OLD WORLD TRADE AND INTERACTION

VOL. 1(1): pp. 85-93, AUGUST 2025
ISSN: 2978-4123
DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.16537797
http://www.owti.uk

Under the Blinding Light of Colonial Ideology: The (Re)formation of the *Tritiya Prakriti* in Late Modern India

Branka Franicevic, College of Science and Engineering, University of Derby, UK

Abstract

During the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, British linguists translated significant Sanskrit and Pali texts, laying the foundation for much of the legal system in colonial India. Notably, several nonbinary groups, which were collectively referred to as 'eunuchs', evolved to represent the *tritiya prakriti*, or India's third gender. Current scholarship addresses the *tritiya prakriti* through a cultural lens, distinguishing it from the institution of eunuchism. It analyses this group's historical context, professional roles, sexuality, and unique gender traits, while drawing a comparative analysis with harem-bound eunuchs. The study argues that eunuchs were historically created for specific occupational roles and are unlikely predecessors of the contemporary *tritiya prakriti*. However, the colonial disbandment of harems and the subsequent censuses of eunuchs changed gender classifications. While categorising the third gender groups into specific castes, these censuses inadvertently established the status of a distinct social group that predates the contemporary *tritiya prakriti* community. By situating the *tritiya prakriti* at the cusp of the eunuch framework, current research lays the groundwork for further exploration into the history of third-gender communities in India, which may contribute to addressing contemporary challenges related to inclusion and gender equality.

Keywords: Tritiya prakriti; Eunuch; Colonial India; Hijra; Third gender

Introduction

The legacy of British political influence in India began in the mid-eighteenth century, initially with the rise of the East India Company and later with the British Crown, which assumed control of governance in 1858. Rising from the lessons of losing a colony in North America, the British aimed to establish a relationship defined by trade, where instead of imposing direct control, they implemented a strategy centred on managing and organising knowledge (Hodge 2007). Under this framework, British linguists engaged in extensive efforts to translate key Sanskrit and Pali texts, which ultimately served as a means of indirect rule over the local populace (ibid.). Meanwhile, the Indian colony was granted a degree of autonomy, allowing local populations to participate in their governance (Willoughby and Fenwick 1919). Although the translation of texts played a foundational role in establishing colonial authority at first, there was a significant shift in approach following the 1857 Rebellion. The uprising prompted the British administration to move from subtle control to a more direct form of governance, characterised by increased regulation and the codification of imperial authority (Pati 2010). A key example of this transformation is the establishment of the institution of the third gender (eunuchism) and its integration into the evolving legal and social frameworks of colonial rule (Bhardwaj 2024).

Several instances of Hindu deities changing their gender, appearing in various forms at different times, or merging to create

androgynous or hermaphroditic entities—such as Agni, Aravan, and Arjuna—indicate that the concept of nonbinary identity has been part of Indian history for centuries. A prominent theme related to the third gender intersects further with the ideas of emasculation and fertility, exemplified by the goddess Bahuchara Mata, or the worship of the lingam, where the original castration of Shiva signifies a pivotal event that gave rise to universal fertility (Sutradhar 2022). Material culture also suggests that the third gender was highly regarded in the periods preceding British colonisation. Artistic representations and sculptures from ancient temples, such as those in the Khajuraho temples of Madhya Pradesh, for instance, appear to celebrate gender and sexual diversity. Moreover, castrated individuals are mentioned in the sixteenth and seventeenth-century works 'Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri' and 'Ain-i-Akbari' (Chakarawarti 2024).

As the eighteenth-century influx of British individuals progressed, so did their own observations of the nonbinary groups. The earliest references, including 'the Hermaphrodite Mahmud' or '*bonmots* people' can be traced back to the Persian text *The Seir Mutaqherin* (Gannon 2009). The nonbinary groups were also frequently referred to as 'eunuchs' (Balamurugan and Thirunavukkarasu 2018), a classification that remained prevalent until the end of the colonial period. The English translation of this term, however, derived from several Sanskrit terms, including; *tritiya prakriti, pandaka, napumsaka, kliba, shandha, kesava* and *varshadhara* (Zwilling 1992; Zwilling and Sweet 2000). While the interpretation hence may appear intricate, it is worth noting that a section of the *Naradasmriti* further breaks down *pandaka* into a range of categories of impotent men (Hiltebeitel 1980), which includes: *nisargashandha* (naturally impotent individuals); *vadhri* (men who have had their testes removed by a blade); *pakshashandha* (another variant of *shandha* that can approach a woman every half month); *abhishapadhu guro* (a man who lacks virility due to influence from a spiritual guide); *abhishapadhu rogad* (impotent due to illness); *abhishapadhu devarodhat* (impotent due to the wrath of a deity); *sevya* (this category is left undefined); *irshyarpandasha* (unproductive due to jealousy); *vatareta* (impotent because his semen is as light as air); *akshipto* (impotent because he spills his semen); *moghabijsha* (lacks strength in his semen); *shalino* (timorous individuals) and *anyapatis* (impotent only with a woman other than his wife) (Zwilling 1992; Zwilling and Sweet 2000). Moreover, the *Samantapasadika* commentaries by Buddhaghosa further list five subcategories of *pandaka*: *napumsaka* (congenitally impotent individuals); *usuyapandaka* (those who fulfil their sexual desires through voyeurism); *pakkhapandaka* (individuals who are impotent for fourteen days of the month); *assittapandaka* (those who engage in fellatio to satisfy their desires); and *opakkamikapandaka* or individuals who require special effort or artifice to achieve ejaculation (ibid.).

This way, for clarity, the present study adopts the term 'tritiya prakriti' (the third gender in Sanskrit; Aggarwal 2017), to encompass a spectrum of nonbinary identities. The approach aligns with contemporary interpretations of the Indian third gender, which include individuals designated male at birth who undergo a transgender transition, with or without castration (Agha 2002; Master and Santucci 2003). Additionally, the term 'eunuch' is specifically used to refer to castrated males who served in Islamic courts. The scholarship first reviews how British colonial ideology, for the purpose of governance, consolidated diverse nonbinary groups into an institution of eunuchism. It then discusses the differences between harem-bound eunuchs and the *tritiya prakriti* through the lenses of their histories, professional roles, sexualities and unique gender traits. The study argues that harem eunuchs were purposefully designated for particular roles and do not solely serve as a historical precursor to the modern *tritiya prakriti* (*hijra*) community.

The Formation of Eunuchism

In the imagination of colonial translators, the *tritiya prakriti* were likely defined by narratives rooted in various ancient texts, emphasising their exclusion from society (Hardgrove 2024). Pali literature, such as the *Kullavagga*, the *Mahavagga*, sections of the *Vinaya Pitaka,* and the *Milindapanha,* played a significant role in this portrayal (ibid.). *Dharmashastras,* together with the *Mitakshara, Dayabhaga*, and *Vyavahara Mayukha* were also among the Sanskrit documents viewed as reflective of the Indian social landscape that consequently uncovered the historical underpinnings of

colonial law (Gannon 2009). For instance, British linguists had drawn parallels between the goddess Bahuchara, linked with gender transformation, and the deities Kali and Amba Bhavani, associated with a spectrum of negative traits (Forbes 1924[1856]), including the hidden elements of blood sacrifice, supernatural fertility, and emasculation (McDermott and Kripal 2003). As a result, the perceived immorality of Kali became intertwined with the worship of the Bahuchara, thereby providing a rationale for viewing the worship practices of the *tritiya prakriti* as criminalised (Gannon 2009). This negative portrayal has also extended to numerous other deities, including Apurna, Devi, Kamakhya, Parvati, Prakriti or Umbika (ibid.).

Other interpretations also suggested that the *tritiya prakriti* held a low social standing. For instance, in the *Manusmriti* and *Gautamasmriti*, the punishment for their deaths was relatively lenient (Gannon 2009). In the *Mahabharata*, the third gender was positioned beneath oilmen, who were themselves considered inferior to *mlecchas* and labelled as the 'dirt of mankind' (Syed 2019; Gannon 2009: 220). Because the *tritiya prakriti* were often viewed as morally and sexually inappropriate (Allen *et al.* 1979), Hinduism, in its connection to the *tritiya prakriti*, was also regarded as lacking in moral aesthetics. As a result, concepts of gender transformation, unnatural fertility, and castration- particularly the ritualistic sacrifice of a man's penis to bestow fertility upon others- evoked themes of blood, sacrifice, indecency, and criminality (ibid.).

The *tritiya prakriti* were hence often characterised as an established and inherent group that obscured various themes of gender, including masculinity and sexuality. They were frequently viewed with devaluation, seen as untrustworthy, sexually deviant, and generally to be avoided (Newport 2018). Consequently, the *tritiya prakriti* were associated with traits that deviated from traditional notions of colonial masculinity, such as being perceived as incapable of engaging in battle, unfit for governance, and tied to servitude (Mazumdar 2016). Because this social group was portrayed as both marginalised and diverging from established masculine standards, translators simplified a range of its non-dominant sexual categories into a singular identity: that of the eunuch, an inadequate form of masculinity (Gannon 2009). The newly established institution of eunuchism now represented a distinct category of personhood, encompassing a specific class of individuals across various dimensions of social existence, including religious, sexual, legal, and economic realms (ibid.).

A lack of uniformity associated with the *tritiya prakriti* characteristics in the early nineteenth century meant an uneven perception of the group; some depicted them as castrated sodomites, while others showed a degree of tolerance, albeit through a moralistic lens (Dutta 2013). Although some colonial officials were cautious not to impose excessive restrictions on their rights, particularly when such limitations could hinder their means of livelihood, by the mid-nineteenth century, the *tritiya prakriti* came under stricter regulation (Hinchy 2017). By 1871, heightened anxiety regarding the governance of the *tritiya prakriti* was reflected in government-sponsored initiatives such as censuses and gazetteers aimed at categorising them (Assadi 2024). As the century progressed, the approach to addressing the so-called 'issue of the *hijra'* shifted toward extermination. The representation of these translated texts came under the authoritative scrutiny of the law, with constructed identities being defined by legal endorsement (ibid.). Ultimately, their definition revolved around exclusion, resulting in the treatment of 'eunuchs' as a social category subjected to mechanisms of containment and regulation (Wald 2024).

The ramifications of the colonial translations were hence considerable. Utilising Indigenous texts as the basis for legislation, particularly with Act 27 of 1871, commonly referred to as the 'Eunuch Act', compelled those without genitals to comply with the stipulations found in various Sanskrit and Pali writings (Hinchy 2022). The committee responsible for the law cited numerous court cases from the 1850s as the catalyst for addressing issues related to *tritiya prakriti*, making it clear that they were a social concern that warranted legislative intervention (Hinchy 2019). The Act rendered it illegal for the *tritiya prakriti* to serve as guardians for minors, to make gifts or wills, or to adopt sons, and it prohibited them from inheriting property (Hinchy 2017). As the Act was integrated into Part II of the Criminal Tribes Act, *tritiya prakriti* were not only explicitly identified in

the law as sodomites, child kidnappers, and cross-dressers but were also associated with criminal tribes and perpetuated the perception of them as a group predisposed to criminality (Ghosh 2022).

Eunuchs as Precursors of the *Tritiya prakriti*

Colonial translators associated harem eunuchs, commonly referred to as *khoja* or *khwaja*, with *tritiya prakriti*, probably due to their practice of castration or impotence. A closer examination of these two nonbinary categories indeed may reveal similarities but also complexities within distinct gender traits, shaped by their history, professional roles, and sexuality. Indeed, the origins of *tritiya prakriti* can be traced back to Hindu epics and mythological tales, suggesting that this group represents 'one of the oldest spiritual orders on earth' (Osborn 1994: 2), with a history spanning between 4,000 and 2,500 years (Baird 2001). Within the detailed occupational and caste taxonomies associated with eunuchism, *tritiya prakriti* had taken on various roles as entertainers, wedding singers and dancers, cooks, fortune tellers, and mendicants (Hossain *et al.* 2022). Marco Polo noted Hindu teachers in Bengal who 'instruct on the principles of their idolatrous religion and necromancy whose doctrine prevails among all ranks, including the nobles and chiefs of the country' (Polo and Charney 2004: 98). In Campbell's Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Faridi (1899) suggested that the primary reasons for making vows to the goddess Bahachara were infertility and illness, noting that the group was often known for engaging in sodomy, rudeness, and the use of alcohol and drugs, which contributed to their reputation for immorality.

Eunuchs, on the other hand, are associated with Islam, where there is a common belief that Muslims were responsible for the introduction of castration as a practice (Sweet and Zwilling 1993). This raises the possibility that eunuchs were absent in many regions until the arrival of Muslims (Edwardes 1960; Sweet and Zwilling 1993), indicating that the history of harem eunuchs is comparatively shorter. Eunuchs also played prominent roles as messengers, governors, and military leaders, and were responsible for raising royal sons in the *zenana* (women's quarters; Lal 2017). They were, in addition, associated with distinct psychological traits, including loyalty and faithfulness (Lal 2017), and were seen as passive victims in contrast to the *tritiya prakriti,* who were at times implicated in the abduction of children for the purpose of castration (Gannon 2009). Early authors such as Ebden (1855) and Chevers (1870) [1854] characterised eunuchs as exhibiting effeminate traits and lacking traditional masculine characteristics. The absence of masculinity, linked to their castration, however, was not necessarily reflected among the *tritiya prakriti* (Gannon 2009). Moreover, the harem-bound eunuchs generally adopted men's clothing in contrast to the *tritiya prakriti* who, from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries, were often depicted wearing a combination of male and female clothing, or donning women's attire later in the eighteenth century (ibid.).

While eunuchs were commonly recognised as impotent men, further, census enumerators revealed that the *tritiya prakriti* included both men and women. In Bombay, for example, out of 47 recorded *tritiya prakriti*, 34 were male and 11 were female (Gannon 2009). In Punjab, the figures were even more pronounced. With 631 individuals identified as *tritiya prakriti*, 547 were men and 84 were women (ibid.). In addition, Baillie's (1798) observations supported the conclusions drawn by Drew (1892) regarding the marital status of individuals identified as *tritiya prakriti*. Some male members were wed to non-*tritiya prakriti* women, while some female members were married to men who do not identify as *tritiya prakriti* (Gannon 2009). Additionally, an 1843 article in The Lancet noted that *tritiya prakriti* assisted male eunuchs in guarding women who were often part of Muslim harems, while Hindu society institutionalised female eunuchs within their own harems (ibid.).

Following the British disbandment of harems, however, eunuchs transitioned to street life, taking with them the skills they had honed within the sultanate courts (Gannon 2009), contributing to the complexities surrounding religious and gender categories. In Rajputana, a princely state where the British conducted the census, Abbott (1892), for instance, recorded that out of a total of 356 *tritiya prakriti*, 167 were Muslim, 186 were Hindu or Jain, and three were identified as Animists. In 1901, the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency published an article by Kirparam Bhimbhai asserting that *tritiya prakriti* are eunuchs from either Islamic or Hindu traditions, devoted to the goddess Bahucharaji. Notably, despite their shared

devotion, members of these different faiths maintained separation during communal dining (Gannon 2009).

This way, referring to all nonbinary groups in colonial accounts as 'eunuchs' would have led to the effective erasure of the *tritiya prakriti* from historical discourse. Following the transition of harem eunuchs to street life, however, the 1881 census marked a significant change in how this group was classified. Instead of identifying the third gender solely as Muslim male eunuchs, the census shifted to categorising individuals based on their occupational roles (ibid.). Baillie (1894), for instance, classified them into nine sub-castes, while Maclagan (1892) identified eleven sub-castes within one group. Moreover, the third gender individuals from various religious backgrounds were assigned different titles (ibid.). By delineating these groups into specific castes, reflecting the British perception of Indian social hierarchy, the censuses (inadvertently) solidified their status as a distinct social group. Colonial institutions, particularly legal frameworks, had, therefore, leveraged the classifications to define the third gender as 'other'(Gannon 2009). In this way, by emphasising their specific characteristics, these colonial narratives established the foundational conditions for academic interpretations of the contemporary *tritiya prakriti,* creating a conceptual framework that underpinned much of the modern scholarly research conducted on this group.

Conclusions

In summary, the *tritiya prakriti* have been defined by the censuses as marginalised and criminalised rather than being represented from a cultural perspective. The translation of legally and socially significant Indian texts into English was influenced by an interpretative framework that shaped the understanding of this group. The framework portrayed them as a repository of social significance, and in conjunction with the colonial context, contributed to the formation of a distinct social group. Colonialism hence established a dualistic perspective on gender, along with notions of deviance and criminality directed at gender-diverse communities. These stigmatising beliefs have since been entrenched within legal frameworks and have influenced Indian cultural practices in general, and contemporary *tritiya prakriti* in particular. Consequently, they have been facing systemic discrimination and marginalisation, with limited support available in educational, medical, social, and policy domains. It has taken over a hundred years to dismantle certain aspects of colonial laws, necessitating political efforts from various stakeholders, and the consequences are evident.

Competing Interests
The author has no competing interests to declare

References

Abbott, H. B. 1892. Census of India 1891. Rajputana. Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing. In Gannon, P. S. 2009. Translating the Hijra: The Symbolic Reconstruction of the British Empire in India. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta.

Aggarwal, A. 2017. Hijras and their rights: in Mythology and Socio-Cultural Practices of India. Unpublished Master's Dissertation. Utrecht University.

Agha, S. 2002. Sexual behaviour among truck drivers in Pakistan. Culture, Health & Sexuality 7: (2), 191-206. In Gannon, P. S. 2009. Translating the Hijra: The Symbolic Reconstruction of the British Empire in India. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta.

Allen, B. C.; Gait, E. A.; Allen, C. G. H., and Howard, H. F. 1979[1905]. Gazetteer of Bengal and North-East India. Delhi: Mittal Publications. In Gannon, P. S. 2009. Translating the Hijra: The Symbolic Reconstruction of the British Empire in India. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta.

Assadi, M. 2024. The Primacy of Tribal Identity in Colonial India: An Interface between Colonial Construction, Revolts, and Religious Conversion. In Somayaji, S.; Somayaji, G. and Coelho, J. The Indian Social Sphere. Routledge India.

Baillie, D. C. 1894. Census of India 1891. The North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. In Gannon, P. S. 2009. Translating the Hijra: The Symbolic Reconstruction of the British Empire in India. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta.

Baird, V. 2001. The No-nonsense Guide to Sexual Diversity. Oxford: New Internationalist Publications Ltd. In Gannon, P. S. 2009. Translating the Hijra: The Symbolic Reconstruction of the British Empire in India. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta.

Balamurugan, K. and Thirunavukkarasu, S. 2018. The Eunuch (Hijaras) of India: An Apothecary View Viewpoint. In Gupta, A. K. and Khobragade, G. (editors). The Third Gender: Stain and Pain. Vishwabharati.

Bhardwaj, S. 2024. Legal Aspects of Third Gender-Ancient to Modern Era. Motherhood International Journal of Research & Innovation 1(1): 114-123.

Chakarawarti, J. J. 2024. Appearance and Identity Crisis in Modern Indian History: The Third Design (1857 AD–2014 AD). Taylor & Francis.

Chevers, N. 1870[1854]. A Manual of Medical Jurisprudence for India Including the Outline of a History of Crime Against the Person in India. 3rd edition. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co. In Gannon, P. S. 2009. Translating the Hijra: The Symbolic Reconstruction of the British Empire in India. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta.

Drew, W. W. 1892. Census of India 1891. Bombay and its Feudatories. Bombay: Government Central Press. In Gannon, P. S. 2009. Translating the Hijra: The Symbolic Reconstruction of the British Empire in India. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta.

Dutta, A. 2013. An epistemology of collusion: Hijras, kothis and the historical (dis) continuity of gender/sexual identities in eastern India. Gender history across epistemologies: 305-329.

Ebden, H. A. 1855. A few notes, with reference to „The Eunuchs," to be found in the large households of the state of Rajpootana. Indian Annals of Medical Science 3: 520-525. In Gannon, P.S. 2009. Translating the Hijra: The Symbolic Reconstruction of the British Empire in India. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta.

Edwardes, A. 1960 New York: The Jewel of the Lotus: A Historical Survey of the Sexual Culture of the East. The Julian Press. In Gannon, P. S. 2009. Translating the Hijra: The Symbolic Reconstruction of the British Empire in India. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta.

Faridi, F.L. 1899. Hijdas. In Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency. Volume IX, part II; Gujarat Population: Musalamans and Parsis. Campbell, J.M. (editor). Bombay: Government Central Press, 21-22. In Gannon, P. S. 2009. Translating the Hijra: The Symbolic Reconstruction of the British Empire in India. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta.

Forbes, A.K. 1924[1856]. Ras Mala or Hindoo Annals of the Province of Goozerat in Northwest India (Two Volumes). London: Oxford University Press. In Gannon, P. S. 2009. Translating the Hijra: The Symbolic Reconstruction of the British Empire in India. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta.

Gannon, P. S. 2009. Translating the Hijra: The Symbolic Reconstruction of the British Empire in India. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta.

Ghosh, A. 2022. British Policies towards Homosexuals and the Hijras in Colonial India: An Assessment. Athena 6 (7): 60-67.

Hardgrove, A. 2024. Unveiling discrimination: A critical analysis of transgender laws and the marginalization of hijras in the Indian subcontinent. In Wallace, M. and Menzo-Nebot, M. (editors) Gender and ethnolinguistic lawfare. Journal of Language Rights & Minorities, Revista de Drets Lingüístics i Minories 3 (2): 223–263

Hiltebeitel, A. 1980. Siva, the Goddess, and the Pandavas and Draupadi. History of Religions 20 (1/2): 147-174. In Gannon, P. S. 2009. Translating the Hijra: The Symbolic Reconstruction of the British Empire in India. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta.

Hinchy, J. 2017. Obscenity, moral contagion and masculinity: Hijras in public space in colonial North India. In Parker, L.; Dales, L. and Ikeya, C. (editors) Contestations over gender in Asia. Routledge.

Hinchy, J. 2019. Governing gender and sexuality in colonial India: the Hijra, c. 1850–1900. Cambridge University Press.

Hinchy, J. B. 2022. Hijras and South Asian historiography. History Compass 20 (1): e12706.Visited 15 August 2024.

Hodge, J. M. 2007. Triumph of the expert: Agrarian doctrines of development and the legacies of British colonialism. Ohio University Press.

Hossain, A.; Pamment, C. and Roy, J. 2022. Badhai: Hijra-Khwaja Sira-Trans Performance across Borders in South Asia. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Lal, R. 2017. Harem and eunuchs: Liminality and networks of Mughal authority. In Hofert, A., Mesley, M. and Tolino, S. Celibate and Childless Men in Power. Routledge.

Maclagan, E.D. 1892. Census of India 1891: The Punjab and its Feudatories. Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing. In Gannon, P. S. 2009. Translating the Hijra: The Symbolic Reconstruction of the British Empire in India. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta.

Master, V. and Santucci, R. 2003. (December). An American hijra: A report of a case of genital self-mutilation to become India's „third sex". Urology 62: 1121. In Gannon, P. S. 2009. Translating the Hijra: The Symbolic Reconstruction of the British Empire in India. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta.

Mazumdar, M. 2016. Hijra Lives: Negotiating Social Exclusion and Identities. Unpublished Masters Dissertation. Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, India.

McDermott, R. F. and Kripal, J. J. (editors). 2003. Encountering Kālī: In the Margins, at the Center, in the West. University of California Press.

Newport, S. E. 2018. Writing Otherness: Uses of History and Mythology in Constructing Literary Representations of India's Hijras. The University of Manchester Press.

Osborn, A. 1994. Hijras and intersexuals. Hermaphrodites with Attitudes 1(1): 3. In Gannon, P. S. 2009. Translating the Hijra: The Symbolic Reconstruction of the British Empire in India. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta.

Pati, B. 2010. Introduction: the Great Rebellion of 1857. In Pati, B. The Great Rebellion of 1857 in India. Routledge.

Polo, M. and Charney, M. W. (editor) 2004. The Travels of Marco Polo, The Venetian (1298). In Gannon, P. S. 2009. Translating the Hijra: The Symbolic Reconstruction of the British Empire in India. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta.

Sutradhar, R. 2022. Contradiction and Concurrence of Castration and the Fertile Phallus: A Transgender Reading of Ancient Indian Literature and Contemporary Hijra Experience. In Vakoch, D.A. Transgender India: Understanding Third Gender Identities and Experiences. Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Sweet, M. and Zwilling L. 1993. The first medicalization: The taxonomy and etiology of queerness in classical Indian medicine. Journal of the History of Sexuality: 3(4): 590-607. In Gannon, P. S. 2009. Translating the Hijra: The Symbolic Reconstruction of the British Empire in India. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta.

Syed, R. 2019. HIJRAS: India's third gender between discrimination and recognition. In Atwal, J. and Flessenkamper, I. (editors). Gender and Violence in Historical and Contemporary Perspectives. Routledge India.

Wald, E. 2024. Pigsticking: the 'Noble'Indian Boar and Colonial Constructions of Elite Masculinity. In: Imy, K.; Segura-Garcia, T.S.; Valdameri, E. and Wald, E. (editors). Bodies Beyond Binaries in Colonial and Postcolonial Asia. Leiden: Leiden University Press.

Willoughby, W. W. and Fenwick, C. G. 1919. Types of restricted sovereignty and of colonial autonomy. US Government Printing Office.

Zwilling, L. 1992. Homosexuality as seen in Indian Buddhist texts. In Buddhism, Sexuality and Gender. Ignacio Cabezon, J.I. (editor). Albany: State University of New York Press. In Gannon, P. S. 2009. Translating the Hijra: The Symbolic Reconstruction of the British Empire in India. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta.

Zwilling, L. and Sweet, M. J. 2000. The evolution of third-sex constructs in ancient India: A study in ambiguity. Invented Identities, the Interplay of Gender, Religion and Politics in India. Leslie, J and MacGee, M. (editors). New Delhi: Oxford University Press 99-132. In Gannon, P. S. 2009. Translating the Hijra: The Symbolic Reconstruction of the British Empire in India. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta.

Author	Correspondence	Search for author on:
Branka Franicevic	b.franicevic@derby.ac.uk	Branka Franicevic (0000-0002-3440-6581) - ORCID Branka Franicevic - Google Scholar