

enabling device. They invite the citizen-subject who gazes upon them to relate to the nation not as some abstract, dead geographical space, but as a near-and-dear person, his personal goddess, his vulnerable mother, even a beloved lover. In this process, they facilitate the filial attachment of the citizen to national territory, producing sentiments of longing and belonging that a scientific map cannot possibly generate, for in the words of Tagore's Sandip, 'No one can give up his life for a map! When I see you before me, then only do I realize how lovely my country is . . . Such are the visions which give vigour to life, and joy to death'.<sup>64</sup>

### Post-Script

This is not the only narrative that can be written of woman, nation and map in modern India, as we are reminded by Mahasweta Devi's poignant story from the 1980s, 'Douloti the Bountiful'. Feminist writers like Mahesweta use the female body to question the nation cartographically, associating it with deprivation, disease and death, instead of taking on the mantle of an idealized figure of plenitude and motherhood. In Mahesweta's story, Douloti, the daughter of a bonded labourer, is forced to become a prostitute to pay off family debts. Towards the end of the story, her body racked with venereal disease and without adequate medical treatment, she lies down to die on the bare earth. Her body is discovered next morning, spreadeagled on a map of India that had been drawn on the ground by a local schoolmaster to celebrate India's Independence Day. Mahesweta concludes her story thus on a powerful note:

Filling the entire Indian peninsula from the oceans to the Himalayas, here lies *bonded* labor spreadeagled, kamiya-whore Douloti Nagesia's tormented corpse, putrefied with venereal disease, having vomited up all the blood in its desiccated lungs. Today, on the fifteenth of August [India's Independence Day], Douloti has left no room at all in the India of people like Mohan [the schoolmaster] for planting the standard of the Independence flag. What will Mohan do now? Douloti is all over India.<sup>65</sup>

Gayatri Spivak has noted that Mahasweta Devi's conclusion demonstrates the re-inscription of 'the official map of the nation by the zoograph of the unaccommodated female body restored to the economy of nature'.<sup>66</sup> I want to suggest that in Douloti's dying gesture, Mahesweta's story mocks a century of popular cartographical practice in which the female body has been used to produce a possessive 'male-centered sense of territory';<sup>67</sup> and

in which while the male citizen is interpellated as the active subject of the body politic, the female citizen is virtually erased as an active subject to be replaced by the idealized, stylized and ultimately passive figure of Mother India propped up by a map of the nation.

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### NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. I am adapting this question from Timothy Brennan's essay on the novel's 'nation-forming role' to underscore the role maps have played in bestowing a 'form' upon the nation (see Timothy Brennan, 'The national longing for form', in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi Bhabha (London, Routledge, 1990), 44–70).

2. J. H. Dave et al., *Munshi: His Art and Work, Volume 1* (Bombay, Shri Munshi Seventieth Birthday Citizens' Celebration Committee, n.d.), 38. I am indebted to Richard Davis for this reference.

3. Rabindranath Tagore, *The Home and the World*, transl. Surendranath Tagore, reprint ed. (Madras, Macmillan, 1985), 90–91 (original English edition, 1919). This was not the only occasion on which Tagore expressed anti-geography sentiments. In a 1912–1913 essay, he noted, 'I love India, not because I cultivate the *idolatry* of geography'. In a 1904 public lecture which was published in 1925, Tagore declared, 'The geography of a country no doubt helps to build bodies, but character develops by the inspiration one derives from the world of human aspirations' (Amiya Chakravarty, ed. *A Tagore Reader* (Boston, Beacon Press, 1961), 196–97, emphasis mine). I thank Lee Schlesinger for bringing these to my attention.

4. Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 149.

5. Here I have found particularly useful John Pickles' suggestion that maps ought to be seen as 'discursive tools by which to persuade others' (John Pickles, 'Texts, hermeneutics and propaganda maps', in *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape*, ed. Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan (London, Routledge, 1992), 194).

6. In this essay, I do not consider those bodyscapes in which the male body—typically, the head or torso of a famous nationalist leader—occupies the map of India, of which there are also several examples. See also note 59.

7. My understanding of the concept of 'bodyscape' has been informed by J. Douglas Porteous, 'Bodyscape: the

body-landscape metaphor', *Canadian Geographer* 30:1 (1986): 2–12. My usage differs from the art historian Nicholas Mirzoeff who employs the term to analyse representations of the modern body in Western art forms (Nicholas Mirzoeff, *Bodyscape: Art, Modernity and the Ideal Figure* (London, Routledge, 1995). My usage also differs from the feminist philosopher Elizabeth Grosz's use of a similar concept, 'body-maps', to consider the many ways in which the human body has emerged in modernity as a site of corporeal inscription (Elizabeth Grosz, 'Inscriptions and body-maps: representations and the corporeal', in *Feminine, Masculine, and Representation*, ed. Terry Threadgold and Anne Cranney-Francis (Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1990), 62–74). My analysis focuses instead on the cartographical deployments of the female body to claim and map national territory. As Valerie Traub notes, 'none of the new work within the history of cartography on the semiotics of maps has concerned itself with the representation of bodies' (Valerie Traub, 'Mapping the global body', in *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, Empire in Renaissance England*, ed. Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, in press). Traub's essay on early modern cartography addresses this problem in Europe, and my project attempts the same in colonial and postcolonial India.

8. My use of the term 'nation-space' has been informed by Manu Goswami's discussion of the discursive production of 'national space' in the writings of key Indian nationalists (see her 'The Production of India: Colonialism, Nationalism, and Territorial Nativism' (doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1998)).

9. J. B. Harley, 'Meaning and ambiguity in Tudor cartography', in *English Map-Making 1500–1650*, ed. Sarah Tyacke (London, The British Library, 1983), 23.

10. J. B. Harley, 'Maps, knowledge, and power', in *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays in the Symbolic Representation, Design, and Use of Past Environments*, ed. Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988), 303; J. B. Harley, 'Silences and secrecy: the hidden agenda of cartography in early modern Europe', *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988), 66.

11. Here, I subscribe to a revisionist understanding of maps as 'graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes or events in the human world . . . Maps are artifacts that store, communicate, and promote spatial understanding' (J. B. Harley and David Woodward, 'Preface', in *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1987), xvi). Certainly, in contrast to bodyscapes, the scientific map purports to be 'a scaled representation of the real' (Pickles, 'Texts, hermeneutics and propaganda maps' (see note 5), 194). None the less, to the extent that both the scientific map and the bodyscape are graphic representations of national territory, I consider them maps. In this connection, I have also found useful the following distinction between scientific maps and allegorical maps. 'In scientific maps, . . . the landscape or the world is understood as essentially meaningless, without significance; it holds no meaning, signifies nothing. It stands as desacralized matter, natural phenomena'. Allegorical maps, on the other hand, 'understand the world as already imbued with meaning' (Howard Marchitello, 'Political maps: the production of cartography and chorography in early modern England', in *Cultural Artifacts and the Production of Meaning: the Page, the Image, and the Body*, ed. Margaret J.

M. Ezell and Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1994), 18). If we follow this suggestion, bodyscapes are akin to allegorical, rather than scientific, maps.

12. Harley, 'Maps, knowledge, and power' (see note 10), 301; see also 283–84.

13. For a thoughtful critique, based on 17th-century local Russian property-litigation maps, of 'the general view of map making as a tool of centralizing power', see Valerie A. Kivelson, 'Cartography, autocracy and state powerlessness: the uses of maps in early modern Russia', *Imago Mundi* 51 (1999): 83–105.

14. Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1994).

15. Traub, 'Mapping the global body' (see note 7).

16. Gillian Hill, *Cartographical Curiosities* (London, The British Library, 1978). For other discussions of European anthropomorphic maps, see Claude Gandelman, 'Bodies, maps, texts', in *Reading Pictures, Viewing Texts* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1991), 81–93; John Goss, 'Curiosa', in *The Mapmaker's Art: A History of Cartography* (London, Studio Editions, 1993), 329–42; Carmela Venti, 'Maps, metaphor, and memory: anthropomorphic cartography', *Mercator's World* 2:4 (1997): 50–53; Darby Lewes, 'The female landscape', *Mercator's World* 4:1 (1999): 35–41.

17. Ida Blom et al, eds., *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, Berg, 2000).

18. Matthew H. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765–1843* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1997); Goswami, 'The Production of India' (see note 8).

19. Anne Godlewska and Neil Smith, eds., *Geography and Empire* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1994). See also David N. Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition: Episodes in the History of a Contested Enterprise* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1992), 216–59.

20. C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), 300–14. As Edney notes, the belief was that 'once the mysticism and irrationality of the Indians was swept away by the incontrovertible proof that Hindu geographical and other physical conceptions were wrong, then those Indians would be open to conversion' (Edney, *Mapping an Empire* (see note 18), 312; see also 308–11, 317–18).

21. Edney, *Mapping an Empire* (see note 18). Susan Gole observes that the peninsular shape of India appeared for the first time in European maps in 1502, soon after Vasco de Gama's 1498 landing in Calicut. Through the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, India's peninsular form varied in shape as well as extant in European world maps, several of which continued to revert to the Ptolemaic non-peninsular form till as late as 1710 (Susan Gole, *Early Maps of India* (New Delhi, Sanskriti in association with Arnold Heinemann, 1976), 20–43). Gole also notes that prior to these European maps, a 14th-century Persian world map and a 1364-map from Japan bestow a somewhat peninsular shape on the subcontinent (Susan Gole, *India within the Ganges* (New Delhi, Jayaprints, 1983), 15–21). See also P. L. Madan, *Indian Cartography: A Historical Perspective (3,000 B.C. to Mid-Twentieth Century)* (Delhi, Manohar, 1997), 81.

22. Matthew Edney, 'The patronage of science and the creation of imperial space: the British mapping of India, 1799–1843', *Cartographica* 30:1 (1993): 61–67.

23. Quoted in John Murdoch, *The Indian Teacher's Manual with Hints on the Management of Vernacular Schools* (Madras, The Christian Vernacular Education Society, 1885), 151.

24. John Murdoch, *Hints on Education in India with Special Reference to Vernacular Schools*, 2nd ed. (Madras, The Christian Vernacular Education Society, 1871), 114.

25. Pioneering work on pre-colonial mapping in the subcontinent has been done by Susan Gole and Joseph Schwartzberg; see especially Susan Gole, *Indian Maps and Plans: From Earliest Times to the Advent of European Surveys* (New Delhi, Manohar Publications, 1989), and Joseph E. Schwartzberg, 'South Asian cartography', in *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992), 295–509. While they do consider the continuation of non-modern cartographical practices into the present (such as the production of cosmographies and pilgrimage maps), they do not detail the dissemination of scientific cartographical habits among modern Indians. Similarly, while Matthew Edney's important study of the colonial mapping of India occasionally alludes to the reliance on Indian assistants and draftsman by British surveyors, this suggestion has not been pushed any further to offer general insights about the spread of a modern cartographical culture among Indians (Edney, *Mapping an Empire* (see note 18), especially 304–9). Madan offers a tantalizing but all-too-brief discussion of the 'dawn of geographical curiosity' and modern map-awareness among educated Indians from the early years of the nineteenth century (Madan, *Indian Cartography* (see note 20), 134–42).

26. P. D. A. Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (London, Public Record Office and The British Library; Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1993), 17.

27. For some recent essays that begin to consider the spread of modern mapping habits among Indians, see Keya Dasgupta, 'A city away from home: the mapping of Calcutta', in *Texts of Power: Emerging Disciplines in Colonial Bengal*, ed. Partha Chatterjee (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 145–66; Sankaran Krishna, 'Cartographic anxiety: mapping the body politic in India', *Alternatives* 19 (1994): 507–21; and Sumathi Ramaswamy, 'Catastrophic cartographies: mapping the lost continent of Lemuria', *Representations* 67 (1999): 92–129.

28. The quotation is from Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London, Verso, 1991), 175.

29. Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992), 108, 114.

30. Thongchai Winichakul, 'Maps and the formation of the geo-body of Siam', in *Asian Forms of the Nation*, ed. Hans Antlov and Stein Tonnesson (London, Curzon Press, 1996), 76.

31. S. Nagarajan, *Kovai Tamil Vaacakam*, 5th rev. ed. (Erode, Standard Textbook Company, 1955), 89. It is telling that the map depicts Indian territory prior to its partition in 1947, although it was published well after that event.

32. Thongchai, *Siam Mapped* (see note 14).

33. Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood* (see note 29), 107, emphasis mine.

34. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (see note 28).

35. See, for example, Tanika Sarkar, 'Nationalist iconography: image of women in 19th century Bengali literature', *Economic and Political Weekly* 22:47 (1987): 2011–15;

Jasodhara Bagchi, 'Representing nationalism: ideology of motherhood in colonial Bengal', *Economic and Political Weekly (Review of Women's Studies)* 24:42–43 (1990): WS 65–71; Patricia Uberoi, 'Feminine identity and national ethos in Indian calendar art', *Economic and Political Weekly (Review of Women's Studies)* 25:17 (1990): WS 41–48; Indira Chowdhury-Sengupta, 'Mother India and Mother Victoria: motherhood and nationalism in nineteenth-century Bengal', *South Asia Research* 12:1 (1992): 20–37; Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *The Making of a New 'Indian' Art: Artists, Aesthetics and Nationalism in Bengal, c. 1850–1920* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992), 90–92, 255, 258–59; and Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850–1922: Occidental Orientations* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994), 295–96. For a nuanced analysis of the place of posters, chromolithographs and other visual artifacts of popular nationalism in late colonial India, see Christopher Pinney, 'The nation (un)pictured: chromolithography and 'popular' politics in India', *Critical Inquiry* 23:3 (1997): 834–67.

36. Lise McKean, 'Bharat Mata: Mother India and her militant patriots', in *Devi: Goddesses of India*, ed. John Stratton Hawley and Donna Marie Wulff (Berkeley University of California Press, 1996), 252–53.

37. Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, 1903–1908* (New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1973), 307–8.

38. Goswami, 'The Production of India' (see note 8), 438.

39. For reproductions of these, see Harish K. Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, 2nd ed. (Amritsar, Guru Nanak Dev University, 1993). I thank Allen Thrasher for drawing my attention to these.

40. Graham Shaw and Mary Lloyd, eds., *Publications Proscribed by the Government of India: A Catalogue of the Collections in the India Office Library and Records and the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books, British Library Reference Division* (London, The British Library, 1985), nos. 101, 652, etc. For a more extended analysis of Figure 3, see Sumathi Ramaswamy, 'Visualizing the nation-space of "India": maps, globes, bodyscapes', *Contributions to Indian Sociology* (n.s.) 36:122 (2002), forthcoming.

41. Diana Eck, *Banaras: City of Light* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1982), 38–39. See also *The Hindu*, 5 March 1993, 21. In 1921, Subramania Siva unsuccessfully sought to build a temple to Mother India in southern India. It is not clear from the information we have whether he planned to install a map of India there (P. S. Mani, *Veeramuracu Subramania Siva* (Madras, New Century Book House, 1984), 188–98). In 1983, under the auspices of the VHP, a Hindu nationalist organization, another multi-storey temple to Mother India was opened in the Himalayan pilgrimage town of Hardwar. The ground floor of the shrine includes both a statue of Mother India and a large map of India on which are marked 'mountains and rivers, major centers of Hindu pilgrimage, and "all important centers of culture"' (McKean, 'Bharat Mata' (see note 36), 269, who cites *Bharat Mata Mandir: Candid Appraisal* (Hardwar, Samanvaya Publication, 1986)). In the past few years, other similar temples and shrines have appeared across the Indian nation-space.

42. Christiane Brosius, 'Mapping the nation', in *Mappings: Shared Histories . . . A Fragile Self*, ed. Pooja Sood (New Delhi, Eicher Gallery, 1997), 15–19; Christiane Brosius, 'Motherland in Hindutva iconography', *The India Magazine of Her People and Culture* 17:12 (1997): 22–28.

43. Two years earlier in April 1907, the same newspaper

carried another pictorial sketch in which an unidentified woman (presumably Mother India) receives obeisance from an assortment of male citizens. The woman is shown clad in a sari and seated, her arm resting on a globe which prominently displays the cartographical logo of India (reprinted in A. R. Venkatachalapathy, *Bharatiyin Karuttu Patankal: Intiya, 1906–1910* (Madras, [Narmada], 1995), 45). The occasion for the cartoon was the celebration of the Tamil New Year's Day. Interestingly, in the numerous other cartoons featuring Mother India that appeared in the short-lived span of this nationalist newspaper from the opening decade of the 20th century, she is not shown associated with the map or globe.

44. See, for example, the illustration on the cover page of A. D. Mayandi Pillai, *Bharata Desiya Gitam (Part I)* (Virudhunagar, Sacchitanandam Press, 1931). See also Government of Madras Order No. 348 (Public Confidential) of 29 February 1932; Order No. 1601 (Public Confidential), 12 December 1932, etc. The cover page of a short-lived journal called *Intiyattay* [Mother India] published in the early 1930s features a bodyscape of Mother India. Typically in these publications, Mother India appears as a four-armed goddess carrying the tricolour flag and the spinning wheel; the northern borders of the map are blurred by the spread of her body.

45. K. R. Kuppusamy Das, *Malai Tamil Vaacakam (Moonravatu Puttakam)* (Madras, C. Coomaraswamy Naidu & Sons, 1948), 20. See also V. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Centamil Vaacakam: Moonraam Puttakam*, 10th ed. (Pudukottai, Srinivas & Co., 1949), 2. For an earlier example from northern India, see Shaw and Lloyd, *Publications Proscribed by the Government of India* (note 40), no. 512.

46. V. Lakshmanan, *Putiya Aarampakalvi Tamil (Moonraam Puttakam)* (Mannargudi, Shri Shanmugha Publishing House, 1958).

47. This bodyscape is reminiscent of the so-called Ditchley portrait of Elizabeth I from 1592 in which the English monarch is shown standing on a globe with the map of England sketched on it: Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1987). For a similar association of maps and human bodies in early 17th-century Mughal miniatures, where the emperors Jahangir and Shahjahan are shown standing on globes, see Milo Cleveland Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1981).

48. G. Arogiaswamy, *Taay Naattu Varalaaru: Moonraam Puttakam* (Tiruchirapalli, Murugan Press, 1952).

49. I thank Christopher Pinney for sharing this print with me. It is interesting to note that the national flag is displayed more prominently here than the map. Indeed, the flag frequently rivals the map as an object of adulation and veneration in the patriotic visual practices of colonial and post-colonial India.

50. Anon., *Baala Bodini: Aintaam Pustakam* (Kumbakonam, V. S. Venkataraman and Co., 1930), 76. See also P. T. Sreenivasa Aiyangar, *Gokhale Irantaam Vaacakam* (Kumbakonam, V. S. Venkataraman, 1933), 69.

51. I thank Patricia Uberoi for discussing this poster with me. Indeed, this bodyscape echoes other posters of Mother India which were proscribed during the 1930s, soon after Bhagat Singh's execution by the British colonial regime. These show him handing over his severed head on a platter to his 'mother', India, seated on her throne (see British Library, India Office Library, PP Hin F 66 and PP Hin F 69). Elsewhere, I have explored the proliferation of such somatic images in nationalist discourses in colonial and post-colonial India and argued that they are impor-

tant technologies of nation-building in the subcontinent (Sumathi Ramaswamy, 'Body language: the somatics of nationalism in Tamil India', *Gender and History* 10:1 (1998): 78–109).

52. Tagore, *The Home and the World* (see note 3), 91.

53. American Committee for South Asian Art, No. 5266. I thank Sandria Freitag for alerting me to this. There are other examples of this strategy in bodyscapes from Bengal as well as northern India from the 1920s (Shaw and Lloyd, *Publications Proscribed by the Government of India* (see note 40), nos. 101, 250, 353, and 640).

54. See especially C. A. Bayly, 'The origins of swadeshi (home industry): cloth and Indian society, 1700–1930', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986), 285–322, and Emma Tarlo, *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1996).

55. Meredith Borthwick, *The Changing Role of Women in Bengal, 1849–1905* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1984), 243–56; Dulali Nag, 'Fashion, gender and the Bengali middle class', *Public Culture* 3:2 (1991): 93–112. For a thoughtful critique of the modern visual presentation of the Hindu goddess as a fully clothed and sari-clad body, see Tapati Guha-Thakurtha, 'Clothing the goddess: the modern contest over representations of Devi', in *Devi, The Great Goddess: Female Divinity in South Asian Art*, ed. Vidya Dahejia (Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution, 1999), 157–79.

56. Sumathi Ramaswamy, *Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891–1970* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1997).

57. Krishna, 'Cartographic anxiety' (see note 27), 510.

58. Sudipto Kaviraj, 'The imaginary institution of India', in *Subaltern Studies VII: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, ed. Partha Chatterjee and Ranajit Guha (Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1993), 13.

59. As I noted earlier, bodyscapes which show the map of India occupied by, or in association with, male bodies, especially those of prominent nationalist leaders like Gandhi, Nehru and Bose, are also popular. I want to suggest that even these examples are a reflection of the gendering of national territory as female for these male nationalists are themselves seen as patriotic sons of 'the motherland' or Mother India.

60. Catherine Nash, 'Remapping and renaming: new cartographies of identity, gender and landscape in Ireland', *Feminist Review* 44 (1993): 39–51; Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1993); Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose, eds., *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies* (New York, Guilford Press, 1994).

61. Sumathi Ramaswamy, 'Virgin mother, beloved other: the erotics of Tamil nationalism in colonial and post-colonial India', in *Signposts: Gender Issues in Post-Independence India*, ed. Rajeswari Sundar Rajan (New Delhi, Kali for Women, 1999), 17–56; Afsaneh Najmabadi, 'The erotic vatan [homeland] as beloved and mother: to love, to possess, and to protect', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39:3 (1997): 442–67.

62. Tagore, *The Home and the World* (see note 3), 91–92.

63. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (see note 28), 16.

64. Tagore, *The Home and the World* (see note 3), 91.

65. Mahasweta Devi, 'Douloti the Bountiful', in *Imaginary Maps: Three Stories by Mahasweta Devi (Translated and Introduced by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak)* (New York, Routledge, 1995), 93, emphasis in original.

66. Gayatri Spivak, 'Woman in difference: Mahasweta Devi's "Douloti the Beautiful"', in *Nationalisms and Sexualities*, ed. Andrew Parker et al. (New York, Routledge, 1992), 112.

67. Lydia Liu, 'The female body and nationalist discourse:

*The Field of Life and Death revisited*', in *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices*, ed. Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 58.

### *Cartes et déesses mères dans l'Inde moderne*

Pour J.B. Harley, 'les cartes comme mode de connaissance impersonnel tendent à "désocialiser" le territoire qu'elles représentent; elles entretiennent l'idée d'un espace socialement vide'. En prenant l'Inde moderne comme objet d'étude, cet article examine une tradition alternative de cartographie du territoire dans laquelle la nation est représentée non comme un 'espace social vide', mais comme la 'Mère Inde', la nation indienne imaginée comme une femme, une mère, une déesse. A travers l'analyse de tels 'paysages anthropomorphes' de la Mère Inde, on peut se demander ce qui est en jeu dans la superposition du corps féminin à la carte du territoire national. Et d'examiner comment de tels paysages anthropomorphes, tout en généralisant une vision particulière de l'Inde, renforcent l'idée de la nation comme 'matrice'/mère patrie.

### *Karten und Muttergottheiten im modernen Indien*

J. B. Harley stellt fest, dass 'Karten als eine entpersönlichte Form von Wissen das dargestellte Gebiet potentiell "entsozialisieren"'. Sie fördern die Vorstellung von einem gesellschaftlich leeren Raum'. Dieser Beitrag stellt anhand von Karten Indiens aus dem 20. Jahrhundert eine alternative Tradition der Territorialdarstellung vor, bei der die Nation ihren Bürgern kartographisch nicht als 'gesellschaftlich leerer Raum' präsentiert wird, sondern als 'Mutter Indien' und damit imaginär als Frau, Mutter und Gottheit. Durch eine Analyse derartiger 'körperbetonter' Darstellungen der 'Mutter Indien', wird untersucht, was die repräsentative Verwendung des weiblichen Körpers bei der Kartierung eines Nationalstaates impliziert. Darüber hinaus wird abgewogen, wie solche Figurenkarten, in gleicher Weise wie sie ein spezifisches Bild von Indien prägen, auch die Idee der Nation als 'Mutterland' verstärken können.