

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Primary Sources

(1) Books and Articles

Achaya, K. T. *Indian Food: A Historical Companion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

The poem about Purandaradasa included in this text shows that chili pepper, which was brought to India in the early 16th century by the Portuguese, became very popular among the Indian people and was of great help to the poor peasants.

Brown, Samuel Sneade. *Home Letters, Written from India between the Years 1828 & 1841*. London: C. F. Roworth, 1878.

This book contains the collection of Samuel Brown's letters that he sent from India to Britain in the early 19th century. Brown wrote about how a lot of the British officials and soldiers in India married native Indian women. The excerpt from this source was used in the "Madras Curry" page.

Cordiner, James. *A Voyage to India*. Aberdeen: D. Chalmers & Co., 1820.

This source was written by James Cordiner during his travels. It includes the scenes and stories of the European's lives in India, especially in Madras. This source also discussed madras curry. The excerpt from this source was used in the "Madras Curry" page.

Dawe, W. H. *The Wife's Help to Indian Cookery: Being a Practical Manual for Housekeepers*. London: Elliot Stock, 1888.

This cooking book, written by W. H. Dawe, includes a 19th-century vindaloo recipe. The recipes from this source were used in the "Goan 'Vindaloo' or 'Kari'" page and the "Madras Curry" page.

Fryer, John, *A New Account of East India and Persia in Eight Letters Being Nine Years Travels 1672-1681*. London: R. R. for Richard Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St Paul's Churchyard, 1698.

This travel writing was written by John Fryer, an English physician who traveled to India in the late 17th century. This source includes detailed illustrations of Goan

women and their diet. The excerpt from this source was used in the “Goan ‘Vindaloo’ or ‘Kari’” page.

Keigakudo, Shujin. *Guide to Western Cuisine*, vol. 2. Tokyo: Karigane Shooku, 1872.

This recipe book was written by Shujin Keigakudo in 1872 in Japan. This source includes various recipes of Western cuisines including the recipe of curry. The recipe was used in the “Curry to Japan” page.

Routledge, James. *English Rule and Native Opinion in India: From Notes Taken 1870-74*. London: Trübner & Co., 1878.

This book was written by a British journalist James Routledge in 1878. This source includes various illustrations of the relationship between the British and the Indian in colonial Britain, including the relationship of the British Sahibs and their native servants. The excerpt from this source was used in the “Madras Curry” page.

Salter, Joseph. *The Asiatic in England: Sketches of Sixteen Years' Work among Orientals*. London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday, 1873.

This book, written by a British Christian missionary Joseph Salter, includes the records of the life of Asian people in London in the late 19th century. The records from this source were used in the “Curry to Britain” page.

Thackeray, William Makepeace. *Vanity Fair*, vol. 1. New York: P. F. Collier & Son Co., 1917.

This novel was originally written in 1848 by William Thackeray. This book illustrates a British family's life during and after the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815). There's a scene in this novel that mentions the taste and popularity of Indian curry. The excerpt from this source was used in the “Curry to Britain” page.

Van Linschoten, Jan Huyghen. *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, vol. 1. New York: Burt Franklin, 1885.

This travel writing was written by a Dutch merchant who traveled to India in the late 16th century. This source includes fascinating and detailed illustrations of India, the Indian people, and the Europeans who settled in India. Above all, Van Linschoten's report provides a detailed description of Goan women who married their Portuguese husbands and invented the first curries. The excerpts from this source were used in the “Goan ‘Vindaloo’ or ‘Kari’” page.

Walpole, Horace. *The Last Journals of Horace Walpole during the Reign of George III from 1771-1783*, vol. 1. London: John Lane, 1910.

This journal was written by an English writer and politician Horace Walpole. This source includes a vivid description of the British East India officials' corruptions and wrongdoings in India. The excerpt from this source was used in the "Madras Curry" page.

(2) Digital Visuals (Photographs, Drawings, and Videos)

"An Indian Girl Eating Her Rice Meal with Hands." *Wego Travel Blog*,
<https://blog.wego.com/eating-with-your-hand-culture-around-the-world/>

This photograph from the *Wego Travel Blog* website shows that many Indians still eat their meals with hands. This image was used in the "Goan 'Vindaloo' or 'Kari'" page.

"Antique Vintage C&B (Crosse and Blackwell) Curry Powder." *WorthPoint*,
<https://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/antique-vintage-crosse-blackwell-239029733>

This photograph from the *Worthpoint* website shows the first commercial curry powder sold in Britain in the mid 1780s. This image was used in the "Curry to Britain" page.

"Brick Lane in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets." *WUWM*,
<https://www.wuwm.com/post/whats-difference-between-curry-house-and-indian-restaurant#stream/0>

This photograph from the *WUWM* website shows the sight of Brick Lane in London. Brick Lane is famous for its many curry houses. This image was used in the "Curry to Britain" page.

"British Expand Control Across South Asia During the Colonial Era." *World 101*,
<https://world101.cfr.org/historical-context/prelude-global-era/what-colonialism-and-how-did-it-arise>

This photograph from the *World 101* website shows the expansion of British colonies in India in the 18th-20th centuries and the location of Madras in India. This map image was used in the "Madras Curry" page.

"Carne em vinha-d'alhos." *Cozinhar sem Stress*,
<https://cozinharsemstress.pt/cozinhar/receitas/carne-em-vinha-dalhos/>

This photograph from the *Cozinhar sem Stress* cooking website shows an original Portuguese ‘carne de vinho e alhos’ or ‘carne em vinha-d’alhos.’ This image was used in the “Goan ‘Vindaloo’ or ‘Kari’” page.

“Chicken Tikka Masala.” *Pinch of Yum*,
<https://pinchofyum.com/chicken-tikka-masala>

This photograph from the *Pinch of Yum* cooking website shows a chicken tikka masala, the most popular curry cuisine in contemporary Britain. This image was used in the “Conclusion” page.

“Colonial 'Gora Sahib' and Their Indian Servants.” *Historum*,
<https://historum.com/threads/colonial-gora-sahib-and-their-indian-servants.126874/>

This photograph from the *Historum* history website shows a British sahib’s family that were taken care of by the native Indian servants. This image was used in the “Madras Curry” page.

“Company Painting.” *Wikipedia*.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_India_Company#/media/File:Portrait_of_East_India_Company_official.jpg

This painting from the *Wikipedia* website was originally painted by an unknown Indian artist hired by the East India Company in 1760. It shows a British official who successfully adapted to life in India. This image was used in the “Madras Curry” page.

“Curry House CoCo Ichibanya.” *Chiyodayori*,
<https://chiyodayori.com/coco-akiba/>

This photograph from the *Chiyodayori* website shows a curry house in Tokyo. CoCo Ichibanya is one of the biggest curry house chain companies. This image was used in the “Curry to Japan” page.

“Curry Pan.” *Japan Guide*,
<https://japan-trends.com/?p=2774>

This photograph from the *Japan Guide* website shows a curry pan, one of Japan’s unique foods that include curry. This image was used in the “Curry to Japan” page.

“Curry Udon.” *Cooking with Dog*,
<https://cookingwithdog.com/recipe/curry-udon-noodles/>

This photograph from the *Cooking with Dog* website shows a curry udon, one of Japan's unique foods that include curry. This image was used in the "Curry to Japan" page.

"Drying Chili." *Trekearth*,

<https://www.trekearth.com/gallery/Asia/India/West/Rajasthan/Jodhpur/photo599209.htm>

This photograph from the *Trekearth* photo gallery website shows an Indian woman who is drying a great amount of chili that was grown in India. This image was used in the "Goan 'Vindaloo' or 'Kari'" page.

"First British Curry Advertisement, 1784." *The Silk Road Gourmet*,

<https://silkroadgourmet.com/the-origins-of-curry-powder/>

This photograph from the *Silk Road Gourmet* website shows the first commercial advertisement of curry powder in Britain in the mid 1780s. This image was used in the "Curry to Britain" page.

"Goan pork vindaloo with potatoes." *SBS*.

<https://www.sbs.com.au/food/recipes/goan-pork-vindaloo-potatoes>

This photograph from the *SBS* cooking website shows a Goan vindaloo in its original style. This image was used in the "Goan 'Vindaloo' or 'Kari'" page.

"Goat curry in *Vanity Fair*." *The Guardian*.

<https://www.theguardian.com/books/little-library-cafe/2015/nov/05/food-in-books-goat-curry-from-william-thackerays-vanity-fair>

This photograph from *The Guardian's* website shows a goat curry that was mentioned in William Thackeray's novel *Vanity Fair*. This image was used in the "Curry to Britain" page.

"Joseph Nye - On Soft Power." *Youtube*.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_58v19OtIIg

This interview video from the *Foreign Policy Association's Youtube Channel* website teaches the definition and implication of soft power in intercultural communications. This video was used in the "Historical Context" page.

"Balcony airing racks in 16th century Goa." *Cover Magazine*,

<https://covermct.wordpress.com/2013/03/07/balcony-drying-racks-in-16th-century-go/>

This drawing from the *Cover Magazine* website was originally drawn from Van Linschoten's *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*. This illustration shows the landscape of the 16th-century Goan city which was occupied by the Portuguese. The image was used in the "Goan 'Vindaloo' or 'Kari'" page.

"Japanese Curry." *S&B Food*,

<https://www.sbfoods-worldwide.com/recipes/010.html>

This photograph of Japanese curry rice from the *S&B Food* website was used in the "Home" page.

"Kare Raisu." *Oyakata*,

<https://www.oyakata.com.pl/en/masters-recipes/kare-raisu-real-japanese-curry-recipe>

This photograph from the *Oyakata* cooking website shows a typical Japanese curry rice. This image was used in the "Conclusion" page.

"London's First Indian Restaurant." *India Today*,

<https://www.indiatoday.in/lifestyle/what-s-hot/story/rare-menu-from-uk-s-1st-indian-restaurant-fetches-over-usd-11-000-1249184-2018-06-03>

This photograph from the *India Today*'s website shows the contemporary sight of the place where the Hindoostane Coffee House, London's first Indian restaurant, was founded. This image was used in the "Curry to Britain" page.

"Madras Mutton Curry." *Lekha Foods*.

<http://beta.lekhafoods.com/india/non-veg-curry/meat/madras-mutton-curry.aspx>

This photograph from the *Lekha Foods* cooking website shows a Madras curry in its original style. This image was used in the "Madras Curry" page.

"Map of Britain and Japan." *Wikipedia*,

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japan%E2%80%93United_Kingdom_relations#/media/File:UK-Japan_World_Map.png

This photograph from the *Wikipedia* website shows the location of Britain and Japan in the world. This map image was used in the "Curry to Japan" page.

“Map of India and Britain.” *Wikipedia*,

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India%E2%80%93United_Kingdom_relations#/media/File:United_Kingdom_India Locator.svg

This photograph from the *Wikipedia* website shows the location of India and Britain in the world. This map image was used in the “Curry to Britain” page.

“Map of India and the Middle East, Jan Huyghen Van Linschoten.” *Quartz India*,

<https://qz.com/india/1245549/kalakriti-archives-rare-maps-reveal-how-indias-cartography-evolved-over-centuries/>

This photograph from the *Quartz India* website shows a map of India and the Middle East that was produced in 1596. This map image was used in the “Goan ‘Vindaloo’ or ‘Kari’” page.

“Navy Curry and Rice.” *Atlas Obscura*,

<https://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/japanese-curry-history>

This photograph from the *Atlas Obscura* website shows a Japanese naval curry rice. This image was used in the “Curry to Japan” page.

“Nixon and Chopsticks.” *Celestial Peach*,

<https://www.celestialpeach.com/blog/nixon-chopsticks>

This photograph from the *Celestial Peach* website shows the former President Nixon’s visit to China in 1972. Here he attends a Chinese banquet at the invitation of the then Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai. This image was used in the “Historical Context” page.

“Obama at the Bun Cha Eatery in Hanoi.” *VN Express International*,

<https://e.vnexpress.net/news/travel/food/celebrity-chef-relives-obama-s-street-food-experience-in-hanoi-3540479.html>

This photograph from the *VN Express International* website shows the former President Barack Obama eating a Vietnamese cuisine at a small eatery with an American chef and CNN journalist Anthony Bourdain in Hanoi. This image was used in the “Historical Context” page.

“Official of the East India Company Riding in an Indian Procession.” *Britannica*,

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/East-India-Company>

This painting from the *Britannica* website shows a British East India Company official in India in the 1820s. This image was used in the “Madras Curry” page.

“Portugal-India (Goa) Maritime Route” *Researchgate*,

https://www.researchgate.net/figure/The-Portuguese-India-Route-55_fig1_301350424

This photograph from the *Researchgate* website shows the maritime route between Portugal and Goa in India in the 16th century. This map image was used in the “Goan ‘Vindaloo’ or ‘Kari’” page.

“Sake Dean Mahomet.” *London Historians’ Blog*,

<https://londonhistorians.wordpress.com/2011/09/05/the-hindoostane-coffee-house/>

This portrait from the *London Historians’ Blog* website shows Dean Mahomet, who was an Indian camp-follower and later opened the first curry house in London. This image was used in the “Curry to Britain” page.

“Simple Anglo-Indian Beef Curry.” *Sify Bawarchi*,

<https://www.bawarchi.com/recipe/simple-anglo-indian-beef-curry-oervUkiefbjbb.html>

This photograph of Anglo-Indian beef curry from *Sify Bawarchi* cooking website was used in the “Home” page.

“Surat Map” *CVFLVBP*,

<http://cvflvbp.blogspot.com/2001/04/map-of-surat-india.html>

This photograph from the *CVFLVBP* website shows the location of Surat in India. This map image was used in the “Madras Curry” page.

“The Indian National Flag.” *The Times of India*,

<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/videos/news/independence-day-2020-the-importance-of-tiranga-the-indian-flag/videoshow/77444770.cms>

This photograph of Indian national flag from *The Times of India* website was used in the “Home” page.

“The Japanese National Flag.” *iStock*,

<https://www.istockphoto.com/kr/search/2/image?phrase=japanese+flag>

This photograph of Japanese national flag from the *iStock* photo gallery website was used in the “Home” page.

“The Lascars.” *Isle of Dogs*,

<https://islandhistory.wordpress.com/2015/04/14/the-lascars/>

This photograph from the *Isle of Dogs* history blog website shows the lascars (Indian merchant seamen) at the Port of London in 1908. This image was used in the “Curry to Britain” page.

“The Union Jack.” *GB Mag*,

<https://greatbritishmag.co.uk/ask-a-brit/why-is-the-united-kingdom-flag-called-the-union-jack/>

This photograph of the Union Jack from the *GB Mag* website was used in the “Home” page.

“1682 Antique Map of India.” *Ebay*,

https://www.ebay.com/itm/Antique-Map-INDIA-MALABAR-SRI-LANKA-COROMANDEL-MALDIVES-Sanson-dAbbeville-1682/373432468861?_trkparms=aid%3D1110006%26algo%3DHOMESPLICE.SIM%26ao%3D1%26asc%3D231648%26meid%3Dff5d26dc911c4c189d59fe83e123444a%26pid%3D101195%26rk%3D1%26rkt%3D12%26mehot%3Dpf%26sd%3D384071659910%26itm%3D373432468861%26pmt%3D1%26noa%3D0%26pg%3D2047675%26algv%3DSimplAMLv9PairwiseUnbiasedWeb&_trksid=p2047675.c101195.m1851

This photograph from the *Ebay* auction website shows an antique map of India that was produced in 1682. This map image was used in the “Madras Curry” page.

“1780 Antique Map of Southern India.” *Ebay*,

https://www.ebay.com/itm/1780-Antique-Map-of-SOUTHERN-INDIA-SRI-LANKA-MALDIVES-ANDAMAN-by-Bonne-36/384071659910?_trkparms=aid%3D1110006%26algo%3DHOMESPLICE.SIM%26ao%3D1%26asc%3D20200818143230%26meid%3D0e4c9954f92e4da091b151f8ca788c67%26pid%3D101224%26rk%3D3%26rkt%3D5%26mehot%3Dnone%26sd%3D284104886078%26itm%3D384071659910%26pmt%3D0%26noa%3D1%26pg%3D2047675%26algv%3DDefaultOrganic&_trksid=p2047675.c101224.m-1

This photograph from the *Ebay* auction website shows an antique map of southern India that was produced in 1780. This map image was used in the “Madras Curry” page.

“バーモントカレー <甘口> (Vermont Curry, Sweet Taste).” *House Food Group*,

https://housefoods.jp/products/catalog/cd_1,088034.html

This photograph from the *House Food Group* website shows Japan’s most popular curry roux product. This image was used in the “Curry to Japan” page.

“『西洋料理指南』にある「カレー」の製法の記述 (The Recipe of ‘Kare’ Included in *Guide to Western Cuisine*).” *Japan Business Press*,
<https://jbpress.ismedia.jp/articles/-/50809?page=2>

This photograph from the *Japan Business Press*'s website shows the first curry recipe in Japan, which was published in 1872. This image was used in the “Curry to Japan” page.

2. Secondary Sources

(1) Books and Articles

Alhinnawi, Hend. “Gastrodiplomacy: Winning Hearts through Feeding the Stomach.” *India: Inside Out*, 11 Nov. 2018,

This article from the *India: Inside Out* website, written by Hend Alhinnawi, explains the effects of satisfying people from other nations with the native cuisine from a diplomatic and cultural perspective. The excerpt from this source was used in the “Historical Context” page.

Buettner, Elizabeth. “‘Going for an Indian’: South Asian Restaurants and the Limits of Multiculturalism in Britain.” *The Journal of Modern History* 80-4 (2008): 865-901.

This article from *The Journal of Modern History* includes a sophisticated argument on the relation of curry and multiculturalism in Britain. This account helped me to find out the multicultural implications of curry's invention and spread to Britain at the beginning stage of my research.

Butler, Stephanie. “A Spot of Curry: Anglo-Indian Cuisine.” *History*, 22 Aug. 2018,
<https://www.history.com/news/a-spot-of-curry-anglo-indian-cuisine>

This article from the *History* website includes a brief account of the factors that facilitated the invention of curry in India. This helped me to understand the conditions of the birth of curry at the beginning stage of my research.

Chapple-Sokol, Sam. “Culinary Diplomacy: Breaking Bread to Win Hearts and Minds.” *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 8-2 (2013): 161-183.

This academic article from *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, written by Sam Chapple-Sokol, argues various features of culinary diplomacy and reveals its role in

helping world peace. The excerpt from this source was used in the “Historical Context” page.

Collingham, Lizzie. *Curry: A Tale of Cooks and Conquerors*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

This admirable history book written by Lizzie Collingham is a lengthy volume that reveals the history of curry in the world in a very detailed way. This source provided great insights into cultural communication through curry cuisine for me. Collingham’s book greatly helped me to initiate and structure this research project.

Khurana, Srishti. “Colonial Influence on Indian Cuisine: Birth of Anglo-Indian.” *Dhaara*, 1 Oct. 2020,
<http://www.itisar.org/projectdhaara/2020/10/01/colonial-influence-on-indian-cuisine-birth-of-anglo-indian/>

This article from the *Dhaara* website includes a brief account of the relation of curry’s invention and the British colonialism. This account helped me to understand the colonial context of curry’s invention at the beginning stage of my research.

Madden, Elyssa. “Cultural Influences on British Cuisine through Colonization.” *Global Foodways*, 15 Dec. 2017,
<https://adhc.lib.ua.edu/globalfoodways/cultural-influences-on-british-cuisine-through-colonization/>

This article from the *Global Foodways* website includes a brief account of curry’s role in increasing Britain’s cultural diversity. This helped me to recognize the curry’s influence in Britain at the beginning stage of my research.

Morieda, Takashi. *Curry Rice to the Japanese*. Trans. by Sung-min Park. Seoul: Nulwa, 2019.

This book, originally written in 1989 by a Japanese writer Takashi Morieda, provides the readers with very detailed records and stories about curry’s spread to Japan. The excerpt from this source was used in the “Curry to Japan” page.

Mukherjee, Debabrata. “The British Curry.” *Historic UK*,
<https://www.historic-uk.com/CultureUK/The-British-Curry/>

This article from *The Historic UK* history website includes a brief account of the origin of Anglo-Indian curry. This account helped me to grasp the gist of the history of the invention and spread of Anglo-Indian curry at the beginning stage of my research.

Sen, Colleen Taylor. *Curry: A Global History*. London: Reaktion Books, 2009.

This history book written by Colleen T. Sen narrates the history of the variation of curry on its regional basis. The readers can see in this book that there are numbers of diverse curry cuisines in every corner of the world. Like Collingham's book about the history of curry, this source also greatly helped me to recognize the regional differences of curry cuisines.

Snyder, Michael. "What we know as 'curry' has a long and curious history." *The Takeout*, 28 Feb. 2018, <https://thetakeout.com/what-we-know-as-curry-has-a-long-and-curious-history-1798252495>

This article from *The Takeout* food and cooking website includes a brief account of curry's history. This account helped me to grasp the gist of curry's invention and spread at the beginning stage of my research.

Twilley, Nicola, Graber, Cynthia, and Gastropod. "The Word Curry Came from a Colonial Misunderstanding: No Indian Language Uses the Term, and the Closest-sounding Words Usually Mean 'Sauce.'" *The Atlantic*, 20 Apr. 2019.

This article from *The Atlantic*'s website includes a brief account of the origin of the misnomer 'curry.' This account helped me to seek the historical origin of the term 'curry' at the beginning stage of my research.

Varman, Rohit. "Curry." *Consumption Markets & Culture* 20-4 (2017): 350-356.

This article from the *Consumption Markets & Culture* journal includes a brief account of the relation of curry's invention and the British colonialism. This account helped me to understand the colonial context of curry's invention at the beginning stage of my research.

Wallin, Matthew. "Gastrodiplomacy: Reaching Hearts and Minds through Stomachs." *American Security Project*, 10 Apr. 2013, <https://www.americansecurityproject.org/gastrodiplomacy-reaching-hearts-and-minds-through-stomachs/>

This article from the American Security Project website, written by Matthew Wallin, explains the diplomatic effects of gastrodiplomacy as a way of doing cultural diplomacy. The excerpt from this source was used in the "Historical Context" page.

"A Brief History of Curry in the UK." *But Foods*,

<https://www.buttfoods.co.uk/about/news/brief-history-curry-uk>

This article from the *But Foods* website includes a brief account of curry houses in Britain since the 1970s. This helped me to look into the contemporary situation of curry houses in Britain at the beginning stage of my research.

“British raj.” *Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/event/British-raj>

This article from the *Britannica* website includes a brief definition of the British raj period. This helped me to understand the historical context of colonial India at the beginning stage of my research.

“Curry.” *Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/curry>

This article from the *Britannica* website includes a brief definition of the cuisine curry. This helped me to grasp the gist of what people normally think of as curry at the beginning stage of my research.

“How Traditional Indian Food Came to Britain.” *Curryculture*,
<https://curryculture.co.uk/how-traditional-indian-food-came-to-britain/>

This article from the *Curryculture* website includes a brief account of curry’s spread to Britain. This helped me to perceive the booming of curry house restaurants in the 1960s and the 1970s in Britain at the beginning stage of my research.

“The Origins and Variations of Curry.” *The Veganary*,
<https://www.theveganary.com/origins-of-curry/>

This article from *The Veganary* vegan website includes a brief account of the ingredients of curry. This account helped me to explore the invention of the curry recipe at the beginning stage of my research.