THE ARDHAKATHANAKA

Historicizing and Contextualizing the Emotion of Friendship in the Seventeenth-Century Self-Narrative

By
Adnaan Farooq

Submitted to Central European University - Private University

Department of History

In the partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of History

Supervisor: Professor Robyn Dora Radway
Second Reader: Professor Tijana Krstic

Vienna, Austira
2023

Statement of Copyright

Abstract

In the seventeenth century a Jain merchant from in Mughal India wrote a versified self-narrative by the name of *Ardhakathanaka*. The text is written in Brajbhasha which was a literary language of the people who lived in the area called the 'Braj Bhum' (land of the Braj). This life history is of immense value if we are to recover the social history of the mercantile community in the pre-colonial India because it is written by an insignificant man who was very much connected with the lives and concerns of the ordinary people. The narrative is placed in the urban centers of Mughal India and is about the struggles of a common North Indian merchant. The story of his life is deeply rooted in the communitarian space to which the author belonged. While narrating his story the author writes about several people with whom he shared his life. Foremost among these relations are his friendships which remain an essential part of his narrative. He frankly discusses his feelings and emotions towards his friends which throw light on the many aspects of lives of these petty merchants of the seventeenth century mercantile group. The text offers novel insights into the economic and social life of these individuals. Through the study of the emotion of friendship in this project, I attempt to delve into the idea of 'household' as perceived by these individuals. By studying the vocabulary used by the author to describe the emotion of friendship, I identify the hierarchical nature of friendship within this community owing to its exceeding level of caste consciousness. Through the centrality of 'friendships' in the life of the author, this investigation reimagines the economy and society in relation to these friendship alliances.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Robyn Dora Radway, who extended undue help and guidance right from the beginning. This research could not have materialized without her valuable feedback and timely availability. I would like to thank my Second Reader, Professor Tijana Krstic, who suggested a few important ideas that have been of huge help in the formulation of this thesis.

I would like to extend immense gratitude to my Academic Writing instructor, Dr Borbála Faragó, who helped me throughout the academic year with her inputs that have refined certain key areas of this project. I am extremely grateful to Professor Günhan Börekçi for helping me considerably with the secondary literature concerning this project. I also extend a token of gratitude to my Professors at the Central European University, who have unknowingly, through our class discussions, added to this project in many important ways.

I am immensely thankful to my parents and to my elder brother for believing in me. I hope that I make you all proud. I am very grateful to my colleagues at the university for their emotional and intellectual support. I extend immense gratitude to my partner Shaiza, who has been there through the many ups and downs that we encountered in this journey. I am very thankful to my friends from Kashmir, especially, Jazib, Ishfaq, and Khalid for their encouragement and unflinching support.

The person who deserves a special mention is my friend, mentor, and a brilliant historian in the making, Shakir bhai. I genuinely thank you for all the guidance you have offered so far. I would also extend a special thanks to my friend from CeU, Ken Beckers, for being there.

Table of Contents

Statement of Copyright ..... *ii*

Abstract ..... *iii*

Acknowledgements ..... *iv*

1 Introduction *1*

1.1 Introduction 1

1.2 An Introduction to the Self-narrative of a Common Merchant Traveller in Mughal India 4

1.3 Contextualizing *Ardhakathanaka* 8

1.4 Theoretical Framework 12

1.5 Literature Review 17

1.6 Roadmap 22

2 Ardhakathanaka and the Vocabulary of Friendship *25*

2.1 *Ardhakathanaka* and Banarasidas's Friendships 26

2.2 Emotional lexicon: Vocabulary of Friendship in the *Ardhakathanaka* 27

2.3 Mercantile community, familial space, and the idea of household 42

3 Friendship Alliances: The Economy and The Society of Friendship in Ardhakathanaka *50*

3.1 *Ardhakathanaka* and the 'Economy of Friendship' 53

3.2 *Ardhakathanaka* and the 'Society of Friendship' 64

4 CONCLUSION *73*

5 Bibliography *77*

1 Introduction

"That same Banarasi will now relate,
His own story to you.

A Jain from the noble Shrimal family,
That prince among men, that man called Banarasi,
He thought to himself,
'Let me make my story known to all."[1]

1.1 Introduction

In this thesis, I will be studying the life history of a common merchant traveler named Banarasidas, that he wrote around the mid-seventeenth century during the reign of the Mughal emperor, Jahangir. This text has been studied is varying capacities, that I shall briefly some up in following pages, but it largely remains underutilized. Every autobiographical account is an act of self-representation and self-fashioning. In such accounts, therefore, the 'truth' and 'honesty' of the author's story of the 'self' moves between deception, display, and concealment. Such accounts are full of silences and evasions that worthy of historical inquiry; however, the aim of this thesis is not to explore such silences but rather I am interested in exploring the emotions in the text, particularly the emotion of friendship, which the author forthrightly discusses throughout the narrative. By exploring the dynamism and the many layers of the emotion of friendship, I make three broader claims in this thesis. First, I assert that without paying attention to the 'emotion words,'[2] the multivalent nature of friendship as an emotion cannot be understood. This argument in the context of the *Ardhakathanaka* is made by Shivangini Tandon, I build on it by borrowing from various practitioners of emotion history to demonstrate how the language used by the author in describing

[1] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* ed. And trans. Rohini Chowdhury, *Ardhakathanak: A Half Story* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2009), 3.
[2] Barbara H. Rosenwein, Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages (New York: Cornell University Press, 2006); Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions 400-1700 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 4.

this emotion reflects in the social dimensions of this community and is intrinsically rooted in its cultural context. The study of emotion words has revealed many aspects of the emotional experiences of the past people and this method has been used widely by the historians of emotions. In this thesis, I make a humble intervention by arguing that the study of emotional vocabulary for friendship in *Ardhakathanaka* reveals friendships were most likely hierarchically organized in this community and most likely in the other subordinate groups as well; the language used for intra-communal friendships were far more emotionally intense than the that used for friendships outside of the community. This I use to argue for the intense caste consciousness among the members of this community. This also complements the research that emphasizes the importance of emotion history for social history in general.[3]

I argue for the study of the emotion words used for friendship as an entry point for the investigation into how these individuals perceived the idea of 'household' and the insights that author's world of friendships offers into how the members of this subordinate group imagined it. By household I mean the family members that constituted it. Did it remain for them limited to the immediate family members connected by blood ties or was it comprised of other members of the community who were held together by a set of shared communitarian norms and value systems? Based on the author's narrative I argue for the latter. This connects to my second claim that these friendship alliances within this community functioned as extended households not only because these merchants had to remain away from their families for long duration but more than that because of the normative system that prevailed within the community. In such a system, these friendships replaced the immediate families of these individuals both literally and functionally. In fact, these friends did not only provide emotional or financial support to each other during their challenging

[3] Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction,* trans. Keith Tribe (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 276-293.

times, but they also acted as agents for the reinforcement of moral and ethical codes that ran within this community, something that was generally assumed to be the prerogative of the immediate families. These moral and ethical concerns were so central to their community life that it impacted their economic relations considerably.

This extends then to the third claim I make in this thesis that it was not the economy driven by business partnerships but rather by the emotion of deeply cultivated friendships among the members of this community. As I have demonstrated below the value of emotions to economic history has been demonstrated by a few leading emotion historians. Based on these interventions, I argue that the emotion of friendship with its deeply implicated social dimensions assumed the status of primacy in the economic lives of these individuals and were by no means business partnerships solely given to the concerns of profit and loss. I argue instead for the 'economy of friendship' where the alliances were shaped by the distinctive language of trust and sociability in a closely knit community where the idea of a socially disconnected and segmented 'partnership' did not exist until the advent of colonial modernity.

I will now give a brief introduction to the source. The next few pages discuss issues concerning the translations of the text, the original manuscript(s) and the reason behind their obscurity. The problems concerning their lack of access and the possible reasons behind it. It articulates the central questions that concern this thesis. The following section deals with the methodology part and constructs my methodological approach towards answering these questions. The section following that locates the *Ardhakathanka* in its political, and more importantly, literary context and argues for the importance of it. The section after that evaluates the existing historiography around the text and identifies the major points of departure from it. The last section summarizes the general break-up of the next two chapters.

1.2 An Introduction to the Self-narrative of a Common Merchant Traveller in Mughal India

'All that I have heard, and seen with my own eyes,
Let me tell of those matters in my own words.
Let me tell of my past faults and virtues,
Keeping in mind the limits of custom and decorum.[4]

This verse above is one of the initial verses of a common man's life history. In 1641, a Srimal Jain named Banarasidas composed a self-narrative that he named *Ardhakathanaka* (A Half Tale). The term Srimal here denotes the author's subcaste, a group that was predominant among the Jain merchant groups in pre-colonial India. It is a story of his life as a Jain merchant in Mughal India and the various ups and downs he faced during his career as a trader. By the time Banarasidas composed this text about his life's history, he was fifty-five years old. Given the date of the composition of *Ardhakathanaka*, he had lived through the reign of two of the most powerful Mughal emperors, Akbar and his son and successor Jahangir. The text does not, however, provide us much useful information about the political atmosphere of the time but it is quite useful for reconstructing the social and cultural history of this merchant community of Hindus and Jains under the Mughals. Banarasidas begins with an account of his family history and says that his family had converted from Rajput caste of Hinduism to Jainism. Since Rajputs are considered to be a martial caste known for their warrior like qualities, he says that his family decided to give that up for a peaceful lifestyle. From here onwards, the text remains essentially centred upon the Jain merchant community and the life of Banarasidas as its member. The life of Banarasidas is deeply rooted in his community and he gives us a detailed account of his immediate family and about his intimate friendship ties with the members of his community. The text is an important source to extract the social history of the

[4] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* 5:
जैसी सुनी बिलोकी नैन। तैसी कछू कह्यो मुख बैन।।
कहों अतीत दोष गुणवाद। बरत मानताई मरजाद।।

period, the social norms, moral and ethical value systems of Banarasidas's community, and the sheds light on some important aspects of business in the seventeenth century North India. The text gives us detailed information about the commodities traded and the markets of Jaunpur and Agra from the perspective of a commoner who lived among these members. This makes the *Ardhakathanaka* extremely important as a historical record because it offers us insights into the mercantile life from the perspective of a commoner. The text offers rich insights into the long and arduous journeys undertaken by the members of this community and the ways they could withstand the difficulties and challenges they faced during these business ventures.

The *Ardhakathanaka* was discovered by a literary society named *Nagara Pracharini Sabha*, which is a prominent literary society in Western India. The text was translated into Hindi by a well-known scholar of Jain Studies, N.R Premi in 1957. However, the text became popular among the modern historians only after it was translated into English by the literary scholar named Mukund Lath in 1981. It is highly likely that both of these translations used the printed version of the *Ardhakathanaka* in the Brajbhasha published for the first time by Mataprasad Gupta in 1943. I say this because there is a striking similarity in the content and exceptional semantic homogeneity between the two translations which makes it very possible that they are working from the same manuscript.

In an interesting study by the one of the reputed scholar of Jain history John E. Cort, has investigated into the practice of translation in the everyday life of Jains in the seventeenth-century North India. He argues that many of the members of this community, apart from being merchants, traders, imperial servants, poets, and writers were also 'engaged in translation as a part of their day-to-day life'. [5]Based on his extensive study, it is highly likely that *Ardhakathanaka* was translated by several

[5] Cort, John E. "Making It Vernacular in Agra: The Practice of Translation by Seventeenth-Century Jains." In *Tellings and Texts: Music, Literature and Performance in North India*, edited by Francesca Orsini and Katherine Butler Schofield, 1st ed., 61–106. Open Book Publishers, 2015.

people, possibly into Sanskrit and Persian. Banarasidas being credited with many important literary works from the period must have established a good enough reputation as a writer to invite the attention of a few translators if not many. The reason why the original manuscripts have fallen into oblivion is because historians have continued to rely upon Mukund Lath's translation as a standard version of the text for their reference. Even the most well-known historians of Braj literature and the Jain community are unaware of the original manuscript(s).

The reason behind such a neglect is because South Asian historians did not entertain the genre of auto/biographical sources until very recently because of their preoccupation with the paradigm of 'collectivity'. It was generally assumed that early modern Indian society was collectively organised and the notion of 'individualism' was absent, and therefore, life histories and other individualistic narratives of expression remained unpopular as sources of historical investigation among the historians of the region. When this tendency declined, Lath had already published the translation along with the original text published by Gupta much earlier. It is not, therefore, surprising to know that there is barely any historical research on the *Ardhakathanaka* that pre-dates Lath's translation.

The translation for this research has been mostly taken from the recently published English translation by Rohini Chowdhury. Where I think the words could be better translated, I have relied on the Braj-Hindi *soor-kosh* (dictionary) compiled by Deen Dayal Gupt and Prem Narayan Tandon. I recognise that the lack of access to the original manuscript(s) is a drawback as of now since the availability of the original manuscript(s) would have informed this research in multiple new ways which have hitherto remained obscured. This apparent absence of an original manuscript(s) raises an important question that must concern the scholars of South Asia which is regarding the authorship of the text. Although that text is attributed to the literary genius of Banarasidas, it could be questioned on two grounds: first being the fact that none of the historians have worked from the original text and have tended to consider Lath's translation as a standard version of

Ardhakathanaka. Second has to do with Farhat Hasan's assertion Farhat Hasan's assertion that the text was meant to be read out to audience orally before it was composed in the form a book by the author in the final years of his life. Although the audience of Banarasidas is not clear but it is highly likely that it was meant to be read by the members of Banya community itself. Banarasidas says:

'Wicked men (*dusht jiv*) will make fun of my life-story, but my friends shall certainly read it with happiness and recite it to others.'[6]

The text is deeply rooted in the culture of orality where literary works like these were to be read out to an audience.[7] The oral nature of the text before it was converted into the textual form is also supported by the fact that for most part the text is written in the third person narrative and unlike the modern autobiographies the pronouns 'he,' 'himself,' and 'they' are used throughout the text instead of 'I,' 'we,' and so on. It also complements Hasan's assertion the story of Banarasidas's life was recited collectively to the members of this community which was, most likely, the author's intended audience. It is, therefore, highly likely that the narrative is representing the author's community and we must tread with caution before the norms mentioned in this text are extended to other subordinate social groups. Based on these observations, the authorship of the text can be put to scrutiny and it can be argued that the text has a collective authorship where the reciter and the audience contributed towards its production through an act of performance. If *Ardhakathanaka* is seen as a product of the author's community then the emotion of friendship described in the text, it can be argued, is relational in nature where the emotion is made sense of not in isolation but how they felt about it in connection to the other members. It is the 'collective' which makes this text particularly important to understand the emotional experiences of its members with respect to friendship. Even if the text is attributed to the author alone, its rootedness in the culture of orality

[6] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* eds. and trans. By Mukund Lath, *Ardhakathanaka: Half a Tale* (Jaipur: Rajasthan Prakrit Bharati Sansthan, 1981), 275.
[7] Farhat Hasan, "Presenting the Self: Norms and Emotions in Ardhakathanaka." In Biography as History: Indian Perspectives, ed. V. Ramaswamy and Y. Sharma (Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2009), 109.

and the narrative style makes is possible for us to argue that it is representative of the community as a whole.

I study the emotion of friendship and the vocabulary used by the author to describe it to understand its centrality to the economic life of these individuals. The question that remain central to this thesis are: In *what* ways does the study of 'emotion words' used for the feeling of friendship inform our understanding of the social worlds of this early modern mercantile community to which the author belonged? *How* can the study of the emotion of friendship inform our understanding of the economic world of this community? *Is* it possible to segregate the 'social' from the 'economic' or the 'collective' from the 'individualistic' in the daily life of the community in concern? In order to attempt any investigation into these questions, a contextualisation of the text is needed.

1.3 Contextualizing *Ardhakathanaka*

Banarasidas's life-narrative needs to be placed in its larger literary context for us to be able to identify what influenced the author's choice of genre, use of language, and if these literary influences shaped author's choice of revealing or concealing the events from his life in the text. The Mughal empire has been studied predominantly based on the sources that were written in the Persian language for obvious reasons. The bulk of sources available to the historians were composed in Persian by the litterateurs and intellectuals of the empire, who attracted generous patronage from the ruling elites especially from the period that spans from the second half of the seventeenth century to early eighteenth century. The Mughal emperors extended generous patronage to literature and the arts that attracted poets, thinkers, scholars, and theologians from distant lands. Moreover, in order to consolidate and make the Mughal administration efficient, Emperor Akbar (r. 1556-1605) declared Persian the official language of the empire in 1582. Although Mughals were a Persianate empire, the recent scholarship from the literary historians of South Asia has devoted their attention to the study of non-Persian literature produced in Mughal

India.[8] These scholars argue that the existing scholarship has almost entirely neglected the importance Sanskrit and Brajbhasha as major contributors literary world. As succinctly argued by Audrey Truschke, 'at the same time that the Mughals promoted Persian as a language of culture and administration, members of the ruling elite also aggressively formed ties with Sanskrit literati and engaged with Sanskrit texts. In the 1560s and 1570s, Sanskrit thinkers from across the subcontinent first entered the central court'.[9] This renewal of interest in the non-Persian literary developments from the Mughal empire has generated fresh insights into the multicultural nature of the Mughal power.

Although Truschke in her magisterial work primarily focuses on the Sanskrit literature from the Mughal empire, we are concerned here with the vernacular Brajbhasha in which Banarasidas composed his life-history. *Ardhakathanka* is set in a geographical space that includes present day cities like Agra, Jaunpur, and Banaras which are all located in central India. Brajbhasha came to be associated with this land roughly around the turn of the seventeenth century. The area came to known collectively as *Braj-bhum* (the land of Braj).[10] How did the Brajbhasha become associated with this region? When did this language rise to prominence under the Mughals as one of the major literary languages of the empire? How does it inform our understanding of Banarasidas's self-narrative? All these questions do not have obvious answers and cover a wide range of issues. I will try to engage with them briefly for the purposes of this chapter and focus exclusively on what is essentially required for us to better make sense of Banarasidas's story.

The language that in present time is known as Brajbhasha was not known by this name in the early modern period. The region with which it is associated was known as Braj Bhum and the term 'Braj',

[8] See, for example, Audrey Truschke, *Culture of Encounters: Sanskrit at the Mughal Court* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016); Allison Busch, *Poetry of Kings: The Classical Hindi Literature of Mughal India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).
[9] Truschke, "Culture of Encounters,"4.
[10] Irfan Habib, "Braj Bhum in Mughal Times." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 70 (2009): 266–84.

as demonstrated by Allison Busch and Irfan Habib, carried religious rather than linguistic connotations.[11] Busch argues that, although Brajbhasha as a form of Hindi assumed ascendancy at the turn of the seventeenth century, the social and religious developments that would give it rise as a literary language and even its name 'had been underway for more than fifty years' before the approximate time of its rise to prominence.[12] Moreover, in the entire sixteenth century the communities of North Indian Vaishnavas (devotees of the Hindu deity Vishnu) had become a popular movement that attracted devotes in large numbers. In the Hindu mythology, the element of reincarnation has a special place and God Vishnu is considered to be the reincarnation (*avatar)* of the powerful Hindu God, Krishna. As Busch argues that it was these Vaishnava community members that started laying claim 'to the sites mythopoetically associated with the Braj region, the locus of the deeds of Vishnu in his Krishna avatar.'[13] It was from this community that the master poets of the period, Surdas and Tulsidas, composed there poetic masterpieces. The latter gained more success and fame for his composition *Ramcaritmanas* because it was deeply rooted in the Hindu mythology and devotional piety associated with God Krishna's childhood. For Busch, it is these religious developments that partly explain the Brajbhasha's rise to success.[14]

These religious developments were supplemented considerably by the larger political development that took place around the same time in the sixteenth century: the consolidation of Mughal imperial rule during the reign of Emperor Akbar (r.1556-1605). The early capital of Emperor Akbar in Fatehpur Sikri and the major Mughal political bastion of Agra were located near the sacred Hindu sites that collectively form the Braj cultural sphere, the centre of an emerging devotional piety known as *bhakti*. As demonstrated by Busch, the Rajput rulers who had been incorporated in the Mughal empire under Akbar were patrons of some major vernacular poets in the Braj Bhum. It was,

[11]Busch, *Poetry of Kings*, 7.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid., 8.
[14] Ibid., 9.

therefore, this new Vaishnava piety with Mughal and Rajput patronage of the region's language that helped foster new interest in it and resulted in such massive success and recognition enjoyed by its writers. Though most of the scholars identify the origins of Brajbhasha in the Vaishnava devotional piety of the sixteenth century, it was Allison Busch's magisterial work that offered plausible explanations for its transformation into a court language under Akbar. Busch asserts that it was the literature produced in Brajbhasha from the courtly circles that "has come to be called, through a historiographical consensus forged only in the modern period, *rɪtī*."[15] A good translation of the word *riti* for Busch is "method". She argues that the questions of poetic method were central to its writers at this stage of its development because Brajbhasha did not have a well-developed and elevated literary models like Sanskrit. One of the most famous manuals which laid down rules for poetic compositions and borrows literary tools from Sanskrit is Brajbhasha *ritîgranth* (book of method). These poetic methods of *ritî* became very popular from the seventeenth century onwards, the time period when Banarasidas composed many literary works along with his life-narrative *Ardhakathanaka*.

It is, therefore, quite surprising to know that the historiography on Banarasidas's *Ardhakathanaka* has paid scanty attention, if at all, to these literary influences on the author. The rootedness of *ritî* literature in the devotional piety explains why *Ardhakathanka* makes so many references to the author's religious beliefs and practices. In fact, the emotions like friendship and love are shaped to a large extent by the religious beliefs of Banarasidas. In the seventeenth century when Brajbhasha had assumed new status of a courtly language, Banarasidas composed many other works besides the self-narrative that concerns us here.[16] He was well-versed with Sanskrit as well, but he chose to

[15] Ibid., 14.

[16] For details, see, *Telling and Texts: Music, Literature, and Performance in North India,* ed. Francesca Orsini and Katherine Butler Schofield (Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2015).

write in Brajbhasha not only because of its growing importance but more than that because it was the language of the masses.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

By analyzing the emotion of 'friendship' as it was expressed, described, and enacted by the individuals of the early modern mercantile community in South Asia, this thesis strives to construct the interplay of this emotion in the daily lives of these individuals at different levels. This thesis borrows from the theoretical and conceptual categories developed by the experts in the field of the history of emotions. In this direction, given the enormity of the volume of literature produced by the emotion historians especially from the late twentieth century, defining 'emotion' as an analytical category provides a good starting point.

Historians, like philosophers, sociologists, psychologists, and anthropologists have struggled to define 'emotion' as a conceptual category. For historians, as for sociologists or anthropologists, emotions are not merely organic processes contained within an individual body but are produced by and constituted of social relations within a determinate historical context. Much of the theory on the history of emotions is dedicated to this debate around the universal and socially constructive nature of emotions. For obvious reasons, historians have distanced themselves from the psychological or biological understanding emotions as unchanging category that invoke universal responses defined by the evolutionary processes and have instead sought to study emotions as culturally and socially determined categories. My aim here is to categorise 'friendship' as an emotion that plays out in the social lives of the individuals of the author's community. In other words, I argue for the rootedness of this emotion in the cultural life of the Banya community to which the author belongs. My assertion compliments Catherine Lutz's argument that 'emotional experience is not pre-cultural but pre-*eminently* cultural'.[17]

[17] Catherine A. Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and their Challenge to Western Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 5.

To this is connected another tension among emotion historians pertaining to the inner experience and outer expression of a feeling and that between the individual and collective. Focusing on the outward expression of emotions and feelings, historians have generally tended to study the 'group emotions' or 'social emotions' to unravel the subjective experience of emotions in an attempt to reveal various dimensions of social relations such as the reigning code of conducts, social norms, and group behaviours in a given space and time.[18] My intervention to study 'friendship' as a 'collective emotion' is a fruitful addition to this theoretical development for it offers fresh insights into the production of social and economic relations among the members of this early modern mercantile community in India. In constructing friendship as an 'emotion', I invoke the theoretical category established by Christian Bailey, one of the prominent historians of emotions. Bailey has argued for the importance of social dimensions of emotions and argues that it is 'impossible to ignore' them. He extends this argument further to establish the centrality of 'social emotions' in the early modern world.[19] Social emotions are developed through interpersonal relationships where the interaction between the members of a society can either bind them together or create distance between them. It is this conception of 'social emotions' that I find extremely useful to make sense of Banarasidas's world of friendships. I study 'friendship' in this text as a social emotion where the members of the mercantile community to which the author belonged shared this emotion primarily because of their belongingness to a similar group or community.

This community was not only held together by the commonality of their profession or caste but also by the social rules that governed their attitude towards the emotion of friendship. This element of emotion rules has been studied by one of the leading practitioners of emotion history Barbara

[18]Crozier D. Rosa Barclay and Peter N. Stearns, *Sources for the History of Emotions: A Guide* (London: Routledge, 2021), 19.
[19] Christian Bailey, "Social Emotions" in *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feelings 1700-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 201-229.

Rosenwein.[20] Her most important contribution to the theory of history of emotions has been her notion of 'emotional communities'. Rosenwein moved away from looking at emotions as cognitive processes in the brain by identifying more with the social constructivist approach and argued for the social foundations of emotions in the communities: emotional communities. These communities according to Rosenwein are same as social communities like families and neighbourhoods but the historian studying them goes with a primary aim of uncovering the systems of feelings that ran within them. She demonstrated in her book how emotional communities consisted of people that shared same emotional norms regarding the expression of their feelings. I study the Banya community of Banarasidas as a larger and overarching emotional community that is tied together by fundamental value systems, emotion rules, and shared modes of expression. I make this assertion based on the attitudes of its members, reflected in the text, towards the emotion of friendship. Based on the graphic representation of Rosenwein of her idea of 'emotional community' where the outer circle represents the larger emotional community governed by similar emotion rules, there are also certain smaller circles representing 'subordinate emotional communities, partaking in the larger one and revealing its possibilities and its limitations'.[21] Friendship in Banarasidas's self-narrative could be seen in relation to Rosenwein's subordinate emotional community where the members exhibit similar attitudes towards their friends through a shared vocabulary of the emotion.

What remains worth our consideration is the fact that how does a historian tread along the difficult terrain of penetrating into the feelings of a community, their modes of expression, and the emotion rules that govern them which are so much distanced in time. Like a historian of any other sub-field all we have is sources, but our primary motive is to uncover the systems of feeling that ran in a given community, but the challenge remains *how*? We cannot dissect the brain like biologists and

[20] Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).
[21] Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History." *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002): 824.

analyse the grey matter in it to identify the chemical processes that get triggered by a certain emotion and neither can we do psychoanalysis like psychologists of the individuals. As historians of emotions, we focus on the semiotic devices used in the narrative or what the emotions historians call 'emotion words'. Borrowing from Katie Barclay and Barbara Rosenwein that emotional combinations in the past vary significantly from those in the present and that 'it would be a mistake, for example, to look back on a group of people in the seventeenth century and expect them to have same idea of happiness as we do today'.[22] The method of studying and analysing emotion words has proven efficient especially to identify the change in our understanding of a particular emotion from past to present. This theory complements my attempt to study the emotion words used for 'friendship' in the text to argue how those words have a totally different connotation today. I also intervene to argue for the culturally constructed nature of the emotion of friendship that appears to have been specific to the author's community or to the cultural milieu of the time. I study the emotional vocabulary used for friendship to argue for its contextual nature based on the fact that words like *pritam* (beloved) and *sahu* (friend) used by him were specific his time and cultural milieu as they carry totally different connotations in the modern times.

Another important theoretical concern has to do with life histories as sources of historical investigation. Very often we see historians writing about the unreliability of autobiographical accounts for the author intends to be perceived in a certain light which is most likely not true. It is not the truthfulness of Banarasidas that concerns me here but rather that 'idealized' self which reflects the moral, ethical, and social ideals of the community to which he belongs and of the time period in which he is writing. I argue, therefore, that autobiographies are not reliable if read as factual accounts but totally reliable and valuable when read to study how people understood their

[22] Barclay and Stearns, *Sources for the History of Emotions*, 3; Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages,* 26–9.

lives. They are an important source to read individual subjectivities by exploring ways in which the individuals in the text respond to and make sense of the world around them. I see this genre of historical source material as extremely useful to study the perceptions of these individuals. I read *Ardhakathanaka* as not being constitutive of the historical reality but rather as representing one. Autobiographies or self-narratives have been considered by Marcelo J. Borges as sources of immense value for the history of emotions.[23] His theory focuses on the relational nature of the of writing as a practice involved in the making of the self. His assertion that in personal narratives that author makes sense of their self and what they feel by communicating with others. Therefore, making self-narratives important as sources to develop insights into the emotional practices of the past. Banarasidas's narrative of his life is not made in isolation either and is very much embedded in his communitarian life which makes it an interesting source to explore emotional dynamics in the historical context. This social nature of human emotions has been emphasized by Rob Boddice as well. He argues that 'there is no practice of the mind that is not in the world'.[24] Even he is of the opinion that emotions are intrinsically social and are embedded in a broader historical and social context. The underlying argument of these various emotion historians is that emotional expressions in the 'personal' narratives are interconnected with the commonly accepted 'emotion rules' and social prescriptions of the 'public'.[25] Based on these theoretical categories, I study Banarasidas's description of the emotion of friendship as conditioned by the normative system that ran within his community. It also compliments Monique Scheer's notion of emotions as practice where the cognition does not solely happen in the brain, but rather 'the socially and environmentally contextualised body thinks along with the brain'. [26]

[23] Marcelo J. Borges, "Narratives of the Self," in *Sources for the History of Emotions: A Guide* (London: Routledge, 2021), 99.
[24] Rob Boddice, *The History of Emotions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 81.
[25] Michael J. Borges, "Narratives of the Self," 101.

[26] Monique Scheer, "Are Emotions a kind of Practice (And is that What Makes them Have a History)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion," *History and Theory* 51, no. 2 (2012): 197.

Historians of emotions have worked around the importance of emotions and feelings in the economic sphere as well. Emotion historians borrow from classical sociologists to argue that economy has often little to do with what we call 'rationality'. Ute Frevert, one of the well-known practitioners of emotion history, for example, has noted that 'if one examines Weber more closely, he turns out to be an analyst who does not neglect the power of emotions in modern capitalism to create values and guide behaviour'. [27] She has gone on to argue with other historians for the notion of 'emotional capitalism' where possibilities of a combined history of labour and emotions are stressed upon.[28] Borrowing from these theoretical developments, I see a good scope to interpret the early modern mercantile community of the author in South Asia as an emotional economy where the emotion of friendship affects choices and conditions actions in the realm of the economic lives of its members.

1.5 Literature Review

Banarasidas's *Ardhakathanaka* has been a subject of study for many scholars of literary studies and history. One of the first few historians to have highlighted and emphasized on the importance of *Ardhakathanaka* as a historical source was Eugenia Vanina.[29] Her essay clearly explains why this account by Banarasidas is of importance to historians of pre-colonial India. She touches upon the brief history of the text, its importance as a historical source, and highlights its limitations as well, and demonstrates why the self-narrative by an insignificant man in Mughal India must be utilized by the modern historians for the purposes of constructing the social history of the period.

Given the fact that the text is written by a common merchant in the early modern period, it has invited attention from historians of various academic specializations. For Allison Busch, who is a

[27] Ute Frevert, *Emotions in History: Lost and Found* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011), 5.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Eugenia Vanina, "The 'Ardhakathanaka' by Banarasi Das: A Socio-Cultural Study," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 5, no. 2 (1995): 211–24.

prominent literary historian of Brajbhasha, the chief value of *Ardhakathanaka* lies in its recognition by the litterateurs as a poetic masterpiece by Banarasidas. She sees the text as evidence of Banarasidas's acquaintance and proficiency in the vernacular *'kavikul'* (family of poets).[30] Where she argues for mapping out this social network as essential to our understanding of the aspirations and mentalities of the early modern intellectuals, my humble intervention complements her assertion as I argue for the centrality of emotions in binding together these extended social networks through a shared language of trust and sociability. While as Busch has focused on the literary culture of the period, I study, as a part of my research, the emotion of friendship to develop deeper insights into the dynamic social and cultural worlds of its members. The importance of *Ardhakathanaka* as a historical source to write the social history of the seventeenth century South Asia is immense and has been highlighted astutely by Farhat Hasan, who is a prominent social and economic historian of Mughal India, in his essay that studies social norms in the text.[31] Hasan has studied the text to recover the social norms of the period that could be seen as representing the mercantile class generally, and also to some extent, the other subordinate social groups living in the urban centers. While this study remains crucial to our understanding of the social life of the mercantile community in early modern India, it excludes the study of friendship networks which, as I argue, remains extremely important, in this regard, as it offers us rich insights into the nature of relations of these social norms to human subjectivity. I argue that friendship alliances formed by the members of this mercantile community remained central to the reinforcement of moral and ethical values and also helped the individual members to resist the socially prescribed norms.

In studying the emotion of friendship, Shivangini Tandon, has highlighted the importance of studying the language used by the author in describing that emotion.[32] In her essay she studies the

[30] Busch, "Poetry of Kings," 20.
[31] Farhat Hasan, "Presenting the Self: Norms and Emotions in Ardhakathanaka." In Biography as History: Indian Perspectives, ed. V. Ramaswamy and Y. Sharma (Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2009), 105-122.
[32] Shivangini Tandon, " Friendship and the social life of merchants in South Asia: the articulation of homosocial intimacies in Banarasidas' Ardhakathanaka." *South Asian History and Culture,* 12, no.2-3 (2021): 166-181

emotion of friendship in this text as 'homosocial intimacies', by analyzing the emotion words, and makes three major claims: the varying intensities of this emotion as reflected in the vocabulary used for it, the rootedness of that vocabulary in the familial and household spaces, and the hierarchical nature of friendships as reflected in the vocabulary of friendship. I argue that these emotion words also reflect, in certain ways that I will demonstrate in the next chapter, the economic aspects of the emotion of friendship as well. Although her argument about the correlation between the vocabulary of friendship and household spaces is a welcome intervention, she makes no attempt to in investigate further into the very perception of household among this community. Her study does not engage with the question of how household beyond the courts. I argue that study of emotion words in this context only serves as an entry point to issue of commoner's perception of the household within this community. Shivangini Tandon's assertion does not engage with the community but rather restricts itself to the emotion words. I, on the other hand, offer two examples in the next chapter to support my claim by circling the argument back in the community ethos of the Banyas (I talk about this designation in the following pages). I, therefore, criticize Tandon's approach for its narrowness as it is dissociated from the community life of the author, his audience which informs his perceptions, and the genre of the text itself, for the author's self-narrative is rooted in its community life where the story reflects the perceptions not of the individual but more importantly his immediate social milieu.

Tadnon has made an interesting observation about the hierarchical nature of friendships again by studying the language of the text. But she does not investigate into the very nature of these hierarchies and hence she ends up limiting the scope of emotions history and its immense value to specializations within the discipline. Since she does not study the element of caste in the essay, it is possible that she is making the argument about hierarchy that existed within the emotion of friendship. I study the language used for the only two friendships that the author had with people from lower castes and argue for the casteist hierarchy reflected in the vocabulary used to describe

them. This community displayed greater porosity with respect to religious boundaries, but were extremely rigid in the matters of caste. Its members uniformly displayed extreme caste consciousness that was sustained and perpetuated by the remarkable solidarity networks that held the community together.

Moreover, I study 'friendships' as a substitute for 'partnerships' to make a case for the economy that was driven considerably by friendship alliances. I do so by engaging with some authoritative economic historians of Mughal India. Tandon's intervention in studying friendship in *Ardhakathanaka* needs to be theorized by engaging with the historiography on the history of emotions in a much more efficient way. I say this because she describes 'friendship' as an emotion but no attempt has been made by her to establish it as an emotional category. She hints at the importance of friendship to these business alliances but offers neither any concrete examples from the text nor engages with the historiography on pre-colonial economy in Mughal India.

Since the author belonged to the mercantile class, a few modern historians from South Asia have used his account to write the economic history of early modern India, and especially the history of the various aspects concerning the economic lives of the members of this community. It was the Indian economic historian, Ramesh Chandra Sharma who studied the text to identify the aspects of business and business communities in the 17th century North India.[33] His study recounts the facts that had already been established by the historians of earlier generation and does not offer us any new information on the subject. His study of *Ardhakathanaka* has resulted in the rephrasing of the content in there to conform to the already existing information on the community. In an essay written by Kalpana Malik, *Ardhakathanaka* has been studied to write about the notion of "partnerships" in early modern South Asia.[34] She emphasizes the importance of the text in

[33]Sharma, Ramesh Chandra. "Aspects of Business in Northern India in the Seventeenth Century." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 33 (1971): 276–82..

[34] Kalpana Malik, "Partnership in the Ardh-Kathanak." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 79 (2018): 285–92.

understanding nature of partnerships among the mercantile communities of pre-colonial India. Based on the text, she has identified various forms of partnerships that were operating in the urban context or in through familial networks. Although this study is important, I find it problematic to interpret the relations amongst the members of this mercantile community as 'partnerships'. This forms one of the major concerns of my investigation as I argue that these relations were not motivated by the concerns of profit and loss. Therefore, evaluating these associations as partnerships is reductive an approach because it detaches the merchants from their larger communitarian and social existence which were central to their survival and perpetuation. The evaluation of the relationship shared by the members of this community as partnerships between two individuals, who shared their knowledge and experience with each other, is anachronistic because the idea of partnerships solely driven by the purposes of business was non-existent amongst the community concerned here until the advent of colonial modernity in the sub-continent. I argue, therefore, for an 'Economy of Friendship' as these relations were much more than economic or commercial associations.

The Marxist historians of the Aligarh School have also studied *Ardhakathanaka* to understand the nature of *'banya'* community— designation given to the members of a social group who were primarily involved trade and mercantile activities for their livelihood. Irfan Habib, for example, has studied the text to study the daily economic engagements of the Banya community, its relationship with the Mughal state, and its daily functioning as an endogamous sub-caste group.[35] This essay by Habib studies the various aspects of Banya social group and helps the reader understand what it meant for an individual to claim the Banya status in early modern South Asia. What makes Habib's essay different is that, though he only touches upon it, he highlights the importance of elements of solidarity in rendering this community cohesive in pre-colonial India. I extend this argument further

[35] See, for example, Rezavi, Syed Ali Nadeem. "Mercantile Life in Mughal India." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 65 (2004): 277–303; Irfan Habib, "Merchant Communities in Pre-colonial India," in *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long Distance Trade in Early Modern World 1350-1750,* ed. James D. Tracy (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 371-399.

to make a case for the centrality of 'friendships' in these solidarity networks. One the basis of Banarasidas's self-narrative, I argue that the friendship alliances within this community, in addition to subcaste solidarity, resulted in the larger sense of fraternity among the Banyas by enabling them to engage in commercial enterprises irrespective of their religion or subcaste.

This existing literature produced by the historians serves as a useful foundation on which I can build further. What I find missing from these scholarly contributions is that the emotions in the text have not been studied so far except by Shivangini Tandon as mentioned above. Where emotions like love and homosocial networks have been explored in the text, they do not engage efficiently with the community represented by the text, and hence, not also with the genre of the text. These emotions have been rephrased at the most without contextualizing them in their socio-cultural and historical context. The need for such an inquiry is inspired majorly by the rich and refreshing literature emerging from South Asia with respect to the history of emotions. My aim here is to explore the emotion of friendship which, I argue, informs our understanding of the early modern mercantile community of Banarasidas in multiple ways.

1.6 Roadmap

Chapter 2

In the next chapter I examine the relationship between emotion words, the emotion of friendship, and how these words and metaphors reaffirm the culturally and socially rooted nature of this emotion rather than its universal nature. In other words, I incline with the social constructivist position, in this regard, of the emotion historians. I find agreement with Tandon and argue that emotions are highly contextual, exhibit varying intensities, and this dynamism of emotions gets

reflected more than anything else in the author's choice of words. I engage with her argument about the embeddedness of this language in the household and familial spaces but then extend it to argue that this perception reflects in the language because of it is a product of the normative system that ran within this community. The study of 'emotion words' has been central to much of the recent scholarship on the history of emotions, and with reference to *Ardhakathanaka* it is important it helps us identify historically changing attitudes of people towards an emotion like friendship.

Chapter 3

The third chapter examines the ways in which friendship played out in the daily lives of the members of this pre-colonial mercantile community. Instead of interpreting the business relations between two individuals of this community as 'partnerships' that were motivated essentially by the concerns of profit and loss, I argue for an 'Economy of Friendship' where it was not just a business agreement but an alliance between the social worlds of these individuals as well. I study the ways in which friendship alliances helped effect individual action and condition choice in the realm of their economic lives. I assert that evaluating these relations as 'partnerships' is both reductive and anachronistic—reductive because it detaches the members of this community from their social and communitarian value systems which were so deeply ingrained in their lives that it impacted their business relations in multiple and profound ways. It is anachronistic because it assumes a relationship that was solely dedicated to business-related concerns and such watertight associations do not sit well with a community that was held together by a shared system of moral, ethical, and social codes. I argue that instead of evaluating them as business partnerships, this unified and coherent mercantile community in early modern India must be studied as a singular whole to make better sense of their worlds. I also demonstrate in this chapter how friendship ties acted as agents

for the reinforcement of moral and ethical norms within this community and, at times, made it possible for an individual to resist these social norms.

Chapter 2

2 Ardhakathanaka and the Vocabulary of Friendship

This chapter explores the relationship between language and emotions in Banarasidas's self-narrative, *Ardhakathanaka.* Katie Barclay has convincingly argued that the study of 'word use' makes it particularly easy to identify emotional differences between past and present.[36] Language is central to any expression of emotions, sentiments, and feelings by humans across time and space. On the one hand, language as a medium of emotional expression assumes timelessness to it, but on the other hand the vocabulary employed is highly contextual and embedded in the immediate linguistic culture of the time. Drawing from a rich secondary literature on the subject, I assert that Banarasidas's narration has a consistent emotional undertone, and this consistency is maintained through a conscious choice of words aimed to invoke specific kinds of emotions in the audience. Banarasidas explicitly talks about his emotions, feelings, and his proclivities in the text, and hence it is worthwhile to investigate how his choice of words can inform our understanding of emotions in the *Ardhakathanaka*.

This chapter devotes attention to what the historians of emotions call 'emotion words', to understand how different words used in the text to describe feelings and emotions reveal their varying intensities. This method has been employed by emotion historians to analyze process of change within an emotion as we move from past to present. [37]I argue that without paying attention to the emotional vocabulary we end up obscuring details in the text that inform our understanding of the author's emotional world in

[36] Barclay and Stearns, *Sources for the History of Emotions*, 12.
[37] Ibid. 14.

myriad ways. In this direction, this chapter devotes special attention to words used for 'beloved', to express love, and friendship.

The chapter, although, focuses exclusively on the vocabulary used by the author for the emotion of friendship, it does touch upon the emotion of love as well to demonstrate how a close reading of emotion words can offer us rich and meaningful insights into the emotional worlds of these early modern merchants in South Asia. I will develop on Tandon's study of *Ardhakathanaka* in this chapter and argue that the study of the vocabulary of the emotion of friendship is a useful way to illuminate the hierarchical nature of this community, but I problematize her lack of engagement with the community of the author and demonstrate why her approach is reductive. In doing so, I study the language of friendship in the *Ardhakathanaka* to demonstrate in the following pages that friendships among the members of mercantile community in pre-colonial India was hierarchically organized but I significantly differ from Tandon in my idea of the nature of that 'hierarchy'. I propose that the language used for friends who belonged to Banarasidas's community was emotionally much more intense and intimate than the words used to describe his friendships with individuals from lower castes. This places the practice of emotion history in the larger intellectual framework of social history. I also borrow from Tandon's argument, 'that the words used in the text to describe friendships are borrowed from the vocabulary used to describe familial and intimate household relations. I extend this argument further to demonstrate that friendship alliances functioned as extended familial networks which can be an important area for us to develop insights into how these subordinate social groups imagined their households.

2.1 *Ardhakathanaka* and Banarasidas's Friendships

This section briefly introduces the friendships mentioned in the text and the friends of Banarasidas. Banrasidas. Throughout this text talks about his friendships with various individuals of his community at length. The names of individuals that find mention in the text other than his blood relations are of his friends. The first 'friendship' that finds mention in the text is between author's

father, Kharagsen and Ramdas. However, the closest and the most intimate friendship Banarasidas had was with the person named Narottamdas who was a Jain merchant of the Khobra caste.[38] When Banarasidas met Narottamdas for the first time, the latter was accompanied by his friend Thanmal Badaliya. All three of them became good friends. Banarasidas tells us how they offered prayer in front of the Jain *tirthankara*.[39] This is an important anecdote as it helps us make sense of the ways in which the emotion of friendship was conditioned by religious and cultural context of the period. An increasingly visible research in the field of emotions history is emphasizing on the correlation between emotional combinations of the past and the socio-cultural context in which they are shaped.

Banarasidas has described his friendship with another person named Dharamdas. The story about his friendship with Dharamdas has been studied by Tandon. [40] This is especially important because it helps us understand how friends were important in reinforcing moral and ethical norms that ran within the community—this will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

2.2 Emotional lexicon: Vocabulary of Friendship in the *Ardhakathanaka*

Banarasidas's self-narrative is loaded with emotions that the author chose to narrate. Throughout the text, as Tandon has argued, he explicitly talks about his feelings towards men and women in a language that is invested with deep emotions.[41] The dominant emotions in the text are friendship, love (both platonic and erotic), and separation in the form of death of these loved one's of the author. However, the emotional combinations in the past were different from their counterparts in the present and the most widely used method by emotion historians, that has proven very effective, is to trace this process of emotion change by studying the words used to describe a certain emotion

[38] Tandon, Shivangini, " Friendship and the social life of merchants in South Asia: the articulation of homosocial intimacies in Banarasidas' Ardhakathanaka." *South Asian History and Culture,* 12, no.2-3 (2021), 172.
[39] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* 396.
[40] Tandon, 174.
[41] Ibid.

in the past. Peter N. Stearns has argued 'it would be a mistake, for example, to look back on a group of people in the seventeenth century and expect them to have same ideas about happiness that we do today. Or that they would be disgusted by the same things that disgust us.[42]

The emotional vocabulary for friendship has been studied by Tandon to explain the varying intensities within the emotion of friendship, to argue for its embeddedness in the vocabulary used to express intimate household relations, and to argue for the hierarchically organized nature of friendships. My motive is to study the similar emotional words used for friendship to argue that this vocabulary becomes manifest in the economic relations of these individuals and that the hierarchical nature of these friendships, as reflected in the author's choice of words, cannot be constructed without taking into consideration the casteist preoccupations of the community to which the author belonged. The study of words used to describe the emotion of friendship cannot be done efficiently if the social context of the author's life is not engaged with. The meaning of this vocabulary in Banarasidas's text, like any other primary source used by historians, is shaped by its context reflecting the concerns and interests of the author that are rooted in the cultural space of the time.

Moreover, while Tandon convincingly argues for the rootedness of the author's vocabulary of friendship in the familial and household spaces, she makes no further attempt to build upon this observation by trying to understand how the people within this community perceived the space of household. The idea of princely households and imperial households has received good amount of scholarly attention but I emphasize that it is equally important to analyse how the members of these subordinate groups imagined their households rather than assuming a universal and timeless nature of it which restricts it to the immediate blood relations within a family. In order to save these nuances from falling into obscurity we must avoid assuming the emotion of friendship a monolithic emotion. This method of reading "emotion words", as argued by Juanita Feros Ruys, has proven

[42] Barclay and Stearns, *Sources for the History of Emotions*, 4.

"popular and productive" in recovering the emotional value of texts.[43] It is in this context that I will be studying emotional vocabulary used by Banarasidas to describe his friendships, and the vocabulary used by him to express love for men and women around him.

A number of attempts have been made by historians and anthropologists to place the language of friendship within the political network of court practices. Therefore, the friendship alliances among the political elites has attracted the considerable attention from medieval and early modern historians.[44] My aim here is to move away from the study of the friendships of these political elites and analyse the emotion of friendship as it was experienced by a common merchant traveller in the Mughal empire. In doing so, I build upon the idea of Tandon to study closely the words used to describe various friendships and the varying contextual meanings that get obscured under the larger umbrella term of 'friendship'. I differ from her in the arguments concerning the hierarchical nature of friendships as reflected in the vocabulary used. Based in the author's choice of words, I interpret this hierarchy as a socially embedded one which also compliments my approach to study friendship as a social emotion. The perceptions and attitudes of the contemporary Banya merchants towards this emotion as reflected in the author's usage of words and metaphors makes it obvious that emotions are socially conditioned. The following verses contain examples of the range of vocabulary used by Banarasidas to describe his friendship with Narottamdas, Dharamdas, and few others:

Together, the two partners (*seer*) ran their business.[45]

While my friend (*saahu*), he said,

[43] *Before Emotion: The Language of Feeling, 400-1800,* ed. Juanita Feros Ruys, Michael W. Champion, and Kirk Essary (New York: Routledge, 2019), 1.

[44] See, for example, Daul Ali and Emma J. Flatt, "Friendship in Indian History: Introduction," *Studies in History,* no. 33 (2017), 1-6.

[45] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 354. (These references are taken from the original Braj text included in the translation of *Ardhakathanaka* by Rohini Chowdhury, *Ardhakathanaka: A Half Story* (New Delhi: Penguin Classics, 2009).

Banarasidas makes use of a diverse vocabulary for the emotion of friendship and for friends. These varying terms represent a dynamic linguistic culture and highly contextual nature of friendship as a social emotion and challenges the dominant notion of the homogeneity of the emotion friendship using a wide range of vocabulary to describe it. Although all these 'friendships' have been translated as 'friend', by both Chowdhury and Lath, but such a translation is problematic as it obliviates the layered nature of this emotion. As argued by Tandon, translating these varying terms as 'friend or friendship' can be misleading and anachronistic for the time period where friendships could assume different forms that were far from fixed and homogenous.[46] I extend her argument to demonstrate, by using two words from the above list for friends, that extend to the economic aspect of the lives of these merchants: *sâhu* and *seer*.

For instance, the word *sâhu* here is translated as "friend" but these represent two different contexts of friendship; the latter is used for an elderly relative or acquaintance, Tracahand Mothiya in this case, or for a friend who is generally higher in social status which is not casteist by any means but rather because of the latter's possession of greater wealth and access to economic resources. In modern Hindi, which is an offshoot of Brajbhasha itself, *sâhu* is used for a friend who is a successful businessman or wealthy enough to be your sponsor. It remains true for Banarasidas's usage of the term as well. As you can see that in the above verses, the friend who is at the helm of affairs, directing his subordinate friend to go to the city of Patna, is described as *sâhu*. This usage is a part of a larger social nexus within this Banya community and as argued by Christian Bailey, one of the well-known practitioners of emotion history, that it has become increasingly difficult for emotion historians to ignore the social dimensions of feelings.[47] The feeling of friendship described here by

[46] Tandon, "Friendship and the social life of merchants in South Asia," 175.
[47] Christian Bailey, "Social Emotions" in *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feelings 1700-2000* (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2014), 202.

the word *sahu* can be studied as an 'interpersonal emotion' which, according to Bailey, can only be formed through social interactions. Such interpersonal communications helped develop shared attitudes among the members of this community towards a collective emotion like friendship.

The study of emotion words used to describe the emotion of friendship in this text also helps us appreciate the class consciousness among the members of this community. Narottamdas's friend as *sahu,* therefore, indicates the emotion of 'trust' for he trusts them enough to send them on a business assignment but at the same time the verse reflects the feeling of respect, because he is sending them to Patna as his 'representatives' indicating his position of command, which the two friends show towards their 'sponsor' by calling him *sâhu*. The expression of the emotion is not by any means instinctive but rather informed by social milieu in which these transitions are taking place. The word used to express his feeling towards the sponsor friend should be seen as intentional and as both the product and constituent of social relations within a determinate historical context. As argued by Thomas Dodman in his magisterial work on the methods and theories in the history of emotions, a close reading of these 'semiotic mediations' help a historian reach the actual emotional experience of the past people or help us understand what these expressions reveal 'for example about reigning codes of conduct in a given time and space'. [48]

In this direction, another word worthy of our attention, which again has obvious economic connotations, is *seer* (partner). Although, the word is appropriately rendered into English but it is used for a person named Dharamdas, who did not share a stable relationship with the author for reasons that will appear in the next chapter. The fact that Banarasidas called him his 'partner' who 'ran their business together' represents the fact that Dharamdas, was not as good a friend of the author, therefore, the relation shared by them is purely evaluated on economic terms. As mentioned above, this friendship has been studied by Shivagini Tandon but she has not paid attention to the

[48] Barclay and Stearns, *Sources for the History of Emotions*, 18.

vocabulary used to describe the emotion of friendship in this context, and therefore, does not take her analysis into the realm of the 'economic'.

The study of emotion words used to describe the emotion of friendship in this text also helps us appreciate the caste consciousness among the members of this community. It has been argued by the Mughal historian Syed Ali Nadeem Rezavi, that the professional concerns among the members of the Banya community transcended the religious boundaries but he remains silent on the issue of the of caste hierarchies in this community.[49] Were they fluid and porous as well or the members of this community had rigid attitudes towards castes? Based on Banarasidas's description of his friendships, I argue that the caste affinities remained rigid and intact and the emotion of friendship within the members of this sub-caste group of Banyas was much intense and stronger than friendships they shared with the members of other caste groups. This argument can be supported by using two examples from the text. First one is about Banarasidas's friend whose name is not mentioned but his profession is. He was a barber. Banarasidas describes his friendship with the barber in the following words:

Banarasi rose from his sickbed, bathed and dressed, and now fully
recovered,
Gave the barber many gifts,
Which, with folded hands, he begged him to accept, and said,
'You are as a friend to me.'[50]

Tandon has used this example to argue for the 'possible' organisation of friendships on hierarchical basis. She does not explain the nature of these hierarchies and what informed their prevalence. She

[49] Syed Ali Nadeem Rezavi, "Mercantile Life in Mughal India," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* Vol.65 (2004), pp. 277-303.
[50] Quoted in, Tandon, "Friendship and the Social Life of Merchants in South Asia," 175.

justifies her argument by using the absence of the barber's name as an evidence. Since all other friends are known by their names, his name does not appear in the text. This argument is valid for the kind of hierarchy Tandon is looking at, which is, the hierarchy within the emotion of friendship in terms of their varying intensities. I say so because she does not make any attempts to relate these hierarchies with the conspicuous caste consciousness among this community and Indian society in general. I contend that there was a strong sense of caste affiliation present in the early modern South Asia and Banyas were by no means an exception to this. Caste divisions in India are profession based and the profession of barber was practiced by the members of lower castes than that of the author's. I agree with Shivangini Tandon's argument that friendships were most likely organized hierarchically in this community but not for the reasons she suggests.

Although there may be some element of validity in this reasoning, I want to emphasize the fact that the hierarchical nature of friendship is made more obvious by the author's emphasis on his friend's profession. As argued by Irfan Habib, the solidarity networks within this Banya community were essentially premised upon these caste affinities that ran across the geographical space of the Braj Bhum and these castes were uniformly profession-based.[51] These members were connected by a common way of life, commonality of profession, social and ethical concerns that were homogenised by their rootedness in their community value systems. This highlights the significance of analyzing the language used by the author to describe the dynamism within his social world of friendships.

Another friend of Banarasidas that finds mention in the text was Thanmal Badaliya, who he met through Narottamdas. Thanmal Badaliya finds mention in one stanza alone and Banarasidas does not give us any more information about this friend of his. As his surname 'Badaliya' suggests, he was most likely a Hindu who belonged to the Vaishya caste; a social group much lower in hierarchy

[51] Habib, "Braj Bhūm."

than that of the author.[52] It becomes plausible from these two examples to argue that friendship was hierarchically organised and this hierarchy is reflected in the author's language of description. Therefore, Tandon's idea of hierarchy is reductive and excludes caste which remains the essential component of the community life of these merchants and central to the social hierarchy they consciously perpetuated in the everydayness of their lives.

I argue, therefore, that friendship in pre-modern South Asia was a relationship that infused a variety of emotions—affection, trust, pleasure, reverence, and love. It is evident from the text that friendships were certainly not homogenous[53], but they represented a varied range of emotional responses and triggered various kinds of feelings among individuals such as sympathy, compassion, and so on. A close study of the linguistic diversity in *Ardhakathanaka* can enable us discern the variety of strains in the emotions of friendship: friendship as a dyadic relationship, friendliness as a feeling, and friendliness as a medium of forging partnerships and alliance building. One of the analytical advantage of studying friendship as an emotion is that it reveals a range of human interactions that are generally obscured under the word "friend". The lack of attention given by scholars to the vocabulary of emotions in a text often leads to negligence of their layered and nuanced nature, for example, the homogenisation of the emotion of friendship is a product of such an approach. This no doubt may seem neat and tidy a task to do, but in the context of Banarasidas's world of friendship it is misleading an approach.

A close reading of the language of emotions, here the emotion of friendship, reveals that they were embedded in socially informed contexts. As Tandon argues, therefore, friendships in the homosocial spaces in the early modern world of these merchant communities in South Asia

[52] Vaishya caste is the third in the Hindu caste system which is divided into four castes and numerous subcastes. Vaishyas are primarily traders by profession. That surname 'Badaliya' is still quite common among the members of this caste group.

[53] The homogeneity in this context of friendship comes out in works like *Same-Sex Love in India: Readings from Literature and History* by Ruth Vanita and Saleem Kidwai, and in D. Ali's *"Friendship in Indian History: Introduction". Studies in History*, 33 (1) (2017), 1-6.

represent sites of sociability that serve to reinforce intimate relations and community identities.[54] There is, in other words, a relationship between the standards a group or a community, Banya community in our case for example, asserts about various emotions and the nature of emotional experience for its members. Banarasidas's usage of words like *sahu* and *seer* reflect the social contexts of the larger community to which he belonged. The correlation between group standards and individual experience has been studied a few prominent scholars from the field but the issue is yet to be efficiently theorised simply because it is difficult for us to know what emotional experiences individuals or groups had in the past at any given point of time. This issue is true for any other field of historical investigation but for emotion history it presents unique challenges of its own. In this direction, new methodologies have been worked out by a few major historians in the field to demonstrate how 'emotional communities' or 'emotional regimes' shape group behaviour. From Banarasidas's life history it appears that the author's experience with respect to the emotion of friendship is a form of socialisation, a training so well embedded in their day to day life that the members of this community do not think about it. This has been suggested by the various performance and practice theories as well that the 'social valuation' of a certain feeling or an emotion becomes an embodied experience for emotions and groups.[55]

I argue that the study of author's language of emotional expression for his friends is rooted in the literary culture of the period that was prevalent in the land where Brajbhasha was the medium of communication known as the Braj Bhum.[56] Since the *Ardhakathanka* is written in verse, it was influenced by the literary trend of the time known as the *ritî* (method) which has been already discussed in the introduction. The writers associated with the *ritî* followed used the same poetic

[54] Tandon, 170.
[55] For emotions as performance, see, Alan Maddox, "Performing Emotions" in *Sources for the History of Emotions: A Guide,* ed. Barclay, Crozier D. Rosa and Peter N. Stearns (London: Routledge, 2021), 127-142; Scheer, "Are Emotions."
[56] Habib, "Braj Bhum."

method the rules for which were laid in the text called *ritîgranth* (Book of Method). This becomes evident from the verse that the author composed in the admiration of his best friend, Narottamdas:

"Acknowledge him as a man of steadfast knowledge.
Religion occupies all eight watches of his day.
He possesses immense beauty, and comeliness and wealth reside in him; Praise him as the very image of the god of love.
No trace of conceit is there in him.
Seven fields did he give away in charity;
To the whole world, spread his fame.
A man glorious and great, beloved as life to Banarasi-
Make up his name using the first letter of each line."[57]

The feeling of friendship as expressed by Banarasidas here may have a universal relevance but the experience of this emotion as expressed by author through the word '*prîtam'* is culturally conditioned. The embodied experience of the emotion of friendship should be seen as a part of a culture where it was normalised to explicitly express your love for a friend, and hence the word '*prîtam'* which means 'beloved'. Emotion historians have produced fine scholarly work concerning the culturally constructed aspects of human emotions. Katie Barclay, for example, has studied the significance of the cultural standards that societies or groups generate about emotions has an

[57] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 486: नवपद ध्यान गुन गान भगवंतजी कौ
करत सुजन दिढग्यान जग मानिये।
रोम रोम अभिराम धर्मलीन आठों जाम
रूप धन धाम काम मूरति बखानियै।।
तनको न अभिमान सात खेत देत दान
महिमानधान जाके जसको बितान तानिये।
महिमानिधान प्रान प्रीतम बनारसी कौ
चहुपद आदि अच्छरन्ह नाम जानियै।।

altering impact on the experience of emotions itself.[58] This is what makes historical investigation so crucial to the research on emotions because emotions have a social component and are culturally specific and culturally contingent as well.

Therefore, I rather assert that this usage reflects the normative literary and cultural ethos of the time which is strongly embedded in the cultural space of the period where same-sex practices were a norm. My intention here is not to propose that Banarasidas and Narottamdas were indulged in same-sex relationship but rather to argue that the vocabulary used, like the word 'pritam,' was part of a culture where same-sex affections were normative.

In his magisterial work on the early-modern Ottoman period, Walter G. Andrews, has drawn our attention to the idea of "homoeroticism" and argued that in the classical antiquity and even in the early modern period people were not acquainted with the categories of *homosexuality* or *heterosexuality*, but with only a range of preferences 'like people in our time have for tall or short, blond or brunette, robust or slender partners'.[59] He even goes on to argue that the idea of 'effeminate man'—men attracted only to men—was a product of modernity and in the early modern period 'same-gender attractions were considered to be of a higher moral or spiritual order'.[60] In another fascinating work Afsaneh Najmabadi has studied the role of gender in the emergence of Iranian modernity. She has also argued along the similar lines that the homosexual practices were a mark of Iranian society before the 'Iranian-European' cultural encounter. She demonstrates how the transformation from a homoerotic society into "masqueraded heteroeros" became a marker of

[58] Barclay, Crozier D. Rosa and Peter N. Stearns, *Sources for the History of Emotions: A Guide* (Routledge: London and New York, 2021), 8.
[59] Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpakh, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 12.
[60] Ibid.

Iranian modernity and it was the sensitization of Iranian men to the idea of that their culture of desire had now 'come under the European scrutiny'.[61]

Coming back to South Asia, such encounters with the European culture, in the context of sexuality and gender categories, have been studied in a brilliant work by Ruth Vanita and Saleem Kidwai.[62] They have argued that prior to the advent of colonial modernity in South Asia, 'many people performed homosexual acts but were not identified or categorized according to their sexual inclinations'.[63] I content that even when same-sex practices was banned by emperor Akbar by invoking *sharia* laws, such preferences continued to be expressed by writers and poets in varying and creative ways. Banarasidas's expression of feelings through words like '*prîtam*' or '*preet*' must be seen as part of this cultural milieu where such expressions were normative. Furthermore, I argue that Banarasidas, by using such language of expression, blurs the distinction between the emotion of love or *preet* and that of friendship (*yâri*), highlighting the fact that emotions cannot be compartmentalized, but should rather be seen as being closely inter-connected and fluid categories. The language of love and friendship was not compartmentalised and gender-differentiated in this culture until its encounter with the European modernity which also coincided with the sharp decline in the Braj literary production.[64]

Part of historical research on emotions is to identify change and causality in the emotional experience through the study of emotional vocabulary in the sources. Historians are interested in identifying the processes of change, when emotions or emotional standards assume new dimensions. It is not an easy task to do but I make a humble intervention in the direction by arguing that words like *sahu* and *prîtam* are no longer used to express the feeling friendship because the

[61] Afsaneh Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men Without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2005), 4.
[62] Ruth Vanita and Saleem Kidwai, *Same-Sex Love in India: Readings from Literature and History* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).
[63] Ibid., 17.
[64] Busch, 'Poetry of the Kings'14.

cultural evaluation of these words was changing. The change has to do with the advent of British colonial rule in the subcontinent. Moneylenders emerged as a distinct class more closely associated with the colonial officials and hence sentimentally distanced, if not socially, from the common masses. Hence the term *sahu* fell gradually out of the vocabulary used for friendship and became strictly associated with the moneylenders as an affluent class of people. Moreover, colonial modernity also emphasised heterosexuality as a normative social behaviour, and as demonstrated above, viewed same-sex preferences as derogatory— hence the urge and necessity to identify with the newly emerging cultural norm, the usage of the word *prîtam* for non-romantic relations was repressed. As argued by some emotion historians 'sometimes word use makes it particularly easy to identify emotional differences between past and present'.[65] She has exemplified his argument by focusing on the words 'nostalgia' and 'shamefast'. The former has was earlier categorised as a mental disorder and has developed its current connotation towards the end of the nineteenth century. The latter was a fairly common word in the English vocabulary until the 19th century usually categorising young women who were very conscious to the need of avoiding any shameful behaviour.

Hence the notion of fluidity of love was embedded in the *bhakti* allegorical practices and devotional piety which formed the essence of the *riti* literary tradition of the Brajbhasha in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as discussed above in detail. This tradition the developed with the emergence Vaishnava communities who were flowers of Lord Krishna's avatar Vishnu. The embeddedness of *Ardhakathanka* in the *riti* tradition is also supported by a poem composed a woman mystic of the Bhakti tradition in the early sixteenth century. In this context, the word '*prîtam*' appears in the 16th

[65] See, for example, Barclay, Crozier D. Rosa and Peter N. Stearns, *Sources for the History of Emotions: A Guide* (Routledge: London and New York, 2021), 12.

century devotional poetry of one of the most revered woman Bhakti saint named Mirabai (d. 1547). She considered Krishna to be her spiritual spouse and used the word '*pritam*' for him:

My beloved *(pritam)* is not guilty,

He is innocent.[66]

This influence of devotional piety on Banarasidas's self-narrative is also supported by the fact that when he fell in love with a woman, he describes the intensity of his love for her by comparing himself to a Sufi *fakir*:

"Banarasi pursued learning with all his heart, and became absorbed in it.

It was Samvat 1657.

Disregarding family honour and throwing away all shame,

Banarasi fell in love."[67]

"Banarasi loved with the steadfastness

And yearning of a Sufi fakir,

Looking upon his beloved with single-minded devotion.

He began to steal from his own father."[68]

The truthfulness of these claims made by Banarasidas does not interest me here but I am rather interested in how the language used by him informs our understanding of the ways in which individuals perceived the notions of platonic and erotic love. Banarasidas characterises his love

[66] Sangari, Kumkum. "Mirabai and the Spiritual Economy of Bhakti." *Economic and Political Weekly* 25, no. 27 (1990): 1464–75. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4396474.

[67] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 170: विद्या पढ़ी विद्या मैं रमे | सोल्ह सो सतानवे समे ||
तजि कुल कान लोक की लाज | भयो बनारसी आसिखबाज ||

[68] Ibid., 171: करे आसिखी धरि मन धीर | दरदबंद ज्यों सेख फकीर ||
इकटक देखि ध्यान सो धरे | पिता आपने कौ धन हरें ||

affair as 'all-consuming passion' and compares his love for a woman with that of the *fakir's* love for the Divine. He says that there was never a moment when he did not think of her, and in his excessive passion, he would even skip his meals and remain sleepless. He proudly describes himself as her slave (*dasa*).[69] It is quite obvious that while narrating this episode of his love affair with a woman, he wants to convey his passion for her to his audience, but, at the same time, he is also making an important point: erotic love is intense and qualitatively different from platonic love. The two forms of love were, for him, inimical to each other. This assertion is supported by a verse from the text about the time when Banarasidas had fallen sick during because of his amorous pursuits:

"Banarasidas's body
Became like that of a leper.
His very bones ached
And his hair began falling out."[70]
"His condition became so vile and dreadful
That no one would go near him.
His mother-in-law and his wife
Were the only two who looked after him."[71]

Although, this investigation studies the emotion of friendship, I will touch upon the emotion of love as represented in the text to demonstrate how the study of emotion words informs our understanding of the different forms of love expressed by the author. Banarasidas here makes a studied comparison between the two forms of love, his love affair with a woman outside of his wedlock and his love

[69] Ibid., 172: भैजे पेसकसी हित पास | आपु गरीब कहावें दास ||
[70] Ibid., 185: भयो बनारसीदास तनु कुष्ठ रूप सरबंग |हाड़ हाड़ उपजी बिथा केस रोम भुव भंग ||
[71] Ibid., 187: ऐसी असुभ दसा भई निकट न आवे कोइ | सासू और बिवाहिता करहिं सेव तिय दोई ||

for his wife. Since the latter was a part of his family and shared the household space with him, the former had to come from sources out of the household.[72] In the above verses, Banarasidas describes his miserable condition because of some skin disease he had fallen victim to. He says that he became so ugly and repulsive the no one even thought of being near him. It was during this time when everyone avoided physical proximity to him that his wife and mother nursed him back to health. The word used for his non-conjugal passion is *aasikhbaj* (lover) and the word used for his spouse is *bivaahita* (wife).[73] What concerns me here is the fact that Banarasidas is prioritising conjugal relation over erotic love by conceiving the former as stable, trustworthy, and enduring and the latter as deceitful, temporary, and selfish. Rajat Ray has shown that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in India, patriarchal; elements resisted erotic passions and considered them as elements of threat and social chaos.[74] He argues that such elements sought to repress erotic practices by implementing socially sanctioned codes of appropriate sexual behaviour. Although this may hold true for the seventeenth century as well but the study of emotion words in *Ardhakathanka* helps us understand emotions are not mere organic processes but are temporally and spatially contingent and have a determinate historical context. The author's attitudes towards the two forms of love is conditioned by the what sociologists called 'feeling rules' which remain significant actors for historical research.

2.3 Mercantile community, familial space, and the idea of household

One of the important and interesting observations made by Tandon in her essay is the embeddedness of the vocabulary used for the emotion of friendship in the intimate household and familial relations.[75] She just leaves this observation like this without further investigating into the possible

[72] Hasan, "*Presenting Norms in Ardhakathanaka,*" 117.
[73] Translations taken from Rohini Chowdhury.
[74] Rajat Kanta Ray, *Exploring Emotional History: Gender, Mentality and Literature in the Indian Awakening* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001).
[75] Tandon, "Friendship and the Social Life of Merchants in South Asia," 173.

reason(s) behind the choice of such vocabulary. I argue that Tandon's observation serves as the entry point into the study of the perception of household and family within this community. Based on Banarasidas's narrative, one gets the impression that the author's perception of the household or family that made it went beyond his immediate blood-relations. Friendships, as perhaps also the other relations, assumed roles that were meant to be performed by the immediate family members, and therefore, functioned as extended households within this community. I take Tandon's argument further to demonstrate that this perception of the household got manifested in the author's vocabulary of friendship because it existed as a practice in the everyday life of the community.

The first intimate friendship that Banarasidas describes is between his father Kharagsen, and his close friend Sundardas. This is an important anecdote from the text as it shows how friendships were perceived blood relations were often described as friendships and vice versa. Sundardas was Kharagsen's friend but the two shared such an intimate bond that people perceived them as father and son. Although Banarasidas describes them as friends and it does not concern me here if the people actually called them father and son but what rather matters is the fact that the author used the vocabulary used to describe familial relations to evaluate their relationship. Banarasidas says:

Kharagsen put in some money into Sundardas's business
Thus both together putting forward the capital.
The two in partnership now began to trade.
They were accomplished in the arts and wealthy and generous.

They had a deep affection for each other
Everyone called them father and son. [76]

[76] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 68-69: आए नगर आगरे मांहि | सुन्दरदास पितिआ पांहि ||
खरगसेन सौं राखें प्रेम | करे सराफी बैचे हेम || खरगसेन भी थैली करी | दुहु मिलाई दाम सौं भरी ||
दोउ सीर करहिं बेपार | कला निपुन धनवंत उदार ||

Such a perception of friendship amongst the members of this community can also be deduced from the fact that Banarasidas describes his friend Narottam as *bhai*, meaning 'brother'. [77] Despite the fact that Narottam's father had a strong disliking for their friendship and with treachery and deceit, he did not severe his relationship with Banarasidas. In fact, when Narottamdas made Banarasidas read the insulting letter from Narottam's father, he fell at the author's feet out of sheer embarrassment calling him 'his family' (*tu bandhav*) and 'his true father'(*taat*).[78] The language used here to express the feeling friendship is very important irrespective of the fact whether Narottam actually used such words or not, as it reveals how the members of this community often prioritised their friendships over their families. This act where Narottamdas made his friend read the insulting reveals the transparency in their friendship or we can say it indicates the contemporary perception of an ideal friendship. It can also be seen as Narottam's act of rebellion against his father because he called Banarasidas as his 'true father' after this incident. He also went ahead and offered Banarasidas a place to stay in his house overlooking his family's perception of Banarasidas. Since the day of this incident Banarasidas says that he felt so indebted and close to Narottamdas that composed a verse in his admiration and respect which he would constantly recite day and night:

"Then both were happy again,
United as ever in friendship and affection.
From that day on, Banarasi
Sang the praises of his friend unceasingly."[79]
"In praise of Narottamdas,

[77] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 484: तब दौउ खुसहाल ह्वे मिले होई एक चित।
[78] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 483: कहे बनारसी दास सौं तू बंधव तू तात। तू जानहि उसकी दसा क्या मूरख की बात।।
[79] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 484: तब दौउ खुसहाल ह्वे मिले होई एक चित। तिस दिन सौं बानारसी नित्त सराहै मित्त।।

Banarasi composed a verse

Which he would recite day and night like a bard.

At home, in the marketplace, anywhere and everywhere."[80]

How did this perception play out in the everyday life of this community? Is it reflecting the author's individual perception or that of his community as a whole? It would be safe to say that these ideals were prevalent in the larger community since the text was to be read out to them as they, most likely, formed the author's target audience . The genre of the text indicates the communitarian nature of this perception as well. Writing being an important element of self-cultivation in the self-narratives, it develops in relation with others and 'in interaction with the writer's social and cultural world.'[81] As argued by Marcelo J. Borges, while evaluating the importance of self-narratives as sources of emotion history, 'writing helps individuals who are socially embedded to reflect on themselves, their relationships, their society, their world, and to make choices based on their own standards and values.'[82] It is the personal correspondence and its relational nature, he adds, that makes narratives of the self such important sources for emotion history.

Since the early modern self-narratives South Asia, as discussed in the beginning, represent author's identity as a 'collective' rather than as 'individualistic', it is reasonable to argue that the perception of the household is centred on the community rather than on the author independently. Since its inception emotion history has sought to locate individuals and their feelings in their wider sociocultural environment. In this regard the *Ardhakathanka,* where the self is not made in isolation

[80] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 485: रीझी नरोत्तम दास कौ कीनो एक कबित्त। पढ़ें रैन दिन भाट सौं घर बाजार जित कित।।

[81] Marcelo J. Borges, "Narratives of the Self," in *Sources for the History of Emotions: A Guide* (Routledge: London and New York, 2021), 99-113.

[82] Ibid., 100.

but in the world Banarasidas inhabits, make it particularly suitable to explore the perception of the household that ran within these subordinate social groups.

I use two examples from the text to demonstrate how perception of friendships as extended households play out in the everyday life of this community by perceiving these episodes narrated by the author not as constitutive of the reality but rather as representing one.

The first example is the author's description of his emotional state when his father Kharagsen, and the second when his best friend Narottamdas died:

1) "Kharagsen has reached Heaven,'
So said everybody.
"Banarasi grieved deeply for his father;
"He wept copious tears.
Then he pulled himself together. After all,
No one lives in this world forever."[83]

2) "On the second day, on their way to Agra,
Banarasi heard of his friend Narottam's death.
Someone gave him
A letter from Bainidas, Narottam's grandfather.
He read the letter and swooned and fell, losing consciousness.
He could not help himself.
Banarasi mourned his friend long and loud,
Weeping and lamenting on the road.
His companions tried to comfort him, but he was inconsolable.

[83] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* 493: कियों सोक बानारसी दियों नैन भरि रोई।
हियों कठिन कीनो सदा जियों न जग मैं कोई।।

Seeing his grief, many people gathered around him."[84]

"Upon reaching Agra, each of the travellers went off to his own house.

Banarasi, too, came home, and fell unconscious again.

He wept for a long time,

Loudly lamenting his friend."[85]

It can be clearly observed from the above verses that the death of a friend was grieved by Banarasidas much more intensely in the text than his mourning over the loss of his family. The reason for such intimacy is because when Banarasidas was disliked by his father for being a failure as he had made significant loses in the business when he started his career, it was Narottamdas who offered him the emotional comfort and financial support that he was seeking in his father. On the contrary, when Narottam's father expressed his strong disliking for Banarasidas, he went against his family by offering him a place to stay in his house. Banarasidas lamented the death of his friend because of his deeply felt loss for the moral and emotional support, for a business partner, and for a person who possessed qualities admired most by the author. He was, therefore, lamenting the loss of all that his own father could not be for him. Hence, it is not surprising that Banarasidas calls a friendless person an 'orphan'.[86]

The emotion of friendship as it plays out in relation to the author's or the community's perception of family and household can been studied as a practise which gets manifest in the everydayness of their lives, for example, the act of mourning more intensely for a friend than his own father. The performative aspect of emotions has been studied intensively by Monique Scheer. She argues that 'emotional practices' are not practices that are accompanied by a feeling or an emotion but rather

[84] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* 549-550: चीठी बैनीदास की दीनी काहू आनि। बांचत ही मूरछा भई कंहू पांउ कंहू पानि।। बहुत भाँति बानारसी कियों पथ मैं सोग। समुझावे मानै नहीं घिरे आइ बहु लोग।

[85] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* 556: अपने अपने गेह सब आए भए निचीत।
रोए बहुत बनारसी हाइ मीत हा मीत।

[86] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 161: कौउ काहूकी सरन कौउ कहूं अनाथ ||

the actions we perform in order to have emotions.[87] In other words, emotions are something we do and not just have. Scheer draws on the Bourdieu's idea of 'habitus' to study emotional experience as a result of 'the infusion of physical body with social structure'.[88] In the social world of Banarasidas, it can be argued, the experience of the emotion of friendship as it developed in the longer durations they spent away from their families made it possible for them to perceive friendships in the similar terms as familial relations. It is both the social set up of the community and the individuals who participate in the production of that emotional experience where friendship relations function as extended households. However, that emotional experience is not purely cognitive or internal but also an experience constructed through practice in the everyday life of these merchants.

Concluding remarks

As we have seen, the study of the vocabulary of emotions reveals nuances about the emotional categories of love and friendship which otherwise get obscured in translations or in the scholarly works on the history of friendship. Assuming friendship as a homogenous bond between two people that is disconnected from the larger social ties is a. modern phenomenon and using the same lens to study friendship as an emotion in the early modern context would not only be anachronistic but misleading as well. The wide range of emotions which often get translated in the "friend" can be rescued from falling into oblivion by studying the "emotion words" which describe 'friendships' in their varying contexts—business partnerships, affectionate bonds, familial relations and so on. The language used in describing these relationships of love and friendship was deeply embedded in the immediate literary culture of the time when Brajbhasha was gaining currency under the Mughal

[87]Scheer, "Are Emotions."
[88] Ibid., 95.

Emperor, Akbar. Therefore, the language is highly performative as the author is consciously making an attempt to identify with the prevalent literary trends of the period. How these emotions become concrete entities in shaping the social and economic worlds of Banarasidas is the theme of the next chapter.

Chapter 3

3 Friendship Alliances: The Economy and The Society of Friendship in *Ardhakathanaka*

The previous chapter touched upon the various aspects of language and emotions. We have seen how emotions reveal different meanings and are highly contextual by exploring the vocabulary of emotions. The emotion of 'friendship' was invoked in multiple contexts which is reflected in the author's choice of words used for the emotion. This chapter will study the ways in which the emotion of friendship played out in the real life of these individuals. What did 'friendship' mean to an early modern individual from a merchant community and in what ways does the study of friendship inform our understanding of the early modern economy and society? I argue that it is historically erroneous to evaluate the business relations between two individuals in the early modern period as 'partnerships' when they are sharing their lives, deeply embedded in its communitarian ethos, with each other. I also assert that studying these relations as motivated purely by profit and loss concerns is anachronistic as it fails to account for this early modern merchant community as a whole by attributing the 'modern' ideals of 'individualism' to it. By this I mean that the members of this early modern community were deeply invested in their communitarian life and interpersonal relationships. In the context of merchant communities of that period, these relations facilitated economic and mercantile activities and were in turn sustained by them. Any attempt to study these relations as absolutely motivated by commercial concerns detaches the community from its deeply ingrained social ethos and such an approach is a product of 'colonial modernity'. For example, Kalpana Malik, who is one of the well-known economic historians of Mughal India has interpreted Banarasidas's relations as 'partnerships', which I find historically inaccurate for the

community and the time period around which the self-narrative revolves.[89]She has identified four types of partnerships furnished by the *Ardhakathanaka*, and quite surprisingly, none of them touch upon the social and emotional dimensions of these 'business alliances'. She does, however, identify what qualifies for her as '*compagna* partnership' which she argues were 'frequently formed in family unions.'[90] However, in her entire essay no attempt has been made to evaluate the notion of "partnership" in the light of their multivalent social underpinnings. I argue that the members of merchant community in early modern India forged economic relationships through distinctive languages of trust and sociability. Business partnerships, as they appear in *Ardhakathanaka*, and mercantile ventures were some of the activities that served to initiate and reaffirm friendship alliances. Any attempt at segregating the 'collective' from the 'individualistic' in these relationships will bring out an incomplete and inadequate historical narrative about these communities. Therefore, I see it as 'Economy of Friendship' by emphasizing on the social dimensions of these 'business partnerships'. In this direction, I engage with other major economic historians of Mughal India in the following pages to assert the centrality of the social dimensions of these 'partnerships' to the overall economic life of the members of this particular community.

Borrowing from the writings of 'classical economic sociologists,' Jan Plamper has argued that the 'economy has often little to do with what is often understood as 'rationality''. [91] The relevance of emotions in the functioning of early modern or modern economy has been emphasized by some well-known historians of emotions like Ute Frevert as well. She argues 'if one examines Weber more closely, he turns out to be an analyst who did not neglect the

[89] Kalpana Malik, "Partnership in the Ardhkathanak," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* Vol. 79 (2018-19), pp. 285-292
[90] Ibid., 285.
[91] Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction,* trans. Keith Tribe (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2015), 282.

power of emotions in modern capitalism and guide behaviour.'[92] This analysis remains relevant for Banarasidas's community as well where the 'emotion of friendship' evidently plays a significant role in the economic lives of these individuals as I will be demonstrating in the following pages.

The social configuration of these communities did not only complement the mercantile engagements of its members but also served as means to reinforce moral and ethical values in a society. This forms the second concern of this chapter. It was a society where 'friendship alliances' facilitated the execution of moral and ethical codes by holding each other accountable for any purported transgressions. *Ardhakathanaka* offers many such examples where Banarasidas broke a business partnership when his former friends got indulged in socially unacceptable and immoral behaviours. The merchant community functioned, I argue, as a composite web of mutually undetachable network systems that do not sit well with the compartmentalized and codified perception of this community that gets reflected in the historiography. The reinforcement of these moral values through friendships significantly altered the business ties as well and it can be discerned from the fact that the qualities Banarasidas expresses his explicit disliking for, are also for him, the undesirable qualities in a business partner such as 'deceit', 'greed' and 'dishonesty'. The members of early modern merchant communities were immensely invested in their immediate social milieu and motivated each other to lead a life of virtue and become better human beings. The ideal moral and virtuous life, as it appears from the text, was surely influenced by the Jain religious precepts but at the same time these codes of virtue and vice often cut across religious boundaries and became part of the larger mercantile community which attracted membership from both Hindu and Jain religious communities.

[92] Ute Frevert, *Emotions in History: Lost and Found* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011), 7.

3.1 *Ardhakathanaka* and the 'Economy of Friendship'

Banarasidas writes about quite a few people that he counted amongst his friends but none of them enjoyed the status as that of Narottamdas. While narrating different episodes from his various friendships, Banarasidas barely leaves out from his narration the fact that they made merchant ventures together. In other words, every event involving friendship leads to their collective performance of business activities. This is the reason I have serious reservations in accepting in Malik's conceptualization of these relations as 'partnerships' that were solely invested in issues concerning profit and loss calculations. In one of the stanzas from *Ardhakathanaka,* Banarasidas narrates an incident of his father Kharagsen, in the following words:

He came to Agra city
Where he met Sundardas, his friend (*mitr*)
Sundardas was very fond of Kharagsen;
He was a trader in gold and silver.

Kharagsen put in some money into Sundardas's business
Thus both together putting forward the capital.
The two in partnership now began to trade.
They were accomplished in the arts and wealthy and generous.

They had a deep affection for each other
Everyone called them father and son.
Four years in this manner passed.[93]

[93] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 67-68: आए नगर आगरे मांहि | सुन्दरदास पितिआ पांहि ||

Although, Sundardas was Kharagsen's friend but the author says 'everyone called them father and son,' and I argue that these verses reflect the embeddedness of economic relations between the two individuals of this community into social worlds. The very nature of these socio-economic relations calls for a fresh intervention from historians where the communitarian existence of this Banya community must be accommodated while engaging with their economic lives. For example, in the above verses, Banarasidas gives us an idea about his community where business partnerships, friendship alliances, and familial ties of love and affection not only existed as a unified whole but were also indispensable to each other's existence. This conception of early modern economy operating within the community networks of these merchants lies at the centre of Gareth Dale's idea of 'economic experience'. In a mercantile world that was, he argues, 'arguably not organized through market principles, relations of trust, reputation, and commitment were the very sinews of market life—the ways in which, to use the old economic anthropology, the economy was 'experienced'.[94] This experience did not limit itself to the daily business transactions as it extended into the socio-cultural lives of these merchant communities. Business activities crucially depended on the strength of relations, and among the relations that mattered the most in this regard, friendships were the most significant, often indistinguishable from the familial and household ties, as demonstrated in the previous chapter.

In the next couple of stanzas, Banarasidas while narrating his father's story tells us that Sundardas and his wife die in the span of two years. They left behind their only daughter and Kharagsen transferred all that she inherited from her parents and also got her married to a suitable match with a great ceremony.

खरगसेन सौं राखें प्रेम | करे सराफी बैचे हेम || खरगसेन भी थैली करी | दुहु मिलाई दाम सौं भरी ||
दोउ सीर करहिं बेपार | कला निपुन धनवंत उदार ||६८ ||

[94] Gareth Dale, *Karl Polyani: The Limits of the Market* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), 27.

Sundardas's daughter was unmarried.

Kharagsen got her married with great ceremony

Giving her, in various ways, both honour and gifts

And gold and riches too.[95]

Soon after getting done with this responsibility, Kharagsen left for Jaunpur. The city was a centre of commercial activities and known for its markets. This is important an anecdote as it reflects how actively these individuals were invested in their social spaces and to what extent it impact their economic lives. Kharagsen and Sundardas were less of business partners and more of friends. The problem with interpreting them as commercial relations is that the centrality of socially engrossed friendships, which formed the essence of these relations, loses its primacy and assumes a subordinate status. Upon reaching Jaunpur, he set up his business and entered into a 'partnership' with a *banya* named Ramdas. Who were these *banyas* that often find mention in the contemporary literature dealing with mercantile classes? One of the most renowned economic historians of Mughal India Syed Ali Nadeem Rezavi has argued that *banya* was essentially a caste that included both Hindu and Jain merchants. The designation, he asserts, did not only represent their caste but also their profession.[96] The term *banya* was used for a social group where the profession (trade) was caste-based and it transcended any threshold between the 'professional' and the 'social' in the early-modern period. This argument can be extended to the nature of relationship shared between the members of merchant community and where the elements of 'friendship', 'trust', 'affection', and 'understanding' acted as the rock beds for any form of economic pursuits that it members were engaged in. This argument is supported by Banarasidas's description of the alliance between his father and Ramdas *banya* in the following words:

[95] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 71: सुता कुमारी जो हुती सो परनाई सेनि | दान मान बहु बिधि दियों दीनी कंचन रेनि||

[96] Syed Ali Nadeem Rezavi, "Mercantile Life in Mughal India," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* Vol.65 (2004), pp. 277-303.

Ramdas, a wealthy *banya*,

An Agrawal of good temper,

Had entered into partnership with Kharagsen,

looking upon him as a friend.

It was a union based on affection, trust and understanding.

These two worthy men began to trade in gold and silver,

Pearls, rubies and the dust of precious stones.

Time passed well in peace and happiness.[97]

As we can see in the above verses, the members of the *banya* social groups were connected through ties of kinship and friendship and it helped them sustain their business activities in the face of hardships. As argued by Rezavi, 'this mercantile class consisted of entrepreneurial sub-castes linked together through a system of organised markets.'[98] It is particularly for this reason that instead of designating it as an occupational term, Russel applied it to a caste group which has withing its fold various other sub-castes.[99] It can also be discerned from the above verses by Banarasidas that these relations had a deeply embedded emotional value in them which makes the 'economic experience' of this early-modern community different. To borrow from the magisterial work on the history of emotions by Barbara Rosenwein, it is the 'feeling community' we get to witness that is deeply rooted in its socio-cultural and linguistic milieu rather than the alliances solely given to the profit-making partnerships. Hence, Banarasidas

[97] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 75-77: रामदास बनिआ धनपती | जाति अगरबाला सिवमती ||
सो साझी कीनों हित मान | प्रीति रीति परतीति मिलान || करिह सराफी दोउ गुनी | बनजहि मोती मानिक चुनी ||सुख सौं काल भली बिधि गमे | सोलह सें पैंतीस समै || खरगसेन घर सुत अवतर्यो | खर्च्यो दरब हरस मन धरयो ||दिन दसम पहुँच्यो परलोक | कीना प्रथम पुत्र कौ सोक ||

[98] Rezavi, "Mercantile Life in Mughal India," 277.

[99] R.V Russel, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces,* Vol.II (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1993), 112-115.

rather than seeing them as uncle and nephew prefers to call them ‘friends’. This ‘feeling community’ is what remains absent from Rezavi’s and Malik’s study of early-modern mercantile classes. I assert that the emotions of friendship were crucial to the reproduction of community identity, and it was indeed Banarasidas’ mercantile and Jain background that dictated to a large extent his circle of friendships, and this explains the extreme sense of identification that he painfully seeks to emphasize, with his friends. Banarasidas is explicit about his feelings for his most intimate friend Narottamdas, with whom he also shared the most successful business ventures of his career as a Jain merchant. The following verses about their friendship given us an idea about the centrality of friendship in the mercantile life.

Bainidas belonged to the Khobra gotra (Khobra subcaste).
His grandson was Narottamdas,

He became Banarasi’s friend,
As did Thanmal Badaliya.
They spent all their time in pleasure and amusement.
The three friends were alike.

They stood in front of the image and said,
‘Grant us Lakshmi, Oh Lord.
When you give us wealth,
We shall come again to thank you.’

After offering *puja* (prayer), they returned home

And ate a meal and some *paan* (betel leaf).

Soon they started their business, which prospered.[100]

The above verses clearly make the case for the centrality of friendships to early modern mercantile community of Jain merchants to which the author belonged. These friendship alliances operated as extended households in the everydayness of their community life. The above verses offer us a scope to argue that the mercantile class in pre-colonial India operated in a complex and deeply interconnected web of social networks that cannot be disentangled and studied in isolation. For example, the three friends stood before the Lord and asked for *'Lakshmi'* (wealth) to be granted to them. Therefore, when they started their new business, it prospered. It can be extrapolated from these verses that even the communal rituals were performed for achieving success in business ventures. Quite interestingly, these three friends were Jain merchants who were strongly influenced by Hindu religious traditions since the Goddess Lakshmi, a Hindu deity, is solely worshipped for wealth and financial prosperity. This is supported by Rezavi's study as well, he argues, that Banya as a designation is erroneously attributed to Jain merchants only but in the medieval South Asia it comprised of a large number

[100] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 395-397: सो बनारसी कौ हितू और बदलिआ थान ।
रात दिवस क्रीडा करहि तीनो मित्र समान ॥ चढ गाडी पर तीनो डौल | पूजा हेतु गए भर कौल ||
कर पूजा फिरि जोरे हाथ | तीनो जनें एक ही साथ || प्रतिमा आगे भाखे एहू | हम कौ नाथ लछ्मिनी देहू ||
जब लछ्मिनी देहु तुम तात | तब फिरि करहि तुम्हारी जात ||

of Hindu merchants as well.[101] The religious demarcation was not strict, and any threshold between the two distinct communities was transcended by mercantile concerns.

On the basis Banarasidas's account of his life, I argue that since men at quite an early age were trained to lead business ventures away from their families for longer durations, these friendship networks remained central to their survival in the face of hardships. In order to understand how these friendship networks functioned as extended support systems in the face of hardships, I draw upon, among many such incidents narrated by the author, on two specific references from his business association with his closest friend, Narottamdas:

1) He spent all his money there.
   Once the wedding was done, he returned.
   He sold all the cloth he had bought in Khairabad,
   And made a loss of four rupees.

   He repaid some interest he owed and became free of debt.
   He went to Narottam's house.
   The two friends had a meal together
   And sat down to talk in affection and friendship with each other.

2) Some were whipped,
   Some were put into chains,
   Some were kept hungry—
   All were punished.

[101] Rezavi, Rezavi, "Mercantile Life in Mughal India," 278.

Banarasi and Narottamdas

Heard these tales from a fellow traveller.

The two friends were on their way home,

But when they heard this news they became afraid

They lived in the fort for forty days.

Then the situation changed again.

Meanwhile, these two men, Banarasi and Narottam,

Returned home, no longer afraid.

The entire family was together again.

Then came a letter from Sabal Singh.[102]

The first incident narrated is about Banarasidas joining a *barat,* a wedding procession that escorts the groom who sits on horseback to the site of marriage. In South Asia, it is still considered to be an honour to be invited to join the *barat.* To such an invitation it appears that the author could not say no and he ended up spending all the money that he had saved in this wedding ceremony. After the wedding was over, Banarasidas sold all the cloth that he had bought for selling but he incurred a loss in business. He did not have a place to stay because and neither did he have any money because he had paid off all his debts. It was during these tough times that Narottamdas, despite his family's strong disliking for Banarasidas, offered him a place to stay in his house. Soon they receive an assignment and they go for a business

[102] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 469-472: काहू मारे कोररा काहू बेड़ी पाइ। काहू राखे भाखसी सबको देई सजाई।। सुनी बात यह पंथिक पास। बानारसी नरोत्तम दास घर आवत हे दौऊ मीत। सुनि यह खबरि भए भयभीत।। सुरहुरपुर कौ बहूरौं फिरे। चढ़ि घडनाई सरिता तिरे।। जंगल मांहि हुतों मोवास्। जहां जाई करि कीनो बास।। दिन चालीस रहे तिस ठौर। तब लौ भई और की और।। आगानुर गयो आगरे । छोड़ि दिए प्रानी नागरे।।

trip to Patna which results in the restoration of their business activity. This is important as it because had it not been for their close and intimate friendship, Narottamdas would not have gone to the extent of going against his father in offering Banarasidas a place to stay in his house despite his father's explicit disapproval. Secondly, the person who offered them the business assignment it was Narottam's acquaintance Tarachand Mothiya, who was a banya of the Mothiya subcaste, therefore, from the same community as Banarasidas.[103] This reflects the primacy of communal affinities and friendship networks in the economic life of this early modern mercantile community. Any investigation into the early modern mercantile community of Banyas that fails to take these social dimensions into consideration will result in the production of an erroneous or inadequate historical picture. The second story narrated by Banarasidas is about the political turmoil that had broken out in the region of Jaunpur. The reason given for this turmoil by Banarasidas is the appointment of Agha Noor as the *amir* (governor) in that region. The author says that as soon as the news of Agha Noor's arrival reached the people of Jaunpur they started running away in all directions. The reason behind this remains unclear. It is highly likely that the commander was infamous among the Mughal subjects for his ruthless and oppressive nature. The above verses make a clear case for the indispensability of friendships for survival in such challenging times when huge economic loss was caused by such political instabilities. It was his *yaar* (friend) who made it possible for Banarasidas to withstand the economic loss in such a politically volatile atmosphere in early modern north India. I argue that these social underpinnings were strongly imbued in such alliances, and that these relations make better sense if they are interpreted as 'friendships'. The element of friendship was certainly, based on Banarasidas's account of his community, much

[103] Ibid., 406.

more dominant than the element of 'partnerships' because economic pursuits were only one aspect of their multivalent communitarian existence.

This assertion of mine resonates with the research of one of the most prominent Marxist historians of Mughal India, Irfan Habib.[104] In an interesting essay written by him on the Banya community under Mughals, he demonstrates how among the mercantile classes of the period, Banyas emerge as the most preeminent. This sub-caste group has become almost synonymous with trading class even in the contemporary India. Habib asserts that the members of this mercantile class in the early modern period were held together by a sense of solidarity. He says "a sense of solidarity among members of a subcaste may have helped in maintaining its prosperity, whereas another similar group might decline for lack of it."[105]In the original settlements, using example of a specific *banya* group called Aggarwals, he argues that if a member of this community failed in business, each member came forward 'with a brick and five rupees' to help him re-establish it. The subcaste identity existed alongside the deeply ingrained sense of oneness of the entire Banya caste and this gets reflected in the fact that its members forged alliances with members of other subcastes which were varying nature such as business partnerships, matrimonial alliances, friendship bonds, and so on. I say this because Kharagsen, Banarasidas's father was a Srimal Jain, he had a partnership with Ramdas, an Agarwal and 'a worshipper of Siva, the Hindu God', for conducting jewel trade at Jaunpur . Banarasidas himself had a partnership at Agra with Dharamdas, an Oswal (another dominant Banya subcaste), and later worked as a factor for a *sahu* (title given to wealthiest of merchants) who belonged to the Mathuia subcaste. In fact, his closest and the most intimate 'friend' Narottamdas, belonged to the Khobra subcaste of the Banyas.[106] I extend Habib's argument

[104] Irfan Habib, "Mercantile Communities in Precolonial India," in *The Rise of Merchant Empires,* ed. James D. Tracy (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 379-380.
[105] Ibid., 380.
[106] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 395: सो बनारसी कौ हितू और बदलिआ थान ।

further, on the basis of this evidence from *Ardhakathanaka*, to argue that in addition to subcaste solidarity, there was a larger sense of fraternity among the Banarasidas's community the *Ardhakathanaka* it can be extrapolated that at the centre of this shared idea of fraternity lay the emotion of friendship. Therefore, irrespective of his family's explicit disliking for Banarasidas, Narottamdas offers him a space in his house which *Ardhakathanaka*, narrates in the following words:

Said Narottamdas,
'Stay with me in my house.
After all, why stand on ceremony with a brother
Or hold affection for a fraud?'

Banarasi replied,
'Your family does not get along with me.'
Said Narottam, 'In my house,
Who will ever say anything to you?'[107]

In the previous chapter we saw how the vocabulary used to describe the intimate relations in a household was borrowed to describe friendships as well. From the above verses, we get to know that it was not just the vocabulary used that was embedded in the familial and household relations but in practice as well friendships were at times prioritised over familial ties.

रात दिवस क्रीडा करहि तीनो मित्र समान ॥

[107] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 404-405: कहे नरोत्तम दास तब रहो हमारे गेह । भाई सौ क्या भिन्न्ता कपटी सौ क्या नेह ॥ तब बनारसि उतर भने । तेरे घर सौ मोहि न बनै ॥ कहै नतोत्तम मेरे भौन । तुम सौ बोलै ऐसा कौन ॥

The members of this socially and economically dynamic community drew on extensive networks in search of knowledge, patronage, employment and wealth. It is clear that friendships were not essentially personal closed relationships between two individuals; they were socially dispersed relation where a friends actively assisted each other in their search of economic opportunities, building social networks, and I coping with difficult and challenging circumstances. Friendships were clearly open-ended relations that were invested in the social ethos as much as they were invested in the mercantile life of the community.

3.2 *Ardhakathanaka* and the 'Society of Friendship'

The early modern mercantile community in India was deeply invested in its social relations and more than that in its moral and ethical value systems. Quite identical to the Persianate 'advice literature' of the time, friendship in Banarasidas's self-narrative is not acquisitive but existential. In early modern India, as studied by Mughal historian Daud Ali, a Persianate 'self' defined itself through the social interactions it had with the world surrounding it.[108] I argue that the emotions of friendship were elaborated in socially informed contexts, and here it is instructive to situate the Indian merchant's perception, as presented in *Ardhakathanaka*, with the early modern Persianate world. Based on the life-narrative of Banarasidas, I argue that an individual from this mercantile community had to exhibit a proper moral conduct to be able to forge successful and enduring business alliances. Such moral and ethical value systems cut-across the religious boundaries and were shared by these merchants collectively. What role did friendships play in reinforcing or challenging these norms? How was individual subjectivity negotiated in a social world where ethical and moral considerations, that ran into these families for generations, and pervaded nearly every sphere of one's existence? To what extent did the

[108] Daud Ali, "Friendship in Indian History: Introduction," *Studies in History,* 33(1), (2017), 1-6.

adherence, or the lack of it, to these moral codes impact the business activities of the members of this community?

Banarasidas's narrative provides us a clear reflection of the fact that friendships were crucial in contributing immensely towards ethical self-cultivation. The ethical friend provided, apart from support and guidance in business ventures, companionship and assistance to a friend in sharpening his perception as well as refining his character in accordance with the prevalent norms and *Ardhakathanaka* is full of such incidents. The Khobra family's (Narottamdas's family) strong disliking for Banarasidas, mentioned earlier in this chapter, were for reasons that had do with the latter's moral digression. Narottamdas's father wrote a letter to him which read:

After reading the letter, in Banarasi's.
Hand he placed it, and said,
'Read—this is what your chacha has written!
The tidings within are in his own hand!'

Banarasi began reading the letter.
Only eight or ten lines had been written:
After a general enquiry after Narottam's well-being,
This is what the letter contained:

'Kharagsen and Banarasi
Are both crooked and depraved.
They have entrapped you with trickery and deceit.
They are dishonest and cunning.

‘If you do what they say,

You will end up begging for a living.

Be wary of them.

That is my counsel.’ [109]

The above verses mention a couple of attributes that are socially incognizable such as ‘dishonesty’, ‘deceitfulness’, ‘trickery’ etc. These are immoral qualities that a person would not want to see in a friend and in the story narrated by the author it was for these reasons that he was not tolerated by his closed friend’s family. Given the genre of the text, I am, of course, not concerned with the accuracy of these incidents narrated but the fact that listing them here as vices provides us with a glimpse into the moral and ethical values of the petty merchant communities in early modern India. Given the socio-cultural background of Banarasidas, it is reasonable to presume that he received and internalised these norms from the Jain tradition, but it would still be wrong to treat them as specific to any community. This ethical framework described in *Ardhakathanaka* should be seen rather as part of a communitarian system of norm-making, which transcended all religious barriers. Friendships played a central role in reinforcing these values, and also served as networks through which the individuals resisted these norms. After Banarasidas had read the letter from his friend’s father, Narottamdas fell at

[109] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 478-481: बाँचि पत्र बानारसी के कर दीनो आनि। बांचहु ए चाचा लिखे समाचार निज पानि।। पढ़ने लगे बानारसी लिखी आठ दस पांति। हेम खेम ताके तले समाचार इस भाँति।। खरगसेन बानारसी दोउ दुष्ट विशेष। कपट रूप तुझको मिले करि धूरत का भेष।। इनके मत जो चलहिगा तौ मांगहिगा भीख।
ताते तू हुसियार रहु यहे हमारी सीख।।

his feet out of sheer embarrassment, says the author. From that day on Banarasidas felt so indebted and close to Narottamdas that he composed a verse in his praise which he says he would recite day and night like a bard. The verse gives us a hint about the qualities that Banarasidas appreciated in a friend: 'a believer in the supreme God', 'with heart free of conceit', 'steadfast knowledge', 'spends in charity', and so on. Despite of the author's purported moral digressions, Narottamdas offered him to stay in his house and went against his family to accommodate his friend. This is possibly a way used by the author to have his readers believe that he possessed no such vices otherwise Narottamdas would not have fought for him. This demonstrates how individual subjectivities were in constant dialogue with the prevailing social constraints in these mercantile communities. As argued by Farhat Hasan, a prominent historian of Mughal India, that the members of these early modern mercantile communities did not passively imbibe their community norms, as part of the natural world, but could creatively undermine them.[110]One of the striking aspects of early modern self-narratives like *Ardhakathanaka* is the dialogue form of writing it uses where the interlocutor is often described as a friend. These dialogues are predicated on a self that is dependent on social relationships for actualization.

Further ahead in the text, Banarasidas hints at certain other ideal values which might have been appreciated by the members of the Banya community in pre-colonial India. He says:

Upon reaching Banaras, they first offered puja to Lord Parshvanath.
They stood in front of His image, and took the vows of fasting and abstinence.

They vowed to eat only twice a day—at dusk, and in the morning after
reciting the Namokar mantra,

[110] Farhat Hasan, "Presenting Norms in Ardhakathanaka," in *Biography as History,* ed. Yogesh Sharma and Vijaya Ramaswamy (Hyderabad: Orient Longman Private Limited, 2008), 105-122.

To give away half a paisa everyday forever in charity,

To chant the Namokar mantra at least once every day,

That if they did not fulfil their vows on any day,

in reparation they would abstain from taking ghee that day.

They promised to observe their vows even while on the road.

They vowed to fast every *chaudash*.

Lord Parshvanath was their witness.

They also vowed to give up fifty kinds of green vegetables

They would not marry more than twice,

Though the future may hold something else.

They would not keep company with the wives of other men.

Both friends, together, in the same place.[111]

The two friends conducted their business together in many cities of the northern Mughal India. They did not only travel for the purposes of business, but these trips were meant for their spiritual refinement as well. As the above verses highlight, 'they offered *puja* (prayer) at the temple of Parshvanath in Benaras, where they also took vows of fasting and abstinence. They resolved to restrict themselves to only two meals per day, to give some money in charity each day, and took an oath of not marrying more than twice and to not have relations with the wives of other men. The fact that this is all happening on a business journey reveals the fact that the moral and social lives of these merchants were deeply intertwined with their economic lives.

[111] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 434-437: बानारसि नरोत्तम मित्त । चले बनारसि बनज निमित्त ॥ सांझ समै दुबिहार प्रात नौकार सहि। एक अधेला पुन्न निरंतर नेम गहि॥ नौकरवाली एक जाप नित किजिए ।
दोष लगै परभात तौ घीउ न लिजिए ॥ जाइ पास जिन पूजा करी । ठाढे होइ बिरति उच्चरी ॥ मारत बरत जथासकति सब चौदसि उपवास ।साखि कीनै पास जिन राखी हरी पचास ॥

The two friends had such an enduring bond, long-lived friendship, and a successful business partnership because they shared their social and moral values.

A true friend's influence should keep one from falling victim to moral debasement. This fact can be ascertained from Banarasidas's friendship with another person named Dharamdas.

In this way when two months had passed,
Banarasi went into partnership with Dharamdas.[112]

And ran a large and successful business in jewels and gems.
Dharamdas was the son of the younger brother, and a degenerate.
He had many vices and kept bad company;
He spent money too freely, and was addicted to opium.

Keeping in mind Dharamdas's reputation, the partnership was formalized
By Jasu and Amarsi who gave five hundred rupees as capital.
Dharamdas and Banarasi became friends;
Together, the two partners ran their business[113]
Banarasi and Dharamdas remained partners for two years.
Then Banarasi began to feel dejected and disappointed.

It was in Samvat 1670
That they did the necessary paperwork.

[112] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 352: इहि बिधि मास दोइ जब गए । धरमदास के साझी भए ॥
जसू अमरसी भाई दोइ । ओसवाल दिलवाली सोइ ॥

[113] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 354: यह लखि कियौ सीर कौ संच । दी पूंजी मुद्रा सै पंच ॥ धरमदास बानारसि यार ।
दोऊ सीर करहि ब्योपार ॥

Banarasi parted company with Dharamdas,

And they ended their partnership.[114]

However, this business partnership only lasted for two years. Dharamdas' many vices like his addiction to opium, habit of wasting money and keeping bad company, left Banarasidas dejected and dispirited with his friend. However, due to the good influence of Banarasidas' friendship on him, Dharamdas renounced his dissolute ways, and became a Jain recluse. This again reiterates the point made earlier that friendship enables individuals to lead a life of virtue and in becoming better human beings. This concerns me here because a strict adherence communitarian value systems and ethical codes significantly impacted the business relations. This makes a stronger case for the need to study the 'social' and the 'economic' worlds of these individuals as mutually inseparable categories of a unified communitarian world. Friends do keep us morally upright but what is unusual here is the fact that Banarasidas went on to the extent of breaking up the successful business partnership of two years because of Dharamdas's moral digression. This demonstrates the how the social value systems and ethical concerns prevailed over the business interests.

Indeed, friendship in Banarsidas' *Ardhakathanaka* has a moral quality, and enables individuals to lead a righteous and morally disciplined life. Other than arguing how friendships served as a fundamental means to sustain and perpetuate ethical and moral values within a community, I also argue that these shared value systems mattered a great deal for the success or failure of business partnerships. I argue that these various episodes narrated by the author about his friendships reveal the lack of autonomy in merchant consciousness. It belies the oft-held assumption that the pre-colonial merchant communities in India were aloof and distant from

[114] Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka,* verse 363: सोलहे सै सतरि समै लेखा कियो अचूक ।न्यारे भए बनारसी करे साझा दौ टूक ।।

rest of the society. I find it difficult to agree with M.N Pearson that the society in India was fragmented in nature where each fragment was detached from the other.[115] What we rather get to see is an ethical code that was shaped by intersubjective communication between the various social groups, including between the merchants and the other castes and classes, with the the latter enjoying a pre-eminent, but by no means hegemonic, control over the discursive domain. Banarasidas, decided to break the partnership with Dharamdas because he was not willing to mend his behaviour or get rid of the many vices he had developed over the years. On the contrary, Banarasidas share a successful business life with Narottamdas because they shared the most intimate friendship and this emotional bond was made possible by their shared moral and ethical values. The success or failure of business ventures crucially depended on the friendship networks which were in turn strengthened and sustained by the shared communitarian ethos. In this mercantile community of Banyas, excessive profit-making concerns and greed were perceived as undesirable qualities but what is more important is the extent to which, as it reflects, mercantile activities were constrained by prevalent socio-cultural milieu. I argue, therefore, that it is problematic to evaluate this community in terms of profit and loss relationships and emphasize the need for scholars to recognise the fact that the beliefs and values that informed their consciousness and shaped their experiences were not closed and exclusive but emerged from a shared ethics based in communication at the heart of which lay the friendship networks.

Concluding remarks

The merchant community in pre-colonial India has strong community affiliations which influenced their economic lives in major ways. What remains absent from the historiography

[115] M.N Pearson, "Political Participation in Mughal India," *Indian Economic and Social History Review,* no. 2 (1972): 113-131.

on this community is the study of this community as a whole. Historians have focused on many aspects of their lives as isolated areas of investigation but what I suggest is that its members were rooted in their communitarian ethos and any analysis of it, that does not take into account this phenomenon, will be inadequate or historically erroneous. For example 'The Society of Friendship' and 'The Economy of Friendship' studied in this chapter reflect their overlapping nature because they emanate from a singular unified network of community space where the social, economic, and cultural were tied together through a shared normative system.

4 CONCLUSION

Ardhakathanaka is perhaps the first life history written by a commoner in early modern South Asia. There is not dearth of self-narratives from the region but most of them come from the political elites. *Ardhakathanaka* being written by a Jain merchant in the seventeenth century Mughal India is an important source of historical investigation. With respect to historical sources on South Asia, medieval accounts on merchants are very few and those by merchants themselves are fewer even. The author of this text was an insignificant man, and therefore, much more connected with the lives of ordinary community members. The source offers refreshing perspectives and meaningful insights into the socio-economic aspects of the pre-colonial mercantile community in the seventeenth century India. The author writes about his business ventures, friendships, and the various methods of profit calculation. He is very open about his feelings and emotions for his friends and women, he explicitly discusses his love affairs, and his proclivities towards deviance. He also discusses his religious beliefs in detail and also mentions his various doubts and skepticisms. What the source does not shed much light on are the political aspects of the Mughal empire which remain only marginal to his overall narrative.

Autobiographical accounts are narratives of self-representation which has an evident performative aspect in which the truth oscillates between deception and concealment. care Although Banarasidas's self-narrative is full of philosophical reflections and his identity as a common merchant makes him speak about his weaknesses and shortcomings openly. I do not take these confessions at face value for being the literal truth about the author but rather than as representations of ideal social norms and reflections on the contemporary ethical and moral value systems that were prevalent within the mercantile community of the author. In the similar fashion the narrative represents the layered nature of the emotion of friendship, and this gets

reflected essentially in the language used by the author to describe his friendships both within and outside of his community. The text becomes an important source to study and reconstruct the emotional worlds of this community. The dynamism of the emotion of friendship cannot be appreciated if attention is not paid to the vocabulary used by the author in describing that emotion. The language in the text for friendship networks is highly contextual and remains embedded in the immediate cultural and social atmosphere of the time. A careful analysis of this vocabulary reveals how the author's choice of words was likely motivated by his intention to invoke specific kind of emotions in his audience. I conclude that without paying attention to the emotional vocabulary in the text, many significant aspects of friendship as perceived by this community can get obscured. In this study of *Ardhakathanaka* the study of emotion words did not only reveal the varying intensities of friendship as an emotion but the important observation that these varying intensities also reflected the fact that friendships within this community were most likely hierarchically organized. Another important assertion made in this study, with respect to the emotion words, is that the vocabulary used to describe emotion of friendship is borrowed from the one used to describe intimate familial and household relations which serves as an important point to initiate an inquiry into how these merchants perceived their friendships as the extension of their households.

This perception of the household was rooted in the normative system of this community that was shaped through the intersubjective communication within its members. Throughout the text, the author makes it obvious that 'friendships' were even prioritized over blood relations. Since these merchants stayed away from their homes for long durations of time for the purposes of business, friendships replaced the familial relations and acted as extended household networks. These friendship alliances acted as sources of moral and emotional support for each other and helped these merchants withstand challenges that they faced during these arduous

and difficult journeys. The roles, generally assumed by the immediate familial relations, were performed by friends in their absence, and in fact, if families acted as agents of moral and ethical self-cultivation among its members, friendships acted as agents of reinforcement of these moral codes. The concern for moral and ethical uprightness extended to the economic lives of these merchants as well. The most successful 'partnership' Banarasidas had was with his closet friend Narottamdas, primarily because they shared moral and ethical values, religious beliefs, and certain mannerisms. On the contrary, the author broke a two-year long partnership with his friend because the latter indulged in immoral acts and had many vices. The social dimensions were central to the economic engagements of these merchants and the emotion of friendship prevailed over concerns of profit and loss. The economic life as represented in the *Ardhakathanaka* was driven by friendship alliances that were deeply invested in the communitarian and social life of this early modern mercantile community. The world of banya merchants in early modern India was not solely given to the concerns of business but their economic lives should be seen as an experience that did not limit itself to commercial transactions but constantly engaged with the social elements of the community. The social and economic worlds of these segmented spaces where one segmented was disconnected from the other but rather a single unified communitarian whole.

Although this investigation almost exclusively focuses on the *banya* mercantile community, these norms may have extended to other social groups as well. Since Banarasidas was a petty merchant, therefore, the normative system he describes in the text is seen as a representation of mercantile class specifically, but it seems to be a promising area of historical investigation to analyze these norms extended to the other subordinate groups in early modern South Asia as well. Autobiographical accounts have attracted attention from a range of historians in South Asia in the recent years, but the study emotions in these accounts is rare. Self-narratives written by commoners or political elites are promising sources for the reconstruction of the history of

emotions the ‘self’ before the advent of colonial modernity was more ‘communitarian/collective’ than ‘individualistic’. Hence the emotions represented in such accounts represent the emotional attitudes and perceptions of the larger community. Emotions, emotion of friendship, and the idea of ‘household’ from the ‘below’ are promising areas of historical inquiry that can be initiated into the known life histories of a few well-known commoners from early modern South Asia.

5 Bibliography

Primary sources

Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka. A Half Story.* Edited and translated by Rohini Chowdhury. New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2009.

Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanaka: Half a Tale*. Edited and translated by Mukund Lath. Jaipur: 1981.

Secondary literature

Ali, Daud and Emma J. Flatt, 'Friendship in Indian History: Introduction,' *Studies in History,* no.33 (2017), 1-6.

Andrews, G. Walter and Mehmet Kalpakh. *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2005

Arnold, David and Stuart H. Blackburn (eds.) 2004. *Telling Lives in India: Biography, Autobiography, and Life History,* Bloomington.

Aquil, Raziuddin and Partha Chatterjee (eds.) 2008. *History in the Vernacular*. Ranikhet: Peremanent Black.

Bailey, Christian. "Social Emotions" In *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feelings 1700-2000,* 201-229. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Barclay, Katie, Sharon Crozier-De Rosa and Peter N. Stearns (eds.) 2021. *Sources for the History of Emotions: A Guide*. New York: Routledge.

Boddice, Rob. *The History of Emotions*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018.

Allison Busch, *Poetry of Kings: The Classical Hindi Literature of Mughal India.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Faruqui, D. Munis. *The Princes of the Mughal Empire 1504-1719.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Frevert, Ute. *Emotions in History-Lost and Found*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011.

Frevert, Ute and Thomas Dixon (eds.) 2014. *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700-2000*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.

Gammerl, Benno, Philip Nielsen and Margrit Pernau (eds.) 2019. *Encounters with Emotions: Negotiating Cultural Differences since Early Modernity*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2019.

Habib, Irfan. "Braj Bhum in Mughal Times." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 70, (2009): 266–84.

Habib,Irfan "Merchant Communities in Pre-colonial India." In *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long Distance Trade in Early Modern World 1350-1750,* 371-399. Edited by James D. Tracy. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Lal, Ruby. *Domesticity and Power in the Early Mughal World.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Malhotra, Anshu and Siobhan Lambert-Hurley (eds.) 2015. *Speaking of the Self: Gender, Performance, and Autobiography in South Asia,* Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Malik, Kalpana. "PARTNERSHIP IN THE ARDH-KATHANAK." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 79 (2018): 285–92.

Monagle, Clare and Juanita Feros Ruys (eds.) 2019. *A Cultural History of Emotions in the Medieval Age*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Naim, C.M. (trans.) 1999. *Zikr-i Mir: The Autobiography of the Eighteenth Century Mughal Poet: Mir Muhammad Taqi 'Mir'*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Najmabadi, Afsaneh. *Women with Mustaches and Men Without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity.* Berkley: University of California Press, 2005.

Neisser, Ulric and Robyn Fivush (eds.) 1994. *The Remembering Self: Construction and Accuracy in the Self-narrative,* United Kingdom.

O'Hanlon, Rosalind. "Kingdom, Household and Body History, Gender and Imperial Service under Akbar." *Modern Asian Studies* 41, no. 5 (2007): 889–923.

Orsini, Farncesca (eds.) 2007. *Love in South Asia: A Cultural History*. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.

Orsini, Francesca and Katherine Butler Schofield (eds.) 2015. *Telling and Texts: Music, Literature, and Performance in North India*. Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers.

Pearson, M.N. “Political Participation in Mughal India,” *IESHR,* no. 2 (1972): 113-131.

Pernau, Margrit. “Mapping Emotions, Constructing Feelings: Delhi in the 1840s.” *JESHO* 58, no. 5 (2015): 634–67.

Plamper, Jan. *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*. Translated by Keith Tribe. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Ramaswamy, Vijaya and Yogesh Sharma (eds.) 2008. *Biography as History: Indian Perspectives.* Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan.

Ray, Rajat Kanta. *Exploring Emotional History: Gender, Mentality and Literature in the Indian* Awakening. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Reddy, M. Willam. *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Rezavi, Syed Ali Nadeem. “Mercantile Life in Mughal India.” *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 65 (2004): 277–303

Rosenwein, H. Barbara and Cristiani Riccardo. *What is the History of Emotions?* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011.

Rosenwein, Barbara. *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages.* New York: Cornell University Press, 2006.

Rosenwein, Barbara. *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions 400-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Sangari, Kumkum. “Mirabai and the Spiritual Economy of Bhakti.” *EPW* 25, no. 27 (1990): 1464–75.

Sharma, Ramesh Chandra. “Aspects of Business in Northern India in the Seventeenth Century.” *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 33 (1971): 276–82.

Summerfield, Penny. *Histories of the Self: Personal Narratives and Historical Practice*. New York: Routledge, 2019.

Tandon, Shivangini, “ Friendship and the social life of merchants in South Asia: the articulation of homosocial intimacies in Banarasidas’ Ardhakathanaka.” *SAHC* 12, no.2-3 (2021): 16

Truschke, Audrey. *Culture of Encounters: Sanskrit at the Mughal Court.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2016)

Vanina, Eugenia. "The 'Ardhakathanaka' by Banarasi Das: A Socio-Cultural Study." *JRAS* 5, no. 2 (1995): 211–24.

Vanita, Ruth and Saleem Kidwai. *Same-Sex Love in India: Readings from Literature and History*. India: Penguin Books, 2021.

Wilce, M. James. *Language and Emotions*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.