Criticism

Volume 64
Issue 3 *New Approaches to Critical Bibliography and the Material Text*

Article 8

2022

Beast and Man in India: Undoing John Lockwood Kipling's Imperial Citation

Oishani Sengupta
University of Texas at El Paso, osengupta@utep.edu

BEAST AND MAN IN INDIA: UNDOING JOHN LOCKWOOD KIPLING'S IMPERIAL CITATION

Oishani Sengupta

Beast and Man in India (1891), the illustrated compendium on animals by John Lockwood Kipling, claims to be many things at once. In 2019, Parama Roy described it as the "best known nineteenth-century Anglophone publication on the status of animals in India,"[1]—an estimation reflected in the work's own awareness of the novelty of its contents. The front matter, sporting a calligraphic tiger, announces the scope of the work as "A Popular Sketch of Indian Animals in their Relations with the People;"[2] the introduction highlights its ambitious goal of "translating nebulous Indian notions into stark English print" while simultaneously pointing to its status as a "pen and pencil essay"[3] to emphasize personal reflection. Across its pages, poignant accounts of complexly intimate cross-species entanglements shaping the daily tenor of subcontinental life sit next to colonial platitudes about the irrationality of "native notions,"[4] which are allegedly filled with "dark aboriginal superstition"[5] about religion, caste, and social practice. Despite its wealth of humorous anecdotes and surprising insights into social life, *Beast and Man* endorses a limiting view of the intellect of subcontinental peoples. Kipling uses intimacy with animals as evidence of incomplete humanity, while likening ethnicities and animal groups to promote racializing agendas in service of the power of the Raj.

In eighteen chapters, everything from the real-life "quails, cocks, and partridges for fighting, hawks for the chase, fancy pigeons, singing and talking birds"[6] in Lucknow's bird bazaars to "the enumeration of fabulous creatures invented by Eastern fancy,"[7] such as Garuda, Hanuman, and Yal, is offered up to the British reader's gaze. In this panorama of the subcontinental everyday, intense unruly feelings of colonized Indian[8] subjects toward the animal kingdom affirm the inefficient and unregulated economy of the "Oriental character."[9] It is surprising that a man like Kipling would be drawn to making such vague overgeneralizations, particularly given his successful tenure in art schools in Bombay and Lahore

Criticism Summer/Fall 2022, Vol. 64, Nos. 3–4, pp. 333–350. ISSN 0011-1589.

as well as personal relationships with Indian artists from many social backgrounds. Kipling's homogenizing rhetoric of Orientalism is less an example of armchair scholarship by experts in the metropole and more an expression of the urgent reorganization of the production and distribution of local arts and crafts effected through the imperialist motivations of the Department of Science and Art (DSA)—a bureaucratic arm of the colonial government of India. His dogged attention to detail repeatedly arrives at a stalemate with the hierarchic and controlling impulses born from participating in the DSA's program of reining in India's diverse cultural practices under a single stamp of aesthetic approval.[10] This tension becomes explicit in the material text of *Beast and Man,* whose miscellaneity allows Kipling to thread his incisive observations on the unstable multispecies ecologies of a colonial landscape into pragmatic considerations of art and artisanal practice. *Beast and Man*'s pages bear witness to the colonial struggle of maintaining cultural authoritarianism over the regional artistries of the Indian subcontinent—a struggle enacted through its attempt to impose order over the turbulent hybridity of its own bibliographic design.

Kipling's authoritative tone about India is constantly under threat in his own work. He briefly acknowledges the brittleness of the "apparent confidence with which native beliefs are treated,"[11] thereby weakening his own trite remarks on how these beliefs are incomprehensible to the rational mind of the "ordinary Englishman."[12] His fragile posture of mastery over the Indigenous cultures of South Asia is further undone by the material composition of the book object that contains it. Names of South Asian artists of Muslim and Sikh faith featured in the list of illustrations undercut his promises to investigate India's "complex and paradoxical humanity"[13] from a modern and rational British perspective shared by him and his readers. In addition to the explicitly credited author, John Lockwood Kipling, the book's diverse cast of creators include Munshi Sher Muhammad, Amir Baksh, F. H. Andrews, and Bhai Isur Singh, many of whom were colleagues and associates. Moreover, several images ostensibly drawn by Kipling bear captions noting details like "Delhi Artisans" or "From an Indian Picture," to acknowledge their independent histories while avoiding any explicit reference to their participation within preexisting genres, traditions, and cultural genealogies. I consider this double-edged tactic that Kipling practices of acknowledging Indigenous creators with of aim of ultimately marginalizing them an act of "imperial citation."[14] As a "locative maneuver" [15] of power, to use Antoinette Burton's phrase, imperial citation is the practice of naming in service of erasure, to acknowledge in order to appropriate, to appear

to engage with a robust epistemological tradition and note its independent existence while in truth arrogating to oneself and one's own heritage its cultural value. This mode of authoritarian appropriation, I suggest, is always only partially successful—the reference is carried forward, leaking its material existence to future generations such that acts of recuperation become imaginable.

Although such totalizing dreams of recovery and repair remain unrealizable, our wish to discover traces of every hand that has labored in service of the imperial archive's drive toward acquisition is pressing and important.[16] Surfacing in a rambling tome with multiethnic creators, the incompleteness addressed by imperial citation points to the gaps afflicting scholarship on colonial textuality. Books, pamphlets, and newspapers produced in, around, and about empire hide the participation of unnamed contributors and creators—colonized and working-class subjects who may have set type, inked plates, worked the press, or participating in sewing and binding—excised from the cultural record.[17] As a result, historians of print culture in colonial India often lament the "scarce and erratic" nature of information on topics as wide-ranging as missionary archives, individual printers, and press ownership that render it difficult to analyze the networks of print production and circulation.[18] Often scholars have to cultivate personal relationships with publishers and booksellers who may choose to shed light on these forgotten histories through anecdotal means.[19] By making explicit the motivations and negotiations that devalued the contributions of Indian artists in the colonial era, Kipling's strategies to maintain authorial control over the creators designing *Beast and Man* offer certain guidelines for recovering such evidence if read against the grain. Rather separating the text's two analyses on interspecies interaction and multiethnic cultural production, I consider them one and the same: the problem of maintaining primacy through dispersed strategies of control. Through its miscellaneous reflections, *Beast and Man* engages colonial power structurally as well as thematically—expressing the conflicts between authors and illustrators through degrading analogies of animality under colonialism.

In W. W. Greg's words, the work of critical bibliography lies not only in spotting "the many small points, the corrections, the cancels, the withdrawals" that lurk in an edition but also in tracing "the relations of the author, the publisher, the printer, the control that the one had over the other, and that those in authority had over them all."[20] Turning this labor in a reparative direction, Derrick R. Spires's call to create "liberation bibliographies" asks us not only to redescribe objects and credit minoritized creators but also to, equally importantly, "explore how current practices

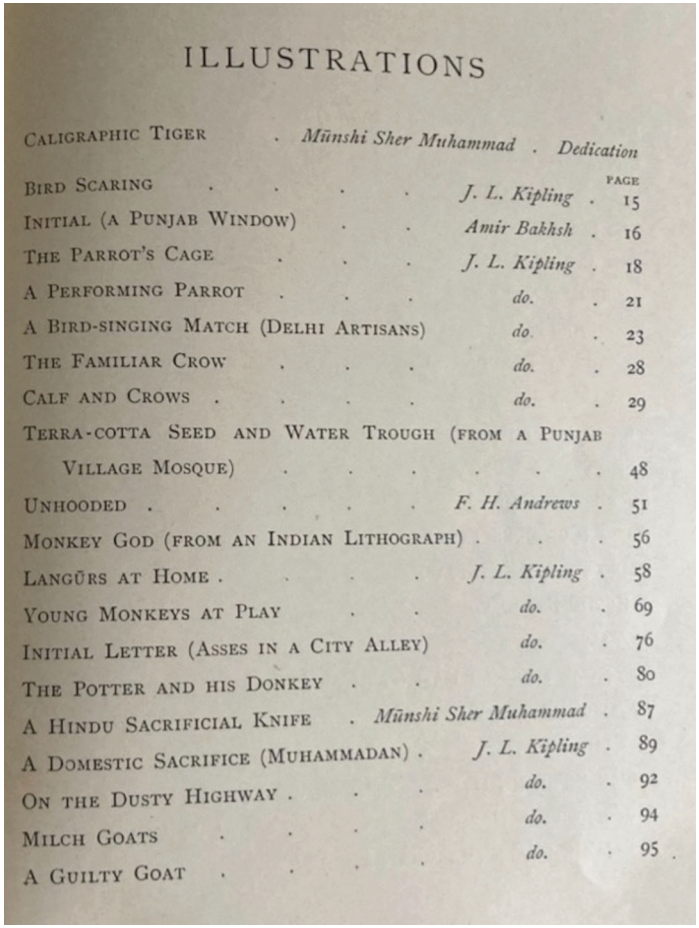
emerged and whose interests they were crafted to serve."[21] For anticolonial bibliographic practice, the authority we aim to question is not the reputation of a printshop or the approval of a master printer but the slowly, systematically, and violently accrued control of colonial governance over the political and cultural practices of the subcontinent's land, language, materiality, human resource, and creativity. I explore *Beast and Man*'s enactment of colonial textuality by tracking the recurring metaphors of the animal training to extrapolate the development of disciplinary practices that shape the labor of Indigenous artists. Specifically, I examine Kipling's ideas on remaking local arts and crafts through imperial citation, by reparatively reading the material structure of *Beast and Man*, and work to bring traces of the artistic production of colonized peoples to the foreground.

Beast *as* Man: Training Animals and Artists

John Lockwood Kipling, regularly consulted by Macmillan and Co. as an expert on the cultural politics of Punjab, solidified this partnership in 1891 by publishing his ethnographic vignettes of animal life in the Indian subcontinent. *Beast and Man in India* is a complicated little volume, packing together styles, genres, and social contexts that produce a cacophonous ungovernability of registers. Its structure gradually unravels from tight taxonomic chapters titled "Of Birds," "Of Monkeys," and "Of Horses and Mules" to rambling discussions with unwieldly descriptors such as "Of Animal Training" and "Of Animals and the Supernatural." Some of these latter chapters, especially "Of Animals in Indian Art," are more interested in South Asian histories of animal art rather than the scavenging dogs and sharp-tongued parrots found in the initial pages, making explicit the variety of topics counted among the book's concerns. The illustrations exhibit a similarly capacious interest in animality, ranging from rural vignettes of a farmer and his bullocks plowing the field or a potter riding his donkey to Muslim religious sacrifices and idols of Hindu gods like Ganesha and Hanuman. From social practice to cultural artifact, *Beast and Man* aims to explore the intimate contacts between people and animals not only through Kipling's magisterial analysis but also through its stunning visuality.

As one of the book's few commentators, Parama Roy notes its assemblage-like quality, calling it a "catalog of the varieties of domesticated and semi-domesticated animal life in colonial India."[22] Aside from Kipling, the many contributors to the volume include British artists

and art pedagogues John Griffiths and F. H. Andrews, and several of Kipling's students (Muhammad, Baksh, and Singh) during his term as principal at the Mayo School of Art in Lahore (fig. 1). The tome's visual richness, therefore, is not just produced by an overwhelming proliferation of topics and styles but an effect of the mixture of Eastern and Western iconographies in the work of these artists. Griffiths, for example, who lived in Bombay and was known for his reproductions of the cave paintings at Ajanta, contributed a journalistic sketch of a Bombay tram horse, while Muhammad executed the calligraphic tiger on the dedication page. Instead of looking at these illustrations solely as expressing a wide swathe of iconographic traditions, I treat them as physical objects with individual histories of conception, production, and remediation that inevitably



ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. The first page of the list of illustrations. Author's personal copy.

occupy space in Kipling's text. A focus on picture instead of image, W. J. T. Mitchell suggests, makes us attend to the physical "support" surrounding images, bringing into prominence "the immaterial image in a material medium."[23] Such considerations of physicality are crucial in colonial contexts, where material conditions raise the very questions that symbolic images tend to suppress. Seen as pictures, the visual apparatus of *Beast and Man* suggests that the value of Kipling's project lies not in a systematic narrative of colonial animal ethnography but in its curation of disparate images from many sources and traditions—invoking a hybrid visuality characteristic of British presence in India.

Mass printing in colonial India, engendered from British printmaking and publishing practices and harnessed to colonial circuits of distribution and consumption, was a central participant in the popularization of a hybrid textual culture which acted as the immediate context for Kipling's publication.[24] Kipling felt the urgent need to tame the subversive capacities of the Indigenous narratives and iconographies through a range of bibliographic practices that I list under the umbrella category of imperial citation. Juxtaposing *patachitra* paintings with Mughal miniatures and Hindu deities with colonial ethnographic sketches, Kipling's book uses iconographic cues familiar to British, Anglo-Indian, and Indian audiences[25] to order his sociological claims about the habits and practices of Oriental subjects. A hybrid iconography influenced by English prints, in Natasha Eaton's words, became "the most ubiquitous of art forms"[26] within colonial visuality's coercive landscape. Kipling observes this himself: "Portraits of the Queen and the Royal Family, pictures of the Oxford and Cambridge boat-race, of winners of the Derby, of prize cattle, of the buxom British infant and types of Western beauty, are stuck side by side with the blue Krishna and the black Kali, and nobody sees any incongruity."[27] This transformative impact of colonial visuality on the texture of modern life in India indicates how the circulation of colonial iconographies shaped rather than simply reflected the cultural field of animal-human encounters.[28] In *Beast and Man*, remediated lithographs of popular devotional scenes titled "Maheshwar fighting Kali" share space with the "Bombay Tram-Horse wearing Horse-Cap," creating a topsy-turvy mixture of past and present where misinterpreted religious Indian symbols jostle with the paraphernalia of Western industrial modernity exactly as Kipling describes in the above scene.[29] Beyond cementing the relation between the text's patchwork visuality and its representation of the visual hybridity in British colonialism, such images—and the errors and misunderstandings plaguing them—highlight the precarity of British and Anglo-Indian expertise in the subcontinent's polyglot world.

Beneath the text's apparent submersion in the swirling multiplicity of colonial registers, Kipling's urge for mastery over the expansive field of Indian art appreciation reigns supreme. Roy examines how the text's claim of providing an authoritative synthesis of conversations around animal welfare and vegetarianism is upheld through the "highlighting of multiple frames, unreliable information relays"[30] that incorporate many contexts and traditions into the text while denigrating the cultural authority of the Indigenous interpreters whose expertise it consults. *Beast and Man* enacts this authority through its accounts of the "Oriental mind"[31]—an inconsistent mixture of intense feeling, centuries-old practices, and entrenched prejudice that often liquidates the mechanisms of control applied to it. Although *Beast and Man* ostensibly reflects on the intimate relationships between humans and animals in the Indian subcontinent, it is filled with reflections on the condition of art and the status of artists in India in ways that reflect Kipling's own professional concerns. One of the ways in which this subtle link between animals and the art market is made explicit is through Kipling's emphasis on the concept of training—the crucial process that he considers applicable both to animals and "native craftsmen."[32] While faulty Indigenous methods of imparting knowledge (often described as taming) result in loss of acculturation and skill, training is the systematized and replicable process by which animal and artist are reconstituted into disciplined subjects of coloniality.

Using animal ethnography metonymically, Kipling makes a series of subtle observations about the disciplinary mechanisms necessary to colonial hybridity by making claims about animals that are easily transferable to the irrational and impulsive Oriental subject. Like the text that contains them, the animals in the book are cultural hybrids themselves. Despite their wild original natures, monkeys ride trains and eat cake, elephants and camels wear bejeweled *howdahs* and harnesses, and snakes and cows are often appeased as powerful divinities—all attesting to the "curious intimacy that exists with animals in India."[33] One of the many goals of the book is to categorically deny the "wholesale ascription of tender mercy to India"[34] by Europeans and assert in its place a prevalence of superstitious and irrational cruelty. The work is filled with visual accounts of animals being restrained and domesticated through the combination of care and violence, as in the case of "one of the wandering performers who lead about tame monkeys with a goat who serves them as a charger."[35] The monkeys are overworked and miserable, the goat is exasperated, and none of them demonstrate signs of humane treatment. Similar cases of dancing bears and fishing otters are cited only to highlight the cruel yet widespread practices of animal taming, which remain categorically inferior to

the "modern European and American training of wild beasts."[36] While Hindus and Muslims manage to train parrots and mynas to speak holy words, Kipling reminds us that more intelligent beasts like dogs, horses, and elephants are woefully underutilized by "distinctively native methods of training."[37] As a category of highly intelligent beast, therefore, the native artist in Kipling's estimation falls within the realm of the creatures who have been tamed into traditional practice rather than trained to produce good draftsmanship, thus leading to the widespread downfall of Indian art.

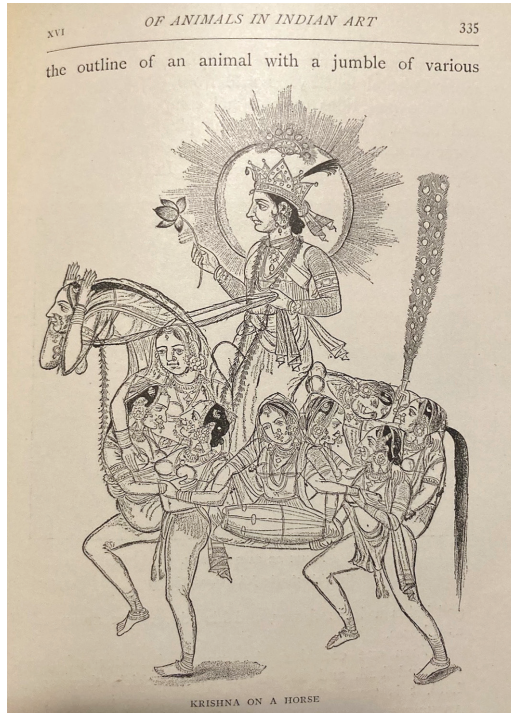


Figure 2. Bhai Isur Singh's "Krishna on a Horse." Author's personal copy.

That Kipling attempts to illustrate assertions about Indian art such as "the spirit of its artistic prime has been dead for centuries"[38] while simultaneously citing exquisite work from contemporary Indian artists leads to a paradox—one that he is anxious to resolve by either diminishing their worth or crediting himself for training them. Both these tendencies are visible in his complex citation of an illustration by Bhai Isur Singh in "Of Animals in Indian Art" (fig. 2). Mythologizing the figure of "the ancient Hindu artist,"[39] Kipling excoriates nineteenth-century Indigenous artists

and artisans as derivative, unimaginative, and unskilled, unable even to properly imitate the Ajanta cave paintings or the rock carvings in the Sanchi stupas. He considers "modern commerce"[40] responsible for the decline of artistic products, citing in his support a nearly full-page image of Krishna, explicitly naming the creator as "Bhai Isur Singh, a Sikh designer."[41] This act of naming has clearly disciplinary intentions: the image by Singh is called a "fantastic but very popular device,"[42] indicating that irrational and absurd fantasies are too dominant in the minds of Indian artists; what clearly appears to be Krishna's *gopinis*, or female consorts, is described as "a jumble of various creatures,"[43] and ultimately Kipling rounds off his analysis of the image with the claim that "trivialities of this sort scarcely bears description, and like many Oriental fancies, are safe from serious criticism."[44] His casual denigration of Singh's work has a larger purpose. Much like the horses and dogs in previous chapters, Indigenous artists, Kipling suggests, require a strict disciplinary regime to become fully productive under a modern industrial-colonial system of production—one that expects them to abandon their own histories and constantly produce objects in accordance with the taste and cultural sensibilities of British and European publics.

Against Training: Reparatively Reading Imperial Citation

Training, as Kipling suggests, is a process diametrically opposed to the inefficient and confusing ways in which animals and artists are tamed into partial productivity in India. Training is systematic, organized, and replicable across sociopolitical contexts. Kipling was just such a trainer, universally acknowledged as having developed skilled artists and craftsmen in institutions in Bombay and Lahore.[45] Kipling's success as a pedagogical marvel was reported from his early tenure at the Jamshetjee Jeejeebhoy Art School in Bombay. In 1872, *The Graphic* reported that "the native workers, under the direction of Mr. Kipling, have produced really creditable specimens of art in the Market fountain and the fountain on Falkland Road."[46] Clearly, *Beast and Man* was a product of this history of collaboration visible across Kipling's life.[47] Examining the exchange of artists, illustrators, and engravers around the work of a single text often reveals a sharing of ideas, as is obvious in the famous partnership of Kipling with his son, Rudyard, in illustrating *Kim, The Jungle Book,* and other works. However, this hierarchic relationship of colonizing instructors and colonized pupils structuring artistic production in *Beast and Man* suggests that control was central to its prepublication process. The most

significant evidence of this lies in the fact that Kipling not only makes vague analogies between training animals and training artists but also implements some of his insight in the design of the book itself. Applying imperial citationary tactics, Kipling names his students only to marginalize their labor and express his own dominance over them as the master of an art school, the writer of the book, and the colonial administrator who bears the intellectual authority to mock Indian cultural texts.

Although Baksh, Muhammed, and Singh are credited alongside British illustrators such as F. H. Andrews, J. Griffiths[48] and Kipling himself—indicating an egalitarian approach to authorship in a work by a British colonial administrator, these artists are charged with executing relatively minor drawings that are constantly upstaged by Kipling's own full-page illustrations. While Andrews and Griffiths are allowed one animal drawing each, most of the images credited to Indian artists are small details of material objects that reflect little of their personal style. Muhammad's illustrations include an image of metal restraints such as "Indian "Thorn" Bits" (173) and "An Elephant Goad (Ankus)" (227), and decorative items like a "A Painted Elephant" (231) or a "Rajput Camel-Rider's Belt" (249). Whether showy or menacing, the twists and curves of each item are executed in intricate detail, demonstrating their efficacy in controlling large and powerful beasts and giving the metaphoric language of training a violently literal dimension. Muhammad worked very closely with Kipling across and was eventually recruited as an assistant master, responsible for reproducing the same colonial methods of training as had been applied to him. Despite his complicity in this violent process, his incredible dexterity across many visual genres and styles of architectural plan, calligraphy, and realist art makes it easy to imagine the riotous talent of "Sher" Muhammad struggling like a captured tiger under the menial tasks that Kipling assigns to him in his volume.

Imperial citation operates as an appropriative method through these subtle inequalities and imbalances of power in the material text. Rather than announcing, in the bombastic style of Thomas Babington Macauley and his circle of Anglicists, that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia,"[49] Orientalist experts like Kipling, F. H. Andrews, George Birdwood, and others working under the DSA identified critical native informants whose labor they extracted through systematized training regimes to solidify their own reputations in addition to feeding larger circuits of empire. Consequently, the title page of *Beast and Man* credits only one authorial figure, John Lockwood Kipling, while subsuming the presence of his students and

colleagues under the brief statement "With Illustrations." This reticence towards acknowledgment points to the inequities structuring the colonial distribution of cultural labor, whose networks counted Kipling as a crucial node. The designer of an impeccable model of pedagogical extraction, he "routinely scouted the surrounding territories, bringing artisans into the school, and established links with the direct "craft" centers to facilitate the collection and distribution of their products in both commercial and pedagogical arenas."[50] Workshops forced students "to learn . . . what was not part of their social or cultural practices." [51] His role in the art schools of Lahore, Bombay, and Calcutta involved detaching local "illiterate artisans" from the historic densities they were embedded in in order to expropriate regional crafts practices and popularize them across the empire's expanse.[52] In *Beast and Man* and in the larger historical record, Muhammad, Baksh, and Singh are reduced to being students of Kipling, their identities, attachments, and experiences within circles of family, culture, and history, that might have encouraged them to join colonial art schools in the first place all but forgotten.

This quieter extraction typical of imperial citation is staged in the very first pages of *Beast and Man* through the contest of bibliographic prominence between Kipling and his "student" Baksh. Baksh, who won several prizes and earned reasonable fame as a painter for his drawings of intricate doorways in Lahore,[53] contributed just one small image to Kipling's volume (fig. 3). The first chapter, "On Birds," opens with two illustrations reminiscent of Mughal art—a historiated initial by Baksh and a miniature-style full-page drawing by Kipling—both echoing symbols of intricate ornamental doors human figures, and birdcages hanging from atop. Apparently gentle scenes of quotidian intimacy with pet parrots in pre-Partition Punjab is reframed by Kipling into a typically Indian example of cruel animal taming. The birds apparently resting in their cages are in fact imprisoned in "cruel torture-chambers"[54] of iron as a product of Oriental taming practices stemming from religious fallacies. Both Hindus and Muslims repeat faulty and ubiquitous traditional beliefs that parrots speak better "when taught in a darkened and silent room."[55] Kipling's criticism of these practices is ironic considering his own pedagogical style and his use of these exact methods of silencing in his own attempt to retain control of his text. Baksh's exquisite *jafri* window design is subordinated on the page as a historiated initial, while the drawing titled "A Parrot's Cage"—exhibiting the kind of door designs from Lahore for which Baksh was famous—occupies an entire page and occupies a full page.

Figure 3. Amir Baksh's "Initial (A Punjab Window)." Author's personal copy.

Centering the cultural role of illustrations in discourse may be one simple way of undoing the deliberate obscuring of Indigenous creators rife across colonial art. Baksh's intricate design around the letter "T" is so minute that the eye labors to see its thin network of overlapping patterns. Turning it into an initial would indeed result in readers missing the beauty of his masterful execution. Far from accidental, this reduction of prominence is recognizably part of the repertoire of imperial citation, that twists and torques the relationship between local cultures and the colonial frame imposed upon them. An enlarged view of the image shows four successive layers of motifs in complex geometric and floral patterns. The triptych of lotus-like flowers in the outermost layer resonates with the floral latticework hanging above the two figures—a turbaned man and a boy wearing a little ornamented cap. Their partially visible attire and the elaborate window that reveals them both hint at their affluent lifestyle, further underlined by the man's leisurely bearing and the parrot in the ornamented cage hanging above. The parrot, if present, is barely visible in the illustration, marking the curious absence of the animal whose cruel imprisonment in heated iron is lamented throughout the chapter.

Whether or not Baksh deliberately omitted the parrot with a specifically subversive aim, these little dissonances between captions, illustrations, and verbal descriptions that could frustrate the creator's modes imperial citation are brought to light through a consideration of the book's visual contents through a reparative lens.

Conclusion

Despite attempts to erase the complex identities of Amir Baksh, Munshi Sher Muhammad, Bhai Isur Singh, Bhai Ram Singh, Muhammad Din, and other "students" from the cultural record, Kipling's own accounts reveal their interests, preferences, and personalities without fully intending to do so. For instance, Kipling himself notes that their desire for executing intricate designs was often limited to whether they were interested in the material for personal or cultural reasons, since "[in] the delineation of strange creatures of (hindered) mythology Amir Baksh and Ala Din were particularly happy."[56] Beyond the Mayo School's curricular focus on drawing and mathematics to provide art students with "an elevating influence capable of raising the mind above sensual and material pursuits,"[57] this brief vignette from the school's official chronicles shows that Baksh and Muhammad's attachment to Islamic architecture and design because of their own heritage and sensibilities rather than in affirmation of an imperial civilizing impulse. What is also revealed is the necessity of triangulating an abundance of traces and gaps—records, memories, iconographies, and their suspicious absences—to reconstruct the presence of agents in the print market systematically erased, misrepresented, or subtly reframed in the archives of colonial culture.

This repeated refusal to acknowledge colonized artists and artisans as creators is a staid component of the history of nineteenth century Indian art. This rejection stemmed from British incapability to imagine a unique individualism in the style of the Romantic artist among the colonized peoples of the Indian subcontinent, who were repeatedly framed as unthinking mimicry-prone traditionalists obsessed with reproducing the "mental faults" of their ancestors.[58] What Partha Mitter identifies as the British government's claim of a "grand design of bringing progress to the colonies" is amply illustrated through the erasures and misrepresentations that mark Kipling's cultural production and bureaucratic career.[59] Rather than considering them creators in their own right, colonial art pedagogues like Kipling forced their subjects into postures of mechanical reproduction, treating them as producers of desirable imperial commodities sold

at venues like the crystal palace exhibition of 1851 rather than bearers of talent, skill, and creative vision. Rereading the materiality of books like *Beast and Man* against the grain with the aim of naming, identifying, and historicizing the figures and traditions deliberately sidelined by the historical record can offer limited but significant opportunities to create a more comprehensive understanding of the cultural processes of bookmaking in South Asia. The task is enormous, time consuming, and requires us to untrain ourselves.

The project of undoing the harmful histories of colonial training is presentist. How we do bibliographic work—ascribe authorship, record relationships, assign creative identities, and even correctly spell names of books produced from interimperial networks—must be a process of coming to terms of modes of violent bibliographic production where unnamed creators are deliberately left off the record. Colonialist processes of erasure continue to structure how these documents are described and used in research repositories and public contexts, necessitating urgent conversations around reparative description—the explicit aim of all the pieces in this collection. As Bernard Cohn observes, the application of interconnected processes of "determining, codifying, controlling, and representing"[60]—which formed the core of a colonialist epistemology—fully extended from political and juridical spheres to the expanding world of cultural production and circulation. At the vanguard of constructing this European discourse of Indian art and culture, men like John Lockwood Kipling provide crucial insights into the systematization of this violent colonial remaking, thus paradoxically serving as an excellent starting point for the work of recovery.

Oishani Sengupta is an assistant professor of English at the University of Texas at El Paso. Her work explores the role of colonial visual print culture in shaping race-making in the transatlantic and Indian Ocean worlds.

NOTES

I thank the curators and librarians of the Rare Books and Special Collections Division at the Library of Congress for making their Kipling Collections available to me during the pandemic. Beyond that, this article has benefited from the support of many hands and minds. I thank my adviser, Dr. Morris Eaves; Drs. Derrick R. Spires, Swapan Chakravorty, Abhijit Gupta, Liesl Olson; members of the Rare Book School community and the Newberry Archive Seminar; and the editors of this special issue, Drs. Kate Ozment and Lisa Maruca, for helping me frame my scholarship in alignment with critical bibliographic practice. I also thank friends and mentors Drs. Anwesha Kundu, Neelofer Qadir, Naveen Minai, Najnin Islam, Bassam Sidiki, Helen Davies, Smaran Dayal, and Jay Shelat; and Saronik Bosu, Sritama Chatterejee, and Param Ajmera for supporting this piece and my work in general. Drs. Parama Roy, Elizabeth

Miller, Tanya Agathocleous, Amy Wong, Nasser Mufti, and Tobias Wilson-Bates; Sourav Chatterjee and Meghna Sapui; and many others from the NAVSA and NVSA networks have deeply shaped my broader project. And lastly, I am grateful to my parents for their constant and uplifting presence.

1. Parama Roy, "On Verminous Life," *Representations* 148, no. 1 (2019): 86–113, quotation on 87, https://doi.org/10.1525/rep.2019.148.1.86.
2. John Lockwood Kipling, *Beast and Man in India* (London: Macmillan, 1892), title page. Although I discuss the 1891 edition, all page numbers are taken from the second edition of the text, which exhibits minor variations.
3. Kipling, 14.
4. Kipling, 128.
5. Kipling, 76.
6. Kipling, 25.
7. Kipling, 353.
8. I use two words rather loosely in this essay. The first is "Indian," which Kipling uses to refer to the British Indian territory encompassing modern India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. I continue the same usage to avoid confusion. The second is "Indigenous," which in this case refers to the colonized populations that the British attempted to control as part of their political ambition in the region. While both terms are used in a flattened way, bypassing debates about identity, ethnicity, interimperiality, and regional belonging, here they serve to broadly outline the geographical and demographic territories placed under colonial domination.
9. Kipling, 13. While affirming Edward Said's framing of the Oriental's superstitious and irrational nature discussed in *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), Kipling raises doubts about the Oriental's unchanging knowability and fixedness within a rapidly evolving cultural landscape.
10. The DSA was established to extend and systematize the impact of the Great Exhibition of 1851. Arindam Dutta provides an extensive account of the "indirect rule" and "decentralized despotism" in *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of the Global Reproducibility* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 4.
11. Kipling, *Beast and Man*, 14.
12. Kipling, 8.
13. Kipling, 2.
14. I thank Tobias Wilson-Bates for suggesting the term "imperial citation" to describe J. L. Kipling's relation with Indigenous artists. I note this borrowing particularly, since in a piece that examines the appropriative politics of citation, it is imperative to outline one's own ethical commitments. In *Dear Science*, Katherine McKittrick observes: "Citation points to method and how we come to write what we know. Citation is important because it frames and supports (legitimizes) our argument." While my own practices of citation in this article carry the influence of McKittrick citing Sara Ahmed and Sylvia Wynter to frame the "epistemological grounds" through which we theorize and imagine and name liberation in our referencing practices, John Lockwood Kipling's citationary style is characterized by opposing tendency—appropriation, delegitimization, and erasure. Katherine McKittrick, *Dear Science and Other Stories* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2020), 22.

15. Antoinette Burton, *Africa in the Indian Imagination: Race and the Politics of Postcolonial Citation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 4.
16. The work of Saidiya Hartman, Katherine McKittrick, and others have shown us the liberatory practices of recovering erased traces from traditional repositories and institutions of knowledge. Antoinette Burton's edited collection *Archive Stories: Facts, Fiction, and the Writing of History* (Durham, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005) stages a similar series of encounters between archives and the researchers who aim to reveal the workings of power that shape them.
17. Among the extensive list of Bengali-language scholarship on Bengali book and print culture, a few influential texts include Sripantha, *Battala* (Kolkata: Ananda, 2013); Gautam Bhadra, *Nyara Battalay Jay Kobar* (Kolkata: Chhatim Books, 2011); Anindita Ghosh, *Power in Print: Popular Publishing and the Politics of Language and Culture in a Colonial Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); and Sukumar Sen, *Battalar Chhapa O Chhobi* (Kolkata: Ananda, 1990).
18. Abhijit Gupta, *The Spread of Print in Colonial India: Into the Hinterland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 2.
19. I thank Sourav Chatterjee, PhD candidate in MESAAS, University of Columbia, for several illuminating conversations on the extent to which Bengali book history as a discipline relies on individual networks and relationships with printers, publishers, booksellers, and collectors.
20. W. W. Greg, "What Is Bibliography?" *The Library* TBS 12, no. 1 (1913): 52.
21. Derrick R. Spires, "On Liberation Bibliography: The 2021 BSA Annual Meeting Keynote," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 116, no. 1 (2022): 6–7.
22. Roy, "On Verminous Life," 88.
23. W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 85.
24. Swapan Chakravorty views the cultural impact of print in India as automatically associated with "contamination" thereby indicating that "purity" was impossible in print culture even in vernacular languages. Abhijit Gupta and Swapan Chakravorty, *Print Areas: Book History in India* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004), 203.
25. Priti Joshi and Tanya Agathocleous have both noted the presence of a collective readership of English, Anglo-Indian, and Bengali readers of English-language periodicals in colonial India, constituting what Agathocleous calls the "Indian Anglosphere." Priti Joshi, *Empire News: The Anglo-Indian Press Writes India* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2021); and Tanya Agathocleous, *Disaffected: Emotion, Sedition, and Colonial Law in the Anglosphere*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2021).
26. Natasha Eaton, "Excess in the City? The Consumption of Imported Prints in Colonial Calcutta, c. 1780–c. 1795," in *Empires of Vision: A Reader*, ed. Martin Jay and Sumathi Ramaswamy (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 155–88, quotation on 160.
27. Kipling, *Beast and Man*, 340.
28. Eaton, "Excess in the City?," 161.
29. The name Maheshwar inscribed actually refers to Shiv, while Mahishasur is the correct name for the demon in buffalo form slain by the multihanded mother goddess Durga.
30. Roy, "Verminous Life," 108.
31. Kipling, *Beast and Man*, 165.

32. Kipling, 193.
33. Kipling, 295.
34. Kipling, 2.
35. Kipling, 67.
36. Kipling, 292.
37. Kipling, 168.
38. Kipling, 320.
39. Kipling, 322.
40. Kipling, 334.
41. Kipling, 335.
42. Kipling, 334.
43. Kipling, 335.
44. Kipling, 336.
45. See Dutta, *Bureaucracy of Beauty*; and Hussain Ahmad Khan, Artisans, Sufis, Shrines: Colonial Architecture in Nineteenth-Century Punjab (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), for a detailed examination of Kipling's pedagogical practices in the J. J. Art School and in the Mayo School of Art.
46. "The Bombay School of Art," *The Graphic*, March 2, 1872.
47. Elizabeth James suggests that Kipling solicited the illustrations from his collaborators "as much for fellowship as out of need, habituated as he was to working collaboratively, and especially to sharing work with Indian artists and students." While I find James's hypothesis to have merit, I have argued for a much more integral link between Kipling's book and the work of Indigenous artists than what James acknowledged here. Elizabeth James, "Kipling and Book Illustration," in *John Lockwood Kipling: Arts and Crafts in the Punjab and London*, ed. Julius Bryant and Susan Weber (New York: Bard Graduate Center, 2017), 361–400, quotation on 361.
48. John Griffiths was a principal of the J. J. School of Art during Kipling's tenure as a teacher. F. H. Andrews was an artist eventually associated with the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) and contributed many drawings to the *Journal of Indian Art*.
49. Thomas Babington Macauley, "Minute by the Hon'ble T. B. Macauley, dated the 2nd February 1835," Columbia University Libraries, accessed September 1, 2022, http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00generallinks/macaulay/txt_minute_education_1835.html.
50. Dutta, *Bureaucracy of Beauty*, 32.
51. Khan, *Artisans, Sufis, Shrines*, 74.
52. Khan, 73.
53. Susan Weber, "Kipling and the Exhibition Movement," in Bryant and Weber, *John Lockwood Kipling*, 205–80, quotation on 209.
54. Kipling, *Beast and Man*, 17.
55. Ibid., 21.

56. Samina Choonara and Nadeem Omar Tarar (ed.). *"Official" Chronicle of Mayo School of Art: Formative Years under J.L. Kipling, 1874–94* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 2003), 37.
57. Ibid., 37.
58. Sir Richard Temple, quoted in Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India 1850–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 32.
59. Mitter, *Art and Nationalism*, 32.
60. Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 3.