



Unity of Being Against State and Capital

Milinda Banerjee

To cite this article: Milinda Banerjee (2023): Unity of Being Against State and Capital, Political Theology, DOI: [10.1080/1462317X.2023.2234207](https://doi.org/10.1080/1462317X.2023.2234207)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1462317X.2023.2234207>



© 2023 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group



Published online: 13 Aug 2023.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

Unity of Being Against State and Capital

Milinda Banerjee 

School of History, University of St Andrews, St Andrews, UK

Introduction: towards a history of being

How does sovereignty relate to the unity of life?¹ This central question animates Wilson Chacko Jacob's moving book *For God or Empire: Sayyid Fadl and the Indian Ocean World*. There, Jacob trains his gaze on the vision of "the unity of life (*wahdat al-wujud*)," rooted in "the Sufi tradition of Ibn Arabi (d. 1240), which was tremendously influential to the Alawiyya," the Sufi order to which the subject of Jacob's compelling biography, Sayyid Fadl Ibn Alawi (1825-1900), belongs.²

In seeking to understand Sayyid Fadl, Jacob relates philosophy to history. Fadl and his lineage drew spiritual inspiration from a philosophy of witnessing God in the universe: a "pantheistic play of divine absence and presence(ing)," understood as the "finding/being (*wujud*) of the only One (*al-Wahid*)."³ In historical terms, Fadl's career spanned across nineteenth-century Asia. Accordingly, Jacob leads us from the Malabar countryside of southern India, through Dhofar on the southern shore of the Arabian Peninsula, and on to the heart of the Ottoman Empire in Istanbul. Sayyid Fadl is an Odysseus of the Indian Ocean. He embodied a form of sacred sovereignty that radically differed from, but also intersected with, modern imperial state sovereignty. His epic ripples across the Arabian Sea. In hearing his story, we follow the travels of wandering saints and pilgrims, the insurrections of Malayali and Arab rebels, and the armed forces of the British and Ottoman Empires.

Rather than rehearse the book's arguments, I shall draw out from it three layers of sovereignty and relate that to distinct forms of political economy. Robert Yelle argues that "religion is an *anamorphosis*, a distorted image" of sovereignty.⁴ Taking a cue from him, I shall equate these three forms of sovereignty/economy to three forms of theology. After all, specific forms of politics relate to specific economic structures as well as to particular forms of religious consciousness or ways of conceptualizing divinity.

Going further, I shall present these three forms of sovereignty/economy/religion as three descents from Being. When I speak of Being, I think of various forms of human

CONTACT Milinda Banerjee  mb419@st-andrews.ac.uk  University of St Andrews, St Katharine's Lodge, The Scores, St Andrews, Fife, KY16 9BA, Scotland, United Kingdom

¹I am grateful to Alapan Bandyopadhyay, Shuvatri Dasgupta, Noah Salomon, and Jelle Wouters for their comments, which have sharpened the argument of this essay.

²Jacob, *For God or Empire*, 9.

³Ibid.

⁴Yelle, *Sovereignty and the Sacred*, 187.

© 2023 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way. The terms on which this article has been published allow the posting of the Accepted Manuscript in a repository by the author(s) or with their consent.

and nonhuman life, and about how these living beings share life-in-common, that is, their modes of being-together. I propose that the ascendancy of social inequality and exploitation, mediated through state and capital, fragments this being-togetherness. The unity of Being is now ruptured; beings are arranged into class, gender, and species hierarchies. Nevertheless, primordial forms of common Being persist even today, allowing us to forge a politics of reassembling Being. Accordingly, the rest of this essay shall focus on case studies to historicize the fragmentation and hierarchization of Being. It will conclude by offering pathways that can help us reunify and decarcerate Being.

First stage in the history of being: communal governance and polycentricity of power

The first form of sovereignty/economy, closest to Being, is where power is most dispersed, most acephalous. As David Graeber and David Wengrow remind us, we find such societies from the most ancient times, even if their material traces are more challenging to discover and interpret than the Ozymandias-like archaeological records of Pharaonic Egypt or Imperial China.⁵ Today, we find such pluricentricity in Indigenous societies across the globe – from the Highland societies of Southeast Asia, studied by James Scott;⁶ to the Naga polities of Northeast India, analyzed by Jelle Wouters;⁷ to the Amazonian societies of South America, celebrated by Pierre Clastres.⁸ While Indigenous societies in the early twenty-first century are no longer absolute Others of statist-capitalist modernity, they still contain forms of life and consciousness that are fundamentally antithetical to the logic of state and capital.

The Malabar coast of southwestern India, bordering the Arabian Sea, exemplifies this politics as Jacob tells us in *For God or Empire*. Across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, British colonial observers described local communities here as small republics, characterized by “Parliament”-like “distribution of authority,” that acted as “chastiser of the unwarrantable acts of Ministers of State [...] tending always to the maintenance of customary observances.”⁹ We find comparable polities in the southern coast of the Arabian Peninsula, with radical pluralization of power among local tribes. Fadl himself observed how “some customary rules [...] were in use among the tribes for the protection of their properties and lives before the constitution of the government.”¹⁰

Nature ring-fenced these polities and obstructed the entry of the state. The landscape often helped defend houses from tax-collectors. In the Malabar, the local communities “live in woods and in hills, with every house separate, and that house defensible,” rendering centralized tax-extraction difficult.¹¹ In Dhofar, “the tribes do not have known residences,” making it difficult for rulers to keep track of them.¹² Charismatic saints elicited

⁵Graeber and Wengrow, *The Dawn of Everything*.

⁶Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed*.

⁷Wouters, *In the Shadows of Naga Insurgency*.

⁸Clastres, *Society Against the State*.

⁹Jacob, *For God or Empire*, 31.

¹⁰Ibid., 173.

¹¹Ibid., 33.

¹²Ibid., 173.

allegiance from the locals – dotting the landscape with tomb-shrines, often deeply imbedded in the natural landscape.

The shrine of Cheruman Perumal, ancient saint-king of Kerala, “set among groves of papaya, coconut, and banana” in sylvan Oman, affords a typical example.¹³ The divine manifested festively here, in the epiphany of communal gathering.

The contours of the unity of life [...] are but faint flashes felt and found while beside oneself in a state of *hal* (entered when being called to God) or by millions in the gathering and reaching for blessings, for a touch of care, compassion, or joy.¹⁴

Saints’ tombs, even though dilapidated and hard to find in today’s dispensation of the capitalist state, are material traces of this first level of sovereignty/economy, that which is closest to Being. They are records of a primordial sacred sovereignty still present in the margins.

We find such formations of power, such epiphanies of the divine, in other parts of the precolonial world too. For example, in Tripura, in northeastern India, sovereignty remained polycentric well into the nineteenth century. The rulers of Tripura drew revenue from the Bengal plains, but had weak fiscal control over the shifting cultivator tribes of the hills. Highlanders regularly deposed, killed, and elected rulers. Gods blessed revolution, manifesting in history in moments of tyrannicide. The *Rajmala*, pre-modern Tripura’s chief political chronicle, hymns: “Whenever the ruler will desire the destruction of the subject, [the god] Shiva will then destroy the ruler.” “When the ruler commits injustice, he will fall.” “If the ruler becomes unrighteous, he will soon fall. The earth does not belong to anyone.”¹⁵

As highlanders assembled in revolution, there emerged abstract concepts of the demos: “people” (*loka, jana*), “all people” (*sarvaloka*), “everyone” (*sabe*), “all Tripurs” (*Tripur sakal*). In public assemblies, ideally, “everyone engaged in deliberation” (*mantrana karila sabe*); “everyone came together” (*ekatra haiya sabe*); “all people spoke” (*sarvaloke bole*). Democratic politics mandated an ethic of “nonviolence towards beings” (*prani ahimsan*).¹⁶

From Tripura to Malabar to Dhofar, I see comparable patterns of life. Local communities engage in forms of production and exchange that significantly, but not entirely, evade centralized state taxation. Political power is dispersed, though not totally egalitarian – there are hierarchies of class and gender, albeit weaker than in state societies. Being manifests itself in continuous epiphany – in tribal deliberation and regicide, in oracles and miracles, in cults and shrines. The rise of class and gender inequalities has partially fragmented Being, and forms of sovereignty have started crystallizing. Social inequalities have sometimes occluded the unity of Being-in-common. But common life, a life of mutual aid and assembly, still persists. This common life deposes invaders. The tax-extracting state is primarily a foreign virus.

¹³Ibid., 196.

¹⁴Ibid., 202.

¹⁵Banerjee, “A Non-Eurocentric Genealogy of Indian Democracy,” 83–109.

¹⁶Ibid.

Second stage in the history of being: social contract and the centralization of authority

In a second step of descent from Being, divisions within community may lead to the replacement of communal governance by the rule of a single person. In Dhofar, warring tribes, torn apart by civil war, approached Fadl in the mid-1870s, to be a ruler over them. In Fadl's words: "We made a treaty [mutual swearing of an oath] with members of all the tribes on terms of their obedience to me." However, tribes retained substantial power: "four people from every tribe should come to the council of government [...] every day to discuss the affairs and the state of pacification of their respective regions and to exchange views."¹⁷ The Malabar-born saint Fadl thus became a ruler in Dhofar through a social contract.

When intellectual historians write about social contract, they generally focus on modern Europe. In *The Mortal God: Imagining the Sovereign in Colonial India*, I show how interwar-era Hindu-Indian nationalists referenced ancient Sanskrit texts like the *Mahabharata* and *Arthashastra* and Buddhist texts like the *Digha Nikaya* and *Mahavastu*. They found in such texts, composed between the late first millennium BCE and the early first millennium CE, social contract theories that resembled arguments offered many centuries later by the English philosophers Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) and John Locke (1632-1704). Indian Muslim thinkers and politicians like Syed Ameer Ali (1849-1928), Muhammad Ali (1878-1931), and Ilyas Ahmad also championed contractual theories of government, drawing on Arab-Islamic theology and history.¹⁸ Even lower-caste-Hindu and Muslim peasants offered contractarian theories of governance.¹⁹ Through such discussions, Indian thinkers rooted democracy in vernacular political theory. That Indian-born Fadl became a ruler in Arabia through social contract was thus not a historical anomaly. It was made possible by deep-rooted political traditions pervasive across Eurasia. However, his rule was short-lived, with British colonial intrigues contributing to his deposition in 1879.

Third stage in the history of being: state, property, economic value, and capital

The Indian Ocean littoral experienced multiple waves of state-building in the nineteenth century. And wherever the state triumphed, it introduced the rule of property – transforming collective land-use into individual or state property, which the state could tax. In Fadl's home-country Malabar, the British claimed that they restored "janmi rights to property; *janmi* here means Hindu upper castes, Nambudhri Brahmins and Nairs, who were thought to have a birthright (*janmam*) to land."²⁰ The colonial state deliberately ignored the "de facto property rights"²¹ traditionally enjoyed by Muslims and lower-caste Hindus. In reaction, across the colonial period, the peasantry repeatedly rose in violent revolution to overthrow British rule.

¹⁷Jacob, *For God or Empire*, 172.

¹⁸Banerjee, *Mortal God*, 224–33, 358–61.

¹⁹Bhadra, *Iman o Nishan*; Banerjee, "Gods in a Democracy"; Banerjee, "How a Subject Negates Servitude"; Milinda Banerjee, "Periodisation as Dialectic."

²⁰Jacob, *For God or Empire*, 37.

²¹*Ibid.*, 37.

The British expelled Fadl from India because of his association with these rebellions. Ironically, when he became ruler in Dhofar, he too tried to introduce a rule of property. In his words:

Some valleys are covered in lemon trees; in one valley there are trees of tamarind, another is full of grape vines, and in one of the other valleys there are henna trees. None of these valleys belong to anyone. Currently, being legally appointed Emir of Dhofar, all of them are my own property/domain.²²

Fadl sought help from the Ottoman Empire to entrench his authority, though that could not protect him in the end.

How do we explain Fadl's statism? We can certainly place him within global histories of modern monarchic political thought,²³ and see him as a "royal nationalist."²⁴ Given his bitter experience with British rule in India, Fadl saw in the Ottoman Empire the only possibility of a state sovereignty that could protect Muslims from European colonialism. I see here a posture of "subaltern sovereignty." Many anti-colonial intellectuals, though not fond of European-style state sovereignty, nevertheless felt compelled to support non-Western nation-state sovereignty. They saw in non-Western state sovereignty the only possible bulwark of resistance against European colonial sovereignty.²⁵ This was an "unhappy consciousness"²⁶ – a reluctant and tragic acceptance of the structure of state sovereignty as a necessary evil.

Reluctant or not, Fadl became an advocate of the pastoral state. He insisted: "The shepherd of a flock [*abu al-ra'iyya*] is its sultan."²⁷ Taking a cue from James Scott,²⁸ I have recently argued that the ancient state was born when some humans treated others as their domestic animals. In ancient Sanskrit texts, the king sees his subjects as castrated male cattle or as milk-giving cows.²⁹ Fadl instantiates a comparable logic: sovereignty is herdsmanship.

Once the ruler is the sacred shepherd, the multitudes become his flock, his property, from whom he can extract value with impunity. The state instigates the conversion of life-forms into economic value – into property and profit that can be taxed to fuel the state's maintenance and expansion. The juggernaut of the state has money for its wheels. Monetization makes every form of social labor available to the state's Midas embrace. Everything can now potentially be a commodity, a thing to be bought and sold in the market, and assigned a monetary value. Hence, Fadl's insertion of Dhofar into the Ottoman Empire's political economy. "The banner of victory representing the eternal State will be erected and distributed [...]. Also, the coin of our sacred Sultan will be put in circulation in the market."³⁰

²²Jacob, *For God or Empire*, 175.

²³Banerjee, "The Royal Nation and Global Intellectual History"; Banerjee, "How 'Dynasty' became a Modern Global Concept."

²⁴Banerjee, Backerra, and Sarti, *Transnational Histories of the 'Royal Nation.'*

²⁵Banerjee, "Decolonization and Subaltern Sovereignty"; Banerjee, "India's 'Subaltern Elites'"; Banerjee, "Sovereignty as a Motor of Global Conceptual Travel."

²⁶Kaviraj, *The Unhappy Consciousness*.

²⁷Jacob, *For God or Empire*, 185.

²⁸Scott, *Against the Grain*.

²⁹Banerjee and Wouters, *Subaltern Studies 2.0*.

³⁰Jacob, *For God or Empire*, 90.

Fadl's rule in Dhofar embodies an epic metamorphosis – from nonsovereignty to sovereignty, from nonproperty to property; or, in historical terms, from dispersed tribal power to monarchic state rule, from commons to individual property, and from the treatment of human and nonhuman beings as beings, to their treatment as commodities. And so from merely the replacement of communal governance to individual ruler, we see the emergence of something else: the rule of capital. Even after his expulsion from Dhofar, Fadl dreamt of return, to restore his rule under Ottoman suzerainty. Therefore, across the 1880s and 90s, he reminded Ottoman elites about the profitability of Dhofar: “There are many mines in Dhofar, such that there is coal for steamers, iron, glass, and so on and so forth.”³¹ Reading such documents in the Ottoman archives, Jacob comments: “The value of Dhofar is represented in terms of its utility as measured mainly in geographical and economic terms.”³²

Here we see beings – humans, trees, earth – converted to pure exchange value. Complex life-worlds, vast cosmoses of human-nonhuman relations, are radically denuded and abstracted here to produce the autonomy of “the economic sphere.” Being is converted to Value. Capital, as self-valorizing value – economic value that harnesses human and nonhuman beings to continually expand itself – reigns untrammled, governs supreme. Profit is maximized, leading to ever-increasing accumulation of capital, and ever-intensifying bridling of beings to the profit-motive. Taking a cue from Moishe Postone, we may argue that under capitalism, profit-maximization becomes the only absolute value. All other values, no matter of what revered antiquity, appear relative.³³ This is the third and final form of politico-economic sovereignty. The descent from Being is complete.

The crisis of statist-capitalist civilization

In the early nineteenth century, English poets, writing in the country that first witnessed the Industrial Revolution, described the ensuing disenchantment of the universe – the flight of the gods from the world of capital. John Keats (1795-1821) lamented in 1817:

Glory and loveliness have pass'd away;
 For if we wander out in early morn,
 No wreathed incense do we see upborne.
 Into the east, to meet the smiling day;
 No crowd of nymphs soft voic'd and young, and gay, [...]
 Pan is no longer sought [...].³⁴

Today, we witness the costs of this supreme triumph of the value-form. State and capital have devastated ancient civilizations; brought about the mass extinction of non-human species; polluted soil, water, and air; precipitated the climate crisis. The

³¹Ibid., 175.

³²Ibid., 174.

³³Postone, *Time, Labor, and Social Domination*, especially 179–83.

³⁴Keats, *The Complete Poems of John Keats*, 2.

Capitalocene, age of capital, as Justin McBrien reminds us, is the Necrocene, age of death.³⁵ What chance does the unity of life have today against the reign of death?

Being against the capitalocene

In our recent book *Subaltern Studies 2.0: Being against the Capitalocene*, Jelle Wouters and I argue that we need to resurrect the question of Being, put Being-in-common at stake.³⁶ The question of Being has always been at the heart of Islamic philosophy. As Peter Adamson reminds us, Muslim thinkers drew widely on ancient Greco-Roman thought, including on Neoplatonism. As in Greek philosophy, so in Islam, a central question was: how does the One Being relate to the diversity of beings. How are we united in our difference?³⁷

From its beginnings, Indian philosophy too has been preoccupied with this question of Being, showing marked similarities to Greece. These resemblances stem from common Indo-European ways of thinking and poeticizing about the world,³⁸ from ancient Greek and Indian city-states developing money economy around the same time,³⁹ and from conscious exchange of ideas between India and the Mediterranean world from the mid-first millennium BCE to the mid-first millennium CE.⁴⁰ When Indian and West Asian Muslim thinkers began to interact from the late 1st millennium CE onwards, there was thus an ancient and shared lexicon, a common orientation of thinking about Being, from which they could dialogue.

Indian Muslim and Muslim-inspired radicals rooted their politics in the question of Being. The fifteenth-century weaver-saint Kabir critiqued caste, class, gender, and species inequalities by emphasizing identity between living beings (*jiv*). The twentieth-century poet-revolutionary Kazi Nazrul Islam (1899-1976) drew on Islamic-Sufi and Advaita ideas of nonduality of Being in order to champion egalitarian democracy. Nazrul denounced colonialism and capitalism – more broadly, any form of human mastery – for distinguishing between masters and subjects. Such distinction amounted to a loss of self (*sva-hin*), a negation of the oneness of Being (*nastika*).⁴¹ Studying a galaxy of Indian thinkers, *The Mortal God* reveals how belief in unity of Being animated anti-colonial and anti-elite revolution in India, enabling the democratization of politics. Here, we witness a politics rooted in “a fellowship with essence.”⁴²

In *Subaltern Studies 2.0*, Jelle Wouters and I contend that we need to revivify Being-in-common in order to dismantle the rule of state and capital that have rendered life fragile on earth. We draw particular inspiration from feminist and Indigenous activism. For Social Reproduction Theorist Tithi Bhattacharya, life-making, traditionally relegated to the female sphere, must be prioritized over profit-making.⁴³ For the London-based group Care Collective, care-work, coded as feminine, offers pathways to build

³⁵McBrien, “Accumulating Extinction.”

³⁶Banerjee and Wouters, *Subaltern Studies 2.0*.

³⁷Adamson, *Philosophy in the Islamic World*.

³⁸See e.g. M. L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*.

³⁹Seaford, *The Origins of Philosophy*.

⁴⁰See e.g. Grant Parker, *The Making of Roman India*.

⁴¹Banerjee, *Mortal God*; Banerjee and Wouters, *Subaltern Studies 2.0*.

⁴²Keats, *The Complete Poems of John Keats*, 81; quote from *Endymion* (l. 779).

⁴³Bhattacharya and Jaffe, “Social Reproduction and the Pandemic.”

community and ensure mutual aid.⁴⁴ For the Indian gender historian Shuvatri Dasgupta, collective care-work is fundamental to combating the violence of empire and racial capitalism.⁴⁵ The Argentinian activist-theorist Veronica Gago demonstrates how feminist solidarity and care nourish political assemblies in South America.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, Indigenous politics, from Bolivia and Ecuador to New Zealand, hymns the Beingness of nonhuman beings – the rights of the earth and her constituent ecosystems; the divine personhood of mountain and river.⁴⁷ Inspired by Indigenous Peruvian struggles, Marisol de la Cadena invites us to unsettle capitalist ontologies – recognize mountains and other earth-forms as earth-beings towards whom we owe responsibility.⁴⁸

Conclusion: resurrecting the unity of being

Care-for-being – Being-in-common – realizing the Unity of Being – these offer pathways out of the Necrocene. Against the concentration of power (state), against the concentration of profit (capital), we champion a diversity of ways of being – that nevertheless connect with each other, as roots and fungi nourish each other.⁴⁹ We call this fungal internationalism.⁵⁰ Subaltern communities, rooted in their locales, join with and care for each other – immolating the central command of ruling classes; unlinking commodity chains; decommodifying life. The rule of states and corporations – artificial persons, Unbeing – replaced by the life and joy of beings.

Sayyid Fadl's life inspires us here, since it shows us with remarkable clarity the historicity of Being, sensitizing us both to original forms of being-in-common and of their eclipse with the rise of state and capital. In comprehending this history, we are simultaneously emboldened to think about our future as the resurrection of being-in-common.

Thus, in both our work and that of Jacob we are beckoned in similar ways if we are to recover ways of life nearly made extinct by capital: Sacrifice Unbeing to Being. Ascend back to Being. The divine must be unfettered from sovereignty – released to the mountains, streams, seaside caves and groves. The vineyards of Dhofar and the hills and woods of Malabar shall then once more be free. Where Keats lamented the death of the gods, let us hymn their rebirth:

All-delighting Pan will then pipe again.

The nymphs speak in oracles.

Our words rise like incense to Being.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

⁴⁴The Care Collective, *The Care Manifesto*.

⁴⁵Dasgupta, "A History of Conjugality."

⁴⁶Gago, *Feminist International*.

⁴⁷Banerjee and Wouters, *Subaltern Studies 2.0*.

⁴⁸de la Cadena, *Earth Beings*.

⁴⁹Sheldrake, *Entangled Life*.

⁵⁰Banerjee and Wouters, *Subaltern Studies 2.0*.

ORCID

Milinda Banerjee  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-7657-5626>

References

- Adamson, Peter. *Philosophy in the Islamic World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Banerjee, Milinda. "Gods in a Democracy: State of Nature, Postcolonial Politics, and Bengali Mangalkabyas." In *The Postcolonial World*, edited by Jyotsna Singh, and David Kim, 184–205. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Banerjee, Milinda. "Decolonization and Subaltern Sovereignty: India and the Tokyo Trial." In *War Crimes Trials in the Wake of Decolonization and Cold War in Asia, 1945–1956*, edited by Kerstin von Lingen, 69–91. London: Palgrave, 2016.
- Banerjee, Milinda. "The Royal Nation and Global Intellectual History: Monarchic Routes to Conceptualizing National Unity." In *Transnational Histories of the 'Royal Nation'*, edited by Milinda Banerjee, Charlotte Backerra, and Cathleen Sarti, 21–43. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Banerjee, Milinda. "How a Subject Negates Servitude: A Peasant Dialectic About Mastery and Self-Rule from Late Colonial Bengal." In *HerStory. Historical Scholarship Between South Asia and Europe: Festschrift in Honour of Gita Dharampal-Frick*, edited by Rafael Klöber, and Manju Ludwig, 87–104. Heidelberg: CrossAsia, 2018.
- Banerjee, Milinda. *The Mortal God: Imagining the Sovereign in Colonial India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Banerjee, Milinda. "India's 'Subaltern Elites' and the Tokyo Trial." In *Transcultural Justice at the Tokyo Tribunal: The Allied Struggle for Justice, 1946–48*, edited by Kerstin von Lingen, 262–83. Leiden: Brill, 2018.
- Banerjee, Milinda. "Sovereignty as a Motor of Global Conceptual Travel: Sanskritic Equivalents of 'Law' in Bengali Discursive Production." *Modern Intellectual History* 17, no. 2 (2020): 487–506.
- Banerjee, Milinda. "Periodisation as Dialectic in a Peasant Discourse from Late Colonial India." In *Chronologies: Periodisation in a Global Context*, edited by Barbara Mittler, Thomas Maissen, and Pierre Monnet, 89–105. Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing, 2022.
- Banerjee, Milinda. "How 'Dynasty' Became a Modern Global Concept: Intellectual Histories of Sovereignty and Property." *Global Intellectual History* 7, no. 3 (2022): 421–52.
- Banerjee, Milinda. "A Non-Eurocentric Genealogy of Indian Democracy: Tripura in History of Political Thought." In *Vernacular Politics in Northeast India: Democracy, Ethnicity, and Indigeneity*, edited by Jelle J. P. Wouters, 83–109. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.
- Banerjee, Milinda, Charlotte Backerra, and Cathleen Sarti, eds. *Transnational Histories of the 'Royal Nation.'* Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Banerjee, Milinda, and Jelle J. P. Wouters. *Subaltern Studies 2.0: Being Against the Capitalocene*. Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2022.
- Bhadra, Gautam. *Iman o Nishan: Unish Shataker Banglar Krishak Chaitanyer ek Adhyay, c. 1800–1850*. Calcutta: Subarnarekha, 1994.
- Bhattacharya, Tithi, and Sarah Jaffe. "Social Reproduction and the Pandemic." *Dissent*, April 2, 2020. https://www.dissentmagazine.org/online_articles/social-reproduction-and-the-pandemic-with-tithi-bhattacharya.
- The Care Collective. *The Care Manifesto*. London: Verso, 2020.
- Clastres, Pierre. *Society Against the State: Essays in Political Anthropology*. New York: Zone Books, 1977.
- Dasgupta, Shuvatri. "A History of Conjuality: On Patriarchy, Caste, and Capital, in the British Empire c.1872–1947." PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, ongoing.
- de la Cadena, Marisol. *Earth Beings: Ecologies of Practice Across Andean Worlds*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2015.
- Gago, Verónica. *Feminist International: How to Change Everything*. Translated by Liz Mason-Deese. London: Verso, 2020.

- Graeber, David, and David Wengrow. *The Dawn of Everything: A New History of Humanity*. London: Penguin, 2021.
- Jacob, Wilson Chacko. *For God or Empire: Sayyid Fadl and the Indian Ocean World*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019.
- Kaviraj, Sudipta. *The Unhappy Consciousness: Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay and the Formation of Nationalist Discourse in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Keats, John. *The Complete Poems of John Keats*. Ware: Wordsworth, 2001.
- McBrien, Justin. "Accumulating Extinction: Planetary Catastrophism in the Necrocene." In *Anthropocene or Capitalocene? Nature, History, and the Crisis of Capitalism*, edited by Jason W. Moore, 116–137. Oakland: PM Press, 2016.
- Postone, Moishe. *Time, Labor, and Social Domination: A Reinterpretation of Marx's Critical Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Scott, James C. *Against the Grain: A Deep History of the Earliest States*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017.
- Scott, James C. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Seaford, Richard. *The Origins of Philosophy in Ancient Greece and Ancient India: A Historical Comparison*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- Sheldrake, Merlin. *Entangled Life: How Fungi Make Our Worlds, Change Our Minds and Shape Our Futures*. New York: Random House, 2020.
- Wouters, Jelle J. P. *In the Shadows of Naga Insurgency: Tribes, State, and Violence in Northeast India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Yelle, Robert A. *Sovereignty and the Sacred: Secularism and the Political Economy of Religion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019.