. Patil and I also began work on a book about Chitradurga, and he was able to complete most of the monument inventory of the hill fort area before he passed away. An Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) team, working under the direction of Dr. S. V. P. Halakatti and C. B. Patil, began field research at Chitradurga in January, 2003, to map the fort area and conduct excavations in the palace area. The ASI fieldwork promises to open a new era in our understanding of this important site.

The next section describes the drawings that survive from the earliest days of the British presence at Chitradurga and assesses their interpretive value as documents of archaeological relevance. Working from these assessments, I then explore the major cultural features and spatial patterns revealed by these documents and discuss what the early British representations of Chitradurga emphasize and what they miss. Although passing references will be made to other contemporary documents and the results of archaeological surveys conducted by C. S. Patil and me in and around Chitradurga, I must defer the detailed examination of the latter to another forum. The concluding section discusses the unique contributions such colonial documents can make to archaeological investigations of monuments and to site conservation efforts generally.

Colonial Drawings as Archaeological Data Sources

Drawings, paintings, pen-and-ink sketches, and the like, whether of march routes, site plans, landscapes, or even individual buildings, were the cameras and remote sensing instruments of military intelligence and civil administration well into the nineteenth century. They were certainly the primary visual means by which India was represented to the European public and, more specifically, to the entrepreneurs, prospective investors, politicians, military strategists, administrators, and field commanders who made decisions that affected the aspects of India's immediate future that came under foreign control.

Taken as a group, the paintings and drawings made by military and civil officials in the performance of their duties can be usefully distinguished from the products of contemporary professional artists, such as the Daniells (Archer 1980; Sutton 1954), who painted primarily for reputation and profit, and from that of amateur artists, such as Charles D'Oyly (Archer 1969:162-169; Clark 1813), a Bengal civil administrator who chose to express himself in drawings as a form of recreation. The general category of official art, which is that made in the course of the performance of civil or military duties, comprises everything from landscapes to the in-line drawings of travel diaries and stands apart because of its implicit political nature. Although ideology is a component of most visual representations, it is the compelling aspect of official art that sets it apart from other graphical documents. Official art is usually motivated by specific ideological factors that bias the depiction of details, the likelihood a given picture will be preserved, and sometimes even the medium employed by the artist.

Ideological considerations also tend to figure prominently in the examination of a painting or drawing in archival research. Seldom, if ever, does one view a piece so superficially that it is

interpreted only as a coherent, intelligible, largely unbiased two-dimensional representation of a three-dimensional scene that would have been perceived and recorded similarly by any observer. For example, researchers tend to evaluate a military engineer's sketch of a fort gateway in a different light than a missionary's drawing of the same feature, based on one's knowledge of the location and the backgrounds of the individuals, why they chose to draw the feature in question, the historical events that took place at that location before and after the sketches were made, and why these particular drawings were preserved. Our implicit assumptions about the motivations of the military engineer and the missionary compel us to anticipate that they will not see the same feature in precisely the same way and that the differences will be reflected in the visual representations they construct. And, were the missionary to produce a sketch that is a more insightful assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of a given gateway than the engineer's, the apparent anomaly should probably motivate us to dig considerably deeper into what is known about both artists.

When one examines a drawing or painting for possible information of archaeological value, it also is important to understand the general training and aesthetic values that the artist brought to the easel or drawing board. Historical drawings and computer graphics are alike in that no necessary connection exists between reality and the artist's representation. For example, among the early nineteenth century artists to be considered here, if they felt a temple doorway faced the wrong direction for the most desirable composition, nothing prevented the artist from moving the doorway, if not the entire temple, to a more aesthetically pleasing angle, if not to a completely different site. Similarly, if one needed to enhance nature with a village or a sprinkling of gnarled trees in the foreground, it was easily

accomplished. Although contrived compositions and air-brushed elements were by no means uncommon in the heyday of film-based photography (Webb et al. 1981:124-125), the latter often possess an unwarranted illusion of objectivity, or more accurately face validity, that drawings and digital images lack.

The major Chitradurga drawings were all executed by military engineers, during an era in which the training of cadets and young officers was beginning to include set curricula, but was not yet uniformly required (Archer 1969:5-8; Sandes 1997). Instruction in drawing and perspective were part of this program for many officers, partly because of the obvious military applications of such skills and partly because one's ability with pen and brush was held to be one of the virtues of the middle and upper classes of Britain during this era (Archer 1969:4). Although in chronic short supply, military engineers were among the officers best trained in the technical skills needed to observe, evaluate, and report in narratives, measured drawings, and other graphical means of those aspects of cultural landscapes that figured most prominently in political and military decision-making.

Many officers, including, to varying degrees, the three engineers considered here, were often also influenced, if only sometimes indirectly, by such theorists as William Gilpin (1792) and Uvedale Price (1810), who figured importantly in the development of the Picturesque movement in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Britain (Archer 1969:18-23). The Picturesque emphasized rugged, rustic landscapes framed in compositions that appealed to the eye in a different way than the aesthetics of the sublime and the beautiful as described by, say, Edmund Burke (1757). Bicknell (1981:ix) captures the Picturesque's essence: "Whether in painting, prose, poetry, or garden, the Picturesque is the art of cooking nature—cooking

her according to certain principles originally deriving from the seventeenth-century landscape painters—to produce what in William Gilpin's terms 'would look well in a picture.'" British art of this period in India was often couched in the Picturesque aesthetic and even trained observers such as military engineers were not immune to John Varley's (as quoted by Bicknell 1981:ix) view that "nature wants cooking".

In sum, the drawings considered here were prepared by soldiers whose military specialization and social class were such that they probably possessed some degree of familiarity with, if not technical training in, drawing, perspective, and composition. As many researchers have also pointed out about British art in India during this period (e.g., Archer 1969; Dirks 1994; Edney 1997), the Picturesque aesthetic was a common major influence. That such cooking of nature could be accomplished without destroying the basic validity and reliability of key elements of a landscape drawing is one point to be addressed in the analysis of the Chitradurga drawings.

The Chitradurga Drawings

In keeping with their general policies, which placed high value on regional intelligence information (Barrow 2003; Bayly 1996; Edney 1997), the British quickly set out to learn as much of possible military and civil administrative value about this region as they could after the end of the Fourth Mysore War in 1799¹. Most of the resulting maps, plans, paintings, and reports were not published², but went straight into the files of the East India Company, and, eventually, into Indian and British archives. Of these documents, those pertaining to the Mysore Survey, which was conducted between 1800-1810 under the direction of Colin Mackenzie are of particular relevance to archaeologists, but they attracted relatively little attention, even by historians, until the late twentieth century.

The primary data to be dealt with here include, first, a detailed watercolor and pen-and-ink plan of Chitradurga³ (Figure 2) that was prepared by Colin Mackenzie in 1800 (Archer 1969:523) during the first field season of the Mysore Survey, a project that yielded, under Mackenzie's direction, an extraordinary collection of topographical and historical information about South India (Dirks 1993, 1994; Edney 1997; Robb 1998; Wagoner 2003). At the time he drew the Chitradurga map, Mackenzie was a Captain in the Madras Engineers⁴ with nearly 20 years of experience. The second drawing is a watercolor landscape view of Chitradurga from the east⁵ (Figure 3), executed in 1801 by R. H. Fotheringham, a Lieutenant in the Madras Engineers (Archer 1969:477; Vibart 1881:I:593). Finally, George Rowley, an Ensign in the Madras Engineers, who had worked under Mackenzie's command in the Nizam's Dominions (Vibart 1881:I:302-303), drew a view of Chitradurga's northern aspect in pencil and wash in 1803⁶ (Archer 1969:512). Rowley died a few months later at the village of Walkee, where he was commanding the Guides as part of Wellesley's advance on Ahmadnagar in the Second Mahratta War (Vibart 1881:I:374-375), and his drawing was subsequently worked up in watercolor⁷ (Figure 4) by John G. Newman, one of Mackenzie's draftsmen (Archer 1969:477).

Taken together, these documents are the major visual representations of Chitradurga to survive in the Oriental and India Office Collection of the British Library (OIOC) from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Two other Chitradurga watercolors⁸ about which little is known other than they were drawn in 1799, are catalogued in the OIOC (Archer 1969:74), but the curators report that these items have been missing from the collection since the OIOC moved to its old Blackfriars location. At least three other Chitradurga plans or

drawings are mentioned in manuscripts of the period, but no trace of them has yet been found. They may, in fact, be copies of one or more of the drawings addressed here.

As noted above, contemporary documents suggest that no fewer than seven plans or drawings of Chitradurga were prepared, or at least are cited in reports, by British officers between 1800-1805. This makes it the most frequently depicted fortified town on Mysore's northern frontier after the fall of Tipu Sultan and is a good rough measure of the extent to which it figured prominently in the thinking of the British political strategists and military planners of the period. At least six of these visual representations were preserved in the OIOC, four of which can now be located. It is also possible, if not likely, that additional plans and drawings of Chitradurga are preserved in Indian archives, which I have not yet had the opportunity to examine.

The Mackenzie Map

The Chitradurga map (Figure 2) was drawn in June, 1800, by Colin Mackenzie, an exceptionally talented topographical surveyor, military engineer, and collector of historical manuscripts (Mackenzie 1952; Phillimore 1950:II:419-428). His plan is a large watercolor and pen-and-ink drawing, measuring 65 by 90 cm. As Mackenzie explained in a July 1800 letter to Barry Close, the Mysore Resident⁹, and in his October 1800 annual report to government in Madras, he made this map during a long month spent at Chitradurga recuperating from an illness. Although the main objective that brought Mackenzie to this region was to measure the new northern boundaries of Mysore, as these were redefined by the Treaty of Partition of July 1799, such plans and sketch maps were part of a long list of priorities he identified for the Survey¹⁰.

Copies of this plan may also be what Mackenzie later cited as one of the drawings that accompanied his report on the forts

of northern Mysore, which he submitted in early 1803 to Lieut.-General James Stuart, who was then Commander-in-Chief (C-in-C) in Madras, and separately to Major General Arthur Wellesley¹¹. It may also be the Chitradurga plan to which Robert Barclay refers in his 1805 cover letter that accompanied the Mysore forts survey report when it was submitted to the C-in-C in Madras¹². It is impossible to know for certain if these plans were copies or based on fresh surveys because they have not been preserved with the reports that cite them, but no other plans of Chitradurga have surfaced at the OIOC or in the Wellington Papers collection at the University of Southampton.

The greatest strength of the Mackenzie plan is clearly the details it provides about the town's layout as it existed at the turn of the century; the hill fort and its defensive works, and the location and size of the pre-1792 town area, which lay mostly beyond the Sante Tank, or roughly the part of modern Chitradurga that lies north of the bus stand. Many of these details, especially those of the town itself, cannot now be easily traced from surface remains.

I agree with Dirks (1994:219-220) that the Chitradurga plan was one "...drawn to be interesting and imposing simply as an architectural extension of an evocative natural landscape". Its composition and fine details identify a drawing that was clearly meant to be studied in the same way one examines a map rather than viewed as a landscape. And, while Picturesque compositions or elements can be identified in other Mackenzie Collection drawings (Dirks 1994:220-222), they are seldom encountered in his plans that had potential military applications. As such, Mackenzie's plan stands in contrast to the other two drawings.

The Fotheringham Drawing

R. H. Fotheringham painted a view of the eastern aspect of Chitradurga in 1801. Mackenzie preserved this watercolor,¹³

which measures 33 by 44 cm, in a portfolio of 33 drawings made at different times by several artists; this he labeled "Portfolio I" and entitled it *Views in Mysore & the Ceded Districts* (Archer 1969: 474-476).

The motivation for the Fotheringham drawing is reasonably clear. By late 1800, Mackenzie had a plan map, but nothing that gave a sense of what Chitradurga looked like to an observer on the ground. The best positions from which to give this perspective were the east and the north. Even today, little of the town and few of the complex fortification lines can be seen from the south and west. A study of the fort from the east was a valuable contribution because it gave a visual representation of the side of the town with the greatest density of cultural features and it provided, at the same time, information about the terrain across one possible front an attacking army might take. Although Mackenzie acquired the drawing for his personal collection, it is unknown if Fotheringham did it at his command.

Fotheringham's eastern view of Chitradurga provides an invaluable perspective of the site and it gives more specific details about the fort walls than the more technically competent Rowley drawing does, perhaps reflecting Fotheringham's greater military experience (he had six years seniority on Rowley) or differences in their training or talents. Regrettably, the fort details are crammed into a narrow band across the lower half of the painting. More than two-thirds of the design field is sky or a bland foreground, neither of which can tell us much about Chitradurga. People and other animals, which Fotheringham could have used to help enliven his composition, are also noticeably absent, and the dwellings in the right middle distance are so unobtrusive as to fail to engage the viewer's eye. The boulders and gnarled tree in the foreground suggest that Fotheringham was conscious of these shortcomings, but may have lacked the necessary artistic training to overcome them.

Although no scale is provided on this drawing, the angles connecting prominent features that can be cross-referenced with the Mackenzie plan suggest that the details given in the remaining one-third of the drawing form a rough but usable representation of the major features of the fort and town, as viewed from the east. In the rightmost quarter of the drawing, the Union flag can be seen hoisted on Flag Staff Hill, a visual reminder that Chitradurga fort was garrisoned by the British throughout most of the first decade of the 1800s.

The Rowley Drawing

George Rowley, another young Madras Engineers officer, was at Chitradurga in 1803 and filled the remaining gap in Mackenzie's visual documentation by drawing the town and fort from a northern vantage point. Although both Fotheringham and Mackenzie had more than twice as many years of service experience as Rowley, his account of the Srirangapatna battle demonstrates that he knew his military craft (Rowley 1856), and we have good reason to take seriously his representation of this fort.

For the purpose of this analysis I used John Newman's 24 by 37 cm watercolor¹⁴ of Rowley's pencil and wash sketch.¹⁵ Newman's watercolor is included among the Fotheringham and other drawings in Mackenzie's "Portfolio 1". Rowley's original sketch is also in the Mackenzie collection, in a portfolio of 125 sketches entitled "No. 8. Miscellaneous Plans and Views" (Archer 1969:507).

Where Fotheringham's perspective was nearly on the horizontal, Rowley drew from a slight elevation, which greatly helped to give depth to his depiction of the town and to convey far more useful information in a smaller drawing. Rowley devoted most of his attention to the hill and its fortifications and to the outermost defensive works of the town. As in the Fotheringham

drawing, the Union flag can be clearly seen on Flag Staff Hill slightly to the right of the drawing's center.

The drawing's composition suggests Rowley had read William Gilpin or had at least been taught by someone trained in the Picturesque aesthetic. While the town and the hills are demonstrably accurate because they can be corroborated by the other paintings, the boulders and houses of the foreground may simply be additions to make the scene more picturesque. It is also evident that the scene as a whole is Rowley's, not that of the copyist John Newman, who added people, cattle, and sheep into the foreground. The picture is stylistically similar to Rowley's picturesque view of Pune (Archer 1969:Plate 29), which, although undated, was almost certainly drawn in early June, 1803, shortly before his death. John Newman's paintings that he did nearly a decade later in Java (e.g., Archer 1969:Plate 92-93) reveal an artist who, while he may have been a talented copyist and draftsman, had a fundamentally different style than Rowley.

Taken together, the three drawings offer complementary views of Chitradurga made shortly after the end of the Fourth Mysore War by different observers of similar cultural background and military training. Since the principal object of these drawings was precisely the sort of place such officers might be called upon to defend or attack, it is reasonable to infer that their visual studies of Chitradurga reflect the anticipated application of their craft as much as, if not more than, a picturesque landscape.¹⁶ Insofar as this is true, their drawings provide a useful basis for delineating major aspects of this important site. Mackenzie's plan map obviously is the keystone because it provides the greatest detail of cultural features and is a measured drawing. By his own admission, however, this plan is not intended to convey details about small features or those of little potential military significance.¹⁷ The Fotheringham and Rowley drawings

may also be measured plans, but scale is not explicitly expressed and the drawings are presented in the vernacular of landscape art. These drawings are important because they complement the Mackenzie plan and express a more visual sense of the eastern and northern approaches to the town and fort than the Mackenzie drawing can convey. Nevertheless, their interpretive value would be considerably less were they to be examined without the Mackenzie drawing at hand.

Analysis of the Drawings

Given these visual representations of early nineteenth century Chitradurga, let us now examine what they show us about this important site that would be of archaeological value and that we could not easily and quickly discover by other means. We will begin with what Mackenzie called the Lower Fort, which encompassed both the town and the hill fort as they existed in June, 1800. From there we will proceed to the Inner Fort, nestled between the Lower Fort and the main eastern approaches to the hill fort. We then examine the hill fort itself, which Mackenzie called the Droog or Upper Fortification.¹⁸ Our drawing-based survey concludes with a discussion of Chitradurga's setting, including the remains of the pre-1792 town and the features depicted by the artists within 1-2 kilometers of the town walls. The final section considers the inferences and generalizations drawn from this analysis and discusses the observer biases reflected in the drawings and how these may be explained. It also examines the results of this study and discusses their potential applications in the planning of archaeological investigations at Chitradurga and the development of site management plans and conservation priorities.

The Lower Fort

The Lower Fort comprised Chitradurga's outermost defensive works and also formed the longest continuous stretch

of walls, extending roughly five kilometers,¹⁹ beginning at the southeastern foot of the hill, embracing the town to the east, and continuing north around the hill to end on the lower slopes of the southwestern side of the hill.²⁰ The Lower Fort also included the connected works immediately interior to the outermost walls in the south-central part of the fort at the base of the hills (Figure 5). According to a local account translated by C. V. Boria (hereinafter, the "Boria account")²¹, one of Mackenzie's assistants, all but a small piece of the Lower Fort was constructed by Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan. Since these works also defined the post-1792 extent of the city, most of this feature may have scarcely been a decade old when Mackenzie mapped it in 1800.

The city walls of the Lower Fort are depicted in all three drawings and dominate our perspective of the entire town. Less apparent, but also integral to the outermost defensive works, was a ditch, stretches of which can still be traced among the ruins of the southern Lower Fort walls. Mackenzie's drawing shows this ditch extending all the way around Chitradurga except for the southwestern corner, where the steep terrain in that quarter was the main defense and the defensive works were sited higher on the hill. The ditch averages about 20 m wide in Mackenzie's plan, a measurement that conflicts with the 9.1 m (10 yards) estimate given in the Boria account. The counterscarp of this ditch and glacis are depicted in the left side of Fotheringham's drawing, where the Lower Fort wall line bends to the west (and the viewer is presented with an otherwise confusing jumble of bastions and parapets). The ditch is essentially invisible in Rowley's drawing, the only possible exception being on the drawing's left side where a small patch of water can be seen outside the Lower Fort walls as these turn to the south from the northeastern angle. If this feature does represent the ditch along

that corner, Rowley visually reports it as wider, wetter, and with a much more gently sloped counterscarp than the other two observers.

Turning back to the Lower Fort walls behind the ditch, Fotheringham and Rowley's drawings both show masonry curtain walls with round bastions bearing European style parapets and gun embrasures. Most of this wall appears to be relatively low in these drawings, but this is an illusion created by the glacis outside the ditch. A more accurate sense of the Lower Fort wall height can be gained from inspection of the above-referenced part of the Fotheringham drawing, where the view flanks the ditch and exposes the true wall height. The general design of these walls must have closely resembled the most recent walls and bastions on the commanding heights of the hill fort (Figure 6), which were almost assuredly built by the same European or European-trained engineers at roughly the same time.

Mackenzie's drawing shows at least 45 towers or bastions along the contiguous stretches of the Lower Fort walls (Figures 1-2). The Boria account identifies 52 towers, many of which bore names, in the entire Lower Fort complex. The remaining seven towers cannot be identified without external evidence that references which of the non-contiguous works (especially on the southern and southwestern slopes of the hill fort) were considered to be part of the Lower Fort. The relative sizes and placements of the Lower Fort bastions, as depicted in the Fotheringham and Rowley drawings, cannot be precisely cross-referenced with Mackenzie's plan, which, because it is a measured map made by an officer with significantly greater experience, possesses greater face validity.

The Lower Fort had four main gates,²² all of which show clearly on the Mackenzie map (Figures 1-2). None of the gates can be identified on the Fotheringham drawing; one, the Futtah

Gate, appears to be depicted on the Rowley drawing. As identified on the Mackenzie plan, the main entrance was the Sera or Khans Gate on the eastern side of the Lower Fort, which is better known today as Rangayyana Bagilu, the site of the archaeology museum maintained by the Karnataka Directorate of Archaeology and Museums.²³ The Sera Gate was the only Lower Fort gate that could mount guns²⁴; it also contained the only guard room in this line of works.²⁵ Following Mackenzie's labeling of his plan, the other gates were the Najeeb Gate on the south, the Hussein Hoonda Gate on the northwest, and the Futtah Gate on the north; all of different designs. The Lower Fort included eight smaller gates and sallyports or *diddi*,²⁶ one of which is depicted on the Mackenzie map near the foot of the hill on the western side of the fort.

Passing inside the Sera and Futtah gates during the early 1800s, a visitor would have seen before him thoroughfares that led to the front of Uchchangiamma Temple on what is now called TaRaSu Street, where they intersected and turned south to the main gate of the Inner Fort (Figure 5). Mackenzie's plan identifies the temple as the anchor for the primary streets leading to and from the hill fort, which suggests that the basic layout of this part of the Lower Fort was established well before 1792.

Mackenzie drew outlines of only two buildings in the Lower Fort—Uchchangiamma Temple and a large, unfinished mosque, the Jumma Musjid or congregational mosque, on the east side of the street leading from the Futtah Gate to the temple (Figure 5). He clearly felt that the other Lower Fort buildings held no military relevance or interest because he took pains only to convey a sense of the main lines of communication. Likewise, few details of Lower Fort buildings can be identified in the other two drawings. The large building that shows at the foot of the hill a little to the left of center in the Rowley drawing is undoubtedly

his interpretation of Uchchangiamma Temple, which is of two stories. The sizes of the temple and mosque may have been their most important characteristics from Mackenzie's perspective; both buildings were being used as storehouses when the fort surrendered to the British in 1799.

Traffic passing through the Hussein Hoonda Gate on the northwestern angle entered an east-west street that ran parallel to the Lower Fort walls, branching about half-way to the Futtah Gate, with one arm continuing to this gate and the other ending just opposite to the mosque. What appears to have been another major north-south street began near the northeastern gate of the Inner Fort and ended at the Inner Fort's secondary works (described below), which bounded the town's buildings and streets to the south (Figure 1). How the area between the Najeeb Gate and the Inner Fort's secondary works was used cannot be discerned from the drawings at hand, but it appears to have been just as devoid of structures then as it is now.

The Inner Fort

In 1800 most of Chitradurga's inhabitants lived in the space between the Lower Fort walls and the second fortification, which the British called the Inner Fort. The defensive works of the Inner Fort were apparently constructed during the time of the Chitradurga *nayakas*, before the town fell to Haidar Ali. These works encompassed the foot of the hill immediately outside the series of main gates that led up to the hill fort (Figure 5). A secondary line of works that connected the southeastern wall of the Inner Fort and the Outer Fort walls was also considered to be part of these works, which suggests that the trace of the post-1792 town walls must have followed at least part of the pre-1792 Lower Fort line (Figure 1). Taken together, the Inner Fort walls extended for roughly 1785 m (1952 yards) and included 17 batteries or bastions²⁷. A shallow ditch that lacked a glacis

lay outside the main part of the Inner Fort walls on all sides except the west and the extreme south. In contrast to the Lower Fort walls, which were faced with granite blocks, the facing of the curtain and bastions of the Inner Fort is described as “small loose stones”.²⁸

The Inner Fort contained several significant features, the most important of which was the Lower Mahal or palace and its attendant storehouses, temples, support buildings, and garden.²⁹ The Mahal compound stands out clearly as a walled enclosure of large buildings in Mackenzie’s drawing (Figure 5). Soon after assuming control of Chitradurga in 1799, the British emptied the Inner Fort of its inhabitants and adapted it for use as the garrison’s forage magazine and officer quarters. The Mahal, which consisted of several apartments, some of which were of two stories, became the commanding officer’s residence. The latter structure may be the only part of the Inner Fort that can be identified in either of the other drawings. In Fotheringham’s drawing, one multistoried building can be identified at the base of the hill in the southern half of the Inner Fort. Its position relative to Flag Staff Hill, the Sultans Battery, and the largest battery on Leopard Hill, demonstrate that this cannot be the same building (i.e., Uchchangamma Temple) that stands out so prominently at the base of the hill in the Rowley drawing.

Then, as now, the western side of the Inner Fort area was defined by the north-south road that followed the ditch and walls of the Third Fort, the outermost fortification line of the hill fort, to which I now turn.

The Hill Fort³⁰

All three drawings are dominated by multiple lines of fortifications, the most obtrusive of which crowd the hills that form Chitradurga’s mass. Mackenzie’s plan map, in particular, is a visually compelling drawing that encodes a significant amount

of information about Chitradurga’s layout. To casual inspection, it gives the impression of great detail. Closer examination, however, reveals that Mackenzie stayed true to the map’s title in the cartouche: “Plan of the Principal Points Batteries and Works on Chitel-Droog Surveyed in June, 1800”. He obviously gave considerable thought to the classes of cultural features that he should depict individually and those he should simply sketch or omit, because they had little or no bearing on attack and defense, the central complementary issues of military engineering applied to fortresses. This point is strikingly seen in the sparse details of the town that I noted above, but it is equally evident in his selective representation of aspects of the hill fort.

The hill fort was not an easy object to draw in plan view because of its varied surface relief. While this was difficult enough, Mackenzie faced a further challenge in that he needed to convey potentially important information about cultural features that were small relative to the drawing’s scale. He (or his draftsman) skillfully used a brown color ramp or shading to convey a sense of the hill’s rugged terrain, but the color saturation range was such that the shading nearly obscures important small details in the most rugged areas of the fort. Rather than necessarily reflecting a poor technical decision made by the artist, it is more likely the case that the pigment used for the shading, or the paper itself, darkened slightly over the past two centuries. Regardless, it was a challenging drawing and Mackenzie created what is even today a beautiful plan.

The Mackenzie drawing is the most complete available plan of the Chitradurga hill fort. While it is by no means without error, it captures many features of this part of the fort complex and is a measured plan made on the spot by an experienced military engineer before the British had the opportunity to do more than replace Tipu Sultan’s garrison with their own. As

such, the interpretive value of this and the other drawings greatly surpasses the information that a modern topographical map could provide. They are as close to early 1800s snapshots of Chitradurga's major features as we can get.

Setting aside consideration of the Lower Fort lines that follow the foot of the hill around most of Chitradurga, the outermost fortification of the hill fort is properly the third set of fort walls near the eastern base of the hill (Figure 7). The third fort gate is the main entrance through which visitors pass today. This line began at the southwestern extremity of the Inner Fort and extended north about 973 m (1064 yd) to the Sultans Battery,³¹ a well-constructed bastion with gun embrasures that commanded the Inner Fort's north gate and much of the northern half of the Lower Fort (Figure 7). The wall was protected by a dry ditch for much of its length and together they defined the western boundary of the Inner Fort.

The 4th – 7th fortification lines were constructed more or less parallel with the 3rd fort line, but at irregular intervals up the valley that leads into the center of the hill fort (Figure 7). Parts of these wall lines are older than the European-influenced fortifications of the Lower Fort, and many show evidence of having been modified at one time or another to accommodate changes in the style and mode of the fort's defense. The 7th line can be said to mark the main gate into the center of the hill fort, which is flanked by circular bastions on the adjacent hilltops, most of which had been equipped by Tipu Sultan with European style parapets and embrasures.

The Fotheringham and Rowley drawings offer only a few details to flesh out the visual account given by the Mackenzie plan, which is entirely understandable given their perspectives. Both drawings show short curtain wall segments with round and square bastions on the hills that do not appear on the Mackenzie

plan, but, as noted above, he concentrated on the major works and gates, omitting the lesser works because of the overall complexity of the site and the minor information value of the aspects he chose to omit. Rowley's drawing clearly shows the Sultans Battery on the lower hill slope just below the center of the picture. This bastion with its European parapets and embrasures anchored the northern end of the 3rd fortification line, the core of which was a well-dressed granite masonry wall that may date to late Vijayanagara times. The gateway complex for the 3rd fortification line can also be seen in Rowley's drawing slightly to the left of the Uchchangiamma Temple, tucked into the mouth of the short valley that forms the main entry into the hill fort (Figure 4).

When we move beyond the 7th fortification line into the enclosed area of the hill fort, the Fotheringham and Rowley drawings cannot do more than show the bastions that crowned the hill tops and the Mackenzie drawing becomes essentially the only information source. His view of the hill fort can be divided into two main spaces—royal display and royal residence—separated by the discontinuous 8th fortification line that crossed the middle of the hill fort between the outermost hills and the isolated inner one crowned by what the British called the Bell Battery (Figure 8). The north half of the area between the 7th and the 8th lines appears to have been largely a royal display and administrative area under the Chitradurga *nayakas*. Contained within it are the Hidimbeshvara, Sanipige Siddheshvara, and Ekanatheshvari temples, the Murugha or Brahan Matha, the large enclosure popularly called "The Mint", administrative buildings, and a variety of other structures (Figure 9). Mackenzie depicted only a few of these structures and sketched the bare outlines of a cluster of small buildings to the east of the Sampige

Siddheshvara Temple and the Murugha Matha, which he identified as “several houses of Jullees and other servants of the establishment of the ancient Rajahs” in the map’s legend.

The 8th fortification lines delimited the innermost part of the fort (Figure 7). Within these lines were the royal residence, storehouses and granaries, magazines, and another cluster of service buildings and servant quarters (Figure 8). Mackenzie identified the building complex in the south-central part of this division of the fort as the “Mahals or houses of the ancient Rajah’s built on the Hill”. Interestingly, he omitted any visual reference to the Gopalakrishna temple, one of the few structures still used in this part of the fort. He did, however, carefully paint rows of tiny palm trees to mark the location of the garden that once covered the low ground to the south of the large pond called Gopalswami Honda. Given its proximity to the palace complex, it is reasonable to assume that this was an ornamental garden, not one for the growing of foodstuffs.

Mackenzie handled the communication lines within the hill fort differently than the Inner and Lower forts. The perspective in the latter is street-centered and Mackenzie’s objective was clearly to draw attention to the streets with the greatest potential military significance. A perspective shift can be seen on the Inner Fort street that leads to the main gate of the 3rd fortification line. Here the viewer is given a line to follow through the gate and into the fort; partly this marks the simple transition from streets practicable by carts to those that must be largely negotiated on foot, and partly it is Mackenzie’s solution to the problem of encoding in a very small space as much information of possible military significance as possible. He drew lines to stand as proxies for both physical paths throughout the hill fort and to serve as guideposts to facilitate the viewer’s comprehension of the hill fort’s general traffic flow pattern.

Two main roads or pathways led into the furthest reaches of the hill fort (Figures 1 & 8). The fork in the road was then, as now, in front of the Ekanathesvari temple within the 7th fortification line. The left or southern fork led past the Siddheshvara Temple and the Murugha Matha, through the 8th fortification line, past the storehouses and palace complex, and up the hill to terminate below the Lal Battery and the main defensive works on the heights at the southern edge of the fort. The right or western fork led past the Mint, where it forked again, one path running south around the Akka-thangiyara Honda or pond, through the 8th fortification line, and ending at the garden and at the main defensive works on the southwestern side of the hill fort. These pathways inside the royal residence part of the fort could have easily connected in the valley by way of the Garden and the palace complex, but they do not appear to have done so, whether viewed from the perspective of Mackenzie’s map or the surface archaeological evidence that can be delineated in this part of the valley today.

The remaining fork of the pathway that led past the Mint continued downhill to the west, passing through the gates of two fortification lines before exiting the fort through what is today called the Hanumana Gate (Shankar et al. 1984:11). Mackenzie treated this gate graphically as a minor point of access for the hill fort. While this may have been true from his perspective, it is notable in Chitradurga’s history as the general location of the Vanake Kindi, a secret entrance that was valiantly defended by the heroine Obavva during an attack on the fort (Srisathyan 1967:393).

The pathways that Mackenzie delineated in the hill fort core area continue, with one exception, to be used by visitors to the fort today. The exception is the stretch of the path between the palace complex and the batteries that commanded the

southernmost approaches to the fort. Although it is still possible to walk up into this area of the fort, there is now only a rough trail. The fact that no new paths have been laid out probably says more about the constraints of the terrain inside the fort than anything else.

The Locality

Each drawing offers a unique perspective on Chitradurga's setting, or the cultural and natural features that lay beyond the fort walls but provided it with important context. The Fotheringham and Rowley drawings emphasize the town's defenses, the mass of its fortified hill, and the Union flag that symbolically identifies it as a British fortress. Although Mackenzie's drawing undoubtedly also gives the viewer a simplified interpretation of Chitradurga's setting, it provides several elements by which we can assess the representations presented by the other drawings. The most notable of these features include the roads that paralleled the eastern and northern lines of the Lower Fort, the northern and eastern Lower Fort gates, the Sante Tank, the ruins of the pre-1792 mud wall that surrounded the town, and a Muslim shrine called Ahmed Shah Vali Dargah (Figure 10).

Assuming that the perspectives of the two landscapes are at least rough approximations of reality, Fotheringham's and Rowley's positions can be roughly ascertained by triangulation. Fotheringham had to place himself about 500-600 m outside the curtain walls of the Lower Fort, much farther than Rowley because he was facing Chitradurga's long axis. His position was, however, too far south and too close to the town to depict any of the features Mackenzie recorded outside the fort walls except for the road, which is noticeably absent from his drawing. Rowley, on the other hand, positioned himself on the northern side of the fort, to the east of Sante Tank, and about 400 m from the

curtain walls. His location was such that the Ahmed Shah Vali Dargah would have been behind him to the left and he stood among the ruins of the pre-1792 town, which, if it is not a fanciful addition made to render the scene more picturesque, may explain the battered masonry wall in the right foreground of his drawing.

The approximate locations of the two artists are sufficient to show that, even if they tried to give a scrupulously accurate account of the town, as opposed to a picturesque landscape, the road would have been the only cultural feature among those of the town's setting identified by Mackenzie that would have necessarily been part of their compositions. However, the omission of such a feature from the Fotheringham and Rowley drawings scarcely warrants mention because a road on level ground is hardly an obtrusive feature; it would have been even less obtrusive if it formed part of a covered way between the glacis and the edge of the counterscarp of the ditch.

Once again we are essentially left with the Mackenzie drawing as the main information source. His plan shows the topography for about 1-2 km from the fort walls and emphasizes the roads by which the fort can be approached and major cultural features such as those listed above. Viewed from the military perspective, his depiction of the setting is important because it shows that Chitradurga was not commanded by a nearby hill from which artillery could fire into the fort, a fundamental flaw of some South Indian forts (e.g., Bellary³²). The setting was, however, by no means perfect. Mackenzie's plan shows that the southeastern Lower Fort was threatened by a rocky ridge that extended nearly to the glacis and could cover the movements of an attacking force.

Whereas many of the topographical details provided by the Mackenzie map remain easily recognizable today, what he

shows us about the pre-1792 town to the north of the Lower Fort is of significant archaeological value. The decayed walls of the pre-1792 town defined an area of approximately 66.5 ha (164.4 acres). In the map's legend he identified the wall as "Stone and mud enclosure of the petta which has been entirely uninhabited since the War of 1791-1792." Mackenzie sketched in the barest outline a cluster of buildings and streets in the northeastern corner of this area and bounded it with the label "Ruins of the old Pettah", but it is impossible to say from his sketch if the ruins filled the entire enclosed area. The wall itself appears to have had only six round bastions that were quite small by comparison with those of the post-1792 Lower Fort walls and would have been unsuitable for more than small wall guns. The main gate for this town wall, which Mackenzie calls the Moorgeamutta Oorooda gate, was on the northwestern angle astride the road to Mayaconda and Hiriyr (Figure 10). The name appears to refer to the Murugharajendra Matha, which moved off the hill to its present location on the northwest side of Chitradurga during the eighteenth century (Sadasivaiah 1967:123-128). After entering the town, the road followed the bund of the tank that protected the town's western flank and ended near the Futtah Gate.

What remains unanswered is the question of the extent to which the post-1792 town walls simply mark a contraction of the Lower Fort along existing lines everywhere except on the north. Such a contraction is suggested by the eastern pre-1792 fort walls, which are on the same general line as the eastern walls of the post-1792 Lower Fort walls and by the trace of the Inner Fort's secondary works. However, the limits of the western pre-1792 town walls and where they closed with the hill are far from clear. It is possible that these walls generally followed the Mayaconda and Hiriyr road and met the hill near the Futtah Gate, but if so, it gave the pre-1792 town a decidedly unusual

spatial plan. The drawing can do no more than suggest a possibility and general locations; the answers require archaeological excavations, not archival research.

The remaining question that needs to be addressed about the setting depicted in the Mackenzie drawing concerns its overall composition. Rather than center the mass of the fort and town in the drawing, Mackenzie pushed it into the lower right hand quarter, enough so that he barely allowed enough room for the cartouche in that corner (Figure 2). The decision was particularly striking because it left more than one-half of the drawing's area to be filled by the isolated hills and few cultural features of the southern and western approaches (the map is oriented so that West is to the top of the plan) out to a distance of roughly two kilometers from the base of the fort walls. The result makes it readily apparent that Mackenzie felt the isolated hill that lies several kilometers to the southwest of Chitradurga to be an integral part of the composition, so much so that he was willing to sacrifice details about the fort and the eastern and northern approaches, which, along with the rocky ridge that approaches the southeastern walls, were the most practicable directions from which an army might assault Chitradurga, in order to make the hill part of his drawing.

This southwestern hill is called Chatrakal, or the Umbrella Rock, and some interpretations of the present name of the town trace its origins here (Rice 1897:II:517). Mackenzie's note on the Chitradurga map describes it as "A remarkable bluff high rock with a pillar surmounted by a crescent on its top". Regardless of the role it may have played in the naming of Chitradurga, Hayavadana Rao (1930:V:1425) reports that Chatrakal is held to be sacred by Hindus and Muslims alike, the former because of the shrine dedicated to Dhavalappa or Siddesvara and the latter because of the tomb of Saadulla. Its representation in the drawing is an apparent concession to

Mackenzie's strong antiquarian interests, a concession that he was not above making even if it lessened the potential political value of the resulting plan.

Conclusions

The drawing-based survey of Chitradurga in the early 1800s reveals many features of the town and fort that cannot be identified on the ground today without extensive archaeological excavations. The three drawings are British interpretations of a major South Indian fortress during a watershed moment in modern South Indian history. Although they are invaluable pictures of a 200-year old cultural landscape, they are also culturally biased visual representations that suffer the same range of shortcomings as any historical document. Nevertheless, if we engage Chitradurga only at the level of these drawings, it is impossible to divorce the site from the artists' compositions because our understanding is a function of their intentions.

The preceding sections examined the historical context of these drawings and identified the aspects of the town, fort, and setting that the artists captured in ink and watercolor. This final section considers, first, the artists and their objectives; second, possible biases in their depictions of this town; and, third, the interpretive value of visual and textual archival data in the archaeological investigation of modern India.

The Artists

The artists' perceptions of Chitradurga were colored by their training and experience as military engineers, professional and personal motivations for the drawings, the historical events of the late 1700s that affected Chitradurga, and, to a certain extent, the Picturesque movement. Of the three artists, Mackenzie's drawing can be accepted out of hand as the most likely candidate for a generally accurate rendering of the town's

major features. He had far greater engineering experience than either Fotheringham or Rowley; the plan was drawn with the anticipation that it would be submitted with a narrative report for review by Mackenzie's superior officers; and the perspective of his drawing was that of a horizontal plan. Although Picturesque theorists also addressed this perspective in landscape designs (e.g., ornamental gardens), the horizontal plan was a basic element of military engineering drawings, and the latter conventions were those which tended to guide Mackenzie's decisions in this and many other important drawings during his time on the northern Mysore frontier.

Although considered to be official art, the Fotheringham and Rowley drawings were not, insofar as it is possible to tell, incorporated into formal reports to the military or government. They were preserved as items in a private portfolio, one of many that Colin Mackenzie assembled from the sketches and drawings that he ordered made, that were given to him, or that he purchased during his decades in South and Southeast Asia. He clearly did this with an eye toward eventual publication, but he died before he could work them up. Had he done so, Rowley and Newman's "picturesque" Chitradurga and even Fotheringham's more pedestrian interpretation would have helped to breath life into Mackenzie's account of this town and its history.

When one views each drawing, the first impression tends to be those of rugged surface relief and fortifications. As is true for many parts of South India, the region seems made to order for the Picturesque aesthetic. This aspect of the region and the savanna-like appearance of the terrain immediately to the east and north of Chitradurga required no "cooking" of nature and made that part of Fotheringham's and Rowley's task easier. Their main composition problem may have been simply the question of what to do with the foreground. Rowley and Newman filled

the foreground of their drawing with people, cattle, boulders and used a small village to bridge the middle distance. In any drawing we could dismiss the people, cattle, and boulders as more visually appealing than literally representative. Given the picturesque nature of Rowley's composition, both in this drawing and in the stylistically similar Pune drawing he made shortly before his death, we also have reason to question the existence of the village in the middle distance and the absence of other cultural features (e.g., the road paralleling the Lower Fort) up to the fort walls. In short, Rowley and Newman's highest priority was clearly to draw a picturesque landscape, not a mechanical depiction of the town and its setting. Nevertheless, the drawing's most visible key features are corroborated by the other drawings and by what can still be seen on the ground today.

Fotheringham's drawing is decidedly less picturesque than Rowley and Newman's, to the point of nearly being dull. The rotten tree stump and the bushes and boulders in the foreground lend a sense of depth to the composition, but the middle distance is nearly featureless. One is left wondering what was Fotheringham's goal, if not to provide an accurate account of the eastern side of Chitradurga. If that was indeed his intention, the foreground and middle distance of the Fotheringham drawing may be a more valid interpretation of what lay beyond the town walls than Rowley's far more interesting composition.

Chitradurga

I began this article with the observation that Chitradurga was a regionally important place. That its fortunes had waned by the turn of the eighteenth century was eloquently expressed by Mackenzie's mapping of the spatial extent of the pre-1792 town walls. These walls circumscribed a much larger area than that of the Lower Fort, which Tipu Sultan fortified in the years that led up to his final confrontation with the British and their allies at Srirangapatna in 1799.

The considerable difference between the walled areas of the pre- and post-1792 towns requires explanation. Although it is possible that the smaller area of the post-1792 Lower Fort walls reflected Tipu Sultan's understanding that a smaller perimeter is, other things being held equal, easier to defend successfully than a large perimeter, a more compelling argument can be made that the town simply had fewer inhabitants and businesses by the 1790s. Haidar Ali's defeat of Madakeri Nayaka in 1779 meant that the town went from being the capital of a largely independent polity to being a frontier fortress in the span of a few months. It is inconceivable that such a transition could have been effected without major impact on the town's economy, and this alone could well be the major factor that explains the difference in the town's size. If so, it is very likely reflected both in contemporary archival records and in the archaeological record.

It also is immediately evident from casual inspection of Chitradurga, whether from the three drawings considered here or by simply walking the site, that the town's greatest single investment was the complex array of curtain walls, bastions, and gates—the primary object of which was ultimately to defend the royal display and royal residence parts of the city. But only the hill was defended in depth. Breach the Lower Fort walls or assault them by escalade in any one of a score of places and much of the town was yours. Viewed in this light, Chitradurga is like many fortified headquarters towns in the subcontinent during late medieval and modern times (e.g., Blacker 1821; Lake 1825; Navarane 1995; Ramachandra Murthy 1996).

It would be wrong, however, to argue that the nested lines of fort walls that march up the eastern side of the hill necessarily reflect a profound tactical insight into the problem of repelling an assault in this area with minimum impact on the defender's resources. On this question, at least, opinions differ. The Mysore

fort survey review committee of 1802 concluded that Chitradurga's defenses were generally sound.³³ However, Edward Moor (1794:129), who saw Chitradurga's defenses in 1791, observed "we cannot however but think, that the many fortifications scattered over this, and almost every other fortified hill, would, in the event of vigorous operations, rather assist than retard an assault or siege". The question is moot because the answer will never be known. Regardless, there appears to have often been more to fort construction and maintenance than just defense. The king who can command the resources necessary to erect a fortification and gate, even if the site is poorly chosen or redundant with existing fortifications, still expresses a widely understood aspect of *rajadharma*, and may receive widespread approval for his act.

In the evaluation of a fortress, an early nineteenth century military engineer would emphasize defensive works, terrain characteristics that enable lines of advance and retreat, and lines of communication and key logistical issues, such as potable water supply, stores and storage facilities, and quarters. This is, of course, precisely what our three artists did emphasize in their drawings, and in that sense they consistently reflected their professions. The only portions of the Lower Fort to be depicted in detail were the fortifications, major gates, and internal lines of communication. Few of the town's buildings are delineated as discrete entities, and those that are identifiable tend to be major landmark structures such as the Uchchangamma Temple or be suitable for garrison housing and stores. For example, most of the buildings identified by Mackenzie appear to have been used as storehouses,³⁴ and I strongly suspect that Colin Mackenzie looked at every large building in Chitradurga from that perspective, regardless of the uses intended by their builders.

Pragmatic and focused though he undoubtedly was, Mackenzie deliberately unbalanced his Chitradurga plan to incorporate the location of the Chatrakal, or Umbrella Rock. It is a striking decision because it can be explained only as a decision to sacrifice information of possible military relevance for the sake of a location that possessed only antiquarian interest. Were a twenty-first century military engineer to do such a thing, an official reprimand might be the least he could expect, the domain of the engineer's responsibility having narrowed greatly in the intervening two centuries.

Finally, each artist treated the fortifications as one entity in his drawing. None of these pictures encode a relative chronology of the construction of Chitradurga's many fortification lines. The latter information, of course, would have been a boon for modern archaeologists, but, even given Colin Mackenzie's strong antiquarian interests, he tended to see fortifications as military assets, not as objects of antiquarian interest.

Archives and the Archaeology of Modern India

The three drawings provide a unique historical perspective on Chitradurga as it existed at the end of the 18th century. The value of this perspective is realized by what the drawings show us that we would not know or could not readily discover by other means. Such drawings are by no means limited to the work of Colin Mackenzie and his survey parties or to conditions that prevailed in Mysore. Comparable amateur, official, and professional drawings and paintings, as well as thousands of contemporary textual documents exist for hundreds of similar locations in South Asia. For the most part, however, Trautmann and Sinopoli (2002) are correct—archaeologists have not made effective use of such information. Particularly in the case of pictures, rather than attempt to analyze them as historical

documents and incorporate them effectively into our research as another line of evidence, we have tended to treat them as curiosities in their own right or simply dismiss them altogether. To do so is often to discard much potentially useful information of archaeological significance.

One factor inhibiting archaeologists' more extensive use of these visual and narrative textual documents may be that early modern India and the British colonial period have yet to emerge fully as mainstream areas of archaeological research in India. This is entirely understandable in a country so blessed with an abundance of archaeological monuments of international significance, and where memories of the independence struggle are still alive. Nevertheless, the sites and monuments of the recent past are often threatened by a greater range of active destructive processes than affect ancient sites and it is incumbent on us as "stewards of the past" to ensure that these resources do not vanish from the scene without contributing to the public knowledge and scholarly understanding of these aspects of India's past.

Just as the study of inscriptions, court poetry, literature, and the like greatly informs archaeological research on ancient India, contemporary historical documents offer an immense and largely untapped data source concerning the recent past, especially the 18th and 19th centuries. Heretofore, archaeologists have deferred to historians and art historians for the analysis of such documents, but the latter have yet to appreciate fully the research value of these archives (e.g., Desikachar 1977).

These records are too valuable to be left only in the hands of historians. As this article demonstrates, the integration of archival and archaeological research in a case study of only three drawings can offer significant potential benefits of increased archaeological understanding for a relatively small investment.

The benefits include: (1) providing the basis for predictive models of a given site's major features, which archaeologists can use to design more effective reconnaissance surveys and excavations of a site or its locality (e.g., the Inner Fort details given in the Mackenzie plan); (2) identify relationships between cultural features that could pass unnoticed or misunderstood in the absence of contemporary visual or narrative data (e.g., the differing spatial layouts of the pre- and post-1792 towns; the hill fort palace garden and its location); (3) provide external evidence that may validate or refute some types of archaeological inferences (e.g., were a decision to be made to reconstruct the Sera Gate, Mackenzie's plan provides an experienced military engineer's sketch of what it originally looked like in plan); and (4) establish baseline information about archaeological monuments that can be used in the identification of site preservation priorities and the development of management plans (e.g., the Mysore forts survey report,³⁵ which I describe in a separate paper, gives the measurements of every standing structure contained within the Chitradurga hill fort, its roof and door characteristics, current use, and state of repair as of 1802). Integration of these documents into archaeological research will also yield another benefit—it will test the validity and reliability of individual archival records. Archaeology is uniquely capable of providing "ground truth", the direct evidence of material remains found in primary contexts, to substantiate or refute many historical claims. We must aspire to a greater role than history's handmaiden.

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NOTES

- 1 The British appear to have had only sketchy knowledge of Chitradurga as late as the 1790s. For example, Edward Moor (1794) was part of the British brigade that accompanied the Maratha army on its southward advance into northern Mysore during the Third Mysore War (1790-1792). Moor (1794: facing p. 129) illustrated his account of this campaign with what may be the earliest British drawing of Chitradurga. This uninformative view of the hill from the northwest and Moor's accompanying narrative suggest that he knew little about with the town's layout and simply opted for a safe vantage point.

2. Notable exceptions being Buchanan's (1888) multi-volume account of his observations made during several Mysore journeys between 1800-1801, under orders from Marquis Richard Wellesley, Governor-General of India; and Benjamin Heyne's (1814) revised version of his report to government, based on his relatively brief association with the Mysore Survey as surgeon, geologist, and botanist.
3. OIOC WD 2534. References to Oriental and India Office Collection (OIOC) documents in the British Library, London, are given here first by the OIOC acronym, then by the shelfmark and, where relevant, manuscript page numbers of the cited document.
4. At the time of the final siege of Srirangapatna in May, 1799, the Madras Engineers listed only 29 officers on their roster (Vibart 1881:I:288). Mackenzie entered the corps as a cadet in 1781, Fotheringham in 1790, and Rowley in 1796. These men had previously worked together and would have known each other reasonably well in 1800-1803. Mackenzie had extensive experience in successful attacks on South Indian forts, and Rowley and he had worked together as recently as the 1799 assault on Srirangapatna; less is known about Fotheringham's field experience, but he definitely was not at Srirangapatna (Vibart 1881:I:288).
5. OIOC WD 581.
6. OIOC WD 771.
7. OIOC WD 582.
8. OIOC WD 2380 and WD 2381.
9. Mackenzie to Barry Close, Resident in Mysore, 3 Jul 1803; OIOC Add 13659, pp. 143r-143v. Mackenzie to Lord

- Clive, Governor in Council, Fort St. George, dated 11 Oct 1803; OIOC Add 13659, pp. 162v-163r.
- 10 "Memoir of the Operations & Method followed in carrying on the Survey of the Boundary and Northern Provinces of the Mysore Dominions and of the series of triangles carried on for that purpose on which is founded the geometrical construction of the charts of the Survey executed in 1800 and 1801; signed C. Mackenzie, Madras, 25 May 1803" – "Appendix No. 5: General Heads of Instructions for the Geometrical and Geographical Survey of a Purgunnah or Hobely in Mysore"; OIOC Add 13660, pp. 42r-42v.
- 11 Mackenzie's manuscript report is entitled "Remarks on the Forts on the Northern Frontier of Mysore in 1800 & 1801", dated 12 Jan 1803. Wellesley's copy of the report, less the accompanying plans, is preserved among the Wellington Papers, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, (hereinafter, "Hartley") WP 3/3/100.
- 12 R. Barclay, Deputy Adjutant General in Mysore, to the Secretary of the C-in-C, Fort St. George, dated 20 Apr 1805; OIOC F/4/233/5385, pp. 124-127.
- 13 OIOC WD 581.
- 14 OIOC WD 582.
- 15 OIOC WD 771.
- 16 This interpretation is supported by Mackenzie's letter of 5 February 1803 to Major General Arthur Wellesley, in which he discusses his enclosed report of the forts on the northern Mysore frontier as they existed in 1800-1801. To explain the report's rationale, Mackenzie wrote, "Conceiving however that any remarks or observations derived from professional habits could not be altogether without use, I had early designed them as assisting to any general inspection of the numerous forts of these provinces that

- might be requisite in forming a system of defence for the country at large...."; Hartley WP 3/3/100, p. 1r-1v.
- 17 Hartley WP 3/3/100, p. 1r.
- 18 Hartley WP 3/3/100, p. 8v.
- 19 Hartley WP 3/3/100, p. 7r.
- 20 The Lower Fort walls did not, however, completely encircle Chitradurga, as suggested by the Shankar et al. (1984) map and by H. S. P. Jois's undated map of the main features of Chitradurga Fort.
- 21 "Account of the Fortifications, Buildings, and the Works of Chitracollo, Received from the Officers of the District in June 1800, and translated by C. V. Boria" (probably Kavelli Venkata Boria); Hartley WP 3/3/100, pp. 12r-14v.
- 22 The names used here follow the inked labels on the Mackenzie plan. Each of these gates are also known historically by several other names.
- 23 As the city of Chitradurga grew during the nineteenth century, the hemispherical barbican that covered the Sera Gate was removed so the east-west street that begins at Uchchangamma Temple could be extended to the east.
- 24 Hartley WP 3/3/100, p. 7r.
- 25 Hartley WP 3/3/100, p. 7v.
- 26 Hartley WP 3/3/100, p. 12v.
- 27 Hartley WP 3/3/100, p. 12v.
- 28 OIOC F/4/233/5385, pp. 224-225.
- 29 Hartley WP 3/3/100, p. 7v.
- 30 Given the hill fort's complexity and the many as-yet-unanswered questions concerning its development, my observations are necessarily restricted to a general view of its fortification lines and interior spaces, as this can be

pieced together from the three British drawings. The recent Archaeological Survey of India excavation and mapping project, the late C. S. Patil's and my archaeological surveys at Chitradurga, and my own archival research, when published, will provide the hill fort details that can only be touched on now.

- 31 Hartley WP 3/3/100, p. 13r.
 32 Survey of India, 1:50,000, 57 A/16.
 33 OIOC F/4/233/5385, pp. 153-177.
 34 Hartley WP 3/3/100, p. 7v.
 35 OIOC F/4/233/5385.

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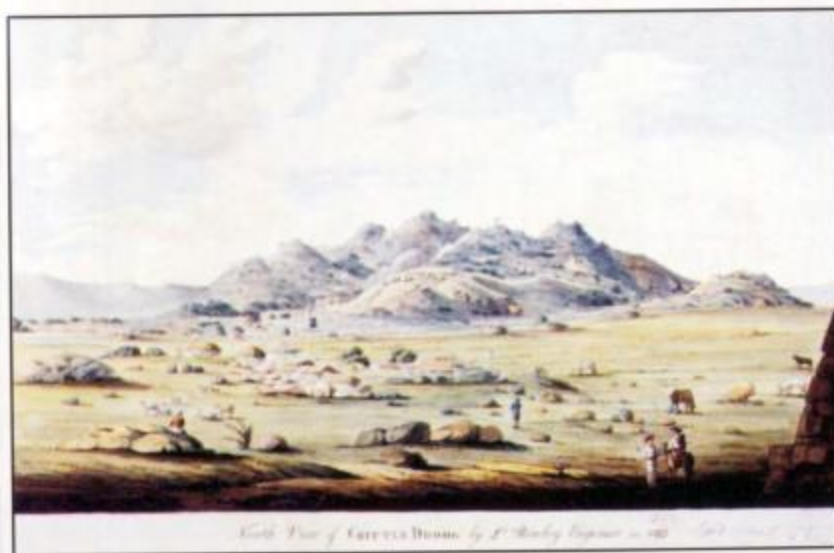




**Fig-2. Mackenzie's 1800 plan of Chitradurga.**  
By permission of the British Library, OIOC WD 2534



**Fig-3. Fotheringham's 1801 water colour of Chitradurga from the East**  
By permission of the British Library, OIOC WD 581



**Fig-4. Rowley's 1803 water colour Chitradurga from the North**  
By permission of the British Library, OIOC WD 582



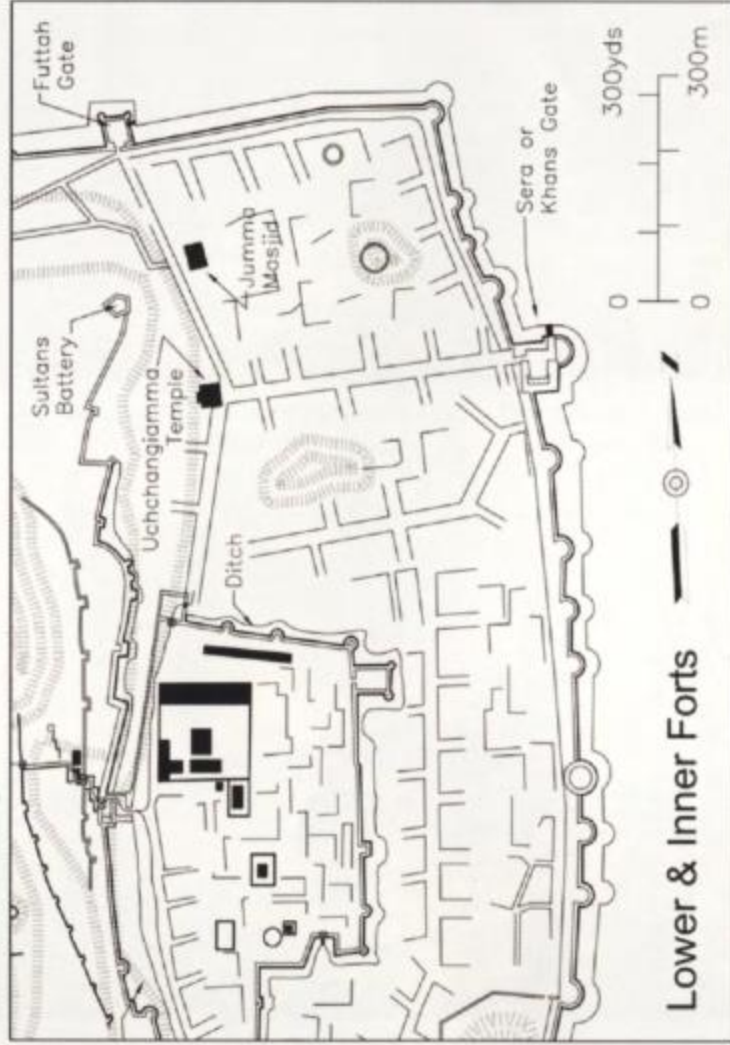


Fig-5. Lower & Inner Forts & the major streets the connected the Inner Fort with the City Gates.

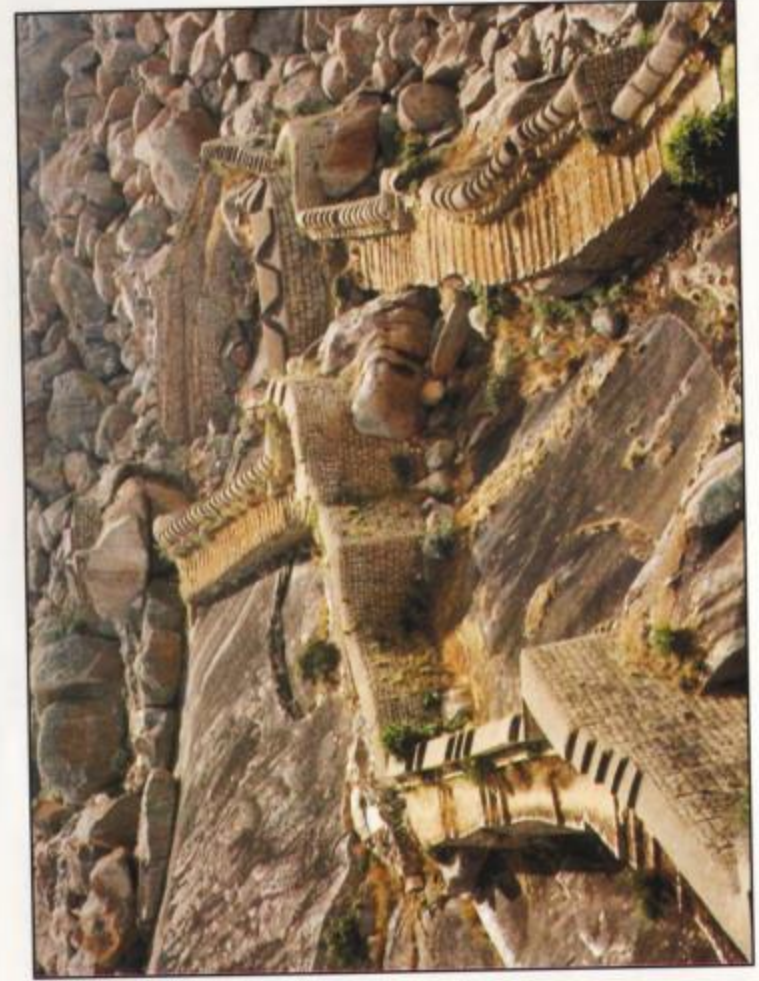


Fig-6. Parapets & bastions on the South Western perimeter of the Hill Fort.

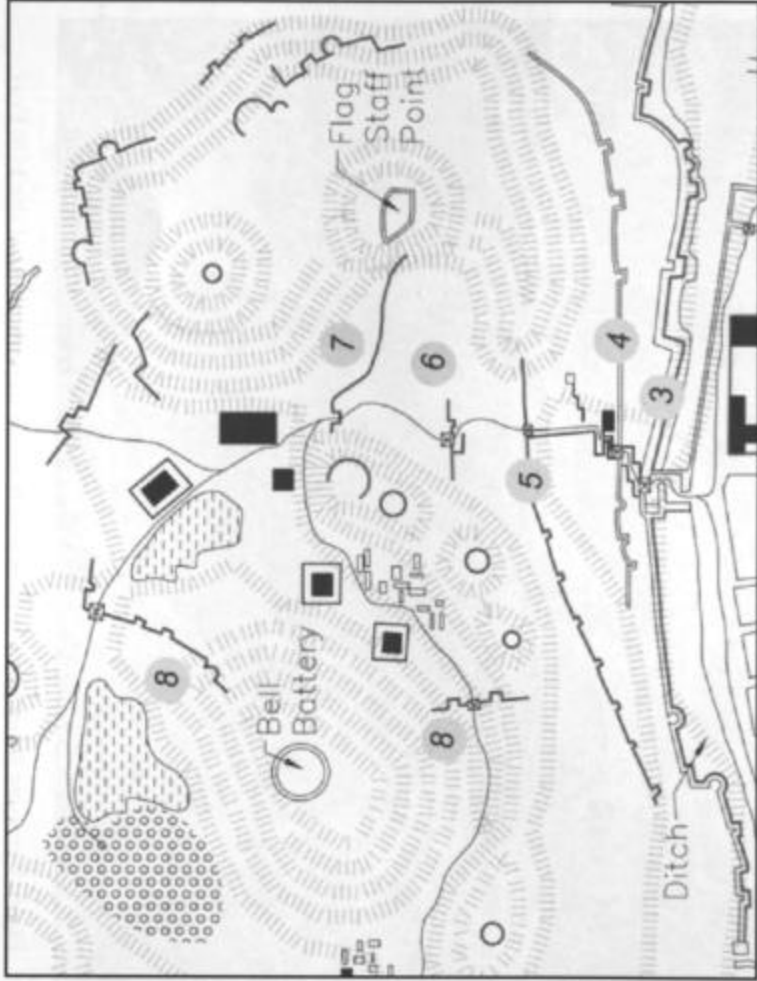


Fig-7. Major Hill Fort fortification lines.  
Each number marks a separate fortification line and gate.

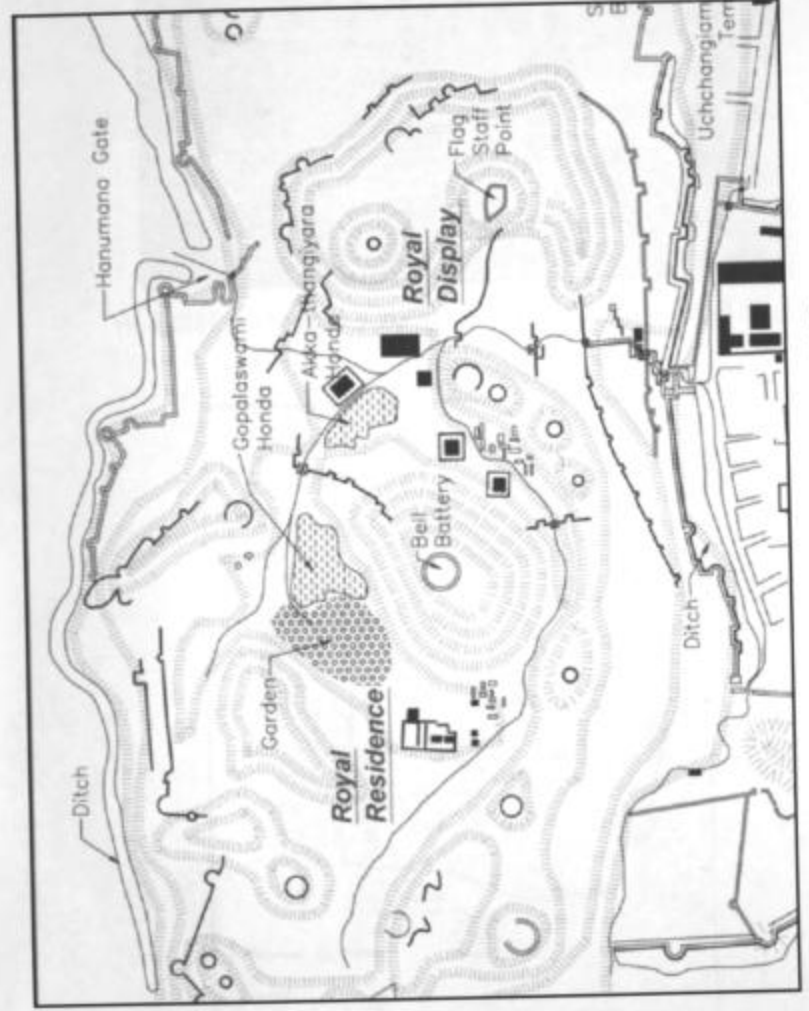


Fig-8. Major divisions of the Hill Fort

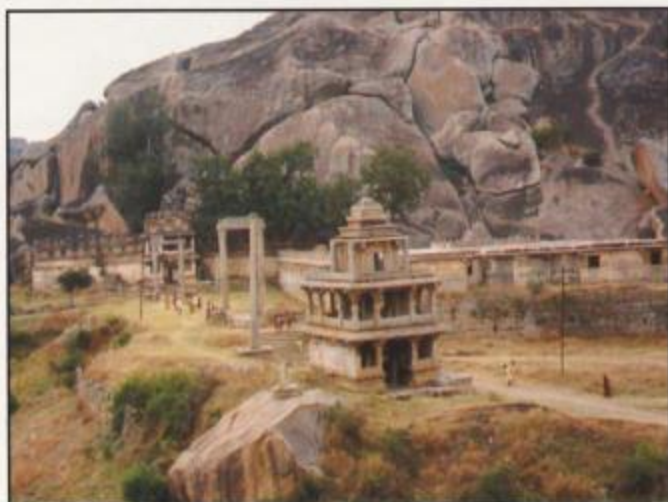


Fig-9. Public display & administrative area of the Hill Fort

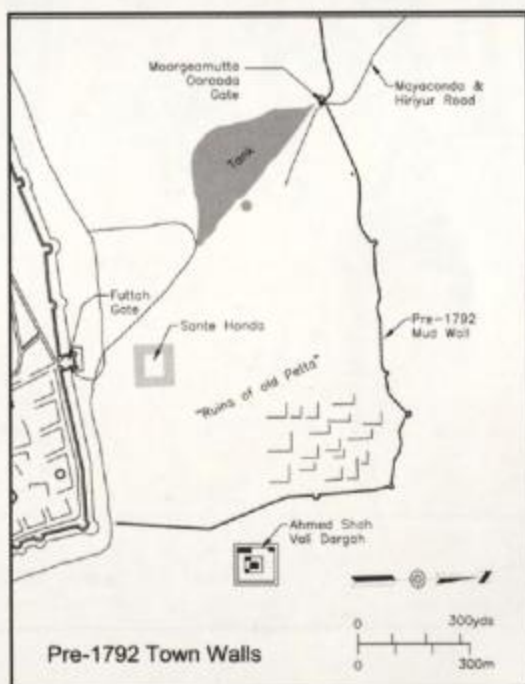


Fig-10. Cultural features to the north of the post-1792, Lower Fort Walls