



“Tipu Sultan: the most famous Indian in Paris before Gandhi and Tagore...”: A Transnational Critique of ‘Outstanding Universal Value’ in Twenty-First Century World Heritage Site Discourse using French Drama on Tipu and the Fortress of Srirangapatna from 1788 to 1949

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Magedera’s background is in the cultural history of the French presence in India and their interactions with both Indians and the British since the mid-eighteenth century. This peripheral voices and comparative perspective led to six PhDs, *Indian Videshinis*, European Women and Indian Power Elites, 1893-2017 (Roli Books, 2018), frenchbooksonindia.com a multilingual collaborative digital research tool and most recently to the two-year, AHRC/ICHR/GCRF-funded, Global Impact Accelerator Account enhanced Hugli River of Cultures Project, focusing on the 35 km stretch of riverine settlements where five European countries had a trading and/or military presence from the seventeenth to mid-twentieth centuries. Our 26-person team of environmental, architectural historians, anthropologists and human geographers are pursuing an impact-rich programme of documentation, public awareness raising of the potential for heritage to support knowledge-led development and for citizens to see their five cities, not as isolated dormitory settlements in the Kolkatan hinterland, but as a single unit, connected by heritage and the river.

Abstract

Building on the work of Assayag who highlighted the parallels between Napoleon and Tipu Sultan in the collective imagination of Parisian theatre-goers 1799-1815, this paper pursues a close textual analysis of the spatial representation of Tipu’s fort in two 1813 plays by de Brévannes and de Jouy. The fortress in de Jouy’s is a transnational space where relationships between the Mysoreans and the British, as well as between the French and Mysorean traitors (in cahoots with the British) are played out in the same theatre (of war). Parallels are drawn between these little-known theatrical representations of the fortress during the 1799siege and the usefulness of their transnational plural spatiality in arguing for the value of representations of a prospective World Heritage site in cultural domains other than that of the proposing nation. Such Global Cultural Heritage Audits before inscription offer a more rigorous definition of ‘Outstanding Universal Value’ and can also be used in the case of Srirangapatnam itself.

Keywords

19th century French theatre, end of Napoleonic era, peripheral voices, Tipu Sultan, world heritage site, global cultural heritage audit

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“These walls are the last refuge where I continue to resist. If I have to perish at these walls, succumbing while remaining an honourable man, I want my ruins to transmit my legend” – de Jouy’s protagonist Tippô-Saëb in his 1813 play of the same name

Why were a total of 3111 pages, covering fourteen dramas, novels and historical chronicles, about the ruler of Mysore published in Paris from 1788 to 1949? The headline answer is that Tipu Sultan, his riverine island fortress of Srirangapatnam and the breaking of both by the soldiers of the British East India Company during the siege of 1799 were the subject of keen interest among French playwrights especially (eight of the fourteen texts are plays) because, as Jackie Assayag has argued, they offer a poignant comparison with France’s own position at the final years of the Napoleonic era when Bonaparte began to be defeated militarily.[†]

Year	Author, title, place, publisher, date and number of pages
1788	[no author], <i>Les Indiens, ou Tipou-Sultan, fils d'Ayder-Aly, etc.; avec quelques particularités sur ce prince, sur l'audience qui lui a été donnée par S. M. Louis XVI, à Versailles, le 10 août 1788</i>
1796	FANTIN-DESODOARDS, Antoine-Étienne-Nicolas, <i>Révolutions de l'Inde pendant le dix-huitième siècle, ou Mémoires de Typoo-Zaeb, sultan du Maissour, écrits par lui-même et traduits de la langue</i>
1801	MICHAUD, Joseph, <i>Histoire des progrès et de la chute de l'empire de Mysore, sous les règnes d'Hyder-Aly et Tippoo-Saib</i> , 2 vols, Paris: Giguet, 1801, 850 pp
1802	FANTIN-DESODOARDS, Antoine-Étienne-Nicolas, <i>Heyder, Azeima, Typoo-zaeb. histoire orientale</i> , translated from Malabar, 3 vols, Paris: Barba, 1802, 785 pp.
1804	DUBOIS, Jean-Baptiste, <i>Tipoo-Saib, ou la Prise de Séringapatam, mélodrame historique, en trois actes, en prose</i> , Paris: Barba, 1804, 36 pp.
1804	RIBIÉ, César, <i>Petit-Pot ou Les Bouchers et les Charbonniers, parodie de Tipoo-Saib, en trois intermèdes</i> , Paris: Fages, 1804, 16 pp
1813	D'ARTOIS, Armand, <i>Le Cimetière du Parnasse, ou Tippô malade</i> , Paris: Barba, 1813, 40 pp.
1813	JOUY, Victor-Joseph-Étienne de, <i>Tippô-Saëb, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers, représentée pour la première fois, sur le Théâtre français, le 27 janvier 1813</i> , Paris: Barba, 1813, 112pp
1813	LEPILEUR DE BRÉVANNES, Henry, <i>Tippô-Saib, ou la Destruction de l'Empire de Mysore</i> , Paris: Delaunay, 1813, 69 pp.
1831	LALOUÉ, Ferdinand, <i>Les Lions de Mysore</i> , Paris: Hardy, 1831, 34 pp.
1869	DURU, Alfred, and Henri CHIVOT, <i>Le Rajah de Mysore</i> , Paris: Dentu, 1869, 31 pp.
1875	GONDROY DU JARDINET, Jules, <i>L'Anneau du meurtrier. [Une arrestation sous la Commune de 1871. Une noble vengeance. Les Derniers Moments d'un rajah de Mysore. La Mortalité en France</i>
1877	CHAROLAIS, Louis de, pseud. (CHAUVET, Pierre-Louis-Honoré), <i>L'Inde française. Deux années sur la côte de Coromandel</i> , Paris: Challamel, 1877, 248 pp.
1949	TESTORE, Celestino, <i>Le Tigre de Mysore</i> , Toulouse: Éditions du Clocher, 1949, 48 pp.

This article will show that, for dramatists writing in 1812 and 1813, Tipu’s fortress and the ultimate fate of offered a way to transpose France’s own geopolitical overreach into an Indian place and time in which that the impending French national disaster could be explored in drama using Mughal characters in an Indian location. We will see how this exploration concentrates theatrical space. Napoleon ranged across Europe and beyond it into Egypt and the Anglo-Mysore Wars lasted from 1767 to 1799 under Hyder Ali and his son, Tipu. The French-language representations in drama, however, concentrate on the ultimate overrunning of the fortress by the British on 4 May 1799 after a siege. The interest of French playwrights in Srirangapatna focuses on that location at that time, not only as a struggle between the British and Tipu. This is because key plays dramatize the historically documented presence of 300 French soldiers on the Mughal Mysorean side. These forces were besieged and then losing to a concatenation of betrayal by a key Mughal general and overwhelming British military force.

[†] Jackie Assayag, *L'Inde fabuleuse: le charme discret de l'exotisme français (XVIIe-XXe siècles)* [*Fantastic India: the discreet charm of French exoticism from the seventeenth to twentieth century*], (Paris : Editions Kimé, 2000) pp. 101-107.

We will see that French dramatists used Srirangapatna to interrogate France's destiny as the force of the Napoleonic wave was ebbing away. In a final section, this article will use the presence and mode of representation of the 'Indian content' of these French-language representations to develop a corrective to nationally conceived notions of the universal value in World Heritage Sites. Srirangapatnam has been on the tentative list for India since 2014, but the accession process is currently organized in a way that a candidate-nation (called 'States Parties' by UNESCO) creates a narrative of outstanding universal value for its heritage site.[‡] No value is given to historical records that support the cultural value of that site in third party states, such as France in this case. This important documentation is missing from the Tentative List content for Srirangapatnam. This article, therefore, argues for added value to be given to supporting case studies of this type, thus positing language, cultural and national plurality as part of outstanding universal value, rather than the current practice of a site being simply framed as relevant to all countries, but promoted only by national agents in primarily national terms.

Any attempt to tease out plurality in the representation of India in the post 1947 period comes up against two forms of hegemonic thinking. The first is the omnipresent narrative of the proud nation that is India. A critique of this discourse was highlighted by scholars such as Ranajit Guha and others such as Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in the Subaltern Studies group.[§] Moving further back into the past the English-language representations during the period of colonialism dominate representations of India in the period of 1788 to 1925 and then onwards to 1947, the timeframe chosen in this article.

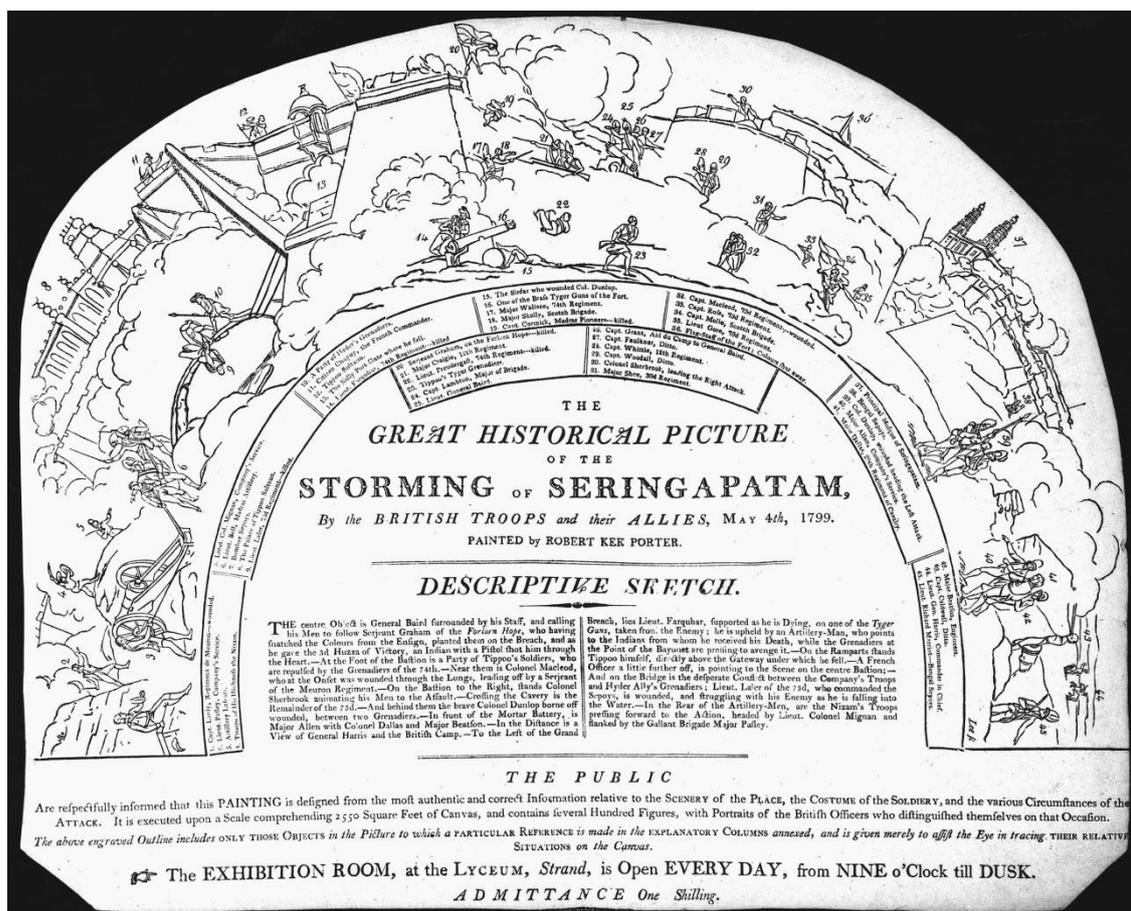
Of course, in focusing on French-language sources in this period, this is not to say that the fortress is ignored in English language sources. It is not, the fortress features as a flat backdrop to these depictions. Rather the focus is on Tipu himself.

Among the three major strands of English-language cultural representations is, first, the narrative that judges Tipu Sultan to have been a worthy opponent who stood his ground at the siege of Srirangapatnam and who died in battle rather than flee (that utopian possibility of flight is ever-present in the French dramas, but is always rejected by the protagonist). Second, there is the evident approval for the quality of Mughal decorative arts at Tipu's court. Gold tiger finials from Tipu's throne were brought to Britain and are

[‡]<https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5895/>

[§]Ranjit Guha, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Selected Subaltern Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988)

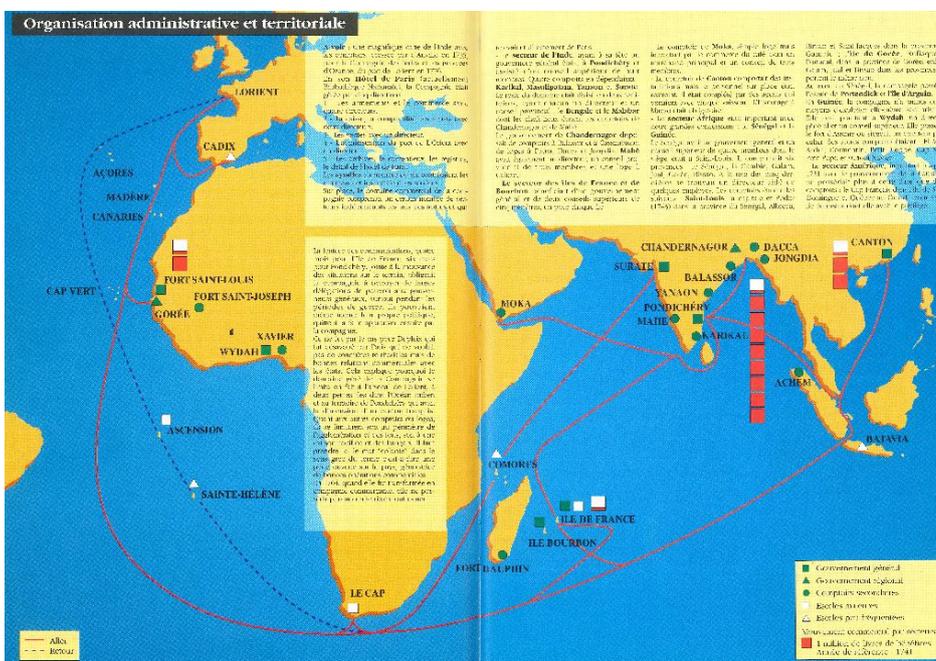
now housed in the Royal Collections at Windsor Castle and also at Powis Castle. ** Tipu's tiger, a life-size automaton of the carnivore feasting on a redcoat was also exported and is in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The self-aggrandizing British narrative which glorifies the scale and complexity of the military victory only comes in a distant third place in terms of Tipu's reach in the United Kingdom into to twenty first century. This is attested to in large scale British oil paintings produced in Britain in the early years of the nineteenth century to commemorate the victory such as 'Mather Brown in the Bowes Museum at Barnard Castle (one of a series of three about 1799), Henry Singleton's, *The Surrender of the Two Sons of Tipu Sahib, Sultan of Mysore to Sir David Baird*, Charles Turner's (after Thomas Stothard), *The Surrender of the Children of Tippoo Sultaun* in the British Museum's Collection. One of the most significant manifestations of the importance of the British victory in 1799 was Robert Ker Porter's 2550-square foot, semi-circular panorama, *The Storming of Seringapatnam*.



** Edward Clive, the son of Robert Clive ('Clive of India') was a Governor of Madras from 1798 to 1803 and also collected the spoils of war from Tipu's court which form the centrepiece of a two-room 'Clive Museum' at the castle, though Robert Clive was neither at Seringapatnam, nor at Powis.

The public was able to view the panorama every day, including on Sundays, when most workers would have a day of rest. Here the focus is on the rage of British soldiers and their techniques. They are foregrounded, literally, but though flat the recourse to a panoramic form is both a testament to the complexity of the battle and the curvature of both the fort as a function of its location on a riverine island. This was not a battle with a flat front line. In addition to the representations of the siege of 1799 in public space. The literary account with the greatest prominence is the fictional account of the siege that opens Wilkie Collins’ *The Moonstone* (1868), widely regarded as the first British detective novel.

Notwithstanding these British representations, the French narratives analysed here belong to what can be termed peripheral voices in European colonialism.^{††} In common with the representations in Dutch, Portuguese and Danish. With the British and the French, these three were the principal nations with East India companies and or significant India trade. To them can be added other nations and cultures that had contact with India such as those from the Arabian Peninsula as well as Japan and China. Considered together and in contrast to British hegemony from 1815 to 1947, these peripheral voices are parallel realities. In contrast to the British trajectories that are well-known, these nations had different trade routes into India.



André Garrigues, *Musée de la Compagnie des Indes: Guide du visiteur* (Lorient: Société des amis du Musée de Lorient, 1997 [1993])

^{††}Peripheral Voices and European Colonialism: Representations of India in French Literature and Culture 1750-1962, an AHRC major award 2006-2011 and Kate Marsh, *India in the French Imagination: Peripheral Voices, 1754-1815* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2009).

These routes (with red being outbound and the broken black line the return voyage) connected Europe to India and back via French the possessions of Ile de France and Ile de Bourbon (now the independent nation of Mauritius and Réunion, a French overseas *département*). Therefore, focusing on peripheral voices, beyond the better-known binary expands and deepens the knowledge of place apprehended from one dominant view point. This method may be termed historically corrective or transnational. When considered more broadly, the problem of dominant discourses about India in the nineteenth century function in a similar way to the hegemonic way that national discourses (and agents) work in the consecration process of World Heritage sites as led by UNESCO as examined in the final part of this article. This process too, could benefit from expanding beyond one nation the conception of a prospective site's cultural significance.

The open-access digital discovery tool, frenchbooksonindia.com presents in chronological order book-length studies of India written from 1531 to 2017. Furthermore, the presence of English with French, Bengali and some Tamil as vehicular languages, links to full-text and in-text keyword search for nineteenth-century items as tools within this plurilingual and multicultural resource makes it possible for non-French speakers to appreciate the depth of the 1845-book corpus.



frenchbooksonindia.com contains books from all domains and so when a search is made for Srirangapatna and variants in French such as ‘Seringuapatna’ and ‘Ceringuapatna’ among historical accounts, the results yield primarily descriptions of the fort as a defensive structure. Thus, even in an anonymous 1788 text, eleven years before the final siege took place, Tipu’s river-island bastion was noted for its ditches, walls and

circular fortifications.^{‡‡} Michaud's two-volume account from 1801, even refers to the materials used in its construction. Foremost among them was 'chimône' a lime mortar also known as sunam-bu in Tamil (I am grateful to Professor Rao of Mysore School of Architecture for this additional information), which, like its counterpart in the West, cures to a marble-like appearance and strength.^{§§} Notwithstanding the close-focus on materials in these historical accounts, they are not sustained. The frenchbooksonindia.com search function indicates that the total number of references to the fortress is limited to about ten over 1208 pages of this sub-corpus consisting of historical chronicles of the Anglo-Mysore Wars from 1767 to 1799.

In contrast to these material references, the wider corpus of French writing on 1799, Tipu Sultan and the fortress further considers it as a complex site of dramatic interpersonal spatial interaction. These references to the fortress a theatre of war are three times as frequent in French-language plays from the nineteenth century as they are in the historical accounts mentioned immediately above. This article will concentrate on two dramas, both performed for the first time on the Parisian stage in 1813 and written by Henry Lepileur de de Brévannes and Etienne de Jouy. Here the first play is used to set the scene regarding the spatial complexity of the Srirangapatnam fort as a hive-like site and the second adds the transnational dimension to this.

In de Brévannes' play we see that British military pressure on the Tipu's fortress increases progressively through each of the three acts.^{***} At the start of Act One the British are shown approaching the walls with an ambassador to Tipu. In Act Two, they are depicted as lying in wait outside the foot of the walls and, finally in Act Three they attack them. So in spatial terms, de Brévannes shows us the East India Company Soldiers as they approach, encircle and penetrate the fort.

^{‡‡} *Les Indiens, ou Tipou-Sultan, fils d'Hyder-Aly, etc.; avec quelques particularités sur ce prince, sur l'audience qui lui a été donnée par S. M. Louis XVI, à Versailles, le 10 août 1788. Précédées d'un précis d'une partie de l'administration de M. Hastings, et suivies de quelques détails relatifs aux événements de la guerre de 1782 dans l'Inde*, London and Paris: Le Jay, 1788, 237 pp.

^{§§} Joseph Michaud, *Histoire des progrès et de la chute de l'empire de Mysore, sous les règnes d'Hyder-Aly et Tippoo-Saïb*, 2 vols, Paris: Giguët, 1801, 850 pp.

^{***} Henry Lepileur de Brévannes, *Tippô-Saïb, ou la Destruction de l'Empire de Mysore*, Paris: Delaunay, 1813, 69 pp.

TIPPÔ-SAÏB,
OU
LA DESTRUCTION
DE L'EMPIRE DE MYSORE,
TRAGÉDIE EN TROIS ACTES,
PAR M. HENRY DE BREVANNES.

PRIX : 1 fr. 50 c.



PARIS,
DE L'IMPRIMERIE DE DONDEY-DUPRÉ, RUE TURENNE, n°. 46.
Chez DELAUNAY, Libraire, Palais Royal, galerie de bois.
1813.

PERSONNAGES.

TIPPO-SAIB, sultan de Mysore, fils du célèbre Hyder-Aly.
SAHEB, vieux Nabab, ou prince souverain d'un état voisin des frontières de Mysore, détrôné par le Nyzam souverain d'une autre partie de l'Inde, et réfugié à la cour de Tippô-Saib.
IDAMIRE, princesse fille de Saheb.
MIRZA, confidente d'Idamire.
SIDA-GOFFAR, Capitaine des gardes du sultan.
1^{er}, 2^e, 3^e, 4^e. POLYGARS ou grands de l'Empire.
LE MAJOR Général de l'armée Anglaise, envoyé comme ambassadeur au sultan.
SIR WILLIAMS, officier anglais accompagnant le Major général.
UN HÉRAUT d'ARMES, de service au palais.

PERSONNAGES FIGURANS.

MOHAMMED, premier ministre.
POLYGARS et MINISTRES.
FEMME MYSORÉENNE, conduisant les deux enfans, encore en bas-âge, du sultan.
DEUX FEMMES INDIENNES, suivantes d'Idamire.
OFFICIERS ET SOLDATS MYSORÉENS.
OFFICIERS ET SOLDATS ANGLAIS.
ESCLAVES NOIRS.

La scène est à Séringapatam, capitale de l'Empire de Mysore, dans le palais du sultan.

L'ACTION SE PASSE EN 1799.

Le théâtre représente une vaste salle du palais des souverains de Mysore, richement décorée à la manière indienne; dans la partie latérale droite (pour les spectateurs), et près de l'avant-scène, s'élève

In this play, the physical details of the walls as separators are not emphasized. So therefore we are one step beyond the material representations in the historical accounts such as Michaud's (1801) and Antoine-Étienne-Nicolas Fantin-Desodoards', *Heyder, Azeima, Typoo-zaeb histoire orientale* (1802).^{†††} The dramatist puts the emphasis on how the walls give added depth to the characters on stage and the relationships between them. These relationships function at three different levels. First between Tipu and his British adversaries, second between Tipu and the princess whom he loves and, third, between Tipu and his father. In this way, a historically important point is maintained that the fortifications at Srirangapatnam are a family enterprise, so to speak, linking Tipu to Hyder-Ali as an illustrious and successful predecessor defender of his territory against the British (but it is likely that the fort was also built up by the Hoysalas, the Vijayanagara and the early Wodeyar Kanthirava Narasaraja, in 1654, before Tipu got assistance from

^{†††} Antoine-Étienne-Nicolas Fantin-Desodoards, *Heyder, Azeima, Typoo-zaeb. histoire orientale*, translated from Malabar, 3 vols, Paris: Barba, 1802, 785 pp.

French military engineers to further strengthen it five years before the siege). This the crucial point that belies later layers of Indian nationalism. Aided by the scepticism towards nationalism as a discourse used to misinterpret the past in an anachronistic way, we see that the Anglo-Mysore wars were not proto-nationalistic, but they were a brutal struggle-to-the-death for survival. Moreover, the fortress is an important part of French overseas history at the end of the eighteenth century.

Second, as de Brévannes' play has a romantic dimension featuring Tipu and princess Idamire, the daughter of an Indian ally, running parallel to the siege scenes, the messenger who communicate between the lovers find secret routes through the walls. This is important for the final outcome as it shows that the walls are not impregnable and that Tipu is not unreachable. In Act III, Scene One, just before the final overrunning of Tipu's defences by the British, an offer is made by Tipu to arrange for Idamire to escape via a secret passage. Third, the potential vulnerability and end of impregnability of the fortifications is illustrated by the way in which the British soldiers plan to undermine them with explosives. Fourth and finally and most interestingly for a heritage and cultural studies point of view, de Brévannes' Tipu character mentions in Act I, Scene Five how he fought and lost to the British with honour at 'Malavély' and, how, as a prelude to what will happen in Srirangapatnam in 1799 and later in the play, he would 'm'ensevelir, s'il faut, sous les murs de la place [if need be, I would have myself buried under the walls of that fort]'. This reference to funerary monumental culture, one of the key ways in which the West appreciates Mughal architecture vehiculated through the peerless Taj Mahal. Crucially, this reference in a play set in 1799 to what could have happened in an earlier battle, projects Tipu and his fortress forward in time to an age when Srirangapatnam is no longer and active fortification and already a memorial to Tipu Sultan. Bringing in reader-response theory, we can see the poignancy in this self-reflexive technique: de Brévannes' play is therefore projecting forwards from its 1799 setting towards is spectators' time, the time when the audience is experiencing the play on stage 1813. The anxious *Zeitgeist* around the people in that audience, and one quite possible from which they had sought temporary refuge in the theatre that evening, is a period when non-French powers, including the British were massing against Napoleon. France was the fortress of the French, but they were not sure if it would be threatened and be able to stand firm.

Etienne de Jouy's play is a tragedy and the remarkable concentration of references to the fortifications within it – thirteen mentions of ramparts, nineteen references to walls and fifteen to fortifications within only 112 pages – mean that the fortress functions like a character in its own right.^{†††}

TIPPO-SAËB,

TRAGÉDIE

EN CINQ ACTES ET EN VERS,

PAR E. DE JOUY,

REPRÉSENTÉE POUR LA PREMIÈRE FOIS,
SUR LE THÉÂTRE FRANÇAIS, LE 27 JANVIER 1813.

Prix : 3 francs.

A PARIS,

CHEZ BARBA, LIBRAIRE, AU PALAIS-ROYAL,
galerie derrière le Théâtre-Français;
PIILET, LIBRAIRE, RUE CHRISTINE;
ROULLET, LIBRAIRE, RUE DES POITEVINS, n° 7.
DE L'IMPRIMERIE DE P. DIDOT L'AÎNÉ.

N. DCCCXIII.

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118



PERSONNAGES.

TIPPO-SAEB, sultan.	MM. TALMA.
RAYMOND, général français au service de Tippô.	DAMAS.
NARSÉA, Brame, ministre de Tippô.	BAPTISTE aîné.
WEYMOUR, envoyé anglais.	MICHELOT.
AKMED, confident de Narséa.	COLSON.
IDALKAN, grand officier du palais.	DESFRÉS.
LALLEY, confident de Ray- mond.	DEMILATRE.
UN OFFICIER.	VANOVÉ.
ALDEIR, fille de Tippô.	M ^{lle} BOURGOIS.
ÉVANÉ, confidente d'Aldéir.	PARTYAT.
ABDAL } très jeunes fils de {	BOISSIÈRE.
MOZA } Tippô.	ADÈLE.

La scène est à Séringsapatnam, capitale des états de
Tippô-Saëb, à laquelle on a restitué son ancien nom
de Myzore. Cette ville de l'Indoustan est située sur
les bords du Cauvry.

Les noms des personnages, à la tête de chaque scène, sont
dans l'ordre où les acteurs doivent être placés sur le théâtre.



In further contrast to de Brévannes, specific locations on the island are mentioned by name such as Ganjam. As my late colleague Kate Marsh first brought to scholarly attention in the twenty-first century, de Jouy's is a hybrid history-drama text with a manifesto. De Jouy includes a twenty-five page historical preface to his play, emphasizing that he has used French eyewitness accounts in his composition, whereas the French-language historians before him such as Michaud (1801) mentioned above used British maps and British accounts. Thus de Jouy makes a patriotic point for France that he wants a recovery of the French perspective.

^{†††}Victor-Joseph-Étienne de Jouy, *Tippô-Saëb, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers, représentée pour la première fois, sur le Théâtre français, le 27 janvier 1813*, Paris: Barba, 1813, 112pp.

The spatial representation of the fortifications in de Jouy's *Tippô-Saëbis* more complex than de Brévannes' because here there is a tri-national perspective that includes the British, the Mughals *and* the French soldiers who are at Tipu's side within the walls of the fortress. In addition to these three constituencies of characters, one of the minor characters is Narséa, a Mughal officer, is in the pay of the British. Both the French and Narséa are liminal characters who move through the fortifications, whereas both Tipu and the British are fixed on opposing sides for most of the drama. These French and double agent elements make the fortifications a more complex zone of encounter, rather than mere separators of opposing forces, in de Jouy we see transactions performed in a transnational space.

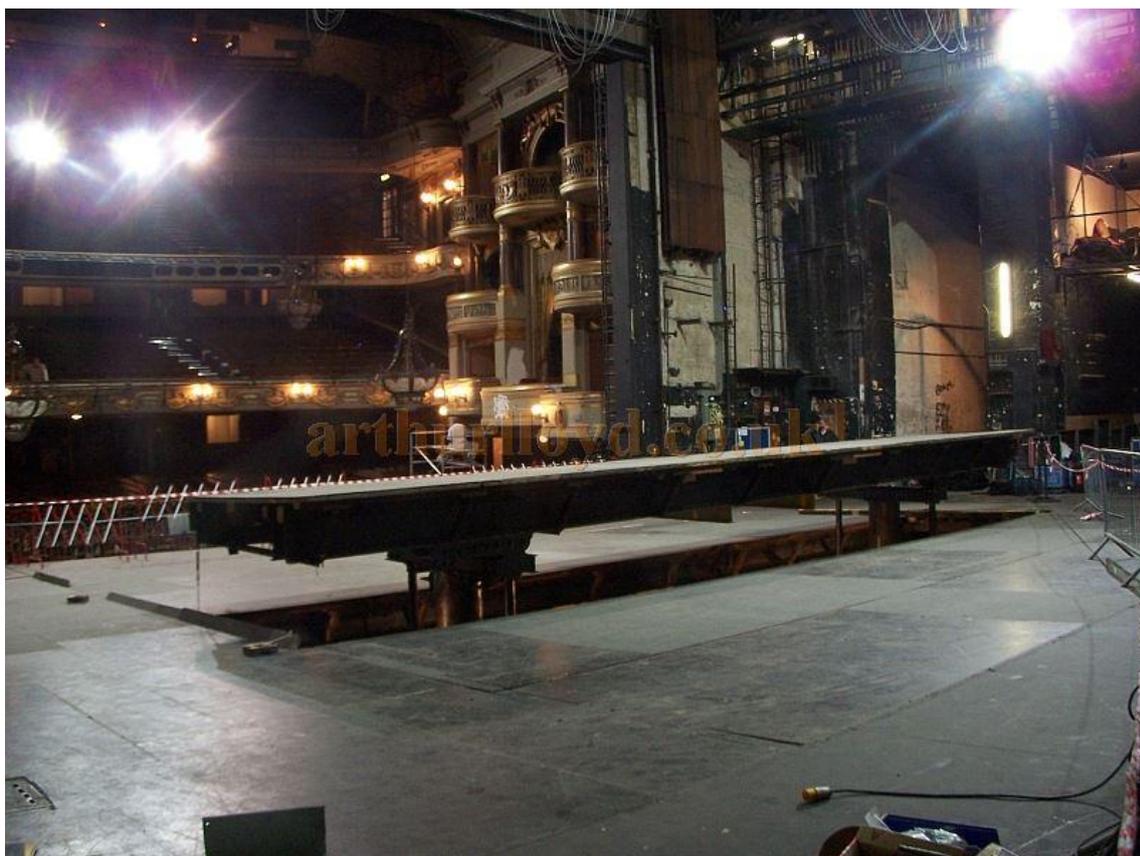
As well as surrounding Tipu's fort, the British are shown to have constructed their own trench fortifications and in his opening speech in Act I, Scene Two, de Jouy's Tipu describes the besiegers' trenches as being disrupted by the French who have restored a path to the outside of the fortress from the inside. The whole of the fortifications at Srirangapatna are not only a separating line in the sand, but a three dimensional space where Mughal, French and British lines of desire and power strokes can be drawn as well (it will be seen in the final part of this article, that, in epistemological terms, current world heritage is resembles a series of national redoubts whereas it needs to be more linguistically and culturally permeable).

It is worth mentioning that in the twentieth and twenty first centuries, Route 153 that traverses this island on the Cauvery River. In de Jouy's setting of the site, additional riverine references: 'flots [flowing waters]' Act II, Scene Two, Act IV, Scene Nine, Act V, Scene Four (twice) and Act V, Scene Six, Act IV, Scene Seven and 'rivages [banks]', Act II, Scene Two; 'Le Cauvry [The Cauvery]', Act 1, Scene Three, Act IV, Scene Seven, lends a crucial additional element. The water that surrounds the fortifications is not closed off like a conventional moat in Western castles (though run-off and drainage water would enter it. The Cauvery is mentioned expressly on nine occasions. It is not a closed encircling ring, but a flowing path in and out of the fortifications. This corresponds with the actual construction that is visible at the time that this article is being written. In dramatic terms, therefore, the water course is an escape route and watery refuge for both Tipu and his sons at the height of the battle. At this crucial point in Act IV, Scene Nine, the Mughal ruler who sees his fate, muses that the earth and the land – the same word in French, 'la terre' – are no longer a refuge for his sons and, therefore, there is no place in the world for his name and his legacy: 'Le fils du grand Hyder, Saëb, verse des pleurs. /

J'ai fait trembler l'Anglais jusqu'au fond de son île, / Et déjà pour mes fils la terre est sans asile. C'est aux flots, à la nuit qu'il me faut recourir[*Saëb, son of the Great Hyder-Ali now sheds a tear / I made the Englishman tremble to the very end of his island / And already the earth and the land offer no refuge for my sons. It is into the dark moving waters that I must retreat*]. Using the riverine setting situates Srirangapatam in a wider landscape, but it also sets it up as a place in time. For the Parisian audience in the auditorium in 1813 Tipu's personal spatial situation cuts both ways, the French are most likely on his side, both in the play and in the theatre and, seen in terms of the geopolitics of Europe at the time they feel the pressure of nations on the continent of Europe massing against them. In topographical terms, as a nation that faces both the land and the ocean, the challenge of British sea power made the waters an eminently inhospitable place. These external factors probably amplify the play's dramatic effect.

De Jouy's play does describe the fortifications in a material way evoking the different elements in their construction, but they are considered as already belonging to the past as far as their defensive function is concerned. They are presented as a ruin (as in Act V, Scene One, where the word 'débris' is used) and as the last damaged vestige of empire. This inveterate vulnerability of fortifications increases the dramatic tension in the play by stressing the search for refuge ('asile'), used eleven times throughout the play. In common with de Brévannes' *Srirangapatnam*, de Jouy's can be undermined and potentially be blown up with explosives, but, unlike de Brévannes', it is not the British, but Tipu himself who uses a monologue to consider doing this as a final act of suicidal resistance ('sous ces murs j'ai préparé la foudre; / Un seul moment suffit pour les réduire en poudre [under these wall I have prepared a thunderbolt / one single instant is enough to reduce them to powder]' Act V, Scene Eight. De Jouy's Tipu, therefore, has more agency than de Brévannes'.

These added spatial elements to the fort in de Jouy's play with an inside and an outside, a front and a back, a left and a right, an above and a below and even a before and an after (as the fort is a place in time), emphasize that it functions like a piece of technology for its dramatic purpose. It is not known from the curt stage directions if de Jouy's play was innovative in terms of its staging technology and the means available to directors in the first quarter of the nineteenth century were limited compared with those possible with the advent of electricity and digital techniques such as CGI. Therefore it is perhaps apt to show an image stage technology to give readers a sense of the spatial complexity that the fortress represents.



The image above of the Sub-stage lift at the Drury Lane Theatre, London was taken by M.L. in 2008. It should not be forgotten that this theatre re-built in 1812 had embraced steam power, to the point that David Bradby, Louis James and Bernard Sharratt, note in *Performance and Politics in Popular Drama*. (1981), that a 1823 performance of a play entitled *Cataract of the Ganges* included an onstage escape on horseback up a flowing cataract with real fire in the background and a 1829 production used hydraulics to deliver a reported 39 tons of water to the performance area (Bradby et al, 198, 103-104).^{§§§} Although Jouy's play was performed in the premier Parisian theatre, Le Théâtre français (now the Comédie Française), French technical periodicals such as *La France Industrielle* of 12 August 1838 (5.39) record the recent technical innovations on the London stage and that a municipal commission has been constituted in Paris to evaluate them with a view to introducing them into Parisian theatres. This suggests that Paris theatres and de Jouy did not have the level of stage technology to actually represent on stage with the aid of machinery and trap doors and curtains all that is latent in the representation of the fortress at Srirangapatnam.

^{§§§}David Bradby, Louis James and Bernard Sharratt eds. *Performance and Politics in Popular Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1981).

This article has used a methodology with two discrete techniques. The first has been literary survey using a digital discovery tool (frenchbooksonindia.com), the second has been the close reading of dramatic texts. Employed together, they bring out the semantic depth and diversity of the references to Srirangapatam in plays produced for the Paris stage fourteen years after the actual siege ended.

Tipu and Srirangapatnam were so present in the consciousness of the Parisian public in the first few years of the nineteenth century that in 1804 they were the subject of a theatrical parody. In *Petit-Pot ou Les Bouchers et les Charbonniers, parodie de Tipoo-Saïb*, fictional blacked-up Parisian coal sellers played the role of the Mysoreans and actor in the role of Parisian butchers depicted the parts of the British soldiers.****

There is, however, a fundamental additional question to be asked. Why, in 1813, are French dramatists writing plays about the destruction and defeat of Mughal Mysore? Why is there an appetite amongst Parisian audiences to see the fall of an empire that is so far away? The reason for both is dictated by the historical moment that France found itself in in January 1813, when the play was first performed. In September 1812, in Russia, Napoleon lost 70.000 troops in the battle for Moscow; that was the greater part of his Grande Armée. This period had been preceded by over twenty years of the most intense upheaval in French history (the Revolution of 1789, the Terror, the execution of the King and the advent of Napoleon Bonaparte). The common global adversary of the French in Europe and Tipu in Mysore, were the English. In 1813, therefore, Srirangapatnam in 1799 serves as a reminder and thought experiment about the end of a ruler and an empire. Near the start of de Jouy's play, in Act II, Scene Two, in another example of forward projection, there is an episode when the Tipu character contemplates the meaning of his fort were he to be defeated by the British. He comes to see the stone and mortar as a tomb that will posthumously transmit his legend. So, here in 1813, in a play performed in a country prey to existential angst about its own future, we have a reference to Srirangapatam as a heritage site. Given the challenge to Napoleon Bonaparte and to France from Russia, Prussia and, above all, from Britain, the question of what happens to French prestige when it is threatened by overwhelming extraterritorial force, is a vector that keeps Srirangapatnam, Tipu and his fort relevant beyond Napoleon and the specific period from 1789 to 1815 from the first French Revolution, the Terror and Empire. Indeed, as we can see in terms of the books listed in frenchbooksonindia.com,

**** César Ribié, *Petit-Pot ou Les Bouchers et les Charbonniers, parodie de Tipoo-Saïb, en trois intermèdes* (Paris: Fages, 1804), 16 pp.

French authors return to the resistance and defeat of Tipu repeated with three titles published in the period from 1815 to 1871, an age of periodic revolutions and counter-revolutions in France until the establishment of the Third Republic. The case of Tipu and the complex theatrical representation of military space as represented by the fortress of Srirangapatnam was even a relevant subject for the stage after the disaster of the defeat and occupation of France by Nazi Germany in the Second World War, as indicated by the return to the stage of Tipu for the last time in Paris in 1949. Given this evidence, it is possible to say, without a doubt, that Tipu is the single most important individual from India in the public consciousness in France in the period from 1786 to 1925 until the advent of M. K. Gandhi and Rabindra Nath Tagore in French publications in 1925, a phenomenon that Guillaume Bridet has called *l'événement indien dans la littérature française*, which can be translated as 'the advent of India as event in French literature'.

The complex representation of Tipu's fortress as a complex multi-layered Indian space which is doubly self-reflexive in the sense that it represents both France at the end of the Napoleonic period as well as the theatrical space itself. While the contemporary official discourse about Srirangapatnam as part of the tentative list of World Heritage Sites, does include the many layered nature of the island site as the location of the fortress, the Sri Ranganathaswamy temple, Tipu's armouries, the summer palace and does mention the role of the French in purely historical terms, more could be made of the longevity of the fictional representations of Tipu, the siege of Srirangapatnam and the role of the fortress over many years in France. More in terms of the simple arithmetic of the book count, but also more in terms of the complexity representation of the physical space of the fortress in de Jouy in particular which is more than just a separator between two sides, because the French and the Mughal traitor (to a lesser extent) occupy an interstitial space between two opposing sides.

What is needed is a corrective to the current way that UNESCO frames notions of heritage value through a national bidding process that has no option but to argue for outstanding universal value. It is a national narrative of supposed supranational worth, so it is necessarily a discourse which may be biased or frequently tending to repeat the successful narratives of the past leading to a certain homogeneity of site which achieves World Heritage Site status. In the case of the heritage valorization of Tranquebar (Tharangambadi) the former Danish trading post on the east coast of Tamil Nadu, my colleague Helle Joergensen has argued instead of a universalist master narrative, for a

palimpsest formed from as many layers of discrete heritage narrative making up the cultural landscape of a heritage site.

In addition to this, and in the light of this case study of Tipu, his fort and Srirangapatna 1799, the inclusion of a historical audit of the representations of the site in languages other than that of the proposing nation would be another useful metric to measure in the palimpsest. The practice of environmental audit is widespread across the world in large-scale building projects. At the very least, these audits make a record of what is at a site before building work starts. So, following this model, a Global Cultural History Audit (GCHA) should be part of the proving process of the nomination of a World Heritage Site. In a GCHA a comprehensive bibliographical survey can be made via online and paper archives for all forms of fine art and mass-circulation representations (textual, pictorial, dance, sculpture and music) of the prospective heritage site. Such a GCHA would provide documentary evidence over a long period prior to the application of global cultural reach. These multiple cultural perspectives can then be built into the musealization of the site. The GCHA metric demonstrating the cultural value of a site over time in second, third and fourth countries is empirically better than a narrative about outstanding universal value. Over time a modification in the designation process may be needed because approval will be ever more difficult given that there are already 1092 sites listed across the world. Srirangapatnam's advantage would be to include both its natural status as a riverine island and its sustained reverberating echo in French-language representations from 1783 to 1925 and to 1949. In this way, cultural heritage and even fictional narratives can have a role to play in how a site advances from initial documentation, heritage conceptualization, global consecration (if that comes to pass) and the preparation of visitor information.

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