In previous chapters we traced the history of Persian printed works in India in two distinct phases: the first phase began with the direct patronage of the East India Company and lasted till 1800 while the second phase included the printing activities of the East Indian Company with special reference to the educational press and the printing activities of missionaries. The third phase of Persian printing in North India was between 1830 and 1868. In this period, printing activity was conducted in a big way by Indians themselves, who engaged in the ‘tentative’ print-trade, still far away from the printing organized along formal, professional, capitalist lines. How did Persian print work in a multilingual society of northern India? How was Persian used in this early print culture? Who were the patrons of Persian printed books? Did or could Persian have a role in shaping the market for commercial printed books?

As far as the technology of printing is concerned, many books were published using typographic print before the invention and use of lithographic printing. Sprenger’s *A Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustany Manuscripts of the Libraries of the King of Oudh*, gives valuable information about early print in the North West Province. Ghaziuddin Haidar founded the typography press, the Matb’a-i Sultani, in 1817, which published *Haft Qulzum* (a Persian dictionary and grammar in seven volumes).
volumes, compiled by the nawab’s courtier Qabul Muhammad in 1820-2) as well as Taj-ul-Lughat (an Arabic-Persian dictionary).\textsuperscript{329} In establishing it, he got the support of an Eurasian Archer, a pupil of John Gilchrist, a leading administration and teacher of the Fort William College. According to a version, the Matha-i Sultani was under the possession of Shaikh Ahmad Arab (d. 1840) which was shifted to Lucknow from Calcutta in accordance with a wish of Ghaziuddin Haider. The renowned ulama Shaikh Ahmad Arab, Maulwi 'Uhaddin Bilgrami, Qazi Muhammad Sadiq Akhtar were appointed on assignments of writing and compiling. Two other Persian books printed by this press using typographic print can be mentioned. The first is Muhammad Haydari, published in Persian prose and verse in 1238/1822 in 6 volumes. The second is Guldasta Muhabbat, an account in Persian prose and verse of the meeting of Lord Hasting and Ghaziuddin Haidar by Akhtar, published in 1239/1823, in 8 volumes. In this press type was used and since these book were printed in type, which was not acceptable to the people’s taste (see below), this press could not continue its publication any further.\textsuperscript{330}

Almost all important works on tradition had been printed. Among them he included Mishkat with Persian translation (printed in Calcutta in 4 large volumes).\textsuperscript{331} Another prominent work listed by Sprenger was the Ghayfah Kamilah by Imam Zain-ul Abedin. He listed Bahauddin Amili’s as the best text and commentary as that of, and mentioned that this book had been at Lucknow. Several works were translated from English into Persian for the amusement of Ghaziuddin Haider. Among these translations he listed: History of Mexico, K. Porter’s travels in Persian (translated into Urdu), History of China, Travels of Aly Beg, A Short Geography, Outlines of Anatomy, On Bathing and Hygiene, On Compound Medicines, English Pharmacopoeia, Explanation of the Contents of a Medicine Chest, Tuplin’s Farrier, Curiousities from Physiology, Book of Signals used at Sea, Stories of Berner Minchin. To this long list he added Shagarf Nama-i

\textsuperscript{329} This has also been mentioned in Alois Sprenger, ‘Report on the Researches into the Muhammadan Libraries of Lucknow’ in Selection of the Government of India. Foreign Department, No. CCCXXXIV, Calcutta 1896, p.2. (dated Lucknow, 6 June, 1848).
Welayat (Travels in England) of Itisamuddin undertaken in 1748) and Masir-i Talibi (Travels of Abu Talib in Europe, Africa, Turkey and Iran). 332

The era of commencement of Persian printing in India was the time of moveable type keys. But it was after the popularization of litho presses that Persian printing activities spread all over the region and within a few years small litho presses gained ground all over North India. From the nineteenth century to the first decade of the twentieth, India was at the hub of a great expansion in lithographic printing. The success of this particular type of printing was largely due to the fact that the same procedure could be applied to all languages irrespective of the varying scripts, since its basis was the manuscript transcribed by a copyist. Hundreds of lithographic printing houses flourished in India, and although books in Persian were only a part of their production, it was there that the largest number of Persian lithographed books was published. 333

Lithographic press came to India in 1823 when East India Company established first lithographic presses in cities such as Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. After three years the first privately operated litho press Matb-i Fardunji Dohrabji Dastur was founded in 1826 in Bombay. Risala Musama Badila Qavia Bar Adam Jawaz-i Kabisa Dar Sharia-i Zartusha, written by Mulla Firuz (1758-1830). was the first book published in litho press, which was a rejoinder against Shavahid-ul Nafisa written by Muhammad Hashim Isfahani. Gulistan by sa’di was published in the same year in litho press in Calcutta and his Bustan was also published in the coming year. 334

It would not be an exaggeration to say that print culture came to Lucknow in a big way in 1830 with the advent and expansion of the lithographic press. The first lithographed books can be dated to the third decade of the nineteenth century: 1824 in Benares, 1826 in Agra and Calcutta where the Asiatic lithographic publishing house was at work. Nasiruddin Haidar invited Henry Archer, Superintendent of the Asiatic

334 Aqeel, 'Commence of Printing in the Muslim World', pp. 16-7. See also, Fraser, Book History through Postcolonial Eves, p. 112.
Lithographic Press at Kanpur, to shift his establishment to Lucknow. According to Sprenger, by 1830 there were twelve private lithographic presses functioning in that city. The number of works lithographed at Lucknow and Kanpur were about seven hundred. Of these, the books most requested were school books and religious works. Sprenger explains how the print provides a new sphere for new audiences.

The press in enlarging the narrow cycle of learning, and, what is more important, that it extends education to all classes and even to ladies. Twenty years ago verses of the Quran were repeated as prayers and charms, and even the whole book was learned by heart but without being understood, and the Sunnah was almost unknown, in our days people are gradually beginning to study the book, and I shall have to describe several commentaries on it in Arabic, Persian and Hindustani which have lately been published. The study of the traditions or Sunnah is making even more rapid progress than that of the Quran. Not only have the principal collections been published in Arabic but we have Persian and Hindustani translation of the Mishkat and Mashariq al Anwar which have gone through more than one edition.

In the North West Provinces, the growth of the press went hand in hand with the genesis of formal, western education; as a result a kind of popular education was disseminated through the press. The impact of lithographic press in the formation of regional languages is remarkable. Lithographic press moved from Calcutta—the first Indian-run Lithographic press in Calcutta was opened on 1830 by Faiz Ali—to upper India. Lithograph provided scope for new private ownership of printing presses as Munshi Wajid Ali Khan set up his most significant Persian newspaper press in 1830 in Agra. Lithographic press could provide—unlike type-printing—more copies at lesser price. The cheapness and acceptability of lithography allowed printers to produce books at low cost in different scripts. In addition, it was also portable, easy to operate, and cost-effective. It was also suited to the specific needs of Persian, as it was able to solve what Fraser called

335 Aloys Sprenger, *Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustany Manuscripts of the Libraries of the King of Oudh*, p. xii.
‘the perennial challenge of faithfully reproducing the exceptionally cursive Persian, and Persian-derived, scripts’. Very importantly, as Ulrike Stark mentions, it could reproduce the aesthetically prestigious nastaliq script and was thus ideal for printing in Arabic, Persian and Urdu in consonance with the manuscript tradition which held a strong cultural reputation. In fact lithographic book printing offered employment for those professionals who had earlier been engaged in the production of manuscripts. These included the booksellers, copyists, painters, writers, and scholars involved in editing classical works on various topics and commenting upon them, authors of schoolbooks, etc.

The lithographic printing house of Mir Hasan Razawi created a template for the title page that was later adopted by the publishing house of Munshi Nawal Kishore and became the standard format for several decades. A distinct ‘Nawal Kishore style’ developed, and attained the status of an accepted canon. It also exerted a significant influence on the graphic design of books produced by central Asian lithographers. The distinctive style of formatting lithographic books that had been developed by the early Lucknow printers during the 1840s and 1850s was further adapted for commercial printing. The cheapness and acceptability of lithography allowed printers to produce books at a low cost in different scripts.

Up to the middle of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, lithography was still a matter of individual experiments. Lithographed books in Persian started to come out regularly from the mid-40s of the nineteenth century in Bombay, Lucknow, Kanpur, Calcutta, and Madras, and from the late 1840s in Agra, Lahore, and Delhi.

337 Fraser, Book History through Postcolonial Eyes, p. 112.
338 Stark, Empire of Books, p. 47.
Commercial Persian Printing in North Western Provinces during 1848-1853

Although Francesca Orsini mentions that most commercial printing was undertaken in the Urdu language, our research indicates that of commercial publishing expanded first was encompassed by Persian. Commercial printing started in India in the years after 1830. Persian printed books had an important role to play in the shaping of the commercial press in India. Our analysis of Persian printing confirms Orsini’s view that commercial aspects of printing led to its rapid growth, and that commercial printing for the market was much larger than printing under patronage, an aspect that has often been overlooked in studies of the ‘advent of print’ in India.

In the beginning, commercial printing and publishing were confined to the urban sphere. The advent of printing brought lithographers, editors, and businessmen into this venture. The most successful were the lithographers of Lucknow and Kanpur. Most presses published in Persian and Urdu. The pioneers of the lithograph business in these cities were Haji Muhammad-Husayn at the Muhammad printing house, and Mustafa Khan at the Mustafai printing house in Kanpur and Mir Hasan Razawi at the Hasani printing house in Lucknow. In Benaras in 1849 the Matba'i Hamesha Bahar, owned by Beer Singh, son of Munshi Budh Singh Khatri, published his father’s book on the rules for Persian press in two parts. It is important to note at this point that most presses in North Western Province were established for the purpose of publishing newspapers, although there were a few presses which printed books alongside for various reasons.

According to the ‘Notes on Native Presses in the North Western Provinces’ for the years between 1848 and 1853, at the beginning most presses printed books in Persian

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341 This section contains information sourced from ‘Notes on Native Presses in the North Western Provinces for the years 1848-1853, Selection from the Records of Government N.W.P.


343 Ibid., pp.104-05

and Urdu. Even though the presses in North Western Province were mainly established for newspaper publishing, they also published books for various reasons. The report said that 'an almost all these presses books are printed, the newspaper in the majority of cases being subsidiary to the more profitable trade.' Thus, Persian books clearly had significant demand even twenty years after Persian was replaced by English as the official language.

Mustafa'i Press as an Early Example of Persian Commercial Printing

By all accounts, the printers of Lucknow were quite unusual in their interest in printing books. As Abdul Halim Sharar narrates:

After printing-press had been introduced, kitabat, became the vogue. The finest quail paper, highly appropriate for lithography, was used and the best calligraphist were employed at high salaries. They where shown great favour without any stipulations as to working conditions purely as a private pursuit.345

According to Orsini's detailed research on the presses of Lucknow, Mustafa Khan was the first to guage the possibilities of the market and the dynamics of business. In 1839 Mustafa Khan established the Mustafa'i Press in Lucknow, which quickly rose to fame as one of the finest lithographic presses in north India. It was the most commercially successful of the early presses in Lucknow, and had branches in Kanpur and Delhi. Mustafa'i Press was involved also in publishing books in different genres. According to the 'Notes on Native Presses in the North Western Provinces (Persian Printed Books) for the year 1850' the majority of works are were insha and Persian grammar, including: Divan-i Navdi, Karima, Isha-i Faiyaq, Qawaid-i Baghiadi, Haft Zabita, Daulat-i Hind, Dastur-i Sibiyan, Tashrif-ul Huruf, Chehel Hadith, Khaliq Bari, Mizan-ul Munsh 'ib (see appendix to chapter III). In 1851 in Kanpur, Mustafai Press retained the character which it obtained at Lucknow. Even though it was out put was very high it printed in yet it retained the excellent quality of printing. In this year, the press published nine works

including: *Surat-ul Mizan* (Persian account of the family of the Prophet by Shah Waliullah Dihlavi), *Amadnama* (declensions of Persian verbs), *Insha-i Khalifa* (a Persian letter-writing), *Bahr-ul Ajam* (a Persian letter-writing by Munshi Amanat Ali), *Risalah-i Abd-ul Wasy* (A compendium of Persian grammar by Abul Wasy), *Ruqaat-ul Nizamia* (letter-writing by Syid Nizam-ud Din Ali Khan), *Durus-ul Muntakhbat, Sajrat-ul Amani* (a Persian Grammar by Mirza Muhammad Husain, Qatil), and *Ruqaat-i Alamgiri* (letters writing by the Emperor Aurangzeb to his son with marginal notes.) The British reported that “the low price affixed to the books, as well as the neat manner in which they are printed, may account for their ready sale. The proprietor also sends out agents with his books for sale to principal cities.”

**The Patronage of Persian Printed Books by Presses: 1848-53**

The centres for the publication of Persian printed books were Agra, Delhi, Meerut, Benares, Bareilly; and Indore. Most printers sustained their business by publishing government-sponsored journals in Urdu and Hindi, while the bulk of book printing was still undertaken in Persian and Urdu. The Benares Akhbar Press was established by Govind Raghunath Thatte under the patronage of the Raja of Nepal. As the first Benares publisher, it issued a substantial number of books in Persian and Urdu. The other presses in Benares like Matba’-i Gulzar-i Hamesha Bahar (est. by Virsingh Khatri in 1849) was done with the money of share-holders. Colonial authorities also noted that five out of seven works which had been printed in 1849 at the Qadiri Press were in Persian. The works were in different subject: *Hidayat-ul Mu’alemin* (instructions to teachers in Persian by Muhammad Nurullah Khan), *Guldasta-i Frasat* (treatise on horses by Mir Ali Bakhsh), *Mufarrah-ul Qulub* (a medical work), *Kalid-i Danish* (Key of Wisdom by Ashraf Ali Khan) and *Mirat-ul Makhluqat* (a genealogical history of the world). Next year the same press published six Persian works viz. *Karima* (moral verses), *Namh-i Haq* (an account of Muslim ceremonies), *Mahmudnama* (love poems), *Insha-i Faiq, Insha-i Dilkusha* and *Khaliq Bari* (a poetical vocabulary by Amir Khausru).

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346 Notes on Native Presses in the N. W. P. for the year 1852. In 1853 the press opened another branch in Delhi.
Matba‘-i Mufad-i Hind (est. 1850, by Harivamshlal) published two Persian works in 1851: the Khayal Bekhudi by Munshi Sital Singh published for the Maharaja of Benaras, and Sifat-ul Masadir, a book of Persian verbs. Muhammad Baqir Khan, an ex-student of Delhi College, and editor of Delhi Urdu Akhbar which published Diwan-i Hafiz, stated that the profits of the press were dedicated to charitable purposes, and that the press published Persian medical works and literature, history, and religion (Tafsir-i Aziz, commentaries on the Quran). In Agra, the As‘ad al-Akbar Press was established by Munshi Qamaruddin Khan, who was described by colonial authorities as a ‘staunch Mahomedan, and a man of learning, of good character, and respectability; having, however, undertaken to interpret with certain Moulvies, he has got into disrepute with the Moosulmans. In 1851 he published four Persian books on different subjects. He published Diwan-i Tufta a Persian poetical work of Lala Hargopal ‘Tufta’, a prominent pupil and associate of Mirza Ghalib, and the erotic work Gulistan-i Rangin, in 1853. Risala-i Shaaqul Qamar was an account of the miracles of the Prophet Muhammad by Maulawi Raffi‘uddin. He had earlier published the Tashhi‘at-ul Masa‘il, an explanation and commentary on many question related to Islam by Fual Rasul of Badaun in 1850. Along with these he published many books on Persian literature.

In 1852, the Muhammadi Press in Kanpur published four Persian books (out of a total of eight works) in editions running in more than 1000 copies. The small number of books published was compensated by the high number of copies sold, although the publisher complained that he earned no profit. This is likely to have been untrue, as he was considered quite a wealthy man in his trade. There is no record (in the note on Native Press) about him for 1853.

The Persian press was also used to purvey religious literature on Hinduism ideas. A publisher printed religious books for the Hindu community of Meerut. The Urdu Jam-i Jahan Numa paper edited by Munshi Chaman Lal and Pandit Shree Sahai carried

348 ‘Note on the Native Press in N.W.P. in 1853’, pp. 111-149.
349 ‘Notes on the Native Presses in the N. W. P, for the Year 1852’.
an additional sheet containing of the Mahabharata. In this way, the Hindu community was given incentive to subscribe to the paper. In 1853 the Press published Pothi Bhaktamal, an account in Persian of the Bhakti saints.\(^{350}\) Jam-i Jamshid Press published a Persian work by Shiv Prasad, on practical arithmetic, algebra and mensuration, both on the English and native methods which the British thought 'could be of much use to the native employees in our revenue Office'. When the press moved to Agra, Shiv Prasad published Diwan-i Amjad Ali and 1,800 copies of a series of T'alim in Urdu and Persian writing in 1850. This press discontinued its operations in 1853.

From the concise data compiled by British colonial authorities, something could be said about the kind of books that were printed in Persian. Taking 1849 as a reference point, the majorities of books were in Persian, Urdu and Arabic languages, and consisted chiefly of reprints and translations, as also translation into Urdu of Persian and Arabic works, among which treatises on medicine and editions of the Quran were the most common. Among the books published in Persian there were fourteen literary works (letter-writing, poetry, tale, and moral prose), two on history, five on medical, three grammar, one mixed dictionary of Persian and Arabic with Urdu explanation, three of general science and four on miscellaneous.

During 1850-53 the majority of Persian books printed were on literature. There were as many as sixty works, including both educational works such as grammars or dictionaries, as well as works on prose and poetry, ten religious works, four scientific, and three historical works.

As regards printer-publishers, many belonged to the traditional scribal classes with a history in service and cultural background in the Indo-Persian tradition. Upper Muslims class, Kayasthas and Khatris were involved in the new print culture. Some of them were newspaper publishers who were drawn into the realm of print through the newspaper business. We now turn to seek to trace some strands in the rich history of Persian newspaper publishing.

\(^{350}\) 'Notes on the Native Presses in the N. W. P, for the Years1850-53'.

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The role of newspapers as central agents in the creation of public opinion cannot be over-estimated. The British patronage of newspapers in India accompanied their oft-stated intent of developing a ‘responsible’ vernacular press and of influencing opinion and educating students, especially to develop the habit of reading newspapers in the latter. With the introduction of lithography in North India, printing entered a commercial age, and truly became a tool of ‘mass’ communication.

With regard to the printing, the British wanted two contradictory things: on the one hand, they intended that the press should be ‘free’ as it was considered to be an instrument for disseminating information and educating the people of India. On the other hand, they wanted to maintain control over it through litigation, patronage, and a careful review of its publication. In his work on the vernacular press in India in the nineteenth century, Boyce Tilghman Merrill has argued that the growth of the vernacular press in India is influenced by western philosophy generally and British policy specifically. These two contending philosophies challenged one another in matters of policy towards the press and affected the growth of the vernacular press in various ways.

The role of newspapers also are significant with regard to Indian prose writing. Although the number of newspapers and periodicals in Indian language appearing between 1800 and 1835 was small, they are important in the history of Indian prose. The experiments of the journalists led to changes in the vocabulary of languages: for one, there was a sudden influx of loan-words, direct from Sanskrit and Persian, borrowings from English, and neologisms. The journalistic prose also made many innovations in

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351 Merrill, British policy and Vernacular Press in India, 1835-1878, pp. 121-22. The term ‘vernacular press’ refers to that portion of the press in India which was published—in whole or in part—in one of the regional languages. The term ‘native press’ is used to refer to publications in English edited and printed by Indians. The terms ‘Anglo-Indian press’ (current before 1835) has generally been used to denote publication in English language produced by and for Englishmen in India.

352 Ibid, p. vi.

syntax, for example the increasing frequency of reported speech, a feature borrowed from English and now naturalized in written styles. 354

With newspapers also arrived public debates on their social functions; this in turn promoted a new self-awareness among news-writers and also led to a mutual reinterpretation of both the British and the Mughal traditions.

With the coming of the Persian lithographic press also came a linear transition from publishing newspapers to publishing books. It is interesting to note that the overwhelming majority of the published works had been written before the nineteenth century. The repertoire of the lithographic printing houses included medieval compositions on theology, Islamic law, philosophy, grammar and lexicography, medicine, history, and belles-lettres. In the nineteenth century, publishers were known to seek high sales by reproducing known compositions in print, and all printing centres gave preference to the works by Indian authors. At the same time, almost all publishers tried to widen the range of their publications either by publishing contemporary works, or by searching through the manuscript depositaries for interesting or neglected items. Thus Persian publications became a medium for mass communication in the public sphere.

From Akhbarat to Newspapers

Information gathering in Mughal Empire was conducted along two channels: one official and the other private. Official records consisted of many administrative and political decisions or events, known as waqia, waqai, siyaha (meaning 'news' or 'record of events'). Private records consisted of waqai or sawanih which were in the form of reports or letters received from agents (wakils) of the imperial court. These two channels had more and less the same function. 355

354 Das, A History of Indian Literature, p. 77.
355 Akbar was the first Mughal sovereign who expanded the news organization. His contribution was the promulgation of Qanun-i Waqia Nawisi that led to the establishment of the Record Office in 1574. Abdus Salam Khurshid. Newsletters in the Orient, Islamic Research Institute Press, Islamabad, second edition, 1988, p. 37.
Prior to the establishment of colonial rule in India the *Waqia Nawis* and *Sawanih Nigar* used to perform the duties of the modern day reporters. The following classes of government news-letters and reports were sent by the intelligence staff of the Mughals:

i. *Waqai* or news-letters  
ii. *Khufia Nawis* or secret news-letters  
iii. *Akhbarat* or news reports  
iv. *Roznamcha* or daily reports.

The system of official news-writing and reporting continued to function in the first half of the eighteenth century. Michael Fisher has demonstrated how, with the decline of the Mughal Empire, these networks remained models for information control by increasingly powerful regional rulers and the English East India Company. While establishing its own system of information gathering and dissemination, the English India Company recruited people from the Mughal system such as the *akhbar nawis*. C. R. Wilson has given extracts from the *Bengal Public Consultations (1704-1717)* which refer to the terms *Bakhshi, Waqai Nawis, Waqai Nigar, Waqai, Sawanih Nigar, Akhbaranavis, Harkara, darogah harkara*. The usage of all these terms indicate the continuing usage of Mughal systems of information gathering. Newsletters thus played a major role both in satisfying the hunger for news and in moulding public opinion. The new medium of printed newspapers essentially met both these old needs.

**The Language (Persian) and the Form (newspapers) of Mass Communication**

The new atmosphere of social mobility and change under the British rule and the new system of education, gave rise to a new class of intellectuals. New social groups emerged particularly in Bengal, including the ‘bhadralok’ comprising almost all the members of the three upper castes of Hindu society, as well as upper class Muslims. Especially in Calcutta, members of the ‘new’ Muslim aristocracy and the middle class, especially

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358 Ibid, p. 58.  

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government servants, lawyers and educationists formed intellectual elite and also leaders of the Muslim community. Thus men like Abdul Latif Khan, Amir Ali and Khwaja Abdul Ghani rose to such prominence in the urban society that they formed a kind of new Muslim aristocracy with their own traditions of nobility and status. These groups were at the forefront of the debates about educational policy.

The changes were manifest in Bengal during 1818-1835, due to the influence of new ideas which were beginning to develop as a result of the British rule. The first vernacular newspapers were published in 1818, and this event by itself constituted an important stage in the growth of public opinion in India. As Governor-General of India, the Marquess of Hastings (1813-1823) abolished the longstanding policy of censorship which had been instituted by Wellesley in 1799. The freeing of the press greatly encouraged the publication of newspapers both in English and the vernacular languages. The Indian opinion began to be expressed through the press, associations or organizations formed to propagate the views of particular group, public meetings and petitions addressed to the Government or Parliament. The Bengal press came to act as a mirror to the ideas and aspirations of different sections of the people.

Another group that rose to prominence in Bengal during the first quarter of the nineteenth century was the mercantile community. This community, however, comprised not merely Bengali Hindus but also a considerable number of North Indian merchants, mostly Marwaris, and also a number of Muslims, generally of Iranian and Afghan extraction but long resident in Calcutta and known by the particular name of ‘Mughal merchants’. The different reactions of the Hindus and Muslims to English rule and English education profoundly affected the subsequent development of the two communities. The irony that Europeans were not using English but Persian to conduct judicial business was clearly recognized by officials of the East India Company.

361 Ibid, p. 115.
362 Salahuddin, Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal, p. 2.
363 Ibid, pp. 7-8.
364 Ibid, p. 17.
It is also useful to dwell on the concept of the new 'reading public' in India. Between 1835 to 1857 a new reading public was created by the journals published from different towns. Multilingual cities such as Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, with a better infrastructure in respect of printing presses and competent personal, and a sizeable readership, took the lead.\textsuperscript{365} It was only under the impact of the French revolution, and definitely after the March-revolution of 1848 in Germany and 1857 in India that printed newspapers gathered enough momentum to be able to influence groups formerly outside the reach of written public discussion and evolve a new style of communication, based on the interaction with an anonymous audience, to which both the newspaper owner and editor were linked primarily by a commercial relation. Only in the second half of the century, Pernau believes, did the public opinion leave the private sphere and became ‘public’.\textsuperscript{366}

\textbf{Cosmopolitan Character of Early Persian Newspapers}

Knowledge of Persian was not confined to the Muslim community alone, as large number of Hindus also learnt Persian and played an active role in the publication of Persian newspapers. Rammohan Roy’s famous work containing his unorthodox religious views – the \textit{Thufat-ul Muwahhidin (A Gift to Monotheists)} – was published in Persian with an Arabic preface, at Murshidabad during 1804-1805. Although newspapers were published in India as early as 1780 [Hicky’s \textit{Bengal Gazette} or \textit{Calcutta general Advertiser} by James Augustus Hicky], it was only after 1818, with the publication of the vernacular newspapers, that they came to be recognized as the most effective organs through which public opinion was expressed. It was in the \textit{Calcutta Gazette and Oriental Advertiser}, later known simply as the \textit{Calcutta Gazette}, in which Francis Gladwin as editor introduced a column, which contained news, and advertisements, in Persian. Between

\textsuperscript{365} Das, \textit{History of Indian Literature}, p. 104.
\textsuperscript{366} Margrit Pernau, 'From a 'Private' Public to a 'Public' Private Sphere: Old Delhi and North India Muslim in Comparative Perspective', in Gurpreet Mahajan, ed., \textit{The Public and the Private: Issues of Democratic Citizenship}, Sage Publication India. New Delhi, 2003, p.118.
1820 and 1835, 26 new Bengali language newspapers were published. Of these, the maximum (seven) were in Persian, two in Urdu, and one in Hindi.

The first vernacular newspaper to be published in India was the *Samachar Darpan* (*Mirror of News*), which was published by the Serampore missionaries. Its first issue was published on 23 May 1818, and it was intended to be a medium of communication with the literate public. The language in which *Samachar Darpan* was published underwent many changes. In 1826, it changed from Bengali only to Bengali and Persian; but the experiment was not successful. In the next year it changed to Bengali and English, as result of which its circulation doubled. Thus, already by this early period the press was being viewed as an instrument that would enable the government and the people to know each other. In 1826 the government requested the missionaries to bring out a Persian edition of *Samachar Darpan*, to provide a better communication with Upper India, which did not have any Indian newspaper as yet. Thus, the Persian edition of the newspaper called *Akhbar-i-Serampur* was first published on 6 May 1826. The government subsidized it with a monthly grant of one hundred and sixty rupees. This development is quite significant as it indicates that merely a few years before the removal of Persian as an official language, the government was still conscious of its value as an important medium of communication among people, and willing to extend patronage on an experimental basis to it. However, two years later it was discontinued for want of sufficient patronage. It appears that the government was also not satisfied with its style, which was considered to be somewhat poor.

The first Urdu/Persian newspaper was the *Jam-i Jahan Numa* (*The World-showing Goblet*). The editor was a *munshi* Lala Sadasukh of Mirzapur. The printer was

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367 Bengal Public Consultation 16 February 1826, nos.53-56, quoted in Salahuddin, *Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal*, p.82.
368 Bengal Public Consultation 14 April 1826, no 43, quoted in Salahuddin, *Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal*, p.82.
369 Salahuddin, *Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal*, p. 82.
370 ‘Ahan’ enumerates four Persian newspapers that were published before or were available prior to 1822, although no information is available about them. For further information about the number of Persian newspapers and details about them, see this book. Akhlaque Ahmad ‘Ahan’, *Hindustan Mein Farsi Sahafat ki Tarikh* (Urdu), Delhi, Affif offset printers. 2008.
William Hopkins Pearce. After the publication of seven successive issues, the publisher, Harihar Dutta, realized that a newspaper in the Urdu language was not going to make profits. The reason for this was that the elites of northern India preferred Persian to Urdu. This was because Hindustani/Urdu was not considered to be as suitable for written expression as was Persian. Newspaper reading required some degree of advanced education, associated with Persian and not with Urdu. It has therefore on the basis of this evidence been argued by Clark that the Muslim reading public in Calcutta knew Persian, and was not keen on trying Urdu. Thus, soon after publication in Urdu in 1822, newspaper became bilingual (Urdu and Persian) and, within three months the Urdu section of the paper was discontinued. Jam-i-Jahan Numa remained wholly a Persian newspaper till 1845. Its success was largely due to the fact that it consistently received the support and patronage of English official and commercial interests.

The paper's patrons included not only Calcutta's European population but also the Company's central and mofussil officers. In fact the mast-head carried a message from the editor to the reader informing him 'respectfully' that with a view to making the newspaper more useful and interesting for the European segment of the reading public. This weekly was primarily intended for the European readers, who had picked up some Hindustani or Persian and wanted interesting reading material to gain more knowledge of the language. On the front page, it had a prominent notice in English, which read, 'European Gentlemen, who may wish to be supplied with this paper, either for their own perusal or from a benevolent desire to diffuse knowledge among the native members of their establishment, may be supplied with it...'

Another initiative came from Bengali intellectuals. Rammohan Roy began to publish a Persian newspaper, Mirat-ul'Akhbar (Mirror of News) every Friday from 12 April 1822. The paper was established with the explicit aim of serving as an interface between the government and the public although it also gave him the medium for

371 Clark, 'Language of Calcutta 1760-1840', p. 469.
372 Salahuddin, Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal, p. 90.
373 Subhan, Early Persian Newspapers of Calcutta, p. 37.
374 Ibid, p. 36.
religious discussion. In order to understand his motive, we only need to refer to Rammohan's own statement in the issue dated April 20, 1822:

.... [A]s the English language is not understood in all parts of India; those unacquainted with it must either have recourse to others in their enquiries after information or remain totally uninformed. On this account, I, the humblest of the human race, am desirous of publishing a weekly newspaper, written in the Persian language, which is understood by all the respectable part of the native community. 376

Roy's statement indicates that intellectuals in India were well-aware of the importance of Persian as a language of written discussion and debate. In fact Margrit Pernau argues that this paper not only acted as a link between colonial rulers and subjects, but also allowed Ram Mohan Roy access to the old Persianized elite of north India. 377

There were other newspapers published in Persian by Bengali Hindus that merit mention. For instance, Shams-ul-Akhbar (The Sun of News) was published from Calcutta, by Madhumohan Mitra, who started it with the assistance of a north Indian, Maniram Thakur, in May 1823. About five years it stopped publication for want of subscribers, having lasted for about five years. 378 Another Bengali weekly newspaper had a Persian edition as well as a Hindi edition. The publication of this tri-lingual newspaper, at a time when Lord William Bentinck was contemplating the abolition of sati, was significant. It tried to influence Indian opinion in favour of reform. 379 Another newspaper by the name of Bengal Herald or Weekly Messenger contained a large section in Persian, and was edited by an Englishman, Robert Montgomery Martin.

376 Cited in Abdus Subhan, Early Persian Newspapers of Calcutta, p. 15.
377 Ibid, pp. 24-5.
378 Salahuddin, Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal, p. 93.
379 Ibid, p. 96.
Muslim Participation in the Publication of Persian Newspapers

Till 1830 newspapers in India were almost exclusively published by Hindus. This could have been due to the cooperation which Brahmins gave the British in the process of the creation of colonial knowledge. In time, Muslims realized that print was not detrimental to the creation of a unified Muslim identity, but in fact could be of vital importance to this project. The first Muslim to take to journalism was Shaikh Alimullah, a resident of Calcutta. He published Samachar Sabha Rajendra in Bengali and Persian on Monday 7 March 1831 and it continued till 1835. It was a conservative Muslim newspaper. The Muslims were worried about the deliberate neglect of the Persian language both by the Government and by the English-educated Hindu youth, and this may have translated into a greater interest in publishing in that language in order to save it. Thus, from 1831 Muslim opinion in Bengal was beginning to express itself directly through the press.\textsuperscript{380}

After the publication of the Samachar Sabha Rajendra in 1831, more Bengali Muslims began to take interest in journalism (sahafat). The preference was still Persian, the language associated with their past glory, rather than Bengali. Among newspapers there was Aina-i Sikandar (The Mirror of Alexander, 1833-1840). Published in Calcutta, this newspaper drew almost all its information from the handwritten akhbarat and contained a wealth of detailed information on the royal court and the Residency at Delhi.\textsuperscript{381} At the time of its founding, Ghalib greatly rejoiced at the possibility of being provided with reliable information and promised the editor every help from Delhi.\textsuperscript{382}

Another important newspaper was Doorbeen (Durbin), which was probably the most prominent Persian journal of nineteenth century Calcutta after Jam-i-Jahan Numa. It was published from 13 April 1854 to 2 September 1856. The early issues of Durbin contained the proceedings of the meetings of the Anjuman-i Islami (the first all-India political organization of Muslims in India) as also composition of contemporary

\textsuperscript{380} Ibid, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{382} Pernau, ‘Delhi Urdu Akhbar’, p. 24.
poets, apart from the news and views from all over India. The editor was the eminent Persian scholar and poet, Maulvi Abd-ur Rauf, who was earlier associated with another local Persian weekly, the Sultan ul-Akhbar. His ancestors had migrated from Delhi during Shahjahan’s reign and resettled in Sutanati in Bengal. His great grandfather was a popular saint of his day. Under the East India Company’s rule, Abd-ur Rawuf’s grandfather, Shikh Ramazan purchased a plot of land and built a beautiful mosque on the banks of Ganges in 1784, which happens to be Calcutta’s oldest mosque.\(^{383}\) Another editor of this newspaper was Mawlana Wahid, who received a traditional education from his father. He got himself admitted into Calcutta Madrasa and received higher education in religious and secular studies from this institution. In 1855, Wahid was appointed Translator at Sadr Civil Court, and subsequently appointed teacher of Persian in 1860. In 1862, the British Government appointed him to the post of *Mir Munshi* (Chief Translator) in the Executive Council of the Governor General. He was also important in the establishment of the *Anjuman-i Islami* in 1855.\(^{384}\) Commenting on the formation of this association, the *Friends of India* carried the following remarked:

The Mohamedans have at length become aware of the importance of union to the promotion of their interests as a body, and they now determined for the first time perhaps since they crossed the Indus and swept away the Hindu dynasties, to form an association like their neighbours around them, with its head-quarters in the metropolis.\(^{385}\)

Other Persian newspapers published by Muslims were *Mah-i-Alam Afroz* (*The World-illuminating Moon*, 1833-1841) and the *Sultan-ul Akhbar* (*The King of News*, 1835-41) edited and owned by Rajah Ali of Lucknow.\(^{386}\) The latter paper concentrated on event, on ‘news’ in the modern sense of the term, which was reported and comments on.\(^{387}\) The bi-weekly *Mihri Munir* (*The Bright Sun*) was published in 1841.

\(^{384}\) The Anjuman was dissolved when the Muhammedan Literary Society was formed by Nawab Abdul Latif Khan on 2nd April 1863.
\(^{385}\) *Friend of India* dated May 17, 1855.
In 1848, according to the ‘Note on the Native Presses in the North Western Provinces’, there were three Persian newspapers being published in that province: the Siraj-ul Akhbar (the palace newspaper of Delhi, written in high Persian by munshis, and containing Palace news as well as news extracted from other sources), the Sadiq-ul Akhbar (published at the Dar-us Salam Press at Delhi, and edited by Inayat Husain, a Munshi in the Residency Office), and the Zubdat-ul-Akhbar.\(^{388}\) Of the last mentioned, it was reported that it was one of the most important ones, but since 1846 its circulation had fallen off every year. Further, its publisher, Munshi Wajid Ali Khan was a distinguished Persian scholar, and evinced much judgment in the selection of subjects for his paper, which he rendered attractive by his own elegant writings. It seems to have been the study of the late editor to convey his ideas clearly and intelligibly to the minds of his readers, and at the same time in such a style as by both pleasing and interesting them most effectually to strengthen the views which he sought to inculcate. The paper was, during his management, generally free from that florid and diffused style, and those exaggerated and hyperbolical figures, which characterize the writings of Eastern nations. Its failure, therefore, can scarcely be ascribed to its general non-appreciation, and may have been the result of the possible unpopularity of the editor.\(^{389}\)

This detailed analysis of one Persian newspaper’s style, content and editorial policy (that too, a newspapers which was a ‘failure’) indicates to us the degree of interest that the British took in newspapers. They were tracked as closely as possible as guides to prevailing public opinion. The paper in question served as an important model for the

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\(^{388}\) The record mentions that, since “this is the only indigenous paper of any influence in these Provinces not connected with our colleges and schools, it is naturally looked upon by many educated natives with favour and interest, as the exponent of their views on religious and other subjects, in opposition to the Europeanized opinions which are now becoming so extensively disseminated by means of the periodicals edited by alumni of the Government institutions. This advocacy however is seldom of a direct and open character, but the editor being a staunch though cautious Mussulman, is not backward to avail himself of opportunities for insinuating opinions agreeable to the Mussalman population.” *Selections from the Records of Government, North Western Provinces. Note on the Native Presses in the N. W. P. for the year 1848*, p. 4.

\(^{389}\) ‘Notes on the Native Presses in the N. W. P. for the Year 1853’, p. 122.
emerging Urdu press at Agra, as it was published at the first privately owned printing press. Munshi Wajid Ali Khan was an author-publisher and had published two of his own books: *Matla-ul Ulum wa Majma-ul Funun* (a treatise on crafts) and *Guldasta-i Anjuman*, (an Urdu grammar).

We do not have figures for the circulation of all Persian newspaper, but, the Notes on Native Newspapers contained circulation figures for *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* (Table XV) and these help us analyse the composition of its audience.

Table XV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>1852</th>
<th>1853</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Given in exchange/free</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Notes on Native Presses in the N. W. P. for the Year 1851, pp. 59-86

The mere fact that an official publication classified readers of a Persian newspaper by religion indicates to us the British pre-occupation with linking religion and language. As is clear from the table, the newspaper had very limited circulation, and more copies were given in exchange or distributed free than were actually subscribed with cash payment.

**Characteristic Features of Early Persian Newspapers**

After the battles of Plassey (1757) and Buxar (1764), the East India Company made itself the most powerful political force in the lower Gangetic plain. At the same time as they used the older administrative apparatus, the Company also used the Nawab's provincial administration as obliged to serve the Company's ends and also reshaped itself to reflect

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British values. Though India was divided into a number of independent sovereign states, they began to be absorbed by the dominant British power and the object of many manuscript newspapers during this chaotic time seemed to be the elimination of the British authority. On the other hand, as the Company increased its political involvement with the upcountry regional states, its previous dependence on regional rulers, Indian intelligence agents, European commercial agents, and European military officers in the field proved inadequate. As a result, between 1764 and 1857 the Company gradually developed a network of political Residents: British officials of the Company who 'resided' as political representatives at each of the important Indian courts. It began to appoint political residents instead of merely commercial ones. Part of the duties of these residents included collecting and evaluating political (as well as commercial) information by using akhbar nawis and other sources. Residents eventually controlled to themselves both the akhbar nawis in the Company's employment and also the information networks of the Indian rulers. They even came to monopolize official political communications among the Indian states.

Thus, the Company at first adapted and then transformed the institution of akhbar nawis. The Company continued to rely on the Nawab's administrative establishment rather than trying to substitute one of its own, until the time of Warren Hastings (Governor of Bengal 1772-74, then Governor General until 1784). Michael Fisher has demonstrated how the Company's 'Persian' (i.e. diplomatic) correspondence throughout the decade of the 1770s indicates the great frequency with which the Company received from the Nawab's paraphrases of akhbarat about the Mughal and other regional courts in the Gangetic plain and the Deccan. In one of the Company's first important steps towards indirect rule, it gradually removed the function of political communication from the rulers' newswriters and representatives, transferring them to its Residents.
As early as in 1800, when the British were at war with the southern Polygars, a manuscript proclamation was transmitted to almost every village in South of India. In a survey of the condition of the manuscript newspaper at that time, Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India, wrote:

The circulation of news continues to take place amongst the Natives as it always did. Princes and others who can afford it have their news writers, or employ established in that line where they think it of sufficient importance to seek intelligence. Fabricators and collectors of nonsense, of gossip, of intelligence, and of lies, exist probably in all great towns. The manuscript papers derived from these sources are private; anything may be inserted in them without scruple, and in critical time, more particularly during the Burmese War, the most absurd reports and mischievous misrepresentations were made to agitate men’s minds, and to produce evil which might have been better prevented or guarded against if the circulation had been effected by printed papers. 395

Macaulay had the following evaluation of manuscript newspapers, and noted the great influence they had on the minds of the Indian:

The gazettes (akhbars) which are commonly read by the Native are manuscript. To prepare these gazettes, it is the business of a numerous class of people, who are constantly prowling for intelligence in the neighbourhood of every cutcherry (court) and every durbar (court of native princes). Twenty or thirty news writers are constantly in attendance at the Palace of Delhi and at the Residency. Each of these news writers has among the richer natives, several customers whom he daily supplies with all the scandal of the court and the city. The number of manuscript gazettes daily dispatched from the single town of Delhi cannot of course be precisely known, but it is calculated by persons having good opportunities of information at hundred and twenty. Under these circumstances it is perfectly clear that the influence of the manuscript gazettes on the native population must be

very much more extensive than that of printed papers, (in the native language whose circulation in India by dak (post) does not now – 1836 -- exceed three hundred). 396

Two Models of Newspapers: Local and Colonial

At this juncture, it is useful to study the features of akhbarat in order to engage with the nature of relationship between Indian and colonial models, 397 and the influence that the akhbarat had on the printed newspaper 398 Margrit Pernau does not argue that the early Urdu and Persian newspapers were products of the British-Indian press and colonial public sphere. Instead, she argues that there was considerable continuity between the akhbarat and the new print media, ‘continuities firstly in the use of akhbarat as source of information, but also in what was considered to be ‘news’ and in the ways it was presented.’ 399 She cites the example of Jam-i Jahan Numa, the Persian newspaper from Calcutta, which reported the dismissal of Hakim Ruknuddin (whom the king had appointed as his wakil) in 1825. The news was mentioned in the akhbarat of 1825. The point is ‘the important linkage between the traditional akhbarat and the modern print media, which covered not only the same topics, but also drew information from the same source’. 400 In his review Pernau, Najaf Haider states that the interaction between the colonial and indigenous models, and the influence that these akhbarats had on the emergence of newspapers in Persian and Urdu. 401

Form and Content

A remarkable feature of Jam-i Jahan Numa was that it gave ample coverage to news relating to modern science and technology besides news of social, religious and cultural

396 Ibid
399 Ibid.
400 Ibid, p. 21.
import. It covered the political, economic and social life of the early years of the East India Company's administration and also the cultural and literary aspect of the contemporary civil life of the day. However, there is another facet to the publication of the newspaper. A significant development during this period was the anxiety on the part of certain commercial interests, both English and Indian, to influence public opinion by exercising financial control over some of the leading newspapers. Thus, the Jam-i-Jahan Numa was actually owned by an English Agency House though its nominal proprietor was a Bengali Hindu. ⁴⁰²

While these newspapers had the English-language press largely as their model for form and content, they also drew partly upon the manuscript akhbar tradition. We can briefly identify some of the elements of the manuscript akhbar tradition in the printed newspapers. A first parallel between akhbarat and printed newspapers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was the choice by publishers of Persian language and terminology. Even after its abolition, Persian remained a significant symbol of Islamic culture, even though contested by both non-Muslims and some Muslim modernists. Thus publishing a newspaper in Persian was a cultural statement evoking the Islamic court traditions and 'high' literary culture of manuscript akhbarat. ⁴⁰³ Finally, a number of publishers explicitly located themselves and their printed newspapers in the akhbarat tradition. A number of Persian, Urdu, and other Indian-language printed newspapers incorporated 'akhbar' in their titles through the twentieth century. Printed and lithographed newspapers elsewhere in the Islamic world also followed this practice.

There were many points of difference and similarity between Akhbarat and newspapers. It is true that early Indian-owned newspapers reflected the akhbar tradition in the content of some of their articles. They often focused on Indian rulers and courts, as did the contemporary manuscript akhbarat. Some printed newspapers had regular articles on the doings of the Mughal Emperor and regional rulers. Also, sympathetic Indian or Persian-language newspapers retained the term 'akhbar' but broadened its semantic range

⁴⁰² Salahuddin, Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal, p. 170.
⁴⁰³ Ibid, pp. 80-1.
to include a wide range of sources and types of information. In addition to information evidently drawn from formulaic court akhbarat and professional akhbar nawis, these printed newspapers labeled letters from private correspondents to the publisher and other news reports as 'akhbar.' Published articles in a number of printed papers frequently began: 'It became known from an akhbar of [a specified place].' In this sense some of the news of the Persian newspapers were based on akhbarat, and this source was acknowledged with phrases such as: ba wasila-i kaghaz akhbarat kar gasht ke (it is clear form news-letters that), az ruye khaghaz akhbar ittila hasil shud ke (it has been informed from news-letter that), ba wasileya-i khaghaz akhbar danesteh shud ke (it has been know by news-letter that), etc.

While some printed newspapers explicitly referred to the manuscript akhbar tradition, there were fundamental differences in the way they defined information, themselves, their relationship to government, and their audience. Fisher argues that Mughal akhbarat were essentially elite documents and that court diaries presented a ritualized picture of the centrality of the sovereign. Akhbarat—usually written by employees of a provincial official or regional ruler, a prominent notable, or even the East India Company through one of its Residents—had an audience both limited and largely known to the newswriter. Often, these akhbarat were confidential rather than public documents. Even the sketchy evidence available concerning akhbar which circulated among merchants or among soldiers in the imperial, provincial, or East India Company armies indicated they seem to have focused on the doings of the aristocracy and military elite.

**Persian Newspapers and Press Laws**

The position of the Akhbar underwent a change in the nineteenth century: the growing political and economic domination of European communities in India, the arrival of the technology of the printing press, and the emergence of Indian professional and commercial classes all served to undermine the old institution of akhbar, as it was

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overtaken by the new English and Indian-language printed newspaper medium. When the colonial government tried to control the 'vernacular' press, there came new definitions of audience and the nature of the public, as well as the language, content, and format of the news medium.\textsuperscript{405} Persian newspapers also came within the scope of these laws meant to control the Press. For example, in 1857, law officers of the Government brought the printers and publishers of Doorbeen and Sultan-ul-Akhbar to trial before the Supreme Court, on a charge of publishing seditious libels.\textsuperscript{406} Subsequently, a Home department resolution condemned the newspapers stating that:

The Government-General in Council has read extracts from a certain native newspaper published in Calcutta, in which falsehoods are uttered and facts grossly perverted for seditious purposes, the objects and intentions of the Government are misrepresented, the Government itself is vituperated, and endeavours are made to excite discontent and hatred towards it in the minds of its native subject. Two of these papers have published a traitorous proclamation said to have been put forth by the leaders of the revolted troops at Delhi, inciting the Hindoos and Mussulmans to murder all Europeans, offering rewards to those who will join and assist them in rebellion, and denouncing all who shall continue well affected and faithful to the British Government. It necessary that prompt and decisive measures be taken to arrest this mischief at its source.\textsuperscript{407}

What exactly was being published in these newspapers that were offending the British Government? Some idea can be gained from a translated extract from a Persian newspaper \textit{Gulshan Nawbahar}, dated 27 June 1857. An article in the paper read as following:

Now, when the drum of the power of the English is sounding so loudly, it is in every one's mouth that the state of Travancore also is to be annexed to the British

\textsuperscript{405} Ibid, p. 82. 
\textsuperscript{406} Milner Gibson. \textit{East India (Press): Papers Related to the Public Press in India}, p.27, [place of publication and date unclear: consulted in the National Library, Annex, Kolkata]. 
\textsuperscript{407} Fort William, Home Department, 12 June 1857, in \textit{Ibid}, p. 27.
dominions upon the ground of mal-administration. It is also said that the principally of Ulwar [sic] will be confiscated by Government. But at present the progress of confiscation is arrested by the government of the Almighty Ruler. The Government should first arrest the progress of the disturbances and disorders which are raging in all parts of the country, and then address itself to these confiscations... He (God) is Almighty. He does what he will. He makes a world desert in a breath. Everybody knows, and now perhaps it has become right clear to the “confiscation” gentlemen what kind of mischief the confiscation of Lucknow has done, causing ruin to thousands of their own friends.

Another article in the paper mentioned had this to say:

Come what may, in these degenerate days the men of Delhi must be celebrated as sons of Rustam, and very Alexanders in strength.

Oh! God, destroy our enemies utterly, and assist and aid our sovereign (Sultan). 408

The Government decided that both articles were 'of a most seditious character, clearly intended and well calculated to excite disaffection towards the British Government, and to encourage resistance to its lawful authority,' and recommended strong action against the newspaper. 409 The license of the printer was revoked, and the press seized.

Thus, it can be argued that the colonial government used Persian forms (such as *akhbarat*) during the early phases of their rule, but in the later phase they also did not hesitate from using legal means in order to suppress those they considered disloyal to the British state.

Nawal Kishore Press in ‘the age of commercialization’

409 Letter from Cecil Beadon, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to S. Wauchope, Esq., Officiating Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.
Among the most active publishing enterprises stimulated by lithographic technique in
Upper India was the firm of Nawal Kishore, founded in Lucknow in 1858, the year
following the uprising. As well as its well-known Urdu newspaper of the same name, it
printed books in many languages, mostly in Urdu, but also in Persian and Arabic. The
publishing house had a branch office in Kanpur another in Lahore (from the late
nineteenth century) and much later, a branch in Delhi.

During its second establishment in Lucknow—the Matba‘-i Nawal Kishore or
‘Nawal Kishore Press’—the press entered ‘the phase of expansion (1865-1892)’ during
‘the age of commercialization’.\footnote{Stark, \textit{Empire of Books}, pp. 64-170.} Sharar hightlighted the significant of Nawal Kishore
press which is worth noting:

It was run on such sound commercial lines that it produced a greater quantity of
Persian and Arabic books than any other press would have had the courage to
attempt. Eventually the Newal Kishore Press gained such pre-eminence that it
revived all Eastern Literatures and Lucknow acquired great distinction in this
field. Lucknow benefited in that it was able to meet all the literary demands of
Central Asia, including those of Kashgar, Bukhara, Afghanistan and Persia.
Consequently, the Newal Kishore Press is still the key to the literary trade.
Without using it no one can enter the world of learning.\footnote{Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture, pp. 107-8}

According to British records, the first mention of the press was in the context of its
Persian printed books, \textit{Mina Bazaar} and \textit{Ghayath-ul Lughat}. These were published in
Kanpur under the imprint of Kanpur Gazette Press in 1866.\footnote{‘Native Presses in the N.W.W. during the year 1866’.}
While, Nawal Kishore’s first book had been a reprint of a version of the famous Persian epic \textit{Dastan-i Amir Hamza}
originally produced in 1780 at the College of Fort William in Calcutta using Gilchrist’s
letterpress.\footnote{Fraser, \textit{Book History through Postcolonial Eyes}, p. 121.} Nawal Kishore also expanded his activity to Patna. During the eighteenth
century Patna or Azimabad had risen to prominence as a stronghold of Persian and Urdu

\begin{footnotes}
\item[410] Stark, \textit{Empire of Books}, pp. 64-170.
\item[411] Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture, pp. 107-8
\item[412] ‘Native Presses in the N.W.W. during the year 1866’.
\item[413] Fraser, \textit{Book History through Postcolonial Eyes}, p. 121.
\end{footnotes}
literary culture in Bihar. The domestic network of Nawal Kishore expanded with the opening of a branch office in Bombay in 1871. It also supplied books internationally from Java to Iran and as afar as Leipzig. The Director of Public Instruction, Colin Browning reported in 1871:

To this depot resort traders from Persia, Muscat, Baghdad and Arabia. The Kuran meets with a ready sale. Merchants from Java in May and June 1871 are said to have bought large numbers of the Kuran. Munshi Nawal Kishore has an interview with the Persian envoy at Bombay in 1871, and hopes through his influence to open a trade with Persia. Dictionaries are in request.\(^{414}\)

As the two passages cited above illustrate, a large number of Persian printed books of the NK Press were bought by traders from Kashmir, Bukhara, Yarqand and Afghanistan. The reputation enjoyed by the NKP extended beyond the borders of India, particularly in Afghanistan and Iran. The Shah of Iran, on the occasion of a speech delivered before an assembly of Calcutta publishers in 1888, stated that he came to India with the express purpose of meeting two people: the Viceroy and Munshi Nawal Kishore\(^{415}\) In the book trade, the new occupation of books merchants, emerged and presses were guided by the orders placed by book traders. For example, *Tuhfat-ul 'Abrar-i Jami* was published by Nawal Kishore at the behest of Miyan Chiraghuddin Sahib, a book trader in Lahore and Multan.\(^{416}\)

Beyond intermediaries, print brought to the fore a new connection between author and publisher. Publishers dealt with the issue of author’s copyright also. Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib (1797-1869) was one among many scholars of Persian who gave copyright to presses like NKP. Below is a list of Persian works whose copyright belonged to the NKP.

\(^{416}\) *Tuhfat-ul 'Abrar-i Jami*, Nawal Kishor, 1869.
Table XVI
List of Persian works copyrighted by the NKP in 1879

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Translator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sharh-e Ta'zirat-e Hind</td>
<td>Sayyid Ghulam Haidar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makhzan al-Naza 'ir</td>
<td>Maulvi Abdul Qayyum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aman al-Lughat</td>
<td>Maulvi, M. Aman al-Haq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafsrir-i Qadiri,</td>
<td>Maulvi Fakhruddin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majmu' a-i Auran Mustandah</td>
<td>Mullah Majruddin Khani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhashsha-i Kharistan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharh-i Masnavi-i Maulana Rum</td>
<td>‘Abdul Ali Muhammad `Bahar al-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Ulum’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hashia-i Kitab-i I’jaz-i Khusraavi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insha-i Asrar-i Frimesan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matla’al- 'ulum wa Makhzan al-fanun</td>
<td>Wajid Ali Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharh-i Kulliyat-i Khaqani</td>
<td>Muhammad Sadiq Ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masnavi Samulistan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farhang-i Sikandaranaama</td>
<td>Mir Ibn Hasan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insha-i Safdari</td>
<td>Mufti Ghulam Safdar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


From Ghalib’s correspondence with Nawal Kishore, we gather that Ghalib’s Persian prose works, *Panj Ahang*, *Mehr-i Nimraoz*, and *Dastanbu*, were given to NKP for reprint and Ghalib also promised to supply the publisher with his Persian ghazals and controversial work *Qati‘-i Burhan* in 1862.\(^{417}\) Most of the works, including those in

\(^{417}\) Stark, An Empire of Books, p. 212.
Persian, by the poet and historians Nawab Mardan Ali Khan ‘Ra‘na’ (d.1879) who also used the pen name ‘Nizam’, were published by the NKP.\textsuperscript{418}

In Kanpur too, a branch of the Awadh Akhbar publishing house was the largest publisher of books in Persian. There was also another well-established publishing house that printed books in Persian: the Nizami publishing house, belonging to Abd-ul Rahman Khan b. Raushan Shakir. He was the author of several anthologies and published numerous works.

During the years of his publishing activities (1858-95), Munshi Nawal Kishore printed thousands of editions. The NKP catalogue of 1874 alone contains 1066 books in Urdu, Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit. The catalogue listed 544 books in Urdu, 249 in Persian, 93 in Arabic, 30 in English, 14 dictionaries (Urdu, Persian, and Arabic) and 136 books in the Devanagari script. Editions in Persian made up one-third of the total number and encompassed almost the entire range of Persian literary heritage.\textsuperscript{419}

**Persian Printing Press in North West Province during 1862-68**

The middle years of the nineteenth century witnessed a decline in printing caused by the adverse political conditions that prevailed in the country at the time, but from the 1860s, the revival of lithograph printing started in Lucknow and Kanpur. In Lucknow, lithographic book printing in Persian reached its peak in the 1870s. At that time, out of the total number of forty-three existing presses in the city, there were twenty-five lithographic printing houses.

From the ‘Note on the Native Presses in the N.W.P.’ for 1862, it is clear that Hindi printing came after Urdu. More that sixty percent of printing was in ‘vernacular’ languages and the rest of it in Persian, Sanskrit, and Arabic. Of the works entered in the

\textsuperscript{418} In 1867 Ra‘na went to Marwar, where he rose to the position of prime minister and became a key figure in cultivating Persian and Urdu literature in the princely state. Ra‘na also authored a local history entitled *Tarikh-i Marwar*.

list, 139 were in the Urdu language, 131 in Hindi, 93 in Persian, 51 in Sanskrit, and 28 in Arabic. Their contents may be considered under the seven heads of religion, education, law, medicine, fiction (mostly romances), poetry, and miscellaneous subjects. The report mentioned the subject, and also highlighted the contribution of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to Persian printing.

Of the 113 book on religion, the largest number are reprints of sacred books in the Sanscrit and Hindi language, chiefly at Benares. The Hindi works on this subject are commonly translated from the Sanscrit. Religious works in the Urdu language concern the Mahomedans chiefly, and are commonly in the form of devotional works. The most remarkable which has come under my notice during the year is the introduction to the "Mahomedan commentary on the Holy Bible," by Syud Ahmud, Principal Sudder Ammen of Ghazeepore. This gentleman maintains a printing establishment of his own, and devotes his leisure to books and manuscripts. Before the rebellion of 1857, he was chosen to assist in the editing of Oriental works of note, the re-production of which was thought desirable by Mr. Colvin. That event put an end to the enterprise, and involved the loss of much that was valuable in a literary point of view. Since that time the Syud has written a few tracts, mostly bearing on the outbreak mentioned, and has shown that he possesses at least one qualification for a successful author, viz., the power of observation. He had recently reminded Government of the enterprise set on foot by Mr. Colvin, and has expressed his readiness to undertake the editing of two Persian works on History.420

As we know now these were editions of Tarikh-i Firozshahi of Ziauddin Barani (1862) and Tuzuk-i Jahangiri (1863-64). The following table accompanied the report:

Table XVII

Books classified according to subject

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects. Languages.</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Law</th>
<th>Medicine</th>
<th>Romance</th>
<th>Poetry</th>
<th>Misc.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The report stated that of the books on education, the largest numbers were in Persian, and consisted of compilations from well known books on morality. The printing of new books was rare, and:

the fact that during the year but 15 new works have been published is a proof of the scarcity of author; but it must be remembered that the majority of the educated class which is springing up is engaged in the service of Government, and has the excuse of want of leisure. There are a few living authors of repute in the cities of Delhi and Lucknow, whose productions find industrious in upper India; but the large cities of the North-Western Provinces Proper do not seem to be distinguished by the residence of writers of celebrity. 421

During these years religious books were printed in many editions. In his report for 1864, M. Kempson wrote about how polemical texts were printed and these increased the antagonism between communities.

There is a certain demand for religious works already in vogue; and these are reprinted from time to time as required. Of 119 religious works issued during the

421 Ibid, pp. 8-9
year, all but three or four are reprinted. A few of these works are controversial. Religious controversy between Hindu and Musalman deals largely in invectives. On the side of the Musalman specially there is little argument, and no disposition to admit the idolatrous practices are a corrupt after-growth on what was once a pure theism. The work (Asal-i-din-Hindu) which formed the subject if a correspondence originating with my letter, No. 276, dated 23rd June, 1863, is a sample of this kind of writing. It is a rejoinder (in Urdu poetry) to the Tohfat-ul-Islam, a work of much more pretension and originality, by a Hindu, written in Persian, with the view, as the author says, of being intelligible to a wider range of readers. This book again was a reply to the Tohfat-ul-Hind, a violent tirade against Brahmanism, professedly written by a Musalman convert from that religion. This may possibly be the case, for the work show a familiarity with the grotesque mythology of the Hindus not common among the followers of Muhammad.422

A Question of Style: The Meeting of Scribal Artists and Intellectuals

In appearance, the Indian lithographed book imitated its predecessor, the manuscript. The first editions published in Lucknow, Kanpur and Bombay gave the look of manuscript. Print gathered a wide array of artisans, artists, and specialists around book production under the departments of copying, calligraphy, composition and translation. Calligraphy was important link in the transition from manuscript to print culture. The transition from manuscript to print culture coincided with the end of the nawabi period and the 1857 uprising. As Ulrike Stark notes, the lithographic presses were the chief beneficiaries of what may be perceived as the ‘plight of the calligraphers’.423 For example, Maulvi Hadi Ali ‘Ashk’, a distinguished poet of Persian and Urdu and master calligrapher, relied on the NKP which printed some of his Persian works such as Ghalib’s Kulliyat-i Nazm-i Farsi (1863) and Diwan-i Hafiz (1866). This practice was followed by other calligraphers like Munshi Muhammad Shamsuddin Lakhnavi (1831-1921) in his elegant calligraphy of

423 Stark, Empire of Books, p. 269.
Bustan (1877). Hamid Ali was a scholar of Arabic and Persian who copied a host of Arabic and Persian texts for the NKP. Maulvi Muhammad Isma'il, was another such scholar and expert in nasta'liq. Therefore, calligraphy could in fact provide an important visual link between the lithographed book and manuscript. In fact lithographical calligraphy was a correct copy of the real manuscript to encourage the audience to retain the same respectful value of handwritten text.

The traditional methods of printing gloss to the main text in the form of page-by-page notes (hashiya) or continuous commentary to the text (sharh) were continued in lithographed books. In Lucknow and Kanpur from the 1840s on, the publication of educational and other works with detailed explanations of obsolete words and concepts had been in practice, and rules for arranging the glosses and placing them on a page were worked out. The glossary (farhang)—a short explanatory dictionary of obscure words or terms (juridical, medical, Sufi, etc.)—was taken outside the frames of the text. Both the commentary (sharh) and the glossary (farhang) could have been published either together with the commented work, or separately from it. The page-by-page notes (hashiya) had remained but shifted from the margins to the lower part of the page (like modern day footnotes).

At the same time, creators of lithographed books followed the traditions that had been worked out over centuries and concerned the arrangement of the material on a page, the rules for using various types of script, the highlighting of chapter titles, and the principles of illustration. This has the most striking reflection in the editions of the kulliyāts and the diwāns: the lithographed edition and the manuscript copy were identical. The head-piece (‘unwan), the empty one-third of a page before the beginning of a section and the colophon of the scribe appear in almost all lithographed editions. The same compositions and the same episodes within a work, as those in manuscripts, continued to be illustrated. Most often, illustrations were provided for such works as the Shahnama of Firdausi, the Iskandarmnama of Nizami, the Gulistan of Sadi, the

'Ajaib-ul Makhluqat of Qazwini, the M'alumat-ul Afaq of Amin-al-Din Khan, and Majālis-us Ushshaq attributed to Husayn Baiqara.

**British Opinion of the Persian Press**

British were not always pleased with the works that came out of this press, and termed some of them ‘immoral’. The press soon caught the attention of colonial authorities as can be seen from the following report:

> But by far the greater number of books have been printed at the Delhi Moostufaee Press, and its branch establishment at Kanpur... The Moostufaee Press migrated only so lately as last year from Lucknow, and there is but little doubt that the returns to the proprietor from the sale of immoral publications is far greater than that which accrues to him from his more legitimate sources of gain. It might perhaps be advisable that some kind of supervision should be exercised over his proceedings by the Magistrates of the districts in which his colporteurs are at work, and that a continuance of their existence should be dependent on the good character of the books published thereat. In England, publications of an immoral nature are invariably seized and destroyed by the police, and the vendors fined by the Magistrate, and there appears no reason why a similar course should not be adopted in this country. The proprietor of the Moostufaee Press has numerous agents in all the principal towns of these Provinces, and through their instrumentality gets rid of a great deal of his trash, as well as succeeds in showing the seeds of much wickedness and vice. His motive in removing the head-quarters of his press from Kanpur to Delhi, was probably because he found a more ready sale for books of this nature in latter and larger city; he has still, however, a branch establishment at Kanpur.

Colonial authorities also denounced the publisher by calling him
... a man of wealth, [who] directs his recourse into unworthy channels, and prints and publishes books which cannot fail to depreciate morals, and encourage vice. If the circulation of the *Sadiq-ool-Ukhbar*, which issues from this press, affords proof of its public appreciation, the paper cannot be said to enjoy a favorable reputation. Eleven copies only are stuck off and distributed ... none are given in exchange, or issued gratis. 425

Persian works related to education and literature were printed in as many as 1000 copies. Even after 1857, the press was able to sustain business. The colonial report for 1858 stated that,

In this year there is not much information about Persian books printed except in Kanpur. Still there is only one press (the combined “Nizamee” and “Mustafae”)... it is still working, though the temporary closing of the establishment during the time of anarchy, and the slackness consequent on the events of 1857, have contributed to decrease the business of the proprietors not little.

One book that enjoyed considerable circulation was the *Chahar Gulzar*, published in 2,000 copies and priced at 6 annas each. It was a Persian grammatical treatise, drawn up on the plan usually adopted in Arabic works of the kind. 426 In 1863, M. Kempson, (Director of Public Instruction, North Western Provinces), reported that:

I consider the best Press to be that called Mustafae at Kanpur, under the superintendence of Abdul Ruhman Khan. This Press was formerly held in great repute at Lucknow. A catalogue of the works kept there for sale shows 54 Persian

425 ‘Notes on the Native Presses in the N. W. P, for the Year 1853’, pp. 116-7. This emigration happened because Wajid Ali Shah (r, 1847-56) ordered all presses in the city, including the Royal Press, to be shut down in 1849. That is why those presses like Mutfa’i Press that kept the establishment also in Lucknow put, usually, just the name of press and not of the place on the title page only.

426 ‘Note on Native Periodicals and Presses 1858’, pp. 163-64.
books, 16 Arabic, and 17 Urdu; and the prices of the books vary from Rs 6 or 7 to a few annas.\textsuperscript{427}

It is important for us to factor in the opinion of colonial authorities as regards the Persian press. After all, colonial authorities did make the framework of rules within which this press operated. In many instances, they were also patrons of Persian printed books. In this context, the best historical source is the \textit{Report on Native Papers}, which gave the government a good sample of opinion throughout India. On the 18\textsuperscript{th} of June, 1857, the Government of India called for a report on the native presses, with reference apparently to the recently passed Press Regulation Act, No XV of 1857.\textsuperscript{428} The note explian the following opinion, and bore extensive quotation as it dwell on a number of themes and stereotypes.

But making every allowance for incompleteness of returns, the amount of literature, good or bad, which finds its way into the Indian market, is to modern European ideas absurdly insignificant, and the “general reading” of the Indian public forms such an infinitesimal fraction of the vast population, that the direct influence of the few publications on readers, cannot be estimated by their number according to an European standard. The two points of view in which the injury of objectionable prints operates, seem to be generally the social and political; and the mode in which these influences work, is very different. The effects of the former may, perhaps, be considered as halting with those whom it affects directly; the latter is most pernicious: on the other hand, in its indirect workings, and the impulse it gives to the insidious energies of the comparatively few individual and classes who trouble themselves with political matters, or of the subtle spirits who have such fundamental influence in Indian politics from their direction of the faith and superstition of their co-religionists. The thinking Indian public are a small minority, but they are a most potent minority, [emphasis mine] and a minority, for the most part, essentially hostile to European Science and Literature, as well as to

\textsuperscript{427} ‘Note on Native Periodicals and Presses.1863’.
\textsuperscript{428} ‘Note on Native Periodicals and Presses. 1858’, p. 151.
Europeans and their Government. On them the political influence of treasonable or foolish publications is to be ordered, and a falsehood or suggestion thus instilled into the minds of a few individuals, may raise a storm or uneasiness throughout the length and breadth of the land.429

After these general recounting of stereotypes, the report further remarked negatively on the ‘immoral’ nature of ‘native’ publications thus,

An annual and superficial scrutiny cannot give any idea of the political aspect of the native Press... Constant local vigilance, but against the indiscreet promulgation of the absurd and preposterous canards which spring up and germinate with such surprising causelessness and rapidity in the bazaars is necessary, if wholesome watchfulness is to be aimed at, at all. Socially the influence of the few immoral publications, which may be supposed to issue, is not to be feared much. It will not pass far; if at all, beyond the readers and it would be difficult to concoct books, more immoral in their tendency than the legends, traditions, and doctrines, which are instilled into the mind of every Hindoo by his spiritual guides, or the sensual aspirations which Mahomedanism delights in cherishing. It is to be confessed, too, with sorrow, that Native Indian social life, even after 100 years of British efforts to establish decency, is about as prolific in wantonly degrading every-day circumstances, as the most prurient imagination could put in print.430

In the same vein it continued:

The most striking characteristics of the Native Press, glancing at the returns and works before Government, seem to be insignificance and puerility, want of tone and latitude of purpose. The few newspapers seem to be satisfied with excerpts from European journals, bazaar canards, Government notification, and the

movements of Government officials, unprofitable tales, or scraps of mythology, and occasionally historical or scientific articles, with notices of books.\textsuperscript{431}

It also referred to the events of 1857,

The effect of the outbreak and anarchy was marked in the literary world by an utter stagnation and stoppage of all operations,\textsuperscript{431} and by the end of 1858, few presses had sufficiently recovered confidence, or found sufficient means of recruiting their resources to enable them to display their former vigour. Probably the resuscitated press will assume a new and invigorated tone, however, under the fostering care of the Educational department, which certainly cannot justly be taxed with supineness in attempting to diffuse its system of instruction by means of publication. The opportunity is a good one for a determined start in the right direction, and there is promise of the display of a more energetic spirit of enquiry among influential classes, which is the first desideratum in the history of a national press.\textsuperscript{432}

The report did not have a positive view of the Indian press, and stated that,

At present Native Indian Journalism, in the European sense of the word, has hardly attained its infancy, and the “Press” cannot be looked upon as the exponent of public opinion, or as the consistent director of it, though the credulity and unscrupulousness of native character in general render it an important element of disaffection, if allowed to work unwatched even in its limited sphere.\textsuperscript{433}

These views are remarkable in their negative opinion of the press in India, and the content of published works. They are, however, inconsistent with the colonial authorities almost obsessive tracking of the audience, circulation figures, editors’ personalities of various publications. On the one hand the British took pleasure in demeaning the value

\textsuperscript{431} Ibid, p. 154.
\textsuperscript{432} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{433} Ibid, p. 155.
and worth of Indian publications, while on the other hand they monitored them closely and wrote minutely detailed accounts of the functioning of the publishing houses. Perhaps this itself can be taken as evidence – however grudging – of the importance that the printed word assumed in a colonial context, the power of print, as it were.

Conclusion

The large number of Persian printed works showed vigorous tradition of the Persian scholarship and its continuing importance in Indian intellectual culture, and also reflected the literary tastes of educated Indians. During 1837-68 the third phase of Persian printing existed in a multilingual society of northern India. Therefore a large corpus of Persian printed books including: grammatical, lexicographic and commentarial literature published. Persian printing in north India composed, not just in terms of number of titles published but of the range of publications. It was the Persian literary culture which first got reproduced in print and found a commercial market. With the privatisation of printing, which appeared by expansion of lithographic press, Persian printing was patronized by Indians. Many printer-publishers belonged to the traditional scribal classes with a history in service and cultural background in the Indo-Persian tradition. Some of them were newspaper publishers who were drawn into the realm of print through the newspaper business. With the coming of the Persian lithographic press, also came a linear transition from publishing the manuscript akhbarat tradition to printed newspapers. The important linkage between the traditional akhbarat and the printed newspaper covered not only the same topics, but also drew information from the same source. Thus Persian printing had significant role in shaping the market for commercial printed books. The success of Persian lithographic printing was largely due to the fact that the same procedure could be applied to varying scripts nastaliq and shikast, since its basis was the manuscript transcribed by a copyist. Our statistics for Persian printed books bear out the point that it was only at the last quarter of the nineteenth century that the transition from Persian to Urdu books had led to quantitative reversal in the number of Persian and Urdu books, when it replaced Persian as a new medium of poetry and of journalistic, scientific, and fictional prose, a decline was seen in Persian publications in North India.
Thus, we can deduce that the profit factor was an important consideration determining the language in which books were published. As Urdu printed books potentially had a greater market than the ones in Persian, once Urdu was able to substitute Persian as the medium in which specialized texts were published, Persian as a medium of printed books began losing its importance.