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### Home address

Haarlemmerstraat 73R

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The Netherlands

**Education**

Leiden University, the Netherlands

Global and Colonial History, Institute for History

Ph.D. (2016) in Global History

Dissertation: *Cosmopolis of Law: Islamic Legal Ideas and Texts across the Eastern Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean Worlds*

Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India

Centre for Historical Studies

M.Phil. (2012); M.A. (2011) in Ancient Indian History

University of Calicut, Kerala, India

B.A. (2009) in History

Darul Huda Islamic University, Kerala, India

Islamic Studies Programme

M.A. (2009); B.A. (2007) in Islamic Studies

Leiden University

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Mahmood

Kooria

# 20 October 2018

**Professional Appointments**

Trasnregional Research Scholar

Social Science Research Council (SSRC), New York (2018-2019)

Affiliated with National University of Singapore; International Institute for Asian Studies

Postdoctoral Fellow

Leiden University, the Netherlands; Dutch Institute in Morocco (NIMAR), 2016-present

Joint Research Fellow

International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS); African Studies Centre (ASC), 2016-2017

**Research Languages**

in alphabetic order:Arabic (fluent in *fuṣḥa*), Bahasa Indonesia (advanced), Dutch (advanced), German (basic level), Malay (Jāwī), Malayalam (native), Persian (basic level), Tamil and Urdu.

**Courses Taught**

5482KIOW The Indian Ocean World: Sailors, Scholars and Slaves (full-time, 2017 and 2018)

5852VISL Introduction to Islamic Law (guest lectures, 2016-17)

**Grants and Fellowships**

2018-2019 Social Science Research Council, Transregional Research Scholar Fellowship

2016-2018 HERA (Humanities in the European Research Area) Postdoctoral Fellowship

2017-2019 Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, Postdoctoral Fellowship, declined.

2016-2017 International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) and African Studies Centre (ASC), Joint Research Fellowship

2013-2016 IBIES-Erasmus Mundus Fellowship for Doctoral Studies

2012-2013 Cosmopolis Fellowship, Leiden University

2011-2012 CHMK Chair Fellowship, University of Calicut

**Publications**

Edited Volumes/Special Issues

*Malabar in the Indian Ocean: Cosmopolitanism in a Maritime Historical Region*, edited with Michael Pearson (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2018).

*Ocean of Law: Islamic Legal Crossings in the Indian Ocean*, edited with Sanne Ravensbergen (Leiden: Brill, 2018, accepted).

“An Indian Ocean of Law: Spaces and Hybridity”, special issue *Itinerario: International Journal on the History of European Expansion and Global Interaction*, edited with Sanne Ravensbergen, vol. 42 (2018).

Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles

“An Ethiopian Agent with Two Indian Kings in Mecca: Islamic Legal Interactions across the Indian Ocean in the Fifteenth Century”. *Journal Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* (accepted), Cambridge University Press.

“Languages of Law: Legal Cosmopolis and its Arabic and Malay Microcosms”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (accepted), Cambridge University Press.

“Does the Pagan King Reply? Malayalam Palm-leaf Documents on the Portuguese Arrival in India” *Itinerario: International Journal on the History of European Expansion and Global Interaction* (accepted), Cambridge University Press.

“Politics, Economy and Islam in 'Dutch Ponnāni', Malabar Coast”. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 62, no. 1 (2019): 1-35.

“Uses and Abuses of the Past: An Ethno-History of Islamic Legal Texts”. *Oxford Journal of Law and Religion*, vol. 7, no. 2 (2018): 313-338, Oxford University Press.

“Dutch *Mogharaer*, Arabic *al-Muḥarrar* and Javanese Law-Book: VOC’s Experiments with Muslim Law in Java, 1747-1767”. *Itinerario: International Journal on the History of European Expansion and Global Interaction* vol. 41, no. 2 (2018): 202-219, Cambridge University Press.

“The Indian Ocean of Law: Hybridity and Space” (co-authored with Sanne Ravensbergen), *Itinerario: International Journal on the History of European Expansion and Global Interaction* vol. 41, no. 2 (2018): 164-167, Cambridge University Press.

“Using the Past and Bridging the Gap: Premodern Islamic Legal Texts in New Media”. *Law and History Review*, vol. 36, no. 4 (2018): 725-752, Cambridge University Press.

“Texts as Objects of Value and Veneration: Islamic Law Books in the Indian Ocean Littoral”. *Sociology of Islam*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2018): 60-83, Brill.

“Early Dutch Encounters with Islamic Law: The Text and Translation of Mogharaer Code or Semarang Compendium” *Indonesia,* vol. 106 (2018): 45-87,Cornell University Press.

“An Abode of Islam with a Hindu King: Circuitous Imagination of Kingdoms in Sixteenth Century Malabar”. *Journal of Indian Ocean World Studies*, McGill University Press, vol. 1, no. 1 (2017): 89-109.

“Two ‘Cultural Translators’ of Islamic Law and German East Africa”. *Rechtsgeshichte: Journal of the Max Planck Institute for European Legal History*, vol. 24, no. 2 (2016): 190-214.

Chapters in Edited Volumes

“Words of ʿAjam in the World of Arab: Translation and Translator in Early Islamic Judicial Procedure.” *Justice and Leadership in Early Islamic Courts*, eds. Intisar Rabb and Abigail Balbale (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018): 71-90.

“Doors and Walls of the Masjids: The Arabic Inscriptions in Premodern Malabar”. In *The Social Worlds of Pre-Modern Transactions: Perspectives from Epigraphy and History*, eds. Meera Vishwanathan, Digvijay Singh and Mekhola Gomes (New Delhi: Primus Books, 2018): 146-169.

“In Between Many Worlds of One Law: Arab, Malay and Filipino Legal Intermixtures of Shāfiʿīsm”. In *Philippine Crossings: Entangled Voices between Oceans*, eds. Jos Gommans, Jorge Flores and Ariel Lopez (Leiden: Leiden University Press, in press).

“An Indian Ocean *Ribāṭ*: War and Religion in Sixteenth-Century Ponnāni, Malabar Coast”, *Imagining Asia: Networks, Agents, Sites*, eds. Andrea Acri, Kashshaf Ghani, Murari K Jha, Sraman Mukherjee (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2019).

“Introduction”. In *Malabar in the Indian Ocean: Cosmopolitanism in a Maritime Historical Region*, eds. Mahmood Kooria and Michael Pearson (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2017), xv-xxvii.

“*Khuṭbat al-jihādiyya*: An Unknown Anti-Portuguese Jihadi-treatise in Arabic”. In *Malabar in the Indian Ocean: Cosmopolitanism in a Maritime Historical Region*, eds. Mahmood Kooria and Michael Pearson (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2017), 64-75.

“A Malayalam War-Song on the Portuguese-Dutch Battle, 1663”. In *Malabar in the Indian Ocean: Cosmopolitanism in a Maritime Historical Region*, eds. Mahmood Kooria and Michael Pearson (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2017), 141-171.

“‘Killed the Hajj-pilgrims and Persecuted Them’: Portuguese *Estado da India*’s Encounters with Hajj Pilgrimage, 16th Century” in *Europe and Hajj in the Age of Empires*, ed. Umar Ryad (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 16-38.

“*Taḥrīḍ ahl al-Imān*: An Indigenous Account against Early Modern Interventions in the Indian Ocean World”. In *Taḥrīḍ ahl al-imān ʿalā jihād ʿabadat al-ṣulbān*, trans. K.M. Mohamed and forward. Michael N. Pearson (Calicut: Other Books, 2013), 19-48.

“From Wāqwāq to Wāqwāq: The Formation of Islamic Law in the Indian Ocean rim, c. 615-1000 CE.” In *Ocean of Law: Islamic Legal Crossings in the Indian Ocean*, eds. Mahmood Kooria and Sanne Ravensbergen (Leiden: Brill, accepted).

“East African Savants in South Asia: Premodern Afro-Asian Intellectual Interactions”. In *Africans in South Asia*, eds. Beheroze Shroff, Kenneth Robbins and Omar Ali.

Articles and Blogs (selected)

“Transoceanic Africa-Asia connections”. ”. *IIAS Newsletter* 80 (2018), 42-43.

“African Jurists in Asia: Premodern Afro-Asian Interactions”. *IIAS Newsletter* 76 (2017), 16-19.

“Towards a Book History of the Indian Ocean World”. *Leiden Islam Blog*, February 2017.

“Islamic Law in ‘Periphery’”. *World Legal History Blog*, 2016.

“Four Hundred Years of a Letter: Calicut-English Relations”. *Café Dissensus*, February 15, 2016.

Conference Reports

“Ocean of Law II: Islamic Legal Crossings in the Indian Ocean World”. *IIAS Newsletter*, no. 76 (2017), 22-23.

“Ocean of Law: Intermixed Legal Systems across the Indian Ocean World”, *IIAS Newsletter*, no. 73 (2016) (with Sanne Ravensbergen).

Book Reviews:

Miklos Muranyi, *The First Compendium of Ibadi Law: The Mudawwana by Abu Ghanim, Bishr b. Ghanim al-Khurasani* (Zurich and New York: Olms Wiedmann, 2018), *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (accepted).

Book Reviews:

Miklos Muranyi, *The First Compendium of Ibadi Law: The Mudawwana by Abu Ghanim, Bishr b. Ghanim al-Khurasani* (Zurich and New York: Olms Wiedmann, 2018), *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (accepted).

Alexander Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters: Islam and the European Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), *The Historian* (accepted).

Gregory M. Simon, *Caged in on the Outside: Moral Subjectivity, Selfhood, and Islam in Minangkabau, Indonesia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2014), *Journal for Southeast Asian Studies* 7, no. 2 (2018), 243-246.

Gwyn Campbell, ed. *Early Exchange Between Africa and the Wider Indian Ocean World* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*/*Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 173, nos. 2-3 (2017): 394-397.

Asma Sayeed, *Women and the Transmission of Religious Knowledge in Islam* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), *Sociology of Islam* 4, no. 2 (2016), 307-311.

Dina Afrianty, *Women and Sharia Law in Northern Indonesia: Local Women's NGOs and the reform of Islamic Law in Aceh* (London: Routledge, 2015) *Journal for Southeast Asian Studies* 5, no. 2 (2016), 221-226.

Tabir Kalam, *Religious Tradition and Culture in Eighteenth Century Northern India* (New Delhi: Primus Books), *Journal of Indian History* 3 (2016).

Edward Alpers, *The Indian Ocean in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), *H-Net Reviews in the Humanities and Social Sciences.*

Jajat Burhanudin and Kees van Dijk (eds.), *Islam in Indonesia: Contrasting Images and Interpretations* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013), *NewBooks.Asia*

Interviews

“‘I Find it Very Claustrophobic to be Stuck in a Small Place’: An Interview With Engseng Ho,” *Itinerario: International Journal on the History of European Expansion and Global Interaction* vol. 42, no. 2 (2018): 151-163.

“Between the Walls of Archives and Horizons of Imagination: An Interview with Amitav Ghosh,” *Itinerario: International Journal on the History of European Expansion and Global Interaction* 36 (2012): 7-18.

Chinese trans.: *The World Literature Criticism* 9 (2016), 9-16.

Malayalam trans.: *Mathrubhumi Illustrated Weekly* 43 (2016), 23-35.

“A Civil-War is on the Doorstep of India: Interview with Kancha Ilaiah”. *Kafila.org* 01 September 2014.

Malayalam trans.: *Mathrubhumi Illustrated Weekly* 42 (2014), 44-68.

**Invited Talks/Presentations**

“Arabi-Malayalam and Arabu-Tamil Works at the British Library: A Survey of the Uncatalogued Materials and their Circulatory Networks”, British Library, 26 October 2018.

“Marumakkattayam”, *Concepts from Global South*, University of Cape Town, 18 October 2018.

“The Hajj: An Ancient Journey of a Cosmopolitan World”, University of Bergen, Sept. 4, 2018.

“(Not) Making Sense of Jihad: Contemporary Entanglements of South and Southeast Asian Muslims with Pre-Modern Jihadi Texts”, University of Gottingen, 29 June 2018.

“Afro-Asia-Arab Triangle: Indian Ocean Muslims and the ‘Peripheral Histories’ of Islamic Law”, *Transregional Research Fellowship Workshop*, Duke University, 8-9 September 2018.

“Etiquettes of Manu/scripts: Legal Discourses on Preserving Books in Malabar”, *Social Codicology: The Multiple Lives of Texts in Muslim Societies*, Dutch Institute in Morocco, 9-11 October 2018.

“Teaching Arabs Islam: Intellectual Networks of Malabari Teachers and Meccan Students.” International Conference on *Beyond Bedouin and Bania: Arabia-South Asia Relations*. National University of Singapore, 7-8 December, 2017.

“From Damascus to Mindanao: The longue durée of Islamic texts in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean Worlds.” Workshop on Traveling Texts and Inter-Religious Exchanges and Encounters. University of Bochum, 18 October, 2017.

“Several Waves of Islamic Law in the Indian Ocean World around 1500 CE”. Workshop on Islamicate Networks in the Early Modern Muslim World: Global and Regional Impact. Oxford University, 17 September, 2017.

“Matrilineal Islam: An Indian Ocean Perspective on Sharia”, Workshop on Sharia in Motion, University of Cambridge, 14 July 2017.

“Debates on Matriliny: How Maternal ‘Gens’ Were Modernised/Islamised?”, Workshop on Customs, Shari’a and National Law. Nederlands Instituut in Marokko, Rabat, 25 February 2017.

“Matrilineal Islam: Customs as Islamic Law in the Indian Ocean World”. Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter, 30 March, 2017.

“Muslims of Malabar in Medieval Mecca”. Imam Bukhari Institute, Jeddah. 23 May, 2017.

“The East African Muslim Jurists in the Malabar Coast, 13th to 15th centuries”. Workshop on Beyond Muzirs: Intercultural Encounters in Maritime Malabar. Brennen College, Madayi, 22 April, 2017.

“In Between Many Worlds of One Law: Arab, Malay and Filipino Legal Intermixtures of Shāfiʿīsm in the Maguindanao *Luwaran*”, Third Cosmopolis Conference. National Historical Commission of the Philippines, Manila, 22 June 2016.

“Zhenghe and the Chinese Islamic Cosmopolis of the Indian Ocean Rim”, Zhenghe International Peace Foundation. Dubai, June 5, 2016.

“In the Shāfiʿīte Cosmopolis: Many Journeys of a Malabari Legal Text”, Conference on Islam in Malabar: Discourse, Text, and Public Culture. Freie University, Berlin, 4 June 2016.

“Words of ʿAjam in the World of Arab: Translation and Translator in the Early Islamic Judicial Procedures”, Harvard Law School, Harvard University, 6 May 2016.

“Words of ʿAjam in the World of Arab: Translation and Translator in the Early Islamic Judicial Procedures”, Harvard Law School, Harvard University, 6 May 2016.

“Introducing a Meccan Version of Law: Networks of Shāfiʿī fuqahā in the Sixteenth Century”, Seoul National University Asia Center, 27 April, 2016.

“Ocean of Law: Movement of Islamic Legal Ideas and Texts across the Maritime Worlds,” Max-Planck Institute for European Legal History, Frankfurt, 4 August, 2015.

“A Text of the Seven Worlds: Conceptualizing the Legal Cosmopolis”. Leiden University Institute for History, Cosmopolis Lecture Series, 19 May 2015.

“Against the Limits of a Dream: Ibn Battuta’s Journeys in Text and Time”. Stichting House of Wisdom, Leiden, 8 May 2015.

“Networks of *Jihad* and *Kitāb*s: Imagining Java from Malabar in the 19th Century”, Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta, 10 September, 2014.

“Aceh in Malabar and Malabar in Aceh: Islamic Interconnections of the Indian Ocean World”, International Centre for Aceh and Indian Ocean Studies, Banda Aceh, 25 August 2014.

“Doors and Walls of the Masjids: The Transregional Landscapes of the Inscriptions in Premodern Malabar”, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, 5 June, 2014.

**Paper Presentations**

“Jihad against Mothers.” *Islamic Law and Sexuality Conference*, University of Exeter, 9-11 January 2018.

“Using the Past and Bridging the Gap: Premodern Islamic Legal Texts in New Media”. *British Association of Islamic Studies Annual Conference* University of Exeter, 9-11 April, 2018.

“Engendering Indian Ocean and Endangering Islamic Law: Matrilineal Muslims of the Indian Ocean”, International Convention on *Asia-Africa: A New Axis of Knowledge*, University of Dar es Salaam, 20-22 September 2018.

“How to Kill a Mocking Custom: Jihad against Matriliny”. *Gender and Sharīʿah in Muslim Legal Theory and Practice.* University of Gottingen, 12-14 October 2017.

“Dynastic Laws, Sultanic Qanuns and Islamic Laws in South and Southeast Asia”. *A Secular Age beyond the West: Modes of Secularity in Asia*. Schloss Herrenhausen, Hanover, 15 September, 2017.

“Afro-Asia-Arab Triangle in the Indian Ocean: Still Another View of Islamic Law”, *Ocean of Law II: Islamic Legal Crossings in the Indian Ocean World*, Leiden University, 12-14 December, 2016.

“Courts in the Archives: Cultural Translations of Islamic Law”, *IBIES Workshop,* Aarhus University, 26-27 May, 2016.

“Arabic al-Muḥarrar, Dutch Mogharaer and Javanese compendium: VOC’s experiments with Muslim law” *Ocean of Law: Intermixed Legal Systems across the Indian Ocean World, 1550-1950*. Leiden University, 7-9 December 2015.

“Adat-Law as an Indonesian Problem: Genealogies of Leiden School of Islamic Law,” *NISIS Spring School: ‘Islam in Indonesia’*, Leiden University, 27 August 2015.

“Texts as Agents of Empires: ‘Translation’ of Islamic Law in/for the Colonies,” Forum for European Expansion and Global Interaction in Europe Conference, 03 June 2015.

“From Charities to Outlaws: Malabari Goods, Ideas and People in Nineteenth-Century Jeddah”, *A Sea that Links and Binds: Cooperation, Coercion and Compulsion across the Red Sea*. Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin, 4 June, 2015.

“Maritime Legal Networks and Shāfiʿīsm beyond Borders”, *Cosmopolis Workshop*, Leiden University Institute for History, 17 February, 2015.

“The Myth of Shāfiʿī school of law: Pre-modern South and Southeast Asia’s Intermixed Legal Landscape,” *Sailing the waves of convergence: Cultural links and continuities across the Bay of Bengal*, KITLV, Leiden, 3 December, 2014.

“Transmission of Islamic Legal Ideas across the Indian Ocean: Indonesian Engagements with a Malabari Text of the Sixteenth Century”, *The Making of Religious Traditions in the Indonesian Archipelago: History and Heritage in Global Perspective (1600-1940)*, Universitas Gadjah Mada, 20 June, 2014

“Two Legal Texts of Malabar with Extralocal Connections: *Ajwibat al-ʿajība* and *Fatḥ al-Muʿīn*,” *Second Annual Malabar Praxis Graduate Research Conference*, University of Hyderabad, 19 May, 2014.

“Whose time is it anyway? Construing Ibn Khaldūn in the Context of Post-Modernist Conceptions of Periodization in History,” *Inter-disciplinarity in History: An Old Method in New World Context,* Qatar University, Doha, 5 March, 2014.

“Religious landscape of ‘Dutch Ponnani’ in the early modern Indian Ocean world,” *First Annual Malabar Praxis Graduate Research Conference*, Calicut University, 13 August, 2013.

“‘One who agrees with the laws of *kufr* is a *kāfir*’: Reformative Attempts of Two Hadhrami Sayyids in British Malabar,” *Princeton Islamic Studies Colloquium Graduate Student Conference*, Princeton University, 12 April, 2013.

“Intertwined *dār al-ḥarb* and *dār al-Islām*: ʿUlamāʾ of Aceh and Ponnani and their Political Attachments with West Asian Sultanates,” The NISIS Tunisia Spring School 2013, Hammamet, 18 March, 2013.

“Prophetic Knowledge of Ocean: *Hadith*s as Primary Sources for Studies in the Indian Ocean World,” *Language, Meaning and Philosophy of Hadiths*, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, February 18, 2012.

“Malabar and Yemen, Role of Sufi Saints: Early Modern Cultural Landscapes of the Indian Ocean World,” *Contemporary Yemen and Indo-Yemen Relations*, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 30 January, 2012.

“Early Modern Malabar in Encounters: Arabic Sources for the Indian Ocean Studies from Sixteenth Century Malabar,” *Islamic Academy Conference*, Jamia Islamiyya Shantapuram, Kerala, 15 January, 2012.

“Transitions in Religious Landscapes of Early Medieval Malabar: Regional Ruptures through Intangible Transactions of Indian Ocean World,” *Indian History Congress*, Punjabi University, 13 Dec 2011.

“Sufis through the Indian Ocean World: Cross-Cultural Interactions of Malabar with Yemen in the Early Modern Times,” Mustafa International University, New Delhi, 12 March, 2011.

“Occidental Reading of Mahabharata: Debates on the Origin, Growth, and the Development of the Epic,” Department of Sanksrit, University of Calicut, Kerala, 10 July, 2010.

“*Sayf al-battār* and ʿ*Uddath al-umarā’:* Trans-formation of Mappila Identity,” *Arabic Literary Practices of Kerala*, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 11 April, 2010.

**Conferences/Events Organized**

Panel, “Gender in the Indian Ocean World”, at the International Conference “Africa Asia, A new Axis of Knowledge’, University of Dar es Salaam (Tanzania), 20-22 September 2018.

Panel, “Customizing Sharia: Matriarchal Muslim Communities”, at the Conference “Uses of the Sharia: Past Perfect and Present Imperfect”, University of Exeter, 29 September, 2018.

International Conference, “Ocean of Law II: Islamic Legal Crossings across the Indian Ocean World,” Leiden University, 12-14 December 2016 (organised with Sanne Ravensbergen).

International Conference, “Ocean of Law I: Intermingled Legal Landscapes of the Indian Ocean World,” Leiden University, 7-9 December 2015(organised with Sanne Ravensbergen).

Masterclass, “Religious Traditions in Southeast Asia” by Michael Laffan (Princeton University) at KITLV Leiden, 24 August 2015 (organised with Marieke Bloembergen and Sanne Ravensbergen).

Second Annual Malabar Praxis Graduate Research Conference, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, 19 May, 2014.

“Beyond Orientalism and Indology: The Tenth Anniversary of Edward Said’s Passing”, Leiden South Asian Studies Colloquium, 11 November, 2013.

First Annual Malabar Praxis Graduate Research Conference, University of Calicut, Thenjippalam, 13-14 August, 2013.

Shihab Thangal Memorial Lecture Series (Mushirul Hasan, Imitiaz Ahmad and Bruce Lawrence), Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 2010, 2011 and 2014.

**Editorial Board Service**

2018 Guest Editor, *Itinerario*, Cambridge University Press.

2018 Reviewer for the *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*.

2015-present Reviewer for Oxford University Press (South Asian History, Islamic History, Indian Ocean Studies)

2017-present Reviewer for Amsterdam University Press (Legal History, Southeast Asian Studies)

2016-present Reviewer for *Sociology of Islam* journal, Brill.

2013-present Editor, *Café Dissensus*, New York, USA.

2007-2009 Associate Editor, *Telitcham* *Monthly*, Kerala, India.