

Outlines of a Discipline: *Book History in India*

RIMI B. CHATTERJEE

What I wish to do in this paper is to give you a short overview of the history of print culture in India, and then move on to talk about the issues and concerns that Indian book historians are now having to address as we work towards building the discipline in India. As the paper progresses, I hope I will be able to give you some idea of why book history in India presents unique problems that have to be dealt with at the level of disciplinary thinking.

It's not my objective here to dwell at length on the history of print in India. This is partly because at the level of people, books and processes, many facets of this history have been documented, although there are still vast fields as yet untouched. There have also been some pathbreaking studies in the various Indian languages, which in the absence of translation have not been well positioned to speak to one another, or to be accessed by scholars unfamiliar with these languages in India or abroad. In the absence of a dialogue, these pioneering studies and traditions have had to stand alone, and they have not yet generated their own discipline. This lack of a scholarly space in which book history can exist is what the new generation of book historians in India is trying to change. In the second part of my paper, I will talk about how this change may come about and what is being done to effect it. I must also apologise in advance for the prevalence of Bengali examples in my paper, since it is Bengal's history I am most familiar with, but I have tried to give some idea of what was happening across the country as well.

The coming of print made a tremendous impact on Indian life, but there was a significant time lag between the printing of the first book in India and the coming of a printing industry. The *Tamil Catechism* was produced in Goa by the Portuguese around 1557, documented by Graham Shaw and regarded as the first book produced by Gutenberg's process on Indian soil.¹ This work was typical of the early books which tended to be tools used by the early Jesuit missionaries in converting the coastal people of South India to Christianity, or slightly later might be compendia of knowledge about India for the use of colonisers or scholars in Europe. Somewhat later, with the territorial expansion of the British, the increase of administrative duties occasioned the beginning of government printing, with perhaps a small body of works produced for the expatriate community such as *Hickey's Bengal Gazette* of 1780. The early phase saw the gradual solution

Script & Print: Bulletin of the Bibliographical Society of Australia & New Zealand
29 (2005): 45-56

of technical problems related to the adaptation of Indian scripts to the needs and vagaries of movable type in collaboration with Indian workmen, such as the former goldsmith Panchanan Karmakar who worked with Charles Wilkins to produce the first font of Bengali type in 1777 and was then poached by William Carey for the Baptist Mission Press in Srirampur.²

Two other factors had to enter the scene before printing could become a popular medium in the hands of Indians themselves, and these two, arising almost coevally with each other, were European-style education and nationalist thought. Together, they created the somewhat ambivalent atmosphere in which Indians of the nineteenth century interacted with Europe. There was at one end of the emotional spectrum a strong recognition, enunciated by figures such as Ram Mohan Roy, that European education was a good thing, and at the other end there was an antipathy to the foreign rulers, cooked out of a strange mix of traditional caste-based purity concerns and proto-nationalist idealism. This was further complicated by the fact that European education was not limited merely to education in English, or the European language of your choice: it also innovated the teaching of children in their mother tongues. Education in India till then had largely been imparted in the classical languages, such as Arabic, Persian, Tamil or Sanskrit, and only a few religious sects or breakaway communities educated their children in the actual spoken language of the community. But the Europeans, specifically the British at the height of their Utilitarian zeal, did not see education as the privilege and ornament of particular elites, but as a useful tool for the improvement of society. They thus brought in not only English language teaching but also used Bengali, Hindi, Tamil, Marathi and so on as the media through which to teach European culture and technology. This radically modified Thomas Macaulay's blueprint for Indian education which exalted the making of 'brown sahibs' who would be Indian by descent but European in thought, feeling and taste. This quiet readjustment of the Macaulayan agenda did not take place merely because the educationists had high ideals of social work, although some did, but because it was simply impracticable to uproot India's varied, vibrant and rapidly evolving indigenous cultures and replace them with European imports, regardless of what was said or resolved in the British Parliament.

Unlike in some other British colonies, print and the European languages in India did not have the field of public expression to themselves. There was a vibrant literary culture mediated through the work of scribes and skilled illuminators and spanning all the classical literary languages, media and genres. Thus there was court literature in nearly every state in the classical languages or their variants (such as Urdu) or in literary dialects such as the Braj Bhasa of Vaishnav devotional poetry, with a certain amount of vernacular literature also circulating

in high society. It is to be remembered that classical 'Sanskrit' drama actually has the characters speaking everything from the purest literary Sanskrit to the most debased demotic depending on the characters' station in life and whom they are addressing. So servants and women speak 'debased' tongues, noblemen speak Sanskrit to each other but 'debased' forms with women and servants. A man's position in society was thus the more exalted depending on how many (and how high) were the languages he knew. The fact that Hindu women were excluded from classical education was the biggest obstacle to their education at all, but paradoxically the 'uncleanness' of European-style education in the eyes of the pundits was an argument in favour of allowing women to have it, since their 'uncleanness' was one of the grounds on which they were excluded from education in the first place. High caste men by contrast ought to have been more in jeopardy from the sully-ing influences of Europe, but (unsurprisingly) this does not seem to have been the case in practice. It is no accident that the rhetoric of controlling Hindu women switched from seeing them as 'unclean' to seeing them as 'pure' and the repositories of 'Indianness' just as European education threatened to reach out and touch them. For much of the 19th century, Hindu women were routinely told (often by other women) that if they learned to read and write they would become widows (and thus subject to extreme deprivation and humiliation, if not outright death). Nevertheless a small but growing band of women courageously embraced the new knowledge, at first in secret with the connivance of accomplices who risked social ostracism on their behalf; later openly and with decreasing guilt. The debates surrounding the education of women of other communities were somewhat different, but ideas of purity were all too often mixed up in them.

Although literacy was not widespread outside urban centres there was wide exposure to traditional literature through professional travelling readers or village wise men, who would read texts to gatherings on various occasions. Paper was known and used for these manuscripts as well as certain kinds of tree bark and the more traditional palm leaf books known as *puthis*. As the 19th century progressed into the 20th, it became the norm for children of the upper levels of all communities to be taught indigenous classical traditions by private tutors at home in parallel with European-style English-medium school education. Thus traditional markets and readerships continued for a while alongside print culture and interacted with it in startling and unpredictable ways.

As the vernaculars became print-languages, printers started looking around for texts they could produce with their new technique and sell to a willing public. Indigenous literature was already chock-full of such texts that were instantly recognisable to most potential readers, and they accordingly found their way into print in cheap editions from native printers clustered around what became known

as the Bat-tala area, literally 'under the banyan tree,' Calcutta's equivalent of St. Paul's Churchyard. The output of a typical Bat-tala press would include the household tales told in Bengali families ranging from the most humble to the most exalted, as well as devotional literature, which in much of Vaishnav Bengal shaded almost imperceptibly into erotica. There would be *mangal* poems such as *Manasamangal* and *Chandimangal*, which had a quasi-scriptural status, Vaishnav texts such as *Sri Krishna Kirtan* and the *Padavalis*, long poems such as *Bidyasundar*, collections of folktales like the *Betal* stories, and Perso-Bengali literature like *Gulrakaoli*.³ And there were also popular 'books of knowledge,' often 'transcreated' from Western models such as the little booklets produced by the Chambers brothers for the education of the English common reader, a market that the Bat-tala printers kept a close eye on for possible titles. At the same time, newspapers and periodicals were being set up by the elite to debate the burning issues of the time. The vernaculars became the media of exchange in the marketplace of ideas as the 19th century progressed, surpassing by far the readerships for the classical languages and making nonsense of the traditional view of learning as the exclusive birthright of socio-religious elites.

The power of the elites had in any case been eroding long before this overthrow. Indian society in the Gangetic belt had been sliding towards crisis when the Europeans came, as the old Mughal system began to fall apart under the pressure of regional warlords who challenged its crumbling power. The situation in the south was somewhat more stable which was why the European powers found it harder to make territorial inroads there, being mostly confined, except in Madras, to coastal trading posts and enclaves. But in the three Presidential cities of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, the consolidation of British power provided a space where the new hybrid culture could unfold itself. In Bengal especially, the coming of the British produced a new class of wealthy collaborators who leapfrogged over their traditional superiors to form a new elite. This group needed to establish a legitimate right to their new position at the top of society, which it did partly by extremely conspicuous consumption and partly by the cultural flowering known as the Bengal Renaissance. The Nobel Laureate Rabindranath Tagore came from one such family, of dubious caste status but grown fabulously wealthy over three generations by British collaboration, and he went on to consolidate the family's right to authority through moral and cultural means rather than economic ones. Printing, as the vehicle for his incredibly varied and voluminous oeuvre, was essential for his establishment as Bengal's World-Poet. Paradoxically, this cultural efflorescence brought with it new 'European' attitudes that sealed the fate of many branches of indigenous literature through the movement of newly conscious gentlesfolk such as the Brahmo Samaj who wished to suppress 'vice' in

the European sense in Indian culture, and found the indigenous erotic-sublime a deep embarrassment.

There were further challenges that the art of printing brought to Indian culture. In the beginning the technology and its materials were considered unclean, so a basic barrier of perception had to fall before printing became acceptable to established society. Nevertheless this readjustment did not take longer than one generation, because a few extremely bright people quickly worked out what power this new art had and decided to put it to use. One of the earliest of these was Ram Mohan Roy, an extremely wealthy and cultured Bengali whose writings in the 1820s and 1830s on the need for change in Bengal (especially by means of what English education had to offer) reached a wide audience through print.

To give you some idea of what the press meant to people of the early nineteenth century, let me cite a fictional, yet telling, example. There is a lengthy passage in the middle of Vikram Chandra's novel *Red Earth and Pouring Rain*, where two of the main characters, Sanjay Parashar and Sikandar Skinner, go to work as young apprentices in a print shop in Calcutta called the (fictional) Markline Orient Press, around the 1820s.⁴ The story describes the presswork of the time fairly accurately, if you ignore the odd magic-realist flourish. The manager of this press, Ashutosh Sorkar, runs the press for the owner, the Englishman John Markline. Sorkar has taught himself English from a copy of the *Complete Works of William Shakespeare* stolen from Markline when Sorkar first joined the press.⁵ He teaches the language to his two young apprentices as well, but they learn to read upside down and back to front, from the typesetter's stick. John Markline is a Baconist, whereas Sorkar Babu, having toiled through the entire *Complete Works*, is of the opinion that they were written by none other than William Shakespeare. Markline declares that the incontrovertible truth of Bacon's authorship is set forth in ciphers in Shakespeare's text, and this gives Sorkar Babu the idea of creating a cipher of his own to undercut the messages of the books he typesets. So he has a secret font made, which is subtly different in spacing and position from the true font, and while typesetting the press's titles he surreptitiously introduces these letters into the formes according to a complicated formula, so that to the trained eye they spell out a secret message. Thus in Markline's own pamphlet, titled *Was Sir Francis Bacon the True Author of the Stratford Plays?*, the enciphered message ran: 'Did the mother of this author lick pig pricks by the light of the full Stratford moon?' In the Company text *A Physical and Economic Survey of the Territories of East India, with Special Attention to Bengal*, Sorkar inserts, 'The Company makes widows and famines and calls it peace.' And so in *The Religions and Peoples of India: Travels of a Rationalist*, 'This writer is neither a traveller nor a rationalist' and so on.⁶ After some prodding Sorkar babu tells the secret of his messages to the two boys.

Meanwhile, impressed by Sanjay's command of English, Markline tries forcibly to tear him away from what he calls Indian superstition, and in retaliation Sanjay makes his own set of cipher types and uses them in a book. Markline discovers the trick and Sanjay is caught, and to avoid detection he swallows all the illicit lead type. He survives the ordeal but his throat, like the god Shiva's, turns blue from the poison.⁷ Much later, when Sanjay is participating in the siege of the Lucknow Residency in 1857, the lead types suddenly start to emerge out of his skin. Since the rebels are low on lead shot, they put the types in their guns and batter down the walls of the Residency with the English language.⁸

This passage in Chandra's novel is remarkable for the way in which it analyses and reconstructs the emotional engagement of the subcontinent with print, and especially how it dramatises the dilemmas that the hybridisation of Bengali culture brought in the wake of printing and books. Sorkar Babu becomes a devotee of Shakespeare, but he does not come to English literature as a *tabula rasa*, so to speak. He is steeped, like most men of his generation and class, in the old literatures as well, as are many of the other craftsmen who have come to work on this new-fangled technology. This is dramatised in Chandra's novel by the fact that Sanjay pays the Bangladeshi punch-cutter for his font of illicit types with a hand-lettered edition of the works of the Persian poet Mir. The punch cutter is initially reluctant to take such a valuable artefact as payment, and when Sanjay insists, the punch cutter gives him a leaf of the manuscript as a keepsake. Sanjay throws it away in a fit of pique, certain that printing will kill the world that gave birth to Mir and his readers.⁹ In a way Sanjay is right, for the world of scribes and manuscripts has not survived into this century. But in the period of overlap when both existed side by side, at least some of the soul of the old world found its way into the body of the new.

This period of overlap between the scribal and print worlds lasted a century, while the period of overlap between metal type and digital still continues, for you will still find little workshops with handset letterpress type and platen presses dotted throughout India, carrying out piecework at dirt-cheap rates. These presses are the direct descendants of the first pioneers in the early nineteenth century. The first private press run by one Babu Ram is recorded in Calcutta circa 1806. Shortly afterwards, in 1816, Calcutta had its first recorded publisher, Gangakishor Bhattacharya, who had trained at the Srirampur Press of the Baptist Mission under William Carey. Gangakishore was noteworthy because he not only brought out a newspaper, the *Bengali Gazette*, but he also printed a number of popular manuscript tales and poems, thus beginning the cross-fertilisation of orality and literacy that was to produce Bengal's hybrid print culture. Unfortunately, his enterprise did not last very long.¹⁰ At the same time another significant institution

was coming into being: the Calcutta Schoolbook Society was set up as a joint venture between Indian and European philanthropists. Its task was to reprint cheaply standard textbooks imported from England for the educational market, such as Lindley Murray's *Grammar*. Shortly afterwards the Madras Schoolbook Society was set up on similar lines. The schoolbook market gave a big boost not only to the production of English books but much more significantly for the vernaculars, thus creating the trade structures that would power the development of these languages into the voices of India. Once printing had been accepted, a further tussle had to take place, for control of the medium. The Press Ordinance of 1823 had restricted the freedom of the press; Charles Metcalfe repealed it in 1835. After that, the number and variety of both native owned and European owned presses, producing books as well as periodicals, grew steadily.

By the establishment of the three Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857, and incidentally the storming of the Lucknow Residency, there was a vibrant and flourishing print industry in all the three Presidencies, with some princely states and European enclaves also hosting small groups of printers and booksellers. After the takeover by the Raj and Victoria's crowning as Empress of India, print quickly established itself in the new Provinces. Pretty soon education in the Punjab, the Northwest Provinces, and the Central Provinces had developed to the point where there was a small but significant demand for educational books. Along with educational printing there was usually a move in every area to commit to print old folk favourites such as collections of folktales, sacred stories, epic poems and other popular texts that already had a market, just as the Bat-tala printers had done a generation earlier. There was not much attempt to do these books either in a bibliophilic way or as scholarly editions. They were intended as cheap and disposable conveniences which would sell by the thousands and make money. Fine printing did have some adherents, however; in Bombay the Parsis led the way in printing not only their own sacred works but also in producing or reproducing European-style books, at which Bombay's presses achieved a high level of expertise. Bombay was also a clearinghouse for the trade to East Africa. In the South missionary presses such as the Basel Mission Press in Mangalore and the SPCK Press in Vepery, Madras, were renowned for their printing and did many commercial jobs for high paying clients such as European firms wishing to print in India.

Censorship of books arrived late on the Indian scene, under cover first of bibliography and then copyright. James Long, a missionary with pro-Indian sympathies, produced the first catalogue of books printed in Bengal in 1852. In this survey Long listed over a thousand books but gave no names of author or publisher, an omission which he rectified in later catalogues. Significantly, in 1859

when preparing his third set of returns on books printed in Bengal, Long adds a new category: the 'character' of each book printed, and he explicitly says that the idea was suggested to him by the War of 1857, since during that time "many hasty remarks were made respecting [the native press] while some said it was so radically corrupt that it ought to be abolished." Long's purpose in delving into the nature of the books produced was to "test the question ... by an accurate investigation of the facts of the case."¹¹ His observations led to the government's first half-hearted attempts to control so-called obscene literature in 1857. Long was then indicted in 1861 for translating Dinabandhu Mitra's *Nil Darpan* into English and embarrassing the indigo planters with it. Mitra's Bengali play was a harsh indictment of the cruelty and corruption of indigo planting in India, but it was ignored by the government until Long's translation made its contents known to important pressure groups in London.

The *Nil Darpan* incident may have had a role in expediting the Registration of Vernacular Publications Act of 1867, which required that printers and publishers deposit copies of their books with their District Magistrates as a means both of securing copyright and of government surveillance. Although Long with typical missionary zeal deplored the erotic literature in which Bengal abounded, the government studiously ignored this genre and concentrated on the less common but more damaging works of sedition. In Bengal at least, hermetic folk traditions made surveillance particularly difficult, because poets and audiences were used to roundabout, codified or allusive ways of referring to contemporary situations. The Registration Act of 1867 produced the voluminous registers that Robert Darnton refers to in his piece on colonial surveillance of Indian literature in *Book History*.¹²

There was again an abortive attempt to police the Indian press with the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, which was quickly repealed, but as the nationalist movement became a force to be reckoned with at the turn of the nineteenth century, surveillance began to be taken more seriously. As with most things in India, the sheer size of the Indian book and periodical market made it impractical for the British to use actual physical force to keep Indian printing in check, so they resorted to a kind of moral pressure backed up by threats to keep printers in line, with indifferent success. But largely the market was concerned more with making money, sometimes through a bit of profitable piracy, than with actual sedition. This was left to illicit presses run by various political parties and their sympathisers, which usually produced the party organs and propaganda. Much of this material was for the party activists themselves, who would travel the countryside 'performing' it for the local people as if they were traditional storytellers themselves.

The copyright situation in India was complicated by the fact that it had been designed from European models which largely dealt with mono- or at the most bi-lingual societies. The year 1847 had seen the first copyright act which survived more or less unchanged till 1913. However, the issue of translation and how it should be treated was not addressed in the 1847 act, and only partially dealt within the 1913 act. It took until after independence for this issue to be looked into and even today there is no satisfactory position on how to handle translation. This is a great handicap, as in a country like India with more than twenty major literary languages translation has to be the most important tool for cultural exchange. Yet it is only in the last few years that theorists and scholar have begun thinking about this.

Which brings me to the second part of my paper, namely the disciplinary questions that such a varied history generates. As I've tried to show, there is not and cannot be a monolithic Indian book history. The peculiarity of the Indian situation can be summed up as follows: One: India is heterogeneous culturally and linguistically, and each literary tradition has unique features although it may share some general characteristics with others. A truly sensitive discipline must recognise these differences and not submerge them in a desire to come up with inclusive theoretical positions. Furthermore, this means that book history in particular language communities within India has to be undertaken by speakers of that language. No one person can write the history of the book in India, although Kesavan has valiantly, if somewhat idiosyncratically, tried. It will have to be a team effort, with scholars investigating in their own languages and then communicating in English with other scholars in India and abroad.

Two: In India, the new never straightforwardly replaces the old. It is much more common that the new comes and lives with the old, spawning various hybrid states that proliferate over time and space. This is true of technologies, cultures and genres. I wouldn't like to speculate here as to why this occurs, but I suspect it is to do with our view of progress as being more about addition than replacement. This means that not only do new ideas come in and change the old, but also the old remains to change and complicate the new. Any view of the book in India must take account of this fact.

The third feature has to do with the actual handling of books in our society. The prior existence of sacred palm leaf manuscripts precluded the idea of the book as a sacred object. In Europe the Church's treatment of the manuscript codex laid the foundation for the printed book, which closely copied the format of the codex and took on its mantle. In India, because the craft of printing was set down whole and not grafted onto any tradition, its product, the book, remained by and large a pariah ruled by the commercial rhythms of the marketplace. Most Indians

first encountered a book as an aid to passing examinations, passed on to the next generation until they fell apart. The book was an instrument, not an artefact; the cheaper the better, a disposable form of culture because mass-produced and lacking a soul, unlike the works of art produced by trained scribes.

Furthermore, the preservation of archives in a colonial society is nearly always the business of the rulers, not the ruled. India is a society where colonial paradigms long preceded European interaction, and here the keeping of meticulous records and archives was always a two edged sword. Most Indians preferred to get any records off their hands as soon as they had ceased to have an immediate function, so that the rulers, whoever they might be, could not acquire and use the information. Hence there was, and is, a flourishing industry in recycled paper, where rag and bone men go from door to door buying up all stocks, and many a business house has made a few bucks by selling off their history by weight, even where this included letters and records of literary celebrities or material of great historical interest.

These attitudes and practices have meant that by and large archives and records have not survived except where governments have preserved them for reasons of state or amateurs have stepped in and collected material on their own initiative. Therefore beyond state papers there is no automatic resource for book history and no large deposit of publishing archives comparable to those available in the UK or USA. We really do not know what has survived out there, and what is being destroyed even as we speak. And of course, the coming of electronic record keeping has only accelerated these losses. Part of the agenda for book history in India will therefore be to locate and preserve whatever, if anything, is left of these historical resources, and to create an intellectual climate where such action is considered imperative for the ongoing health of research. How and with what resources we can go about searching for, housing and making available what archives we may find, I do not know. But this is one of the things we must work towards.

Fourthly, there must be a pedagogy of book history in India. This pedagogy must draw on scholarship that already exists around the world, but it must also venture into the uncharted territory in front of its nose. At present, there is a postgraduate optional course in book history running at my university that has been offered for the past four years. It started out as heavily Eurocentric and technical, but gradually has started incorporating perspectives on Indian book history. We have already exported some young scholars to the West, and we are hoping to generate more for home consumption. We are also running courses on publishing as a skill, which we cross-fertilise with book history in the hope that we will have more responsible archive-generating publishers in future. Our aim is

not only to foster healthy scholarship in book history proper, but also to expose all students to some extent to the concerns of book history so that whatever they may choose to do in future, they will have the unique insights and tools that book history can give them. Primarily, the lowest common denominator is the ability to think about the text as a material object that skilled people make by working together.

The fifth thing is that we must have a global continuum of perspectives. The book is and has been one of the most global of commodities, and we cannot confine our enquiries about it within geographical boundaries. Wherever the book has been, which essentially means on most of the planet, there is the possibility of book history. There must be more studies of how books have crossed political and cultural barriers, of who brings them and what happens to them in the course of their migration. This is especially necessary in India, where so much of the book trade came from overseas and relied on overseas inputs, both then and now. For instance, there is evidence that there was a sizable onward trade in books from Bombay to East Africa that needs to be investigated, although again the question of the availability of sources is a difficult one. Still, at least someone should go and look.

Finally, other disciplines and fields of study must be accessed and involved in this project. Interdisciplinarity in India tends to exist only on the margins, more so than in other places, largely because we have a large, top-heavy, conservative and bureaucratic education system. We cannot have a healthy book history in the subcontinent without involving other disciplines such as history, sociology, economics and even industrial chemistry. So far, there has been no platform where this can be done. There are various routes we can take to building it: whether working from the outside in or vice versa, and publications, conferences and workshops can all help to reach the relevant people.

As I hope I have made clear, we face a difficult, complicated, sometimes frustrating but nevertheless worthwhile task in India. We have made a very small start, but with time and effort we hope to see this grow into something remarkable.

Jadavpur University, Kolkata, India

Endnotes

¹ Graham W. Shaw, "Scaliger's Copy of an Early Tamil Catechism" in *Library* 66-III(1981) pp. 239-243. Referred to in B.S Kesavan, *History of Printing and Publishing in India: A Story of Cultural Re-awakening*, New Delhi: National Book Trust, 1985, 2 vols.

² Kesavan. I have used material extensively from Kesavan's book, which has anomalous pagination due to the fact that volume two was destroyed in an accident before publication, resurrected from waste sheets and silently tacked on to the beginning of volume three. The two volumes are thus numbered one and three. This is only one of the many oddities of this peculiar yet pathbreaking text.

³ See for example Anindita Ghosh, "Cheap Books, 'Bad' Books: Contesting Print Cultures in Colonial Bengal," in *Print Areas: Book History in India*, ed. Swapan Chakravorty and Abhijit Gupta. New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004.

⁴ Vikram Chandra, *Red Earth and Pouring Rain*, (New Delhi: Penguin Viking, 1995), p. 332.

⁵ Chandra, 344.

⁶ Chandra, 352-4.

⁷ Chandra, 383-4.

⁸ Chandra, 584-5. As far as I know this did not in fact happen in history.

⁹ Chandra, 379-81.

¹⁰ Graham W. Shaw, *Printing in Calcutta to 1800, a Description and Checklist of Printing in Late 18th Century Calcutta*, (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1981).

¹¹ Tapti Roy, "Disciplining the Printed Text: Colonial and Nationalist Surveillance of Bengali Literature," in *Texts of Power: Emerging Disciplines in Colonial Bengal*, ed. Partha Chatterjee (Calcutta: Samya: 1995), 34.

¹² Robert Darnton, "Literary Surveillance in the British Raj: The Contradictions Of Liberal Imperialism" in *Book History*, v. 4 (2001) 133, 176.