CHAPTER-I
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INTRODUCTION

1. Historiography Sketch on Print Culture

1.1. What is Historiography?

It is better to borrow the words of, Roger Spalding and Christopher Parker, which is oft stated that Historiography can be a ‘daunting term’ for those not familiar with it, whereby thus it compels us before embarking upon the history of print, it is a must to understand what is Historiography? In the early modern period, the term historiography tended to be used in a more basic sense, to mean simply ‘the writing of history’. In ordinary sense the term historiography refers to the theory and history of historical writing. To answer this it is better to refer to the work of Conal Furay, and Michael J. Salevouris who define,

‘Historiography as the study of the way history has been and is written – the history of historical writing... When you study ‘historiography’ you do not study the events of the past directly, but the changing interpretations of those events in the works of individual historians.’

This definition is not full and perfect to the cause. If one refers to some sources it is stated as,

‘Historiography, the writing of history, especially the writing of history based on the critical examination of sources, the selection of particular details from the authentic materials in those sources, and the synthesis of those details into a narrative that stands the test of critical examination.’

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1 Roger Spalding is Senior Lecturer in History at Edge Hill University
2 Christopher Parker was formerly Professor of History at Edge Hill University.
3 Roger Spalding and Christopher Parker Historiography An introduction Manchester University Press 2007
4 A native of Omaha, Nebraska. Conal Furay received his doctoral degree from St. Louis University. Before becoming a Professor Emeritus at Webster University he taught such courses as American Business History and the Western in film and story. Previous publications include The Grass-Roots Mind in America and (with Michael Salevouris) Learning American History: Critical Skills for the Survey Course.
5 Michael J. Salevouris ia a Professor of History at Webster University in St. Louis, who received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Minnesota and currently teaches courses in history methods, British and European history, the history of warfare, and the history of disease and medicine. In addition to various reviews and articles he is the author of “Riflemen Form”: The War Scare of 1859-1860 in England, and (with Conal Furay) Learning American History: Critical Skills for the Survey Course.
7 Encyclopædia Britannica: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/267436/historiography
Thus, it could be safely concluded that Historiography deals with the study of the history not merely dates and events, which is a methodology of the discipline of history and the term historiography also denotes a body of historical work on a specialized topic. Thus any research, which is actually a’re’, & ‘search’, (for emphasis the word is split and italicised) would be incomplete without any reference to Historiography of any field of subject the researcher dwells deep to fathom and comprehend the subject.

1.2. Sources of Historiography

The researcher must always read a thing any material with an objective mind that the material is likely to be challenged whereby he/she looks for a source for its verifiability and the source from which the researcher could solve the problem must be a one which is at least reliable. In historiography the sources are important and its importance can be felt and understood from the following expressions:

‘The philologist and historian Julius Ruska (1867-1949) described the relationship as follows: ¹
The history of the sciences will continue to be dependent on the sources that are at its disposal at the time, but the correct evaluation and use of the sources will, in turn, depend on the historian's ability to carry out historical criticism. Like science itself, the presentation of its history is a process that never ends.’²

In historiography, distinctions are commonly made between three kinds of source texts: Primary, Secondary and Tertiary. To borrow the words of legal adage at least common in India is, ‘Every trial is voyage of discovery in which truth is the quest³’, which is equally applicable to any researcher.

Thus in Law the matter being decided on evidence which is bifurcated into Primary and secondary and for a historiographer it can be trifurcated into primary, secondary and tertiary sources, whereby the source becomes an artefact, a document, a recording, or other source of information. If on gleams through many books a book of 1846 of Frederic R. Lees and George Searle Phillips shows this expression, which would be useful for ease of comprehension and understanding:

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² Ram Chander vs State of Haryana 1981 AIR SC 1036
‘The search after Truth, while to the conscientious man it is a necessary condition of mental and spiritual existence, is beset with numerous and formidable difficulties. Amid the conflict of diverse opinions and contradictory evidence—in the fierce storms of party and the dull iterations of dogmatism—the sneers of the sceptic and the anathemas of the fanatic—it is hard for the single minder enquirer to steer a course that shall lead him to the spot where lies ‘pearl of the great price’—the Truth of which he is in quest.’

1.2.1. Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Sources

A primary historical source is one which has authority for our knowledge of a past event or situation. For example, an eyewitness report of an event is a primary source and all others are secondary sources. The same document can be a primary or a secondary source depending on the particular analysis the historian is doing. The marked difference between the two fades into a thin line because the object of study can make one a primary source or secondary source which is reiterated by the following observations:

‘The distinction is not a sharp one. Since a source is only a source in a specific historical context, the same source object can be both a primary or secondary source according to what it is used for.’

Thus the term primary and secondary functionally becomes a ‘relative term’ according to the purpose of study.

‘The term ‘primary’ inevitably carries a relative meaning insofar as it defines those pieces of information that stand in closest relationship to an event or process in the present state of our knowledge. Indeed, in most instances the very nature of a primary source tells us that it is actually derivative….Historians have no choice but to regard certain of the available sources as 'primary' since they are as near to truly original sources as they can now secure.’

Further it should be also known when the original cited source even realities to the time it was composed become non available due to various compelling reasons then the effect is noted as below:

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‘This in turn makes a clear distinction between primary and secondary sources on the
date of composition, rather difficult. The same chronicle can be a primary source for
the period contemporary with the author, a secondary source for earlier material
derived from previous works, but also a primary source when these earlier works have
not survived.’

1.2.2. Primary Sources

Primary sources provide first-hand testimony or direct evidence concerning a topic under
investigation, where the primary source comes into existence when they are created by
witnesses or the persons who record those specific experience that were experienced or the
events or conditions being documented. Thus primary sources are usually created at the time
when the events or conditions are occurring. Sources have been said to provide researchers
with ‘direct, unmediated information about the object of study’, become primary evidence or
source. Hence, primary sources can also include which may be listed in the bulleted forms as
described below:

◊ Art
◊ Autobiographies,
◊ Biographies,
◊ Correspondence
◊ Charters
◊ Diaries
◊ Documents
◊ Interviews
◊ Letters
◊ Magazines
◊ Manuscripts
◊ Maps
◊ Memoirs
◊ Newspapers
◊ Oral histories recorded later
◊ Oratory
◊ Pamphlets
◊ Personal narratives
◊ Photographs &
◊ Speeches

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14 Ambraseys, Nicholas, Melville, Charles Peter & Adams, Robin Dartrey, The Seismicity of Egypt, Arabia, and
Sources closest to the origin of the information or idea under study have been described those who were parties or witness or participants of those information which make the primary sources are characterized by their content, regardless of whether they are available in original format. Thus by law primary evidence is the best evidence available. The importance of the primary source and its connection with the time is reflected in the book as noted:

‘It is through the primary sources that the past indisputably imposes its reality on the historian. That this imposition is basic in any understanding of the past is clear from the rules that documents should not be altered, or that any material damaging to a historian’s argument or purpose should not be left out or suppressed. These rules mean that the sources or the texts of the past have an integrity and that they do indeed 'speak for themselves', and that they are necessary constraints through which past reality imposes itself on the historian.’

Thus the ‘Primary sources are absolutely fundamental to history.’

1.2.3. Secondary Sources

They as Secondary sources are written accounts of history based upon the evidence from primary sources. These are sources which, usually, are accounts, works, or research that analyze, assimilate, evaluate, interpret, and/or synthesize primary sources. Tertiary sources are compilations based upon primary and secondary sources. The distinction between primary source and secondary source is standard in historiography, while the distinction between these sources and tertiary sources is more peripheral, and is more relevant to the scholarly research work than to the published content itself. For example Justo L. González who in 1984–5 wrote a popular two volume textbook that covers the history of the church from founding till the present is a secondary source. It should be remembered that one cannot prove anything about the past from a secondary source. It would be useful to reproduce the observations as it appeared in a journal.

‘Source materials generally are considered to be secondary when the data have been distilled by other people. Secondary sources include book reviews, abstracts, journal

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16 Justo L. González is a Cuban American Methodist historian and theologian who received his M.A. from Yale, and then went on to receive his Ph.D.
articles, and monographs. However, such sources can become primary source documents for a historian. Thus, the same document can be a primary or a secondary source depending on the particular analysis the historian is doing. In this study, a secondary source was considered to be a monograph or a journal article, book review, or abstract. A primary source was considered to be a diary or letter in manuscript or printed form, and newspapers, etc., contemporary to the events being studied.\(^{18}\)

1.3. Usefulness of Historiography

It is proposed that one should not be shackled to the mere term or terminology but should imbibe the spirit of the term because the words undergo a change even in its meaning with the passage of time. In this regard it would be useful to cite the example of the ubiquitous term ‘broadcast’, which originally meant as spreading of seed by scattering. On the other hand it has more relevance to transmission of audio or video signals through electromagnetic waves. Thus the knowledge gained by the humans is the accumulation of knowledge is by the study of history, and as stated by Conal Furay, and Michael J. Salevouris, ‘the changing interpretations’, whereby each gained knowledge becomes useful to test the veracity of every human belief or thought or hypothesis or theory, by critical examination if the alleged human belief or thought or hypothesis or theory can cushion itself to the jolts of the critical analysis, where if they could not withstand the jolts they either undergo revision or rejection. To quote an example is to be taken from the world we live in namely the Earth which is a part of the Solar System, where there existed an earlier theory in the west, namely, the ‘Ptolemaic system\(^{19}\)’, which underwent rejection in the light of the Copernican heliocentric theory\(^{20}\).

These concepts are all not alone the part of human knowledge which we call it as Historiography, whereby this Historiography can encompass every field of knowledge whereby it proves that every knowledge is intertwined and interconnected with the other which it necessitated that every student of history must have at least the rudimentary knowledge with which alone the student can critically examine the field of the study, and borrowing the words of Ludmilla Jordanova\(^{21}\) as, ‘Lying behind History and Theory and

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19 Claudius Ptolemy, a Greco-Egyptian writer of Alexandria whose system placed Earth at the centre of the Universe.
20 The astronomical model developed by Nicolaus Copernicus (19 February 1473– 24 May 1543), was a Renaissance mathematician lived in the province of Royal Prussia and published in 1543, whose theory positioned the Sun near the centre of the Universe, motionless, with Earth and the other planets rotating around it in circular paths modified by epicycles and at uniform speeds.
21 Ludmilla Jane Jordanova, Fellow RHS (born 10 October 1949) is a Professor of Modern History at King’s College London. Educated at Oxford High School and New Hall, Cambridge, Professor Jordanova has taught at the universities of Oxford, Essex, York, East Anglia and Cambridge. Previously she held the position of
Rethinking History is indeed a notion of creative self-examination’22.

2. Study of Print

Thus the study of Print would be incomplete without the adequate knowledge of the historiography of print. This now moves into the next area which it be analysed in the Socratic way or method of interpretation23, namely ‘what is print?’ It is not any new definition that this research proposes but is an attempt to see what and how it means in the present scenario where humans have gained much of the knowledge through the wisdom of the past. Thus it could be stated that ‘Print is a technology that transforms mental concepts into a form that could be understood by senses which is primarily intended for preservation that could be retrieved for future use. In using the expression print as a tool it is trusted that no one will have any objection because the world has accepted by the concept proposed by Walter J. Ong24 ‘writing is a ‘technology’25. Further by quoting the same author this research can find an authenticated support that is detailed below:

‘Chirographic and typographic folk find it convincing to think of the word, essentially a sound, as a ‘sign’ because ‘sign’ refers primarily to something visually apprehended. Signum, which furnished us with the word ‘sign’, meant the standard that a unit of the Roman army carried aloft for visual identification—etymologically, the ‘object one follows’ (Proto-Indo-European root, sekw-, to follow). Though the Romans knew the alphabet, this signum was not a lettered word but some kind of pictorial design or image, such as an eagle, for example.’26

Director of the Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities (CRASSH), University of Cambridge and was Professor of Visual Arts at the University of East Anglia

22 Ludmilla Jordanova, King’s College London, Review-Article What’s in a Name? Historians and Theory English Historical Review, Published by Oxford University Press Vol. CXXVI No. 523 1456-1477 at p. 1461
23 Socratic Method (also known as method of elenchus, eclectic method, or Socratic debate), named after the classical Greek philosopher Socrates, is a form of inquiry is a method of hypothesis elimination. This Socratic model is not alien to an Indian because the Upanishads portray the identical model of hypothesis elimination. In this contest it would be useful to borrow and quote Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1888–1975) has observed that Upanishads are primarily presented as conversations between two persons or animals rather than expository statements of philosophy or ideology. For example the Katha Upanishad which is a dialogue between Yama and Naciketas son of Vajayshavas. Mundaka Upanishad is the conversation between Shaunaka and Angiras. The Brihadaranyaka Upanishad is the conversation between the Sage Yājñavalkya and his consort Maitreyī. The Prashna Upanishad is the questions asked by six disciples, namely the son of Bharadwaja, Sukesha, the son of Shibi, Satyakama, The descendant of Garga, Sauryayanee, The son of Ashwala, Kausalya, Bhargava of the country of Vidarbhha belonging to Bhrigu Gotra and The son of Katyā, Kabandhi to Pippalada and answer(s) to it.

24 The Reverend Father Walter Jackson Ong was an American Jesuit priest, professor of English literature, cultural and religious historian and philosopher, where his major interest was in exploring how the transition from orality to literacy influenced culture and changed human consciousness.
Thus print is a technology to make some signs that is also to be understood by senses. The concept of the technology is further supported by the Braille system\textsuperscript{27}, a tactile writing system used by the blind and the visually impaired. Further the concept of printing and writing are interchangeable is reiterated of the opinion of Walter J. Ong’s words, where he opts, ‘Primary orality’ refers to thought and its verbal expression within cultures totally untouched by any knowledge of writing or print which could be understood in the author’s own words.

‘As noted above, I style the orality of a culture totally untouched by any knowledge of writing or print, ‘primary orality’. It is ‘primary’ by contrast with the ‘secondary orality’ of present-day high-technology culture, in which a new orality is sustained by telephone, radio, television, and other electronic devices that depend for their existence and functioning on writing and print.’\textsuperscript{28}

The purpose of preservation of print is reiterated by Eisenstein's thesis\textsuperscript{29} is that the capacity of printing to preserve knowledge and to allow the accumulation of information. It is further augmented with the Manuscript culture uses manuscripts to store and disseminate information whereby writing and printing aim for preservation to be used as a tool for transforming mental concepts into a form that could be understood by senses finds support from all quarters. It should not be forgotten if one turns the pages of human history. In the days of yore there was a culture as per the trends of oral literature or folk literature namely a genre of ‘Orature\textsuperscript{30} all over the world. Stories in prose were not new to India. Banabhatta’s

\textsuperscript{27} Frenchman Louis Braille developed his code for the French alphabet as an improvement on night writing. The second revision, published in 1837, was the first digital (binary) form of writing.

\textsuperscript{28} Walter J. Ong, op.cit, p. 10

\textsuperscript{29} Elizabeth Lewisohn Eisenstein is an American historian of the French Revolution and early 19\textsuperscript{th} century France, who is well known for her work on the history of early printing, writing on the transition in media between the era of ‘manuscript culture’ and that of ‘print culture’ , as well as the role of the printing press in effecting broad cultural change in Western civilization. The printing revolution in early modern Europe (2nd edition ed.). Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005. ISBN 0-521-84543-2, which includes a new afterword by the author.

\textsuperscript{30} In the book Encyclopaedia of African Literature edited by Simon Gikandi Routledge 2003 edition defines it as, ‘Orature means something passed on through the spoken word, and because it is based on the spoken language it comes to life only in a living community. Where community life fades away, orality loses its function and dies. It needs people in a living social setting: it needs life itself.’ The Anthem Dictionary of Literary Terms and Theory By Peter Auger Anthem Press, 2010 at Page 210 and Uhuru's Fire: African Literature East to South By Adrian Roscoe CUP Archive 1977 at page 9 it is stated that The Ugandan scholar Pio Zirimu introduced the term orature. In the book Songs and Politics in Eastern Africa by Kimani Njogu, Hervé Maupeu 2007 edition states at Page 204 as Pio Zirimu (that Ugandan theorist who coined the word 'orature'), defines it as ‘the use of utterance as an aesthetic means of expression’ (as quoted by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o 1988). In the book Defining New Idioms and Alternative Forms of Expression edited by Eckhard Breitinger Rodopi 1996 at page 78 This means that any "oral society" had to develop means to make the spoken
Kadambari\textsuperscript{31}, written in Sanskrit in the seventh century, is an early example. The Panchatantra\textsuperscript{32} is another. There was also a long tradition of prose tales of adventure and heroism Dastangoi\textsuperscript{33} in Persian and Urdu, known as dastan\textsuperscript{34}. Thus these are classic examples of the art of orature that is also explained in portion of this thesis, where they were also tools intended both for the purpose of transmission preservation and that could also be retried because they get imprinted in human mind. These views are related as the printing press brought a vast rise in literacy, so that one of its effects was simply the great expansion of written culture at the expense of oral culture.

3. Ubiquity of Print

The ubiquity of print could be felt all around us as we read printed literature, see printed images, follow the news through newspapers, and track public debates that appear in print, which forces us to take for granted this world of print. The development of printing, like the word last, at least for a while. We tend to regard all the genres of orature as belonging to the homogeneous complex of folklore.’

\textsuperscript{31} Bāṇabhāṭṭa was a 7th century Sanskrit prose writer and poet of India. He was the Asṭhana Kavi in the court of King Harsha Vardhana, who reigned c. 606–647 CE in north India first from Sthanavishvara (Thanesar), and later Kannauj. Bāna's principal works include a biography of Harsha, the Harshcharita (Deeds of Harsha), and one of the world's earliest novels, Kadambari. Bāṇa died before finishing the novel and it was completed by his son Bhūṇabhaṭṭa. Both these works are noted texts of Sanskrit literature as per Amaresh Datta (1988).

\textsuperscript{32} As per Patrick Olivelle Patrick, Pāñcatantra : The Book of India's Folk Wisdom, Oxford University Press (1997,) at p xii states that ‘The Panchatantra is an ancient Sanskrit collection of stories, probably first composed around 300 CE (give or take a century or two), though some of its component stories may be much older. Olivelle further in the introduction, at p Franklin Edgerton, the Yale professor’s book The Panchatantra. Translated from the Sanskrit by Franklin Edgerton George Allen & Unwin, 1965 edition quotes as, ‘The original text is not extant, but the work has been widely revised and translated such that there existed “over 200 versions in more than 50 languages.”’

\textsuperscript{33} Hena Naqvi Journalism and Mass Communication Upkar Prakashan 2007 at p 135, Dastangoi is an art form of storytelling is also in shambles in India. The word is a compound of the Persian words dastan =Story and goi = telling. Once popular in Mughal and early Dastangoi British periods, the art form is on the verge of extinction.’ According to Indian urban anthropologist Ghaus Ansari who is one of the co authors of the book, ‘Town-Talk: The Dynamics of Urban Anthropology’, Brill Archive 1983 who ascribed the origin of dastangoi to Pre-Islamic Arabia, and detailed how the eastward spread of Islam carried dastangoi to Iran and then to Delhi in India. The classical example and well known is Hamzanama or Dastan-e-Amir Hamza which narrates the legendary exploits of Hamza bin Azrak, a brave man who lived in the Banu abbas reign, though most of the story is extremely fanciful, “a continuous series of romantic interludes, threatening events, narrow escapes, and violent acts”, told in dastan performances. This is known in the West the work is best known for the enormous illustrated manuscript commissioned by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in about 1562, where the text augmented the story, as traditionally told in dastan performances as per Beach, Milo Cleveland, Early Mughal painting, Harvard University Press, 1987. Thus Dastangoi is a 16th-century Urdu oral storytelling art form.

\textsuperscript{34} As per The Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature (Volume One (A To Devo) Sahitya Akademi 2006 at p 892, ‘Dastan may be called ‘romance’ in English. This detunes the main character of dastan. The DASTAN form of literature has evolved from the oral tale-telling narrators. DASTAN, 'Dastango' himself, who is helped by one of his colleagues. The versified portion is sung in the form of a chorus. Musical instruments used during the course of presentation include Sarangi, Moot (earthen pot) etc. It is also stated that the word The name “Dastan” is said to mean “the Trickster”, a name Jordan Mechner originally found in the Shāhnāmeh and which he found very appropriate for the character.
development of writing itself, had profound effects on human societies and knowledge. “Print culture” refers to the cultural products of the printing transformation in society. Thus this research primarily traces in this part the historiography of print. It is now well accepted phenomena that ‘Print culture embodies all forms of printed text and other printed forms of visual communication, where this concept’s key expositor is Elizabeth Eisenstein,’ who contrasted print culture, which appeared in Europe in the centuries after the advent of the Western printing press (and much earlier in China where woodblock printing was used from at least 800AD), to scribal culture. Walter J. Ong, by contrast, has contrasted written culture, including scribal, to oral culture. It would be correct to reproduce the words of Walter J. Ong as noted below:

‘It focuses on the relations between orality and writing. Literacy began with writing but, at a later stage of course, also involves print. This book thus attends somewhat to print as well as to writing. It also makes some passing mention of the electronic processing of the word and of thought, as on radio and television and via satellite. Our understanding of the differences between orality and literacy developed only in the electronic age, not earlier. Contrasts between electronic media and print have sensitized us to the earlier contrast between writing and orality. The electronic age is also an age of ‘secondary orality’, the orality of telephones, radio, and television, which depends on writing and print for its existence.’

The printed book in Europe has been established in classic studies by Eisenstein and Febvre, played a central role in the diffusion of classical literature and also helped to fix vernacular languages and encouraged the development of national literatures. In Asian and African contexts, Benedict Anderson has further demonstrated how standard print cultures were powerful forces in foreign national identities among the colonial intelligentsia, following from the European model. The particular importance to Anderson’s theory is his

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37 Ibid at p 3


stress on the role of printed literature and its dissemination and the rise of nationalism is in Anderson's thought closely connected with the growth of printed books and with the technical development of print as a whole.

McLuhan draws particular attention to the medieval manuscript which preceded print culture, especially, explaining that medieval culture was based on the ear with punctuation being rare, and that the hand-written manuscripts were meant to be read out to an audience. Firstly, McLuhan divides the different types of medium into two categories; hot and cool. A predominantly hot medium requires very little participation by the audience, and this is how he defines print. The opposite to be speech, a cool medium because ‘so little is given and so much has to be filled in by the listener’. It is better to quote the words of McLuhan which for ease is as noted below:

‘Any hot medium allows of less participation than a cool one, as a lecture makes for less participation than a seminar, and a book for less than a dialogue. With print many earlier forms were excluded from life and art, and many were given strange new intensity. But our own time is crowded with examples of the principle that the hot form excludes, and the cool one includes.’

McLuhan claims that the oral or manuscript culture, allowed all the senses to function at once, whereas a print culture made writing separate from speech and the visual is thereby dominant. The advent of punctuation, according McLuhan, allowed things to be expressed in speech, thus separating the eye from the ear. He therefore, believes that the development as a print culture has greatly diminished the importance of the spoken word.

The history of print culture, frequently referred to as “history of the book,” concerns those aspects of a society that relate to the production, distribution, and reception of printed materials, whether canonical words of literature or ephemeral items such as newspapers and handbills. Authorship, publishing, regulation, bookselling, libraries, and reading are some of the aspects examined. It would be useful quote the words of Fiona A. Black

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40 Herbert Marshall McLuhan, was a Canadian philosopher of communication theory and a public intellectual. His work is viewed as one of the cornerstones of the study of media theory, as well as having practical applications in the advertising and television industries.


44 Dr. Fiona Black became associate vice-president, academic in 2013 after a decade in Dalhousie’s Faculty of
Because print culture permeates all of society, the study of its history has drawn attention of scholars from a wide discipline and periods; historians of religion and science, labour, social cultural legal historians, literary scholars, sociologists, information scientists and librarians, geographers and bibliographers.\textsuperscript{45}

Fiona A. Black is quoted here because she was the pioneer in introducing Geographic Information Systems in History\textsuperscript{46}, which is also the scope of statement in the book quoted. In their ground breaking work on the history of print culture, \textit{L ’apparition du livre}\textsuperscript{47}, Lucien Febvre\textsuperscript{48} and Henri-Jean Martin\textsuperscript{49} that has been aptly described the early spread of the printing as the "geography of the book"\textsuperscript{50}.

In this manner, Febvre and Martin make clear that the spread of printing was no isolated proceeding; it depended on, and interacted with, the physical, political and socioeconomic world. It is clear that to go beyond developing an understanding of the spread of printing to tracing the wider history of the interplay of the many elements of print culture one faces a multidimensional task. This complexity can be illustrated from a model which has become one of the most frequently cited in the field.\textsuperscript{51}

In “What is the History of Books?”, Robert Darnton\textsuperscript{52} in his essay proposed a general model for analyzing the way books come into being and spread through society, which he called it as a, ‘Communications Circuit’

‘Communications Circuit’, ‘that runs from the author to the publisher (if the bookseller does not assume that role), the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader. The reader completes the circuit, because he influences the author both before and after the act of composition.’\textsuperscript{53}
To amplify the concept provides the circuit diagram as noted below:\(^{54}\):

![Circuit Diagram](image)

Bertrum H. MacDonald and Fiona A. Black in the work cited supra speak about Robert Darnton as noted below:

‘Robert Darnton (1982), a historian of the French Revolutionary period, expounded his ‘Communications Circuit.’ His model has served as a framework for many other scholars and has also informed debate on the subject. The “circuit” has proven eminently useful even though not every scholar agrees with either the framework or the details. He claimed that “printed books generally pass through roughly the same life cycle. It could be described as a communications circuit that runs from the author to the publisher (if the bookseller does not assume that role), the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader.”\(^{55}\)

Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker published an article\(^{56}\) in response to Robert Darnton’s to the schematic model where Robert Darton’s circuit has six contributors who complete the cycle where there are two others who contribute in the initiation and closing of the circuit in the original diagram that was published. The six are publishers, printer, shipper, bookseller, reader, and author, where the remaining three who initiate and complete the cycle are Suppliers who consist of Paper, ink, type and labour and the last one is the binder who participates both originally and also during the cycle because he initially binds when the book comes into existence and for preservation of the book when it comes from the users. Social

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\(^{54}\) Ibid at p. 70

\(^{55}\) Ibid supra note 37

\(^{56}\) A Potencie of Life: Books in Society The Clark Lectures 1986-1987
historians view the book as a tool, while the older idea of the book as a vehicle of knowledge and inspiration that outlives its creation was essential to the past understands of these objects. To Adams and Barker note that concept of the act of print is more than books and they prefer to use the term “bibliographical document” rather than a book, which Robert Darnton accepts in his another essay. Hence Robert Darnton to borrow his own words revisited the essay where he inserted another diagram of his own and that of 1982 but the 1982 diagram differs from the earlier where his object of the revisit of the essay is quoted using his own words:

‘Having accepted the invitation to revisit my essay of 1982, “What Is the History of Books?”’, I find that I can do it only in the first person singular and therefore must ask to be excused for indulging in some autobiographical detail. I would also like to make a disclaimer: in proposing a model for studying the history of books twenty-four years ago, I did not mean to tell book historians how they ought to do their jobs. I hoped that the model might be useful in a heuristic way and never thought of it as comparable to the models favoured by economists, the kind in which you insert data, work it over, and arrive at a bottom line. (I do not believe that bottom lines exist in history.) It seemed to me in 1982 that the history of books was suffering from fissiparousness: experts were pursuing such specialized studies that they were losing contact with one another. The esoteric elements of book history needed to be integrated into an overview that would show how the parts could connect to form a whole—or what I characterized as a communications circuit. The tendency toward fragmentation and specialization still exists. Another way to cope with it might be to urge book historians to confront three main questions:

How do books come into being?
How do they reach readers?
What do readers make of them?

But to answer those questions, we need a conceptual strategy for bringing specialized knowledge together and for envisioning the field as a whole.

When I reflect on my own attempt to sketch such a strategy, I realize that it was a response to the sense of interconnected problems that struck me much earlier, when I first began to work in a publisher’s archives. Looking backward from the present also serves as a reminder that my essay of 1982 does not do justice to the advances in book history that occurred during the following quarter of a century.

It has been reprinted and debated often enough for its inadequacies to be visible. So I do not propose to rewrite the essay, but I would like indicate how it might be improved and to explain the experience in the archives from which it originated.

The Learned author further quotes from the STN archives and quotes aspects of publishing

58 Ibid at p. 495
59 The Société typographique de Neuchâtel (shortly called by the initialism, STN) was a Swiss publishing house and bookseller that operated between 1769-1794. Their archives, consisting of around 25,000 letters and various types of account books held in the Bibliothèque publique et universitaire de Neuchâtel, are an unparalleled source for the study of the eighteenth-century European book trade. The STN published over 220 works, over 500 volumes in total, the majority of which were counterfeit editions. Clients included Jacques Garrigan; Perisse Frères; Rigaud, Pons & Compagnie; and Luke White.
namely, Smuggling, Distribution and Sales, Literary agents, Piracy, Swapping, Demand, and Politics, where the leaned author further says as, ‘Those impressions, first registered in 1965, determined the character of the model that I put together in 1982’⁶⁰, and he further adds as noted below:

‘Rather than review them all, I would like to discuss one of the best, a model proposed by Thomas R. Adams and Nicholas Barker in “A New Model for the Study of the Book” published in a volume edited by Nicholas Barker, A Potencie of Life: Books in Society (London, 1993).’⁶¹

And concludes as noted below:

‘Other book historians would propose other agendas for future research. These remarks are necessarily idiosyncratic and egocentric, for that was the nature of the assignment: to reassess an article I wrote in 1982. This exercise has of necessity taken me back to 1965, but I hope that it also can help to focus attention on the opportunities that will exist beyond 2007.’⁶²

He further gives his own and that of Adam and Barker as noted below⁶³.

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⁶⁰ Ibid F.N. 45 at p 502
⁶¹ Ibid.
⁶² Ibid, p. 508
⁶³ Ibid, p. 503
The first diagram is different from the earlier published one did not contain the box having, and Trees, Sheep and Papyrus which could be boxed for ease as noted.

Thus Robert Darnton quotes the cost goes into the preparation of books and this is much discussed in some books and also Adams and Barker model drawing attention to the fates of individual books where the author focuses on three stages first, the “creation and initial reception” when the book is used as intended, the second when it falls out of use, and the third when its importance is recognized for the way in which it “documents the age that brought it into existence”.

Eisenstein in her book emphasis that the printing press changed the conditions under which information was collected, stored, retrieved, criticized, discovered, and promoted and this forceful thought she applies that all three of the major events (Reformation, Renaissance and the Scientific Revolution) of the printing press era, but perhaps to the Scientific Revolution.

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Revolution. This is the idea that the printing press changed attitudes towards the past. As Dewar puts it, it is difficult to establish the impact of the printing press in its first century especially on a very conservative and religious society. The scribal culture revered the ancients because they were closer to uncorrupted knowledge, which was not yet corrupted through the process of scribal transmission. It had to pass a full century before the outlines of a new world began to emerge. It is better to quote the words of James A. Dewar as noted below:

‘Preserving, Updating and Disseminating Knowledge: From Manuscripts to Books to Internet books: The printing press didn’t create the book, it changed or redefined it. In the scribal culture, books or manuscripts were produced laboriously by scribes, each slightly different from other copies of the book. Errors in one manuscript were propagated to the next copy of that manuscript, and new errors were typically added. The knowledge or thought that resided in a manuscript was available to very few to read or to own. “Wandering scholars” were a primary source of feedback and dissemination. As they read a given manuscript, their marginal notes added any corrective or additive thoughts they may have. As scholars wandered, they carried the knowledge from the manuscript with them and could offer it to others. The paucity of manuscripts and wandering scholars made the preservation of knowledge precarious at best.’

He further adds

‘Another argument applies to all three of the major events of the printing press era, but perhaps best to the Scientific Revolution. This is the idea that the printing press changed attitudes towards the past. As Mander puts it “Scribal culture revered the ancients because they were closer to uncorrupted knowledge--that is, knowledge not yet corrupted through the process of scribal transmission... Print culture, because it allows for cumulative advance of knowledge, views the past from a fixed distance.’

John A. Dewar further quoting Carolyn Marvin states as

‘Eisenstein argues that this change in attitude led to a willingness to question the ancients and to consider new ideas; fuelling both the rise of humanism and Protestantism. In science, the notion of cumulative and progressive knowledge was absolutely revolutionary. “Scientific data collection was born with printing” and new contributions became part of a “permanent accumulation no longer subject to the cycle of rapid decay and loss.”

John A. Dewar also cites, Copernicus compared the ideas and data of Ptolemy, Aristotle and

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65 James A. Dewar is the Frederick S. Pardee Professor of Long-Term Policy Analysis at the Pardee RAND Graduate School.
67 Ibid P 13-14
68 Carolyn Marvin, Book Review, Technology and Culture, (1979), Vol. 20, No. 4, p. 797
others; noted their errors and inconsistencies; and published “De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium”70 in 1543—starting the Scientific Revolution and quoting Eric J. Leed71, and using his words this change in culture is captured neatly in:

‘The reversal of meaning undergone by the term “original.” In its old meaning it meant closest to the origin of things, to the initial creation of the cosmos. In the first truly typographical culture it increasingly meant “novel,” a break with precedent.’72

Social revolutions occurred in Europe during the Renaissance time, because of this Renaissance; people got the enlightenment through the education in the 19th century. Emmeline Mary Tanner73 observed as,

‘The Renaissance was something more than a revival of letter and art. It was a new development of European people, affecting them in every aspect of their life, and in each phase its special characteristic was the revolt against authority and the rise of importance to individuals.’74

The field of print studies, like the technology itself has travelled from its European birthplace to India. It is also true that standardization and fixity, the supposed consequences of this print led colonisation of language and literature75, can have the opposite the effect and lead to democratization as Anderson himself pointed out.76 This demarcating potential of print has been emphasized in a few studies on India which imply a parallel between the role of print in the dissolution of a unified Latin culture and the rise of vernacular languages in Europe, on the other hand, and the role of print in the emergence of regional language in India, on the other77. It would be better to quote the words of Christopher A. Reed78 print culture, print

70 The book, first printed in 1543 in Nuremberg, Holy Roman Empire is divided into six ‘books’ (sections or parts).
73 Dame Emmeline Mary Tanner (1876-1955), who was a History Mistress at Sherborne School for Girls Headmistress, Rodean School educationalist and educational reformer.
75 Stuart H. Blackburn, Print, Folklore, and Nationalism in Colonial South India Orient Blackswan 2006 p 11
77 Stuart H. Blackburn, op.cit, 2006, p 12
78 Christopher Alexander Reed, Professor in the Humanities department at The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH is a specialist in the history of modern China with particular focus on the period from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century’s whose research concentrates on China's modern media, print culture, print capitalism, and print communism. Selected works of his are: Chartier, Roger. "Review: Text, Symbols, and Frenchness," Journal of Modern History Vol. 57, No. 4 (Dec., 1985), pp. 682-695 in JSTOR; Chartier, Roger. Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations (Cornell U.P., 1989); Chartier, Roger. "Le monde comme représentation," Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales 44e Année, No. 6 (Nov. - Dec., 1989), pp.
commerce, and print capitalism with specific reference to China and quotes Roger Chartier for his authenticity:

‘In recent years, three concepts - print culture, print commerce, and print capitalism - have had a profound impact on the efforts of historians to understand the mental and social context of national development. Of the three, the reach of print culture is the most comprehensive. As Roger Chartier, a major proponent of this historiography, has explained, “print culture” is a term rooted in the efforts of European historians to understand the social implications of the Gutenberg revolution of early modern Europe.’

In contrast to the concepts of print culture and print commerce, the term “print capitalism,” which often appears side by side with discussions of European print culture, has had less impact on scholarly analysis of India. In part, this omission reflects uncertainty about the nature of print capitalism; term was coined by Benedict Anderson, and explained in depth in his book Imagined Communities in 1983 thus got popularized by Benedict Anderson. His notion of print capitalism was presaged by Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin’s discovery that the European print shop was the world’s first capitalist enterprise. Many elements of what we today call capitalism have indeed been widely present in Western society since Gutenberg’s day. Print capitalism is a concept placed in service to his theme, nationalism, Anderson never really defines it, not even in the “concepts and definitions” section of his book on Imagined Communities. Generally, though, it may be inferred that, for him, print capitalism refers simply to the commercialized, secularized, nongovernmental, and non-philanthropic production of texts for a popular audience. Unlike what Benedict Anderson and others have analysed as the role of ‘print capitalism’ in the creation of a public sphere (or an ‘imagined community’ such as the nation) has been a little different. In India, the print media was a product of colonialism and was as implicated in the nation-destroying project of...
colonialism as was active colonialism itself. In the early 19th century, one finds the emergence of newspapers essentially as a vehicle for the articulation of community-centric grievances or concerns, sometimes in a benign way centred on religious reform, for example—but often in a manner that posited communities as antithetical, opposed to each other. Of course, there were moments when the Indian print media tried to transcend the religious divide and strive for the elaboration of an Indian identity. Anant Kakba Priolkar’s work remains the most impressive contribution on the totality of Indian printing so far. Bellary Shamanna Kesavan where his books narrative of the spread of cultural values through print vividly describing about some thought has been given to the literary background which is what gives printing its meaning, who has authored the history of printing in India as noted below:

‘The history of printing starts with the rehearsal of Evangelist efforts Catholic and Protestant. Fifty-nine years after the landing of Vasco da Gama in India, the printing press opened its account at Goa, a few decades after the beginning of the 16th century. Within a hundred years of the printing of Gutenberg’s Bible in Germany, India initiated its groping towards fashioning of types for the many Indian languages.’

Any historiography study without looking or considering W. J. T. Mitchell will be matter considered useless because of his stress on the importance of the language. It would be better to quote also the statements of a reviewer of a book.
‘At the heart of Mitchell’s book is the argument that the mother tongue concept is neither natural nor primordial, but contingent upon shifts in understandings of language that emerged in particular historical and socio-cultural contexts.’

Sumathi Ramaswamy\textsuperscript{91} described about the battle between Aryan and Dravidian fought not on the ground of religion but on the terrains of literature and\textsuperscript{92} “history.” By the 1890’s when\textit{tamilpparru}\textsuperscript{93} began to manifest itself, it was quiet clear that print and prose were fundamental technologies through which it would be practiced.\textsuperscript{94} It would be out of focus of this thesis of the contributions made by Ma. Su. Sambandam\textsuperscript{95} who is also quoted by A.R. Venkatachalapathy.\textsuperscript{96} Stuart Blackburn\textsuperscript{97} examines the intersection of printing and folklore in the context of colonial south India. It provides a history of printed books in Tamil and argues that printing must be examined alongside a set of literary practices that were largely set in train by the encounter with Europeans and European languages. It examines the beginnings of the press in this country in this study ranging over three centuries of book publishing: from the activities of the early missionaries, to publishing at the College of Fort St George, as well as local responses through print. He describes the fascinating print rivalry in eighteenth century, between Lutheran and Jesuit missionaries, one of whom, C. G. Beschi\textsuperscript{98} who wrote

\begin{footnotes}
\item\textsuperscript{91} Sumathi Ramaswamy is the Professor of History of Duke University who has her Doctorate from University of California, Berkeley, author of many books and her interest more leans towards cultural historian of South Asia and the British empire, research over the last few years has been largely in the areas of visual studies, the history of cartography, and gender.
\item\textsuperscript{92} Sumathi Ramaswamy, \textit{Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil Nadu: 1891-1920} (New Delhi: Munishram Monoharlal Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1998) at p. 38
\item\textsuperscript{94} \textit{Ibid} at p 12
\item\textsuperscript{96} A.R.Venkatachalapathy is a historian, author and translator from Tamil Nadu, India who writes and publishes in Tamil and English who is currently a professor at the Madras Institute of Development Studies (MIDS), who is noted for collecting and publishing the works of Tamil writer Pudhumaipithan, who received his PhD in History from Jawaharlal Nehru University in 1995 where his dissertation was titled "A Social History of Tamil Publishing, (1850–1938), who quotes him in his doctoral thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, A Social History of Tamil Book-Publishing in his Introduction appearing at p.2
\item\textsuperscript{97} Dr. Stuart Blackburn, who obtained his doctorate from Berkeley, who taught at several universities, primarily SOAS in University of London of lived in Melur and its surrounding villages for two and a half years in the 1970s as a Peace Corps volunteer, after his doctoral dissertation at Berkeley, whereby he has close interactions with the people of Tamilnadu.
\item\textsuperscript{98} He is known under his Tamil name of Virmâmununivar (Tamil: விரமாமுனினையர்) or Constantine Joseph Beschi (in English) (8 November 1680–1742) was an Italian Jesuit priest. Missionary in South India, and renowned poet in the Tamil language, who came to India in 1711, he worked as missionary in Elakurichy (ஏறகுறிச்சி), a town near Tiruvaiyaru.
\end{footnotes}
the first folklore text to enter Tamil literary culture. The core of the book describes the uses of print in nineteenth-century Madras, especially the early decades when pundits set up presses that campaigned against missionary activity and produced books of folklore that were used first in schools and later in nationalist discourse. The book identifies two distinct Tamil formulations of folklore and the nation, which are set against a backdrop of their European counterparts. It also explains about a skeptic exploration of the concepts of ‘print culture’ and of the ‘print revolution’. Before the arrival of print into India, literary culture in south India mainly Tamilnadu region comprising of oral traditions and the manuscript was already more than one and a half century old. In this book, about its ancient culture Blackburn argues, was not incompatible with print but rather complementary to it; that is oral traditions and prints coexisted, and were used for different purposes in different spaces and with different consequences. Jean-Baptiste Prashant More recapitulates some of the themes, information but expands upon them in the backdrop of the spread of print in Tamil Nadu and in relation to Tamil identity politics as championed by the Dravidian movement under Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker and Anna. Priya Joshi is another contributor whose writings to be put into the words of a reviewer as noted below:

‘In a work of stunning archival recovery and interpretive virtuosity, Priya Joshi illuminates the cultural work performed by two kinds of English novels in India during the colonial and postcolonial periods. Spanning the nineteenth and twentieth century’s, readers and writers, empire and nation, consumption and production, In Another Country vividly explores a process by which first readers and then writers of the English novel indigenized the once imperial form and put it to their own uses.

99 Veerama Munivar’s hilarious Tamil classic Paramartha Guruvin Kathai, पमरथगृहुड गुरुविन कथी,
100 Stuart H. Blackburn Print, Folklore, and Nationalism in Colonial South India 2003 P 180
101 Ibid.
102 He is a Tamil born Historian of French Nationality and Marathi descent, who is also an author and a teacher, where his area of research is mostly the South Indian History. His books are, The Political Evolution of Muslims in Tamilnadu and Madras, 1930-1947; Freedom Movement in French India, The Mahe Revolt of 1948; L’Inde face à Bharati, le Poète rebelled; Muslim identity, Print Culture and the Dravidian factor in India in Tamilnadu; Pudhucheriyil Bharatiyar in Tamil ‘பుத்துசேரி பராதியர்’; Religion and Society in South India: Hindus, Muslims and Christians; The Telugus of Yanam and Masulipatnam : From French rule to Integration With India; Partition of India: Players and Partners; Rise and Fall of the ‘Dravidian’ Justice party, 1916-1946; Puducherry Valartha Bharatiyar in Tamil ‘புத்துசேரி வாலார் பராதியர்’; Origin and Early History of the Muslims of Kerala, 700-1600, A.D.; Indian Steamship Ventures 1836-1910. ‘Darmanathan Prouchandy of Pondicherry, First Steam Navigator from South India, 1891-1900’; Keralathile Muslimkal: Aavirbhavavum Adyakaala Charitravum (700 AD - 1600 AD) in Malayalam ‘കേരളത്തിൽ മുസലിമ്‌കള്‍: ആവിരഭാവം ആദ്യകാലാലം ചരിത്രം’; From Arikamedu to the Foundation of Modern Pondicherry
104 Priya Joshi is assistant professor in the Department of English at the University of California at Berkeley.
Asking what nineteenth-century Indian readers chose to read and why, Joshi shows how these readers transformed the literary and cultural influences of empire. By subsequently analyzing the eventual rise of the English novel in India, she further demonstrates how Indian novelists, from Krupa Satthianadhan to Salman Rushdie, took an alien form in an alien language and used it to address local needs. Taken together in this manner, reading and writing reveal the complex ways in which culture is continually translated and transformed in a colonial and postcolonial context.\textsuperscript{106}

The tradition of the Indian novel that emerged in the twentieth century transmuted its colonial legacy in unpredictable ways that ultimately reversed the priorities of Englishness and empire. Anindita Gosh’s\textsuperscript{107} whose scholarly work re-examines some fundamental debates in the cultural experience of the educated middle classes in nineteenth-century colonial Bengal. More specifically, it studies power and representation in colonial Bengal through the print-language and literature and its impact on the resultant identity formations. In the nineteenth century, language and its written literature was more than anything else objects of immense debate, scrutiny, and surveillance among the Bengalis and the colonial administration. But what is often less understood is that print languages and literature were also vital instruments for crafting social identities, and in a competitive environment like colonial Bengal, they offered substantial opportunities to indigenous groups to consolidate power along multiple axes of class, gender, and community. By relocating within the world of Bengali print groups previously thought to inhabit the peripheries of literate cultures, the volume also challenges the conventional understandings of social formation in the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{108} If any researcher does not even think of Munshi Newal Kishore who is called Caxton of India the researchers’ study would be a wastrel. Munshi Newal Kishore was son of Pandit Jamuna

\textsuperscript{106}http://cup.columbia.edu/book/in-another-country/9780231125840


Prasad Bhargave, a zamindar\textsuperscript{109} of Aligarh and was born on January 3, 1836. He died in 1885 in Delhi, who in 1858, at the age of 22, founded the 'Newal Kishore Press and Book Depot' at Lucknow, which is the oldest printing and publishing concern in Asia. Mirza Ghalib was one of his admirers. Munshi Newal Kishore. The Government of India issued a postage stamp on him in his honour in 1970. Ulrike Stark in her book,

‘the history of the book and the commercialization of print in the nineteenth century remain largely uncharted areas in South Asia. This major monograph on the legendary Naval Kishore Press of Lucknow (est. 1858) then the foremost publishing house in the subcontinent represents something of a breakthrough. It analyses an Indian publisher’s engagement in the field of cultural production with a detail and rigour hitherto unknown. Describing early centres and pioneers of print in North India, the author traces the coming of the book in Hindi and Urdu. The career of Munshi Naval Kishore (1836-95) is viewed as exemplifying the publisher’s rise to prominence in the colonial public sphere examines the publishing house in its roles as commercial enterprise and intellectual centre. Against a backdrop of cultural, social, and economic developments, she analyses the production of scholarly and popular books in religion, medicine, historiography, and literature, identifying the contributions of individual scholars, literati, and translators associated with the press.’\textsuperscript{110}

Vivek Bandhari has contributed a chapter in the book ‘Agent of change: print culture studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein’\textsuperscript{111}. Vivek Bandhari argues that the press in nineteenth-century Punjab “fostered cosmopolitan debate, reform, and social mobilization.” As the language of this characterization would suggest, Bandhari uses Eisenstein’s framework to support Ranajit Guha’s view of colonialism as “dominance without hegemony,” against a tradition of postcolonial scholarship that has questioned our ability to know outside of the assumptions of colonialism. There was not one colonial public, argues Bandhari, nor a simple opposition

\textsuperscript{109} A zamindar on the Indian subcontinent was an aristocrat, typically hereditary, who held enormous tracts of land and held control over the peasants, from whom the zamindars reserved the right to collect tax (often for military purposes). Before Mughal rule in India, the aristocracy collected and retained revenue from land and production. The Mughals appointed people to act as tax clerks, sending them around the country to oversee collection of revenue and remit it to the capital city of Delhi. Jaffrelot, Christophe (September–October 2000). "Sanskritization vs. Ethnicization in India: Changing Identities and Caste Politics before Mandal". Asian Survey 40 (5): 756–766, these people were known as the zamindari (intermediaries) and as per Habib, Irfan (2000). The Agrarian System of Mughal India, 1526-1707 (2nd revised ed.), Oxford University Press. Habib, Irfan (2000). The Agrarian System of Mughal India, 1526-1707 (2nd revised ed.), University Press, they collected revenue primarily from the Ryots (peasants). Further as per Jaffrelot, Christophe in the paper cited supra zamindari system was more prevalent in the north of India because Mughal influence in the south was less apparent. Thus the Zamindars were the landholders of demarcated areas, responsible for collecting revenue for the monarchy and rose into prominence during the British colonial era, owing to the opportunity availed by the British in India.

\textsuperscript{110} Anindita Gosh, An Empire of Books: The Naval Kishore Press and the Diffusion of the Printed Word in Colonial India Permanent Black; New Delhi, India; 2009 Munshiram Manoharlal Online.

\textsuperscript{111} Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, Eleanor F. Shevlin, Print and the Emergence of Multiple Publics in Nineteenth Century Punjab, University of Massachusetts Press, 2007.
between a colonial and an anti colonial public, but rather a complex public space in which regulation could not contain the formation of autonomous identities and ultimately nationalism. Likewise, Jane Macrae’s study of nineteenth-century Maori-language newspapers, a genre that started as an imposition by colonizers on an oral culture, notes substantial reciprocity between oral and written culture over approximately a sixty-year period following the founding of the first Maori newspaper. Maori, who became prolific first as letter-writers, preserved many of their oral customs while using the newspaper, despite frequent opposition to the publishers’ ideologies, as a site both of protest and of practical information exchange. As might be suspected, Macrae is lukewarm on the matter of positing a communications revolution via colonialism, and for reasons that would probably appeal to Bandhari as well. They might revise the anti-imperialist's worry thus: the more print was seen as being so distinctive and powerful, and thus so many interest groups were drawn to it, the less likely it was going to become an agent of rapid socio political change by colonizers. And if so, one wonders: was it this failure to become controlled, rather than any positive identification with one another that formed the communities out of which nationalism grew?112

“Between Empires: Print and Politics in Goa,” reopens the debate on the relationship between print culture, public sphere, and colonial rule. It offers an analysis of several categories of print material including pamphlets, newsprint, novels, and commentaries among others. Drawing succinctly from available studies that tell the story of print, reading publics, and linguistic hierarchies elsewhere in colonial India, this work constructs a persuasive account of the possibilities opened up via print and the manner in which it attempted to reorder social, cultural or political ties within Goan society. It discusses print production and politics in nineteenth and early twentieth century Goa. It points to the comparative paucity of academic studies of this period, and suggests why it is necessary to address political and cultural developments of the time. Through a reading of newspapers, pamphlets, novels, and other print ephemera generated by other groups of Goans, it also indicates how this vision was contested in the nineteenth century itself. Drawing on printed materials written by Goans, Pinto argues that Goan print history differs in many ways from that of British India primarily because of internal divisions within Goa. Rochelle Pinto discusses the development

of print culture and its implications for larger questions of nationalism, modernity, and colonial politics. Drawing succinctly from available literature on print, reading publics, and linguistic hierarchies elsewhere in India, she offers a persuasive account of the possibilities opened by print media and the manner in which it reordered social, cultural, or political ties within Goan society. Rich in scholarship and rigorous and wide-ranging in its argumentation, this work makes an important contribution to current discussions on the emergence of print spheres in colonial India.  

Print and Pleasure tells the story behind the boom in commercial publishing in nineteenth-century north India. How did the new technology of printing and the enterprise of Indian publishers make the book a familiar object and a necessary part of people’s leisure in a largely illiterate society? What genres became popular in print? Who read them and how were they read? Print and Pleasure argues that many other forces were also at work which, in the pursuit of commercial interests, spread quite different and much more hybrid tastes. The importance of this major new book lies in showing, moreover, that book history can greatly enrich our understanding of literary and cultural history. Francesca Orsini mines a huge and largely untapped archive in order to reveal that popular songbooks, theatre transcripts, meanderingly serialized narratives, flimsily published tales, and forgotten poems are as much a part of colonial history as the elite novels and highbrow journals that are more frequently the subject of historical studies. India does not have a comprehensive history of its books, despite being a country with a long, rich and complex book culture.

Print Areas is the first attempt to write such a history and brings together the work of leading contemporary historians of the book in India. This pioneering volume features essays looking at some of the most fascinating examples of India’s encounter with the book. The choice of the essays also reveals the range of possible approaches to the study of books. There are histories of major publishing houses such as Macmillan and Oxford University Press as well of the first edition of a single book of nonsense verse; perspectives are offered on Benares as a centre of publishing, the role played by print in shaping Maharashtra politics and the cultural impact of popular books in Bengal. These essays will be of interest not just to the historian or literary scholar but also to those interested in questions of tradition and modernity.

114 Francesca Orsini, Print and Pleasure: Popular Literature and Entertaining Fictions in Colonial North India, (Permanent Black, New Delhi, 2009)
in colonial and postcolonial India. A.R. Venkatachalapathy’s monograph on The Province of the Book shows ample evidence of exemplary scholarship and thorough paced research. The chapter “Songsters of the Crossroads” offer an interesting treatment of subaltern writers, usually referred to in somewhat sneering terms as Gujili writers and the another chapter “Reading Practices” discusses the composition of the readers and the different forms reading and silent reading. The epilogue rightly takes up the hotly debated issue: can the printed book survive the onslaught of the digital technology? The book scene in the Tamil country: “presents not a picture of gloom but of great promise”. Thus the research without these historiographers and historiography this study would be incomplete who have been referred and looked for assistance in aiding the critical examination of interpretation. Last but not least is a tertiary source

4. Critical Analysis of Sources

The thesis is a focused study on a particular theme, problem or issue from a specific era and field of history and in order to extrapolate arguments from the various authors which prove relevant to the theme and furthermore, since all of these results are intimately connected with the questions of historiography and authenticity, it is to refer only in Archives. Robert Darnton (1982), a historian of the French Revolutionary period, expounded his ‘Communications Circuit’ for his conclusions searched the Société typographique de Neuchâtel for he relied the authenticity of the source. In this regard in support of finding authenticity it is a must to quote Venkatachalapathy, who narrates the conversation between U.V. Swaminatha Iyer as a student when he was making certain recitals from Sivaprakasa Swamigal to his teacher Meenatchisundaram Pillai that is recaptured in the following paragraph as noted below:

‘Printed books also caused conflict regarding the authority of texts. On one occasion, in the early 1870’s, U.V. Swaminatha Iyer was reciting a poem from Sivaprakasa Swamigal. As the recitation progressed, his teacher Meenatchisundaram Pillai corrected him one account. When Swaminatha Iyer asserted boyishly that he was only

115 Abhijit Gupta and Swapan Chakravorty, eds., Print Areas: Book History in India, (Orient Blackswan, New Delhi, 2010).
117 Siva Prakasar (also Śiva Prakāṣa or sometimes Śiva-prakāṣa Dēśikar), was a Tamil poet and philosopher lived during the late 17th and early 18th centuries.
following the printed version, there was a stunned silence on the part of the observers around as a young man had dared to contradict a scholar of Meenatchisundaram Pillai’s stature, that too, on the authority of mere print. Meenatchisundaram Pillai broke the ice by instructing Swaminatha Iyer, “Print doesn’t validate everything. People who aren’t proficient in the language may print anything.”

In the next paragraph of his dissertation he quotes another incident that speaks about ‘Periya Puranam’ and the story of Kannappa Nayanar.

“Similarly, on another occasion, Meenatchisundaram Pillai was giving classes on Periya Puranam. As a student read out from the printed book, he annotated allusions and provided glosses. When the class had progressed to the story of Kannappa Nayanar, he stopped, observing that some verses were missing in the printed version. He then went in and fetched a palm leaf manuscript, and as he had said, five verses were indeed missing in print, much to the awe of his students.”

Thus the historiographer Venkatachalapathy’s observation if the historiographer is sure of the authenticity it could be cited in support of the theory formulated and he relies on the authenticity by quoting U.V. Swaminatha Iyer, *En Charithiram*, Madras, 1990 (later edition) even if it is anecdotic and to be more precise in the same chapter by quoting an exclamation of Mahavidwan Meenatchisundaram Pillai ‘Have they made a book [he used the English term] of it, too!, which even according to him is an anecdote but as he is satisfied with the authenticity quotes the book, U.V. Swaminatha Iyer, *Sri Meenatchisundaram Pillai avargalin Charithiram*, Vol. II, 1940, p. 207. Although many documents that are primary sources remain in private hands, the usual location for them is an archive. These can be public or private. Documents relating to one area are usually spread over a large number of different archives. Thus the importance of the two sources that served the purpose of the thesis is detailed below.

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118 Author relied U.V. Swaminatha Iyer, *Sri. Meenatchisundaram Pillaiavargal Charithiram*, vol.2, p.60 to the authenticity of the expressions so made, at Chapter 7 ‘Reading Practices and Modes of Reading in Colonial Tamilnadu’ at p.236-237

119 The Periya Puranam (Tamil: பெரியா பூரணம்), sometimes called Tiruttontarpuranam (‘Tiru-Thondar-Puranam’, the Purana of the Holy Devotees) is a Tamil poetic account depicting the legendary lives of the sixty-three Nayanars, the canonical poets of Tamil Shaivism. It was compiled during the 12th century by Sekkizhar (Tamil: சச்கினார்).

120 Kannappa Nayanar or ‘Kannappa’ was one of the 63 Nayanmars or holy Saivite saints, the staunch devotees of Lord Shiva. The Periyapuramam compiled by Sekkizhar and also the Tiruthththondar Thogai by the poet-saint Sundarar enlists the 63 Nayanars, who is also called the first eye donor because he being a strong devotee of Vayu linga of SriKalahasti Thinman noticed that one of the eyes of the Shiva linga was oozing blood and tears. Sensing that the Lord’s eye had been injured proceeded to pluck his one eye out with one of his arrows and placed it in the spot of the bleeding eye of the Shiva linga. This stopped the bleeding in that eye of the linga.

121 Ibid p. 237
4.1. Tamil Nadu Archives

It would be better to quote the words of Derek Elliott University of Cambridge\textsuperscript{122} who has reviewed about the Tamil Nadu Archives as noted below:

‘The Tamil Nadu Archives (TNA), Chennai, is the largest government document repository in South India, and as such, its collections are invaluable to researchers working on post-independence Tamil Nadu or British-era Madras Presidency. In addition to British India records, TNA also houses a substantial collection of Dutch East India Company records from the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and volumes relating to various southern Princely States. The collections are arranged in three main groups, or stacks: British colonial records up to 1857; Raj-era records from 1858 to 1947; and post-independence collections. I visited the archive between September and December 2012 to conduct research examining extra-judicial state violence in the Madras Presidency during the early half of the nineteenth century. I was able to access records from British courts and districts within the current borders of Tamil Nadu as well as commissioner proceedings and officials’ private papers that are not available in other repositories. Unfortunately, pre-1857 district records are only catalogued up to 1835, making any later documents in this series impossible to find. Nevertheless, for historians of South India the TNA offers a vital resource and plenty of unique materials.

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Photography is not permitted in the archive but photocopying is. A reprographic application must be filled out, detailing the items to be copied, and once it is approved you will be asked for payment. Current prices for photocopying are: A4-sized at Rs 2 for Indian Nationals and Rs 3 for foreigners, per page; and A3-sized copies are Rs 4 for Indians and Rs 6 for foreigners. Photocopying can take quite some time, and is dependent upon how busy the archive is. In general though, most orders are completed within two weeks of your order, but it could be 15 to 20 days or longer. It seems unlikely that the TNA will ship photocopied documents if you cannot wait this long; you will probably have more peace of mind if a friend can pick them up and ship them to you.

At the back of the archive compound is a library, which has many rare books and publications dating back to the seventeenth century. Visiting the archive/library is included in your TNA enrolment, but on your first visit you need to get a permission slip from the research officer. The library staffs are helpful but often not familiar with their holdings. Card catalogues are on the first floor, near the work-desks. If the staff cannot find the book you are looking for, they will often take you in the stacks so you may look for yourself.’\textsuperscript{123}

In 1805 Lord William Bentinck\textsuperscript{124}, the then Governor of Madras Presidency ordered the Centralization of all Secretariat records which were scattered in the various Departments of

\textsuperscript{122} Faculty of History University of Cambridge
\textsuperscript{123} http://dissertationreviews.org/archives/2405
\textsuperscript{124} Lieutenant-General Lord William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, GCB, GCH, PC (14 September 1774 – 17 June 1839), known as Lord William Bentinck, was a British soldier and statesman. He served as Governor-General of India from 1828 to 1835.
the Secretariat and appointed a Record Keeper and supporting staff to arrange, look after and to issue records promptly on requisition from various departments for reference. The records were kept in different places in the Secretariat owing to lack of accommodation until they were finally transferred to the Government Record Office (i.e.) “the Madras Record Office” in 1909, which later became the Tamil Nadu Archives. The divisions of the Archives are

◊ Tamil Nadu Council of Historical Research
◊ Record Management Training
◊ District Records Centre
◊ Preservation and Reprography Division
◊ Digitization
◊ Library
◊ Research Hall

The primary function of the Tamil Nadu Archives is to centralise and hold all permanent records, to arrange them chronologically; preserve them on scientific lines, throw them open for historical research, and to make them available promptly and readily for official reference.
The nucleus of the Tamil Nadu Archives, which has carved out a niche among the Archival institutions of India, was formed in the year, 1805 when Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor in Council at Fort. St. George ordered for the Centralisation of Secretariat records which hitherto, were scattered in the various Departments of Secretariat and appointed a Record keeper and supporting staff to arrange and look after them properly and to issue them promptly on requisition to various Departments for reference. Thus it took 103 years for the development into a full-fledged office as a separate establishment, of Madras Record Office at Egmore which came into being in 1909. The nomenclature of this institution also attuned itself to the political changes. It was named as Madras State Archives in 1969 and Consequent on the renaming of Madras State into Tamil Nadu was finally changed as Tamil Nadu Archives and Historical Research in 1973.

4.1.1 Centralisation of Records:

Tamil Nadu Archives houses the records of various Departments of the Secretariat, erstwhile Board of Revenue, few Heads of Departments, pre-mutiny period records of Collectorate and District Courts and the records of defunct departments. Tamil Nadu Archives feels proud to have in its possession the records dating back to 1670 A.D. The Secretariat records barring those of last three years and the records of the erstwhile Board of Revenue barring those of last 10 years are centralized in these Archives with a set of indices to them. These records are arranged in six stacks of these Archives. The pre-mutiny period records of all Departments are housed in one stack, besides the records in Dutch, Danish and Persian languages. There are in all about 48, 85,739 files; 7, 47,431 Volumes and 2,163 bundles. The strong almirah documents, such as documents of the Land Mortgage Banks Co-operative Societies, Bonds and agreements are preserved under lock and key. The Electoral rolls from 1962 onwards are also preserved here.

Besides supply of records and information to the creating agencies, these Archives also supply information to private individuals on the birth, death, marriage, nationality or services of their ancestors on payment of search and copying fees. Certified copies of Gazette notifications are supplied to the public on request by collecting requisite fees.
The Commissioner of Archives and Historical Research also supervises the Gazetteer writing by an Editorial Wing comprising of an Editor and Assistant Editors. The Gazetteers are guide books to administrators, reference books to scholars, text books for pupils and books of general reading for common people, as they portray the entire life in the district they deal with. While the collection of data of this study some significant documents were examined at this juncture which Papers was relating to the establishment of a Government Press at Fort St. George. (Public Despatches to England, dated 9th October 1800, vol. XXXV) Printing Manual (Madras Government Press, Madras, 1917), issued under G.O. No. 207, Public, dt. 26th February 1917 and G.O. No. 339, Public, dt. 26th March 1917, for the use of Government Offices in the Madras Presidency. The Government Printing department was established for the purpose of executing the printing and binding work of the Government of Madras. The distribution of certain forms, books and publications, and the manufacture of certain articles of stationery. The work was usually distributed as follows among the different presses.

4.2. Francke Foundations\textsuperscript{126} of Archive & Library, Halle, Germany

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{Image_3.jpg}
\end{center}

\textit{Image. 3: Statue of August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) who is the Founder of the Francke Foundations, Halle}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{126} Also known as Glauchasche Anstalten, founded in 1695 as a Christian, social and educational work by August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), a Pietist, theologian and university professor in Halle, Germany. Francke Foundations are on the German proposal list as a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1999.
\end{flushright}
Image 4: The First Tamil Translation of Bible by Bartholomeaus Ziegenbale at Tranquebar

Courtesy: Francke Foundation Library, Halle.
Bartholomaus Ziegenbalg\textsuperscript{127} and Heinrich Plutschau\textsuperscript{128}, two students of August Hermann Francke, were the first missionaries who left Europe by order of the Danish King, Frederick IV\textsuperscript{129}, in 1705 to fulfil their missionary task in Tranquebar\textsuperscript{130}. From 1710 the Danish-Halle Mission was supported by the London-based Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK). In 1714 a Mission Board was founded in Copenhagen which was looking after the affairs of the Tranquebar Mission. However the main support for this mission came from August Hermann Francke and his Foundations. Thus three main cities - Halle, Copenhagen and London - were united in the mission enterprise.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Image5.png}
\caption{Cabinet of Artefacts and Curiosities of the Francke Foundations}
\end{figure}

\textit{Courtesy: Francke Foundation Archive and Library, Halle}

\textsuperscript{127} Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (10 July 1682 – 23 February 1719) was a member of the Lutheran clergy and the first Pietism missionary to India. The propagation of the Gospel, despite Danish zeal remained inchoate till at the dawn of the eighteenth century, Frederick IV of Denmark under the influence of Dr. AH Francke (1663–1727), a professor of divinity in the University of Halle (in Saxony), proposed that one of the professor’s eminently skilled and religiously enthusiastic pupils, Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg be appointed to kindle in “the heathen at Tranquebar” the desired holy spark. Ziegenbalg brought Lutheranism and a printing-press to Tanjore court by ship.

\textsuperscript{128} Plütschau, Heinrich (1677-1752) Co-worker with the pietism Lutheran mission pioneer Bartolomäus Ziegenbalg, Plütschau was overshadowed by the latter to the extent that his year of death has wrongly been stated as 1746. A native of Wesenberg, Mecklenburg, he was educated at Berlin and Halle, was selected for the Tranquebar mission, and arrived there in 1706. Six years older than Ziegenbalg Plütschau assumed his share of responsibility for the growing Tamil church until he was sent home in 1711 to defend the mission against critics in Europe, including some in the royal court at Copenhagen. In 1714 he was called to a pastorate at Beidenfleth, Holstein, Germany. This was done with the concurrence of August H. Francke, who appreciated Plütschau’s faith and loyalty.

\textsuperscript{129} Frederick IV (11 October 1671 – 12 October 1730) was the king of Denmark and Norway from 1699 until his death. Frederick was the son of King Christian V of Denmark-Norway and his consort Charlotte Amalie of Hesse-Kassel.

\textsuperscript{130} Tharangambadi (formerly Tranquebar) is a panchayat town in Nagapattinam district in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, 15 km north of Karaikal, near the mouth of a distributary of the Kaveri River.
Archive and the Cabinet of Artefacts and Curiosities of the Francke Foundations are preserving three valuable interlinked collections of cultural history which were set up by August Hermann Francke at the end of the 17th century. The library's holdings contain also 400 prints in Tamil und Telugu for instance the Bible, which has been translated by Bartholomaus Ziegenbalg into Tamil and printed in Tranquebar, the *Catechismus telugicus minor* by Benjamin Schultze, *Grammatica Damulica* by B. Ziegenbalg, *Grammatica Telugica* by Benjamin Schultze and *dictionaries* by Schultze and Johann Philipp Fabricius. In a time, in which the Francke institutions had already begun to become a centre of international exchange and whose fame had already spread over the borders of Prussia, in April 1713 the Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm I. (1688-1740) visited the Francke Foundations and asked all the questions which seem to be important for him to get a comprehensive impression of the Francke institutions. When he was shown Tamil printing types and a drawing of Tranquebar he clearly expressed his reservations and doubts: “Is it really true, it is far away”. Francke responded him: “One of them who were converted to God will come here to Halle”. He thought of the Tamil convert, baptized on the name Timotheus, (Timotheus Kudian, gest. 1726) who accompanied the missionary Heinrich Plutschau (1677-1752) to Halle.\textsuperscript{131}

\textbf{Image. 6:} Benjamin Schultze's hand written copy of vocabularies of Telugu and Tamil  
Courtesy: Francke Foundation Archive, Halle

Map.1: Map of Tranquabar (Sources: Francke Foundations Archive, Halle, Germany)

Map.2: The original Tranquebar/Trankebar according to the Dutch, much of this encroached by the sea now.
Map 3: Trellund’s map of Tranquebar from 1733. Measures: 95 x 82 [cm]. The original map is in The Royal Library, Copenhagen.

Map 4: Mathæus Seutter’s map of Tranquebar from 1767
Letters, diaries, reports, diverse tracts and descriptions, accounts and receipts for donations served as evidence for the activities of the missionaries and constituted the basis of the rich publications in the publishing house of the Halle orphanage. Mission Works of Leipzig were taken over as a standing loan. These holdings also contain the documents of the former archive in Tranquebar. These materials had returned only at the end of the 19th century from India to Germany and were stored in Leipzig, because the Leipzig mission was the successor of the Danish-Halle Mission. Both holdings - Halle and Tranquebar /Leipzig - constitute a nearly complete correspondence. The total amount of both holdings is 34,660 documents. 18,500 of these are the correspondence with the missionaries in India; 1,053 documents are diaries and reports; 15,107 manuscripts are accounts and letters regarding donations. Apart the documents written in German the sources also comprise a large number of manuscripts in foreign languages. Among them are 190 Danish, 450 Latin and 628 English documents as well as Portuguese, Dutch, French and Tamil manuscripts. All these letters, diaries and reports of the missionaries contain in addition to personal information and their actual pastoral and school tasks also their philological, theological, medical, geographical, meteorological, botanic, zoological and ethnic studies and information about their translations into the Tamil and Telugu languages and discussions with the Tamils.

The originally in Halle holdings comprise 33,178 manuscripts, especially
- Letters and diaries of the missionaries
- Letters of the wives of the missionaries,
- Drafts of the letters and instructions from the Halle directors to the missionaries
- Copies of the letters from the Missionary Board in Copenhagen and from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London to the missionaries
- The inner-European correspondence between the missionary boards in Halle, Copenhagen and London
- Letters of donations from benefactors of the missionary work
- Missionary accounts and other accounts.

But also
- School catalogues as evidence of the educational work and the support of Tamil school students
- Working contracts and letters of attorney
- Drawings and maps.
And last but not least the valuable

- Reports of the missionaries about religion, languages, customs, plants and animals, geography, climate and medicine in South India.

So the collection pieces from South India in the Cabinet of Artefacts and Curiosities in addition to the Historical Library and the Historical Archive belong today to the excellent historical sources collections of the Francke Foundations. While I was participating in the Summer School at Francke Foundations, I was able to collect various primary as well as secondary source materials which are used critically in this study.

**AFSt/M I F 8: 33. Letter from Johann Finckenhagen to G. A. Francke, August 19, 1755. Memo [containing 8 questions to be forwarded to the missionaries for their reply]**

1. Whether it is true that the missionaries have received a book some time ago from a Brahmin either a Veda or some other book - and whether they can send us a translation or at least, a comprehensive extract of the same?

2. Whether Brahmins and adult heathens who are willing to converse about religious matters give any hint about another expected incarnation of one of their idols, Vishnu?

3. Whether, during the period of their stay there, other adult heathens have been converted to Christianity apart from those who are of the ‘Parreier’ caste, or the lowest caste, and whether converts of such castes continue to retain their false attachment to their own caste, or their revulsion towards another caste or to its subdivisions.

4. Whether this cannot be discussed and done away with by preaching to those who convert to Christianity, especially since the story which tells us about the original

132 Parreier Paraiyar or Parayar (in the past, anglicised as Pariah) is a caste group found in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu and Kerala. In Tamil Nadu though they have been enumerated under three different caste names as Paraiyan, Samban and Adi Dravida, they have generally been referred to as Paraiyar. In northern Tamil Nadu they are known as Paraiyar, in southern Tamil Nadu they are known as Samban. Paraiyan and samban are synonymous with Adi Dravida. Robert Caldwell conjectured that the Paraiyar or Paraiyan name was derived from the Tamil word Parai (a drum) because some members of the community act as drummers at marriages, funerals, village festivals, and on occasions when Government or commercial announcements are proclaimed. Whereas later, in the 1891 Madras Census Report, it is recorded that “it is only one section of Paraiyars that act as drummers, nor is the occupation confined to the Paraiyars.
division of the three castes is not one that Christians can believe in; also whether
those Christians who continue to live among the heathens after they have converted
cannot be made to view caste distinctions merely as a distinction made in civil society
with respect to classes and without any prejudice to the concept of Christian love?

5. About the long period of time that children of converted heathens are normally made
to stay in school to learn the principles of Christianity.

6. Whether these children, as well as the converted heathens who live in the city or on
Company territory, learn to become good craftsmen or farmers so that they can earn
their living honourably and in a manner beneficial to public welfare?

[Reply to this memo:] AFSt/M 1 F 8: 35. Letter from G. A. Francke to Johann
Finckenhagen, September 5, 1755.

The reports (5 and 6) clearly state that till now not a single Brahmin, which is the
highest caste among them, has converted, but several ‘Suttirer’,133 which is a middle
caste, have been converted to the gospel of Christ. From the beginning the
missionaries have tried to remove caste distinctions as far as possible and don’t permit
the abhorrence of the lower castes among the Christians. However, they are unable to
remove the civil distinctions among them, which mean that Christians from the
‘Parreier’ caste remain the lowest people whose touch pollutes someone from a
higher caste. (7) The more talented children are kept longer in the schools and the
missionaries try to prepare them for work in the mission. The others are sent off when
they have learnt the basics. (8) As far as possible the children are made to learn a craft
or agricultural work.

AFSt/M 1 B 23: 27. Letter from G. A. Francke to the missionaries in
Tranquebar. Halle, October 24, 1737.

I request you to consider for the future what I have said with regard to ordaining the
catechist Rajanaikken. In the meanwhile I am firmly of the opinion that the vulgar
distinction made by the Malabarians between the ‘Parrier’ and the ‘Suttirer’ should
be removed as far as possible among those who have converted to the Christian faith,

133 Shudra is the fourth varna, whose mythological origins are described in the Purusha Sukta of the Rig Veda,
one of the sacred texts of Hinduism
since this distinction runs contrary to the teachings and the practice of Christ and his apostles. The distinction made in our countries between the middle-class and the peasants, and also between the middle-class and the nobility, is not that important (since the peasant’s son also becomes a member of the middle-class when he learns a profession and becomes a master-craftsman, more so if he goes to university and is appointed to an office, whereby the earlier distinction is no longer valid), although a lot of foolishness and vanity is also found among those who are Christians only in name. This too cannot be condoned. My opinion, therefore, is not to do away entirely with the order of classes. But, as far as the Christian faith is concerned, no one should consider himself higher and better than another since the contempt and disregard for a person from a lower class cannot be melded with Christianity. Though I am aware that what has become a custom within a nation cannot be changed immediately and all at once, yet through repeated, reasoned arguments it should be possible to remove such mistaken beliefs and make people change their way of thinking.


We now proceed with the reply to your letters:

You, Reverend Sir, report that not only you, but also some patrons and friends of the mission would like to see the catechist Rajanaikken ordained as a priest and that it would be fine if, at first, he would carry out his work only among the ‘Parreier’.

All of us have given a great deal of thought to the matter and we also discussed it in our conference but, to date, we fail to see how this can be achieved. Although there are some reasonable and honourable people among the ‘Parreier’, of whom Rajanaikken is surely one, they are, for the most part, unclean and full of vices. This is why the distinction that the people of this country make between them and the ‘Suttirer’ is so great and so firmly entrenched. This distinction cannot be compared with the distinction made in Europe between the middle-class and the peasants, because the ‘Parreier’ here are regarded as dishonourable.

Although it is our constant endeavour to make the SW/zVer-Christians give up their all-too great abhorrence of the ‘Parreiers’, the observance of this distinction has become so common in this country that we are forced to give in a little, and even the...
‘Parreiers’ have nothing against it. Given this situation we find that, at present, we cannot ordain Rajanaikken as a priest. We must also mention here that as the only native catechist he looks after four districts and does everything there that the country-priest does here in one district except to administer Holy Communion.

With regard to this last point we would have to say that a ‘Sutrirer’ cannot be expected to receive communion from his hands. [...] However, we take every opportunity to refer the junior catechists to Rajanaikken so that he, as senior catechist, supervises them.


The Twenty-Sixth Letter which shows that the heathens do not want their religion to be criticised and, themselves, find much to criticise in the Christians.

In the year Ndndanawaruschum, November 8.

To the priests in Tranquebar who teach the holy ways and who fight and conquer with spiritual weapons we send a humble salaam.

Everything that you say and write amounts to contempt for and a complete rejection of our religion and our divine worship. You say that everything written in our four holy books, in the 6 Shastras and the 18 Puranas is false and deceitful and that reading such books makes us confused and lead us away from God. You say, in fact, that all that is written in them is against the sanctity of God and against human reason and wisdom. You consider the stories about the doings of our gods on earth and in other worlds to be figments of poetic imagination and, as such, part of the devil’s deceit. Indeed, you consider the gods we worship and from whom we seek salvation to be devils and you accuse us of worshipping the devil in the figures of these gods. You find it strange when we say that 33,00,000 gods, 48,000 prophets and many musicians live in the dewalogum. Similarly, you find it unreasonable that we give our gods physical shape, that we ascribe wives and toys and other such things to them. You find our sacrifices to the gods, our festivals and our temple rituals sinful. You also think us sinful and foolish because we wear [rudraksha malas], smear ourselves with ash, hold cows in such high esteem, worship the sun, and have holy days and so
many kinds of fortune tellers. You also criticise us for going on pilgrimages, for considering one place holier than others, for having so many unbelievable tales and for believing in so many foolish miracles. You criticise all our efforts to overcome sin and attain salvation, such as our ritual washings, our formulator prayers etc. Indeed, you criticise our many forms of penance, our caste distinctions, our manner of eating, of fasting and of living, our good deeds and our almsgiving saying that we are heathens, that we are under a curse, that we don’t have a convert’s heart, that all our activities displease God and that we would never attain salvation through such deeds, especially since the path we are on isn’t God’s path but one we had chosen ourselves.

Now it is true that there are many things among us that can be criticised; it is also true that all kinds of sins and injustices are rampant amongst us. However, the whole cannot be rejected for this reason. If we were heathens and if our worship of god were completely false, so many virtues and good deeds wouldn’t be found among us. But, there are so many virtues to be found here and everywhere good deeds are performed by one man or the other. Indeed, there are people amongst us living such holy lives that they cannot be accused of any sins. Can a religion which rejects sin and which leads to good be a false religion through which man cannot attain salvation?

Each nation has its own dress, its own customs and laws which appear strange to another nation. It is the same with religion. God is manifold in his creatures and manifold in his deeds. Therefore, he also wishes to be worshipped in manifold ways.

Our laws and our religion may be good in themselves, but it is our own fault that it is criticised and rejected in this manner: firstly, because we don’t follow these laws seriously in our lives and, secondly, because we lack the knowledge and experience of our religion to be able to defend it against criticism to prove the truth of our beliefs.

In addition, we also find much to criticise in the Christians who come to our country from Europe. If we were to judge a religion on the basis of deeds, we wouldn’t find much good in the Christian religion. We see that there is little justice and virtue among the European Christians. They hardly perform any good deeds, seldom give alms, do not do penance, gladly accept gifts, imbibe strong alcoholic drinks, torture living creatures and use them as food, aren’t concerned about the cleanliness of their body, despise everyone else and are miserly, arrogant and hot-tempered.
Those amongst us, however, who have read and understood something of your holy books, have a good opinion of your religion. At the same time we find it somewhat unreasonable and inconsistent that you believe in a God who was tortured and killed by his own people.

However, who are we to write of such things? In the end, despite all our arguments about religion, the simple truth is: We are creatures of but one God and we enter and leave this world in the same way.

Thus the archives provided the materials for historiography appraisal of the work.

**5. Religious Debates and the Fear of Print**

The history has not been forgotten that the Catholic Church had tried to enforce adherence its doctrine by burning so-called heretics, who people teaching different doctrines during the Middle Ages. Many of early humanists were hostile to the new invention. They considered the press to be barbaric German machine and refused at first to allow their works to be printed. As a result of the early publishing firms became more concerned with printing Bibles and other religious books, and many of the greatest benefits of the printing press occurred only in the last stages of Renaissance. Print created the possibility of wide circulation of ideas, and introduced a new world of debate and discussion. Even those who disagreed with established authorities could now print and circulate their ideas. Through the printed message, they could persuade people to think differently, and move them to action. This had significance in different spheres of life. In this regard it would not be out of place to quote the wordings of Nicholas P. Leveillee who states about when there was a conflict between Christina belief and science and it’s after effects.

Nicholas Copernicus and Galileo Galilee were two scientists who printed books that later became banned. Copernicus faced no persecution when he was alive because he died shortly after publishing his book. Galileo, on the other hand, was tried by the Inquisition after his book was published. Both scientists held the same theory that the Earth revolved around the sun, a theory now known to be true. However, the Church disapproved of this theory because the Holy Scriptures state that the Earth is at the centre, not the Sun. As the contents of the Bible were taken literally, the publishing of these books proved, to the Church, that Copernicus and Galileo were sinners; they

preached, through their writing, that the Bible was wrong.’

Thus, not everyone welcomed the printed book, and those who did also had fears about it. Many were apprehensive of the effects that the easier access to the printed word and the wider circulation of books, could have on people’s minds. It was feared that if there was no control over what was printed and read then rebellious and irreligious thoughts might spread. If that happened the authority of ‘valuable’ literature would be destroyed. Expressed by religious authorities and monarchs, as well as many writers and artists, this anxiety was the basis of widespread criticism of the new printed literature that had began to circulate.

![Image 7](http://imagesonline.bl.uk/imagemap/?search=Religion+and+Belief&level=1&cat_id=12&page=45)

**Image 7**: ‘La grât danse macabre’, produced in [Mathias Huss:] Lyon, le .xviii. iour de feurier, 1499. From the Danse macabre [Lyons: Mathias Huss], 18 Feb. 1499 [1500?]. The British Library IB.41735

**The Macabre Dance**

‘We do not have contemporary descriptions of how a printing workshop was organised. The earliest illustration is French, from 1499 or 1500, part of the Dance macabre, a book showing how all parts of society are equal in the face of death. Here we see death dancing through a printer’s workshop, showing a compositor – the workman who puts individual pieces of types together – the man who worked the press and, in the background, the man who inked the type, in his hand an inking ball. On the right of the woodcut we see an early bookshop. All these activities are recognisable from later descriptions of how printers worked.’

It is better to use the words of James Moran

‘Death is depicted carrying off a printer and a bookseller, and, such as it is, we may ‘take it that the cut illustrates a French fifteenth-century printing office. Unfortunately, although the general construction of press can be made out, the very
aspect which would have been of most interest—the way in which the platen was hung—is obscured by the struggling figure of the pressman. However, the illustration does show clearly the supports, or stays, between the top of the top of the press and the ceiling, which were found to be necessary to keep the press stable; a coarse wooden screw, and a straight pole or bar. Particularly interesting is the plank held up by a stay and on which there is a box, to which we may presume a type man is hinged by what look like leather straps. No winding mechanism is visible and it may be conjectured that the box was pushed under the platen by hand at this date. The other pressman (or 'beater') is holding an ink-ball, which hardly changed in appearance until it was replaced by a roller some three hundred and fifty years later. Two ink-balls were used to ink the form. They were made of untamed leather or sheepskin, stuffed with wool or hair, and nailed around a wooden handle or stock. Ink was spread out on to a slab and rubbed out thinly with a wooden device known as a brayer.

‘The little rest, or gallows, gives additional credence of the idea that there was a type man to be thrown back on it when the form was being inked. The unusual position of the pressman, who usually stood next to his companion, is probably the result of the artist's license as he wanted to show the figure of Death full face.’

The purpose of the wood cut is said to be stated Jane O. Newman by as noted

‘A clear suspicion of Gutenberg's industry emerges from such early representations as Matthias Huss's picture of a print shop in his La Grant Danse Macabre des hommes et des femmes, printed in Lyons in 1499, which mocks the claim that printing can capture the fleeting moment in type (fig. 2). Huss demotes the much-lauded invention of printing, the art that was to let ancient authors live again and that promised eternal life to their modern successors, to the status of just one profession among many in the face of the devils of death, to an activity that in no way could guarantee immortality in spite of the artificial permanence of print as opposed to the ephemeral presence of the spoken word.

5.1. Spread of Reformation

The initial impression of printing as posted by Matthias Huss's picture of a print shop though in 1499 within a quarter of a century it made a different impression as per the Development of Protestantism in Europe. ‘The Protestant Reformation’ was a major 16th century European movement aimed initially at reforming the beliefs and practices of the Roman Catholic Church. It is stated that originally the Bible was burnt at Zug. Actually Protestantism originates from the early 15th century Czech movement caused by burning Jan Hus in 137

139 Hus (Czech pronunciation: [ˈjan ˈɦus] ( listen); c. 1369 – 6 July 1415), often referred to in English as John Hus or John Huss, was a Czech priest, philosopher, early Christian reformer and master at Charles University in
Thus the Protestant Reformation began at a time period in European history when many people began to question the practices of the Catholic Church, which was the result of a movement that occurred in Europe started by a German monk, priest, named Martin Luther wrote Ninety Five Theses on the sale of indulgences in 1517 criticising many of the practices and rituals of the Roman Catholic Church. It challenged the Church to debate his ideas. Luther’s writings were immediately reproduced in vast numbers and read widely, which lead to a division within the Church and to the beginning of the Protestant Reformation. Martin Luther wanted to translate Bible into perfect mastery over the vernacular and in the German tongue he had no rival and the ‘Progress of his Version’, is given in the words of Philip Schaff

‘Luther was gradually prepared for this work. He found for the first time a complete copy of the Latin Bible in the University Library at Erfurt, to his great delight, and made it his chief study. He derived from it his theology and spiritual nourishment; he lectured and preached on it as professor at Wittenberg day after day. He acquired the knowledge of the original languages for the purpose of its better understanding. He liked to call himself a ‘Doctor of the Sacred Scriptures.’

Luther and others had urged that greater balance be observed in the attention given to the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures versus the long-accepted sources of tradition and reason in the formation of doctrine and in order to substantiate his course of reform he had his translation of the Bible into the vernacular (instead of Latin) made it more accessible, which had a tremendous impact on the church and on German culture, which had the impact on the reading public. In September, 1522, Luther published the first edition of his translation of the New Testament, which he had begun that during his stay at the Wartburg, in eleven weeks from December 1521 to February 1522, but it was revised in collaboration with Melanchthon

Prague, was a key predecessor to the Protestant movement of the sixteenth century, and his teachings had a strong influence on the states of Europe, most immediately in the approval of a reformist Bohemian religious denomination, and, more than a century later, on Martin Luther himself. He was burned at the stake for heresy against the doctrines of the Catholic Church, including those on ecclesiology, the Eucharist, and other theological topics.

Martin Luther, OSA, (German: 10 November 1483 – 18 February 1546) was a German friar, Catholic priest, professor of theology and seminal figure of the 16th century movement in Christianity known later as the Protestant Reformation. His theology challenged the authority of the Pope by teaching that the Bible is the only source of divinely revealed knowledge from God and opposed sacerdotalism by considering all baptized Christians to be a holy priesthood.

The Ninety-Five Theses on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences (original Latin: Disputatio pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarum) were written by Martin Luther in 1517 and are widely regarded as the initial catalyst for the Protestant Reformation. The disputation protests against clerical abuses, especially nepotism, simony, usury, pluralism, and the sale of indulgences. According to university custom, on 31 October 1517, Luther posted the ninety-five theses, which he had composed in Latin, on the door of the church in Wittenberg.

Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910)
and others after he had returned to Wittenberg. Luther's translation was based on the second edition of the Greek text edited by Erasmus in 1519. He put Hebrews and James at the end of the testament, with Jude and Revelation, to underline what he considered as the secondary character of these books. Thus the Germanic translation was of Martin Luther was considered to be considered to be Luther's greatest literary achievement and at the same time the greatest literary achievement of sixteenth century or even the whole period between 1328 to 1648\textsuperscript{143}. Thus the German philologists regard the appearance of the Luther Bible as the greatest literary event of the sixteenth century, which exercised an almost immeasurable influence upon the development of High German. The effect it had on the reading public is better portrayed by Gloria Italiano Anzilotti

\begin{quote}
‘The first edition of Luther's translation of the New Testament (1522) sold out all 5,000 copies within a few weeks. A second edition was printed three months later and 14 authorized and 66 pirated editions appeared within the next two years.’\textsuperscript{144}
\end{quote}

His translation of the New Testament sold 5,000 copies within a few weeks and a second edition appeared within three months. Deeply grateful to print, Luther said, ‘Printing is the ultimate gift of God and the greatest one,’ which several NCERT books quote. Several scholars, in fact, think that print brought about a new intellectual atmosphere and helped spread the new ideas that led to the Reformation. Thus the book in vernacular language becomes an asset to the society which Mr. A.P. Venkatachalapathy stresses so in his book\textsuperscript{145}. Thus the advantage of a book in vernacular language can be understood, felt and the necessity of the purpose needs no further statement.

There was considerable opposition to the development of the press on the part of Indian too. This was part of their general reaction to the impact of western influences which it was feared would weaken the hold of traditional and religion on the minds of the young. One interesting instance of the prejudice against the printing press, in fact that printing ink contained animal

\begin{footnote}
\textsuperscript{143} Scherer, Wilhelm,  \textit{A History of German Literature} Haskell House Publishers Limited New York 1906 p. 274
\textsuperscript{144} Gloria Italiano Anzilotti, \textit{Four English/Italian stories: experiments in translation}, Jupiter Press,1983 at p. 2
\textsuperscript{145} A.R. Venkatachalapathy, \textit{In Those Days There was No Coffee: Writings in Cultural History}, Yoda Press, (2006), in \textit{Introduction-History, Literature Language}, where the author quotes a Bengali historian Jadunath Sarkar, Confessions of a History Teacher in the Modern Review and cites as, ‘Their limited power of English Composition makes it practically impossible for them to express themselves in their own word freely.’ ‘Where the absences of advanced historical works in our vernaculars’ was that stressed that efforts should be made to write history books and teach history in vernacular languages, to which Nilakanta Sastri's letter being quoted and the sharp criticism made by poet Subramanya Bharathi, whereby Venkatachalapathy says, the professional historiography in Tamil Nadu practiced during K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's period there was rarely any interrogation of sources (except in terms of authenticity and chronology p. 2-5
\end{footnote}
fact as an ingredient. Quoting Priolkar who relies on Govind Narayan Madgaonkar’s *Mumbaicem Varana* it is stated as noted below:

‘Govind Narayan Madgonkar in his *Mumbaicem Varana* also mentions that many orthodox Brahmins would not touch many orthodox Brahmins would not touch paper or read printed books on religious grounds.’

On other hand the Christians Muslims and the Vaishnaites and Saiaites contributed to the growth of Tamil Print Culture during the last two centuries.

Tamil Christianity had its bhakti poets, too. Their most important contributions, however, belong to epic literature; the short pieces usually are of little literary value. The one Christian poet whose work constitutes a truly creative contribution to Tamil literature is Henry Albert Krishna Pillai (1827-1900)55 whose magnum opus, *Iraticaniya Yattirikam*, is one of the two great poems in Tamil on themes relating to Christ and Christianity, the other being Tempavani of Beschi (cf. for both § 4.4.). In 1899, Krishna Pillai published *Iraticaniya manokaram*, a collection of songs in praise of the Lord, written in the manner and style of *Tevaram* hymns and of *Thayumanavar*. *Iraticaniya Yattirikam* is though an adaptation of John Bunyan's The Pilgrim's Progress has its originality in content and elegance in style. He has also composed *Iraticaniya kural*, and his works are held in high esteem by Christian scholars.

The contribution of Muslims to the enrichment of the Tamil language is significant. Even in the 17th century there had been Muslim Tamil poets like *Omer Pulavar* and *Mastan Saheb*. Muslim scholars too contributed. Since there was a large number of Muslim converts throughout Tamilnadu following the Muslim penetration of the South, a need arose for Islamic literature in Tamil, too. There were many patrons of Tamil poets among the Muslim community, the best known among them Citakkati (Sheikh Abd-ul Qadir), ca. 1650-1715, whose place, Kayalturai, became the centre of Muslim literary activities. Tamil Muslim poetry is almost entirely devoted to Islam, though Muslim authors adopted a number of Tamil literary forms. Umaruppulavar's main work is an epic dealing with the life of the Prophet, and he was also the author of a poem of 88 stanzas on the Prophet entitled *Mutumolimalai*, and this work is modelled on Tamil bhakti poems. It is, however, one of the typical features of Muslim literary works in Tamil that they are almost exclusively of narrative, epic character.

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The most colourful personality among Muslim poets of Tamilnadu is the elusive, mysterious Kunankuti Mastan, known also as Mastan Sahab (Mattan Cakippu), was born around 1830 as Sultan Ahmad Kadiri Lebbai in Kunankuti near Trichinopoly. A vendor of attar, he became ascetic and mystic, in about 1850 withdrew from active life, lived for years in a forest, then wandered from place to place and lived finally as a yogi in Madras. He had many disciples, teaching them a kind of universal mysticism expressed through some hundred poems (altogether about 5000 lines), mostly devotional and philosophical verses, modelled on Tayumanavar, and some Cirttanais. In fact, his lyrics almost equal those of Tayumanavar in pathos and depth of feeling, but are simpler, more crude and colloquial, and do not mind using obscene language. Aiyacami Mutaliyar (2nd half, 19th cent.) composed a panegyric on him entitled Kunankutiyar patiruppattantati. A junior contemporary of Mastan Sahab was Maccarakal Cittar of Kalankuti (near Tirunelveli)—the pseudonym of Syed Abdul Warid Hydross, a noted mystic and poet, author of a large number of poems modelled on the writings of Tamil Siddhas.

6. Appearance of Manuscripts into Print

Many of Robert de Nobili, Jesuit, whose prose works in Manuscript form, was published in the succeeding centuries. Some of the titles of his works were found mentioned in Ziegenbalg’s letter as translated by Rev. Arno Lehmann. The manuscripts were in the form of ‘Olais’ (palm-leaf strips). Nobili died in 1656 at Mylapore and Fr. Antao de Poroenca became the superior of the Madura Mission and it is to him the world owes the first printed dictionary in Tamil, the first of its kind in any Indian language in print.

After the year 1612, there seems to have been a sort of lull in Tamil printing. A certain Fr. Hosten observes: Somehow the Tamil printing seems to have stopped after 1612; for Robert de Nobili’s and Manoel Martin’s numerous writings lay unpublished in 1649 and 1660. It is interesting to note, as pointed out by Priolkar, that paper for printing was not being used in Malabar. This is what he says of the extant practice of writing on palm-leaf:

‘As for the outside of these Books, they are of a quite different Dress from those in Europe. There is neither paper nor Leather, neither Ink nor Pen used by the Natives at all, but the characters are by Iron tools impressed on a sort of Leaves of a certain

147 Roberto de Nobili (1577 – 16 January 1656) was an Italian Jesuit missionary to Southern India. He used a novel method of adaptation (accommodation) to preach Christianity, adopting many local customs of India which were, in his view, not contrary to Christianity.
Tree, which is much like a Palm-Tree. At the end of every leaf a Hole is made, and through the hole a string drawn, whereby the whole set of Leaves is kept together; but then they must be United or loosened, whenever the printers of these characters shall appear and be read.\textsuperscript{149}

Palmyra leaves were extensively used as writing material by literary Tamils primarily due to the abundant growth of this tree in the coastal districts of Ramnad and Tirunelveli. The absence of a paper mill and the difficulty of getting the paper might have been a single important reason for this lull in Tamil printing.

\textit{Antao de Proenca’s Tamil - Portuguese Dictionary, which a few scholars feel might have been based on an earlier manuscript of Fr. Henriques.}\textsuperscript{150} It was indeed very sad that Proenca could not see the fruits of his labours in print during his life time. Three years after his death in 1669, this dictionary was printed at Ambalakkadu. As Rev. Beschi is reported to have died at Ambalakkadu in 1747, there is reason to think that throughout 18\textsuperscript{th} century the Jesuit colony must have existed. The place has some relies which do not give sufficient due to its former glory as a centre of printing activity, one reason attributed is the destruction by Tipu Sultan’s troops during his invasion of Travancore in 1792. Another Jesuit Priest, much of the same mould, as the famous Robert de Nobili, was the Rev. Beschi. The outstanding service in the field of Lexicography was his famous Caturakaradi which stayed as a manuscript, being written in Tirukkovalur and distributed during his life time in lithographic format. The Tamil-Latin dictionary and Latin-Tamil dictionary, the Tamil-French dictionary and the Tamil-English dictionary, the Portuguese-Latin-Tamil dictionary (1744) all flow from this basic work.\textsuperscript{151}

Before, Beschi came on the scene, indigenous achievements were there in the field of what was known as \textit{Nighandus}, which were mnemonic verification of synonyms and homonyms. The Sanskrit exemplars of such an effort are the Amara Kosha and the Halayudha, but they were not dictionaries in the sense that we understand the word today. Alphabetization was never systematically observed, though Chidambaram Revana Siddhar tried it in his \textit{Akarati Nighantu}, where the alphabetical order is followed only for the first letter of the word. Switching on from dependence on memory to the mode of reference for meaning was accomplished after European initiative in the matter.

\textsuperscript{150} J. Casleti, \textit{Fr. Henrique Henriques} (Tiruchirapalli, 1926) p.19.
Exclusive works of Native Christians and articles in the Dinavartamani newspaper, the presence of Europeans in India had scarcely affected Tamil literature in the slightest degree. The Tamil mind was much in the same condition as the Chinese. Reprints of old Books, or feeble modern imitation of them, constitute the great bulk of the issues of the native presses. Though, this was far more intellectual activity in Bengal.\textsuperscript{152}

Though the traditional scholars were busy with the production of the works of earlier centuries, the newly educated class of writers also set a trend. The British Museum Catalogue of Tamil Books reveals among the welter of entries on traditional quite a few works on Western science and social thinking. In 1850, Dr. Schimidt wrote a Tamil work on the history of the world. Then, Dr. Carrol published in 1835, an algebra in Tamil. David Solomon published a book on trigonometry (Konetraganitam). Dr. Green of the American Mission wrote and published books on human anatomy (1857) Pharmology, Physics and Chemistry. The anatomy book was well illustrated with detailed explanations. Dr. Green wrote an original treatise on the hand, foot, etc meant for literate Tamils to study. Percival’s Tamil Proverbs with a translation in English published in 1870, is a monument of great enterprise. Dr. Percival was also the distinguished editor of the Dina Varthamani, a Tamil Journal.\textsuperscript{153}

The greatest difficulty that confronts those who wish to produce books in the language of the country, whether for the use of the very large number of common people who cannot either in the near or distant future; so far as their little eyes can see, possibly learn English language or for the use of the pupils in Tamil schools is we believe, the absence of adequate and precise terms form scientific terms for scientific ideas and the chaotic state in which attempt to build up such terms are left to remain.\textsuperscript{154} Not simply build up the words; these words are closely interrelated with Tamil people and Tamil identity. Here, we see, Dr. Green was carefully handle the perfect scientific terms for Tamil words, in his work: Human Anatomy and Medical treatise on eye, foot, etc.\textsuperscript{155}

Though the exceptional scholars like Meenatchisundaram Pillai could often dazzle students and other by such displays, they were only fighting a losing battle by clinging to a traditional mode of reading and its attendant reading practices, which placed a premium on memory and

\textsuperscript{152} B.S. Kesavan., op .cit, pp.40-45.
\textsuperscript{153} Ibid, op.cit, p.76.
\textsuperscript{155} Cutter Ebenezer, \textit{Life and Letters of Samuel Fisk Green} (1891) p.126.
learning by rote. Even geniuses had their limitations. And this was exposed by print. Before the advent of print, only a limited number of texts could be acquired for study of reference as locating and copying them were usually unrewarding exercises, particularly because their owners, rarely ever permitted outsiders to take a look at them.\textsuperscript{156} With the coming of the book, a much larger number widely available and few traditional scholars could accordingly keep space.

The very availability of a text in multiple copies of the same standard without any inconsistency was what underpinned the printed books, could be conveniently carried on one’s person, the text itself had undergone quite dramatic changes in the process of printing. The very transcription of the text from the palm leaf to the printed page in itself meant a major interpretation. Print, for good, for ill, made one definite reading of the manuscript, and went some way towards fixing the text orthographically.\textsuperscript{157}

7. Print Aids to Scholarship

Before printing...the task of indexing a book was up to each manuscript’s owner. With the generation of hundreds of identical copies of a book ‘more complete and better arranged’ indexes became a selling point for printer.\textsuperscript{158} The printed book brought a variety of changes that led to a more ordinary, systematic approach to the printed word: title pages, regularly numbered pages, punctuation marks, section breaks, running headings, table of contents, etc.,\textsuperscript{159}

U.V. Swaminatha Ayer’s\textsuperscript{160} Introductions contain all relevant information about the text, a brief reference to the author, the sources from which the text had been obtained, all rounded off with an acknowledgement expressing his gratitude to all those who had assisted him in his

\textsuperscript{157} No Wonder the Tamil Scholar T.T. Kanakasundaram Pillai commented on the eminent publication of an important classic: ‘To think that Chilappadikaram will be available in printed form shortly, obviating the need to cry over cardigan leaves, gives me unutterable job.’ Letter to U.V. Swaminatha Iyer, dated 3 June 1890, U.V. Swaminathan Ayer’s Papers.
\textsuperscript{158} Ibid, p.422.
\textsuperscript{160} U. V. Swaminatha Iyer (Uttamadhanapuram Venkatasubbaiyer Swaminatha Iyer), 1855–1942, was a Tamil scholar and researcher who was instrumental in bringing many long-forgotten works of classical Tamil literature to light. His singular effort over five decades brought to light major literary works in Tamil and contributed vastly to the enrichment of its literary heritage. Iyer published over 91 books in his lifetime, on a variety of matters connected to classical Tamil literature, and collected 3,067 paper manuscripts, palm-leaf manuscripts and notes of various kinds. He is affectionately called Tamil Thatha (Grandfather of Tamil) and Sumathi Ramaswamy, in her book Passions of the tongue: language devotion in Tamil India, 1891–1970, University of California Press (1997) at p199.
work. The text is printed with clarity and precision, with footnotes underneath setting forth variant headings, sources of quotations, cross-references, and the like. A glossary of archaic words and indexes is found at the end. Discerning people used to say that anyone would become “good man of letters for his editions. So also, could one become a specialist in research with the aid of the footnotes, glossaries and aids provided to readers?\footnote{U. V. Swaminatha Iyer, \textit{En Charithiram}, (Madras: Institute of Asian Studies, 1994) pp. 114-116.}

\begin{center}
\textbf{Image. 8:} The title page of Shri Dandabani Virutham and Shri Muthukumarar Uasal (Courtesy: U.V. Swaminatha Ayer Library, Chennai)
\end{center}

Printing has shortened human memories by the reliance on information being stored more safely and durably in a book. The rationalizing aspects of the print culture encouraged a need for maps and timetables, and increased the importance of perspective in paintings. In this way, it gave birth to a craving for a lifestyle reflecting uniformity and rigidity, and so the complex systems of indexing and cataloguing that we have today came into being.\footnote{Marshall McLuhan, \textit{Understanding Media: The Extension of Man} (London & New York: M.I.T. Press, 1964) p. 1234.}

\section*{8. A New Reading Public}

With the printing press, a new reading public emerged. Printing reduced the cost of books. The time and labour required to produce each book came down, and multiple copies could be produced with greater ease. Books flooded the market, reaching out to an ever-growing readership.
Access to books created a new culture of reading. Earlier, reading was restricted to the elites. Common people lived in a world of oral culture. They heard sacred texts read out, ballads recited, and folk tales narrated. Knowledge was transferred orally. People collectively heard a story, or saw a performance. Public did not read a book individually and silently. Before the age of print, books were not only expensive but they could not be produced in sufficient numbers. Now books could reach out to wider sections of people. If earlier there was a hearing public, now a reading public came into being.

But the transition was not so simple. Books could be read only by the literate, and the rates of literacy in colonial Tamil Region were very low till the twentieth century. How, then, could publishers persuade the common people to welcome the printed book? To do this, they had to keep in mind the wider reach of the printed work: even those who did not read could certainly enjoy listening to books being read out. So printers began publishing popular ballads and folk tales, and such books would be profusely illustrated with pictures. These were then sung and recited at gatherings in villages and in towns. Oral culture thus entered print and printed material was orally transmitted. The line that separated the oral and reading cultures became blurred. And the hearing public and reading public became intermingled.

The technology of print communication can be seen as promoting both individualism and uniformity. Marshall McLuhum has called print ‘the technology of individualism’ who claims that it began the practice of silent reading by making printed material easily accessible to individuals. It is this which promotes individualism as the printed book is, for the most part, intended to be read alone and silently, thereby also developing the sense of personal privacy which is so characteristic of modern society.163

Within this historical setting, relatively few people read alone or silently, much less pondered the meaning of the restricted number of books available without assistance or intrusion of others. Moreover, the face-to-face relations of a preliterate culture lingered on long after literacy had become an ordinary feature of private life in the nineteenth century. The consumption of popular literature was in marked contrast to the modes of reading (especially silent reading) adopted to consume elite literature. The evidence for popular literature was wide and was not restricted to buyers, unlike elite books, which had to be possessed, at least for a while, in order to be consumed.

The novel is a modern form of literature. It is born from print, a mechanical invention. This concept that Novel is a modern genre is far from the truth which is reinforced from Apuleius’s Golden Ass (written around 160 AD), or The Metamorphoses of Apuleius, which St. Augustine referred to as The Golden Ass is the only Ancient Roman novel in Latin to survive in its entirety. The date of composition of the Metamorphoses is uncertain. It has variously been considered by scholars as a youthful works preceding Apuleius' Apology of 158/9 AD or as the climax of his literary career and perhaps as late as the 170s or 180s. Another earlier one is, ‘The Satyricon, or Satyricon liber ("The Book of Satyrlike Adventures), is a Latin work of fiction believed to have been written by Gaius Petronius, though the manuscript tradition identifies the author as a certain Titus Petronius. The text was copied throughout the middle Ages. In 1664 the first critical edition, which included Trimalchio’s party, was put to print through the efforts of Pierre Petit. Thus Steven Moore states as, ‘The novel is centuries older than we've been told’. In ancient times, manuscripts were handwritten. These circulated among very few people. In contrast, because of being printed novels were widely read and became popular very quickly. The novel first took firm root in England and France. Novels began to be written from the seventeenth century, but they really flowered from the eighteenth century. New groups of lower-middle-class people such as shopkeepers and clerks, along with the traditional aristocratic and gentlemanly classes in England and France now formed the new readership for novels. When Novels began to flourish, at this time big cities like London were growing rapidly and becoming connected to small towns and rural areas through print and improved communications. Novels produced a number of common interests among their scattered and varied readers. As readers were drawn into the story and identified with the lives, of fictitious characters, they could think about issues such as the relationship between love and marriage, the proper conduct for men and women, and so on. As readership grew and the market for books


165 Augustine of Hippo also known as Saint Augustine or Saint Austin, is a fourth century philosopher whose groundbreaking philosophy infused Christian doctrine with Neo-Platonism, whose writings influenced the development of Western Christianity and Western philosophy, was born in 354 in the municipium of Thagaste (now Souk Ahras, Algeria) in Roman Africa.


167 Steven Moore (born May 15, 1951) is an American author and literary critic, who is also the author of the two-volume study The Novel: An Alternative History.

expanded, the earnings of authors increased. This freed them from financial dependence on the patronage of aristocrats, and gave them independence to experiment with different literary styles. Henry Fielding, a novelist of the early eighteenth century, claimed he was ‘the founder of a new province of writing’ where he could make his own laws. The novel allowed flexibility in the form of writing. Walter Scott remembered and collected popular Scottish ballads which he used in his historical novels about the wars between Scottish clans. The epistolary novel, on the other hand, used the private and personal form of letters to tell its story. Samuel Richardson’s Pamela, written in the eighteenth century, told much of its story through an exchange of letters between two lovers. These letters tell the reader of the hidden conflicts in the heroine’s mind.

The traditional mode of reading as it obtained in the second half of the nineteenth century when printed book were beginning to be more easily available after the restrictions on Indians owning printing presses were repealed in 1835 by Charles Metcalfe, the Governor-General of India. From the nineteenth century onwards, it became possible for the illiterate to obtain either wealth of influence, and this has largely occurred use to the invention of printing in Europe in fifteenth century. This had widespread consequences, allowing large numbers of

\[169\] Henry Fielding (22 April 1707 – 8 October 1754) was an English novelist and dramatist known for his rich earthy humour and satirical prowess, and as the author of the novel Tom Jones, where his consistent anti-Jacobitism and support for the Church of England led to him being rewarded him with the position of London’s Chief Magistrate

\[170\] Henry Fielding The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling, Book 2 chapter 1 Joseph Wenman, 1780 at p 44 states as: ‘For all which I shall not look on myself as accountable to any court of critical jurisdiction whatever: for as I am, in reality, the founder of a new province of writing so I am at liberty to make laws I please therein.’

\[171\] Sir Walter Scott, 1st Baronet, Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh (FRSE) (15 August 1771 – 21 September 1832) was a Scottish historical novelist, playwright, and poet. Scott was the first English-language author to have a truly international career in his lifetime, with many contemporary readers in Europe, Australia, and North America. His novels and poetry are still read, and many of his works remain classics of both English-language literature and of Scottish literature. Although primarily remembered for his extensive literary works and his political engagement, Scott was an advocate, judge and legal administrator by profession, and throughout his career combined his writing and editing work with his daily occupation as Clerk of Session and Sheriff-Depute of Selkirkshire.

\[172\] An epistolary novel is a novel written as a series of documents. The usual form is letters, although diary entries, newspaper clippings and other documents are sometimes used. As per Traversa, Vincenzo (2005), transl. Traversa, Vincenzo. *Three Italian Epistolary Novels: Foscolo, De Meis, Piovene*: Translations, Introductions, and Backgrounds, at p. xii states, ‘Epistolary novels—novels written as series of letters—were extremely popular during the 18th century. Fictional epistolary narratives originated in their early form in 16th century England; however, they acquired wider renown with the publication of Richardson’s Pamela’.

\[173\] Samuel Richardson (19 August 1689 – 4 July 1761) was an 18th-century English writer and printer. He is best known for his three epistolary novels: Pamela: Or, Virtue Rewarded (1740), Clarissa: Or the History of a Young Lady (1748) and The History of Sir Charles Grandison (1753).

\[174\] Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded is an epistolary novel by Samuel Richardson, first published in 1740. It tells the story of a beautiful 15-year old maidservant named Pamela Andrews, whose country landowner master, Mr. B, makes unwanted advances towards her after the death of his mother, whose maid Pamela had been since age 12. Mr. B is infatuated with her, first by her looks and then her innocence and intelligence, but his high rank hinders him from proposing marriage.
copies of a work to be made rapidly. This further availability of information provided enabled greater scientific advancement as it meant that other people’s ideas were more readily available.\textsuperscript{175}

Just as the social and institutional context of reading tended to move from public and collective to private and individual, reader’s responses to texts developed accordingly. From the evidence of the writers of personal letters, diaries about reading experience from the eighteenth century onwards, men and women were less and less given to seek identifiable individuals, most often the author in books they read, while they came more and more to look for themselves. Over time, reader’s predispositions evolved from the expectation that the novel would present and explain external reality to the expectation for self-discovery.\textsuperscript{176}

However, these works were not novels as we know them today. The modern novel form developed in India in the nineteenth century, as Indians became familiar with the Western novel. The development of the vernacular languages, print and a reading public helped in this process. Leading novelists of the nineteenth century wrote for a cause. Colonial rulers regarded the contemporary culture of India as inferior. On the other hand, Indian novelists wrote to develop a modern literature of the country that could produce a sense of national belonging and cultural equality with their colonial masters.

Translations of novels into different regional languages helped to spread the popularity of the novel and stimulated the growth of the novel in new areas. As elsewhere in the world, in India too, the novel became a popular medium of entertainment among the middle class. The circulation of printed books allowed people to amuse themselves in new ways. Picture books, translations from other languages, popular songs sometimes composed on contemporary events, stories in newspapers and magazines - all these offered new forms of entertainment. Within this new culture of print, novels soon became immensely popular.

Jeevanadam noted that, through this education, people were analyzed their thoughts on the basis of knowledge. Because of that, people lost the interest on the epics and fable stories. These stories were prevailed among the people even though, it were cut off from people’s day-to-day life. They rejected these stories from their life. This was the one of the reasons for

\textsuperscript{175} A. P. Arasu, \textit{Acchukkalai}, pp.45-49
\textsuperscript{176} N. Pichamuthu, \textit{The Impact of Social Renaissance on the Novels of Dr. M. Varadarajan} (Madras, 1998) pp.78-82.
the flourishing of novel in Tamil society. In Tamil, for example, there was a flood of popular novels in the early decades of the twentieth century. Detective and mystery novels often had to be printed again and again to meet the demand of readers: some of them were reprinted as many as twenty-two times!

The novel also assisted in the spread of silent reading. We are so used to reading in silence that it is difficult for us to think that this practice was not very common in the past. As late as the nineteenth century and perhaps even in the early twentieth century, written texts were often read aloud for several people to hear. Sometimes novels were also read in this way, but in general novels encouraged reading alone and in silence. Individuals sitting at home or travelling in trains enjoyed them. Even in a crowded room, the novel offered a special world of imagination into which the reader could slip, and be all alone. In this, reading a novel was like daydreaming.

Many people got worried about the effects of the novel on readers who were taken away from their real surroundings into an imaginary world where anything could happen. Some of them wrote in newspapers and magazines, advising people to stay away from the immoral influence of novels. Women and children were often singled out for such advice: they were seen as easily corruptible.

Some parents kept novels in the lofts in their houses, out of their children’s reach. Young people often read them in secret. This passion was not limited only to the youth. Older women some of whom could not read - listened with fascinated attention to popular Tamil novels read out to them by their grandchildren a nice reversal of the familiar grandma’s tales! This trend is akin to what happened in England where to authenticate the following source is quoted, which is in the form of a letter which is an autobiographical sketch by the writer himself.

‘The sale of books in general has increased prodigiously within the last twenty years. The poorer sort of farmers and even the poor country people in general who before that period spent their winter evenings in relating stories of witches, ghosts, hobgoblins … now shorten the winter night by hearing their sons and daughters read them tales, romances, etc. If John goes to town with a load of hay, he is charged to be sure not to forget to bring home Peregrine Pickle’s Adventure … and when Dolly is sent to sell her eggs, she is commissioned to purchase, ‘The History of Pamela

\[177\] Jeevanadam, *Malarvizhi*, p.100
Andrews’. In short, all ranks and degrees now read. But this Q D Leavis investigates what has happened to the public taste in the last three centuries and what effect this has had on both the life of the nation and the equality of living for the individual.

But women did not remain mere readers of stories written by men; soon they also began to write novels. In some languages, the early creations of women were poems, essays or autobiographical pieces. In the early decades of the twentieth century, women in south India also began writing novels and short stories. A reason for the popularity of novels among women was that it allowed for a new conception of womanhood. Stories of love which was a staple theme of many novels showed women who could choose or refuse their partners and relationships. It showed women who could to some extent control their lives. Some women authors also wrote about women who changed the world of both men and women.

Oral literature or folk literature namely a genre of ‘Orature’ in Tamil called as, ‘நெல்முறை நூற்றாண்ட் கதைகள்’ (Thatha patti sonna kathaigal), which was only transmitted through orally and not by any print media which A.R. Venkatachalpathy speaks about the reversal in trend of the grand sons to their grandmother and to be put into his own words

‘The arrival of the novel on the Tamil culture scene, the silent mode of reading had emerged as a distinct, if not dominant, mode of reading. This is highlighted by the contrasting reading practices of the old and new generations. While K.N. Subramaniam read out aloud from the Bhagavatham to his grandmother, he slipped out

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179 Queenie Dorothy Leavis (7 December 1906 – 17 March 1981) was an English literary critic and essayist. Born in Edmonton, England, Leavis came from a Jewish family; her marriage to her Gentile husband F. R. Leavis caused a permanent rift with her relatives. Her Ph.D thesis, published under the supervision of I. A. Richards, became the book Fiction And The Reading Public (1932). Fiction and the Reading Public were influenced by Robert and Helen Lynd's book Middletown, the work of the anthropologist A. C. Haddon. To the world, FR Leavis and his wife, Queenie, were the most famous critics of their generation.


181 A R Venkatachalapathy is a historian, author and translator from Tamil Nadu, India who writes and publishes in Tamil and English who is currently a professor at the Madras Institute of Development Studies (MIDS), who is noted for collecting and publishing the works of Tamil writer Puthumappan, who received his PhD in History from Jawaharlal Nehru University in 1995 where his dissertation was titled "A Social History of Tamil Publishing, (1850–1938)"
the red novels alone and silence. Similarly, Pammal Sambanda Mudaliyar used to red out religious words to his ageing mother. The case of the grandmothers of Indira Partasarathy and Sujatha were ever more interesting. They listened to the novels of Arani Kuppuswamy Mudaliar (1867-1925), Vaduvoor Duraiswamy伊yengar (1880-1942) and Vai.Mu. Kottainayaki Ammal (1901-1956) as they were read out by their grandsons. Apart from the fact that this is an inversion of the grandma’s tale: the grandmothers being at the receiving and of stories with the advancement of print culture, it suggests that the literary genre (here, the novel) by itself didn’t determine the mode of reading.

To be more precise the old stories as narrated by grandmothers and grandfathers too has gained currency into print.

9. Emerging Trend

British political control over the Indian subcontinent began in 1757 and lasted until 1947. Inter-alias, the establishment of western type schools and the expansion of railway networks then the expansion of modern bureaucratic administration were to have crucial implications for the history of book. Due to the Wood’s Dispatch of 1854, freed from a traditional milieu, individuals increasingly sought the meaning of more freely available texts in deeply personal isolated acts. Stephen Evans speaks about the colonial impact on education especially on the vernacular languages which for ease is reproduced as noted below:

**Orientalism in British India**

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the East India Company gave little encouragement to educational development on the Indian subcontinent (Benson, 1972), and was particularly opposed to the introduction of English-language education on the grounds that the diffusion of Western knowledge and ideas might

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182 K. N. Subramanian, *Mathal Ainhu Tamil Novelgal*, p.ii
183 Pammal Vijayaranga Sambandha Mudaliar, who has been described as "the founding father of modern Tamil theatre", was a playwright, director, producer and actor of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth century’s.
184 Indira Parthasarathy, commonly known as Ee. Paa. Is the pen name of R. Parthasarathy is a noted Tamil language writer and playwright.
185 Sujatha (3 May 1935 – 27 February 2008) was the pseudonym of the Tamil writer S. Rangarajan.
187 Meenakshi Mukherjee A.R. Venkatachalapathy(editors), *Early Novels in India in Fiction and Tamil Reading Public*, Sahitya Akademi 2002 p 98.
188 காழ்நீர் ஓரான், தாதா பாட்டி ஊர்த்தி ஓக்கியால் (Thatha patti sonna kathaigal) Bharathi puthagaalayam (2013), தாதா பாட்டி ஊர்த்தி ஓக்கியால், Thatha-patti Sonna Kathai, Dr. D. Rajamma,
189 Letter of the Principal of late University Board regarding the proposed Vernacular Normal Classes (Appendix No. X) Report of the Director of Public Instruction 1854-55 (St. George Gazette Press, Madras, 1855)
190 English Language Centre, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hung Hom, Hong Kong
exert a subversive influence on traditional Indian society and culture (David, 1984; Rahim, 1986). During this period, Government-sponsored initiatives in education, such as the establishment of the Calcutta Madrasa and the Sanskrit College, were exclusively concerned with the promotion of Oriental learning in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian (Spear, 1938). The East India Company’s modest patronage of traditional Oriental studies was one manifestation of the prevailing policy of Orientalism, which was the official ideology of British India from the time of Warren Hastings (1773–85) until the arrival of the liberal reformer William Bentinck (1828–35), whose Governor-Generalship witnessed a decisive shift towards Anglicism in official circles (Rosselli, 1974). 191

He further adds as noted below:

‘Despite growing pressure for the introduction of English-language education, during the first two decades of the 19th century British education policy in India retained a predominantly Orientalist character. Influenced by Hastings’ policy of conciliation and accommodation, administrators such as Munro, Malcolm and Elphinstone believed that Britain’s mission in India was to reinvigorate rather than replace Indian civilisation, and to this end argued that education policy should be directed towards the improvement of Oriental studies for the influential classes in society. Though convinced of the superiority of Western learning, officials in the 1820s believed that European arts and sciences should be gradually ‘engrafted’ onto traditional Indian education for the learned elites, who would then act as cultural intermediaries between the British and the masses.’ 192

Further the author demonstrates the approach of the Colonial era as follows:

‘The simple question before the British authorities was whether, when it was in their power to teach English, they would instead teach languages in which there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own, whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, wherever they differ from those of Europe differ for the worse, and whether, when we can patronise sound Philosophy and true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English furrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made of seas of treacle and seas of butter.’ (p. 1406) 193

It is Wood’s despatch that seemed to make senses is reeled by the author’s noting:

‘Wood’s Despatch Perhaps the most significant feature of the 1841 despatch was the key role assigned to the vernacular languages in the diffusion of European learning. This increasing interest in vernacular education was an inevitable consequence of the search for common ground by the Orientalists and Anglicists in the aftermath of Macaulay’s Minute. As we have seen, advocates from both parties broadly agreed on

192 Ibid.
193 Ibid at p. 270-271
the desirability of enriching the Indian vernacular languages and employing them as instructional media. This emerging consensus over the need to promote vernacular education paved the way for the policy set out in Wood’s Despatch (1854), the so-called Magna Carta of British education in 19th century India (Moore, 1965).”

Hence it could be concluded that until of the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919, Wood’s Despatch formed the basis of British language policy on the subcontinent where the 1991 Act transferred control of education to Indian ministers and the provincial legislatures. He concludes as

‘The Effects of British Language Policy in India The half-century which followed the promulgation of Wood’s Despatch witnessed a rapid increase in the number of English/Anglo-vernacular secondary schools under the auspices of state-assisted missionary societies and (particularly) private Indian organisations. Curzon’s review resulted in the formulation in 1904 of a government resolution on education policy, which inter alia sought to invigorate vernacular education along the lines envisaged in Wood’s Despatch. It is worth quoting at length from the resolution’s position on language policy since the problems it describes and the principles it espouses were to be repeated in other British colonial contexts during the course of the 20th century.

It has never been part of the policy of the Government to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. It is true that the commercial value which a knowledge of English commands, and the fact that the final examinations of the high schools are conducted in English, cause the secondary schools to be subjected to a certain pressure to introduce prematurely both the teaching of English and its use as a medium of instruction; while for the same reasons the study of the vernacular in these schools is liable to be thrust into the background. This tendency however requires to be corrected in the interest of sound education. As a general rule a child should not be allowed to learn English as a language until he has made some progress in the primary stages of instruction and has received a thorough grounding in his mother-tongue.’

To be honest British till the beginning of 20th century did not take care of education system and for this the words of Lakshmi Iyer is quoted below:

‘Historical descriptions also indicate that at least some native states were greatly committed to investments in education and health during the colonial period. For instance, the native state of Mysore carried out smallpox vaccination as early as 1806.

194 Ibid at p. 276
195 Government of India Act of 1909 is also known as Morley- Minto Reforms, where the law allowed the Indians to take part in the election of the various legislative councils in India for the first time. The majority of this council was appointed by British Government. And also the constituency was limited to specific classes of Indian nationals.
196 Ibid by quoting (Hartog, 1939)
197 Ibid at p.277
198 Harvard Business School, Boston MA
The state of Travancore announced a policy of free primary education in 1817, whereas the East India Company decided to give assistance “to the more extended and systematic promotion of general education in India” only after the influential Dispatch written by Sir Charles Wood in 1854. The state of Baroda was probably the first to introduce compulsory primary education in 1892, while the British passed a compulsory education act in the nearby Central Provinces only in 1920. Roy (2000) also notes that “the British government did not build an effective mass education system.”

Thus books of curriculum could not have done any improvement in print culture till the advent of Government of India Act of 1909. With the spread of printing and literacy, particularly after the great innovations in printing technology in the later part of the nineteenth century, a widespread anxiety about one’s origins and connections to history became prevalent. Textbook histories were only devoted to those historical individuals and ideologies which supported the present political environment. British colonialism had made many inroads into indigenous society. Apart from the demand for printed materials that this created, the emergence of new social classes based on education and colonial occupations and professions decisively disrupted the material foundations of publishing. For the most part of the late 19th Century, publishing had been sustained by patronage of traditional and pre-colonial social groups like Zamindars, native princes, religious (especially Saivite) monasteries, landlords and caste leadership. By the 1890’s, these social classes were on the way out. Until a new, faceless and impersonal market could emerge, Tamil publishing floundered in search of patrons. In this regard it would be better to use the expression of Judith E. Walsh traces changing Indian gender relations and the social reconstructions of the late nineteenth century who has stated as,

“but it does demonstrate that by the twentieth century, colonial modernity- and the changed practices of daily and domestic life it represented- had made considerable inroads into indigenous, urban Hindu life.”

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201 Followers of Shaivam Tamil: பெருநெறி are called "Shaivas" (also "Saivas", "Shaivites" or "Saivarkal"), who believe that Shiva is All and in all, the creator, preserver, destroyer, revealer and concealer of all that is.


203 Judith E. Walsh Professor History & Philosophy at SUNY College at Old Westbury Old Westbury, Long Island, New York State University of New York.

Further to some extent the law curtailed the same, the Vernacular Press Act was passed in 1878 under the Governor General and Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton, for better control of Indian language newspapers. The purpose of the Act was to control the printing and circulation of seditious material, specifically that which could produce disaffection against the British Government in India in the minds of the masses. The act excluded English-language publications. It elicited strong and sustained protests from a wide spectrum of the Indian populace. The law were repealed in 1881 by Lytton’s successor as viceroy, Lord Ripon (governed 1880–84). However, the resentment it produced among Indians became one of the catalysts giving rise to India’s growing independence movement. Among the act’s most vocal critics was the Indian Association (founded 1876), which is generally considered to be one of the precursors of the Indian National Congress (founded 1885). Thus the prevailing law between 1878-1881 was also a cause for non growth of books in vernacular language and Madras Presidency cannot be an exception to it.

The silent mode of reading did not displace other modes of reading, given the socio-cultural matrix in which it emerged and functioned. The silent mode of reading was the essentially the cultural practice of colonial middle class, a product of colonialism, an inherently weak class. Though it harboured hegemonic aspirations, it was never able to achieve hegemony over Tamil society. The inability of the middle class to impose its mode of reading upon the lower classes of society is yet another sign of the failure of its hegemonic project. Literacy had been the preserve of small religious, political and social elite who used their mastery of the printed word, in part at least, to maintain of the illiterate.\textsuperscript{205} Living memory for the masses had become demeaned as inaccurate, and ‘untruthful’. As a sentimental nostalgia by the general public for the past increased, they realized that their previously conceived notions of connection to a well spring of meaning were quickly evaporating. That which was unique or outstanding in a life was forever lost. Having some physical object such as the printed word, which existed outside of memory and time like an elaborate gravestone, became a popular pursuit. It is better to borrow the words of Jack Goody\textsuperscript{206} and Ian Watt\textsuperscript{207} who speak about the

\textsuperscript{205} C.A. Baylay, \textit{Empire and Information-Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India 1780-1870} (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

\textsuperscript{206} Sir John (Jack) Rankine Goody who is a British social anthropologist, has been a prominent teacher at Cambridge University, and has pioneered the comparative anthropology of literacy, attempting to gauge the preconditions and effects of writing as a technology.

\textsuperscript{207} Ian Watt (9 March 1917 – 13 December 1999) was a literary critic, literary historian and professor of English at Stanford University, where his second major trend that centred around is the "rise of the reading public" and the growth of professional publishing during his period.
consequences of Literacy who also quotes Bertha Phillpotts\textsuperscript{208} as noted below:

‘First, because although the alphabet, printing, and universal free education have combined to make the literate culture freely available to all on a scale never previously approached, the literate mode of communication is such that it does not impose itself as forcefully or as uniformly as is the case with the oral transmission of the cultural tradition. In non-literate society every social situation cannot but bring the individual into contact with the group’s patterns of thought, feeling and action: the choice is between the cultural tradition and solitude. In a literate society, however, and quite apart from the difficulties arising from the scale and complexity of the "high" literate tradition, the mere fact that reading and writing are normally solitary activities means that insofar as the dominant cultural tradition is a literate one, it is very easy to avoid; as Bertha Phillpotts wrote in her study of Icelandic literature:

‘Printing so obviously makes knowledge accessible to all that we are inclined to forget that it also makes knowledge very easy to avoid... A shepherd in an Icelandic homestead, on the other hand, could not avoid spending his evenings in listening to the kind of literature which interested the farmer. The result was a degree of really national culture such as no nation of today has been able to achieve.’\textsuperscript{209}

To borrow the words of Stuart Blackburn who had said that print did not stimulate new about language and literature, and later in the nineteenth century, printed books and journals helped to educate, to inform and to express the public opinion. Print enabled new users of folklore, in schools and in national debates. It would be better to borrow the word of Benedict Anderson which Sumathi Ramaswamy\textsuperscript{210} quotes before conclusion as noted below:

‘Print helped its standardization and homogenization of Tamil, and granted it is a visible continuity with an ancient remote past that it resurrected. It ushered in new discursive style, modes of punctuation, and syntax, genres of literature, transformation in script, and new ways of relating to language as something seen and read, rather than merely heard. Like the modern nation, the devotional community was its core of print community, a network of Tamil speakers who were also now readers and consumers of language, “connected through print.”\textsuperscript{211}

Thus Print helped its standardization and homogenization of Tamil that has enhanced the numbers of the readable community that is the cause of the Print culture to improve by itself and improved the quality of the thinking of the common man.

\textsuperscript{208} Dame Bertha Surtees Phillpotts (1877–1932) was an English scholar in Scandinavian languages, literature, history, archaeology and anthropology.

