PAPER 28 THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT FROM THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY

Convenors:

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READING LIST: 2020-21
The History of The Indian Subcontinent from the Late Eighteenth Century to the Present Day

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.

There will be 24 lectures, 3 revision classes in the Easter Term and 6 supervisions singly or 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.

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

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

Paul Brass  The Politics of India since Independence (Cambridge, 1990)
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)
Bernard S Cohn  An Anthropologist Among Historians (1990)

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

General reading: imperialism, nationalism and decolonalisation

Eric Hobsbawm  Nations and Nationalism since 1780, Cambridge, 1990
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher/Reprint Details</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E M Forster</td>
<td><em>A Passage to India</em>, London, 1978</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabindrath Tagore</td>
<td><em>Gora</em> (Penguin Books India reprint), 2010</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amitav Ghosh</td>
<td><em>Shadow lines</em>, London, 1988</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W H Sleeman</td>
<td><em>Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official</em>, reprint Karachi, 1973</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jawaharlal Nehru</td>
<td><em>The Discovery of India</em>, Bombay, 1964</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pankaj Mishra</td>
<td><em>The Romantics</em>, London 1999</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>VS Naipaul</td>
<td><em>Half a Life</em>, 2002</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Suketu Mehta</td>
<td><em>Maximum City</em>, 2004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amartya Sen</td>
<td><em>The Argumentative Indian</em>, 2005</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Arundhati Roy</td>
<td><em>The God of Small Things</em>, 1998</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ismat Chughtai</td>
<td><em>The Quilt &amp; Other Stories</em>, 1944</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tharu &amp; Lalita</td>
<td><em>Women writing in India, 600 B.C. to the Early Twentieth Century</em> [2 vols.], 1991</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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
K N. Chaudhuri Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to1750, 2014
Sumit Guha ‘An Indian Penal Regime’, Past and Present 1997
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
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, Rajput 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  Imagining India, 2000
Indrani Chatterjee  Gender Slavery and the Law in Colonial India, 1998
Radhika Singh  A Despotism of Law, 1998
Lata Mani  Contentious Traditions, 1987
Javed Majeed  Ungoverned Imaginings
David Washbrook  ‘Law, State and Society’ MAS 1981
Ronald Inden  “Orientalist Constructions of India”, MAS 1986
Juan R I Cole  The Roots of Shi’ism in Iran and North India
E. M. Collingham  Imperial Bodies, 2001
Veena 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
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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R. Mukherjee</td>
<td><em>Awadh in Revolt</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Eric Stokes</td>
<td><em>The Peasant and the Raj</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eric Stokes</td>
<td><em>Peasant Armed</em> (and review article by G Pandey, ‘View of the observable’, in JPS, 1980)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranajit Guha</td>
<td><em>Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C A Bayly</td>
<td><em>Empire and Information, ch 9</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranajit Guha</td>
<td>‘The Prose of Counter-Insurgency’ <em>Subaltern Studies</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>William Pinch</td>
<td><em>Peasants and Monks in British India</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Francis Hutchins</td>
<td><em>Illusions of Permanence</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Metcalf</td>
<td><em>Aftermath of the Revolt</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>David Omissi</td>
<td><em>The Sepoy and the Raj</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gautam Bhadra</td>
<td>‘Four Rebels of 1857’ in <em>Subaltern Studies IV</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marx and Engels</td>
<td>‘First Indian War of Independence’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Narayan Gupta</td>
<td><em>Delhi Between Empires</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>*W H Sleeman</td>
<td>A Journey through the <em>Kingdom of Oude</em> 1849-50, London, 1858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S N Sen</td>
<td>1857, Delhi, 1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seema Alavi</td>
<td><em>The Sepoys and the Company, Delhi, 1998</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. B Chaudhuri</td>
<td><em>Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies, Calcutta, 1957</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E I Brodkin</td>
<td>‘Struggle for succession’, <em>MAS</em>, 1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Arnold</td>
<td>‘Islam, the Mapillas and Peasant revolt in Malabar’, <em>Journal of Peasant Studies</em>, 9, 4, 1982</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>David Arnold</td>
<td><em>Famine: Social Crises and Historical Change</em> also essays by him in <em>Subaltern Studies III</em> and Past and Present <em>1979</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B M Bhatia</td>
<td><em>Famines in India</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mike Davis</td>
<td><em>Late Victorian Holocausts</em> 2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Hall-Matthews</td>
<td><em>Peasants Famine and the State</em> 2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Hardiman</td>
<td><em>Subject to Famine</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michelle Mc Alpin</td>
<td><em>Feeding the Bania</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jairus Banaji</td>
<td>‘Capitalist Domination and the Small Peasantry’ <em>EPW</em> 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis Dumont</td>
<td>“The ‘village community from Munro to Maine’ <em>Contributions to Indian Sociology</em> 1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramchandra Guha</td>
<td><em>The unquiet Woods, 2000</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S Ambirajan</td>
<td>“Political Economy and Indian Famines”, <em>South Asia</em> 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. C. Dutt</td>
<td><em>Open Letters to Lord Curzon on Famines</em> ... <em>1900</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Mann</td>
<td><em>British Rule on Indian Soil</em> 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Greenough</td>
<td><em>Prosperity and Misery in Modern Bengal</em> (on 1943 famine but important)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanjay Sharma</td>
<td><em>Famine, Philanthropy and the Colonial State</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A K Sen</td>
<td>‘Famine Mortality’ in E J Hobsbawm (ed.) <em>Peasants in History</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N Bhattacharya</td>
<td>‘Lenders and Debtors: Punjab countryside 1880-1940’, <em>Studies in History</em> n.s. 1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugata Bose (ed.)</td>
<td><em>Credit, Markets and the Agrarian Economy of Colonial India</em> 91994)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gyan Prakash</td>
<td><em>Bonded Histories</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tim Dyson (ed.)</td>
<td><em>India’s Historical Demography: Studies in Famine, Disease &amp; Society</em></td>
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You could read Verrier Elwin *Leaves from the Jungle: Life in a Gond Village* (1936), and see Satyajit Ray’s classic film *Pather Panchali*, or Mrinal Sen’s *Akaler Sandhaney - In search of famine*. The recent Bollywood blockbuster, *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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matthew Edney</td>
<td><em>Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India</em> 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernard S Cohn</td>
<td><em>Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C A Bayly</td>
<td><em>Empire and Information, ch. 7-8</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Pinch</td>
<td>Same Difference in Europe and India <em>History and Theory</em> 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Arnold</td>
<td><em>Science, Technology and Medicine in Colonial India</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gyan Prakash</td>
<td><em>Another Reason, Science and the Imagination of Modern India</em> 1999</td>
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<td><em>Colonising the Body, Berkeley, 1993</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>R S Chandavarkar</td>
<td>*Imperial Power and Popular Politics, Cambridge, 1997, ch 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark Harrison</td>
<td><em>Climates and Constitutions</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Scott</td>
<td>‘Colonial Governmentality’ <em>Social Text</em> 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kavita Philip</td>
<td><em>Civilizing Natures</em> 2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauri Viswanathan</td>
<td><em>Masks of Conquest. Literary Study and British Rule in India, 1990</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deepak Kumar</td>
<td><em>Science and the Raj</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapil Raj</td>
<td><em>Locating Modern Science</em> 2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Suamarez Smith</td>
<td>‘Rule-by-records and rule-by-reports: complementary aspects of the British imperial rule of law’, <em>Contributions to Indian Sociology</em> (n.s.), 19, 1, 1985</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Christopher Pinney  Camera Indica Ch 1.
Rohan Deb Roy  Malarial Subjects: Empire, Medicine and Nonhumans in British India, 1820-1909, 2017

* 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**  Bengal in global concept history (2008)

**Peter van der Veer**  Gods on Earth

**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.)**  ‘The Bhagavad Gita and Modern Thought’, *Modern Intellectual History*, 7: 2, 2010

**Kenneth Jones**  Socio-Religous 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)

**Sandra 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


**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.*


**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>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Susan Bayly</td>
<td><em>Caste Politics and Indian Society</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sudipta Kaviraj</td>
<td>‘Imaginary Institution of Indian Society’ <em>Subaltern Studies VII</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Nicholas Dirks</td>
<td><em>Castes of Mind</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Special Issue on Caste</td>
<td><em>Indian Economic and Social History Review, 2004</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>R O’Hanlon</td>
<td><em>Caste Conflict and Ideology, Cambridge, 1985</em></td>
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<td>Vijay Prashad</td>
<td><em>Untouchable Freedom: A Social History of a Dalit Community</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Peter Robb (ed.)</td>
<td><em>The Concept of Race in South Asia</em></td>
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<td>Arjun Appadurai</td>
<td><em>Worship and Conflict under Colonial Rule, Cambridge, 1982</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bernard Cohn</td>
<td><em>An Anthropologist among Historians and other essays</em></td>
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<td><em>H H Risley</em></td>
<td><em>The Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Calcutta, 1891.</em></td>
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<td><em>Abbe Dubois</em></td>
<td><em>A Description of the Character, Manners and Customs of the People of India, London, 1817</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Meena Radhakrishnan</td>
<td>“Criminal Tribes Act in Madras”, <em>IESHR</em> 1990</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ajay Skaria</td>
<td><em>Hybrid Histories</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rajni Kothari (ed.)</td>
<td><em>Caste in Indian Politics see essay by Eleanor Zelliott on Mahars</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>N Dirks, ‘The invention of caste’</td>
<td><em>Social Analysis 1989</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rashmi Pant</td>
<td>‘The cognitive status of caste in colonial ethnography’ <em>IESHR</em>, 1987</td>
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<tr>
<td>David Washbrook</td>
<td>‘Law, State and Society’, <em>MAS</em>, 1981</td>
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<tr>
<td>Radhika Singha</td>
<td><em>A despotism of law. Crime and justice in early colonial India</em>, New (From Faujdar to Faujdar Adalat)</td>
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<tr>
<td>F Conlon</td>
<td><em>A Cast in a Changing World, Berkeley, 1977</em></td>
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<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 [Slavery], available on web</em></td>
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## 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>
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<tr>
<td>F. C. R Robinson</td>
<td><em>Separatism among Indian Muslims</em>, Cambridge, 1974</td>
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<tr>
<td>C. A. Bayly</td>
<td>‘The Prehistory of Communalism’, <em>MAS</em>, 1985</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barbara Daly Metcalf</td>
<td><em>Islamic Revival in British India</em>, Berkeley, 1982</td>
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<td>Christopher King</td>
<td><em>One Language Two Scripts</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Michael Anderson</td>
<td>‘Islamic Law and the Colonial Encounter’ David Arnold and Peter Robb (ed.) <em>Ideologies and Institutions</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>David Lelyveld,</td>
<td><em>Aligarh’s First Generation, Princeton, 1977</em></td>
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<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>
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<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 Syncretism’, 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 BIOGRPAHIES AND TEXTS:

B.B. Majumdar  History of Political Though from Rammohan to Dayananda 1934
Annemarie Schimmel  Gabriel’s Wing: A study into the religious ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal
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
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
Extremism and terrorism; the Congress split:

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

Richard Cashman  
**The Myth of the Lokmanya: Tilak and Mass Politics in Maharashtra,** Berkeley, 1975

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


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  

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. Subrahmanyan (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  

Tirthankar Roy  

David Washbrook,  
‘Progress and Problems’ MAS, 1988


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
*Romesh 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’, MIH 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

Judith M Brown  
*Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope*, 1989

Dilip M. Menon  

**Gandhi and ‘mass nationalism’:**

Judith M Brown  
*Gandhi and Civil Disobedience*, Cambridge, 1976

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

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

R. S. Chandavarkar  
*Imperial Power and Popular Politics*, Cambridge, 1998 (chapter 8)

G Pandey (ed.)  

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.), *Subalter Studies* Vol VII

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

D Hardiman  
*Peasant Nationalists of Gujarat*, Delhi, 1981

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

Tanika Sarkar  

R Kumar (ed)  

** 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 A Gallagher  

B R Tomlinson,  
*The Indian National Congress and the Raj, 1929-1942*, London, 1977

B R Tomlinson  

C J Baker,  

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

D A Low, (ed.)  
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 Markovits  

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?


C A Bayly ‘The Prehistory of Communalism’, *MAS*, 1985

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


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

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

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*
B R Tomlinson  

Samita Sen  
*Women and Labour in Late Colonial India*, 1999

D R Gadgil  
*The Industrial Evolution and India in Recent Times*, 1942

Nigel Harris  
Economic Development of Cities: The Case of Bombay, 1978

Jim Masselos  
‘Power in a Bombay Mohalla’ *South Asia* 1973

‘Change and Custom in the Format of Bombay Moharram Festivals’, *South Asia* 1982

Ian Derbyshire  
‘Economic change and the railways in north India’ *MAS* 1987

D. Tripathi  
*Business Communities of India*

Ian J Kerr  
*Building the Railways of the Raj*

S Bhattacharyya  
*Financial Foundations of the British Raj*, Simla, 1971

C Dewey & A Hopkins  
*The Imperial Impact*, London, 1977

Nandini Gooptu  
*Financial Foundations of the British Raj*, Simla, 1971

C Dewey & A Hopkins  

Douglas E. Haynes  

Tirthankar Roy  


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

**a) Partition and independence**

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

Ayesha Jalal  
*The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan*, Cambridge, 1985

David Gilmartin  
*The Historiography of India’s Partition*, JAS, 2015

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

J Chatterji  

R J Moore  
*Escape from Empire: The Attlee Government and the Indian Problem*, Oxford, 1982

David Gilmartin  
‘Partition, Pakistan and South Asian History: In search of narrative’, *JAS* 57:4, Nov, 1998

Ian Copland  
‘The Princely States, the Muslim League and the Partition of India’, *International History Review*, 12:1, 1991

Mushirul Hasan (ed.)  
*India’s Partition: Process, Strategy and Mobilisation*, Delhi, 1993 (especially chapter by A Roy)

D Gilmartin  
*Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan*, Berkeley, 1988

L Brennan  
‘UP Muslims’, *MAS* 1984

Sumit Sarkar  

* Khaliquzzaman  
Pathway to Pakistan, Lahore, 1961

*Pyarelal  
Mahatma Gandhi: the last phase, 2 vols, Ahmedabad, 1956, 1958

*P Moon,  
Divide and Quit: An Eye-Witness Account of the Partition of India, Delhi, 1998

*V P Menon  
The Transfer of Power in India, Princeton, 1957

*A K Azad  

*P Moon (ed)  

Ian Copland  

D Arnold and

D Hardiman (eds.)  
*Subaltern Studies* Vol 8, chapter by Pandey

Anita Inder Singh  
*The Partition of India 1937-47*, Delhi, 1987

S Sarkar  
*Writing Social History*, Delhi, 1997, Chapter 9
**History Today** (September, 1997), essays on India
David Potter  ‘Manpower shortages and the end of colonialism; MAS 7.1,1993
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
IA Talbot  ‘Deserted Collaborators’, JICH, 1982
IA Talbot  1946 Punjab Elections’, MAS 1980

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
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
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
Ranabir Samaddar  The Marginal Nation.
A B Hansan  Partition and Genocide, India Research Press 2002
G Kudaisya & Tai Yong Tan  The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia, London 2000

***’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
- **Taylor Sherman** *State violence and punishment in India* (2010)
- **Srirupa Roy** *Beyond Belief: India and the Politics of Nationalism*, London, 2007
- **Ornit Shani** ‘Conceptions of citizenship and the Muslim question’, *MAS*, 44: 2010
  

*Jawaharlal Nehru* *The Unity of India*, London 1948

*C Rajagopalachari* *Our Democracy*, Madras, 1957


**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
- **Ramchandra 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.


**B Zachariah** *Nehru*, London 2004

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
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J Chatterji, *Spoils of Partition*, Ch 2

*Report of the States Reorganisation Committee*, 1955
*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

*Di lip Hiro *Inside India Today*. Michigan 1976
*Kul dip Nayar* *Between the lines*, Delhi 1969
*Kul dip Nayar* *In Jail*, New Delhi 1978.
*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?

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
S. Bose and A. Jalal (eds) *Nationalism, Development and Democracy in South Asia. (essay by Sumantra Bose)*
S I Wilkinson, *Votes and violence. Electoral competition and ethnic riots in India*, 2004
Christopher Jafferlot, *India’s Silent Revolution*, 2006
P Van Der Veer; *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India*, 1994
Brass, P. R. *Theft of an Idol* 1996.
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?

Katherine Adeney, Federalism and ethnic conflict resolution in India and Pakistan, (2006)
A. Jalal, Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia, Cambridge 1995
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.
William B Milla, Bangladesh and Pakistan. Flirting with failure in South Asia (2009)
H Rashid and J Gardezi, (ed.). Pakistan: the Roots of a Dictatorship, London, 1983 (especially the article by Hamza Alavi)

R Nations ‘The economic structure of Pakistan and Bangladesh’ in R Blackburn (ed.), Explosion in A Sub-continent, Harmondsworth, 1975


O. Veerkaaik Migrants and Militants: Fun and Violence in Urban Pakistan, Princeton, 2004

*** An interesting and controversial novel on Pakistan's first decades is Salman Rushdie's Shame.

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

Ashgar Ali Engineer A Secular Crown on Fire, Delhi, 1993
C. Dasgupta War and Diplomacy in Kashmir 1947-48, Sage, Delhi, 2002

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

Nayanika Mookherjee

R Sisson and L. Rose
*War and Secession: Pakistan, India and the Creation of Bangladesh*, Berkeley, 1990

H Feldman

A Jalal

S Mahmud Ali

H Karlekar

William B. Millam
*Bangladesh and Pakistan.*

A Jalal ‘Inheriting the Raj’, *MAS*, 1985

L Ziring
*Bangladesh: From Mujib to Ershad: an interpretative study* (1992)

R Sobhan

B Crow ‘The State in Bangladesh: Extension of a Weak State’ in S. K. Mitra (ed.) *The Post-Colonial State in South Asia*

G Rizvi


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.)


Rafiuddin Ahmed

Rafiuddin Ahmed (ed.)

Rafiuddin Ahmed (ed.)

H Mutalib and T. Hashmi (eds.)

Kabeer N ‘The Quest for National Identity: Women, Islam and the State in Bangladesh’


** ‘Meyebela: my Bengali girlhood’ by Taslima Nasreen is a moving autobiography, well worth reading. Tariq and Catherine Masud’s film ’Muktir Gaan- Songs of Liberation’ (1995) on the Bangladesh war won critical acclaim, as did their more recent reflection on the history of Bangladesh, ’Matir Moyna - The Clay Bird’ (2006).**

**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,
*Politics After Television*

Roy, Srirupa
*Beyond Belief: India and the Politics of Postcolonial Nationalism*, 2006

R. Dwyer & C. Pinney (ed.)
*Pleasure and the Nation: History, Politics and Culture of Consumption*

Martha C Nussbaum,

Raju and Crawley (ed.),
*Satellites over South Asia*
W. Mazzerella  
*Shoveling Smoke: Advertising and Globalization in Contemporary India*, 2003

*P J. Assayag & C. Pinney (ed.)*  
*Globalization in India: perspectives from below*, 2005

Fuller and Narasimhan  
‘Information Technology Professionals and the New-Rich Middle Class in Chennai (Madras)’, *MAS*, 2007

Edward Luce  

**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

**K. M. De Silva,**  

**Sujit Sivasundaram,**  

**Michael Roberts,**  
*Sinhala Consciousness in the Kandyan period*, Colombo, 2004

**John Rogers,**  

**Nira Wickramasinghe**  

**Sujit Sivasundaram,**  
‘Ethnicity, Indigeneity and Migration in the advent of British rule to Sri Lanka’ *American Historical Review*, 2010

**Anne Blackburn,**  
*Locations of Buddhism: Colonialism and Modernity in Sri Lanka*, 2010

**K. M. De Silva ed.**  
*History of Sri Lanka*, Volume 3, from 1800-1948

**James Duncan,**  
*In the Shadow of the tropics: Climate, race and biopower in Ceylon*, 2007

**Alicia Schrikker,**  
*Dutch and British Colonialism in Sri Lanka*, 2007

**Jonathan Spencer ed.**  

**Colvin R. De Silva,**  

**Kumari Jayawardena,**  

**Patrick Peebles,**  
*Social change in nineteenth-century Ceylon*, Delhi, 1995.

**Richard Gombrich and Gananath Obeyesekere,**  

**John Rogers,**  

**John Rogers,**  
‘Caste as a social category and identity in colonial Lanka’ in *IESHR*, 2004

**Michael Roberts,**  

**Michael Roberts ed.**  

b) Decolonisation and Sinhala Buddhism

**De Silva and Wickramasinghe as above.**

**S.J. Tambiah**  
*Ethnic Fratricide and the Dismantling of Democracy*, Chicago, 1986

**Michael Roberts**  


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