

2
Transition in Northeastern India

Becoming a Borderland

The Politics of Space and Identity
in Colonial Northeastern India

Sanghamitra Misra

ROUTLEDGE



Becoming a Borderland

*The Politics of Space and Identity
in Colonial Northeastern India*

Sanghamitra Misra



 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON NEW YORK NEW DELHI

First published 2011 in India
by Routledge
912 Tolstoy House, 15–17 Tolstoy Marg, Connaught Place,
New Delhi 110 001

Simultaneously published in the UK
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2011 Sanghamitra Misra

Typeset by
Star Compugraphics Private Limited
D–156, Second Floor
Sector 7, Noida 201 301

Call No... 320.12541
Acc. No... 16659

Printed and bound in India by
Avantika Printers Private Limited
194/2, Ramesh Market, Garhi, East of Kailash,
New Delhi 110 065

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage and retrieval system without permission in writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record of this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-0-415-61253-1

Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	vii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xi
Introduction: Connected Stories, Disconnected Borders: Writing Histories of Borderlands	1
1 The Political Economy of State-making in a Pre-colonial 'Frontier'	19
2 Practices of Sovereignty, Practices of the Market and Early Colonialism	47
3 Colonial Spaces: Land, Law and Migration	95
4 Framing a Region: Politics of Speech in a Borderland	137
5 Histories, Memories and Identities	165
6 Conclusion	196
<i>Glossary</i>	205
<i>Bibliography</i>	207
<i>About the Author</i>	230
<i>Index</i>	231

List of Tables

2.1	List of articles that passed through the river ports of southern Goalpara	78
3.1	Variation in the population of Goalpara between 1872 and 1921	107
3.2	Figures of area settled (in acres) by immigrants from eastern Bengal in Goalpara	109
4.1	Figures of Rajbanshi speakers in the early twentieth century	148
4.2	Figures of Bengali and Assamese speakers in the Census of 1901, 1911 and 1921	155

List of Abbreviations

ALCP	Assam Legislative Council Proceedings
APAI	Assam Police Abstract of Intelligence
ASF	Assam Secretariat Files
ASP	Assam Secretariat Proceedings
BTA	Bengal Tenancy Act
DHAS	Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies
GP	Goalpara Papers
GTA	Goalpara Tenancy Act
HPP	Home Political Proceedings
NAI	National Archives of India
OIOC	Oriental and India Office Collection
PHA	Political History of Assam

Acknowledgements

This book has emerged out of research done for a doctoral dissertation at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London. Over the years, it has accumulated many debts and it is my pleasure to be able to record them. I thank the Commonwealth Trust for funding my research for a Ph.D. degree. For additional financial support, I thank The Harold Hyam Wingate Foundation, the SOAS fieldwork grant and the Indian Council of Social Science Research. A British Academy — AHRC-ESRC Visiting Fellowship — made further research and a finalisation of the manuscript possible. I thank the Economic and Social Research Council for this and the SOAS for institutional support.

My deepest debt is to Peter Robb, who has been the most committed and untiring reader of this manuscript, right from its inception as a doctoral dissertation. Peter carefully and patiently read the countless drafts that were thrust upon him, improving them through his insights and comments. His affection and generosity has been a source of sustained support. For sharpening many of the arguments of this book through his own engagements with histories of margins and for being such a wonderful teacher of history, I thank Neeladri Bhattacharya. I thank Sabyasachi Bhattacharya for his suggestions which helped frame many questions at an initial stage of research. Willem van Schendel's commitment to research on borderlands has always been a source of much inspiration and I am grateful for his interest in my work. I am indebted to Birendranath Datta for sharing his extensive knowledge of Assam's history and for giving so generously of his time. In the many evenings spent discussing Goalpara's history with him and Eva Datta at their place in Guwahati, I learnt to love Goalpara as they did. Gautam Bhadra's suggestions helped clarify many ideas at an early stage of writing and I am grateful to him for this. For their comments on various parts of my work, I warmly thank Shubho Basu, Avril Powell, Indrani Chatterjee, Sanjib Baruah and David Ludden. For his intellectual companionship and friendship, I thank Bodhisattva Kar.

For their hospitality and kindness during my fieldwork, I am grateful to Sukanta Chaudhuri and Supriya Chaudhuri. I am especially indebted to Tripathnath Chakravarty and his family for welcoming me into their home at Dhubri and helping me with my research. A considerable part of my archival notes were made at Ajit Baruah's place in Dhubri who gave me access to his personal collection of papers and I am extremely grateful for his generosity. Arupjyoti Saikia added to my research with a range of primary material and I thank him for his help.

Various chapters and sections of this book have benefited from being presented at some recent conferences. A Sephis workshop on 'Challenging the Master Narrative' at Cebu, Philippines, added significantly to the arguments in this book. For their interventions and insights at the workshop, I thank Mamadou Diouf, Willem van Schendel, Andres Barba, Michel Baud and Jorge Pavez. A conference organised by the Asian Borderlands Network at Guwahati helped open up new possibilities and connections in my research. For the immensely valuable discussions and comments at the conference on 'Writing the Northeast' at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, which enriched this work, I thank the participants and organisers. Parts of this work were also revised when presented at a panel at the 2009 World Economic History Congress at Utrecht.

For their help with finding material, my sincere thanks to Mr Baishya at the Assam State Archives, Guwahati; the staff at the Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library, London; the National Library, Kolkata; the West Bengal State Archives, Kolkata; the SOAS Library, London; the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi; the Collectorate and Police Archives at Dhubri; the Library at Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Kolkata; the Sahitya Sabha Library, Guwahati; the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Guwahati; and the Dibrugarh University Library.

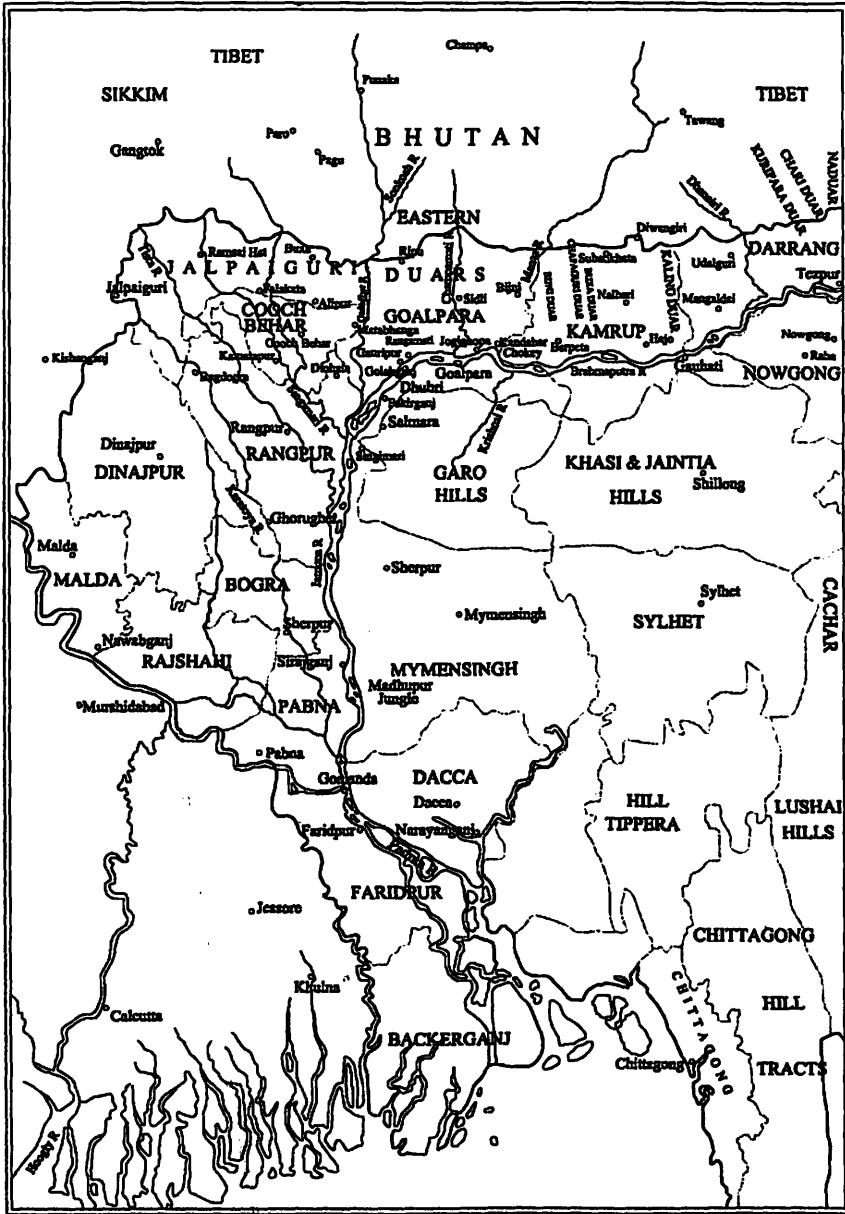
To Sumi Krishna for her interest in the project and coaxing me on towards necessary deadlines, my warm thanks. I thank the editorial team at Routledge India for their patience in accommodating my various requests.

To Yenkhom Jilangamba, Lipokmar Dzuwichu, John Thomas and other fellow travellers, my gratitude for shared political and academic concerns and for giving this work the sense of a collective

project. I thank Elizabeth Robb for a warmth and concern that was mine for the asking, every time. For their affection and support, I thank Harriet and Marshal Horne, Neeraj Malik and Javed Malick, Monica Fagioli, Sayako Kanda, Anthony Gorman, Pradeep Narayanan, Veronica Castro, Leela Sami, Njane Mugambe, Takeshi Nagata, Tanweer Fazal, John Parker, Talat Ahmed and Navnita Behera. I thank Sakkar Tejani and Shabnum Tejani for giving me a home in London and for willingly putting up with my frequent intrusions into it. Bhavana Krishnamoorthy's friendship and arguments meant more than she would have acknowledged and in her absence, I am left to imagine what her criticisms would have been.

For the warmth of familial support and for their encouragement, I thank my family in Hyderabad, G. Haragopal, M. Vanamala, Vijay and Krishna, and Jaya Singh in Delhi. For being my friend and sharing my life across distances for years, and for many conversations that hopefully reflect in this work, I thank Rochelle Pinto. My grandparents provided me with a home in Guwahati for many years. For as long as I can remember, my brother, Arindam, has always been more confident about my work than I have ever been. My parents, Tilottoma and Udayon Misra, have followed the course of this book with enthusiasm and also with an increasing impatience. Their engagement with its concerns makes the book as much theirs as mine. For innumerable close readings, comments and for her help with the translations, a special word of thanks for my mother. To Ajay Gudavorthy, for being the book's most reluctant reader but sharpest critic, for nurturing it, and for sharing his life with me, my warmest thanks.

Goalpara and its surrounding regions in the late nineteenth century



Source: Prepared by the author.

Introduction



Connected Stories, Disconnected Borders: Writing Histories of Borderlands

Contestations, appropriations and subversions marked the politics of space and identity in northeastern colonial India. This book focuses on Goalpara and its connections with the surrounding regions: the Eastern Duars, Cooch Behar, the southern foothills of Bhutan, the northeastern borders of Bengal and the western borders of Assam. Although the book begins in the late Mughal imperium, it is the period between the early 1800s and the 1930s that provides the actual temporal frame, being the closest approximate dates within which to plot spatial shifts in the region's history. Through a span of nearly a century and a half, the work traces the spatial history of an area that has come to be represented as a historically 'transitional' region: the introduction of elements of an anomalous Mughal political 'frontier' into a distinct local space that was characterised by a certain liminality but also by a larger connected history, and the subsequent transformation of this space into a fragmented zone of dependent and independent polities and bounded political units of the colonial state. In the last Goalpara was transformed into a circumscribed colonial borderland district with a fractured administrative history, itself a product of processes that had reduced it to a marginal realm of colonial cores.¹

Goalpara shared cultural and historical memories with Bhutan, Tibet, Cooch Behar, and parts of Bengal and Assam. From the mid-nineteenth century, colonial policies gradually re-constituted it as a separate and marginal space. It became economically and culturally peripheral, initially to the colonial empire in eastern

India and subsequently to the Indian nation and post-colonial state. Simultaneously, however, Goalpara also fragmented into 'many borderlands', fraught by contesting narratives and counter-narratives, the tension over appropriations manifesting itself in local politics as well as in the trajectories of the neighbouring nationalisms of the more compact regions of Assam and Bengal. From the late nineteenth to the middle of the twentieth century was a critical time in the region's history, as different groups resisted various processes of marginalisation that accompanied the subsuming spatial strategies of the state and of emerging nationalisms. These strategies however, are hardly ever unequivocal and in Goalpara too, they were reclaimed by local groups for appropriating and circumventing the process of colonial production of space. The articulation of a 'Goalparia' identity in the early decades of the twentieth century was a reflection of this.

My initial forays into research in this area were to study a brief period of dramatic economic change that had been triggered by an unprecedented migration from eastern Bengal into the western borders of the colonial province of Assam in the early twentieth century. What had until then been evidently a region with large stretches of uninhabited lands and sparse population was within a decade, transformed into a space marked by extensive mobility and sharp rises in population, aided considerably by the policies of the colonial state that encouraged large groups of people to settle and cultivate these tracts of land as well as by the conditions of growing saturation of available cultivable land in eastern and northern Bengal and the subsequent migration northeastwards towards what were termed as some of the most fertile remaining agricultural frontiers of South Asia (Bose 1986; Eaton 1993). The resultant changes in patterns of land use, and its divergent impact on different social groups and on local organisational politics have been discussed in some detail in available historical works on Goalpara, particularly those of Amalendu Guha (Guha 1974, 1977; Barman 1994; Guha 2000). The implicit (and sometimes not so implicit) representation of Goalpara and its surrounding areas as historical 'frontiers' and later 'borderlands' of 'heartlands' remained untroubled, nevertheless, in these works. Working backwards from the twentieth century demographic influx into the region, therefore, I began retracing the pre-history of this borderland and the making of its marginality. The 'borderland'

now increasingly appeared as a construct, with a pre-history of a rich connected past that included distinct local practices of space. Elements of these continued to survive into the colonial and post-colonial period as well, most visibly as practices of memory that resisted various peripheralisations and framed the collective. It is such enduring transgressions that this book is about.

There could be several ways of writing the history of this region, of its representation as a 'frontier', its induced fragmentation under colonialism and of its appropriation, erasure and reinscription into the grand narratives of the post-colonial histories of several nations as new spaces. In the records of the colonial state, it is a 'frontier' on the subcontinental mainstream in terms of social norms, speech practices, notions of political power, agrarian production, marketing networks and ecosystems, a view that framed the region as a zone of greater liminality and exaggerated indeterminate boundaries than was usually allowed for by official discourses when negotiating with pre-colonial communities and polities in northeastern India. This is a representation that finds disturbing echoes in the post-colonial histories of the nations that Goalpara and its surrounds spill into, where their history surfaces only as fragments, as the stories of the borders of 'heartlands', or as the histories of the fringes of nation states. In the few historical works in which parts of this region feature, it is a 'frontier', albeit of various kinds, to be subsumed into larger spaces of the Mughal and colonial empire and then of the nation. Richard Eaton's work on the spread of Islam into Bengal, with its focus on the eastern 'frontiers' covers a part of the region that the work studies and hence is a good example to begin with (Eaton 1993). Eaton has several references in his book to the polity of Koch Behar, an area that he identifies only as being located in the 'remotest frontiers of imperial expansion' (*ibid.*: 157). The presence of vast marshlands and dense forests and the absence of a powerful state that could resist the advancing Mughal army ensured that 'in the east, the agricultural and political frontiers collapsed into one' (*ibid.*: xxiv) with a third frontier, the cultural frontier of Islam, also blending into it. The description of the eastern polity of Koch Behar, along with the neighbouring region of Kamrup, is as a 'frontier' of various kinds for the civilisation that was Bengal and this is reiterated through the book. More recently, Joya Chatterji writing on the arbitrariness of the processes that were involved in the partition of India, makes an equally arbitrary categorisation of the societies and polities on the borders of Bengal:

For much of its medieval history, Bengal remained a marcher region over which the empires of the north had at best an uncertain control, and culturally it retained many of the characteristics of a frontier zone, between the settled agrarian society of the Gangetic plains and the nomadic cultivators, hunters and gatherers of India's northeast (Chatterjee 2007: 6).

This 'core' centric imagination, with its view from mainland India and from the heartlands of Bengal, and its willingness to allow an unproblematised overlap of the borders of historical research with those of the nation is also reflected in Swaraj Basu's history of an identity movement among the Rajbanshis, a community that inhabited parts of north Bengal, eastern Bihar and Goalpara.² Basu acknowledges that enquiries into differences in the societal structures between the community living in Goalpara and in Bengal could lend greater complexity to the narrative. Neither this, nor the fact that the movement had a significant origin and presence in the area, tempts the author, however, to cross the borders of his research into adjacent Goalpara. The trend is resonated in histories from Bhutan. Leo Rose's study projects the contemporary identity of Bhutan as a sovereign, independent nation, into the colonial and even the pre-colonial period (Rose 1977). Aspects of shared histories and elements of overlapping sovereignty and territoriality are impossible to recover when interactions between Bhutan, the Duar area and polities such as Bijni and Sidli, are introduced under the heading of 'foreign relations'.³ Without the exploration of pre-colonial notions of power and space in the region, shared sovereignty can only appear to be a 'curious form of joint administration', between political units that are in Rose's representation, 'similar to contemporary ones'. And his text becomes yet another strategy for an anachronistic construction of the nation. Little wonder then that 'it is still extraordinary that we still find it difficult to count histories that do not belong to a contemporary nation' (Duara 1995: 3).

Evidently, the agenda for histories of these countries as well as those of northeastern Bengal and regions further east in the colonial period, continue to be set by the empirical and theoretical preoccupations of historians who are reluctant not just to think outside of the boundaries of the modern nation state but also outside of the colonial spatial order. And scholars of South Asia are apparently not alone in this. Northeastern India is a liminal

frontier zone for historians of South East Asian Studies as well. Historians of southeast Asia might see Java as 'free of the burden of being a civilisation ... a cross-roads that draws upon, transforms and reworks currents coming from China, Champa, India, Iraq and even the Netherlands' (Subrahmanyam 2005: 6), but in the works of scholars working on Thailand, Indonesia and Vietnam, areas such as northeastern India, Yunan, Sri Lanka, Madagascar and New Guinea continue to be represented as 'marches, the borderlands that separate the region from other world regions' (van Schendel 2002: 650–51). There is a return to the civilisational narrative here, perhaps subtler than in the classic cores, but a return nevertheless. A key concern of this book is the hidden (and sometimes not so hidden) persistence of this narrative that 'necessarily (if not intentionally) induces a reading back of "present-national sentiments" into a timeless past ... thereby prevent(ing) history from working against the cultural hegemonies in the present by stultifying our analysis of mobility, context, agency, contingency, and change' (Ludden 2005: 3).

And it is the critique of this pervasive presence of the civilisational approach that tends to ambush even the most unlikely of historians, that can be a useful scaffolding for researching spatial histories such as the ones being studied here. Despite the processes of state formation in certain parts (Cooch Behar, Bhutan), these are places that remained outside of the 'civilisational' cores of neighbouring Assam and Bengal except when the narratives of later cultural nationalism demanded that the peripheries be identified as repositories of civilisational antiquity. Even this act of inclusion into the national pasts of cores condemned this region to the inferior temporality of a space that consisted of fragments of ancient histories of various nations. That these border areas lacked a certain geographical compactness (the privilege of neighbouring Bengal, for example) and were marked by the difficult terrain of the Himalayas, the Tibetan plateau and dense forests at the foothills, all of which made the region appear like a conglomerate of separate physical entities only reaffirmed its historical peripheralisation. Writing on an area contiguous to this region, Willem van Schendel describes these as 'places that disappear into the folds of the map ... regions which are victims of cartographic surgery ... routinely sliced into pieces by the makers of regional maps, a treatment never meted out to heartlands such

as the Ganges valley' (van Schendel 2002: 652). This is a similar region, not well-defined either in its geography or its culture in the pre- and early colonial period.

How then does one write the history of spaces that have until now appeared only as disconnected fragments of national borders in dominant histories? An answer could lie in writing connected histories of these spaces, where the pre-colonial history of such places is studied in terms of an interface 'between the local and the regional ... and the supra-regional, at times even global' (Subrahmanyam 1997: 745). The agenda then becomes one of writing connected, rather than comparative, histories for researching the period of the early modern, a concept that does away with the pressure of researching well-defined convenient geographical units of analysis and defies civilisational constants. Instead, connected histories envisage a 'world of interactions which enables issues of space to be looked at flexibly and in a temporally dynamic fashion' (Subrahmanyam 2005: 3). These are insights that this book will borrow from in order to reconstruct the history of this northeastern borderland in the years preceding, as well in the initial decades of, British rule. If 'it makes little sense to talk of southeast Asia in this period as if it were isolated from the Indian world' (Subrahmanyam 1997: 746) it makes equally little, if not lesser sense to write a history of these borderlands by cutting it off at the borders of the Indian state when so much of it was about the myriad cultural and economic connections with places that included Bhutan, Tibet, Nepal, Bengal and Assam.

This history does not claim the broad sweep of geography that may define other connected histories but foregrounds the richness of its interactions that forge links with several nations. The story of Goalpara and of the regions around it is about the significance of social places that existed in various complex networks of exchange and memories of those places that refused to disappear under the onslaught of colonial modernity and even survived to subvert it. And it is an important indictment of the civilisational discourse that has survived 'despite our awareness that people have been moving, for millennia, back and forth across this semi-permeable membrane between the "civilised" and the "uncivilised" or the "not-yet-civilised", despite the perennial existence of societies that occupy an intermediate position socially and culturally between the two presumed spheres. It survives despite massive evidence

of cultural borrowing and exchange ... survives in both directions despite an economic integration driven by complementarity that makes the two spheres a single economic unit' (Scott 2009: 99).

An obvious underlying argument in all of this is a revisiting, yet again, of the much critiqued, 'deep, tenacious and ... repressive connection between history and the nation' (Duara 1995: 4).⁴ Nationalist histories in India, while being 'agendas for power' in their own right, also consistently met the new nation's demands for a homogenising historical narrative, such as could subsume smaller, errant histories in the very act of resisting colonialism. The process of subsumation is reproduced and within the 'regional histories', the story of a regional nationalism represses alternative narratives about spaces made illegitimate by the triumphant story of the nation. Thus within an India nationalist historical geography with its focus on routes that run east-west along the Gangetic basin, Assam remains an eastern frontier in perpetuity (Ludden 2005: 3). In Assam's own nationalist narratives, however, these frameworks of dominance and appropriation re-emerge to marginalise borderland spaces such as Goalpara.

Recovering local history and the multiplicity of dynamic spaces that confronted the colonial and later the nation state, becomes important then if we are to write histories other than the biographies of nations. For studies of northeastern India and the regions around it, of particular relevance in this context is Willem van Schendel's pioneering work on 'Zomia' studies as a critique of histories written from 'heartlands' and its powerful indictment of 'area studies' which use 'geographical metaphors to visualise and naturalise particular social spaces as well as particular scales of analysis. They produce geographies of knowing but also create geographies of ignorance' (van Schendel 2002: 647). Against such state-centred views of the world, van Schendel proposes the use of the term 'Zomia'⁵ for a vast borderland region of Asia, marginal in various aspects, comprising of Kashmir, North India, Nepal, Tibet, Sikkim, Bhutan, Northeast India, the Chittangong Hill Tracts (Bangladesh), Burma, Yunnan and Sichuan (China), Thailand, Laos and Vietnam, the inhabitants of which shared language affinities, religious commonalities, cultural traits, ancient trade networks and ecological conditions such as mountain agriculture. (ibid.: 653) '...(Q)uartered and rendered peripheral by strong communities of area specialists of East, Southeast,

South and Central Asia', (ibid.: 647) the production of knowledge about Zomia slowed down, affected by the academic politics of scale that create and sustain area studies. Concerns with Zomia's marginalisation and a reiteration of its significance as 'one of the largest remaining non-state spaces in the world' has returned as key themes in James Scott's recent work on the history of upland Southeast Asia. Marked by its variety rather than its uniformity (and hence a 'negative' region unlike other areas that qualify to be 'regions'), 'the signal, distinguishing trait of Zomia, vis-à-vis the lowland regions it borders, is that it is relatively stateless ... the hill populations of Zomia have actively resisted incorporation into the framework of the classical state, the colonial state, and the independent nation-state' (Scott 2009: 19). These are concerns that overlap with those of an emerging and growing body of borderland studies that are recovering histories both outside and beyond the nation while raising related questions about the structuring of colonial knowledge and the historicity of spaces.⁶ Their research offers an important alternate conceptual location for scholars looking across Asian borders.

It is significant then that the geographical area that this book researches is also a large part of Zomia. It is fitting too that no single nation can claim the history that this book writes. The physical area that it covers overlaps the boundaries of at least three nation states: India, Bangladesh and Bhutan. If differing notions of space such as this work explores, particularly sacred topographies, are used, its history extends even further to include parts of Tibet, China and Nepal. Thus, '...we are obliged more and less constantly to rethink our notions of frontiers and circuits, to redraw maps that emerge from the problematics we wish to study rather than invent problematics to fit our pre-existent cartographies' (Subrahmanyam 2005: 4). The attempt is to see the region not just in terms of its connections with the immediate locale, but also with the histories of other larger spaces which it simultaneously historicises: the more stable spaces of 'Assam' and 'Bengal' that had emerged by the mid-nineteenth century.⁷ The identity of this place as a non-frontier space, a margin, a frontier or a borderland, therefore becomes one that is contextual and relational.

These are issues of concern for historians re-writing the northeast in recent times. David Ludden's 'Where is Assam?' is

an exasperation with unimaginative national borders and their implications for the cultural politics of regions such as Assam which are shaped by extensive human mobility (Ludden 2005). Laying out the ways in which national geography controls spatial imagination, 'and conveys a specific location, identity and meaning', Ludden makes a plea for locating the history of Assam within a more 'flexible geography' that would trace 'mobile and overlapping elements in human history in the valleys and mountains around the Brahmaputra and Barak rivers' (Ludden 2005: 3). Assam occupies a borderland of Asian drainage systems and hence 'the Brahmaputra ... is the easternmost river of south Asia, but it is also the westernmost in east Asia'. In this context, India's Northeast is commonly found on maps of east Asia. Assam and the rest of the northeast, as well as the adjacent Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh, can subsequently be seen as a western region of east Asia, an eastern region of south Asia, and as a region where south and east Asia overlap. It is this overlapping that is impossible to accommodate on national maps; it thus effectively disappears from the public conscious. (ibid.)

The practices of the post-colonial state as well would appear to demonstrate an inability to escape the continuing hold of a colonial spatial imagination, the persistent resonance of which continue to determine political mobilisations around ideas of ethnicity, territorial rights and indigeneity in contemporary northeastern India (Baruah 2008). As an antidote for this imagination, the political scientist Sanjib Baruah suggests a recognition of local cultural dynamics and strategies of space and their persistence into contemporary times. The argument he makes made here about foregrounding local spatial practices is one that is strongly echoed in this book. As also the significance of recovering possible connected histories, which are really counter-perspectives for understanding otherwise ignored marginal elements of local cultures.

The period from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century is a good place to begin this process of recovery. A scattered collection of sources (*sanads*, travelogues from Mughal expeditions, early colonial travel, and ethnographic writings, private manuscripts and records from the colonial archive) reveals elements of connected histories. This is the terrain of the two initial chapters of the book. The first chapter explores how the region that became the colonial district of Goalpara and adjacent parts of

northeastern Bengal appears in these sources (much like it does in Eaton's work, for example) as the last zones of Mughal rule, with an inhospitable climate and dense forests, described as a 'frontier outpost' through the period of late Mughal rule, with its chieftains scattered over the largely unconquered countryside, tied in loose tributary relationships with local Mughal officials. The *Baharastan-I-Gayabi*,⁸ an account written in Persian by a commander of a Mughal expedition in this region in the mid-seventeenth century, records in detail the several rebellions by local chieftains, Koch cultivators and Mughal officials who had been appointed to regulate revenue administration in the area, details of which are interspersed with accounts of the difficulties of military expeditions in the forested tracts of what was perceived as a frontier region of the Mughal empire. These are images that colonial records and accounts reiterate. The most exhaustive of these accounts were those of Francis Buchanan Hamilton, who writes:

During the Mogul rule, the Nawab resided at Rangamatti with some troops; but it seemed to have been the wish of the Mogul government to encourage the growth of forests and reeds and which might serve as a check to the incursions of the Assamese and nothing was required of the chiefs descended from Parikshit nor from the zamindars from the hilly country except a tribute so nominal. The petty chiefs who remained nominally under the authority of the Nawab of Rangamatti would have been entirely uninterrupted in cutting each other's throats, and in reducing the country to a desert.⁹

The extension of Mughal rule into the region effected changes in the local political economy through a transformation of patterns of revenue settlement, and as the book discusses in its first chapter, this was evident in the extension of the margins of agriculture and of peasantisation as also in the sustained peasant rebellions against difficult revenue demands by local chieftains. A trend within local historiography has been to attribute the failure of the Mughal imperium to adequately incorporate this part of eastern India into its administrative structures, to the unfamiliarity of this difficult environmental terrain. By returning the historical gaze to local structures of power and authority instead, the book suggests important inquiries into the ways in which states are shaped and produced in negotiation with local communities.

The first chapter also lays out many bases of the connected histories that are the core of the book — shared cultural, economic and social characteristics such as hill agriculture and physical mobility — between the different social groups of Mughal Goalpara and its surrounds.

The second chapter of the book demonstrates that the late eighteenth century in this part of eastern India was not about the extension of political frontiers of the late Mughals alone. It was equally significant for the complex workings of local power and hierarchy that continued to be produced in the various shared spaces that marked the region, enabled and sustained by its connections with Bhutan, Tibet, Cooch Behar, and other surrounding areas. The chapter explores how, towards the northern parts, examples of these interdependencies translated into ideas of overlapping territoriality and sovereignty for the Rajas of Bijni, Sidli and Koch Behar and the Dharma Raja of Bhutan. The practice of overlapping sovereignties extended across the physical space of the Tibetan plateau, including the Dalai Lama, the Ahom king and the Raja of Bhutan within it.

Evidently then, the histories of hill and valley societies are hardly hermetically sealed and lowland cultures and hill polities can only be read together, whether in their oppositional or reciprocal relationships. This allows for the book to make reflexive connections between the histories of western Assam, northern Bengal, Bhutan, Tibet and Bangladesh. Several of the fairs in the region of the Eastern Duars appear to have been part of a larger sacred topographical space, with descriptions of the nature of trading in the Duar area suggesting that this region was perceived as part of the religious space of the sacred sovereign realm of the Bhutan monarch. In the pre- and continuing into the early colonial, the several circuits of trade, pilgrimage and migration routes that intersected Bhutan, Tibet, Cooch Behar, Rangpur of which Goalpara formed a part and the Duars or the foothills of the Himalayas, provided an enduring base for a connected history of the western parts of northeastern India. Some of the shared dynamics of communities from the region are investigated in the second chapter of the book which then finds a mixed bag of practices that are marked for their itinerant ways of being. Traders in horses and salt from Bengal and Bhutan, trading in a long list of other profitable items besides, journeyed into Tibet and Assam,

meeting along the way Tibetan lamas travelling to collect tributes for the Dalai Lama of Lhasa and Bhutanese officials travelling to pay their tribute at the Duar fairs to the Towang Raja, a tributary of Lhasa. Along with the more contingent and common strategies of shifting cultivators fleeing oppressive taxation regimes and escaping to the Bhutan foothills and elephant catchers migrating for the winter season to the plains of Assam, these practices could be considered part of a 'circulatory regime'¹⁰ that included local ideas of state making and accompanying notions of sacred topography and overlapping sovereignties.

The chapter suggests that it is hard to ignore the flexible political frontiers within which trade operated during this period. In its discussion about the character of local power and sovereignty, it draws a fine line of difference between the 'hard' and 'soft' power of the state, the latter constituting an economic control and symbolic expanse that far extended the territorial limits of its political power: the trade in commodities of high value but low volume (yak tails, rhino horns) being an example of such a reach of the state. The book does not argue however that pre-colonial history was about fluidity alone and offers several examples of material fixity, the structures of power and social hierarchies. What it does argue for however is that if one studies the region for its lateral connections, the period emerges as one when its links with the imagined core of Indian history were less significant than those with other areas. These were clearly 'frontiers' only in the 'Indian' civilisational narrative.

The early, and characteristically hesitant, interventions of the East India Company in the late eighteenth century did not affect a sharp historical break in the regimes of circulation discussed above. By the third quarter of the century, however, important changes were in place as a more confident state replaced these interventions. As an extensive restructuring of the local spatial organisation became evident, colonialism emerged as a powerful disjuncture in the history of the region. Through its institutions of economic, administrative, and judicial control that included cartography, classification through the census, surveys and measurement, the colonial state realised its idea of a unified economic space.¹¹ In several parts of the world, the restructuring of local spaces was almost irreconcilably linked to a larger process of creating homogenised global spaces forged by new sets of connections.

In this part of the globe, however, colonisation predominantly exemplified a fragmentation of the region into unambiguous, compact political units. By the last decades of that century, the state presented an absolute organisation of space that was characterised by its frozen borders. A large part of what later formed the district of Goalpara was already a part of British territory from the late eighteenth century. According to the terms of a treaty between the ruler of Cooch Behar and the East India Company in 1772, the former became a protectorate of the British Government. The hilly Eastern Duars continued to be controlled by the Bhutan monarch until 1866, when they were annexed to the colonial empire in India. This made Bhutan a separate, independent polity. The Garo Hills were constituted into a separate district by 1874, an enforced hill–plain dichotomy being the underlining notion of the bulky files that constituted the official discourses. The tedious and complicated process of fixing territories with political boundaries that were previously continually negotiable, had begun simultaneously,¹² although the overlapping sovereignties of Bhutan, Bijni, Cooch Behar and smaller chieftainships (such as the Baikunthapur zamindar) would continue to be a source of considerable anxiety for colonial officials through much of the nineteenth century.

Nevertheless, an ideology of a unified territorialised entity was being realised, to be later claimed selectively by local collectivities, and stitched to an emerging entity called India. For administrative units within this entity, spaces such as Bhutan, Tibet, Nepal and all the other places in between were firmly external to the new topography. The trajectory that would see their transformation from connected spaces into ‘spaces that elude’ (Ludden 2005: 1) was now in place. Since there were no overlaps in territoriality allowed in a colonial spatial order, Cooch Behar, Goalpara, Garo Hills, the products of a ‘cookie cutter’ administrative imagination, were political units that could exist henceforth only as parts of this nationalised territory. That initial nationalist imaginings in colonial South Asia were ‘crystallised around the notion of a territorially delimited economic collective, a national economy in the 1870s and the 1880s’ (Goswami 1998: 611) only added to this production of a nation space.

In these now eastern borderlands of colonial India, agricultural expansion and an intensified collection of revenue helped stabilise local governance and the bounded unified economy

that colonialism introduced. As the third chapter of the work discusses, the aggressive sedenterisation through the 'colonisation of wastelands' scheme, the extension of colonial legality and the migration of over a million cultivators from the bordering districts of eastern Bengal into Goalpara (and also Cooch Behar) over just two decades of the twentieth century, dramatically altered the demographic composition of the region and the local economy and added to the economic surplus of the colonial state. It was the role of the market, however, in the production of these borderlands that offers crucial insights about the ways in which territory, economy and culture came to be imagined in this region after colonial intervention. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, changes in trading routes and in the geographical terrain of markets marked the beginning of processes that were to integrate Goalpara and the Duar region into the trading networks of eastern India, in particular of the province of Bengal, simultaneously effecting a gradual reduction and then the disappearance of a significant element in the political economy of the region — the seasonal trade with Bhutan and Tibet, carried on in several weekly markets and fairs.

Even while not changing structures in their entirety, colonial intervention therefore constituted a critically decisive shift in the region, replacing its connected history with a new set of spatial interactions that had at its core, the production of a national territoriality of colonial India. And this national territoriality in turn was inseparably linked to the creation of a delimited, unified economic space. In the 1920s and the 1930s, these were processes that transformed Goalpara and the regions around it into a politically and culturally charged space, engendering a powerful politics of identity. The fourth and fifth chapters of the book explore this. The narrative weaves together the objective 'reality' of the several significant material and cultural pre-colonial connections discussed in the preceding chapters, with the memory of these as they were later reproduced in various practices from the region. As an encounter, however unequal, that was shaped appreciably in conflict and negotiation with the colonised, the colonial production of space was resisted, appropriated and circumvented by various groups of the region. Certain inhabitants of the borderland were clearly at a greater material advantage in the use of ideological resources that could resist the spatial strategies of

the colonial state and of the nation. And in this region, it was the zamindars, other sections of the traditional landed elite, chieftains of polities such as Bijni and Sidli and the new middle class who were better enabled to access local history and the state. In the early decades of the twentieth century, some members of this local elite reinvented themselves by negotiating with the tropes of colonial modernity as well as with indigenous cultural reserves to construct spaces that were rather differently visualised from the state and further, often in contestation with it.¹³

Through their writings and practices, the regional elite produced the idea of a 'Goalparia', a spatialised conception of a borderland cultural collective that had at its core a narrative of apparently irreducible cultural and historical differences with the new and hegemonic nationalist 'Assamese' and 'Bengali' identities. The fourth and fifth chapters of the book discuss the processes that went into the making of this borderland identity in the early decades of the twentieth century: the more obvious territorialisation of space and identity and a sense of an unruptured historical continuity for the borderland that drew upon a collective memory of a shared identity of the region.

Of significance in the interrogation of dominant narratives and in the forging of bonds were the debates around the production of linguistic difference and the determination of linguistic hierarchies, sites much privileged for the imagination of a borderland identity. This is the subject of the fourth chapter of the book. The chapter details the contestations around the fixing of the language of the borderland, drawing attention to the many interconnections between the discursive and the political-economy aspects that this process of ascription entailed. It brings these concerns to focus around the articulation of Rajbanshi as the speech practice of several districts of eastern and northern Bengal and of communities living in the Duar region and in the western borders of Assam by the local elite.

The writing of counter-narratives from the region during this period, produced often in contestation with the hegemonic master narratives of Assamese and Bengali nationalisms which represented 'cultural frontiers' like this borderland as 'repositories of ancient culture and history' and hence as a ready resource for the project of cultural nationalism, is the subject of the fifth and last chapter of the book. The chapter explores the ways in which these

counter-narratives from Goalpara drew substantially from the notion of a shared historical experience of borderland people that was distinct from that of both Assam and Bengal. It also studies practices that were remarkable in their extensive use of the ideological resource of memories of pre-colonial historical connections of the region. Subverting and destabilising colonial projects that sought to extensively restructure and homogenise local spatial organisation, particularly ideas of political space, as well as cultural difference and identity in a region that had been constituted as a historically peripheralised borderland of the empire in India, these memories contested and reconfigured prevalent economic practices, local politics of identity, production of linguistic difference and historical imagination. It is the heterogeneity of these practices and the contested terrain that they inhabited in the nineteenth and early twentieth century that the book intends to explore.



Notes

1. Between 1765 and 1822, following the imposition of the East India Company's rule in Bengal, the permanently settled parts of Goalpara were included within the district of Rangpur. In 1822, Goalpara was formed into a separate district of northeast Rangpur, also in Bengal. In 1826, the year of the beginning of formal colonial intervention in Assam, northeast Rangpur was separated from Bengal and included within the Assam Valley Division. In 1867, northeast Rangpur became a part of the newly formed Chief Commissionership of Cooch Behar. The following year, it was placed under the jurisdiction of the Judicial Commissioner of Assam. In 1874, Goalpara was included as a district under the new Province of Assam but was transferred to Bengal after the Partition of 1905. In 1912, Goalpara was once again included within the administration of Assam.
2. These included the districts of Rangpur, Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur, Malda and Darjeeling in north Bengal, Purnea in Bihar and Goalpara in Assam (Basu 2003: 27).
3. 'Foreign Relations: Neutralizing the External Environment' (Rose 1977: Chapter 2). Nagendra Singh discusses Bhutan's various historical connections with the polities in its south, including Cooch Behar and Assam, again in a manner that writes for the nation and does not

- admit fuzziness of any kind, specially in matters of sovereignty and territoriality (Singh 1978).
4. Or what Partha Chatterjee in another example of an acknowledgement of the inextricable links between the nation and historical memory called 'the tidal wave of historical memory about Arya-Hindu-Bharatvarsha' that characterised nationalist histories, frequently based on Orientalist 'rediscoveries of India's past' and readings of or translations of texts which generally produced an idea of India and its past within a Sanskritic tradition and colonial political borders (Chatterjee 1993: 6).
 5. Zomia is a term used in several Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the Indo-Bangladesh-Burma border area for people living in the hills. 'Zo' is a relational term, meaning 'remote' and hence carries the connotation of living in the hills; 'Mi' means 'people' (Scott 2009:16).
 6. The impact of the imposition of a hegemonic discourse of space and power by the colonial state and the accompanying erasure of local, more fluid spatial practices in areas which then came to constitute 'border areas', has been the focus of several colonial histories. Rich reflections of such historical processes include Nugent and Asiawaju (1996) and Wilson and Donnan (1998).
 7. Only once the British conquered Assam in 1826 did the area obtain — for the first time in its history — a firm regional identity as a part of Indian imperial geography. Until 1874, British Assam was part of a novel imperial territory called 'Bengal', which included West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Jharkhand, northeast India and present-day Bangladesh. British Assam always included the Brahmaputra and Barak river valleys, as well as the Surma-Kushiara river basin of Sylhet. After 1860, the tea industry spread across hills around these rivers and enhanced control of the administrative unity of Sylhet and Assam (Ludden 2005: 4).
 8. An important source of information for the period of Mughal rule in Goalpara is the *Baharastan-I-Gayabi*, a Persian chronicle written by Mirza Nathan, a Mughal general who accompanied the Mughal army on its expeditions to eastern parts of the kingdom during the seventeenth century. The chronicle has been translated and published in two volumes. See Borah (1936).
 9. 'General View of the History of Rangpur', in Account of the District or Zila of Rangpur, Mss. Eur. D 74: The Buchanan Hamilton Manuscripts, OIOC, London.
 10. I borrow this phrase from Markovits et al. (2003). Circulation, according to the authors, 'is different from simple mobility, in as much as it implies a double movement of going forth and coming back, which can be repeated indefinitely. In circulating, men and notions transform themselves. Circulation is therefore a value loaded term

which implies an incremental aspect and not the simple reproduction across space of already formed structures and notions. The totality of circulations occurring in a given society and their outcomes could be viewed as defining a 'circulatory regime', susceptible to change over time' (*ibid.*: 3).

11. For a recent exploration of the relationship between colonial spatial practices and the historical emergence of a national space and economy in nineteenth century India, see Goswami (2004).
12. Letter from Major James Rennell, with one sketch map, dated December 1767, of Rangpur, Cooch Behar and Bhutan, Mss. Eur. F218/103, OIOC, London.
13. Here this work differs from studies on the nature of local authority of agrarian powers in South Asia which have often focused on their declining financial fortunes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See Tambs-Lyche's work on Kathiawar (Tambs-Lyche 1997) and John McLane's work which focuses on the continuing relevance of kinship in the local imagination of Burdwan in Bengal (McLane 1993).

Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

Archival Sources

State Archives, Guwahati

- Assam Police Abstract of Intelligence, 1914–1947.
Assam Secretariat Files: Revenue A and B, Confidential and Education
1890–1938.
Board of Revenue Papers 1781–1793, 1859–1872.
Chief Commissioner's Files, 1861–1916.
Colonisation of Wastelands Papers, 1878–1898.
Goalpara Papers, 1863–1881.
Government of Bengal Files: Revenue 1847–1875.
Papers of the Assam Domiciled and Settler's Association, PHA.
Papers of the Assam Sanrakshini Sabha, PHA.
Papers of the Goalpara Zamindar's Association, PHA.
The Political History of Assam Collection, 1916–1932.

Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Guwahati

- Maniram Barua, Buranji Vivek Ratna, 1838, Mss. 272, Transcript: 108.

Dhubri Collectorate, Dhubri

- Magistrate's Records, 1910–1920.

National Library Annexe, Calcutta

- Review of the Progress of Education in Assam, 1892–1932.

Oriental and India Office Collections (currently Asian and African Studies Collections), The British Library, London

- Bengal Political and Secret Department Files: various years beginning 1816.
Board's Collection, 1776–1836.
Home Department, 1874–1905.
Linguistic Survey of India, Collection IV, Correspondence with the Government of Assam S/1/4/1.
Ninth Despatch on Indian Constitutional Reforms, Q/IDC/46, 1919.
Proceedings of the Assam Legislative Council, 1906–1947.
Proceedings of the Assam Legislative Assembly, 1937–1947.
Public and Judicial Department, 1869–1931.
Revenue Department, 1884–1931.

Unpublished Manuscripts and Private Papers

Asian and African Studies (formerly Oriental and India Office Collections), The British Library, London

- Extracts from the Journal of Buchanan, including maps of Assam, Mss. Eur. K 389.
George Grierson Papers, Mss. Eur. E 223.
H. H. Risley Papers, 1901–1911, Vol. 9, Mss. Eur. E 295.
Letters from Major James Rennell, with one sketch map, Mss. Eur. F 218.
Papers of Captain Jenkins, Mss. Eur. F 257.
Papers of Henry Cotton, Mss. Eur. Neg. 12037–38.
Papers of Herbert Lewin, Mss. Eur. J 719.
Paper of John Ghrose, Mss. Eur. E 284.
Papers of John Haughton, Mss. Eur. F 312.
Papers of William Herschel, Mss. Eur. D 860.
The Bogle Papers, Mss. Eur. E 226.
The Buchanan Hamilton Manuscripts, Mss. Eur. 156–175.
The Buchanan Hamilton Papers, Mss. Eur. D 74–77.
The Macnabb Collection, Mss. Eur. F 206.
Translation of the letter from Charles Cornwallis regarding the appointment of Hugh Baille as Resident of Goalpara, Mss. Eur. D 986.

Newspapers and Periodicals

- All India Reporter*, 1916–1936.
Amrit Bazar Patrika, 1925–1929.
Asam Bandhu, 1885–1886.
Asamiya, 1918–1947.
Assam Bandhav, 1908–1909.
Assam Sahitya Sabha Patrika, 1943–1955.
Assam Tribune, 1916–1925.
Awahan, 1929–1940.
Banhi, 1910–1928.
Bijuli, 1892–1893.
Jonaki, 1889–1902.
Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, select issues.
Mou, 1886–1887.
Probashi, 1926–1940.
Rangpur Sahitya Parishad Patrika, 1906–1924.
The Orunodoi, 1846–1868.
Usha, 1907–1908.

Published Sources

Government Records, Reports, Census and Papers of Organisations

- Administrative Report on the Frontier Tribes of Assam*, 1911–1942.
Annual Report on the Progress of Education in Assam, 1874–1947.
Annual Report for Assam, 1894–1944.
Annual Report on the Frontier Tribes of Assam, 1915–1931.
Annual Report on the Progress of Education in Assam, 1874–1947.
Annual Report for Assam, 1894–1944.
Annual Report on the Trade between Assam and Adjoining Foreign Countries, 1877–78, Shillong, 1878.
Assam Gazette, Vol. VI, Guwahati, 1948.
Barpeta Hitsadhini Sabha Proceedings, Barpeta, 1897.
Bengal District Records: Rangpur, Vol. 1, 1770–1779, Calcutta, 1914.
Bengal District Records: Rangpur, Vol. 4, 1779–1785, Calcutta, 1921.
Bengal District Recrds: Rangpur, Vol. 6, 1786–1787, Calcutta, 1928.

- Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee Report, 1929–1930, Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1930.*
- Census of India, 1891, Assam, Shillong, 1892.*
- Census of India, 1901, Assam, Shillong, 1902.*
- Census of India 1911, Assam, Shillong, 1912.*
- Census of India 1921, Assam, Shillong, 1923.*
- Census of India 1921, Bengal, Volume V, Part I, Calcutta, 1923.*
- Census of India 1931, Assam, Shillong, 1932.*
- Cunningham's Report for the Calcutta University Commission, 1917.*
- Evidence taken in the Assam Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, Vol. V, Calcutta, 1927.*
- Evidence taken in the Assam Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, 1929–1930, Shillong, 1930.*
- Franchise Committee Report and Evidence, 1918–1919.*
- General Report on Public Instruction in Assam, 1874–1930.*
- Indian Statutory Commission Vol. 15: Oral Evidence, Assam, 1929.*
- Political Missions to Bhutan, comprising the reports of Hon'ble Ashley Eden – 1864; Capt. R.B. Pemberton, 1837, 1838, with Dr. Griffiths's Journal and the account by Baboo Kishen Kanta Bose, Calcutta, 1865.*
- Progress Report of Forest Administration in the Province of Assam, 1874–1949.*
- Report on the Administration of Assam, 1876–1939.*
- Report on the Administration of Cooch Behar, 1911–1930.*
- Report on the Administration of the Court of Wards Estate in Assam, 1905–1946.*
- Report on the Administration of Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1906–1912.*
- Report on the Land Revenue Administration of Assam, 1901–1935.*
- Report of the Assam Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, 1929–1930, Vol. 1, Shillong, 1930.*
- Report of the Assam Sahitya Sabha, Guwahati, 1955.*
- Report on the Census of Rangpur, 1891 in Census of India, 1891, Vol. 5, Bengal Districts, Calcutta, 1892.*
- Report of the Line System Committee, Vols. I and II, Shillong, 1938.*
- Reports of the Police of the Cooch Behar Division (Annual Crime Reports), 1866–1871, Calcutta.*
- Report and Proceedings of the Cooch Behar Pooneah Exhibition Mela, Cooch Behar, 1894.*
- Report of the State Reorganisation Commission, New Delhi, 1955.*
- Resolution on the Land Revenue Administration of Assam, 1927–1928, Shillong, 1928.*
- Some Memorials, Representations and Notes by the Zemindars and Raiyats of the District of Goalpara, from 1874 to the present time, Calcutta, 1925.*
- Statement of newspapers and periodicals published in Assam, Shillong, 1924.*
- The New Dispensation in Assam and Bengal, Shillong, 1929.*

Uttar Banga Sahitya Sanmilan, *Sixth Session*, Calcutta, 1917.
Village Directory of the Presidency of Bengal, Cooch Behar, 1885.

Books and Articles

- Agarwala, Anandachandra. 1926. *Goalparar Purani Bibaran*, Goalpara.
- Allen, B. C. 1854. *An Account of the Kingdom of Assam*, Calcutta.
- . 1905. *Assam District Gazetteer, Vol. II, Goalpara*, Calcutta.
- Anderson, J. D. 1896. 'Assamese and Bengali', *Calcutta Review*, July.
- Anon. 1867. 'Ancient Assam', *Calcutta Review*, 23 (45).
- Ascoli, F. D. 1917. *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Dacca*, Calcutta.
- Assam Sahitya Sabha. 1960. *Assam's State Language*, Jorhat.
- Barooah, Gunabhiram. 1876. *Asam Buranji*, Calcutta.
- . 1971 (1880). *Anandaram Dhekiyal Phukanar Jivan Caritra*, Guwahati.
- Barooah, Kanaklal. 1933. *Early History of Kamarupa*, Shillong.
- Barua, Nihar. 2000. *Prantobashir Jhuli, Goalparar Lokojibon U Gaan*, Calcutta.
- Barua, Prabhat Chandra. 1928. *Nikhil Goalpara Jila Samiti, Abhyathana Samitir Sabhapatir Bhasan*, Dhubri.
- . 1926. *Nikhil Goalpara Jila Samitir Sabhapatir Bhasan*, Dhubri.
- Barua, Vinanada Chandra. 1926. *Maharaj Naranarayan*, Calcutta.
- Basu, N. N. 1926. *Social History of Kamarupa*, Vol. 2, Calcutta.
- Bezbaroa, Devendranath. 1933. *Asamiya Bhasa Aru Sahityar Buranji*, Jorhat.
- Bezbaroa, Lakshminath. 1910a. 'Asamor Gauripurot Bangla Sahitya Sabha', *Banhi*, 11: 348–56.
- . 1910b. 'Asamor Gauripurot Bangla Sahitya Sabha', *Banhi*, 12: 365–70.
- . 1910c. 'Puroni Asamor Jilingoni Eti', *Banhi*, 6: 167–73.
- . 1910d. 'Asomiya Bhasa Samparke Aru Keitaman Kotha', *Banhi*, 2: 43–52.
- . 1911. 'Asam', *Banhi*, 3: 93–131.
- Bhuyan, S. K. 1924. *Anandaram Barua*, Calcutta.
- . (ed.). 1947. *The Annales of the Delhi Badshahate, Being a translation of the old Assamese chronicle, Padshah Buranji*, Guwahati.
- . (ed.). 1964. *Asamar Padya Buranji*, Guwahati.
- . 1974. *Tungkhungia Buranji or the History of Assam 1681–1826*, Guwahati.
- Bora, Jnananath. 1928. *Asomot Bideshi*, Guwahati.
- . 1932. 'Kamrup aru Bharatvarsha', *Awahan*, 3: 252–63.
- . 1935. *Srihatta Bisched*, Calcutta.
- . 1945. *Natun Jagat*, Calcutta.
- Bora, Lakhinanda. 1875. *Asamar Sankhshep Itihas*, Guwahati.
- Bora, K. Soniram. 1918. *The Historical Atlas of Assam*, Guwahati.

- Borah, M. I. (ed.). 1936. *Baharastan-I-Gayabi: A History of the Mughal Wars in Assam, Cooch Behar, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa during the Reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan*, by Mirza Nathan, Guwahati.
- Bordoloi, Kumud Chandra. (ed.). 1960. *Sadaraminar Atmajivani*, Guwahati.
- Bordoloi, Rajanikant. 1925. *Presidential Address of the Eight Session of the Assam Sahitya Sabha*, Nowgaon.
- Brown, Nathan. 1942 (1848). *Grammatical Notes on the Assamese Language*, Jorhat.
- Butler, M. J. 1854. *Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam*, London.
- Carter, Herbert R. 1909. *Cordage Fibres: Their Cultivation, Extraction and Preparation for Market*, London.
- Carter, Herbert R. 1921. *Technical Handbook*, London.
- Chakravarty, Taranath. 1927. 'Goalparar Biruddhe "Prantobasir" Sarajantra', *Asamiya*, Vol. 17, 14 August 1927.
- Choudhuri, Jatindra Mohan. (ed.). 1928. *Permanent Settlement and the Income Tax*, Calcutta.
- Choudhuri, Pramatha. 1926. *Raiyter Katha*, Calcutta.
- Chaudhuri, Deen Doyal. 1915. *Nripendra Smriti*, Pabna.
- Chaudhuri, H. N. 1903. *The Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlements*, Cooch Behar.
- Clarke, R. 1854. *The Regulations of the Government of Fort William in Bengal, 1793-1853, Vol. 2*, London.
- Curzon, G. 1907. *Frontiers*, Oxford.
- Dalton, Edward T. 1872. *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta.
- Das, P. 1940. 'Asomot Census Bibhrat', *Awahan*, 2: 224-28.
- Datta Barua, Harinarayan. 1924. *Asam Buranji*, Guwahati.
- . 1941. *Prachin Kamrupia Kayastha Samajar Itibritta*, Nalbari.
- Dhar, K. M. 1911. *Purbabanga U Asamer Sankhipta Biboron*, Silchar.
- Dhekiyal-Phukan, Anandaram. 1829. *Ain O Byabastha Sangraha: Notes on the Laws of Bengal, Vol. 1*, Calcutta.
- Dhekiyal-Phukan, Anandaram. 1875 (1849). *Asamiya Larar Mitra*, Gunabhiram Barooah (ed.), Goalpara.
- . 1977. 'Observations on the Administration of the Province of Assam and A Few Remarks on the Assamese Language and on Vernacular Education in Assam', in Maheswar Neog (ed.), *Anandaram Dhekiyal Phukan: Plea for Assam and the Assamese*, Jorhat.
- Dhekiyal-Phukan, Holiram. 1962 (1820). *Asam Buranji*, Jatindramohan Bhattacharya (ed.), Guwahati.
- Eardley-Wilmot, S. 1906. *Notes on the Tour in the Darrang, Kamrup, Garo Hills and Goalpara Forest Divisions of Assam in 1906*, Calcutta.
- Eden, Ashley. 1865. *Report on the State of Bootan and the Progress of the Mission of 1863-1864*, Calcutta.

- Finlow, Robert Steel. 1906. *The Extension of Jute Cultivation in Assam, Calcutta.*
- Firminger, Walter K. (ed.). 1914. *Bengal District Records: Rangpur, Vol. 1, 1770-1779, Calcutta.*
- France, B. C. 1916. *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Riparian Areas of the District of Pabna, Calcutta.*
- Friel, R. 1914. *Assam District Gazetteers, Goalpara, Supplement to Vol. III, Shillong.*
- Gait, E. A. 1897. *Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam, Shillong.*
- Gait, E. A., B. C. Allen and H. F. Howard. 1905.-*Gazetteer of Bengal and North East India, Shillong.*
- Ganguli, Kali Charan. 1930. *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Cooch Behar State, 1913-1927, Cooch Behar.*
- Glazier, E. G. 1873a. *A Report on the District of Rungpore, Calcutta.*
- . 1873b. *Further Notes on the Rungpore Records, Vol. II, Calcutta.*
- Gohain Baruah, Padmanath. 1916. *Lachit Barphukan, Tejpur.*
- . 1922. *Buranji Bodh, Tejpur.*
- . 1925. *Jiboni Sangraha, Tejpur.*
- . 1976 (1899). *Asamar Buranji, Guwahati.*
- Goswami, Hemchandra. 1917. *Darrang Raj Vamshavali, Calcutta.*
- . (ed.). 1977 (1922). *Purani Asam Buranji, Guwahati.*
- Goswami, Pratap Chandra. 1971. *Jiban Smriti aru Kamrupi Samaj, Guwahati.*
- Grierson, G. A. (ed.). 1903. *Linguitistic Survey of India, Vol. V, Indo-Aryan Family, Eastern Group, Part I: Specimens of the Bengali and Assamese Languages, Calcutta.*
- Hai, Abdul. 1922. *Adarsha Krishak, Mymensingh.*
- Hart, G. S. 1915. *Note on the Sal Forests in the Jalpaiguri, Buxa and the Goalpara Forest Divisions, to Which is Appended A Note on the Forests of the Duars by R. S. Troup, Simla.*
- Hartley, A. C. 1940. *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Rangpur 1931-1938, Alipore.*
- Hazarika, Atul Chandra. (ed.). 1988. *Bezbaroa Granthavali, Vol. II, Guwahati.*
- Hazarika, Atul Chandra and Jatindranath Goswami. (eds). 1955. *Assam Sahitya Sabha Bhasanavali, Vol. I, Jorhat.*
- . (eds). 1957. *Assam Sahitya Sabha Bhasanavali, Vol. II, Jorhat.*
- . (eds). 1961. *Assam Sahitya Sabha Bhasanavali, Vol. III, Jorhat.*
- Hirst, F. C. 1911. *Notes on the Clearing and Marking of Boundaries in Eastern Bengal and Assam, Shillong.*
- . 1914. *A Memoir upon the Maps of Bengal, Constructed from 1764 Onwards by Major James Rennell, Calcutta.*
- Hirst, F. C. 1921. *Report of on the Cooch Behar-Jalpaiguri Boundary, Cooch Behar.*

- Hirst, F. C. and A. B. Smart. 1917. *A Brief History of the Surveys of Goalpara District*, Shillong.
- Hodgson, B. G. 1849. *Essay on the Bodo, Koch and Dhimal Tribes*, Calcutta.
- Home, A. L. 1898. *The Assam Forest Manual*, Simla.
- Hunter, W. W. 1875. *A Statistical Account of Bengal, Mymensingh*, Vol. 5, London.
- . 1879. *A Statistical Account of Assam, Vols. I and II*. London.
- Jenkins, F. 1868. *Diary and Notes of Captain F. Jenkins, Commissioner and Agent to the Governor General for Assam and the Northeastern Part of Rungpore, 1837–1841*, Calcutta.
- Kakati, Bholanath. 1910. 'Asomiya Sujug', *Banhi*, 1: 31–35.
- Kerr, Hem Chunder. 1874. *Report on the Cultivation of, and Trade in, Jute in Bengal, and on Indian Fibres*. Calcutta.
- Laine, A. J. 1917a. *Account of the Land Tenure System of Goalpara*, Shillong.
- . 1917b. *Report on the Defects of the Rent Law in Goalpara District with Suggestions for its Amendment*, Shillong.
- Maccosh, John. 1837. *Topography of Assam*, Calcutta.
- Mackenzie, Alexander. 1884. *History of the Relations of the Government with the Hill Tribes of the North East Frontier of Bengal*, Calcutta.
- . 1917. 'Memorandum on the North East Frontier of Bengal', in F. C. Hirst and A. B. Smart (eds), *A Brief History of the Surveys of Goalpara District*, Shillong.
- Mahanta, B. 1940. *Biplobi Khetiyok*, Guwahati.
- Martin, Montgomery. 1976 (1838). *The History, Antiquities and Topography and Statistics of Eastern India, Vol. 5, Rangpur and Assam*, London.
- Mills, A. J. M. 1854. *Report on the Province of Assam*, Calcutta.
- Monahan, F. C. 1910. *Report of the Duars Committee*, Shillong.
- Nathan, Mirza. 1936. *Baharistan-I-Ghayabi: A History of the Mughal Wars in Assam, Cooch Behar, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa during the Reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan*, trans. and ed. M. I. Bora, Guwahati.
- Pemberton, R. B. 1835. *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India*, Calcutta.
- . 1903. *An Account of the Province of Assam and its Administration*, Calcutta.
- Phukan, Nilmoni. 1935. 'Asam Jatiya Mahasabha', *Awahan*, 6: 593–603.
- . 1939. 'Notes on the Domicile Question', *Assam Tribune*, October 6, Guwahati.
- Playne, Somerset. 1917. *Bengal and Assam, Behar and Orissa, Their History, People, Commerce and Industrial Resources*, London.
- Rabha, Bishnu Prasad. 1931. 'Brihattar Asomor Kolpona', *Awahan*, 11: 14–27.
- Rajkhowa, Benudhar. 1913. *Notes on the Sylhetee Dialect, showing its relation to Assam, Sylhet*.
- Raychoudhury, S. C. 1907. 'Rongpurer Deshiyo Bhasa', *Sahitya Parishat Patrika*, 12 (1): 16–19.

- Robinson, W. 1841. *A Descriptive Account of Assam*, Calcutta.
- Sachse, F. A. 1919a. *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Mymensingh, 1910–1917*, Calcutta.
- . 1919b. *Bengal District Gazetteers: Mymensingh*, Calcutta.
- Sadaramin Barua, Harakanta. 1930. *Asam Buranji*, Guwahati.
- Sanderson, G. P. 1878. *Thirteen Years among the Wild Beasts of India: Their Haunts and Habits from Personal Observation; With an Account of the Modes of Capturing and Taming Elephants*, London.
- Sarma, Satyendranath. (ed.). 1986. *Ambikagiri Roychoudhuri Racanavali*, Guwahati.
- Sen, Dinesh Chandra. 1911. *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, Calcutta.
- . 1923. *Eastern Bengal Ballads, Mymensingh*, Calcutta.
- Sen, Tarini. 1876. *Bijni Rajvamsha*, Goalpara.
- Shah, Abdul Hami. 1921. *Krishak Bilap*, Mymensingh.
- Shastri, Gaurinath. 1928. 'Nikhil Goalpara Jila Samitir Gauripur Adhibheshanar Sabhapatir Abhibhasan', Presidential Address to the All Goalpara District Association, Dhubri.
- . (ed.). 1930. *Kabindra Mahabharata*, Dhubri.
- Talukdar, Nanda. (ed.). 1973. *Kanaklal Barooah Racanavali*, Guwahati.
- Tamuli Phukan, Kasi Nath. 1905. *Asam Buranji*, Guwahati.
- Ward, W. E. 1897. *Note on the Assam Land Revenue System*, Shillong.
- Wise, James. 1883. *Notes on Races, Castes and Tribes of East Bengal*, London.
- . 1894. 'The Muhammadans of East Bengal', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 63: 28–63.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Published

- Adas, M. 1981. 'From Avoidance to Confrontation: Peasant Protest in Pre-colonial and Colonial South East Asia', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 23 (2): 217–47.
- Agnew, John and Stuart Corbridge. 1995. *Mastering Space: Hegemony, Territory and International Political Economy*. London: Routledge.
- Ahmed, Rafiuddin. 1981. *Bengal Muslims 1871–1906: A Quest for Identity*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Ahuja, Ravi. 1998. 'Labour Unsettled: Mobility and Protest in the Madras Region, 1750–1800', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 35 (4): 381–404.
- Ali, Daud. (ed.). 1999. *Invoking the Past: The Uses of History in South Asia*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

- Amin, Shahid. 1995. *Event, Metaphor, Memory: Chauri Choura, 1922–1992*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 2002. *Alternative Histories: A View from India*. Calcutta: Centre for Studies in Social Sciences (CSSSC).
- Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso.
- . 1990. *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia*. Cornell: Cornell University Press.
- . 1992. *Long Distance Nationalism: World Capitalism and Rise of Identity Politics*. Amsterdam: Centre for Asian Studies.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1993. 'Number in the Colonial Imagination', in Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer (eds), *Orientalism and the Post Colonial Predicament*, pp. 314–39. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press.
- . 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Arnold, David. 1996. *The Problem of Nature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Asiwaju, A. (ed.). 1985. *Partitioned Africans: Ethnic Relations across Africa's International Boundaries, 1884–1984*. London: C. Hurst and Company.
- Bandyopadhyay, Sekhar. 1997. *Caste, Protest and Identity in Colonial India: The Namasudras of Bengal, 1872–1947*. Richmond: Curzon Press.
- . 2004. *Caste, Culture and Hegemony, Social Domination in Colonial Bengal*. Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Bandyopadhyay, Sekhar, Abhijit Dasgupta and Willem Van Schendel (eds.). 1984. *Bengal, Communities, Development and States*. Delhi: Manohar.
- Banerjee, Prathama. 2006. *The Politics of Time*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Barman, Santo. 1994. *Zamindari System in Assam during British Rule: A Case Study of Goalpara District*. Delhi: Spectrum Publications.
- Barman, Upendranath. 1970. *Rajbanshi Kshatriya Jatir Itihaash*, Jalpaiguri.
- Barooah, Nirode K. 1970. *David Scott in North–East India 1803–1831: A Study in British Paternalism*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers.
- Barpujari, H. K. (ed.). 1992. *Comprehensive History of Assam, Vol. 4*. Guwahati: Publication Board Assam.
- . 1996. *Assam in the Days of the Company 1826–1858*. Shillong: North-Eastern Hill University.
- Barrier, N. Gerald. 1981. *The Census in British India: New Perspectives*. New Delhi: Manohar.
- Barth, Fredrick. 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Cultural Difference*. Boston: Little Brown.
- Baruah, Sanjib. 1999. *India Against Itself*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 2005. *Durable Disorder*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

- Baruah, Sanjib. 2008. 'Territoriality, Indigeneity and Rights in North-east India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 43 (12-13): 15-19.
- . 2009. *Beyond Counter-insurgency: Breaking the Impasse in Northeast India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Basu, Swaraj. 2003. *Dynamics of a Caste Movement*. Delhi: Manohar.
- Baud, Michiel and Willem Van Schendel. 1997. 'Towards a Comparative History of Borderlands', *Journal of World History*, 8 (2): 267-75.
- Bayly, Chris. 1983. *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 1988. *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1998. *Origins of Nationality in South Asia: Patriotism and Ethical Government in the Making of Modern India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Bhadra, Gautam. 1984. 'Two Frontier Uprisings in Mughal India', in Ranajit Guha (ed.), *Subaltern Studies, Vol. II*, pp. 43-59. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Bhattacharya, Neeladri. 1996. 'Remaking Custom: The Discourse and Practice of Colonial Codification', in R. Champakalakshmi and S. Gopal (eds), *Tradition, Dissent and Ideology: Essays in Honour of Romila Thapar*, pp. 20-51. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 2001. 'Pastoralists in a Colonial World', in David Arnold and Ramachandra Guha (eds), *Nature, Culture, Imperialism*, pp. 49-86. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Bhattacharya, Neeladri. 2003. 'Predicaments of Mobility: Frontier Traders in the Nineteenth Century', in Claude Markovits, Jacques Pouchepadass and Sanjay Subramanyam (eds), *Society and Circulation: Mobile People and Itinerant Cultures in South Asia 1750-1950*, pp. 163-215. Delhi: Permanent Black.
- Bhuyan, S. K. 1928. *Early British Relations with Assam*. Guwahati: Assam Secretariat Press.
- . 1949. *Anglo-Assamese Relations: 1771-1826*. Guwahati: Lawyer's Book Stall.
- Blackburn, S. H. and A. K. Ramanujan. (eds). 1986. *Another Harmony*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bose, Sugata. 1986. *Agrarian Bengal: Economy, Social Structure and Politics, 1919-1947*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Braudel, Fernand. 1972. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, Vol. 1*. Galsgow: Fontana.
- Breckenridge, Carol A. 1977. 'From Protector to Litigant', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 14: 75-106.
- Breckenridge, Carol A. and Peter van der Veer. (eds). 1993. *Orientalism and the Post Colonial Predicament*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press.

- Breman, Jan. 1990. *The Shattered Image: Construction and Deconstruction of the Village in Colonial Asia*. Amsterdam: Centre for Asian Studies.
- Breman, Jan and E. Valentine Daniel. 1992. 'The Making of a Coolie', in E. Valentine Daniel, Henry Bernstein and Tom Brass (eds), *Plantations, Proletarians and Peasants in Colonial Asia*, pp. 268–91. London: Frank Cass.
- Brenda, E. F. Beck, Peter J. Claus, Praphulladatta Goswami, and Jawaharlal Handoo. (eds). 1987. *Folktales of India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Broomfield, J. H. 1968. *Elite Conflict in a Plural Society: Twentieth Century Bengal*. Berkeley: University of Berkley Press.
- Burghart, Richard. 1984. 'The Formation of the Concept of the Nation State in Nepal', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 44 (1): 101–25.
- . 1993. 'A Quarrel in the Language Family: Agency and Representations of Speech in Mithila', *Modern Asian Studies*, 27 (4): 761–804.
- Burke, Peter. 1978. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. London: Temple Smith.
- . 1992. 'We, the People: Popular Culture and Popular Identity in Modern Europe', in Scott Lash and Jonathan Friedman (eds), *Modernity and Identity*, pp. 293–308. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Chakravarty, Dipesh. 1991. 'History as Critique and Critique of History', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 26 (37): 2162–166.
- Chakravarty, Dipesh. 1992. 'Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who speaks for "Indian" Pasts?', *Representations*, 37: 1–26.
- Chandra, Sudhir. 1989. 'The Nation in the Making: Regional Identities in 19th Century Indian Language Literature', in P. C. Chatterjee (ed.), *Self Images, Identity and Nationality*, pp. 218–26. Shimla: Indian Institute for Advance Studies.
- Chartier, Roger. 1987. *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Chatterjee, Joya. 1995. *Bengal Divided: Hindu Communalism and Partition, 1932–1947*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1999. 'The Refashioning of a Frontier: The Radcliffe Line and Bengal's Border Landscape, 1947–1952', *Modern Asian Studies*, 33 (1): 185–242.
- . 2007. *Spoils of Partition, Bengal and India, 1947–1967*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chatterjee, Kumkum. 1998. 'History as Self-Representation: The Recasting of a Political Tradition in Late Eighteenth-Century Eastern India', *Modern Asian Studies*, 32 (4): 913–48.
- . 1999. 'Discovering India: Travel, History and Identity in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth century India', in Daud Ali (ed.), *Invoking the Past: The Uses of History in South Asia*, pp. 192–227. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

- Chatterjee, Partha. 1980. *Agrarian Relations and Politics in Bengal: Some Considerations on the Making of the Tenancy Act Amendment 1928*. Calcutta: Centre for Studies in Social Sciences.
- . 1986. *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*. London: Zed Books.
- . 1993. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- . 1994. 'Claims of the Past: Genealogy of Modern Historiography in Bengal', in David Arnold and David Hardiman (eds), *Subaltern Studies VIII: Essays in Honour of Ranajit Guha*, pp. 1–49. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . (ed.). 1996. *Texts of Power: Emerging Disciplines in Colonial Bengal*. Calcutta: Samya.
- . 1997. 'Beyond the Nation? Or Within?', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 32 (1): 30–34.
- Chatterjee, S. K. 1954. *The Place of Assam in the History and Civilisation of India*, Calcutta: Gauhati University.
- . 1974. *Kirita-jana-Kriti: The Indo-Mongoloids, Their Contribution to the History and Culture of India*. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Choudhuri, Amanatullah Ahmad. 1936. *Kochbiharer Itihaas, Vol. 1*, Kochbihar.
- Clifford, James. 1992. 'Traveling Cultures', in L. Grossberg, C. Nelson and P. Treichler (eds), *Cultural Studies*, pp. 96–112. London: Routledge.
- Cohn, Bernard S. 1990a. 'Census and Objectification', in Bernard S. Cohn (ed.), *An Anthropologist Among Historians and Other Essays*, pp. 224–55. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 1990b. 'Regions Subjective and Objective: Their Relation to the Study of Modern Indian History and Society', in B. S. Cohn (ed.), *An Anthropologist Among Historians and Other Essays*, pp. 100–36. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 1997. 'Law and the Colonial State in India', in Bernard S. Cohn (ed.), *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*, pp. 57–76. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Confino, Alon. 1997. 'Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method', *American Historical Review*, 102 (5): 1386–1403.
- Cooper, Frederick and Ann Laura Stoler. (eds). 1997. *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Crane, Robert I. (ed.). 1967. 'Regions and Regionalism in South Asia: An Exploratory Study', Monograph No. 5, Duke University.
- Daniel, E. Valentine. 1997. 'Three Dispositions Towards the Past: One Sinhala, Two Tamil', in H. L. Seneviratne (ed.), *Identity, Consciousness and the Past*, pp. 22–41. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Das, Dhiren. 1998. *O Mor Hai Hastir Kanyare*. Dhubri: Nabin Prakashan.

- Dasgupta, Keya. 1981. *The Formation of the Transport Network in an Export Oriented Economy: Brahmaputra Valley: 1839–1914*, Occasional paper No. 36. Calcutta: Centre for Studies in Social Sciences.
- . 1986. *Wastelands Colonization Policy and the Settlement of Explantation Labour in the Brahmaputra Valley: A Study in Historical Perspective*, Occasional Paper No. 82. Calcutta: Centre for Studies in Social Sciences.
- Dasgupta, Ranajit. 1992. *Economy, Society and Politics in Bengal: Jalpaiguri, 1869–1947*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Datta, Birendranath. 1982. *Goalparar Loko Sanskriti Aru Asomiya Sanskritiloi Iyar Obodan*. Dhubri: Assam College Teachers Association.
- . 1995. *A Study in the Folk Culture of the Goalpara Region of Assam*. Guwahati: Gauhati University.
- De Haan, Arjan and Ben Rogaly. (eds). 2002. *Labour Mobility and Rural Society*. London: Frank Cass.
- Deshpande, Prachi. 2004. 'Caste as Maratha: Social Categories, Colonial Policy and Identity in Early Twentieth Century Maharashtra', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 41 (1): 7–32.
- . 2007. *Creative Pasts: Historical Memory and Identity in Western India, 1700–1960*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Deshpande, Satish. 2000. 'Hegemonic Spatial Strategies: The Nation-Space and Hindu Communalism in Twentieth Century India', in Partha Chatterjee and Pradeep Jeganathan (eds), *Subaltern Studies XI*, pp. 167–212. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Dirks, Nicholas B. 1982. 'The Pasts of a Palayakkarar: The Ethnohistory of a South Indian Little King', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 41 (4): 655–83.
- . 1986. 'From Little King to Landlord: Property, Law and the Gift under the Madras Permanent Settlement', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 28 (2): 307–33.
- . 1987. *The Hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of a Small Kingdom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1990. 'History as a Sign of the Modern', *Public Culture*, 2 (2): 25–32.
- . (ed.). 1992. *Colonialism and Culture*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- . 2001. *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Donnan, Hastings and T. M. Wilson. (eds). 1994. *Border Approaches: Anthropological Perspectives on Frontiers*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Donnan, Hastings and Dieter Haller. 2000. 'Liminal No More: The Relevance of Borderland Studies', *Ethnologia Europea: The Journal of European Ethnology*, 30 (2): 7–22.
- Dove, Michael R. 1994. '“Jungle” in Nature and Culture', in Ramachandra Guha (ed.), *Social Ecology*, pp. 90–115. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

- Duara, Prasanjit. 1995. *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dutta, S. C. 1984. *The North East and the Mughals*. Delhi: D. K. Publishers.
- Eaton, Richard M. 1993. *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204–1760*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Embree, Ainslie. 1977. 'Frontiers into Boundaries: From the Traditional to the Modern State', in R. G. Fox (ed.), *Realm and Region in Traditional India*, pp. 253–80. Duke: Duke University Press.
- Everitt, Alan. 1977. 'River and the World: Reflections on the Historical Origins of Regions and Pays', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 3 (1): 1–19.
- Febvre, Lucien. 1973. 'Frontiere: The Word and the Concept', in Peter Burke (ed.), *A New Kind of History: From the Writings of Febvre*, pp. 208–18. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Fernandez, J. W. 1966. 'Folklore as an Agent of Nationalism', in I. Wallerstein (ed.), *Social Change: The Colonial Situation*, pp. 585–91. New York: Wiley.
- Finley, M. I. 1965. 'Myth, Memory and History', *History and Theory*, 5 (3): 281–302.
- Fraser, Nancy. 1998. 'Social Justice in the Age of Identity Politics: Redistribution, Recognition, and Participation', in G. B. Peterson (ed.), *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values, Vol. 19*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Freitag, Sandra B. 1989. *Collective Action and Community: Public Arenas and the Emergence of Communalism in North India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Frykenberg, Robert E. (ed.). 1969. *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.
- . 1987. 'The Concept of the "Majority" as a Devilish Force in the Politics of Modern India: A Historiographic Comment', *Journal of the Commonwealth History and Comparative Politics*, 25 (3): 267–74.
- Foucault, Michel. 1986. 'Of Other Spaces', *Diacritics*, 16 (1): 22–27.
- Fox, Richard. 1971. *Kin, Clan, Raja and Rule: State–Hinterland Relations in pre-industrial India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 1977. *Realm and Region in Traditional India*. New Delhi: Vikas Publication.
- Gardner, Katy and Filippo Osella. 2003. 'Migration, Modernity and Social Transformation in South Asia', *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 37 (1&2): v–xxviii.
- Ghosh, Dhruba and Dane Kennedy. (eds). 2006. *Decentering Empire: Britain, India and the Transcolonial World*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Gidwani, Vinay Krishna. 1992. 'Waste and the Permanent Settlement in Bengal', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 27 (4): 39–46.

- Gordon, Stewart. 1988. 'Legitimacy and Loyalty in Some Successor States of the Eighteenth Century', in J. F. Richards (ed.), *Kinship and Authority in South Asia*, pp. 327–48. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 1990. 'Burhanpur: Entrepot and Hinterland, 1650–1750', in Sanjay Subrahmanyam (ed.), *Merchants, Markets and the State in Early Modern India*, pp. 48–65. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Goswami, Manu. 1998. 'From Swadeshi to Swaraj: Nation, Economy, Territory in Colonial South Asia, 1870 to 1907', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 40 (4): 609–36.
- . 2004. *Producing India*. New Delhi: Permanent Black.
- Goswami, Prafulladatta. 1960. *Ballads and Tales of Assam*. Guwahati: Guwahati University.
- Guha, Amalendu. 1974. 'East Bengal Immigrants and Bhasani in Assam Politics, 1928–1947', *Indian History Congress Proceedings*, pp. 348–65. Calcutta: The Indian History Congress.
- . 1977. *Planter Raj to Swaraj: Freedom Struggle and Electoral Politics in Assam 1826–1947*. Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research.
- . 2000. *Jamidar Kalin Goalpara Jilar Artha Samajik Avastha*. Guwahati: Natun Sahitya Parishad.
- Guha, Ramachandra. 2000. *The Unquiet Woods*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Guha, Ranajit. 1956. 'A Report on an Investigation of the Gauripur Raj Estate Archives', in *Annual Report, Regional Record Survey Committee, West Bengal, 1955–56*, Calcutta.
- . 1963. *A Rule of Property for Bengal*. Paris: Mouton & Co.
- . 1983. *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 1988. *An Indian Historiography of India; A Nineteenth Century Agenda and its Implications*. Calcutta: K. P. Bagchi and Co.
- . 1996. 'The Small Voice of History', in Shahid Amin and Dipesh Chakravarty (eds), *Subaltern Studies, Vol. XI*, pp. 1–12. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 1997. *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.
- Guha, Sumit. 1999. *Environment and Ethnicity in India 1200–1991*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gutierrez-Jones, Carl. 1995. *Rethinking the Borderlands: Between Chicano Culture and Legal Discourse*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Habib, Irfan. 1982. *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 1999 (1963). *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*. New Delhi: Tulika.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. 1980 (1950). *The Collective Memory*, trans. Francis J. Ditter, Jr. and Vida Yazdi Ditter. New York: Harper and Row.

- Hall, Stuart. 1992. 'The Question of Cultural Identities', in Stuart Hall, David Held and Tony McGrew (eds), *Modernity and Its Futures: Understanding Modern Societies*, pp. 274–316. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hazarika, Sanjoy. 2000. *Rites of Passage: Border Crossings, Imagined Homelands: India's East and Bangladesh*. New Delhi: Penguin Books.
- Hill, Jonathan D. (ed.). 1984. *Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past*. Illinois: University of Illinois.
- Hirschman, Charles. 1987. 'The Meaning and Measurement of Ethnicity in Malaysia: An Analysis of Census Classifications', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 46 (3): 555–82.
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Terrence Ranger. (eds). 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Inden, Ronald. 1990. 'Orientalist Constructions of India', *Modern Asian Studies*, 20 (3): 401–6.
- Jafri, S. Z. H. 1990. 'Rural Bureaucracy in Cooch Behar and Assam under the Mughals: Archival Evidence', *Indian History Congress Proceedings, 49th Session*, pp. 277–87. Delhi: The Indian History Congress.
- Jalal, Ayesha. 2002. 'Negotiating Colonial Modernity and Cultural Difference: Indian Muslim Conceptions of Community and Nation, 1878–1914', in Leila Tarazi Fawaz and C.A. Bayly (eds), *Modernity and Culture*, pp. 230–61. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kakati, Banikanta. 1941. *Assamese: Its Formation and Development*. Guwahati: Lawyer's Book Stall.
- Kar, Bodhisattva. 2008. "'Tongue Has No Bone': Fixing the Assamese Language, c. 1800–c. 1930', *Studies in History*, 24 (1): 27–76.
- Kar, M. 1975. 'Assam's Language Question in Retrospect', *Journal of the Indian School of Social Sciences*, 4 (2): 21–35.
- Kaviraj, Narahari. 1972. *A Peasant Uprising in Bengal, 1783: The First Formidable Peasant Uprising against the Rule of the East India Company*. New Delhi: People's Publishing House.
- Kaviraj, Sudipta. 1990. 'Writing, Speaking, Being: Language and the Historical Formation of Identities in India', in *Identity in History: South and South East Asia*, pp. 25–64. Heidelberg: The South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg.
- . 1993. 'The Imaginary Institution of India', in Partha Chatterjee and David Arnold (eds), *Subaltern Studies, Vol. 7*, pp. 1–39. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 1994. 'On the Construction of Colonial Power: Structure, Discourse and Hegemony', in Dagmar Engels and Shula Marks (eds), *Contesting Colonial Hegemony, State and Society in Africa and India*, pp. 19–54. London: British Academic Press.
- Khaderia, Nandita. 1990. 'Internal Trade and Market Network in the Brahmaputra Valley 1826–1873', *Indian Historical Review*, 17 (1–2): 152–73.

- King, Christopher B. 1989. 'Forging a New Linguistic Identity: The Hindi Movement in Banaras 1868–1914', in Sandra B. Freitag (ed.), *Culture and Power in Banaras 1800–1914*, pp. 170–202. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 1994. *One Language, Two Scripts: The Hindi Movement in Nineteenth Century North India*. Bombay: Oxford University Press.
- Kopytoff, Igor. (ed.). 1987. *The African Frontier: The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Kulke, Hermann. 1993. *Kings and Cults: State Formation and Legitimation in India and Southeast Asia*. Delhi: Manohar.
- Ladurie, E. LeRoy. 1979. *The Territory of the Historian*, trans. Ben Reynolds and Sian Reynolds. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lattimore, Owen. 1962. *Studies in Frontier History*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson Smith. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lelyveld, David. 1993. 'The Fate of Hindustani: Colonial Knowledge and the Project of a National Language', in Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer (eds), *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament*, pp. 189–214. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Loomba, Ania. 1998. *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. London: Routledge.
- Ludden, David. 1994. 'History Outside Civilisation and the Mobility of South Asia', *South Asia*, 17 (1): 1–23.
- . 2002. 'Spectres of Agrarian Territory in Southern India', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 39 (1 and 2): 233–57.
- . 2005. 'Where is Assam? Using Geographical History to Locate Current Social Realities', *Himal South Asia*, November, Kathmandu.
- Markovits, Claude, Jacques Pouchepadass and Sanjay Subrahmanyam. (eds). 2003. *Society and Circulation, Mobile People and Itinerant Cultures in South Asia 1750–1950*. Delhi: Permanent Black.
- Marshall, P. J. 1987. *The New Cambridge History of India, II, 2, Bengal: The British Bridgehead, Eastern India 1740–1828*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mayaram, Shail. 2004. *Against History, Against State: Counter Perspectives from the Margins*. New Delhi: Permanent Black.
- McLane, John. 1993. *Land and Local Kingship in 18th Century Bengal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Misra, Sanghamitra. 2005. 'Changing Frontiers and Spaces', *Studies in History*, 21 (2): 215–46.
- . 2006. 'Redrawing Frontiers: Language, Resistance and the Imagining of a Goalparia People', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 43 (2): 199–225.
- . 2008. 'Law, Migration and New Subjectivities: Reconstructing the Colonial Project in an Eastern Borderland', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 44 (4): 425–61.

- Misra, Tilottoma. 1987. *Literature and Society in Assam: A Study of the Assamese Renaissance 1826–1926*. Gauhati: Omsons Publications.
- Misra, Udayon. 2005. 'Assam', in Mayumi Murayama, Kyoko Inoue and Sanjoy Hazarika (eds), *Subregional Relations in the Eastern South Asia, with Special Reference to India's North Eastern Region*, Joint Research Programme Series No.133. Tokyo: Institute of Development Economics.
- Morris-Suzuki, Tessa. 1996. 'The Frontiers of Japanese Identity', in Stein Tonnesson and Hans Antlov (eds), *Asian Forms of the Nation*, pp. 42–66. Richmond: Curzon Press.
- Mukherjee, Radhakamal. 1938. *Changing Face of Bengal: A Study in Riverine Economy*. Calcutta: The University Press.
- Nagazato, Nariaka. 1994. *Agrarian System of Eastern Bengal 1870–1910*. Calcutta: K. P. Bagchi and Company.
- Nandy, Ashis. 1995. 'History's Forgotten Doubles', *History and Theory*, 34 (2): 44–66.
- Naregal, Veena. 2001. 'Figuring the Political as Pedagogy: Colonial Intellectuals, Mediation and Modernity in Western India', *Studies in History*, 17 (1): 17–55.
- Nath, Dwijen. 1977. *Goalparar Diary*, Kokrajhar.
- Neog, Hariprasad. 1968. *Pramathanath Chakravarty*, Jorhat.
- Nora, Pierre. 1996. 'Between Memory and History', in *Rethinking the French Past, Realms of Memory, Volume 1: Conflicts and Divisions*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Nugent, Paul and A. I. Asiwaju. (eds). 1996. *African Boundaries, Barriers, Conduits and Opportunities*. London: Pinter.
- Oinam, Bhagat. 2009. 'Preparing for a Cohesive Northeast: Problems of Discourse', in Sanjib Baruah (ed.), *Beyond Counter-insurgency: Breaking the Impasse in Northeast India*, pp. 170–80. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Omvedt, Gail. 1980. 'Migration in Colonial India: The Articulation of Feudalism and Capitalism by the Colonial State', *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 7 (2): 185–212.
- Panda, Chittā. 1996. *The Decline of the Bengal Zamindars: Midanpore, 1870–1920*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Perlin, Frank. 1983. 'Proto-industrialisation and the Pre-colonial South Asia', *Past and Present*, 98: 30–95.
- . 1994. 'Changes in the Production and Circulation of Money in the Seventeenth and the Eighteenth Century India: An Essay on Monetisation before Colonial Occupation', in Sanjay Subrahmanyam (ed.), *Money and Market in India 1100–1700*, pp. 276–308. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Pinch, William R. 1996. *Peasant and Monks in British India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Pouchepadass, Jacques. 1974. 'Local Leaders and the Intelligentsia in the Champaran Satyagraha (1917): A Study in Peasant Mobilisation', *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 8: 67–87.
- Prescott, J. R.V. 1987. *Boundaries and Frontiers*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Raj, Kapil. 2003. 'Circulation and the Emergence of Modern Mapping: Great Britain and Early Colonial India, 1764–1820', in Sanjay Subramanyam (ed.), *Society and Circulation: Mobile People and Itinerant Cultures in South Asia 1750–1950*, pp. 23–55. Delhi: Permanent Black.
- Ramanujan, A. K. and Brenda Beck. 1981. 'Social Categories and their Transformations', in Peter Claus and D. P. Pattanayak (eds), *Indian Folklore*. Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.
- Rampini, R. F. and J. H. Kerr. 1907. *The Bengal Tenancy Act*. Calcutta: S. K. Lahiri.
- Rao, A. (ed.). 1986. *The Other Nomads: Peripatetic Minorities in Cross Cultural Perspective*. Cologne: Bohlau Verlag.
- Ray, Rajat. 1984. *Social Conflict and Political Unrest in Bengal, 1875–1927*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Ray, Ratnalekha. 1979. *Change in Bengal Agrarian Society, 1765–1850*. Delhi: Manohar.
- Ray, Subhajyoti. 2002. *Transformations on the Bengal Frontier: Jalpaiguri, 1765–1948*. London: Routledge Curzon.
- Robb, Peter. (ed.). 1992. *Rural India: Land, Power and Society under British Rule*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 1993. 'Ideas in Agrarian Society: Some Observations on the British and Nineteenth Century Bihar', in David Arnold and Peter Robb (eds), *Institutions and Ideologies. Essays in South Asian History*, pp. 201–23. Richmond: Curzon Press.
- . 1997a. 'The Colonial State and the Construction of Indian identity: An Example on the Northeast Frontier in the 1880s', *Modern Asian Studies*, 31 (2): 245–83.
- . 1997b. *Ancient Rights and Future Comfort: Bihar, the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 and British Rule in India*. Richmond: Curzon Press.
- Rogaly, Ben. 2003. 'Seasonal Migration and Shifting Ethnic Identity in Contemporary West Bengal', *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 37 (1/2): 281–310.
- Rose, Leo E. 1977. *The Politics of Bhutan*. London: Cornell University Press.
- Royle, Edward. (ed.). 1998. *Issues of Regional Identity*. New York: Manchester University Press.
- Ryley, J. Horton. (ed.). 1899. *Ralph Fitch: England's Pioneer to India and Burma*. London: T. F. Unwin.
- Sahlins, Peter. 1989. *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Saikia, Arupjiyoti. 2005. *Jungles, Reserves, Wildlife: A History of Forests in Assam*. Guwahati: Wildlife Areas Development and Welfare Trust.

- Saikia, Rajen. 2000. *Social and Economic History of Assam, 1853–1921*. New Delhi: Manohar.
- Saikia, Yasmin. 2005. *Assam and India: Fragmented Memories, Cultural Identity, and the Tai–Ahom Struggle*. Delhi: Permanent Black.
- Sanyal, Charu. 1965. *The Rajbanshis of North Bengal: A Study of a Hindu Social Group*. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society.
- . 1973. *The Meches and Totos: Two Sub-Himalayan Tribes of North Bengal*. Darjeeling: University of North Bengal.
- Sarkar, Sumit. 1998. *Writing Social History*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 1999. 'Post-modernism and the Writing of History', *Studies in History*, 15 (2): 293–322.
- Scott, James. 2009. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Sen, Ashok, Partha Chatterjee and Saugata Mukherjee. 1982. *Three Studies on the Agrarian Structure in Bengal, 1850–1947*. Calcutta: Centre for Studies in Social Sciences.
- Sen, Sudipta. 1998. *Empire of Free Trade: The East India Company and the Making of the Colonial Marketplace*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Singh, Chetan. 1995. 'Forests, Pastoralists and Agrarian Society in Mughal India', in David Arnold and Ramachandra Guha (eds), *Nature, Culture, Imperialism*, pp. 21–49. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 1998. *Natural Premises: Ecology and Peasant Life in the Western Himalayas 1800–1950*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Singh, Nagendra. 1978. *Bhutan: A Kingdom in the Himalayas*. New Delhi: Thompson Press.
- Sivaramakrishnan, K. 1996. 'British Imperium and Forested Zones of Anomaly in Bengal, 1767–1833', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 33 (3): 243–82.
- . 1999. *Modern Forests: Statemaking and Environmental Change in Colonial Eastern India*. California: Stanford University Press.
- Skaria, Ajay. 1997. 'Shades of Wildness: Tribe, Caste and Gender in Western India', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 56 (3): 726–45.
- . 1999. *Hybrid Histories: Forests, Frontiers and Wildness in Western India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Skinner, G. William. 1964–1965. 'Marketing and the Social Structure in Rural China', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 24: 3–43.
- Stokes, Martin. 1998. 'Imagining "the South": Hybridity, Heterotopia and Arabesk on the Turkish–Syrian Border', in Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan (eds), *Border Identities*, pp. 263–89. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 1997. 'Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia', *Modern Asian Studies*, 31 (3): 735–62.
- . 2005. *Explorations in Connected History: From the Tagus to the Ganges*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Tambo-Lyche, Harald. 1997. *Power, Profit and Poetry: Traditional Society in Kathiawar, Western India*. Delhi: Manohar.
- Tonnesson, Stein and Hans Antlov. (eds). 1996. *Asian Forms of the Nation*. Richmond: Curzon.
- van Schendel, Willem. 1992. 'The Invention of the "Jummas": State Formation and Ethnicity in South Eastern Bangladesh', *Modern Asian Studies*, 26 (1): 95–128.
- . 2002a. 'Geographies of Knowing, Geographies of Ignorance: Jumping Scale in Southeast Asia', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 20 (6): 647–88.
- van Schendel, Willem. 2002b. 'Stateless in South Asia: The Making of the India–Bangladesh Enclaves', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 61 (1): 115–47.
- . 2005. *The Bengal Borderland*. London: Anthem Press.
- Veer, Peter van der. 1997. *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Veer, Peter van der and Hartmut Lehmann. (eds). 1999. *Nation and Religion: Perspectives on Europe and Asia*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Washbrook, David. 1981. 'Law, State, and Agrarian Society in Colonial India', *Modern Asian Studies*, 15 (3): 649–721.
- . 1988. 'Progress and Problems: South Asian Economic and Social History, c.1720–1860', *Modern Asian Studies*, 22 (1): 57–96.
- . 1991. 'To Each a Language of His Own: Language, Culture and Society in Colonial India', in David Washbrook and Penelope Corfield (eds), *Language, History and Class*, pp. 179–203. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Weiner, Myron. 1983. 'The Political Demography of Assam's Anti-Immigrant Movement', *Population and Development Review*, 9 (2): 279–92.
- West, W. Gordon. 1965 (1938). *The Geography Behind History*. London: Nelson.
- Wilson, Jon E. 2005. "'A Thousand Countries to Go To': Peasants and Rulers in Late Eighteenth Century Bengal', *Past and Present*, 189 (1): 81–109.
- Wilson, Thomas M. and Donnan Hastings. (eds). 1998. *Border Identities: Nation and the State at International Frontiers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Winichakul, Thongchai. 1994. *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo Body of a Nation*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

- Yang, Anand A. (ed.). 1985. *Crime and Criminality in British India*. Arizona: University of Arizona Press.
- . 1989. *The Limited Raj: Agrarian Relations in Colonial India, Saran District, 1793–1920*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 1998. *Bazaar India: Markets, Society and the Colonial State in Gangetic Bihar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Zbavitel, Dusan. 1963. *Bengal Folk Ballads from Mymensingh*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press.

Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertations and Papers

- Kumar, Avinash. 2003. 'Defining the Disciplines: Hindi History versus Hindi Literature, 1900–1940'. Paper presented at the 'South Asia Seminar', School of Oriental and African Studies, 11 March, London.
- Mohapatra, Pragati. 1997. 'The Making of a Cultural Identity: Language, Literature and Gender in Orissa in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries'. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Pande, Vasudha. 1999. 'The Making of Modern Kumaon circa 1815–1930'. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Delhi.