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Modern Masculinity, Bought at Your Local Pharmacist

The Tonic Sanatogen in 20th-Century Indian Advertisements

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Fig. 01

'The strong man is viewed with envious gazes by everyone.' A young man, easily recognizable as a Muslim by his headgear and *sherwani*, attracts the reader of *Tahzib-e Niswan*, one of the prominent Urdu journals for ladies of educated and affluent families since the beginning of the 20th century (Fig. 01).[1] Not only the fact that *Tahzib-e Niswan* is a journal addressed to women (though men will occasionally have a glance at it as well),[2] but also the emotions addressed by the advertisement point to a crucial fact: women are responsible for the health of their families and thus the ones to decide which tonic to buy for their husbands. Unlike photos of representative Muslim men from around the same time that we know from history books, the young man in the advertisement seems in movement and full of energy, walking with a spring in his step. He is looking out of the picture's frame, a loving and joyful smile on his face. This is set off by the unfortunate girl in the background, whom he ignores. Her envy makes him even more attractive to the woman just outside the picture, who is the centre of his attention. What is her secret, what did she do to get such a desirable and virile husband?

The answer is Sanatogen; as the advertisement explains: 'If age sets in and tiredness and weakness become frequent, and a man [*insan*] can no longer enjoy the pleasures of life – the cure is as simple as using the health-restoring powder of Sanatogen, which gives immeasurable [*be-andaza*] strength to the body.'

What was this wonder cure that a woman could buy to transform her spouse into a young and virile man (or one who would act young and virile), modern in his promise of a loving relationship, a man who would make her the object of envy of all her friends? Sanatogen, a powder consisting mainly of milk protein, was developed and registered in Germany in 1898. Within few years, it became the best-selling product of the company Wülfing, Bauer & Co. Originally sold as a tonic for patients recovering from tuberculosis, Wülfing quickly discovered the potential market for Sanatogen in the treatment of the vaguely defined condition termed neurasthenia. Modernity imposed tremendous stress on the nerves, according to the discourse at the turn of the century. The accelerating pace of daily life, the sensory overload in cities, the increasing demands of modern living exposed the nerves to constant strain, it was believed, leading to exhaustion and nervousness, if not to potential nervous breakdown and even insanity.

Fig. 02

The German woman in the advertisement (Fig. 02) muses sadly: ‘What shall I do with my husband? Every day he becomes more nervous, grumpy, and irritable and comes home in the evening languid and exhausted.’ The text continues: ‘The answer to this question, posed by many women, is simple: He needs Sanatogen. The tried and tested nourishment for the nerves and the strengthening of the body.’

Unlike the treatment for tuberculosis and other illnesses requiring the intervention of medical doctors, the prevention or treatment of neurasthenia tapped into the huge market of self-medication. Women were not the exclusive target of these advertising campaigns, but their role as stewards of their family’s health and their interest in the restoration of the nervous and grumpy male to his former loving, smiling, and virile self explain the focus of this and so many other similar advertisements.

The offer of self-medication against the ills of modernity proved a huge success.[3] Sanatogen sales quickly expanded globally, first in Europe and the United States, and then elsewhere. By 1904, we find announcements that a pharmacy in Amritsar stocked Sanatogen.[4] In 1910, an advertisement in the *Times of India* announced that ‘Sanatogen may be obtained from all Chemists and Bazaars.’[5]

Fig. 03

The initial emphasis in India was on the European population, exhausted by the 'nerve-trying conditions of life in the tropics'. The anxiety that the 'white man's burden' might be too much to bear had a long history at this moment in time – especially the climate, but also the constant stress were interpreted as causes for a depletion of energy. Here, Sanatogen was held to provide a cure (Fig. 03). The imagery of the advertisement taps into male colonial fantasies: the broad-chested colonial officer, whose nakedness allows an uninhibited gaze at his body, which is as strong as his mind, standing among the clouds as an almost god-like figure, high above those to whom he is bringing the blessings of British rule. As we will see, Indians became a specific target of advertisements in the *Times of India* only after independence.

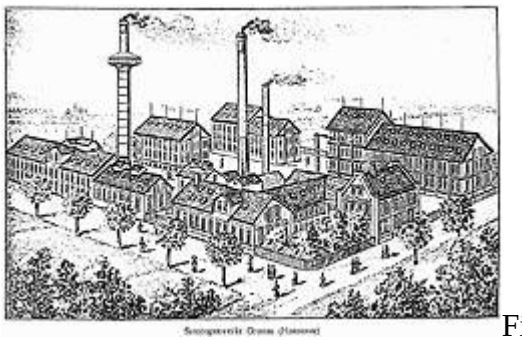
Fig. 04

Modernity has an ambivalent position in these advertisements. It increases the stress of everyday life, weakens the nerves, and threatens masculinity and virility. At the same time, it also promises a cure to these dangers. Advertisements emphasized the modernity of the production process. A well-organized and clean factory in Germany produced the tonic with the help of modern machines, which guaranteed that the product was not touched by human hands at any stage (Fig. 04).[6]

Sanatogen stood for modern science. Wülfing claimed that its efficiency was endorsed by 24,000 doctors from all over the (Western) world, who had replied to a questionnaire sent out by the company, providing descriptions of cures Sanatogen had effected among their patients, and confirming that it was successfully used in the treatment of weakness induced by fever or hard work (*mehnat*) – quotes from the doctors' reports were translated and reproduced in these advertisements.[7]

Who were the women addressed by these advertisements? *Tahzib-e Niswan* was founded in 1898 by the Deobandi scholar Saiyid Mumtaz Ali and his wife Muhammadi Begam. She rapidly became the driving force behind the enterprise and brought together a whole 'family' of *Tahzib*-sisters, who not only read the journal, but also contributed articles and letters to it and acted as its ambassadors, spreading its message and bringing in new subscriptions. At the time of the foundation of the journal, Saiyid Mumtaz Ali's ideas on women's rights were considered outrageously modern, but in the aftermath of the First World War, things began to change and female education and the ideal of a companionate marriage were no longer considered shocking, at least in the urban middle-class and upper-class families that formed the core readership of *Tahzib-e Niswan*.[8] Purdah remained a contested subject, but *Tahzib-e Niswan* seems to have managed to achieve an unusual degree of tolerance between the different groups, featuring pictures of modern women in Charleston dresses, but also instructions on how to stitch a burqa. Women, at least from the elite (*ashraf*) social strata that provided the readers for the journal, travelled in increasing numbers; even those who didn't could read the travelogues, or look at the pictures and – from the 1920s onwards – at photos of foreign countries and their women.

Usually we would expect the visuality of an advertisement and its accompanying text to point in the same direction and to reinforce each other. For Sanatogen in the context of *Tahzib-e Niswan*, this close match doesn't always happen. As shown above, many of the visuals address women and their imagination, even bordering on a depiction of erotic desires. This makes sense, as *Tahzib-e Niswan*, as signalled by its title – conceptualized as the female twin publication of Aligarh's male-centred *Tahzib-ul Akhlaq* – was geared towards the ladies of *ashraf* families. By the 1930s, when Sanatogen's advertising began in earnest, most of its intended female audience would have been literate or at least aspiring to literacy. However, even in those advertisements whose imagery most clearly addressed women, the texts remained ambivalent in their gendering. By promising that 'with every draught you would feel that you become younger and stronger' (Fig. 01), they seem to address men just as much as women.

Advertisements for Sanatogen were not absent from journals catering to men from the same strata, but they were never as prominent as in ladies' journals. Even where companionate marriage and the prominence of the couple were still imaginary and yet to replace the reality of extended families, women had to some extent taken up the responsibility for their husbands' health – and virility. This has important consequences for the way we think about the depiction of masculinity. In many cases it might indeed be that men displayed themselves and were the central agents in the creation of the various and contested images of masculinity. But these advertisements also draw our attention to the women's role in this process of reconfiguring images of masculinity – not only as recipients, but also as agents with their own agendas and their own desires. This became noticeable in advertisements earlier and more pronouncedly than in other representations, and more in the visuals than in the accompanying texts of these advertisements. The marketing agents were less vested in patriarchy and a specific depiction of masculinity than in selling their products to whomever was responsible for medical purchases. Acknowledging female desires – for companionship and intimacy, but

also their erotic desires for a young and virile husband – was deployed as a marketing strategy for this particular section of consumers.

Fig. 05

Fig. 06

The advertisements in Fig. 05 and Fig. 06 juxtapose the exhausted man and his concerned wife in what seems like a traditional distribution of familial tasks – except for the fact that these exhausted men are no longer in a position to exercise any patriarchal authority and are towered over by their wives, who hold the key to their recovery. 'Thousands of men got rid of the terrible illness of weak nerves by the use of Sanatogen and gained a new strength to enjoy every moment of their lives.' Indeed, this was a 'victory over the decline of manly strength and vigour [*mardana himmat o quwwat*]', according to the heading's promise – as attractive to women as to their husbands.[9]

Fig. 07

Sanatogen proposes to show the way to health and happiness, but also to modern life as a couple: It is the wife who takes responsibility for the health and modernity of her husband, instead of patiently suffering through his decline. But the man who has recovered his strength does not use it to return to the traditional forms of patriarchy and manliness. The new man, created by Sanatogen, protects his wife without dominating her. In most cases, the advertisements mark him as a Muslim, but a modern one – he wears a fez, but his beard is only hinted at; she still covers her head, but only just so. And most important of all, they both

face the future together, as a loving and happy couple, standing in front of what looks like the rising sun (Fig. 07).[10] The message is clear: Consuming the right goods, in this case the right tonic, is the way to a healthy, but more so to a loving and happy life.[11] We don't know how the men took to this new masculinity – I haven't yet found similar advertisements in journals primarily addressing a male readership, at least from this period.

But even in *Tahzib-e Niswan*, neither are women always present in the pictures, nor are they the only advisors to their husbands.

Fig. 08

An early advertisement – the first that I was able to trace in *Tahzib-e Niswan* – shows two men in conversation, one vigorous and healthy (*tawana aur tandurust*), the other weak (*kamzor*), as the text explains (Fig. 08). The depiction suggests that they are sitting in an office, so it can be assumed that they are modern professionals, subjected to the same stress that provided the original marketing impulse for Sanatogen. The man on the left seems so weak that he cannot even rise from his chair. He asks his healthy colleague: 'How can I get rid of this weakness and regain health and vitality?' The healthy man responds, 'Once upon a time I, too, was weak. But Sanatogen, which is an incredibly strengthening nourishment, gave new strength to my body and nerves. After using it for a few days, all signs of weakness and lethargy disappeared.'[12] While the description of Sanatogen's effects is the same, the visual representation lacks the persuasive power of the other advertisements.

Fig. 09

Except for the fact that one of the men is sitting and the other standing, they can hardly be distinguished from each other – apart from the fact that a message addressing only male readers is not very well placed in a ladies' journal.

However, a quick search through another journal, *Zamana*, which was mostly read by men of a comparable social and educational background as the readership of *Tahzib-e Niswan*, did not produce any more exciting pictures – again, it was the text, more than the visual imagery, which at this early stage bore the main responsibility for convincing the consumer to buy the product.

Once more, we find the young professional, modern in his sartorial choices, perhaps a clerk or a college teacher (Fig. 09). He is so tired and weak that he slumps and cannot even hold up his head – but again, the advertisement offers no visual alternative (though the text contains the usual promise of a restoration of health and vitality through the use of Sanatogen).[13]

Fig. 10

To return to *Tahzib-e Niswan*: Shortly after the early advertisement (Fig. 08), sometime around the mid-1930s, the company either changed its advertising agency, or at least replaced its artist. The new style not only stresses the Muslim identity of the persons depicted (and their Oriental setting, as marked by the ubiquitous palm tree), but brings movement and detail

into the image (Fig. 10).[14]

This advertisement, too, depicts two men. But now the difference made by Sanatogen is clearly visualized: the Muslim man on the left is youthful-looking and full of energy, his posture is upright, his head held high. Though young, he seems not only a master of his own fate, but even capable of offering advice to the much older man on the right. But is the man on the right really older? Or could Sanatogen transform him into the image of his younger counterpart? In the advertisement, he leans on a walking stick, bent forward, frowns of worry on his face, his hairline receding. Sanatogen, the advertisement implies, is the difference that makes a difference and restores the manliness desired by men and, even more importantly in the context of a ladies' journal, by women.

Fig. 11

Weakness and premature aging are the enemies of virility: This is the clear message conveyed by most of the advertisements. But not all forms of virility sold. Kalzana, another tonic produced by Wülfing, was Sanatogen's twin product. Although based on a slightly different formula, it basically targeted the same ailments and also used very similar marketing strategies, branding the product as modern with scientifically proven efficacy (Fig. 11).

The text of the advertisement addressed men, providing them with the medical knowledge on how their bodies worked and why taking a food supplement could prevent damage to health that could result in anaemia, skin diseases, losing one's teeth and all kinds of other ailments.[15] However, the bare-chested 'muscle man', so successful in the European fascist art of the 1930s (and which in Fig. 03 seems to have been successful in addressing the British in India), failed to sell in an Indian-only context, and the campaign was rapidly discontinued. It is true that some men from these families were already buying into the narrative of decline and degeneration and the need for creating muscle power in the community. Moreover, the increasing number of communal riots in the 1930s challenged hierarchies, and forced respectable men to rely on young men from lower-class backgrounds, often trained as precisely the kind of 'muscle men' depicted in the advertisement, in order to protect their homes and families.[16] But for the women of their households, the bodily ideal of proper masculinity did not yet cross the lines of class. What *Tahzib-e Niswan*'s ladies seemed to desire was a healthy and virile man, but not someone who might be mistaken for a wrestler or

a labourer. Female desire could be alluded to, but only within the boundaries of *sharafat*, of a well-bred and educated middle-class identity, marked as both Muslim and Indian. Strengthening the body was important, but it was not an aim in itself. In no case would the new bodily masculinity be permitted to override *adab*, the rules of etiquette and morality that were constitutive for the self-image of these families.[17]

At first sight, the story of these advertisements and their masculine imaginaries seems rather conventional. Modernity reaches India from the West, in this case in the shape of a white powder which symbolizes the promises of science and progress. It is produced in a clean environment, based on medical research. Its healing powers are not merely claimed, but proven by experiments and vouched for by a large number of doctors. As it is available over the shop counter, it increases the agency of women, since the premature aging and weakness of their husbands is no longer a fate they have to endure. Reading the advertisements attentively, going to the bazaar, buying the right product, and ensuring that their husbands regularly drink their Sanatogen becomes the the woman's responsibility, but also her opportunity. Her reward is a companionate marriage to a young or rejuvenated man full of vigour, who looks at her with a loving smile, who becomes the source of her pride and makes her the envy of all other women in her family and neighbourhood.

But a closer look reveals that the story is not quite so neat. Firstly, Sanatogen is certainly a modern product, but it is marketed as a cure against the so-called ills of modernity as well. Men do lose their strength on account of being afflicted by malaria or tuberculosis, but it is also modern life itself, and especially modern office life, which is exhausting them. The exact chronology of how this discourse of modernity as a danger to virility enters the debate in Urdu remains to be established, but it seems as if the advertisements offering a cure for it (and thus creating the illness for the medicine) precede its diagnosis in the texts.

Secondly, Sanatogen is marketed as both modern and Western, but its efficacy is also premised on the fact that it continues an indigenous tradition of tonics and thus uses a language with which its consumers are already familiar.

Fig. 12

The beautiful lady with long black hair holds in her hands a bottle of Roghan Gesudaraz, a hair oil aptly named after or, at least for this audience, recalling the Chishti Sufi Bandanawaz Gesudaraz (1321–1422), the saint whose very name points to his long curls – and, for that matter, signifies the beloved of Persian and Urdu poetry. While the image suggests a beauty product for women, the text makes it clear that this hair oil has a much wider application: it brings delight to the spirit and heart (*ruh o dil ko farhat hoti hai*); it puts an end to the dryness of the mind (*khushki-e dimagh*) and eliminates all sorts of ills, from headaches to declining eyesight (Fig. 12).[18] This discourse is not yet gendered, but it already plays on quite a number of topics which would later be taken up by Sanatogen. Perhaps the ills of modernity were not so modern after all and, more importantly, already had adequate local cures. While *Tahzib-e Niswan* printed only a few hair-oil advertisements after the First World War, this should not be taken as an indication that the product disappeared (in fact Roghan Gesudaraz is still sold to this day, marketed as a 'refreshment for the brain' as much as for its cosmetic properties).[19]

Before independence, advertisements for Sanatogen in the English language press catered mainly to Europeans or to those who felt comfortable with a visual and textual idiom alluding to European history and culture.[20] After 1947, the marketing agency responsible for the advertisements attempted to replace European mythology with Indian references.

Fig. 13

The young hero – the accompanying text explains that he is Abhimanyu, Arjuna's son from the Sanskrit epic *Mahabharata* – is getting ready for battle, helped into his armour by his beautiful and adoring wife Uttara (Fig. 13). The advertisement caters to national pride, but also to images of youthful masculinity. It aims to attract young men, reminding them that Abhimanyu routed his enemies without parental help, but also the older generation, to whom it promises a restoration of their vigour and a transformation into young heroes, if they would only buy the right tonic. But convincing as it might seem, this campaign did not catch on in the long run.

Fig. 14

Fig. 15

After briefly experimenting with ethnic indeterminacy (Fig. 14) – the people in the illustration seem European in their sartorial code, but they might still be Indian – the advertisement for Santanogen settles on the depiction of a young urban couple where the woman has bobbed hair and wears a sari (Fig. 15). The hindrances to getting the 'most' out of life – fatigue, weakness, lack of appetite, nervousness, depression, general debility – strike men and women equally (as depicted in the panels on the right). It is as a couple that they will get to fulfil their desires. Even more so than in the interwar period, masculinity has now shed any reference to the heroic and muscular: the modern man is a successful middle-class professional, with a wife by his side, who is as glowingly vital as he is. Together they will achieve happiness, fun, and real success.

Notes

[1] This and the following advertisements are quoted according the the rules governing fair use for the quotation of visuals in scholarly texts.

The full text of the advertisement in Fig. 01 is translated as follows:

> Dr K.F.D. writes: I use Sanatogen for those patients who complain about weakness of the nerves [*kamzori-e a'sab*]. I can say with certainty that among the products that strengthen the nerves, none deliver such astonishing results as Sanatogen.
>
> The strong man [*qawi shakhs*] is viewed with envious gazes by everyone.
>
> If age sets in and tiredness and weakness become frequent, and a man [*insan*] can no longer enjoy the pleasures of life – the cure is as simple as the use of the health-restoring powder of Sanatogen, which gives immeasurable [*be-andaza*] strength to the body. Dissolve the powder in water and with every draught you would feel that you become younger and stronger. Many more people [*behtare log*] around you are using Sanatogen. Their youthful face and figure and their enviable health is due to Sanatogen alone. You too should make use of their advice. There is no time to hesitate. Start using the strength-inducing powder of Sanatogen today itself.
>
> Sanatogen.
>
> Sold in all the English pharmacies and in the bazaars. The truly strengthening product. Sanatogen is not touched by hand during its production process. It contains nothing that might be offensive to any religion or caste.

[2] See also Saeed, Yousuf, '*Ishtihar Tasveeren*: Visual Culture of Early Urdu Magazines', Tasveer Ghar 2017, http://tasveergharindia.net/essay/ishtihar- tasveeren-early-magazine-urdu.html (accessed 17 July 2019). For an introduction to the history of medical drugs in India, see Bhattacharya, Nandini, 'From Materia Medica to the Pharmacopoeia: Challenges of Writing the History of Drugs in India', *History Compass*, Vol. 14, No. 4, 2016, pp. 131–39. Excellent discussions on the history of advertisements in India include Haynes, Douglas, 'Creating the Consumer? Advertising, Capitalism and the Middle Class in Urban Western India, 1914–40', in *Towards a History of Consumption in South Asia*, edited by Douglas Haynes et al., Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 185–223; Haynes, Douglas, 'Masculinity, Advertising and the Reproduction of the Middle-class Family in Western India, 1918–1940', in *Being Middle-Class in India: A Way of Life*, edited by Henrike Donner, London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 23–46; Haynes, Douglas, 'Selling Masculinity: Advertisements for Sex Tonics and the Making of Modern Conjugality in Western India, 1900–1945, South Asia', *Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 4, 2012, pp. 787–831; Haynes, Douglas, 'Advertising and the History of South Asia, 1880–1950', *History Compass*, Vol. 13, No. 8, 2015, pp. 361–74; Rajagopal, Arvind, 'Advertising in India: Genealogies of the Consumer Subject', in *Oxford Handbook of Modernity in South Asia: Modern Makeovers*, edited by Saurabh Dube, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 217–28; Rajagopal, Arvind, 'The Commodity Image in the Post-Colony', in *Visual Homes, Image Worlds: Essays from Tasveer Ghar, The House of Pictures*, edited by Christiane Brosius, Sumathi Ramaswamy, and Yousuf Saeed, Delhi: Yoda Press, 2015, pp. 217–38; and Rajagopal, Arvind, 'Early Publicity in India: Trademark, Branding and Advertisement', *Marg: A Magazine of the Arts*, Vol. 68, No. 3, 2017, pp. 88–99.

[3] 'Sanatogen, Bauer & Cie: Ein Jahrzehnt hindurch im Dienste der leidenden Menschheit' [A decade in the service of suffering humanity], Berlin: Bauer & Cie, no date [1910]; 'Sanatogen, Bauer & Cie: Ein Kräftigungsmittel, namentlich für das Nerven-System [A tonic, specifically for the nervous system], Berlin: Bauer & Cie, no date.

[4] *The Tribune*, 10 September 1904.

[5] *The Times of India*, 7 May 1910.

[6] *Tahzib-e Niswan*, Vol. 35, No. 10, 5 March 1932, and passim.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Minault, Gail, *Secluded Scholars: Women's Education and Muslim Social Reform in Colonial India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 110–22; Naim, C.M., 'How Bibi Ashraf Learned to Read and Write', *Annual of Urdu Studies*, Vol. 6, 1987, pp. 99–115.

[9] The full text in Fig. 05 reads:

> Through Sanatogen
>
> Gain victory over the decline of manly strength and vigour [*mardana himmat o quwwat*].
>
> Thousands of men got rid of the terrible illness of weak nerves by the use of Sanatogen and gained a new strength to enjoy every moment of their lives. Several people wrote grateful letters to its inventor after using Sanatogen, in which they recounted how Sanatogen pulled them out of the dark depths of weakness [*zo'af ki tarik gehra'i*] and led them to the heights of strength and vigour [*taqat aur quwwat ki bulandi*].
>
> Mr A.K. from the state of Bhopal writes: Ever since I started using Sanatogen, I've started sleeping peacefully, and my body feels the energy and strength at every moment.
>
> Sanatogen is composed of ingredients that give new life to the nerves, thanks to which they function properly. Start using it today. You will gain the strength and health of your youth.
>
> [The footer is the same as in Fig. 01; see note 1 above.]

The text in Fig. 06 is as follows:

After malaria, new strength.

After an attack of malaria, the body feels weak and tired. If the lack of blood is not cured quickly with the use of Sanatogen, a person [*insan*] could quickly become prey to further illnesses. Sanatogen generates new blood and regains the health and strength of the body. It eliminates all traces of weakness and lets a person enjoy new lease of life.

Look what a doctor writes in a famous medical journal *The Indian Medical Record*:

With malaria, too, the use of Sanatogen is of enormous use for eliminating weakness. Sanatogen acts against the weakness that has been induced by the malarial bacteria and restores strength. It increases the number of red blood cells, and within a few days the patient recovers his health.

Thousands of doctors recommend to their patients the use of Sanatogen. You too should follow their advice and regain your lost energy and health.

[Footer same as in Fig. 01; see note 1.]

[10] The text in Fig. 07 reads:

Are you healthy and happy?

Look at me. A few weeks ago, I used to feel weak and tired. I had lost my strength because of fever and was very unhappy. I heard about Sanatogen. A friend told me that this white powder contains the secret of health. Using it for a few weeks means making oneself strong.

Look at me. I am strong and healthy. This is because of Sanatogen. Our life is endlessly happy now.

Sanatogen contains strength and happiness [*taqat aur khushi*] for you. This strengthening food supplement invigorates you more than ever. Try it out. Sanatogen is available at all the chemists and bazaars. And it is famous with doctors all over the world.

[Footer same as in Fig. 01; see note 1.]

[11] Illouz, Eva, and Benger, Yaara, 'Emotions and Consumption', in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Consumption and Consumer Studies*, edited by Daniel Thomas Cook and Michael Ryan, Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015, pp. 263–68.

[12] The full text in Fig. 08 reads:

A vigorous and healthy man advises a weak man.

To increase your strength, use Sanatogen.

A weak man asks a vigorous and healthy man: How can I get rid of this weakness and regain health and vitality?

The healthy man answers: Once upon a time, I too was weak. But Sanatogen, which is an incredibly strengthening nourishment, gave new strength to my body and nerves. After using it for a few days, all signs of weakness and lethargy disappeared. I take Sanatogen very regularly. And truly, I never had such health and strength before.

Follow the advice of this strong and vigorous man. Start using Sanatogen today. Sanatogen is composed of ingredients that give new strength to the body. More than 24,000 doctors report that Sanatogen is a strengthening and useful food supplement to cure the weakness induced by fever and hard work.

After using Sanatogen just for a few weeks, you will feel stronger and healthier and start enjoying all aspects of life. Go buy a bottle today!

[Footer same as in Fig. 01; see note 1.]

[13] The text in Fig. 09 reads:

How can a weak man regain health and strength?

The answer to this question, which is so important to every weak and powerless man, has been given by Mr Mahmud Ali Khan from Bhopal, where he writes to the makers of the world-famous energy food supplement Sanatogen. He writes:

'I was suffering from sleeplessness and indigestion, but once I started using Sanatogen, I have gained repose and I feel active and alert at every moment.'

At the end of his letter, Mr Mahmud Ali Khan writes that in reality, Sanatogen is like a combination of thousands of medications.

Just as Sanatogen bestowed strength and health on Mr Mahmud Ali Khan, it eliminates all causes of weakness and lets you progress in your bodily and manly strength in an astonishing way. Go and buy a bottle of Sanatogen today from your English pharmacy or shop.

Sanatogen, pure strengthening food.

[Last line illegible.]

[14] The text in Fig. 10 reads:

Start using Sanatogen and you will be full of health [*tanomand*].

A man holding Sanatogen in his hand is strong and healthy. The second man is weak and emaciated [*nahif*]. Look how envious the weak man is of the health, strength, and vigour of the second man. The strong man advises him to use Sanatogen. It is a matter of experience that Sanatogen strengthens weak men and increases the vigour of strong men. See what a man who started using Sanatogen writes:

'Sanatogen equals a combination of a thousand medications.' (Mahmud Ali Khan, Bhopal)

If you too start using Sanatogen regularly, you will gain the benefits of health. All signs of weakness will disappear, because Sanatogen will create health and strength in your body. Buy Sanatogen today from a pharmacy in your neighborhood and regularly use this nerve-invigorating food which is world famous. Your strength will rise to an extent which you hadn't expected.

[The last line is a shortened version of the footer in Fig. 01; see note 1.]

[15] The text in Fig. 11 reads:

Kalzana

Which contains calcium in high volume, makes your body healthy and strong.
Your body is made up of *lakh*s of small particles, which are named cells. The health of a body depends on their health. Medical science has proved that to keep the cells healthy, it is very important to have a specific element named calcium in large quantities.

Calcium deficiency makes you weak and creates all kinds of ailments, such as anaemia, skin diseases, loss of teeth, and various troubles of this kind. If you wish to eliminate these, use Kalzana. Kalzana is a food supplement that contains calcium in large quantity.

> If you take a few pills of Kalzana every day, you will have enough calcium to become strong and healthy. And shortly, all traces of ailments that arise due to the lack of calcium will disappear.
>
> Buy a bottle of these joy-inducing tablets today. And let your wife too take them. She will especially benefit from it, as it will save her from the extraordinary pain during those special days.
>
> Don't delay, buy a bottle today.
>
> Kalzana
>
> Kalzana, which contains a high concentration of calcium, is available in all pharmacies. Kalzana is not touched by human hands during its preparation.

[16] Daechsel, Markus, *The Politics of Self-Expression: The Urdu Middle-class Milieu in Mid-Twentieth Century India and Pakistan*, London: Routledge, 2006.

[17] Metcalf, Barbara, ed., *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

[18] Mukharji, Projit, 'A Hairy Problem: Locating the Medical in the Prescriptions and Advertisements for Hair Medicines' (unpublished manuscript, presented at the workshop 'Locating the "Medical" in Histories of Nineteenth and Twentieth Century India', University College London, 30 April–1 May 2010). For the larger context, see Mukharji, Projit, *Doctoring Traditions: Ayurveda, Small Technologies, and Braided Sciences*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016. On the importance of hair tonics for the restoration of virility, see Attwell, Guy, *Refiguring Unani Tibb: Plural Healing in Late Colonial India*, Delhi: Orient Longman, 2007.

The full text in Fig. 12 reads:

> Roghan Gesudaraz is the kind of fragrant oil that Shah Jahangir's Begam Nur Jahan used to apply. Through its use your spirit and heart gains delight [*farhat*]. It ends the dryness of the mind [*khushki-e dimagh*] and strengthens vision. If you apply it on your head, your hair will grow like cucumbers on a field. If the roots of your hair have become weak, the use of this roghan [oil] will strengthen them, and blackness of your hair will be retained. If you wish to regain the lost energy of your brain, test by asking for a bottle. Headaches, weakness of the mind etc. will disappear. Because of its good qualities, the oil is universally accepted. We have thousands of authentic certificates. Price: Re 1 per bottle. (The above advertisement is on the top right, besides [there are] other beauty and health products, all sold by Dawakhana Faiz-e Aam, Farash Khana, Delhi.)

[19] https://www.indiamart.com/proddetail/roghan-gesu-daraz-2638982455.html (accessed 8 July 2019).

[20] Srivastava, Manjulika, *Brand New: Advertising through the Times of India*, Faridabad: The Times of India, 1989.

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