PAPER 28

THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT FROM THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY

Convenors:
Dr Shruti Kapila, sk555@cam.ac.uk
Dr Anjali B. Datta  abd28@cam.ac.uk
Professor Samita Sen ss162@cam.ac.uk

The Hindu, Independence Day cover, 15 August 1947, Centre of South Asian Studies Archive
READING LIST: 2020-21

The History of The Indian Subcontinent from the Late Eighteenth Century to the Present Day

Course description
A fifth of the world's population lives in the Indian subcontinent. While today the region’s place in the global world order is widely recognised, this is in fact only the most recent chapter in a longer history. This paper offers an understanding of the part played by the Indian subcontinent and its people in the making of the modern world. From the decline of the great empire of the Mughals and the rise of British hegemony, to the rise of nationalism, the coming of independence and partition, the consolidation of new nation states despite regional wars and conflicts, and the emergence of India as the largest democracy in the world, this paper is a comprehensive and analytical survey of the subcontinent's modern history. The paper covers the dynamic and complex relationships between changing forms of political power and religious identities, economic transformations, and social and cultural change in the period from 1757 to 2007.

Teaching
There will be 30 lectures, 4 revision classes in the Easter Term. Supervisions will be centrally arranged by the convenors and students will be informed directly. There will be six to seven supervisions and these will be normally done in pairs.

Key themes and brief overview
The paper begins by examining the rise of British power in the context of economic developments indigenous to southern Asia; it analyses the role played by Indian polities and social groups in the expansion of the East India Company’s activities. It tracks the emergence of modern intelligentsias and their definitions of what constituted proper religious, public and domestic behaviour. The paper places these changes in the context of the concurrent decline of Indian handicrafts and the impact of British revenue arrangements on rural society, and explores India’s place in the development of global capitalism.

The central section of this paper is framed by the dramatic events associated with the rise of nationalism. It explores anti-colonial movements and Gandhian politics in the 1920s, ’30s and ’40s, and the events that led up to the Partition of 1947. Students may, however, opt to study, among other topics: the society and culture of particular Indian regions; the changing conditions of the peasant, tribal and industrial worker, the incidence of famine, the economic impact of free trade and the nature of colonial governmentality, all subjects which have benefited from recent research.

The paper goes on to examine political developments in South Asia since Independence. It considers relations between the centre and the states, planned development, affirmative action and the rise of the Hindu right in India; the dominance of the Army in Pakistan and problems of instability and militancy in Bangladesh.

Covid-19 update
In the context of Covid-19 and restricted access to libraries, efforts are being made to make essential readings digitally available. Please check the Paper’s Moodle site for updates.
Primary Sources are suggested for each topic and marked with an asterisk *. You will get most out of each topic if you make time to consult these, as well as the secondary material. Some of these sources are online, in which case the website is given. To supplement these, films and novels are also suggested for some topics.

Libraries (in addition to Seeley and UL)
FAMES, Sidgwick Avenue
Centre of South Asian Studies Library, Laundress Lane
Note: For articles in less accessible journals, use the journals website of the University Library, which will give you access to many journals online.

Topics

1. State and society in 18th century India: decline or decentralisation?
2. British expansion in India in the 18th and early 19th century
3. Imperial transitions: ideology, race, gender and culture 1757-1840
4. The ‘age of reform’ or the ‘liberal moment’, 1830-1850
5. The rebellion of 1857
6. Economy and society under the Raj: famines and Victorian holocausts
7. Statecraft and Colonial ‘governmentality’
8. Recasting religion: Nationalisation of Hinduism
9. ‘Invented identities’: caste, tribe and resistance
10. Recasting Muslim identity and Colonial Rule
11. The rise of Indian nationalism: perspectives and approaches
12. The Indian National Congress, 1885-1920
14. Political institutions under the Raj: the census and the growth of representative politics
15. Imagining India: Nationalist thought
16. Gandhi, Gandhism and ‘mass nationalism’
17. Structures of power and politics in the Indian empire, 1920-1945
18. Muslim politics between the wars, 1918-1939
19. The urban age: industry and capitalism, 1890-1939
20. The end of empire: partition and independence
21. The transition to democracy in India: constitution-making, the command economy and the 'Congress system'
22. Language, region and the challenges of federalism, India, 1947-70
23. Challenges to democracy in India: the Emergency and the rise of Hindu nationalism
24. India's political economy and liberalisation since the early 1990s
25. Constitution-making, the army and the challenges of federalism, Pakistan, 1940-70
26. Conflict and war in the Indian subcontinent: the question of Kashmir
27. The creation of Bangladesh: war, militancy and militarism
28. Globalisation, Liberalisation and the Culture of New India
29. The history of Sri Lanka.
General reading: Modern South Asia

Gordon Johnson  
A Cultural Atlas of India, New York, 1996

C. A. Bayly  
Remaking the Modern World, 1900-2015, 2018

Sugata Bose and A Jalal  

C.A. Bayly  
Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire, Cambridge, 1988

Tirthankar Roy  
The Economic History of India, 1857-1947, Delhi, 2000

C.A Bayly  

T.R. Metcalf  

Sumit Sarkar  

Sunil Khilnani  

Paul Brass  
The Politics of India since Independence, Cambridge, 1990

Ram Guha  
India after Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy, 2007

S Corbridge & J Harriss  
Reinventing India, 2000

Raychaudhuri et al  
Cambridge Economic History of India, 2005

Christophe Jaffrelot  
The Pakistan Paradox: Instability and Resilience, 2015

William Van Schendel  
History of Bangladesh, Cambridge, 2009

Sujit Sivasundaram  
Islanded: Britain, Sri Lanka, and the Bounds of an Indian Ocean Colony, 2013

Sekhar Bandyopadhyay  
From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India, 2004

Stephen Hay (ed.)  
Sources of Indian Tradition, vol. 2 (Excellent source of primary material)

R.Guha and G.Spivak  
Selected Subaltern Studies, 1998

Nira Wickramasinghe  

Bernard S Cohn  
An Anthropologist Among Historians, 1990

Tirthankar Roy et al.,  

Thomas Blom Hansen  
The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism, 1999

The New Cambridge History of India volumes provide synoptic overviews of key themes with extensive bibliographies

General reading: Modern South Asia

Paul Brass  
The Politics of India since Independence (Cambridge, 1990)

Ram Guha  

S Corbridge & J Harriss  
Reinventing India, (2000)

Raychaudhuri et al  
Cambridge Economic History of India (2005)

Stephen Hay (ed.)  
Sources of Indian Tradition, vol. 2 (Excellent source of primary material)

R.Guha and G.Spivak  
Selected Subaltern Studies (1998)

Bernard S Cohn  
An Anthropologist Among Historians (1990)

Thomas Blom Hansen  
The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism (1999)

The New Cambridge History of India volumes provide synoptic overviews of key themes with extensive bibliographies

General reading: imperialism, nationalism and decolonisation

John Breuilly (ed)  
Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalisms, 2013

Eric Hobshawm  
Nations and Nationalism since 1780, Cambridge, 1990

Benedict Anderson  
Imagined Communities: Reflections on Nationalism, London, 1983

Edward Said  
Orientalism, New York, 1979

John Darwin  
The Empire Project, Cambridge, 2011

Burbank and Cooper  
Empires in World History, Power and the Politics of Difference, 2011

Cooper and Stoler (ed.)  
Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World, 1997

Arjun Appadurai  
Modernity at Large: Cultural dimensions of Globalization, 1996

Dipesh Chakrabarty  
Provincialising Europe, 2000
Literature, memoirs and novels

Rudyard Kipling  

E M Forster  
*A Passage to India*, London, 1978

Rabindrath Tagore  
The *Home and the World*, London, 1985

Rabindrath Tagore  
*Gora* (Penguin Books India reprint), 2010

Salman Rushdie  

Amitav Ghosh  
*Shadow lines*, London, 1988

W H Sleeman  
*Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, reprint Karachi, 1973

Jawaharlal Nehru  
The *Discovery of India*, Bombay, 1964

M. K Gandhi  
The *Story of My Experiments with Truth* (ed. Sunil Khilnani), London 2001

Saadat Hasan Manto  
*Kingdom's End and other stories*, London, 1987

Pankaj Mishra  
The *Romantics*, London 1999

VS Naipaul  
*Half a Life*, 2002

Suketu Mehta  
*Maximum City*, 2004

Amartya Sen  
The *Argumentative Indian*, 2005

Arundhati Roy  
The *God of Small Things*, 1998

Ismat Chughtai  
The *Quilt & Other Stories*, 1944

Tharu & Lalita  

You are strongly advised to consult key journals for articles: *Modern Asian Studies*, *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Journal of Asian Studies, *South Asia*, *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*. For contemporary discussions see especially *Economic and Political Weekly*. For newspaper coverage see *The Hindu*, or *Times of India* (India), *Dawn* (Pakistan) and *Daily Star* (Bangladesh).

Below: MAS=Modern Asian Studies; IESHR=Indian Economic and Social History Review; JAS=Journal of Asian Studies; HJ=Historical Journal; MIH=Modern Intellectual History; EPW=Economic and Political Weekly; CSSH=Comparative Studies in Society and History.

**NB:** in the reading list that follows, suggested readings for weekly essays are set out in **bold type**. Longer lists are appended as a guide to students wanting to expand their knowledge or wishing to write a Part II dissertation.

**Topic 1: India Between Empires: Decline or Decentralisation?**

Q. Was Mughal decline inevitable? Discuss the view that Indian society and economy was ‘divided but buoyant’ in the eighteenth century.

Robert Travers  
‘Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-century India’, *Eighteenth century studies*, 40, 3, 2007 (available on web)

C.A. Bayly  
*Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire* ch.1-3

Muzaffar Alam  
The *Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India*

Alavi, Seema (ed.)  
The *Eighteenth Century in India*

Peter Marshall  
*British Bridgehead*, ch 1-2

D. A Washbrook  
‘Progress and Problems: South Asian Economic and Social History 1720-1860’ MAS 1988

C.A. Bayly  
*Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*, Cambridge, 1983

Bernard S Cohn  
‘Political Systems in 18c India’ in his *Anthropologist among Historians*

M Alam and  
S Subrahmanyam (ed.)  
The *Mughal State 1526-1750, Delhi* 1998 (see introduction)
J Heesterman  ‘Western expansion; Indian reaction: Mughal Empire and British Raj’, in C Heesterman, *The Inner Conflict of Tradition*, Chicago, 1985

Meena Bhargava  *The decline of the Mughal Empire*, 2014

Barbara Ramusack  *The Indian Princes and their States*, 2007


R. O’Hanlon and D. Washbrook  *Religious Cultures in early Modern India*, 2012

Karen Leonard  *Social History of an Indian Caste: the Kayasths of Hyderabad*, 1978

J. R McLane  *Land and Local Kingship in 18 Century Bengal*, 2002

Susanne Rudolph  ‘State Formation in South Asia’ JAS, 1987


Sumit Guha  ‘An Indian Penal Regime’, *Past and Present* 1997

M. Athar Ali  ‘The passing of an empire: The Mughal case’, *MAS* 1985

Richard Barnett  *North India between Empire*, 1987


Kumkum Chatterjee  *The Cultures of History in early Modern India*, 2009

Richard Eaton  *India in the Persianate Age*, 2019 ch.8

---

**Topic 2: East India Company: Land, Trade & the Dominion of Empire, 1757-1857**

Q How important were British revenue settlements in transforming Indian rural society before the mutiny?

Q How would you characterise the East India Company before 1790– a global trading company or a political institution?

**Travers (above)**

Lawrence Stone (ed.)  *An Imperial State at War*, 1993

Seema Alavi  *The Sepoy and the Company*, 1999


Ranajit Guha  *A Rule of Property for Bengal*, 1996


Michael Fisher  ‘Indirect Rule in India’, *MAS*, 2008

Claude Markovits  *The Global World of Indian Merchants* 2000

Kumkum Chatterjee  *Merchants, Politics and Society in Early Modern India*, 1996

Eric Stokes  *The Peasant and the Raj*, 1978

Anand Yang  *The Limited Raj*, 1989

C A Bayly  *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*, ch. 5-7

Philip J Stern  ‘British Asia and British Atlantic: Comparisons and Connections’ *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2006

Peter Marshall  *The Making and Unmaking of Empires*, 2005

K. N. Chaudhuri  *The East India Company*

Sumit Guha  *The Bombay Deccan*

David Ludden  *Peasant History in South India*, 1985

DHS Kolff  *Naukar, Raiput and Sepoy*, 1990

**Good biographies of key actors include:**
John Rosselli, Lord William Bentinck, Burton Stein, Thomas Munro, Ainslee Embree, Charles Grant and British Rule in India, and Percival Spear, Master of Bengal. Clive and his India

**Topic 3: Imperial Transitions: Race, Gender and Culture, c. 1757-1840**

Q. In what ways and to what effects did orientalism and race define the Indo-British encounter in the early nineteenth century?
Q. Why and how was the status of women significant for colonial law?

**Eric Stokes**  
*English Utilitarians and India*, ch 1-3

**C A Bayly**  
*Empire and Information*, ch. 1-5

**Ronald Inden**  
*Imaging India*, 2000

**Indrani Chatterjee**  
*Gender Slavery and the Law in Colonial India*, 1998

**Radhika Singha**  
*A Despotism of Law*, 1998

**Lata Mani**  
*Contentious Traditions*, 1987

**Javed Majeed**  
*Ungoverned Imaginings*

**David Washbrook**  
‘Law, State and Society’  
*MAS* 1981

**David Skuy**  
‘Macaulay and the Indian Penal Code of 1862’,  
*MAS* 1998

**Ronald Inden**  
“Orientalist Constructions of India”,  
*MAS* 1986

**Shruti Kapila**  
‘Race Matters: Orientalism and Religion, 1770-1880’,  
*MAS* 2007

**Juan R I Cole**  
*The Roots of Shi’ism in Iran and North India*

**E. M. Collingham**  
*Imperial Bodies*, 2001

**Veeana Oldenburg**, ‘Lifestyle as Resistance: Case of the Courtesans’ in *Lucknow: Memoirs of a City*

**Jeevan Deol**  
‘Sex, Social Critique and the Female Figure’,  
*MAS*, 2002

**Durba Ghosh**  
*Sex and the Family in Colonial India*, 2006

**Thomas Trautmann**  
*Aryans and British India*

**Michael S. Dodson**  
*Orientalism Empire and National Culture*

**S. N. Mukerjee**  
*Sir William Jones*

**K. Ballhatchet**  
*Race Sex and Class under the Raj*, 1980

**Peter van der Veer & C Breckenridge**  
Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament (Relevant essays)

**Jamal Malik (ed.)**  
*Perspectives of Mutual Encounter in South Asian History*, 2000

**Durba Mitra**  
*Indian Sex Life: Sexuality and the Colonial Origins of Modern Thought*, 2020

**This would be the moment to read critically William Dalrymple’s White Mughals**

**Topic 4: The ‘Liberal Moment’: Religion, Education and Elites in the mid 19C**

Q In what ways and for what reasons did Indians challenge and transform liberal ideas between 1800-60?

**David Kopf**  
*British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance*

**Eric Stokes**  
*English Utilitarians and India*, ch 1-3

**Jon Wilson**  
‘Early colonial India beyond empire’  

**C A Bayly**  
‘Rammohan Roy and the Advent of Constitutional Liberalism in India’,  
*MIH*, 2007

**Lynn Zastoupil,**  
Rammohan Roy and the making of Victorian Britain (2010)

**Sumanta Banerjee**  
*The Parlour and the Street*

**Javed Majeed**  
*Ungoverned Imaginings*

**Tapan Raychaudhuri**  
‘Europe in India’s Xenology’,  
*Past and Present* 1992

**Tapan Raychaudhuri**  
*Europe Reconsidered*

**Peter Hardy**  
*Muslims of British India*, ch 1-3

**Thomas Metcalf**  
*Ideologies of the Raj*

**Lynn Zastophil et al**  
J.S. Mill’s Encounter with India

**Andrew Sartori**  
*Bengal in global concept history* (2008) ch. 3

**Brian Hatcher**  
*Bourgeois Hinduism*, 2008
Topic 5: 1857 and Peasant Rebellions in the Nineteenth Century

Q. ‘A typical peasant rebellion writ large’ or the ‘first war of Indian independence’? Why have the events of 1857-8 been elusive to characterise?

R. Mukherjee  
*Awadh in Revolt*

Eric Stokes  
*The Peasant and the Raj*

Eric Stokes  
The Peasant Armed (and review article by G Pandey, ‘View of the observable’, in JPS, 1980

Ranajit Guha  
Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency

C A Bayly  
Empire and Information, ch 9

Ranajit Guha  
The Prose of Counter-Insurgency’ Subaltern Studies

William Pinch  
Peasants and Monks in British India

Kim Wagner  
The Great fear of 1857 (2010)

Francis Hutchins  
Illusions of Permanence

Thomas Metcalf  
Aftermath of the Revolt

David Omissi  
The Sepoy and the Raj

Gautam Bhadra  
“Four Rebels of 1857” in Subaltern Studies IV

Marx and Engels  
‘First Indian War of Independence’

Narayani Gupta  
Delhi Between Empires

*W H Sleeman  
A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude 1849-50, London, 1858

*Sir John Kaye  
The History of the Sepoy War in India, 1857-58, Vol I, London, 1874

S N Sen  
1857, Delhi, 1957

Seema Alavi  
The Sepoys and the Company, Delhi, 1998

S. B Chaudhuri  
Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies, Calcutta, 1957

David Baker  
‘Mutiny in Central India’, MAS, 1991

Douglas Peers  

E I Brodkin  
‘Struggle for succession’, MAS, 1972

David Arnold  
‘Islam, the Mapillas and Peasant revolt in Malabar’, Journal of Peasant Studies, 9, 4, 1982

Radhika Singha  

Seema Alavi  

Tapti Roy  

**You could watch Satyajit Ray’s ‘The Chess Players’, or Shyam Benegal's 'Junoon'.**
Topic 6: Rural Commerce: Famines and ‘Victorian Holocausts’

Q. Did the commercialisation of agriculture lead to famines in the nineteenth century?

David Arnold \textit{Famine: Social Crises and Historical Change} also essays by him in \textit{Subaltern Studies III and Past and Present} 1979

B M Bhatia \textit{Famines in India}

Mike Davis \textit{Late Victorian Holocausts} 2001

D Hall-Matthews \textit{Peasants Famine and the State} 2005

David Hardiman \textit{Feeding the Bania}

Michelle Mc Alpin \textit{Subject to Famine}

Jairus Banaji ‘Capitalist Domination and the Small Peasantry’ \textit{EPW} 1977

Louis Dumont “The ‘village community from Munro to Maine’ \textit{Contributions to Indian Sociology} 1966

Ramchandra Guha \textit{The uneasy Woods,} 2000

S Ambrirajan “Political Economy and Indian Famines”, \textit{South Asia} 1971

R. C. Dutt \textit{Open Letters to Lord Curzon on Famines…} 1900

Michael Mann \textit{British Rule on Indian Soil} 1999

Paul Greenough \textit{Prosperity and Misery in Modern Bengal} (on 1943 famine but important)

Sanjay Sharma \textit{Famine, Philanthropy and the Colonial State}

A K Sen ‘Famine Mortality’ in E J Hobsbawm (ed.) \textit{Peasants in History}


Sugata Bose (ed.) \textit{Credit, Markets and the Agrarian Economy of Colonial India} 91994

Gyan Prakash \textit{Bonded Histories}

Tim Dyson (ed.) \textit{India’s Historical Demography: Studies in Famine, Disease & Society}

**You could read Verrier Elwin \textit{Leaves from the Jungle: Life in a Gond Village} (1936), and see Satyajit Ray's classic film \textit{Pather Panchali}, or Mrinal Sen's \textit{Akaler Sandhaney - In search of famine’}. The recent Bollywood blockbuster, \textit{Lagaan}, is an entertaining look at British land revenue demands.

Topic 7: Colonial Governmentality: Effects of the Colonial State and Science

Q. Did knowledge translate into power in colonial India?

Matthew Edney \textit{Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India} 1999

Bernard S Cohn \textit{Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge}

C A Bayly \textit{Empire and Information,} ch. 7-8

William Pinch \textit{Same Difference in Europe and India History and Theory} 1999

David Arnold \textit{Science, Technology and Medicine in Colonial India}

Gyan Prakash \textit{Another Reason, Science and the Imagination of Modern India} 1999

David Arnold \textit{Colonising the Body,} Berkeley, 1993

R S Chandavarkar \textit{Imperial Power and Popular Politics,} Cambridge, 1997, ch 8

Mark Harrison \textit{Climates and Constitutions}

David Scott ‘Colonial Governmentality’ \textit{Social Text} 1998

Kavita Philip \textit{Civilizing Natures} 2004

Gauri Viswanathan \textit{ Masks of Conquest. Literary Study and British Rule in India,} 1990

Deepak Kumar \textit{Science and the Raj}

Kapil Raj \textit{Locating Modern Science} 2005


Arjun Appadurai ‘Number in Colonial Imagination’ in Van der Veer and Breckenridge (ed.) \textit{Orientalism and Postcolonial Predicament}
Christopher Pinney
Rohan Deb Roy

* You could read the highly entertaining thriller *Calcutta Chromosome* by Amitav Ghosh on the invention of the cure for malaria by Ronald Ross in Calcutta. Hari Kunzru’s *The Impressionist* is amusing on colonial phrenology and princely pecadillos.

**Topic 8: Recasting Religion: Making Hinduism ‘National’, 1850-1920**

Q. How and with what consequences was Hinduism transformed by 1920?

**Andrew Sartori**
*Gods on Earth*

**Peter van der Veer**
*Bengal in global concept history (2008)*

**Tanika Sarkar**
*Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation*

**Mark Juergensmeyer**
*Religion as a Social Vision*

**David Lorenzon**
‘Who invented Hinduism?’, *CSSH* 1999

**Shruti Kapila and Faisal Devji (eds.)**

**Kenneth Jones**
*Socio-Religious Reform Movements in India*

**Kenneth Jones**
*Arya Dharma*

**Leela Gandhi**
*Affective communities, 2006*

**Rosalind O’Hanlon**
*Caste Conflict and Ideology*

**Radha Kumar**
*A History of Doing (on gender)*

**Sandria Frietag**
*Collective Action and Community*

**Sudipta Kaviraj**
‘Two Histories of Bengal’ in Sheldon Pollock (ed.) *Literary Cultures of South Asia* 2004

**K Prior**
‘Making History: The State’s Intervention in Religious Disputes’, *MAS*, 1993

**Kama MacLean**
‘Making the Colonial State work for you: Modern beginnings of Kumbh Mela’ *Journal of Asian Studies*, 2003

**H. Kulke (ed.)**
*Hinduism Reconsidered*

**Partha Mitter**
*Much Maligned Monsters*

**William Radice**
*Swami Vivekananda and the Modernisation of Hinduism*, 1998

**Joseph Alter**

**Charles Heimsath**
*Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform*, Princeton, 1964

**Vasudha Dalmia**
*Nationalization of Hindu Tradition*

**Charu Gupta**
*Sexuality, Obscenity, Community*

**C R King**
‘Forging a new linguistic identity’, in S Freitag (ed.) *Culture and power in Benares*.

**Romila Thapar**

**Cristophe Jaffrelot**
The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics, London, 1996.

**William Pinch**
*Peasants and monks in British India*, 1996

**G D Sontheimer and H Kulke**
*Hinduism Reconsidered*, Delhi, 1989.

**Peter Van der Veer**
*Religious Nationalism. Hindus and Muslims in India*, Berkeley, 1994

**Gyanendra Pandey**
The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India, 1990

**Anand Yang**
‘Sacred Symbol and Sacred Space’, *CSSH*, 22, 4, 1980

**N Gooptu**
‘The Urban Poor and Militant Hinduism in Early Twentieth Century UP’, *MAS*, 31, October 1997

**Richard S. Weiss**
The Emergence of Modern Hinduism: Religion on the Margins of Colonialism, 2019
**Topic 9: Invented Identities? Caste, Tribe and Resistance**

Q. Was caste ‘invented’ in the nineteenth century?
Q. How did caste and social hierarchy change over the course of the nineteenth century?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Susan Bayly</td>
<td><em>Caste Politics and Indian Society</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudipta Kaviraj</td>
<td>‘Imaginary Institution of Indian Society’ <em>Subaltern Studies VII</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas Dirks</td>
<td><em>Castes of Mind</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Issue on Caste</td>
<td><em>Indian Economic and Social History Review, 2004</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R O’Hanlon</td>
<td><em>Caste Conflict and Ideology, Cambridge, 1985</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijay Prashad</td>
<td><em>Untouchable Freedom: A Social History of a Dalit Community</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Robb (ed.)</td>
<td><em>The Concept of Race in South Asia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arjun Appadurai</td>
<td><em>Worship and Conflict under Colonial Rule, Cambridge, 1982</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernard Cohn</td>
<td><em>An Anthropologist among Historians and other essays</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*H H Risley</td>
<td><em>The Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Calcutta, 1891</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Abbe Dubois</td>
<td><em>A Description of the Character, Manners and Customs of the People of India, London, 1817</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meena Radhakrishnan</td>
<td>“Criminal Tribes Act in Madras”, <em>IESHR 1990</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajay Skaria</td>
<td><em>Hybrid Histories</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajni Kothari (ed.)</td>
<td><em>Caste in Indian Politics see essay by Elanor Zelliott on Mahars</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N Dirks, ‘The invention of caste’</td>
<td><em>Social Analysis 1989</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rashmi Pant</td>
<td>‘The cognitive status of caste in colonial ethnography’ <em>IESHR, 1987</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Washbrook</td>
<td>‘Law, State and Society’, <em>MAS, 1981</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radhika Singha</td>
<td><em>A despotism of law. Crime and justice in early colonial India</em>, New (From Faujdari to Faujdari Adalat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharma Kumar</td>
<td><em>Land and Caste in South India</em>, Cambridge, 1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deshpande G. P</td>
<td><em>Selected Writings of Jotirao Phule</em>, Left Word, 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jotiba (Jotirao) Phule</td>
<td><em>Gulamgiri</em> [Slavery], available on web</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Topic 10: Recasting Muslim Identity and Colonial Rule, 1850-1920**

Q. Why and in what ways did Muslim politics emerge as distinctive after the mutiny of 1857?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F. C. R Robinson</td>
<td><em>Separatism among Indian Muslims</em>, Cambridge, 1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. A. Bayly</td>
<td>‘The Prehistory of Communalism’, <em>MAS, 1985</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbara Daly Metcalf</td>
<td><em>Islamic Revival in British India</em>, Berkeley, 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christopher King</td>
<td><em>One Language Two Scripts</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Anderson</td>
<td>‘Islamic Law and the Colonial Encounter’ David Arnold and Peter Robb (ed.) <em>Ideologies and Institutions</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rafiuddin Ahmed</td>
<td><em>The Bengal Muslims 1871-1906: A Quest for Identity</em>, Delhi, 1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Troll</td>
<td><em>Sayyid Ahmed Khan: A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology</em>, New Delhi, 1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Hardy</td>
<td><em>The Muslims of British India</em>, Cambridge, 1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosalind O’Hanlon</td>
<td>‘Historical Approaches to Communalism’, in Peter Robb (ed.), <em>Society and Ideology. Essays in South Asian History</em>, 1993</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abdul Malik Mujahid  Conversion to Islam: Untouchable’s strategy for protest in India  
T. N. Madan (ed.)  Muslim Communities in South Asia  
Avrill Powell  Muslims and Missionaries in pre Mutiny India  
Usha Sanyal  Devotional Islam and Politics of British India 1996  
G. Kozlowski  Muslim Endowments and Society in British India 1993  
Kenneth McPherson  The Muslim Microcosm, Calcutta 1918-1935  
Farina Mir  ‘Genre and Devotion in Punjabi Popular Narrative: Rethinking Cultural and Religious Syncreticism’, CSSH, 2006  
*W W Hunter  The Indian Musalmans: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen, London, 1871  
*Sayyid Ahmad Khan  Strictures on the Present State of English Education in India, London, 1869

TOPICS 11-17: INDIAN NATIONALISM:

**This part of the reading list is inter-related and you are advised to read across the different themes for addressing essay topics.

**POLITICAL MEMOIRS BIOGRAPhIES AND TEXTS:

B.B. Majumdar  History of Political Thought from Rammohan to Dayananda 1934  
Annemarie Schimmel  Gabriel’s Wing: A study into the religious ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal 1948  
Sri Aurobindo  Doctrine of Passive Resistance 1948  
BR Nanda  Gokhale: The Indian Moderates and the British Raj, 1977  
S Gopal  Jawaharlal Nehru Vols 1-3  
Leonard Gordon  Brothers Against the Raj A Biography of Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose, 1990  
Rani Shankardass  Vallabhbhai Patel, 1988  
Richard Cashman  The Myth of the Lokmanya, Berkeley, 1975  
E. Thompson  
Bankimchandra Chatterjee  Anandamath, 1882  
Rabindranath Tagore  Gora, London, 1912  
Dadabhai Naoroji  Poverty and UnBritish Rule in India, Delhi, 1901  
B. R. Ambedkar  Gandhi and Gandhism, Jullunder, 1970  
M. K. Gandhi  The Story of My Experiments with Truth, Ahmedabad, 1927  
M. K. Gandhi  Hind Swaraj and Other Writings (ed. A J Parel), 1997  
Rabindranath Tagore  Nationalism, London, 1917  
Jawaharlal Nehru  An Autobiography, Bombay, 1962  
Rajani Palme Dutt  India To-day, London, 1940  
Abdul Kalam Azad  An intellectual and Religious biography ed. Gail Minault and Christian Troll

You could watch ‘Rebels of the Raj’ a documentary on Subhas Bose, and of course, David Attenborough’s Gandhi.

** Topic 11: Indian Nationalism: Historiography and debates

Q. What has been the contribution of Subaltern Studies and the Cambridge School to our understanding of Indian nationalism?  
Q. Why has the study of Indian nationalism proven to be divisive?  

Anil Seal  The Emergence of Indian Nationalism, Cambridge, 1968.
Topic 12: The Indian National Congress, 1885-1920

Q. Can the conflict between the ‘moderates’ and the ‘extremists’ in the Indian National Congress be adequately explained in terms of factional differences?
Q What and who did the early Congress represent?

The early associations and the formation of Congress:

A Seal

The Emergence of Indian Nationalism, Cambridge, 1968
J R McLane

Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress, Princeton, 1977
D A Washbrook

The Emergence of Provincial Politics: the Madras Presidency 1870-1892, Cambridge, 1976
S Wolpert

Tilak and Gokhale, Berkeley, 1962
S Sarkar

Modern India, Madras, 1985
B Chandra,

The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India, Delhi, 1966
D Chakrabarty

Habitations of modernity (2002), ch 1.
C A Bayly

The Local Roots of Indian Politics, Oxford, 1975
G Johnson

Provincial Politics and Indian Nationalism, Bombay and the Indian National Congress 1880-1915, Cambridge, 1973
R Ray

Social Conflict and Political Unrest in Bengal, 1875-1927, Delhi, 1984

Topic 12: The Indian National Congress, 1885-1920

Q. Can the conflict between the ‘moderates’ and the ‘extremists’ in the Indian National Congress be adequately explained in terms of factional differences?
Q What and who did the early Congress represent?

The early associations and the formation of Congress:

A Seal

The Emergence of Indian Nationalism, Cambridge, 1968
J R McLane

Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress, Princeton, 1977
D A Washbrook

The Emergence of Provincial Politics: the Madras Presidency 1870-1892, Cambridge, 1976
S Wolpert

Tilak and Gokhale, Berkeley, 1962
S Sarkar

Modern India, Madras, 1985
B Chandra,

The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India, Delhi, 1966
D Chakrabarty

Habitations of modernity (2002), ch 1.
C A Bayly

The Local Roots of Indian Politics, Oxford, 1975
G Johnson

Provincial Politics and Indian Nationalism, Bombay and the Indian National Congress 1880-1915, Cambridge, 1973
R Ray

Social Conflict and Political Unrest in Bengal, 1875-1927, Delhi, 1984
Extremism and terrorism; the Congress split:

Andrew Sartori  
*Bengal in global concept history* (2008) chs.5-8

Richard Cashman  

Sumit Sarkar  
*The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal*, Delhi, 1973

John R McLane  
*Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress*, Princeton, 1977

S Wolpert  
*Tilak and Gokhale*, Berkeley, 1962

Sartori and Kapila  

Peter Heehs  

Sumit Sarkar  
*Modern India*, Madras, 1985

Barbara Southard  

Bipan Chandra  
‘Revolutionary Terrorists in Northern India in the 1920s’, in B R Nanda (ed.), *Socialism in India*, Delhi, 1972

Raj Chandavarkar  

Peter Heehs  
*Nationalism, terrorism, communalism. Essays in modern Indian History*, Delhi, 1998.

Prachi Deshpande  
Creative pasts; historical memory in western India (2206).


Q. What were the economic and cultural conditions for the rise of anti-colonial movements of 1905-08?

Q. ‘Deindustrialisation’ or a chapter in economic globalisation? Assess the nature of industrial capitalism before 1914.

Ritu Birla  
*Stages of capital* (2010)

Neil Charlesworth  
*British Rule and Indian Economy 1800-1914*

C Simmons  
“Deindustrialisation, industrialisation and the Indian economy 1850-1947”, *MAS* 1985

Mariaka Vicziany  
“Deindustrialisation of India” *IESHR* 1979

Barun De (ed.)  
Essays in Honour of S C Sarkar see esp. Bagchi

Gyan Pandey  
“Economic dislocation in 19c UP” in Robb (ed.) *Rural South Asia*

Burton Stein & S. Subrahmanyanam (ed.)  
*Institutions and Economic Change in South Asia*

Amiya K Bagchi  
‘Deindustrialisation in India in the 19th Century’ *Journal of Development Studies* 1976

Bipan Chandra  
*The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India*

Sumit Guha  
*Growth, Stagnation or Decline? Agrarian Productivity in British India*, Delhi, 1992.

RS Chandavarkar  
‘Industrialisation in India before 1857: Conventional Approaches and Alternative perspectives’, *MAS*, 1985

Tirthankar Roy  

David Washbrook,  

Manu Goswami  
*Producing India*, 2005

Andrew Sartori  
‘The Categorical Logic of a Colonial Nationalism’ *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 2003

Sumit Sarkar,  
*The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal*, Delhi, 1973

Lisa Trivedi  
“The Visual Culture of Swadeshi Nationalism”, *JAS* 2005

C A Bayly  
“The Origins of Swadeshi” in Arjun Appadurai (ed.) *The Social Life of Things*

Sudhir Chandra  
‘The cultural component of economic nationalism’, *Indian Historical Review*, 12, 1-2, 1985-86.

C A Bayly  
*Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*, Cambridge, 1983, chapters 5-7


Neeladri Bhattacharya *The Great Agrarian Conquest: The Colonial Reshaping of a Rural World*, Permanent Black, 2018


‘The Rise and Fall of Indian Economic History’, *Economic History of Developing Regions*, 29(1), 2014

*Dadabhai Naoroji* Poverty and Unbritish Rule in India, 1901

*Ramesh Chandra Dutt* *The Economic History of India, Vol 2: In the Victorian Age*, New York, (1904)

**You ought to watch Satyajit Ray’s ‘Home and the World’, or read Tagore’s novel of the same name on which it is based.**

**Topic 14: Political institutions under the Raj: the census and the growth of ‘representative politics’**

Q: Why and with what effects was ‘native representation’ introduced in British India between 1858 and 1909?

Anil Seal *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the later Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1968, (especially Chapter 4)

D A Washbrook ‘Law, State and Society’ *MAS*, 1981

Arjun Appadurai ‘Number in the colonial imagination’ in C Breckenridge & Van der Veer (eds.), *Orientalism and the Post-colonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia*, Philadelphia 1993

C A Bayly *Empire and Information*, Cambridge, 1999

Pradeep Datta *Carving Blocs*. Delhi, 1999 (sp Chapter 1)


R Fox *Kin, Clan, Raja and Rule*, Berkeley, 1971


Ronald Inden *Imagining India*, 1990 (also see review by Declan Quigley in *MAS*, 1991)

Ronald Inden, ‘Orientalist Constructions of India’, *MAS* 1986


David Arnold *Colonising the Body*, Berkeley, 1993


S Gopal *British Policy in India 1860-1914*, Cambridge, 1965
Topic 15: Imagining the nation: Indian nationalist thought

Q. Was Indian nationalist thought ‘a derivative discourse’?

P Chatterjee, Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse, Delhi, 1986

P Chatterjee, The Nation and its Fragments, Princeton, 1993


Shruti Kapila, ‘Self, Spencer and Swaraj’, MHI 2007

Ashis Nandy, The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism, Delhi, 1983


Sudipta Kaviraj, The Unhappy Consciousness, Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay and the Formation of Nationalist Discourse in India, Delhi, 1995.

Peter Van der Veer, Religious Nationalism. Hindus and Muslims in India, Berkeley, 1994

Gyanendra Pandey, The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India, Delhi, 1990

J Chatterji, Bengal Divided, Cambridge, 1994, chapter 4

Topic 16: Gandhi, Gandhism and ‘mass nationalism’

Q. ‘Popular protest against British rule occurred despite Gandhi, not because of him.’ Discuss.

Q. Were Gandhian ideas and politics illiberal?

Gandhi and Gandhism:

Partha Chatterjee, Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse, London, 1986

Ravinder Kumar, Essays in the Social History of Modern India, Calcutta, 1986

Ajay Skaria, “Gandhi’s Politics: Liberalism and the Question of the Ashram”, South Atlantic Quarterly Fall 2002

Joseph Alter, Gandhi’s Body 2000

David Hardiman, Gandhi: In his times and Ours 2005


Anupama Rao, The caste question, ch 1-3

Ashis Nandy, “Final Encounter: Politics of the Assassination of Gandhi” in his Edge of Psychology

N K Bose, Studies in Gandhism, Calcutta, 1962 Alternatively, see his Gandhi in Indian Politics, Calcutta 1967
Bhikhu Parekh  *Colonialism, Tradition and Reform. An Analysis of Gandhi’s Political Discourse*, Delhi, 1989

R Fox  *Gandhian Utopia. Experiments with Culture*, Boston, 1989


**Gandhi and ‘mass nationalism’:**


Shahid Amin  *Event, Metaphor, Memory: Chauri Chaura 1922-1992*, Delhi, 1995

Shahid Amin  ‘Gandhi as Mahatma’, R Guha (ed), *Subaltern Studies Vol III*.


David Washbrook  Review of Judith Brown’s  *Gandhi’s Rise to Power in MAS*, 1973

R Guha  ‘Discipline and Mobilise’ in P Chatterjee and G Pandey (eds.), *Subaltern Studies Vol VII*

Sumit Sarkar  ‘The Logic of Gandhian Nationalism’,  *Indian Historical Review*, 1976


Majid H Siddiqi  *Agrarian Unrest in North India: The United Provinces 1918-1922*, Delhi, 1978


** Attenborough’s  *Gandhi* is a must-see.

**Topic 17: Structures of power in the Indian empire, 1920-1945**

Q. ‘A struggle between impotent rivals, locked in motionless and simulated combat.’ Do you agree with this assessment of the conflict between the Congress and the Raj between 1920 and 1945?

J A Gallagher & A Seal  ‘Britain and India between the Wars’  *MAS*, 1981

B R Tomlinson  ‘India and the British Empire 1880-1935’,  *IESHR* 1975

B R Tomlinson  ‘India and the British Empire, 1935-47’,  *IESHR* 1976

A Seal  ‘Imperialism and Nationalism in India’, in J Gallagher, A Seal and G Johnson (eds),  *Locality, Province and Nation, MAS*, 1973


J Chatterji,  *Bengal Divided*, Cambridge, 1994 (chapters 2 and 3)

A Seal and A Jalal  ‘Alternative to Partition: Muslim Politics between the Wars’,  *MAS*, 1981


R Sisson & S Wolpert (eds.),  *The Congress and Indian Nationalism. The Pre-Independence Phase*, Delhi, 1988

B Chatterji  ‘Business and Politics in the 1930s: Lancashire and India’,  *MAS*, 1981


C Bridge  *Holding India to Empire: the British Conservative Party and the 1935 Constitution*, Delhi, 1986

*Jawaharlal Nehru  An Autobiography, Bombay, 1962
*Lionel Carter (ed.)  Punjab Politics 1940-1943, the strains of war, New Delhi, 2005

**Topic 18: Muslim politics between the wars**

Q: In what ways did the Khilafat/Non-cooperation movement change Hindu-Muslim politics between 1919-1942?

F.C.R. Robinson  Separatism among Indian Muslims, Cambridge, 1974


Barbara Daly Metcalf  Islamic Revival in British India, Berkeley, 1982

Gyan Pandey  The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India

Pradeep Datta  Carving Blocs. Delhi, 1999


David Page  Prelude to Partition. The Indian Muslims and the Imperial System of Control 1920-1932, Oxford, 1982

A Seal and A Jalal  ‘Alternative to Partition: Muslim Politics between the Wars’, MAS, 1981

Ayesha Jalal  “Exploding Communalism: Politics of Muslim Identity” in Bose and Jalal (ed.) Nationalism, Democracy and Development


Mushirul Hasan  Nationalism and Communal Politics in India 1916-1928, Delhi, 1979


Javed Majeed  “Geographies of Subjectivity, Pan Islam and Muslim Separatism”, MIH 2007


S S Hameed  Islamic Seal on India’s Independence, 1998

**Topic 19: The Urban Age: Industry and Capitalism, 1890-1947:**

Q. What was the nature of industrial capitalism in late colonial India – ‘underdeveloped’ by workers ‘culture’ and/or imperial dependence?

Ritu Birla  Stages of capital, 2010

R Chandavarkar  The Origins of Industrial Capitalism in India

plus History Workshop Journal article 1999


Dipesh Chakrabarty  Rethinking Working Class History

Amiya Kumar Bagchi  Private Investment in India, 1900-1939

Sugata Bose (ed.)  South Asia and World Capitalism


K N Chaudhuri  ‘Foreign Trade and Balance of Payments 1757-1947’ Dharma Kumar (ed.) Cambridge Economic History of India

Thomas Blom Hansen  Wages of Violence 2001, ch, 1-2

David Washbrook,  ‘South Asia, the World System and World Capitalism’, Journal of Asian Studies, 1990

Rajat Ray  Industrialisation in India 1914-47
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publication Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Samita Sen</td>
<td>Women and Labour in Late Colonial India, 1999</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D R Gadgil</td>
<td>The Industrial Evolution and India in Recent Times, 1942</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigel Harris</td>
<td>Economic Development of Cities: The Case of Bombay, 1978</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jim Masselos</td>
<td>“Power in a Bombay Mohalla” South Asia 1973</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ian Derbyshire</td>
<td>“Economic change and the railways in north India MAS 1987</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Tripathi</td>
<td>Business Communities of India</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ian J Kerr</td>
<td>Building the Railways of the Raj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S Bhattacharyya</td>
<td>Financial Foundations of the British Raj, Simla, 1971</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandini Gooptu</td>
<td>The Politics of the Urban Poor in early 20th century North India, 2005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Topic 20: The end of empire:**

**a) Partition and independence**

Q. Who demanded the partition of India in 1947, and why?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publication Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ayesha Jalal</td>
<td>The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan, Cambridge, 1985</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Gilmartin</td>
<td>The Historiography of India’s Partition, JAS, 2015</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R J Moore</td>
<td>Escape from Empire: The Attlee Government and the Indian Problem, Oxford, 1982</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Gilmartin</td>
<td>‘Partition, Pakistan and South Asian History: In search of narrative’, JAS 57:4, Nov, 1998</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ian Copland</td>
<td>‘The Princely States, the Muslim League and the Partition of India’, International History Review, 12:1, 1991</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mushirul Hasan (ed.)</td>
<td>India’s Partition: Process, Strategy and Mobilisation, Delhi, 1993 (especially chapter by A Roy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Gilmartin</td>
<td>Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan, Berkeley, 1988</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L Brennan</td>
<td>‘UP Muslims’, MAS 1984</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Khaliquzzaman</td>
<td>Pathway to Pakistan, Lahore, 1961</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Pyarelal</td>
<td>Mahatma Gandhi: the last phase, 2 vols, Ahmedabad, 1956, 1958</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* P Moon</td>
<td>Divide and Quit: An Eye-Witness Account of the Partition of India, Delhi, 1998</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* V P Menon</td>
<td>The Transfer of Power in India, Princeton, 1957</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ian Copland</td>
<td>‘Lord Mountbatten and the integration of the Indian States’, JICH, 21,2, 1993</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Arnold and</td>
<td>Subaltern Studies Vol 8, chapter by Pandey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Hardiman (eds.)</td>
<td>The Partition of India 1937-47, Delhi, 1987</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anita Inder Singh</td>
<td>Writing Social History, Delhi, 1997, Chapter 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**History Today** (September, 1997), essays on India

David Potter  
‘Manpower shortages and the end of colonialism; MAS 7,1,1993

W. Morris Jones,  
‘The Transfer of power, 1947’ MAS.16,2,1998

I Kamtekar  
‘A Different War Dance: State and Class in India, 1939-1945’ Past and Present, August, 2002

Taj Hashmi  
Pakistan as a Peasant Utopia, 1992.

Narendra Singh Sarila  
The Shadow of the Great Game: The Untold story of India’s Partition, Delhi, 2005.

A K Gupta (ed.)  
Myth and Reality: The Struggle for Freedom in India, 1945-47 (especially chapters 1, 2 and 4)

S Sarkar  
Writing Social History, Delhi, 1997, Chapter 9

I A Talbot  
‘Deserted Collaborators’, JICH, 1982

IA Talbot  
1946 Punjab Elections’, MAS 1980

Medha Malik Kudaisya  
‘G D Birla, Big Business and India’s Partition’, in South Asia, Vol. XVIII, 1995

b) The aftermath of partition: riots, refugees, minorities and borders.

Q. Why were the consequences of partition in the east so different from those of partition in the west?

W van Schendel  
The Bengal Borderland, 2005

W van Schendel and I Abraham,  
Illicit flows and criminal things, Indiana, 2005.

Veena Das (ed.),  
Mirrors of Violence: Communities, Riots, Survivors in South Asia, Delhi, 1990

J Chatterji,  

Urvashi Butalia  
The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition, London, 2000

Gyanesh Kudaisya  
‘The demographic upheaval of Partition’, South Asia, Special Issue, 1995

Sarah Ansari  
‘Partition, Migration, Refugees’, South Asia, Special Issue, 1995

Joya Chatterji  
‘Rights or Charity?’ in Suvir Kaul (ed.) Partition of Memory, Delhi, 2000

Mushirul Hasan  
Legacy of a Divided Nation, Delhi, 1997

Vazira Zamindar  
The Long Partition and the Making of South Asia, Columbia, 2007

Gyanendra Pandey,  
Remembering Partition, Cambridge 2001

J Chatterji  
‘The Fashioning of a Frontier: the Radcliffe Line and Bengal’s border landscape’, MAS 1999

R Jeffrey  

Ranabir Samaddar (ed.),  

Suranjana Das  
Communal Riots in Bengal, 1905-1947, New Delhi, 1991

Veena Das  
Critical Events. An Anthropological Perspective on Contemporary India, Delhi, 1995

Swarna Aiyer  
‘August Anarchy’, South Asia, Special Issue, 1995

Prafulla Chakrabarti,  

Ranabir Samaddar  
The Marginal Nation.

A B Hansan  
Partition and Genocide, India Research Press 2002

Ashgar Ali Engineer (ed.),  
Communal Riots in Post-Independence India, Hyderabad, 1991

G Kudaisya &  
Tai Yong Tan  
The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia, London 2000

A Zolberg et al (ed.),  

***'Tamas', the serial by Bhishma Sahani, 'Garam Hawa', Pinjar are excellent on partition. The collection of short stories edited by Alok Bhalla is also worth reading if you are interested in this theme. Amitav Ghosh's Shadowlines and Ritwik Ghatak's 'Mehe-Dhaka Tara- A cloud-capped star' reflect on the experiences of people displaced by the events, and fall out, of India's partition.
Topic 21: The transition to democracy in India:

a) Constitution-making, 1947-50

Q. To what extent, and why, was India's constitution of 1950 modelled on the Government of India Act of 1935?

J. Chatterji  
The Spoils of partition, Chapter 2
Rohit De  
A People’s Constitution, Princeton, 2018
Atul Kohli (ed.)  
India's Democracy, chapter by Manor
Sunil Khilani  
The Idea of India, London 1997 (chapter 1)
Anupama Rao  
The caste question, 2010
Granville Austin  
Working a Democratic Constitution, Delhi, 1999
C Bridge  
Holding India to Empire: The British Conservative Party and the 1935 Constitution, Delhi 1986
P.J Thomas  
The Growth of Federal Finance in India, Oxford, 1939
Taylor Sherman  
State violence and punishment in India (2010)
Srirupa Roy  
Ornit Shani  
‘Conceptions of citizenship and the Muslim question’, MAS, 44: 2010
*R Coupland  
*R Jawaharlal Nehru,  
The Unity of India, London 1948
*R C Rajagopalachari  
Our Democracy, Madras, 1957
S K Chaube  
D D Basu  
Introduction to the Constitution of India, (13th edn.), Delhi, 1987
C H Alexandrowitz  
Constitutional developments in India, London 1957.
Francine Frankel  
India's Political Economy, 1947-77. The Gradual Revolution, Princeton 1978
Granville Austin  
The Indian Constitution. Cornerstone of a Nation, Oxford, 1966
S Kochanek  
The Congress Party in India, Princeton 1968

b) The Nehru era: the 'Congress system'

Q. Was there a 'Congress system' in Nehru's India, and if so, why?

R. Kothari  
‘The Congress System in India’, Asian Survey, 4: 2, 1964
R. Kothari  
Politics in India, Delhi 1970
W H Morris-Jones  
Government and Politics of India, London 1964
Ramachandra Guha  
India after Gandhi, 2007
Francine Frankel  
India’s political economy 1947-77: The Gradual Revolution, Princeton 1978
Benjamin Zachariah  
Developing India: An Intellectual and Social History c 1930-1950, Delhi 2005
Atul Kohli (ed.)  
India’s Democracy, Princeton 1988 (in particular see chapter by Manor)
Myron Weiner  
Party Building in a new Nation: The Indian National Congress, Chicago 1968
S Khilnani  
The Idea of India, London 1997

*Saroj Chakrabarty  
With Dr B C Roy and other Chief Ministers. A record up to 1962, Calcutta, 1974.
*Atulya Ghosh  
*Asok Mitra  
Judith Brown  
B Zachariah  
Nehru, London 2004
Paul Brass,  
c) Planning, development and the command economy

Q. ‘The contribution of early decades of Indian planning has been integral to India’s recent economic success.’ Discuss.

Vivek Chibbar *Locked in Place: State-Building and Late Industrialisation in India*, Princeton, 2003
Terry Byres (ed.) *Planning and Development*, 1994
S Chakravarthy *Development Planning: the Indian Experience*. 1990
B Datta *Indian Planning at the Crossroads*, Delhi, 1990
Frankel, F and Rao *A Dominance and State Power in Modern India: Decline of a Social Order* 1989
B Jalan(ed.) *The Indian Economy*, 1994
A. kohli *Democracy and Discontent*, 1990
Streeten, P and M. Lipton (eds.) *The Crisis of Indian Planning*, 1968
Gunar Myrdal *Indian economic planning in its broader setting*, New Delhi 1958

Topic 22: Language, region and the challenges of federalism, India, 1947-70

Q. Why did so many regional language movements erupt in India the 1950s and 60s?

Granville Austin *The Indian constitution. Cornerstone of a nation* (Ch 12)
P.R. Brass *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, 2005 edn
J Das Gupta *Language conflict and national development*, California 1970
Amrit Rai *A House divided: The origin and development of Hindi/Hindavi*, Delhi 1984
Myron Weiner *Sons of the Soil*, Princeton 1978

J Chatterji, *Spoils of Partition*, Ch 2

*S K Chatterji *Languages and the linguistic problem* (OUP Bombay, 1945)
Mr. Barnett *The Politics of Cultural Nationalism* in South India, Princeton 1976
Franda, M *West Bengal and the federalising process in India*, Princeton, 1968.

**** Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* is evocative on this period.

**Topic 23: Challenges to democracy in India:**

a) The Emergency and its legacies

Q. 'The chief victim of the Emergency was the Congress party.’ Discuss.

Francine Frankel *India’s Political Economy*, chs. 10-13. (detailed account of the background to the Emergency)
Gyan Prakash *Emergency Chronicles*, Princeton, 2019
R. Blackburn (ed), *Explosion in a Sub-Continent*, London 1975


B D Dua and James Manor, *Nehru to the Nineties. The changing office of Prime Minister in India*, Hurst 1994


* Dilip Hiro *Inside India Today*. Michigan 1976
* Kuldip Nayar *Between the lines*, Delhi 1969
* D Selbourne *An Eye to India. The unmasking of a tyranny*, London 1976
* Z Masani, *Indira Gandhi, a biography*. 1976


U Baxi *The Indian Supreme Court and Politics*, Lucknow, 1980.


b) The Rise of Hindu nationalism

Q. Account for the rise of Hindutva in the 1980s?
Q. Was it caste politics that determined the rise of Hindu nationalism in the late 1980s?

Ornit Shani
Communalism, Caste and Hindu Nationalism, Cambridge 2007
Thomas Blom Hansen
The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India, Princeton, 1999
Christophe Jaffrelot
Tanika Sarkar and Urvashi Butalia (ed.)
Women and the Hindu Right: A Collection of Essays, Delhi, 1995
T. B. Hansen, and C. Jaffrelot (eds.)
The BJP and the Compulsions of Politics in India, Delhi, 1998
D. Ludden (ed.)
Contesting the Nation, Pennsylvania, 1997
Basu, A. and A. Kohli (eds.)
Community Conflicts and the State in India, Delhi, 1998.
S. Bose and A. Jalal (eds)
Nationalism, Development and Democracy in South Asia. (essay by Sumantra Bose)
A Varshney
Ethnic conflict and civic life: Hindus and Muslims in India, Yale, 2002
S I Wilkinson
Votes and violence. Electoral competition and ethnic riots in India, 2004
Christopher Jafferlot
India’s Silent Revolution, 2006
B.D Graham
Mushirul Hasan,
A Nandy et al
W. Anderson & Damle
P Van Der Veer
Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India, 1994
Mushirul Hasan,
The Legacy of a Divided Nation: Muslims in India since Independence, Delhi, 1997.
S Gopal. (ed.)
The Anatomy of a Confrontation: Ayodhya New Delhi, 1990
Brass, P. R.
Theft of an Idol 1996.
Roy, Ramashray and Paul Wallace,
Paul Brass
The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India, Washington 2005
R Chandavarkar
‘Customs of Governance: Colonialism and Democracy in Twentieth Century India’, MAS, 41, 3, 1999

*** Lalit Vachani’s 'Men in the tree' is an interesting documentary on the Hindutva movement and its ideology.

Topic 24: India's political economy and liberalisation since 1990

Q. Assess the impact of market reforms on India's economy since 1990.

M Alhuwalia and I.M.D.Little, (eds.)
India’s Economic Reforms and Development: Essays for Manmohan Singh Delhi, 1998
Topic 25: Constitution-making and the challenges of federalism, Pakistan, 1940-70

Q. Why have successive governments in Pakistan, civilian or military, failed to satisfactorily accommodate regional aspirations?

H. Alavi
'The Politics of Ethnicity in India and Pakistan' in Alavi, H. & John Harris (eds), South Asia.

Paula Newburg

Katherine Adeney
Federalism and ethnic conflict resolution in India and Pakistan, (2006)

H Alavi,

A. Jalal,
Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia, Cambridge 1995

A Jalal

DA Low
The Political Inheritance of Pakistan, Macmillan, 1991

K Adeney

R Malik
‘The politics of one unit 1955-58’, Lahore, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Punjab, 1988

Y Samad
A Nation in Turmoil, Nationalism and Ethnicity in Pakistan, 1937-58, New Delhi (Sage) 1998.

M Waseem

William B Milla,
Bangladesh and Pakistan. Flirting with failure in South Asia (2009)
Topic 26: Conflict and war in the Indian subcontinent: Kashmir

Q. Why has the Kashmir dispute been so intractable?

Alistair Lamb  
*The Incomplete Partition: Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute, Hertingfordbury, 1997*

Balraj Puri  
*Kashmir: Towards Insurgency, Delhi, 1994*

Ian Copland  
‘Lord Mountbatten and the Integration of the Indian States-a Reappraisal’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 21: 2, 1993

Sumantra Bose  
*Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace, Cambridge Mass, 2000*

Chitrakotha Zutshi  
*Languages of Belonging: Islam, Regional Identity and the Making of Kashmir, Delhi, 2004*

Mridu Rai  
*Hindu Rulers, Muslims Subjects: the history of Kashmir, Hurst, 2004*

Alistair Lamb  

M J Akbar  

S M Ali  
*The Fearful State: Power, People and Internal War in South Asia, London, 1993*

R G C Thomas (ed.)  
*Perspectives on Kashmir: the Roots of Conflict in South Asia, 1992.*

Ashgar Ali Engineer  
*A Secular Crown on Fire, Delhi, 1993*

C. Dasgupta  
*War and Diplomacy in Kashmir 1947-48, Sage, Delhi, 2002*

Victoria Schofield  
*Kashmir in Conflict, London 2000*

Robert G Wirsing.  
*India, Pakistan and the Kashmir Dispute, Macmillan, 1994.*

Topic 27: Bangladesh: war, militancy and militarism
Q. Why has the military been so important to the politics of Bangladesh?
Q Assess the significance of Islam in the politics of Bangladesh.

T Maniruzzaman  The Bangladesh Revolution and its Aftermath, Dhaka, 1980
R Sisson and L. Rose  War and Secession: Pakistan, India and the Creation of Bangladesh, Berkeley, 1990
William B. Millam  Bangladesh and Pakistan.
A Jalal  ‘Inheriting the Raj’, MAS, 1985
L Ziring  Bangladesh: From Mujib to Ershad: an interpretative study (1992)
B Crow  ‘The State in Bangladesh: Extension of a Weak State’ in S. K. Mitra (ed.) The Post-Colonial State in South Asia
S. M. Ali  ‘Civil-Military Relations in the Soft State: the Case of Bangladesh’ European Network of Bangladesh Studies, Research Paper no. 1/6-94. (Copy in Centre of South Asian Studies Library.)
N Kabeer  ‘The Quest for National Identity: Women, Islam and the State in Bangladesh’
Hartmann, B. & J.K. Boyce, A Quiet Violence: View from a Bangladesh Village.


Topic 28: Globalisation, Inequality and the Politics of Culture
‘Liberalization in India has merely perpetuated old hierarchies and entitlements.’ Discuss.

Guha, Ramchandra  India after Gandhi, 2007
Rajagopal, Arvind., Roy, Srirupa  Politics After Television
Raju and Crawley (ed.),  Satellites over South Asia
Topic 29 Sri Lanka

a. How distinct was the British colonialism of Sri Lanka from that of India, and would you use the term partition to describe the legacy of colonialism for the relationship between the island and the mainland?

b. To what extent is the post-colonial history of Sri Lanka the history of Sinhala Buddhist nationalism and its discontents?

a) British colonialism


- Islanded: Britain, Sri Lanka and the Bounds of an Indian Ocean Colony, Chicago, 2013
- Sinhala Consciousness in the Kandyen period, Colombo, 2004
- ‘Ethnicity, Indigeneity and Migration in the advent of British rule to Sri Lanka’ American Historical Review, 2010
- Locations of Buddhism: Colonialism and Modernity in Sri Lanka, 2010
- History of Sri Lanka, Volume 3, from 1800-1948

- In the Shadow of the tropics: Climate, race and biopower in Ceylon, 2007
- Dutch and British Colonialism in Sri Lanka, 2007
- Social change in nineteenth-century Ceylon, Delhi, 1995.

- ‘Caste as a social category and identity in colonial Lanka’ in IESHR, 2004

b) Decolonisation and Sinhala Buddhism

De Silva and Wickramasinghe as above.

- Ethnic Fratricide and the Dismantling of Democracy, Chicago, 1986
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author/Editor</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Edition/Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bruce Kapferer</td>
<td><em>Myths of State, Legends of People</em>, Washington, 1998</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neloufer de Mel</td>
<td><em>Women and the Nation’s Narrative: Gender and Nationalism in Twentieth Century Sri Lanka</em>, Colombo, 2001 (Introduction)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Kearney</td>
<td><em>Communalism and Language in the Politics of Ceylon</em>, Durham, 1967</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>