

## International Conference II

### Mountstuart Elphinstone - between Local and Global Forces

*Colonial Knowledge, National Histories and Regional Realities in South Asia*

20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> April 2017

#### Paper Abstracts & Presenter's Bios

##### **"Parallel Prestige Languages: English and Marathi in Higher Education in Urban Maharashtra"**

- Chandras, Jessica

This paper shows how regional languages play a role that is overlooked in largely English-only higher education in urban India. Thomas Babington Macaulay and his minute on education delivered in 1835 during the British colonial era is often cited to be a catalyst for popularizing not only education in English but anglo-centric forms of knowledge in education in South Asia (Evans 2002). The British colonial period may have provided fertile ground for English-only education in contemporary regional realities in South Asia but liberalization of India's economy in the 1990's made way for education in English to be part of India's stake in a competitive global market, in which English is seen as a necessity (Battacharya 2016, Proctor 2015). In this paper resulting from seven months of ethnographic research in educational institutions in Pune, Maharashtra from 2016-2017, I describe the linguistic reality of social science classrooms in higher education to show that English is often not the only language used in classrooms. Marathi and Hindi to some extent are incorporated into classrooms in both sanctioned and unsanctioned ways to varying degrees. I argue that regional languages are used parallel to English in some higher educational institutions to resist language shift away from vernaculars towards English in a way which also defines a role for regional languages to be prestige languages along with English in India's highly competitive education system. Marathi in higher education in Pune can therefore provide some students with a competitive edge, social advantage, and opportunities within higher education and beyond.

**Jessica Chandras** is a PhD candidate at the George Washington University in Washington, DC in Anthropology. Her dissertation research is based in Pune, Maharashtra on education and language mediums, and socioeconomic class identity and language ideology. She received a BA with honors from the University of Washington, Seattle in 2010 and completed a thesis on language and identity among indigenous Mexicans in Oaxaca before shifting her focus to urban India. She currently is the book review editor for *Student Anthropologist*, a peer-reviewed journal of the National Association of Student Anthropologists and is a joint researcher on a project documenting air quality, pollution, and asthma through The Asthma Files in Pune through the Indian Institute of Science Education and Research.

## **Making Him “Afghan”: How Afghan Literary and Political Elites Understood Bidal in the Twentieth Century?**

- Afzali, Khalilullah

After rising of the British East India Company in the subcontinent at the end of eighteenth century, orientalist studied and published the Persian literature, particularly translation of the high Persian literature, such as works of Hafiz, Sadi, Nizami, Ferdawsi, Khiyam, Rumi, and Jami, whose works were translated into English for the first time. While the works of Bidal were published constantly in the urban centers in colonial South Asia, British orientalist have generally showed little or complete disinterest in Bidal’s literary works and thinking. It seems Bidal’s literary complexity, such as ambiguities and imaginatively poetic impulses, and un-translatibility of his poems, were the main reasons. While Bidal was slowly forgotten in colonial India, literary elites in Afghanistan and Central Asia were obsessed with this poet, and works. This essay will therefore discuss two aspects of the poet: British colonial engagement of Bidal, and his reception in Afghanistan, known collectively in Dari as ‘bidal-garayee’ or ‘Bidal School of Thought.’

**Dr. Afzali** is an Independent Scholar, Director of Bysunqur Research Foundation, Herat, Afghanistan. He has a PhD in Persian literature from Ferdawsi University, Iran. He has written on various aspects of literary and political lives of Bidel. His current research project deals with history of Herat.

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## **“Mountstuart Elphinstone and the Mediation of Global Forces and Local Agencies: Colonial Knowledge, National Histories and Public Higher Education in South Asia”**

- Ramla Wahab-Salman

Understanding the mediation of global forces and local agencies in South Asia Ramla’s research includes the historical examination of Muslim Nesan (Muslim Friend), the first Ceylon Moor newspaper publication edited by M.C.Siddi Lebbe in the final decade of the 19th century. It examines the circulation of Muslim Nesan through South and South East Asia in the light of connecting through journalism over transnational issues of global politics and identity of Muslims through the technological medium of the modern printed press over traditional lithograph prints. Pan-Islamism practiced by Turkey and its repercussions throughout the British and Russian Empires, Independence Movements of Egypt and the Sudan, trends of Wahhabism in Arabia and educational renaissance amongst Indian Mussalman were among the topics addressed by Lebbe within the publication. Of the most prominent influences to Lebbe’s publication was the presence and authoritative political opinion of Egyptian political exile Orabi Pasha exiled in Colombo on matters of the Middle East and the Sudan which were transmitted via Muslim Nesan to South East Asia. While working through existing Indian Ocean networks of trade and transmission of ideas, Lebbe

connected over newer technologies with a readership in the South Indian towns of Killikirai and Kalyalpattinam and South East Asia in the cities of Singapore and Penang.

Present Ceylon Moor historiography presents gaps in understanding of the intellectual affiliations of the Ceylon Moor and Arab intelligentsia located in British Ceylon in the late 19th century. Ramla's research interests within this field include the decline of the usage of the language of Arabo-Tamil in the late 19th century in favour of British influenced models of education within Ceylon Mohammedan society instead of the traditional Madrasa veranda school system with religious and scientific literature and text being passed from teacher to student. The founders of the institution of Mohommedan modern education, influenced to an extent by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, reached limited success in their endeavours in the establishment of the Zahira College in Colombo in 1892 named after Al-Azhar University.

**Ramla Wahab-Salman** is based in Colombo at the American Institute for Lankan Studies as their Associate Director of Programming and is a Council Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka. She is also a researcher in the field of Islam in South Asia. Ramla holds a Masters degree in History (South Asia) from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London and Bachelors (Hons). degree in History from Lady Shri Ram College, University of Delhi. She has presented academic papers at the Center for international History, Columbia University and the American Institute for Sri Lankan Studies workshops on 'Muslims in Social Sciences' . Ramla's Masters' Degree dissertation research was titled Sonahar, an exploration of Moor language in Ceylon. She has spoken at the Galle Literary Festival on the Bittersweet Histories of the Muslims of South-West Sri Lanka. She has produced a documentary film supported by the Prince Salie Foundation on Prince Salie: A Story of Sapphires and Steamships. Ramla has previously handled roles in research and administration with the British Museum, International Centre for Ethnic Studies, Colombo, Lakshman Kadirgamar Institute for International Relations and Strategic Studies and the Samkathana Research Archive, University of Kelaniya.

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**"Afghanistan as Intellectual Capital in Anglo-American Imperial Knowledge Formations: Comparing Mounstuart Elphinstone's *Account of the Kingdom of Caubul* and Louis Dupree's *Afghanistan*"**

- Shah Mahmoud Hanifi

This paper elaborates upon recent consideration of Mounstuart Elphinstone's *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul* (1815, hereafter AKC) using Book History as a mode of comparison. The means of comparison pairs AKC with Louis Dupree's *Afghanistan* (1973; hereafter LDA). A book history comparison of AKC and LDA reveals both conspicuous similarities and stark contrasts. This comparative essay will focus on book structure and visual accoutrements to narrative and para-narrative elements of each text. The structural comparison of AKC and LDA will focus on para-narrative elements including Prefaces, Epilogues, Appendices and Referenced Materials. The visual comparison will address Portraits and Profiles, but the

emphasis will be on the maps in AKC and LDA. The personal biographies and professional careers of Elphinstone and Dupree will introduce the exercise in comparative textual analysis. The biographical comparison will focus on military career paths, institutional connections, professional relations, and personal informants and translators. The use of book history as mode of textual comparison will be complemented by engagement of Pierre Bourdieu's notion of social capital as a mechanism for comparing the careers of Mounstuart Elphinstone and Louis Dupree.

**Shah Mahmood Hanifi** is a Professor of Middle Eastern and South Asian History at James Madison University in Virginia, USA. Hanifi's Ph.D. Thesis from the University of Michigan formed the basis of a Gutenberg-e Prize from the American Historical Association that resulted in his first book, *Connecting Histories in Afghanistan* (2008, 2011). Hanifi's research and publications have addressed subjects including colonial political economy, the history of printing, the Pashto language, cartography, photography, animal and environmental studies in Afghanistan. His primary current project is a conference and publication series focusing on the early nineteenth-century British Indian scholar-administrator Mounstuart Elphinstone. Hanifi served as the Treasurer of the American Institute of Afghanistan Studies from 2003-2015, and he currently serves as Trustee of the American Institute of Indian Studies and on the South Asia Council of the Association for Asian Studies. In addition to the AHA, Hanifi has received research grants from the Social Science Research Council, the Council of American Overseas Research Centers, the Asian Development Bank, and the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

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**"Measuring Up: Land Revenue, Native Surveyors, and the State in Early Colonial Bombay"**

- *Deshpande, Prachi*

This paper examines the scribal world of early colonial Bombay, through an early-nineteenth-century Marathi narrative called the Paimash Indu. Written by Veda Bhaskar, a senior writer in the employ of the early colonial state in Bombay, it describes in detail the first land revenue survey, or paimash, conducted by the British in the 1820s as part of the Ryotwari settlements in the Presidency. Conceived and executed by the colonial official Robert Keith Pringle, this survey is notable in scholarship for its utter failure, and the disastrous effects its high assessments had on agriculture and village social structure. Contemporary critics of Pringle, and latter-day scholarly analyses of the survey, based on the English revenue records of the colonial state, have attributed this failure partly to Pringle's Ricardian economics, but mainly to the collusion between native scribal intermediaries and privileged landholders, which prevented the survey from extracting accurate information about the land and its productivity. From the fresh perspective of contemporary Marathi materials, such as the Paimash Indu, as well as the Paimash Daftar, a voluminous archive of the survey's Marathi-Modi records, I argue for much more complex transactions between the state, its native scribes and the agrarian population, which were undergirded by multiple, conflicting ideas about agricultural productivity, as well as diverse record-keeping and knowledge-gathering practices.

Colonial anxieties about disciplining these ideas and practices are key to understanding Pringle's survey and its aftermath, which witnessed profound bureaucratic, educational as well as language practices across Bombay Presidency over the nineteenth century.

**Dr. Prachi Deshpande** is Associate Professor of History at the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta. She is the author of *Creative Pasts: Historical Memory and Identity in Western India, 1700-1960* (Columbia, 2007). Her research interests are in the cultural history of writing, language and historiography.

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**“Dutch Perception of the Mughals, Bengal and Assam: A Study of a Seventeenth Century Dutch Travelogue”**

- *Azizul Rasel*

Seventeenth Century is important for the Dutch in diversified ways. This is the century when the Dutch defeated its maritime rivalry, particularly the Portuguese, in the east and established its dominance in the Southeast Asia. This century is also regarded as the golden age of the Dutch for economic affluence and for intellectual activities. The Dutch East India Company emerged as one of the largest trading companies in the early modern period. It had established its trading settlement in different parts of Asia, particularly Indonesia, India and Ceylon. Through its imperial and trading networks many Dutch travelled to Asia and Africa. Some of these travelers wrote their experiences of the region they visited and back at home published their accounts for the European readers. Travel accounts were very popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries among the European readers. This genre of writings appeased the general thrust of reading and contributed to the construction of European knowledge on Asia and Africa in the early modern and modern times. These travelogues are one of the important sources for history of the Asiatic region. This paper studies a seventeenth century Dutch travelogue, titled *Vervarelyke Schip-breuk van 'T Oost-Indisch Jacht Ter Schelling*, written by a Dutch East India Company worker Frans Jansz. van der Heiden, which produced knowledge on the Asiatic region. The paper investigates that how the Mughals, Bengal and Assam were represented and understood in the Dutch travel literature. The paper argues that this type of travel literature produced and influenced the colonial knowledge of the East.

**Azizul Rasel** is a historian and Lecturer at the University of Liberal Arts Bangladesh. He completed an M.A. in history from the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh and Leiden University, the Netherlands. His field of interests includes early modern and modern and contemporary South Asian history, society, and culture. He currently developed interest in critical theory.

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**“How Pashto/Afghan Folklores Have Historically Understood ‘Englishman’”**

- *Laiq, Sulaiman*

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**“Abd al-Hai Habibi’s Use of Henry George Raverty’s Translation of *Tabaqat-e Nasiri*”**

- *Jawan Shir Rasikh*

Henry George Raverty (d. 1906) and Abd al-Hai Habibi (d. 1984) are at the surface level two different persons of two different periods—the former a colonial intellectual of an imperial state, the British Empire, while the latter a national intellectual of a “post-colonial state” (?), Afghanistan. However, there are many epistemologically unifying factors between these two individuals concerning translation and editing of *Tabaqat-e Nasiri*, a Persian medieval chronicle. Raverty translated chronicle into English in the 1860s in order to “discover” history of Afghans. Habibi edited it in its original language to “document” history of Afghans. Even though Habib’s edition was based on Asiatic Society of Bengal’s Persian copy reprinted in 1942, Habibi informs us that the English translation was his “main source of inspiration for editing and publishing a complete copy of it.” Raverty is known for his other important works on Pashto language and literature, Habibi is known for his many other original and invented works on Afghan history and culture, which have ranged from medieval history, literature, and languages of Afghanistan to its modern political geography, people, and state. This paper, a section of an ongoing dissertation, introduces Habibi’s editing of and commentary on the medieval Persian chronicle, *Tabaqat-e Nasiri*, in the context of colonial and local translation projects. It analyzes grammatical, orthographical, and content edition of Habibi’s *Tabaqat-e Nasiri* as a case study to explore how British and other European works of scholarship facilitated an epistemic framework for history writing, and knowledge production in the twentieth century Afghanistan.

**Jawan Shir Rasikh** is a doctoral student in South Asia Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. He studies the medieval history and culture of Persianate and Islamicate societies of Southwest Asia. His dissertation looks at the processes of Islamization of medieval Afghanistan. He is also interested modern history of Afghanistan, and intellectual history.

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**“*Tarikh-e Degar Afghanistan: Yad’ dasht Yak Muarikh* (“Other History of Afghanistan: A Historian Note)”**

- *Ghulam Habib Panjshiri*

There have been critical changes in studies of history especially concerning the framework of historiographical tradition and historical categories including but not limited to creation of historical evidences, nationalistic interpretation, and comprehensive criticism. These have been the most educative,



the most inspiring, the most shocking, and the most interesting moments in writing of history in Afghanistan. These have enabled politically and spiritually common people (tuda'ha-ye mubarez) in their struggle for social justice, and national uprisings in both understanding and resisting against social relations, such as stratification of their society along classes, colonial legacy, and native elitist dominance and alliances with global imperialism. History writing and historical researches on contemporary Afghanistan are important for every citizen, especially for the patriotic, progressive, and democratic citizens. They are responsible for making possible a type of historical writing to be both national and democratic. In this paper I will try to discuss for this case, and to hope that current and future historians and scholars of Afghanistan will build the foundation, and move into areas of deeper thinking about Afghan people's history and their struggles, in order to catch up with modern new historical writing to be both global-based, and ideologically progressive. The future is yours. If you resist, you win!

**Ghulam Habib Panjshiri.** Dr. Panjshiri is Associate Professor of history at Kabul University. He holds a PhD in General History from Tashkent State University (1991). His most recent publications, in Persian, have been *A Review of Political Dynamics of Afghanistan, 1901-2001 CE* (Kabul: Aazem Publications, 2016), and *A History of Afghan State Educational System, 1903-201 CE* (Kabul: Saed Press, 2016). His current research project focuses on history of modern education in Afghanistan.

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### **"Imperial Intrigue: Britain's Obstructionism of the Ottoman-Afghan Relations"**

- Hakeem Naim

This paper studies the British close interest in the Ottoman-Afghan relations in the 19th century. A study of British intervention and intrigue in the relationship of two Sunni Muslim entities – Afghanistan and the Ottoman Empire – is an important point of connection between Afghanistan and British colonial policies in the broader Middle East and goes beyond the established India-centric argument. The British keen interest in the affairs of Ottoman Empire with Afghans and Afghanistan followed two different trends and objectives:

First, Britain was alarmed and greatly occupied with the 'Eastern Question' after the treaty of Kucuk Kaynarca in 1774 and most importantly after the short-lived French Invasion of Egypt in 1792. At Kucuk Kaynarca, the Ottomans ceded some important territories in the Black Sea region to the Russians and the French Invasion of Egypt aimed to open the way to a possible attack on the British in India. Thus, the British declared any contacts of the Ottomans with Afghans and Indian Muslims an "object of His Majesty's Government's interest." The aim was to limit, closely watch, and to some degree influence any relationships between the Afghans and Ottomans through political, military, and espionage activities.

Secondly, an important cornerstone of the Tanzimat, Ottoman reordering, was the Ottoman's unofficial and mostly imposed alliance with the British. The failure of the Tanzimat elite and subsequently the rise of anti-Tanzimat forces, such as the Young Ottomans, resulted in the enthronement of Sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1876. Abdul Hamid used Ittihad-i Islam, hastily translated as 'Pan Islamism' in European Languages, as a mobilizing force within a strategic context in his foreign relations with European powers to delay the downfall of his empire. He sent multiple missions to Afghanistan and India, using Afghan and Ottoman agents. Therefore, the British government carefully encountered and to some extent sabotaged what the British Foreign affairs called the "menacing activities of the Ottoman Caliph in Afghanistan and Indian frontiers."

**Hakeem Naim** is a Ph.D. candidate and lecturer at University of California, Davis. He received his B.A. from the University of California, Berkeley in Middle Eastern Studies and was a Robert & Colleen Hass scholar. He was subsequently admitted to UC Davis History Department, where he is currently obtaining his Ph.D. in modern Middle East History. In his research, Naim focuses on the 19th century Islamic nationalism and comparative studies of religious nationalism, modernity, intellectual history in the Ottoman Empire, Afghanistan, and Central Asia. He attended national and international conferences and presented his work at Cambridge University, University of Toronto, Stanford University, and University of California. He has a command of various languages, including Persian (Dari), Turkish (Modern and Ottoman Turkish), Arabic, Pashto, Uzbek, German, and English.

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**"Law, Rights, and Colonial System in the FATA: A Critical Note on the Frontier Crimes Regulation (1901)"**

- *Noreen Naseer*

This article focuses on the administrative and judicial system in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan. These areas were once part of the battleground of the 'Great Game' of imperial domination in the 19th century. In that colonial time period the British colonial administrators for effective control of these areas, designed a series of crime regulations, which had oppressive consequences for tribesmen. With these regulations, the colonial administration consolidated the long-term basis of their power and institutionalised the oppressive administrative-judicial system. For this purpose they also engaged local elites and local customs. The administrative-judicial system introduced on the North-western border was different from the criminal and civil laws introduced elsewhere in British India. In 1947, when British colonial governance ended, and the tribal areas became part of Pakistan, the colonial oppressive system of the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) continued. It is still in force to the present day. In this article I discuss the state as a control structure that it imposed through these crime regulations in the FATA. I argue that these regulations are against fundamental rights prescribed in Pakistan's Constitution of 1973 and the UN Human Rights Charter. I also highlight the plight of tribal people suffering politically,



socially and economically due to these undemocratic and discriminatory regulations, which are unduly unjustified and defended by a certain group of people with a vested interest.

**Noreen Naseer** is a lecturer at the Department of Political Science, University of Peshawar. She has a PhD from Area Study Center, University of Peshawar, Pakistan. Her research focuses on Pakistan-Afghanistan borderland's social, economic, and governance system. She has several publications in academic journals. Her current work relates to women and children of tribal areas, and it has been published by the Journal of Women's Studies: "FATA Woman Voiceless/Invisible Entity: Victim of Cultural Structure and State System." Another paper dealing with violence against non-combatants in the FATA was recently published by the Pakistan Journal of Criminology: "Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA): Militarization and War Crimes Impacting Tribal Women and Children" specifically. She has a book chapter entitled "FATA "A Permanent War Zone": Breaking Silence" in Women and Politics of Peace: South Asia Narratives on Militarization, Power and Justice, published by Sage Publication (2016).

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**"From the perspectives of Feminism, Colonialism, and Nationalism in South Asia: Saga of British Occupied India"**

- Kabir, Natasha Israt

If the nation is an imagined community, that imagining is profoundly gendered. National fantasies, be they colonial, anticolonial or post-colonial, also play upon the connections between women, land or nations. To begin with, across the colonial spectrum, the nation state or its guiding principles are often imagined liberally as a woman. The proposal aims that figures of Britannia and during colonial period Mother India, for example, have continuously circulated as symbols of the national temper. Such figures can be imagined as abstractions, allegories, goddesses or real life women (such as Elizabeth in the first case, and Kali or the Rani of Jhansi). Resistance itself is imagined as a woman-Delacroix commemorated the spirit of the French revolution.

Nationalism transforms the 'subservient' uneducated and speculated upper class woman of the nineteenth century, "into the' articulate, educated 'woman of the mid- twentieth century, active in professions and public life. Westernization does not lead to this transformation but rather produces educated women in India. Therefore, the nationalist-feminist project in India posits a paradoxical solution to the 'women question'.

Under colonial rule, the image of nation or culture as a mother worked to evoke both female power and female helplessness. The nation as mother protected her son from colonial ravages, but also she ravages by colonization and in need of her son's protection.

**Natasha Israt Kabir** is a Freelance Researcher, Adjunct Lecturer at the Department of Law and Justice, Jahangirnagar University in Dhaka and a Charles Wallace Trust Fellow. She finished her first post-graduation and graduation from the Department of International Relations of Jahangirnagar University and her second post-graduation as a UNESCO Madanjeet Singh Institute of South Asia Regional Cooperation scholar at Pondicherry Central University in India.

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### KEYNOTE ADDRESS

**“From Pathan Menace to Frontier Gandhi: Afghans in Early 20th Century Bombay City”**

- *Shekhar Krishnan*

**Dr. Shekhar Krishnan** is an historian and anthropologist of South Asia and a Consulting Editor with the *Economic & Political Weekly* in Mumbai, India. He is also currently a Postdoctoral Fellow in the Science, Technology, and Society Cluster in Asia Research Institute at the National University of Singapore. In 2013 Dr. Krishnan completed his PhD in the Program in Science Technology & Society at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and was a postdoctoral fellow with the Homi Bhabha Centre for Science Education, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research (TIFR), Mumbai from 2014 to 2015. He has been a consultant for the New York Public Library and the US Library of Congress and was co-founder and Associate Director of PUKAR (Partners for Urban Knowledge Action & Research) in Mumbai from 2000 to 2003.

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**“Enlightened Scholar-Soldier-Administrator? Mountstuart Elphinstone’s Debate with James Mill on the Foundations of Company Empire”**

- *Spencer Leonard*

The inter-related set of questions that this paper sets for itself are the following: How does the historiography Mountstuart Elphinstone and his circle of scholar-administrators reconfigure our understandings of the dominant lines of ideological debate in the late Company, post-Napoleonic years? More specifically, What necessitated Elphinstone’s *History of India* project, especially given the fact that the imposing metropolitan intellectual James Mill just had completed his magisterial *History of British India* less than two decades before, in 1817? What are to make of the fact that, from the time he first speaks of the project in June 1834, Elphinstone confesses to feeling “very faint-hearted about attempting a *History of India*”? And, indeed, why did Elphinstone, who was already deeply uncertain about publishing his first two volumes abandon his *History* altogether when it came to the modern or what he termed “English” period? Stated most simply, Why did Elphinstone attempt to supersede Mill? Why, in the end, did he balk at the task? And what can we learn about the relationship between Elphinstone’s romanticism, Mill’s

militant, if statist, modernism (and the liberalism that eludes them both) by comparing their treatments of the “English period” of Indian history?

Taking his Ph.D. in South Asian Languages and Civilizations and History from the University of Chicago in 2010, **Spencer Leonard** is currently working on an edited volume of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels’s writings on bonapartism/imperialism (*Marx and Engels on Imperialism: Journalistic Writings 1851–62*) and on another book entitled *Adam Smith in Calcutta* on the Enlightenment’s critique of Company Empire (and Company Empire as a crisis of the Enlightenment). Currently teaching as a visiting professor in the Corcoran Department of History at the University of Virginia, Leonard’s writings have appeared or are appearing in the *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, *English Historical Review*, and *Economic and Political Weekly*.

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**“Translation of Political Economy and the Making of Colonial Disciplines in 19th Century Bombay-Pune”**

- Veena Naregal

We know that colonial pedagogy functioned primarily as ‘tuition by double translation’. Focusing on early efforts to create textbooks on political economy in Marathi , the main aim in this paper is to foreground colonial bilingualism and translation as fundamental to the imagination of the social science enterprise in India.

The paper explores the early renderings of political economy in Marathi in the pre-1857 period, just prior to the establishment of a full university system in colonial India. Embedded within paradigms of modern translation at the core of colonial pedagogy that served significantly to shape the hierarchies of the emerging social order, the production of these texts significantly foreshadowed, firstly, the opening up, by the closing decades of the 19th century, of a critical public space for a reflection on issues of pan-Indian importance, and subsequently, the impulses to circumscribe such public discourses into realms of academic expertise.

**Veena Naregal** is based at the Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi. Her research interests include language and Indian democracy, disciplinary/institutional histories and regional theatre histories. A co-edited volume of essays on Language Movements, Federalism and the Democratic Imagination in India is forthcoming in 2017.

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**“Towards a National Museum:’ Museum Studies, and the Challenges of Preservation and Building of Afghanistan’s National Museum”**

*- Mohammad Fahim Rahimi*

For more than three decades, the continuous state of warfare in Afghanistan has completely destroyed every facet of the country, including the country’s rich cultural heritage. Throughout this time, I have been a witness to the whole scale loss of Afghanistan’s music tradition, festivals, theater, and of course the country’s museum collections, which have been looted and deliberately destroyed. Monuments that had lasted millennia have been the target of rocket attacks, especially those that date to the pre-Islamic period, while archaeological sites have become a source of booty. Yet, amidst the destruction the National Museum of Afghanistan still survives and its caretakers and curators persist in conserving and exhibiting the precious few collections. Their shared optimism looks forward to better days. The National Museum of Afghanistan is charged with administering all the museums throughout the country. The museums own holdings have survived well enough to showcase how the country has affected and shaped many Eurasian civilizations throughout ancient history. Afghanistan has played a pivotal role in acting as the nexus linking the myriad societies of the Middle East, Central Asia, South Asia, and the Far East, all of which are represented in the National Museum’s collections. Although the museum has been severely damaged, its holdings in recent years have grown exponentially. So too, have the methods of preservation, which have likewise improved immeasurably. This presentation will emphasize the museum’s gradual development after its establishment in 1919, current status, including its holdings, and plans for the museum’s future and those around the country.

**Mr. Rahimi** is currently director of the National Museum of Afghanistan, and an independent scholar of Afghanistan’s archaeology and ethnography. He has been a Fulbright scholar, pursued his master’s degree in Anthropology and Heritage Preservation at the University of Pennsylvania. He received his BA in Archaeology and Anthropology from Kabul University in 2005. In addition, he has completed coursework in heritage preservation and curatorial studies at Vienna University and at the International Center for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property in Rome. He was appointed Curator of the National Museum of Afghanistan in 2007, rising to Chief Curator in 2012. There he was responsible for one of the most significant collections of ancient and Islamic art in Central Asia. He has organized a number of important exhibitions, including Mes Aynak New Discoveries along the Silk Road, Buddhist Heritage of Afghanistan, and 1000 Cities of Bactria. In addition, he actively participated in organizing the Preserved Treasures of Afghanistan exhibition, a traveling exhibition displayed in international museums.

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## “The Demands of Dutiful Subjects: Democracy, Education, and Negotiation in Ceylon at the Turn of the 20th Century”

- *Andi Schubert*

In 1912 British colonial administrators saw it fit to introduce a scheme of limited franchise for elections to the Legislative Council in Sri Lanka (then known as Ceylon). The introduction of these reforms was a result of advocacy by an intermediary class produced out of Britain’s encounter with Ceylon. Their demands foregrounded their education which had primarily been through schools founded by the British in Ceylon and in British universities. Their demands for the introduction of franchise emphasized the spread of liberal principles through European education as well as their readiness to participate in democratic processes. If the education of this class of local elites was the grounds on which they pressed their claims, education was also the grounds on which Ceylon’s colonial administrators rebutted their arguments. For Ceylon’s colonial administrators the ‘Europeanness’ of their education and values automatically alienated this class from the average Ceylonese person. As a result, it was their European education that made this class of Ceylonese unsuited for democratic rights. Negotiating between these contrasting perspectives on the effects of European education fell to colonial administrators in London.

To explore these dynamics, this paper draws on official correspondence as well as sessional papers on political reforms from this period. This paper focuses on these demands, resistance, and negotiation to explore the relationship between democracy and colonial education in Ceylon. It argues for the need to revisit the role that education plays as a factor in Ceylon/ Sri Lanka’s experience of democracy.

**Andi Schubert** is based in Sri Lanka. He is currently a Senior Researcher attached to the Social Scientists’ Association, one of Sri Lanka’s oldest research organizations. In 2011 he co-founded the Young Researchers’ Collective, an initiative and platform to support and promote the work of young researchers in the country. Andi holds a Masters Degree in English from the Kansas State University and a Bachelors (Hons). Degree in English from the University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka. His MA thesis was titled *A Genealogy of an Ethnocratic Present: Rethinking Ethnicity after Sri Lanka’s Civil War* and focused on the recursive nature of early 20th century debates about ethnicity in post-war Sri Lanka. His research interests broadly span the fields of cultural studies and intellectual history and his most recent publication has examined how insecurities about the status of local knowledge emerged in three colonial translations of the Mahawamsa, a religio-historical text of critical importance to Sri Lankan historiography. He is currently the co-editor of *Polity* (previously *Pravada*), the journal of the Social Scientists’ Association.

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## “The Absence and Presence of Mountstuart Elphinstone in Kabuli : Elite Writings About Afghanistan”

- M. Jamil Hanifi

Mountstuart Elphinstone’s 1809 visit to the “Kingdom of Caubul” produced two lasting results. The treaty with Shah Shuja’ provided the cradle for the three Anglo-Afghan Wars and the foundation for Afghanistan as a British and subsequent American crypto-colony. Elphinstone’s 1815 (1819, 1839 [1842, 1967, 1972]) encyclopedic *An Account of the “Kingdom of Caubul”* (AAKC) became the ethnographic bible for Euro-American writings about Afghanistan. Virtually all Euro-American academic and political writings during the last two centuries are informed and influenced by Elphinstone’s AAKC. Through this biblical encyclopedic effect Mountstuart Elphinstone will always be present in the scholarship dealing with the cultural and political terrain of Afghanistan.

However, for a variety of academic, historical and political reasons, one cannot find consciousness or explicitly cited awareness of AAKC in the Afghan government-sponsored Farsi and Pashtu writings of the Kabuli elite dealing with Afghanistan. These writings are obsessively preoccupied with the 1809 British treaty with Shah Shuja’; invariably they briefly and descriptively cite this treaty and the European made gifts given to the Durani ruler of Kabul by Elphinstone. With two exceptions (published after the overthrow of the Kabuli monarchy during the early 1980s) the ethnographic content of AAKC and mere reference to it is totally absent in the academic, political and literary Kabuli discourse about Afghanistan. This paper will discuss the cultural and political reasons for the presence of the 1809 British treaty with Shah Shuja’ and the absence of AAKC in official and private Kabuli writings, including the government produced textbooks (including those provided by the American occupation forces) used in the schools of Afghanistan.

**M. Jamil Hanifi** was born in Sorkhab, Logar Province, Afghanistan. Farsi and Pashtu are his “native” languages. Hanifi is a cultural anthropologist with extensive institutionally sponsored ethnographic research experience in Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Tajikistan. He graduated from Ghazi High School, Kabul in 1954. With the support of a scholarship from the government of Afghanistan he attended Michigan State University from where he received a B.Sc. in Social Science (1960) and M. A. in Political Science (1962). Hanifi received his Ph. D. in anthropology from Southern Illinois University-Carbondale (1969). He has taught anthropology at California State University-Los Angeles (1968-69) and Northern Illinois University (1969-1982). From 1990-present Hanifi has been an adjunct research professor of anthropology at Michigan State University. Hanifi has published a number of books, several chapters in edited books and numerous articles in professional journal. All his writings deal with the ethnology and politics of Afghanistan. About thirty five of his essays are posted on Zero Anthropology and Khorasan Zameen blogs.

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## **“Archiving and Libraries in Modern Afghanistan: A Preliminary History of Afghanistan National Archives”**

- *Masuma Nazari*

Arshif-e Mill-i Afghanistan or ‘Afghanistan National Archives’ is the main governmental organization for collection and preservation of the official and historical documents of Afghanistan. Prior to establishment of ANA in 1973, a storage room of the Royal Palace in Kabul was the main depository of official and related materials. ANA has three designated responsibilities: collection and preservation of Afghanistan’s historical documents and visual materials; provision of accessibility of the materials for scholarly and policy research communities and individuals; ANA’s simultaneous commitment to encourage, participate, and promote production of knowledge in and of Afghanistan at the local, regional, and global levels. Beyond technological changes and practices of archiving that are currently the dominant theme of library and archive studies, this paper will focus on the cultural and social aspects of archiving. In doing so it will highlight these two aspects of archiving in Afghanistan with exploring ANA’s history, recent administrative and organizational changes, and the current challenges of archival practices and libraries, such as access and holding, in the context of nation-building and cultural heritage preservation programs in Afghanistan.

**Ms. Nazari** is the Director of Afghanistan National Archives, Kabul-Afghanistan and an independent scholar. She has a MA in Library of Science from Ferdowsi University, Iran. Prior her appointment as director of the archives Ms. Nazari has worked in various library sectors and library practices in Afghanistan including at the Afghanistan’s Office of Attorney General.

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## **“The Argumentative Maharashtrians: Chiplunkar’s critique of Lokahitawadi”**

- *Shraddha Kumbhojkar*

Vishnushastri Chiplunkar (1850-1882) was a staunch anti-colonial activist in Pune. A graduate of the Deccan College and a friend of Lokmanya Tilak, he is famous for his rambling but invective style of Marathi prose with liberal servings of orthodoxy and sarcasm targeted against two unfortunate groups – the English and their admirers. He was a government servant during the larger part of his writing career. Naturally, the barrage of his writings was targeted at the social reformers who would advocate changing the social fabric of the Indian Society as a first step towards self-government.

Lokahitawadi (1823-1892) and Mahatma Phule (1827-1890) were two social reformers against whom Chiplunkar vented out the choicest parts of his diatribe. Lokahitawadi was a Brahmin reformer-administrator famous for his Shatapatre -100 Essays published in the newspaper Prabhakar around 1850. Phule was an entrepreneur and an organic intellectual from the lower caste of gardeners who established the Truth Seekers’ Society – Satya Shodhak Samaj in 1873.

Both the reformers did not ever directly hit back at Chiplunkar, but Chiplunkar left no opportunity to aggressively – even humiliatingly engage in refuting their viewpoints. The paper will locate the points of engagement and argument in Chiplunkar’s writings. Attempt will be made to try and understand if Chiplunkar’s attacks were an end in itself, or whether they did have a critical place in the characteristic feature of Maharashtrian identity that has been described as argumentative – kalahasheel as early as the 8th century by the author Udyotana Soori.

**Shraddha Kumbhojkar** teaches Modern Indian History and Historiography at the Savitribai Phule Pune University. Her research interests include Maharashtra in the 19 th Century, Dalit Studies and Memory Studies. She has completed M. A. In History, M. A. In Sanskrit and a Ph. D. In History.

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**“Dynamics of Change in Pashto Literature: An Overview of the Plays Written to Support the Freedom Struggle against the British Raj (1929-1947)”**

- *Asfand Yar Durrani*

The British Raj in India gave utmost importance to the North-West Frontier Province to achieve their inner motive of fulfilling the divine duty of civilizing the savage people of this region. After 1849, the British came in direct contact with Pukhtun belt; the Pukhtuns resisted in their traditional manner led by and large by religious people. However, in the beginning of 20th century, the nature of resistance was replaced by the process of socio educational reformation of Pukhtun Society. A network of educational institutions was established in various areas under the cover of *Anjuman-i-Islahul Afaghina*; the Azad schools played an instrumental role in infusing the very spirit of nationalism in the minds of youth. Yet, the annual academic functions of these schools also served a platform for the poets and prose writers to project their love for this region, sense of struggle for independence and a message for the Raj leave this land. The theme of this paper is to analyze how the Pashto prose writers got influence from and used their pen using the *modus vivendi*, and composed plays-presented and staged in front of public which infused the very spirit of nationalism in the minds of youth and old as well as male and female alike. In all, plays written by Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar, Abdul Khaliq Khaleeq and Fazl-i-Rahim Saqi will be reviewed and analyzed.

**Asfand Yar Durrani** is a PhD candidate at the Department of History, University of Peshawar, Pakistan. His research focuses on the Pukhtun resistance against the British Raj in the Indian North-West Frontier Province. The title of his PhD dissertation is: “Comparative Analysis of Violent and Non-Violent Approaches (1901-1947)”. His broader area of interest is South Asian history, British imperialism, Pukhtun Nationalism, and history of Afghanistan.

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## **“Colonialism, Historical, Memory and Nepali Nationalism”**

- Dr. Arun Gupta

Memories from the British colonial era and the resultant surge of monarchical nationalism are influential factors on the Nepali psyche in general. The Anglo-Nepal War of 1814–16, the Treaty of Sugauli of 1816 between the British and Nepal, the Rana ruler Jang Bahadur’s support to the British with 9,000 troops to help suppress the Indian Revolt of 1857, and the Gorkha recruitments in the British army from early 19th century onward are all major events that have shaped colonial relation with the British in the 19th century and influenced the rise of Nepali nationalism. The paper explores the impact of the key historical events that have determined monarchically-dictated Nepali nationalism. Nationalism is thus the consequence of historical memory and its shaping of emotions as material memory which are manifested in the vast compendia of literature.

Colonialism had liminal presence in Nepal unlike in India and elsewhere in the subcontinent. The causes are many. Nepal may have been ignored, feared, or used strategically. The British exchanged letters from Delhi to London with a strategy to keep the Gorkhas busy by recruiting and sending them to warring posts. Such complex Anglo-Nepal relation paved the idea of Gorkha bravery and heroism and finally monarchical form of nationalism which is still pervasive and popular. “Nepal was never colonized” is a statement of pride, a significant statement of Nepali identity of nationalism. It also is a contested statement to appropriate uncoloniality. Since memory works to form nationalist identity, it bears a double bind of strength and weakness: Gorkha heroism and loyalty, Gorkha empowerment and service to the Raj, resistance to and participation in colonialism, being victors and victims, and actors and acted upon.

**Dr. Arun Gupta** is Professor of English and Principal of Institute of Advanced Communication, Education, and Research (IACER). His recent publication is *Goddesses of Kathmandu Valley: Grace, Rage, Knowledge* (Routledge, 2016). His present area of research is Comparative South Asian Studies.

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## **“State, Settlers and Spice Trade: Understanding the Geopolitics of Cardamom Trade and ‘Tribal Settlements’ in the Cardamom Hills of India”**

- Anu Krishna

The objective of this paper is to elucidate how space and sovereignty becomes a domain of contestation of the images and imaginings of the state- capitalistic system and lifeworld of the indigenous people. With the illustration of the case of cardamom hills which geographically falls to Western Ghat region in the Southern India, the paper explores how political subjectivity of the Indigenous people to the sovereign power of state distances them from their ancestrally lived spaces, self-determination, territoriality and identity. Known to the antiquity as the abode of various indigenous communities and as natural niche of spices like pepper, cardamom; Cardamom Hills are acclaimed today as plantation belt of the country the producing lion share

of Indian cardamom. As plantation capitalism thrives on the hills through colonial masters to post-colonial settlers, the indigenous communities like Mannans are reduced as protectorates under state and settler plantocracy. Therefore, the paper attempts to understand the geopolitics of cardamom trade in the place and how it gets camouflaged as civilizational mission of the state in the orders of developmental projects such as roads, dams and through the manufacturing of 'tribal settlements' to settle the 'unsettled' indigenous communities. The paper also problematizes the global capital flow around the crop of cardamom and how it subjugates indigenous people to negotiations for survival wherein their life and death gets designed by the state, settlers and spice trade in the place. The arguments made in the paper are based on detailed ethnographic field work and oral traditions of indigenous people in the cardamom hills.

**Anu Krishna** is a Doctoral student with the School of Development Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai. Her research focuses on the issues of the Indigenous communities in the Cardamom Hills, which belongs to the Western Ghats of India. She uses the frame of social theory in her Doctoral thesis to address the questions of changing self, identity and history among the indigenous people in the colonial and post-colonial era.

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**“Legal Sovereignty on the Border: Aliens, Identity, and Violence on the Northwestern Frontier of Pakistan”**

- *Syed Sami Raza*

In the summer of 2011 two incidents of cold-blooded violence took place at the hands of law enforcement agencies in Pakistan. One incident involved the killing of a group of foreigners/aliens traveling across the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, and the other involved the killing of a citizen in an area under curfew in the metropolitan city of Karachi. On one hand, the Supreme Court of Pakistan took a *Suo Moto* action in the case of the latter incident, while remaining silent on the former. On the other, the Pakistani government, instead of reviewing the powers of law enforcement agencies, increased these powers by passing new security laws in the following years. In this article, I focus on these two incidents of violence to question how/why aliens are treated differently from citizens in the Pakistan's criminal justice system. I trace the legal genealogy of that differential treatment and highlight the different stages of its growth. I also throw light on the way lethal force was used on the victims to show the drawbacks in the operational side of law enforcement. Finally, I engage critical theory to understand the nature of this violence, which now resides in the structure of the criminal justice system.

**Syed Sami Raza** is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Peshawar. He earned his PhD from the University of Hawaii at Manoa, Hawaii, USA. His research focuses on issues relating to war, political theory, comparative politics, and law and critique.

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## “Colonial Institutions and the Present Transformation in the FATA, Pakistan”

- *Shahida Aman*

The Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan (FATA) straddling the border of Pakistan and Afghanistan have long been contested, disputed and played upon by different regional and international powers. The geographical space of the FATA as well as its special political and constitutional status, a creation of the British Colonial policy of border control, was however, continued by the state of Pakistan in post 1947 period. The colonial administration created the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) and the institutions of Political Agent’s Office and the *Sarkari Jirgah* as well as that of *Malikship* and *masharan*, and through them they regulated the affairs of the tribal areas. These institutions are however undergoing significant transformations as a result of two processes: conflict and militancy; and state introduced reforms. The state of Pakistan is making slow inroads into the FATA, mostly through political, legal and structural reforms. These reforms include: the 1996 introduction of Universal Adult Franchise in the FATA; the 2009 reforms in the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR); the 2011 extension of the Political Parties Act to the FATA; and the proposed introduction of local government bodies at grassroots level in the FATA and extension of constitutional status to the tribal belt. The physical intervention of security forces is another facet of such intervention. The conflict dynamics of the borderland assumed a new more nuanced face with the emergence of the post 9/11 militant ideological movements. This religio-political movement (the *Talibans*) with its roots in the *Afghan Jihad* of 1980s not only challenged peace and security in the border spaces, but also embroiled the region in a new wave of extremist and violent radicalism. This paper attempts to explore the transformations in the colonial created institutions in the FATA as a result of the above-mentioned processes. It is imperative that FATA’s future status needs to be investigated in the light of the transformations that are taking place in its governance institutions.

**Dr. Shahida Aman** is currently working as Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Peshawar, Pakistan. Her PhD research thesis was entitled, ‘State Failure and State Building in Post Conflict Societies: A Case Study of Afghanistan.’ She has several publications to her credit. She is also running and supervising two research projects at the moment sponsored by international and national donor agencies. Her research interests include, Failed States, State Building in Post-Conflict Societies, Afghanistan, Government and Politics in Pakistan, Peace, Governance and Conflict in the Pak-Afghan Region, Youth and Radicalization in Pakistan, Governance and Conflict in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan, Conflict Transformation and Conflict Resolution.

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