

Introduction

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1. Aims and scope

The aim of this introduction is to provide a full and reasoned account of why this bibliography has taken on the form that it has today. This involves setting the book-list in the context of the wider field of representations of India in the French language. This contextualization begins in the second section below, entitled 'French-language writing on India'. The extensive footnotes in this introduction collect together samples of entries from the main list of books. Their purpose is not only to demonstrate the diversity of the subject matter, but to use the list's 256-year span to highlight all the significant patterns of repetition that further characterize the specific nature of the way in which speakers of French write about India. Together, the footnotes and the main text of the introduction offer both a flavour of the content of *French Books on India* and a series of case studies that illustrate its use as a research tool.

This joint offering will be delivered by stepping back and analysing briefly the 'historical relationship between France and India' (the third section below). The crucial decision to organize the books in chronological order of date of publication encourages researchers to factor in both the effect of previous representations and what was going on in Franco-Indian relations at the time that the book appeared (not forgetting Franco-British and Indo-British relations as well). These reflections on a practice of research are developed further in the next section, 'the book *in* history'. This fourth section takes up Franco Moretti's challenge of 'distant reading', first by plotting bibliographical data and then by analysing the resulting patterns of variance in the annual totals of the numbers of books on India published between 1754 and 2010.¹

The following sections begin a more intensive questioning of the methodological assumptions of this bibliography and of bibliographies more generally. The fifth section, 'the principle of the "period represented"', explores the strong links in this bibliography with chronology and history in a more critical manner. In practice this means that, in terms of numbers of pages, almost sixty percent of the main list is taken up by entries from the two hundred-year period from 1754 to 1954, the period from the departure of France's most successful governor general to the passing of sovereignty of France's Indian trading post to India (precise details of this are given in section three below). This period corresponds to the focus of the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council project which funded the bibliography, but under what terms were books published after 'decolonization' included? The simple answer to this is that the principle of the period represented was used. If the

¹ See 'Conjectures on World Literature', *New Left Review*, 1 (January–February 2000), 54–68, pp. 56–58.

book refers to the period from 1754 to 1954 then it is automatically included, but the sixth section, 'negotiating limits: post-1954 representations' explores the justification for the inclusion of selected works which do not refer to the two-century span. This enquiry raises questions such as whether all works do in fact represent a specific time period and if the object of representation 'India' is actually the same before 1954, or before independence in 1947, because, before that date, the country, as we now know it, did not yet exist.

This critical line of enquiry is pursued in section seven, 'questioning definitions' which explores the parameters of each of the three terms in 'French Books on India'. Section eight then takes the insights (and the problems encountered so far) and uses them to develop a 'dual bibliographical practice' which takes advantage of both online and book-based dissemination. Section nine gives a practical account of the annotations, the hyperlinks to full-text versions of the books via Gallica and of 'user stats'. These are developed as strategies for research collaboration both on- and offline in the tenth and final section. They make *French Books on India* an open access platform which adapts the model of the wiki in an attempt to develop a non-commercial and collaborative space for postcolonial enquiry.

2. French-language writing on India

This bibliography lists more than a thousand titles, including texts from the following eighteen different genres: administrative, anthropological, biographical, bibliographical commercial, economic, ethnographical, fine art, geographical, historical, legal, literary, medical, philosophical, political, religious, as well as examples of *bande dessinée* and travel narratives. Given both this vast range of different approaches and the diversity of landscapes and cultures that the regions which are now known as India offer those writing in French, it is not surprising that innovation and discovery are two of the most common elements found in French-language texts.

On many occasions, therefore, the author presents new insights to the reader, such as in as in the case of Raynal's and Anquetil-Duperron's analyses, which use original Indian texts rather than merely reproducing European stereotypes. The same is true of Jackie Assayag's pioneering work on the place of agriculture in the social transformation of India in the 1990s and 2000s.² On other occasions, however, the novelty is recycled. We will see that the number of texts which contain reworkings of this sort is truly remarkable and this in turn means that a bibliography such as *French Books on India* can be an essential tool for tracking change in both the history of ideas, as well as in the patterns of repetition of basic themes in the ways that the French perceive India from the eighteenth century onwards. Thus, because it is organized chronologically, the bibliography will allow readers to discern how

² See Kate Marsh, Claire Gallien and Serge Granger's individual bibliographical annotations on Guillaume-Thomas Raynal's, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 10 vols (Neuchâtel and Geneva: Libraires associés, 1783 [1770]), Abraham-Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron's, *Législation orientale, ouvrage... montrant quels sont en Turquie, en Perse et dans l'Indoustan les principes fondamentaux du gouvernement...*, (Amsterdam: Rey, 1778) and Jackie Assayag's *La Mondialisation vue d'ailleurs: l'Inde désorientée* (Paris: Seuil, 2005).

representations of India that were purveyed to the reader as new, owe as much to previous French-language works as they do to empirical observation or new scholarship. This recycling process has a long history. For example, Pompa Banerjee argues in *Burning Women* that the inclusion of a depiction of *sati* (widow-burning) was already considered *de rigueur* in the accounts of European travellers as early as the eighteenth century.³ Signalling such repetitions is an integral part of a critical reflection on this material, because authors are sometimes unaware of how their subject matter has been recycled. Examples of such themes are the oriental despot, the holy animal, ubiquitous spirituality and the British in India.⁴

That said, however, French-language representations of India did not become entirely derivative and Western-based. This is because contact was maintained between the French and those living in India through travel and by the almost uninterrupted French trading presence in India. Along with innovation and discovery, this continuous contact between Indians and the French is one of the remarkable constants in this field. The nature of these interactions did change over time though, and those shifts will emerge in a review of the historical relationship between France and India.

3. The historical relationship between France and India

Apart from the global importance of both present-day India and the historical importance of the cultures and civilizations of France and India considered separately, a key justification for a bibliography of French-language books on India is the longevity of the links between these countries. The trading and colonial presence of the French state in India lasted from 1667 to 1954. Before 1667 there were frequent and significant incidences of cultural contact between Indians and sub-state actors such as travellers and traders.⁵ 1667, however, marked a new beginning because it was the year in which the ships of the French *Compagnie des Indes orientales* landed in Surat, and 1954 was the year in which the French trading posts of Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahé and Yanam were ceded *de facto* to the Union of Indian States (a fifth *comptoir*, Chandernagore, switched sovereignty in 1950). It is important to distinguish the French presence in India from the far more extensive and more

³ See Dhana Underwood, 'La Représentation de la femme indienne à l'époque coloniale (1744–1954). Étude des œuvres littéraires francophones', unpublished dissertation of the University of Liverpool, 2004, and Banerjee, *Burning Women: Widows, Witches and Early Modern European Travellers in India* (London: Palgrave, 2003), p. 1. I am grateful to my colleague Kate Marsh for this reference.

⁴ For example, the importance of the comparative (Franco-British) perspective is illustrated by the fact that 44 books have 'anglais' or 'britannique' in their titles. However, as illustrated by Verne's *Le Tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours* (Paris: Hetzel, 1873), discussed below, the representation of India can occur within the covers in more subtle, but no less important ways.

⁵ See Xavier de Castro, *Voyage à Mozambique & Goa, la relation de Jean Mocquet, 1607–1610* (Paris: Chandeigne, 1996), François Pyrard de Laval, *Voyage de Pyrard de Laval aux Indes orientales, (1601–1611)*, 2 vols (Paris: Chandeigne, 1998), Henri-Louis Castonnet des Fosses, *François Bernier, documents inédits sur son séjour dans l'Inde* (Angers: Lachèse et Dolbeau, 1885) and France Bhattacharya (ed.), *Voyage dans les états du Grand Mogol* (Paris: Fayard, 1981). Further entries are found in the bibliography.

rigid structures of the British Indian Empire between 1857 and 1947. France was a minor colonizer in India, its demilitarized colonial trading posts collectively occupied only 508 sq km, and their status was subject to change following European treaties and occupations by the British.⁶ The significance of 1954 has been explained above, but it is important to note that the cession of 1954 was not ratified until 1962, after the end of the Algerian War. This is an example of how events outside India dictated decisions about France's policy on India.

One of the aims of the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) project, in the context of which the bibliography was produced, is to demonstrate the changes in French-language representations of India throughout the period from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries.⁷ The dates of 1754 and 1954, which also generate the subtitle of the bibliography, are the start and end of this period, but they mark the ends of two different forms of colonial encounter. The sixth section of this introduction, 'negotiating limits: post-1954 representations', will justify the extension of the period to 2010, but at this point it is important to examine the special significance of the 1754 and 1954.

As far as the start date is concerned, 2 August 1754 was the date on which Joseph-François Dupleix (1697–1763) was recalled to France. It was the end his governorship, which had begun in 1742. This date marks the high point of the extent of the area in the south Deccan peninsula in which France had a territorial interest. Dupleix's return to France in 1754 also signalled the end of the policy which had seen this increase in French interest. Dupleix had been the most successful governor of the French trading posts in India. He acquired influence, territory and tax revenues for France by agreeing pacts and alliances with Indian rulers and by fighting against the British, who themselves later adopted a similar strategy.⁸ Dupleix was recalled to France with Jeanne, his Indo-Franco-Portuguese wife and interpreter, because the King of France wanted to remove obstacles hindering a peace treaty between France and Britain. This geopolitical dimension was bolstered by the suspicion, widespread among directors of the *Compagnie des Indes*, that Dupleix was overstepping his authority and enriching himself.

Although there were three hiatuses during which the British occupied the French possessions in India, it is important to understand that the presence of the French state continued after the end of Dupleix's governorship.⁹ The phase from the end of Suffren's

⁶ Both the Treaty of Paris of 1763 and that of 1814 were important because they anchored the territorial claim, but limited the strategic military importance, of the trading posts. The first British occupation was from 1761 to 1765, the second from 1793 to 1802 and the third from 1803 to 1816.

⁷ The archival and editing work was funded by the AHRC as part of a major award on 'Representations of India in French Literature and Culture, 1750 to 1962'. AHRC Project number: AH/D001137/1.

⁸ The British also supplemented Dupleix's method by their Doctrine of Lapse, under which the British East India Company (EIC) would annexe any state within their sphere of influence if the ruler that state had no direct heir or was deemed by the British to be incompetent. The princely state of Kittur came under EIC control this way in 1824. The formalization of the doctrine under Lord Dalhousie in 1848 led to the annexation of Awadh (among other states). The Indian backlash against the doctrine was an important element in the Uprising of 1857-1859.

⁹ The British overran and occupied the French trading posts between 1761 and 1765, between 1793 and 1802, and also between 1803 and 1816.

campaign (in 1783) to the second Treaty of Paris (1815) saw the start of the establishment of the British hegemony in India.¹⁰ The French presence continued beyond the apogee of the British Indian Empire in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, including all of the period of the struggle for Home Rule. The final phase of the French presence was decolonization, the ceding of the sovereignty of the areas that were controlled by both Britain and France to the Union of Indian States in 1947 and 1954 respectively (with Chandernagore becoming Indian in 1950). Although French and British decolonization occurred only ten years apart, the main business of decolonization was between Britain and the newly formed Union of Indian States. It is interesting, nonetheless, to note that the French state outlasted the British in India.

4. The 'book in history'

If we move now from a review of the context of Franco-Indian contact to an examination of how that history is reflected in the methodology of the bibliography, readers will observe that *French Books on India* is organized in a chronological manner from start to finish, with books listed according to their dates of publication.¹¹ This method is not new in itself, but it is used for the first time here in a bibliography of French-language books on India.¹² The way that this research tool situates books not just as individual texts but in terms of their

¹⁰ This treaty confirmed the demilitarized status of the five French *comptoirs* outlined in article 12 of the 1814 Treaty of Paris.

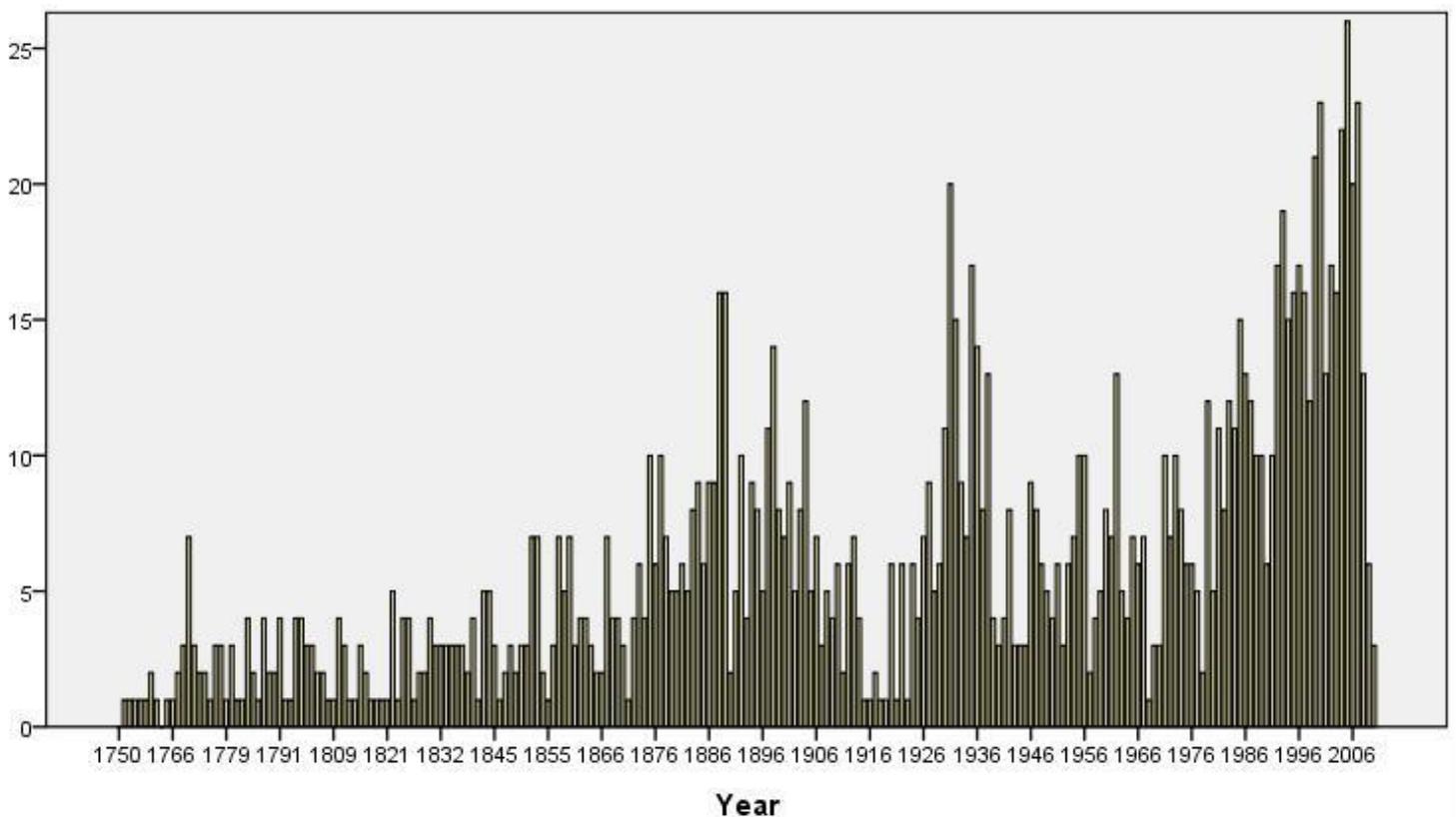
¹¹ For any given year, entries are listed in alphabetical order of author surname with anonymous works included first. Honorific and academic titles are omitted for the sake of clarity. Several minor modifications to the conventions for bibliographies in the *MHRA Style Guide* have been made for the same reason. The guide can be downloaded by going to <http://mhra.org.uk> and following the links (accessed 11 November 2010). In *French Books on India*, author surnames are given in upper case letters and always appear in full text (thus allowing multiple publications by one author to be found by text searches). The author's first name and any pseudonym are given in full (though first names are not always included in eighteenth-century records). There follow the full title and subtitle of the book, with an indication of multiple volumes if present (if all volumes are about India, the total number of pages is given, including any introductions, prefaces and plates). Place, publisher and publication date are given in the MHRA format, but without parentheses for clarity. The indications '[n. pub.]' and '[n.p]' indicate missing data. The last field of every entry is the page span, a helpful indicator of the depth of the author's treatment of the subject matter. Finally, the sans serif font Calibri was chosen because many people find it easy to read on screen.

¹² The only other specialist publication in this field is Henry Scholberg and Emmanuel Divien's, *Bibliographie des Français dans l'Inde* (Pondicherry: Historical Society of Pondicherry, 1973). Two publications which have selectively updated Scholberg and Divien's work in complementary ways (the first focuses on novels, while the second excludes them) are Christian Petr, *L'Inde des romans* (Paris: Kailash, 1995), and Monique Morazé and Philippe Le Tréguilly, *L'Inde et la France (deux siècles d'histoire commune)* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1999). Morazé and Le Tréguilly's list of books ends with the late eighteenth century. *Des relations entre la France et l'Inde (XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles): bibliographie sélective* is a 166-page bibliography concentrating on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources prepared by Élisabeth Vernier at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. It is a great shame that it appears not to be hyperlinked to the library's homepage: www.bnf.fr/documents/biblio_France-Inde.rtf (accessed 11 November 2010). I am grateful to Mircea Itu for this reference. In 2002, a selected 173-title bibliography including fifteen newspaper articles was published by Serge Granger, Ian H. Magedera, Kate Marsh and Dhana Underwood, 'Aux délices de Mahé': A Selected Critical and Annotated Bibliography of French-language Representations of India (1763–2002)', *International Journal of Francophone Studies*, 5.2. (2002), 104–127.

chronological context is one of its most fundamental features. In this way, it frames in a historical continuum both the production of books and the intellectual engagement of authors with their subject matter. The works which appear in this bibliography, therefore, should not be seen in isolation, or even as part of a materially based history of the book, but, rather in terms of 'the book *in* history'.

To illustrate this point further we can use the chronological order of entries to consider the varying numbers of titles which appeared per particular year in the following bar chart:¹³

Examining books in this way is in tune with the work of Franco Moretti, who argues for a different model in the understanding of the significance of literature. For him, the focus on close-reading has meant that the discipline of literary studies has been recycling by reinterpretation a relatively small canon of authorized works. This, if readers will remember



polemically that the time has come when academics have to 'stop reading books and start counting, graphing and mapping them instead'.¹⁴ This section within a project which

¹³ I am grateful to my colleague Godfried Croenen for his programming skills in Pearl and use of SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences), v. 16 to generate this diagram.

¹⁴ From the blurb on the back cover of *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary Theory* (London: Verso, 2005).

includes online access to selected full text versions of the books, suggests that it might be possible to do both.

Let us start with some general observations about the total number of books, that is including both French books on India which on topics or subject matter which could be generally termed to be original and those which are retrospective in focus (for instance the re-interpretation at the end of the nineteenth century of the disengagement by France from empire-building in India). Looking at the whole span, lean years occur; sometimes these can be explained by material shortages (as in the case of the years between 1914 and 1918), but on other occasions, it is less easy to explain the lack of publications. For example why there were only two French-language books on India in 1890 when there were sixteen in the two years before?

These lean years notwithstanding, it seems, however, that there is a general upward rise in the number of titles being produced each year. Thus we see that, for example, from the late 1970s, there was a general increase in the average number of titles produced per year to circa ten from approximately six in the post-Second World War period. This process continues, rising to roughly thirteen in the 1990s and to fifteen in the year 2000.

Even in the context of this unsurprising general upward progression in absolute numbers, however, three clear peaks of publication activity emerge: 1888, 1931 and 2005.¹⁵ There are doubtless many factors involved in such spikes, which are preceded by an increase in activity and followed by a tailing off. It is possible, however, to pursue some possible reasons for the variations in the numbers of books produced. Before an enquiry of that sort is begun, it is important to contextualize these figures by comparing them to the total numbers of all books published in French in the periods in question.¹⁶ The final instalment of each year's *Journal général de l'imprimerie et de la librairie* which appears as the *Bibliographie de la France* provides valuable cumulative figures for each year from 1811 onwards.¹⁷ For the peak in 1888 it records a total of 12,973 books. This number includes translations from other languages and reports, but excludes individual issues of periodicals

¹⁵ There are also smaller peaks in 1770 and 1859. The first reflects the continued interest in India by dramatists, explorers and soldiers despite Louis XV's winding up of the *Compagnie perpétuelle des Indes* in 1769. The later peak underlines the renewed French interest in India in the wake of the serious challenge to the dominance of the British East India Company during the Uprisings of 1857–1859. See Nicola Frith 'Competing Colonial Discourses in India: French- and English-language Representations of the Indian Uprisings (1857–1859)', unpublished University of Liverpool thesis, 2009 and 'Rebels or Revolutionaries: Representing the 1857 Kanpur Massacres in English- and French-Language Texts and Images', *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 12.3 (2010), 368–382.

¹⁶ I am grateful to Charles Forsdick for suggesting this line of enquiry and to Claire Bruyère for indicating the source documents which allowed it to be pursued.

¹⁷ The full title of this publication is: *Bibliographie de la France: journal général de l'imprimerie et de la librairie*, Paris: Cercle de la Librairie, 1811–1814 and 1815–1989. This publication is continued by the *Bibliographie nationale française*, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1990–2000. From 2001, <http://bibliographienationale.bnf.fr> is the place where it is to be found. It is unfortunate, however, that cumulative figures for each year appear not to be available. This loss of functionality in the transition from a book-based system to an online resource is a salutary reminder for all involved in this project.

and books in French published outside France. Although, we can say that we are not comparing like with like, it is obvious that, when compared to the annual totals for all books, the numbers of French-language books on India are extremely small: sixteen out of nearly thirteen thousand. Given this number, one possible strategy for establishing the significance of the 1888 peak would be to compare the figure of sixteen with the numbers in cognate domains, such as the French-language books on China, to name just one example. Another more useful way, however, would be to show the spike in comparison with other years and to look at variance.

If this is attempted for the decade 1880–1890, the figures demonstrate that year to year fluctuation in the numbers of French books on India is far higher as a proportion of the total compared with the total numbers of books published. Not including French-language books on India, there were 12,760 books published in 1881, 13,179 in 1882 (the volumes for 1880 and 1883 are currently being repaired at the Bibliothèque nationale de France), 13,929 for 1884, 12,337 for 1885, 12,236 for 1886, 12,892 for 1887, 12,957 for 1888, 14,833 for 1889 and 13,363 for 1890. This data shows a double spike. The first one is in 1884 and then a very significant jump between 1888 and 1889; whereas the bar chart for French books on India shows the following numbers: 5 for 1880, 6 for 1881, 5 for 1882, 8 for 1883, 9 for 1884, 6 for 1885, 9 for 1886, 9 for 1887 and 16 for 1888 and 1889, followed by a falling back to 2 in 1890. The distribution is different here with a return around mid-decade (1884) to the values seen at the start, followed by a ramping up in two year steps until a very significant falling away in 1890. The spike in French books on India is proportionally far greater, comes earlier is maintained for two years before stopping. The only similarity is that there is a peak in 1889.

Clearly there are elements of similarity between the two distributions, but there are also enough differences to suggest that the variance in the numbers of French books on India published in any given year is subject to different factors. In the absence of a correlation analysis, let us now tentatively advance a hypothesis as to why these years saw the greatest numbers of books being produced. As an aside, this sort of application of data from the bibliography, is an example of how the bibliography can prove its worth as a research tool by indicating new lines of enquiry for researchers, at the same time as being a list which can help readers answering more straightforward discrete questions about a specific author or about the numbers and genres of books produced in a given year.¹⁸

¹⁸ A second potential line of enquiry are suggested by concentrating on the family names of the authors who feature in the book-list: there are high numbers who have names with the *particule de noblesse* ('de La', 'Du' and 'D'[...]). This may suggest a disproportionate level of interest in France and India by members of the nobility (105 names in total, with 85 up to 1931. A marquis features in 1903, a duke in 1898 and a prince in 1906). The reason for this might be that the noble origins of many of the main French players in India during the eighteenth century prompted their descendants to study them out of personal interest. The resources of these individuals also allowed them to indulge in self-publication. For example: Agnès de Place, Michel Gaudard de Soulages and Philippe de Castellux, *Dictionnaire généalogique et armorial de l'Inde française: 1560–1962* (Versailles: de Place, 1997). A third subject which merits further research is the number of French-language books on Gandhi: Christine Jordis, *Gandhi* (Paris: Gallimard, 2006), Claude Markovits, *Gandhi* (Paris: Presses de Sciences-Po, 2000), Maurice Schumann, *Ma rencontre avec Gandhi* (Paris: Éditions 1, 1998), Guy

When we consider entries for 1888 and 1931 in greater detail, we see that there has been a dual increase compared with previous years. This can be demonstrated, for example, by looking again at the individual figures for the 1880s, this time with the individual year totals followed in parentheses by the numbers of items about the history of the French in India.¹⁹ As we already know, this retrospective focus is one of the constants of the representation of India in the French language. It yields this: 5 (1) for 1880, 6 (2) for 1881, 5 (1) for 1882, 8 (3) for 1883, 9 (2) for 1884, 6 (3) for 1885, 9 (3) for 1886, 9 (4) for 1887, 16 (8) for 1888 and 16 (5) 1889, followed by a falling back to 2 (0) in 1890.

At one level, it is rather a banal truism to propose that in looking at the Other, the French were evidently seeking to find out something about themselves; but it actually is the case that in 1888 there is peak in both types of French writing outlined in the second section, the first concerned with innovation and discovery, and the second type which is focused on interpreting the actions of the French in that part of the world. One important criterion that it is important to take into account is the difference between putative time of writing and date of publication. This is speculative of course, but given the fact that the place of publication for the majority of the books which appeared in these two years was Paris (75 percent in 1888 and 87.5 percent in 1889), it is quite possible that the authors of the 1889 books had sight of those which were available for purchase in 1888 (including the three written by Henri-Louis Castonnet des Fosses). We do not know how many books were abandoned in 1889 and it would be unwise to assume that there is a direct causal effect between the fifty-fifty distribution in 1888 and slight shifting away of the focus from books with a historical element the year after. It remains the case, nonetheless that the spikes are composed of significant proportions of both types of books.

Deleury, *Gandhi* (Paris: Pygmalion, 1997), Catherine Clément, *Gandhi: athlète de la liberté* (Paris: Gallimard, 1991), Gérard de Villiers, *Mort à Gandhi* (Paris: Plon, 1986), Dominique Lapierre and Larry Collins, *Cette nuit, la liberté: le triomphe et la tragédie de Gandhi* (Paris: Laffont, 1975), Romain Rolland, *Inde: journal, 1915–1943*, Tagore, *Gandhi, Nehru et les problèmes indiens* (Paris: Éditions Vineta, 1951), Janine Reigner, *L'Inde et Gandhi tels que je les ai vus* (Paris: Omnium littéraire, 1949), Edmond Privat, *Aux Indes avec Gandhi* (Paris: Attinger, 1934), Laura Vulda, *L'Inde sous Gandhi* (Aix-en-Provence: Éditions du Feu, 1931), Jacqueline Marenis, *Une femme de l'Occident: L'Inde avec Gandhi* (Paris: Redier, 1931), Romain Rolland, *Mahatma Gandhi* (Paris: Stock, 1924).

¹⁹ Books published in 1931 which had a retrospective focus include: A. Augustin-Thierry (ed.), *Un colonial au temps de Colbert. Mémoires de Robert Challes, écrivain du Roi* (Paris: Plon, 1931), Henri Froidevaux, *Les Débuts de la carrière de François Martin, 1665–1674* (Abbeville: Paillart and Paris: Leroux, 1931), Charles Bourel de la Roncière, *Quatre siècles de colonisation française: exposition d'œuvres du XV^e au XVIII^e siècle. Quatre siècles de colonisation française: exposition de livres, de peintures, de sculptures, de dessins, de cartes, d'estampes, de meubles, de tapisseries, de médailles, d'objets d'art intéressant les vieilles colonies* (Paris: Éditions des Bibliothèques nationales de France, 1931), Alfred Martineau (ed.), *Mémoires de François Martin, fondateur de Pondichéry, (1665–1696)*, 3 vols (Paris: Société d'éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales, 1931), Pierre de Vaissière, *Dupleix* (Paris: Plon, 1931). Relevant books which appeared in 1888 are: Henri-Louis Castonnet des Fosses, *François Bernier, ses voyages dans l'Inde* (Angers: Germain et Grassin), 1888, Henri-Louis Castonnet des Fosses, *La Rivalité de Dupleix et de La Bourdonnais* (Paris: Challamel), Henri-Louis Castonnet des Fosses, *Dupleix, ses expéditions et ses projets* (Paris: Challamel), Abel Clarin de la Rive, *Dupleix, ou les Français aux Indes Orientales* (Lille: Desclée de Brouwer), Georges Daguilhon-Pujol, *Le Procès de Warren Hastings, premier gouverneur général du Bengale* (Paris: Schlaeber), Chrétien Dehaisnes, *Dupleix, notes biographiques et historiques* (Lille: Quarré), Henri Moris (ed.), *Journal de bord du bailli de Suffren dans l'Inde, 1781–1784* (Paris: Challamel), Albert Rébéré, *La Colonisation française au XVIII^e siècle. I. L'Inde* (Tours: Arrault).

This means that is an awareness among authors and publishers of what types of book have been produced in the past, but also, that there must be something specific about the contemporary historical moment which provides grounds to hope that this market will continue. Thus for 1888–1889 (and for 1931), there is an interesting nexus between the past and the present and between books which are focused on history and those which attempt to construct the region as a place of discovery.

The peak in French publications on India in the late 1880s coincides with a period of intense colonial expansion in Indochina and Northern and sub-Saharan Africa. During this period of empire-building, French writers on India focused their attention onto the period from 1742 to 1783. This was the time from the start of Dupleix's governorship, when the areas under French influence underwent a rapid period of growth, to the year of Louis XVI's order to interrupt Suffren's naval campaign, the last French military campaign in the region. The focus here is dual; it aims to inform French colonial practice elsewhere in the world by attempting to understand both Dupleix's strategy and the challenges to it. It also evaluates the whole period using hindsight. In the main it is clear that this period functioned as a salutary lesson in colonial loss and failure. It was an example to avoid.²⁰

The spike of 1931 can be explained in terms of the huge public interest surrounding the Exposition coloniale internationale in the same year.²¹ At one level, the exhibition and the peak in publications both illustrate the contemporary fascination with colonialism and with its possibilities to shape the world at that time. As critical commentators on colonial culture such as Girardet and Wilder have remarked, this fascination was also tied up with a growing anxiety about the colonizers' responsibility for colonialism's excesses and the need to anchor colonial culture among 'home' populations in Europe in order to consolidate empire in the face of challenges to it from home and abroad.²² Hence the need to celebrate, for the benefit of the exhibition-generation, the glories of past heroes of French colonialism. Also important is an indocentric dimension to the increase in numbers of books published. It stems from a realization that the increasing public support for the Indian National Congress presented a clear challenge to the British Indian Empire. This is clearly reflected by the subject matter of books published in 1931, which was the year that the first Round Table conference took place in London.²³ As with the small spike in 1857–1859, any real or

²⁰ Kate Marsh and Nicola Frith (eds), *France's Lost Empires: Fragmentation, Nostalgia, and la fracture coloniale* (Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2010). See also Chapter Two of Katy Dale, *French Cultural Representations of India under the Third Republic (1870–1940)*.

²¹ Once again, the totals for the three year either side of 1931, compared with the totals for French books about India (and with the numbers of retrospective works in parentheses), indicate clear differences in the patterns of fluctuation: in 1928, the annual total was 11543 with 5 on India and (1) retrospective; 1929, 10716, 6 (2); 1930, 9165, 11 (4); 1931, 9073, 19 (6); 1932, 10587, 15 (8); 1933, 8196, 9 (5) and 1934, 8403, 7 (3).

²² Raoul Girardet, *L'Idée coloniale en France de 1871 à 1962* (Paris: Hachette, 1972), p. 176, and Gary Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State: Negritude and Colonial Humanism between the Two World Wars* (Chicago University Press, 2005), p. 26.

²³ Viz. Jacqueline Marenis, *Une femme de l'Occident: l'Inde avec Gandhi* (Paris: Redier, 1931), Laura Vulda, *L'Inde sous Gandhi* (Aix-en-Provence: Éditions du Feu, 1931), and A. Sarraut, *Grandeurs et servitudes coloniales* (Paris: Éditions du Sagittaire, 1931).

perceived British crisis excites the interest of France as a competitor European colonial power on the world stage.

5. The principle of the “period represented”

As we have now seen, listing the books in ascending chronological order of publication date allows and encourages the reader to map books against historical events in France and India from 1754 to 1954. For the period after 1954, *French Books on India* concentrates on books which refer to the two-hundred year period between 1754 and 1954. The foregrounding of the principle of the period represented in the texts is a crucial element of the methodology. In this bibliography, the principle is applied to the selection of which books published after 1954 are included in the bibliography. 1954 was the date on which the sovereign control of the four remaining *comptoirs* (the French trading posts in India: Pondicherry, Karikal, Yanam and Mahe) passed *de facto* from France to the Union of Indian States. Some readers might be concerned about the distorting effect of this principle, but in fact it highlights the tendency in many French-language representations of India to be backward-looking. This is not necessarily meant in a reductive sense, but many works are retrospective because they are constantly striving to interpret for their own generation earlier events of the French engagement with India. The *passéiste* perspective continues unabated after 1947, and the application of the ‘represented date principle’ to entries after 1954 makes it clearly visible. That said, the next section will consider on what grounds exceptions to this principle are made.

As far as the absolute peak in publications of twenty seven per year in 2005 is concerned, there are still significant numbers of *passéiste* publications; however, their number should also be set within a broader context of something which could be called millennial thinking.²⁴ As in the cases of the previous peaks of 1888 and 1931, the principal characteristic of that phenomenon is an increase in the authors’ emphasis on contemporary

²⁴ The ‘backward-facing’ titles from 2005 are: Michel Gaudart de Soulages, *Les Dernières Années de l’Inde française* (Coulommiers: Dualpha), Douglas Gressieux (ed.), *Cinquantième du transfert des Comptoirs à l’Inde (1954–2004): actes du colloque, Paris, Palais du Luxembourg, 23 octobre 2004* (Coulommiers: Dualpha), Jacques Anquetil, *Anquetil-Duperron, premier orientaliste français* (Paris: Presses de la Renaissance), Bernard de Givé, *Les Rapports de l’Inde et de l’Occident: des origines au règne d’Aśoka* (Paris: Les Indes savantes), and Hugues Didier, (ed.), *Découvertes de l’Inde: de Vasco de Gama à Lord Mountbatten (1497–1947)* (Pondicherry and Paris: Kailash). Those from 2000 to 2006 which display millennial thinking are: Gilles Boileau and Vincent Norguet, *Le Marché des vins et spiritueux en Inde* (Paris: Éditions du Centre français du commerce extérieur, 2000), Xavière Sénéchal, *Le Pays d’ailleurs* (Paris: Flammarion, 2000), Guy Sorman, *Le Génie de l’Inde* (Paris: Fayard, 2000), Jackie Assayag, *L’Inde, désir de nation* (Paris: Jacob, 2001), Jean-Claude Carrière, *Dictionnaire amoureux de l’Inde* (Paris: Plon, 2001), Camille Moutoussamy, *Éclats d’Inde* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2003), Marcel Vermorel et al. *L’Inde et la Chine: deux marchés très différents?* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2004), Laurence Quentin and Catherine Reisser, *L’Inde*, 3 vols (Paris: Nathan, 2004), Robert Delière, *Les Castes en Inde aujourd’hui* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2004), [no author], *L’Inde, grande puissance émergente* (Paris: La Documentation française, 2005), [no author], *L’Inde, l’autre géant asiatique* (Paris: La Documentation française, 2005), Jackie Assayag, *La Mondialisation vue d’ailleurs: l’Inde désorientée* (Paris: Seuil, 2005), Brigitte Tison, *Comprendre la culture hindoue* (Lyon: Chronique Sociale, 2005), Jean-Joseph Boillot, *L’Économie de l’Inde* (Paris: La Découverte, 2006), and Catherine Clément and André Lewin, *L’Inde des Indiens*, (Paris: Levi, 2006).

concerns. More specifically in this case, this relates to how speculation regarding the current relationship between France and India asserts a significant degree of influence in terms of the numbers of books published and in their subject matter. Millennial thinking, therefore, is dominated by a popularizing focus on contemporary India. A second important constituent element in it is the assumption that present-day India will be an important factor in determining the future of the twenty-first century.

Four thematic areas emerge in these books: the first is economics, the second is politics and the third, society, understood in a very broad sense (and including 'problem' areas such as the relation between religion and the state). The fourth and final theme is globalization. In 2005, therefore, the exploration of bilateral Indo-French relations in the context of the wider picture of East/West relations was probably also prompted by the increasing role that India had started to play in the global economy at that time.²⁵ Although 2005 is the peak year for publications of this sort, as is to be expected the phenomenon goes back to 2000. Other factors responsible for amplifying the phenomenon were the frequency and prominence of large-scale events (particularly in Paris) promoting Indian culture.²⁶ Millennial thinking notwithstanding, the publication of specialist studies in political science continued in the decades before and after 2000; their more limited readership only partially overlaps with those of the 'millennial thinkers'.²⁷

2005, therefore, is an interesting moment in epistemological terms. The numbers of books which consider the retrospective glories and miseries of France's history in India are maintained. This trend is paired with an interest in contemporary India which itself is partly prompted by the increasing realization of the economic importance of India and how this development might well be intensified in the future

Collectively, the three peaks in the numbers of books published in 1888, 1931 and 2005 illustrate that it is possible to approach a complex question such as explaining the number of books published in a given year and apply a historical-based analysis which shows that in all three of these years contemporary concerns which focused on overseas colonies in general (in the case of 1888 and 1931), and India in particular (in the case of 2005), amplified the background levels of interest in the subject among those writing in French.

6. Negotiating limits: post-1954 representations

²⁵ Between 2004 and 2006 the value of India's goods and services traded with the rest of the world grew 72% from \$253bn to \$437bn. See Arvind Panagariya, *India: The Emerging Giant* (Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 109.

²⁶ Sophie Royer, *Les Indes à Paris: histoire, culture, arts, gastronomie, sorties* (Paris: Parigramme, 2002).

²⁷ See Max Jean Zins, *Histoire politique de l'Inde indépendante* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France 1992), Christophe Jaffrelot, *Les Nationalistes Hindous: Idéologie, implantation et mobilisation des années 1920 aux années 1990* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 1993), Christophe Jaffrelot (ed.), *L'Inde contemporaine de 1950 à nos jours* (Paris: Fayard, 1996), and David Annoussamy, *Le Droit indien en marche* (Paris: Société de législation comparée, 2001).

What, then, of post-1954 books which fall outside this remit because the period that they represent is not between 1754 and 1954? These books are clearly important too because they can have different, if equally important, relationships with their historical time period. The most important example of this phenomenon from the 1970s is the first edition of the epoch-making *Guide du Routard* series by Philippe Gloaguen and Michel Duval, in which India provides the final destinations for eastward travel. A second text, Régis Airault's *Les Fous de l'Inde*, a study of psychiatric illness among several French travellers in India that extends the timeframe from the 1970s to the late 1990s.²⁸ Though it does not mention the Routard guides by name, there is a sense in which Airault's book is a follow-up study to the cultural phenomenon of mass independent travel by youth overland from France to India. These two books are very much anchored in the contemporary situation in India and attempt to make India 'new' again. Finally, there is another book which has a very different way of representing time: Dominique Lapierre's bestselling *reportage*-style novel about Calcutta's slums, *La Cité de la joie* (Paris: Laffont, 1985). This is a book which, while it attempts to eschew all temporal focus by essentializing the urban poor in India, draws heavily on the figure of Mother Teresa a Western saint in India.

Let us now analyse these texts in greater detail because they exemplify the innovation and discovery which are important characteristics in so many French books on India. The first edition of Gloaguen and Duval's travel guide was not published by Hachette and the term 'routard' did not figure in the official title; rather, India features as the endpoint of the journey. While brief information is provided about the main tourist destinations in the country, there is a clear and detailed focus on the road to India and the practical advice that the French traveller will need on the way. The two major new ways in which the guide sets up the journey and distinguishes its audience in demographic terms from society at large is by stressing that the route to India has now reopened. *Le Monde* from 11 November 1971 is quoted: 'la route des Indes s'est rouverte' (p. 65) and a generational shift is outlined in the (unpaginated) preface:

Hier encore, c'était sans trop broncher que les jeunes acceptaient de passer leurs vacances avec papa et maman, certains dans la Creuse, d'autres à Brégançon. Mais aujourd'hui les temps ont changé. Ils vont plus loin [...] délaisser les pays limitrophes piétinés par les marées de touristes à court d'idées originales. La génération des routards est née. Aussi ce livre, plus qu'une invitation au voyage, se propose d'être le conseiller "efficace du routard", celui qui accepte de sacrifier momentanément son confort pour partir plus loin. Le plus loin possible [...]. L'ambition de ce guide est avant tout de faire prendre conscience aux jeunes que partir n'est plus un luxe réservé aux autres c'est juste une expérience extraordinaire.

²⁸ Philippe Gloaguen and Michel Duval, *Le Guide du routard* (Paris: Gédalge, 1973) and Régis Airault, *Les Fous de l'Inde: délires d'Occidentaux et sentiment océanique* (Paris: Payot, 2000).

This text marks the start of young people in France having an increasing awareness of India as a destination for those in search of new experiences. Moving forward twenty-nine years to the publication of Airault's study in 2000, we find India well established as both an alternative and mainstream holiday destination. What *Les Fous de l'Inde* then does is to review case studies of the mental health-related misadventures of young French travellers to the region. Airault refers to the start of the phenomenon in the 1970s, but the bulk of his material originates from his posting as the French Embassy duty psychiatrist in Mumbai in the mid to late 1990s. His study analyses the cases of thirty young adults from France. These individuals had no previous history of mental illness and yet experienced serious psychotic episodes in India. Airault uses Freud to elaborate what he calls a 'sentiment océanique'. This links India to eternity and universality (pp. 193–204). He also contextualizes this via references to Segalen and Michaux, as a 'voyage intérieur' (p. 22). It is a 'stratégie thérapeutique de l'adolescent qui, fragilisante à court terme, renforce à long terme le voyageur' (p. 21). In common with Martin Winckler's 'polars médicaux', Airault's study raises issues about patient confidentiality — one assumes that real names are not used (as in the case of 'Dominique le dromomane' on page 29). Although the author does not argue for a particular French susceptibility to psychosis (compared with other nationalities), the amplitude (6,000 cases in the 1970s alone) and the longevity of the phenomenon (from the *routard* generation of the early 1970s to the dance culture travellers to Goa in the 1990s), make this an original, psychiatric-based study of travel. *Les Fous de l'Inde* is also exceptional because it is a case of cultural contact in the postcolonial period in which the Westerner initially comes off worse.

With his *Cette nuit, la liberté* (with Larry Collins, 1975) and *Il était minuit cinq à Bhopāl* (with Javier Moro, 2000), Dominique Lapierre's *La Cité de la joie* is one of the most widely read *reportage*-style books on India in post-war France.²⁹ It is a 555-page account in *style indirect libre* of the horrors experienced by Paul Lambert, a jeans- and trainers-wearing Catholic priest, as he tries to help a cross-section of Kolkata's slum dwellers. In spite of its account of the Frenchman's unshakeable faith, the 72 chapters are not quite a modern-day collection of *lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, because industrial Calcutta and to the city's prominent role in the British Empire are noted in passing (pp. 38–45). This means that fleeting acknowledgement is given to the history of the city, rather than seeing it exclusively as the theatre for Lambert's acts of Christian charity. There is even an Indian co-protagonist, Hasari Pal, a rickshaw puller, who ends up agreeing to sell his own skeleton to fund his daughter's wedding. Lapierre, however, maintains a strict separation between the narrative thread which relates to the Frenchman, whose story progresses in chapters from which the Indian is absent. The book's opening disclaimer warns against a 'danger d'extrapolation abusive' (n.p.) and its epilogue mentions 'notables améliorations' (p. 493) in the slums since the time of writing. There is slippage, however, and the slum comes to stand for the city and even the country. This is because the author refuses to anchor the text historically: there is a

²⁹ *Les Livres disponibles* confirms the book has been in print continuously since its publication in 1975 and the publisher, Robert Laffont, records approximate cumulative sales figures up to the end of 2010 as 300,000.

total absence of dates. This atemporal focus essentializes Calcutta and India. It means that, although the book has a publication date (obviously enough), the author of this most popular book is attempting to suggest that there is a timeless quality to Indian poverty. Urban slums may have existed for decades, centuries even in major metropolises, but to characterize them in this way is to avoid interrogating the structural reasons for their continued existence. It is uncritical at best and complicit at worst. Close examination of the text, does indeed show that it is linked to the immediate post-independence period. This link is not out in the open and it concerns the way that the Indians are not able to alter their own situation and that it is a European character who is the enabler of positive change. This is a myth which is based on the activity of Mother Theresa and her Missionaries of Charity. Their methods, their overshadowing of more effective local groups and the damage done to the city's image have all been criticized from a Calcuttan perspective by Aroup Chatterjee.³⁰

Clearly books such as those written by Gloaguen and Duval, Airault, and Lapierre are important documents for the cultural contact between India and France in the 1970s, 80s and 90s. It is therefore important to include these books in the bibliography although they go beyond the mid-eighteenth century to mid-twentieth century focus of the AHRC project. These books are included and are searchable in the same way as other entries.³¹ The only difference is one of presentation: the titles in the main list and in the annotations that go beyond the AHRC list are rendered visually distinctive by being printed against a grey background, and the text of the annotations with a slightly reduced line pitch. The point here is to include in the bibliography significant material which does not share the parameters and the assumptions at work in its organization of knowledge.

7. Questioning definitions

This issue of the inclusion of material outside the bibliography's initial parameters illustrates that, when conducted in a self-reflexive manner, compiling a bibliography is a form of academic activity that repeatedly confronts researchers with epistemological questions. As soon as you define a field, you put that definition up to scrutiny. This is because of the importance of framing the scope of a list of books. Only with adequate framing can the collection and organization of the works of others contribute to the understanding of those works in an active way. At a fundamental level, *French Books on India* is exactly what its title says it is: a list of French books on India. However, all three of the signifiers in this very functional (and even minimalist) title — 'French', 'books' and 'on India' — can be questioned and this questioning brings up issues relating to the organization of knowledge.

For instance, in this book-list 'French' is primarily a linguistic rather than a geographical designation. The works listed here are not only books from metropolitan France, though

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³¹ *Mother Teresa: The Final Verdict* (Calcutta: Meteor Books, 2003), pp. 225–26.

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they are in the majority), but also books published in French-speaking countries outside France. These countries are located both in Europe (primarily Belgium and Switzerland), but also beyond that continent, to the west (in Canada) and also to the east (in Mauritius).³² This indicates that books about India in French cannot be entirely subsumed into episodes of cultural contact between the French and various groups of Indians, or even into the ongoing attempt by those writing in French to understand the significance of that contact. French-language writing about India also inscribes itself into global networks of trade and colonialism. In the case of Mauritius we see that those economic networks passed from French to British control after 1814. The British practice of recruiting mainly Indian indentured labour between 1834 and 1910 gave rise to diasporic Indian communities who then engaged with the French and Creole linguistic heritage of Mauritius and Réunion Island to create a different type of French-language representations of India. These were not based on the asymmetry of extractive colonial capitalist relations between the West and India. While of course studies of the history of the French presence in India and colonial fiction which exploits the local colour of the islands, remain important elements in the books published in Mauritius and Réunion island, from the mid-1930s onwards other titles focus first on the self-documentation in French of a community of Indian origin or on the first visit to contemporary India by an islander.³³ Then, in subsequent generations, members of that community (Ananda Devi being the best known of them) begin to publish fiction. Indo-French fiction by authors based in Mauritius and Reunion Island, therefore, is a complex phenomenon which includes the British. It is like an unpredictable undertow of colonialism that moves in different directions from the main current running between

³² For texts on India published in Canada, readers are invited to consult *L'Extrême-Orient dans la littérature au Québec*, an online bibliography by Janusz Przychodzen, Serge Granger, Vijayalakshmi Rao and Kokou Vincent Simedoh, on the following website: <http://sociocritique.mcgill.ca/orienteb.htm> (accessed 11 November 2010). In the eighteenth century, many books which could not be published in France for reasons of censorship and were printed in London, Amsterdam or The Hague: see Barry Taylor (ed.), *Foreign Language Printing in London 1500–1900* (London: British Library Publications, 2003), for the situation in relation to London.

³³ Joseph-François Charpentier de Cossigny, *Lettre à M. Sonnerat. Palma, Île-de-France, le 6 novembre 1784. Voyage aux Indes Orientales et à la Chine* (Île de France [Mauritius]: Imprimerie royale, 1784), [no author], *Documents réunis par le Comité du Bicentenaire de la Bourdonnais* (Port Louis: Pezzani, 1899), Aunauth Beejadhur, *Les Indiens à l'île Maurice* (Port Louis: Typographie moderne, 1935), Clément Charoux, *Ameenah* (Port Louis: The General Printing and Stationery Company, 1935), Arthur Martial, *Sphinx de bronze* (Port Louis: General Printing and Stationery Company, 1935), Raymonde R. de Kervern, *Apsara la danseuse* (Port Louis: The General Printing and Stationery Company, 1941), Marcelle Lagesse, *La Diligence s'éloigne à l'aube...* (Port Louis: Esclapon, 1959), Marcel Cabon, *Namasté* (Port Louis: Le Cabestan, 1965), Marcel Cabon, *Le Rendez-vous de Lucknow* (Port Louis: Mauritius Printing Company, 1966), Berthe du Pavillon, *Piment rouge* (Port Louis: Rault, 1972), Raymond d'Unienville, *Hier, Suffren* (Port Louis: The Mauritius Printing Company, 1972), [no author], *Bourbon sur la route des Indes au XVIII^e siècle: voyages, commerce, comptoirs et colonies* (Saint-Denis de la Réunion: Archives départementales de La Réunion, 1987), Michel Pousse and Tilaga Pitchaya (eds), *L'Inde, études et images...* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1993), Ananda Nirsimloo Devi, *Le Voile de Draupadi* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1993), Charles-Marie Leconte de Lisle, *L'Inde française* (Saint-Denis de la Réunion: Grand Océan, 1999) and Ananda Nirsimloo Devi, *Indian Tango* (Paris: Gallimard 2007).

France and India. It is important for the sake of completeness, that the French-language works that spring from it are included in *French Books on India*.³⁴

It would seem, initially at least, that there is no way to question whether a book is about India or Indians if it contains relevant references. The only issue which arises is what number of references is needed for the book to be included. A case can be made for the exclusion (from both the AHRC and the non-AHRC lists) of the following text as it refers to a geographical location which is now part of the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan: Catherine Decours, *Khyber Pass* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2008). However, if the book were exclusively historical in its approach and if it gave a detailed account of the three British-Afghan wars in and around the Pass (1839–1842, 1878–1880 and 1919), then there would potentially be a case for including it in the AHRC list because it falls between the period from 1754 to 1954. In fact the contemporary focus in this text means that it is not included because it covers an area which is not India.

The implications of the complex nature of judgements like these for a critical bibliography is that the presence of a reference to India in the title and even the number of pages devoted to India and the Indians cannot be the sole criteria determining whether an item is included or not. For example, measured in terms of pages alone, the 'India-related material' in *Le Tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours* (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1998 [1873]) is limited, covering twenty pages in total (pp. 84–104); however, the representation of India plays an important role in the novel's characterization and the depiction of the rivalry between the French and the British. This is a book written by a Frenchman in which the English protagonist is upstaged by his French manservant. Phileas Fogg marries Aouda, an Indian *maharani*, but only after Passepartout invented and executed the plan that rescued her from *sati*. This marriage is described on the final page of the novel. Passepartout serves as her witness. For the late nineteenth-century reader who might be concerned that it might not be the done thing to allow a mere butler to fulfil such a role, Verne adds: 'Ne l'avait-il pas sauvée, et ne lui devait-on pas cet honneur' (p. 217). Then, the next morning at dawn after the couple are man and wife, the manservant bangs on Fogg's front door to announce that is now possible to go round the world in seventy-eight days. The question is whether Fogg will begin another circumnavigation. The Englishman is not interested, however, because the route would leave out India: 'Sans doute, répondit Mr. Fogg, en ne traversant pas l'Inde. Mais si je n'avais pas traversé l'Inde, je n'aurais pas sauvé Mrs Aouda, elle ne serait pas ma femme, et...' (p. 217). Here we see that the Englishman's version of events regarding the rescue is still diametrically opposed to the Frenchman's. The text ends with a reflection on Aouda as the only thing that Fogg gained from his journey and the thing which made him 'le plus heureux des hommes' (p. 217). There is a parallel between the

³⁴ See also Centre d'études et de recherches sur les sociétés de l'Océan indien (CERSOI), *Guide des sources documentaires sur l'Océan indien* (Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires d'Aix-Marseille, 1985) and the bibliography of Vicram Ramharai's 'Littérature mauricienne de langue française et diaspora indienne', *Synergies Inde*, 1 (2006) 191–206, pp. 204–206 (the article is also available online).

Ganesha legend and Fogg's final valuing of the personal and emotional over the technical.³⁵ The narrative significance of the 'Indian content' of *Le Tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours* exceeds the number of words devoted to it and this illustrates how French-language representations of India can extend their relevance by interpreting canonical texts in new ways.

This example suggests that what initially appeared to be a straightforward matter of the number of Indian-related references is in fact an issue where judgement needs to be exercised. There are also borderline cases which need to be addressed individually. One example is the novel in French by the young Bengali writer Toru Dutt (1856–1877). *Le Journal de Mademoiselle d'Arvers* (Paris: Didier, 1879) is set in France rather than India, however, it merits inclusion in *French Books on India* on two counts. The first is the obvious reason that it is written in French and the second reason is that its treatment of questions of love, honour and death illustrate parallels between conservative bourgeois norms in both France and India in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The final issue relating to definitions and raised by the title of this bibliography is 'when is a book a book?' As a general rule, this is a list of books which were published separately in their own right. It is sometimes the case, and this is true for *Le Tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours*, that a book can first appear in periodical form. This means that all academic articles, pamphlets, brochures, songs letters and newspaper and magazine articles fall outside the remit of *French Books on India*.³⁶ This bibliography, therefore not only contains a bias towards print media, but it is also concerned only with the book. Clearly, there are both other French-language representations of India in shorter forms as well as representations of India by French-speakers using image-based, musical, sculptural, textile and dance forms. In short, the cultural contact between France and India can be expressed by all arts and crafts. As the majority of these media are beyond the scope of this publication, it is necessary to give some brief pointers to the locations of the wealth of extant material in non-book form in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Archives nationales d'outre-mer in Aix-en-Provence, the École française d'Extrême-Orient in Pondicherry and the Musée de la Compagnie des Indes in Lorient.³⁷

³⁵ In this legend the wise elephant-headed child and his brother are challenged by their parents to go around the world in order to resolve a dispute about who is the elder sibling. Karthik zooms off on his magic peacock but after his successful circumnavigation he has to acknowledge Ganesha's superior solution. Ganesha had simply circled his parents, saying that they were the world to him.

³⁶ See the works of Voltaire and Guillaume Léonard de Bellecombe (among others) in the bibliography. Arguably the most important and influential French-language representation of India in song is Guy Béart's 'Chandernagor', released in 1957 and interpreted by Juliette Gréco (*Juliette Gréco chante Guy Béart*. Fontana CD 460539). This song is analysed by Ian H. Magedera and Kate Marsh in, "'Les Cinq Noms sonores": The French Voice in the Story of British India, 1763–1954', in *Journal of Romance Studies*, 5.1 (2004) 65–77 [pp. 70–71].

³⁷ Important conspectuses of other domains are: (colonial archives) Edmond Gaudart, *Catalogue des manuscrits des anciennes archives de l'Inde française*, 8 vols (Pondicherry: Société de l'histoire de l'Inde française and Paris: Leroux, 1922–1936), H.G. Tranchell, *Catalogue des cartes, plans et projets d'études du dépôt des anciennes archives de Pondichéry* (Paris: Leroux, 1930), Paul-Alexandre Tiby, *Notices statistiques sur les colonies françaises, imprimées par ordre de M. le vice-amiral de Rosamel, ministre... de la Marine et des*

To conclude on the issue of definitions, it is important to understand that the existence of one exception or borderline case does not mean that the initial parameters that a bibliography sets itself are immediately rendered bankrupt. Indeed, the deeper that a bibliography digs, and the more items it includes, the more likely it is to unearth texts which stretch its methodological parameters. As we have seen above in relation to Toru Dutt, these exceptions or borderline cases, and the complexity that they create, often impose themselves on account of their quality and originality. The same applies to the twenty pages devoted to India in Jules Verne's *Tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours* and to Jean-Marie Lafont's *Indika*. This book is a collection of 'essays in Indo-French relations, 1630–1976' (New Delhi: Manohar, 2000) which was published only in English. As suggested in relation to works which refer to India after 1954, in these cases the compilers have tended to err on the side of inclusivity.

8. Dual bibliographical practice?

Up until this point the argument in this introduction has served to present the book that the reader has in his or her hands; this will change from this point onwards, as general questions of bibliographical practice are raised and references to non-paper resources will need to be made. This introduction also serves to present www.liv.ac.uk/frenchbooksonindia an open access bibliographical resource which includes everything in the printed version, such as the book-list and bilingual annotations.³⁸ It also hosts (or will host) additional elements.

The most important of these takes advantage of the web's connectivity. It is a version of the book-list with hyperlinks to full-text versions of selected (currently 10% of the total, but increasing quickly, more details about this are given below). Other elements take advantage of the lack of restrictions on space on the web: a version of the main list in reverse chronological order, for people whose interests are in the contemporary period. There is

colonies, 4 vols, vol. 3: *Établissements français de l'Inde* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1837–1840), and Alfred Martineau, *Inventaire des anciennes archives de l'Inde française* (Pondicherry: Société de l'histoire de l'Inde française, 1914); (manuscripts in Indian languages) Antoine Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits indiens, indo-chinois et malayo-polynésiens* (Paris: Leroux, 1912); (heraldry) Agnès de Place, Michel Gaudard de Soulages and Philippe de Castellux, *Dictionnaire généalogique et armorial de l'Inde française: 1560–1962* (Versailles: De Place, 1997); (maps) Françoise Durand Évrard, Alexis Rinckenbach and Christophe Beyeler, *Les Indes belliqueuses – Aventures et cartographie des Français aux Indes Dépôt des fortifications des colonies* (Aix-en-Provence, Centre des archives d'Outre-mer, 2002); (coins) Régis Antoine, *L'Histoire curieuse des monnaies coloniales* (Paris: ACL, 1986); (wartime postage stamps) Philippe Voisin, *Les Surcharges 'France libre' dans les établissements français en Inde, 1941–1945* (Orléans: Voisin, 1984); (architecture) Jean-Marie Lafont, *Chitra: Cities and Monuments of eighteenth-century India from French Archives* (New Delhi and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); and miscellaneous artefacts: André Garrigues, *Musée de la Compagnie des Indes: Guide du visiteur* (Lorient: Société des amis du Musée de Lorient, 1993), and *L'Héritage des Indes dans les musées et collections publiques en Europe, Les Cahiers de la Compagnie des Indes*, numbers 5 and 6 (2000–2001).

³⁸ *French Books on India* should be cited as <http://www.liv.ac.uk/frenchbooksonindia>, followed by the date of consultation between square brackets, as per the *Columbia Guide to Online Style* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006) The annotators are designated by their initials, a key to which is given on the last page of the annotations.

also some of the tools which are familiar to users of websites such web counters, a list of recommended links, a detailed set of Frequently Asked Questions for the non-specialist (appearing as FAQs in English, as 'Foire Aux Questions' in French and there is also a version in Hindi). The final important element is a wiki version of the full list to which all-comers can make additions and revisions (the significance of this wiki is explored in the tenth and final section below).

The existence of the online version was only made possible by the support by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. The crucial positive impact of this support means that, although a printed version has been produced under copyright, the bibliography is not dependent on this form alone for its dissemination.³⁹ Free access was at the heart of the framing of the project bid to the AHRC. The aim thereby was to address a problem about the distribution of knowledge concerning countries such as India which were once the colonies of European nations.

More will be said about this below, but *French Books on India online* and resources which adopt similar model thus have the potential able to respond to the loss to India of documents about Indian history which were 'repatriated' to the United Kingdom and to France out of a concern for their preservation after decolonization in 1947 and after the cession of the sovereignty of the former French trading posts to the Union of Indian states in 1954. The existence of the hyperlinked version is of immeasurable benefit for this bibliography as a research tool because it allows both a close and 'distant reading' of some of these works.

The dual mode of dissemination online and on paper has meant that, in methodological terms, *French Books on India* might be said to straddle two epistemes in arts and humanities research. It could be assumed that the first, represented by the printed version, takes a more conservative position on issues such as finality, authorship and copyright.⁴⁰ Certain factors support this assumption: the printed version is not automatically updated, the people who contributed from compilers to editors and annotators are all named and the copyright symbol is found at the start of the book. When we look closely at pages of this book which precede this introduction, however, the collaborative nature of the bibliographical enterprise means that is actually extremely difficult to denote with a great degree of accuracy both the nature of the tasks and the amount of work completed. The verbs 'compile', 'revise', 'verify' and 'edit' overlap semantically and are rather inadequate to describe the range and amount of tasks performed. This suggests that bibliography frequently necessitates a mode of collaboration which is found in the natural sciences. After all, the total number of nineteen collaborators here is not unusual for an article in molecular biology or particle physics.

³⁹Thanks are due to Glasgow French and German Publications for agreeing to the bibliography being available concurrently in a free-to-use format.

⁴⁰Corinne François-Deneve, Mircea Itu and Ian H. Magedera, *French Books on India: from Dupleix to Decolonization* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow French and German Publications), 2011.

Despite the interactivity and enhanced functionality of the online version, it is important to understand that that version is by no means the preferred one. Indeed, there would be something perverse about not publishing a piece of research about books in book form. More than this instinctive reaction, however, online resources are simply more fragile because they exist in a non-material form. Attempts have been made to mitigate this fragility of the virtual by the institutional link with the University of Liverpool in terms of hosting and also by using two separate secure archive facilities to store the data. These are SAS-SPACE hosted by the School of Advanced Study, University of London and the British Library's Digital Archive, which takes snapshots of the content of the site at regular intervals. These measures go some way to addressing the question of the lack of permanence, but it is important to understand that the corpus of bibliographical resources is still overwhelmingly book-based. In one sense the online catalogue of a major national library is both the most complete and most imprecise bibliographical tool and, therefore, it is important in terms of impact that *French Books on India* is both recorded with an International Standard Book Number in the very lists that were its original source. In order to do that it also has to exist as a hard copy on the shelves beside other bibliographies.

9. Annotations, hyperlinks to full-text and 'user stats'

Even more than in the establishment of the criteria for inclusion of a particular item and negotiation of exceptions to those criteria, it is in its annotations that this bibliography engages most intensively with qualitative research. This extends the usefulness of *French Books on India* to more than a flat text list which records cultural production. How should we account for this process in terms of the nomenclature of traditional bibliographical scholarship? Bibliography is a discipline, which even G. Thomas Tanselle, one of its foremost historians, called: 'a related group of subjects what happen to be commonly referred to by the same term'.⁴¹ Annotation has meant that this document in both its print and online versions has crossed the boundary from simple enumerative or systematic bibliography and has integrated analytical and historical approaches.

As they are so fundamental to its effectiveness as a research tool, it is useful to outline the form of the annotations in this bibliography and how they were generated. The annotations cover fifty-seven significant texts on India in French. As can be expected with this backward-facing corpus, works from the entire 254-year span of the bibliography have been annotated; however, the majority of the annotations were written about works which were either written either in the period from 1754 to 1954 or represent that period (exceptions have been signalled by background highlighting in the same way as in the main list). Here selective annotation actively interprets the books and does not shrink away from value judgements.

Each of the annotations of around one hundred words summarizes the significance of the book as a key text in French-language representations of India. In addition, it includes brief

⁴¹See *Bibliographical Analysis: a Historical Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 3.

remarks on the work's genre and thematic coverage (for example: colonial loss, nostalgia, utopias, republicanism, Louis XV, and whether it contains any representations of British colonialism in India).⁴² Any intertexts or examples of outright plagiarism are also noted, as are any significant events in the book's publication history such as reprints or translations.⁴³ The final element that annotators have been asked to detail is a justification for the selection of the book. Taken together, therefore, the aim of the annotations is to provide a sample of some of the most important French-language representations of India. They correspond to the criteria developed by the American Library Association to define the best lists of books. These will contain: 'everything that an aspiring expert in the field ought to know about, everything that the community of experts will know about and something that individual experts may not know about'.⁴⁴

As far as the online version is concerned, in the medium term, the goal is to annotate the most significant one hundred texts. Long-term goals are to increase the numbers of annotations on individual items by more than one contributor, as is the case at present for only one annotation Jean-Antoine Dubois's *Mœurs, institutions et cérémonies des peuples de l'Inde* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1825). The collaborative element could also be pursued in the wiki.

As mentioned above, hyperlinks are a crucial development. An online version means that the reader can have access not only to the books as a list, but also read (and in certain case even search within) the texts via the Bibliothèque nationale de France's electronic library Gallica and via www.archive.org and books.google.com among others. There appears to be no single type of work that has been chosen for digitization. The list covers interpretations of Indian religions, of translations of the major works in the literature of the region (and the notes and other significant framing documents which accompany these translations). In addition, this list of books contains books from every period which gives an insight into the how the economic benefit to France of its Indian trading posts was managed. We also find

⁴² An analysis of terms used to describe content in the annotations would overlap with a list of stereotypes of French-language representations of India. This is demonstrated in the doctoral research of Dhana Underwood, 'La Représentation de la femme indienne à l'époque coloniale (1744–1954), Étude des œuvres littéraires francophones', which investigates the stereotypes — 'sati', 'bayadère' and 'métisse' — relating to the representation of women.

⁴³ The most notable modern case of plagiarism is that of the borrowings in Thierry Ardisson's *Pondichéry* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1993) from George Delamare (*Désordres à Pondichéry*, Paris: Les Éditions de France, 1938) and from Yvonne Robert Gaebele (*Créole et grande dame: Johanna Bégum, marquise Duplex, 1706–1756, sa famille, la vie aux Indes dans la première moitié du XVIII^e, Pondichéry en ce temps-là* [Pondicherry: Bibliothèque coloniale and Paris: Leroux, 1934]). These were so obvious and numerous that they led to the book being pulped by the publisher. There are also, however, cases of eighteenth-century French travellers in India inventing accounts of what they saw. Here the traveller and translator Anquetil-Duperron outlines the reason why he fabricated an account of *sati*: '[...] je n'ai pas assisté à cette cérémonie barbare quoique religieuse [...]. J'ai ajouté ce trait pour me délivrer des mille et une questions que l'on me faisoit sur les usages du pays; en cela j'ai manqué à la vérité'; see Jean Deloche, Manonmani Filliozat et Pierre Sylvain Filliozat (eds) *Voyage en Inde 1754–1762: Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil Duperron, Relation de voyage en préliminaire à la traduction du Zend-Avesta* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1997), p. 268.

⁴⁴ See D. W. Krummel, *Bibliographies, their Aims and their Methods* (London and New York: Mansell, 1984), pp. 147–148.

books about archeological excavations and valuable gazetteers which can give excellent statistical and other information to historians of India wherever they are in the world.⁴⁵ It is obvious, however, how such texts are precious primary source documents for Indian historians of India. The only reservation at present is that there is only one book published in Pondicherry available online. It is possible, however, to request the digitalization of a title in the library's catalogue which is not subject to copyright.

The situation in France is far more favourable than that in the UK and that affects research on India greatly as the United Kingdom is the former main colonial power of course. It is most unfortunate for historians of India residing in South Asia and in the rest of the world outside London, that the British Library has not yet developed something similar to Gallica.

The final unusual element in the bibliography is the presence of statistics for the numbers and locations of users. These are updated in real time via the widget provided free by Revolver Maps. Generally in most academic websites, technical statistical data like this is collected for the purposes of measuring impact, but it is not shared with other users. The beauty of this system is that it enables all users who are interested to see when other users are online and even their location down to a forty square kilometre area on the earth's surface. In the case of Indian users the individual states emerge very clearly. By a happy coincidence it is possible to see statistics for Pondicherry town itself.

The progression in user numbers is interesting in itself. At the time of writing the website has been online for exactly three months and in that time six hundred visitors have been recorded. In the first month, users from the United Kingdom were in the majority, double the size of the next nationality group, the French, but the geographical spread was large with over a dozen countries within the first two weeks. In the last month-and-a-half, UK users are still the most numerous, but only by about twenty or so. The percentages of both French and British users are in the low thirties, with Indians making up thirteen percent or so of the total. So far the site has been accessed by thirty-six nations. A picture of the users of the site which is accessible by those same users at all times is vital for building a user community because it shows that there is a global forum to which it is worth contributing.

10. Wikis and collaborative postcolonial bibliography

In 1978 Edward Said's *Orientalism* enjoined its readers to reflect on the way that scholarship and knowledge gathering system can be harnessed for expanding power. A prominent example of this is the *Description de l'Égypte* commissioned by Napoleon.⁴⁶ The discourse of postcolonialism which has developed in subsequent decades encourages us to

⁴⁵Eugène Gibert, *L'Inde française en 1880* (Paris: Challamel, 1881); Léon Richaud, *Lettre de M. Richaud... sur la création d'un port à Pondichéry [9 mars 1885]* (Pondicherry: Imprimerie du Gouvernement, 1885) and Adolphe-Ambroise-Alexandre Gatine, *Exposé des réclamations des Indous de Pondichéry. Libre usage des rues. Fusion des castes* (Paris: Cordier, 1857)

⁴⁶(New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

be critical about global power structures in the present and in the past (and how the past can affect the present). One example of a radical practice of postcolonialism, which goes beyond a cultural critique in academic writing, is evident in the dual pricing structure for journals such as *Interventions, Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, which has a different price in the South from that charged in developed nations in the North. This example is neither the first, nor the only such strategy, but it is an attempt to help to mitigate the effect of the Western domination of the means of production and dissemination of academic knowledge. The capital investment of public money into the wider project, of which *French Books on India* was a part, has enabled a permanent advantage to be achieved as far as dissemination is concerned. The next stage is to create a space where those who browse or consult the resource, can speak about its content. Questions of the voice and dialogue are extremely important in postcolonial studies and it would be a positive achievement if as many readers as possible could become contributors.

A realistic aim is to create a community of specialists and in the first three months of the existence of the online version (from May to October 2011), feedback and suggestions received indicate that a clear potential to do this exists.⁴⁷ It is clear that this dialogue should be facilitated in a format which is as democratic, bilingual and as easy to use as possible, not requiring any specialist technical knowledge. It is clear that the wiki is the most responsive form for this open collaboration to take place. The wiki exists within the other online offerings on the website and takes the form of a file of the main list and annotations which can be altered and published online immediately. Once any changes have been checked by users they can be integrated into the main document by the administrators. This open form of authorship need not be to the detriment of authority. On account of its location in the middle of a specialized resource as a URL, which does not appear in search engines such as Google in its own right because it is an autoforwarding device, details of *French Books on India* circulate mainly within academic channels and its users and annotators will come from those groups because the wider browsing public is unlikely to find it. In this way in terms of ease of editing, the resource will resemble the majority of the Wikipedia articles which are open ('non-protected' in the jargon). Its fenced-off location online gives this wiki a measure of defence which is akin to the 'semi-protection' that Wikipedia offers to controversial or biographical articles about living people.

This strategy of global interconnectivity and openness to dialogue on a topic which is defined by two main competing tendencies (which in its simplest form could be described as a rhetoric of discovery versus a rhetoric of recycling), means that as a total package including its printed and online elements, *French Books on India* might be true both to the matter-of-fact nature of its title and to the decision not to include the word 'bibliography' within in. Named in this way this book-list aims to circumvent the implicit claims of bibliographies in the past to be both comprehensive and objective. In this, those

⁴⁷ I am extremely grateful for the concrete suggestions for improvement received from Robin Howells, Swati Dasgupta, Patrick Tuck, Gilles Probst, M. Gobalakichenane and Jean-Yves Mollier. The same goes for the recent annotations received.

bibliographies can be seen as positivist and even Hegelian, and one of the last outposts of uncritical Enlightenment thinking. The decision to omit the word 'bibliography' in the title of the both versions is a direct consequence of scepticism about the overtones of that word. It is also capitalizing on contemporary technology to attempt something new.