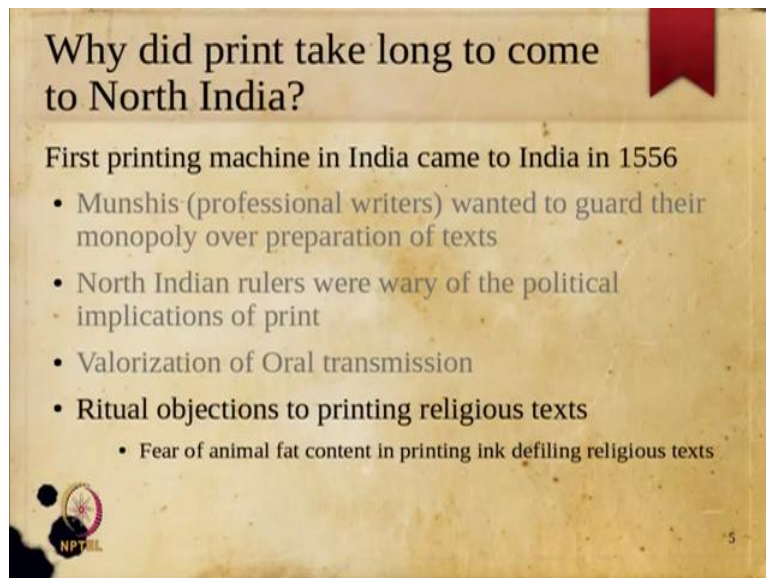**Text, Textuality and Digital Media**
Professor Arjun Ghosh
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Lecture 19
Publishing in Hindi and Urdu

Whereas Bengal was the first real territory where the British had their influence and therefore the growth of print also commenced from Bengal. It is the northern part of the country where we see print having grown a greater degree in the 19th century, second only to Bengal, and therefore in this lecture we will look at publishing in Hindi and Urdu the growth of publishing in Hindi and Urdu in the Northern India.
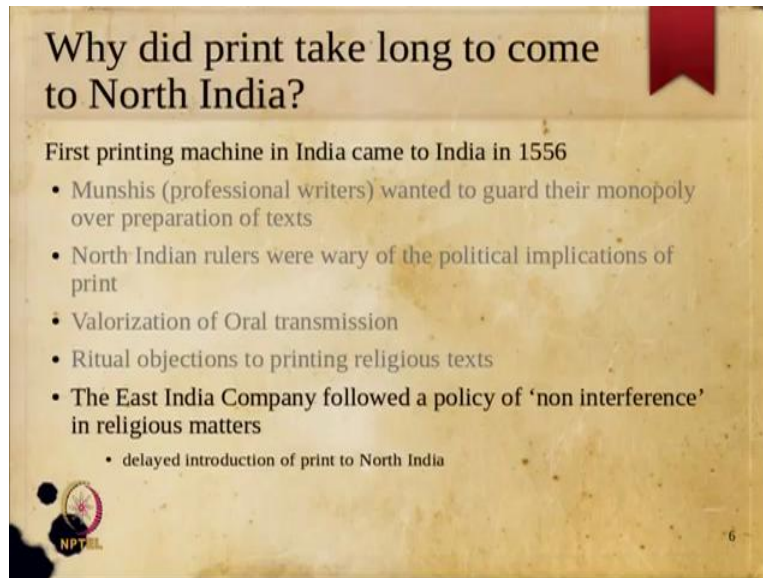
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Now, print did come late to North India and what are the reasons for it? Though the first printing machine did come to India in 1556 the reasons that scholars have noted is that the professional writers or the Munshis they wanted to guard their monopoly over a preparation of text and said they would not cooperate or they would not give over their manuscripts for the purpose of printing and certainly there was printing which was being undertaken by the missionaries and by the British administration but we are merely we are talking about a growth of print culture within the Indian population undertaken by Indians.

The other thing was that the North Indian rulers, they were extremely unsure remember, it is this territory which held out against the British for a long period of time. These North Indian rulers were weary of the political implications of print whether they will be overrun by the Europeans politically. And there was also a valorisation of oral transmission.

The valorisation of oral transmission prevented the growth of acceptability of print as a vehicle for the communication of particularly religious texts and this was also tied to the idea but there were ritual objections to the printing of religious texts because people feared that the printing ink contained animal fat and that would defile the religious texts. So, there were these objections to religious texts.

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On the other hand, the East India Company was weary of ruffling feathers and followed a policy of non-interference in religious matters and this delayed the introduction of print to North India in a more civilian method, till very early on, most of the printing of texts which were meant for distribution in the Northern provinces where taking place directly from Bengal, from Calcutta, from Shreerampur.

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But which were the early earliest areas in which printing did start in North India? Where primarily you look at the cantonment towns, you had Lahore and some of Agra and some of the other towns.

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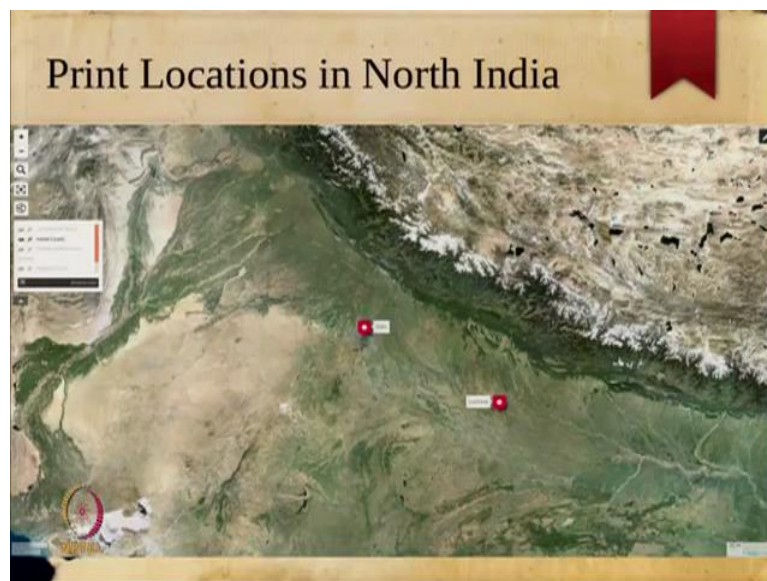
And you also had some of the towns which were the Indian courts which very early on started publication and this included Delhi and Lucknow, Lucknow as the seat of Awadh where some of the patrons did encourage a certain amount of printing.

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And you also had the missionary towns, some of the cantonment towns also had missionary activity and you also had Ludhiana.

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And you also had some of the Mufassal towns.
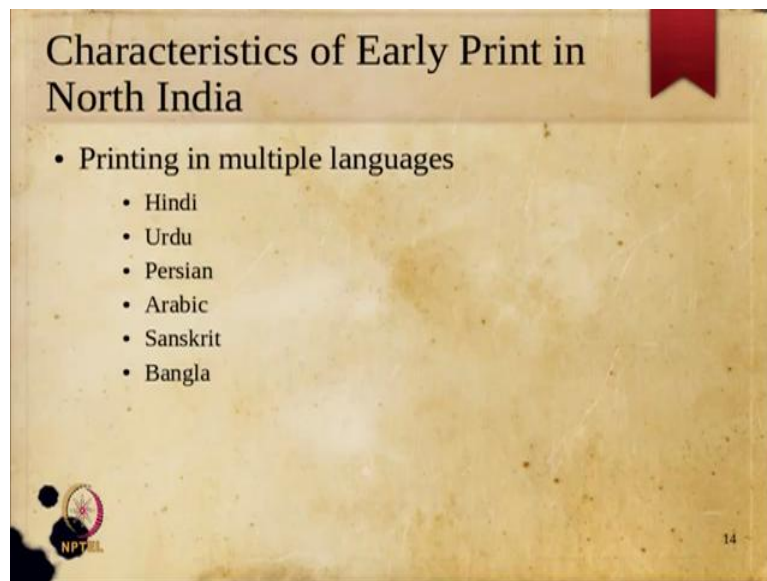
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And you also had some pilgrimage places like Mathura and Banaras.

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So, that was by and large the area where printing was-- these were primarily the kind of towns where printing was taking place in North India.

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However one of the characteristics of early printing in North India was that printing was happening in several languages, in multiple languages, this was a land where many people's lived, various communities lived and printing in various languages which were there, people from various strata would speak in various languages, Persian and Arabic were the erstwhile administrative languages of the Mughals and the other rulers, and Hindi and Urdu were the language which was of everyday use of the people.

Sanskrit was the language of scholars of scriptural texts in Hindu scriptural texts and there was a large Bangla Bengali population of course, because much of the British administration was also staffed by people from Bengal.

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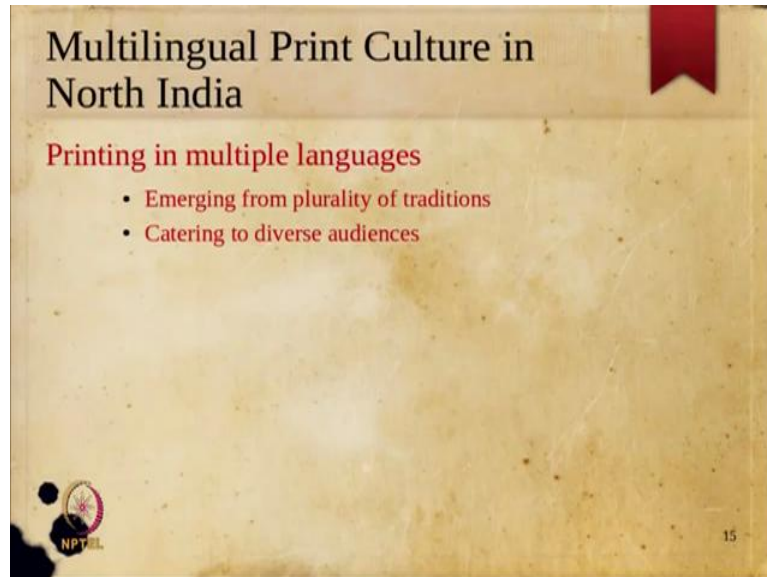
So there was this culture of multilingual printing in North India and they emerged from a plurality of traditions and catered to diverse audiences.

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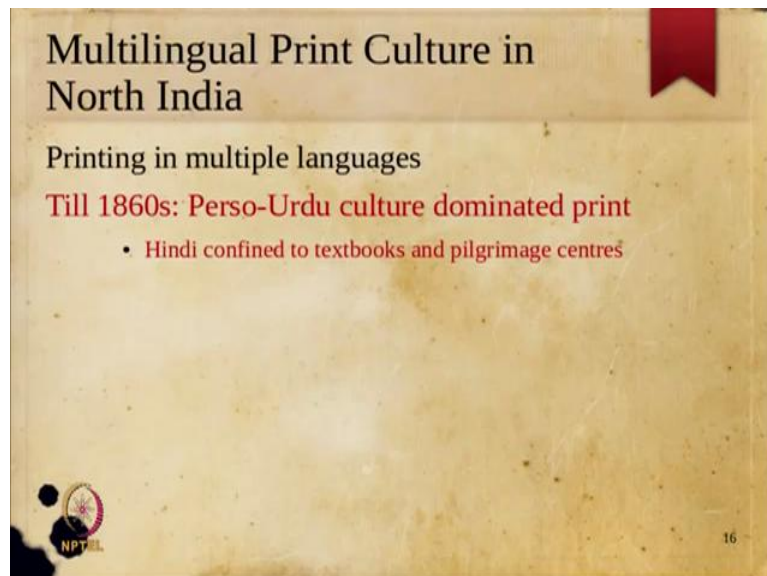
Till 1860s, whatever printing took place, the Perso-Urdu culture dominated print, Hindi was confined to textbooks and in the pilgrimage centres of Mathura and Banaras where people would be interested in buying books in Hindi, both religious and various kinds of stories and

other songs and other books which would be purchased, but Hindi really took, came about into its own only after the 1860s through the efforts of certain individuals whom we are going to talk about in the course of the lecture.

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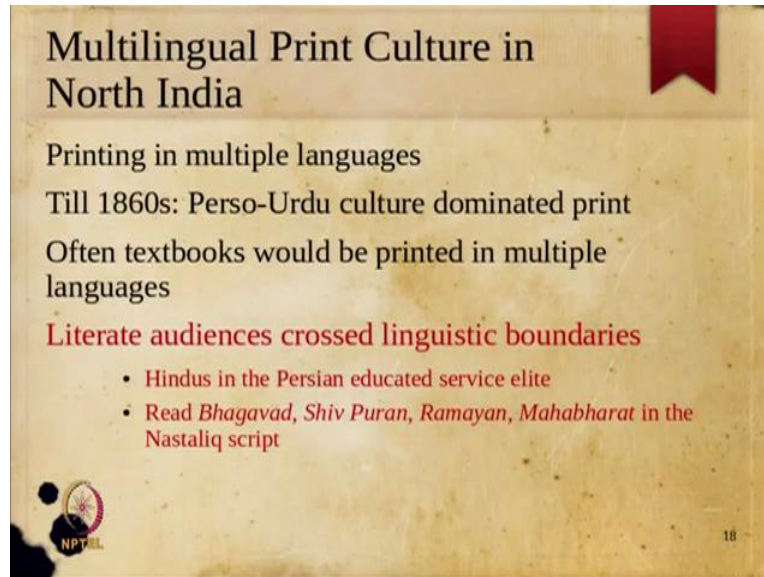
Often textbooks would be printed in multiple languages, in several languages a single textbook would be printed, that of course, happens even today, several publishers would be publishing the same text in various different languages, the British were doing that centrally from Calcutta producing books in multiple Indian vernaculars in order to ensure a certain reach.

Now, the other thing that would happen is that literate audiences would cross linguistic boundaries, there would be people who would have access to multiple languages, in fact, that is the way in which before the coming of print many scholars, poets, writers would actually be writing in languages across linguistic boundaries, they could be addressing different audiences when they are writing different things and they certainly had access to vocabulary, the script, of different languages.

Certainly speaking of this particular region, since this was a kind of an administrative centre for the Mughal Empire as well as for Awadh and other small other territories where the elite, administrative elite, the administrative language, Persian was the language of administration. So, the Hindus who would be working in these administration, they would be educated in Persian, they would be aware of the Nastaliq script and they would be able to access texts both in Perso, Persian, Urdu and as well as Hindi.

In fact, some of these administrative elite, they would read various Hindu scriptures and texts like the Bhagavad or the Shiv Puran or the Ramayana and the Mahabharat in the Nastaliq script as well. So, that is the nature of the multilingual print.

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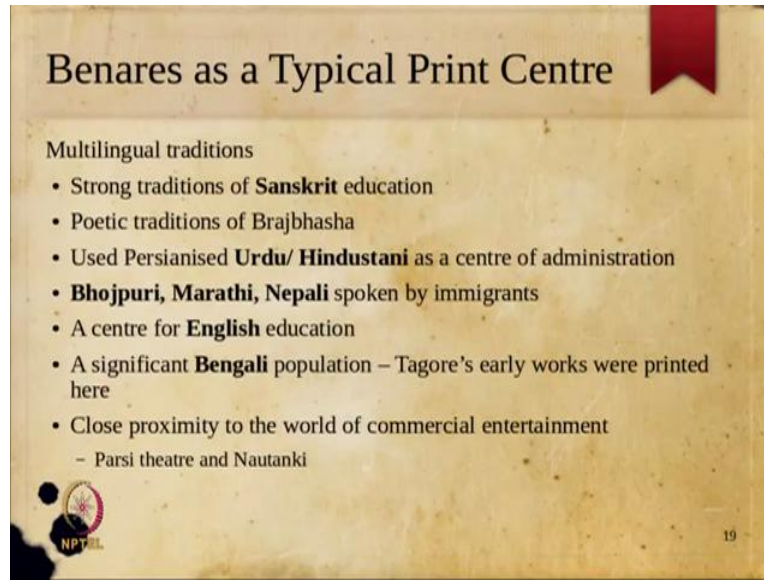
Now, Francesca Orsini zeros down on Banaras as a typical print centre, specifically because it works well with the overall North Indian ethos of being one of multilingual traditions, it had strong tradition of Sanskrit education, it had to be the poetic traditions of Brajbhasha and also which was an important language of literary production in this particular region.

So, used Persianised Urdu, Hindustani as a centre of administration, not Persian but more Urdu, Hindustani which was of course, adaptation, which is the language which is born on the street, in the bazaar, in the cantonment towns, through daily use. And because a large number of people who were engaged in daily activities, were knowledgeable in Persian, a lot of Persian words would seep into the everyday language as well.

There were immigrants, there were migrants who would come to these territories, these large cities, Agra and Mathura and Banaras, Lucknow, Delhi because these were important administrative centres and they would be looking for work. So, and they brought their own language with them, Bhojpuri, Marathi, Nepali were also spoken in Banaras.

It was a centre of education and it was English education, English was also an important language. As we have already noted, this city also had a significant Bengali population, in fact some of Tagore's early works were printed here and finally, it is a very important cultural

centre because of the close proximity to the world of commercial entertainment, Banaras was the centre for Parsi theatre as well as for nautanki.

So, there was a lot of movement between print and these performance forms, the songs from popular plays would become ready material and have a commercial value a saleability within the print market.

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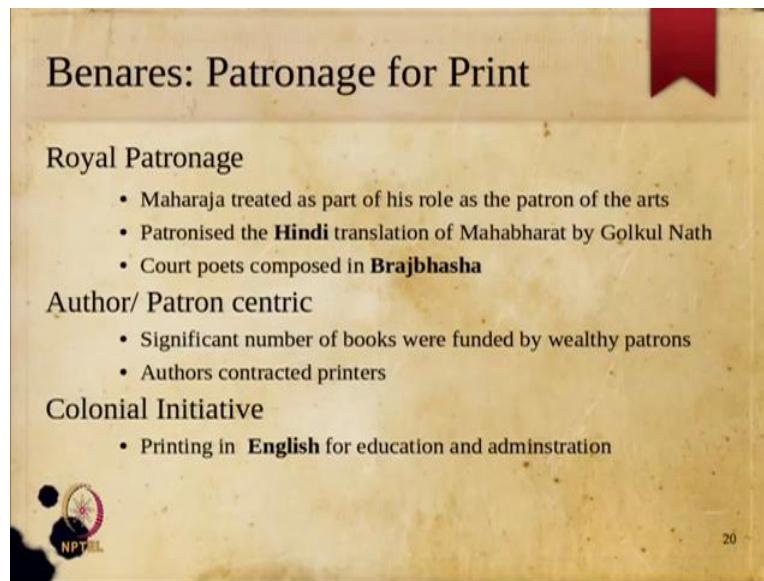
And the patronage for printing that is provided in Banaras was primarily encouraged through three sources. First, you had the royal patronage, the Maharaja of Banaras he treated print as part of his role of the patron of the Arts. In fact, he patronized the Hindi translation of the Mahabharata by Golkul Nath and he had court poets, there were poets who under his patronship composed poetry in Brajbhasha as well.

Now, one very interesting bit about this is that unlike the conventional idea that it is the printers who are looking for books, we saw that in the European context, where the printers were constantly in the lookout for books or manuscripts material, to be able to be printed and distributed. In this particular case, it was the authors who contacted printers, authors who wrote and wanted to get their work published, they would go and contact the printers or they themselves would take to printing and sometimes a significant number of books were funded by wealthy patrons.

The printers themselves were not to at the helm of affairs unless it is the authors who themselves become printers and encourage a certain kind of literary production. And the third,

of course, is the colonial initiative; it is a British period, so the colonizer is always there. So, printing occurred in English for education and for administration.
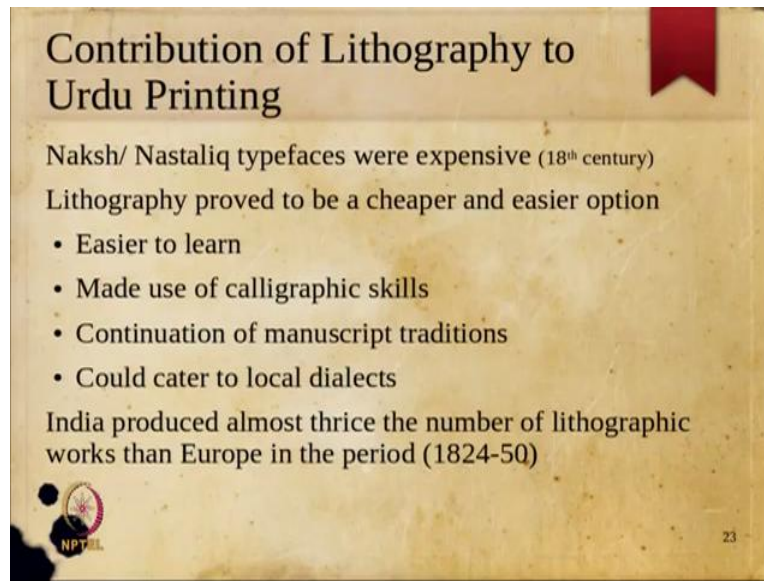
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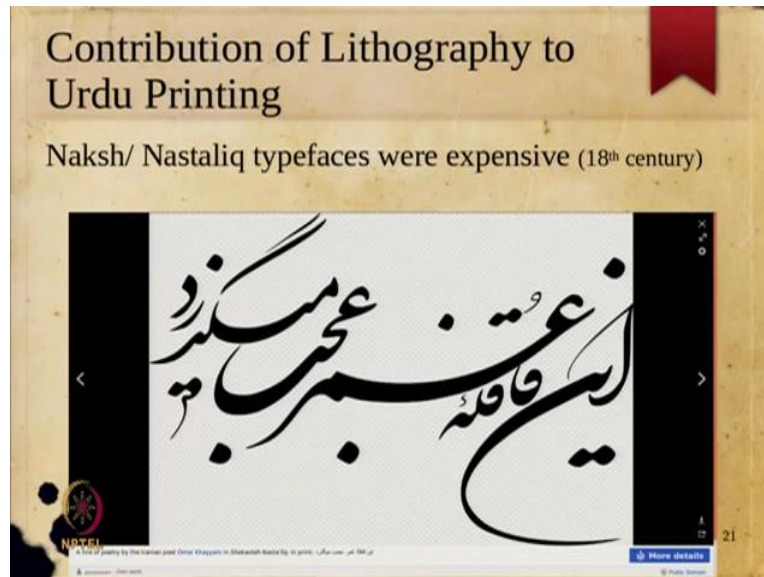
An important point which we need to note here is that a large role was played in the printing industry in this Northern part of India through lithography. Now, because the Naksh or the Nastaliq typefaces which we used for Persian or Urdu books were very expensive, they were very difficult to produce. Therefore, when Lithography was introduced, that helped.

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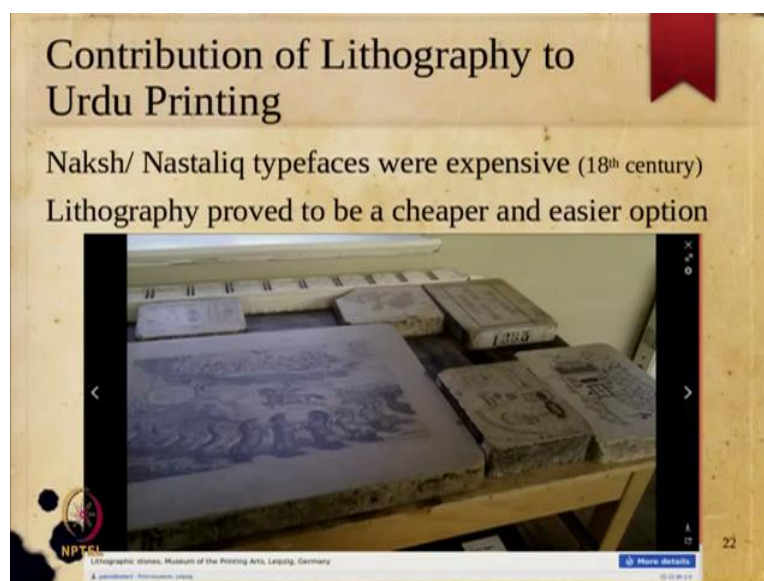
Now, what is Lithography really? Lithography was a cheaper and easier option where they could use through inscriptions on a stone and that becomes the way to print various forms.

And it is a skill which is easier to learn and people made use of the skills of calligraphers. Calligraphy was a very important art within the manuscript culture and that calligraphic skill came into use only thing, on the stone it had to be done in mirror image and it led to a continuation of manuscript traditions, and because it was not a typeface which was very difficult to produce, it could cater to local dialects.

It could cater to some specific inflections which might be there in language, and they did not have to have because if typefaces were expensive only a few print centres will have it, a few presses would have access to these typefaces and they would control the centralization of language that would be there. Whereas in the case of Urdu publishing, what took place was that because every printer could get a lithograph graphic master produced, they could cater to the local dialect.

So, interesting fact here that India produced almost thrice the number of lithographic works than Europe in this particular period between 1824 and 50, shows Northern India took to lithography because it allowed the continuation of a certain manuscript tradition which was already very-very vibrant.

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The market for these kind of works that were produced where a three-tiered market, we had the pilgrims, the artisans and the shopkeepers who purchased religious books, Qissas (stories), narrative poems, and novels, sorry romances, the astrology manuals, there were cheap lithographies produced, not very high quality lithographies, often printed on cheap paper available in the market.

So, this was the lowest rank of the market but the largest market. So, the volume was very high, though the price of individual is not producing very expensive books, not very high quality books but in very-very large numbers with greater amounts of distribution.

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The second tier, the middle tier of the market was that of merchants and students who would look at reading of poetry in Brajbhasha or other modern forms of literature which was more European forms of literature, even novels.

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And the highest level of sophisticated reading, the clerics and the clerks, they would read religious books and law books, education, and books on medicine, high quality lithography, superior binding and finish, so the product is that. So, that is the kind of highly priced and these are the three kinds of markets which were prevalent and books were printed accordingly and certain printers would cater to specific markets.

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In North India journals and newspapers played a major role more than it did in Calcutta, which was centred around books. In North India, printing was primarily centred around newspapers but these newspapers are not what present day newspapers were. In these newspapers, articles would be based on letters from friends and correspondents and editors would write their articles on the basis of these letters.

They were not exactly new stories, they would sometimes carry translations from English newspapers so they were not newsworthy but they managed to transmit to the local population, to the vernacular population and 1890s onwards there were literary magazines which helped regulate demand, made sure that books are sold, there is a ready audience for them and helped distribution of texts.

So the serialization of novels and other printing of stories gained a great impetus through these literary magazines which came into being.

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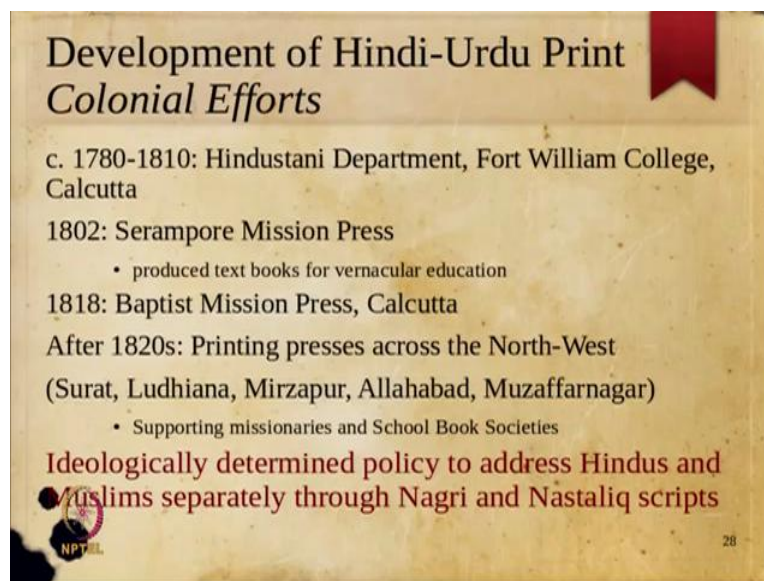
Now, if we look at the development of the machinery, the kind of structures of Hindi-Urdu printing, we find that the efforts of course, began with the colonizers as well as the missionaries. So, one very important source was the Hindustani Department in Fort William College which provided the bedrock for the administrators, this is an institution set up in Calcutta and that was in the very late 18th, early 19th century and the missionaries had the Baptist Mission Press in Shreerampur which produced textbooks for vernacular education, as well as in Calcutta.

And after 1820s you had the printing presses across the North West you had presses in Surat, Ludhiana, Mirzapur, Allahabad, Muzaffarnagar and these presses supported both the missionaries as well as the school board societies. Now, one important point and we should explore this point a little bit more later on in the lecture is that, there was an ideologically determined policy already to address Hindus and Muslims separately through Nagri and Nastaliq scripts.

So, when they wanted to address a Hindu population, the colonizers used the Nagri script, whereas when they addressed the Muslim population they would use the Nastaliq script, and that would lead to a distinction between the two communities which had very far reaching effects in the history of the subcontinent.

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Development of Hindi-Urdu Print
Indigenous Efforts

1810: Nizam of Hyderabad acquired press (not much used)

1817: Ghaziuddin Haidar of Avadh, Lucknow

1820s: first Hindi and Urdu newspapers from Calcutta

1822: Persian weekly *Mirat-al-Akhbar* by Raja Rammohan Roy

1822: first Urdu paper *Jam-e Jahan Numa* by Harihar Datt

1826: first Hindi paper *Udant Martand* (Rising Sun) from Calcutta by Jugal Kishore

What were some of the indigenous efforts? The Nizam of Hyderabad acquired a press but did not much use it, Ghaziuddin Haidar of Lucknow set up a press in 1817, 1820s the first Hindi and Urdu newspapers were published from Calcutta, Raja Rammohan Roy would be publishing a Persian weekly. The first Urdu paper, 1822, by Harihar Datt and as well as the first Hindi paper was published from Calcutta by Jugal Kishore in 1826.

So, you see that a large part of the part of the indigenous efforts as well as the colonial efforts actually began from Calcutta principally because we understand that the rulers of this particular region were not very welcoming of the printing technologies and therefore the printing press could not be set up there. So, books would be printed in the colonial centre of

Calcutta and then they would be distributed to the rest of the world, rest of the subcontinent in efforts to prefer administration as well as political intervention.

So, we know that the British had mastery of this region, after the 1850s, after the first war of independence or the mutiny that takes place in 1857 and that is really the time when print really takes off in this particular place.
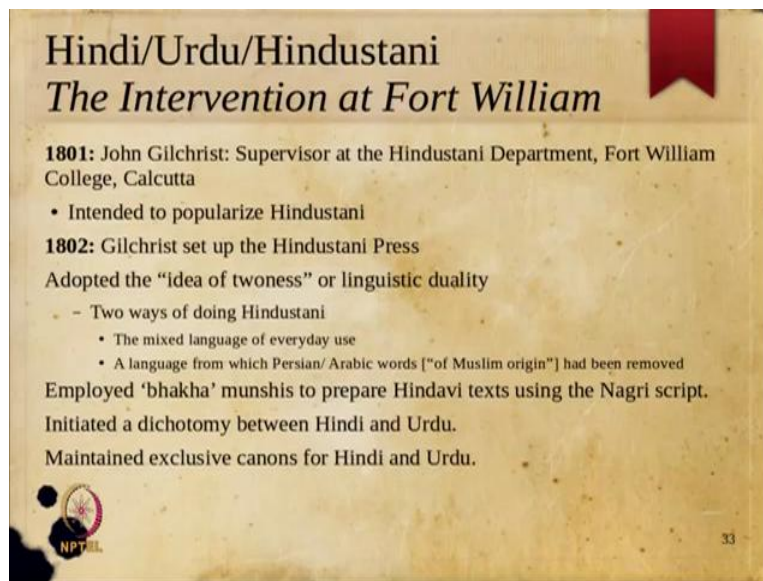
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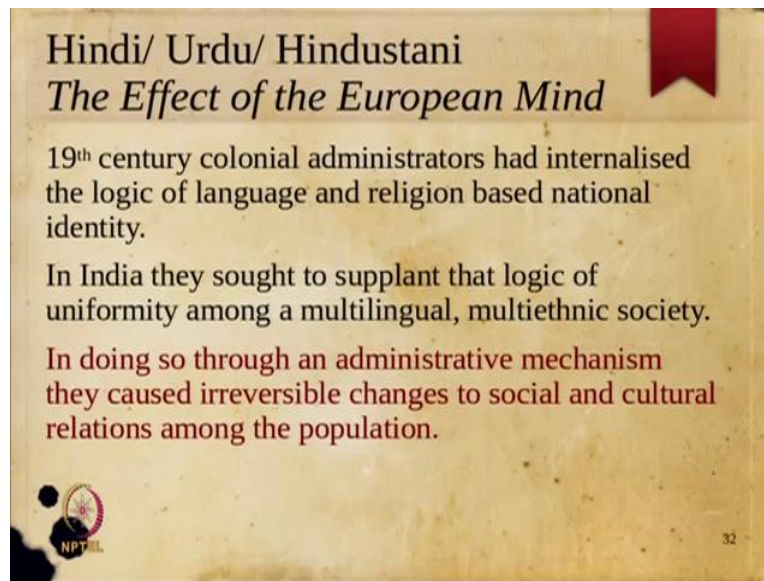
Now, we shall turn to this question of the choice of the script. So, this distinction between Hindi and Urdu or what was collectively called Hindustani was affected tremendously with the approach of the Europeans. The way the Europeans actually approached the language question, because we understand that the 19th century colonial administrators they emerged from Europe where national identities became the basis of the modern European nation states and these were linguistically defined the nation state, linguistic nationalism.

And this logic of language and religion based national identity, religion also played a very important role because certain of these nation states identified with either Protestantism or with Catholicism as we have seen in our lectures on print in Europe and they had internalized this logic of the language or religion based national identities.

In India, they sought to supplant that logic of uniformity among multilingual and multi-ethnic society, when they encounter in India they find that there are and what we have seen particularly in the case of North India it is a place where multiple languages are being spoken and used both by the elite as well as by the people and this was somewhere very difficult for the Europeans to be able to understand and make sense of as administrators.

So, they tried to supplant the European national uniformity, they were trying to look at the Indian people as multiple nationalities rather than a single which could possibly be true but the approach of trying to police and trying to solidify those changes instead of maintaining the flexibility that is inherent within an oral and manuscript universe which tried to be locked down and solidified, that created a certain set of irreversible changes which these administrative changes led to certain schisms within social and cultural relations in India and these changes were irreversible, they continue even today.

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And all this intervention, this administrative intervention really commenced from the printing in Fort William. In 1801, John Gilchrist was appointed the supervisor of the Hindustani Department in the Fort William College in Calcutta and his intention, he genuinely had an intention to popularize Hindustani printing and so he set up the Hindustani press in 1802 acquiring the typefaces and others but in order to, his entire guiding idea was that of an idea of two-ness or a linguistic duality.

So, he had realized that there are, what he understood was that there are two ways of doing Hindustani or Hindustani writing or printing, is that one language which is a mixed language of everyday use and the other is a non-mixed language, the language from which, there could be a language from which the Persian and Arabic words which he looked to as the words of Muslim origin had been removed.

So, there was this process of sanitization of Arabic and Persian words from Hindustani and replacing them with the Sanskrit words, so he managed and he supervised that process. So, he

employed certain Bhakha Munshis, who he assigned the task of preparing Hindavi texts using the Nagri script. So, this kind of sanitized Hindustani or Hindavi from which Persian and Arabic words would be removed, would use the Nagri script.

This initiated a dichotomy between Hindi and Urdu, what was earlier the same language, a mixture of the same language which is spoken by different people in different sorts of ways, now undergoes a cleavage and what Gilchrist did through the Fort William press, the Hindustani press was to maintain exclusive Canon, certain books, certain texts which were meant for more Hindu, Hindi audience and a Muslim and there were different texts which were made for Muslim mixed audience with Persian and Arabic words which he then termed as Urdu.

These were terms which were interchangeable terms but with Gilchrist these terms start getting differentiated.

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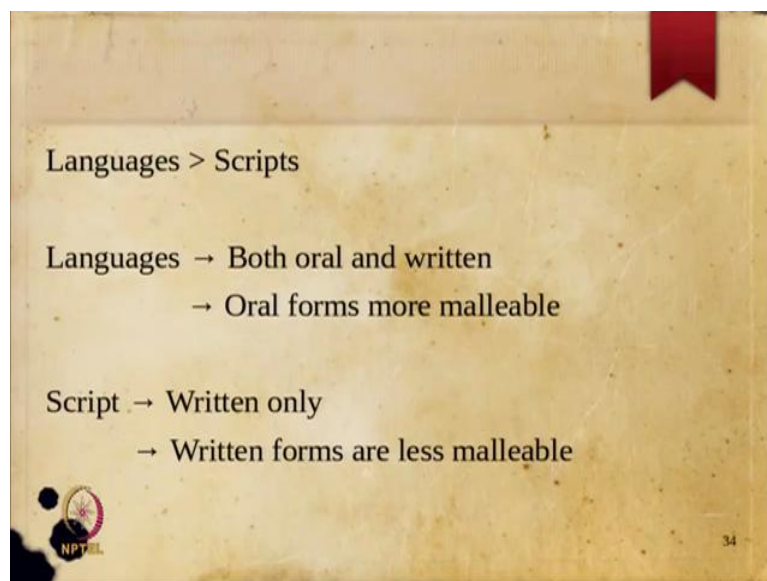
Now, we will just take a step back for a moment and try to understand that in the world as it exists today, there are more language than there are scripts. Sometimes a certain script can be used, certain alphabet can be used for multiple languages. We know, for example, very clearly in Europe, the various European languages, Italian, French, English they use the Roman script predominantly, Portuguese and Spanish as well, with a little give and take but by and large it is a Roman script that is followed.

In India too, we find that several languages have used the Nagri script, and the Brahmi script is followed by and large between Bengali and Assamese with some small changes and

certainly Manipuri also till very recently also used the Brahmi script for writing. So, there is historically no one on one correspondence between the language and the script, every language does not have a script of its own, every script is not always identified with a single language.

And this is something that takes place because of the history of development between oral and written languages, languages could be both oral and written, they could be written as well as for spoken communication, oral communication and oral forms certainly are more malleable will take different forms. So, there could be different languages, but when they are written down, the script is less malleable, it is a kind of fixed form and only certain communities have the literacy to be able to engage in manuscript production and manuscript transmission.

And therefore, the numbers of scripts are limited, there could be many languages in the world which would not have any script at all, there could be languages without an alphabet and would work perfectly fine because they would be engaging in oral transmission.
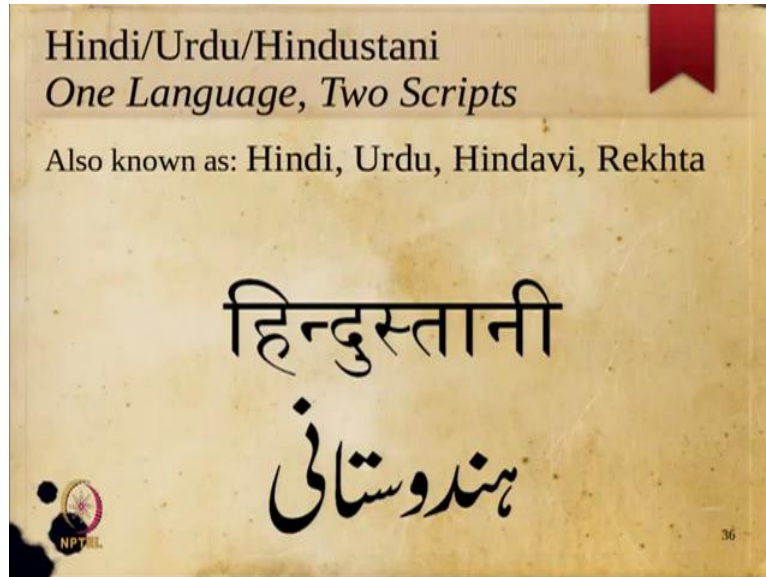
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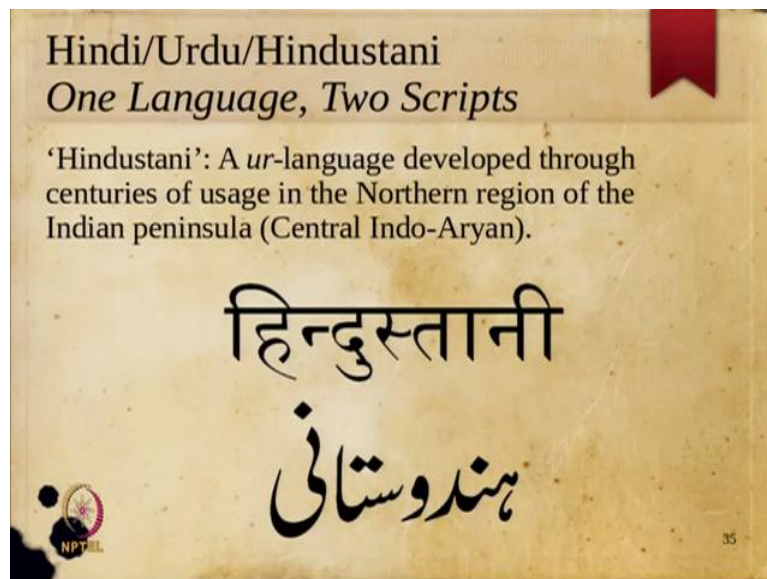
And specifically in the case of Hindi-Urdu or Hindustani, it is a case of one language with two scripts. So, Hindustani was a ur-language that developed through centuries of usage in the Northern region of the Indian Peninsula in the Indian subcontinent or the central Indo-Aryan region if we talk about the linguistic universe.

And we saw that there were people from various parts, various regions, various territories who came and settled here, through an interaction, through every day exchanges, they

developed a certain kind of a plebeian language which came to be known either as Hindi, Urdu or Hindustani and different scripts could be used for the writing of this language, both the Nagri script which is on the top and the Nastaliq script which was at the bottom, one could also use the Naskh script as well.

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This language had several names because this is a very large region, people called it Hindi, Urdu, Hindavi or Rekhta, multiple language.

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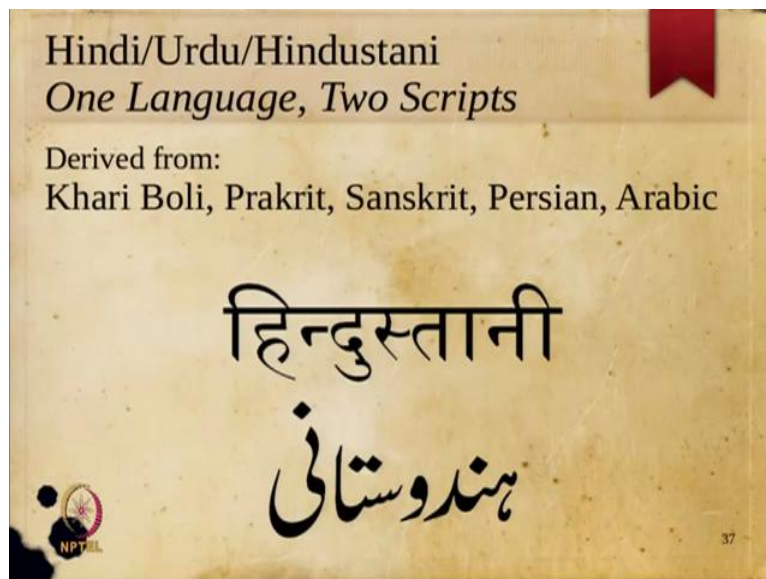
And these languages derived from multiple sources, multiple other languages which mixed together. So, Khari Boli or Prakrit or Sanskrit and Persian, Arabic, so people who were

trained in various languages would merge together and interact with each other and produce this language very much like the kind of language the youth speak in India today.

Many youth in the larger cities speak a mixture of Hinglish, Hindi and English or people could speak a mixture of Telugu and English or Tamil and English together, because you are constantly engaging in a universe where there are multiple languages which are used for different purposes, for administrative purpose, education, at home, in the bazaar and therefore, these languages then, people keep mixing the words, keep code switching and it produces a certain--

The base syntax remains of the language which is of plebeian origin but there is a lot of borrowing from some of the more powerful languages like English or Persian or Arabic and it becomes part of everyday usage, one is no longer able to recognize this language as a distinct from its previous versions, this takes a certain shape, the language takes a certain shape.

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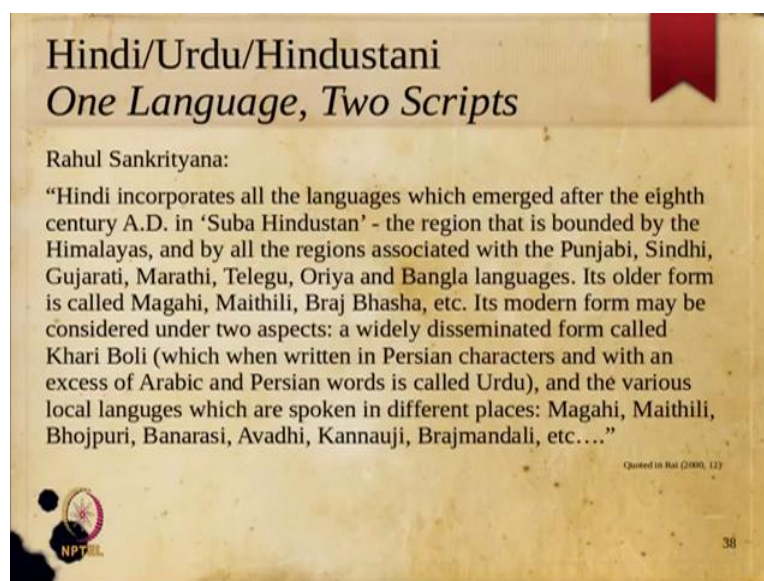
Now, let us see what Rahul Sankrityana, how he defined Hindi which is Hindi. He says, "Hindi incorporates all languages which emerged after the eighth century A. D. in 'Suba Hindustan' – the region that is bounded by the Himalayas and by all regions associated with Punjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi, Telugu, Oriya and Bangla languages. Its older form is called Magahi, Maithili, Brajbhasha, etcetera.

It is modern form may be considered under two aspects. A widely disseminated form called Khari Boli which when written in the Persian characters, that is the Nastaliq characters and with an excess of Arabic and Persian words, is called Urdu and the various local languages

which are spoken in different places Magahi, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Banarasi, Avadhi, Kannaujim and Brahmandali etcetera.

So, there would be certain localized inflections in specific areas but you can say that they are different languages but people can buy and large speak to each other and understand each other and that was basically the purpose so that people can engage in travel and trade with each other.

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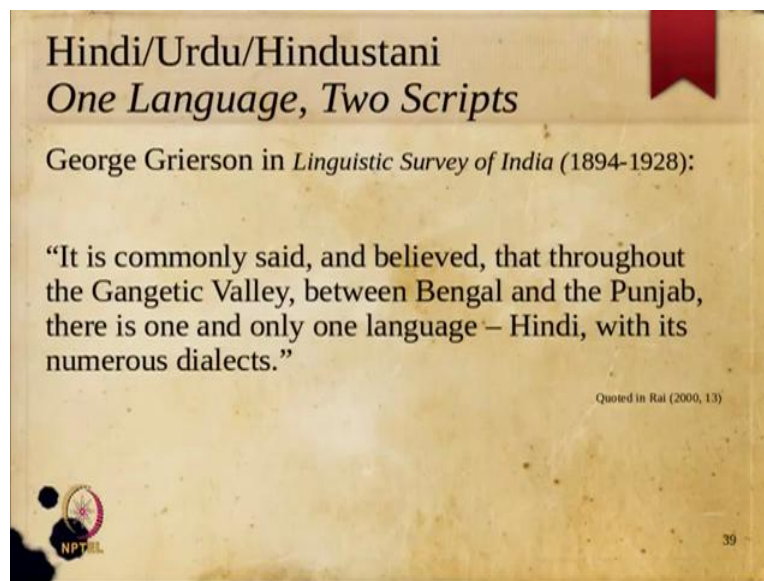
George Grierson who conducted the humongous Linguistic Survey of India across several years, he wrote that it is commonly said and believed that throughout the Gangetic valley between Bengal and Punjab, there is only one language that is Hindi with its numerous dialects. Now, we may disagree with this specific distinction between the main language and the dialects.

As we also noted in our lecture on Dastangoi how Vijaydan Detha, one of his principal aims of collecting the various stories was actually to question the hegemony of a larger Hindi language and let the Rajasthani language really come to fruition and flourish with its own culture. So, I think we will contest this distinction between a larger parent language and the various dialects which is actually each language, each local language is a language in its own right.

But the point taken from Grierson is that Grierson identifies this entire span of languages as Hindi as it would be.

Hindi/Urdu/Hindustani
One Language, Two Scripts

Syed Ahmed Khan (1869):

"All the way from Allahabad to Bombay, in villages and marketplaces and trains, with Government officials and peons of all departments and coolies everywhere, I conversed in Urdu – and everywhere people understood and replied in Urdu itself"

Quoted in Rai (2000, 13)

Hindi/Urdu/Hindustani
One Language, Two Scripts

George Grierson in *Linguistic Survey of India (1894-1928):*

"It is commonly said, and believed, that throughout the Gangetic Valley, between Bengal and the Punjab, there is one and only one language – Hindi, with its numerous dialects."
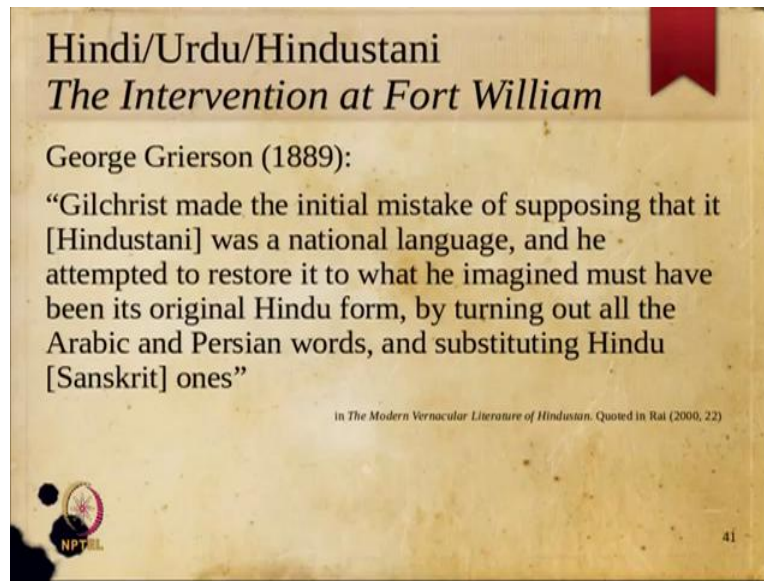
Quoted in Rai (2000, 13)

But on the other hand, the same region, Syed Ahmed Khan in 1869, when he travelled he noted that all the way from Allahabad to Bombay in villages and marketplaces and trains with government officials and peons of all departments and coolies everywhere I conversed in Urdu and everywhere people understood and replied in Urdu itself.

Now, the point is both Grierson and Syed Ahmed Khan, they are responding to the same language, one is identifying it as Hindi the other is identifying at Urdu because they are both talking about languages of everyday usage. So, really these are interchangeable terms talking about the same kind of language which is there.

Hindi/Urdu/Hindustani
The Intervention at Fort William

George Grierson (1889):

"Gilchrist made the initial mistake of supposing that it [Hindustani] was a national language, and he attempted to restore it to what he imagined must have been its original Hindu form, by turning out all the Arabic and Persian words, and substituting Hindu [Sanskrit] ones"

In The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan. Quoted in Rai (2000, 22)

However, Grierson also criticized Gilchrist, remember Gilchrist started this process of producing, maintaining different texts for Hindus and Muslims through the use of either the Nagri script or the Nastaliq script and Grierson says, "Gilchrist--" it is almost a100 years later that he is noting, but he says that, "Gilchrist made the initial mistake of supposing that Hindustani was the national language and he attempted to restore it to what he imagined must have been its original Hindu form by turning out all Arabic and Persian words and substituting Hindu Sanskrit ones.

So, what he said was Hindu really what he meant was Sanskrit. So, what we see is that this perspective that Gilchrist came about and certainly it is not an individual, but it is an entire colonial ideology which is emerging from a European administrative idea that a nation can have only one language and therefore, if there are many languages, certainly you are looking at different communities of people and they need to be addressed differently and in this way what the Europeans were really trying to do, what someone like Gilchrist was really trying to do, was trying to do justice, it was not an ulterior motive, it is something that-- he really wanted the development of Hindustani and thought the best way to do it is by actually speaking to different peoples in different scripts and through different languages because that is the know how that the European colonizer actually brought in.
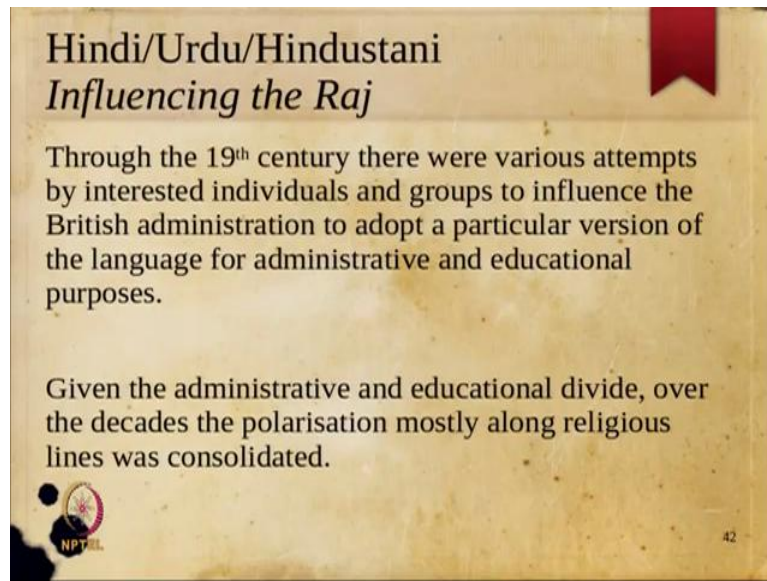
And in this way in the Raj, in the British Raj in the 19th century, when they were functioning, there were various attempts by interested individuals and groups to influence the British administration, to ask them to impress upon them the need to adopt a particular version of the language, this is coming from the Indians themselves.

And given the administrative and educational divide over the decades, this polarization mostly became mostly the polarization among religious lines, kept on getting consolidated till it became completely polarized. So, if you want to read more about it, please look at Alok Rai's wonderful text on Hindi nationalism where he actually looks at the details of these processes through which specific pressure interest groups and pressure groups approached the British administration to actually give credence to one language, one particular way of doing Hindi over another.

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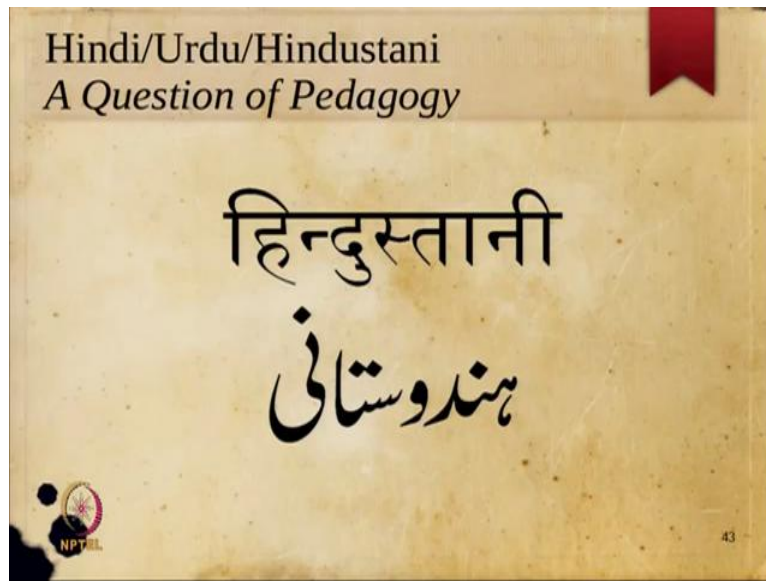
Now, pedagogy becomes very very important as we understand. Now, if you look at it Hindustani in both the scripts it becomes accessible only when you know both the scripts, they look interchangeable only when we look at both the scripts.

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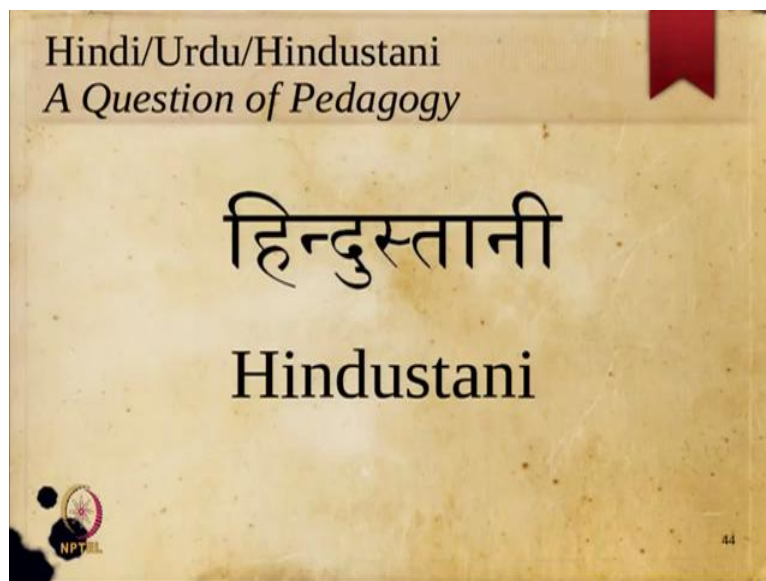
So, if we look at, for example, here also we are using two different scripts, but in modern day India where more people are likely to be able to read both the scripts and understand that they are basically talking about the same thing.
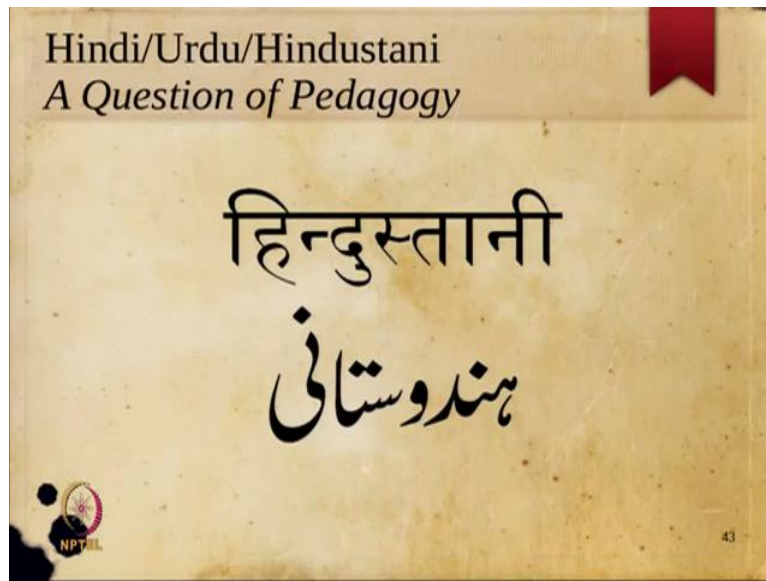
But because now you will find fewer and fewer number of people who are able to read both Nagri and Nastaliq that we do not even know what is written in that other language and it seems something that belongs to a very different-- in that other other script and it seems a very different language. But when the period that we are talking about, the late 18th and early 19th century this was a period where there was a certain elite like today there is an elite, who who would be bilinguals.

We as a country, we are a country of bilinguals, and we can understand some of us can speak more than two languages actually, we can read and understand three languages, each of us. So, there was an elite section in the late 18th and the early 19th century and well into the 19th century who could read both these scripts and could interchange between them.

Certainly in the speaking of it, it made not much of a difference and, in fact, if you can share this particular experience where if you listen to interviews conducted of speakers of sports people from Pakistan, very often, we would be able to people in India who understand Hindi, would be able to understand exactly what they are saying by and large most of it.

So, communication is a distinct possibility. So, in the oral, in the spoken, on the bazaar, in the shops, in the streets it is not a difficulty but pedagogically it becomes a difficulty if the training given to two different communities are very different on the basis of the difference of script, the same language then seems to be, I mean impossibly apart from each other as two different languages.
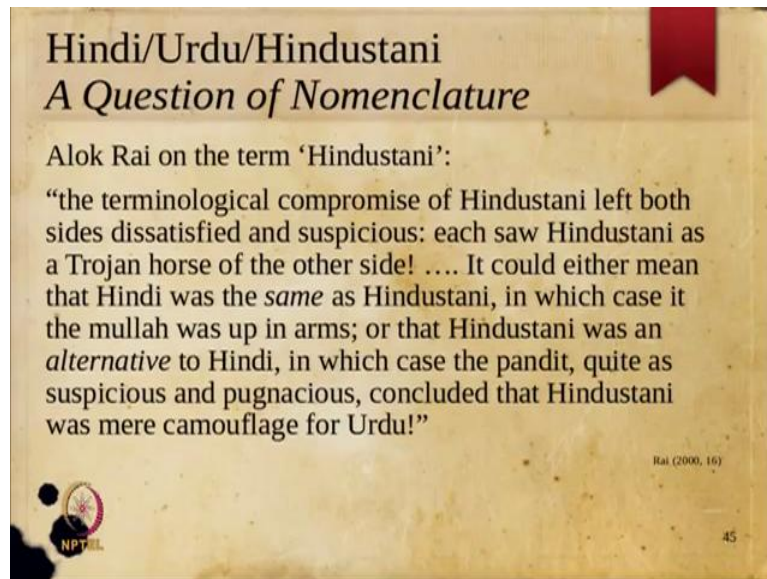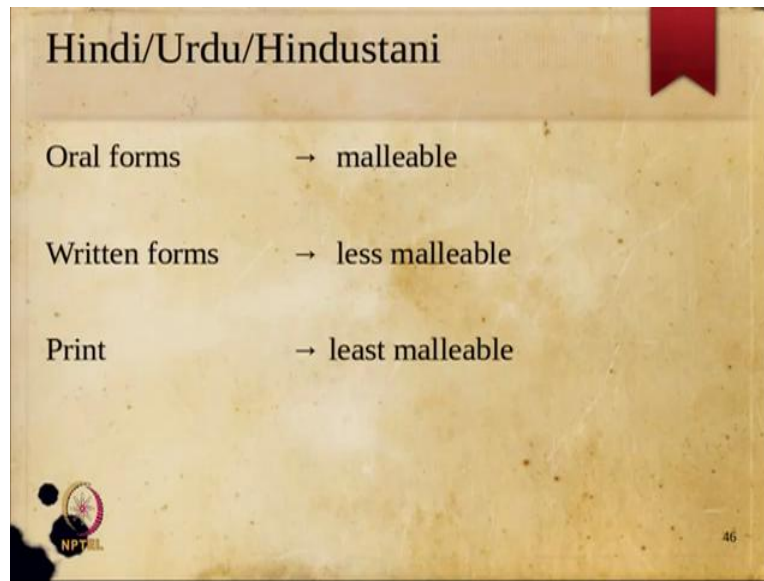
And this became a very, very political issue later on in the early 20th century and Alok Rai explains the tussle over the term Hindustani. This Hindustani as a term was looked upon as a "terminological compromise of Hindustani left both sides dissatisfied and suspicious: each saw Hindustani as a Trojan horse of the other side! It could either mean that Hindi was the same as Hindustani in which case the mullah was up in arms; or that Hindustani was an alternative to Hindi in which case the pundit, quite suspicious and pugnacious, concluded that Hindustani was a mere camouflage for Urdu."

And therefore these differences kept on growing and certainly Indian leaders and various interest groups played into this into the kind of atmosphere that was brought about by the colonial application of print.

But what I want to focus on for a moment is the role print plays in this kind of politics of language, this kind of politics of cleaving language into two, because oral forms are malleable, they can change according to-- there is a far more introduction. So, when we are speaking we can use a variety of different kind of languages but when you are writing we are more conscious, we try to use words which are spelled correctly, which are grammatically correct.

And whereas printed forms are the least malleable, because once it is printed and distributed hundreds of thousands of copies of particular book remain the same and most importantly the typeface that is available, the typeface that-- before even a book is printed there is a certain factory which is producing the typefaces for distribution among the various printing places, so it is the manufacture of the typefaces which also leads to a certain concentration of a certain kind of a linguistic expression.

And print being the least malleable then makes this border crossing which was the habit of language use within the Northern provinces impossible. Print sort of forces this choice whereas this tussle between more Sanskrit or more Persian words in the language while writing could be settled by individual preferences. Let us say if I prefer more Sanskrit words when I am writing something, I write I use more Sanskrit words when I am writing a poem.

I find my poetic abilities are better expressed through the use of more Sanskrit words whereas somebody else who might find perfectly at ease to be able to use a Persian word in that particular in the same similar context and feel more comfortable about it, I can do that, that is

when I am writing, but when printing is happening, print solidifies it, print defines it, print does not allow a change and therefore these two traditions become completely different from each other.

So, print plays a major role in standardizing a certain language, we saw that in the case of Europe and what we see in the case of Northern India is that the process of standardizing instead of creating one single standard it actually creates two standards and in this specific situation they almost become two different languages.

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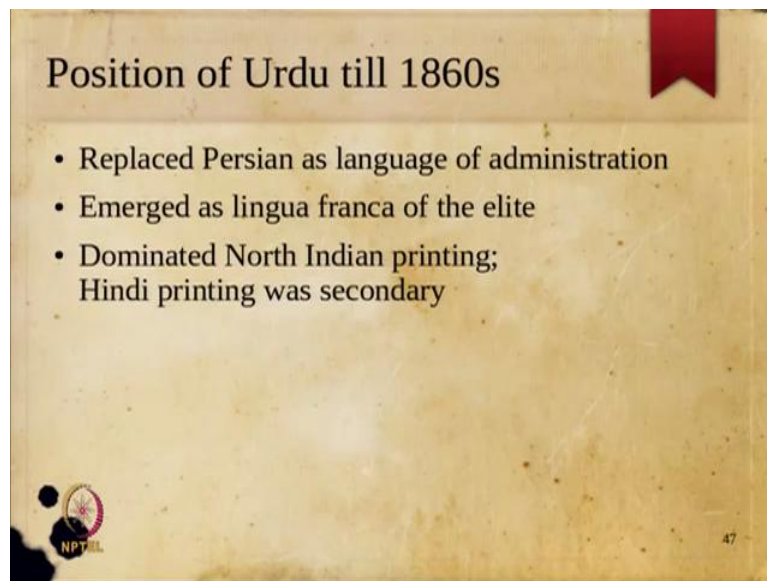
Now, we shall return to our discussion on the position of the development of now very two different literatures Hindi and Urdu. So, the position of Urdu till 1860s Urdu almost took over from Persian as the language of administration and emerged as the lingua franca of the elite and so the same thing that was happening in the case of Europe where Latin was getting replaced by the vernaculars, here Persian was getting replaced by more popular language vernacular language and when I say Urdu I also mean Hindustani in this particular case.

And however, it is the Nastaliq script that actually dominated North Indian printing. The coming of Hindi printing took time, Hindi was only secondary primarily for school textbooks produced by the missionaries and by the colonial administrators.

The development of Hindi printing scholars have divided it into three periods. The first is the missionary period, which was undertaken by the missionaries as well as the colonial administrators and these presses were operated by Indians and because they were operated by the Indians, they helped to spread printing technology because the Indians would learn the workings the skill of printing and they will help the spread of the printing technology.

After this you had the printing being taken up by Indian printers. The Naval Kishore press played a very, very important role and we all know, when we looked at the tales of Amir Hamza which were printed by the Naval Kishore press in multiple volumes, the stories of the

Tilism-e-Hoshruba being the most popular one were also undertaken by the Naval Kishore press, first case of serious commercial success of printing in North India.

And after that it is the Khagdavilas press from Patna who were publishers of a very important figure 'Bhartendu' Harishchandra who was almost an all-rounder who published in multiple genres.

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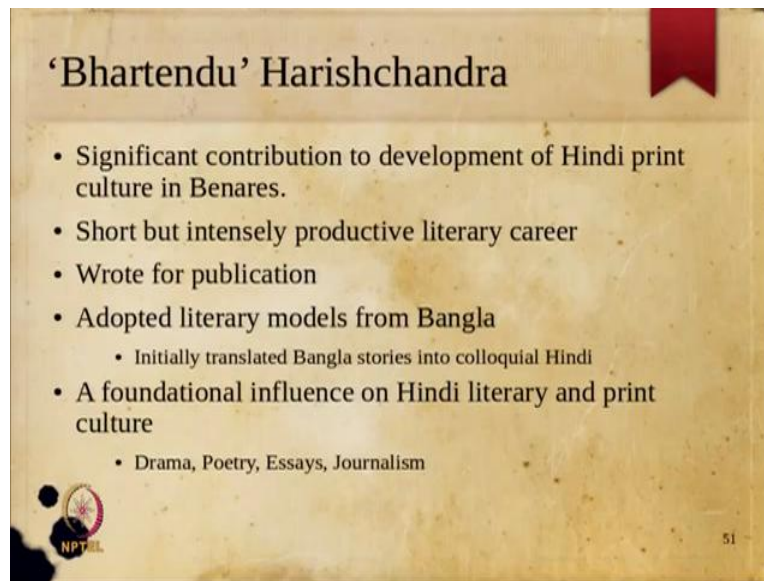
He made a very significant contribution to the development of Hindi print culture in Banaras. He died young it was a very short but intensely productive career publishing almost every few weeks and most importantly he wrote for publication, his writing shows a very keen awareness, this is not a course where we actually discuss literature, we do not actually look at literary models or literary analysis, but if we do undertake a study of Harishchandra we find that his writing bears this mark of being written for the reader rather than for the listener so, decisively within the printed mode the written mode, abandoning the oral mode of publication.

And in his early career he adopted literary models from Bangla which much of Hindi writing actually develops and here you can see the ladder because Bangla was the language in which modern Indian literature develops early.

We find that Bangla writers were influenced by European models, colonial European models but in turn later on, Bangla writers influenced other literatures, other writers from other regions, Bangla becomes the model. So, we can see the ladder of hegemony which comes

into being with a more powerful, your literary forms become the model for those over whom power is being exercised.

So, the European models come in to Bangla and from Bangla then they move into other languages like Hindi. So, initially 'Bhartendu' Harishchandra initially translated Bangla stories into colloquial Hindi and after that he had a foundational influence on Hindi literary and print culture, wrote plays and poetry and essays and as a journalist he contributed regularly.
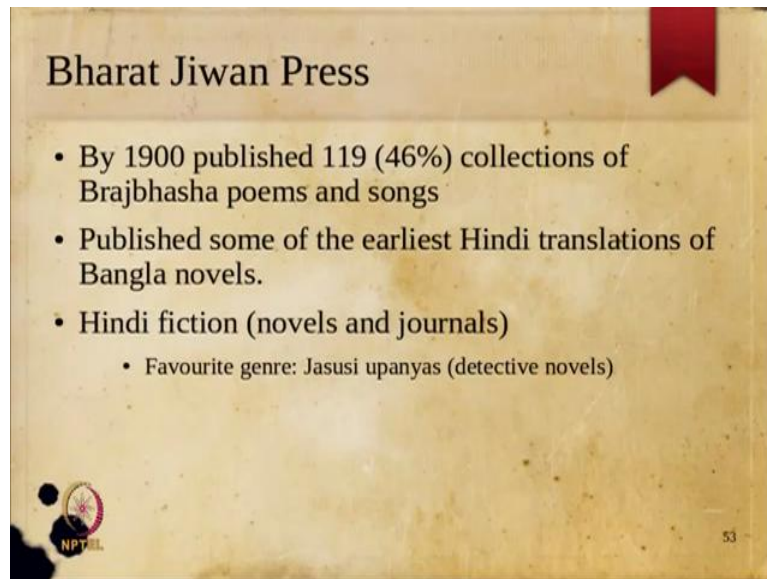
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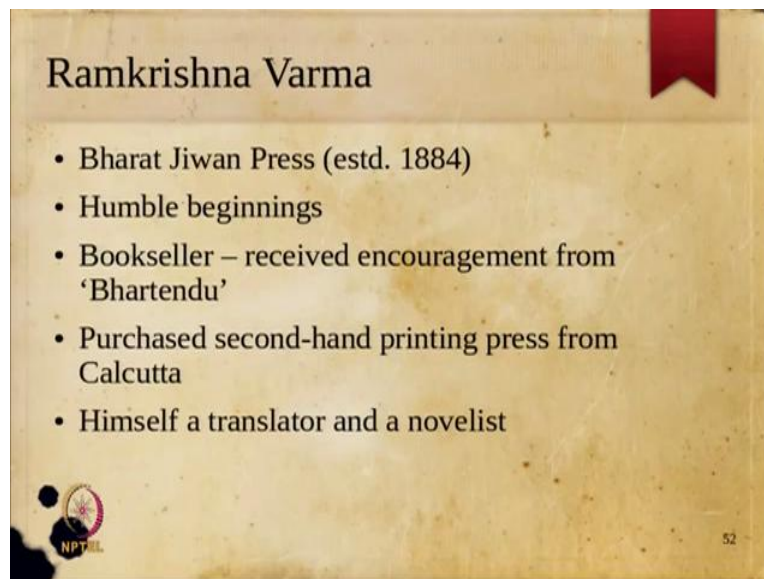
Following Bhartendu's footsteps was Ramakrishna Varma who established the Bharat Jiwan press, he was person who was from very humble beginnings. He started as a bookseller but received a lot of encouragement from Bhartendu and so Bhartendu actually is important not merely for his writings but the way he encouraged, he tried to encourage other people and built a circle around him which encouraged the growth of Hindi writing and when you say Hindi writing, Hindi writing as that which is different from Urdu.

So, it is now well and truly into Hindi as a separate language. He travelled to Calcutta purchased a second hand printing press and he himself was a translator and a novelist.
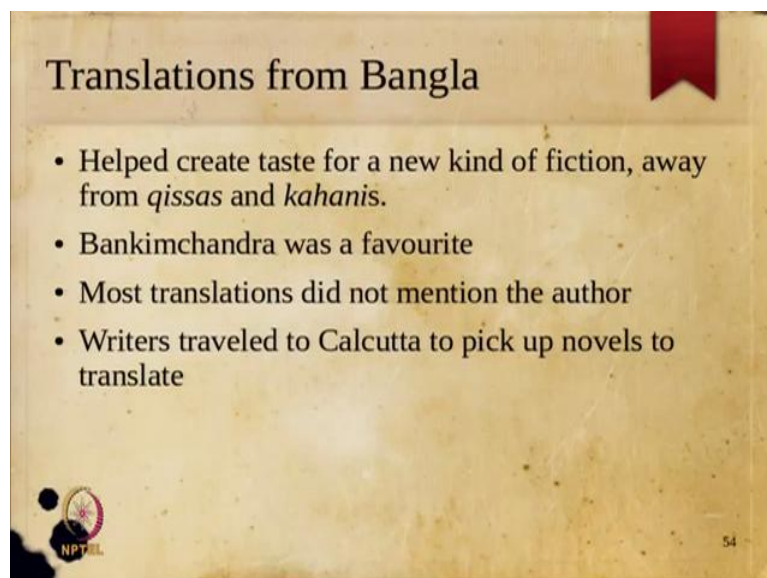
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And the Bharat Jiwan press, it thrives on two kinds of literature. One is, almost half of its collection were that of Brajbhasha poems and songs but a large fraction of their creations of their publications were the earliest Hindi translations of Bangla novels, and they also published Hindi fiction and novels and journals and one of the early favorites of Hindi literature were the genre, was detective novels the Jasusi upanyas which were a great favourite among people, among the readers.

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Translations from Bangla as we have seen helped create taste for a new kind of fiction away from the qissas and kahanis from the Tilism-e and other forms of oral storytelling. Bankimchandra was a great favourite of the readers within this culture of translation. In fact,

many translations did not even mention the original author, people just took them up they liked the story and they translated it.

In fact, many writers write in their memoirs that they travel to Calcutta and pick up novels to translate, they read something, they like it and they want to translate it and cater to that market. In fact, that is the way in which even Bangla of printing took up where people translated from European models and certainly printing in Europe also initially thrived on translations.

So translation really becomes the first entry into a new language printing arrived after the coming of the Bible.

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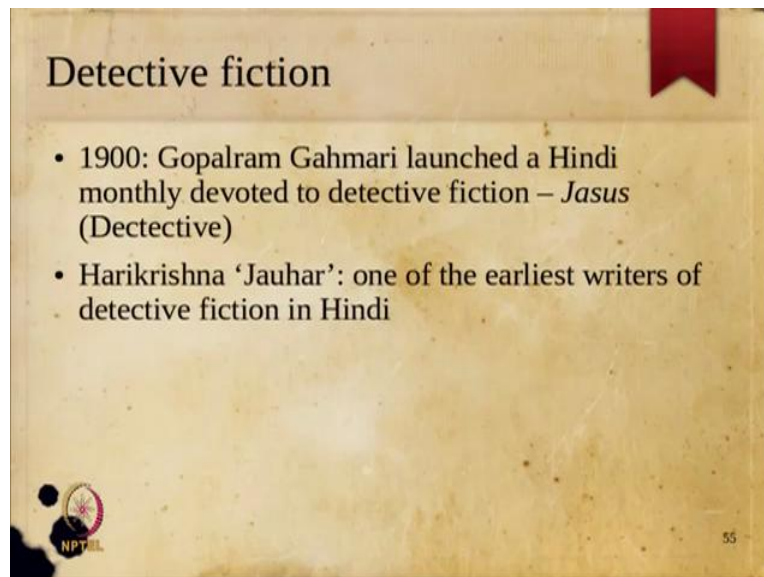
So, we were talking about detective fiction, detective fiction was a genre which was a great favourite among the readers of Hindi. In 1900, the Gopalram Gahmari introduced the Hindi monthly which is devoted to detective fiction called Jasus and Harikrishna Jauhar was one of the earliest writers of detective fiction in Hindi.

And we should mention a very important figure and what we have noted is that the growth, the development of printing in Hindi centres around these important writers who are printers. These important individuals, we have seen Bhartendu, we have looked at Ramvilas Verma and Ramakrishna Varma and we have also now looking at Devkinandan Khatri as a very important figure.

And he was not only a literary friend of Bhartendu but he is more importantly known for as the writer of the Hindi bestseller Chandrakanta and once Chandrakanta becomes a big seller, he looks at the market, he acquires his own press and starts a journal which allows him to continue his publishing stories which are offshoots of the Chandrakanta series and with him, with Khatri, Hindi fiction finds a really, really strong footing.
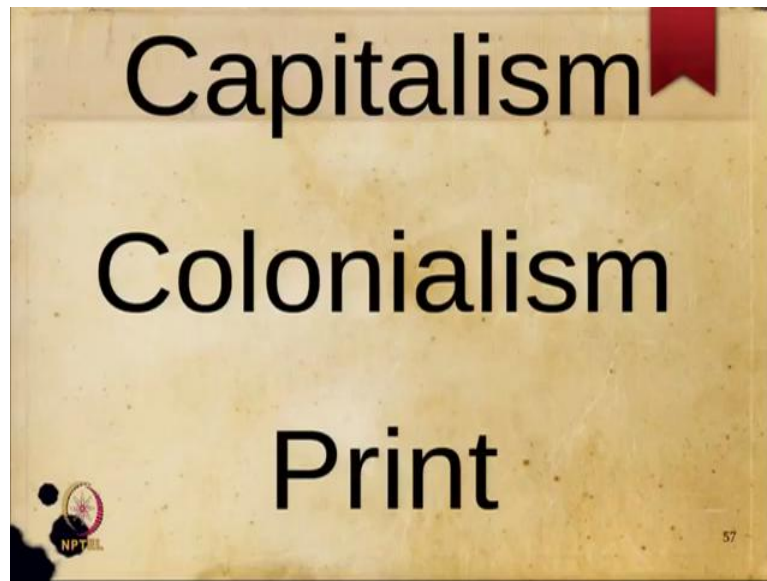
So, at the end of this journey of looking at print and the coming of print in India through colonialism, I would like to sum up the discussion by remarking that certain social resultants, certain kind of social phenomena that we see, what we have looked at this distinction between Hindi and Urdu or the kind of distinction which we saw between the Battala press and the more respectable presses or between the Sadhu bhasha and the chalit bhasha, the the language of everyday use and language of scholarly and literally use, these are the resultants one can say of colonialism.

But I would also like to point out specifically within colonialism the role of print as a particular form, the fact that print actually operates in a way in which it tends to standardize a certain kind of language, that print brings a certain fixity to language and to forms, to communication that leads to these cleaving of identities, it is very interesting when we look at the case of Bangla printing where actually print works both ways.

Whereas earlier, there would be the scholarly or the elite high culture oral or manuscript forms, the forms of the literate population and the lower castes would be practicing certain oral performative forms and the two would have very little link between the two but because of the possibility of the coming of print what happens is that ladies in the household also get access to books printed out of Battala and becomes a real concern for the Bhadralok.

So, print has a certain democratizing force but on the other hand it also solidifies, it also fixes specific kinds of language and specific kinds of cultural tropes. So, the two things work

together and brings in a new kind of dimension. And with a certain kind of colonial intervention, administrative intervention, these cleavages can become permanent.

If left on their own they could have a very different trajectory but where there is a strong administrative push at maintaining certain kind of distribution, we have seen in today's lecture, the kind of administrative intervention that was both brought in by the British as well as encouraged or petitioned by Indian interest groups and we have also looked at how certain sections of the Bhadralok wanted to maintain a certain distinction between sadhu bhasa and chalit between the Battala press and the more respectable literature.

This distinction of respectability through institutional processes, through educational institutions, through journals, through cultural societies, and other kinds of things. So if there are administrative mechanisms, institutions which step in to maintain a distinction of different kinds of identity then they produce a very far reaching difference, but in the case of Bangla of course, the script remains the same whether it is a sadhu bhasa or the chalit bhasa so, the interchange continues to be possible.

But in the case of Hindustani, because the cleavage occurs in a way in which the script is differentiated where people who can read one script cannot read the other, that becomes a certain cleavage that becomes almost permanent and very difficult to breach.