

**Cultivating Emotions**  
**Hindi Advice Literature in Late Colonial India**

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## Notes

### *Pre-published Article*

An earlier version of some arguments featured in the third chapter of this dissertation is published as:

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### *Transliteration and Translation*

Citations and sources in Hindi follow the indological transliteration system for Devanagari script, which is also used in *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, edited by R.S. McGregor. The transliteration of the inherent vowel [a] has been omitted whenever it would not be pronounced in modern Hindi.

Hindi words are generally italicized in the main text, although a few exceptions have been made: all words of Indian origin featured in the *Merriam-Webster Unabridged Dictionary* are neither transliterated nor italicized, e.g. the term dharma. As a concession to non-Hindi speakers, names of Hindi authors are not written with diacritical marks for easier readability. Anglicized spelling is also used for certain proper nouns, such as names of organizations, castes and well-known literary works. Book titles are transliterated when cited in the main body of the dissertation. The bibliography follows the transliteration without diacritical marks used by the *National Bibliography of Indian Literature*, so that cited sources can be easier located in English-language catalogues.

All translations are mine unless indicated otherwise. Vikram Samvat dates have been converted to Roman dates by the standard method of deducting fifty-seven years.

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# 1. Introduction – Communities, Emotions, Advice

त्रिविधं नरकस्येदं द्वारं नाशनमात्मनः |  
कामः क्रोधस्तथा लोभस्तस्मादेतत्त्रयं त्यजेत् || १६ २१ ||

Lust, anger, and greed are the three gates of hell leading to the downfall of the individual. Therefore, one must learn to give up these three.

*Bhagavadgita* 16.21 <sup>1</sup>

## *An Epic Emotional Dilemma*

The ideal warrior Arjuna, a hero from the ancient *Mahabharat* epic, was terrified. He glanced over the huge battlefield, where his army was ready to plunge into battle. He and his four brothers, the Pandavas, were ready to fight against their own family, their teachers and many of those they loved. On the opposite side of the battlefield stood the army of their estranged cousins and arch-enemies, the Kauravas. Everyone was waiting for Arjuna's signal to start the bloody fight, but he faltered, overcome by feelings of deepest despair. He foresaw that only few men from either side of the family would survive the inevitably cruel bloodshed. At that very moment, Arjuna's chariot driver Krishna revealed himself as an incarnation of God and began to advise him. Krishna's speech, given on the verge of the impending battle, is known as the *Bhagavadgita*, and it forms an autonomous part in the *Mahabharat*.<sup>2</sup> The complex teachings of the *Bhagavadgita* focus on the importance of doing one's duty, engulfing one's being in devotion, while overcoming desires and egoistical motivations.<sup>3</sup> Alongside presenting the ethics of human duties and virtues, the text also outlines ideal emotional cultivations a person should embody in order to fulfill dharma, the ethical

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<sup>1</sup> Translation by Dr. Ramananda Prasad, the International Gita Society

<sup>2</sup> Its authorship is ascribed to the mythical sage *Vyāsa*, whereas indological scholars assume that the text emerged in various stages between 500 BCE and 400 CE.

<sup>3</sup> See Bilimoria, "Ethics of Emotion" and "Perturbations of Desire".



obligations of personal and social life.<sup>4</sup> Part of these obligations, as the verse given above indicates, is to avoid certain feelings such as anger, greed, and lust.

Arjuna's example offers a number of entry points into my research project on Hindi advice literature. First of all, Arjuna's case is an example of successful advice-giving ensuring that – within the epic – the cosmic order will be upheld. Second, it is also an example of how feelings can be shaped, modulated and cultivated in order to transform the self. Arjuna's success was dependent on his ability to cultivate his emotions according to the knowledge Krishna bestowed upon him.

Instructions on how to cultivate emotions are also a crucial ingredient of Hindi advice books, produced in the historical context of late colonial India, written as reflections of and interventions into contemporary society, supported through patronage and publication networks, and styled to appeal to an increasingly literate public. My research traces the development of Hindi advice literature as a genre, especially focusing on the 1900s to 1940s, as a time in which community identities – especially that of a Hindu national community – were created and fortified on the basis of feeling.<sup>5</sup> My research is based on these emotions that Arjuna, too, was warned about – anger, greed and lust. The present dissertation investigates the ways normative feelings became styled as markers of communal belonging, and were paired with specific ideas of what feelings are and how they affect both the individual as well as society. In contributing to the history of emotions, my research uncovers how feelings become constitutive for communal belonging.

As an introduction I explore the historical context, in which Hindi advice books in late colonial India were written, focusing on the confluence of national and religious community constructions, followed by a discussion of the theoretical premises for researching emotional communities in section 1.1. The following section 1.2., situates the three case studies that form the empirical part of my dissertation, and indicates how emotion history is helpful to understand ongoing socio-cultural transformations in the process of community formation. In section 1.3. I introduce my source material and critically assess the usage of advice literature as a historical source. My approach considers textual clues as well as contextual evidence

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<sup>4</sup> Gupta, "Bhagavad Gita as Duty and Virtue Ethics".

<sup>5</sup> For the purpose of my study, I use 'emotion' and 'feeling' as synonymous analytical terms, while uncovering emic categories used to describe emotions in my sources.

found in advice literature to uncover both the production and the reception contexts of my sources. Lastly, major trajectories of my analysis are introduced.

### **1.1. Theorizing Emotions in Late Colonial India**

‘Hindi-Hindu-Hindustan’ – today this slogan is intimately connected with a Hindu-Nationalism that can show its fierce side in communal violence against Muslims, in protests against certain films or in agitation against the content of schoolbooks and university curricula.<sup>6</sup> ‘Hindi-Hindu-Hindustan’ as a nationalistic, and not necessarily communalistic catchphrase was coined in the late nineteenth century, when the idea of a cultural community, defined by Hindi as the common language, following the religious creed of a Hindu and the national belonging to Hindustan, had only recently started to develop. Its first use is attributed to writer and publicist Pratapnarayan Mishra. In the 1880s he had to wind down his journal *Brāhman* for lack of means and patronage. In its last edition, he tried once more to inspire awareness and nationalist fervor among his compatriots with a fiery poem, because ‘*those who don’t know their own identity are like the living dead*’. The recurring chorus of the poem was ‘*hindī, hindū, hindustān*’.<sup>7</sup>

Other than the later, Hindu-nationalist understanding that draws a connection between the language Hindi, Hinduism as a clearly demarked and seemingly homogeneous religion, and Hindustan – or India or Bhārat – as a nation-state, the earlier nineteenth century factors in this equation were still open for definitions. Bharatendu Harishchandra, for example, the famous and influential literatus of Benares, argued in an 1884 speech that whoever lived in Hindustan would be a Hindu, irrespective of religious sect, creed and caste – explicitly also subsuming Muslims under the umbrella of being Hindu. Likewise, Harishchandra extended the meaning of ‘Hindi’ as a language widely spoken across Northern India, and included Bengali, Marathi and even ‘Madrasi’ (a north Indian term for Tamil and all other Dravidian languages spoken in the South of India).<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> See Six, *Hindi-Hindu-Hindustan*.

One recent example for Hindu-Nationalists executing influence over education content was the exclusion of A.K. Ramanujan’s essay “Three Hundred Ramayanas” from the Delhi University curriculum (see <http://www.sunday-guardian.com/artbeat/ramanujan-a-the-ramayana>, last retrieved 22.02.2012)

<sup>7</sup> For the translation of Ramnarayan Mishra’s poem see Dalmia, *The Nationalisation of Hindu Tradition*, 27.

<sup>8</sup> Dalmia, *The Nationalisation of Hindu Tradition*, 26.

With my dissertation I propose a new view on the shift from this rather inclusive idea of nationalist being and feeling, voiced by Mishra, the young Harishchandra and later also Gandhi, to processes of community formation, in which ideas of national and religious belonging overlapped and reinforced each other. These processes worked in conjunction with a language politic that promoted Hindi as the language in which this identity could converge.<sup>9</sup> Slogans such as ‘Hindi-Hindu-Hindustan’ were used to spur ideas and feelings of communal belonging in order to achieve a transformation of the minds and hearts of the people and encourage moral, political and social transformations.

For many writers at the time, expanding the scope of Hindi as a prose language and choosing it over English and Urdu as a medium for ‘useful literature’ was a conscious choice. In 1900 Hindi was added aside Urdu as the second official vernacular language of the Province. This was a result of an aggressive Hindi language movement that then reached new heights.<sup>10</sup> In the following years, literary production in Hindi increased rapidly, while educational reading material continued to be in high demand.<sup>11</sup> At the same time, Hindi became increasingly promoted as the language of Hindus and assigned with virtuous qualities.<sup>12</sup> In the first decades of the twentieth century social and religious reform movements got more and more followers, colonial hegemony was heavily contested, and nationalist rhetoric started to pervade every space of social and personal life. Hindi became a ‘symbol of political mobilization’ for nationalist as well as religious causes.<sup>13</sup> Discussions about appropriate ways of feeling and the importance of an inner cultivation of feelings came to the forefront in reformist discourses in the 1920s. At the time when the independence movement was in full swing, in the 1930s and 1940s, certain ways of feeling were projected as constitutive for individual happiness, as well as the formation of a modern nation.

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<sup>9</sup> See Rai, *Hindi Nationalism*.

<sup>10</sup> Madan Mohan Malaviya was one of the central figures in these debates. His *Court Character and Primary Education in the N.-W. Provinces & Oudh*, written in 1897, raised a lot of support as well as protest, e.g. the anonymous *A Defence of the Urdu Language and Character. Being a reply to the pamphlet called "Court Character and Primary Education in N.-W.P. and Oudh"*.

See King, *One Language two Scripts* and Dalmia, *The Nationalization of Hindu Tradition* for an introduction to the background of Hindi language politics and the ascription of Hindi as a ‘Hindu’ and Urdu as a ‘Muslim’ language.

<sup>11</sup> Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere*, 104.

<sup>12</sup> King, “Images of Virtue and Vice: the Hindi-Urdu Controversy”, 125.

<sup>13</sup> Kumar, *The Political Agenda of Education*, 145.

## Felt Community - Emotional Community

How can being part of a community correlate with the feelings of those that would identify with that community? Rajat Kanta Ray proposes that nationalism in itself is a feeling, and as such a prerequisite for the creation of nation-states. He argues that Indian nationalism is not 'imagined' (as formulated by Benedict Anderson),<sup>14</sup> but is built on an 'old community of emotion and patriotic sentiment'.<sup>15</sup> He concludes that the emergence of nation-states in a civil society is prefigured through a common feeling: 'the construed nation emerges from the pre-existing emotion, and not the other way around'.<sup>16</sup> Ray's stance about a felt patriotism that later takes on the garb of nationalism is problematic, as it presupposes emotions to be essentialist and unchangeable over the course of time and space.

Scholars in the growing field of emotion history propose a more nuanced approach, especially focusing on the impact of social, cultural and historical factors on what people felt, thought they should feel or how they made sense of their 'upheavals of thought'.<sup>17</sup> For Europe, Thomas Dixon shows how today's scientific understanding of emotions has emerged through a variety of different conceptualizations like passions or sentiments.<sup>18</sup> Likewise, especially from the fields of anthropology and constructivist approaches in psychology, the idea of a universality of feelings and emotional expression has been challenged.<sup>19</sup> Historians like Ute Frevert emphasize how some emotions actually may "die", while others emerge, shift, or change in the way they are conceptualized.<sup>20</sup>

The idea that emotions are valued differently at different times and that they vary across different communities within a larger social framework has prominently been explored by the medievalist Barbara Rosenwein. It was she who coined the term of 'emotional communities', which are defined through distinct systems of feeling:

Emotional communities are precisely the same as social communities – families, neighbourhoods, parliaments, guilds, monasteries, parish church memberships – but the researcher looking at them seeks above all to uncover systems of feeling: what these communities (and individuals within them) define and assess as valuable or harmful to them; the evaluations that they make about others' emotions; the nature of the affective bonds between people that they recognize;

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<sup>14</sup> See Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

<sup>15</sup> Ray, *The Felt Community*, 35.

<sup>16</sup> Ray, *The Felt Community*, 38.

<sup>17</sup> See Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought*.

<sup>18</sup> See Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions*.

<sup>19</sup> See Plamper, *Geschichte und Gefühl*; Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, Chapter 1 and 2.

<sup>20</sup> See Frevert, *Emotions Lost and Found*.

and the modes of emotional expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate, and deplore.<sup>21</sup>

The boundary between one emotional community and the other is not fixed, since they rather overlap, or contain even smaller emotional communities.<sup>22</sup> This allows flexibility, as there might be different, sometimes even conflicting standards for emotional behavior, depending on the situational context of an emotional community. As required, people switch between different environments, thereby ‘adjusting their emotional displays and their judgments of weal and woe.’<sup>23</sup> Whereas the concept of emotional communities was initially formulated to identify groups that are in close contact with each other, the definition is open enough to be also extended to textual communities or even social macro-structures like the ‘imagined community’ of a nation.<sup>24</sup> Emotional communities are not arbitrary groups. They are formed by people that share common values, interests and goals. A society is full of different emotional communities that intersect at various levels:

Imagine, then, a large circle within which are smaller circles, none entirely concentric but rather distributed unevenly within the given space. The large circle is the overarching emotional community, tied together by fundamental assumptions, values, goals, feeling rules, and accepted modes of expression. The smaller circles represent subordinate emotional communities, partaking in the larger one and revealing its possibilities and its limitations. They too may be subdivided. At the same time, other large circles may exist, either entirely isolated from or intersecting with the first at one or more points.<sup>25</sup>

Following Rosenwein’s understanding of the nature of emotional communities allows not for assuming a pre-determined, universalistic idea about a certain emotion, but rather looking for a variety of different feelings and how they become constitutive for certain communities. The flexibility and intersecting nature of emotional communities also help in illustrating how the merging of a religious community (that identifies its members as ‘Hindu’) and a national community (of belonging to *Hindustān*/*Bhārat*/India) overlap and finally merge into one. Instead of assuming that every community is built on pre-determined feelings, this approach encourages to investigate how emotions are formulated on a normative basis, what proper ways of expression of these emotions are promoted, and how they are attributed to values and moral systems.

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<sup>21</sup> Rosenwein, “Worrying about emotions in history”, 835.

<sup>22</sup> Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, 2.

<sup>23</sup> Rosenwein, “Worrying about Emotions in History”, 842.

<sup>24</sup> Rosenwein, “Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions”, 11f.

<sup>25</sup> Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Middle Ages*, 24f.

To adapt Rosenwein's concept of 'emotional communities' as a device in order to analyze the process of creating a community that defines itself via the slogan 'Hindi-Hindu-Hindustan', I propose some further preliminary considerations.

While delineating her approach to investigate the emotional history of medieval Europe, Rosenwein proposed to look at pre-existing communities and then research what emotions they privileged. This approach is also determined by the nature of the available source material on different groups. In the case of the public sphere in modern India scarcity of normative texts is not a problem. Nevertheless, the circulation of texts did not reach the whole spectrum of society in the same way – instead it concentrated on a small, but increasingly politically and socially active group of society, distinguished through education and new forms of organization and communication. In historical studies, this group is generally categorized as 'Indian middle class'.<sup>26</sup> In Hindi advice literature, at least until the 1940s, this category, or the Hindi neologism used for its translation, is completely absent. Therefore my analysis of an emotional community deductively looks for emic categories of self-description and of delineations of 'otherness'. In this respect, it is also important to look for further synchronic divisions that cut across an emotional community, like age, educational status, or – very vital in the case of India – identifications with a certain caste or *jāti*.<sup>27</sup> While my analysis takes such divisions into account whenever they are used as constitutive markers of communal belonging, I also put special emphasis on gender as a vital-fault line for ascribing behavioral and emotional differences within a community.

## **Emotional norms and Styles, Emotion Knowledge**

In a programmatic essay in 1985, Peter and Carol Stearns - the former a historian, the latter a psychologist - introduced 'emotionology' as a term to distinguish between the feelings of an individual and the framework of explicit and implicit norms regarding feelings. The latter is depending on the social and cultural particularities of any given society and is thus also subject to historical change. Their definition of 'emotionology' thus reads as 'attitudes or standards that a society, or a definable group within a society, maintains toward basic emotions and their appropriate expression'. The term 'emotionology' implies that individual

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<sup>26</sup> See Joshi, *Fractured Modernity*, for a study on the applicability of the term middle class to late colonial India.

<sup>27</sup> For a discussion of *jāti* and its polyvalence as a community construct see Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragment*, 220ff.

feelings are negotiated based on the ideas and attitudes towards various emotions that exist at a given point, based on the existence of largely unwritten rules that define instances of appropriate and inappropriate feelings and also govern the way in which feelings should be expressed.<sup>28</sup> This formulation opened up new fields in the study of social history based on the awareness that rules and norms for emotions are socially and culturally defined and can change over time.<sup>29</sup> For the present study I use the term ‘emotional norms’ to describe normative statements on how one should or should not feel. In advice manuals these are often styled as universal truths, such as ‘it is not proper to express anger towards women and to say things that would sadden their hearts’ or ‘you should also be sad when your husband is unhappy’.<sup>30</sup> These are connected to and written in a specific historical and cultural environment, often qualifying their advice as important for certain communities and its members. Apart from these references to specific feelings, which I describe as ‘emotional norms’, there are general attitudes towards feelings that become prevalent in certain communities. The latter - for which I employ ‘emotional styles’ as an analytical term - may vary considerable across diachronic sections of societies.<sup>31</sup>

For late colonial India I therefore discuss how the idea of ‘character’ also incorporated a corresponding emotional style, and also how, inspired by Hindu scriptural philosophic traditions, concepts such as *brahmacārya* (celibacy and general control of passions) and *niṣkāmbhāv* (a concept of feeling devoid of self-interest) are promoted as specific emotional styles.

Studies in the field of emotion history acknowledge the analytical distinction between the different feelings of an individual person and emotional norms, while probing into new theoretical approaches to better understand the relationship between social norms and individual feeling, and the effects one can have over the other.<sup>32</sup> The conclusion of this study

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<sup>28</sup> Stearns and Stearns, “Emotionology”, 813.

<sup>29</sup> Plamper, “The History of Emotions”, 263.

<sup>30</sup> Guru, *Hindustānī Śiṣṭācār*, 96; Thakur, *Ādarś patni*, 47.

<sup>31</sup> See Gammerl, “Emotional Styles – Concepts and Challenges” for a further discussion of emotional styles, and further theorizing them to also research particularities of emotions and their expression in different spatial settings.

<sup>32</sup> Hochschild, *The Managed Heart*, introduced the idea of ‘emotion work’ to describe the effort by which people align to the ‘feeling rules’ they are supposed to comply with. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, elaborated the theoretical concept of ‘emotives’, as speech acts about feeling, which have the potential to intensify, alter or contradict with the feelings of those who express it. Recently, Monique Scheer, “Are Emotions a Kind of Practice” outlined the possibilities of re-figuring emotion research from a praxeological viewpoint.

proposes a possible way historical actors aligned themselves with the emotional ideals constitutive of certain communities. To lay the groundwork for my later argument, I combine the analysis of emotional norms and emotional styles with an investigation into their construction on the basis of popular emotion knowledge.

Emotion knowledge, a term recently proposed by Margrit Pernau as a heuristic device to refine existing scholarship in the history of emotions, informs the contextual background for individual feeling as well as social norms governing it.

Knowledge on emotions can encompass ideas on the division of the soul [...], on the relation between the soul and the body and the classification of emotions. It also answers questions how an emotion arises [...], how it can be controlled [...], and how a specific emotion actually feels like [...]. This knowledge can be systematized in the form of science, but it can also be embedded in language [...], metaphors [...] and even practices [...].<sup>33</sup>

A focus on the emotion knowledge present in historical sources can be informative to answer general questions regarding how feelings were conceptualized – as mental or bodily phenomena, or as arising from the heart. Are they rational or irrational, do they befall a person from the outside, or do they arise from within? Are they styled as natural and unchangeable occurrences, or can they be cultivated and be subject to modulation? Or are they subject to cultivation over a longer period of time? Such a kind of emotion knowledge is culturally embedded and also subject to shifts and changes over time. Adding to Pernau's examples, I suggest an instance in which the postulation of emotional norms merges with emotion knowledge through a process I call 'emotionalization'. In this case certain behavior, ideas or actions are either described as the cause of negative emotions (something is 'disgusting' or 'aggravating') or as having positive effects (such as 'causing happiness').

The specific emotion knowledge prevailing among the historical actors may even work as a corrective to the theoretical understanding assumed by the historian (who just as well is also a historical actor). In any case, researching contemporary emotion knowledge and its emic formulations facilitates a deductive approach that leaves space for a re-examination of emotional norms and their interconnection with historical transformations.

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<sup>33</sup> Pernau, "Male anger and female malice", 120.



## **1.2. Contexts of Community Formation**

The empiric chapters of my dissertation are structured as three case studies, and each chapter concentrates on one of the emotions that, as the epic hero Arjuna was told, would 'bring about the downfall of the soul'. I investigate the formation of a gendered community, in which national and religious conceptualizations are expressed through the medium of Hindi advice literature. Approaching this process from an emotion historian's viewpoint offers new perspectives on processes of social change in a colonial setting.

### **National Movement and Emotional Independence**

The political scene of late colonial India was dominated by the popularization of nationalist feeling and the call for independence. Starting in the first decade of the twentieth century, the *swadeshi*-movement called for a boycott of British goods while strengthening the idea that Indians need to focus on their very own heritage and its products. In the ensuing national movement Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, later given the title Mahatma, became the leading figure of this time. His mass movements started to polarize and mobilize the Indian population: protests against the Rowlatt Bill (which would have allowed detentions without trial) in 1919, the non-cooperation movement from 1920-1922, and the civil disobedience movement from 1930 to 1934. In strict opposition to violent and terrorist activities against the British, Gandhi stood for an emphasis on non-violent resistance, went frequently on hunger-strikes to carry through his demands, and preached a life style of simplicity and sexual abstinence. His focus on non-violence was deliberately styled to address the feelings of both Indians as well as the colonial powers. According to Gandhi, 'colonialism was as demeaning of its perpetrators as its victims, and could be resisted by example; one's suffering would shame and convert the enemy'.<sup>34</sup> Likewise, Gandhi also promoted an extensive bodily and emotional regime – in order to form an Indian nation capable of self-rule he advised strict vegetarian diet, modesty in dress and behavior, and sexual abstinence.<sup>35</sup>

Following Gandhi and the Indian National Congress which reached a stronger political participation in the 1920s, Indians proudly asserted their national pride. In the decades leading up to political independence in 1947, Indians started to negate the British superiority

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<sup>34</sup> Robb, *A History of India*, 185.

<sup>35</sup> Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, 173.

and supplanted it with their own activism to better and reform society.<sup>36</sup> This movement was not only expressed through outward signs such as wearing *khādi* (homespun) clothes, but also followed by a nationalist rhetoric started to pervade all symbols and aspects of public and private life. The advice manuals and etiquette books that are analyzed in the course of this study are also a testimony to this development.

The nationalist movement also needs to be considered in the form of an emotional transformation. For the late nineteenth – and also way into the twentieth century - it has been argued, that members of the growing Indian English-educated intelligentsia were in a state of self-colonialization; that they had taken over the idea of moral decline of Indians, which could only be remedied by the spread of western education and profound changes in Indian society.<sup>37</sup> So how did the shift from this mentality into proud assertions of the national come into effect? Did Indians simply switch over from collaboration right into resistance?<sup>38</sup> I propose that historical approaches from the field of emotion history can provide a solution.

My first case study investigates self-help manuals and etiquette books, mainly written between 1900 and the early 1930s, in which this transition becomes traceable. Focusing on formulations of moral and emotional excellence for character building, I show how discourses on the importance of sensitivity and sensibility stopped to be aligned with British excellence, but are rather formulated as a universal ideal, to which Indians could rightfully aspire to. On a normative emotional level, sensitivity and sensibility were promoted as the accompanying emotional styles of character. Character, in turn, became an epitome of being civilized and modern, and implicitly pitted against uncultivated emotional behavior such as uncontrolled rage and angry outbursts.

Translation and adaption of manuals on ethics, self-help and etiquette books showed a gradual shift that negated the tenets of British superiority. Here the role of educated Indians was decisive, as they, on the basis of their own education, started to formulate examples of excellence that still used the original text as a model, but rid it of the claim of Western superiority and rather emphasized the historicity and civilized excellence of ancient India. Likewise, etiquette books turned their focus from advice for easier interaction with the British, and started delineating a Hindustani (and increasingly Hindu) etiquette. In doing so,

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<sup>36</sup> See Bhattacharya, *Talking Back*

<sup>37</sup> See Seth, *Subject Lessons*, Chapter 1

<sup>38</sup> Guha discusses these as the two elements as constitutive of subordination in colonial power configurations. See *Dominance without Hegemony*, 20ff.

emotionalizations were frequently employed on religious and cultural grounds, to mark differing forms of behavior as 'disgusting'.

## **Religious Reform and the Solidification of Hindu Consciousness**

Studies on the creation of Hindu communalism have mainly focused on religious reform movements that, on the basis of ancient scriptures, sought to revive Hindu religion and free it from what they considered 'degenerate' customs that had been added over the past centuries. In Northern India, the Arya Samaj movement, founded by Dayanand Saraswati (1875 in Bombay, 1877 in Lahore) attracted a huge number of followers that organized in a variety of local associations. Members of the Arya Samaj opposed the caste system, promoted re-marriage of widows and engaged in various social projects. Their reformatory work was sided with an educational program to build a national, distinctly Hindu elite. In 1893, the movement split into a more moderate and a radical fraction. The more moderate fractions founded schools largely fitting into the British education system, whereas the radicals worked on introducing alternative forms of higher education based on their interpretation of Vedic principles, their most prominent school being the Gurukul Kangri at Haridwar (started in 1902).<sup>39</sup>

Around the same time the Arya Samaj also started its increasingly aggressive *shuddhi*-campaign, directed to 'purify' and thus re-admit former Muslim and Christian converts into the realms of Hinduism. This was paired by the effort to re-integrate Dalits, or low-caste Hindus. They also launched the cow-protection movement. This in turn sparked communal tensions, and led to Muslim counter-movements.<sup>40</sup>

Whereas a lot of scholarly attention has been bestowed on these reform movements, considerably less attention has been given to the opposition that the Arya Samaj and other reform groups received from the 'orthodox' sections of society. In the 1880s these associations started to organize themselves under the umbrella term of 'Sanatan Dharma'. Sanatan Dharma associations heavily disagreed with the Arya Samaj movements over a number of social issues, especially the remarriage of widows, questions on whether Dalits, so-called

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<sup>39</sup> See Fischer-Tiné, *Der Gurukul-Kangri oder die Erziehung der Arya-Nation*.

<sup>40</sup> For an analysis of the increasing political influence of the Arya Samaj see Fischer-Tiné, 'Kindly Elders of the Hindu Biraderi'; for an overview on the reactions from Muslim groups see Sikand, 'The 'Fitna' of 'Irtidad' '.

untouchables, could be integrated into the caste society and if and how conversions were possible.<sup>41</sup> It was only during the 1920s that the huge rift between the Arya Samaj inspired reform projects and Sanatan Dharma movements that projected orthodoxy in the name of tradition was evened out in favor of a combined mission. Madan Mohan Malaviya, the famous reformer and later founder of Benares Hindu University, tried to give it a socio-political voice through the organisation of the Hindu Mahasabha in 1915, which formed an organisational umbrella platform for the leaders of different groups. It was there that, from about 1924 onwards, that Arya Samaj and Sanatan Dharma movements joined hands under leaders such as Swami Sradhdhanand, in order to 'assert Hindu and caste solidarity'.<sup>42</sup> Together, the two groups embarked on a combined mission to further strengthen Hindu-ness. These campaigns led to an increasing politicization of religious groups, and the formation of a number of social service associations, that all shared the goal of making the Hindu community smarter, stronger, better organized, and more efficient.<sup>43</sup> The ideas of a muscular and strong Hinduism got further impetus in the 1930s, when the Rashtriya Svayam Sevak Sangh (founded in 1925 by Hedgewar and Munje) also spread its influence from Western India towards the North, with rapidly growing local outlets that promoted a paramilitary nationalism, clad in a Hindu garb.<sup>44</sup> It was the merging of both 'reformers' and 'orthodoxy' into a common goal of politicized action that led to the effective creation of the Hindu nationalism necessary for an exclusive community construction in the slogan 'Hindi-Hindu-Hindustan'.

But how could important differences regarding social practices be so easily bridged in order to project a unified front of Hinduism? Was it only the political agitation against Muslims that brought them together? Kenneth Jones argued that the closing of ranks between followers of Arya Samaj and Sanatan Dharma was mainly affected through fear of social decline and further decline in numbers.<sup>45</sup>

My second case study indicates how, in this politicized atmosphere, the transformation of society became linked to the call for a thorough spiritual reform of the individual. As a result, the difference between 'reformers' and 'orthodoxy' was downplayed in favor of emphasizing emotion knowledge necessary to achieve the ideal Hindu society both groups

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<sup>41</sup> Zavos, "Defending Hindu Tradition".

<sup>42</sup> Robb, *A History of India*, 237.

<sup>43</sup> Watt, "Education for National Efficiency".

<sup>44</sup> Kumar, *The Political Agenda of Education*, 139.

<sup>45</sup> Jones, "The Negative Component of Hindu Consciousness", 70.

envisaged. It suggests that the idea of a unified Hindu community was not entirely forged by delineating its cultural and religious boundaries in regard to Muslims (and Christians). Instead, it also went along with the formulation of the emotional norms that all Hindus should adhere to and thus creates a community from its very centre, its heart, so to speak. My case study is based on early publications by the Gitapress, which was founded in the 1920s. The press styled itself as the 'mouth' of Sanatan Dharma, but at the same time argued to speak for all those that would define themselves as 'Hindu'. In the definition of what an ideal Hindu would be, the emphasis lies especially on the promotion of a distinct emotional style that is focused on the eradication of greed – both for material objects, as well as for self-centered emotional gratification. As a result, an emotional style of disinterested feeling is promoted as a means for individual improvement, societal progress and spiritual salvation. The Gitapress publications bridge existing discussions over different social practices by proposing that being Hindu is a question of self-identification and adherence to certain emotional norms.

## **Gender as a Fault Line of Communal belonging**

Gender roles and relations in colonial India are inseparable linked to formulations of national and religious identities. The image of the 'effeminate' and racially declined Indian has been a vital way to legitimize colonial rule on the one hand, and on the other hand provided the 'justification for the reform and restructuring of contemporary society to revive the glories of the past' for nineteenth century social reformers.<sup>46</sup> In the wake of the growing Hindu nationalist movement, this turned into efforts for the 'restoration of masculine power to the Hindu male' through physical and mental fitness.<sup>47</sup> Even greater attention was bestowed on women, as the civilized status of a society became attributed to the way it treated its women. The later part of the nineteenth century in colonial India hence developed into a reformist phase, in which the education of women, their transformation into better wives and mothers became central to the emerging nationalist project.<sup>48</sup> Men thus started to concentrate on reforming women, also in a bid to make up for their lack of power in the public colonial arena. While teaching their often considerably younger and less educated wives, husbands were able to assert their own manliness, while also embarking on their very own project of reforming

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<sup>46</sup> Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*, 22.

<sup>47</sup> Gupta, *Sexuality, Obscenity, Community*, 230. See also Alter, *Sex and Masculinity in Modern India*, Chapter 2.

<sup>48</sup> Orsini, "Domesticity and beyond", 139.

their wives. With the progress of the nationalist movement, an idealistic image of the Hindu wife became an essential marker of cultural identity.<sup>49</sup> While the British “Memsahib” was refused as a model for the modern Indian woman, it was the reassessment of the “Pativrāt”, the devoted Hindu wife and mother that proved constructive.<sup>50</sup> This ideal remained threatened by depictions of the deplorable status of Indian women in the West, such as Katherine Mayo’s (in)famous book *Mother India* from 1927, which caused Indians to write angry refutes.<sup>51</sup>

The most significant shift, influencing the emotional norms formulated especially for women but also for men, was the upcoming ideal of the companionate marriage, defined by feminine devotion and love for the husband. It came with the introduction of a new form of patriarchy, replacing ‘gerontocratic’ structures and separate spheres for men and women that were dominant within the joint family.<sup>52</sup> The new model, then, propagated a strong emotional bonding of the wife to her husband. As Walsh outlined, it was mainly the perceived influx of a colonial Western culture that sparked the necessity to re-define the domestic sphere, by setting up new behavioral and emotional norms, and stipulating a more dyadic husband-wife relationship.<sup>53</sup> By linking love and devotion for the husband, and loving care for the children to domesticity and interiority, women’s identity became foremost established along categories of feeling.<sup>54</sup>

My third case study on popular domestic advice manuals analyses the gendered discourse on domestic love as an ideal for women and men in advice manuals, household compendia, and advice on marital hygiene. Whereas religious reform groups emphasized *brahmacharya* as an emotional style characterized by the control of lust, in the 1930s popular writers of advice manuals began to allude to the importance of satisfying sexual unions for the

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<sup>49</sup> Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments*, 120f.

<sup>50</sup> Reasoning on the basis of religion to establish an indigenous modernity and differentiating oneself from colonial power was also viable in Muslim advisory literature of that time. See Pernau, “Motherhood and Female Identity”, 157.

<sup>51</sup> See Mayo, *Mother India* [a re-edition with a in-depth introduction by Mrinalini Sinha]. Examples of Indian responses: Simha and Sitala, *Mother India* [An abridged Hindi translation of the English work ‘Mother India’. Introduction and a discussion with the authoress by Uma Nehru.] from 1928; Lala Lajpat Rai, *Dukhī Bhārat*: Mis kaiṭarīna meyo ki ‘mādar iṇḍiyā’ kā uttar [‘Sad India. An answer to Catherine Mayo’s Mother India’] from 1928; Ranga Aiyar, *Father India* [a reply to Katherine Mayo’s ‘Mother India’] from 1929.

<sup>52</sup> Walsh, *Domesticity in Colonial India*, 51ff.

<sup>53</sup> Walsh, *Domesticity in Colonial India*, 9.

<sup>54</sup> For South India see Shreenivas, “Emotion, Identity, and the Female Subject”, 61; for Bengal see Bannerjee, “Mothers and Teachers”, 7

development of devoted love between husband and wife, as well as for reproduction. My research shows how this addition to emotional norms actually complicated the role attributed to women as companionate partners in marriage.

### **1.3. Advice Books as a Historical Source**

The Hindi advice books used as primary source material for my study comprise etiquette manuals, books outlining the aims and methods of self-help, ethical tracts, religious advice pamphlets and books, tracts on celibacy, household compendia, appropriate reading material for the young and/or the newly literate, books for the education of girls and (house-) wives, and instructive books for boys and men. As Hindi advice books they share three characteristics:

Firstly, Hindi advice books are didactic texts, geared to reform a specific audience. The aim of advice books is to confer normative knowledge on their potential reader, generally with the intent to spur an educative process. Although entertainment is not necessary their goal, many authors emphasize both the instructive and the enlightening quality of their books. Secondly, Hindi advice books are mostly non-fictional, unlike social reformatory novels, which were a major genre in Hindi prose literature around the turn of the century.<sup>55</sup> Fictionalized narratives might be used to illustrate and underscore a certain point, but are mostly used as devices to allow the reader identification with personalized examples of right or wrong actions. Employing specific methodological devices, which is to be explored later in this chapter, my textual analysis keeps track of the non-fictional nature of advice books. Thirdly, and this is the most obvious criterion, Hindi advice books are books, and thus depended on specific strategies of promotion and dissemination.

The sources used in this dissertation are all taken from libraries that hold a considerable selection of Hindi books. Their presence in the library already account for a pre-selection processes, and although the parameters for this selection are not readily traceable, it may be assumed that for some reason or other, the advice book in question was deemed worthy enough to be added to the library's stock.

The former India Office Library in London continuously grew through books being sent over from India. For selection, librarians in London used the quarterly compiled *Catalogue of*

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<sup>55</sup> Das, *A History of Indian Literature, Vol. 8*, 357f.

Books, which was individually compiled for each province, and listed all the books that were registered with the colonial authorities.<sup>56</sup> Aided by short descriptions of the books' content (written by Indian scribes), colonial librarians made their selection of books.<sup>57</sup> A substantial number of books were never registered with the authorities, such as clearly political or seditious pamphlets or books for fear that they may be banned and its authors subjected to prosecution. In addition, many of the cheap but popular, often raucous and indecent booklets with poems and entertaining stories that were available in small stalls at markets and festivals were probably never registered.<sup>58</sup> It may be assumed, that books selected to be sent to Britain were selected for being useful for educational purposes and being deemed representative for current trends and developments in the growing Indian book market.

The same may be said for advice books collected from Indian libraries, which form the majority of sources used in my study. Here, too, only advice books that were deemed suitable by those selecting the books for the library, or which had been donated by patrons made their way into the shelves. Depending on the cataloguing system of the library, advice books were divided into various sections such as 'etiquette', 'marriage advice', 'education', 'family', 'health' and 'religion'.<sup>59</sup> Major libraries specializing on Hindi literature are the Aryabhasha Pustakalay (opened 1901) of the Nagaripracharini Sabhain Benares and the library of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in Allahabad.<sup>60</sup> These two libraries belong to institutions that were pivotal for the Hindi language movement and thus worked on establishing a representative collection of books written in Hindi, while especially focusing on those books that 'would effect a betterment of society through Hindi literature'.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> According to the Press and Book Registration Act of 1873, all books that were published in India had to be registered with the authorities. For a discussion of the possible uses of this catalogue and the interpretations of its data as a historical source see Darnton, "Book Production in British India" in combination with Priya Joshi's excellent critique of Darnton in her article "Quantitative Method, Literary History".

<sup>57</sup> Markings in the *Catalogue of Particulars regarding Books and Periodicals* for the North-Western Provinces (later United Provinces) indicate that in 1893 roughly 50% of the Hindi books were selected to be sent to London, whereas in 1938 the amount of selected Hindi books was down to less than 16%, probably due to the high increase in book production.

<sup>58</sup> Gupta, *Sexuality, Obscenity, Community*, 52f. For a detailed study on popular Hindi literature see Orsini, *Print and Pleasure*.

<sup>59</sup> See *Āryabhāṣā pustakālay kā sūcīpatra* (Printed catalogue of the Aryabhasha Pustakalay), handwritten catalogues of the Marwari Library and the Carmichael Library.

<sup>60</sup> The role of the Nagaripracharini Sabhain the production and dissemination of advice literature is further explored in section 2.2.

<sup>61</sup> Lal, *Hīrak jayanti granth*, 37.



Smaller, privately owned libraries, such as the Carmichael Library in Benares (founded in 1872), the Bharti Bhavan Library in Allahabad (founded in 1889) and the Marwari Library in Delhi (founded in 1911) also stocked mainly Hindi books.<sup>62</sup> The latter libraries were all founded on private initiatives and became popular venues for reading, meeting people and increasingly also political discussions.<sup>63</sup> Ramnath 'Suman', a highly prolific writer of advice manuals, writes in his personal reminiscences how his friend Krishnadev Prasad Gaur would frequently visit the Nagaripracharini Sabha, and 'almost daily' the Carmichael library to get together in a *maṇḍalī*, a circle of friends of fellow literati, who would sit there for long hours, discussing and joking.<sup>64</sup> The Bharti Bhavan Library also became an important landmark in the old city centre of Benares. Its wealthy benefactor, Lala Brajmohanlal, founded the library 'in which almost the entire number of excellent books in Hindi and Sanskrit are collected' and in his last will ensured that the library would have enough funds in the future.<sup>65</sup> The annual report of the Bharti Bhavan Library states 15.000 visitors for the year 1891 and suggests that the demand for books was so high that two people would read one book at the same time.<sup>66</sup> The Marwari Public Library was established on private initiative and without Government funding. Its founder Kedarnath Goenka intended it as a space of free knowledge dissemination, and also used it as a secret meeting place for freedom fighters during the independence movement.<sup>67</sup> In some cases, the choice of advice books is already predetermined by the library - the books written under the patronage of the Nagaripracharini Sabhaevidently are available in the Aryabhasha Pustakalay. Likewise it is not surprising that the Marwari Library stocks a great amount of books by Gitapress-authors Poddar and Goyandka, who were Marwaris themselves and addressed important issues for this community. The presence of the same authors in several libraries, as well as duplicate books, account for the popularity of the author as well as his - or her - presence in the networks surrounding the production of normative literature. With the necessary precaution, keeping the pre-selected character of advice books and its outreach to a specific section of society (people literate in Hindi with access to the book and the leisure to read) in mind, advice books can become a valuable historical source for late colonial India.

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<sup>62</sup> See Government of India, *Libraries in India* for a 1952 survey of these libraries.

<sup>63</sup> Unfortunately I could neither locate archival material on membership of these libraries, nor old records documenting the acquisition, lending, and circulation of books.

<sup>64</sup> Suman, *Maine smṛtī ke dīp jalāye*, 55.

<sup>65</sup> Das, "Svargvāsī Lālā Brajmohanlāl", 158f.

<sup>66</sup> Tandan/Vyas, *Bharti Bhavan Pustakalay Shatabdi Smarika*, 5-7.

<sup>67</sup> Tagra, *Kedar Nath Goenka*, 237

## Beyond the Prescriptive: New Approaches to Advice Literature

The *Civilizing Process* by Norbert Elias is a prominent work extensively using advice literature as a source. His hypothesis of ongoing civilisatory refinement, accompanied by growing personal distance has been widely discussed. His methodology came under strong criticism, as he based his theories on too little source material, mixing educational works with those to be read at leisure, and also humorous with prescriptive texts.<sup>68</sup> Elias work is also criticized for not taking the context that informed the creation of his sources into account and for assuming that they are descriptive for current norms and behavior in dominant sections of society.<sup>69</sup> In taking advice literature at face value, Elias does not differentiate between normative interventions through advice literature and established behavioral and emotional practices at a certain point in time. He writes:

The quotations have been assembled to illustrate a real process, a change in the behaviour of people. In general, the examples have been so selected that they may stand as typical of at least certain social groups or strata.<sup>70</sup>

Elias' experiment is problematic, as it assumes that advice books are descriptive accounts of historical realities and that advice literature occupies a stable position in relation to said realities. It would be equally wrong, however, to assume that normative texts are entirely prescriptive and are not necessarily connected to what would have been 'typical' for a certain period in time. When researchers use advice books they have to be aware of the uncertainties involved in this specific historical source. In a temporal sense, the relationship between advice manual and social reality is also unclear, as some of the proposed practices might already be commonly established practice, or to be newly introduced. Moreover, in many cases it is hard to ascertain whether admonitions and negative examples in advice texts relate to common practice or rather describe a striking, unusual example, or maybe are caricatures of particular people or groups.

Recent studies using advice books as sources mostly argue that normative advice is very much embedded in social discourse. Whatever is written in an advice book comments and reflects actual practices, and cannot go beyond what is imaginable at a certain location in

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<sup>68</sup> Schnell, "Kritische Überlegungen zur Zivilisationstheorie", 26.

<sup>69</sup> Schwerhoff, "Zivilisationsprozess und Geschichtswissenschaft", 573.

<sup>70</sup> Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 68.

space and time. Judith Walsh analyses in her study on nineteenth century Bengali domestic manuals how a new, contested ideology of man-wife relationship emerged:

This literature shows us the contending traditions of Hinduism and the West; it illustrates the process by which colonial culture penetrated Hindu domestic life and shows us South Asian gender and family relations at the very moment when the older Hindu patriarchal system comes under challenge and is revised.<sup>71</sup>

Likewise, Catriona Kelly, working on Russian advisory literature, acknowledges that normative literature ‘dictated consumption patterns’, ‘sought to mould relationships’, and ‘propagandized new “cultivated” activities’, thus instigating a gradual process of social refinement.<sup>72</sup> Advice manuals are used as a proof for intricate changes in society that relate to questions of every day life. French child-rearing manuals of the early nineteenth century are also understood as agents to ‘communicate new ideology in concrete ways’.<sup>73</sup> To locate advice literature as a mouthpiece for a certain dominant ideology of acting and – even more so – feeling, is also the usual path taken by Peter Stearns and his followers, who analyze historical shifts by looking at the way emotions as ‘anger’ or ‘coolness’ are portrayed in advice books, magazines and other sources.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, some pitfalls in working with advice literature remain. Dipesh Chakrabarty, for example, endeavor understands advice books as ‘both products as well as constituents of a modern print-culture or the public sphere’ which can thus capture ‘fragments of Bengali self-fashioning’ by the authors. On the other hand, Chakrabarty endorses that these texts ‘tell us very little about what went on in the everyday lives of actual, empirical, bhadralok families’, and that, if at all, only ‘glimpses’ of these lives can be traced.<sup>75</sup> Scholars working on Europe and South Asia alike maintain that advice literature informs and reflects what is considered ‘advisable’ by certain groups of people at a certain point in time and space. An additional idea is formulated in Anupama Roy’s conclusions regarding domestic manuals for Indian women: ‘The proliferation of such texts in the late colonial period may be seen also as reflecting the anxieties of a period of change where gender roles, far from being settled, manifested domains of contest and struggle’.<sup>76</sup> This suggests that advice books are themselves part of contestations and the struggle to gain authority to dictate “correct” behavior in a changing society. Such reflections also inform an

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<sup>71</sup> Walsh, *Domesticity in Colonial India*, 9.

<sup>72</sup> Kelly, *Refining Russia*, xxxii.

<sup>73</sup> Popiel, “Making Mothers: the Advice Genre and the Domestic Ideal”, 340.

<sup>74</sup> See for example Stearns/Lewis, *An Emotional History of the United States*.

<sup>75</sup> Chakrabarty, “The Difference – Deferral of (a) Colonial Modernity”, 54.

<sup>76</sup> Roy, *Gendered Citizenship*, 79.

article on contemporary western advice literature written by Timo Heimerdinger. The historical and cultural shifts and changes in the genre of advice literature, along with its context of production and reception, forbid a transfer of his results. His suggestions for a new methodological approach may also be informative for advice books from late colonial India. Heimerdinger emphasizes the necessity to investigate the cultural prerequisites needed for advice literature. He argues that advice manuals should not only be read as an authoritative medium for the dissemination of norms; instead, an enquiry into why these kinds of text were produced in the first place could help to uncover different fields of insecurity and discussion in a society.<sup>77</sup> Following this approach, my analytical focus centers on how emotional norms are proclaimed in advice books, and, in order to fill spaces of insecurity and cultural negotiation, are then claimed as constitutive markers of a certain community.

Book historians also acknowledge the complexity of advice literature as a historical source. Their focus on the creation, dissemination and uses of script and print, as well as the social, cultural and economic history of authorship, publishing, libraries, literacy, reading habits and reader response developed from a critical view on the way books were dealt with in the field of literary studies. Book historians admonished that texts were analyzed ‘as if they existed in themselves, irrespective of any material form’ and that ‘universality of reading’ was projected into them, i.e. books would be read and interpreted similar across time, culture, gender, class.<sup>78</sup> Roger Chartier instead prefers to speak of the appropriation of a text by the reader, done within a framework imposed by the author (and other mediators).<sup>79</sup> This criticism, justified as it is, does not solve the main issue at stake: how can one draw conclusions as to the influence books have had on their individual readers? And can books subsequently have transformative power on society as a whole?

Robert Darnton, setting the research agenda for the field in his classic article ‘What is the history of books’, argued that it is important to go beyond a strict distinction between the reception and the production side of books. Instead, he argued that books are the outcome of a highly interrelated circular process:

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<sup>77</sup> Heimerdinger, “Alltagsanleitungen”, 61.

‘Meine These ist es, dass die Ratgeberliteratur in vielen Fällen nicht in erster Linie eine Instanz der Normvermittlung darstellt, sondern vielmehr als der Ausdruck jeweils aktueller kultureller Diskussions- und Verunsicherungslagen verstanden werden kann.’

<sup>78</sup> Chartier, “Reading matter and ‘popular’ reading”, 275. See also Darnton, “What is the history of books?”, 78.

<sup>79</sup> Chartier, *The Order of Books*, 6ff

It could be described as a communications circuit that runs from the author to the publisher (if the bookseller does not assume that role), the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader. The reader completes the circuit, because he influences the author both before and after the act of composition. Authors are readers themselves. By reading and associating with other readers and writers, they form notions of genre and style and a general sense of the literary enterprise, which affects their texts, whether they are composing Shakespearean sonnets or directions for assembling radio kits. A writer may respond in his writing to criticism of his previous work or anticipate reactions that his text will elicit. He addresses implicit readers and hears from explicit reviewers. So the circuit runs full cycle.<sup>80</sup>

Darnton makes a strong argument regarding the connection between authors and readers, emphasizing that authors are also readers, readers of texts that influence their work, and also readers of other people's responses to their texts. He also assumes that authors usually write while having a certain group of possible addresses in their mind. A research that centers on the production side of books would thus not be possible without also offering insights into the perceptions and/or distribution of books. That said, historians continued looking for indicators how readers appropriated their books, e.g. by trying to gain insights from the notes and other marginalia that readers left in them.<sup>81</sup>

The methodological consideration of book historians are meant to apply to not only literary, but any kind of texts. The present study therefore concentrates on the context in which the books have been produced and read, patronized and distributed. At the same time, the text itself is also analyzed for its rhetorical and argumentative strategies, as well as the connection between behavioral advice and emotions. In addition, the context of Hindi advice books as a specific genre is discussed, along with the role that these books had in promoting, prefiguring, representing and discussing the 'landscape of insecurities' in a language of emotional cultivation.

## **Context and Text: Trajectories of Analysis**

To retrace major parts of the communication circuit in which Hindi advice books are embedded, I mainly focus on the context of its production, while also looking for clues in

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<sup>80</sup> Darnton, "What is the History of Books?", 67.

<sup>81</sup> See Jackson, *Marginalia*.

relation to the reception of these books. Added to that, information on the distribution and circulation of advice manuals is also taken into account.

The production side can be accessed by looking at the writers of advice books, taking into account their biography and affiliation to reform associations, religious movements, as well as their political and social engagement. I mostly selected authors that have been very prolific, or at least wrote several advice books on the topic. As a first reference on the author, biographical lexica and compendia such as *Divangat Hindi Sevi* have been most helpful. This information is supplemented by autobiographical writings, memories of other writers, biographies and also – where available – by recent secondary sources. In most cases, the biographical information is far from sufficient or non-existent at all. In these cases, the prefaces of advice manuals (either written by the author, or a friend/supporter/sponsor) give valuable clues as to the ideological background of the author, as does the kind of advice, and choice of references and citations in the main part of the book. This is also vital in identifying the specific social and reform discourses in which advice books partake. Out of the institutions and structures that spur these discourses emerged systems of support and patronage for normative literature. Its impact on the production of certain types and formats of books are also vital for an analysis of the production side of advice literature.

Regarding the reception side, the obvious first step is to look at the number of copies that were printed of a book and to re-trace how often it has been re-edited. Going for quantifiable data promises to be an easy way to assess how much a book was in demand. There are many pitfalls that prevent drawing overtly fast conclusions. First of all, the percentage of the population that was literate was comparatively low in India, and even more so in the North-Western Provinces.<sup>82</sup> By the beginning of the twentieth century, Hindi books usually would be produced at print runs of 500-1000 copies, and even for the 1930s only very few advice books would start off with 2000 copies per edition. Nevertheless, and this is important to note, the low number of imprints may disguise the fact that a much larger number of people had come in contact with the books. Evidence on reading practice indicates that books, magazines and other reading matter was frequently read out in domestic settings and social gatherings and thus could also reach parts of the population unable to read.<sup>83</sup> On the one hand, some books, especially textbooks and also domestic advice manuals were

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<sup>82</sup> For an analysis of census data regarding the North-Western Provinces see Basu, *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India*, Chapter 5.

<sup>83</sup> Darnton, "Book Production in British India", 244.

deliberately written to be used as teaching material for those not being literate yet.<sup>84</sup> On the other hand, many books were produced as commissioned works. Governmental and private patronage and the corresponding distribution strategies, e.g. as prize books in schools,<sup>85</sup> may have resulted in a book production that did not reflect the demand for certain books. As the early twentieth century proceeded and the book market expanded, the connection of the authors, their affiliation to certain social and religious movements, as well as the patronage structures in which they were embedded, helped a great way in popularizing certain books and thus made them available to a large audience. The constant re-edition of books is also significant, especially if they remained unchanged throughout the time,<sup>86</sup> or if there are visible changes in subsequent re-editions.<sup>87</sup>

Underlining and notes in advice manuals indicate how readers actively engaged with the content of advice books in the light of ongoing social reformatory discourses.<sup>88</sup> Another inroad to researching the elusive reception of advice literature is possible through the fact that writers of advice manuals are readers themselves. The reception of advice literature led to the translation and adaptation of earlier advice books into Hindi,<sup>89</sup> the interpretation and promotion of religious scriptures,<sup>90</sup> or the appropriation of popular scientific and psychological theory.<sup>91</sup>

Complementing my the explorations of the context, in which advice literature was produced and received, textual analysis focuses on the way emotions are conceptualized and situated in advice manuals. Emotion-words, such as anger (*krodh*), greed (*lobh*) and lust (*kāṃ*) figure prominently in advice books, as do general references to feeling (*bhāvi*) in a larger

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<sup>84</sup> See Walsh, “Domesticity in Colonial India”.

<sup>85</sup> Patronage structures for advice literature are discussed in section 2.1.

<sup>86</sup> See for example the religious advice manuals of Jaydayal Goyandka and Hanumanprasad Poddar have been continuously re-edited since the 1920s (section 3.1).

<sup>87</sup> See for example the striking difference in the introduction to the 1927 edition of *Nīti-sudhā-taraṅgiṇī* (section 2.1) or the change in the title of the etiquette manual *Hindustānī Śiṣṭācār* into *Bhāratīya Śiṣṭācār* (section 2.3).

<sup>88</sup> The analysis of text passages in section 4.2., which are marked by different persons, show how the transmission of normative text did not follow a uniform reception model.

<sup>89</sup> For the translation and adaptation of famous English works on ethics and self-help see section 2.2. For information on the author Santaram, who translated Marie Stopes’ famous works on contraception and eugenics, as well as Dale Carnegie’s advice bestsellers see section 4.1.

<sup>90</sup> I argue in section 3.1. that the Gitapress publications had an significant role in the popularization of the Bhagavad Gita as a canonical text of Hinduism.

<sup>91</sup> Krishnakant Malaviya used a select interpretation of western science to authorize his writings (see section 4.3), whereas Yashoda Devi concentrated on modernizing and adapting Ayurvedic medicine for issues related to women’s health and procreation.

semantic field. My analysis also looks for conceptualizations of emotional styles, and emotionalizations, i.e. instances where a certain behavior is connected to an emotional judgment (e.g. if something is described as 'disgusting', 'delighting' or 'horrible').

My analysis also investigates into how textual authority gets created. The term 'textual authority' has been mostly employed for literary enquiry into religious scriptures or epic narratives and can thus relate to different phenomena, 'some of them intrinsic to the text's structure, some closer to the reception by the reader or audience'.<sup>92</sup> For my research, I use it as a loose analytical term, based on a definition by Czesław Galewicz as 'the ability of the text itself to give its reader the impression that the theory it contains is the most efficient available'.<sup>93</sup> For my analysis of instances where textual authority is created, I would like to broaden this definition. 'Textual authority' can emerge from within the structure of certain texts, it is something, that then becomes meaningful for the recipients of the text, but I also understand it as a phenomenon intentionally or inadvertently created by the author. The creation of textual authority is the central goal of normative texts, as they depend on the authority of the author's position or the legitimacy of the sources the presented knowledge is based on.<sup>94</sup> The sources of textual authority are often also texts, be it religious scriptures, popular psychological or medical research, or even other advice books. I see the creation of textual authority as a mutual process: by taking certain external references (mostly ancient scriptures, moral philosophy, medical findings, popular psychology or other advice books) advice manuals create the idea that these reference points are authoritative, they are seen as 'true' and non-negotiable. On the other hand, the external point of reference is used to legitimize and empower the advice given in an advice book. Within this tautological circle, the textual authority of both the advice book and its external reference create and re-enforce each other. As part of my research on the history of emotions, this strategy enables the uncovering of (popular) emotion knowledge.

Instead of interpreting advice manuals solely as elements of discourse, I look for the presence of the author in advice books. Apart from the instances where 'textual authority' is created, I also focus on the instances where the 'imagined reader' is constructed. This is my

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<sup>92</sup> Galewicz, *Texts of Power, the Power of the Text*, 11f

<sup>93</sup> Galewicz, *Texts of Power, the Power of the Text*, 12.

<sup>94</sup> See Pernau, "Male Anger and Female Malice", 125, for the creation of textual authority in the writings of Ashraf Ali Thanawi.



third level of textual analysis. It aims at uncovering markers of community, by looking at the imagined reader, who is styled as someone who endeavors to become part of this very community, and is promised admission once he succeeded in the cultivation of his emotions.

'Imagined reader' as an analytical term reminds of Wolfgang Iser's concept of the 'implied reader'. In reader-response theory, the implied reader stands for an entity that is entirely intrinsic to the text and created by it. It is thus different from the 'actual reader' just as much as it is from the fictional addressees of a text.<sup>95</sup> In contrast, my understanding of the 'imagined reader' is closer to Robert Darnton's idea of the 'implicit reader', by which he means the actual target group that the author had in mind while writing a book.<sup>96</sup> My choice for this analytical term deliberately alludes to Benedict Anderson's idea of 'imagined communities', which are abstract entities defined and realized through symbols, rituals and objects, thus creating the reality of a community in the making.<sup>97</sup> The 'imagined reader', then, is an aspiring member of a certain emotional community, defined and realized through emotional norms that are portrayed as ideal points of identification for this very community. The imagined reader is thus an emotional ideal (provided that he would follow all the advice given in the book) for how members of a certain community should be. A direct address to the envisaged imagined reader can often be gained from the foreword of an advice book, written by the author, the editor of a series, or other notable dignitaries. But also textual cues from the main body of advice books help to situate the imagined readers within their educational background, class and/or caste, religion, age and gender.

## Structure of the Dissertation

In the empirical part of my thesis I analyze the interplay of emotional norms and emotion knowledge in the process of community formation. Books on self-help and etiquette outline civic duties and the manners, behavior and feelings to which these correspond. Whereas self-help books written in the first decade of the twentieth century were predominantly modeled on British sources, they became increasingly concerned with demarcating the specificities of genuinely Indian cultural excellence over time. Although not openly anti-colonial, these sources became very clearly embedded in the nationalist discourse (chapter 2). I then turn to religious advice manuals produced by the two author-publishers of

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<sup>95</sup> See Iser, *Der Akt des Lesens*.

<sup>96</sup> Darnton, "What is the History of Books", 67.

<sup>97</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6f

the Gitapress (chapter 3). Their first books came out in the mid 1920s and can clearly be located within social discourses from within the caste group to which the authors and founders of the press belonged. By the end of the 1930s these advice manuals were established as authoritative advice that was imperative for all 'traditional Hindus' to follow, and outlined emotional markers different from other religions. The guidebooks with their distinctly religious outlook connected guidelines on how to secure spiritual salvation with the ideal of a fulfilled life on earth, which was, in turn, only possible through emotional self-control.

Domestic manuals, analysed in chapter 4, dwelled extensively on the husband-wife relationship. Many of these outlined the importance of abstinence and the control of lust in order to battle sexual and social decay. Bestselling advice books from the 1930s onwards showed new trends in advice literature when they addressed the importance of spiritual and sexual love between the couple. The guidelines set out in these books were buttressed by psychological, scientific and medical findings, both 'ancient Indian' and 'Western'. My analysis centers on the construction of masculine and feminine emotional gender roles, and how emotional norms of domestic love are embedded in discourses on interpersonal happiness and social improvement.

On the basis of three different case studies, my empirical chapters probe into the changing market for advice books. Chapter 2 discusses the emergence of advice literature in the colonial context, supported through structures of patronage and embedded in an overall educative agenda. Good examples for such an endeavor are the (commissioned) works that published through the 'Society for the Promotion of Nagari'. In contrast, chapter 4 introduces prolific writers that specialized in non-fictional advice books. Their books came out in an increasingly competitive book market, were promoted in magazines, and could be accessed in the rising number of small libraries that specialized on books in the vernaculars. Chapter 3, with its focus on the Gitapress, introduces a highly successful non-profit publishing enterprise. The founders and main authors of the Gitapress created a powerful sales and marketing structure. They translated their agenda of social and religious reform into advice texts, which became styled as impartial exegeses of religious scriptures.

The key aspect of my engagement with advice literature remains the enquiry how norms and knowledge of cultivated emotions are styled as markers of community

identification. These books suggest that with the right kind, quality and quantity of feeling, a person can gain domestic happiness, spiritual salvation, or a higher social status. But it does not stop there – as it is understood in the advice manuals, the feelings of every individual taken together also shape the destiny and course of society as a whole. In doing so, advice books rely on a different field of knowledge production – discourses on moral education (chapter 2), religion (chapter 3) and popular sciences (chapter 4). Within these reference fields, the authoritative source is further located in trajectories of ‘Indian’ versus ‘Western’, and ‘modern’ versus ‘traditional’ that may be overlapping, but are not congruent. The emotional norms, which are formulated in this process, are often formulated as a person’s (or a communities’) dharma. Dharma (*dharm*), one of the most central elements in Hindu and Buddhist philosophy, is often translated as ‘duty’, but surpasses any sharp analytical distinctions between religion and ritual, practice and ethics. It can also be translated as law, religion, norm, justice, or morality. In short, dharma unites all these different epistemological categories, while transcending them at the same time. From a metaphysical perspective, dharma is a cosmic principle that ensures the order of the universe, in which all living beings act in compliance with their duties and their inherent nature.<sup>98</sup> My empirical chapters indicate different areas of meaning in which ‘dharma’ is used as a key term to underscore the need for the cultivation of emotions. It is styled as an ethical imperative (chapter 2), religious doctrine (chapter 3), and natural law (chapter 4). Dharma, built on emotional norms, thus becomes the normative principle in all aspects of life.

The different formulations of dharma built the basis for my conclusion (chapter 5), in which I propose dharma as an analytical term to better understand the intersecting and overlapping nature of emotional communities.

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<sup>98</sup> See Holdredge, “Dharma”

## 2. Controlling Anger – Sympathy as a Marker of Civility

Anger (*krodh*) can be a very useful human power. It enables a person to scare away his enemies and protect one's own honor (*mān-maryādā*), possessions etc. It is very bad, however, to become angry at each and everything, use it without necessity and forget oneself in the ardor of anger (*tejī*) or succumb to improper actions. Therefore anger always needs to be kept under control. [...] Note also, that feeling irritated over trifle matters, constant pouting, having an easily irritable character, keeping the nose always wrinkled and the brows knitted, and speaking in rage (*roṣ*) are all signs of weakness.<sup>99</sup>

The present chapter concentrates on the larger epistemological framework, in which the control of anger is preached in late colonial India. Controlling one's anger is a major emotional norm repeatedly formulated in etiquette books. For example, Kamtaprasad Guru advised that it would be not proper to shout at women and 'say things that would sadden their hearts'. Also a master should never loudly quarrel and fight with his servants.<sup>100</sup> Ramnarayan Mishra also formulated etiquette rules that deal with anger, specifying, for example that one should not get mad at one's elders, and that even a beggar deserved respect so that it is under all circumstances forbidden to beat or otherwise mistreat him.<sup>101</sup> My analysis in this chapter focuses mainly on the correctives of anger, which are proposed in etiquette manuals, but also in books on ethics and self-help. As an opposite to anger, which, as the quotation above suggests, arises out of weakness, advice books promote a concept that has been central in eighteenth and nineteenth century moral discourse: sympathy.<sup>102</sup> Hindi books

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<sup>99</sup> Surajbhanu Vakil, *Jīvan-nirvāh*, 41f.

Krodh manuṣyakī ek baṛe kāmki śakti hai. is krodhke dvārā hī vah apne śatruom ko haṭāyā aur apnī mān-maryādā, dhan-sampati ādikī rakṣā kartā hai. parantū bāt bāt par krodh lānā, binā jarūratke uskā upyog karnā aur iskī tejimeṁ ākar āpese bāhar ho jānā yā aur anucit kāryy karne lagnā bahut bura hai. [...] iske atirikt yah bhī jān lena cāhie ki bāt bātmeṁ bigaṛnā, har samay rūṭhnā, ciṛhcirhā svabhāv banānā, sadaiv nāk bhāu carhāye rahnā, roṣ bharī bāteṁ karnā ye sab kamzorīki niśān hairṁ.

<sup>100</sup> Kamtaprasad Guru, *Hindusthānī śiṣṭācār*, 96 and 121.

<sup>101</sup> Ramnarayan Mishra, *Bhāratīya śiṣṭācār*, 2 and 10.

<sup>102</sup> For an overview of the central role of the concept of 'sympathy' gained in Europe, especially in the course of the Enlightenment see Pernau, "Zivilität und Barbarei", especially page 240f; and Frevert, *Emotions in History*, Chapter 3.

on etiquette promoted sympathy by using Hindi terms such as *saṃvedanśīltā* (sensitivity/sympathy), *sahānubhūti* (sensibility/sympathy) *suśīltā* (goodness of character/sympathy) and *dayā* (compassion/sympathy). These are mapped out as central qualities of an educated, civilized and refined personality, and are presented as belonging to a distinct emotional style. The concept of ‘sympathy’ was thus promoted universal ideal, and at the same time also as a marker of excellence which Indians could rightfully claim as theirs.

In the power relationships of knowledge in colonial India, the question of moral education plays a decisive role. From a nineteenth century colonial perspective, education was seen as a means to bring forth the moralizing effect of the civilizing process, and also uphold the stability of colonial rule. Underlying it was the idea that the morality of the British colonizers and Christian missionaries would become an example that the Indians would emulate. Indian actors also became part of the endeavor to spread moral education, but many of them started to question the effects of the colonial education system.<sup>103</sup> The idea that morality and manners would constitute the backbone of every educated, modern and civilized society was never at stake, but Indian writers maintained that for the improvement of society genuine Indian morals and manners would be needed. In turn, the imperial claim to morality was ‘provincialized’.<sup>104</sup> In doing so, Indian writers did not negate the importance of western writers for the moral education of Indians. In fact, they actually translated famous English self-help books into Hindi. But while doing so, they refuted the western claim to moral superiority and instead postulated guidelines for genuinely Indian etiquette and ethics.

The debates around colonial moral education are discussed in section 2.1. of this chapter, mainly showing the helplessness of the Education Department in regard to the perceived moral decline of educated Indians and instances of disobedience towards the colonial rulers. Section 2.2. explores how Indian actors emulated the colonial government’s efforts to produce and promote the production of suitable literature, beneficial for the ‘moral improvement’ of adults. The Nagaripracharini Sabha became a major patron and encouraged writers to translate English books on self-help and ethics but also commission original works in Hindi. Hindi translations often creatively adapted the English original and introduced new possibilities of interpretation. In writing Hindi versions, the authors also postulated moral authority for themselves and the social group of educated and ‘civilized’ persons to which

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<sup>103</sup> See Kumar, *The Political Agenda of Education*. According to Krishna Kumar colonial education was often seen as a threat to the morality of the children in the nineteenth century.

<sup>104</sup> See Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*.

they belonged. Section 2.3. uncovers how ideas of moral inferiority towards the British were replaced by nationalist ideas that proudly asserted the specificities of Indian-ness in advice manuals by promoting emotional norms, and postulating sympathy as an ideal emotional style to be felt towards inferiors. Through emotionalization of certain rules of behavior and etiquette, they defined a nationalist idea of community by cultural and religious markers of exclusion.

## **2.1. Moral Education in Colonial Translations**

The colonial call for bringing moral education to India is already present in the dispatch sent by the Secretary of State, Sir Charles Wood, to the Court of the Directors of the East India Company in 1854 that called for the provision of educational facilities which would raise the moral character of the masses through the dissemination of European knowledge, but through the medium of vernacular languages. The idea was, to instill the European rationality through the emotionality of the mother tongue; or, as Wood phrased it, ‘not to translate the words and idioms in the native languages but so to combine the substance of European knowledge with native forms of thought and sentiment as to render the school book useful and attractive’.<sup>105</sup> But the production of textbooks in the vernacular proved to be a huge challenge. The early textbooks in Hindi, especially for instruction in the sciences, were mostly based on translations from the English original. The books were frequently criticized for their unidiomatic language, quaint writing style, and the use of difficult words, or it was the content of the books, as the stories in them were not deemed suitable for children.<sup>106</sup> As a result, employees of the Education Department were encouraged to write good-quality textbooks in the vernacular. One of them was Shivaprasad. As a prolific author and one of the highest ranking Indians in the Education Department of the North Western Provinces, he altogether wrote 32 books for instruction in schools, first in Urdu and later also in Hindi. Among these are translations and adaptations from English books, as well as a number of original works.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Cited in Ghosh, *The History of Education in Modern India*, 77.

<sup>106</sup> See *Proceedings of the Government, Education Department*, (A) April 1877, No 21 to 52.

<sup>107</sup> Shivaprasad’s early Hindi schoolbooks, first published in the 1860s, were meant to be used as readers for the primary level. In *Laṅkoraṁ kī kahānī* (1861), short moral precepts were formed into illustrative lessons that preach to children not to steal, the depravity of greedy people, that a jealous man will always remain unhappy and the like. *Manbahlāv* (‘Amusement of the mind’), which reached its second edition in 1865, also provides moral and instructive stories, which are similar in tone and content. In 1870, Shivaprasad published the first Hindi literary reader with a selection of prose texts,

As appropriate texts for the instruction in schools were still lacking, the Government of the North Western Provinces decided to announce a prize notification on August twentieth, 1868. It offered rewards for books written in either Hindi or Urdu, the only condition being that ‘the book shall subserve some useful purpose, either of instruction, entertainment, or mental discipline.’ The authors of the approved books would not only get a cash prize, but their books would also be printed through the government, being made part of the school curriculum and/or given out as prizes to merit-worthy students. By such measures, as C.M. Naim points out, the Government of India had officially established itself as the judge of what kind of literature was acceptable and claimed that it had the power to disseminate the approved knowledge through the education system.<sup>108</sup> Initially the outcome of this announcement was rather meager, but soon the Education Department was ‘overwhelmed with MSS’, albeit most of them of insufficient quality.<sup>109</sup> The system of giving prizes was disbanded after a couple of years, but various books continued to be sent in an ever increasing number. The Education Department continued to review the books and selected those they considered appropriate as textbooks, prize books or books for school libraries. For the writers, this was not only a matter of prestige, but also secured them guaranteed sales in an increasingly competitive printing environment.<sup>110</sup>

One of the books that was approved for the curriculum of schools was the moral reader *Nītisudhātaraṅgiṇī*, or ‘Little ripples in the ocean of ethics’, written by the government translator Ramprasad Tiwari. The book consists of chapters such as ‘on the malady and avarice of anger and greed’ or ‘on the topic of the happiness of joy and the unhappiness of envy’, and gives to each chapter a morally instructive story taken from ‘ancient texts’ such as the *Mahabharat*. Reading the introduction, it becomes clear how eager Tiwari must have been to model his books according to the requirements of the Education Department. In the 1871 and 1874 editions of the book, printed by the Government Press in Allahabad with 1,000 and

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which remained the standard Hindi reading book for the next two decades and the basis for Middle School Examinations.

For further biographical details from a contemporary source see Grierson, *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*, 148ff. For his influence on early Hindi writing see Stark, “Towards a New Hindu Woman”, 170f.

<sup>108</sup> Naim, “Prize-winning adab”, 293. Citation from the *Allahabad Government Gazette*, Notification No. 791A, dated the twentieth August 1868.

<sup>109</sup> See *Government of India, Report on Public Instruction in the North Western Provinces and Oudh* for the year ending 31st March 1873, 6.

<sup>110</sup> See Stark, *An Empire of Books*, for a thorough study of the Naval Kishore Press, who at that time had the monopoly for textbooks in the North-Western Provinces.

5,000 copies respectively, Tiwari started with a general praise of reason and the ability of man to distinguish between good and evil, and ended with colorful metaphors of the different streams of ethics meeting the ocean, alluding to his moral instructive stories. Before the advent of the 'English Government' the Indians lived in a dark age. Now however, Tiwari added, the benefits of British rule were so immense that 'the people should fully display their thankfulness to the Excellency who, as a compassionate ruler, has nurtured and benefitted them'. Tiwari concluded by thanking the English Government that the 'dumb darkness' (*murkhtāndhkār*) came to an end.<sup>111</sup> This passage was entirely left out from the introduction, when the book was reprinted for the 5<sup>th</sup> time in 1927 by the prestigious Naval Kishore Press. There is, however, a foreword added by the then editor of the book. In there the editor stated that the language of the previous editions was still heavily influenced by the Braj style, not yet standardized and lacked any kind of punctuation. The editor also explicitly claimed that no part of the book's content had been altered, and that the book was extremely well suited to 'teach morals and ethics (*sadācār aur nīti*) to students from advanced grades'.<sup>112</sup> The difference in the editions of *Nītisudhātaraṅgiṇī* are a testimony to how early Hindi prose books were produced in such a way that they fitted into the expectations of the Education Department, and that there was a considerable process of systematization and standardization of the Hindi language happening from late nineteenth century to the twentieth century. Most of all, the assessment changed regarding who or what could stipulate the spread of morality in colonial India.

## Fighting Fears of Moral Decline

By the end of the nineteenth century, British-style formal education finally caught on in the Hindi-speaking region, although the North-Western Provinces still lagged far behind literacy rates in the presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta.<sup>113</sup> To ensure the quality of textbooks state-supervised text-book committees were founded, consisting mainly of school inspectors and professors at Government or Missionary Colleges, who reviewed, commented upon and recommended books to be included in school curricula or handed out as prize books. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, concerns rose regarding the

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<sup>111</sup> Tivari, *Nītisudhātaraṅgiṇī*(1871), introduction, 4.

<sup>112</sup> Tivari, *Nīti-sudhā-taraṅgiṇī*(1927), foreword.

<sup>113</sup> See Basu, *The Growth of Education*, Chapter 1.



effectiveness of the system in installing values into young Indians and educating them to become obedient colonial citizens.

In 1882 the 'Hunter commission' launched an India-wide enquiry into the education system. Chaired by the Director for Public Instruction in the respective state, the commission members collected evidence from School Inspectors, missionaries who were engaged in the education sector, and also Indian informants, mainly from the Education Department, but also from other departments of the colonial administration. Additionally, some educators and experts were consulted that did not have an official position in the colonial administration, but had distinguished themselves for their engagement in public education. All interviews were conducted along the lines of a questionnaire. Question number 39 asked for the informant's assessment of moral education in India: 'Does definite instruction in duty and the principles of moral conduct occupy any place in the course of Government colleges and schools? Have you any suggestions to make on this subject?'

The answer from J.C. Nesfield, former Director of Public Instruction in Oudh, Professor of the Presidency College in Calcutta and Principal of the Government College in Benares, drew on colonial stereotypes of British superiority. He testified to the benefits of moral tales in school readers, but named two influences that were much more powerful in installing morals: a) the English language as a medium of instruction, as 'vernacular literature corrupts the mind' and 'an equivocating language cannot but produce and equivocating mind'; b) the 'cultivation of the thinking powers' through the English education system. He maintained that only an education carried up to the high standard and imparted through the medium of English could lead to the moral improvement of India, whereas 'it is hopeless to think of conferring a similar benefit on the many by giving them an education up to a low standard through the vernaculars'.<sup>114</sup>

Nesfield's statement with its strong bias against Indian languages and their literary possibilities mirrors Macaulay's infamous Minute on Education from 1835, stating that 'a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia'. But even more so it echoes the notion of a need 'to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, --a class of persons Indian in blood

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<sup>114</sup> *Education Commission. Report by the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Committee*, 272.

and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect'.<sup>115</sup> Imparting the right kind of moral education, according to Nesfield, was only possible through English, thus forming a new elite group among Indians as mediators between the colonizers and the colonized. Nesfield's idea seemed to have borne fruit in some ways, as, less than a generation later, Indians educated in the British-styled system indeed turned into mediators.<sup>116</sup> Not all members of the Education Commission of the North-Western Provinces shared such a negative view regarding vernacular education in the 1880s. The aforementioned Shivaprasad was also a member of this commission. He had remained loyal to the Education Department throughout his career, and was rewarded for his work with the *Sitar-e-Hind* (Star of India) medal and given the title Raja. As one of the highest-ranking Indians in the colonial administration, his comments were that of a loyal employee, using this opportunity to flaunt his own achievements,<sup>117</sup> and an inside commentator, who is well aware of the politics surrounding textbook production. Shivaprasad pointed to the merits of vernacular textbooks, and emphasized the affective qualities of 'indigenous morals':

In my opinion there is no good book in which I have not found some instruction on duty and the principles of moral conduct. Even in Burnamala, Viyankur, Hakaikulmaujudat, Gutka, Mazamin, &c., which form class-books, you will find definite instructions. Books like the Code of Manu (Hindi), Sandford and Merton (Urdu), &c., are given as prizes. [...] My experience has shown that indigenous moral principles find ready access to the hearts of the Natives and are more firmly set there than any of the recent importation. A verse from the Mahabharat to a Hindu and from the Kuran to a Muhammadan does more good than the perusal of the whole Bible.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Bureau of Education. *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I (1781-1839), 107-117. Accessed via [http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00generallinks/macaulay/txt\\_minute\\_education\\_1835.html](http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00generallinks/macaulay/txt_minute_education_1835.html) (last retrieved: 22.02.2013)

<sup>116</sup> See section 2.3. for how Indian readers started to translate books that were part of the English curriculum into Hindi, adapting and refashioning them in the process.

<sup>117</sup> See *Education Commission, Report by the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Committee*, 312.

When asked to state his expertise in the field of education in front of the education commission, he emphasized his 22 years of experience as a school inspector, and pointed out how highly his work had been appreciated by his British Superiors: 'Mr. Thomason, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, when he visited Simla, was so much pleased with what he saw there, that he sent up Mr. H.S. Reid from Moradabad simply to see my system and introduce my books into the village schools which he was going to open in some of the experimental districts.'

<sup>118</sup> *Education Commission, Report by the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Committee*, 323.

In Shivaprasad's opinion the quality of the existing books was sufficient, and he made no distinction between books that were developed especially for schools and those that were produced in response to the Education Department's call for books on moral education. His main point concerned the source of suitable moral knowledge for India, and he distinguishes sharply between Muslim, Hindu and Christian/western sources of ethical knowledge. Other Indians interviewed for the Hunter (Education) Commission, like Pandit Din Dayal Tiwari (Deputy Inspector of Schools), and Babu Tota Ram (Pleader at the High Court in Aligarh), emphasized the importance of the creation of special textbooks meant to instill moral education in the young.<sup>119</sup> And the famous literatus from Benares, 'Bharatendu' Harishchandra bemoaned the lack of provision for moral education in Government Schools: 'It is a want extremely felt, and such study ought certainly to have a place in the school and college curriculum. Books may be selected hereafter, but in no way should they be such as to interfere with the religious views of any sect of people.'<sup>120</sup> Overall, they stressed that moral education was a necessity, but voiced concern regarding how it should be imparted, and if it could be imparted at all through textbooks in schools and colleges.

Based on the findings of the Hunter (Education) Commission, the Home Department announced in December 1887 that 'their attention was drawn to the growth of tendencies unfavorable to discipline, and favorable to irreverence, in the rising generation in India' and thus decided upon a catalogue of measures to counteract these tendencies from within the school system. The measures included the introduction of sports and fields exercise into the regular curricula, to provide more boarding facilities and hostels in colleges, to keep a tight rein on students through discipline monitors, conduct registers and stronger punishments for those who broke school discipline. In addition, the plan to compile books on moral education, as suggested by the Education Commission, was to be implemented: 'an attempt should be made to prepare a moral text-book based on the fundamental principles of natural religion.'<sup>121</sup> This resolution was seconded from the India Office in London:

The difficulties attending the adoption by the Government of India of an authorized manual containing lessons on moral subjects, which shall not offend the feelings of the numerous races and creeds of the peoples of India, are no

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<sup>119</sup> *Education Commission, Report by the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Committee*, 177 and 340.

<sup>120</sup> *Education Commission, Report by the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Committee*, 208.

<sup>121</sup> *Papers relating to Discipline and Moral Training in Schools and Colleges in India*. Resolution of the Government of India, Home Department, No. 6-371-383, dated the 17th August 1889.

doubt considerable; but I am of opinion that it is the duty of the Government to face this problem, and not to be content until a serious endeavour has been made to supply what cannot fail to be regarded as a grave defect in the educational system of India.<sup>122</sup>

This quotation illustrates a central difficulty in this project, and mirrors the concerns already articulated by Shivaprasad: if morality was to be taught, on which principles should it be based? And could it be imparted by the book at all? Discussions such as these continued into the early twentieth century, and even intensified as the growing nationalist movement led to protests and uproar, also among students at colleges and universities. Colonial education officials reacted with a repeated call for morally instructive books, as they hoped that Indian readers would emulate the principles they read.<sup>123</sup> In 1910 a large-scale education conference took place in Allahabad, and called again for the need of specialized reading books and the introduction of moral education as a subject in schools. To this, a critical commentator remarked:

But it is perhaps permissible to doubt, without being branded for it as an adversary, whether, since the somewhat large infusion of moral lessons in the ordinary lesson books is declared to have failed to develop the character, there is any reasonable expectation that the magical effect would be produced by collecting such lessons, adding to their amount, binding them in a separate volume, labelling them moral, and giving them a special and honoured place in the curriculum?<sup>124</sup>

Sarcastic remarks such as these were quite uncommon for the otherwise rather dry and matter-of-fact reporting style within the Education Department. They could be read as an indicator of rising uneasiness and disenchantment, although many Indians adamantly praised the colonial education they had received.<sup>125</sup> The situation in educational institutions betrayed

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<sup>122</sup> *Papers relating to Discipline and Moral Training in Schools and Colleges in India*. Despatch from Her Majesty's Secretary of State, to the Government of India, No. 120 (Public Education), dated India Office, London, the 29th September 1889.

<sup>123</sup> See for example *Government of India, Report on Public Instruction, N.-W. P. and Oudh*, for the year ending 31st March 1910, 44.

<sup>124</sup> *General Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, for the year ending 31st March 1912, 104.

<sup>125</sup> Chandra, "The Loyalty of Educated Indians to British Rule", 20.

See contemporary sources outlining the beneficial nature of British colonial rule, e.g. Iqbal Kishen Shargah, *The Moral Education of Indians*, a Professor at Bareilly College who voices sharply criticizes his fellow countrymen and states that only English influence could help against moral corruption; Sourindro Mohun Tagore, *A Presentation of the Views of Sanskrit Authorities on the Subject of Loyalty*, who argues that it would be beneficial to translate 'God save the Queen' into the different vernaculars and introduce it as a national anthem for India.

this ideal, and neither the teacher nor the textbook could remedy this. As obedience to the ruler was seen as the natural, integral part of moral behavior of the subject, the rising anti-colonial discontent became attributed to a lack of 'moral sentiments' in pupils. One of the tropes in colonial narratives was that this was caused through the disparity that those undergoing English education went through, as they were torn between the realm of 'Western education' and that of 'Indian customs'. The general assumption of a dichotomy of two worlds needs to be historicized. As Sanjay Seth points out, the fundamental assumption underlying it is itself an idea that was taught through the British educational system, and only those Indians that appropriated this knowledge, also began to perceive a moral crisis regarding the alleged 'radically different conceptions of how the world worked, what a man's place it was, and what constituted moral behaviour'.<sup>126</sup>

## **Compensating the Lack of Religious Instruction**

As morality and religion were often considered inseparable, the question of moral education had long been a crucial issue for colonizers, administrators and missionaries in India. Government schools and those receiving government funding had to be absolutely 'neutral', and no religious instruction was allowed in them. Instead, instruction in western scientific knowledge should bring forth a moralizing transformation.<sup>127</sup> Moreover, Christian ethics were considered to be inculcated in the English language and its literature, and while the literary curriculum was chosen to show the superiority of English culture, the ultimate goal of instruction was to ensure the authority of the British government and facilitate the smooth running of colonial exploitation.<sup>128</sup>

In 1887, as a follow-up on the findings of the Education (Hunter) commission, the colonial administration addressed the local governments with a circular stating that 'their attention was drawn to the growth of tendencies unfavourable to discipline, and favourable to irreverence, in the rising generation in India'. This resulted in an India-wide enquiry on *Discipline and Moral Training in Schools and Colleges*, in which course again the Directors of Public Instruction were asked to give their testimony on the possible causes and remedies for disobedience and resistance against the colonial authorities. Here the reply from Bengal is

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<sup>126</sup> Seth, *Subject Lessons*, 58.

<sup>127</sup> See Hayden, "Missionary Education, Religion and Knowledge in India" for the contestation of this claim by Indian actors.

<sup>128</sup> See Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest*.

particularly telling. Alfred Croft, the Director of Public Instruction, reiterates the common colonial trope that the goal of school instruction is to form ‘moral habits and emotions’ that lead to ‘obedience and discipline’ in the schoolboy, and to obedience toward authority in the grown man. For him, the introduction of the ‘enlightened’ British rule is the main cause for the present disobedience and perceived moral decay of educated Indians. Especially the Hindus were affected by moral deterioration, Croft maintains, because ‘the vague form of theism to which, at the best, the popular religion has been reduced in the minds of educated Hindus is altogether too thin and colorless to supply the emotional force without which theological propositions are powerless to influence conduct’.<sup>129</sup>

Statements such as these are testimony to the belief that religion is the planting ground for any and every kind of morality, and that the education of values could not at all be separated from religious instruction. Moreover, moral education was to be taught in such a way that it appealed to the feelings of the students, and shaped them. The idea that emotions need to be ‘stirred’ in order to make morality palpable also informed the report on public instruction that C.F. de la Fosse, the present Director of Public Instruction for the United Provinces (formerly called the North-Western Provinces) submitted to the Government in 1908:

Many hard things are said nowadays of Indian education: and perhaps the gravest accusation made against it is that it is divorced from both religion and morality. Critics often fail to realize the insurmountable nature of some of the difficulties which stand in the way of affecting the desired union. Strict religious neutrality must be observed; but in moral instruction [...] to omit absolutely every thing connected with religious feeling and yet to stir the emotions is no easy task for the teacher, however earnest and skilful he may be.<sup>130</sup>

For Fosse, as for most of his contemporaries, religion, morality and feeling were inseparable. This idea was rooted in the eighteenth century moral philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment, especially in the writings of Hume and Smith, which deeply informed the nineteenth century discourse on civility and civilization in England (and for which ‘sympathy’ was a central category). The concept of ‘civility’ as individual refinement became connected to and ‘civilization’ as the result of the collective emotional refinement of the members of society:

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<sup>129</sup> *Papers relating to Discipline and Moral Training in Schools and Colleges in India*, 147. Government of India. Letter from Sir Alfred Croft to the Government of Bengal, No. 105T, dated Darjeeling, the 28<sup>th</sup> October 1888.

<sup>130</sup> General Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in the year ending 31<sup>st</sup> March 1908, 43.

Earlier, it had been the duty of the individual (of each generation) to civilize himself through education. Now, societies as a whole could be distinguished by categories of ‘civil’ or ‘barbarian’, and the cultivation of specific emotions, depending on the evolutionary stage of the members of each society, became a demand.<sup>131</sup>

The idea that morality needed to be based on an affective level followed the concept of the ‘moral sentiment’, which was a feeling, or rather a blended combination of feelings that accompanied the cognitive judgment and facilitated the desire to act in a morally desirable way.<sup>132</sup> In a process of knowledge transaction within the entangled history of colonialism, Adam Smith’s theories, and the emotion knowledge they contained, also made their way into the curricula of colleges and schools in India.<sup>133</sup>

By the 1890s, students that had risen through the British higher education system started to take it on themselves to induce moral instruction in their fellow countrymen. Faculty and former students of Muir central college in Allahabad, for example, compiled an instructive reading book on moral culture. Published under the title *Dharmshikṣā*, it sought to combine moral examples from ‘our oriental literature’ with examples for the ‘entire literature of England, abound with examples of persons whose lives and actions will ever furnish models for our young men to follow’.<sup>134</sup> The book also addressed the controversial question of religious instruction by rephrasing it in terms of universal duty and ethics, and its authors stated expressively that the ‘dharma’ in *Dharmśikṣā* was to be understood in an ethical as well as religious sense, although ‘not referring to any particular creed’.<sup>135</sup> Throughout the book, dharma (*dharm*) is used synonymously with the word for duty, *kartavya*. Central duties for any

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<sup>131</sup> Pernau, “An ihren Gefühlen sollt ihr sie erkennen”, 254.

‘Es waren nicht länger die Einzelnen, denen in jeder Generation die Aufgabe oblag, sich durch Selbsterziehung zu zivilisieren. Vielmehr waren es die Gesellschaften als Ganze, die nach „civil“ oder „barbarous“ unterschieden werden konnten und je nach Entwicklungsstand von ihren Mitgliedern die Kultivierung unterschiedlicher Emotionen verlangten.’

See also Pernau, “Zivilität und Barberei”

<sup>132</sup> For contemporary reflections on Smith’s *Theory of Moral Sentiment*: Seth, “Scottish Moral Philosophy” (written in 1898) and Hirst, “Moral Sense, Moral Reason, and Moral Sentiment” (written in 1917).

The idea of ‘moral sentiments’ has also translated into current psychological categories used today. See for example Haidt, “The Moral Emotions”.

<sup>133</sup> See Pernau, “An ihren Gefühlen sollt ihr sie erkennen”. For an example of the reception of the theory of moral sentiment in India see Phanibhushan Chatterji, *Principles of Ethics*, especially page 61. This book was highly popular among college students in preparation for their exams, and reached 5 different editions between 1916 and 1918 alone.

<sup>134</sup> Allahabad Literary Institute, *Dharmśikṣā*, v (English preface to the second edition).

<sup>135</sup> Allahabad Literary Institute, *Dharmśikṣā*, 1 (footnote).

dharm śabd se yahām kiśī mat se prayojan nahīm. jo kuch hamāra avāśya kartavya hai, jis ke kiye binā ham doṣī ṭhahrāye jā sakte haiṃ, vahī dharm hai.

human being are described as not only containing the duties towards God and towards oneself, but also the duties towards others. Consequently, people from all over the world would be connected through mutual bounds of affection and sympathy:

Although God has brought man forth in different countries, he made their nature so moral and loving, so that they should not be disinclined to help each other. On top of this, all people on earth are connected through ties or relationships, so that it is difficult to separate one from the other.<sup>136</sup>

This assumption of universal brotherhood is then exemplified by the relations within a family – parents raise their children, a man provides for his wife and the wife helps him in every way she can. Friends and neighbors help each other out, and even for the poor and destitute God has created those who help them in their need. In relation to others, understanding (*buddhimānī*) and sympathy (*suśīltā*) for their situation is the primordial duty.<sup>137</sup> Separate chapters elaborate on the three different objects to which individual duty extends– duties to the self, duties to others and duties to God (*parmeśvar*). With regard to the relation of the ruler and the ruled, the authors of *Dharmśikṣā* resorted to the image of filial fidelity: ‘Just like it is the duty of the son to accept the wishes of his mother and father, it is also the duty of the people to follow the orders of their king’.<sup>138</sup> *Dharmśikṣā* thus promotes that obedience to the rulers equates with morality, and how this message was transported through the system of education in colonial India. *Dharmśikṣā* feeds very neatly into the colonial framework of how moral education was envisaged in colonial India. As the book was dedicated to Professor Thibaut, Professor of Literature at Muir College and also a member of the textbook committee, it is no surprise, that it became approved as a textbook for vernacular schools in 1902.

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<sup>136</sup> Allahabad Literary Institute, *Dharmśikṣā*, 3.

yadyapī īśvar ne [manuṣyom ko] bhinn bhinn deśom meṁ utpann kiyā hai, tathāpi svabhāv se hī unheṁ aisa śālivān aur snehī banāya hai ki jisse ve āpas meṁ ek dūse kī sahāyatā karne se vimukh na ho. iske sivāy pṛthvī par sab manuṣya ko āpas meṁ sambhandhi rūpī rassī meṁ aisā bāndhā hai ki unkā ek dūse se alag honā kaṭhin hai.

<sup>137</sup> Allahabad Literary Institute, *Dharmśikṣā*, 38. Terminology used here: *buddhimānī*, *suśīltā*

<sup>138</sup> Allahabad Literary Institute. *Dharmśikṣā*, 43.

putra ko acche mārg par calānā pitā kā dharm hai aur prajā nīti ke mārg meṁ rakhnā rājā ka dharm hai. isī prakār mātā-pitā ka āgya pālan karna putr kā dharm hai aur rājā ke ādeśom ko pālan karnā prajā kā dharm hai.



## ***Self-Help* adapted for Indians**

Samuel Smiles, 'Victorian Britain's prophet', became internationally known by his book *Self-Help*.<sup>139</sup> The book basically emphasizes the potential of individual and national progress through the development of one's own in-built potential. It most definitely struck a chord with the contemporary audience as it became an instant bestseller after it first appeared in 1859, the same year as Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* and Stuart Mill's *Essay on Liberty*. But unlike the latter books, it hardly spurred controversies and became an instant success; it sold 20,000 copies in the first year of its publication alone. After *Self-Help*, Smiles also published *Character and Duty*, which were similar in content, and also became bestsellers. As a popular source of inspiration and emulation, the books were soon translated into a number of European, and later also non-European languages. Members of the colonial Education Department as well as Christian missionaries recommended his books as highly beneficial reading material, which would help to morally educate and enlighten their colonial subjects.<sup>140</sup> Among many other colonial educators, also the authors of *Dharmśikṣā* recommended Smiles' books, stating that they 'cannot but have an ennobling influence on the minds'.<sup>141</sup>

*Self-Help* lists over 750 examples exemplary role models that built their own fame through perseverance, discipline and a strong sense of duty.<sup>142</sup> In model biographies, European industrialists, inventors and soldiers, common people that achieved success in life through hard work and persistence in the face of misfortune, are portrayed as examples of individual excellence, as well as proof to civilized superiority. What distinguished them was the character that they had built for themselves. 'Character', a central concept for the nineteenth century – discourse on self-help, was defined by Smiles as follows:

Character is human nature in its best form. It is moral order embodied in the individual. Men of character are not only the conscience of society, but in every well-governed State they are its best motive power; for it is moral qualities in the main which rule the world.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Briggs, "Samuel Smiles", 37.

<sup>140</sup> Murdoch, *Indian Students' Manual*, 318, recommends Smiles' books and lists a number of maxims, prominently among them 'moral character' as the main element on which 'real, lasting success'. Added to this, Murdoch adds tellingly in a colonial context that 'obedience is the first excellence in a subordinate'.

<sup>141</sup> Allahabad Literary Institute. *Dharmśikṣā*, foreword in English.

<sup>142</sup> Jarivs, *Samuel Smiles and the Construction of Victorian Values*, 65.

<sup>143</sup> Smiles, *Self-Help*, 314

Smiles emphasizes on character as the epitome of a person's morality and conscience, both on an individual, as well as on a national level. The facilitator of this moral excellence is the ability of a man (for the protagonists in Smiles' books are all male)<sup>144</sup> to self-educate himself. Likewise, moral excellence is also evident in the feeling that a 'true gentleman' would cultivate.

Gentleness is indeed the best test of gentlemanliness. A consideration for the feelings of others, for his inferiors and dependants as well as his equals, and respect for their self-respect, will pervade the true gentleman's whole conduct.<sup>145</sup>

If gentleness is a central element of a person's excellence, then social excellence ceases to be defined by birth and rank, or outer paraphernalia like the top hat or the walking stick so commonly attributed to the stereotype of the quintessentially British 'Gentleman'. In fact, by Smiles' definition the person in question does not need to be British at all. Instead, the person who Smiles calls a 'true gentleman' is defined by his emotional capability: he shows gentleness, in other words: sympathy, towards his inferiors. This is how he respects others, but in turn also gets respected by his peers. The message that Smiles conveyed in his books was that each and every person had the duty to build up one's character and thus the possibility to achieve success in life. He also sent out the message that moral refinement and evolutionary progress of a nation was directly connected to the achievements and feelings of its members.

Smiles' message of self-help as a means to the building of character, as well as moral and emotional refinement, would be universally applicable. Smiles (and many other writers before and after him) arranged his examples in such a way that all non-western spaces became solely 'the terrain in which soldiers, colonists, and imperial administrators can energetically pursue glory, usually in the name of empire.'<sup>146</sup> When ruling the world was understood as a privilege of those that had 'character', it comes as no surprise that India and its people were subjected to epistemological colonization. For example, Smiles praised an English explorer for his sense of honor which let him reject 'all the costly gifts which barbaric

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<sup>144</sup> The occasional female character appearing in Smiles book is moreover more likely to be a nagging wife that cossets and obstructs her husband, than a supporting and gentle woman. See Jarivs, *Samuel Smiles and the Construction of Victorian Values*, 65.

<sup>145</sup> Smiles, *Self-Help*, 331.

<sup>146</sup> Sinnema, *Introduction*, xx.

princes were ready to lay down at his feet'.<sup>147</sup> And in regard to India he emphasized the heroism that made men of ordinary birth distinguish themselves through their bravery in the face of revolting Indians in 1857: 'The recent terrible struggle in India has served to bring out, perhaps more prominently than any previous event in our history, the determined energy and self-reliance of the national character.'<sup>148</sup> By his selection of model examples, Smiles thus indirectly strengthens colonial narratives. Orientalist depictions of Western cultural superiority may not be the main issue in Smiles' book, but they inform the gendered and cultured discourse on self-help, social leadership and emotional potential. The quintessential (male) "Britishness" proposed here, based on self-reliance and energy, also implied the assertion of colonial superiority. A reaction to this projection of British self-reliance, energy and character, as perceived from the viewpoint of a colonial subject, is the book *Svapuruṣārth*, written in 1901.

Written on the cover page of *Svapuruṣārth* is the name of its author, Chedalal Sharma from Aligarh, the title, the publisher, and also a note that reads 'created in the vessel of Samuel Smiles' Self-Help with the help of several books'.<sup>149</sup> As Sharma noted in his introduction, his Hindi adaption tried to bridge the gap between those who have read the English original and those that could not access it due to language restraints, as a full translation of the book has not been yet done into Hindi.<sup>150</sup> The chosen neologism for the Hindi title already shifts the emphasis from the idea of individual reform of character (self-help) to the vigor and personal energy involved in this process: *sva-* (a Sanskrit prefix referring to the self) and *puruṣārth* (vigour/exertion). This term is used throughout the book and is set in opposition to *ālasya* (laziness/inactivity), and *svārth* (*sva-arth*, selfishness), which is styled as arising out of laziness. Sharma's book is a strong social critique, drawing on oriental stereotypes and images. The deplorable state of contemporary India was entirely self-induced, because whenever having achieved something, Indians (*bhārat vāsi*) would fall directly back into idleness, whereas English people continued to work on making progress for their country and their fellow men.<sup>151</sup> Apart from criticizing the alleged idleness and lack of enterprise of Indians, Sharma also voiced his concerns against the colonial system of

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<sup>147</sup> Smiles, *Self-Help*, 327.

<sup>148</sup> Smiles, *Self-Help*, 198.

<sup>149</sup> Chedalal Sharma, *Svapuruṣārth*, cover.

<sup>150</sup> Chedalal Sharma, *Svapuruṣārth*, 1.

<sup>151</sup> Chedalal Sharma, *Svapuruṣārth*, 71.

education and the results it produced: people would only go for higher education in search of a government job, of which there are only few, and the education imparted in schools is not helpful in 'filling one's belly'.<sup>152</sup> Nevertheless he clearly laid the blame on Indians and maintained that improvement could only happen, if Indians started to emulate the British by appropriating their moral qualities:

There are people that, after seeing and watching the cultivated (*sabhya*) white-skinned people (*gaurāṅg*), clothe in hat, boots, and pants and adorn themselves with a wrist-watch, a walking stick and a pair of dogs, then take to sitting around in a hotel and, putting a filter-cigarette in their mouths, make the imitation of becoming a fine and particular gentleman. If only you would also imitate their effort, vigour (*puruṣārth*) and industriousness, then India could remain worth of its name. But alas!<sup>153</sup>

Sharma strictly condemned Indians for adopting British ways in appearance and clothing, lacking the qualities of character acquired through the right kind of moral education, thus being far from Smiles' ideal of a 'true gentleman'. Sharma's writings feed into the common criticism against Indians who, while running after all possessions 'foreign' and thus fashionable, forgot all their own culture and customs. Caricatured as '*Bengali bābū*' and '*Memsāb*', these types of Indian mimicry of the British was heavily ridiculed and criticized by Indians as well as British people.<sup>154</sup> At the same time, Sharma also mirrored the major critique of the colonial education system, and the fears that it did not impart any kind of morality on its students. In comparison to his glorified description of the civilized (*sabhya*) British, Chedalal Sharma bemoaned the 'new civility' (*navīn sabhyatā*) that had spread in India, and had had deplorable effects: Indian students would not respect their elders anymore, backtalk to them, and consider them who had not gone to English medium schools and colleges as 'uneducated'.<sup>155</sup> The gap between those who had undergone a British-style education and those 'traditional' authorities who had not, was perceived by many contemporaries as the cause for a rift in society, resulting in a widening emotional gap.<sup>156</sup>

Sharma stressed that notable people, those who are examples of moral excellence, did not attain their position in life by being born rich or spending much time in schools. Instead, it

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<sup>152</sup> Chedalal Sharma, *Svapuruṣārth*, 12.

<sup>153</sup> Chedalal Sharma, *Svapuruṣārth*, 11.

<sup>154</sup> See Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*.

<sup>155</sup> Chedalal Sharma, *Svapuruṣārth*, 15 and 85.

<sup>156</sup> See section 2.3. for how emotional cultivations were presented as possible solutions in Hindi etiquette manuals.

was their vigor (*puruṣārth*) and the persistence in their effort that let them to wisdom.<sup>157</sup> The idea that human excellence can be achieved through hard work, and that it is not wealth or position, but morality that forms the ‘embodied’ basis of character, is the central message of Smiles’ books.<sup>158</sup> Smiles offered an active theory of self-improvement. In his understanding, cultivation of the embodied moral order is possible, but only through an ongoing process of self-refinement and the conscious emulation of examples. In stressing the idea that cultivating one’s habits is necessary to strengthen the character, Smiles echoes works such as Hume’s *Inquiry Concerning Human Understanding* from 1748.<sup>159</sup> As Smiles defined the ‘true gentleman’ through his moral virtues like ‘truthfulness, integrity, and goodness’, he implied that these, too, could be learnt.<sup>160</sup> Likewise, it may be assumed that in Smiles’ understanding also sympathy/gentleness as an element on which character is built, could be learnt, habitualized and cultivated. The starting point for the formation of character is thus grounded in individual habits that are learnable. The repetition of these habits would eventually lead to a lasting transformation. For Smiles, thus, learning was behavioral. He continued that that self-respect, self-help and all the other elements that form a character ‘all are of the nature of habits, not beliefs’.<sup>161</sup>

Sharma emphasized that vigor and industriousness were important to develop a strong mind and produce the willpower necessary to progress just as the English did. But, he adds, willpower alone is not enough. In addition to that, certain qualities, or traits (*guṇ*) need to be cultivated by a person. In a passage which is not directly translated from Smiles, Sharma described these character traits in detail, and identifies them as feelings. In doing so, he distinguished between emotions that would lead people astray and cultivated feelings that form the essence of a ‘good character’:

Wishes, desires, worldly illusions, infatuations, greed, love and other elements like these are letting the mind wander. A good character (*sat svabhāva*) can be mostly seen in those people that act on them carefully and with a sense of dignity.

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<sup>157</sup> Sharma, *Svapuruṣārth*, 40.

<sup>158</sup> See the full quotation from Smiles, *Self-Help*, 314.

<sup>159</sup> Smiles, *Self-Help*, 319. See also the editor’s footnote.

<sup>160</sup> Smiles, *Self-Help*, 316.

<sup>161</sup> Smiles, *Self-Help*, 320.

Qualities like peacefulness, happiness, compassion, softness and discretion form the real internalized elements (*antargat*) of a good character. Out of these, compassion (*dayā*) is the main element.<sup>162</sup>

Sharma's book features the idea that character is built on a cultivated emotional style, in this case compassion/sympathy, and maybe made this point even stronger than Smiles did in *Self-Help*. Sharma's reading of Smiles (and the 'other books' mentioned on the cover page, but which are never elaborated on) thus resulted in connecting the idea of 'character' as a sign of moral excellence with a specific kind of emotion knowledge. The general character (*svabhav*) of a person was moldable; it could be formed and cultivated. The process in which a good character (*sat-svabhāv*), the 'character' that Smiles propagates as a sign of moral excellence, was generated through a cultivation of internal, emotional qualities. Sharma then postulated that only the fulfillment of duties can give a person true happiness.<sup>163</sup> If political loyalty to British rule would be included in these duties, remains subject to interpretation. Sharma's book could be read as a testimony of someone, who through his personal reading of Smiles' *Self-Help* and other books, appropriated the idea of colonial superiority of the British, and formed his own theories regarding the cause for the supposed moral deficiency of Indians. The analysis of Chedalal Sharma's adaptation of Smiles' *Self-Help* can give an indication of how normative books can have an effect on their readers, and how a particular colonial reading of Smiles might have actively created and transmitted British ideals of cultivated morality in India.

Sharma's book is not an ego-document about his reading and understanding of *Self-Help*, but a deliberate social critique with a reformatory agenda. The outcome, the book *Svapuruṣārth*, is thus also an example of the complexity of translation processes. As Melvin Richter has argued, many studies on the effects of colonialism allude to 'only two possible outcomes: either the victim's identification with their masters' language, concepts and representations, or else resistance entailing complete rejection of them'. He, on the other hand stresses the nature of the 'multilayered process of translation and appropriation' in the translation of concepts from one language, and one culture into the other.<sup>164</sup> The process of

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<sup>162</sup> Sharma, *Svapuruṣārth*, 5.

icchā, kāṅksā, māyā, moh, lobh, premādi anek byāghi is manko calāyamān karnevāle hairṁ. ispar bhi jo manuṣya samajhdārī se pratiṣṭā kā dhyān rakh kāryya karte hairṁ, unkā bahudhā sat svabhāv dekhā jātā hai. śānti, santoṣ, dayā, namratā aur vivekādi guṇ satsvabhāv ke antargat hairṁ. jismeṁ dayā manuṣya kā sarvottam bhūṣan hai.

<sup>163</sup> Sharma, *Svapuruṣārth*, 7-8.

<sup>164</sup> Richter, "More than a two-way traffic", 15.

translation alters both the understanding of the concept in the original language, as well as the language it is translated into, as older meanings given to the concept in the target language also reflect back on how the concept in the original language would be understood by speakers of the target language. Applying this idea to the present example of the translation/adaptation of *Self-Help*, an important conclusion can be added: Chedalal Sharma, in writing *Svapuruṣārth* and marking it as a translation of *Self-Help*, provided a certain interpretation for his imagined readership. For them he gave an interpretation of how they should have understood Smiles, had they been able to read or access the English original. The message of the Hindi translation thus transforms the message of the original, as *Svapuruṣārth* laid out the moral message which, in Sharma's opinion, readers should have understood, had they read the original.

Sharma's adaptation of Smiles' book shows some significant differences from the original in content and structure, while at the same time mirroring and extending Smiles' emphasis on the importance of cultivating virtues (and emotions) in the formation of character. In *Self-Help*, Smiles gave a general introduction on national and individual self-help, followed by the large number of model biographies. Sharma's *Svapuruṣārth* starts with a similar introduction, and also ends with concise biographical sketches of notable people who practiced self-help. Sharma inserted a large text portion in the middle, in which he emphasized on the greatness of Indian civilization, dwelled on the ancientness of Sanskrit, outlined ancient Indian achievements in mathematics, and pointed to great philosophical scholars of the past. This part is obviously not found in Smiles' original.

Although Sharma incessantly described the British as a role model and criticized Indians for their lack of character, he nevertheless asserts cultural and linguistic authority for India by emphasizing the long history and past glory of Indian society and the people that lived in it. *Svapuruṣārth* thus feeds neatly in the colonial narrative according to which Indians could only be saved through British rule, but at the same time his emphasis of the achievements of ancient India already shows a blueprint for the creation of a nationalist counter-narrative. A little more than 10 years later, Hindi translations of English advice manuals, challenged the narrative of British superiority, by proudly asserting sympathy as a universal marker of civilized society, to which India and also western countries could equally lay claim to.

## **2.2. The Nagaripracharini Sabha and its Language Policy**

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the conundrum of how to best impart (moral) education in colonial India remained unresolved. Former students of the colonial education system and now employed by the Government appropriated the mission to spread education. They set out to write the text material necessary for this endeavor. They organized in literary and social societies, most of them small groups of 15-50 members, and entirely funded by the subscriptions of its members. In the Hindi-speaking region, this happened especially in Benaras, Aligarh, Allahabad and Lucknow, all urban centers with long traditions of learning and seat of newly established colleges.<sup>165</sup> In the years from 1883 to 1893 their number rose considerably, especially by 'numerous societies for advancing the study of Devnagari and the literature'.<sup>166</sup> One of these associations, founded in Benares on the 32<sup>nd</sup> Āṣārh 1950 (or the 16th July 1893 according to the Christian Era) was the Nagaripracharini Sabha. Its initial objective was to lobby for the promotion of the Nagari-Script, the script in which Sanskrit and subsequently Hindi were written. The society was initially founded by a group of students from Queens College in Benares, among them Shyamsundar Das (who became its first president), Shivkumar Singh, and Mishra.<sup>167</sup> Over time, the organization became active in many fields relating to language politics proper, sought influence over the textbook committees, started a printing venture and initiated their own patronage scheme for 'useful books'. The organization also started the Aryabhasha Pustakalay ('Library of the Arian language', i.e. Hindi], which soon became a public library, and also got its own building close to the main post office in Benares (see Illustration 1). By 1912, the Nagaripracharini Sabha had more than one thousand members.<sup>168</sup> For many writers, their zeal of promoting Hindi as a language of instruction and morality went along with a mission of their own, by which they promoted the emotional styles of a cultured and educated society. To achieve this, many writers continued to rely on famous British self-help books, which they translated, adapted, and used as an inspiration.

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<sup>165</sup> *Reports on the Administration of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* for the year 1883, 284.

<sup>166</sup> *Reports on the Administration of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* for the year 1893, 169ff

<sup>167</sup> Shrikrishna Lal, *Hīrak jayantī granth*, 3.

Ramnarayan Mishra's popular book on Indian etiquette will be discussed in section 2.3.

<sup>168</sup> *Reports on the Administration of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* for the year 1912, 92.



## Moral Education and Hindi Language Politics

By the end of the nineteenth century, the peaceful co-existence of Urdu and Hindi, which shared a grammar and the basic vocabulary of a trans-regional lingua franca, often also called Hindustani, came to an end. The question which language should be privileged for moral instruction in schools and for the use in courts led to a fierce battle about linguistic hegemony.<sup>169</sup> One of the main activists of the Hindi language movement was Madan Mohan Malaviya.<sup>170</sup> As a staunch supporter of Hindi, he addressed the Education Department with a 65 page long analysis of why Hindi should be privileged over Urdu and introduced as a state language. This was published in 1897 together with a 100 page appendix containing a selection of opinions and statements from various Indians and British that speak in favor of Hindi over the use of persianized Urdu. Malaviya himself even argued that Urdu should not be considered a vernacular language, as it was alien to the Subcontinent:

In the vast tract of country known as Hindustan, including Bihar, the N.-W. P. [North-Western Provinces, MF] and portions of the Central Provinces, the vernacular of the people was Hindi written in the Nagri character or its variations. But, instead of this language, Urdu was substituted for Persian in the courts of all these Provinces under the wrong impression that it was the vernacular of Hindustan. This impression had gained strength and currency from the circumstance that some European writers had christened it (Urdu) Hindustani, which according to the analogy of Bengali and Gujrati, naturally conveyed the idea of the language of Hindustan.<sup>171</sup>

Malaviya accused the colonial government for making uninformed and simplistic decisions, while at the same time appealing to the 'wise and benevolent rule of Britain, worrying in a thousand ways to advance the happiness of the people, and anxious in the pursuit of its paternal policy'.<sup>172</sup> Malaviya skillfully used a rhetoric of moral duty and responsibility, to make his argument that the Government would be responsible for the wellbeing of its subjects, and uses language familiar to them, that of statistics and figures to press his cases. He then concludes that the use of Hindi would and encourage morality in the colony and, drawing on the fears of the colonial government, prevent another uprising of

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<sup>169</sup> See King, *One Language, Two Scripts*.

<sup>170</sup> Born in 1861, educated in Sanskrit and later through the Colonial education system, he graduated from Muir College in 1879 (and probably knew the students, who a few year later, compiled the book *Dharmśikṣā*). After his studies, he became an educationalist himself and also entered politics. He is remembered as a leader of the Indian National Congress and the founder of Benares Hindu University. The advice books written by his nephew are analyzed in section 4.3.

<sup>171</sup> Malaviya, *Court Character and Primary Education*, 3.

<sup>172</sup> Malaviya, *Court Character and Primary Education*, 4.

Indians against colonial Rule like that of 1857.<sup>173</sup> Malaviya's description of Urdu as 'foreign' to distinguish it from Hindi fed into a discourse in which Urdu was increasingly presented as the language of the Muslim minority and the 'decadent remnant of Mughal debauchery'.<sup>174</sup> The 'invented 'tradition' of Hindi became fortified in the literary history of Hindi, written by Ramchandra Shukla and commissioned by the Nagaripracharini Sabha. In it he stressed the connection of Hindi to the older poetic languages Braj Bhasha and Awadhi, in favor of any hereditary connection to Urdu. One of the reasons given by Shukla for this was that Urdu as a poetic language would be essentially distant from 'Hindu feelings'.<sup>175</sup> The Nagaripracharini Sabha continued lobbying for the use of Hindi along similar veins. In 1900 their efforts had a major success when, when the government declared Hindi, written in the Nagari script, to be on par with Urdu as the language of courts, offices and also education. Once the presence of Hindi was thus secured, the Nagaripracharini Sabha started focusing on new projects, such as the search for ancient Hindi manuscripts. Aided by the Government, members of the Sabha located altogether 13,737 manuscripts until 1944.<sup>176</sup> Another long-term project was started in 1909 with the compilation of the first Hindi-Hindi dictionary.<sup>177</sup>

Apart from this, the Nagaripracharini Sabha worked on securing and furthering its present role in the field of education and to gain influence in the Education Department, especially in the Text-Book Committees. They frequently sent in reports on quality of the textbooks used in schools for language instruction, gave suggestions and criticism.<sup>178</sup> The formation of the Nagaripracharini Sabha as an institution provided its members with the opportunity to better lobby for their cause. While doing so, the relationship towards the Education Department remained often strained.<sup>179</sup> Nevertheless, the Nagaripracharini Sabha finally succeeded in getting a permanent seat for one of their members in the committee that evaluated the Hindi textbooks for all government schools.<sup>180</sup>

Although initially not supported by the government, the Nagaripracharini Sabha became an active patron to style Hindi into a 'moral language' and secure its future. Already in 1890 they announced to award prize money for proper books in Hindi. Like the British Education

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<sup>173</sup> Malaviya, *Court Character and Primary Education*, 61.

<sup>174</sup> See King, "Images of Virtue and Vice".

<sup>175</sup> Gupta, *The Politics of Exclusion?*, 271.

<sup>176</sup> Shrikrishna Lal, *Hīrak jayantī granth*, 20.

<sup>177</sup> Shrikrishna Lal, *Hīrak jayantī granth*, 31.

<sup>178</sup> See for example *Proceedings of the Government, Education Department*, North Western Provinces, 290a/1 B6, August 1902.

<sup>179</sup> King, "The Nagaripracharini Sabha", 173

<sup>180</sup> Shrikrishna Lal, *Hīrak jayantī granth*, 67

Department, the Nagaripracharini Sabhamembers were appalled by the low quality of submitted books. As a result, they directly addressed specific persons to write the books needed to further promote Hindi, e.g. Kamtaprasad Guru was commissioned to write the first Hindi grammar in Hindi. From 1916 onwards, the Nagaripracharini Sabhastarted to award various book prizes to stipulate the production of Hindi, for example a 200 Rupees cash prize for outstanding Hindi books on education, ethics, psychology or philosophy; another 200 Rupees cash prize for books on history, as well as 100 Rupees for books on home economics.<sup>181</sup> The focus of the Nagaripracharini Sabha was thus not only on the creation of literature, but increasingly also on the production of educational books. For this, the Nagaripracharini Sabha started their own book series, the Manoranjan Pustakmālā, under the editorship of Shyamsundar Das. Originally planned for 100 books, altogether 51 books were published between 1914 and 1929 in this series with print runs probably around 1100 copies each.<sup>182</sup> Shyamsundar Das praised the popularity of the series in his autobiography. He measured its success by the fact that books were re-published several times and some of them also became translated in other languages. Initially, the books were prized at one Rupee apiece (raised to 1 Rupee, 1 Anna in 1926), but also a subscription scheme was offered, by which each book cost only 3 Annas, which was a very moderate price, considering that each book had at least 200 pages. The book series was also advertised for being a non-profit undertaking, and it was proudly added, that many of the books by then already had become course-books in colleges or were distributed as prize books.<sup>183</sup> He also concluded that 'in imitation of this book series, many other book series have been started and are still coming out'.<sup>184</sup> Apart from the Manoranjan Pustak Mala, the Nagaripracharini Sabhai also published 13 other book series, some of them funded by donations from members and supporters, with a wide variety of topics, comprising literature (prose works, essays, poetry, drama), science and history, as well as other educational books (such as a series for women and children).<sup>185</sup> The Nagaripracharini Sabhawas thus a trendsetter for other publishers and associations which created book series that specialized on moral and instructive literature. Some of them were one-person-endeavors, only brought out a few books and were soon disbanded. Others lasted

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<sup>181</sup> Shrikrishna Lal, *Hīrak jayantī granth*, 49.

<sup>182</sup> This is an estimate, based on subsequent print-runs (e.g. *Adarś Jīvan*). In the first editions, the number of print-runs is not mentioned.

<sup>183</sup> See Varma, *Puruṣarth*, appendix (note of the publishing executive of the Nagaripracharini Sabha).

<sup>184</sup> Das, *Merī ātmakahānī*, 201. Here he gives also the full list of books published in this series.

<sup>185</sup> Shrikrishna Lal, *Hīrak jayantī granth*, 40ff.

longer, such as the Tarun Bharat Granthavali Series that specialized in books on history, biographies and morality and also offered a subscription scheme. For the initial sum of 8 Annas, everyone interested could become a regular customer and thus be able to buy all of the books of the series (costing between 8 Annas and 1 Rupee each) at half-price.<sup>186</sup> Another educative book series was brought out by the Sasta Sahitya Mandal that soon after specialized in bringing out the writings of Gandhi and Tolstoy in translation, and still does so today. An announcement at the back of the book *Vyavahārik sabhyatā* ('Behavioral Civility') informs the readers that it is the duty of every 'Hindi lover' (*hindī premī*) to not only read these books, but to also tell his friends about them. The book series consisted of books with 500 to 600 pages, promoted as 'useful for the general and the educated social groups, for women, children, everyone' and sold at the price of 6 or 7 Annas.<sup>187</sup>

The Nagaripracharini Sabha's patronage system for encouraging the production of moral and educational Hindi books, alongside the refinement of the Hindi language and its transformation in a language for prose and poetry, mirrored the system of prize books that the colonial Education Department had introduced earlier. Through book prizes, the Nagaripracharini Sabha aimed at stipulating and promoting those kinds of Hindi books that were deemed beneficial to morally uplift their readers and firmly codify Hindi as a language of literature and moral expression. As the number of supporters for the Nagaripracharini Sabha's rose, so did their influence on forming a new moral canon for Hindi prose. The call for contributions to the series stated that 'the language of each book will be plain, idiomatic and fortifying (*puṣṭ*) and no part of this book will contain any item that will embarrass the mother to tell her son, the father to tell his daughter, and the brother to tell his sister'.<sup>188</sup> In the first quarter of the twentieth century, the rising book market furthered the connection between the Hindi language movement and ongoing attempts to instill moral education through books. Likewise, books, although still a luxury in many homes, became more and more affordable to the public. Subscription schemes for morally educative book series allowed steady sales for the publishers, and established a private curriculum of selected educational literature for those interested in reading, or in spreading book knowledge within their households. For the printing of the Nagaripracharini Sabha's publications a deal was made

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<sup>186</sup> Vajpeyi, *Sadācār aur nīti*, information given on the back cover.

<sup>187</sup> Sharma Gaur, *Vyavahārik sabhyatā*, 109 (appendix).

sarvsadhāraṇ aur śikṣit-samūdāy, strī aur bālak sabke lie upyogi

<sup>188</sup> Cited in Shrikrishna Lal, *Hīrak jayantī granth*, 41. No original source given.

with Babu Chintamani Ghosh, the owner of the Indian Press, who had by then secured also the printing rights for all Government approved textbooks in the United Provinces.<sup>189</sup> Through this connection, the Nagariprcharini Sabha could ensure the high quality of their books, as well as profit from the wide distribution networks of the publisher. The Indian Press was a reliable partner of the Nagariprcharini Sabha and, despite occasional quarrels, all their books from 1928 until about 1941.<sup>190</sup>

The Nagariprcharini Sabhastimulated book production not ‘in the absence of’ but ‘in spite of’ the commercial market.<sup>191</sup> As a promoter and producer of books through which Hindi as a language was established as a moralizing medium, the Nagariprcharini Sabha’s book series *Manorañjan Pustak Mālā* aimed to reach the ‘hearts of their readers’ by providing entertainment (*manorañjan*). This entertainment had to be of the right kind, and so the choice fell on highly pedagogical literature. The very first book in this series, is titled ‘Ideal life’ (*Ādarś jīvan*), followed by other titles such as ‘Deliverance of the soul’ (*Ātmoddhān*), ‘Bliss of life’ (*Jīvan ke ānand*), ‘The education of the soul’ (*Ātmaśikṣan*), ‘The book on duties’ (*Kartavyaśāstrā*), and ‘Children’s education’ (*Śiśupālan*). These are all to a great part modelled and inspired by English language advice books. The books ‘Duty’ (*Kartavya*) and ‘Frugality’ (*Mitavyay*) are both modeled after the self-help literature by Samuel Smiles. For the book ‘Vigour/Manliness’ (*Puruṣārth*), the author was inspired by Lubbock’s *Uses of Life*, which was one of the books recommended for self-study in the preparation of his matriculation exam.<sup>192</sup> Even those books that clearly stated to be original works often indicate various English books on the topic as a guideline and inspiration. Other books in this series contained non-fictional literature (biographies, history), but also fictional works, most of which, like ‘Ideal Hindu’ (*Ādarś Hindū*) would also fall under the category of morally instructive literature.

The authors of books on duty and ethics defined themselves through the authority of their British-style education and also aimed at spreading this education among their fellow Indians. Most of the authors in the series carried academic degrees, attained at Indian colleges and universities behind their names. They too, were products of the colonial education system, and promoted the importance of character-building and following one’s duty towards oneself and others. It appears that, by becoming authors, they had appropriated the civilizing mission, and now set forth to spread the knowledge of how to be a member of civilized society

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<sup>189</sup> Mushtaq Ali, *Indiyan pres monograf*, 54

<sup>190</sup> Mushtaq Ali, *Indiyan pres monograf*, 105.

<sup>191</sup> Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere*, 160ff.

<sup>192</sup> Varma, *Puruṣārth*, 20.

by cultivating the appropriate emotional style of sympathy. The English original and its adapted translation into Hindi show slight, but remarkable differences. It is in these gaps that questions of alleged colonial superiority became negotiated and negated.

## The Ethics of Universal Duties and Feelings

The first book in the Manoranjan Pustak Mala Series is *Ādarś jīvan* by Ramchandra Shukla, who wrote the first history of Hindi literature and later became the first Hindi lecturer of Banaras Hindu University. Shukla was also an avid reader, interested in psychology and wrote many articles on the human mental setup and feelings which were published in the magazine of the Nagaripracharini Sabha.<sup>193</sup> He wrote *Ādarś jīvan* ('Ideal Life') in 1914. The book is an 'edited translation' (*sampādit anuvād*) of Davenport Adam's *Plain Living and High Thinking*, first published in 1880. In the introduction, Shukla advertises the book as a must-read for those who find it important to progress and find the happiness of life, and adds that the book is written as a response to the growing wish that such books might also become available in Hindi. Shukla adds that his translation differs in some aspects from the original book: He left out the curriculum of suggested readings in literature, history and science (200 pages that form more than half of the original book). Secondly, all quotations in the English book have been replaced by quotations from (male) Indians (*bhāratīya puruṣ*), whenever possible. Lastly, 'in order to adapt the books to the customs and ethics of this country, many things had been cut or enlarged'.<sup>194</sup>

A comparative look at Davenport Adam's book and the Shukla's Hindi translation indicates that the latter version did not simply replace some examples for an easier comprehension of the Indian public. Instead the translation itself adds to the original and creates new ideals for moral excellence, which are not located in constructions of western cultural traditions anymore. Instead, the Hindi translation postulates a universal category of moral excellence on the basis of the cultivation of sympathy as an emotional style.

Davenport's main emphasis lies on reading, as a true inspiration for and facilitator of self-improvement. Reading could engage and educate a person. It gave the reader a feeling of happiness and content, and can be entertaining and interesting for the reader. This,

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<sup>193</sup> See the essays that he published in the Nagaripracharini Sabha Patrika from 1912-18, reprinted in Shukla, *Chintamani*.

<sup>194</sup> Shukla, *Ādarś jīvan*, Introduction to the first edition.

Davenport pointed out, was a very a serious matter. The books need to be carefully selected, and the process of reading needs to be structured and earnest in order to serve a purpose:

But what *is* reading? Not that desultory, purposeless, skimming of books which is sometimes the amusement of a leisure hour, but a complete digestion and assimilation of their contents, conducted upon a regular and well-considered system.<sup>195</sup>

With his emphasis on the practice of reading and its moralizing and educative function, Davenport reiterated one of the central conceptions of the Enlightenment.<sup>196</sup> The same message is also conveyed in the clear and easily flowing Hindi prose that characterizes Shukla's translation. He often uses neologisms and Sanskrit composite, and so when translating Davenport's chapter on reading he did not chose the regular Hindi word for studying and reading (*parhnā*), but the Sanskritized term *adhyayan* that refers to reading in the sense of thorough and scientific study:

In a book relating to self-improvement (*ātma-saṃskār-sambandhī*), it would be not correct to speak about study only as an interest, it should be established as the highest duty (*kartavya*); as a major accomplishment of study is the pursuit of knowledge (*gyān kī vṛtti*) and in the practicing of dharma (*dharm ka abhyās*).<sup>197</sup>

Instead of 'pursuit of knowledge', the English original reads 'intellectual development'. Likewise, 'moral discipline' has been translated into Hindi as the 'practicing of dharma'. This difference is not a minor difference in wording, one of the necessary alterations happening in and through translations, but an example how significant difference can be created in the cultural translations. Dharma is again called upon, albeit not in the sense of duty towards authorities, but as a universal human duty of cultivating oneself and one's emotions. Moreover, the acquisition of moral knowledge through reading is stressed.<sup>198</sup>

The sources for this knowledge were not the English, Latin and Greek books suggested by Davenport, which were not included in Shukla's translation. Instead, the reader could rely on the other useful Hindi books that were to come out in the book series of the Nagaripracharini Sabha. Alternatively, an ideal imagined reader would also rediscover the richness of the Hindi literary tradition, compiled and organized by Ramchandra Shukla in his

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<sup>195</sup> Adams, *Plain Living*, 93.

<sup>196</sup> Stollberg-Rillinger, *Europa im Jahrhundert der Aufklärung*, 138f.

<sup>197</sup> Shukla, *Ādarś jīvan*, 96.

ātmasaṃskārsambandhī pustak merī adhyayan ko keval ek ruci kī bāt kah denā ṭīk nahīn, use param kartavya ṭaharānā cāhie; kyōnki gyān kī vṛtti aur dharm ke abhyās kā adhyayan ek pradhān sādhan hai.

<sup>198</sup> See Tschurennev, "A Colonial Experiment in Education". A central element in early experiments for bringing western education to India was to teach new attitudes and practices related to reading. Other than in pre-colonial India, reading was now styled as an exclusive means of moral improvement.

literary history, or be inspired by the examples of ancient Indian literary tradition that replaced Davenport's examples.

Davenport emphasized the importance of reading and its three benefits: Books gave their readers the knowledge of history; they allowed enjoying 'the company of the highest minds and get the highest moral examples'; and they became constant companions that spur the process of improving oneself. Addressing the first benefit, Davenport argued that books on history and poetry could bring the reader 'into direct communication with the great events of the past'. He especially emphasized how the contact with history made the reader aware of the slow progress of the world. He argued that civilizations were set back again and again by 'many obstacles and long periods of depression and terrible catastrophes', but in the end all people 'at least in all civilized countries' would enjoy greater comforts than fell to the lot of their forefathers'. At the same time, the reader also perceived the 'transfer of power and influence from one race to another, from one nation to another'. This rise and subsequent fall of the classical civilizations was both a 'mockery of fate' and an 'irony of history', and led the reader to 'reflect on the strange correspondence between the lives of individuals and the fortunes of nations'. Here Davenport listed Babylon, Greece, Macedonia, Rome, Persia, Egypt and Arabia. Through studying the pages of history, those would 'cease to be dim vague shadows thrown upon the imagination like the figures of a magic lantern upon canvas' and would be 'transformed into realities, the nature and bounds of which we are able to understand'.<sup>199</sup> Davenport underlined this point with various examples, outlining the wonders of bygone civilizations. Shukla, however, provided a different genealogy. Instead of emphasizing the transformative power of Christianity, as Davenport did, he elaborated on the role of divine intervention in the avatar of Buddha and the spread of Buddhism.<sup>200</sup> Moreover, his list of famous civilizations reads significantly different, starting the list with India (*bhāratvarṣ*), then Persia (*phāras*) followed by Kabul, Egypt (*mīsr*), Greece and Rome.<sup>201</sup> This change in the list goes beyond mere substitution, and created a new sense of historicity. The message that reading served as a window to the past may have remained the same, but the depiction where this past started, became different: here it is clearly in India.

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<sup>199</sup> Davenport Adams, *Plain Living*, 80.

<sup>200</sup> Shukla, *Ādarś jīvan*, 100.

<sup>201</sup> Shukla, *Ādarś jīvan*, 98.



The second benefit of reading was, in the words of Davenport, to get access to the ‘best thoughts of the best minds’.<sup>202</sup> In Shukla’s translation, these ‘serious thoughts of wise scholars’ that put the reader in the ‘company of historic men of excellence (*pracīn māhāpuruṣ*)’ are all based on ancient Indian examples, mostly of the pre-Mughal culture and of famous classic Indian literature.<sup>203</sup> Shukla’s translation is an eminent example of how, in the process of translation, the message of the original can be retained, but acquires a whole new meaning through the different context in which it is presented. Shukla’s choice of examples is in tune with both the Nagaripracharini Sabha’s efforts of promoting a certain idea of what cultural and historic heritage Hindi, and its speakers, could rely on. Likewise, the textual authority of what Davenport wrote and Shukla adapted would cease to be built on western examples and the line of civilized excellence that writers from the West claimed to inherit. Instead, Shukla’s adaption illustrates how the sources for acquiring the moral knowledge may be universally found, but its oldest examples are to be found in India. The underlying assumption of the moral superiority of western tradition is thus negated.

Slight, but potentially very significant differences are also evident in how Davenport’s elaborations on the third use of reading are translated by Shukla. The original argument in *Plain Living and High Thinking* stressed that reading improved a person’s character:

Not the least admirable use of reading is to neutralise the special evils and temptations of our callings, the original imperfections of our characters, the tendencies of our age or of our own time of life. I may term this the *therapeutic* use of reading.<sup>204</sup>

Shukla reiterated the idea that reading could be used therapeutically (*auśadhopacāri*) in the process of refining the character. He added, however, that the characters in the books come to life in the process of reading. The sympathy that they bestow on the reader lead to the counseling and educative effect of reading: ‘There will always reside such people in his room that are immortal. They will always be present to give him advice and to express sympathy towards him’.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> Davenport Adams, *Plain Living*, 83.

<sup>203</sup> Shukla, *Ādarś jīvan*, 102ff.

<sup>204</sup> Davenport Adams, *Plain Living*, 87.

<sup>205</sup> Shukla, *Ādarś jīvan*, 103.

uskī koṭhri meṃ sadā aise logoṃ kā vās rahegā jo amar hairi. ve uske prati sahānubhūti prakat karne aur use samjhāne ke liye sadā prastut rahenge.

It was exactly this sympathy or sensibility (*sahānubhūti*) that becomes a marker for the character of a person and forms the major prerequisite for any development of moral character, as Davenport emphasized and Shukla translated accordingly:

It is not wit, or beauty, or wealth, or power that lies at the root of the true idea of a gentleman – it is sympathy; the power of accommodating one’s self to those with whom one mixes so that they shall feel no galling sense of inferiority, shall be set completely at their ease, shall be maintained and encouraged in their self-respect.<sup>206</sup>

The Gentleman, which Shukla notably translated as ‘good person’ (*bhalāmānuṣ*), is someone who shows compassion to others, and lets them not feel inferior in any way. The inversion of this argument would be that if a person had cultivated sympathy, it is a sign of his social superiority irrespective of the person’s wealth, birth or power. Sympathy as an emotional style is therefore an even higher marker of social superiority. Davenport addressed the question of how a person can become a gentleman and what were the prerequisites for being able to cultivate the appropriate emotional style in the form of a mathematical fraction:

If culture supplies nine parts of the making, society, I think, must contribute the tenth. There may be wit and wisdom, generosity of heart, elevation of sentiment, and a liberal education, but the polish of manners can be given only by society.<sup>207</sup>

Shukla, on the other hand, saw the conflicting influences not in terms of culture versus society. Instead he attributes the development of character to ‘education’ (*śikṣā*) and ‘society’ (*satsaṅg*, used in the sense of ‘company with others’). His valorization of the two influences is also different: the impact of education on the character amounts to about three quarters, the influence of the company of others accounts for the last quarter.<sup>208</sup>

Both Davenport and Shukla transmitted ideas about what real, moral education is in their advice manuals, and that it could only be achieved through the transformation of one’s character. Character, on the other hand, was fundamentally based on the feeling of sympathy for others, an emotional style that could be cultivated through reading and in appreciation of examples of ancient moral excellence.

Those that have character are described as a gentleman by Davenport. Shukla, however, did not use this term, and neither did he try to create a Hindi neologism, or use a

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<sup>206</sup> Davenport Adams, *Plain Living*, 30. Shukla, *Ādarś jīvan*, 33.

<sup>207</sup> Davenport Adams, *Plain Living*, 30.

<sup>208</sup> Shukla, *Ādarś jīvan*, 34

Sanskrit term. Instead, he emphasized the huge influence of education (and of the right company) in creating a *bhalāmānuṣ*, a person having a good character.

The community construction offered here is thus one not relying on any markers of social status except that cultivating a certain emotional style while having become educated in a moral sense.

Sympathy, in the way Shukla described it, is a marker of individual excellence. However, it can also be directed towards society. Book number 45 of the Manoranjan Pustakmala series was published in 1926; a little more than 10 years separated it from *Ādarś Jīvan*. It is based on *The Uses of Life* of Lubbock. For those who had subscribed to the Manoranjan Pustak Mala, Lubbock was already known, as his book *The Pleasures of Life* had already been adapted into Hindi as *Jīvan ke Ānand* and had, with the insertion of examples from ancient India, been published as the ninth volume in the Manoranjan Pustakmala.<sup>209</sup> In contrast, *Puruṣārth* by Jaganmohan Varma is an entirely original work, whose author had worked for the Nagaripracharini Sabhain Shyamsunder Das' Hindi-Hindi dictionary project. A staunch nationalist, Varma had never aspired for being employed by the colonial government.<sup>210</sup> Nevertheless, moral reform was an important issue for him, and he was interested in Buddhist philosophy. Therefore his motivation for writing *Puruṣārth* was to 'instill dharma in the young adults so that they could, without harming others, give up on their selfishness and thus contribute to salvation of themselves and society.'<sup>211</sup> He was just motivated to do so by his own reading of *The Uses of Life* by Sir John Lubbock, which, as he mentioned, was also on the list of books recommended for the preparation of the Matriculation Exam. He wrote a couple of essays in the style of Lubbock's writings, two of which were published in the renowned magazine *Saraswatī*, and later compiled them with other essays into his book.

As a key topic of his book Varma elaborated on the ideal of sympathy (*sahānubhūti*), while rephrasing it into an imperative for social action. Following the contemporary narrative of civilizing progress, he argued that mankind (*manuṣya jātī*) started in a stage in which only selfishness (*svārth*) rules one's attitude and the behavior to others. This gradually changes until, in a truly refined society, the selfishness has given way to a focus on the goods of others. Varma defined society through a common ideal of feeling:

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<sup>209</sup> Ganpat, *Jīvan ke ānand*, introduction.

<sup>210</sup> Kshemchandra, *Divangāt hindī sevī*, Vol. II, 291.

<sup>211</sup> Varma, *Puruṣārth*, 21.

The main necessity of every member [of this community] would be that he renounces selfishness and dies such kinds of deeds by which the mutual sympathy (*sahānubhūti*) and assistance of its members would rise and their mutual love (*prem*), the life[force] of every community, would rise day by day, and the ties binding community remain strong. This is the main element on which the life of a community depends.<sup>212</sup>

The ideal of sympathy that Varma emphasized is deeply tied to the formation of a community. The ‘mutual love’ that makes a community into what it is, depends on the ability to feel a sense of commitment and belonging by its members. The ability to feel sympathy is thus not only conceptualized as a marker of individual excellence, but also as a prerequisite for the creation of communities. Cultivating sympathy is needed to build the emotional ties between people, and thus the community is formed. In his essay ‘What is the goal of behavior or action?’ Varma emphasized the importance of individual devotion to society as ‘it is the goal of all behavior to protect the community and strengthen it, and the duty of the community lies in mutual sympathy and help’.<sup>213</sup>

Varma undergirded the emotion knowledge he presented by emphasizing the need and the duty to control one’s feelings, as otherwise they would freely shift and change like waves in the body:

Sometimes he is aggressive, sometimes fearful, sometimes happy, and sometimes sad, sometimes he thinks something, sometimes he wishes for something, and sometimes he resolves to do something. All this is the influence of the waves [of feeling] in his mind. There was not a moment in which not some or other of these waves would be agitated.<sup>214</sup>

Based on this example, Varma elaborated that the duty of any human being was to cultivate the feeling of sympathy in such a way, that it would be present in the mind and inform the action of the person, because only those feelings that are strongly cultivated can

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<sup>212</sup> Varma, *Puruṣārth*, 13

uske partyek jan ke liye yeh paramāṅśyak hotā hai ki vah svārth tyāg kar aisa karm kare jisse pārasparik sahānubhūti aur sāhaya samāj ke janon meṁ baṛhte jāyē aur unkā pārasparik prem, jo samāj kā jīvan hai, dinodin baṛhtā jāy aur samāj kā bandan dṛṣṭ rahe. yahī mūl tatva hai jis par samāj kā jīvan nirbhar hai.

<sup>213</sup> Varma, *Puruṣārth*, 9.

vyavahār kā uddeśya hai samāj kī rakshā aur use dṛṣṭ banānā; aur samāj kā uddeśya hai paraspar sahānubhūti aur sahāyatā karnā.

<sup>214</sup> Varma, *Puruṣārth*, 7.

kabhī vah krūddh hotā hai, kabhī vah bhaybhīt hotā hai, kabhī vah ānandit hotā hai, kabhī vah du:kh hotā hai, kabhī kuch vicārtā hai, kabhī kisī kī icchā kartā hai, kabhī kuch karne kā sankalp kartā hai ityādi. yah sab uske mānas samudra kī tarangoṁ kā prabhāv hai. ek muhurt bhī aisa nahīm jātā jismē iske ant:karaṇ koī na koī tarang na uṭhtī ho.

inform human behavior: ‘in our innermost [mind] thousands of feelings (*bhāv*) continue to arise, but only those that are powerful result in action’.<sup>215</sup>

Although reading Lubbock’s *Uses of Life* might have inspired Varma to write his essays, he freely reconciled the content of English advice manuals that had become firmly established in school curricula with a conceptualization of emotions he probably discovered during his study of Buddhist philosophy.<sup>216</sup> While the concept of sympathy, as outlined by Smiles and other nineteenth century English writers of self-help manuals, continued to influence the discourse on moral education and character building, the translations and adaptations commissioned by the Nagaripracharini Sabhaare also proof of a growing shift in the understanding of whose authority it should be relied upon. The popular writings on self-help by British authors were not seen anymore as proof to the civilisatory superiority of the British in general. Instead, they became understood as part of a seemingly universal ethic, the genealogy of which could be equally traced back to ancient India.

Like Chedalal Sharma and Ramchandra Shukla before him, also Jaganmohan Varma chimed in the criticism of the colonial education system, in which ‘few of those that attended school can really be called educated’, and that the main motive of those going to college was to merely to secure a job afterwards.<sup>217</sup> He maintained that the real moral transformation could only be effected through self-study. Through books, readers could inculcate the principles of right behavior, undergirded with the emotional style of sympathy.<sup>218</sup> In earlier books the concept of dharma was used to allude to the duty of obedience to authority as one of the major elements of ethics. Dharma was now styled as the moral duty to develop and shape one’s character, in order to become educated in a moral and emotional sense.

Although the question of the effectiveness of moral education remained unresolved, British and Indian educators were adamant that morally instructive books could be central for the project of a civilizing mission.

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<sup>215</sup> Varma, *Puruṣārth*, 8.

hamāre anta:karaṇ meṁ sahastrorṁ bhāv uday hote rahte hairṁ, par kāryya meṁ pariṇat ve hī hote hairṁ jo balvān hote hairṁ.

<sup>216</sup> Jaganmohan Varma stated that the emotion knowledge he presents is based on ‘Indian philosophic thought’, but he did not name any specific sources. See Varma, *Puruṣārth*, 7.

<sup>217</sup> Varma, *Puruṣārth*, 84f.

<sup>218</sup> Varma, *Puruṣārth*, 96

Through the process of translation, however, the content of advice books was adapted into an idiom familiar to the cultural background of the imagined readers. Those were thought to be much more familiar with famous men from Indian mythology and ancient history, instead of a plethora of Greek military leaders and Christian saints. In the process of translation, adaptation and re-writing, also a transformation took place regarding what was considered to be the legitimate source of textual authority.

Hindi books on self-help, written in the 1910s to 1920s, either adapted from or inspired by the reading of English models, conveyed ethical knowledge that was phrased in universal terms, and located by examples perceived to be representative of 'Indian tradition'. They emphasized the importance of sympathy as an emotional style crucial to a successful and happy life. This could be achieved through a cultivation of the self, a moral refashioning based on the cultivation of 'sympathy'. This emotional style is expressed in the Hindi advice books under different terminologies such as sensibility towards others (*sahānubhūti*), compassion with those less fortunate than oneself (*dayā*), a sensitivity that enables to perceive the needs and wishes of others (*saṃvedanśīltā*), or a general goodness of character (*suśīltā*). All these different terms allude to the various aspects of the emotional style of 'sympathy' (see Illustration 2).

The cultivation of sympathy is central to the formation of 'character'. For the translation of the term character that Smiles, Lubbock and Davenport refer to as 'human nature in its best form', and which is understood as grounded in cultivated feelings, the Hindi versions often use *svabhāv*. A re-translation of this term into English gives polyvalent meanings – it can refer to nature, character, even customs. When used as a concept in advice manuals, it becomes understood as the cultivated nature of a person. In substitution for *svabhāv*, character can also be paraphrased through ethical descriptive terms such as 'good human being' (*bhalāmānuṣ*), or 'ideal' person (*ādarś*).

Having cultivated sympathy as an emotional style is also described in ways of a social distinction. People having cultivated their emotions, not succumbing to angry outbursts, frequent rages, or inconsiderate behaviour towards their inferiors, are thus described as having reached a higher stage in civilized society. Likewise, in the Indian translations, also the importance of overcoming selfishness and being active in one's own self-improvement, as well as in the uplift of others is particularly stressed.

The emotional style of sympathy has *per definitionem* a strong social dimension – in order to feel sympathy, it needs another person to which this feeling can be directed to. Thus, is crucial not only the cultivation of one's own character, but also as a glue to bind together the different people that identify as one community – be it as a humankind, as a nation, or as a specific group of people, united by their education and their endeavour to morally refine themselves and others around them.

The last section of this chapter investigates how this universal idea of cultivated feeling, expressed by informed authors of Hindi self-help books, translated into the creation of an Indian etiquette, while at the same time also drawing cultural boundaries, demarcating a specific group of educated urban Hindus.

### **2.3. Creating and Nationalizing Indian Etiquette**

In colonial India, books on English etiquette, written for Indians by British and also Indian authors, were meant as guidelines for their readers, in order to be able to behave properly when meeting with British superiors or acquaintances, in order not to ridicule oneself or damage the relationship permanently through a faux-pas due to being not acquainted properly with the necessary rules that etiquette prescribe. Outlining possible instances where cultural differences in speech and behavior might lead to misunderstandings would help to ensure the smooth running of the empire. With rising nationalist consciousness Indian authors also started to write advice books specifically portraying 'Indian' etiquette and thus proscribing an ideal of a national community, refined in manners and feelings, while also outlining its boundaries.

#### **Negotiating the Contact Zones between Europeans and Indians**

*English Etiquette for Indian Gentleman* by William Webb dwells extensively on inappropriate behavior. He outlined practices of Indians that might be condoned if done in the privacy of the home, but should never be done in public, and especially not when in the company of Europeans. Hiccapping and belching after a hearty meal, 'violent blowing of the nose', 'patting or stroking any part of your person' while sitting or resting comfortably, 'making your toilet in public' (like clipping nails, scratching the head). Likewise, in 'polite society' it would be improper to speak of Englishmen without 'giving them their appropriate

titles', discuss ailments ('such as Diarrhoea or Dyscentry') or speak of topics such as 'adultery, fornication, childbirth, miscarriage, &c'.<sup>219</sup> A few years later, Dvarka Prasad Chaturvedi wrote his 'Guideline of Etiquette' (*Śiṣṭācār Paddhati*), based on Webb and several other unnamed English books, and published it in his own book series focusing on 'useful books for the young'.<sup>220</sup> The teachings in this book replicate and add to the admonitions on bodily etiquette laid out by Webb, by stating, for example, that one should not crack one's knuckles, put a finger in the ear to clean it, laugh out loudly etc.<sup>221</sup>

Webb's advice book was meant as a help for those Indians who wanted to be able to successfully interact with Europeans. The interactions described in the etiquette manual bespeak clear hierarchies between Westerners as representatives of the colonial power and subaltern Indians. This becomes quite evident when Webb instructs his readers to 'learn, in short, to adopt a friendly attitude towards Europeans instead of one of reserve and suspicion'. An important element in this is to control one's anger, even if feeling slighted or mistreated. Instead of giving way to rages and discontent, or stop being a cooperative subject, a person should instead 'learn to tolerate criticism. He that can bear to be told of his faults will sooner learn to mend them'.<sup>222</sup> Moreover, Webb's etiquette especially focuses on customs or behavior by Indians, which would inconvenience their superiors. One of Webb's admonitions hence elaborates on why Indians should avoid the habit of writing petitions or 'pester' their English superiors for favors:

Avoid writing begging letters or applying for assistance to others, unless you have solid grounds for believing that you have some *special claim* upon their good office, or that they are really interested in your welfare. Do not assume that a kind of universal benevolence is a quality inherent in all English gentlemen, and ask them to give you help, pecuniary or otherwise, both in season and out of season. Cultivate a habit and feeling of independence, and learn to rely upon your own exertions rather than the kindness or forbearance of others for success in life.<sup>223</sup>

Whereas benevolence and sympathy was considered a feeling that marked social superiority, it was thus not appropriate for the social inferiors to overtly rely on it. The feeling of independence that Webb mentions is, of course, something quite different from the nationalist feeling calling for political independence. In colonial India, etiquette books were

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<sup>219</sup> Webb, *English Etiquette for Indian Gentlemen*, 3ff.

<sup>220</sup> Chaturvedi, *Śiṣṭācār Paddhati*, front page.

<sup>221</sup> Chaturvedi, *Śiṣṭācār Paddhati*, 77.

<sup>222</sup> Webb, *English Etiquette for Indian Gentlemen*, 8.

<sup>223</sup> Webb, *English Etiquette for Indian Gentlemen*, 9.



therefore more than just guidelines to the ‘courtesy [... that] is imperative on all Indian gentleman who wish to show a polite consideration towards their European friends and acquaintances’.<sup>224</sup> It was also assumed that outlined maxims were constitutive for being civilized and educated in a moral sense. As the introduction implies, there may be different rules of etiquette in different societies, but most of the rules are universal, since ‘the essence of politeness is a delicate regard for the feelings of others’ and that ‘manners are essentially based upon morals’.<sup>225</sup> Webb’s etiquette manual was more than a handbook for the interaction with Europeans, but also a representation of what should be constituted as truly civilized behavior, a behavior that would be a natural outcome of a proper, and moral, education. Hence, the preface to the fifth edition of Webb’s etiquette book states:

It will be observed that the author has endeavoured to include everything on the subject of etiquette that may be useful to *all classes* of gentlemen that may be brought into contact with Europeans; and that, consequently, various details have been introduced, which would have been unnecessary in a book intended only for the higher and more educated classes.<sup>226</sup>

Chaturvedi’s etiquette book subscribes to the tenets of what would be considered polite and appropriate behavior, which Indians should not just use for securing a career as employees in government offices, but furthermore appropriate to become rightful members of educated and civilized society:

For the young who proceed and will work in government employment, this book will educate them in a straightforward manner regarding how to behave, [...] how to keep their superiors contents, and other useful topics.

No matter how advanced a person is in age, if he does not know the rules of etiquette, then in our understanding he, too, is a child. Therefore this book will also be useful for those children of old age.<sup>227</sup>

Chaturvedi might have added the last passage as a jest, but it clearly fits the colonial trope of the colonized people behaving and being like children, who need to be properly educated and brought up in their duties, and, once done so, should obediently follow what is

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<sup>224</sup> Webb, *English Etiquette for Indian Gentlemen*, 3.

<sup>225</sup> Webb, *English Etiquette for Indian Gentlemen*, 1.

<sup>226</sup> Webb, *English Etiquette for Indian Gentlemen*, preface.

<sup>227</sup> Chaturvedi, *Śiṣṭācār Paddhati*, foreword.

javānoṃ ko jo āge cal kar sarkārī naukari kareṃge – kaise varttnā cāhiye, [...] apne sapīriyar logoṃ ko kis prakār prasann rakhnā cāhiye – ādi upyogī bāteṃ, is pustak meṃ viśab rūp se samjhā dī gayī hai. manuṣya cāhe umr meṃ kitnā hī baṛā kyom na ho, yadi vah śiṣṭācār ke niyam nahim jāntā to hamārī samajh meṃ vah bhī bālak hai. is liye un baṛī umrvāle bālakom ke liye bhi, vah pustak upyogī aur kām kī hai.

expected of them. Civility, in this sense, could then only be attributed to those who had not only received education, but also appropriated the British manners and morals.

The western monopolization of what would be considered 'civilized behavior' was also contested, as becomes evident in a book written as an addition and corrective to Webb's advice. *Modern Indian Etiquette of Mixed Society* was written in 1921 by Fakhruddin Aboobaker, who worked in the Civil Service for Bombay Province and also wrote *Urdu Self Help and Musaddasi Edroosi*.<sup>228</sup> His book *Modern Indian Etiquette* aimed at creating 'social amity between Indians and Non-Indians'. In the introduction he refers to Webb's etiquette manual as a useful book that would 'enable any Indian gentleman to make himself at home in pure English society', but maintains that 'most of the objectionable habits described by Mr. Webb are discountenanced even in Indian society'. His book, while rephrasing the maxims presented by Webb on the one hand, elaborates on the other hand also on the etiquette that Europeans should learn to respect, so that they could successfully establish a cordial relationship with Indians, which are members of polite society, albeit not educated in a western sense. Instead, they continued to follow the rules of polite Indian etiquette which were prevalent in the country right until the colonial education system, following British models, took over and the increasing interaction with people from the West resulted in the introduction of new maxims of etiquette:

Indian etiquette of the past generation continued to be a mixture of the ancient Hindu and Mahomedan manners of the high and middle classes under the luxurious influences of the Moghal court, with only a tinge here and there of Western civilization.<sup>229</sup>

The source of the traditional Indian etiquette, understood as equally refined as European etiquette, but different in customs and social rules, is here named as an amalgamation of both Muslim as well as 'ancient Hindu' models. Other etiquette books, written in Hindi under the auspices of the Nagaripracharini Sabha, promoted a national 'indian' etiquette with exclusive cultural references to Hindu customs.

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<sup>228</sup> Aboobaker, *Modern Indian Etiquette of Mixed Society*, front page.

See also Arnold, "Salutation and Subversion: Gestural Politics in Nineteenth-Century India".

<sup>229</sup> Aboobaker, *Modern Indian Etiquette of Mixed Society*, vi.

## Emotionalized Demarcations of Indian-ness

Ramnarayan Mishra and Kamtaprasad Guru were closely tied to the Nagaripracharini Sabha and their ideology. Both were educators and authors of etiquette books in Hindi. Both were born in 1875, and still came from a linguistically diverse background, in which Urdu and its poetry had inspired their interest in literature. Nevertheless, in their later years they turned away from Urdu and became staunch promoters of Hindi instead.

Ramnarayan Mishra was one of the three initial founding members of the Nagaripracharini Sabha. His biographers emphasize his vast knowledge of Arabic, Urdu and Persian as well as the thorough education in English. But it was the promotion of the Hindi language, which he took to heart and thus fully engulfed himself in the activities of the Nagari Pracarini Sabha. In his religious beliefs, Mishra was a follower of the Arya Samaj, but, as his biographers point out, he never forcefully impressed his opinions on anyone, and even participated in rituals that his wife performed, but which Arja Samajis generally frowned upon. Mishra first found employment in the Education Department of the United Provinces as Deputy Inspector of Schools and later became headmaster for Harishchandra School and Hindu School in Benares, which later became colleges. Mishra is remembered by his admirers as a fervent and passionate educationalist, as a man who dressed simply, was always helpful and cheerful, took great care of personal hygiene and followed a strict daily routine.<sup>230</sup> His diaries indicate that right until his death in February 1953, he daily visited the Nagaripracharini Sabha, took part in all its meetings and seminars, and kept close contact with a select circle of friends engaged in social reform and literary pursuits.<sup>231</sup> Mishra also supported the Aryabhasha Pustakalay, the library of the Nagaripracharini Sabhaby donating altogether 1073 books and various magazines from his private collection.<sup>232</sup> As an educationalist, social reformer and supporter of Hindi, Mishra occasionally wrote articles in magazines, and he also produced two instructional books on etiquette, both of which were published under the auspices of the Nagaripracharini Sabha, where they are still available in reprinted editions.

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<sup>230</sup> Sharma, *Paṇḍit Rāmnarayaṇ Miśrā smṛtigranth*, 2-3.

<sup>231</sup> See the reprint of excerpts from his diary in Sharma, *Paṇḍit Rāmnarayaṇ Miśrā smṛtigranth*, 152-187. Among his close friends that he frequently met, was also the highly prolific Santaram, whose domestic advice books are discussed in chapter 4.

<sup>232</sup> Shrikrishna Lal, *Hīrak jayanti granth*, 16.

*Bālopadēś* ('Advice for Children') was first published in 1916 with two print runs of 1000 copies each.<sup>233</sup> It stems from a moral education initiative that Mishra started on the 5th February 1913 at Harishchandra School and also introduced in Central Hindu High School, when he started his position there in 1923. Every morning the day started with an assembly, at which the boys were given moral advice. These lessons became also published in a number of the important reformatory magazines at the time. Mishra judged his moral education endeavor to be a success, and remarked in the introduction to 5<sup>th</sup> edition of *Bālopadēś*: 'from time to time I met the former students of those days at home as well as abroad, who now serve their motherland in various ways, and who have been saved from the evils of the world through these advises'.<sup>234</sup> Mishra saw a direct relation between his efforts to provide moral education at schools, the success of his reformatory articles in magazines, and finally his book. He was convinced that education in this way could help not only in the moral uplift of individual students that were saved from mistakes and social evils, but also implied that such students would all become valuable servants to their nation.

While *Bālopadēś*, with its little stories and didactic examples, was more directed at those still in school, his second book *Bhāratīya Śiṣṭācār* ('Etiquette of India') was written as a guide for an adult audience.<sup>235</sup> The first part of the book contains short precepts on the interaction with different members of society under the heading *Sadbhāv* ('the right (emotional) attitude'). It distinguishes between those that need to be treated with respect, such as elders, teachers and guests, those that need to be treated with understanding and loving care, such as children, women and in some respects also people from the village, and those that need to be treated with sympathy and mercy, such as the destitute, the poor, and the sick. The second part outlines the proper behavior and etiquette one should display in social situations, with separate chapters such as 'living and keeping oneself', 'while travelling', 'when meeting people', 'in business', 'how to keep and preserve things'. The third part is

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<sup>233</sup> Mishra, *Bālopadēś*, front page.

The first two editions were published by the Saraswati Sadan, Indore (1000 copies each). The third edition came out by the Lahri Press, Kashi in 1923 (1000 copies); the fourth edition by the Prabhakar Press, Mathura in 1938 (1000 copies). The Nagaripracharini Sabhatook over reprinting this book in 1947 (5<sup>th</sup> edition, 2000 copies).

<sup>234</sup> Mishra, *Bālopadēś*, 1f.

'us samay ke purāne chātra, jo ab anek prakār se mātṛbhūmī kī seva kar rahe haiṁ, mujhe samay samay par deś-vidēś meṁ mile haiṁ jinheṁ in updeśoṁ ne sām̐sārik pralobhanoṁ se bacāyā hai.'

<sup>235</sup> The book was originally titled *Hindūstānī Śiṣṭācār* ('Etiquette of India [Hindustan]), but from its 12<sup>th</sup> reprint onwards renamed published as *Bhāratīya Śiṣṭācār* ('Etiquette of India [Bharat]). The maxims given in all editions are the same, although in later reprints further explanations and examples are added.

called 'health' and comprises cleanliness of the body, one's clothes and one's surroundings as well as other chapters on eating, drinking and general ablutions.

The core idea for this book came up, when Mishra presented a speech at a Seva Samiti Boy Scout meeting in order to 'stimulate the feelings of civil life (*nāgarik jīvan ka bhāv*)' in 1916.<sup>236</sup> In the following years this lecture was twice reprinted in the magazine *Seva*, and also once in the magazine *Kalyan*, the popular magazine from the Gitapress in Gorakhpur.<sup>237</sup> Stipulated by the 'encouragement and blessing of Madan Mohan Malaviya', Mishra then extended his speech into an etiquette book.<sup>238</sup> The production of his book was thus deeply influenced both by his engagement for the Hindi cause as well as his initiatives to spread moral education among the Indian youth.

Another etiquette book produced under the auspices of the Nagaripracharini Sabhawas a book by Kamtaprasad Guru. Guru was born in a small town in the Central Provinces and worked for 34 years a teacher and educator. He was quite early drawn towards literature and had published his first works in Urdu, but then was impelled to 'bent towards Hindi-writing' by his friends. As he also showed a strong interest in grammar, the Nagaripracharini Sabhaengaged him to write the first Hindi grammar in Hindi. Besides, he also wrote poetry, three novels, a play and, not to forget, his comprehensive and extensive book on etiquette.<sup>239</sup> The book bears the title *Hindusthānī śiṣṭācār* ('Indian Etiquette'). *Hindusthān* (written without middle *h*) was commonly understood as a geographical term for India, stemming from Mughal times to describe the lands right and left of the Indus (Hindu) river. This was combined with the Persian suffix *-stān*, a noun formant used to indicate places and areas. However, *sthān* (with an *h*) also means place, or house, and is a Sanskrit word. As shall be seen presently, Guru must have consciously chosen this variant for the title of his book. His explicit definition of *Hindusthān*, and thus the demarcation of the group of imagined readers he addressed, was not openly based on religious grounds, but presupposed a linkage of the geographical region with language and feelings:

*Hindusthānī* society (*samā*) is the name of that society, which is majorly living in the area of *madhya-deś* [an ancient term for *Hindusthān*, as Guru added in a footnote, MF], and which is Hindi-speaking. According to the modern meaning of

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<sup>236</sup> Mishra, *Bhāratīya śiṣṭācār*, preamble. For an overview of the boy scout movement in India and its moral agenda of character building see Watt, *The Promise of 'Character' and the Spectre of Sedition*

<sup>237</sup> See section 3.1 for detailed information on the Gitapress and its publications.

<sup>238</sup> Mishra, *Bhāratīya śiṣṭācār*, preamble.

<sup>239</sup> Kshemchandra, *Divangāt hindī sevī*, Vol. 1, 112f

the word as it is understood in the current century, it applies to the time period in which the ‘language, food, clothing, feelings and future’ (*bhāṣā, bhojan, bheṣ, bhāv aur bhāvī*) did not and will not undergo any significant change on a collective level.<sup>240</sup>

The *Hindusthānī* society that Guru projected is a uniform and homogenous community. For ‘society’ he used the word *samāj*, which could also be used in the meaning of ‘community’, and defined it as ‘a group of people that are living at a particular time and place, and closely resemble each other in customs, civility, as well as moral and material conditions’.<sup>241</sup> The prescriptive norms of etiquette that Guru laid out in his book were meant to apply to those who already would identify with such a distinction, or possibly be willing to do so after reading the manual.

*Hindusthānī śiṣṭācār* starts with a general discussion of importance of etiquette and its connection to ethics, followed by an elaboration on the different eras of the ‘ancient etiquette of the Aryan people (*prācīn ārya śiṣṭācār*)’, drawing successively on the *Veda*,<sup>242</sup> the *Ramayan* epic, the *Mahabharat* epic and other scriptures. Next, three different areas where ‘Indian etiquette’ would apply are described in detail – social etiquette, personal etiquette and ‘special etiquette’. The latter section consists of guidelines for the behavior towards subgroups of society such as women, children and elders, gives advice on how to relate to social superiors and inferiors – there are different ways to treat a sage, as opposed to a petitioners or ‘untouchables’. At the end of the book, a special chapter is added containing advice on how to deal with foreign (*vidēśī*) elements. In this section, certain elements are outlined, which are considered foreign, and therefore inappropriate for a true Hindusthani. In Guru’s advice manual Urdu is categorized as foreign to India as English is. The use of the latter, Guru argued, is a sign of a sign of slave-mentality:

In fact, not using one’s mother-tongue is the destroyer of the human feeling of nationality (*rāṣṭrīyatā*). If a disposition of servitude raises within a community

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<sup>240</sup> Guru, *Hindusthānī śiṣṭācār*, 22.

hindusthānī samāj us samāj kā nām hai jo adhikāṃś memm madhya-deś kā nivāsī aur hindī-bhāṣā-bhāṣī hai. ādhunik śabd ke gat aur pracalit śatābdī kī lagbhag utnī avidhā kā abhiprāy hai kiske bhītar hamāre samāj kī bhāṣā, bhojan, bheṣ, bhāv aur bhāvī“ memm samaṣṭi rūp se viśeṣ parivartan nahīm huā aur na hogā.

<sup>241</sup> Guru, *Hindusthānī śiṣṭācār*, 22.

is pustak memm samāj un vyaktiyom kā samūh mānā gayā hai jo viśeṣ kāl vā sthān se sambandh rakhte hai aur jinke rīti-rīvāj, sabhyatā aur naitik tathā pādārthik avasthā memm bahut kuch sādūṣya rahtā hai.

<sup>242</sup> The four Vedas are a large body of texts originating in ancient India. They date between 1500 BCE and 500 BCE. Composed in Vedic Sanskrit, the texts constitute the oldest layer of Sanskrit literature.

(*jāti*) that they start becoming indifferent towards their language as well as their clothes and their food.<sup>243</sup>

The emotionalization of Hindi as a sign of nationality is preceded by the identification of Urdu as a language of decay, which is therefore deemed improper on social and also moral grounds:

Some people of Hindustan are mostly learning the Urdu language so that they can sing Urdu poetry which speaks of lover and beloved and so that they can engage in a conversation full of pleasant nothings with Muslims. This disposition is reproachful. [...] Because if people express respect for a foreign language and contempt for their mother-tongue than this is not only against etiquette, but also reproachful from the viewpoint of ethics, social ideals and nation building.<sup>244</sup>

This strong stance against Urdu is not explicitly found in Ramnarayan Mishra's etiquette manuals. In fact, he even gives alternative versions for polite forms of address that an *urdūvālā* ('Urduwallah', literally: a person speaking Urdu) can use. Also, while stating the obvious that shoes should be removed before entering a Hindu temple or a mosque, it may be implied that he would find it admissible for his imagined readers to also enter the latter.<sup>245</sup> In the section on behavior towards women he called for a feeling of devotion (*bhaktibhāv*) towards one's mother, as 'in Indian culture God is also worshipped in the form of a mother'.<sup>246</sup> Thus, though not clearly excluding Muslims as foreign and not a member of India, Mishra specified his readership, and those who are part of Indian culture (*bhāratīya saṃskṛti*) as clearly Hindu.

In the figuration of 'Indian' society, Muslims are excluded implicitly through their absence in Ramnarayan Mishra's books on etiquette and explicitly by Kamtaprasad Guru. Despite his strong stance against Urdu and its Muslim speakers, he takes care not to agitate against Muslims on the basis of their religion. Although Guru strongly condemned conversions

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<sup>243</sup> Guru, *Hindūsthānī śiṣṭācār*, 144.

yatharth meṃ apnī māṭṛ-bhāṣā kā upyog na karnā manuṣya kī rāṣṭrīyatā kā ghātak hai. jab kisi jāti meṃ dāstā kī pravṛtti baṛh jāti hai tab use apne bheṣ aur bhojan ke sāth-sāth bhāṣā ki or bhī udāsintā ho jāti hai.

<sup>244</sup> Guru, *Hindūsthānī śiṣṭācār*, 143.

kā hindūsthānī log urdū-bhāṣā bahudhā isliye paṛhte haiṃ ki ve urdū kī prem-mayī (āśikānā) gazaleṃ gāveṃ aur musalmānoṃ ke sāth lacedār bātcīt kareṃ. yah pravṛtti nindnīya hai. [...] tathapi jo log videśī-bhāṣā ke prati ādar aur māṭṛ-bhāṣā kī or udāsintā prakaṭ karte haiṃ unkā yah vicār keval śiṣṭācār hī ke viruddh haiṃ, kintu nīti, samājādarś au [sic!] rāṣṭr-nirmāṇ kī dṛṣṭi se bhī nindnīya hai.

<sup>245</sup> Mishra, *Bhāratīya śiṣṭācār*, 20 and 11.

<sup>246</sup> Guru, *Hindūsthānī śiṣṭācār*, 4.

bhāratīya saṃskṛti meṃ īśvar kī mātā ke rūp meṃ bhī upāsnā kī gāi hai. janm denevālī apnī mātā kī sevā ananya bhaktibhāv se karnī cāhie.

or any kind of syncretistic religious practices, he nevertheless maintained that true follower of God is defined by his feelings alone – ‘if the heart is filled with true loving affection (*prīti*) and true compassion (*dayā*) for His creatures, then it did not matter if a person shall be called Hindu or Muslim’.<sup>247</sup> Guru was also careful to not make any political argument, when he laid out the grounds for why it would not be permissible to imitate the ‘foreign’ ways of the British. He basically argued that every society needs to secure its own future. And to do this it would be imperative to not imitate others, but instead stick to one’s own ‘three *bh*’s’: language (*bhāṣā*), food (*bhojan*), and clothing (*bheṣ*). In this equation, there is also a fourth *bh* – feeling (*bhāṅ*). For an appeal to the feelings of his intended readership, Guru also employed the select emotionalization of certain behaviors that are dismissed not only as violating etiquette, but also as being against the common feelings of a certain community and that are therefore demarcated as ‘disgusting’. Examples for this are especially frequent in the section on bodily etiquette. Guru distinguished between involuntary mishaps, in which case those witnessing it should ‘not express disgust or reproach the person, but show sympathy instead’,<sup>248</sup> and stances of uncivilized and inappropriate behavior, especially when it is done in imitation of other communities. Guru hence chastised some tennis and cricket players which, in imitation of ‘the English’ moistened their bats in a ‘horrendous way’ that might be unavoidable because of the ‘cold water’ in England, but that was not necessary in India and could ‘create a strong aversion in the mind of every human’.<sup>249</sup> Here, the feeling of disgust is portrayed as a natural, universal reaction to a practice, which is not only improper, but also physically revolting (and to which the British are forced because of the coldness of England’s climate). The use of saliva is especially demarcated as disgusting and portrayed as a marker of an uncivilized person:

Some people soil their thumb with saliva in order to slip paper or pages of books and playing cards, and then hand the thus impure (*apavitra*) rendered item to others. Doing this is extremely inappropriate. Some people even lick postal stamps with their tongue in order to paste them. This act and sight are very disgusting. If there is no water available at the right time for doing it, then the sweat from one’s forehead can be taken, which is preferable to this disgusting fluid.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> Guru, *Hindūstānī śiṣṭācār*, 146.

yadi hṛdayaṁ meṁ īśvar ke prati saccī prīti hai aur uske prāṇiyom kī or saccī dayā hai to is bāt ko kōi cintā nahīm hai ki manuṣya hindū kahlāve athvā musalmān.

<sup>248</sup> Guru, *Hindūstānī śiṣṭācār*, 94.

<sup>249</sup> Guru, *Hindūstānī śiṣṭācār*, 88.

ṭānis aur krikeṭ ke kāi ek khilārī āngrezom kī dekhā-dekhī ḍaṇḍom ko aise ghilaunepan ke gilā karte haim ki unkī yah kriyā kisī bhī manuṣya ke man meṁ glānī utpann kar saktī hai.

<sup>250</sup> Guru, *Hindūstānī śiṣṭācār*, 87.



This emotionalized norm points to cultural as well as religious sensibilities. The word *apavitra*, apart from meaning ‘causing hatred or abhorrence’ also invokes religious notions of ritual purity that are central to ritual practices in Hindu traditions. The disgust Guru voiced betrays how deeply some norms of etiquette and propriety can be enculturated. He also assumed that seeing someone spitting in one’s hands would arise disgust in the mind ‘of every human’. In one case, it clearly did: Durgabati Ghosh, the daughter of the first non-western psychoanalyst Girindra Sekhar Bose, visited Europe in 1932 and kept a diary of her travels. In a train in France, she was appalled by the lacking bodily hygiene of an expensively clad Parisian woman, and in London she finally could ‘no longer control’ herself and embarked on a little successful civilizing mission of her own:

I had seen people in London using their own spit for certain specific jobs and saw the same thing being repeated in Vienna too. The lady secretary of our hotel would stick postage stamps on the envelope with spit. [...] At first I kept quiet, but after the fifth stamp was pasted, I could no longer control myself. I asked her why she did not keep a bowl of water to do the job. She had probably never heard such a question before and feeling a little embarrassed said that the servants had forgotten to keep it. I told her to ask for water immediately and to never do it again as it was a very bad habit. For the rest of my stay at that hotel in Vienna, I saw a bowl of water always kept on the table.<sup>251</sup>

This anecdote illustrates that in matters of etiquette, terms such as appropriate and inappropriate, civilized or barbaric are often phrased as universal categories, the norms attached to them can be deeply enculturated and thus stimulate feelings of disgust and aversion. In Guru’s conceptualization of ‘Indian etiquette’, emotionalizations are forceful on a descriptive as well as on prescriptive basis.<sup>252</sup> Through these, demarcations are set out to mark the borders of what a person belonging to a certain emotional community should do or not do, as well as how he or she should feel. Feeling disgust when faced with uncivilized behavior would then be counted as a marker of civility – only that a person of real cultivated character and the appropriate emotional style would rather feel sympathy for the uncivilized perpetrator.

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kuch log kāgaz yā pustak ke panne athvā tās sarkāne ke liye aṅguli ko mukh-ras se apavitra karte haim aur is apavitra kī huī vastu dūsre ko de dete hairīm. kā log ḍāk-ṭikaṭ ko bhī jīb se gilā karke cipkāte hairīm. yah kāry aur ḍrśya bahut hī ghṛṇit hairīm. yadi in kāmoṃ ke liye samay par pānī na mile to sir ke pasīne se kāṃ kiya jā saktā hai jo us ghṛṇit drav-padārth se kahīm acchā hai.

<sup>251</sup> Ghosh, *The Westward Traveller*, 77.

<sup>252</sup> On a side note: the rule of not licking one’s finger to turn book pages was also explicitly formulated as one of the rules in the Nagaripracharini SABha’s library (see Illustration 3).

## Etiquette, Ethics, and Feelings

Etiquette is, in the way Ramnarayan Mishra and Kamtaprasad Guru projected it, much more than just a guideline for what to do. If etiquette was truly appropriated, it would also inform the moral economy of a person. Guru used the lengthy introduction to *Hindusthānī śiṣṭācār* to clarify this point in detail. He started with a definition ex negativo – etiquette should not be confused with ‘flattery’ (*cāplūsi*), which is a self-interested character trait, used to gain advantage over others. Likewise, etiquette should also be distinguished from the overtly formalized ceremonial etiquette ‘connected with the Muslim word for ceremonial formalism’ (*musalmānī ‘takalluf’ śabd*). Here norms for etiquette and emotions are based on a re-attribution of civilized status to ‘Hindu’ customs, while demarcating it from ‘corrupted remnants of Mughal court culture’, that were described as but ‘empty shells of flattery, devoid of the morals on which these manners were built’. Instead, ‘real’ etiquette was a sign of a person’s civilizatory standing:

Etiquette is just like dharma (into which it is internalized) an important indicator of humanness. Through this quality the education, good taste and civility of a human being becomes evident. A person having etiquette is an adornment for his clan, community and country. It is mostly through etiquette that a person’s character (*svabhāva*) becomes evaluated. If a person follows this quality [i.e. etiquette], he will be revered, trusted and respected by others and he can also through his qualities bring forth this quality in others.<sup>253</sup>

Guru maintained that although etiquette is embodied and following it is the duty (= dharma) of a person. Nevertheless, etiquette could be, and also needed to be learnt, as it was manifested in the right form of thought, which translates into speech, and also on actions, which translates into the behavior of a person. He continued, that etiquette of speech would be easily practicable for everyone and that ‘even liars and thieves could follow it without any problem’. Therefore Guru distinguished between etiquette as the following of social norms, and embodied ethics. The difference between these two is attributed to the ‘purity of the intention of the mind’ of those who act according to the rules that etiquette prescribes.<sup>254</sup> At the end of Guru’s foray into moral philosophy, he acknowledged the possibility of a two-way

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<sup>253</sup> Guru, *Hindusthānī śiṣṭācār*, 3.

śiṣṭācār dharm ke samān (aur usī ke antargat) manuṣyatva kā ek viśeṣ cihn hai. is guṇ se manuṣya kī śikṣā, suruci aur sabhyatā kā paricay miltā hai. śiṣṭācārī vyakti apne kul, jāti aur deś kī ek śobhā hai. is guṇ kā pālan karne-vālā ke prati logon kā śraddha, viśvās, aur ādar hotā hai aur vah apne guṇon se dūsron meṃ bhī vahī guṇ utpann karne ki kśamtā rakhtā hai.

<sup>254</sup> Guru, *Hindusthānī śiṣṭācār*, 5.

śiṣṭācār aur sadācār ke anter meṃ man kī śuddh prerṇā kī viśeṣtā mānī jāti hai.

process. The practice of following the social norms prescribed by etiquette would not necessarily bring about changes in the mind, but it could have an influence on the character of a person.

As had been said earlier, the mind does not get a special impetus [through following etiquette], however the character (*svabhāva*) of a human being surely can be influenced by it. A person who follows etiquette has a great need for a peaceful character and conscience because without it he could not properly think on the topic of proper and improper deeds. Along thought and behaviour, it is also necessary to add some heart (*hṛdaya*) into etiquette and additionally also intellect and recollection is necessary.<sup>255</sup>

In order to follow the norms of etiquette, thus, a person would not only have to modulate his speech and his behavior, but also his heart. Kamptaprasad does not specify exactly, how the 'heart', as the place where feelings are located, is connected to the 'character' (*svabhāva*) of a person. The consequence of proper appropriation of etiquette norms would thus affect, over time, a process of emotional refinement of the character. This process, as Guru concluded, would actually happen in a civilized society (*sabhya samāja*) not only as a necessity of social interaction, but moreover also as a process of imitation and emulation (*anukaraṇa*) that happened all by itself. In addition, reading books, travelling and engagement in community and society are also factors that can increase the spread of etiquette.<sup>256</sup>

Kamptaprasad Guru's book shows the conviction of an etiquette writer that the norms of his book can lead to an increase in the civilisatory status of his imagined reader. Reading and applying the outlined norms of etiquette, as he hoped, would eventually lead to its emulation and appropriation. The character of a person, based on an emotional style, could also be informed by the civilisatory effect of moral literature. True etiquette, and the emotions that go along with it, get thus habitualized and incorporated into the body. Traces of this particular form of knowledge on the connection of etiquette, ethics and emotions are also evident in Mishra's advice for children. He emphasized the importance of genuineness (*sātviktā*) that

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<sup>255</sup> Guru, *Hindusthānī śiṣṭācār*, 10.

jaise pahla kahā jā chukā hai, uske pālan meṁ man kī viśeṣa prerṇā nahīm hotī; yadyapi usmeṁ manuṣya ke svabhāva kā prabhāva avāśya paṛtā hai. śiṣṭācārī vyakti ko śānta svabhāva aur viveka kī baḍī avāśyaktā hai kyom̄ki inke binā vah ucit athvā anucit kāryom̄ ke viśaya meṁ ṭhīk-ṭhīk vicār nahīm kar saktā. śiṣṭācār meṁ vicār aur karma ke sāth kuch hṛdaya ke mel kī bhī avāśyaktā hai aur iske sāth usmeṁ buddhī aur smaraṇa kī bhī kāma paṛtā hai.

<sup>256</sup> Guru, *Hindusthānī śiṣṭācār*, 12.

yathārtha meṁ śiṣṭācār kī utpatti sabhya samāja meṁ avāśyaktā aur anukaraṇa ke āpa hī āpa hotī hai. [...] śiṣṭācār kī pavṛtti avāśyaktā aur anukaraṇa ke atirikta pusakāvalokana, pravāsa aur sāmājika tathā sarvaṅjanika jīvan se bhī vṛddhi pātī hai.

should inform everything a person does, and which is not ‘a game in the brain, but instead a feeling in the heart’.<sup>257</sup> Striving for genuineness is also important for grown-ups who have a family and social obligations, as it enhances and creates sympathy, forbearance and patience (*sahānubhūti, sahiṣṇutā, aur dhairya*).<sup>258</sup> Sympathy is again styled as a major quality that also is the result of a ‘true’ and thus embodied following of appropriate etiquette. The impetus for this feeling, however, can differ from culture to culture. Mishra, who also dedicated a chapter in *Balopadeś* to ‘sympathy’, therefore gives two separate examples in order to explain the exact meaning of this term. The first example is an anecdote from George Washington’s life, and Mishra did not fail to mention that he is the one who later brought independence to his country. At the age of 18, he saved a drowning man without even considering that he may also drown in the process. The other is an Indian example from ‘a Hindu family’. In this story, another youth, the ‘righteous son of mother India’ Mahadev Govind Ranade decided to give his cherished sweets to a servant boy.

These two examples make an interesting cultural distinction of the different ways in which sympathy would express itself in the India as opposed to the West:

In Western countries, qualities like strength, self-assuredness and other qualities are the predominant feelings of action. In Eastern countries, however, self-renunciation, the good of the many, and other feelings of serving others are predominant. The biographies of eminent people are a mirror for their countries.<sup>259</sup>

Mishra then continued in emphasizing that people should be most praised not for what they achieved in outer life, but how they cultivated their inner life and behaved in private. The proclamation that Indians would cultivate a different kind of sympathy, that of serving others, thus needs to be understood in the light of also a form of self-authorization over the ‘other’, the object of one’s feelings. This is quite different from the culture of servitude that was attributed to Indians in the form of loyalty to British rule, or to one’s superiors in the office. Instead, it is a proclamation of one’s own superiority, based upon the possibility to feel sympathy towards those that are socially or emotionally inferior.

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<sup>257</sup> Mishra, *Bālopadeś*, 102.

sātviktā mastiṣk kā khel nahim hai, hṛday kī bhāvnā hai.

<sup>258</sup> Mishra, *Bālopadeś*, 103.

<sup>259</sup> Mishra, *Bālopadeś*, 103f.

pāścātya deśom keṁ bal, parākram, ātmaviśvāsādi guṇom prādurbhāv adhik hotā hai. pūrvīya deśom meṁ ātmatyāg, paropkār aur sevābhāv adhik hotā hai. mahāpuruṣom kī jīvanī unke deśom kā darpan hai.

My analyses showed that Hindi etiquette manuals in the late colonial period reinforced the idea that ‘character’ can be cultivated through emotions and implicated that following etiquette norms can over time also be embodied to nurture the necessary feeling of ‘sympathy’. Even more so, etiquette manuals specify what would be a specific marker for ‘Indian-ness’ of etiquette and ethics. Added to the concept of ‘sympathy’ this emotional style got promoted as a marker of belonging to the community of those that are educated and civilized. This style was to be especially cultivated towards those that had not undergone a British-styled education and/or adapted to the changed norms of etiquette and social behavior, but were nevertheless worthy of respect (e.g. because of their status as local authorities in the village). Hence Guru asserted that ‘these days, educated people are considering many things that uneducated people give not much thought to’.<sup>260</sup> With such people, especially those living in the village, one should ‘keep close contact’, should open one’s heart to their plain words full of sentiment (*bhāvmay bhāṣā*) and ‘educate them about medicine, the dangers of alcohol, and improve their dirty surroundings (*gaṇḍe vātāvaraṇ*)’, as Mishra suggested.<sup>261</sup> Guru also emphasized the importance to embark on a civilizing mission of those less educated, because ‘with our own etiquette we can reform the lacking etiquette of their character’.<sup>262</sup>

Embarking on a civilizing mission towards their inferiors can also be understood as a successful solution of the perceived moral crisis, which was attributed to the community of educated, urban Indians. As outlined earlier, a major colonial trope informing discourses on moral education in India had been that Indians educated in schools and colleges following a British model would be emotionally torn between ‘Western education’ and ‘Indian tradition’. Now, this perceived dichotomy had become rephrased. Instead it was a question of following a proper etiquette or not. This etiquette was culturally and socially demarcated, but claimed to be universal regarding its idea of appropriate feeling.

Etiquette books are a valuable source for looking at the ascription of emotions to a certain community on a normative level, which does not only happen in the form of explicitly stated ‘emotional norms’. In the process which I described as ‘emotionalization’, the postulation of something as ‘abhorring’ or ‘disgusting’ is tied to certain socio-cultural reference points for legitimizing the authority of the proclaimed norms and emphasizing the

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<sup>260</sup> Guru, *Hindusthāni śiṣṭācār*, 86.

<sup>261</sup> Mishra, *Bharatīya śiṣṭācār*, 8.

<sup>262</sup> Guru, *Hindusthāni śiṣṭācār*, 120.

ham apne śiṣṭācār se unkī svabhāvik aśiṣṭā ko sudhar sakte haim.

need for emotional management. Emotionalizing certain breaches of etiquette norms may then create markers to delineate other communities as not only 'foreign' but also inferior in on the level of civility, ethics or education.

All books published in India were closely monitored as they had to undergo registration with the authorities and in the process were also evaluated by a censor. The publication of books was censored if they had content of an explicitly sexual nature, contained defamations of other religious and social groups, or, naturally, displayed anti-British sentiment. The books on etiquette and ethics clearly fell into neither of these categories, nor do they contain explicit calls for the independence of India or the end of colonialism. They promoted the idea that Indians could rightfully claim their place among the civilized nations, and that Indians would just as well as the British be able to cultivate their emotions.

### 3. Eradicating Greed – Salvation through Disinterested Feeling

If a person renounces lying, betraying and greed (*lobh*), and instead conducts his business in a lawful way that is pleasant to God, then this can become the main means to salvation. The most important thing in attaining salvation is not the action (*kriyā*), but the feeling (*bhāvi*).<sup>263</sup>

This citation comes from the founder of the Gitapress, Jaydayal Goyandka. Together with Hanumanprasad Poddar, his devoted disciple and companion in spiritual pursuits, he transformed the Gitapress from a small publishing venture into a major publisher for religious works as well as spiritual and social advice literature. Since the beginnings of the Gitapress in the 1920s until today, writings of Poddar and Goyandka univocally promote and reinforce the ideal of what a good Hindu is and how he or she should feel.<sup>264</sup> Their books outline the importance of the renunciation of all self-interest and egoism, and give direct suggestions and rules as to how to live a fulfilled and truly blissful life, and thus also gain salvation after death. The key element for this is a state of the mind which is absolutely free of any kind of desire or passions (*niṣkāma*).

In their social reformatory advice Goyandka and Poddar repeatedly warn against the negative effects of desires for various things such as wealth and financial gain, social status, and offspring. The root of these desires is greed (*lobh*), an overpowering feeling, which is rooted in self-interest (*svārth*). The advice books of the Gitapress present a specific kind of emotion knowledge, in which a feeling like greed is portrayed as a destructive vice, harmful to the individual and its chance of salvation, as well as to society. Hence Poddar and Goyandka elaborate in their writings on techniques to eliminate the destructive feeling of greed, and

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<sup>263</sup> Goyandka, *Vyapārsudhar kī avshyakta*, 25.

asatya, kapaṭ, aur lobh ādikā tyāg karke yadi bhagvat-prītyarth nyāyukt vyāpār kiyā jāy to vahī muktikā mukhya sādhan ban saktā hai. muktimerṅ pradhān hetu bhāv hai, kriyā nahīm hai.

<sup>264</sup> Goyandka and Poddar closely cooperated, also bound by a spiritual master-disciple relationship. See Dujari, *Bhājī-caritāmṛt*. Illustration 4 shows a popular photo of Goyandka and Poddar that was widely circulated among their devotees.

See Freier “The Gitapress and Its Agenda of Social and Spiritual Reform”, 399 and 408f., regarding the ongoing popularity of the Gitapress publications and their increasing presence on the internet.

replace it with 'disinterested feeling', which is described in the forms of an emotional style (*niṣkāmbhāv*, a Sanskrit composite literally meaning non-desire-feeling). This style can be cultivated through a control of the mind and of the senses, but also through devotional practices, such as concentration on God and the repetition of his names.

Jaydayal Goyandka and Hanumanprasad Poddar wrote various books, tracts and essays, and also gave speeches in which they outlined the need for social and spiritual reform. aimed at shaping a unified Hindu community. For its members, they formulated emotional ideals, in which the eradication of greed and the cultivation of 'disinterested feeling' (*niṣkāmbhāv*) as an emotional style was pivotal.

Self-definitions of the Gitapress point to a religiously impartial and non-political publishing house, exclusively aiming at giving people access to read religious scriptures in their mother tongue Hindi. I argue in section 3.1 that Gitapress advice books on spiritual and social topics, provide influential interpretations of these religious texts, translating them and shaping them according the spiritual and social reform agenda of Poddar and Goyandka. Section 3.2. investigates the system of emotion knowledge that informs the Gitapress advice literature. In promoting *niṣkāmbhāv* (disinterested feeling) as the central prerequisite for spiritual salvation and personal fulfillment as well as for a prospering society, the Gitapress established a strict regime of cultivating one's emotions as an ideal of human excellence, to which all Hindus would be bound to strive. How this ideal is at the same time connected to specific processes of community building that were especially vital in the 1920s becomes particularly visible in the textual analysis of section 3.3, which focuses on how greed was literally and figuratively described as detrimental to finding true happiness in this world as well as to achieving salvation in the hereafter. Following the Gitapress' argument, battling greed was a moral, social and religious imperative for both men and women, and a constitutive tenet for those following Sanatan Dharmaa. Jaydayal Goyandka and Hanumanprasad Poddar initially geared their normative manuals towards the needs of the Marwari trading community, to which they themselves belonged. They also give advice on general matters, chiefly regarding the role and duties of women and discusses them from a viewpoint of Sanatan Dharma 'orthodoxy'. As an impartially styled religious publisher, however, the Gitapress' advice books transcend the borders between social and religious reform, mapping out a vision of ideal all-Hindu society. Hence, they address different groups



of ‘imagined readers’ at the same time, which would account for the intersecting and encompassing nature of emotional communities.

### **3.1. The Gitapress Impact in Defining Dharma**

The Gitapress was founded as a non-profit printing press for high-quality translations of religious scriptures by Jaydayal Goyandka in 1923. Until his death in 1965, Goyandka remained closely engaged in all the activities of this publishing house, and was one of the main authors of the press’s religiously and morally instructive publications. The other author was Hanumanprasad Poddar (1892-1971), who had joined the press as the founding editor of the magazine *Kalyān*, and also began publishing his own instructive essays, sermons and small books on religious topics. The press has not hitherto received much attention from historical scholarship.<sup>265</sup> A number of contemporary biographical exist about Poddar and Goyandka (or *Bhaijī* and *Sethjī*, as they became called by them), sometimes written in a hagiographical style. Contemporary writers hailed Poddar for the emotional cultivation of his character (*svabhāvik bhāvnāem*) that had spurred his social activism, and also for the fact that ‘his heart was motivated by the devotion to God alongside the service to his motherland’.<sup>266</sup> Goyandka was praised as an outstanding personality whose ‘feelings had been drawn towards high pursuits since childhood’, and was now influencing ‘great scholars and Mahatmas’.<sup>267</sup> Short autobiographical sketches such as these portray Goyandka and Poddar as models who distinguished themselves through their feelings, as they did not join the greedy pursuit of worldly gains and pleasures. One of the main sources from which both drew their religious and moral instructions was the *Bhagavadgita*.

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<sup>265</sup> Notable exceptions are Monika Horstmann’s article “Towards a Universal Dharma” about the magazine *Kalyān*, as well as the unpublished articles of Paul Arney, who worked on the Gitapress in the course of his planned PhD in anthropology.

<sup>266</sup> Bhandari, *Agravāl jātī kā itihās*, 179.

āpke hṛdaya meṁ deś sevā ke sāth 2 īśvarbhāktī ke āṅkur bhī prabhal ho gaye the.

<sup>267</sup> Bhandari, *Agravāl jātī kā itihās*, 147.

bacpanhī se āpkī bhavem ūñce darekī rahī haim.

## ***Bhagavadgita* and its Dissemination**

As a sacred text and an object of linguistic and philosophic study, the *Bhagavadgita* had raised the interest of various orientalist scholars of early nineteenth century Europe.<sup>268</sup> By the end of the century, it had become known to a wider audience of curious and spiritually interested laypeople. New translations of the *Bhagavadgita* between 1880 and 1910 paved the way for ‘modern interpretations’ that considerably changed its perception. Through its transnational reception, the *Bhagavadgita* increasingly became understood as an ‘allegorical construction, which uses symbols and metaphors to put across hidden truth of spiritual significance’. It also became (reconfigured as) a ‘text of universal relevance’ which – depending on the interpretive context could include all Hindus, all Indians, or even all of humankind.<sup>269</sup> This led many scholars to conclude that the elevation of the *Bhagavadgita* to a quasi-canonical religious text was based on its rediscovery ‘thanks to the interest it had generated among different sections of European and American readership – colonial officials, missionaries, romantics, transcendentalists, and others’.<sup>270</sup> Orientalist interpretations also shaped the Indian reception of the text in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, as in the case of two London theosophists who gave a copy of the *Bhagavadgita* to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Gandhi subsequently viewed the Gita as a ‘production by a poet, rather than a religious revelation by a form of the Supreme Being’ and emphasized that it should be read allegorically and not literally.<sup>271</sup> From 1926 onwards Gandhi worked on his own translation of and commentary to the *Bhagavadgita*. He did this to encourage his followers to read and study it in the light of his non-violent resistance theory.<sup>272</sup> Reformers like Gandhi popularized the Gita as a source of universal spiritual inspiration. Others, like the politically radical Tilak, for example, propagated the *Bhagavadgita* as a text for political motivation in the struggle against colonial rule. In all these cases, the *Bhagavadgita* was still considered a religious scripture, but it was primarily used as a metaphorical text for social action and popularized as such in India.<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>268</sup> Sharpe, *The Universal Gita*, 110ff.

<sup>269</sup> Sinha, “Corrigibility, Allegory, Universality”, 299f.

<sup>270</sup> Chakrabarty and Majumdar, “Gandhi’s Gita and Politics as Such”, 339. See also the other articles in this special magazine issue on the Bhagavad Gita, e.g. Bayly, “India, the Bhagavad Gita and the World”. Bayly also underscores the importance of western reception of the Bhagavad Gita for its subsequent popularization in India.

<sup>271</sup> Sinha, “Corrigibility, Allegory, Universality”, 311.

<sup>272</sup> Chakrabarty and Majumdar, “Gandhi’s Gita and Politics as such”, 338.

<sup>273</sup> See Bayly, “India, the Bhagavad Gita and the World”

Just like other major texts containing revealed knowledge, the *Bhagavadgita* is also highly multivalent. Indological scholars often attributed seemingly contradicting messages to alterations and additions to the original core of the epic.<sup>274</sup> Poddar and Goyandka, on the other hand, present the *Bhagavadgita* as a singular and consistent piece of revelation that can help their readers solve the issues with which they have to deal on a daily basis. Neither Jaydayal Goyandka nor Hanumanprasad Poddar proposed a metaphorical reading of the *Bhagavadgita*. In their understanding, the text was a faithful reproduction of the dialogue between the God Krishna and heroic Arjuna right before the great battle of the *Mahabharat*. Rather than allegory it was the ultimate gospel. Therefore, the Gitapress' translations adamantly declared that the *Bhagavadgita* encompassed the spiritual knowledge of all other sacred scriptures that came before it, even and especially the *Vedas*.<sup>275</sup>

Hagiographical accounts of Jaydayal Goyandka, who grew up in the small town of Churu in Rajasthan, relate his frequent visions of different Indian Gods and instances when he fell into a religious trance, even while working in the shop of one of his uncles.<sup>276</sup> It is reported that he found his spiritual purpose when, engaged in the study of the *Bhagavadgita*, he came across the following verse:

He who, offering the highest love to Me, preaches the most profound gospel of the Gītā among My devotees, shall come to Me alone; there is now doubt about it. Among men there is none who does Me a more loving service than he; nor shall anyone be dearer to Me on the entire globe than he.<sup>277</sup>

According to the biographers, Goyandka understood this verse as a missionary call, as it implies that those who preach and disseminate the Gita to others are dearest to God.<sup>278</sup> By the age of 22, Goyandka started to hold *satsaṅg*, spiritual meetings and talks on devotional topics. This made him widely known among the trans-regionally connected members of the Marwari trading community to which he belonged. He wanted to spread the message of the *Bhagavadgita* even further. According to Goyandka, every Hindu should be able to have a copy of the *Bhagavadgita*. His aim was to make the text available to a mass audience, but he could not find any suitable translated edition of the *Bhagavadgita* on the market that would satisfy him. As a result, Goyandka began to translate the text himself. For printing, he first gave it to a

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<sup>274</sup> Sharpe, *The Universal Gita*, xvi

<sup>275</sup> Gitapress, *Sādhāraṇ bhāṣāṭīkāśahit śrīmadbhagavadgītā*, Introduction, 3 ('The importance of the Gita').

<sup>276</sup> Samanta, *The Gitapress Gorakhpur*, 161.

<sup>277</sup> Gitapress, *Bhagavadgītā*, 18:68-69.

<sup>278</sup> Dujari, *Shrībhāijī*, 516.

commercial publisher, but was dissatisfied with the results – the printing quality was poor and there were many spelling mistakes. For Goyandka this was not acceptable at all, as his biographer emphasized, because a work with such spiritual significance needed to be printed in its faultless and pure (*śuddh*) form. With the help of one of his supporters, who lived in Gorakhpur, Jaydayal was able to buy a hand-operated printing press in 1923. He rented a room in Gorakhpur and started to print his own translation of the *Bhagavadgita*.<sup>279</sup>

By late 1924 Goyandka had already registered reprints of two editions of the *Bhagavadgita* with the British authorities. One was a Sanskrit version with 10,000 copies printed, the second was his own rendition of the ‘original Sanskrit text together with its prose order and translation in Hindi’, of which 5,000 copies were printed, priced at one Rupee and four Annas, the usual price for a good-quality *Bhagavadgita* edition at the time. From 1926 onwards, *Bhagavadgita* versions with Goyandka’s Hindi translation were priced as low as 2 Annas. The publication figures show that Goyandka’s edition of the Gita was in high demand; in 1926 he republished the Sanskrit edition with his Hindi translations at a print run of 3,000 copies. Just one year later, in 1927, two more editions of Goyandka’s Hindi translation were already registered with the British authorities, with print runs of 30,000 and 40,000 copies respectively, whereas the Sanskrit edition (without translation) was also reprinted with 10,000 copies.<sup>280</sup> The registration of re-editions with extremely high print runs for the time also continued in the following years, and the differences in the prices of different editions may account for Jaydayal Goyandka’s interest in making the *Bhagavadgita* available to as many readers as possible. The higher-priced editions were probably of different paper quality and more elaborate binding, thus attractive in display and appealing to those who could afford them. People with only little money to spare could nevertheless buy a simple edition, which still had Goyandka’s translation and were printed in the same quality.<sup>281</sup> The Gitapress therefore had a major role in making the *Bhagavadgita* into a widely accessible religious text for the Hindi-speaking public.<sup>282</sup>

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<sup>279</sup> Dujari, *Shrībhāṣī*, 517.

<sup>280</sup> See *Statement of Particulars regarding Books*, for the years 1924-32.

<sup>281</sup> Registration of reprints of the Bhagavad Gita in Sanskrit with Hindi translation by Jaydayal Goyandka between 1928 and 1930: 15th July 1928 (10,000 copies, 11 Annas); 29th January 1929 (30,000 copies; 2 Anna, 6 Piece); 17th February 1929 (10,000 copies; 3 Annas); 1st December 1929 (5000; 1 Rupee, 4 Annas); 17th November 1930 (3000 Rupees; 8 Annas).

<sup>282</sup> This is also stated in Callawaerth and Hemraj, *Bhagavad Gitanuvada*, 127.

Apart from their high-quality editions of the *Bhagavadgita*, the Gitapress also became famous for its magazine *Kalyān* and it became the first periodical in India that exclusively focused on religious issues, but was not linked to a specific religious sect. The magazine was started in 1926 with Hanumanprasad Poddar as its editor. Its readership grew constantly: 1,600 subscribers in the first year, 5,000 subscribers in the second year.<sup>283</sup> By the mid 1930s, a contemporary of Poddar reported enthusiastically, that '35,000 copies per month are presently sent to all corners of India) sent to all corners of India'.<sup>284</sup> Once a year the Gitapress prepared an extended special issue of the magazine that dealt with one specific issue – the first special issue came out in 1929 and, named *Śrīmadbhagavadgītāṅk*, comprised essays focusing exclusively on the meaning and usefulness of the *Bhagavadgita*.<sup>285</sup>

From 1936 onwards the Gitapress also began to reach out to a non-Hindi speaking audience, both in India and abroad. For this, Hanumanprasad Poddar started to publish the English-language magazine *Kalyan Kalpatru*. Moreover, the Gitapress brought out books and pamphlets with everyday instruction in spiritual as well as social matters. These carried titles such as 'What is God? What is Dharma?', 'Celibacy', 'The Reform of Society', 'Question-Answers on the Duties of a Wife' or 'Attaining God through Renunciation'. They were written by either Goyandka and Poddar and published individually, but also printed in the magazine *Kalyān*.

The spiritual advice given by Poddar and Goyandka takes its authority to a great extent from the *Bhagavadgita*, but also from other scriptures of Hindu tradition. These are referred to in quotes, either from the Sanskrit original, which are then explained, or taken from the press' own translated version in Hindi. The religious advice literature of Goyandka and Poddar relied on the textual authority of the *Bhagavadgita*, and translated it into the everyday world of their readers. Paul Arney has argued that not only did the Gitapress' extensive translation work and Hindi commentaries reduce the polyvalence of the original texts, but that over time the Gitapress editions have also themselves become canonical: 'when a religious Hindu picks up a Gitapress hardback edition [...] he or she is given the full confidence that they are somehow encountering the authentic text.'<sup>286</sup>

Goyandka and Poddar worked on disseminating the *Bhagavadgita* not only as a central religious scripture, but also as a "canonical" text of Hinduism. Judging from their large

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<sup>283</sup> Arney, "The Mouth of Sanatan Dharma", 9f.

<sup>284</sup> Bhandari, *Agravāl jātī kā itihās*, 179.

<sup>285</sup> Arney, "The Mouth of Sanatan Dharma", 11f

<sup>286</sup> Arney, "Gitapress and the Magazine Kalyan", 7.

circulation numbers, the *Bhagavadgita* translation issued by the Gitapress had a decisive influence on the promotion of the *Bhagavadgita* from the mid-1920s onwards. Poddar and Goyandka used the textual authority of the *Bhagavadgita* for their own normative writings. Their texts, styled as accurate representations of the *Bhagavadgita*'s message, also provided clues as to how the original text should be interpreted. The popularity of the Gitapress can be related to their high quality of publishing and low prices, but also their distribution strategies.

The quality of translation in connection with the affordable pricing secured outreach to a wide audience, and gave prestige and credibility to the normative advice texts from the Gitapress. These texts were disseminated not only through the cheap advice booklets, but also through sermons given by Goyandka and Poddar, letters or articles in the magazine *Kalyan*, which were reprinted as advice books. The latter were not intended as an intervention in the discourse of the educated, but aimed at a general public that would have needed instruction regarding the devotional ways of attaining God, while at the same time having to tackle with the challenges and decisions that need to be taken in daily life.

In order to reach a wide span of possible readers, the Gitapress introduced a system of mobile book vans, which travelled to outlying rural areas and pilgrimage places at religious festivals.<sup>287</sup> At railway stations in urban centers like Benares and Delhi the Gitapress also established their own bookstalls that later developed into proper shops.<sup>288</sup> Moreover, the dissemination of Gitapress books was also facilitated by Goyandka's and Poddar's engagement in social reform movements within the Marwari community,<sup>289</sup> as well as through the growing organization of Sanatan Dharma associations. From these meetings it was reported that the books of the Gitapress sold there were in high demand.<sup>290</sup>

## Orthodoxy as a Reform Project

The idea that the Gitapress stands for the tradition of Hindu belief was already professed by those clerks of the education department that registered the Gitapress books to compile the *Catalogue of Printed Books*. The book *Strīdharmpraśnottarī* ('Questions and answers on the duties of women') was described as 'catechism' and 'a religious tract on the

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<sup>287</sup> See Arney, "The Mouth of Sanatan Dharaa", 11.

<sup>288</sup> The first of these stalls were set up in the early 1930s. Baishnath Agarwal (Managing Trustee of the Gitapress, Gorakhpur), personal communication, 11th October 2010

<sup>289</sup> The Marwaris, an eminent trading community with networks throughout the north and east of British India, are introduced in section 3.3.

<sup>290</sup> Dujari, *Śrībhājjī*, 276

line of orthodox Hinduism'. Likewise, *Mānav dharm* ('Human dharma') bore the subtitle 'The Dharmic text for mankind. A handbook for orthodox Hindus'.<sup>291</sup>

The project of defining "Hindu orthodoxy" was spearheaded in the second half of the nineteenth century by various organizations that espoused political as well as religious aims, while promoting *sanātan dharm*, or 'eternal religion'.<sup>292</sup> Various smaller associations became unified into an ideological movement by the late nineteenth century, intending to protect social and religious practices that they deemed pre-existing and eternal (*sanātan*) traditions, such as the Sanatan Dharma Pushtikarini Sabha, founded by the father of Hanumanprasad Poddar.<sup>293</sup> Over time, the various smaller initiatives started to merge and associate with bigger networks, such as the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, founded in 1887 in Haridwar by Din Dayal Sharma, which developed 'into a widespread organisation that claimed, with some justification, to represent Hindu orthodoxy'.<sup>294</sup> The Sanatan Dharma idea of "orthodoxy" was pitted against movements such as the Arya Samaj, which tried to focus on a "reform" of Hinduism by breaking away with certain social practices. One of the most prominent and controversially discussed issues creating a rift between Arya Samaj and Sanatan Dharma was the legitimacy of the caste system. Arya Samaj followers started their campaign of 'purification' (*śuddhī*) and created special cleansing and re-conversion ceremonies to re-enter those that had converted to Islam or Christianity and enfranchise so-called "untouchables" into the realms of the Hindu community. Sanatan Dharma associations, on the other hand, remained firm that the "orthodox" order of the caste system must not be compromised. The caste system was embedded in the concept of *varṇāśramdharm*, according to which people are socially stratified into 4 major *varṇas* (Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra, leaving out the so-called "untouchables") each with their own social responsibilities. *Varṇāśramdharm* understood to be the 'traditional pattern of religious duties as expressed in the caste system', was the linchpin of the Sanatan Dharma movements.<sup>295</sup>

'Orthodoxy' is not a pre-existing entity. The term provides an umbrella for various actors with often differing agendas, all trying to reform society by promoting their idea of a

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<sup>291</sup> See *Catalogue of Printed Books...* for the years 1928 and 1929.

<sup>292</sup> 'Sanatan Dharma' as a term for an unchanging ethical-religious system appears in various scriptures such as the *Mahabharat*, the *Bhagavadgita* and the *Manusmriti*. It was first used by Rammohan Roy in a politico-religious context. See Novetzke, "Bhakti and its Public", 267.

<sup>293</sup> Samanta, *The Gitapress Gorakhpur*, 65.

<sup>294</sup> Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements in British India*, 82.

<sup>295</sup> Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements in Colonial India*, 79.

traditional setup of Hindu society. As Vasudha Dalmia has shown, the Sanatan Dharma followers addressed a wide range of social reforms and professed these ‘in the very name or orthodoxy, of traditions itself’.<sup>296</sup> In this case, the reference to the tradition was tied to a vision for the future, in which ancient social ideals would be re-established. Moreover, as Paul Zavos has argued, the various associations and organizations that grouped themselves under the mantle of Sanatan Dharma never developed a doctrinally coherent set of beliefs. Instead, Sanatan Dharma ‘remained simply a signifier of various practices and structures that were perceived in particular regional and historical contexts as encapsulating “traditional” Hinduism’ and consequently ‘acts as a *symbol* of orthodoxy during this period’.<sup>297</sup> The Gitapress publications were vital in shaping the understanding of what Hindu “orthodox” beliefs entailed. While upholding the system of caste-distinctions as constitutive for Hinduism, they also re-phrased *varṇāśramdharm* in the terms of a religious system, in which social and moral stratification was not so much dependent on one’s birth, but rather on the fulfillment of one’s individual duty.

In his programmatic booklet *Dharm kyā hai?* (‘What is Dharma?’) Goyandka emphasized his belief in *varṇāśramdharm*, which he considered as a very important tenet for every Hindu (‘*varṇāśram-dharmko avāśya mānnā cāhie*). He stressed that the question of belonging to a certain *varṇa* was dependent on both the birth and the deeds of a human being.<sup>298</sup> Goyandka thus engaged with reform movements such as the Arya Samaj that were critical of the caste system and promoted in vision (though not necessarily in practice) that the identification with a certain caste should depend entirely on the character and actions of a person and not on his birth.<sup>299</sup> Subsequently Goyandka outlined the different duties of individual castes, while maintaining that these would best fit the abilities of the person concerned. For example, the duties (*dharm*) of a Vaishya re listed as follows: protect animals, give charity, do sacrifices, study and engage in farming or righteous and pure trade (*sat aur pavitra vyāpār*). If a Vaishya was unable to sustain himself with his work, he could also do the work of a Shudra, as long as he did not compromise the laws of purity.<sup>300</sup> While maintaining this order, Goyandka stated,

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<sup>296</sup> Dalmia, *Nationalisation of Hindu Traditions*, 2ff

<sup>297</sup> Zavos, “Defending Hindu Tradition”, 121.

<sup>298</sup> Goyandka, *Dharm kyā hai*, 10.

<sup>299</sup> Zavos, “Defending Hindu Tradition”, 117.

<sup>300</sup> Goyandka, *Dharm kyā hai*, 15. The trade with disgusting (*ghṛnit*) objects forbidden in the Shastra such as meat, bones, leather, animal skins etc. is considered impure (*apavitra*).



the access to God can happen in an unmediated way and equally for all castes (*varṇa*) doing their prescribed duties.

Statements such as these illustrate the reconciliatory and universalist approach that Goyandka used in order to bridge the gap to followers of the Arya Samaj and other movements. *Dharm kyā hai* consists of short question-answer dialogues that may have been employed to make the content easily understandable for a wide audience of different education levels. Furthermore, it provided the reader with ready answers to be employed in potential religious disputes with others. Goyandka's definition of a Hindu is also paired with a decidedly reconciliatory offer, as it put sectarian divisions on the side. Instead, Goyandka proposed a list of 50 qualities according to which the truly religious, i.e. those that follow the tenets of dharma can be defined.<sup>301</sup> Many of these qualities relate to the cultivation of emotions: 'love for God' (*īśvarbhakti*), sympathy/compassion (*dayā*) and forgiveness (*kṣamā*), fearlessness (*nirbhaytā*), heroism (*vīrtā*) and subservience (*sevā*). Others also relate to a wider cultivation of feelings, such as 'keeping the senses under control' (*inḍriyadaman*), 'renunciation of selfishness' (*svārthtyāg*) and 'supervision of the mind' (*mankā nigrah*). An important factor is also *brahmacārya* ('chastity', comprising physical and spiritual abstinence from desires), as well as a 'happiness' that results from 'the total absence of thirsty desire (*santoś - tṛṣṇā kā sarvathā abhāva*)'.<sup>302</sup>

The focus on moral values and emotions, instead of directly participation in the discourse of sectarian dissent between Arya Samaj and Sanatan Dharma ideologies, is typical for the policy of the Gitapress. Thus Poddar and Goyandka used explicit restraint in voicing their own opinion, and, when raising issues of dissent over social reforms, explicitly stated that these were their personal views and thus 'not meant to imply that other religious traditions (*mat*) are wrong'.<sup>303</sup>

Such a reconciliatory approach might be attributed to a climate of sectarian dissent, but it could also be read as a means to assert authoritative power on the subject: The book *Dharm kyā hai?* begins with a rather unusual statement:

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<sup>301</sup> Goyandka, *Dharm kyā hai*, 5.

in cālīs gunommerṁse jis matmerṁ jitne adhik guṁ hoṁ vahi mat sabse pradhān aur śreyaskar mānā jāneyogya hai.

<sup>302</sup> Goyandka, *Dharm kyā hai*, 5ff.

<sup>303</sup> Poddar, *Samāj sudhar*, 1. See also Goyandka's introduction to the article "*Bhagvān kyā hai?*" ('What is God?') in *Dharm kyā hai*, 19.

The question of dharma is very grave, I know only little about the religious scriptures on the topic (*dharmgranth*), and I have hardly studied the Vedas at all. I am just an ordinary human being, and in such a state, it is like childishness to lecture on the elements of dharma.<sup>304</sup>

This personal disclaimer used by Goyandka, might have been used as a display of humility. Nevertheless, it also stands for an assertion of authority, with which Poddar and Goyandka claimed the right to outline an agenda of social and moral reform, based on their reading of the *Bhagavadgita*. Goyandka's essay *Tyāg se bhagavadprāptī* ('Reaching God through Renunciation') is added at the back of every Gitapress *Bhagavadgita*-edition without mention of the original author. In addition, Poddar and Goyandka both refused any kind of personal veneration or publication about them. Their magazine *Kalyān*, for example, never included any advertisements or reviews, which might have identified them with a certain sectarian agenda. Goyandka and Poddar also decreed that no text about their lives should ever be produced in order to discourage any form of personality worship.<sup>305</sup>

The advice manuals of Poddar and Goyandka created textual authority for themselves, building on the translations of the *Bhagavadgita* and other religious scriptures published by the Gitapress, which became regarded for their high quality, as well as for their comparative openness towards different sectarian positions. Drawing on the textual authority of religious scriptures (as opposed to the scriptural expertise of Goyandka and Poddar as authors), the Gitapress normative advice books promote seemingly impartial norms for what Hindus ought to feel.

### **3.2. Emotion Knowledge for Hindus**

Gitapress advice manuals pleaded that the final goal of spiritual salvation (*mokśa*) could only be gained when the individual soul (*jīvātma*) breaks the cycle of re-births to finally unite with the supreme spirit (*paramātmā*), which is 'God'. An extremely critical agent for this process, not only in determining the future of the transcendent soul, but also in cultivating the emotions, is the mind. Poddar defined the mind thusly:

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<sup>304</sup> Goyandka, *Dharm kyā hai*, 1.

dharmkā viṣay bahut barā gahan hai, mujhko dharmgranthokā bahut kam gyān hai, dedkā to maimne prāya: nahīm adhyayan kiyā. maim to ek sādharmaṇ manuśya hūm, aisī avasthā meri dharmkā tattva kahnā ek bālakpan-sā hai.

<sup>305</sup> Dujari, *Bhajjī-caritāmṛt*, p. i-ii.

[It is] a specific thing located between the soul and the soul-less object. It is in itself soulless and unfelt, however, the decision of being tied to the life-circle, or attaining salvation depends on it.<sup>306</sup>

The mind, the connecting link between senses and the intellect on the one side, and the soul on the other, is by itself very fickle as well as highly unsteady. Gitapress advice books therefore emphasized the need for calming and controlling the mind – as the true form of the soul (*ātmākā yathārth svarūp*) could become evident only with a calm mind (*stir man*).<sup>307</sup>

Illustration 5 is a simplified scheme to visualize the general, not always unambiguous way, in which the connections between different human faculties are portrayed in the Gitapress advice manuals. Between the different faculties, there are two possible relationships of power and influence. The first one emerges, when the mind is left unsteady and is not regulated. In this case, senses and the intellect reign over the mind and keep it fickle by imposing their constant thoughts and sensual inputs. The heart, too, is affected by constantly changing sensual perceptions, vices and emotions, which would enhance the unsteadiness of the mind. In such a case, the mind would weaken the soul with its profane thoughts and desires and hence thwart any chance of reaching God. If this power-relationship could be inversed, which is what the Gitapress manuals preached, a strong soul would be able to purify and cultivate the mind in his pursuit of spiritual salvation. The mind, in turn, could then control senses and the intellect, and also ensure that the heart remains pure.

Emotions are highly relevant for the path to personal improvement and spiritual salvation, as portrayed in the Gitapress advice books. The supreme spirit, which is God, is portrayed as perceptible and can be felt within the soul, and also is constantly aware of the inner feelings of the devotee. Consequently, the authenticity of the devotee's emotions was crucial for attaining God.. Moreover, emotions are also portrayed as the facilitators of spiritual salvation and thus their cultivation through devotional practices is for the core of Gitapress advice books. This, in turn, leads to the conceptualization of a Hindu community, united by emotional norms and the common goal of attaining God.

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<sup>306</sup> Poddar, *Man ko vaś karne*, 6.

Yeh ātma aur anātma padārthke bīcmeñ rahnevālī ek vilakśan vastu hai, yeh svayam anātma aur jaḍ hai, kintu bandh aur mokś isīke adhīn hai.

<sup>307</sup> Poddar, *Man ko vaś karne*, 31.

## Regulating the Mind

The earliest text available probably, in which the path to spiritual salvation is outlined in detail by a Gitapress author is *Śrīprembhaktiprakāś* ('The splendour of the devotion of love'), published by Goyandka in 1923 and registered, together with his first *Bhagavadgīta*, in January 1924 with the British authorities.<sup>308</sup> The 15-page booklet contains instructions regarding the attainment of God, and these are presented as a dialogue between man and the soul (jīvātmā), which appears as personified actors.

In this booklet, specific devotional practices are outlined, which are continuously propagated in Gitapress advice books and that specifically conceptualize the knowledge about emotions.

The booklet starts with the Mind invoking God by his various names and qualities, like 'All-powerful', 'Friend of the faithful', 'The Compassionate one'. The God is also understood as *antaryāmī*, i.e. the 'Supreme Being who is omniscient that controls the heart and knows about the inner thoughts or feelings'. The Mind in his internal monologue elaborates on all these qualities, various facets and implores that God may reveal himself:

If you, omniscient of the inner feelings [of all beings], would not be compassionate, then no one in this world would call you compassionate. If you, being an ocean of compassion, would not recognize the inner pain, then no one would call you the master of the feelings. [...] Oh God! Oh Compassionate One! Once bestow compassion and show yourself to me.<sup>309</sup>

These implorations cause the Soul to respond, who rejects them as unworthy and absolutely not useful for reaching out to God. Quite on the contrary: they were condemnable and deceitful (*kapaṭbharī*). Subsequently, the Soul scolds the Mind for its silly and egoistic motives behind praying:

Oh wicked Mind! Could the all-feeling God ever be content with such a deceitful prayer? Would he not know that all your prayers are not disinterested (*niṣkāma*)? And that in your heart there is neither devotion, nor faith nor love (*prem*)? If you believe that God is all-feeling, omniscient, then for what are you praying? If you are performing a loveless, deceptive prayer, God will never listen; but when there is love [for God], what is the use of trying to express it?<sup>310</sup>

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<sup>308</sup> See *Statement of Particulars...* for the year 1924.

<sup>309</sup> Goyandka, *Śrīprembhaktiprakāś*, 2.

āp antaryāmī hokar yadi dayāsindhu nahim hote to āpko saṁsarmeṁ koī dayāsindhu nahim kahta, yadi āp dayāsāgar hokar bhī antarkī pīrāko na pahcānte to āpko koī antaryāmī nahim kahta. [...] he prabhū! he dayāsindho! ek bār dayā karke darśan dījiye.'

<sup>310</sup> Goyandka, *Śrīprembhaktiprakāś*, 2.

re duṣṭ man! kapaṭbhārī prārthnā karnese kyā antaryāmī bhagvān prasann ho sakte haim? kyā ve nahim jānte ki ye sab terī prārthnāem niṣkāma nahim haim? evaṁ tere hṛdaymeṁ śraddhā, viśvās aur

At the end of this dialogue, the Soul is able to free himself from the Mind and orders it to disappear. He does the same with the Senses (*indriyām*), whose power he thus denies. Likewise the Intellect (*buddhī*) is reproached and sent away as well, for it had led the Soul astray and tempted it to immerse itself in the affairs of the world.<sup>311</sup>

The beginning section of *Śrīprembhaktiprakāś* alludes to one of the central teachings of the Gitapress manuals, namely that devotion can only be experienced through cultivating one's feelings and channelling them into love for God. A person who addresses God in a wrong mindset and with inappropriate feelings would be barred from attaining him. Devotion to God would thus be not possible with a mind full of desires and selfish cravings, but instead should be disinterested (*niṣkāma*). Goyandka emphasized that God was knowledgeable of the inner thoughts and feelings of the devotee (*antaryāmī*), and thus promoted in his manuals that the authenticity in the feelings of a person was crucial for spiritual welfare. The Gitapress publications emphasized on a strict distinction between love as lust (*kāma*), that would be a selfish feeling, and love as *prema*, characterized as a cultivated and disinterested feeling (i.e. devoid of selfish desires), which should be felt towards God, but also to persons and other living beings. This love equals devotion (*prembhakti*) and if a person could cultivate this feeling, he would partake in the abundant love that is manifested in God (*paramātmāmeriṇ atīśaya prema*).<sup>312</sup> Goyandka's manuals postulated that spiritual salvation is only possible through an authentic feeling, and simultaneously promoted devotional practices, that are entirely interior – not the expression of one's feelings would lead to God, but rather their cultivation in the mind. In *Śrīprembhaktiprakāś* the correct path of devotion is expressed by the detailed description of ritual practices, such as washing the feet of the idol, garlanding it with flowers, offering the idol ritual food etc, alongside the necessary *mantras* and invocations.<sup>313</sup> All these actions mirror the ritual practices that are performed in Hindu temples, or done in front of a shrine kept at home. Goyandka was adamant that these

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prema kuch bhī nahīm hairi? yadi tujhko yeh viśvās hai ki bhagvān antaryāmī hairi to phir kisliye prārthnā kartā hai? binā preme mithya prārthnā karnese bhagvān kabhī nahīm sunte aur yadi prema hai to phir kahnese prayojan hī kyā hai?

<sup>311</sup> Goyandka, *Śrīprembhaktiprakāś*, 4.

<sup>312</sup> Goyandka, *Śrīprembhaktiprakāś*, 11

<sup>313</sup> Goyandka, *Śrīprembhaktiprakāś*, 7-9.

practices must be performed exclusively in the mind (*man-hi-manmerñ*), and the image of God should be left to rest in the realm of the heart (*hṛday-ākāśmerñ śayan karānā*).<sup>314</sup>

*Man ko vaś karne ke kuch upāy* ('Some methods to control the mind'), written by Hanumanprasad Poddar, complements Goyandka's book by describing how the cultivation of the mind should take place as an encompassing project, only possible through intellectual and sensual control, combining bodily practices that would induce and inscribe the inner state of peacefulness

The book lists 17 maxims and guidelines for the control of the mind that are then elaborated intensively.<sup>315</sup> These maxims do not follow any particular progression, but, as a whole, allude to a comprehensive system of methods to cultivate and regulate the mind through (1) adopting a regulated lifestyle, in which (2) regular yogic practices play as much an important role as do (3) introspection and self-reflection. Last but not least, feeling in an appropriate way (4) is also an important way to cultivate the mind.

In one's daily life, the study of the scriptures should have a regular place, and Poddar recommended sitting alone and reading the Upanishad, the Bhagvadgita, the Bhagavata Purana and also other scriptures.<sup>316</sup> But not only should time be reserved for the study of scriptures, actually the whole day should be organised according to a certain plan that allots every activity to a specific timeframe. This timeframe should strictly be followed, so that the prescribed activity becomes a natural part of a person's character (*svabhāvik*).

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<sup>314</sup> Goyandka, *Śrīprembhaktiprakāś*, 9.

[...] ukt prakāse śrīharibhagvānkī mānsik pūjā karneke paścāt unko apne hṛday-ākāśmerñ śayan karāke jīvātmā apne man-hī-manmerñ śrībhagvānke svarūp aur guṇorñkā varṇan kartā huā bārambār sirse praṇām kartā hai.

<sup>315</sup> Poddar, *Man ko vaś karne*, 1f lists the following 17 maxims:

1. Become indifferent to all the indulgences (*bhog*) of this world and the next world by only seeing pain (*duḥkh*) and vice (*doṣ*) in them.
2. Follow the principle of adhering to the regulations/restraints (*nīyamānuvartitā*), perform all actions in a restrained manner (*nīyamitrūp*).
3. Save the mind from bad thoughts by reflecting every of its actions.
4. Do not follow what your mind tells you.
5. Keep the mind always occupied in good actions (*satkārya*).
6. Wherever the mind strays, take it away from there, concentrate on God and let the mind also go there by perceiving God (*paramātmākī bhāvnā karna*).
7. Practice concentration on one element (*tattva*).
8. Concentrate the eyes on the centre or the bridge of the nose.
9. Hear one sound [while shutting the ears].
10. Concentrate on God's name or his form and worship it in the mind.
11. Cultivate friendliness, compassion, joyfulness and emotional indifference [towards the sins of others].
12. Study sacred scriptures.
13. Do *prāṇāyām* [yogic breath-exercises].
14. Utter the name [of God] when exhaling.
15. Seek refuge in God with your whole undivided mind.
16. Separate yourself from your mind and watch its actions.
17. Sing hymns praising lovingly (*prempūrvak*) the name of God.

<sup>316</sup> Poddar, *Man ko vaś karne*, 24.

While a person follows this strict schedule, the mind could be organised through the control of the senses, which Poddar proposed. For this purpose, he listed a variety of yogic practices to help the fickle mind to become stable and calm. The sight, for example, should be focussed on a certain point or the bridge of the nose, as this calmed the mind.<sup>317</sup> The concentration on one element or thing that should intensely be looked at as long as the eyes do not blink or are filled with water, is also a practice that was recommended to be followed as often as possible regularly (*nīyamitrūpse*) because of its positive effects of helping to focus the mind.<sup>318</sup> The shutting down of the sense of hearing by sticking the finger in one's ears would also lead to similar results in calming the mind through meditational practices – at first one would hear sounds of all kinds, such as the ringing of bells, a beating drum, or the roaring of a lion. Finally, all these sounds would fade into the hearing sense perceiving only the saintly syllable of 'aum'.<sup>319</sup> Such yoga practices of meditation were advertised as the most fruitful for concentrating the senses and thus calming the mind. The next step in this process was to turn the sense of vision inwards and to focus it on the image of God. The concentration (*dhyān*) should become so deep, that the mind loses all contacts to the sensual world around him.<sup>320</sup> This state was called 'puja of the mind' by Poddar, and related to the focus on interiority of devotional practices, which Goyandka emphasized in *Śrīprembhaktiprakāś*.

Cultivation of the mind through the senses is paralleled by the cultivation of the mind through the intellect. Self-reflection and introspection are the two forms through which this was achieved. A patient intellect (*dhairyayukt buddhi*) would be needed to embark on the long process to regulate the mind and bring it to a point where it would not be led astray anymore, and instead be fully concentrated on God.<sup>321</sup> To achieve this, Poddar reiterated his advice for regularly scheduled practices and habits: every evening, a person should take time to concentrate on whatever the mind has done during the day, contemplate his actions and reflect upon the good and the bad until a person would learn to listen to the 'reasonable teaching's of one's own intellect'.<sup>322</sup> Thus control over the mind could be achieved through a constant self-reflection and, intellectual awareness in a short time, .<sup>323</sup>

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<sup>317</sup> Poddar, *Man ko vaś karne*, 20.

<sup>318</sup> Podder, *Man ko vaś karne*, 19.

<sup>319</sup> Podder, *Man ko vaś karne*, 20.

<sup>320</sup> Podder, *Man ko vaś karne*, 21.

<sup>321</sup> Poddar, *Man ko vaś karne*, 15f.

<sup>322</sup> Poddar, *Man ko vaś karne*, 11.

<sup>323</sup> Poddar, *Man ko vaś karne*, 30.

Poddar's conceptualizations of how to take control over the mind were based on minute practices to be habitualized and performed regularly. He did not propose any hierarchy between senses and intellect, but emphasized that they both needed to be regulated in such a way, that they could then influence the mind and enable its cultivation.

For cultivating the mind, Poddar moreover pleaded that having the right kind of emotions would also play a significant role. He wrote that 'the perception of love for the happy people, compassion for the sad, content towards the virtuous souls and sadness towards the sinners is what makes the mind content.'<sup>324</sup> Without further elaborating on it, he claimed that feeling in an appropriate way could provide a state of happiness in the mind, which would also help the process of calming and cultivating it. Moreover, while describing the practice of uttering God's name every time one breathes out, Poddar postulated that this practice would calm the mind through the feeling of joy, and at the same time cultivate and stimulate it through the perception of divine bliss:

While invoking God's name through breathing, there should be such feeling of joy in the mind, as if the mind would break into a dance of bliss. Afflicted with the essence of bliss (*ānand-ras*), this vessel in the form of an inner faculty would, as it were, overflow. If such an experience of bliss does not happen, then the feelings of bliss should be created through perception (*bhāvnā karnā*).<sup>325</sup>

This quotation shows an important element in the conceptualization of emotions in Gitapress advice manuals – cultivated emotions in the mind are malleable and could even be created. Poddar here introduced the possibility of doing what Arlie Hochschild had called 'emotion work' – namely that people work on envisaging and perceiving 'appropriate' feelings.<sup>326</sup> To describe this process, Poddar used the verb '*bhāvnā karnā*', which, according to its Sanskrit roots, carries the connotation of 'causing to be' something. This can be a perception, mostly in the sense of a feeling, a thought, or a desire. In the Gitapress publications, *bhāvnā* is often used for perceptions referring to feelings or virtues. Gitapress

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yadi sādhak apneko nirantar alag rakhkar mankī kriyāomka draṣṭā bankar dekhnekā abhyās kare to man bahut hī śīghra saṅkalprahit ho sakta hai.

<sup>324</sup> Poddar, *Man ko vaś karne*, 22.

sukhī manuṣyomse prem, du:khiyomke prati dayā, puṇyātmaomke prati prasannatā aur pāpiyomke prati udāsīntāki bhāvnāse citt prasann hota hai.

<sup>325</sup> Poddar, *Man ko vaś karne*, 28.

śvāske dvārā nāmkā jap karte samay cittmeṁ itnī prasannatā honī cāhiye ki māno man ānandse uchālā paṛtā ho. ānandrase chakā huā anta:karaṅrūpī pātr māno chalkā paṛtā ho. yadi itne ānandkā anubhav na ho to ānandkī bhāvnā hī karnī chāhiye.

<sup>326</sup> See Hochschild, *The Managed Heart*.



advice books promote prominently the role of feelings in the pursuit of spiritual salvation, and how they affect the different faculties of a person.

## Emotions as Facilitators for Spiritual Salvation

In *Śrīprembhaktiprakāś* and *Man ko vaś karne*, Goyandka and Poddar fashioned the various faculties for the process of reaching God as being in an interdependent power relation – the soul can only realize God, if the mind is cultivated, and senses and intellect are controlled. It is opposed by uncontrolled senses, a deceitful intellect that advises the mind wrongly, and an unregulated mind that denies the soul its chance for salvation. It is interesting to note that the Gitapress publications do not draw a distinction rational thought (which is located with the intellect) and irrational feeling (that would be located at the senses, or the heart). Instead they suggest a conceptualization that distinguishes between viceful and virtuous emotions on the moral level, and also discern different modes of feeling, in which a disinterested mode is privileged contrary to the feelings that are influenced by self-interest and that aim at egoistic gratification of desires. The normative emotion knowledge taught in Gitapress publications commands the cultivation of feelings in three different faculties: the heart (*hṛday*), the mind (*man*) and the (individual) soul (*jīva ātmā*).<sup>327</sup> Through these, feelings are portrayed not only to be means of spiritual salvation, but also key elements in the pursuit of dharma, as a moral and religious, but also a social dictate.

The first level on which the role of emotions becomes evident in Gitapress publications is in the form of forceful destructive agents. The emotion knowledge purported by the Gitapress locates these in the heart, from where they can influence and impress the mind.<sup>328</sup> They are not subsumed under a generic term, but listed one after the other in enumerations. Usually the same terms recur, and these are sometimes described as faults or vices (*doṣ*).<sup>329</sup> As key vices, lust (*kāma*), anger (*krodh*) and greed (*lobh*) are usually mentioned together.<sup>330</sup> These

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<sup>327</sup> See Illustration 6 for a visualization based on my analysis of Gitapress manuals.

<sup>328</sup> The Gitapress advice manuals are sometimes ambiguous in their distinction of mind and heart, sometimes the mind is also mentioned as the place where these emotions arise, for example: At the time when hatred arises against someone else in the mind, misfortune takes its start (*jis samay kisike parti manmeri dvesh utpann hota hai, usi samayse amarigalkā prārambh ho jāti hai*); Poddar, *Mānav dharm*, 15.

<sup>329</sup> Poddar, *Mānav dharm*, 55.

<sup>330</sup> The Gitapress advice literature draws heavily on verse 16.21 from the Bhagavad Gita that names anger, greed and lust as the ‘doors to hell’ (see the vignette at the beginning of chapter 1 of this thesis).

are often extended by other emotions and described collectively with metaphors like ‘distasteful smelling garbage’, or anthropomorphic descriptions such as an ‘enemy’ that needs to be defeated.<sup>331</sup> *Ānand ke lahre*, one of Poddar’s early bestsellers of spiritual advice literature, issues the following warning:

Supervise your heart at all times, so that the thief in the form of lust (*kām*), anger (*krodh*), revenge and enmity (*vair*), jealousy (*īrṣya*), disgust (*ghṛṇā*), cruelty (*hīṃsā*), arrogance (*mān*) and pride (*mad*) cannot settle in there. Irrespective of which one you discover, drive him out at once. Be careful, even if you discover a tiny bit– he will settle there as soon as it has gained entry and, once the opportunity arises, will manifest itself in his most fearful form.<sup>332</sup>

According to the Gitapress booklets, the heart is the location, where emotions reside, and, in the form of vices, pose an obstacle to the cultivation of the mind. The understanding of emotions as vices or sins can also be found in Poddar’s *Mānav Dharm*, where he elaborated that the main goal of a regulated and calm mind is to be able to fully concentrate on God. Once this concentration is interrupted, the devotee falls prey to the sins (*pāp*) of the world – ‘lust, anger, greed, fear, illness and times of physical pain destroy the calmness [of the mind].’

<sup>333</sup> Putting illness and physical pain in the same context as vice-emotions suggests that these are external elements, which afflict the mind (and the body) from the outside. Especially the control on sexual desire was a key topic in Gitapress manuals, and lust, portrayed as an emotion-vice, was made responsible for the moral and spiritual decline of the society.<sup>334</sup> Poddar therefore advised in his book *Brahmacarya* (‘Chastity’): ‘if the passion of lust (*kāmvāsnā*) is stirred, then read the *Ramayana* or immerse yourself in the repetition of God’s name’.<sup>335</sup> Necessary precautions thus must be taken, which are bodily and mental practices, such as the ones outlined in *Man ko vash karne* (‘Some methods to control the mind’), and are also promoted in a similar form in the other advice books and booklets, sermons and articles by Poddar and Goyandka. They postulate that in cases when the mind was not yet cultivated

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<sup>331</sup> Poddar, *Ānand ke lahre*, 12.

<sup>332</sup> Poddar, *Ānand ke lahre*, 3.

sadā apne hṛday ṭaṭolte raho, kahim iserim kām, krodh, vair, īrṣyā, ghṛṇā, hīṃsā, mān aur madrūpī śatru ghar na kar leim, inmerim se kisī bhī dekho, turant mārkar bhagā do. par dekhnaḥ baṛī bārīk najarse sacet hokar, ye cupkese andar ākar chip jāte hairim aur maukā pākar apnā vikrāl rūp prakāṭ karte hairim.

<sup>333</sup> Poddar, *Mānav dharm*, 12.

kām, krodh, lobh, bhay, vyasan aur śarīrik kaṣṭke samay dhairya kā nās hotā hai.

<sup>334</sup> This reflected a central central topic in which contemporary discourses of social reform, health and nation-building were framed. See section 4.2 for the discussion of *brahmcarya* as an emotional style.

<sup>335</sup> Poddar, *Brahmacarya*, 31.

The *Ramayana* is one of the two great epics of India, the other being the *Mahabharata*. It depicts the life-story of the king Rama and his wife Sita, both of whom are generally promoted as ideal models in Hindi advice literature.

and thus not strong enough to take control, regulatory bodily practices, the reading of scriptures, and internalized devotion would help to combat and eradicate these vices from the heart and mind.

Getting rid of one's vices does not automatically make a person virtuous. The Gitapress advice manuals therefore insisted that their readers should actively seek to cultivate feelings that are virtuous. Regarding 'not having anger', Poddar wrote that this was only a passive state, meaning that the person concerned would not perform any hurtful action. Non-anger alone could not eradicate the 'evil impression that has been associated with the mind'.<sup>336</sup> Forgiveness, on the other hand, was active and could thus cleanse the heart and 'wipe away' the impressions that emotional vices leave as a residue:

Anger, violence, hatred and hostility cannot persist in front of forgiveness. Forgiveness is a wonderful soap that washes away all the blackness and its stains from the heart and makes it forever clean and pure. In non-anger there is no [harmful] action, but a stain remains that can in course of time also cause pain (*du:kh*).<sup>337</sup>

The first level of emotional cultivation, as portrayed in Gitapress advice literature, is to distinguish between vice-emotions, which are to be eradicated, and virtue-emotions, which should replace the former. If this was not done, the ultimate result would be pain, and which is the exact opposite of the feeling of divine joyful bliss (*ānand*) that marks the presence of God.

In their regard of vices and virtues, the Gitapress manuals do not differentiate between feelings and other possible vices, instead these are all seen as qualities that needed to be avoided and, if necessary eradicated from the heart, as they are faults in a person's character. The qualities by which they should be replaced are virtues, which circumscribe what can be considered feelings, as well as other character traits. This can be seen as an enumeration that list a plethora of 'divine qualities which should be perceived at all times': forgiveness (*kśamā*), non-violence (*ahimsā*), chastity (*brahmacārya*), peacefulness (*śānti*), joyful bliss (*ānand*),

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<sup>336</sup> Poddar, *Mānav dharm*, 22.

akrodh niṣkriya sādhan hai aur kśamā sakriya. kisike aprādhpar krodh na karnā kriyāko roknā hai; parantu isse apne manpar jo – duskreke aprādhko dekhkar uske pratikār karnekī ek kutsit chabi ankit ho gayī thī vah nahī miṭṭī.

<sup>337</sup> Poddar, *Mānav dharm*, 22.

kśamāke sāmne krodh, himsā, dveś yā vair nahim̄ ṭik sakte. kśamā aisī baṛhiyā sābun hai jo hṛdaykī in sārī kālīmāomko aur uske malko dhokar use sarvathā svacch aur nirmal banā detī hai. akrodhmer̄ kriyā to nahim̄ hote; parantu mal rah jātā hai jo samaypar du:kh bhī pahum̄cā saktā hai.

conscience (*vivek*), contentment (*santoś*), not stealing (*asteṅ*), non-deceitfulness (*niṣkaṭṭā*), truthfulness (*satya*), non-fearfulness (*abhaya*).<sup>338</sup>

Whereas emotion-vices and virtues are usually grouped together through enumerations, the Gitapress manuals do use 'bhav' as a generic term while describing another category of feeling. In the Gitapress publications, *bhāv* is mostly defined as *niṣkāmbhāv*, a state of disinterested feeling, which is opposed to *sakāmbhāv*, referring to a mental state which is dominated by feelings of desire and self-interest. Gitapress advice manuals therefore often combine the call to abstain from *sakāmbhāv* with the directive that selfishness (*svārth*) needs to be renounced.

As a spiritual goal, the cultivation of *niṣkāmbhāv* in the mind is described both a necessity and an ideal and Poddar and Goyandkar made this the central tenet of their spiritual and social reformatory advice. Goyandka postulated that 'whenever the perception (*bhāvnā*) of egoism rises in the mind, it should be immediately driven away and instead of it such a feeling (*bhav*) should be created in the heart that is concerned with everybody's benefit.'<sup>339</sup>

The ideal of an emotional style characterized by disinterested feelings is crucial in the emotion knowledge portrayed by the Gitapress. The way to salvation is not so much defined through what one does but rather, how one feels, as the proper emotional style would preside over and presuppose righteous action. This is the core of the teaching of the Gitapress advice manuals, and is equally promoted by Poddar and Goyandka throughout their life as writers of advice books and spiritual guides. Goyandka claimed that '*bhāv* is even better than the morally most supreme action, and this, in turn, is the main goal of human life' in a sermon he gave for his devotees, and that was later reprinted in the Kalyān magazine and is included in the compendium *Manuṣya-jīvan kā uddēśya* ('The goal of human life').<sup>340</sup> He continued that even good actions with good intentions, were performed in the light of some self-centred sense of fulfilment, and thus needed to be considered as selfishness (*svārth*), too. In contrast, actions done with the feeling of non-egoism (*ni:svārthbhāv*) are to be preferred, as the fruit of

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<sup>338</sup> Poddar, *Strīdharmpraśnottarī*, 40.

[...] kśamā, ahīṃsā, brahmacarya, śānti, ānand, vivek, santoś, asteṅ, niṣkaṭṭā, satya, abhaya ādi daivī guṇomkī bhāvnā sarvdā karnī cāhiye.

<sup>339</sup> Goyandka, *Parmānand kī khetī*, 10

jab-jab cittmeṅ svārthkī bhāvnā āve, tabhī usko turant haṭṭakar uske badle hṛdaymeṅ is bhāvkī jāgrtī paidā karnī cāhiye ki sabkā hit kis prakār ho.

<sup>340</sup> Goyandka, *Manuṣya-jīvan kā uddēśya*, 70.

uttam se uttam vyavahāre bhāv baṅkar hai. manuṣyakā uddēśya pradhān hai. uskā mūlya kriyāse adhik hai.

all such actions is always morally good, even if it had destructive results.<sup>341</sup> Goyandka's teachings, which draw strongly on the *Bhagavadgita*, emphasize that the mind is needed to be cultivated in a disinterested emotional style, and combine this with a call for social action:

Only the person who does not even desires his own salvation, but instead employs his body, mind and possessions for the common good of the people and considers this his duty, is a most excellent man, a true renunciator of egoism (svārth-tyāgī) and a person of disinterested feeling (niṣkāmī).<sup>342</sup>

Here the Gitapress advice literature connects its instructions for spiritual salvation with their social reformatory agenda. The quest for spiritual salvation, which depends on the interiority and authenticity of feelings, is thus also dependent on the deeds of the person, which are to be performed in the right mindset. *Niṣkāmbhāv*, as the emotional style that can be reached if the mind is cultivated, is therefore the second figuration of emotion knowledge, evident in the Gitapress advice manuals.

In the Gitapress teachings, emotional virtues are located in the heart, whereas the emotional style of disinterested feeling is the outcome of a cultivated mind. Once this is reached, the soul enters a state of absolute peacefulness – *śānti*, defined by 'desires and cravings being totally absent, and a lasting inner contentment'.<sup>343</sup> This state of a totally peaceful soul is the prerequisite for the realization of God. The moment when the distinction between the individual soul (*jīvātma*), and the soul of the Supreme Being (*paramātma*) merge, is outlined in the Gitapress manuals in the form of an ecstatic feeling. Goyandka visualized it prominently in *Śrīprembhaktiprakāś*, when he described the ultimate feeling resulting in the unison with God, in which the soul would cease to feel the emotional vices located in the heart, would be freed from the senses and the intellect, and could even let his mind merge in this transcendent emotional experience. Goyandka let the personified Soul exclaim:

Where is lust, where anger, where greed, where infatuation, where pride, where envy, where honour, where distress, where are the illusions of the world? Where is the mind, where the intellect, where the senses? All is diffused in pure and true

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<sup>341</sup> Goyandka, *Manuṣya-jīvan kā uddēśya*, 71.

<sup>342</sup> Goyandka, *Parmānand kī khetī*, 10

jo manuṣya apne kalyāṅkī bhī icchā na rahkar apnā kartavya samajhkar lokhitke liye apnā tan, man, dhan lagā detā hai, vahī aslī svārth-tyāgī niṣkāmī śreṣṭh puruṣ hai.

<sup>343</sup> Goyandka, *Jīvan-sudhar kī bāterī*, 253.

iccā aur vyāsnāomkā atyant abhāv honā aur ant:kāraṅmerī nitya-nirantar prasannatākā rahnā.

bliss. Oh! Oh! [...] Greatest bliss, only bliss, bliss is all around, there is nothing apart from bliss.<sup>344</sup>

Reaching this state was the ultimate goal that the Gitapress advice manuals proposed to their readers, which would be possible once the mind was cultivated and all actions performed in a disinterested emotional style. In contrast is the intense feeling of bliss (*ānand*) that would engulf the soul, once the mind was cultivated to an extent that it actually would cease to exist. Spiritual salvation was described as equivalent to having ‘the full feeling of God’.<sup>345</sup> In the third figuration of emotion knowledge, the Gitapress therefore postulated that God would in himself be a feeling, which could materialize in the soul. This conceptualization follows yogic traditions and a religious philosophy, according to which all worldly attachments are actually the source of suffering (*du:kh*). Poddar, in *Man ko vaś karne*, cited the *Bhagavadgita* when elaborating on the importance of the freedom from worldly desires, which is to be achieved by seeing pain (*du:kh*) and fault (*doṣ*) pervading all stages and forms of human life.<sup>346</sup> He too, then describes God in the form a perpetual feeling (*parmātmākā nitya bhāvi*) whose presence can be felt in the soul.<sup>347</sup>

The Gitapress advice manuals provide an exegesis of various ancient scriptures, which are combined into a comprehensive framework, in which the different figurations of emotion knowledge outlined above play a crucial role. This is even more so, as the Gitapress advice manuals promote interiority and the authenticity of feeling as crucial in spiritual pursuits – as God is *antaryāmī* (knowing all the inner thoughts and feelings), the emotions of the devotee can obstruct or facilitate the attainment of God. At the same time, advice on appropriate feelings and behaviour in everyday life also plays an important part in Gitapress advice manuals. Whether they are normative essays, model dialogues or exemplary stories, all of the Gitapress publications promote and disseminate emotional knowledge. The result is a moral ideology, based on the cultivation of the self and the feelings, and comprising personal, social

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<sup>344</sup> Goyandka, *Śrīprembhaktiprakāś*, 13.

kahām kām, kahām krodh, kahām lobh, kahām moh, kahām mad, kahām matsartā, kahām mān, kahām kśobh, kahām māyā, kahām man, kahām buddhi, kahām indriyām, sarvatra ek saccidānand-hī-saccidānand vyāpt hai. aho! aho! [...] parmānand, mahānand, ānand-hī-ānand, ānand-hi-ānand paripūrṇ hai, ānand se bhinn kuch nahīm hai.

<sup>345</sup> Goyandka, *Dharm kyā hai*, 25.

avaśya hī lakśyameṁ īśvarkā pūrṇ bhāv honā cāhiye

<sup>346</sup> He refers especially to *Bhagavadgita*, 13.8

<sup>347</sup> Poddar, *Man ko vaś karne*, 8.

saccā vairāgya to saṁsārke is dīkhnevālī svarūpkā sarvatha ābhāv aur uskī jagah parmātmākā nitya bhāv pratī honemeṁ hai, parantu ārambhemeṁ naye sādḥakkā man vaś karneke liye is lok aur parlokke samast padārthomeṁ doṣ aur du:kh deskhnā cāhiye, jisse mankā anurāg unse haṭe.

and religious guidelines. These in the combination are understood as a model for an ideal community, based on the Gitapress interpretation of what befits an ideal Hindu.

## Feelings in the Hindu Body

In *Samāj sudhar*, published in 1928, Poddar portrayed his contemporary society in a state of increasing disintegration, lacking any regard for mental and spiritual purity. Most Hindus seemed to preoccupy themselves with vain displays of wealth and beauty instead of centering their life on the devotion to God.<sup>348</sup> In the course of Hindu nationalist rhetorics, Poddar presented a very powerful idea of the society as a living body. The reform improvement of the society and the elimination of emotional and other vices could only happen through a collective effort:

I am also a small part of this body of Hindu society (*hindūsamāj*) from which these vices have emerged, so I am not able to claim being distant from these vices. Therefore it is necessary to save society from these vices and eradicate those vices that have already come up.<sup>349</sup>

Poddar stressed the importance of every single person in the bigger project of social reform. The improvement of society would only be possible through the cultivation of emotions towards the virtuous ethical ideals as professed in the Gitapress advice manuals. Only through the reform of all tiny individual parts of the body (i.e. each and every Hindu) could Hindu society again achieve its 'characteristic state of peacefulness and content' (*svabhāvik śāntimay sukhad sthān*).<sup>350</sup> The ideal state of contentment a person can reach through regulating his mind is thus mirrored by a vision for the whole society that is also filled by these virtues. Both of these emotional states are depicted as *svabhāvik*, which is used to create an image of an original, unalterable idea of a community of all Hindus.

Who exactly would be a part of this community, and by which means one would identify a member of this community was determined by Poddar and also by Goyandka in a very

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<sup>348</sup> Poddar, *Samāj sudhar*, 2.

<sup>349</sup> Poddar, *Samāj sudhar*, 3.

jis hindūsamājke śārīrmeṃ ye doṣ utpann ho gaye haiṃ mairṃ bhī jab usī śārīrkā ek kśudr avayav hūṃ tab mairṃ apneko is sab doṣomse alag kaise batlā saktā hūṃ. isliye āvśyaktā hai samājko is prakārke doṣomse bacānekī aur utpann hue doṣomko nāś karnekī.

<sup>350</sup> Poddar, *Samāj sudhar*, 3.

telling way. Poddar used the body-metaphor a second time, to also include Dalits (the so-called “untouchables”) as members of the Hindu community.<sup>351</sup>

According to my understanding, the untouchable (*acūt*) brothers are a necessary part of the great body of Hindu-community (*hindū-jātī*) and we should protect them and care for them just as we care for the cherished parts of our body. The best example for this is the right and the left hand. Both hands are ours, but they behave in two different ways. Ritual sacrifices, giving of gifts, eating and so on are done by the right hand. The left hand performs other necessary actions. Although their behaviour is different, none of them is despised.<sup>352</sup>

Poddar’s description might nominally include the so-called untouchables as equals, while practically emphasizing their separateness even more. Their comparison with the left hand, which is strictly reserved for menial tasks, cemented the ideas behind untouchability by overlaying them with notions of ritual impurity with hygienic concerns. Nevertheless, he stressed notions of social cohesion when he elaborated on the necessity of Dalits for the strengthening and the defence of Hindu community: ‘Both hands contribute in the protection of the body against others, and also in protecting each other both hands are equally helpful’.<sup>353</sup> This ambivalent argumentation that Poddar used can be interpreted as a sign for his interest in creating a feeling of social cohesion among those, who would consider themselves as members of the Hindu community.

Goyandka used a similar line of both ambivalent and obscure argumentation, in his tract *Dharm kyā hai? Bhagvān kya hai?* (‘What is dharma? What is God?’). In defining who is a Hindu, he lists three criteria. The first gives a rather vague geographical definition: the person should be born in Hindustan. According to the second criteria, the concerned person should additionally follow a religion that was founded in this geographical region.<sup>354</sup> Goyandka

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<sup>351</sup> Instead of ‘Untouchable’, the less derogatory term Dalit is used today. The question whether Dalits should have the same rights as Caste-Hindus and, for example, also be allowed to enter temples, was an issue of dissent between Arya Samaj and Sanatan Dharma.

<sup>352</sup> Poddar, *Samāj sudhar*, 16.

merī samajse achūt bhāī hamārī hindū-jātike mahān śārīrke ek āvśyak aṅg hamerī unkī rakṣā aur sambhāl usī rarah karnī cāhiye jis tarah ham apne pyāre aṅgkī karte haiṁ iserī sabse baḥiyā misāl dāhine aur bāyerī hāthkī hai. donom hī hāth apne haiṁ, parantu donomke vyavahār do prakākre hote haiṁ. yajñ-kārya, dān aur bhjan ādi dāhine hāthse hote haiṁ. bāyerī hāthse dūsre āvśyak kārya hote haiṁ. vyavahārbhed honepar bhī kisīmerī gḥṇā nahīṁ kī jātī.

<sup>353</sup> Poddar, *Samāj sudhar*, 16.

Dūsromse śārīrkī rakṣā karnemerī donom hāth kām dete haiṁ aur āpaskī rakṣāmerī bhī paraspar donom hī kām āte haiṁ.

<sup>354</sup> Goyandka, *Dharm kyā hai*, 4.

hindūstān (āryāvart) merī janm honā aur kisī hindūstānī ācāryake calāye hue matk mānnā.



explicitly included the members of ‘different sects’ into his category: followers of Sanatan Dharma and the Arya Samaj, as well as members of the Brahmo Samaj reform movement. Also Jainas, Buddhists and Sikhs are counted as Hindus. He did not mention Dalits, although included the ‘wild tribes of Hindustan’ specifically.<sup>355</sup> As a result, the other major religions of colonial India, especially Islam and Christianity (but also Zoroastrianism and Judaism) are indirectly but firmly excluded as ‘foreign’.

According to the third criterion mentioned by Goyandka, the person concerned must identify with being a Hindu.<sup>356</sup> Under the premises outlined by Poddar and Goyandka in their advice manuals, this would imply that the person involved also subscribes to the normative framework of cultivated emotions. The control of emotions such as greed, anger and lust, paired with efforts to cultivate one’s emotional mindset towards *bhāv*, the emotional style of selfless feeling, become intrinsic markers to define the “Hindu-ness”.

Social and religious reforms together are understood as two mutually interdependent processes. To achieve this, a transformation of every individual from inside is necessary. The reformatory aim of Gitapress advice manuals was mainly focussed on an internal reform at the level of feelings, but while doing so it clearly extended to the religious and political spheres also, although the latter is officially downplayed by Poddar in his social reformist book *Samāj sudhar*:

I wish that religion (*dharm*) may rule, not only in India (*bhāratvarṣ*), but everywhere. My interest is greater in the rule of religion (*dharm-rājya*) than in independence (*sva-rājya*). [...] It is extremely necessary that present rule should be immediately turned into the rule of religion. All those living in India (*bhāratvāsī*) should keep the force of God at their side, renounce all personal self-interest (*svārth*) and should fearlessly work towards this goal, each person according to his abilities and social standing.<sup>357</sup>

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<sup>355</sup> Goyandka, *Dharm kyā hai*, 4. The latter term would refer to Adivasis, a term used today to refer to the various tribal groups that may have very distinct devotional practices.

sanātānī, ārya, sikh, jain, bauddh aur brāhma ādi bhinn-bhinn matko mānnevālī tathā bhāratkī jaṅglī jātiyām [...].

<sup>356</sup> Goyandka, *Dharm kyā hai*, 4.

jo apneko hindū māntā ho, vahī hindū hai.

<sup>357</sup> Poddar, *Samāj sudhar*, 31f.

mair̄m̄ to ek bhāratvarṣmer̄m̄ hī kyom̄ sabhī jagah dharmrājya chāhta hūm̄. mujhe svarājyākī apeksā dharmrājya adhik iṣṭ hai. [...] is śāsankā bahut hī śīghra dharmrājyake rūpmer̄m̄ parivartan ho jānā atyant hī āvśyak hai. bhāratvāsiyom̄ko cāhiye ki ve īśvarkā bal sāth rakhkar aur vyaktigat svārth tyāgkar iske liye yathāsādhyā apnī-apnī yogyatā aur sthitike anusār har tarahse nirbhaytāpūrvak prayatn kareṁ.

Poddar's call for a rule of dharma (*dharm-rāj*) shows parallels to the Gandhian idea of Ramrāj, which is formulated as a general ethic principle, and not exclusively restricted to the Hindu dominance.<sup>358</sup> Poddar centred his vision on the establishment of a strong Hindu community, that would bridge sectarian differences, and include Dalits, but only if they remained in their own (proper) place. Nevertheless this Hindu community would be exclusive towards Muslims and Christians, and fashion itself as a unified and fortified body against its enemies.

The Gitapress professed an inclusive, albeit a patronizing approach regarding the definition of a Hindu, effacing religious differences and subsuming different religious traditions under the umbrella of their understanding of Hinduism. Particular in this aspect is their identification of emotional norms, and especially the emotional style of disinterested feeling (*niṣkāmbhāv*), which can serve as a specific marker of identification. Through this notion the Gitapress advice manuals presented an imagined community, in which the differences of various social and religious reform groups would become blurred in the light of the promise of individual salvation, thus pictured a holistic idea of Hindu community, as being unified from inside to defend itself against the outsiders. The normative framework for emotion knowledge was portrayed as a timeless ideal pertaining to all Hindus. The emotional norms in the Gitapress advice books are universal as they draw on a general virtue ethics of emotions. However, prescriptive advice books by the Gitapress on moral conduct, education for women, business practices, individual spiritual practices and social reform are all embedded and linked to wider contemporary discourses in colonial India.

### **3.3. Conceptualizing Intersecting Communities**

According to Poddar, the spread of a western education style, introduced by the British, was the cause for the ongoing decline of the Hindu community. To remedy this, Poddar suggested spirituality against and in opposition to the 'western' selfishness and materiality. He criticized especially those institutions that were actually meant to encourage moral education: colleges where students were exposed to 'current European feelings of indulgence'. According to Poddar, the West was no place of knowledge or reason, let alone

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<sup>358</sup> See Lutgendorf, 'Interpreting Ramraj', 261f.

moral excellence. He described the emotional landscape of India as characterized by two different principles: on the one hand there was *bhog*, the emotional indulgence, a marker of a corrupt society and identified with western culture. The ideal of Hindu society, on the other hand, could only be achieved through practicing *tyāg* through the renunciation of personal interest and egoistical feelings:

Learning English is not a bad thing, but it is very bad that the nature of another community (*vijātīya prakṛti*) secretly enters into us. I am against taking over the current European feelings of indulgence. The ideal of their current civilization is indulgence, whereas the idea of our ancient civilization is renunciation.<sup>359</sup>

In his comparison of the Indian with the western stage of civilization, the former ranked higher, because of its ancientness. Poddar also reiterated the common trope in the contemporary discourse on the effect of the British education on Indians who would suffer from confusion in their moral values.<sup>360</sup> According to Poddar, this education was especially dangerous for women. He warned that through school education the ‘western poison’ would gain direct influence on the domestic sphere, turn Hindu wives into ‘sophisticated madams’ and in thus destroy ‘our culture (*sanskṛti*)’.<sup>361</sup> Poddar joined the reformist stance against western education for women, as this would induce vices in Indian women, e.g. encourage them to flirtatious behavior and extensive spending that would ruin their husbands.<sup>362</sup> The only way to accomplishing social reform, was consequently tied down to fight the culture of sensual pleasure and spread devotional spirituality. As the main educational goal of both Goyandka and Poddar it formed the core of their normative publications. In his programmatic article on “God-realization through renunciation”, Goyandka emphasized that the central way to salvation, as outlined in the *Bhagavadgita*, could only be achieved by completely renouncing all means of indulgence and self-interested action.<sup>363</sup> Social and moral transformation of society was linked to the ability of its members to cultivate their emotions,

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<sup>359</sup> Poddar, *Samāj Sudhar*, 4.

aṅgrezī paṛhnā buṛā nahīm hai, buṛā hai vijātīy prakṛtikā guptṛup se hamāre andar praveś kar jānā. [...] mairi yūropke vartmān bhogpradhān bhāvomke grahaṇ karne kā virodhī hūm. unkī sabhyatā kā ādarś hai bhog, aur hamārī pracīn sabhyatā kā ādarś hai tyāg.

<sup>360</sup> The trope of the moral decline of India’s college-educated youths is discussed in section 2.1.

<sup>361</sup> Poddar, *Samāj sudhar*, 21. See also Poddar, *Strīdharm-praśnottari*, 13. Here, Poddar finds fault not with the English language as such, but rather that modern education makes women forget their ‘Hindu-ness’ (*hindūpan*).

strī śikṣā meṃ is bāt ko sadā khyāl rakhnā cāhie ki hindū-striyaṃ kahīm ucchṛkal meṃ na ban jāyaṃ [sic!] - pāścimīy viṣ hamāre ghar meṃ praveś na kar jāe.

<sup>362</sup> Gupta, *Sexuality, Obscenity, Community*, Chapter 4 ‘Mapping the Domestic Domain’

<sup>363</sup> Goyandka, *Tyāg se bhagavadprāptī*.

and rid themselves of all feelings that are deemed to be corrupting the morality and standing in the way of true education.

Poddar and Goyandka initially geared their advice towards member of one particular community, who came to wealth and influence through their transregional trading networks: the Marwaris. However, they also engaged in wider discourses on social reform and religious practices and hence appealed to the community of Sanatan Dharmaa followers. Finally, the Gitapress advice manuals also set out general markers of identification that would allude to all Hindus.

## Teaching Traders and Educating Their Wives

Originally hailing from the arid regions of Rajasthan, Marwari traders started to establish business networks throughout the subcontinent in the early nineteenth century and established themselves as bankers, tradesmen and brokers to British firms.<sup>364</sup> By the 1910s, they clearly dominated the trade in East India, but also had a strong presence throughout West, North and Central India, including the Deccan.<sup>365</sup>

Marwari merchants were members of interconnected kinship groups, locating their regional origins within the princely states of Rajasthan. Through their extended joint families they were able to establish widespread networks of business relations. Formally oral traditions of remembering one's kinship lineages were carried on and intensified through printed caste histories.<sup>366</sup> In 1937 and 1939 a much more extensive history of the Agarwal community came out, bound in two thick volumes of over 500 pages each. Here, the history of the Agarwals is traced even back to Vedic times, and includes detailed information on kings and famous people from *vaiśya*-castes, i.e. the caste of traders and agriculturists that also the Agarwals belong to. The main part of these books are filled with descriptions of the great achievements by Agrawals in the fields of economics, society and politics, religion and also literature, followed by biographical details of present famous members of the community, all listed with a longer family lineage, at least reaching back 3 generations. The writing of caste histories indicates an increasing sense of communal belonging.

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<sup>364</sup> Birla, *Stages of Capital*, 19.

<sup>365</sup> Markovitz, *Merchants, Traders, Entrepreneurs*, 205.

<sup>366</sup> For example: 'Bharatendu' Harishchandra, *Agarvāloṃ kī utpattī* or Bhandari, *Agarval jātī kā itihās*.

Over time, Marwaris organized themselves in associations to regulate matters regarding their own community. These were initially modelled after caste assemblies (*pancāyat*), but by the late nineteenth century they had evolved into voluntary associations with different ideological stands.<sup>367</sup> Former caste councils gradually evolved into civic associations, which soon also developed into all-India representations, concerned with business and social issues.<sup>368</sup> From the first decade of the twentieth century onwards, the discussions within the different associations began to be spread through newly founded magazines. Most of them circulated locally but provided information on the community throughout India.<sup>369</sup> All these reformist journals ‘reiterated the necessities for female education, the elimination of backward customs, and the responsibility of *dan* or social welfare’.<sup>370</sup> The transregional interconnectedness in business of the Marwari community intensified their exchange of ideas within this public sphere. Moreover, being organized in associations enabled the Marwaris to assert leadership at a time of economic insecurity and social dissent.<sup>371</sup>

In 1912, Ranglal Poddar wrote a booklet on the occasion of the 15<sup>th</sup> jubilee of the Marwari Association in Calcutta titled *Marwārī jātī ke kartavya* (‘Duties of the Marwari community’). In it, he outlined the goals of this association as follows: boasting and representing the interests of Marwaris in social affairs, spreading education along religious principles, and developing trade through the promotion of limited companies.<sup>372</sup> He urged that the community needs to organize itself better and gain more attention in the public sphere, for which Marwaris needed to take more interest in *pen, pres, paletfarm* (‘Pen, press, platform’).<sup>373</sup>

By the time the Gitapress was established in 1923, the Marwaris had emerged as a clearly defined social community. Although they were spread throughout Northern India, Marwaris remained united through family ties, but also through common discourses on social

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<sup>367</sup> Birla, *Stages of Capital*, 212 ff. Similar movements can be seen in other trading communities at the time, see Pernau, “Religion und sozialer Status”.

<sup>368</sup> For example: *Marwari Association* of Calcutta (founded in 1898), the *Maheshwari Mahasabha* (1912) in the Central Provinces, or the *Marwari Relief Society*, based in Calcutta and concerned with public health efforts (1913).

<sup>369</sup> For example: *Marwari* (started 1907 from Fatehpur, Shekhawati), or the *Maheshwari* (1909) and the *Marwari Hitkarak* (1918, both journals from Calcutta).

<sup>370</sup> Birla, *Stages of Capital*, 213.

<sup>371</sup> Markovitz, *Merchants, Traders, Entrepreneurs*, 192.

<sup>372</sup> Poddar, R., *Marwārī jātī ke kartavya*, 18. Ranglal Poddar belonged to the same Marwari subcommunity (*gotra*), but was not directly related to Hanumanprasad Poddar.

<sup>373</sup> Poddar, R., *Marwārī jātī ke kartavya*, 5.

reforms. These were propagated through magazines and books, focusing on social and commercial reforms, but also furthering the sense of community by evoking their common origins in the past. It was thus a community that actively worked on defining itself and creating visibility.

Gitapress advice manuals could thus be interpreted as both descriptive and prescriptive for a common value system to which all members of the Marwari community would relate to, and thus form the core of the value system for this specific community. In fact, *Samaj Sudar* was written based on a lecture Poddar gave at the *Tenth Annual Marwari Agarwal Conference* in Bombay.<sup>374</sup> Both being Marwaris, Goyandka and Poddar retained strong links to this trans-regional community of businessmen, among whom they had many followers and supporters of their spiritual pursuits. In fact, it had only been due to the financial help of a Marwari businessmen and follower, that Goyandka could establish the Gitapress. And Poddar had been active in Marwari associations before starting to edit *Kalyan*.<sup>375</sup> The Marwaris made the establishment of the Gitapress possible, but on the other hand, also many of them shook their head at the idea of how Poddar and Goyandka could work without the aim of making profit.<sup>376</sup> It was exactly this greed for financial gain, against which Poddar and Goyandka formulated their ideas of social reform, and that they aimed to turn into a selfless pursuit of spiritual gain.

## **Business and the Path to Spiritual Salvation**

Goyandka deeply bemoaned the deplorable state of the society he lived in. In his booklet *Vyapārsudhar kī āvśyakta* ('The need for reforms in business practices') he described corrupted business practices, but also offered solutions. According to him, the cultivation of emotions would lead to reformed business practices, and thus bring about a win-win situation for tradesmen, shopkeepers and other business people. Unlike Poddar, Goyandka did not portray social evils as exclusively stemming from the colonial situation and western influence on society. Instead, he credited the main cause of moral and emotional decline to the corrupted business practices of his imagined readers. Their transactions were riddled with lies, fraud, and cheating, and this had been caused by the emotional decline of the whole

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<sup>374</sup> See *Statement of Particulars...* for the year 1928.

<sup>375</sup> Bhandari, *Agravāl jāti kā itihās*, 179.

<sup>376</sup> See Dujari, *Śrībhājī*, 93

society, as ‘the steadily growing disposition of greediness led to the conviction that any way of gaining wealth would be permissible in the name of business’.<sup>377</sup>

According to Goyandka’s analysis the feeling of greed, *lobh*, had gripped the traders and businessmen of India, dominated their lives and that of their business transactions, and thus had brought down the community as a whole. It had become manifest in practices of speculation, in the widespread adulteration of food, and other illegal or shady business practices described by Goyandka in detail. As a result, Indians preferred to sell raw materials to non-Indians, even at a lower price, and buy goods from the British, even if they were a bit more expensive because they trusted them.<sup>378</sup> Trust was an important element within the Marwari community, in which ‘resilient webs of credit operated through unwritten notions of trust, a symbolic currency secured by ties of consanguinity, marriage, and lineage’.<sup>379</sup> The stereotypical greediness of traders, cemented in the public opinion through a number of food adulteration scandals, had tarnished the image of the Marwaris in the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>380</sup>

This trust, as Goyandka portrayed it, was something fragile, on which true wealth was built, but which could easily be destroyed by a greed as an emotional vice, which had endangered the whole community. In fact, the Marwaris had been singled out for their various forms of ‘unscrupulousness in commodity speculation and hoarding’ in the Anti-Marwari riots in Calcutta in 1910 and then again in similar riots against traders in 1918 and 1926.<sup>381</sup> The scandals also ignited religious sensibilities when it became known that they regularly adulterated not only common food products, but also ghee, thus polluting the clarified butter that is a central ingredient for every Hindu ritual. The Marwaris became ostracized for their alleged cultural backwardness and interest in speculations and profit. One of the common stereotypes was that they were only concerned about money and tried to make profit even out of charity projects.<sup>382</sup> Such stereotypes and improper practices form the context of the reform agenda of the Gitapress. Poddar’s book *Mānav dharm* (‘Human dharma’), for example,

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<sup>377</sup> Goyandka, *Vyapārsudhar kī āvshyaktā*, 1.

lobh kī atyant baṛhī huī pravṛttine kisī bhī tarah dhan kamānekī ceṣṭāko hī vyāpārke nāmse svīkār kar liyā hai.

<sup>378</sup> Goyandka, *Vyapārsudhar kī āvshyaktā*, 4.

unmerṁ saccāi adhik kai. isīse unpar logomkā viśvās adhik hai’

<sup>379</sup> Birla, *Stages of Capital*, 16.

<sup>380</sup> Hardgrove, *Community and Public Culture*, 177.

<sup>381</sup> Hardgrove, *Community and Public Culture*, 162.

<sup>382</sup> Such accusations are also found in a 1929 special edition on Marwaris by the magazine *Chand*, which led to a great uproar in the Marwari community and was subsequently forbidden by the authorities.

features a long list of 20 different stealing and manipulation practices of businessmen and traders in the chapter on righteousness.<sup>383</sup> In the chapter of forgiveness Podder alluded to the fact that anger and dissent had affected the whole world of trading business. He condemned ‘the poison of anger and rage is spreading in all directions, destroying the peace and plunging life into sadness’, and added that these vices were not only common among traders, but in fact affected ‘almost the whole society’.<sup>384</sup>

Gitapress advice books condemn greed as a major vice destroying society, and embed it firmly into a call for emotional cultivation. Poddar and Goyandka named food adulteration, gambling and speculations on a small and large scale only as the symptoms of a much graver problem. Greed endangered the moral core of a person: ‘no financial profit can be made from lying and cheating in business – quite the opposite: it causes damage. Especially the damage it does to dharma is very clear’.<sup>385</sup>

Corrupt business practices were attributed to a lack of devotion within society and thus linked with the religious need for salvation. Greed became the focal point as a marker of social shortcomings. At the end of the day, regaining the trust of the customers would achieve greater profit than the little extras obtained through cheating. The profit, he argues, could be even higher if traders and businessmen turned trade itself into a means of attaining spiritual merit. Goyandka accused the traders of greediness and argued that their immoral business practices bar them from spiritual merit and also, as a consequence, from the attainment of God. On the other hand, the fulfillment of one’s duties as a trader by doing righteous business and not cheating in any way would become a way for them to not only profit financially, but also attain salvation.<sup>386</sup> Success in business was not contradictory to attaining salvation per se. In fact, businessmen were likely to attain spiritual merit through making money if they could to control their greed. Gitapress advice books promoted a work ethic according to which cultivating emotions in the proper way lead to individual salvation as well as the improvement of society as a whole. Its prerequisite was that the feeling of greed had to be totally eradicated and replaced through devotion to God. Goyandka postulated that if a trader

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<sup>383</sup> Poddar, *Mānav dharm*, 32.

<sup>384</sup> Poddar, *Mānav dharm*, 17.

krodh aur rāg kī viṣ cārom̐ or phailkar sāre samājpar chā jāti hai aur prāy: sabke jīvanko aśānt aur du:khī kar dāltī hai.

<sup>385</sup> Goyandka, *Vyapārsudhar kī avshyakta*, 1.

jhūṭh, kapaṭse vyāpārmeṁ ārthik lābh honā to bahut dūrki bāt hai, parantu ulṭī hāni hotī hai. dharmkī hāni to spaṣṭ hī hai.

<sup>386</sup> Goyandka, *Vyapārsudhar kī avshyakta*, 25. See the full quote in the introduction to chapter 3.



followed the emotional norm of ‘not being greedy’, he would be freed from the main vice that destroys himself, as well as his business. This, however, is but the first step in the devotional practices of emotional cultivation that would lead a person to God.

If one stops feeling desire, greed (*lobh*) and so on, then the business becomes holy by itself. But now one needs to think about how this business can become worship (*pūjā*). For worship one needs clean objects. The sinful business has become pure, but how to worship? Worship happens when greed is preplaced by the perception (*bhāvnā*) of divine affection (*īśvarprīti*). [...] In such business-transactions vice (*doṣ*) has no place anymore, and even if a vice is committed involuntarily, then it is not considered to be one.<sup>387</sup>

Goyandka further argued (while citing the *Bhagavadgīta*) that a trader should go about his business only led by his sense of personal and spiritual duty, as even pious actions could not lead to salvation when performed with feelings of greed and material desire.<sup>388</sup>

The arguments that Goyandka brought forth in order to strengthen the emotional norms that greed needed to be avoided at all times, refer to different trajectories. On an individual and material level he condemned greed, as it led to business practices that made the customer lose trust and thus ultimately lead to financial losses. On a social level, Goyandka argued that greed as a vice had led to decline and disturbance of the moral fabric of the whole community. On a spiritual level, greed prevented salvation. Goyandka elaborated that the absence of greed alone was not sufficient. Emotional vices such as greed should not only be controlled and then eradicated, but also replaced by cultivated emotions. He calls for the abandonment of selfishness (*svārthyāg*) and the cultivation of the style of disinterested feeling (*niṣkāmbhāv*), as means for both gaining the possibility of spiritual salvation and increasing one’s wealth.<sup>389</sup>

Goyandka’s elaborations on business practices can be read as an exemplary effort of how the reform of an existing community was pursued via the postulation of emotional norms. My analysis has shown that they directly relate to the challenges that the Marwari trading community faced in the first decades of the twentieth century. The advice manuals

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<sup>387</sup> Goyandka, *Vyapārsudhar kī avshyakta*, 29.

jab ṭṛṣṇā-lobhādīkā abhāv ho jātā hai tab vyāpār svata: hī pavitra ban jātā hai. ab vicārṇīya praśn yah hai ki us vyāpārse īśvarpūjā kaise kīāy. pūjāke liye śuddh vastu cāhiye. pāprahit vyāpār śuddh to ho gayā, par pūjā kaise ho? pūjā yahi hai ki lobhke sthānmerī īśvarprītikī bhāvnā kar lī jāy. [...] aise yvāpār-kāryamerī kisī doṣko sthān nahīm rah jātā aur yedi kahīm bhramse anjānmerī kōī doṣ ho bhī jātā hai to vah doṣ nahīm samjhā jātā.

<sup>388</sup> Goyandka, *Vyapārsudhar kī avshyakta*, 29.

lobh yā dhankī icchāse na kar, kartavyabuddhise vyāpār karnā cāhiye.

<sup>389</sup> Goyandka, *Vyapārsudhar kī avshyakta*, 29.

take on the garb of prescriptive guidelines to secure the communities' future, but also to proclaim an emotional ideal for this community, namely the avoidance of greed and the focus on spiritual salvation. All this is encompassed by the idea of dharma, as a social and religious duty.

## Interiorized Devotionality

For the male members of the Marwari trading community, Poddar and Goyandka clearly marked the path to spiritual salvation through 'honest and holy (*pavitra*) business'.<sup>390</sup> For the female members of the Marwari community the path to spiritual salvation is mainly reachable through devotion to their husbands. In this, the cultivation of emotions and the eradication of greed play a major part.

From the early 1920s onwards, an increasing number of Hindi books, many based on western examples, offered advice on the intimate relationship between men and women. Even a number of female writers managed to become famous by publishing books on health and sexuality related issues.<sup>391</sup> Social reformers promoted a dyadic form of husband-wife relationship, which also allowed for new forms of intimacy between the couple.<sup>392</sup> The Gitapress publications emphasize a highly hierarchical model, dominated by absolute devotion to the husband. There is only one duty for every married woman – to serve her husband as it befits a true *pativrata*, a devoted wife, for whom 'it is the main dharma to be absolutely devoted to the husband, whereas all other duties are secondary and are only observed in order to please the husband'.<sup>393</sup> This attitude is reflected in those Gitapress advice manuals dedicated to instruct women in all their duties, always backed by authoritative citations from the *Manusmriti*<sup>394</sup> and references to the 'sages and *mahātmās* of the east'.<sup>395</sup> The life of the ideal wife, as depicted in the Gitapress publications, is dominated by two main focal points of emotional attachment: her husband and God, whereas the former even

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<sup>390</sup> Goyandka, *Dharm kyā hai*, 14.

sat aur pavitra vyāpār.

<sup>391</sup> See Gupta, *Procreation and Pleasure*.

<sup>392</sup> The ideal of love that domineers in dyadic marital relationships is addressed in chapter 4.

<sup>393</sup> Poddar, *Strīdharm praśnottari*, 1.

strīke liye mukhya dharm deval patiparāyaṅtā hī hai aur sāre dharm to gaun hairm aur unkā ācaraṅ keval patikī prasantā ke liye hī kiyā jātā hai.

<sup>394</sup> The *Manusmriti* was composed between 500 BCE and 500 CE, consisting of over 2500 Sanskrit slokas. The text presents itself as a discourse given by the sage Manu, to a congregation of seers. and gives guidelines for different social classes and stages in life.

<sup>395</sup> Goyandka, *Nārīdharm*, 1.

outranked the latter. Poddar's and Goyandka's advice texts on women's behavior and devotion indicate close connections to contemporary social reform issues discussed in the Marwari community, but intervene in wider discourses about devotional practices.

*Strīdharm praśnottari* ('Questions and answers on the dharma of women') by Hanumanprasad Poddar was released in 1925 and got a second edition already in the same year, totalling a remarkable 10,800 copies,<sup>396</sup> and has been republished ever since. Following a strictly gendered approach, *Strīdharm praśnottari* elaborates on women's faults and duties, going from a philosophical level to the description of minute daily practices. The teachings of Poddar's book *Strīdharm praśnottari* rely on the textual authority of the *Manusmṛitī*, which is frequently quoted in the Sanskrit original.

Greed is one of the issues addressed in this book, and Poddar especially warned that 'the craving for jewellery and clothes will rise day-by-day and will lead to quarrel and strife in the home'. Instead of desiring fancy clothes, women should dress plainly, but clean and nice – as here aim was to please her husband and not to attract the eyes of other men. Wearing too much jewellery would only stipulate the fear of being robbed.<sup>397</sup> Greed and jealousy are portrayed in most of Poddar's and Goyandka's writings as one of the main vices of women that destroy marital happiness.<sup>398</sup> This greed not only pertains to material things, but also to the quality of life within marriage in general and the conception of sons in particular: 'The woman that overtly troubles her husband in her greed for offspring faces disapproval in this life and that corruption will also have consequences for her afterlife'.<sup>399</sup> In case the husband is 'visits another women', a devoted wife should neither irritate him nor behave badly, nor should she be 'jealous or envious (*īrṣyā yā dāh*)' towards the other woman.<sup>400</sup> Even in the event of an unhappy childless marriage, it is the duty of the devoted wife to refrain from nagging and to control her feelings. Not following these guidelines would impact her social position, happiness, and also chances of salvation.<sup>401</sup>

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<sup>396</sup> See *Statement of Particulars...* for the year 1926.

<sup>397</sup> Poddar, *Strīdharm praśnottari*, 17.

ananya strīyoṃkī dekhā-dekhī gahne-kaṛṅkī lālsā din-par-din baṛhtī rātī hai, jisse āge calkar gharmen kalah hone lagtā hai.

<sup>398</sup> See also Poddar's definition of jealousy (*īrṣyā*) in *Dāmpatya jīvan*, 67.

<sup>399</sup> Poddar, *Strīdharm praśnottari*, 23.

jo strī santānke lobhse patikā atikramaṅ kartī hai, vah is lokmen nindā pātī hai aur parlokse bhī bhraṣṭ ho jātī hai.

<sup>400</sup> Poddar, *Strīdharm praśnottari*, 25.

<sup>401</sup> Poddar, *Strīdharm praśnottari*, 23ff

According to Poddar's reasoning, the only way a wife could reform her husband was thus through her devotion to him as a truly committed wife. Moreover, being a good Hindu woman and wife gets defined by the ability to cultivate and model her feelings. The book concludes with a compendium of short, general rules of the ideal behaviour towards a husband: he should be loved in an unconditional manner, free of self-interest, even if he did not return this love. Another duty of the wife was to be content as well as joyful and always keep the husband happy, even if he was ill, behaved badly, or looked ugly.<sup>402</sup> This is even more important, as the unregulated feelings of the wife were also portrayed as harmful in raising healthy children. Thus, for example, a woman should not breastfeed when being angry or otherwise in a negative and emotionally stirred mood.<sup>403</sup> Overall, the educational agenda for women, as formulated by the Gitapress, subjected them to a highly restrictive regime of emotional attachment.

The fact that *Strīdharm praśnottarī* as a manual for women's guidance and improvement became an instant bestseller in the mid-1920s can partly be explained by changes in the social demographics of the Marwari community. By the early twentieth century, the former migrant traders had permanently settled all over North India. Their women had mostly remained with their in-laws in the semi-arid regions of Rajasthan. This changed in the 1920s, when a number of mostly illiterate women began to join their husbands.<sup>404</sup> Earlier, the newlywed Marwari wives would enter a patriarchal system that clearly separated male and female spheres, the latter being dominated by the mother-in-law and other senior female members of the household. Now, far away from their ancestral villages, they were expected to adapt to the demands and needs of their husbands. *Strīdharm praśnottarī* by Hanumanprasad Poddar, *Nāridharm* by Jaydayal Goyandka, and various sermons as well as articles published in the early years of the magazine *Kalyān* propagated exactly this message.<sup>405</sup> The books of Goyandka and Poddar promote a gendered and

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<sup>402</sup> Poddar, *Strīdharm praśnottarī*, 38ff.

<sup>403</sup> Poddar, *Strīdharm praśnottarī*, 44.

prem, śānti, utsāh, ānandke samaykā stanpān bacceke liye amṛt aur krodh, uttejnā tathā śokke samay stanpān viṣ hotā hai.

<sup>404</sup> Timberg, *The Marwaris*, 67.

According to the Calcutta Census of 1921, Marwari males were generally as literate in the vernacular as the high castes of Bengal, but only few of them spoke English. Literacy rates for Marwari women in Calcutta, however, were around zero.

<sup>405</sup> According to the foreword of the editor, Goyandka's *Dāmpatya jīvan* is a compendium of sermons, letters and articles.

patriarchal concept of absolute wifely devotion that evolved already in the nineteenth century as a result of changing family structures.<sup>406</sup> Poddar's and Goyandka's advice books directed to women contribute to these discourses, but also intervene and undergird them through the formulation of gendered emotional norms.

The path that men and women need to follow in order to reach spiritual salvation is outlined in the Gitapress manuals in two different kinds. Firstly through specific devotional practices and secondly through everyday behaviour. Both paths to God are equally important and need to be followed simultaneously. Both can only be achieved by following emotional norms and cultivating a certain emotional style. In the case of Marwari traders (and other businesspeople), the abolishment of greed was portrayed as a necessity in order to reform business practices and clear the image of the trading community, as well as a prerequisite central to spiritual fulfilment. Only those business transactions done in the mindset of disinterested feeling (*niṣkāmbhāv*) could bring a person closer to God.<sup>407</sup> Likewise, the ideal of an emotional style that is devoid of personal interest, also applied to women. In Poddar's and Goyandka's formulation of the ideal Hindu wife, the fulfilment of dharma and attainment of spiritual salvation happened through the devotion to the husband. Depending on her ability to cultivate her feelings, she would be able to get closer to God when following her duties without any personal interest (*niṣkāmbhāv*). Even if she was unable to renounce self-interest in her love for her husband, she would at least be reunited with him in the afterlife and attain happiness there.<sup>408</sup> For women, the norm to cultivate the emotional style of *niṣkāmbhāv* is thus formulated in a less rigid manner than for men.

Although obedience to the husband and the according modulation of female emotions is the central teaching in the Gitapress advice literature for women, these otherwise highly restrictive manuals also at times offer escape routes if the norms conflict. *Strīdharm praśnottari* highlights the importance of obedience towards the husband as the highest goal for all married women, and that no religious practice (like fasting, praying, visiting temples

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<sup>406</sup> See Walsh, *Domesticity in Colonial India* for nineteenth century Bengal; and Denault, *Publicizing Family in Colonial North India*, 140ff for discussions on domesticity among caste-associations in late nineteenth century Hindi-speaking areas.

<sup>407</sup> Goyandka, *Vyapārsudhar kī avshyakta*, 25.

<sup>408</sup> Poddar, *Strīdharm praśnottari*, 19.

yadi niṣkāmbhāvse dharmomkā pālan ho to parmātmākī prāpti aur sadāmbhāvse ho to lokāntarmeri patidevtāke sāth alaukik sukhomkī prāpti ho saktī hai.

etc.) is allowed without the husband's consent.<sup>409</sup> A little further in the text, however, singing *bhajan*, devotional songs, is described as the 'natural duty of mankind'. Every woman should do so, even if her husband forbids it:

Bhajans mostly happen in the mind. No one can stop the working of the mind. You should serve your husband with your body, do all the chores of the home and remember God in your mind. How could there be any reason for the husband to get angry?<sup>410</sup>

This is a rare example, as normative Hindi advice books usually lack in advice on how to negotiate emotional conflicts. It moreover points to a specific form of devotionality, characterized by 'sanitized' practices and a focus on spiritual interiority.

Gitapress advice manuals promote the personalized devotion to a deity while promoting *bhakti* as the spiritual path to salvation.<sup>411</sup> *Bhakti* devotional practices aim at embodied divine experiences in daily life, 'variously envisioned in texts as doing one's dharma, [...] singing the Lord's praises in one's mother tongue, and performing acts of service'.<sup>412</sup> Popular *bhakti* devotionality is and was often linked to partaking of the devotees in a group performance. The communal aspect of devotion was emphasized 'through the notion of sharing food, places, and time in religiously defined collectivities'.<sup>413</sup> The union with God is sought as an ecstatic, all-encompassing feeling, especially in the practices of Krishna-devotion where the devotee often imagines himself as the beloved of the God.<sup>414</sup>

Gitapress manuals promoted a different kind of individual devotion, which was exercised in private and often not even expressed verbally, but rather in the mind. Advice books by both Poddar and Goyandka stress the importance of love on the spiritual path, as God could only be attained through love:

The path of love (*prem*) is not for the coward but for the hero. Love is a priceless item, not a thing that can be bought in the market. Only those that love can get it.

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<sup>409</sup> Goyandka, *Strīdharm praśnottari*, 2. This imperative, underscored by a quotation from the *Manusmriti*, is also given in Goyandka, *Nārīdharm*, 26.

<sup>410</sup> Goyandka, *Strīdharm praśnottari*, 4.

bhajan pradhānta: manse huā kartā hai. manke kāryako koī nahīm rok saktā. śārīse patikī sevā kare, gharkā sārā kārya kare aur manse parmātmakā cintan kare. ismerṅ patikā nārāj honekā hetu hī kyā hai?

<sup>411</sup> Goyandka, *Dharm kyā hai*, 25ff

<sup>412</sup> Prentiss, *The Embodiment of Bhakti*, 153

<sup>413</sup> Novetzke, "Bhakti and its Public", 263.

<sup>414</sup> In the tradition of Bhakti philosophy, the nature of bhakti as a form of affect or emotion is frequently discussed, most prominently by the eleventh century devout *bhakta* and religious scholar Abhanavagupta. See Novetzke, "Bhakti and its Public", 256.

Love is the reason that God cannot maintain his bounds [*maryādā*, also meaning ‘honor’]. God himself becomes infatuated and surrenders himself to the hands of the beloved lover. Therefore attaining this love should be practices with full dedication.<sup>415</sup>

This type of devotion through love is quintessentially different from any ecstatic practices that would equate divine with worldly love. Although devotees were supposed to enter this boundless emotional state that defined the union with God, this should not be done in public places, such as idol-worship at temples. In fact, especially for women, the visitation of pilgrimage sites was strictly forbidden in Gitapress advice books:

Through the boundless/dishonourable (*maryādā-hīn*) contact between men and women, the atmosphere at social meetings for religious story-telling and hymn-singing, at temples, at pilgrimage sites etc. becomes corrupted.<sup>416</sup>

Goyandka and Poddar frequently warned against common contemporary devotional practices, such as pilgrimages and reverence of Gurus and other devotional leaders. They took an especially strong stand against syncretistic traditions in which Hindu women also visited Muslim shrines. While breeches in the obedience towards the husband’s will were permissible in the case of *bhakti* hymns silently chanted in the mind, more public displays of religiosity were harshly condemned if performed against the husband’s will. Gitapress advice manuals offer drastic warnings against such behaviour, e.g. ‘the woman who fasts without the consent of the husband diminishes the lifespan of her husband and will herself go to hell’.<sup>417</sup>

Gitapress promote a shift in devotional practices away from ecstatic group experience and into an internalized and sanitized form of spirituality. Devotion to God should not be professed through idol-worship, but through the realization of God through cultivated emotional practices. Goyandka’s and Poddar’s promotion of devotional practices that are performed in the mind, and interiorized through emotional cultivation relate to issues which affected the Marwari community, but also related to the different devotional practices promoted by the “orthodox” followers of Sanatan Dharma and the “reformers” that followed

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<sup>415</sup> Goyandka, *Jīvan-sudhar kī bāterī*, 67.

premkā mārg kāyaroṃkā nahīṃ hai, vīroṃkā hai. prem amūlya vastu hai, bāzārū cīz nahīṃ hai. yah to premiyomse hī miltā hai. premke kāraṇ hī bhagvān apne maryādāko nahīṃ sambhāl sakte, svayaṃ bhagvān hī mugdh ho jāte haiṃ aur pyāre premīke hāth apneko bec ḍālte haiṃ. ata: us premko prāpt karneke liye tatpartāke sāth prayatn karna cāhiye.

<sup>416</sup> Goyandka, *Nāridharm*, 3.

kathā, kīrtan, devālay aur tīrthstānādīkā bhī vātāvaraṇ strī-puruṣoṃke maryādāhīn sambandhse dūṣit ho jātā hai.

<sup>417</sup> Goyandka, *Nāridharm*, 16.

jo strī patike āgyā binā vrat ādi kartī hai, vah apne patikī āyuko hartī hai aur svayaṃ narakmeṃ jāti hai.

the Arya Samaj. Especially the widespread practice of Hindu women visiting Muslim shrines to pray for (male) offspring, and the mass pilgrimage to fairs such as that of Ghazi Miyan was considered to challenge Hindu community identity, and thus came under sharp attack, especially in the late 1920s.<sup>418</sup> The promotion of interiorized and emotionally cultivated devotional practices by the Gitapress offered susceptible alternatives. The focus on devotion in the mind was also a practical offer for those women, whose husbands Arya Samaj husbands would forbid them the worship of idols. Whereas the Gitapress manuals stated adamantly that wives must not do any religious rituals against their husbands wishes, they offered the compromise that women could nevertheless feel the closeness to God through devotional practices that were non-verbal, did not involve objects, but only happened in the mind:

A woman's spiritual guide (*guru*) is her husband. If the husband does not like to worship God through *bhakti*, she cannot worship according to the education that she acquired at her father's house, like *bhakti*, singing religious songs, meeting with other for religious instruction, and group worship, but she can do it internally (*guptrūp se*) in her mind. Because *bhakti* is specially connected to the mind, one should actually do it internally as much as possible, because *bhakti* done internally has a special importance. Whatever the husband says, one should follow word by word; but if an instruction of the husband would lead to husband to hell, it should not be followed.<sup>419</sup>

Poddar's and Goyandka's advice manuals promoted an individualized form of worship that transcended sectarian boundaries while incorporating general ideas of *bhakti* devotion. The latter were re-formulated into an agenda of sanitised spirituality that would not be expressed in social spaces, but through an internalized form of feeling.<sup>420</sup> Advice books by Poddar and Goyandka thus become a showcase for how different communities can be addressed at the same time. Their advice links up on the one hand with social issues discussed

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<sup>418</sup> Gupta, *Sexuality, Obscenity, Community*, 281ff.

<sup>419</sup> Goyandka, *Nāridharm*, 33.

striyomke liye pati hī guru hai. yadī patiko īśvarkī bhakti acchi nahīm lagtī ho to pitāke gharse prāpt hūi śikṣāke anusār bhī īśvarkī bhakti, bāharī bhajan, satsaṅg, kīrtan ādi na karke guptrūp se manmerī hī kareṁ. bhaktikā manse hī viśeṣ sambandh honeke kāraṅ yah jahāmtak ban sake guptrūpse hī karnī cāhiye; kyomki guptrūpse kī hūi bhakti viśeṣ mahattvakī hotī hai.

pati jo kuch bhī kahe uskā akṣarā: pālan kare; kintu jis āgyāke pālanse pati narakkā bhāgī ho, uskā pālan nahīm karnā cāhiye.

<sup>420</sup> Similar trends in Hindu devotionality have been described as 'protestantization'. Alternatively, Hawley ("Sanatan Dharma as the twentieth century began", 319) speculated that 'this gathering Gītā-ism with its baniya [i.e. trading community] context' got its inspiration through Theosophists such as Annie Besant and Bhagvan Das, who wrote the textbook on Hinduism for Benares Hindu College. I am sceptical as to any direct connection between missionary endeavours, theosophist interest and the spiritual and social reformatory agenda of Poddar and Goyandka. In any case, their promotion of the Bhagavad Gita along with the interpretation they offered would have had a decisively larger impact on the public reception of the Bhagavad Gita.



in the Marwari community (whose members were followers of Sanatan Dharmaa, or members of the Arya Samaj, followed specific gurus and sects, or were members of the Jaina-religion). On the other hand, the advice propagated by the Gitapress, although claiming neutrality, shifts towards a Sanatan Dharmaa position (and members of Sanatan Dharmaa associations were not necessarily Marwari businessmen). At the same time, the religious ideology informing the Gitapress manuals, not only promotes an interiorized approach to spirituality, but also enforces the idea of a unified Hindu community. This community would be defined through *niṣkāmbhāv*, the emotional style of disinterested feeling, cultivated by its members.

For men as well as for women, the Gitapress presented a normative framework for feelings, where the need to cultivate a certain emotional style in the mind and in the heart is presented both as a social necessity and a way to pursue the highest goal in life – the attainment of spiritual bliss. Poddar and Goyandka, in their main aim of promoting the *Bhagavadgita*, tried to address a public that comprised, but also went beyond the Marwari community, outlined Sanatan Dharma ideology, but also formulated the ideal of a unified community of all Hindus.

## 4. Domesticating Lust – the Power of Gendered Love

Run away from the passion of lust (*kām*), but welcome the elation and joy of true love (*saccā prem*).<sup>421</sup>

Hindi domestic manuals from colonial India frequently centre on marital love as a normative emotion for the relationship between husband and wife. They portray love as a prerequisite for domestic happiness and position it as the virtuous opposite of lust. The state of the home, its cleanliness, the moral nature of its inhabitants and the relationship of husband and wife were not only deemed important on an individual level, but also became assigned to be of national importance. Domestic cultural practices in India had been scrutinized by colonial observers in the nineteenth century, who pointed out the ‘backwardness’ of the Indian home life. In these comparisons, Indian homes became categorized as ‘lacking in the discipline and beauty that marked the English home’, so that it eventually ‘bore the burden of ‘guilt’ for being an embarrassment and emasculation of Indian men in the public sphere of male activities’.<sup>422</sup> Towards the beginning of the twentieth century the space of the ‘home’ became gradually defined as a locus of tradition, unspoiled by outer influences. In Bengal, but subsequently also in other parts of India, this led to the perception of a split between the public arena of political helplessness that the colonial subjects had to endure, and the reformed spaces of domesticity, in which women’s roles became reconfigured as caretakers of the unspoiled essence of Indian-ness.<sup>423</sup> Simultaneously, a different model for the husband-wife relationship was promoted: that of the companionate marriage, in which both partners would form a kind of dyadic unity, with the wife totally depending on the husband. Such a close emotional bond had neither been possible, nor wanted in the ‘gerontocratic’ structures of the joint family, in which it was not deemed appropriate for young couples to spend extended time together, and where young wives would spend the

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<sup>421</sup> Chandrashekhar Shastri, *Charitra nirmān*, 70  
kāmvasnā se bhāgo, kintu sacce prem kā utsāh tathā prasanntā pūrvak svāgat karo.

<sup>422</sup> Roy, *Gendered citizenship*, 96.

<sup>423</sup> See Chatterjee, “The Nationalist Resolution of the Women’s Question”

great majority of their time with the other women of the family under the rule of the mother-in-law.<sup>424</sup>

Early Hindi domestic advice manuals in the nineteenth century had focused mainly on the duties of good wives, the domestic skills they should acquire, and the devotion that women should feel express towards their husband. In later advice manuals, especially those written from the 1920s onwards, love and domestic intimacy became again highly contested areas of discourse, and were frequently discussed together with issues of procreation and marital hygiene. At the same time, ‘loving the spouse’ became styled as one of the paramount duties for wives, but increasingly so also for husbands. Books bearing titles such as ‘Ideal wife’, ‘Ideal husband’, ‘Life-rules for a healthy couple’, ‘What the bride should know’ provided rules for loving and being loved. They elaborated on the power of love, lectured on how love should be expressed, and what can be achieved through love. Increasingly they also introduced the topic of sexual intercourse and bodily aspects of love, while carefully trying not to be accused of ‘indecenty’. The books argued on the basis of popular medical and psychological knowledge, but also presented and re-interpreted ancient Indian scriptures on eroticism and love, such as the *Kamasutra*<sup>425</sup> or the *Rati-Rahasya*<sup>426</sup>.

Section 4.1. introduces selected writers of Hindi domestic advice books, who accentuated different aspects of love and its importance for marital relations in their books, and engaged with key elements in the discussions on domesticity in the 1920s and 1930s. Their books brought new impetus to the discussion, especially by defying *brahmacarya*, which had deeply informed contemporary discourses on morality and social ideals. *Brahmacarya*, literally denoting a ‘mode of life designed for the realization of supreme reality’ had become synonymous with chastity and celibacy.<sup>427</sup> Initially formulated for unmarried youths, it also became promoted as an emotional style of lust-avoidance within marriage. The advice books which are introduced in this chapter reinforce and challenge this ideal: whereas the importance of sexual restraint is maintained on one hand, on the other the emphasis of love

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<sup>424</sup> Walsh, *Domesticity in Colonial India*, 17ff

<sup>425</sup> The *Kāmasūtra*, composed around 450 CE and attributed to Vātsyāyana Mallanāga, is the oldest extant Indian text on eroticism, covering wide ranging aspect of intimate relations, both sexual and emotional, hetero- and homoerotic, marital and extramarital. An 1893 English translation by Sir Richard Burton introduced it to the wider Victorian, English-speaking audience.

<sup>426</sup> *Rati-Rahasya* [‘Mystery of passion’] is a personal account and handbook on all aspects of love making, also advising on the choice of partners etc. It was written by Koka [aka Kullola] in the eleventh or twelfth century CE, and is therefore also known as *Kok-śāstra*.

<sup>427</sup> Cush et al., *Encyclopedia of Hinduism*, 113f.

between husband and wife also started to include bodily aspects. Love became portrayed as an emotional duty not only for the wife, but also for the husband.

To spread these new emotional approaches among an increasingly literate public, writers not only had to take care to remain within the limits of decency, but also produce books in such a way that they would be attractive for readers. The strategies which the authors employed to that effect are analyzed in section 4.2. Moreover, this section explores the reception of these ideas by looking at the marginalia and markings that contemporary readers left in the books. Section 4.3. returns to the question of how emotional norms and emotion knowledge established in these advice books altered the gendered discourse on love by an in-depth analysis of the books of two authors. With these examples I show how the emotion of ‘love’ was not only projected as a major duty for good wives, but also as an asset they could use in order to establish authority over their husband and, in turn, reform him and make him an ideal husband through their love. This new normative trend should not be mistaken for women’s agency. In fact, it actually subjected them to a highly repressive emotional regime.<sup>428</sup>

#### **4.1. Writers Engaged in Domestic Discourses**

This section introduces some prolific authors of advice manuals, who wrote prominently on the domestic life of women and men and were able to distinguish themselves in the increasingly competitive book market. Despite conceptual similarity, the writings of these different authors do not merge into a singular narrative. The diverse advices and arguments respond to and feed into the discourses on domesticity that dominated Northern India in the first half of the twentieth century. Many social and religious reformers extended the ideal of sexual abstinence, *brahmacarya*, and promoted it as an encompassing emotional style to be also followed throughout marriage. The authors introduced in this chapter followed a different approach by formulating the ideal of ‘loving the spouse’ for both partners and emphasizing the empowering aspect of love in dyadic relationships.

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<sup>428</sup> William Reddy had coined the term ‘emotional regime’ in respect to political regimes and the amount of freedom of emotional expression they allowed for their subjects (see his book *The Navigation of Feeling*). For this chapter I borrow the idea of emotional repressiveness of such regimes, but locate them as a gendered category.

## Prolific Advisors and Their Books

Between the 1920s and 1940s a number of authors became highly popular for their domestic advice manuals. Their success could partly be explained with continuing patronage structures, the fact that the authors were embedded in networks of religious or social reform endeavours and the increasing use of advertisement. Ultimately, the commercial success of an author also depended on his – or her – ability to write books in such a way that they appealed to a large readership and promote them accordingly. Four of such successful and highly prolific authors are introduced below. The market of advice literature remained mainly dominated by men. Krishnakant Malaviya and Santaram are exponents of an expandable group of prominent Hindi writers on domesticity.<sup>429</sup> Also a few women managed to firmly establish themselves as authors of advice literature. Yashoda Devi and Jyotirmayi Thakur stand out among them for the sheer number of books they wrote. Topics on which these four authors decided to cover show a considerable overlap without being homogeneous in their message. The aim of my analysis is to uncover the differing approaches with which they intervened in the ongoing discourse on life at home. The brief biographical information on the authors below helps in situating them and their works within the discourse on appropriate emotions.

### *Santaram*

Santaram (born 1887 in Hoshiyarpur district, Punjab) was an active member of the Arya Samaj and an incredibly prolific writer. Deeply concerned with issues of personal and social reform, he published essays and articles in several prestigious magazines like *Sarasvati*, *Madhuri*, and *Chand*.<sup>430</sup> But he also wrote 77 books from 1912 to 1963, most of them non-fictional.<sup>431</sup> Santaram's books were translated and adapted in Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali and

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<sup>429</sup> Another prominent writer was Dwarka Prasad Sharma [alternatively Chaturvedi Dwarka Prasad], whose etiquette book *Śiṣṭācār paddhati* is introduced in section 3.3. He also wrote 4 books on domestic reform and women's duties, alongside translating the Ramayana and Mahabharata, writing religious books and historical biographies, and the first Hindi-Sanskrit dictionary. Also outstandingly prolific was Ramnath 'Suman', of whom 9 advice books are listed in the card catalogue of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan library, as well as fifteen further books on Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, and famous Urdu and Hindi poets.

<sup>430</sup> Santaram, *Mere jīvan ke anubhav*, 143.

<sup>431</sup> See the full list of his published books in Santaram, *Mere jīvan ke anubhav*, 140ff.

even English, and won a number of government awards.<sup>432</sup> Many of his books were original works that focused on ideal personal behavior in a domestic setting, such as *Ādarś patnī* ('The excellent wife', first published in 1924), *Ādarś pati* ('The excellent husband', 1924), *Śiśu pālan* ('Raising children', 1926), *Sadguṇī bālak* ('the virtuous boy', 1932), *Sadguṇī putrī* ('Virtuous daughter', 1933), *Suśil kanyā* ('Girl with good character', 1945), *Sukhi parivār* ('Happy family', 1950). Santaram also distinguished himself as a translator of books by Marie Stopes, the British activist for birth-control, whose ground-breaking work became a famous model for India.<sup>433</sup> Her book *Married Love*, first published in 1918, was an international bestseller that had been translated into twelve languages (among them Hindi, Afrikaans and Arabic) and reached its eighteenth edition in 1927.<sup>434</sup> The first translation into Hindi was done by Santaram in 1925 as *Vivāhit Prem*.<sup>435</sup> In 1927 he also translated Stope's book *Radiant Motherhood* that paired advice on birth control and childcare with eugenic ideas under the title *Dampati paramarś* ('Counsel for the couple'). Apart from these translations, Santaram published his own books on sexology and marital hygiene such as *Rati Vijiñān* ('Science of sexual intercourse', 1928) and *Kām kunj* ('Arbour of lust', 1929), in which he summarized ancient Indian treatises of love-making, such as the *Kamasutra* and the *Rati-Rahasya*, and alongside reported the findings of Marie Stopes and others. Moreover he translated an English book titled *Contraception* into Hindi and published it under the title *Dampatī mitra* ('A friend to the couple', 1926). Santaram noted that he was subjected to heavy criticism for this book. Nevertheless, he continued to carry on with, as 'the number of people who read this book and then wrote letters of thanks was much higher' he was encouraged to carry on with his work.<sup>436</sup> Santaram's work was also influenced by Dale Carnegie, whose advice book *How to Make Friends and Influence People* had acquired international fame. In 1940 he published it as *Lokvyavahār* ('Behavior in the World'), and he subsequently planned to write a thoroughly Indian version of this book.<sup>437</sup> Contact and exchange with his readers became a major motivator for Santaram. In his autobiography he included examples of the letters that he received from

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<sup>432</sup> Santaram, *Mere jīvan ke anubhav*, 142. See also the entry on Santaram in Shyamsundar Das, *Hindī ke nirmatā*.

<sup>433</sup> For the reception of Marie Stopes in India see Chowdhuri, "Instructions from the unconverted" and Compton Brouwer "Learning and teaching about birth control". For a detailed account of Stope's life and her pioneering work as an activist for sexual education, birth control and eugenics see Rose, *Marie Stopes*.

<sup>434</sup> Rose, *Marie Stopes*, 237.

<sup>435</sup> Santaram, *Vivāhit prem*, introduction, g.

<sup>436</sup> Santaram, *Mere jīvan ke anubhav*, 161.

<sup>437</sup> See Santaram, *Lokvyavahār*, back page.

grateful readers.<sup>438</sup> Santaram published his books that usually reached several editions, in very prestigious and well-known presses, such as the *Indian Press*, the *Naval Kishore press*, and also *Rajpal and Sons* for re-editions, making him a very renowned author of Hindi advice literature.

### *Yashoda Devi*

Yashoda Devi from Allahabad (born ca. 1890) was ‘one of the most famous Ayurvedic practitioners at the beginning of the twentieth century in North India’.<sup>439</sup> Information about her life and publishing can be gained from the introductions of her books. Her father, himself an Ayurvedic doctor, taught her at home, from where she started treating female patients at the age of 16. In 1908 she established an Ayurvedic pharmacy and dispensary for women in Allahabad, and later also opened branches in Patna, Benares and other cities.<sup>440</sup>

The rise of print media and increasing commercialization of medicine had led to the homogenization of and standardization of allopathic healing practices in India, both from a Unani and an Ayurveda background, which were then reinterpreted as ‘traditional’ Indian medical knowledge.<sup>441</sup> In this process, Ayurvedic practitioners ‘continuously underlined the superiority of Ayurveda in relation to western medicine, while at times selectively appropriating from the corpus of ideas they criticized’.<sup>442</sup> Yashoda Devi, too, combined Ayurvedic approaches to medicine that had been largely neglected and specified them for the needs of her female audience and patients. From her practical experience she learnt that many men and women ‘did not know anything about the science of avoiding illness (*ārogya-śāstra*), preservation of life (*jīvanrakṣā*), the proper means of sexual intercourse (*ratikriyā vidhān*) and procreation (*santān utpatti*)’.<sup>443</sup> Having treated ‘ten-thousands of women and through them their husbands’ she realized that there was no Hindi book that covered these

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<sup>438</sup> Santaram, *Mere jīvan ke anubhav*, 161. The reader in question mentioned in his letter that Santaram’s book ‘gave him more than a teacher (guru), mother, father, or anyone else could have’, and he further expressed his appreciation by sending Santaram a fountain pen as a prize gift of appreciation.

<sup>439</sup> Gupta, *Sexuality, Obscenity, Community*, 337.

<sup>440</sup> See Gupta, “Procreation and Pleasure”, 26ff for a detailed account of her work and influence as an ayurvedic practitioner.

<sup>441</sup> Pernau, “The Indian Body and Unani Medicine”, 106.

<sup>442</sup> Gupta, “Procreation and Pleasure”, 23.

<sup>443</sup> Yashoda Devi, *Dampati arogyatā jīvanśāstra*, introduction, 4.

topics in an appropriate manner.<sup>444</sup> Thus motivated, Yashoda Devi started to write books that combined Ayurvedic medicine with modern scientific approaches to health and hygiene. Her books blend medical advice on health, sexuality and procreation with social reformatory advice on domestic life, women's duties and the nature of a companionate marriage.

Yashoda Devi was an incredibly productive advisor – in the appendix of one of her books she adds a list of 82 works written by her and/or published under her editorship.<sup>445</sup> Many of these were huge compendia, such as the 720 pages long *Dampati arogyatā jīvanśāstra* ('The science of healthy conjugal life, 1924) or *Nārī Śārīr Vijiñān* ('Women's Physiology', 1938), a work of 1.144 pages. Some of her books also had a number of illustrations and pictures, for example *Dampatya Prem* ('Love of the married couple', 1933, 510 pages), which was specifically advertised for its 158 color and black-and-white illustrations.<sup>446</sup> Many of the books were re-edited, such as *Nārī Dharm Śikṣā* ('Education in the duties of a woman', 1926) which was reprinted thrice between 1926 and 1934 with print runs of 1000 each. Other books were published in quite high print runs, for example the second edition of *Dampati arogyatā jīvanśāstra* ('The science of healthy conjugal life') in 1931, which came out in 4000 copies.<sup>447</sup> She started the *Nārī Kartavya Granthāvalī* series ('Books on the duties of women'), and moreover also published and edited magazines for women and girls. These were all published in her own printing venture, the *Vanita Hitaishi Press*, situated alongside her Ayurvedic dispensary in the Colonel-ganj area of Allahabad.

Alongside her well-running Ayurvedic practice, Yashoda Devi also managed to set up a commercially successful enterprise. She sold her books in her ayurvedic dispensary, set up stalls at the annual Magh-mela festival in Allahabad for a couple of years,<sup>448</sup> and later started a post-order system for her books and medicine. Initially she had to rely on sponsorship. In the introduction to her first book, *Saccā pati-prem* ('True love for the husband', 1910), which was a compendium of historical biographies of remarkable women, she thanked Rani Durgadevi, wife of Shriman Kumvaranandsingh Sahab, who supported the publication of her book by a

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<sup>444</sup> Yashoda Devi, *Dampati arogyatā jīvanśāstra*, 1.

<sup>445</sup> See the list of books in Yashoda Devi, *Gṛhinī kartavya śikṣā*, back pages. Yashoda Devi stated in 1927 that she had finished 108 books, many of which had already come out and others would be published once the need arised. Yashoda Devi, *Dampati arogyatā jīvanśāstra*, introduction, 7. In the *Catalogue of Books printed...* for the United Provinces at least 24 of her major books can be located. For a detailed list see Gupta, "Procreation and Pleasure", 39f.

<sup>446</sup> See for example the book advertisements in the appendix to *Nārī dharm śikṣā* and *Dampati arogyatā jīvanśāstra*.

<sup>447</sup> Gupta, "Procreation and Pleasure", 39f.

<sup>448</sup> Yashoda Devi, *Dampati arogyatā jīvanśāstra*, introduction, 6.



donation. She then expressed her hope that also other women may encourage her with their (financial) support.<sup>449</sup> Advertising was another sales method for Yashoda Devi. At the end of *Saccā pati-prem* she advertised her next book *Saccīmātā* ('The true mother'), by complaining that thousands of books were written for men about women's education, but none were written for the women. She then proceeded to outline the usefulness of this book for mothers and uses an ingenious advertising strategy while pointing out the amount of attractive sewing patterns and knitting advice contained in this book.<sup>450</sup> Later books by Yashoda Devi contained huge appendices with book advertisements and letters of thanks from readers. In fact, she explicitly invited her readers to contact her by post and send in health questionnaires, so that she could treat those that could not come to her in person. These cases were then added as examples in her books, alongside letters of thanks and appreciation from her readers, for example that a boy-child had been born ('*putra utpann hua!*') thanks to Yashoda Devi's advice on conception techniques. Advertisements for the medicines available in Yashoda Devi's dispensary are added, such as the ointment called 'prosperity of lust', and which should 'remedy the strengthlessness of men and the weakness of the body-nerves'.<sup>451</sup> To advertise the effectiveness of her medicines and the soundness of her enterprise, she added that the all medicines would be sent for free, and their price only charged when the treatment was successful and the medicine would be ordered a second time. Yashoda Devi thus used her own publications as an advertising platform, but also put up advertisements for her writings and medicine in leading magazines such as *Chand* and *Madhuri*.<sup>452</sup>

Yashoda Devi's self-marketing strategies cemented her reputation as an ayurvedic practitioner exclusively for women, and also ensured the popularity of her books, by which she also reached out to expatriate Indians around the globe, so that her books became known 'all over India, in Afrika, in Fiji and in far away countries'.<sup>453</sup>

### *Jyotirmayi Thakur*

Jyotirmayi Thakur marked her presence in the Hindi literary sphere by the advice books that she wrote throughout the 1930s, and which catered to a female audience. Her works

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<sup>449</sup> Yashoda Devi, *Saccā pati-prem*, preface.

<sup>450</sup> Yashoda Devi, *Saccā pati-prem*, back page.

<sup>451</sup> Yashoda Devi, *Dampati arogyatā jīvanśāstra*, appendix.

lījīe taiyār ho gaya. kām kalyāṇ tel. puruṣom kī nīrbaltā aur śārīr kī nasom ko kamzorī ke liye.

<sup>452</sup> Gupta, "Procreation and pleasure", 27 (footnote 19).

<sup>453</sup> Yashoda Devi, *Dampati arogyatā jīvanśāstra*, introduction, 2

comprise household compendia, such as *Gharelu Vijnān* ('Domestic science', 1932) and *Gharelu Śikṣā* ('Domestic education', 1934). These books abound with practical advice on the treatment of illnesses and ailments, beauty tips, hygiene and cleaning instructions as well as guidance on needlework, sowing, fabric dyes and other domestic skills. Alongside, Thakur also wrote etiquette books for girls and women, which prominently feature health and beauty advice, for example *Khel aur vyayām* ('Play and exercise', 1933), *Strī aur saundarya* ('Beauty and the woman', 1933) or *Navyuvtyōm ko kyā jānnā cāhiye* ('What adolescent girls should know', 1934). Thakur's interest in discourses on women's reform, as well as the social and emotional role of women became gradually stronger. Especially her books written for (newly) married women, such as *Striyōm ke kartavya* ('Women's duties', 1934), *Ādarś patni* ('The ideal wife', 1935) and *Strī jīvan kī samasyāem* ('Problems in women's lives', 1949), emphasize female duties towards the husband and counsel on how to live a fulfilled marital life.

Unlike Yashoda Devi, who gave extensive details about her own professional life in the introduction to her books, Thakur's writings lack any biographical details. Some information, though, can be deduced from her pictures, which adorn the front pages of her books.<sup>454</sup> In these pictures Thakur is shown in modest and plain dress, wearing a long blouse and a simple Sari without elaborate decorations, large golden borders or intricate woven design patterns as can be seen in Illustration 7). She is not depicted wearing any kind of jewelry, her forehead only adorned with a small *bindī*. Below the picture, her full name is printed, prefaced by *Srīmatī*, a title that is usually reserved for married women. She does not have the red *kumkum* powder in the parting of her hair, which is usually applied by the husband and thus is the auspicious mark for married Hindu women. The marked absence of any kind of jewelry, together with the simple clothing and the decent sari that also covers her head, shown her as the ideal counter-image of the stylish "Memsahibs", those Indian women, who were criticized for overtly imitating western fashion, flirtatious behavior and negligence of wifely duties.<sup>455</sup> Concurrently, Thakur's picture, although in modest demeanor, also breaks *pardah*, the social seclusion that many high-caste Hindu women observed. With her modest demeanor, she nevertheless stood tall in front of the camera, an book (maybe one of her own advice books?)

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<sup>454</sup> See the portrait on the front page *Gharelu Vijnān* (wearing a light-colored sari with a simple woven border and a blouse with narrow braid trimming), *Strī aur saundarya* (with a patterned blouse and a plain sari) and *Khel aur Vyayām* (full length-picture with Thakur standing in front of a chair, a book in her hand, wearing a printed cotton sari, a plain blouse and sandals). In all pictures the end of her sari modestly covers her head.

<sup>455</sup> Gupta, *Sexuality, Obscenity, Community*, 140f.

in hand. The visual representations of Thakur style her as an embodied personal and moral example of the ideal ‘modern’, yet homely and ‘traditional’ Indian woman.

Thakur’s books came out in various presses, all situated in Allahabad which had by then developed as a major hub for commercial publishers in Northern India.<sup>456</sup> In this increasingly commercialized book market, Thakur probably had a number of local supporters and sponsors that were in contact with different publishers. The book *Strī aur saundārya*, for example, was chosen to be the first book in a series published by the *Prayāg Mahilā Vidyāpīth*.<sup>457</sup> In the preface the (female) editor praises the book as a highly useful agent so that ‘a great shortcoming in the lives of women can be remedied’ and ‘the stock of Hindi literature may be increased by this beautiful works’.<sup>458</sup> The increasingly commercialized market for advice literature provided the necessary structures for Thakur to position herself and her own books, but her success was mainly based on her ability to write on topics that were interesting for her readers.

### *Krishnakant Malaviya*

Krishnakant Malaviya (born 1884 in Allahabad, died 1941 in Delhi) was the nephew of the famous promoter of Hindi, educationalist and national activist Madan Mohan Malaviya. Although trained for a career in law, he decided to devote his life to the social course, entered politics and also made his mark as a publisher and writer. In 1912 he began his career with publishing the magazine *Maryādā*, later took over the editorship of *Abhyuday*, which had been started in 1907 by his famous uncle and developed into a very prestigious magazine.<sup>459</sup> Like many politically engaged Indians at the time, he took part in the civil disobedience movement and subsequently ‘made his voyage to the jail’ (*jelyātrā*). Later he became an active member of the state assembly.<sup>460</sup> There he lobbied especially for widow remarriage and inheritance rights for women, as well as for the abolition of untouchability. His writings consist of books on politics, such as *Viśva kā rajnītik bhaviṣya* (‘Political future of the world’) or *Svarājya aur sāhitya* (‘Independence and literature’), and an innumerable amount of essays and articles on

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<sup>456</sup> See Shrivastav, *Prayag Pradip*, 67ff

<sup>457</sup> The *Prayāg Mahilā Vidyāpīth* was an institution of higher education for women, established in 1922. It later became incorporated into Allahabad University.

<sup>458</sup> Foreword by the editor. In Thakur, *Strī aur saundarya*, 7.

<sup>459</sup> Mushtaq Ali, *Hindī sāhitya ke itihās*, 482.

<sup>460</sup> Shrinarayan Chaturvedi (ed), *Sarasvatī Hirak-jayantī viśeṣānk*, 779.

world affairs as well as Indian politics and social issues.<sup>461</sup> He is also known for three books that he published as a trilogy under the daring, according to critics too alluring and raucous title *Suhāgrāt* ('Wedding night'). These books were also advertised in the magazine *Abhyuday*.<sup>462</sup> In *Prayāg Pradīp*, written in 1937 as a compendium on the history, sights, as well as the past and present culture on Allahabad, Malaviya is introduced as follows:

Who would not know Krishnakant Malaviya, the editor of 'Abhyuday'? With his worthy products he contributes nicely to the growths of the existing store-house of Hindi literature. Some time ago, his book 'Suhāgrāt' raised a lot of noise and commotion among the youngsters. He writes good poetry in Urdu.<sup>463</sup>

The book in question was *Suhāgrāt yā Bahūrānī ko sīkh* ('Wedding night or advice to the bride', probably first published in 1926), that addresses the issue of how to build up a fulfilled marital relationship with the husband. Soon afterwards Malaviya published its counterpart directed at young men with the title *Suhāgrāt bhāg 2 yā patiyor̃ ko sīkh. Manoramā ke patra apne premiyoṃ ke nām par* ('Wedding night part 2 or Advice for husbands. Manorama's letters written to her lovers', first published 1927).<sup>464</sup> Some years later, Malaviya also brought out a book on 'Motherhood and concern for children' with the title *Māṭṛitva tathā baccor̃ kī fikr (Suhāgrāt bhāg 3)*. The books became instantly popular, probably not despite, but rather because of the fact that their controversial titles caused public outcry and calls for censorship. In fact, they were reviewed favorably in a number of monthly and weekly magazines.<sup>465</sup> Subsequently they were in high demand in the library.<sup>466</sup>

Malaviya's writings may have gained more popularity, as he already was well-known as an editor, writer and also political activist. His books were reprinted at least until the mid-1960s,<sup>467</sup> which can be partly explained by the fact that the reading public continued to show great interest in the sensitive topics he addressed.

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<sup>461</sup> Kshemchandra, *Divangāt hindī sevī*, 113.

<sup>462</sup> Sharma, "Debating Women's Health", 188.

<sup>463</sup> Shaligram Shrivastav, *Prayāg pradīp*, 152.

<sup>464</sup> For reasons of simplicity, Krishnakant Malaviya's first book in the *Suhāgrāt*-series will be further cited in this study as *Bahūrānī ko sīkh* ('Advice to the bride'), while his second book will be cited as *Patiyor̃ ko sīkh* ('Advice for husbands').

<sup>465</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, author's foreword to the second edition, 5.

<sup>466</sup> The Bharti Bhavan Library, for example, stocked 4 copies of *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 5 copies of *Patiyor̃ ko sīkh*, and 2 copies of the *Māṭṛitva*. Several of these are missing from the shelves, and it is open to speculation whether monsoon climate and bookworms are to blame, or whether some of the readers might secretly purloined an edition of the book.

<sup>467</sup> The card catalogue of Bharti Bhavan library lists reprints of *Bahūrānī ko sīkh* and *Patiyor̃ ko sīkh* in the 1930s, 1940s and 1960s.

## Adjusting between Obscenity and Celibacy

Advice relating to all topics even widely connected to sexual intercourse was indeed highly sought after. It had to be approached sensitively as printed matter on these topics was under the watchful eye of the authorities, both in India as well as in the metropolis.

Throughout the nineteenth and wide into the twentieth century 'obscene books' were primarily conceived as a moral and emotional threat. Representations of lust in either print or picture were thought of as contagious, deteriorating those who read it. In Britain, books were banned on the grounds of obscenity, as they were thought to have a direct effect on 'procreative behaviors, well-being and public decency of the popular classes'. As 'pathological agents', they endangered the social hygiene of the individual as well as the empire.<sup>468</sup> These fears were augmented by medical surveys, statistical enquiries and the popularization of new socio-scientific approaches such as environmentalism and eugenics, to tackle the perceived racial deterioration.<sup>469</sup> Just as in England, the publication and distribution of pornography was also strictly forbidden in India.<sup>470</sup> Relevant sections were added to the Indian Penal Code in the late nineteenth century that forbade any pictures or texts that were 'lascivious or appealed to the pruriest interest' and could have the 'effect of depraving or corrupting persons exposed to it'.<sup>471</sup> The decision which books would fall under this category, and which not, had to be done on a case-by-case basis. Often, not only pornographic material in a stricter sense was censored, but also books on marital advice and birth control. A general change can be noticed around the end of the First World War. After that, books like the *Kamasutra* were openly publicized and circulated in England as well as in India and other parts of the British Empire.<sup>472</sup> Changes were also visible on the Hindi book market, and in the early years of the twentieth century a variety of books flooded the market that were straight on the borderline between popular entertainment and indecent pulp fiction, such as 'semi-pornographic sex manuals and romances in colloquial Hindi, thin tracts and small formats of songs and poems in Braj'.<sup>473</sup> Writers of morally educative Hindi advice books, in turn, railed against immoral texts and

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<sup>468</sup> Heath, *Purifying Empire*, 83.

<sup>469</sup> Fischer-Tiné, "From *Brahmacarya* to 'Conscious Race Culture' ", 244ff.

<sup>470</sup> The 'Obscene Publications Act' had been already introduced in Britain in 1857, but the spreading international trade of pornography or literature that was considered obscene was perceived as a huge threat. The creation of the international Obscene Publications Act from 1925 was largely based on British initiative (see Heath, *Purifying Empire*, 70 and 89f).

<sup>471</sup> Sections 292-294 of the Indian Penal Code cited in Gupta, *Sexuality, Obscenity, Community*, 30f.

<sup>472</sup> Heath, *Purifying Empire*, 81.

<sup>473</sup> Gupta, *Sexuality, Obscenity, Community*, 52f.

emphasized how important it was to read instructive and morally uplifting texts. Kamtaprasad Guru emphasized as part of his 'Indian etiquette' (*Hindusthānī śiṣṭācār*) that reading the right kind of books would morally improve persons and refine their behavior; Ramnarayan Mishra warned against the deteriorating effect if young adults got in contact with the wrong kind of books, and Jyotirmayi Thakur asked female readers to concentrate on religious books and 'take their message to heart'.<sup>474</sup> Authors, who tried to contribute to the creation of a Hindi canon of literature for moral improvement, criticized the easy availability of texts that could have the exactly opposite effect on the reader. Advice book writers also took up position against unregulated channels of knowledge transmission (especially those attributed to the domain of women, such as gossip, frightening tales and stories, songs with sexual undertones that were sung at weddings). Yashoda Devi was the editor of a book with women's songs cleansed of any obscene lyrics, Jyotirmayi Thakur emphasized in their advice books that good girls would never listen to 'dirty things', and Santaram postulated that ideal wives never listened to servants' gossip.<sup>475</sup> Those authors that published adaptations of ancient Indian treatises on love, guidelines for a happy marriage, or instruction on how to produce healthy children highlighted their scientific and informative background. Still, the boundaries between sexual enlightenment and obscene entertainment remained thin at the most. While condemning 'indecent', advice books also acknowledged the existence of what would be otherwise unacceptable to talk about in public.

Many authors spiced up the content of their books, like Mangalsen Agraval who explicitly describing different sexual positions and even adding a picture of a nearly naked woman in his book titled 'Wedding night, with illustrations' (*Sacitra pahlī suhāgrāt*).<sup>476</sup> The overtly clear allusion to sexual intercourse in the title must have raised objections, as was the case with the similarly titled books by Krishnakant Malaviya. Chatursen Vaid, the author of *Vyabhicār* ('Fornication', 1925) was harshly critique from his reviewers and friends, although he insisted that his only aim was to warn and educate readers about the dangers of fornication.<sup>477</sup> Throughout his book he condemned lust as the root of all evils, making young men turn to masturbation, causing nightly emissions (*svapn-doṣ*, literally 'vice through

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<sup>474</sup> Guru, *Hindusthānī śiṣṭācār*, 12. Mishra, *Bālopadēś*, 16f. Thakur, *Navyuvṭiyorī*, 119.

<sup>475</sup> Krishnakala and Yashoda Devi, *Strī sangīt sāgar*. Thakur, *Navyuvṭiyorī*, 117. Santaram, *Ādarś patnī*, 45

<sup>476</sup> Agraval, *Sacitra pahlī suhāgrāt*, insert between page 44 and 45. The European-looking woman on this picture has bare breasts and only wears tight briefs.

<sup>477</sup> Vaid, *Vyabhicār*, introduction.

dreams’) and, through the loss of semen, weaken their bodies. But also the souls (*ātmā*) of those that had fallen prey to fornication were affected, as lust (*kām*) changed the whole emotional setup of a person: ‘Lust creates anger (*krodh*), anger creates greed (*lobh*), and greed creates infatuation/lust (*moh*)’.<sup>478</sup> The idea that emotion-vice reinforced each other and formed a vicious circle linked up with nationalist discourse on male virility and national/racial superiority.<sup>479</sup> Therefore the Hindi print market in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw a wave of advice books which promoted the idea that uncontrolled sexuality led to the total deterioration of a person. Vaid, like many of his contemporaries, postulated in his advice manuals that there was only one medicine to save the Indian nation from deterioration: *brahmacarya* – a lifestyle dominated by rigid celibacy and emotional control.<sup>480</sup>

*Brahmacarya* can be understood in terms of two interrelated concepts. In its first usage, *brahmacarya* denotes the first of four life-stages according to a system mentioned in ancient scriptural texts such as the *Manusmriti*. The theory behind the life-stage of *brahmacarya*, comprising the first 25 years of human life, was that students would lead a celibate life under the strict supervision of a teacher, and thus acquire the necessary moral knowledge to fulfill their duty (*dharm*) in later life. Reformers in late colonial India tried to revitalize this ancient educational system by founding the ‘Gurukul’ as alternative indigenous educational institution, deeply rooted in the “national” culture’.<sup>481</sup> Whereas *brahmacharya* in this usage was, at least theoretically, temporally restricted to a life-stage, the second usage of the term denoted an entire way of life, based primarily on celibacy and the strict control of any kind of sexual desire. *Brahmacarya* in this sense especially focused on the control and preservation of semen, which was seen as the strength-giving life-force. The avoidance of all forms of fornication was one element in a much larger holistic system. As all possible stimuli that could create lust had to be avoided, the ideal of *brahmacarya* also translated into rules for daily practices – food items to be avoided, a certain form of clothing that is proscribed, or rules

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<sup>478</sup> Vaid, *Vyabhicār*, 115.

kām se krodh, krodh se lobh, lobh se moh utpann hotā hai.

<sup>479</sup> See Fischer-Tiné, “From *Brahmacarya* to ‘Conscious Race Culture’ ”. For the emergence of this idea in nineteenth century Bengal see Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*.

<sup>480</sup> Vaid, *Vyabhicār*, 229ff.

<sup>481</sup> Fischer-Tiné, “From *Brahmacarya* to ‘Conscious Race Culture’ ”, 244.

Munshiram, the leader of the radical fraction of the Arya Samaj opened the ‘Gurukul’, a residential school project, in 1902. For an extensive study on the Gurukul, its aims, practices and the outcome of this pedagogical project see Fischer-Tiné, *Der Gurukul-Kangri oder die Erziehung der Arya-Nation*.

regarding sleeping on the floor and not sharing one bed sheet with the wife, etc). Both religious “orthodox” and “reform” fractions promoted *brahmacharya* as a pivotal ideal for all Hindus.<sup>482</sup> In the course of the national movement, Mahatma Gandhi, stood out as one of the main promoters of bodily control and abstinence, and the strict form of *brahmacharya* he promoted also served as an embodied version of his political aims.<sup>483</sup> Joseph Alter summed up the meaning of *brahmacharya*, which starts with celibacy, but subsequently should lead to the total transformation of a person’s lifestyle:

Brahmacharya is therefore an inclusive way of life based on simplicity. The goal is to bring all faculties under control so as to embody truth. Kama, or lust, is the aspect of experience that is most unstable, and sexual desire in particular is thought to be volatile and dangerous to control.<sup>484</sup>

Those that follow *brahmacharya* aim at the total eradication of lust, as this feeling was deemed to be the cause of physical, mental and moral deterioration. As the concept was massively promoted in the first half of the twentieth century, it also developed into a prominent emotional style. The burgeoning literature on *brahmacharya* promoted sexual control and moderation, alongside the modulation of lust and other emotions, in order to reach a higher state of truth and refined feeling.

As with all formulations of ideals, theory and practice can differ widely. A vivid picture of the social and emotional consequences of *brahmacharya* when practiced as a rigid emotional style can be gained from Santaram’s autobiography.<sup>485</sup> Santaram was married to his wife Gangadevi in 1899 at the age of twelve. As per custom, the newly wedded husband and wife first remained in their respective parents’ houses. Four years later, after reaching puberty, Gangadevi moved into the house of her in-laws in a small village in rural Punjab. Santaram was studying for his B.A. in Lahore at the time, and when his wife came for a visit he realized that she was totally illiterate. Extremely unhappy about it, Santaram found a solution in a

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<sup>482</sup> See Malhotra, “The Body as a Metaphor for the Nation” for the rules of *brahmacharya* promoted by the eminent Arya Samaj leader Swami Dayanand Saraswati. Similar and even more meticulous rules are also outlined by Hanumanprasad Poddar in his advice manual *Brahmacharya*. The emphasis on celibacy served as one more common ground for both fractions in their efforts to unite all Hindus into a tight community (see also section 3.1. of this thesis).

<sup>483</sup> Alter, *Gandhi’s Body, Gandhi’s Truth*, 26. The Sasta Sahitya Mandal started a special book series with Gandhi’s writings in the 1930s. The books were sold at a very low cost in order to make them available to the masses. See the introduction to Gandhi, *Brahmacharya*

<sup>484</sup> Alter, *Moral Materialism*, 66.

<sup>485</sup> The following account is taken from the chapter *gārhasthya jīvan* (‘domestic life’) of Santaram’s autobiography. Santaram, *Mere jīvan ke anubhāv*, 83ff.



small booklet written by the Arya Samaj leader Swami Shraddhanand. He followed the book's advice and told his wife that he would only 'establish a proper couple's connection' (*dāmpatya sambandhan*, i.e. sexual intercourse) when she had become fully fluent in reading and writing. Using enforced celibacy as an educational device, Santaram started to teach his wife how to write in Hindi. Gangadevi made fast progress, although she would have preferred to learn reading and writing the Gurmukhi script in her mother tongue Punjabi. At the time people in rural areas were highly critical of women's educations, and Gangadevi was ridiculed by the local women for being able to read and write. The bullying and mockery became even stronger after Santaram forbade her to follow the customary veiling practice of covering head and face with the end of the sari (*ghūṁghaṭ*).

Santaram, heavily influenced by Arya Samaj ideas and a strict follower of *brahmacārya*, kept on living separate from his wife and did not exchange any intimacies with her to the extent that he 'even ran away from her shadow'. Life for Gangadevi was very difficult, in fact, she was constantly unhappy, as 'for a woman there can be no graver insult and pain than that people thinking that her husband would not like her.' Santaram wrote about himself: 'The ghost of *brahmacarya* was riding on me. [...] But instead of gaining from this strict form of *brahmacarya* I made a loss – my idea of *brahmacarya* was impure (*aśuddh*)'.<sup>486</sup> It was only by reading Marie Stopes' books on marriage advice and the kind intervention of his paternal aunt (a child-widow that had been like a mother-figure to him) that he saw reason. From then on, he started to keep his wife with him and worked on establishing a close relationship. In 1912 the finally found marital happiness was crowned by the birth of a little son.

Gangadevi was but one of the many reluctant women, whose husbands reformed and modernized them against their will. Santaram's self-assessment of the situation – moderated by the hindsight of autobiographical writing – reads like a testimony, not only to the transformative power of advice literature, but also as to how the austere celibate practices associated with *brahmacarya* developed into a strict, and in many ways oppressive, emotional style. The sadness inflicted on Gangadevi was caused by the lack of love and signs of (physical) affection by her husband. But an even graver impact on her was the social ostracism she suffered from other women: She alone was blamed for the fact that her husband did not show

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<sup>486</sup> Santaram, *Mere jīvan ke anubhav*, 85.

[...] mujh par brahmacarya kā bhūt savār thā. [...] parantu is kaṭhin brahmacarya ke lābh se apekṣā mujhe hānī adhik huī. brahmacarya kī merī kalpanā āśuddh thī.

love for her. It was understood by the people in her village that she lacked the necessary skills of exerting emotional power over her husband and making him love her.<sup>487</sup>

Advice writers such as Santaram and Jyotirmayi Thakur, Yashoda Devi and Krishnakant Malaviya stand for the promotion of dyadic love between the couple. They praised *brahmacarya* and promoted the control of (sexual) lust as a way to ensure health and longevity.<sup>488</sup> Whereas the majority of *brahmacarya* advice focused on the importance of total celibacy for boys and prescribed the concentration on studies and exercise to allow the proper formation of body and mind, the present authors also extended the ideal of celibacy to underage girls and unmarried women.<sup>489</sup> *Brahmacarya* is promoted not as a strict emotional and bodily regime, but more in the light of general sexual restraint and the avoidance of lust and overall indulgence. While the advice books discussed here asserted the importance of sexual restraint and the cultivation of love for dyadic relationships, they also emphasized the importance of a healthy sexual life, from which both partners could draw pleasure. In his 1925 translation of Marie Stopes' *Married Love* into Hindi, Santaram replaced 'abstinence' with *brahmacarya*. According to this text, the sexual abstinent 'ascetic' would be as prone to disease as those overtly indulging in fornication (*vyabhicār*). Controlled and moderated intercourse under the roof of matrimony, on the other hand, would be of 'positive healing and vitalizing power'.<sup>490</sup>

The formulation of love and a dyadic relationship of the married couple was already a staple of Indian domestic advice literature since the late nineteenth century. Now, even 'decent' Hindi manuals promoted love not only as an ideal spiritual connection, but also emphasized the importance of the right physical execution of love: moderate, focused on procreation, but also allowing pleasure within the bounds of marriage. Simultaneously, happiness and fulfillment of (sexual) love for both the husband and the wife were

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<sup>487</sup> The conceptualization of 'love' as a normative emotion for a dyadic husband-wife relationship is further explored through case studies in section 4.3.

<sup>488</sup> Examples: Yashoda Devi, *Dampatya prem*, chapter 12 (positive effects of *brahmacarya* for women and men of all ages); Yashoda Devi, *Dampati arogyatā jīvanśāstra*, 3 (poem on the live-prolonging and happiness-ensuing effects of *brahmacarya*). Thakur, *Striyom̃ ke kartavya*, 94 (postulating *brahmacarya* for men as well as for women); Santaram, *Ādarś pati* (promotion of *brahmacarya* in the chapter on 'protection of the body')

<sup>489</sup> For example Thakur, *Navyuvtyom̃*, 113; Santaram, *Nirog kanya*, 50f

<sup>490</sup> Santaram, Stopes, *Married Love*, 75. Santaram, *Vivahit prem*, 134f.

highlighted.<sup>491</sup> Whereas *brahmacarya* as a rigid emotional style would center on the total eradication of lust, the writers of advice literature promoted love as the maker of marital bliss instead. They included also domesticated forms of lust into their elaborations on ideal marital relationship and thus enhanced emotional norms for devoted wives and loving husbands.

## **4.2. Changing Modes of Production and Reception**

At a time when the book market and distribution strategies were still limited, book series and subscription schemes as well as the patronage from governmental and non-governmental sources, helped to ensure the distribution and sales of advice literature.<sup>492</sup> After 1920 the market for books expanded rapidly and became more diverse. As a result, new genres came up and became highly popular, such as thrillers, romantic novels and detective stories.<sup>493</sup> Writers of normative advice literature had to withstand the increasing competition, both from outside and within the genre, as educational books still had a major share in the overall production of Hindi literature in the 1940s.<sup>494</sup> Advice on domestic topics remained in high demand, a field which was also covered by the increasing number of women's and girls' magazines that combined normative advice on behavior and information on domestic topic with entertaining pieces of fiction and international and national reports on topics deemed both suitable as well as interesting for women.<sup>495</sup> Consequently, writers of advice books scouted out new ways and means to attract readers. They not only needed to establish themselves in the competitive environment of domestic advice literature, but also had to distinguish their work from the variety of cheap and 'indecent' publications.

The efforts that authors underwent in order to make their advice manuals attractive for potential readers becomes evident in the writing styles and non-textual devices they used in order reach out to their readers on an affective level. The visual traces left in the books by readers (scribbles, markings and comments on the margins of the pages) also allow glimpses into the reception of advice literature. Marginalia, understood as 'important devices' used by

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<sup>491</sup> Examples: Santaram, *Lokvyayahār*, 477 (suggestion that readers should consult a good sex-manual, promotion of Santaram's book *Rati-vijñān*). Yashoda Devi, *Kām vijñān*, 228 and 235f (sex should be wanted by both partners, otherwise unhealthy children would be the result. Sexual intercourse is presented as a source of happiness).

<sup>492</sup> This argument is made in section 2.1.

<sup>493</sup> See Orsini, *Print and Pleasure*.

<sup>494</sup> Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere*, 79.

<sup>495</sup> See Nijhāwan, *Women and Girls in the Hindi Public Sphere*.

readers ‘for remembering and assimilating text’ have been researched as source to uncover the ways readers engaged with specific texts.<sup>496</sup> My analysis of marginalia in domestic advice books does not aim at drawing conclusions about the reception of advice literature in general, but rather shows select examples of how readers, or different types of readers, valued and critically engaged with advice books, especially regarding the norms for emotions and their expressions that were postulated in these books.

## Authors Reaching Out to Readers

Advice manuals produced from the 1920s onwards, show attempts of the authors to directly reach out to their potential readers and also engage them on an emotional level. The main challenge writers of advice literature had to face was the preference of the general public for light and entertaining novels and other reading material, whose moral messages were often questionable. Yashoda Devi, in the introduction to an advice manual published in 1927, painted a vivid image of the difficulties selling normative literature in a commercialized book market:

In the beginning, when I brought out some instructive books for women, I received many letters from women, all on a similar topic: “If you have some amazing novels, then please send them, please quickly send novels written after the current fashion, which captivate our minds (*man lage*) while reading”. [...] Thus my sales of books on women’s education used to be very low in those days, 17-18 years ago. It even happened that men ordered books but their wives, upon seeing them, refused these books and then the men wrote: “please excuse us, our wives did not like your books, if you have some amazing novels please send them in exchange”.<sup>497</sup>

The main problem that writers of advice books faced was that their readers urged for books that captivated their minds, with which they could identify and which created pleasure (*man lagnā*). The latter was a process attributed to the reading of novels, which would lead to terrible results, as Yashoda Devi vividly disclosed:

Through these novels and other books, with their useless and improper teachings and their tendency to amuse and distract [the mind] (*man bahlāna*), a bad influence falls on the mind (*citt*) of men and women, and that is why today in our country, in each and every home, men and women are struck with diseases afflicting semen and menstrual discharge.<sup>498</sup>

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<sup>496</sup> Jackson, *Marginalia*, 87.

<sup>497</sup> Yashoda Devi, *Dampati arogyatā jīvanśāstra*, introduction, 6.

<sup>498</sup> Yashoda Devi, *Dampati arogyatā jīvanśāstra*, introduction, 7.

Yashoda Devi drew a direct connection from the distracting effect of unsuitable literature to medical conditions that would ultimately result in sexual issues between the couple. According to Yashoda Devi, the failure to conceive healthy offspring ultimately destroyed the happiness of the couple, and at the same time endangered the future of country, community and nation. Other reformers and writers of advice literature came to a similar assessment of the situation. As a result, they not only continued to outline the deteriorating effect of bad and obscene literature in their books, but also actively sought out methods to make their books more attractive to the reader. In order to achieve this, creating a direct connection to the reader on an emotional level would be necessary. Yashoda Devi's extended introductions and appendices in which she revealed personal information and sought feedback and direct contact with her readers is a prominent example for how writers of advice manuals tried to establish that connection. Santaram employed a similar method of addressing his imagined readers. In the introduction to a re-edition of *Ādars' Patni* ('The ideal wife') he stated that his aim would be achieved as soon as one reader had 'a more fulfilled and satisfying marriage' because of reading the book.<sup>499</sup> On the back page of *Lok-vyayahār*, the translation of Dale Carnegie's *How to make friends and influence people*, Santaram directly addressed the readers and asked for their stories, experiences and accounts of how this book had changed their lives. His aim was to produce a similar book 'written on the basis of Indian ingredients' and assured that the readers' names and home towns would not be published if they do not wish so. He assured them that they 'should not worry about their style of language', as he was only interested in the events and would then rephrase them in his own words. Santaram thus specifically included those not belonging to the educated urban elite and appealed to his readers that they, themselves could also make a difference in other people's lives, if they only took up the pen: 'How you put to use the messages of this book will not only interest me, but will also help many people, which you will never get a chance to meet, in order to make their life happy and full of feeling (*saras*)'.<sup>500</sup>

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in vyarth ke anucit śikṣāvale upanyāsoṃ aur anya pustakoṃ se strī aur puruṣoṃ ke citt par jo burā prabhāv paṛā hai suī kā yah kāraṇ hai ki āj deś meṃ ghar ghar strī puruṣ raj vīrya sambandhī anek rogoṃ meṃ phaṃse hue hairṃ.

<sup>499</sup> Santaram, *Ādars' patnī*, 4.

<sup>500</sup> Santaram, *Lok-vyayahār*, back page.

āp ne is pustak ke siddhāntoṃ kā kaise upyog kiyā, yah kathā na keval mujhe varn, anek aise logoṃ ko bhī apnā jīvan sukhī aur saras banāne maim sahayat ā degī jin ke milne kā āp ko kabhī avsar nahīm milegā.

Directly addressing the potential reader is but one of the stylistic devices, which Santaram makes frequent use of in order to reach out to the readers of his advice books. In *Nirog kanya* ('The healthy girl', 1930) he used affective cues, which imitate spoken language and a personalized, intimate setting of advice giving. He frequently started new paragraphs with interjections such as: 'let me tell you one more thing' or 'now also listen to what I mean by habits', and by posing direct questions aimed at his imagined readership of adolescent girls eager to learn more about how to keep their body and mind healthy.<sup>501</sup>

Another stylistic device to make the books more attractive for readers was the use of pictures and illustrations. This had, thanks to developments in print technology become easier and cheaper, so that towards the end of the 1920s illustrations became a staple element of magazines.<sup>502</sup> In Santaram's book *Nirog kanyā* these serve as illustrations for mainly informative purposes - they show the correct postures of sitting and standing, illustrated by anatomical drawings of the spine, or depict the furnishing of an 'ideal girls' room'.<sup>503</sup> Some of Jyotirmayi Thakur's books have similar illustrations of exercises and games which would be appropriate for women and girls.<sup>504</sup> Just as well, many of the 158 pictures and illustrations added to Yashoda Devi's *Dampatya Prem* are informative illustrations and anatomical drawings of reproductive organs, the process of childbirth etc. Yashoda Devi's book also features illustrations to 'captivate the mind' of readers in a decent and educative way. Among these are depictions of husband-wife couples in scenes of every-day life, but also illustrations full of romantic cues (sitting close to each other with the woman feeding snacks to the man, embracing, sitting together during rainy season with a peacock in the background). At the same time, the book also contains drastic pictures of adulterous men and women who are tortured in hell. Yashoda Devi thus on the one hand employs 'captivating' and 'pleasure creating' pictures that could have also illustrated romance novels, but contrasts them on the other hand with drastic and frightful depictions of what would happen if readers did not follow the norms of propriety outlined in her book.

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<sup>501</sup> Santaram, *Nirog kanya*, 35 and 50

<sup>502</sup> Pinney, *Photos of the Gods*, 147

<sup>503</sup> Santaram, *Nirog Kanya*, 107. This picture betrays how Santaram's imagined readership is nevertheless centred on the educated and westernized elite, who could afford well-furnished separate rooms (with a bed, dressing table, desk and decorated with framed pictures and flowers) for their daughters.

<sup>504</sup> Thakur's illustrations in *Khel or vyavyam* are further discussed in section 4.3.

The pictures of herself that Jyotirmayi Thakur added after the cover pages of her books, are another for of visual affective cues, and could be interpreted as conscious devices to get closer to the potential readers on an affective level. Pictures of women that could serve as role models for all Indian women and girls had by the 1920s and 1930s become a frequent occurrence in women's periodicals, such as the renowned magazines *Grlakṣmī* and *Mādhurī*.<sup>505</sup> In Thakur's case, her picture allowed her become visually palpable to her readers. On the pictures her face radiates with natural beauty, she has a fair complexion, smooth skin and the parted hair is shiny and a little wavy. Her shiny bright eyes with an intelligent expression stand out from the pictures. She does not have the stern look and tight lips so often seen on contemporary pictures, but instead the corners of her mouth tilt slightly upwards, increasing the idea of her as having a friendly, open and caring personality. Thakur's dress and demeanor, as shown on the picture, make her appear approachable, but also confirm her authority as a writer and a counselor that incorporated her own lessons: The book clasped in her hand sends out a further message– a good and instructive book is much more suitable than any other adornment for a young woman. The regular use of Thakur's portraits on the cover pages of her books can thus be judged as a conscious effort to create familiarity and make the books' readers more susceptible on an affective level. In the case of Thakur it would have also been decisive that she was, in fact, a woman, as opposed to a male author writing under a female pseudonym.<sup>506</sup> Yashoda Devi, too, represented herself in her writings as a 'sympathetic listener who shared a common vocabulary and body language with those she treated'.<sup>507</sup> Both wrote at a time, when female authorship in the Hindi public sphere became more and more present, but also sought for, and women increasingly took over the Indian male 'civilizing mission' in order to reform their 'sisters'.<sup>508</sup> It was generally acknowledged, that the authorship of women, writing in a female idiom, could be most helpful in not only enriching Hindi language and literature, but bridging the gap between the oral female world and the world of writing presented in books.<sup>509</sup>

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<sup>505</sup> Nijhawan, *Women and Girls in the Hindi Public Sphere*, chapter 2.

<sup>506</sup> Articles and essays by male writers were not uncommonly published under a female pseudonym in Hindi journals.

<sup>507</sup> Gupta, "Procreation and Pleasure", 34.

<sup>508</sup> Nijhawan, "Civilizing Sisters", 214

<sup>509</sup> See Nijhawan, *Women and Girls in the Hindi Public Sphere*, 212f.

According to popular belief, the emotional connection between female author and female reader, based on their shared gender, was thought to increase the efficiency of advice giving. If the usefulness of normative literature was judged by the degree as to which it could affect the readers also on an emotional level, then male authors also needed to look for stylistic devices in order to set their normative texts in such a way that they, too, could appeal to a female audience. Such a process can be exemplarily shown for Krishnakant Malaviya's books. He states in his introduction that the books were written for a personal reason – his son would marry soon and he wanted to gift the young couple with advice that would ensure them to 'make their married life filled with happiness', and created two books, one for the son, the other for the daughter-in-law.<sup>510</sup> The latter book came out first with the title *Suhāgrāt yā Bahūrānī ko sīkh* ('Wedding night or advice to the bride'), and although many people took offence with the title (and others probably bought it just because of the title), Malaviya maintained that he wrote that book in such a way that the 'barrier of shame would not be broken' and that he chose a woman as the narrator, because 'a woman talking to another woman can express herself more freely in these matters and can also talk about topics that cannot even tentatively be discussed by a man'.<sup>511</sup> The strategy of creating intimacy is combined by Malaviya with a stylistic device to turn a normative text into an interesting read: the main body of the advice book is written in the style of an epistolary novel, and then supplemented with a large appendix with miscellaneous essays and pieces on advice. The setting of the letter exchange was not uncommon for the genre of advice literature: Shanti ('peaceful'), a model woman, devout wife and older confidant writes letters to her baby-sister Shila ('virtuous'), a girl of 13-14 years of age, who has just been married. She kindly advises the girl on the necessary knowledge of married life – focusing on the fact that the happiness in marriage is something that needs to be worked on, that married life is not easy at all, and that the fascination and humdrum of the wedding will wane soon. The letters are styled as that of an intimate, ongoing conversation, reflected in 27 letters written by Shanti under headings such as 'the wedding night', 'men and women', 'authority over the husband', 'books on love', 'bringing up children' and 'behavior in society'.<sup>512</sup> From her letters, Shanti appears as a

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<sup>510</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 24.

<sup>511</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 42.

ek strī dūsre strī se is sambandh meṁ bāteṁ kartī huī ek puruṣ kī apekṣā adhik ni:saṅkoc ho sakti hai, dūsre yeh aisi anek bātoṁ ke sambandh meṁ unse carcā kar saktī hai, jiske sambandh meṁ puruṣ tanik bhī carcā nahīṁ kar saktā. maine prastut pustak meṁ is bāt kī bhī yathāśakti ceṣṭā kā [sic!] hai ki jahāntak sambhav ho sankoc kī sīmā kī hatyā na kī jāy.

<sup>512</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, table of content.



representation of the model wife – she keeps a proper house and freshens up before he comes home, never sits idle but engages in stitching and sowing, does not leave his bedside when he is ill etc.<sup>513</sup> Malaviya’s second advice book *Patiyom̄ ko sikh* (‘Advice to husbands’), which is subtitled as *Manoramā ke patra apne premiyom̄ ke nām* (‘Manorama’s letters to her lovers’), is also written in an epistolary style. True to this title, the book consists of 9 fictional letters by Manorama, addressed to her 8 former lovers. The last letter is addressed to Malaviya, giving him the role of an editor who has the permission to publish her letters. In the letters, the voice of Manorama is that of an assertive and confident woman, who, although having been slighted by many of her lovers, is now writing them in the spirit of bittersweet reminiscence. In the first letter, for example, is addressed to ‘Prem’ (‘love’) and titled *Priyatamā ko prasann rakhne ke upāy* (‘Methods to keep the beloved happy’). Here the fictional character of Manorama, a mature and sophisticated courtesan, remembers the first meeting with her later lover - he was introduced to her by one of his friends and too shy to look her in the eye, let alone talk to her. It was her, she asserts, that took this ‘uncut stone’, ‘filed away the sharp parts’ and during the years of their acquaintance ‘polished it’ into a beautiful, refined young man. Afterwards her former lover turned his attention away from her and informed her of his wish to get married to someone else. Manorama comments on this in her letter, and adds that she hopes her former lover’s loves for his fiancée is true and not just a short infatuation. Instead of giving the greetings that are customary on such an occasion, she would rather give him the present of valuable advice, which may be fruitful for his further life.<sup>514</sup> In a similar manner, all other chapters of the book start with a personal account of Manorama vividly remembering one of her former lovers, his character and the kind of love relationship that they had. She then counsels each on a different topic related to the challenges of married life. The chapters bear titles such as ‘the ecstasy of love wanes off’, ‘the art of ending a fight’, ‘deception and betrayal in love’, ‘love cannot be permanent’, ‘the goal of love and the control of the senses’.<sup>515</sup> The style in which Malaviya wrote his epistolary novel allows for emotionally laden reminiscence of intimate moments, albeit without openly referring to sexual acts. It creates an illusion of

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Chapter 2: suhāgrāt, Chapter 3: puruṣ aur strī, Chapter 4: patidev par adhikār, Chapter 16: prem kī granth, Chapter 18: santān-nigrah, Chapter 21: samāj meṁ vyayahār.

<sup>513</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sikh*, see pages 13, 69f and 2.

<sup>514</sup> Malaviya, *Patiyom̄ ko Sikh*, 1-3.

<sup>515</sup> Malaviya, *Patiyom̄ ko Sikh*, table of content.

Chapter 3: prem kā naśā utar jātā hai, Chapter 5: jhagrom̄ ko ant karne kī kalā, Chapter 7: prem meṁ dhokā aur viśvāsgḥāt hai, Chapter 8: prem sthāyī nahīm saktā, Chapter 9: vivāh kā uddeśya aur iṇḍriya-nigrah.

intimacy, which served as a device to attract the reader. Compared to his advice book for brides and newly married women (*Bahūrānī ko sīkh*) this book consists of considerably less instances of direct advice, and focuses more on the detailed description of Manorama's feelings for her lovers. Malaviya's books blur the borders between advice literature and fiction, but their normative content is emphasized in the long introductions written by the author, and also in the extended appendices, which provide room for translations from Sanskrit scriptures and English essays as well as a number of articles that Malaviya previously had published in his magazine *Abhyūday*.<sup>516</sup>

Jyotirmayi Thakur's book *Strī aur saundarya* ('Beauty and the woman') is also written in the form of an epistolary novel. It consists of letters to Kusum, a young unmarried girl at around the age of puberty, written by her older sister-in law. The letters are similar in their intimate setting to those written by Shanti in Malaviya's *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*. Again, a net of tender female lecturing is laid out, with the elder women repeatedly cajoling their younger addressee by writing that she might find these things funny and maybe reject them at first, but would find them helpful in her later life.<sup>517</sup>

The setting of one woman advising the other is a classic form of advice stemming from Sanskrit tradition,<sup>518</sup> and can also equally be found in Urdu advice literature.<sup>519</sup> As Judith Walsh has argued for late nineteenth century Bengali household manuals, such dialogues may have served as a blueprint for actual conversations and were understood as a popular didactic device.<sup>520</sup> There is quite a noticeable difference between these dialogic model of instruction and epistolary novels like those written by Krishnakant Malaviya and Jyotirmayi Thakur. Although both types are didactic, the latter focuses more on reaching the reader not only with reason and arguments, but also from an affective side. They thus provide emotional norms and undergird them with knowledge of what love is and how it should be felt. Epistolary novels had developed into a popular sub-genre of Hindi literature in the 1920s, and the choice of letters, in which 'feelings and thoughts that were taboo face to face' could be expressed, was the choice of the day in order to convey emotionally evocative messages and create an

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<sup>516</sup> *Bahūrānī ko sīkh* is 590 pages long, out of which 54 pages are the introduction and 92 pages the appendix.

*Patīyom̃ ko Sīkh* consists of 309 pages, with 82 pages introduction and 97 pages appendix.

<sup>517</sup> Thakur, *Strī aur saundarya*, 15f.

<sup>518</sup> See for example Stark, "Educating women, educating a daughter" on the advice book *Lakṣmī-Sarasvatī samvad* ('Discourse between Lakshmi and Saraswati').

<sup>519</sup> See Naim, "Prize-winning adab".

<sup>520</sup> Walsh, "Domesticity in Colonial India", 57.

individualized ‘right to feel’ for women.<sup>521</sup> While literary genres, such as social romances, legitimized individual feelings, advice literature followed suit.

In the appendix to *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, Malaviya also advertised other epistolary novels, such as *Kāminī ke patr*, a novel consisting of fictional letters by the young wife Kamini who since the unsatisfactory wedding night became estranged from her husband. Only through her letters, so the advertising text, does she manage to express her feelings towards her husband Mohan who had in the meantime turned to another woman, but now comes back to her, so that they could now ‘became crazy in love for each other and their two life became very happy’.<sup>522</sup> The perceived affinitive quality of letters and the emotional impact that they were thought to have was also acknowledged by Yashoda Devi. Although she had vociferously expressed her disregard for novels that would ‘captivate the mind’ and thus stir the feelings of readers, she nevertheless promoted some of her advice books by following a very similar line:

Patnī kī manohar ciṭṭhiyām (‘Heart-stealing letters of the wife’). This illustrated book has come out just recently. It contains many pleasing letters written from the wife to the husband, which are attractive, enchanting, heart-stealing, and also instructive in meaning. Reading these will cause the heart to swell up with extreme bliss and the feeling of love (*atīv ānand aur prem bhāv*), and will pull out an image of the competence, intelligence and softness of women. [...]

Sācitra pati ke patra (‘Husband’s letters, illustrated’), where there are such letters that make even the most wicked wife obedient to the husband. She will develop strong devotional love (*śraddhā bhaktī*) for the husband.<sup>523</sup>

The two advertisements imply that intimate fictional letters could actually induce the feeling of love for the spouse.

Writers of successful advice manuals in the 1920s and 1930s increasingly searched for ways to address their readers on an affective level. To achieve this, they looked for direct contact to and response from their readers, or emphasized their personal competence for

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<sup>521</sup> Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere*, 285ff.

<sup>522</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, back pages.

kāminī aur mohan, jaṛ aur jīv, kī bhāntī ek ho gaye, ve ek dūsre ke prem meṁ pāgal ho gaye, aur donoṁ kā jīvan baṛā hī sukhmay hogaya.

<sup>523</sup> Yashoda Devi, *Nāri Dharm Śikṣā*, appendix, 6.

patni kī manohar ciṭṭhiyām. yah sacitra pustak abhi naī taiyār huī hai. ismeṁ pantī kī or se pati ko bahut hī ākarṣak mohak manohar padyamay arth sahī manbhāvnī ciṭṭhiyām likhī gayī haiṁ. jinheṁ paṛhkar hṛday meṁ atīv ānand aur prem bhāv umaṛ partā hai sāth hī strī kī yogyatā, buddhimānī aur komaltā kā nakṣā khīmc jātā hai. [...]

sācitra pati ke patra. ismeṁ aise 2 patra likh gaye haiṁ jinse duṣṭ hī duṣṭ striyām bhī pati ke anukūl ho jātī hai. pati meṁ unkī dṛṣṭ śraddhā bhakti ho jātī hai.

giving such advice, and also used visual cues such as pictures to make their books more attractive. The epistolary style was deemed especially effective because of its affective qualities, and it was assumed that readers would mirror the unmitigated, albeit fictional, emotions expressed in personal letters. Overall it can be said that the demands of the popular book market enriched the styles of normative literature and blurred strict distinctions between fictional and non-fictional genres.

The examples above also visualize a general shift in the idea as to how ethics and etiquette could and should be taught most effectively. Plain statements regarding how to behave and feel correctly were not deemed sufficient anymore. Instead, it became understood that the minds (and hearts) of the readers needed to be engaged affectively. Fictional accounts of “unmitigated” feelings, as well as non-fictional personal information about the author were both used to affectively bond with the reader and appeal to their sympathy, compassion and sensitivity. It was these ideal markers of the emotional style of being civilized and educated that were also considered most vital in facilitating the appropriation of advice.<sup>524</sup> The knowledge of a presumed ability of readers to sympathize with the feelings of others deeply influenced the ways how authors wrote their books. They increasingly started to use the literary styles of epistolary novels (Krishnakant Malaviya and Jyotirmayi Thakur), employed visual cues and pictures (Jyotirmayi Thakur and Yashoda Devi) and sought direct contact and feedback from their readers (Yashoda Devi and Santaram). The reason why the writers employed these devices was to establish an emotional rapport with their readers and engage them on the basis of their feelings.

## **Readers Writing Back in the Margins**

Books by Jyotirmayi Thakur, Santaram and Krishnakant Malaviya, which were accessed in public Indian libraries (as opposed to the well-guarded stockrooms of the British Library) bear traces of use, such as underlines and other markings in the texts, and sometimes also short interjections or comments written in the margins.<sup>525</sup> These were probably done by contemporary readers, although the possibility exists that they may have been done at a later

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<sup>524</sup> This argument is made in section 2.2.

<sup>525</sup> I accessed the domestic advice books in the Bharati Bhavan library and the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan library in Allahabad, as well as the Aryabhasha library of the Nagaripracharini Sabha in Benares. Unfortunately none of these libraries could give me access to records regarding when a certain book was acquired by the library or to when and to whom it was lend out.

point in time. Public lending libraries at the time officially prohibited readers to mark the books.<sup>526</sup> But it is also possible that the original owners of the books, who were also patrons of the library, marked the books while reading them, and only later donating them to the library.<sup>527</sup> In most cases, the owners of the book and the context in which they made their markings cannot be ascertained. The act of reading is an interactive process in which, as Jackson described it, ‘the experience of reading always involves an element of contest or struggle, and an oscillation between surrender and resistance, identification and detachment’ and marginalia are a result of this process.<sup>528</sup> For my approach, I understand each marking and writing on the margin of an advice book as an individual responses of a ‘Reader’ (with a capital R). By analyzing the traces they left of their reading experience, I outline different possibilities of how advice books were read and received.

The second edition of Thakur’s book *Navyuvtiyom̃ ko kyā jānnā cāhiye* (‘What adolescent girls should know’), published in 1938, is one of the books that was owned privately and later made its way into the library of the Nagaripracharini Sabha. In the whole book there is only one short passage that is underlined and commented ( which will be discussed later). This book is special because its previous owners can be traced. At the back of an illustration, Ram Singh Arya wrote his name and Benares address in a sweeping English handwriting, together with the date 1943, in which he probably bought the book, and the same name is also repeated on other pages, this time in an equally sweeping Hindi handwriting.<sup>529</sup> The second owner of the book was *Śrīmatī* (Mrs.) Savitri Singh, who likely was the wife of the above mentioned Ram Singh. Their addresses are the same, and her name has been inscribed in the book both in Ram Singh’s sweeping English hand,<sup>530</sup> but also in a different Hindi handwriting, which is neat and precise, if a bit child-like in its accuracy, and

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<sup>526</sup> See for example Illustration 3 with the regulations of the Aryabhasha Pustakalay. Rule number 4 reads: ‘Do not make marks in the margins. Do not write in the book’. In the Marwari library all patrons that returned the books soiled or damaged would not be allowed to lend out books anymore; personal communication with the librarian Ram Naresh Sharma, 15<sup>th</sup> September 2010.

<sup>527</sup> Many renowned personalities donated their private libraries to the Nagaripracharini Sabha (see Lal and Tripathi, *Hīrak Jayanti Granth*, 16f). The Bharati Bhavan library also grew in stock through major book donations by wealthy benefactors (see Tandan and Vyas, *Bhartī bhavan pustakālay śatābdi smarikā*, 34f).

<sup>528</sup> Jackson, *Marginalia*, 85

<sup>529</sup> Thakur, *Navyuvtiyom̃*, inserts between pages 104-105 and 112-113 and the front page before the introduction.

<sup>530</sup> Thakur, *Navyuvtiyom̃*, insert between page 120-121 and 152-153.

thus may have belonged to Savitri.<sup>531</sup> Ownership marks such as these are the most common form of marginalia, and are also a typical feature of newly literate readers.<sup>532</sup> In the present case, the different styles of handwriting and the two owners of the book may suggest that the book was read exactly in the way it was often envisaged by the authors of domestic advice literature: a young married woman would be lovingly coached and stipulated to read useful books by her husband. Savitri Singh's inscriptions of ownership, which copy those of Ram Singh, may then be taken as an indication that she dutifully read the book and held it in high esteem. This thesis could be supported by the fact that Savitri even pasted a cut-out picture of Thakur on the front page, bordered it neatly with blue ink and below it wrote 'Strimati Jyotirmayi Thakur – authoress' in her neat Hindi handwriting.<sup>533</sup> The book *Navyuvvtiyom* could thus be understood as a material proof that husbands continued to educate their wives through advice literature, and that Thakur's personal approach through pictures of herself may have been successful. Also other books seem to have been employed in the way that authors envisaged it. Some of the advice books also continued to be bought and given as presents long after they had first been published. An example for this is the 1961 copy of Krishnakant Malaviya's *Patiyom ko sikh*, which is now available in the Bharati Bhavan library, but was once given as a wedding present 'to Sudhir with love and good blessings on the happy occasion of [his] marriage, 23.6.65'.<sup>534</sup>

There are indications that advice books were in some cases presented as a valuable gift and (at least in one probable case) cherished by the person who owned them. There is no guarantee, however, that emotional norms and other advice presented there were noticed, understood or even endorsed by those who read them. Despite this, a number of underlined passages in books indicate that the Reader in question was attentive and sensitive to the way emotions played an important role in social interactions.

The Nagaripracharini Sabha's library holds a copy of the 1934 edition of Thakur's book *Striyom ke kartavya* ('the duties of women'), which had previously also been a gift-book that was in private possession.<sup>535</sup> The Reader underlined a number of important messages and passages, and also made checks (✓) at the beginning of a number of chapters or before certain

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<sup>531</sup> Thakur, *Navyuvvtiyom*, dedication page.

<sup>532</sup> Jackson, *Marginalia*, 24.

<sup>533</sup> Thakur, *Navyuvvtiyom*, front page.

<sup>534</sup> Malaviya, *Patiyom ko sikh*, front page.

<sup>535</sup> There are illegible ink traces of a dedication on the page before the title page.

sections. This may have been simply a mark that she (or he) had read the passage, but could also be a sign of approval and accordance. The latter seems likely as it is in these neatly underlined passages that Thakur made progressive arguments regarding a number of different social issues. Good examples are the markings in a section, where Thakur turned to the controversial issue of *pardā* (anglicized as ‘purdah’). ‘*Pardā*’ can have two meanings: a) the practice of keeping women confined to the home, which was prevalent among Muslim, but also a great number of especially high-caste Hindu women, and b) the cloak that covered these women in the rare occasions that they had to venture outside of the house. Interestingly, Thakur argued against the necessity of the cover as well as the whole practice by basing her argument on the emotions, which she described simultaneously as a moral quality and a regulative behavioral force. Exactly these passages in the section on *lajjā* (shamefulness) were also underlined by the Reader of her book. All underlined passages of this section are reproduced below:

The feeling of shamefulness (*lajjā*).

[...] *Pardā* brings forth our feeling of shamefulness. Shamefulness by itself is our *pardā*; those that do not have shamefulness in them – and to not behave shamefully, are called shameless (*beśarm* [Urdu term]), they are shameless (*nirlajj* [Sanskrit neologism]). Those kinds of women are not in need of the *pardā*. In reality, only shamefulness can be the *pardā* of a woman.

[...] Those women that do not practice the custom of *pardā*, but whose behavior is characterizes by shamefulness, bashfulness, truthfulness and love/affection (*sneh*), these are the true wearers of *pardā*. They have neither necessity for this fabricated *pardā* nor would they profit in any way from it.<sup>536</sup>

While criticizing *pardā* as a garment and a practice of total public exclusion of women, Thakur alluded to the positive meaning associated with *pardā*, namely that of a device that protects women and ensures their honor. Whereas Thakur dismissed the object and the practice of *pardā*, she also argued that the best protection of a woman (i.e. *pardā*) comes from her own feelings. If the Reader, while underlining these passages, subscribed to their meaning,

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<sup>536</sup> Thakur, *Striyom̄ ke kartavya*, 178f.

*lajjā bhāv*. [...] *pardā hamārī lajjā kā bhāv prakāṣ kartā hai. lajjā hī hamārā pardā hai, jissem̄ lajjā nahīm̄ hai – jo lajjā nahīm̄ kartīm̄, ve beśarm kahalātī hai. nirlajj hotī hai. isl prakār kī striyām̄ ke liye parde kī koī zarūrat nahīm̄ hai. vāstav mem̄ lajjā hī strī kā parda hai. [...] jo strīyām̄ pardā nahīm̄ kartīm̄, lekin jinke vyavahārom̄ mem̄ lajjā, saṅkoc, satya aur sneh hotā hai, vahī asal mem̄ pardevār hair̄. saccā dardā asal mem̄ vahī hotā hai. is banāvatī parde kī āvaśyaktā nahīm̄ hotī aur na usse kuch lābh hī hotā hai.*

cannot be said with certainty, but they are surely a sign of the Reader's attentiveness towards what Thakur wrote about how emotions influence a person's behavior and morality.

*Pardā* is also addressed in the above discussed *Navyuvtī ko kyā jānnā cāhiye* ('What adolescent girls should know'). In it, right next to the section title *parde kā rivāz* ('The custom of purdah') there is one word written in English with the boldly curved hand that probably belonged to Ram Singh Arya: 'Excellent!'. He therefore supported Thakur's argument against *pardā*, and also underlined the whole first paragraph, in which Thakur elaborated on how important it is for every girl to understand this custom thoroughly, as it is very destructive and 'has led to women losing every aspect of her life'.<sup>537</sup> Earlier in the book, there are some more underlined passages, which were probably done by Ram Singh, maybe even so that Savitri could read them. The passages he chose follow a number of important and not uncontroversial arguments that Thakur made: she argued that education for girls should continue beyond the age of 9 or 10 when girls would enter into puberty by having first menstrual bleeding (*sayānī honā*) and adamantly stated that it was the duty of her relatives to ensure that she did not 'go down the bad path, converse with bad people, through whom she might get a chance to learn bad things'. To counter this, Thakur gave directions, which the Reader marked with thin, short pencil strokes:

One should tell [the girl] about the bad effects of dirty and harmful things and thus induce in her heart disgust against them. In places, where the people in the home [e.g. the family] are even slightly inattentive towards these matters, there the girls will succumb to evil habits.<sup>538</sup>

In this case, the attentive Reader again marked a passage, in which emotions and morality were closely linked - the heart, as the seat of the emotional and moral control, needed to be educated. This was to be done through inducing feelings of disgust regarding everything that would be deemed 'bad', 'harmful' or 'dirty'. This formulation of emotional norms and an according knowledge about how emotions were central to moral education was an imperative, which the Reader considered noteworthy, and consequently underlined. What motivated a Reader to underline certain passages naturally remains a matter of speculation. Nevertheless the markings and marginalia shows the possibility that the advice books may have stipulated their readers to reflect about, for example, what emotional qualities a good

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<sup>537</sup> Thakur, *Navyuvtī*, 143.

<sup>538</sup> Thakur, *Navyuvtī*, 12.

J gaṇḍī aur hānikārak bātom ke nuksān batākar un bātom ke liye unke dil mem għṛnā paidā karānā cāhie. jahām is prakār kī bātom mem ghar ke logom kī taraf se, zarā bhī lāparvāhī hotī hai vahām larḳiyom mem kharāb ādateṁ paṛ jātī haim.



woman should have, and how emotions should be purposefully invoked in order to teach girls to incorporate certain emotional standards.

There are other instances of marginalia that account for how Readers also critically engaged with the texts, for example by correcting its mistakes. In the Bharti Bhavan library's 1938 edition of Malaviya's book *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, for example, the date of one of the fictional letters is misprinted. It reads eighteenth August 28, and as the Reader must have noticed that the latter before was dated 15<sup>th</sup> August 27 and the next letter dated twentieth August 27, he (or she) dutifully overwrote it first with pencil, but later crossed out the whole date and wrote it again on the side, followed by an (unfortunately) illegible scribbled mark.<sup>539</sup> A similar correction can be seen on the last page of the introduction, where a spelling mistake (a long ā instead of a short a) is corrected by the (same?) Reader.<sup>540</sup> The Reader appears in these cases like an almost pedantic person, more concerned with minute details and mistakes than with the text's message.

One might imagine the Reader who did these marginalia as an earnest, who, endowed with a sense of duty, and maybe also an air of pedantic superiority, corrects the printing mistakes for his own pleasure. Marginalia can also be a form of communicating with the "imagined author" of the book. Depending the way in which a book is circulated, marginalia can be meant to benefit future readers.<sup>541</sup> The appendix of *Bahūrānī ko sīkh* features the reprint of a moral tale, which was previously published in the magazine *Abhyuday*. It is the story of a woman with the telling name Dukhiya ('the sad one'), who is totally unprepared for her duties as a married woman. At a crucial point in the story her emotions and inner turmoil are illustrated with the help of poetry. Two different types of marginalia are to be found here, and again it is unclear whether one or two Readers were at work. The first compliments the Hindi rendering of an Urdu couplet by the famous poet Ghalib by noting 'very fine' in the margin.<sup>542</sup> On the next page the rendering of a poem in Brajbhasa, which had been the prevalent language of poetry in the Hindi speaking-region, invited the criticism of the Reader. The 4 lines of the poem are almost fully overwritten with orthographic and phonetic corrections, and an additional footnote is added at the bottom of the page, which reads: 'Note - all Brajbhasa verses in this book are written faultily. The respected author is ignorant of

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<sup>539</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 59.

<sup>540</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, introduction, 45.

<sup>541</sup> Jackson, *Marginalia*, 83 and *Romantic Readers*, 300.

<sup>542</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 464 [page number is misprinted as 664].

Brajhasha literature [illeg.]'.<sup>543</sup> This message, directed to a further potential Reader is more than just the evidence of a pedantic corrector at work. The Reader in question started to interact with the text and made his (or her) own impression on it.

The critical engagement with Malaviya's book and its contents by contemporary Readers goes even further. Generally, there are two different styles of marks in the book: one type are thin marks that were applied with pressure and that either underline the texts or are dashes or crosses in the margins and often cross or go over the printed letters. The person who did these shall be named 'Reader A' for the purpose of this study. The other distinct style of marginalia in this book is attributed to 'Reader B', who mostly marked the text with broad, soft and neat underlines or brackets.<sup>544</sup> Whereas markings by the latter appear to be quite supportive of Malaviya's thesis, Reader A, on the other hand, was eager to make corrections, pointed out faults that go beyond simple spelling mistakes and while doing so questioned Malaviya's position as a whole. This becomes especially visible in the introduction to *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, where Malaviya cited a passage from the *Kamasutra* about the permissible and appropriate pastimes for a girl of marriageable age (see Illustration 8). According to Malaviya's rendering of the passage, the guardians should take the girl to religious and social functions, festivals and to marriages, where she could interact with others, dress up nicely and play unrestricted with her friends (*mitr*).<sup>545</sup> The translated Hindi passage is sandwiched between a reproduction of the original Sanskrit verse (albeit without the exact verse number given) and is followed by a translation in English (the source of which is not given). In the Hindi passage, the critical Reader A had crossed out the word *mitr* (friend) and instead wrote *sahelī* in the margins, which also means 'friend', but is specifically female. To prove his point, Reader A added arrows to the respective words in Sanskrit and English. Although the English translation 'play freely with her friends' is indeed ambiguous, the word *sakhī* used in the Sanskrit text can only refer to the female gender. The intervention by Reader A shows three important points. First, the Reader engaged with the text. Second, the fact that he corrected the text is much more than a sign of just simple pedantry. By pointing to the English and Sanskrit words used,

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<sup>543</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh* 1, 465.

noṭ:- is pustak ke brajbhāṣā padya sabhī vikṛt haiṁ. [illeg.] lekhāk mahoday ke braj-sāhitye se anbhigya hai.

<sup>544</sup> This distinction is just done for the purpose of clarity, as it seems likely that the different form of markings mark at least two (or maybe even more) Readers with different approaches to the text.

<sup>545</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 30.

[...] vivāh योग्या कुमारी को अलङ्कारोम से विभूषित कर मित्रोम [crossed out and replaced by 'saheliyom'] के साथ स्वतन्त्रपूरवक खेलने के लिये जाने देन. विशेष कर यज्ञिविवहारी स्ववोम मेम जाने देम जहाम दूसरे उसको देख सकेम.

he not only displayed his own knowledge of the languages, but may have had further readers in mind that might not have noticed it otherwise. He therefore clarified the matter by correcting the author, and in doing so, thirdly, also contributed to the larger social discourse regarding what girls should or should not be allowed to do. Reader B, on the next page, did the same, if only on a lesser prominent scale by neatly marking in brackets one of the main points that Malaviya made in his introduction: He argued that Vatsyayan, the author of the *Kamasutra*, had authoritatively declared that girls and boys should get to know each other before marriage, and that this practice was not unlike the courtship prevalent in the contemporary western world. Malaviya then concluded - and this passage was marked by Reader B - that it would be beneficial if a boy and girl met before getting married and not at all against 'the ancient sages and their doctrine', who, as Malaviya added later, had long known what the western world took centuries to discover.<sup>546</sup>

The different markings by Reader A and Reader B thus directly contribute to the ongoing discourse around the foundation of morality, and the fact where the moral source for Indian society can be found. The ancient scriptures had become to seen as the essence in which the timeless moral guidelines of India are to be traced from. This ensured a battle around and fierce re-examination of what exactly was written in there. Malaviya used these for his reformist cultural critique, namely that a closer acquaintance of boys and girls before marriage, is not only beneficial, but necessary and on top of it sanctioned by the scriptures. Malaviya thus tried to reconcile what was often disgraced as "western morality" with ancient Indian scriptures. These he pitted against the current practice of marriages that were arranged without the partners in concern knowing each other. As further reading he recommended the lessons 18 to 20 from the chapter '*Anusāsana parv*' of the *Kamasutra* - and this passage is again underlined in Reader B's broad pencil. Reader A, on the other hand, attacked Malaviya's position by disproving his controversial additions to the discourse around the social norms for girls and women in India. He (or maybe other Readers of the same type) did the same in other passages of *Bahūrānī ko sīkh* as well. Malaviya's statement that 'cohabitation with the husband in the very first night after the marriage is against all the religious scriptures' met with his stern objection.<sup>547</sup> As a response, Reader A scribbled two words in the margins and

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<sup>546</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 31.

[...] var-vadhū vivāh ke pahile se ek dūsre se paricit horṁ to yah hitkar siddh hoga aur sath hī yah ācāryorṁ ke mat ke viruddh bhī na hogā.

<sup>547</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 27.

vivāh hote hī pratham rātri hī mem samāgam sarvathā śāstra viruddh hai.

even underlined them. It is remarkable that he added his comment in English. Had he done this solely for the purpose of prestige, then his plan would have failed miserably, as his objection reads: 'Surteinly no'. While reading *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, another (?) Reader also recognized the special role that Malaviya had attributed to love.<sup>548</sup> In one of the central passages of this book, Malaviya had lectured that nothing but 'a heart, and the flame of love in it' are the key for a fulfilled life as a couple.<sup>549</sup> Reader C underlined this whole passage and commented it in Hindi with the exclamation 'instructive sentence!' in the margin.<sup>550</sup> The Reader in question thus showed visible interest in the fact that for the portrayed domestic ideal, feeling the appropriate emotions would be of crucial importance.

The examples have shown, how all Readers engaged with Malaviya's book and its contents, and that their reactions were far from being unilateral. But what does this say about the general reception of domestic Hindi advice manuals by contemporary readers? So far, the analysis of advice literature in my study had focused on the authors of advice books and their construction of the 'imagined readers' which their books should address (e.g. addressing readers with a certain gender, religious affiliation, class or caste, or a certain background in education, urban or rural lifestyle). I had argued that authors thus pre-figured an ideal, fictional community of those that were thought to have already incorporated the prescribed norms, or would do so after reading the book, and/or pass this knowledge on to others. The example of Ram Singh and Savitri Singh's engagement with Thakur's book indicated that this was the case at times.

Malaviya's imagined readers, to which he referred in the introduction, were 'poor middle class women', who are 'imprisoned within the four walls of the home', and thus neither well-versed in ancient scriptures, nor educated in western-style 'colleges and schools'.<sup>551</sup> The analysis of marginalia in Malaviya's books indicates that Readers heavily contested his exegesis of ancient scriptures, which – judging by his frequent citations in English instead of

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<sup>548</sup> This Reader (Reader C) underlined the passages in thin, slightly curved lines (undlike the soft and broad underlines of Reader B), his style of underlining is similar to Reader A's, but the samples of Hindi handwriting are not sufficient to clearly assign it to the otherwise rather critical Reader A.

<sup>549</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 66f. See section 4.3. for a detailed analysis of this passage.

<sup>550</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 67. Note on the margin  
śikṣā prad vākya!

<sup>551</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, introduction, 7.

pustak apne ḍhang kī pahilī hī thī, vah likhī gaī thī un garīb madhyam śreṇī kī deś kī lalnāom ke liye jo paṇḍitā nahīm haiṁ aur jinhomne kālej yā skūloṁ meṁ śikṣā nahīm pāī hai, jo gharoṁ kī cahārdīvārī meṁ kaid rahī haiṁ aur rahemgīṁ.

Sanskrit – he had only read in English translation.<sup>552</sup> The examples from Krishnakant Malaviya's controversial book also indicate how specific, though largely anonymous readers critically and creatively read and engaged with the text. So although it may not be possible to ascertain how an individual Reader (with a capital R) of a specific domestic advice manual would have reacted to emotional norms presented in the texts, the markings and scribbled traces left in books can nevertheless give valuable clues as to how readers (with a small r) read normative advice literature as attentive supporters or scribbling skeptics, and at times also as pedantic and nitpicking correctors. Taken together, marginalia indicate engagement with the teachings of domestic manuals, and critical reflection especially in the light of ongoing discourses on gender relations and the status of women in society. As markings in the manuals suggest, reader showed also special interest in discussions around emotional norms and their sources of textual authority on which they are based.

### **4.3. Love and the Postulation of Female Agency**

The nineteenth century is characterized by a re-definition of male and female spheres, out of which emerged patriarchal formulations of what would constitute ideal male and female behavior. The main model for female domesticity has been that of the '*pativrata*', the chaste wife that is totally devoted to her husband. Situating her *dharma*, or duty, was mainly based on brahmanical scriptures such as the *Manusmriti*. Both Hindu reform groups and the British colonial forces were active in ascribing the idea of the chaste and devoted wife into a timeless principle of Indian tradition and society. The ideal of the *pativrata* is thus also an invention by social elites to pin down role expectations for women in a changing society.<sup>553</sup>

In the twentieth century the general setup of advice books on women's reforms changed from being primarily directed to men (who were then supposed to educate and teach their wives) to directly addressing women. Love for the husband, formulated as the dominant emotional norm for women, was added to the concept of *pativratadharm*. Love for the husband was formulated as a basis for a successful marriage and, subsequently also for healthy offspring that would secure the future of the nation. The creation of gender-specific emotion roles and emotion knowledge intersected with the creation of national and religious concepts of communal belonging.

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<sup>552</sup> See Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sikh*, 27 and introduction, 30.

<sup>553</sup> Malhotra, *Gender, Caste and Religious Identities*, 5.

The two following case studies explore in detail how Krishnakant Malaviya and Jyotirmayi Thakur each situated love as a normative emotion. Both offered instruction for women on how to be a good Hindu and Indian woman and postulated that love would empower the wife to create a happy marriage herself and, if necessary, even change and reform her husband. Women were constructed as an epitome of the domestic ideal, and with their morality and emotional setup they became styled as safeguards of the imagined Hindu national community.

## Psychology of the Wedding Night

‘Love and life are words with a similar meaning’.<sup>554</sup> With this motto Krishnakant Malaviya precluded his introduction to *Bahūrānī ko sīkh* (‘Advice to the bride’), as for him love was the main key to a happy and fulfilled life. Malaviya especially emphasized mutual love as a prerequisite for a happy marriage and, subsequently, also for a strong nation. In the books that form his *Suhāgrāt* (‘Wedding night’) trilogy, Malaviya portrayed love not in terms of a stable and unchanging feeling, but rather as something that needed continuous effort to be sustained. The wedding night was of utmost psychological importance according to Malaviya. The consummation of the marriage would be the foundation stone for a happy domestic life... or a life of ongoing misery and unhappiness.

The title ‘wedding night’ with all its sexual implication was the main cause for the uproar that the books initially caused. Readers hoping for obscene or suggestive advice on the how-to of a wedding night would have been disappointed. Neither of Malaviya’s books contain any information about the technicalities of the wedding night, and only on the second to last page of *Patiyom ko sīkh* (‘Advice for husbands’) a short passage instructs young men who are about to marry that they should make themselves ‘well-acquainted with the own body and that of the woman’ beforehand. This could be achieved by asking a friend who happened to be a doctor, by the help of educational books (but no titles are specified) or by buying ‘very beautifully crafted pictures, by which the nature of every part of the body is visible and can be fully understood’.<sup>555</sup> This advice suggests that such kinds of instructional material were available comparatively easily – at least for men. The sex education that Malaviya wanted to

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<sup>554</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, introduction 23. Quote in English, no reference to the original source.

<sup>555</sup> Malaviya, *Patiyom ko sīkh*, 127.

provide with his book, in contrast, centered mainly on the emotional side and how women should be treated. In the introduction and appendix to *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, select passages from the *Kamasutra* are explained and translated, but neither of these dwell on different sex positions or other topics, which would have been considered highly indelicate at the time, but for which this ancient treatise had become (in)famous. Likewise, the epistolary advice on the wedding in the main body of the book emphasizes the necessity of getting thoroughly acquainted before the consummation of the marriage and avoiding hasty or rough intercourse at any cost. If these precautions were not taken, the young wife might suffer from grave psychological aftereffects:

The first sexual intercourse with the husband is not pleasant, but painful. The average man in this world may not even have a clue about it, but sometimes it can be even so painful for a virgin that she begins to feel disgust (*ghṛnā*) for the husband, and starts to look at him with fear (*bhay*), sometimes even to such an extent that she will never be able to look at him with love (*prem*). The respected husbands should definitely remember to not distance their wives' hearts forever by their own ignorance and barbarism. They should also remember that the first intercourse is painful for the virgin girl, and therefore, instead of behaving like animals, they better go about it with affection/love (*sneh*) and understanding.<sup>556</sup>

Even more so than informing men about the physical discomfort that women can experience during intercourse, this passage centres mainly on the long-lasting emotional effects caused by a traumatic wedding night. Malaviya frequently accused men of behaving 'barbaric', 'uncivilized' or 'like animals'.<sup>557</sup> Malaviya especially pointed out that it was the men that needed to be reformed, both in their behavior and in their emotions. Showing affection and love towards the wife, especially during the act of sexual intercourse, was of utmost importance. A likewise emotion was also necessary for the female partner, and thus Malaviya postulated that 'the husband should try to attain the love from the wife's heart, before receiving the happiness of couples'.<sup>558</sup> As a euphemism for the sexual fulfillment gained in

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<sup>556</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 31f.

[...] pati kā pratham samāgam sukhkar nahīm kaṣṭkar hotā hai. duniyā ke sādharmaṇ puruṣoṃ ko etbār bhī na āyegā kintū kumārī ke lie kabhī kabhī yeh itnā kaṣṭkar hotā hai ki vah pati se ghṛnā karne lagtī hai, use vah bhay se dekhne lagtī hai, yahām tak ki kabhī kabhī use vah prem kī dṛṣṭī se phir kabhī dekh nahīm saktī. pati devoṃ ko itnā to zarūr hī dhyān meṃ rakhnā cāhiye ki apnī bhūl, apnī barbatā se vah patnī ke hṛday ko sadā ke lie apne se dūr na kar de, sāth hī sāth dhyān meṃ rakheṃ ki pratham samāgam kumārī kanyā ke lie kaṣṭkar hotā hai aur islie paśutā kī bajāy sneh aur buddhimtā se kām lena acchā hotā hai.

<sup>557</sup> See for further examples Malaviya, *Patiyom ko sīkh*, 63, 80, and 127; or, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 36

<sup>558</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 34.

tatva sārī bātoṃ kā yahī hai ki pati ko patnī se dāmpatya sukh prāpt karne ke pahile, patnī ke hṛday ke prem ko prāpt karnā cāhiye.

intercourse, 'happiness of couples' (*dāmpatya sukh*) was defined by Malaviya as synonymous with 'heavenly happiness' (*svargīya sukh*), and both could never be gained forcefully. Malaviya concluded his elaboration on the importance of the wedding night by emphasizing that the secret of a successful married life should therefore not be founded on 'seizing the body', but rather 'taking hold of the heart'.<sup>559</sup>

In order support his arguments, Malaviya built up three levels of textual authority: ancient scriptures, modern science and western 'specialists', as well as the seemingly personal transmission through a female voice.

The first level of textual authority is created through selective interpretations of passages from scriptures (*śāstra*), mainly the *Kamasutra*. Malaviya used these as authoritative points of references, even though his interpretations were selective and in some cases controversial.<sup>560</sup> More so than exact quotations, Malaviya referred to the authority of scriptural knowledge as such. These ancient teachings, he then argued, are corroborated by recent scientific findings:

I would not say that the ideas in this book are not old, but I petition that although they are old, they are also absolutely fresh, and many progressive western scientists and brains have now started to acknowledge their usefulness.<sup>561</sup>

'western science' is employed as the second level of textual authority, but only in so far as it has already been prefigured and proved by the knowledge of 'ancient India'. Malaviya argued for the high civility of the ancient Aryans, and the high value that they had given to women. According to him, ancient scriptures provide exactly those guidelines, which contemporary 'european scholars' formulated only after 'a lot of research and reflection'.<sup>562</sup> This notion, namely that science took a long time to catch up with scriptures belonging to the civilisatory heritage of ancient India, is also present in the advice books of other contemporary

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<sup>559</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sikh*, 36.

<sup>560</sup> See the analysis of critical remarks in the margins of his book in section 4.2.

<sup>561</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sikh*, introduction, 8.

ham yeh nahīm kahte ki vicār purāne nahīm hairīm, kintu hamārā nivedan yah hai, ki purāne hote hue bhī ve bilkul tāze bhī hairīm aur mahā unnatishīl paścimīya vijñān aur mastiṣk bhī ab unkī upyogitā ko svīkār karne lagā hai.

<sup>562</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sikh*, 27.

kyā kahūm, ārya sanātan sabhyatā kitnī ucc śreṇī kī hai. striyom kā itnā ādar disī sabhyatā meṁ hai hī nahīm, sāth hī āj kal yūropīya vidvān jo bahut khoj aur vicār ke bād is sambandh ki bāterṁ kah rahe hairīm, vah sahaḥ hī meṁ ham ko hamāre śāstrom meṁ mil jātī hairīm.



writers.<sup>563</sup> With such statements, Malaviya positioned the textual authority of ancient scriptures higher than ‘modern science’, but he simultaneously also created textual authority for his writings by prominently referring to ‘German specialists (*jarman-viśeṣajñā*)’.<sup>564</sup> Although he did not mention specific books, he cited ‘Count Keyserling’<sup>565</sup> and ‘Dr. Carl Buttenstedt’<sup>566</sup> several times in his introduction to *Patiyom ko sikh*. Both authors had indeed written on the topic of marriage in a broader sense, but were not particularly specialized in this field. The frequent referral to ‘German specialists’ can thus also be read as a method by which Malaviya created textual authority for his own ideas regarding marriage, sex and domesticity. In addition, he also employed a third, albeit fictional level of textual authority: that of the female characters to which the letters that form the main body of the book were attributed. In both introductions, ‘Shanti’ as well as ‘Manorama’ are styled as authoresses in their own right and Malaviya even made amends for the latter, as ‘she had written her letters originally in English’.<sup>567</sup> He also maintained that his both fictional characters agreed with what ‘Indian and western scientists and writers have written in their books and about which there is no disagreement at all’.<sup>568</sup> By claiming textual authority on these three different levels, which

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<sup>563</sup> See for example Santaram, *Vivāhit prem*, kh. Here the author referred to the *Kāmasūtra* and the *Ratirahasya* in the introduction and noticed that people in ‘western countries’ only recently recognized that the spread of sexual advice was beneficial

<sup>564</sup> Malaviya, *Patiyom ko sikh*, introduction, 50f, 58, and 62.

<sup>565</sup> See Gahling, *Herrman Graf Keyserling*.

Graf Herrman Keyserling (1880-1945) was a Baltic German Philosopher and aristocrat, who travelled through the Mediterranean, and then to Ceylon, India, China, Japan and North America from 1911 to 1912. He published an account of his travels which became a bestseller. Back in Germany, he founded the Schule der Weisheit (‘School of Wisdom’) as an academy where questions of philosophy and society could be discussed, and also exchange between European and Asian philosophies could take place. In 1925 he published *Das Ehe-Buch* (‘The book on Marriage’), an anthology with essays of prominent authors such as the psychoanalyst C.G.Jung, Rabindranath Tagore (who contributed an essay titled “Das Indische Ehe-Ideal” (‘The Indian Ideal of Marriage’), the author Thomas Mann and himself. The book became popular and was also translated into English; in the USA 8.000 copies were sold in the first 4 weeks after it came out. (Source: [www.br.de/radio/bayern2/sendungen/kalenderblatt/2001-ehebuch100.html](http://www.br.de/radio/bayern2/sendungen/kalenderblatt/2001-ehebuch100.html), last retrieved 6.2.2012)

<sup>566</sup> See Schöbl, “Die ‘Glücks-Ehe’ des Carl Buttenstedt”.

Carl Buttenstedt (1845-1910, he never had a PhD) is mostly known as an autodidactic flight pioneer and was also an early supporter of vegetarianism, as well as the nudist movement. A few years before his death he wrote *Die Glücks-Ehe* (‘The Happiness-Marriage’), in which he promoted Lactational Amenorrhoea Method as a form of contraception. He also argued that if the husband regularly sucked milk from his wife’s breasts, and eventually also the wife sucked milk from the men’s breasts, it would lead to a happy marriage and lengthen the life of both partners. His book reached a certain amount of popularity, at least among German sexologists of the early twentieth century, and could be post-ordered by married persons only who signed an oath of secrecy.

<sup>567</sup> Malaviya, *Patiyom ko sikh*, introduction, 63.

<sup>568</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sikh*, introduction, 44. See also *Patiyom ko sikh*, introduction, 62.

mutually reinforce each other, Malaviya made a strong case regarding how he conceptualized love as an emotion.

Love, as Malaviya understood it from his psychological standpoint, was universal, and he did not differentiate between how a couple in India or in the West would feel. According to him, it was only a matter of timing: couples in the West (*paścimīy deśom meṁ*) would fall in love with each other before marriage, whereas in India this was only possible after marriage.<sup>569</sup> In any case, Malaviya differentiated between love and lust:

The wives, who want to make their lives as happy as can be, should also keep in mind that they constantly need to teach their husbands that bodily love (*śārīrik prem*), which is a desire (*tṛptī*) stemming from lust (*kām-vāsnā*) or unfeeling/inanimate love (*jaṛkā prem*) is not suitable to be called love (*prem*), but is only a debased aspect of love; and that lust (*kām*) is not love (*prem*), but only the shadow of love.<sup>570</sup>

Malaviya's distinction between love and lust is not strict in the sense that he also accounts for the interrelatedness of these two feelings. In both feelings a shadow-image of its counterpart is included, as they contain an aspect or shadow-image of the other. Thus lust is characterized as a form of love, only that it is 'unfeeling' or 'inanimate' in its nature. This distinction between inanimate and animate forms the central basis of the emotion knowledge on which Malaviya built his advice. In the chapter on 'What is a man?' (*Puruṣ hai kyā?*) of *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, he identified body (*śarīr*) and brain (*mastiṣk*) as the elements that humans are made of:

The body is the centre of desires, the sensual attractions and animal-like elements. It is the inanimate body (*jaṛ*), whereas the animate spirit (*jīv*) is the brain and the consciousness (*cetan*). [...] To captivate the [husband's] brain, you need to bring his brain and his heart (*hṛday*) under control.<sup>571</sup>

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<sup>569</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 35. Elsewhere, Malaviya argued that in Western countries the love before marriage was not 'real love' (*saccā prem*), as during the process of courtship people were 'so eager to please each other that they keep their real form hidden' (*Patīyom ko sīkh*, introduction, footnote on page 23).

<sup>570</sup> Malaviya, *Patīyom ko sīkh*, 121.

patīyom ko jo jīvan ko adhik se adhik sukhī banānā cāhtī haiṁ, yah bhī dhyān meṁ rakhnā cāhiye aur apne patīyom ko yah sadā sikhāte rahnā cāhiye ki śārīrik, kām-vāsnā kī tṛptī yā jaṛkā prem, prem kā paryāyvācak śabd na hokar prem kā ek nikṛṣṭ aṅgmātra hai aur kām-vāsnā, prem nahīṁ, prem kī chāyāmātra hai.

<sup>571</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 71f.

śarīr vāsnāom, indriyopāsnāom aur pāsā kā kendrā hai. yah jaṛ hai; mastiṣk, jīv aur cetan hai. [...] mastiṣk par kabzā jamāne ke liye tumko uske mastiṣk tathā hṛday ko kābū meṁ karnā cāhiye.

This explanation may appear slightly tautological at first, but in fact challenges categorical distinctions between concepts of the “rational” (consciousness, brain, intellect) on one side and the “irrational” (heart, feelings) on the other.<sup>572</sup> Malaviya’s positioning of *jaṛ*, the (inanimate) body, against *jīv*, the (animate) spirit, is also replicated in other text passages. There *jīv* is also aligned with other faculties, such as the soul (*ātmā*) and even the heart (*hṛday*).<sup>573</sup> Instead of defining emotions by juxtaposing them with “rational” intellect, Malaviya rather posed body and spirit as opposites, which he connected to lust and love respectively. Lust and love could then be understood as two extremes in a spectrum of feeling that spans from the inanimate body, defined by its animal-like elements, to the animate spirit, which comprises the heart, the soul, and the brain or mind (see Illustration 9). Malaviya’s conceptualization of love is not necessarily consistent in the terms he used, but nevertheless allows to conceptualize a specific kind of emotion knowledge, which promotes genuinely felt love as the central element for ensuring marital happiness, while lust and ‘the savoring of pleasure’ would have to be avoided in order to ensure a happy married life, but also in order to avoid the deterioration of ‘the body, the society, and the country’.<sup>574</sup> The trope of sexual restraint as a prerequisite for sanity and health of the individual as well as the national body also echoes through Malaviya’s domestic advice books. His emphasis on the importance of the wedding night and its psychological effects indicates that lust features as an important element alongside love to ensure marital happiness. As he mentioned in the theoretical musings of his introduction, both the body and the spirit need to be satisfied in order to ensure a true happy marriage, in which ‘two souls meet’:

I have elaborated mainly on the importance of the unison of two souls [spirits] and hearts, but even though this remains true, also the body is not without importance, and if it is neglected, the spirit cannot remain alive.<sup>575</sup>

The love for the spouse, which Malaviya had formulated as was the central requirement for a happy marriage, gets here extended to also include its bodily counterpart lust. Malaviya

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<sup>572</sup> This distinction is frequently done in western philosophical approaches to emotions. See Marks, ‘Emotions in Western Thought’, 2.

<sup>573</sup> Malaviya, *Patiyom ko sikh*, introduction, 28f.

The connectedness of both brain and heart to the spirit (*jīv*) is also repeated in *Bahurānī ko Sikh*, 79. *mastiṣk tathā hṛday jīv hai.*

<sup>574</sup> Malaviya, *Bahurānī ko sikh*, 41.

*nirantar ke rasāsvādan [...] śārīr, samāj aur deś sab ke lie ghātak hai.*

<sup>575</sup> Malaviya, *Patiyom ko sikh*, introduction, 52.

*hamne do ātmāom [jīvom], hṛdayom ke sammelan ko adhik mahatva pradān kiyā hai kintu yah hote huey bhī [...] jaṛ [śārīr] mahatva-hīn yā nagṇay nahīm hai, aur uskī avhelnā kar jīv jīvit nahīm rah saktā.*

thus did not promote strict emotional norms that forbade lust and the enjoyment of sexual intimacy, like the majority of other contemporary author of advice manuals with their strict emphasis on abstinence and emotional control (*brahmacārya*). Nevertheless, he maintained that in the eternal struggle between soul and body, ‘everyone interested in the benefit and blooming of one’s soul must take care that the body remained dependant’.<sup>576</sup>

Malaviya stressed the importance of understanding marriage as a compromise, dealing with the daily struggle that is life, and not letting lust rule over oneself. His key demand was also that women should be treated properly and with respect, as this was the central prerequisite for a happy marriage. Being a civilized and cultured man, who dutifully gives women the respect they deserve could not guarantee true happiness. Absence of ‘real love’ was the reason why the Manorama decided to leave one of her lovers:

I never felt joy, because I saw that whatever he did was not stipulated by love from his heart, but instead done in the name of civility (*sabhyatā*), in the name of me being a woman, in the name of his education (*śikṣā*) and etiquette (*śiṣṭā*), in the name of the duty (*kartavya*) towards a mistress that has become the object of an affectionate man’s mercy.<sup>577</sup>

This statement from a book first published in 1927 is interesting for its conceptualization regarding how a person should feel. Malaviya’s approach to love contests the emotional style of disinterested feeling and following one’s duty, which was promoted by the Gitapress religious advice books who were published around the same time.<sup>578</sup> His approach also negates exactly those refinements which manuals of etiquette and ethics promoted as prerequisites for sympathy as a marker of emotional excellence – education and etiquette as incorporated by a truly civilized person.<sup>579</sup> Feeling sympathy towards others nonetheless was a marker of emotional excellence and accounted for the moral superiority of the person who felt it. Malaviya brings in a new twist to this concept, as he was adamant that women should not be the object of sympathy. He stated that ‘the display of sympathy/compassion (*dayā*), softness etc. does not make her content, because she has all

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<sup>576</sup> Malaviya, *Patiyom ko sikh*, 117.

ātmā kī unnatī aur vikās cāhne vāle ko apne jaṛ aur śarīr ko sadā apne adhīn hī rakhnā cāhie.

<sup>577</sup> Malaviya, *Patiyom ko sikh*, 53.

phir bhī mujhko in bātom se pūrṇ prasantā na hotī, kyomki mairm dekh saktī thī ki jo kuch vah karte the vah prem ke hṛday se prerit na thā, vah thā sab sabhyatā ke nām par, mere strī hone ke nām par, apnī śikṣā aur śiṣṭatā ke nām par, ek snehī manuṣya ke kṛpā kī pātra lālnā ke prati kartavya ke nām par.

<sup>578</sup> See section 3.2.

<sup>579</sup> The proliferation of this idea is discussed in section 2.2.

these qualities herself'.<sup>580</sup> Above all the men would need to change for their own good, and thus Malaviya directed his advice to 'those people in our country that would wish to have a close friend and companion as a wife, who would share their happiness and grief with her sense (*samajhdārī*) and sympathy/sensibility (*sahānubhūti*)'.<sup>581</sup> The empowering emotional style of sympathy is now attributed to women, and with this Malaviya's manuals mark a significant shift in the way domestic reform is propagated in advice manuals. The role of the advice-giver and instructor shifts from the men to the women – in *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, the fictional Shila should pass the letters she received on to her husband or explain the contents to him. At the back of *Matṛtva* ('Motherhood', Malaviya's third book in the *Wedding night* – series) the female readers are encouraged to tell their husbands to read the book *Patiyorī ko sīkh* ('Advice for the husband').<sup>582</sup> Also other writers of progressive advice manuals, such as Santaram, followed suit and addressed women in the role of their husband's teachers:

Make sure to let your husband read the part titled 'ideal husband' (*ādarś pati*), which is given at the end of this book. If he cannot read Hindi, then read it yourself and tell him about it.<sup>583</sup>

Examples such as these suggest a changed attitude towards women, who are now conceptualized as competent advice-givers for their husbands. Writers of advice manuals thus give women agency and power, if only nominal, to initialize the reform of their own domestic life and dominate the relationship in a companionate marriage. The analysis of Malaviya's normative emotional framework of love indicates that this kind of empowerment is highly ambiguous.

Malaviya's books are not dogmatic in their promotion of an ideal image of love, which focus on the difficulties and challenges that married life constantly entails. The hugest of these challenges undoubtedly laid in the creation of long-lasting happiness – as the letter-writing character Shanti warns, 50 out of 100 women would fail in this challenge, and 45 would through hardships and tears 'manage to become happy in some way or another' whereas

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<sup>580</sup> Malaviya, *Patiyorī ko sīkh*, introduction, 28.

dayā, komaltā ādi ke pradārśan se bhī use santos̄ nahīm hota kyom̄ki yah sab viśeṣṭāem uske pās svayam haiṁ.

<sup>581</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 26.

hamāre deś meṁ jo log patnī ko sakhī, saharī, cāhte hoṁ, jo cāhte hoṁ ki anke samst sukhom̄ dukhom̄ meṁ vah samajhdārī aur sahānubhūti ke sāth bhāg le [...]

<sup>582</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 64 and *Matṛtva*, back cover.

<sup>583</sup> Santaram, *Ādarś patnī*, 20.

is pustak ke uttarāi meṁ diye gae 'ādarś pati' nāmak bhāg ko apne patidev ko avāśya paṛhāo. yadi vah hindī na paṛh saktā ho to use āp paṛhkar sunāo.

‘only five or even less than that will really lead a happy life’.<sup>584</sup> The question whether a marriage would be happy or not laid fully in the hands of the young wives and their emotional abilities as Malaviya repeatedly pointed out. His advice directed at men emphasized control of desire (*trpti*) and lust (*kām*), whereas his advice for women mainly focused on love as a normative emotion. Young wives were expected to love their husbands, but also make him love her. For this, Malaviya expected women to use the ‘power of her heart and her brain’ to intensify the love of their husbands, and also use ‘the temple that his her body’.<sup>585</sup> Through her love, she should then be able to achieve control over her husband:

It is not difficult at all to control him! There is only one condition: the woman should feel real love towards the man in exactly the same way that a mother loves her child, and the man should trust the woman in the way that a child trusts his mother.<sup>586</sup>

The relationship that Malaviya thusly envisaged goes beyond being companionate and takes on a distinctly matriarchal form. Through the power of love, women (the so-called ‘weaker sex’) were able to empower themselves, and through emotions they would have the opportunity, but also the responsibility to guide and direct their husbands. It should ideally happen ‘so perfectly that the respected husband would not even dream that effort is done. Under the control of love, he shall think that “she cares for me and is also interested in the things [that interest me]”’.<sup>587</sup>

The emotion knowledge conveyed in Malaviya’s advice manuals gives women the potential to change their husbands through love. Love, formulated as a dogmatic norm, gave women agency, but also the full responsibility – those who fail to reform their husbands would have to take the blame upon themselves, as they were unable to make use of love in the proper way. Moreover, although Malaviya postulated that women are actually superior to men, the agency ascribed to them remains nominal.

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<sup>584</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 12.

<sup>585</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 62.

<sup>586</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 67. This is the passage that was underlined by a reader, who also wrote the comment ‘instructive sentence’ in the margins (see section 4.2.).  
use vaś meṃ karnā kaṭhin kya, kintu śart yahī hai ki strī ko us puruṣ se vaisa hī saccā prem ho jaisā mātoā ko apne bacce se hotā hai aur puruṣ kā strī meṃ vaisā viśvās ho jaisā śīśu kā apnī mātā meṃ hotā hai.

<sup>587</sup> Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 81f.

magar yah sab prayatn itnī khūbī se honā cāhiye ki patidev svapn meṃ bhī yah na samjhe ki koī prayatn kiya jā rahā hai, vah yahī samajhte rahen ki prem ke vash vah hamārī sab fikr rakhtī hai aur in sab bātorṃ meṃ ise bhī dilcaspī hai.

## Beauty, Health and Natural Emotions

Jyotirmayi Thakur's book *Strī aur Saundarya* ('Beauty and the woman') abounds with advice on creams and soaps to retain youthfulness, promotes the use of natural oils and essences, lectures on how to take care of different hair types, and so on. Alongside the many beauty tips, Thakur also sent out reminders that true beauty means much more than just looking good: 'it comes from within, not from outside'.<sup>588</sup> In *Navyuytī ko kyā jānnā cāhiye* she admonished those who 'try to become beautiful through superficial 'createdness' and *phaisan* (i.e. the Devanagari transliteration of 'fashion').<sup>589</sup> For a woman to be and remain truly beautiful, Thakur's books postulate two interrelated methods: staying healthy and cultivating emotions.

*Khel aur Vyāyām* ('Play and exercise') contains detailed descriptions of exercises for the belly and back, chest and waist, explanations of different children's games suitable for girls, even a discussion on the benefits of dancing. The book ends with a presentation of bodily exercises for women of different ages and constitutions and also contains many pictures, inserted on separate pages, that show women performing the recommended exercises while wearing tight, western-style sports-dresses. Other illustrations show girls in frocks and women in saris playing games outside.<sup>590</sup> This depiction of women doing sports outdoors is emblematic for Thakur's progressive stance. Her call for the right of women to not remain confined to enclosed domestic spaces, and the subsequent depiction of women doing sports outdoors, fits into the strong opposition she voiced against practices of veiling and public exclusion of women.<sup>591</sup> In *Khel aur vyayām*, Thakur fed these ideas into her argument that physical exercises were not only ensuring a person's health, but also an important method for women to become beautiful:

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<sup>588</sup> Thakur, *Strī aur saundarya*, 25.

saccī sundartā bāhar ki nahīm, ander ki hai.

<sup>589</sup> Thakur, *Navyuytīyom*, 43.

laṛkiyom ko yah to jān hī lenā cāhiye ki banāvati phaisan se sundartā nahīm āti hai.

<sup>590</sup> As an example, see Illustration 10. Similar pictures are also added to Thakur's *Navyuytīyom*: women practicing shot-putting while being decently clad in saris (page 7), young women in sports dress doing various exercises (pages 105, 113, 121, and 153), and even a women depicted in full speed at a track-and-field run, dressed in a sari specifically tied to be able to do so (page 128). The illustrations are apparently reprints from another book, as the description gives the name of the exercise and page numbers that are not corresponding with the book.

<sup>591</sup> As elaborated in section 4.2., Jyotirmayi was a big critic of the confinement of women to the domestic sphere. Her main argument was that women, who had the right emotional qualities and character traits, would not need such kind of protection and seclusion from the public sphere.

If someone asks me what in life is most dear to a woman, then I will answer that it is her health, her beauty. There is no woman to be found in the world that does not want to become beautiful, and beauty without health is impossible. I understand that beauty alone is a woman's biggest wealth and the greatest virtue in her life. The woman that does not have beauty is equal to a man who is wretched and stupid. [...] The conversation of a beautiful woman is pleasant, her behavior and treatment of others is enchanting.<sup>592</sup>

'Beauty' is here styled as the very essence of what refines a woman and makes her distinguish herself as a member of her sex. Although Thakur was highly critical of the effects of western education on Indian girls in general,<sup>593</sup> she at this point mentioned British women living in India as a positive example, as these were 'healthy and beautiful to look at and listen to'. She then continued by praising their interest in education:

Earlier, they were uneducated as well. But while her level of education rose, and the foreign girls and women became ready through constant reading, they became aware of their body. Through knowing all kinds of different things, they learnt how we become healthy and strong. They set foot on the path that had been opened to them and profited from it. As a result, they got interested in becoming healthy and beautiful.<sup>594</sup>

Thakur alluded to the evolutionary nature of women's improvement. As she clarified, being healthy is 'not a matter of fate as many Indian women believe', but rather a question of personal effort. The interest in becoming healthy was portrayed as the result of proper education and subsequent increasing awareness of the world and oneself.<sup>595</sup> Thakur assured that she had seen it with her own eyes how women, who actively started to take care of

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<sup>592</sup> Thakur, *Khel aur vyayām*, 9.

yadi mujhse koī pūce ki striyom ko apne mem sab se pyārā kyā hotā hai to mairi javāb dūmgī ki unkā svāsthya, unkā saundarya. saṃsār mem aisi koī strī na milegī jo sundar na bannā cāhtī ho aur sundartā tandurustī ke binā nāmumkin hai. merī samajh mem sundartā hī strī kī sab se baṛī daulat hai aur uske jīvan kā sab se baṛā guṇ hai. jis strī mem sundartā nahīm hai, vah strī us puruṣ ke samān hai jo daridra aur mūrkh hotā hai. [...] sundar strī kī bātcīt acchī lagtī hai, uske vyavahār-bartāv mem jādū kā asar hotā hai.

<sup>593</sup> See for example Thakur, *Adarś patnī*, 159f. Thakur warned that university education for women was harmful, as it destroyed the 'traditional Indian domestic life (*pracīn ādarś bhāratīya gārhasthya jīvan*)'. Instead she called for an education in home-science (*gārhasthyaśāstra*).

Santaram also propagated the idea that British women should be emulated in regard to their physical exercise and attention to health, while western education as such is deemed unsuitable for Indian girls. See Santaram, *Nirog Kanyā*, introduction.

<sup>594</sup> Thakur, *Khel aur Vyāyām*, 12.

pahle unmem śikṣā nahīm thī. lekin jaise hī jaise śikṣā bhartī gayīm, vahām kī laṅkiyam aur strīyam, paṛh-paṛh kar jitnī hī taiyyār hotī gayīm, utnā hī unko apne śarīr ka khyāl huā. tarah-tarah kī bāteṃ jānkar unhomne is bāt ko jānā ki hum svasth aur tandurust kaise ban saktī haiṃ. iske lie unko jo rāstā milā, us par unhomne calkar dekhā aur usse lābh uthāyā. uske bād unko svasth aur tanurust banne kā śaukh paidā huā.

<sup>595</sup> Thakur, *Khel aur Vyāyām*, 13.



themselves, had been swiftly remedied from their ‘crooked state’.<sup>596</sup> The message of her books was one of empowerment (Indian women would be able to reform themselves) and obligation (women had the duty to do so, if not they were responsible for their own illness, misery, and even ugliness).

Deeply interwoven with health and beauty are emotional norms, which are also conspicuously present in Thakur’s books. *Navyuvvtiyom* contained a warning to the imagined group of female adolescent readers that ‘sorrow, envy and jealousy and anger [...] cause the face to become distorted, they bring ugliness and transmogrify the whole body’.<sup>597</sup> She thus indicated that feeling in an inappropriate way would destroy the body from the inside and disfigure it from the outside.

In *Khel aur vyayām* (‘Health and exercise’) Thakur emphasized that girls and women who always follow the proscribed emotional norms ‘will always be respected and will become loved all the way from the house of their parents straight to their in-laws’.<sup>598</sup> In the separate chapter on ‘natural ways to keep healthy’ she announced that to retain one’s health and beauty certain emotional norms need to be followed. Thakur advised her readers to ‘always be happy (*sadā khus raho*)’, as it increased health and made the face look beautiful. They should always remain cheerful, as this pleased others and made them likeable. In contrast to this, Thakur described anger as detrimental to health. Women were also asked to ‘not get angry’ (*gussā mat karo*), as this was a grave character fault (*avgun*). Likewise, she instructed women to ‘drop the habit of jealousy and envy (*jalne-kurhne kī ādat coro*)’ with the example of an easily agitated and jealous woman who looked as if she was in her fifties, whereas in fact she was not older than thirty years. Finally, women are also reminded to ‘keep the thoughts always pure (*apne vicārom ko sadā śuddh rakho*)’ and ‘not worry’ (*cintā mat karo*), as this would also lead to disease.<sup>599</sup> Regulating one’s own emotions is therefore presented as double important – for the important social comfort of being valued by others, but also for individual

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<sup>596</sup> Thakur, *Khel aur vyāyām*, 15.

<sup>597</sup> Thakur, *Navyuvvtiyom*, 47.

cintā, jalnā-kurhnā aur krodh – [...] inse cehrā bigar jātā hai hai. kurūptā ājātī hai aur śārīr ghuḷā kartā hai.

<sup>598</sup> Thakur, *Khel aur vyāyām*, 17.

is tarah kī laṅkiyām aur striyām baṛā ādar pātī haiṁ aur apne mām-bāp ke ghar se lekar sasurāl tak ve pyār pānevālī hotī haiṁ.

<sup>599</sup> Thakur, *Khel aur vyāyām*, 17-28.

well-being and health. Such a linkage of emotional norms for women with questions of health are paradigmatic for domestic advice literature at the time.<sup>600</sup>

Jyotirmayi Thakur's books propagated the idea that staying healthy and strong as well as ensuring one's beauty would be possible through regulating one's feelings. Their textual authority stem to some extent from Thakur being a woman and thus having 'more than just second hand knowledge' of the things she writes about.<sup>601</sup> Thakur herself mentioned in the introductions to her books that they contained 'useful matters' (*upyogī bāterī*) compiled from Hindi and English magazines,<sup>602</sup> or from other Hindi advice books.<sup>603</sup> Simultaneously with the often criticized indecent literature which had become easily available at the time, also decent and morally instructive Hindi advice media had become firmly established on the market and enjoyed a high credibility. Instead of any external references, advice books relied on other Hindi sources of the same genre. For Thakur there was no need anymore to painstakingly delineate textual authority in order to legitimate the emotion knowledge on which her advice was based. The discourse on duty for a general (male) audience had been done under the label of civility, ethics and etiquette.<sup>604</sup> For her female readers, Thakur defined etiquette as 'beauty in behavior and speech'.<sup>605</sup> With the idea that being beautiful in looks, behavior and feeling would guarantee health and ensured female happiness, Thakur's books promoted the control and cultivation of feelings as a prime female duty.

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<sup>600</sup> See for example Santaram, *Ādarś patnī*, 22. He argued that emotional imbalance of a woman, expressed especially in anger and harsh words, would also affect her husbands and gradually diminish his life.

krodhī aur kulhī strī pati kī āyu ko nās kar detī hai. ataev cirkāl tak suhāgin banī rahne kī icchā rakhne vālī strī ko krodh, kalah aur kuṭubhāṣaṅ -kaṛvā bolne kā svābhāv – yatnapūrvak choṛ denā cāhie.

<sup>601</sup> Thakur, *Strī aur saundārya*, Introduction written by Sangam Lal Agraval, 4. According to the (male) author of this instruction, a woman like Thakur would be much better informed about what women were interested in and needed to know.

<sup>602</sup> Thakur, *Gharelu vijñān*, 2

<sup>603</sup> Thakur mentioned *Ādarś patnī*, 4, that her books also contain a mixture of ideas from *Dāmpatya prem* ('Married love') by Lakshmiprasad Mishra 'Kavihṛday', *Strī kā ādarś* ('Ideal of the woman') by Premchand, as well as *Ādarś grhinī* ('Ideal housewife') and *Ādarś jīvan* ('Ideal life') by Purushottam Das 'Visharad'.

The introduction to *Gharelu Vijñān*, 2f, informs that the teachings are compiled from various Hindi and English books and magazine articles, as 'all these are things that people remember from hearsay but do not recollect the source for exact reference'.

<sup>604</sup> See chapter 2.

<sup>605</sup> Thakur, *Navyuvtyom*, 118.

vyavahār-bartāv aur bolcāl kī sundartā hī śiṣṭācār kahlātī hai.

Jyotirmayi Thakur did not go into detail about what feelings are, which faculties they command or how and if they can be regulated. Yet her writings about emotions suggest that there was a primordial way of feeling for all women. In one passage, for example, Thakur described homeliness and affective domestic qualities as the seemingly natural emotional signs of femaleness:

The home is the little world of the woman. In her own little world, the woman is queen. [...] It was the nature (*prakṛti*) that gave women this quality/virtue (*guṇ*). Therefore she has so much affection/love (*sneh*) for her household, gives the house so much attention, unlike the man who does not feel this. The attraction and worry towards the home is her *svabhāv*.<sup>606</sup>

The Hindi term '*svabhav*' can comprise both elements of nature and nurture, and so far I used to translate it as 'character'. A translation with 'nature', would however be more appropriate. For the origins of the virtues and qualities of a person Thakur attributed higher influence to nature (*prakṛti*) than to culture (*saṃskṛti*). Her position differed from writers of self-help books, who emphasized more strongly that a person can shape his or her own character.<sup>607</sup> Likewise, Santaram's popular domestic advice manuals also emphasized the possibility of modulating one's nature/character.<sup>608</sup>

*Svabhāv* disciplines not only the body, but also the mind. Depending on the influence given to the thoughts, the mind will accordingly develop the *svabhāv* of being joyful or being sad.<sup>609</sup>

According to Santaram, emotions get naturalized into character, as they can be influenced by the mind, and even enhanced and cultivated by proper ways of thinking. Also for Malaviya, as I have shown above, emotions are something that needed cultivation and would be learnt over an extended period of time.

In contrast, Jyotirmayi Thakur promoted a different conceptualization of emotions in her advice books. Especially in her formulation of emotional norms for the good wife, she prescribes love as a 'natural' and essential force, already present in every girl before marriage.

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<sup>606</sup> Thakur, *Ādarś patnī*, 109.

ghar, strī kā choṭā-sā saṃsār hai. apne is choṭe-se saṃsār kī strī rānī hotī hai. [...] Prakṛtī ne yeh guṇ strī meṃ hī diyā hai. isīlie strī ko apnī ghar-grhasthī se jitnā sneh hotā hai, ghar kā use jitnā khyāl hotā hai, vah puruṣ ko nahīm hota. ghar ke prati strī kā ākarṣaṇ uskī cintā svābhāvīk hī hotī hai.

<sup>607</sup> These are discussed in section 2.2.

<sup>608</sup> Compare also Santaram's translation: in *Vaivahik prem*, 134f, Santaram used '*svabhāvīk*' as a translation for both 'natural' and 'normal' that were used by Mary Stopes in the English original (see Mary Stopes, *Married Love*, 75f).

<sup>609</sup> Santarām, *Nirog Kanyā*, 51. svābhāv kā śāsan śarīr par hī nahīm, man par bhī hai. jis prakār ke vicārom ko prabal hone diyā jāegā us ke anusār man ko prasann yā udās rahne kā svābhāv kar jāegā.

Its change into the love a married women feels would not happen gradual and through cultivation but was triggered as if it were automatically by another love, namely that of the husband:

There is no doubt about it that the husband is dearest to a woman. As long as she is not married, mother and father are everything to a girl. Nobody is dearer to her than her mother and father. But this does not stay the same after marriage. It changes. It is the love that she receives from her husband after moving to his home, which changes the love that a girl feels towards her mother and father into another form, so that her husband becomes the most dearest for her. This is natural/lies in her character (*svabhāvik*).<sup>610</sup>

Thakur's manuals promote 'love for the husband' as part of a woman's *svabhav*, her inherent nature. The chapter *Pati-patni meṁ sneh* ('Love/affection between husband and wife') of the book *Ādarś patni* outlines in detail what emotions should come natural for women.<sup>611</sup> Among different kinds of love (*prem*) and affection (*sneh*), the love towards the husband was the highest form, presiding over the love felt towards parents or siblings. The difference would be like that 'between fake and true gold', as any love felt before marriage may be shiny in color, but would soon 'lose its glitter'. Married love, on the other hand, was a different matter. Its experience would in fact change the whole emotional setup of a person – whereas earlier a woman would only love selfishly (*svārth*), through experiencing married love (*vivāhit prem*) she would become able to love selflessly in a way necessary for a good mother who cares for her offspring. The distinguishing quality of married love was its stable and balanced nature.<sup>612</sup>

Jyotirmayi Thakur formulated her behavioral and emotional norms as proscriptive interventions in the discourse on domesticity, postulating what was considered "natural" for women to feel. Deviating from this standard would thus be "unnatural", and also destructive to one's own beauty and body. A body that, in the case of twentieth century Indian writings on women, was also understood as the communal, or national, body:

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<sup>610</sup> Thakur, *Ādarś patni*, 30f.

isemeṁ sandeh nahim hai ki strī kā sab se adhik prīy uskā pati hī hotā hai. jab tak vivāh nahim hotā tab tak laṅkiyom ke lie unke mātā-pitā hī sab kuch haiṁ. mātā-pitā se baṛhkar unko koī prīy nahim hotā, lekin vivāh hone ke bād vah bāt nahim rahtī. isemeṁ parivartan ho jātā hai. pati ke ghar jāne par unko jo prem pati se prāpt hotā hai, vah unke us prem ko jo mātā-pitā ke prati hotā hai, dūsre rūp meṁ badal detā hai aur unkā pati, unkā sab se adhik priya ban jātā hai. vah svabhāvik hotā hai.

<sup>611</sup> Thakur, *Ādarś patni*, 95-99.

<sup>612</sup> Jyotirmayi Thakur, *Ādarś patni*, 97.

[...] vivāhit prem ek sthāyī prem hotā hai. usmeṁ na adhikā hotī hai aur na kabhī kamī hotī hai.

The woman that does not feel true love (*saccā prem*) for her husband leads a life of utter difficulty. Only those women can become happy who understand that happiness comes into being via the love of their husbands. This is the duty of a wife devoted to the husband (*pativrat-dharm*) which has been followed in India (*bhāratvarṣ*) since time immemorial. By following it until today, our culture has been continually preserved by our Indian women (*ārya lalnā*).<sup>613</sup>

Thakur joined the nationalist discourse with a delineation of women's duties that projects to the imagination of ancient Hindu past. Her conceptualization of a wife's duty, expressed in the term *pativrat*, is that of spiritual and emotional dependance on the husband. This ideal had been shaped in the nineteenth century as a model for women's behavior and became styled as a 'timeless principle' in the imagining of Hindu tradition.<sup>614</sup> Thakur rephrased this ideal by extending it to male behavior. She argued that it was not only the duty (*dharm*) to remain devotedly attached to their husbands (*pati-vrat*), but that it was also necessary for husbands to be faithful (on a physical and emotional level) to their wives (*patnī-vrat*).<sup>615</sup> At the same time Thakur was especially critical of contemporary movements for women's emancipation. If women and men were treated as truly equals, she warned, it would bring strife in the household and endanger the ideal of loving coexistence, so that finally 'the poisonous wind of gender equality' would destroy the morality of the Indian/Hindu community.<sup>616</sup> Jyotirmayi Thakur did not support the idea that women were considered separate (especially regarding their feelings) but equal to men.<sup>617</sup> Instead she maintained that women may not be equal to men, but that both should become inseparable on an emotional level. After marriage the husband would become the best friend of the wife, and to the wife 'none but the husband' could be her friend, with whom she would bond on an emotional level and share here feelings, sadness, happiness, wishes and desires with him.<sup>618</sup> Whereas this was

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<sup>613</sup> Thakur, *Ādarś patnī*, 17.

jis strī kā apne pati se saccā prem nahīm hai, uskā jīvan atyant kaṣṭprad hai. ji striyām pane pati ke prem ko sukh samajhte haiṁ, ve hī sukhmāyī haiṁ. pativrat-dharm kā pālan hamāre bhāratvarṣ meṁ ādi kāl se hotā āyā hai. iske pālan karne se ab tak hamārī ārya lalnāom kī saṁskṛti kī rakṣā hī hotī āyī hai.

<sup>614</sup> Sangari, "Recasting Women: An Introduction", 25.

<sup>615</sup> Thakur, *Ādarś patnī*, 17

jis prakār striyom ko pativrat-dharm kā pālan karnā cāhie, usī prakār puruṣom ko bhī patnīvrat-dharm kā pālan karna āvaśyak hai.

<sup>616</sup> Thakur, *Ādarś patnī*, 160.

ājkal samānādhikār kī carcā zorom se ho rahī hai. yah viṣailī vāyu hamāre jīvan ko naṣṭ kar dālegī.

<sup>617</sup> The idea that women and men felt fundamentally different on a mental and emotional level was, for example, also promoted by Santaram, who based his argument on unnamed 'scientific and psychological findings'. See Santaram, *Kām-kunj*, 228ff.

<sup>618</sup> Thakur, *Ādarś patnī*, 29.

the foundation stone of a happy marriage, Thakur also accounted for the fact that as many as 99 out of 100 marriages were fraught with problems and conflict and, in most cases, this situation was the husband's fault.<sup>619</sup> The chapter on 'duty of the wife in domestic conflicts' (*ghar kī aśānti meṁ patnī kā kartavya*) advises that 'one may choose the right time and talk to the husband with a lot of respect and love, should convey the contents of one's heart, and should let him know about one's pain'.<sup>620</sup> The emotional ideal of love that Thakur prescribed was based on the idea that love could and should be stable and unchanging.

Both man and woman should aim for always staying in love. They should never let any thing happen that causes conflict in their lives. Both should never let bad feelings (*burā bhāv*) or disgust (*ghṛṇā*) come in between them. Such couples [...] will never be sad. In their home there will be no conflict. After all, love (*prem*) itself is the main remedy against conflict and strife between man and woman.<sup>621</sup>

To conclude, Thakur's presentation of 'love towards the husband' as an emotional norm was threefold: (1) Love as a state of feeling naturally present in all wives. (2) Love as a means to reform the husband. (3) Love as the guarantee for a happy domestic life. The normative ideal presented in Thakur's books for husbands and wives was not built on equality, but it was nevertheless conceptualized as dyadic on an emotional level. In the resulting asymmetric relation, the happiness of a marriage depended on the ability of the wife to love her husband.

Thakur's advice manuals are an example of how seemingly insignificant topics such as hair care tips and exercises for the spine can become vital elements in larger discourses on domesticity. They also show that advice books that promote quite progressive ideas about the position of women in society can simultaneously also contain rather oppressive emotional norms. Women were given the responsibility for their beauty, health and feelings, which also means agency regarding their own life. At the same time they were made responsible for the

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apnī sab prakār kī bāt, apnā dukh-sukh, apnā kaṣṭ aur ārām, apnī icchā aur abhilāṣā – sabhī bār jis prakār apne mitr se kahi jāsaktī hai us prakār kisī se nahīm. strī kā is prakār kā mitr sivā uske pati ke aur koī nahīm ho saktī hai.

<sup>619</sup> Thakur, *Ādarś patnī*, 90.

<sup>620</sup> Thakur, *Ādarś patnī*, 94.

[...] unko samay pākar bahut ādar aur prem ke sāth samjhāveṁ, apne hṛday kī bāt kahēṁ, apne kaṣṭoṁ ko sāmne rakheṁ.

<sup>621</sup> Thakur, *Ādarś patnī*, 68f.

strī-puruṣ - donoṁ hī ek dūse ko pākar sadā prem se rahne ko hī kośīś kareṁ. jindagī meṁ kabhī koī aisī bāt paidā na hone de jisse unke jīvan meṁ kisī prakār kī koī āśāntī paidā ho. donoṁ ek, dusre ke prati kabhī koī burā bhāv aur gṛṇā na utpann hone de. is prakār [...] ve kabhī dukhī na hoṁge. unke ghar meṁ āśānti na hogī. bas, strī-puruṣ kā prem hī āśānti aur kalah kī pramukh auśadhi hai.

success or failure of their marriage, depending on their ability to comply with what was emotionally expected of them.

The claim of Malaviya's advice manuals was similar - women could gain emotional power over the husband, and therefore agency, through their love for him. My analysis showed that the assignment of this nominal agency to women, i.e. the power to reform the husband through emotions, also implied that women were given accountability for her husband's action - could the husband not be reformed, the fault would lie ultimately with the wife's emotional shortcomings. The emotional norms formulated in Jyotirmayi Thakur's advice manuals appear even more repressive. Many women would not have complied with the demand for loving the husband for various reasons (because the husband treated her badly, cheated on her, or maybe just because she did not like him). According to Thakur, such women would be condemnable not only because they did not 'feel right', but also because they violated their 'nature'. Through the formulation of love as a pivotal emotional norm the patriarchal structures of domestic relationships became even more strengthened. Cultivating the thus formulated emotional norms becomes pivotal, as they represent the natural way of what ideal spouses felt (at least according to the common knowledge created by and represented in Jyotirmayi Thakur's advice manuals).

## 5. Conclusion - Emotional Cultivations

Taking Hindi advice literature as an example, this dissertation illustrated the cultivation of emotions in late colonial India. The case studies chosen for this project uncovered two interlinking historical developments in the Hindi-speaking region of late colonial India. On the one hand, the research on the production context of normative literature showed how textual authority bolstered the knowledge of emotions presented in advice books. On the other hand, the qualitative context analysis of advice books showed the importance given to emotions in normative literature. The methods through which feelings were represented in normative literature indicated the emotional rules governing social interaction. It also indicated how culturally and historically situated knowledge about emotions was created. This knowledge and the norms according to which people were to modulate and cultivate their feelings in certain situations were closely connected to processes of community construction.

The three empirical case studies of my dissertation focused on anger, greed, and lust respectively. These three emotions should not be mistaken for clearly distinct, universal phenomena. My analysis of books on etiquette and self-help, religious advice literature, and domestic manuals indicated the interrelatedness of these feelings. The tenet that a housewife should be lovingly devoted to her husband, for example, is equally formulated in religious advice books as it is in domestic manuals. Warnings against the detrimental effect of anger are issued in etiquette books, just as well as they are in books on beauty. This interlinking nature of emotion advice corroborates Rosenwein's thesis that emotional communities can intersect and overlap. But what makes emotional norms specific? The admonition that an angry temper is not good for health, and that a person should not shout at his inferiors, the norm that someone should not greedily cheat in business for personal gain, and the principle that one should love and care for one's spouse – all these emotional norms could be applicable to many other communities across time and space. My textual analysis of Hindi advice literature from late colonial India showed, however, how emotional norms and emotional styles became embedded in discourses on gender roles, religious belonging and national identity. The ability to have cultivated one's emotions was promoted as a marker of individual and social excellence. As an ideal it furthermore became a marker for those belonging to (or rather: aspiring to belong to) a specific community. The source material I used created various trajectories of communal belonging:



- The community of morally educated citizens, who would deserve to have political and social leadership, if they could cultivate the emotional style of sympathy (*saṃvedansīltā / sahānubhūti / suśīltā / sahanśīltā / dayā*). [see section 2.1. and 2.2.]
- The national community of Indians, who could take up their rightful place among civilized nations, if they followed the norms of ethics and etiquette and ceased to western customs, which were emotionalized as nauseating and causing disgust (*ghṛṇa*). [section 2.3]
- The community of orthodox Hindus, who could get close to God, if they followed sanitized and internalized practices of devotional love to God (*bhakti*). [section 3.1. and 3.3.]
- The unified community of all Hindus, who would be able to form a strong communal body and overcome sectarian divisions, if they focused on cultivating the emotional style of disinterested feeling (*niṣkāmbhāv*). [section 3.2.]
- The community of Marwari tradesmen, who would gain respect, prosperity, and spiritual salvation, if they could overcome the greed (*lobh*) that caused them to deceive their customers and business-partners. [section 3.2.]
- The community of physically and spiritually healthy citizens, who could father proper offspring, as well as avoiding the dangers of uncontrolled lust (*kām*) , if their behavior and feeling was informed by bodily and mental celibacy (*brahmacarya*) as a balanced emotional style. [4.1.]
- The community of ideal domestic couples, who would enjoy a joyful and happy married life, if they felt true love (*prem*) for their spouse. [4.3.]

Recent interventions in the field of emotion history position the idea of normative emotions within a larger framework of practice theory. Taking a Bourdieuan approach, the anthropologist and historian Monique Scheer describes emotions as anchored in the habitus of a person, where they emerge as forms of ‘bodily knowledge’. The sociologist Eva Illouz, also drawing on Bourdieu, suggests that compliance with dominant emotional norms creates cultural and social capital. Depending on the valuation of certain emotions (and de-valuation of others), emotional capital becomes an embodied asset of sociability. If the normative guidelines for appropriate feeling, as outlined in advice books, promise potential emotional capital for those who appropriate them, they can become markers for cultural and social excellence. Thus, the compliance with certain emotional norms and styles would shape a

person's habitus. As outlined in my introduction, advice literature as a source has to be approached carefully as the norms presented there are neither exclusively prescriptive nor exclusively descriptive. The results from my research on the production context of advice literature indicated nonetheless, how Hindi advice literature became firmly established in the public sphere. Chapter 2 showed how actors from the realm of the Hindi-language movement, institutionalized by the Nagaripracharini Sabha, influenced the production of self-help and etiquette literature and created patronage structures to boost the dissemination of these books. The survey of religious publications from the Gitapress in chapter 3 indicated how ancient scriptures became canonized and at the same time interpreted. Chapter 4 illustrated how prolific advisors were able to position their normative books on the competitive commercial market.

Educative and instructive Hindi books from the nineteenth century predominantly formulated emotional norms in an authoritative manner. In the twentieth century the nature of advice literature evolved into forms of guidance and counseling. This shift nonetheless strengthened the normative appeal of advice books. On the first normative level, emotions were formulated on the basis of etiquette and ethics. On the second level, emotions became linked to personal well-being. The cultivation of emotions was presented as a bodily necessity. The third level of emotion advice portrayed emotional norms and emotional styles as markers of moral and cultural status, both on an individual as well as on a social level. Advice books thus provided the script for the 'lived subjunctive' of community identification. People who do not feel according to the specific emotional norms of the community they claim adherence to, can nevertheless call upon these as an ideal. The identification with and re-iteration of what should be felt becomes, in turn, a marker of communal belonging.

The process of creating textual authority in advice books became the main focal point in my textual analysis. Textual authority is the basis, on which the normative statements in advice literature are formulated. It also lent credibility to the emotion knowledge which was created, represented and proliferated through advice literature. In order to create textual authority, authors of advice books frequently cited other books and sources, or referred to experts or authorities in a particular field. From the Hindi source material I used in this study, two major methods of creating textual authority can be discerned: References to ancient Indian scriptures (such as the Bhagavadgita and the Manusmriti) on the one hand and

contemporary sources on the other. The latter were predominantly works of contemporary European writers, social reformers, doctors and so on. However, these two different origins for textual authority defy the dichotomy of 'traditional' versus 'modern'. The authorities for 'western' knowledge were often cited in name only. Moreover as it was often argued that ancient sources actually prefigure and validate the findings of modern science, 'modern' knowledge itself became styled as 'traditional'. Models of excellence drawn from ancient India were endowed with textual authority on the basis of their scriptural authority. Writers of Hindi advice books postulated seemingly unbroken traditions of moral and emotional excellence. They not only idealized this constructed image of 'traditional' India, but also superimposed it on a linear vision of the future. A future that would come into effect, as they claimed, if people began to adhere to the emotional norms outlined for them in advice manuals.

The aim of my analysis was not to retrace whether the sources for textual authority were understood and represented in a 'correct' way by writers of advice manuals. Instead of using a pre-figured concept of what an emotion is, where it is located, and how it can be cultivated, I chose to proceed deductively. In my analysis I therefore used 'emotion' and 'feeling' synonymously as analytical terms, while uncovering the specifically situated emotion knowledge that is created and represented in the Hindi advice books of my research period.

Interestingly, there is no direct equivalent used in Hindi for a term such as 'emotion' or 'feeling' and instead, two quite different categories feature prominently in advice literature. The first category is formed by a number of recurring terms, often used in combination with each other. These motions are mainly presented as vices as the case studies on lust, anger, and greed (*kāṃ, krodh, lobh*) showed. Contrary to these, emotions such as love (*prem, sneh*) are formulated. These are presented as moral virtues, often alongside other virtues with affective qualities such as forgiveness, non-violence, peacefulness, contentment, truthfulness, non-fearfulness (*kṣamā, ahīṃsā, śānti, santoś, satya, abhay*). The combination of emotions with vices or virtues suggests that feelings are a fundamental ingredient of a person's moral economy.

The second category of feelings that I located in my sources, is represented by the Hindi term '*bhāv*'. This term is used to refer to (cultivated) modes of feeling, or the general emotional disposition of a person. *Bhāv* does not describe a temporally limited emotional state, but rather an underlying mode that, once firmly established in the mind, turns into a permanent emotional style. In its etymology it is closely related to *svabhāv* (with *sva-* as the

Sanskrit prefix for 'self'). The cultivation of *svabhāv*, which for the purpose of this study was translated as 'character, is a central demand in the analyzed advice books. The character of a person, as constituted by feelings, is constituted as the malleable product of self-help, emotional cultivation and refinement. In other cases, it is also represented as the naturally innate feelings of a person. The association of cultivated feelings (*bhāṅ*) with character (*svabhāv*) indicates the central role of emotions in individual and social interactions.

The emotion knowledge presented in different advice books is localized and thus far from being unequivocal. However, it allows for some fundamental conclusions regarding how emotions were conceptualized in early twentieth century India. Popular Hindi advice books mainly identified the heart as the location of emotions. But the impact that emotions can have on the mind, the soul, and even the intellect was also frequently mentioned. Feelings are thus conceptualized to be in an interdependent relationship with the different faculties of the body. The deductive approach I used to theorize emotions in Hindi advice literature challenges conceptualizations of emotions, in which the feelings are pitted as 'irrational' agents in opposition to 'rational' concepts such as intellect and reflection. Moreover, emotions in Hindi advice manuals are also embedded in an encompassing and holistic moral system. This system is represented through *dharma* (*dharm*), the polyvalent normative ideal, governing moral and ethical duty, the essence of a religious lifestyle, and/or the natural order of things. *Dharma* equally applies to the individual person, the society and, for that matter, the whole universe. To live according to one's *dharma* is depicted as a personal duty and also as the ultimate way to bring happiness (*sukh*) and joyful bliss (*ānand*) to one's soul. In my sources, certain emotional norms and emotional styles are postulated as consistent with individual and social *dharma* and subsequently as constitutive as markers for a certain community.

As my analysis has shown, the concept of *dharma* allows for envisaging two major communal constructs that are concurrently distinct and overlapping. These are the national community of Indians, and the religious community of Hindus. Simultaneously, the members of these communities can be also distinguished horizontally. From my source material I have mainly exemplified this regarding *pativrathdharma*, i.e. the gendered conceptualization of *dharma* in the ideal of a devoted wife. Further differentiations – according to age, social status, caste and class are also possible on the basis of the empirical material I used. As an analytical term, *Dharma* does not specify Indian 'otherness', but rather serves as a tool to better understand the intersecting and overlapping nature of emotional communities.

Hindi advice literature formulated prescriptive rules for the cultivation of emotions. These temporally and culturally situated norms imagined emotional communities on a moral and ideal level. My deductive approach uncovered how emotional knowledge became culturally and historically situated and challenge the idea that emotions and rationality are necessarily distinct. The dissertation adds added to the ongoing research in the History of Emotions in emphasizing that feelings cannot be explained with universalistic theories.

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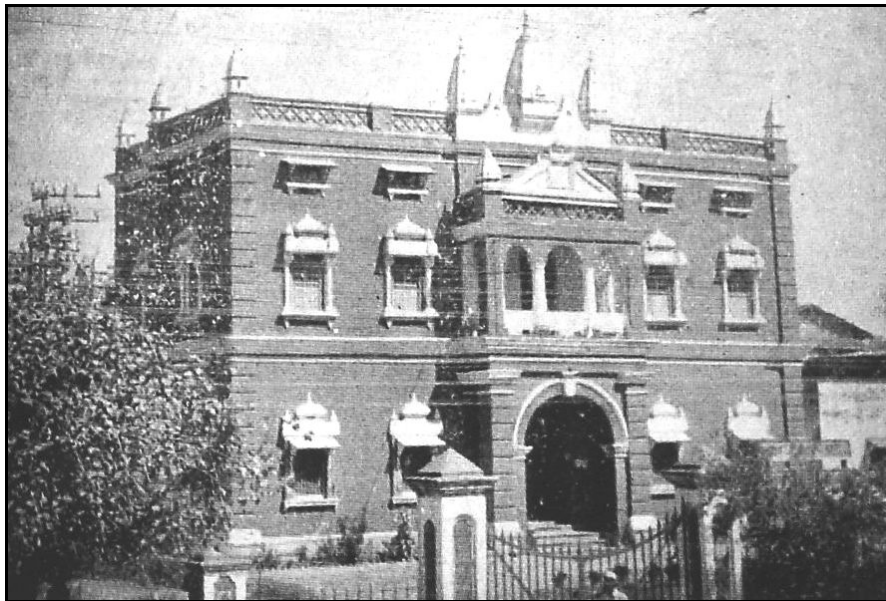
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# Appendix

## Illustrations

Illustration 1



Main building of the Nagaripracharini Sabha.  
Source: Shrikrishna Lal, *Hīrak jayantī granth*, 59.

Illustration 2

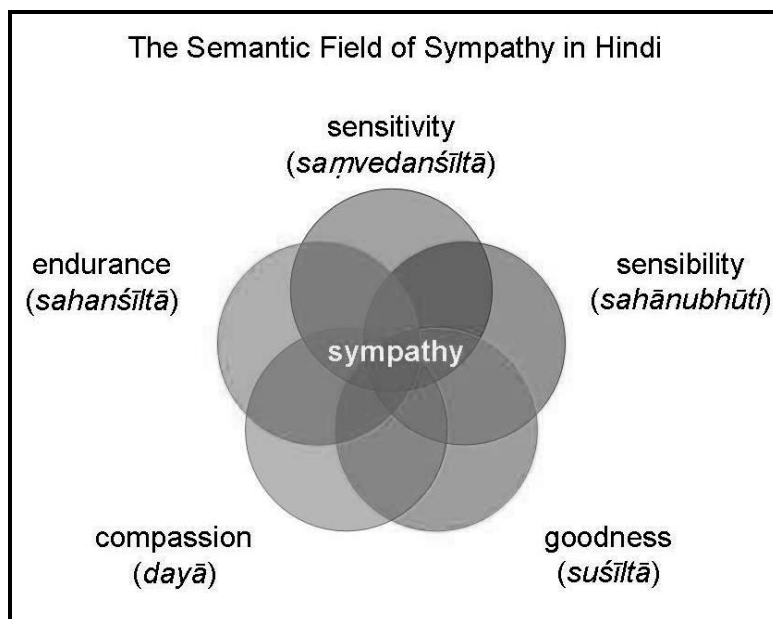
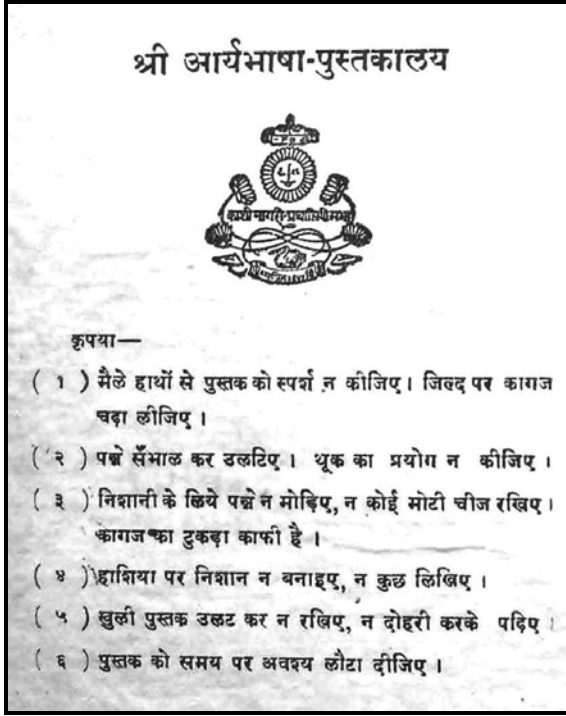




Illustration 3



Exlibris of the Arybhasha Library of the Nagaripracharini Sabhawith regulations for readers. Rule 2: Turn the pages carefully. Do not use saliva. Rule 4: Neither make marks in the margins, nor write in them.

Source: Thakur, *Ādarś patnī*, pasted note inside the front cover.

Illustration 4



Jaydayal Goyandka (left, wearing a traditional Marwari headdress) and Hanumanprasad Poddar (right), around 1960.

Source: Paul Arney, private collection

Illustration 5

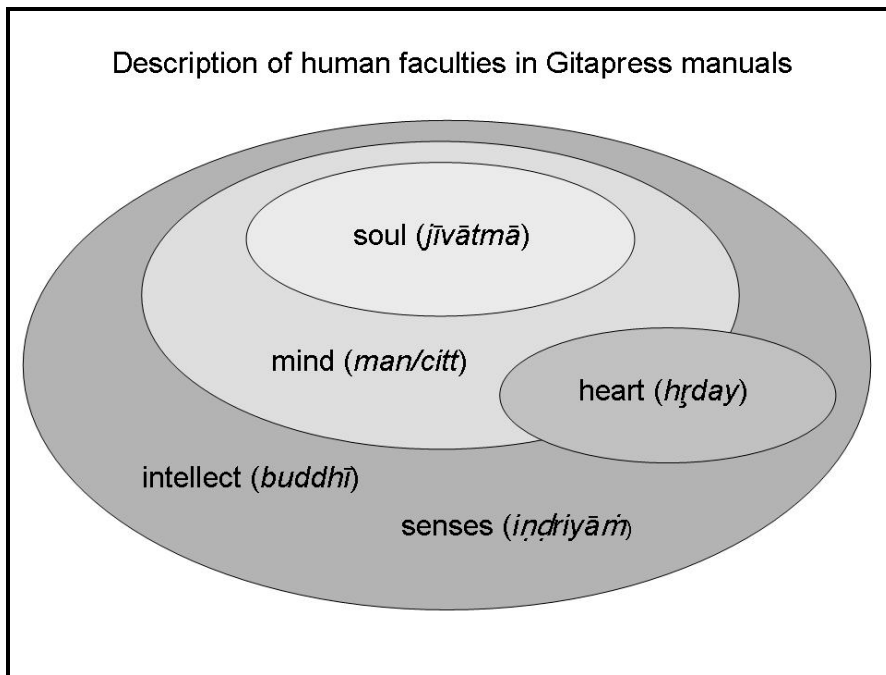


Illustration 6

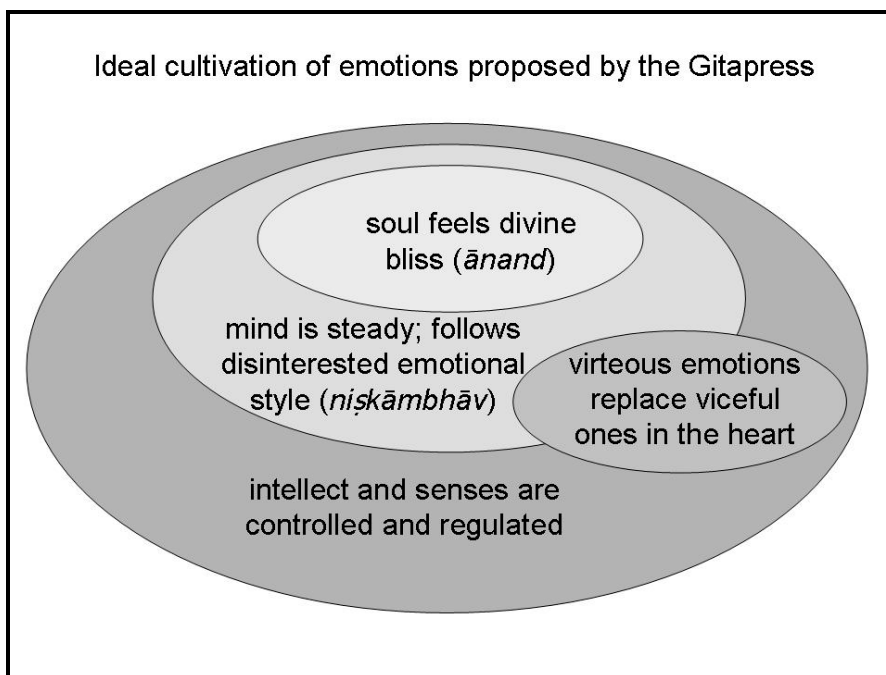
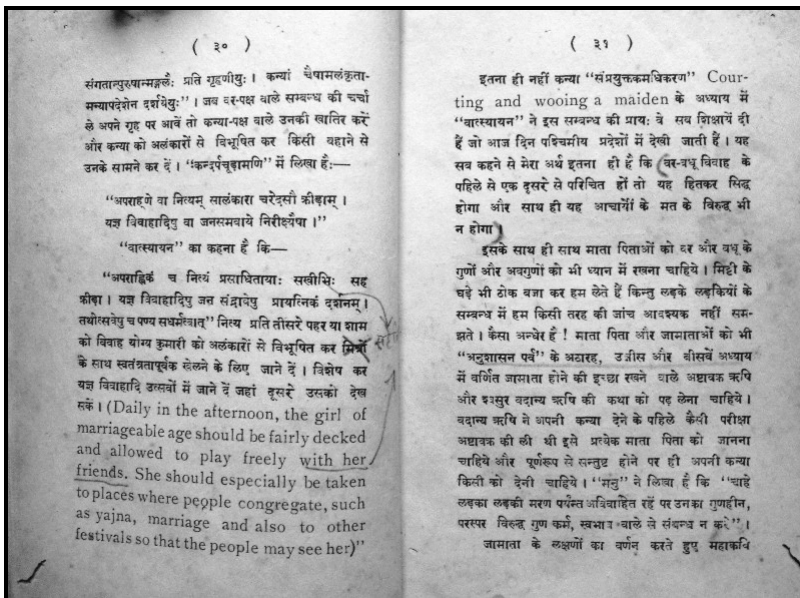


Illustration 7



Portrait of Jyotirmayi Thakur from one of her books. Source: Thakur, *Khel aur vyayām*, 8.

Illustration 8

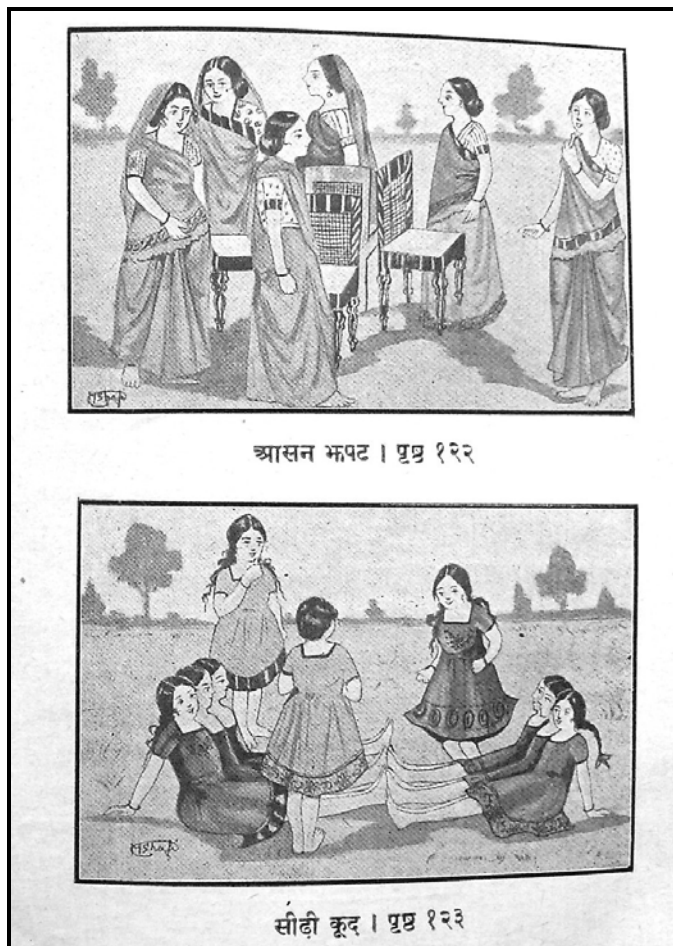


Markings and marginalia by Reader A and Reader B in Krishnakant Malaviya's advice book. Source: Malaviya, *Bahūrānī ko sīkh*, 30f.

Illustration 9

Krishnakant Malaviya's Conceptualization of Lust and Love	
<b>lust (<i>kām</i>)</b>	<b>love (<i>prem</i>)</b>
located in the body ( <i>jaṅ</i> )	located in the spirit/ soul/heart/brain ( <i>jīv</i> )
	emotional requirement for a happy marriage

Illustration 10



Women and girls playing games outside.  
Source: Thakur, *Khel aur vyayām*, 15.

## **Abstract (English)**

This dissertation analyzes advice literature written in Hindi guide, which were published between the 1890s and the 1940s in India. The books cover diverse genres – guides on etiquette, self-help books and educational literature (partly translated from English), religious reform literature, as well as guidebooks on housekeeping, child-rearing and marital hygiene.

Three case studies guide the analysis of the specific production contexts of different genres of guidebook literature and address the question of how credibility was postulated for the knowledge conveyed in guidebooks in order to create textual authority.

Normative advice literature was seen as an important means of moral education in the late nineteenth century. In the course of the Hindi language movement, the production of guides and etiquette books in Hindi was promoted and patronage structures were created for its dissemination. The beginning of the twentieth century saw rising literacy levels in the Hindi-speaking areas, which had hitherto been low even compared to other regions in colonial India. Case study 1 therefore examines the Nagari Pracharini Sabha (Society for the Dissemination of the Nagari Script) and its book series as an important agent of the Hindi language movement. Case study 2 focuses on advice produced by the Gita Press publishing house, which are still available in new editions to this day. The aim of this publishing house is the dissemination of Hindu texts. In addition to its popular printed products, it has also become a conservative mouthpiece for socio-political issues. Case study 3 examines the works of four individual authors who positioned themselves in the increasingly commercialized Indian book market of the 1920s and 1930s. Their marital guidebooks engage with contemporary debates, in particular on the position of women in society and their role in relation to their husbands.

The qualitative content analysis of the advice books focuses exemplarily on the emotions anger, greed and lust, which are disqualified as moral vices. To oppose them, normative counter-emotions are promoted, which postulate ideas of community on the basis of feeling rules. Advice literature thus is one of the indicators for how culturally and historically situated knowledge about emotions was created and, in turn, postulated as an indicator for belonging to a specific community.

## **Abstract (German)**

In der vorliegenden Dissertation werden Hindi-Ratgeberbücher untersucht und analysiert, die im kolonialen Indien im Zeitraum zwischen den 1890er und den 1940er Jahren produziert wurden. Die Bandbreite dieser Schriften ist vielfältig – Handreichungen zur Etikette, Selbsthilfe-Ratgeber und pädagogische Literatur (z.T. übersetzt aus dem Englischen), religiöse Reformliteratur, sowie Ratgeber für Haushalt, Kindererziehung und Ehehygiene.

In drei Fallstudien konzentriert sich diese Arbeit auf spezifische Produktionskontexte unterschiedlicher Genres von Ratgeberliteratur, verbunden mit der Frage, wie für das in Ratgebern vermittelte Wissen Glaubhaftigkeit postuliert und somit textuelle Autorität geschaffen wurde.

Im ausgehenden neunzehnten Jahrhundert galt normative Literatur als wichtiges Mittel der Moralbildung. Vor dem Hintergrund der Hindi-Sprachbewegung wurden die Produktion von Ratgebern und Etikette-Büchern auf Hindi befördert und Patronage-Strukturen für deren Verbreitung geschaffen. Zu Beginn des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts stieg die selbst im innerindischen Vergleich niedrige Bildungsrate im Hindi-Sprachgebiet deutlich an. In Fallstudie 1 wird daher die Nagari Pracharini Sabha (Gesellschaft zur Verbreitung der Nagari-Schrift) und deren Buchreihen als wichtiger Akteur der Hindi-Sprachbewegung untersucht. Fallstudie 2 konzentriert sich auf Ratgeberschriften, die aus dem Verlagshaus der Gita Press stammen und bis heute in Neuauflagen erhältlich sind. Die Verbreitung hinduistischer Texte ist das Ziel dieses Verlages, der über seine populären Druckerzeugnisse hinaus auch zum konservativen Sprachrohr für gesellschaftspolitische Fragen wurde. In Fallstudie 3 werden die Werke von vier individuellen Autoren untersucht, die sich auf dem zusehends kommerzialisierten indischen Buchmarkt der 1920er und 1930er Jahre positionierten. Sie greifen in ihren Ehe-Ratgebern Hauptthemen zeitgenössischer Debatten auf, insbesondere zur Stellung der Frau in der Gesellschaft und ihre Rolle gegenüber dem Ehemann.

Die qualitative Inhaltsanalyse der untersuchten Ratgeberbücher fokussiert exemplarisch auf die Emotionen Zorn, Gier und Wollust, die als moralische Laster disqualifiziert werden. Dem gegenüber werden normative Gegenentwürfe gestellt, die über Gefühlsregeln normative ideale Gemeinschaftsentwürfe postulieren – gender-spezifisch, sowie im Hinblick auf nationale Souveränität und religiöse Identität.