

HUMANITIES INSTITUTE

HISTORY OF INDIA

Course Description

This course covers the history of south Asia, from early Vedic Ages, and through classical time, and the rise of various empires. It also explores the rise of different religions and convergences of them, and then the transition from colonial control to independence.

About the Professor

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Unit I: Ancient India (c. 400,000 BCE- 300 BCE)

Week 1: Indus Valley Civilization

Outline

A. Land

1. Indian subcontinent is a triangle, about 4.4 million square kms
2. historic 'India' or subcontinent contains India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh
3. migration from northwest through Khyber pass and from northeast over low Himalayas
4. Himalayas dominate geography and climate;
5. lower ranges of Western Ghats and Eastern Ghats break central India into regions
6. major rivers: Ganges, Yamuna, Narmada, Brahmaputra, Kaveri, Krishna and Godavari
7. topographical diversity: snowy Himalayas, arid desert, semi-tropical rainforests, riverine plains
8. summer and autumn monsoons supply 80% of rainfall

B. Earliest settlements

1. evidence of stone-age habitation from c. 400,000 BCE
2. neolithic communities c. 7,000 BCE
3. Mehrgarh (c. 7,000- c.3,500 BCE) in Baluchistan
 - a. changes timeline of ancient Indian history
 - b. city approx. 1/3 sq. mile, streets and houses
 - c. farming, domesticated animals, burial of dead

C. Harappan Culture/Indus Valley Civilisation (c. 3,500- c.1,500 BCE)

1. extent
 - a. urban civilisation on Indus river in Pakistan
 - b. 400 sites, over 1,000 sq. miles,
 - c. two major cities at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro (est. population 35,000 in latter)
2. centralisation evident in large buildings and uniform weights
3. also in clay seals and writing, which remains undeciphered
4. declines from c. 2,000 BCE; elements of culture spread east toward Ganges basin

Lecture

1. Land

The Indian subcontinent may be seen as an upside down triangle, with the flat top pressed up against the Himalayas, where it borders on Pakistan, China, Bhutan and Nepal. The western flank, which touches Afghanistan and Pakistan in the north, runs down the coast of the Arabian Sea. The eastern flank bordering on the north with Burma and Bangladesh, is the coast of the Bay of Bengal. The two flanks meet at the southern tip, at Kanya Kumari (Cape Comorin).

The subcontinent, containing modern-day India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan (but not Burma or Afghanistan), covers about 4.4 million square kms (1.7 m sq. miles).

Cut off by high mountains and oceans, India developed distinct, long-standing ideas, practices and institutions. People and trade goods entered mostly from the northwest

through the Khyber Pass although maritime routes were also important. Migration also took place over the lower eastern Himalayas, from Burma and southeast Asia.

While the massive Himalayas dominate the geography and climate of the subcontinent, smaller ranges are important. The Western and Eastern Ghats, for example, break central and south India into regions, which has influenced the course of history.

Major rivers include the Ganges and Yamuna in the north (with fully 40% of the population), the Narmada in the west, the Brahmaputra in the far east, the Krishna and Godavari in centre and the Kaveri in the south. This southern peninsula of Asia has a wide variety of topography: from the snow-peaks of the Himalayas to semi-tropical rainforests, wide river plains and desert.

Weather is dominated by two monsoons. The summer monsoon brings heavy rains from June to September in most of India, the weaker autumn monsoon affects mostly east and southeast India. Monsoons account for approximately 80% of total rainfall in India and are crucial to agriculture, the main food source for most people.

2. Earliest settlements (c. 400,000 – c. 7,000 BCE)

Stone-age sites, from the far south to the northwest, are evidence that human communities lived in India since about 400,000 BC. Closer to 10,000 BCE these hunter-gatherers co-existed with some pastoral peoples, who apparently created the rock art found all over the subcontinent.

About 7,000 BCE, Neolithic societies started to form in the valleys of the northwest that connect India with Afghanistan. By 4,000 BCE more complex farming communities appeared, with wattle houses and domesticated animals. This evolution can be seen clearly in Mehrgarh in Baluchistan, at the foothills of the mountains separating Pakistan from Afghanistan. This site, which was only discovered in the 1970s and excavated more recently, has revised historians' understanding of early human history in India. Before the discovery of Mehrgarh, it was thought that the Neolithic period in the subcontinent began in the 4th millennium BCE and had been spread from Mesopotamia. Now, however, we can trace a gradual, internal evolution from about the 7th millennium BCE.

Mehrgarh was a settlement of farmers that eventually covered 1/3 square mile. The farmers, who lived in mud houses (with four rooms), domesticated animals, made pots using a wheel, fashioned human ceramic figures and buried their dead.

3. Harappan Culture / Indus Valley Civilisation (c. 3,500- c.1,500 BCE)

The transition from agricultural to urban communities was completed with the cities of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro along the Indus River. The entire complex, known as the Harappan culture (or Indus Valley civilisation), includes nearly 400 sites and covers over 1,000 square miles. 35,000 people, according to one estimate, lived in Mohenjo Daro alone.

A high level of state organisation linking these sites is suggested by the massive buildings, street drainage and grain storage in the main cities. However, as yet no 'palace' or royal graves have been found, so this early Indian civilisation was perhaps not as powerful and centralised as those in Egypt, Crete and China. Commercial centralisation is evident in the use of a uniform set of weights over a millennium and by the use of clay seals over the same period.

The clay seals are among the unsolved mysteries of the ancient world. Over 2000, rather small seals are carved with figures, mainly animals, although a few appear to show 'rituals.' Despite ongoing computerised research and unverified 'discoveries,' the Harappan script with 270 characters remains undeciphered. Many experts believe that

the seals are probably amulets that designate ownership and that their inscriptions may be mundane details, such as 'X sold Y 12 sheep.' Several seals have been found in Iraq, while a few cuneiform tablets have been found in the Indus Valley, demonstrating trade between these two early civilisations.

The decline and disappearance of the Harappan cities is also poorly understood. Starting about 2,000 BCE, sites were abandoned, the clay seals were no longer manufactured and flooding increased. Again, however, the earlier idea of an 'Aryan invasion' that destroyed the early cities has been discredited. Instead, it appears that Harappan elements migrated east into the Ganges valley and south into Gujarat.

Reading

Required

Stein, *India*, pp. 45-51

Thapar, *Early India*, pp. 1-69

Recommended

Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities*

Stein, *India*, pp. 5-36

Basham, *Wonder*, pp. 1-28

Robinson, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 11-38, 68-73

Wheeler, *Indus Civilization*

Wolpert, *New History*, chaps. 1-2

Discussion topics/questions

1. Use a map to compare today's India with the 'historic' India (the Indian subcontinent).
2. Look at images of the Indus Valley seals and try to imagine what they represent. (<http://www.flickr.com/photos/28433765@N07/sets/72157613010189937/>)
3. What is a 'civilization'? How does it differ from a 'culture'?
4. Which of the competing theories to explain the decline of the Harappan Culture/Indus Civilisation do you find most convincing and why?

Week 2: Vedic Age (c. 1,500 BCE- 500 BCE)

Outline

- A. Migration of the Aryans
 - 1. beginning c. 2,000 BCE from northwest
 - 2. not an invasion but a series of smaller movements
 - 3. people speak Sanskrit, worship fire, keep cattle, ride horses

- B. Vedas
 - 1. oral ritual texts, composed in Sanskrit c. 1,200 BCE
 - 2. chanted by Brahmin priests
 - 3. lays foundation for Hinduism and caste system
 - 4. later commentaries to Vedas: Upanishads, Brahmanas and Aranyakas
 - 5. Vedic (and later Hinduism) called Brahmanism

- C. Buddhism and Jainism
 - 1. origins
 - a. emerges as reform of Brahminism/Hinduism in 6th c. BCE
 - b. patronised by new urban and merchant classes, e.g., Taxila
 - 2. principles
 - a. greater social equality
 - b. non-violence
 - 3. founders
 - a. Buddhism: Siddhartha Gautama (historical Buddha) c. 563-483 BCE
 - b. Jainism: Mahavira ('Great Hero') c. 599-527 BCE
 - 4. spread
 - a. Buddhism: throughout most of Asia, esp. Sri Lanka, Tibet and Southeast Asia; in India only about 2% of population
 - b. Jainism: India only, as a minority religion

- D. State formation
 - 1. 1st millennium BCE dominated by large chiefdoms ruled by clans and legitimised by ritual sacrifices
 - 2. ruling dynasties of Hastinapur and Koshala in ancient Indian epics
 - 3. Magadha the most powerful chiefdom
 - 4. commoners become rulers and need myths to justify their position; begin close relation between religion and politics in India

Lecture

1. Migration of the Aryans

While Aryans did not invade, people calling themselves 'Arya' and speaking Sanskrit did migrate into the subcontinent from the northwest at the end of the Harappan period (c. 2,000 BCE). They arrived not in a single event but rather as a gradual movement over territory, in a chain of events that would not exclude military battles. Certainly the urban culture that predated their arrival disappeared and pastoralism (and farming to a lesser extent) dominated. Cities of a similar size and importance did not reappear in India for at least another 500 years.

The horse-riding, cattle-keeping, Sanskrit-speaking, fire-worshipping newcomers soon became the mainstream and changed the course of Indian history. They settled at first in the region of the 'seven rivers' in the mountains north of the Punjab (*punj-aab* = 'five rivers') before moved south and east toward the plains, primarily that of the Ganges and

Yamuna rivers. Mixing with local institutions and practices, they developed the caste system and laid the foundations of Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism.

2. The Vedas

Beginning about 1,200 BCE, the Aryans composed a rich literature of hymns known as the Vedas. Chanted by Brahmin priests for ritual purposes, the four collections of the Vedas contain mythology and philosophy as well as advice on warfare, kingship, gambling, sport, sex and most other areas of life. These Indo-European speakers also composed three types of commentaries on the Vedas: the Upanishads, Brahmanas and Aranyakas. The structure of caste-system was in place by end of this period and articulated in a famous hymn of the primeval man, who is divided into four parts corresponding to the four major caste groups. These 1028 hymns were composed and transmitted orally through a complex set of mnemonic techniques; even today they are still chanted today without recourse to writing. Laying the foundations for modern Hinduism, the religion of these ancient Indians is known as Brahmanism.

3. Buddhism and Jainism

Archaeological and literary evidence show that settled farming spread during the period 1000- 500 BCE. Iron tools and weapons were used to clear the forests and to conquer territory, especially in the Gangetic plain. Cities appeared again and commerce flourished. By the end of this period trade linked several cities: Taxila in the north, Kashi and Ayodhya further south and east, and Ujjain in the west. Whereas the Vedas were an oral tradition, and the inscriptions on Harappan seals remain undeciphered, a new script of Brahmi (possibly derived from Semitic scripts) and coins facilitated commerce. Artisan and trader guilds, plus a basic banking and money-lending system also developed.

It was in this urbanising, mercantile context that the heterodox religions of Buddhism and Jainism emerged. These were reform movements that challenged the priestly domination of Vedic Hinduism (Brahmanism) and were patronised by kings and merchants. The cattle of the pastoralist Aryans were superseded as currency by the metals (gold, silver, iron) of new urban elites. Excavations at Taxila, in Pakistan, for example, reveal a city (or a group of three settlements) with Buddhist stupas and monasteries that date to the 6th century BCE.

The increasing rigidity of the caste system also encouraged low status groups to embrace alternative ideologies that placed everyone on the level playing field of karma. Although both Buddhism and Jainism developed out of the same philosophical and mythological bases as Hinduism, they emphasised moral principles and allowed for greater social mobility. Finally, some priests and ritual specialists may have turned to these new ideologies because of a perceived lack of efficacy of Brahmanical rituals.

All these factors—new cities, new elites, new commercial institutions, new moral messages, greater equality, doubts about rituals—produced the social and intellectual environment that gave birth to the legends of the founders of Buddhism and Jainism. Siddhartha Gautama was born a prince in (probably) the Magadha kingdom about 560 BCE and died approximately 80 years later in 460 BCE. The traditional date of Mahavira's birth is 599 BCE; he is said to have died 72 years later in about 527 BCE.

Shortly after their deaths, their doctrines were institutionalised, monasteries founded and their teachings disseminated. Jainism spread all over the subcontinent, but today is a minority religion in India. Buddhism, through missionary zeal, royal patronage and intrinsic appeal of its moral message, spread beyond India, to Tibet, Sri Lanka and most of Southeast Asia, where it continues to be a dominant cultural force. In the land of its birth, however, Buddhism is practiced by only about 2% of the population. Nevertheless, it was the catalyst for a successful uplift movement for Untouchables (Harijans or Dalits) in the first half of the twentieth century.

4. State formation

Magadha was one of sixteen large chiefdoms (*mahajanapada*) that dominated north India in the first millennium BCE. Power was held by ruling clans, who were legitimised by ritual sacrifices and evolved into dynasties or monarchies. Some of these chiefdoms undoubtedly fought the war described in the Indian epic of the *Mahabharata* (composed c. 400 BCE). Hastinapur, the capital of the Kuru dynasty in the story, was excavated in the 1950s and the remains have been used to historicise the epic. The history of another kingdom (Koshala), including the invasion of the island of Ceylon, is narrated in the other Indian epic (*Ramayana*).

Magadha and Koshala were later allied through marriage, and eventually the former absorbed the latter to form a powerful kingdom. Toward the end of this period (c. 500 BCE), rulers increasingly came from non-warrior (kshatriya) families. These commoners (shudra), however, required religious specialists to upgrade their ancestry by composing new myths and to legitimise their authority through ritual ceremonies and insignia. Thus began the symbiotic relationship between spiritual authority and political power that marks most periods of Indian (if not human) history.

Reading

Required

Stein, *India*, pp. 52-73

Thapar, *Early India*, pp. 98-173

Recommended

Basham, *Wonder*, pp. 29-48

Robinson, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 73-77

Wolpert, *New History*, chaps. 3 & 4

Discussion topics/questions

1. The oral composition and transmission of the Vedas is a remarkable achievement. How does an oral/aural culture differ from an essentially graphic/visual culture?
2. Some scholars have likened the Buddhist break-away from Hinduism to the Protestant Reformation. Is there any merit in this argument?
3. What is a 'chiefdom'? And how does it differ from a 'tribe' and a 'state'?
4. What are the main sources for the history of ancient India? How do these particular sources determine the scope of historical knowledge?
5. Identify the key similarities and differences between Buddhism and Vedic Hinduism/Brahmanism.

Unit II: Classical India

Week 3: Mauryan Empire (300 BCE- 300 CE)

Outline

- A. Political context prior to Alexander
 - 1. Magadha empire, c. 7th-5th BCE, capital at Pataliputra
 - 2. Nanda empire founded at Pataliputra 360 BCE
 - 3. Mauryan empire c. 322-187 BCE
- B. Alexander the Great (356-323 BCE)
 - 1. Alexander invades northwest India 327-325 BCE; battles with Mauryan army
 - 2. consequences of his invasion
 - a. decline of chiefdoms; rise of centralised Mauryan state
 - b. Gandhara (Greco-Buddhist) art
 - c. increased cultural exchange with Greeks and West
- C. Mauryas
 - 1. Chandragupta Maurya (r. 322-298 BCE)
 - 2. Bindusara Maurya (r. 298 – 272 BCE)
 - 3. Ashoka Maurya (r. 272-233? BCE)
- D. Ashoka the Great
 - 1. Patron of Buddhism
 - a. proclaims Buddhist laws and precepts on stones and pillars
 - b. spreads Buddhism over India and to Sri Lanka
 - c. large reliquary mounds (stupas) built
 - 2. extends empire to virtually whole subcontinent
- C. Post-Mauryan period
 - 1. political fragmentation in the north
 - a. Shunga Empire (c. 185-150 BCE)
 - b. Parthians, Sakas (Scythians), Bactrian Greeks, Pahlavas
 - c. Kushana empire (c. 50-150 CE) and Kanisha
 - 2. unity in the Deccan: Satavahanas c. 200 BCE- c. 200 CE
- D. Ancient South India c.100-300 CE
 - 1. origins of Dravidian-speaking people unknown: two theories
 - a. descended from stone-age inhabitants of south India
 - b. migrants from eastern Mediterranean
 - 2. literary sources (Tamil, Greek, Roman)
 - 3. Arikamedu: city and port south of Madras/Chennai, 300 BCE-200 CE, significant trade with Rome; coins
 - 4. three main kingdoms
 - a. Pallavas in north (around Madras/Chennai)
 - b. Pandyas in far south, capital at Madurai
 - c. Cheras on west coast

Lecture

1. Alexander the Great

By the fifth century BC, the Magadha kingdom had consolidated power over much of northern India. From its newly-established capital at Pataliputra, the Magadha rulers controlled the trade throughout the Ganges River valley and eastward to the Bay of

Bengal. In the fourth century power was usurped by Mahapadma Nanda who then extended the borders of the kingdom. In turn, the Nandas were overthrown by the Mauryas, who built what most historians consider the first empire in India. The Mauryas then confronted Alexander the Great, of Macedonia.

The Greeks had known about India from Persian sources (largely Herodotus) and from the trade that linked the eastern Mediterranean with the west coast of India. Following the route of the earlier Aryans, Alexander came across western Asia, defeated the Persian King Darius III (who had conquered parts of northwest India) and continued east. Alexander crossed the Indus River in 327 BCE, overran several small kingdoms in the Punjab before a mutiny forced him to return home two years later. Alexander died in 323 BCE, and the last Greek general left in 317 BCE, although an attempt to recover Greek provinces in India failed a decade later.

Though the effect of this Greek invasion on local society and politics was probably slight, it illustrates and presages the depth of cultural contact between the subcontinent and the West. The Greek presence in the northwest resulted in the Gandhara school of Greco-Buddhist art, while Greek philosophy influenced the development of Mahayana Buddhism. Alexander's conquest of the Punjab also led to the decline of the chiefdom system (mahajanapada), the centralisation of political power and the emergence of the first empire in Indian history.

2. Ashoka and the Mauryan Empire

The Mauryas (c. 322- 185 BCE) took over the Magadha capital at Pataliputra, where trade routes converged and several tributaries fed into the Ganges. The first king, Chandragupta Maurya (340-298 BCE), is said to have faced Alexander on the battlefield; what is more certain is that the penetration by the Greek army was a catalyst to the formation of a more centralised empire. The clan- and lineage-based chiefdoms were also weakened by two transregional forces: commerce and the ideologies of Buddhism and Jainism.

What we know of the Mauryan Empire is largely based on three sources: edicts carved on pillars and rocks; the entertaining account of Chandragupta's court by the Greek ambassador Megasthenes; and (to a lesser extent) coins. Measured by the edicts, issued by Chandragupta's grandson, Ashoka, the Mauryan Empire covered most of the subcontinent, extending 1,500 miles from Taxila in the northwest to the Kaveri River in the south. Despite its centralised administration, the Mauryan Empire could not and did not exert control over this entire realm. Its four main provinces were controlled by local princes, while other regions were run by governors and salaried officials.

Ashoka (r. 272-233 ? BCE), whose stone pillar is now the official emblem of the Republic of India, is perhaps the best-remembered ruler in all of Indian history. Even stripping away the legendary accounts, he was a remarkable man. He became a lay Buddhist and went on a year-long pilgrimage to the sacred sites of this new religion, which he later propagated through his edicts and spread to regions beyond India. He sent messengers to the Greek provinces in the northwest and his own son to Sri Lanka. Written mostly in Prakrit, a spoken form of Sanskrit, his 33 edicts include a renunciation of violent warfare, hunting and animal sacrifice as well as an acceptance of all religions.

The first free-standing religious structure in India, a stupa, was built during Ashoka's reign. Larger stupas constructed a century or two later suggest the centralised power and wealth of rajyas who patronised Buddhism.

3. Post-Mauryan period

The period of 500 years between the end of the Mauryan empire and the beginning of the Gupta empire was marked by political fragmentation, economic growth and interaction with other cultures. Ashoka's death was followed by a series of weak

successors until a Brahmin general took control about 185 BC and set up the short-lived Shunga dynasty in the central Gangetic plain. Pusyamitra Shunga revived the horse-sacrifice, as a royal ceremony to install kings, in direct contravention of Ashokan morality.

The northwest was contested between Bactrian Greeks (resident since Alexander's time), Parthians, Sakas (Scythians) and Pahlavas. However, only Kaniska, a Kusana king who ruled in the 1st or 2nd century CE, gained prominence as a ruler and patron of Buddhism. Some Kusana coins bear inscriptions in Greek script. In the Deccan, the Satavahanas c. 200 BCE- c. 200 CE) established a major dynasty in the Deccan and also carried out extensive trade with Southeast Asia.

4. Ancient South India

As these events—from the Harappan culture through to the Mauryan Empire—were occurring in most of the subcontinent, a different culture was developing in the far south. The origin of the Tamils and other Dravidian speakers is still a mystery, although the idea that they were the inhabitants of the Indus Valley cities conquered by the invading Aryans is now discredited. Most historians and linguists agree that Dravidian speakers were resident in the subcontinent before the advent of Indo-European speakers. They may have descended from stone-age communities in the south or possibly arrived from the eastern Mediterranean. In any case, Greek and Roman sources, as well as Ashokan edicts, tell us that three kingdoms existed in the south in the early centuries of the Common Era, each in a different region of south India: Pallavas in the north (around Madras/Chennai), Pandyas in the far south and the Cheras on the west coast.

Early Tamil poems of the same period describe chiefdoms, based on clan rulers in cities, rice-growing farmers, pastoralists and fishermen. Rock inscriptions dated about 200 BCE-200 CE mention the names of rulers also found in these Tamil literary sources.

We also know, from the above sources and from archaeological evidence that ancient South Indians carried on extensive maritime trade with the West. Pottery and coins found at Arikamedu, a port city south of Madras (Chennai), are evidence of extensive trade with Rome from 300 BCE to 200 CE. The port of Muziris on the west coast is also mentioned in Roman and Greek sources, though this site has not yet been positively identified.

Reading

Required

Stein, *India*, pp. 73-95

Thapar, *Early India*, pp. 174-244

Recommended

Basham, *Wonder*, pp. 44-62

Robinson, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 77-83

Wolpert, *New History*, chaps. 5 & 6

Sastri, *A History of South India*, chaps. 4 & 5

Discussion Questions

1. For what reasons are the Mauryas considered the first 'empire' in Indian history?
2. Ashoka's edicts are among the most revealing archaeological remains of ancient India. Evaluate their importance in understanding the relationship between religion and state in that period.

Week 4: Gupta Empire

Outline

- A. 'The Golden Age'
 - 1. efflorescence of artistic and literature culture
 - 2. culmination of political trends and features from Vedic to post-Mauryan periods
- B. Major Gupta kings (320- 467 CE).
 - 1. Chandragupta I (r. 320-335 CE) re-established capital at Pataliputra
 - 2. Samudragupta (r. 335-385 CE) extends empire to south
 - 3. Chandragupta II (r. 380-413 CE) extends empire to north
- C. Gupta Administration
 - 1. two-tier authority structure.
 - a. centralised cadre of officials oversee land-grants (to Brahmins and merchants), temples, roads and army
 - b. local ruler and elites exercise power over police, taxation, courts; give tribute to centre
 - 2. regional kingdoms cohere in political whole: 'classical pattern'
- D. Gupta trade
 - 1. based in Ganges river basin but extends from Indus to Nepal
 - 2. reaches Southeast Asia by ships
 - 3. urban culture grows, new status for scribes and artisan guilds
- E. State sponsored religion
 - 1. through temple patronage
 - 2. mainly worship of Visnu and Lakshmi
 - 3. religion legitimised political authority
- F. Post-Gupta period
 - 1. Decline of empire
 - a. external invasion by Huns from central Asia
 - b. internal rebellions by marginal groups and within ruling family
 - 2. Successors
 - a. Rajasthan
 - i. Gujars from central Asia
 - ii. Rajputs
 - b. Deccan
 - i. Vatakas, Kadambas, Gangas (also in Orissa), Rastrakutas
 - ii. Chalukyas, similar to Guptas as patrons of temple and culture
 - c. north India: Harsha (606-647 CE), ruled extensive empire
 - d. Bengal and Bihar: Palas (8th to 12th c. CE), Buddhist kings

Lecture

1. The 'Golden Age'

Much of the patterns and trends from the Vedic period to the post-Mauryan period culminated in the Gupta Empire (320- 467 CE). This so-called 'Golden Age' of Indian history did in fact see the coalescence of several elements and themes into the 'classical pattern.' Although these labels owe as much to literary and artistic as to political efflorescence, and although Ashoka controlled more territory, the Guptas do represent a high-water mark of centralised power in the subcontinent. Through marriage alliances, trade links, grand rituals, royal rhetoric, visual symbols and occasional warfare, a

succession of fathers and sons extended their rule over the whole of north and east India. The political stability enjoyed for nearly two hundred years under the Guptas was impressive and encouraged even greater economic growth, social specialisation and professionalism, which in turn led to a flourishing of the arts.

2. Major Gupta rulers

In 320 CE, Chandragupta I (r. 320-335 CE) married a princess from the Licchavi clan (rulers north of the Ganges up to the Himalayan foothills) but chose to play down this less than illustrious alliance. Instead, the founder of the Gupta dynasty borrowed the name of a Mauryan king and like the Mauryas (and Magadha and Shunga kings) established his capital at Pataliputra. However, his son, Samudragupta (r. 335-385 CE), who distinguished himself in warfare and extended the kingdom to its maximum limit, highlighted his Licchavi connections on his coins. Samudragupta also paid homage to the past by an inscription carved on an Ashokan pillar that boasted of his conquests, including that of Kanchipuram, the Pallava capital in the far south. Similarly, he reinstated royal rituals, particularly the horse-sacrifice condemned by Buddhists (but also restored by Shunga kings before him). During the reign of Chandragupta II (r. 380-413 CE), who was one of Samudragupta's sons, the empire was extended to the north and northwest. The arts and literature flourished as well.

3. Gupta administration

Gupta imperial administration was conducted by a cadre of officials dispatched to localities throughout the kingdom. They oversaw an extensive system of land-grants to Brahmins and merchants, and conducted a laissez-faire policy toward them and other local elites. The result was an empire in which regional units and diverse communities prospered and cohered in a political whole. The apparent paradox of strong localities within a centralised empire is explained by a two-tier authority structure. The Gupta rulers granted regional elites authority over courts, police and taxation in accordance with local custom. Thus regional officials, including scribes gained new status in the Gupta period, as market towns grew into small cities, roads were extended and artisan guilds flourished.

At the same time, the Gupta kings took control of the army and religious institutions, especially temples. Temples had become mini-economies, owning vast amounts of land and employing hundreds of officials, clerks, Brahmins, musicians, singers, dancers and other specialists. As the patron of these economic institutions, the Gupta emperor extended divine protection to all his subjects, while temples and local elites paid a portion of tax revenues to the centre in return for the autonomy to govern in other spheres.

This system of balanced powers was most effective in the core territory of the Ganges River basin, central and western India. Gupta overlordship was carried north to Nepal, east to Bengal and west to the Indus River. Though a land-based dynasty in the interior, the Guptas also traded with Southeast Asia, where their gold coins proclaimed them 'rulers of the world.' The wealth of the Gupta court was described in some detail by Fa Hsien, a Chinese pilgrim who went there searching for Buddhist texts.

As Gupta state support of Hinduism, especially the worship of Vishnu and Lakshmi, was manifest in impressive temple-building. The centralised power of the Guptas is evident in the uniform shape of the temples and the consistent iconography of the images within them. Many coins also show images of Vishnu and his consort Lakshmi, some with the Gupta ruler receiving a discus (symbol of power) from Vishnu. Religious validation of secular power occurred also in the regions, where local rajas commissioned myths with genealogies that gave them the ancient warrior ancestry they lacked but required. This validation of power by myth is another example of the dangerous mixture of religion and politics that has characterised Indian history since Ashokan times.

4. Post-Gupta period

By about 500 CE, after the succession of four fathers and sons on the Gupta throne, all this proved vulnerable to a combination of internal and external enemies. Tribes living in the forests and hills of India began to mount raids on outlying districts and significant resources were expended in controlling them. At the same time, a series of invasions by the Huns from central Asia disrupted Gupta control of trade and stirred up dissension within ruling families. These Huns, part of the same ethnic group that rode across Eurasia, drove Germanic tribes south and brought an end to Roman Empire, brought a similar fate to the Guptas. In the century that followed the collapse of the Guptas, other groups from central Asia, including the Gurjaras, moved into the subcontinent and assimilated with Rajput tribes in Rajasthan.

In the Deccan, several dynasties appeared after the Guptas, among whom the Vatakas, Kadambas, Gangas (also in Orissa) and Rastrakutas were prominent. The most influential, however, were the Chalukyas, whose three branches and their allies, ruled most of central and western India and part of the south until well into the medieval period. The Chalukyas were worthy successors to the imperial Guptas. Their achievements include a new style of south Indian temple architecture, literature in the Dravidian languages of Kannada and Telugu and an efficient administration of large territory.

The power of the Chalukyas was evident when they checked the southern advance of Harsha (606-647 CE), who belonged to the Gurjar clan from central Asia. A playwright and man of letters, Harsha ruled over the third largest kingdom (in terms of size) prior to the Mughals. His territorial control was similar to the Guptas, minus the northwest regions of Rajasthan and the Punjab.

Two other important dynasties between the end of the Guptas (6th c. CE) and beginning of the Delhi Sultanates (12th c. CE) deserve mention.

The western desert of Rajasthan was controlled by Rajputs (already intermingled with Gurjars from central Asia), who probably originated from west Asia and share some features of language and material culture with the gypsies or Roma peoples of Europe. Bengal and Bihar were ruled by the Palas (8th to 12th c. CE), who were Buddhist kings. At its height in the 9th c. CE, the Palas extended their control to cover most of north India.

Reading

Required

Stein, *India*, pp. 95-129

Thapar, *Early India*, pp. 245-325

Recommended

Basham, *Wonder*, pp. 63-78

Robinson, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 83-93

Wolpert, *New History*, chap. 7

Discussion topics/questions

1. 'Golden Age' and 'classical pattern' are terms associated with the Gupta Empire. To what extent are they justified?
2. Describe social mobility under the Guptas.
3. What factors were important in the fall of the Gupta Empire?
4. Describe the 'classical pattern' that is said to have formed during the Gupta Empire.
5. Describe the 'classical pattern' that is said to have formed during the Gupta Empire.

Unit III: Medieval India

Week 5: South India

Outline

- A. Overview
 - 1. first archaeological evidence of cities and temples in south India
 - 2. deforestation, land-grants and better irrigation extend agriculture
 - 3. peasant groups form local institutions in alliance with rulers
- B. Three kingdoms
 - 1. Pallavas (5th- 9th c. CE)
 - a. northern Tamil Nadu and southern Andhra Pradesh
 - b. Kanchipuram: capital and temple complex (near Madras/Chennai), 8th c. CE
 - c. Mahabalipuram: port and temple complex, 7th- 9th c. CE
 - d. controlled trade routes between major river valleys
 - e. facilitated cultural exchange between north and south India
 - 2. Pandyas (?4th-14th c. CE)
 - a. central Tamil Nadu
 - b. Madurai: capital on Vaigai River
 - c. Korkai: port on Bay of Bengal
 - d. absorbed by Cholas (c. 1000-1300 CE), then revived
 - e. ruled until Islamic invasions in 14th c. CE
 - 3. Cheras (3rd-12th c. CE)
 - a. smallest and weakest of ancient southern kingdoms
 - b. Karuvur (Vanji): capital
 - c. important trade btw. India west coast and West
 - d. distinctive blend of Brahmin and non-brahmin culture
- C. Chola empire (c.850- c.1279 CE)
 - 1. established after taking land from Pallavas and Pandyas
 - 2. capital at Thanjavur on Kaveri River.
 - 3. major rulers
 - a. Raja Raja Chola I (r. 985-1014 CE)
 - i. built major temple at Thanjavur
 - ii. military conquests extend empire north and to Sri Lanka
 - b. Rajendra Chola I (r. 1014-1044 CE), his son
 - i. consolidates empire in Sri Lanka and fought battle near Ganges River.
 - ii. maritime campaigns off Sumatra
 - 4. patronage of arts, esp. temple-based arts
 - 5. spreads Hindu culture to parts of Southeast Asia
 - 6. exemplifies regionalism in Indian history: strong central state balanced by powers given to local elites

Lecture

1. Overview

The history of South India, particularly in the Tamil- and Malayalam-speaking regions of the far south, unfolded as part of pan-Indian models and patterns but often with different emphases. Very few events of the Mauryan or Gupta empires affected populations south of the Krishna River. In this medieval period we have the first

archaeological evidence of the courts and temples patronised by the three historical kingdoms of the south.

These kingdoms grew steadily more wealthy in this period from both internal developments and external trade. Deforestation, a land-grant system and more sophisticated irrigation technology led to the expansion of agriculture from riverine areas to outlying areas, including dry crops and multiple harvests. Large peasant groups formed and created their own institutions, allying themselves with local rajas in a 'land for loyalty' compact. By 1000 CE, however, a fourth kingdom, the Cholas swallowed up some of their predecessors and built a powerful empire.

2. Three historical kingdoms

The Pallavas ruled northern Tamil Nadu and southern Andhra Pradesh between the 5th and 9th centuries CE. From their capital at Kanchipuram (near Madras/Chennai), they controlled important trade routes between fertile river valleys in this area and defeated a powerful Chalukya king in the region. As the most northern of the three kingdoms, and as patrons of Prakrit and Sanskrit, Pallava courts facilitated cultural exchange between north and south India. Several 5th century copper plates in Sanskrit record land grants to Brahmins.

The Pandyan kingdom, with its capital in the famous temple city of Madurai, ruled central Tamil Nadu from the 4th to 14th centuries CE, often allying themselves the Chera rajas, over the mountains to the west in modern-day Kerala. Their main port was Korkai on the Bay of Bengal. Although they were conquered by the Cholas between about 1000-1300 CE, they revived their kingdom and were only defeated by a Muslim army in the 14th c. CE.

The smallest and weakest of the three southern kingdoms, and also the least well-documented, the Cheras nevertheless left their mark on south Indian history. Their capital was Karuvur (Vanji). Their ports on the Arabian Sea were vital to the trade with the West, especially the pepper and other spices that grew on the western-facing slopes of the Western Ghats. In their little sliver of land between these mountains and the sea, Cheras patronised a distinctive blend of brahminical and non-brahminical culture and literature.

These three kingdoms, each with a distinct territory centred on river basin, illustrates both the influence of geography on history and the pattern of regionalisation that characterises much of Indian history. Both points are further evidenced by the rise of a fourth kingdom, which eclipsed the other three in the south.

3. The Chola empire

Having conquered outlying lands of the Pallava and Pandya kingdoms, the Cholas established themselves at Thanjavur in the fertile Kaveri River basin in the early 9th century CE. Under Raja Raja Chola I (r. 985-1014 CE) and his son, Rajendra Chola I (r. 1014-1044 CE) this Tamil kingdom extended its influence up the east coast nearly to Bengal and across the seas to southeast Asia. The latter ruler's military campaign against kings in the Ganges valley, his maritime victory over rulers in Sumatra and his emissaries sent to China are proclaimed in his royal proclamations and coins. His invasion and conquest of northern Sri Lanka, however, has had the longest-lasting consequences as seen in the current ethnic tension between Tamils and Sinhalese on the island.

Like the Guptas and Chalukyas before them, the wealthy Cholas were great patrons of the arts, especially temple-based traditions of music, dance, song and recitation of myths. Again similar to their predecessors, the Cholas used religion and conspicuous rituals, this time the cult of Siva, to legitimise political power.

Much of the Indian influence in Southeast Asia seen in the Buddhist and Hindu temples in Thailand, Cambodia, Indonesia (especially Bali and Java), the names of royal dynasties and epic literature, can be attributed to south India and largely to the Cholas.

Again, the Cholas exemplify a regionalism that is the mark of medieval Indian history. The emergence of a centralised state in the Gupta period was qualified by the centripetal forces of localisation. After the break-up of the Gupta empire, several dozen states emerged, each with fluid boundaries drawn more by language than territory. Within these states, local communities were often defined by participation in and patronage of temple cults centred on even smaller tracts of land. This regionalism produced distinctive architectural styles, expressed mostly in temples, in Orissa, Bengal, Kerala and Gujarat. Royal patronage supported these temples and often created large agrarian communities through land grants, but control of social relations and commerce was exercised by local elites.

Reading

Required

Stein, *India*, pp. 129-134

Thapar, *Early India*, pp. 326-404

Recommended

Sastri, *A History of South India*, chaps. 6-8

Subbarayalu, *South India*

Ludden, *Peasant History*, chaps. 1-3

Discussion topics/questions

1. Locate the four southern kingdoms on a map. How does geography and topography help you understand their history?
2. What role did Brahmins play in early Tamil history?
3. In what ways was the Chola empire a replica of the Guptas? In what ways was the southern empire distinctive?

Week 6: Islam and Vijayanagar

Outline

- A. Advent of Islam
 - 1. 8th c. CE military conquest of Sind and western India
 - a. mainly Iraqi Muslims, linked to Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad
 - b. set up sultanates, little change for local populations
 - 2. 7th c. (?) CE maritime trade in Kerala on west coast, set up large depots, settled and assimilated with local populations
- B. Spread of Islam in north India
 - 1. Mahmud of Ghazni
 - a. new kind of Muslim warrior, Turkic-speaking Mamluk ('slave soldier')
 - b. captures Ghazni (near Kabul) from Persians
 - c. raids north India 17 times between 1000-1025 CE
 - d. establishes Delhi as major city for first time
 - 2. factors favouring spread of Islam
 - a. superior military technology and loyalty of Mamluks
 - b. few Mamluk elites meant little change in local societies
 - c. career opportunities within military; confined to subcontinent by Mongol conquest of their central Asian homelands
- C. Delhi Sultanate (1206 to 1526 CE)
 - 1. Turkic and Afghan dynasties at Delhi, led by Mamluks
 - 2. extends Muslim rule over most of India
 - a. Alauddin Khalji defeats Mongols in 1307-08 CE
 - b. Muhammad bin Tughluq (r. 1325-1351 CE) invades Assam and south India
 - 3. Timur (Tamerlane) sacks Delhi in 1398 CE
 - 4. lasting significance
 - a. protects India from Mongol invasion
 - b. brings new technology for warfare and agriculture
 - c. creates court culture with Persianate forms
 - 5. declines and fragments in 15th c. CE
- D. Vijayanagar: Hindu kingdom in the south
 - 1. Hindu kingdom (c.1336-1565 CE) blocks Muslim advance in south
 - a. Vijayanagar ('city of victory') large capital with complex of temples
 - b. rules most of south and central India, from coast to coast
 - c. patronises the worship of Siva
 - d. recruits Muslim soldiers and patronised mosques
 - 2. Krishnadevaraya (r. 1509-1529 CE)
 - a. greatest ruler and military leader
 - b. relations with Portuguese on west Coast at Goa
 - i. defends territory against Europeans
 - ii. borrows military techniques and technology from Portuguese
 - iii. buys horses from Portuguese
 - 2. extends trade networks, from ports to interior towns, from India to Europe to China.
 - 3. defeated by Muslim armies in 1556 CE

Lecture

1. Advent of Islam

Islam reached the subcontinent through two very different, kinds of contact: military conquest and maritime trade. Muslim armies, mainly Iraqi, conquered Sind and the Kathiawar peninsula in the early 8th century CE and pushed further into Punjab, Rajasthan and Gujarat, where they met resistance from Rajput warriors. The small sultanates created by these newly-arrived Muslims were soon cut off from the Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad, and, while some converted to the faith of their new rulers, little changed for local populations.

Muslims also arrived as traders, mainly on the southwest coast of India, in present-day Kerala, perhaps as early as the 7th century CE. Unlike European traders (Portuguese, Dutch, French and British) who reached India in later centuries, these Muslims not only set up depots but settled in large numbers and eventually assimilated into local culture.

2. Spread of Islam

The peaceful stability existing between Muslim warriors, rulers and local communities in north and northwest India came to an end with the rampages of Mahmud of Ghazni (1000-1025 CE). He and his father belonged to a new kind of Muslim warrior, the Turkic Mamluks, or 'slave' soldiers, who were trained to thwart the advances of the Mongol horsemen from the Eurasian steppes into southern and western Asia. After Mahmud captured Ghazni (near Kabul) from a governor of the Persian Abbasid kingdom, he carried out at least 17 raids into north India, going as far as the Ganges, pillaging cities and plundering temples. He also established Delhi as a major city for first time. Ironically, the wealth accumulated in Ghazni led to its own sacking in the 12th century CE by a rival clan of Turkic Muslims.

Several factors contributed to the spread of Islamic rule over north and central India. Superior military technology, including the mounted horse, the career opportunities within the warrior groups were all complemented by the fact that these Mamluks could not return to their central Asian homelands after they had been conquered by the Mongols, famously by Chingiz Khan. Not until the eighteenth century, with the rise of the Marathas, would Muslims be militarily defeated in the north. At the same time, Turkic elites were too small in number to change any fundamental patterns of life for populations they ruled, and there is little evidence of local dissent or revolts under the Mamluks.

3. Delhi Sultanate 1206 to 1526 CE

This gradual growth of Islam in India culminated in a series of Turko-Afghan sultanates known collectively as the Delhi Sultanate. These sultanates were led by Turkic Mamluks, whose military and political skills took them to high positions in Muslim ruling dynasties. Many were hardened warriors who had been pushed south into India by the even greater military power of the Mongols in central Asia. They ruled Delhi for two centuries, based on strong camaraderie among 'slave' warriors who spoke a common Turkic language and regarded both Hindus and Mongols as 'infidels.' Nevertheless, like most Muslim rulers of this period and after, they exercised power in ways that differed little from Hindu rulers. They extended arable land, developed irrigation techniques, including the 'Persian wheel,' and built new road networks, all of which stimulated economic growth. Equally significant, they moved from army camps to a settled court culture, and patronised the Persian language and Persian art forms

From this key base in Delhi, during the 14th and 15th centuries CE Muslim rule and authority spread over most of the subcontinent. Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad Tughluq (both 14th c. CE) were responsible for most of this success. The former decisively defeated the Mongols in 1307-1308 CE, although these enemies had taken parts of Delhi a decade earlier. Muhammad Tughluq extended Muslim rule into the far east, as far as

Assam, and the deep south, as far as Madurai. During the 15th century CE, however, both these northern and southern conquests began to unravel and the Delhi Sultanate fragmented into smaller independent states.

4. Vijayanagar 1336 – 1565 CE

Muslim power in the Deccan was further checked by the rise of the Vijayanagar kingdom in Karnataka. Their capital named Vijayanagar ('City of Victory') was first built on a river bank by minor Hindu rajas in the 14th century CE, but gradually rose to become a major power in southern and central India. Although the founders of the empire were two humble brothers who defended their tiny kingdom from the Badami sultans, they asserted their power by claiming descent from the Chalukyas and patronising the cult of Siva worship. Most spectacular was the capital itself with a complex of temples (and mosques) that displayed both their wealth and their ambitions.

They also improved their army by recruiting Muslim soldiers from their enemies and by borrowing their techniques of warfare. Soon the Vijayanagar kings expanded their territory and authority to reach both shores of the subcontinent.

Krishnadevaraya, perhaps the greatest of these rulers, defeated his neighbouring sultans one by one in the early 16th century CE. On the west coast he defended his territory from the Portuguese, who had just arrived in India. Again, he strengthened himself by adopting his enemies technology and personnel; this time, he brought Portuguese canon gunners into his army and then turned them against his Muslim adversaries.

He and his predecessors created a 'modern' Indian state, with new monetary and fiscal policies, administrative structures and military discipline. This Hindu kingdom finally fell in 1565 CE to Muslim armies from the north. However, as a bulwark against Islamic penetration into south India for two hundred years, Vijayanagar permitted the development of a Hindu south India that remains today different to north India.

On a larger scale the new military technologies used by Vijayanagar—matchlock guns, canons, mobile field guns, and horses—were all part of a growing maritime trade between world powers, in which India played the role of middleman between Europe and China. The war horses from Arabia could come more quickly to the ports on the west coast of south India than overland through the Khyber Pass in the northwest. Trade was also facilitated by the large number of permanent depots on the coasts, which were linked to growing towns inland. Garrison towns, along with temple towns, became nodes in expanding commercial networks that stretched from London to Vijayanagar to Peking.

Reading

Required

- Metcalf, *Concise History*, pp. 1-14
- Stein, *India*, pp. 134-167
- Thapar, *Early India*, pp. 405-490
- Asher, *India*, pp. 1-107
- Embree, *Sources*, pp. 384-391, 408-421, 437-446

Recommended

- Robinson, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 93-99
- Stein, *Vijayanagar*, Cambridge, 1989
- Wolpert, *New History*, chaps. 7 & 8

Discussion Questions / Topics

1. What role did the Vijayanagar Empire play in medieval India?
2. Why were the Turks-Afghans successful in conquering north India?

Unit IV: Early Modern India

Week 7: Mughal Empire

Outline

- A. Overview
 - 1. Turko-Afghan rulers of Delhi succumb to central Asian forces
 - 2. Mughal Empire (1526-1709 CE) largest and grandest in Indian history
 - 3. influenced by predecessors
 - a. Afghan-Turko customs mixed thoroughly with local society
 - b. Mughals used similar administrative structure
 - 4. father-son succession marked by betrayal, violence and murder

- B. Beginnings of empire
 - 1. Babur (1483-1530 CE, r. 1526-1530 CE)
 - a. Turko-Mongol lineage from Uzbekistan
 - b. defeats Afghan Lodi ruler at Panipat, near Delhi in 1526 CE
 - 2. Humayun (1508-1556 CE, r. 1530-1540 CE)
 - a. Son of Babur, extends empire
 - b. forced into exile in Persia for more than 10 years
 - c. reinforces Persian culture at Delhi court on return
 - d. recaptures Delhi in 1555 CE

- C. Akbar the Great (1542-1605 CE, r. 1556-1605 CE)
 - 1. long reign transforms a dynasty into an empire
 - 2. creates a diverse, intellectual court culture
 - 3. develops new ideology
 - a. tolerance for all religions and sects
 - b. loyalty to supreme ruler at top transcends other identities
 - 4. builds second city/capital at Fatehpur Sikri
 - 5. administrative reforms
 - a. abolishes tax on non-Muslims
 - b. new rank of noble that balanced central and local powers
 - 6. military success
 - a. wins second battle of Panipat in 1556 CE
 - b. defeats Afghan general of Bihar-Bengal
 - c. conquers independent sultanates in Deccan

- D. Akbar's successors
 - 1. empire loses charismatic leader and fragments
 - 2. Akbar's son Salim leads revolts and becomes Jahangir
 - 3. Jahangir's son Khurram is military leader and becomes Shah Jahan, who builds Taj Mahal, Red Fort and Jama Masjid

Lecture

- 1. Overview

The long struggle by the Muslim rulers of Delhi to prevent other central Asian groups from claiming India came to end in 1526 CE when Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur defeated the Afghan Lodi ruler and his Rajput allies in a battle at Panipat, near Delhi. Like the Vijayanagar ruler Krishnadevaraya, who was his contemporary in south India, Babur relied on new military hardware, this time the mobile field gun, to subdue his enemy. Over the next two centuries, Babur and his successors, sons of sons of rulers, built the largest, wealthiest and most spectacular empire in Indian history. When it

disintegrated, after Aurangzeb's death in 1707, the Mughals had penetrated east to Chittagong, west to Baluchistan, south to the Kaveri River and north to the foothills of the Himalayas

Although they defeated them, the Mughals owed a great deal to the Afghan Lodis. Alone of the pre-Mughal Muslim rulers in India, the Afghans, especially Bahlul Khan and Sikander (named after Alexander's son; Greek influence had not disappeared), successfully assimilated into local societies. Moreover, while the Mughal empire may have begun with that victory in 1526, it did reach its full form for nearly a century later. During that time, the Suras, Afghan successors to the Lodis, controlled large parts of central and eastern India.

Finally, the Mughals, and later the British, adopted much of the administrative structure of the Lodis and Suras. When territory was conquered, it became a sarkar, or geographical division ('district' under the Raj). A sarkar was sub-divided into parganas, which were more historical communities than formal units. At the top, above the sarkar, the Mughals added the 'suba'. The suba of Bengal, for example, contained 19 sarkars and more than 600 parganas.

2. Beginnings of Empire

The first Mughal ruler was the skilful military man Babur. Born in a Turko-Mongol lineage in the Fergana valley (present-day Uzbekistan), he claimed descent from both the Timur warrior Tamerlane and the Mongol [>Moghul>Mughal] ruler Chingiz Khan. At age 12, he succeeded his father as ruler of Fergana and began a military career, conquering Samarkand and then Kabul in 1504 CE. Two decades later, after repeated attempts, he defeated the Lodis and Rajputs outside Delhi.

Babur's son, Humayun extended Mughal power but only after suffering defeats by his brother and the Suras. Humayun was forced to withdraw to Kabul and then to Persia, where he remained for more than a decade. One consequence of this long retreat at the Safavid court was that Humayun absorbed Persian culture and transplanted it in Delhi.

When his rivals, including his brother, had died, he returned and recaptured Delhi in 1555 CE. One of those leading his army that recaptured Delhi was his son, Akbar, who then succeeded him on the throne after his death the following year. Humayun died falling down the stairs of his newly built library; apparently, he had been standing on the roof consulting astrologers.

3. Akbar

The young Akbar, who at first served under a regent, matured into a remarkable man. His reign of half a century is impressive by itself, but his achievements raise him to a greatness equalled by only a handful of world leaders. It was he who turned a dynasty into an empire. He created a diverse administration, from local rulers to scribes, drawn from Hindu, Persian, Afghan as well as Muslim families. This cadre of Brahmins, Rajputs, Marathas, Sunnis, Shias and Sufis cohered around an ideology of loyalty to the state that transcended regional or religious identity.

At the apex of this pyramid of allegiance was the Emperor Akbar, beneath whom a cult developed that raised him to near-divine status. Although his 'perfection' was expressed through Islamic symbols and philosophy, and although he patronised the Persian language and art forms, his court was a forum for intellectuals. Special prominence was accorded to Brahmins, Jains, Buddhists, Zoroastrians, Portuguese Jesuits and Muslim scholars of every persuasion. Through them and his own liberal instincts, he formulated a new kind of religious tolerance influenced in particular by Sufi thinkers. Part of his radical revision of Islam was the semi-divine role he proclaimed for himself. Although he built a new capital, at Fatehpur Sikri near Agra, in honour of a Sufi saint, the city also reflected his own eminence. Finally, he abolished the traditional tax on non-Muslims. All

this alarmed traditional Muslim clerics, many of whom actively opposed the Emperor. In return, Akbar reclaimed lands that had been granted to them and gave them to others, including non-Muslims.

Akbar's administrative reforms were no less radical than his ideological ones. For example, he created a new rank of nobles, who had both political and military responsibilities, so that the one held the other in check. Arranged hierarchically and distributed throughout the empire and rotated every decade, this prevented the nobles from building a local power base and created a modern kind of civil service with a loyalty to the centre. These officers were given land grants and had 150,000 heavily armed cavalymen at their command. Here again we see a further elaboration of that balance of a powerful central authority with local autonomy, which developed in the medieval period.

Akbar also registered military successes. His physical fitness was renowned and he, reputedly, could ride 240 miles in a day, if necessary, to suppress a provincial rebellion. At the second battle of Panipat in 1556 CE, he defeated a Hindu general of the Afghan ruler of Bihar-Bengal. When the Vijayanagar kingdom was overrun by sultanates in the Deccan, Akbar was swift to move into the power vacuum.

4. Akbar's successors

By the time Akbar died in 1605 CE, however, the personal charisma that held together his far-flung administrative network had already faded and fault lines exposed. Patrimony was still more powerful than professionalism, and local ties of ethnicity, language and religion stretched the imperial fabric to breaking point. Akbar's own son, Prince Salim, led a revolt and eventually became the Emperor Jahangir. Thus began the pattern of Mughal succession, marked by betrayal, imprisonment and murder within the royal family.

Jahangir largely continued the intellectual and reforming spirit of his father and extended the empire into the far eastern region of Assam and subdued the independent sultanates in the Deccan. This last achievement was led by his son, Khurram, who then turned against his father and was permitted to remain in the Deccan only if he left his own two sons as hostages in Agra. Once on the throne in 1628 CE, Khurram took the title of Shah Jahan and continued the military conquests of his forefathers. However, he is remembered more for what he built—the Taj Mahal, the Red Fort and Jama Masjid—than for what he conquered.

Reading

Required

Metcalf, *Concise History*, pp. 14-28

Stein, *India*, pp. 164-176

Asher, *India*, pp. 115-185

Embree, *Sources*, pp. 464-475

Recommended

Richards, *Mughal Empire*, pp. 6-165

Wolpert, *New History*, chaps. 9 & 11

Discussion topics/questions

1. Although celebrated as the most famous of all Indian empires, the Mughals adopted and adapted much from their predecessors. List as many of these borrowed features as you can.
2. Akbar's reign (virtually the same years as Elizabeth I of England) was remarkable for many reasons. Which of his innovations was most significant?

3. To what extent does a focus on political history of the Mughals distort the wider historical record of this period?
4. Does Akbar's reign illustrate the 'great man' theory of history or does it, instead, demonstrate how leaders are influenced by their context?

Week 8: Mughal Decline

Outline

- A. Aurangzeb (r. 1658-1707 CE)
 - 1. last of grand Mughals, often blamed for decline of empire
 - 2. religious intolerance; reimposes tax on Hindus; destroys temples
 - 3. brilliant military strategist; expands empire to greatest extent

- B. Marathas
 - 1. chief enemy of Aurangzeb; based in western Ghats
 - 2. Shivaji Bhonsle (1630-1680 CE)
 - a. key political and military leader
 - b. escapes from Delhi, leads campaign across Deccan
 - c. later becomes symbol of Hindu nationalism
 - 3. after Shivaji, leaders weak and Maratha dynasty declines

- C. Mughal Decline
 - 1. leaders after charismatic Aurangzeb incompetent
 - 2. expansion of empire leads to its destruction
 - a. tax collection system ineffective
 - b. local rulers, esp. Hindu rajas, revolt
 - 3. military defeats
 - a. Nadir Shah sacks Delhi in 1739
 - b. Afghans sack Delhi in 1757
 - 4. empire and court limps on until 1858

Lecture

1. Aurangzeb (r. 1658-1707 CE)

Aurangzeb, the last of the grand Mughals, is often blamed for the downfall of the empire. His chief sins are said to be his zealous opposition to the cultural diversity and the administrative reforms of Akbar. While it is true that he reinstated taxes on some Hindu communities, destroyed important Hindu temples and encouraged a more austere form of Islam at court, these policies did not of themselves lead to imperial disintegration. The destruction of those temples, for example, was less the result of religious fanaticism and more the consequence of successful military campaigns (and he did patronise other temples).

In fact, it was Aurangzeb who, through his brilliant military strategy, achieved glory for the Mughal empire and expanded its territory. Relying on Rajput allies he conquered more land in northwest India and through hard-fought campaigns he added new kingdoms in the Deccan. Here, and in western India, his chief enemy were the Marathas.

2. Marathas

The Marathas were led by Shivaji Bhonsle (1630-1680 CE), who came from a peasant family. Illustrating the scope for social mobility during the Mughal period, this humble Hindu was appointed to the rank mansab, or district officer, in the Mughal empire. Displaying as well the skills of self-promotion practiced by Hindus, he commissioned Brahmins to write his genealogy, which placed him in an illustrious line of warriors, and he used Brahmin-led rituals to elevate his status to 'king.' While others led similar insurgencies against Aurangzeb, Shivaji casts a long shadow as a rallying cry for Hindu extremists in contemporary India.

Initially defeated by the Mughals, Shivaji later won major battles against Aurangzeb in the Deccan and the western Ghats. After escaping from an attempt to imprison him in

Delhi, Shivaji led an audacious raid across the Deccan all the way to Thanjavur, the former Chola capital, on the southeast coast.

After Shivaji's death in 1680 CE, the Marathas rallied under his son but eventually lost ground to Aurangzeb's huge army, which crawled across India like a slow beast. In 1689 CE, Shivaji's son was captured and executed and his successor was driven out of his southern court in 1698 CE.

3. Mughal decline

Aurangzeb had expanded the empire to its greatest extent and when he died in 1707 CE, it fell into terminal decline. In the half century after Aurangzeb's death, no fewer than eight emperors sat on the throne. Three were assassinated, one was overthrown, and all were incompetent.

However, and despite Aurangzeb's successes, the empire was in decline long before this date. Indeed, and unsurprisingly, the very territorial expansion of the Mughal empire sowed the seeds of its own destruction, which by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries had grown to maturity. Stretched thin over most of the subcontinent, the imperial tax collection system no longer worked efficiently. Similarly, though Mughal success had depended on local allies, especially Hindu rajas, several of them began to turn against the Delhi-based authority. Internal weaknesses were exposed by the regional insurgencies led by Jats, Sikhs, Rajputs and, most conclusively, Marathas. The economic success of the empire, in other words, meant that those regions farthest from the centre grew ambitious and broke away.

Although the Mughal court at Delhi continued right up to the revolt/mutiny of 1858 CE, albeit without the grandeur of their forefathers, their authority shrunk year by year. The final humiliation of the mighty Mughals came in 1739 CE, when the Persian ruler Nadir Shah sacked Delhi and stripped it of its riches (including the famous koh-i-noor diamond). When Delhi was sacked again in 1757 CE, this time by an Afghan army, the Marathas rallied to its defence but were beaten back. With the Mughals weakened and the Marathas forced to retreat to their base in the western mountains, the field was left open for the British.

Reading

Required

Stein, *A History*, pp. 176-197

Asher, *India*, pp. 186-286

Metcalf, *Concise History*, pp. 29-44

Recommended

Richards, *Mughal Empire*, pp. 166-303

Wolpert, *New History*, chap.12

Discussion topics/questions

1. The arch-enemies of the late 17th century, Aurangzeb and Shivaji, have become icons, respectively, of Muslim intolerance and Hindu nationalism. How can you complicate this simple polarisation of evil and good?
2. To what extent were the seeds of decline sown with the success of the Mughal Empire?
3. How can you explain the (short-lived but dramatic) success of the Marathas?
4. Select one feature of the Mughal Empire and explain why you think it has had the most significant influence on later Indian history.

Unit V: Colonial India

Week 9: The East India Company

Outline

- A. Europeans arrive in India before the Mughals
 - 1. Portuguese arrive in 1498 at Cochin; then Dutch, French and British traders
 - 2. British East India Company chartered in 1599
- B. Early British success: 17th century
 - 1. 1650, British dominate; benefit from Mughal-Maratha wars
 - a. 27 ports or depots established in India
 - b. 1644 Fort St. George (Madras); 1668 gain Bombay; 1696 Fort William (Calcutta)
 - 2. economic power of British
 - a. 1701 treaty with Mughals to collect taxes in Bengal
 - b. in exchange for British purchase of goods, Mughals and local rulers cede authority to British
- C. From trader to ruler: early 18th century
 - 1. South India
 - a. end of Vijayanagar empire and decline of Mughal influence allowed British to gain control in south India
 - b. Clive defeats French at Arcot in 1751
 - c. 1800, most of south India under Company control
 - 2. Bengal
 - a. 1757, Clive defeats Mughal ruler who had captured Calcutta
 - b. Clive defeats French; leads to Treaty of Paris 1763
- D. Company Raj: 1757-1857
 - 1. hundred years lay foundations of colonial rule
 - a. Warren Hastings, Governor-General (1774-1785), states that goal is not to conquer but to trade
 - b. officers of Company adopt local customs, marry local women
 - c. missionaries barred from Company territory until 1818
 - 2. administration
 - a. Mughal model of district officers, called 'collectors'
 - b. relies on large cadre of Indian employees and allies
 - c. builds up army using Indian soldiers
 - 3. 'military fiscalism'
 - a. Company leases armies, with superior firepower, to local rulers fighting each other; Company lends money to rulers
 - b. local rulers' debt to Company paid by ceding tax powers or territory
 - c. impoverished rulers collapse or capitulate to British
 - 4. military campaigns
 - a. constant warfare in colonial period
 - i. 1799, Tipu Sultan in south India
 - ii. 1816-1818, Marathas, west India
 - iii. 1816, Gurkhas, Himalayas
 - iv. 1824-1886, Burma and Assam
 - b. defeated in Kabul and Punjab in 1830s and 1840s
 - 5. direct and Indirect rule
 - a. direct rule by Company not possible for all territory
 - b. indirect rule (local ruler in nominal control) less expensive and

more efficient; e.g., Mughals in Delhi

E. Mutiny/Revolt of 1857/1858

1. once called 'mutiny' but now 'revolt'; culmination of resistance
2. watershed: transformation from Company to Crown
3. causes
 - a. pig fat on new gun cartridges angers Muslim soldiers
 - b. resentment at Christian missionaries among soldiers
 - c. anger at loss of privileges to new, low-caste recruits
4. events
 - a. mutiny of soldiers in Meerut; rebels march to Delhi
 - b. impotent Mughal Emperor supports rebels
 - c. outbreaks across north and west India, esp. Lucknow, Kanpur
 - d. Company retakes Delhi and other cities in bloody battles
5. East India Company abolished; India under rule of British Crown

F. Reasons for British Success in India

1. economic-political-military policy
 - a. apparent benefits to local rulers and merchants
 - b. use of Indian soldiers ('Indian soldiers conquered India')
2. British economic power based on maritime trade, protected against exigencies of events in India
3. superior technology and industrial power
4. confidence in imperialist mission
5. lack of unity among Indian rulers

Lecture

1. The Europeans arrive

While the Maratha Shivaji and the Persian Nadir Shah inflicted fatal blows on the Mughals, another force that was eating away at the edges of their empire was the British East India Company. By the end of the 18th century, this joint stock company of English traders had become the major power in India.

The Company (as it was called) was founded by Queen Elizabeth I, a contemporary of Akbar, in 1599. Indeed, it is important to note that the Europeans came to India before the Mughals: the Portuguese landed on the west coast in 1498. Later the Dutch arrived and throughout the 16th century wrestled with the Portuguese for control of the lucrative trade in the East Indies (India, modern Indonesia and China).

2. Early British success: 17th century

The British (East Indian Company) were the beneficiaries of a three-way struggle for power in north India between the Mughals, the Marathas and the Europeans (primarily French and British). When the Marathas attacked and destroyed a Mughal town, it was the British who gained most. When Aurangzeb lured Shivaji to Delhi to attempt to negotiate an alliance with him, he only managed to insult his guest. As noted above, it was Aurangzeb's armies who finally battered Shivaji to death.

By the mid-17th century, the English began to gain the upper hand. They had established no less than 27 ports or posts, mostly on the coasts. In 1644, Fort St. George was built on land leased from the last of the Vijayanagar kings. In 1668, Charles I gained the Portuguese colony of Bombay as part of a wedding dowry, and in 1696 Fort William was built and soon became Calcutta.

In 1701, the East India Company negotiated a treaty with the impoverished Mughal Emperor to collect taxes near Calcutta in Bengal. Like their European rivals, the English

bought large amounts of Indian textiles and spices, which supported large communities of weavers and artisans. For this economic boost, the Mughal rulers were prepared to make concessions to the foreigners, especially since they paid in silver which then circulated throughout the empire.

3. From trader to ruler: early 18th century

During the early 18th century, the British began their transformation from trading company to imperial ruler. The Company had begun to collect tax in Bengal, but it was in south India where the British first converted economic advantage into direct political power. The demise of the Vijayanagar and Mughal empires gave them the opportunity to extend their influence over the fragmented states that remained.

The French captured Fort St. George at Madras in 1746, but two years later the British retook this important port. That same year, following the death of the Nizam of Hyderabad (a large Muslim kingdom in the Deccan), the British and the French (at Pondicherry) competed for the spoils by supporting rival claimants to the throne and by lending armies and large amounts of money. In the end, the British and their local allies, led by Robert Clive, defeated the French at Arcot (near Madras) in 1751. Over the next fifty years, the Company used military force and economic bribes to annex large swaths of territory south of the Krishna River. By 1800, virtually all of south India was either under direct Company rule or allied to it.

In 1757, Clive repeated his heroics in the south by recapturing Calcutta, which had been wrested from the English by a Bengali Mughal nawab (responsible for the notoriously exaggerated 'Black Hole of Calcutta'). The Battle of Plassey in 1757 is often cited as the beginning of the British Empire in India, and indeed it was a decisive event. Clive went on to defeat Dutch and French forces elsewhere, victories which culminated in the British triumph over their rivals sealed in the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

After 1757, the British also stopped sending bullion to India to pay for purchases and instead used the internal tax revenues, which they now controlled. Clive, who rightly called Bengal 'an inexhaustible fund of riches', helped himself to a large portion of that wealth. When he returned to England in the 1770s, however, he was convicted of embezzlement and later cut his own throat.

4. Company Raj: 1757-1857

During the hundred years from Plassey to the Indian Revolt/Mutiny in 1857, the East India Company laid down the foundations of colonial rule. Warren Hastings, the first and longest-serving Governor-General (1774-1785), set the tone when he declared that the goal was not to establish an English-style government, as in north America, but to 'adapt our Regulations to the Manners and Understandings' of India. In part, this meant rediscovering and translating ancient Sanskrit texts, which in turn stimulated oriental scholarship, leading (among other things) to the discovery of the Indo-European family of languages. As decades passed, British officers serving in India acquired local languages and in the early years, assimilated into local culture, often marrying Indian women and setting up house with them.

Given the early 'hands-off' policy of the East India Company, it is not surprising that few Indians converted to Christianity in this period. Indeed, colonial policy barred missionaries from British Indian territory until 1818. Following Mughal precedent, Hastings also instituted a government based on district 'collectors', a title that announced their fiscal authority. Finally, he increased the size of the Company's army, recruiting Indian soldiers (sepoys) under the command of British officers.

Supported by this army, the East India Company extended its influence from its main bases in Bengal and Madras. But they also used economic power to acquire land, a policy known as 'military fiscalism.' With their superior firepower, European armies

(again with European and Indian soldiers) were in high demand among squabbling rajas, sultans and nawabs. As soon as a raja ran up a high debt, he was forced to sell off or lease one of his provinces to the Company. In addition, the Company would lend the impoverished raja large amounts of money (with which to repay his original debt to them). And when the raja was unable to service that second debt, he had to give off yet another province to the British. Thus squeezed by the economic stranglehold of the British, the once-powerful kingdoms collapsed or capitulated.

Throughout the colonial period war was common and brutal. British armies (again with Indian soldiers) fought and killed dozens of local rulers and thousands of their men, most famously Tipu Sultan in south India in 1799. The Marathas suffered the same fate in 1816-18. Even the Gurkhas, who had established a Himalayan kingdom and were renowned for martial prowess, were brought to a settlement that gave the British a buffer state in the mountains. By 1852, after two long and costly wars, most of Burma was brought under imperial control. Only in the northwest was the British military onslaught unsuccessful, when Sikh, Afghan and Pathan armies defeated or held them back in separate battles. Military campaigns turned to the northeast frontier areas, including upper Burma, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

As it was neither possible nor necessary to conquer all of the subcontinent, the company evolved a policy of 'indirect rule.' In effect, the British allowed many local rajas to remain in power, like the Mughals in Delhi, to whom they paid formal obeisance. In some cases, they realised, local rulers could run a government more efficiently, and certainly more inexpensively, than themselves. As long as the local raja paid his taxes, and allowed a nominal colonial presence in their court (the 'Resident'), this relationship worked to the advantage of both parties.

5. Indian Mutiny/Revolt

Indian resistance to colonial rule culminated in the events of 1857-58, once called a 'mutiny' but now a 'revolt.' While this war was a watershed, and ushered in a new kind of colonial rule, it was also the most violent and sustained stage of an already long history of Indian resistance. There is not a single year since 1707 until 1947 that some local group did not oppose the British/sepoy army, in the forests of central India, or the hills of western India, or the hills of the northeast.

Although the causes of the 1857 revolt are disputed, some things are clear. In the Bengal army (the Madras and Bombay armies did not revolt), the disproportionately large number high-caste Hindus resented the loss of privileges to new recruits from lower castes. Muslim soldiers also took offense at the animal fat (feared to be pig fat, an Islamic taboo) on the cartridges of their new rifles. Others objected to the perceived missionary zeal to convert soldiers to Christianity.

The build-up of 150 years of foreign intervention exploded in May 1857, when the garrison at Meerut, northeast of Delhi, mutinied. The rebels marched to Delhi, where they seized the city and drew support from the last Mughal Emperor, an impotent pensioner of the British. His symbolic support, however, inspired other dispossessed royal families in Lucknow and the Maratha country, as well as some landowners, to join the revolt.

While the revolt raged over most of north India, it seemed that the foreigners might be defeated. But the rebels were too dispersed to cut off the British lines of communication and supply. Most Indian soldiers did not mutiny and many princes, under indirect rule, remained loyal to the British. Eventually, in 1858, both Lucknow and Delhi were retaken, after bloody battles. London was shaken, however, and abolished the East India Company, placing India under the direct administration of the British Crown.

6. Reasons for British success

How did a group of traders from a small island off the north coast of Europe manage to control the vast territory of the Indian subcontinent? For one thing, the East India Company devised a shrewd and coordinated economic-military policy, directing their armies to the territories with a rich tax base, negotiating favourable alliances with impoverished local rulers and providing merchant groups with an export market. This required a professional, loyal and well-resourced army. It is no exaggeration to say that Indian soldiers conquered India for the British. A second and paradoxical reason was the fortunate geographic location of the Company. British power, while requiring land-based taxes, ultimately rested on maritime trade, and was therefore less affected by events in the subcontinent. However, one should not contrast a strong British economy with a weak Indian one. In fact, British success lay in the timely conjunction of two flourishing economies, one in Europe and one in the subcontinent.

Still, one must admit that the British had the advantage of superior technology, in warfare and communications, and a stronger industrial power. Finally, there was the lack of unity among Indian rulers ('Divide and Rule') as well as the foreigners' confidence in their imperialist mission.

Reading

Required

Stein, *A History*, pp.197-228

Metcalf, *Concise History*, pp. 44-91

Embree, *Sources*, pp. 3-34

Recommended

Wolpert, *New History*, chaps.10,13 &14

Bayly, *Indian Society*, chaps. 1-4

Discussion Questions / Topics

1. The arch-enemies of the late 17th century, Aurangzeb and Shivaji, have become icons, respectively, of Muslim intolerance and Hindu nationalism. How can you complicate this simple polarisation of evil and good?
2. To what extent were the seeds of decline sown with the success of the Mughal Empire?
3. How can you explain the (short-lived but dramatic) success of the Marathas?
4. Select one feature of the Mughal Empire and explain why you think it has had the most significant influence on later Indian history.

Week 10: Imperialism

Outline

- A. British Imperial Rule
 - 1. 1858 transfer of India to British Crown
 - a. formalisation of developments prior to Mutiny/Revolt
 - b. India now united as a British colony; ironically leads to Independence movement
 - 2. changes in colonial administration
 - a. increase and greater specialisation of departments (health, public works etc.)
 - b. increase in British public and private investment in India
 - c. shift in ideology from laissez-faire to goal of creating 'English Indians' through education, law and religion
 - 3. India as 'jewel in the crown of the British Empire'
 - a. 1876, Queen Victoria becomes Empress of India
 - b. 1911, Delhi Durbar receives George V like Mughal Emperor
 - c. 1911, capital moves from Calcutta to New Delhi (construction completed in 1931)

- B. Indian Response
 - 1. Brahmo Sabha/Samaj (1830-c. 1920)
 - a. conceived by Raja Rammohan Roy & Devendranath Tagore in Calcutta in 1830
 - b. reform of Hinduism, esp. ritual, widow burning, etc.
 - c. borrowed elements of Christianity and the Enlightenment
 - d. expanded by Keshab Chandra Sen in 1860s; spreads over north India
 - 2. participation in Public Sphere: 1850-
 - a. universities set up in Madras, Calcutta, Bombay
 - b. graduates and provincial intellectuals establish civic societies
 - c. growth of newspapers, journals, books
 - 3. Arya Samaj
 - a. led by Dayananda Saraswati in Ganges plain
 - b. Hindu movement, reclaiming truth of Vedas, condemning cow slaughter and animal sacrifices
 - 4. Muslim reform movements
 - a. Aligarh movement
 - i. founded by Syed Ahmed Khan at Aligarh in 1875
 - ii. blend of English and Islamic ideas; loyal to British Raj
 - b. Deobandi movement
 - i. established 1868 at Deoband Seminary in north India
 - ii. Sunni, Wahhabi movement that supported purified Islam
 - iii. influences those who led the Pakistan movement

- C. Ilbert Bill 1883
 - 1. proposed legislation to exempt Europeans from jurisdiction of Indian judges
 - 2. furious opposition by British engenders anti-colonial backlash;
 - 3. public and polarised debate on justice of colonial rule; discrimination, etc.

- D. Indian National Congress
 - 1. established 1885 in Bombay
 - a. all-India organisation, at first loyal to British Rule
 - b. mostly urban, Hindu lawyers

- 2. opposed by some anti-colonialists
 - a. Bal Ganghadar Tilak demands Independence; revives cult of Shivaji in Maharashtra as Hindu nationalist movement
 - b. leaders in Madras oppose Brahmin domination of Congress

- E. Partition of Bengal and Swadeshi
 - 1. division of Bengal Province proposed by Lord Curzon in 1905
 - 2. feeds into anti-colonial sentiment, esp. *swadeshi* ('own-nation) movement
 - 3. leads to founding of Muslim League which split from Congress
 - 4. Bengal reunited in 1911, but damage done

- F. Economic Developments
 - 1. Dadabhai Naoroji
 - a. explains economic merits of Independence
 - b. first Indian MP in London
 - 2. WWI, Indian is Britain's main export market
 - a. abolition of slavery leads to Indians as indentured labour in overseas colonies
 - b. massive British investment in India, esp. railways,
 - c. leads to new Indian wealth in iron, steel, textiles

Lecture

1. British Imperial Rule

After the events of 1857-58, Britain began to rule India directly as an imperial power. Prior to that date, the East India Company had represented itself as a Company, supported by but independent of the London government. Even after the assumption of formal British rule, much of India continued to exist as independent states. Some of these 'princely states' were powerful actors while others were mere dependents of British rule, as they had been since the 18th century.

Although the declaration of direct rule was merely the formalisation of what had already happened, it was significant. British territories, which had before been separate entities, were now part of a unitary state. Ironically, this centralisation paved the way for an independent India.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the administration of British India evolved into a more complex structure with greater specialisation of function. Departments multiplied—public works, health, education, religious endowments, antiquities—and began to touch every aspect of life, even in small towns and villages.

Another major change was that Britain increased its direct economic investment in India. The railways, begun in 1854, are a prime illustration as the British, with Indian labour, built a huge network that criss-crossed the subcontinent. The goals of empire also shifted from the laissez-faire attitude of the eighteenth century to a civilising mission that sought to produce Englishmen through education (especially English language and literature), religion and law. This shift in colonial policy began as far back as 1830s, with Lord Bentinck as Governor-General, but it took several decades to flower into a fully-fledged ideology.

Victoria was made Empress of India in 1876, and India became the 'jewel in the crown' of the British Empire. The high water mark of the Raj was 1911 when George V, Victoria's grandson, was feted in Delhi by a bevy of Indian princes and received like a Mughal Emperor. At this grand ceremony, or durbar, the King announced that the capital would be moved from Calcutta to Delhi. Construction began and Luytens' New Delhi, delayed by the war, was formally inaugurated only in 1931.

2. Indian Response

Early Indian responses to colonialism found an articulate expression in Calcutta. From the first decades of the 19th century, Bengalis had been exposed not only to the modernity of colonial institutions, including Christianity, but also to reforming Hindu movements. This led to a reassessment of tradition known as the 'Bengal Renaissance.' Raja Rammohan Roy (1770-1830) drew on these various elements to establish the Brahmo Samaj, a monotheistic Hinduism that opposed the worship of idols, widow-burning (sati) and the domination of Brahmins. Though largely confined to Calcutta, its legacy was a discourse on change that evolved into the anti-colonial and nationalist movements.

The second half of the nineteenth century was marked by the increased participation by Indians in the public sphere. The three universities, established in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in the 1850s, began to turn out hundreds and then thousands of lawyers, doctors, engineers, scientists and other specialists. This English-educated elite, together with prosperous merchants in the three provincial capitals, began to set up civic associations, libraries, newspapers and journals. Most business was conducted in English, although some bodies and publications used regional languages, especially Tamil and Bengali.

After the events of 1857, reform movements emerged all over the country. In Calcutta, Keshab Chandra Sen expanded the Brahmo Samaj, touring the country with his inspiring speeches in English. In 1875, Hindus in the Ganges plain formed the Arya Samaj led by Dayananda Saraswati, which made the protection of cows from slaughter its primary aim.

Muslim reform movements coalesced around two institutions, both located within a hundred miles of Delhi, which supported different versions of Islam. Syed Ahmed Khan founded the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in 1875, and the Aligarh movement, as it became known, advocated reform within the empire based on an English education with Islamic elements. The alternative approach, centred on the Deoband seminary, taught a version of Wahhabi Islam, which originated in Saudi Arabia and found supporters among disgruntled Muslim communities in north India. The Deobandi movement encouraged a purified Islam in confrontation with infidels, whether Hindu or British. Eventually, these two approaches fed into the thinking of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, a lawyer from Bombay who campaigned for a separate Muslim country of Pakistan.

3. Ilbert Bill

Further dissent to British rule was the result of policy blunders by Delhi, now the capital of British India, and London. The Ilbert Bill proposed in 1883 sought to remove the privilege of Europeans not to be tried by Indian judges. (The fact that Indians had risen to the level of district magistrates illustrates their increasing participation in the public sphere). This proposal ignited anger among the now numerous British merchants and planters, and their anger in turn incensed Indians. For the first time, the imperialist ideology of racism was discussed in the public sphere. The final legislation was a compromise but one that still upheld discrimination in the judicial system. Politics was now both polarised and public, and moderate Indians were pushed toward a more uncompromising form of nationalism. Grievances were not hard to locate: in 1880, for example, there were only 16 Indians among the 900 members of the Indian Civil Service.

4. Indian National Congress

In the same year of 1883, a National Indian conference was held in Calcutta, and the Indian National Congress was established in 1885. Like the Muslim Aligarh movement, Congress was a group of educated elites loyal to British Rule who wanted political

reforms that would allow them to influence events. Its first President and four later ones were British.

Significantly the Congress was not a Bengal-dominated, Calcutta-based organisation. Founded in Bombay, it was an all-India in scope, with important leaders from Maharashtra (Tilak, Ranade, Gokhale) and Madras (Besant, Rajagopalachari). It was, however, primarily (about 90%) Hindu, and disproportionately Brahmin, urban, male-dominated and run largely by lawyers. Delegate numbers at the annual, Christmas time meetings ranged from about 300 to 1,600. Among the provinces, Madras provided the highest number of members.

Some anti-colonialists viewed the Congress as either too Hindu or too moderate. In Maharashtra, for example, the radical Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1844-1920) would accept nothing but independence. He skilfully turned a Ganesh festival into an expression of nationalism that reached the masses; he also invented a new festival to celebrate Shivaji, the 17th century Hindu warrior who battle Islam. In Madras, leaders of the Justice Party were concerned about the Brahmin domination in Congress.

5. Partition of Bengal and Swadeshi

Britain's second major policy blunder was Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal in 1905. Congress organised mass meetings in opposition to the plan to divide Bengal (including today's Bihar, Assam and parts of Chhattisgarh and Orissa) into a Muslim east and Hindu west. While some Muslim groups supported partition, Hindus, especially those in Calcutta, did not. Admitting that meetings were ineffective, Congress turned to a boycott of British goods as a political tactic. Soon the boycott targeted government offices and schools, where demonstrations were held. The boycott was called swadeshi ('own-country' or 'independence'), and this became the idea that was to grow and sweep the British out of India. Indians of all kinds, educated elites, emerging merchant groups and regional intellectuals, became involved in the swadeshi movement. The Tata Steel works were set up by Parsi loyalists in Bombay and the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company by others in Madras.

When Bengal was divided, it also led to the founding of the Muslim League, which in 1906 split off from the Congress and pursued its own reforms for Muslims. Bengal was reunited in 1911, but a final consequence of its partition was the removal of the capital from Calcutta to New Delhi in 1912.

6. Economic developments

One man often overlooked in the history of Indian responses to colonialism is Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917), a mathematician from Bombay and the first Indian to be elected the House of Commons in London. For fifty years he wrote and spoke eloquently about the rights of Indians as British subjects and against the assumptions of imperialism, cogently explaining the economic disadvantages of colonialism for India.

By 1913, India had become Britain's primary export market. Illustrating the textbook model of colonial economic exchange, Indian supplied raw materials (cotton, jute, tea, indigo, rice) and Britain sold them back to Indians as finished products, as well as steel and industrial goods. With the abolition of slavery in the 19th century, India also played an important role by providing indentured labour to Britain's overseas colonies, notably sugar cane plantations in the West Indies, Mauritius and Fiji; and tea plantations in Ceylon and Kenya.

At the same time, the British colonial investment, especially in the railway system, made new opportunities for Indian-owned businesses. Both the Tatas (steel and iron) and the Birlas (steel and textiles) exploited the new transport infrastructure to build massive industrial dynasties. And, finally, the Indian army was an instrument of colonialism not only in territorial conquest but also in protecting trade routes, both land and maritime.

Reading

Required

Stein, *A History*, pp. 239-299

Metcalf, *A Concise*, pp. 92-166

Embree, *Sources*, pp. 36-62, 84-96, 173-177, 180-186

Recommended

Wolpert, *New History*, chaps.15-20

Bayly, *Indian Society*, chaps. 5 & 6

Discussion topics/questions

1. Colonialism is a complex set of ideas, practices and institutions. Looking at the British Raj, can you explain why it lasted so long in India?
2. To what extent was the Indian National Congress a result of colonialism? How did a political system of domination contain its own destruction?
3. What were the main strands within the Indian response to colonialism?

Unit VI: 20th Century India I

Week 11: Nationalism

Outline

- A. Watershed of 1919-1920
 - 1. end of Ottoman Empire and rise of nationalism after Great War stimulates Indians' desire for independence.
 - 2. British war against Ottoman Empire prompts pro-Muslim khilafat movement in India against colonialism
 - 3. 1919 Amritsar massacre, 379 innocent protestors killed
 - 4. reforms of 1919 Government of India Act raise expectations

- B. Gandhi and non-cooperation: 1920s
 - 1. Gandhi enters Indian history and Independence politics
 - 2. 1920 launches non-cooperation movement
 - a. moral crusade
 - i. satyagraha: 'truth force', incl. non-violence
 - ii. swaraj: 'self-rule of nation and individuals
 - b. mass movement of people in villages and towns
 - c. Gandhi halts movement in 1921, after violence by supporters
 - 3. redefines 'swadeshi' ('own-government) to mean economic self-reliance
 - 4. 1927 outrage at failure to appoint a single Indian on commission to review colonial policy; Motilal Nehru sets up Swaraj ('own-rule) party
 - 5. Congress adopts new Constitution and demands dominion status

- C. Gandhi and 2nd non-cooperation: 1930s
 - 1. 1930, Salt March; Gandhi's arrest leads to civil disobedience all over India
 - 2. 1935 Government of India Act gives autonomy of provinces in a 'Federation of India'
 - 3. 1937 elections landslide for Congress

- D. Jinnah and the Muslim League: 1930s
 - 1. Muslim League gains support across the country
 - 2. 1934 Jinnah returns from London and supports independent Muslim country of Pakistan
 - 3. 1937 elections League gets less than 5% of total Muslim vote

Lecture

1. Watershed of 1919-1920

The years 1919-1920, arguably a turning point in world history, were clearly a watershed in Indian history. The Great War (WWI) of 1914-1918 had a decisive effect on politics in India. Watching the break-up of the Ottoman Empire and the rise of nationalism in central Europe, Congress called on the British government to declare that Indian independence was its long-term goal.

The fact that Britain and British India fought against the Ottoman Empire also mobilised Muslims to the cause of independence. The Ottoman Caliph was considered by Sunnis to be a successor of the Prophet Muhammad, and the perceived attack on this Islamic ruler's authority (Caliphate) led to the khilafat movement against British colonial rule.

When the Congress joined the khilafat movement, Indians finally sensed that they had the muscle and determination to achieve independence.

Another event that fed nationalist feelings was the 1919 massacre of unarmed Indian protestors in Amritsar, with 379 killed and 1,200 wounded. Finally, there was the 1919 Government of India Act. After a long consultation process (in which Viceroy Montagu and Lord Chelmsford toured the country) the government implemented reforms that gave greater scope for even Indian participation in political structures, widened franchise, increased number and power of elected legislatures in the provinces. Rather than dampen down the demands for independence, however, these reforms merely increased them.

2. Gandhi and non-cooperation: 1920s

It was at this crucial moment that Mohandas K. Gandhi entered Indian history. An obscure lawyer from western India who had been working for political and social reform among Indians in South Africa, he was fired by a vision of a new India. India and its citizens would not only be independent but guided by the principles of satyagraha (truth force), non-violence and self-rule (swaraj). Fundamentally, Gandhi's campaign was a moral crusade to transform the values and actions of a whole population, to turn it away from the crass capitalism and back to village based cohesion.

Gandhi launched his non-cooperation movement in 1920 in a master stroke that created a mass, disciplined and non-violent army of protestors. The goal of the movement was to liberate India not by violence but by refusing to participate in an unjust economic and political system. Gandhi halted the non-cooperation movement after only 18 months because of a violent attack on a police station, in contradiction of its stated moral method. Despite its failure, the movement succeeded in creating an India-wide organisation, down to district level, dedicated to Independence.

Gandhi was also a superb tactician, choosing his battles carefully and using popular symbols. For example, he redefined 'swadeshi' to mean buying goods made in India rather than those imported from Britain; khadi (cloth handspun and hand-woven by Indians) became the uniform of his supporters.

In 1927, Britain set up the Simon Commission in order to review the workings of the government in New Delhi, but failed to appoint a single Indian to the committee. Congress was enraged, and Motilal Nehru, created the Swaraj ('own rule) Party intended to undermine the work of elected provincial legislatures. Congress also adopted a new constitution and demanded full dominion status by the end of 1929

3. Gandhi's 2nd non-cooperation movement: 1930s

The second non-cooperation or 'civil disobedience' movement dominated the 1930s. In 1930, Gandhi again demonstrated his shrewd political tactics by going on a 240-mile 'salt march' from his ashram to the Bay of Bengal, where he made salt by boiling sea water. By not paying tax, Gandhi broke the law. Salt tax brought in little revenue to the colonial government, but the publicity of Gandhi's arrest, with thousands of ordinary men and women supporting him, had a profound effect on the general public. Soon mass civil disobedience broke out all over India.

Gandhi and the authorities in New Delhi jockeyed back and forth throughout the 1930s. In 1935 another Government of India Act was passed that gave almost full autonomy to the provinces and established a 'Federation of India'. In the elections of 1937, Congress formed the government in seven of 11 provinces, and in another province a year later. It should be pointed out that only about half of the subcontinent was under direct British rule even at this late date. The large kingdoms of Hyderabad, Kashmir, Rajasthan, Mysore and Travancore, plus hundreds of smaller ones, remained outside formal British rule.

4. Jinnah and the Muslim League

The other key development in the 1930s was the emergence of the 'Pakistan' movement. Although the Muslim League had been founded, as a split off from Congress, in 1906, it had failed (in competition with Gandhi's Congress) to gain a foothold in nationalist politics, even among Muslims. Many Muslim elites (including Muhammad Ali Jinnah, future leader of Pakistan) stayed within Congress and worked to achieve a Muslim-Hindu alliance in negotiations with the British. These efforts failed and Jinnah spent a number of years living in London to continue his support for Muslims in the soon-to-be independent India. In 1930 Muhammad Iqbal foresaw an independent Muslim state in the northwest, but this remained a vision rather than a political programme. In 1934 Jinnah returned from London to become President of the Muslim League and worked his way toward a separate Muslim state.

Even before the end of the 1930s, by about 1920 in fact, it had been clear that the British were boxed into a corner. The more successful British India became, the greater the participation of Indians in the political, economic and social spheres, the more the demand for full Independence. That logic would have resulted in the withdrawal of the British by the end of the 1930s, except that a war interrupted the process.

Reading

Required

Stein, *A History*, pp. 299-351

Metcalf, *A Concise*, pp. 167-202

Embree, *Sources*, pp. 140-148, 222-233, 243-260

Recommended

Wolpert, *New History*, chaps. 21 & 22

Discussion topics/questions

1. Why did Gandhi succeed? Was it his moral vision or his political acumen?
2. Explain the dilemma of Muslim elites in the Congress/Independence movement. Why did they form a separate political organisation?
3. In what ways are Gandhi's tactics applicable to other 'democracy' movements in the contemporary world?
4. In what ways did the Mutiny/Revolt of 1857-58 change Indian history?

Week 12: Independence

Outline

- A. WW II (1939-1945)
 - 1. delayed Independence
 - 2. Congress angry when not consulted over declaration of war
 - 3. 1940 Muslim League demands two-states: India and Pakistan
 - 4. India key to Allies' supply lines; Indian troops help stop Japanese in northeast India
 - 5. Congress refuses to support war
 - 6. 1942 Gandhi launches 'Quit India Movement'; 60,000 arrested

- B. Independence
 - 1. 1945, interim government of Congress and League ministers; Nehru as Prime Minister
 - 2. 1945/1946 elections, League gets 90% of Muslim seats
 - 3. 1946, Congress rejects 'Pakistan'; riots in Calcutta
 - 4. 1947, India and Pakistan created

- C. Partition and Accession
 - 1. partition
 - a. approx. 1 million killed
 - b. approx. 10 million refugees
 - c. 1948 Gandhi assassinated by rightwing Hindu
 - 2. accession
 - a. 562 princely states accede to India with 14 provinces
 - b. 1948 Hyderabad forced to join 'India' by military action
 - c. 1947 Kashmir war with Pakistan; 1948 UN cease-fire
 - d. 1961 Goa forced to join India by military action
 - e. 1960s –present, insurgencies in northeast against 'India'

- D. Constitution
 - 1. approved in 1950, designed by Vallabhbhai Patel
 - 2. retains much of 1935 Government of India Act
 - a. strong central powers over states
 - b. Hindu and Muslim law codes included
 - 3. English as official language
 - a. to have been replaced by Hindi by 1965
 - b. leads to anti-Hindi campaign in southern states

Lecture

1. India and WW II

As with the Great War two decades earlier, the war against Hitler and Japan changed the course of Indian history. WW II may have delayed the inevitable Independence, but it also exacerbated the animosity of many Indians toward their colonial rulers. When Britain declared war on Germany in 1939, Congress withdrew from the government in New Delhi because it had not been consulted. Congress was soon on its own within India, when in 1940 the Muslim League, led by Jinnah, passed a resolution demanding a separate Muslim state of Pakistan. The two-state solution, which Congress had always opposed, was now the only way forward.

In the meantime, however, India was crucial to the Allies war effort. It stood between German advances in the eastern Mediterranean and those by the Japanese on the northeast frontier of empire. In 1942 Sir Stafford Cripps went to New Delhi

and asked for Congress support in return for full dominion status or independence at the end of the war. This offer was rejected, and Gandhi launched a 'Quit India' movement, in which more than 60,000 people were arrested, including the young Jawaharlal Nehru.

2. Independence

When Independence came, it came quickly, some say too quickly.

After the war ended in 1945, the British managed to cobble together a Delhi government of Congress and Muslim League ministers, but this proved unworkable. Hindus still dominated, with Jawaharlal as Prime Minister. Moreover, in the elections held over the winter of 1945-46, the League captured 90% of the seats allocated to Muslims, strengthening their hand. Nehru and Congress, however, refused to accept their demand for Pakistan. Tensions between Muslims and Hindus boiled over into violence in Calcutta in August 1946 when 7,000-10,000 people were killed in 'communal rioting.'

In February 1947, London announced that India would be granted Independence by June 1948. However, when Lord Mountbatten was made Viceroy in June 1947, he brought forward the day to August 1947. Pakistan and India were born on 14 and 15 of August. Nearly 350 years after the first English traders had arrived on the subcontinent, Britain formally withdrew.

3. Partition and Accession

Colonial withdrawal, however, proved the least troublesome event in independent India. The 1946 killings in Calcutta were only the first in a series of bloody events that swept across India just before and after Independence. Partition saw the large provinces of Punjab and Bengal cut in two and parcelled out between India and Pakistan. Some 180,000 people (mostly Muslims) died in the Punjab alone. Partition and the migration from one side of the new international border to the other created 6 million Muslim refugees and 4.5 million Hindu refugees. Gandhi himself was murdered in 1948, by a rightwing Hindu angered by his 'appeasement' of Muslims. Jinnah died in the same year.

Another problem was integrating the princely states into the new nation. Again, these semi-autonomous states covered about half the land mass of independent India, if less than half its population. The two largest princely states, Kashmir (Muslim-majority population ruled by a Hindu) and Hyderabad (Hindu-majority population ruled by a Muslim), did not decide to join the newly-created nation. Various proposals were made and rejected. Military action in 1948, with no blood shed, persuaded Hyderabad to accede to the union.

Kashmir, on the border with Pakistan proved more intractable. When the Hindu ruler appealed to India to send troops to repel an invasion (launched with the apparent support of Pakistan), New Delhi made accession a pre-condition for its intervention. When Kashmir did join the union, Pakistan declared war on India and the first Indo-Pakistan war began. UN troops oversaw a cease-fire and a Line of Control drawn which left Pakistan in de facto control of the north and northwest of the region. Two wars and several decades later, that remains the status quo, with occasional incursions, firings and deaths on both sides.

Other peripheral regions were also brought into the Union of India by military means, principally Goa in 1961 (see below). Mountainous regions in northeast India, closer to China and southeast Asia in ethnicity, language and geography, also proved reluctant to join the union, and armed resistance by some local populations continues to this day. Nevertheless, in the end, 562 princely states were integrated into the Union alongside fourteen provinces

4. Constitution

The Indian Constitution, approved in 1950, was largely the work of Vallabhbhai Patel, who thwarted Nehru's desire that it should be designed by a more representative group. Much of this 270-page document is taken from the 1935 Government of India Act, including the strong role of the centre. New Delhi is empowered to replace a state government, when it wishes. It also retained colonial-era Hindu and Muslim law codes, instead of the more generic human rights that Nehru favoured, because that might lead to new demands from untouchables and low castes, and women.

The Constitution illustrates the 'unity in diversity' dilemma that has faced India from medieval times until today. It was written in English, and English was made the official language, although the colonial tongue was to be replaced by 1965 by Hindi. The southern states, however, who spoke Dravidian languages (unrelated to Sanskrit or Hindi), objected and embarked on a campaign of separatism. The issue was only superficially resolved in 1956 with the creation of several new linguistic states.

Reading

Required

Stein, *A History*, pp. 351-372

Metcalf, *Concise History*, pp. 203-230

Embree, *Sources*, pp. 334-339,

Recommended

Wolpert, *New History*, chaps. 21 & 22

Discussion Questions / Topics

1. Was Independence the result of Gandhi's movement or the inevitable consequence of the end of the British Empire?
2. Discuss the argument that British colonialism engendered its own destruction.
3. Was Independence worth the cost of Partition?

Unit VII: 20th Century India II

Week 13: Jawaharlal Nehru

Outline

- A. Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964),
 - 1. freedom fighter, intellectual, politician
 - 2. Prime Minister (1947-1964)
 - 3. wins general elections 1950-1951, 1957, 1962
 - 4. modernist but still Gandhian in outlook

- B. Nehru's domestic programmes
 - 1. central planning and industrial development
 - a. follows Soviet model of Five-Year Plans
 - b. socialist in orientation but not fixed ideology
 - 2. major programmes in health, literacy, family planning, education

- C. Integrating the Nation
 - 1. oversees accession since 1947
 - 2. creation of new (mostly linguistic) states in 1956
 - 3. secessionist movements in Kashmir, Madras, Punjab, Assam
 - 4. forces Portuguese to cede Goa to India in 1961

- D. Foreign Policy
 - 1. gave India influential voice in UN
 - 2. Cold war balance
 - a. anti-imperialist stance but takes US and Soviet aid
 - b. keeps communist parties at state level
 - 3. 1955, co-founder of Non-Aligned Movement
 - 4. 1957, inaugurates nuclear weapons programme
 - 5. Himalayas
 - a. shores up relations with Nepal, Bhutan, China
 - b. 1962, China invades India in Himalayas

Lecture

1. Jawaharlal Nehru

During the first decade of independence, India was led by Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964), freedom fighter, intellectual and Cambridge-educated elite. India was, by historical consensus, fortunate to be guided in its first years by such a capable and principled man. It is worth noting, however, that he became Prime Minister of the interim government in 1946 and of Independent India in 1947 not by election or formal selection, but simply because he was the acknowledged leader of Congress and had been anointed by Gandhi. His Congress party won elections in 1951-52, 1957 and 1962.

Nehru's vision for India can be seen in Chandigarh, the new capital of the Punjab (whose old capital of Lahore had ended up on the Pakistan side of the new border in 1947). He gave the job to a French architect, who created a modernist city with stark lines and bold colours. Not a traditional Indian city but one which functioned well in the public sphere if not inside the concrete block houses. For all his modernism, however, Nehru, had been born in the 19th century and remained a conservative. He wore the Gandhi cloth and Gandhi cap.

2. Nehru's domestic programme

While Gandhi was the light that lit the path to Independence, Nehru was the compass by which it navigated that transition. Nehru did not advocate spinning cotton as a strategy

for moral transformation; instead, he believed that India needed to develop its infrastructure, manufacturing and heavy industry. In this he followed the model of the Soviet Union, then seen as the champion of anti-colonialism and supporter of the common man. A declared socialist, Nehru created 'Five-Year Plans' (another Soviet parallel)

Nehru was astute enough to realise that the first such Five-year plan should be aimed at agriculture. In 1951, therefore, the government launched a massive programme of public works, focusing on improved irrigation, roads, dams, hydroelectricity and chemical fertilisers. With agriculture put on the right footing, in his second plan Nehru turned to industry, specifically the building of large steel works, with aid from the US, West Germany and the Soviet Union. Major programmes in education and health were also undertaken, along with family planning, as a concerted effort to raise standards of living. He also forced through legislation that removed some privileges for landowners that remained in law from the colonial period. Longevity and literacy did increase, and the birth-rate declined, for a while. Still, droughts, the unpredictable monsoons and bureaucratic inefficiency in trying to manage 250 million people reduced Nehru's achievements to a moderate success only.

3. Integrating the Union

Creating and maintaining a unified India, as already noted, has been an elusive goal for many empires in Indian history. Nehru's dynasty was no exception. Having more or less integrated the princely states into the union by 1950, Nehru still had to contend with secessionist movements in Kashmir, Madras (Dravida Nadu), Punjab (Khalistan) and Assam (Nagaland) demanding either autonomy or outright separation from India. The Madras movement was weakened by the redrawing of internal boundaries in 1956, in which larger provinces were divided into smaller states (including Tamil Nadu). This, however, strengthened regional parties, often defined by their opposition to centrist Hindi-belt domination. These parties remain strong and influence national policies today. The Khalistan movement would prove too much for the competent Indira Gandhi in the 1980s, while both Kashmir and Nagaland continue to elude resolution.

Nehru persuaded the French to cede their colony of Pondicherry in 1948, but the Portuguese refused to hand over Goa, which had been in their control for 450 years. In 1961, Nehru marched in the army and annexed the tiny but wealthy territory on the west coast, at a cost of 22 Indian lives.

4. Nehru's Foreign Policy

Immediately after Independence India became the leader of the Commonwealth of Nations, and before long the eloquent Nehru and his populous India assumed a prominent role at the UN. Despite a socialist leaning, he cagily steered the country into a middle ground between the West and the Soviet Union.

As a result of war-time purchases, India became a substantial creditor of Britain and it used these revenues to fund its ambitious programmes. The Soviet Union viewed nominally-socialist India as a 'camp-follower' and provided not just economic aid (on a small scale) but also cultural exchange. Although communist parties never came close to power in New Delhi, they did form governments (often in coalition) in the important states of Bengal (1971-2009) and Kerala (1957-1984, 1996-2009). When the US woke up to the strategic importance of this huge Asian democracy, it also extended aid, mostly in the form of 'soft loans' and food grains.

In 1955, Nehru's middle-ground stance was formalised in the Non-Aligned Movement, which he founded along with Yugoslavia and Egypt at a meeting in Indonesia. In 1957, he formally inaugurated India's nuclear weapons programme, which would lead to testing and the atomic bomb. Growing cold on Communism, especially after Stalin's death and Peking's intransigence over border disputes in the Himalayas, Nehru began to

shore up India's northern borders. Relations with Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim were upgraded and attention paid to the porous far northeast.

Although Nehru achieved some rapprochement with China, this did not prevent the big neighbour to the north from invading India in 1962. Chinese troops crossed the border in both the western and eastern Himalayas, though the invasion in the east, in today's Arunachal Pradesh, was the more dramatic. Although they quickly withdrew after killing about 1,400 Indians, the invasion underlined the vulnerability of India's northeast flank and the continuing border dispute with China there and in the western Himalayas.

When Nehru died in 1964, India had become a major player in world politics. He had unified a vast, diverse subcontinent into a secular democracy, maintained its territory integrity, and raised the standard of living, for the middle class, at least. The poor, however, remained poor.

Reading

Required

Stein, *A History*, pp. 372-401

Metcalf, *Concise History*, pp. 231-251

Embree, *Sources*, pp. 315-324, 349-352,

Recommended

Wolpert, *New History*, chap. 23

Discussion topics/questions

1. Contrast Nehru's policies and vision with those of Gandhi.
2. Nuclear weapons, wars, military force against those internal and external powers that refused to accede to the union of India, and internal insurrections across the country: this is not the popular image of India in the West.
3. The Constitution was both a colonial document and a blueprint for modern India this dual-identity is the energy and the curse of India.

Week 14: Indira Gandhi

Outline

- A. Interregnum between Nehru and Indira Gandhi
 - 1. 3 minor Congress leaders as Prime Ministers
 - 2. 1965 war with Pakistan led by Lal Bahadur Shastri
- B. Indira Gandhi becomes PM
 - 1. 1966 Shastri dies; Indira Gandhi named PM
 - 2. only child of Nehru; Nehru dynasty runs from 1947-1989
 - 3. remains PM until 1977 (with 2-year gap) and wins 3 general elections
- C. Indira Gandhi's major political programmes
 - 1. follows father's socialism and central planning
 - a. Green Revolution
 - i. India becomes food exporting country by late 1960s
 - ii. foreign aid leaves India in debt to US
 - b. 1969 banks nationalised
 - c. aggressive family planning
 - d. 1970s 'eradication of poverty'
 - 2. strong military leader
 - a. supports East Pakistan v. West Pakistan in 1971-72 war
 - b. continues development of nuclear weapons
- D. Scandal and downfall
 - 1. coerced sterilisation and vasectomies in family planning
 - 2. corruption in eradication of poverty programme
 - 3. 1975 convicted of corruption
 - 4. imposes 'emergency' and arrests 125,000
 - 5. ousted by election of 1977
- E. Revival and Death
 - 1. returns to power in 1975 election
 - 2. 1975, India launches unmanned satellite
 - 3. 1983, elected head of Non-Aligned Movement
 - 4. 1984, killed by own bodyguard as retaliation for army attack on Sikh temple
- F. Rajiv Gandhi
 - 1. Rajiv Gandhi, Mrs. Gandhi's son, named PM after mother's Death; later wins election in 1984
 - 2. major policy shift to liberalisation
 - 3. scandals
 - a. 1984 Bhopal chemical disaster
 - b. 1986-89 alleged bribes received from Swedish arms company for contracts
 - 4. foreign policy blunder and death
 - a. gives support to Tamil rebels in Sri Lanka civil war
 - b. 1987 signs treaty with Sri Lanka and sends in 'Peace-keeping' force to oversee disarmament of Tamil rebels
 - c. killed in retaliation by Tamil suicide bomber in 1991
 - 5. loses 1989 election to V.P. Singh's National Front

Lecture

1. Interregnum between Nehru and Indira Gandhi

After Nehru's death in 1964, the Congress Party continued in government, with a succession of three easily forgotten leaders. Lal Bahadur Shastri did, however, conduct the 1965 war with Pakistan. India failed to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir, as mandated by the UN agreement of 1948, and Pakistan invaded in August 1965. India sent troops and tanks across the border into Punjab. Yet another UN ceasefire was brokered by the Soviets in Tashkent, though Shastri himself died in January 1966 in that capital of Uzbekistan.

2. Indira Gandhi becomes PM

That dramatic departure brought back the Nehru dynasty as Indira Gandhi (1917-1984, Nehru's only child and no relation to MK Gandhi) was then named Prime Minister by the governing Congress Party. Educated in both India and England, she had served as a minister in Shastri's government. As only the second female head of state in the world, she remained Prime Minister, with a two-year interlude (1977-79, when M. Desai of the Janata Party was PM), until her assassination in 1984, winning three general elections en route.

3. Major political programmes

Indira Gandhi was a dynamic and forceful leader, with a mixed record of success and failure. She followed, in large part, her father's socialist agenda and emphasis on central planning, though with less attention to Soviet models.

Threatened with famine in the early 1960s, India under Nehru had begun to seek new technologies, and his daughter intensified this search. By the end of the decade, her support for new chemical fertilizers, pest-resistant strains of wheat and agricultural research centres had resulted in a 'Green Revolution.' For the first time, India became a food exporting nation.

Mrs. Gandhi also oversaw the acquisition of nuclear weapons, another project initiated by her father in the 1950s. In 1974, India successfully conducted an underground atomic explosion, codenamed 'Smiling Buddha.' Pakistan was not laughing, however, and relations between the two countries once again came close to warfare.

Banks were nationalised in 1969, and given government funds to lend to small farmers and businesses, a move that contributed to agricultural and industrial development.

She led a military intervention in East Pakistan in 1971 and signed the Simla Agreement in 1972, creating the new country of Bangladesh and stabilising relations between India and Pakistan.

4. Scandal and downfall

However, her heavy-handed tactics and ambitious programmes sometimes backfired. Her aggressive family planning programme included targets that encouraged coerced sterilisation and vasectomies at local level. US aid for the green revolution left India heavily in debt. Her election campaign in 1971 focused on the 'eradication of poverty' and when her party was elected she oversaw a massive distribution of funds to district and local level aimed at helping the poor. In the end, this well-intentioned programme became a patronage system, susceptible to corruption, that aided Congress party officials more than common people.

Public outrage caught up with her in 1975, when she was convicted by a high court of political corruption and banned from politics for six years. In reply, she declared a state of emergency throughout the country, arrested thousands of opponents and restricted personal freedoms. By 1976, 125,000 people had been imprisoned without trial (twice the number of detainees in the anti-colonial 'Quit India' movement in 1942). When she

ended the 'emergency' in 1977, she and the Congress Party were thrown out of government.

5. Revival and death

However, after briefly serving a prison sentence, she returned in 1980, in a stunning demonstration of her character. Throughout her years as Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi continued to non-aligned foreign policy of her father. She criticised American imperialism in Southeast Asia, while receiving large amounts of US aid, offered in part to offset Soviet influence in this 'third-world' giant. Soviet weapons and jets were decisive in India's successful military intervention in East Pakistan. The symmetry of her foreign policy is well illustrated in the 1975 when an unmanned satellite with US components was launched from a Soviet rocket. In 1983, she was elected head of the Non-Aligned Movement for three years.

Although Indira Gandhi became Prime Minister for a third time in 1980, she did not survive her full term. In 1984, she ordered the army to clear a Sikh temple of Sikh militants who demanded an independent state for Sikhs. In retaliation, she was assassinated by her own bodyguard. Again, the force of regionalism, this time religious, had left its mark on Indian history.

6. Rajiv Gandhi

In the ensuing elections, Congress won a huge majority in a 'sympathy' vote and duly installed Mrs. Gandhi's son, Rajiv, as Prime Minister. Young, handsome and 'clean', he was not especially competent as a politician. He was ineffective in dealing with the continuing violence in the Punjab. His youth, however, did guide him toward a significant policy shift. Whereas his grandfather had favoured centralised state planning, and his mother had nationalised the banks and pursued other national programme, Rajiv began the liberalisation of the economy. He deregulated industry, lifted restrictions on imports and reduced tax on wealth and inheritance. Many Indians, who had been led by Gandhi, found these ideas anathema. While the full effect of his policies would unfold in the 1990s, he made the decisive break with the past that set India on its current wave of economic growth

However, his liberalisation also led to the tragedy of Bhopal in 1984, perhaps the greatest environmental disaster of all time. A leak from a pesticide plant owned by Union Carbide, a US company, resulted in an immediate 7,000 deaths and many more lives blighted by illness and incapacity.

He faced another scandal in 1986-89 when accused of allowing his government to accept bribes received from Bofors, a Swedish arms company, for contracts. Although in 2004 he was cleared of all charges, his image was badly tarnished.

Foreign policy proved to be his Achilles heel. In 1983, civil war broke out in Sri Lanka between Tamils and the Sinhalese majority.

At first, exhorted by Tamils in India, Rajiv gave support to the Tamil rebels by air-dropping food and medicines. In 1987, he signed a treaty with Sri Lanka, obliging Colombo to devolve power to Tamils in the north and eastern provinces, and include Tamil as a second national language. In return, the Tamils were to disarm and stand in elections. India sent a 'peace-keeping force' to oversee this process. In the chaos that followed, Indian soldiers ended up fighting Tamils, but Rajiv refused to withdraw his army.

He lost the election in 1989, and his successor V.P. Singh put an immediate end to Rajiv's military folly in the island. The end for Rajiv came in 1991, when he was killed by a Sri Lankan Tamil woman suicide bomber, for his perceived support for the Sri Lankan army.

Readings

Required

Metcalf, *Concise History*, pp. 251-264
Khilnani, *The Idea*, chaps. 1 & 2

Recommended

Wolpert, *New History*, chap. 24
Naipaul, *India: A Million Mutinies*

Discussion topics/questions

1. Outline the Nehru dynasty. Was it merely a repetition of the father-son succession in the Mughal Empire?
2. A vast, divided country like India obviously requires a strong centre, and strong central leader. How did this lead to Indira Gandhi's successes and failures alike?
3. India's relations with its neighbours remain unstable and have affected every decade of its brief history as an independent state. What is similar about its encounters with Pakistan, Bangladesh, China, and Sri Lanka?
4. Trace the political evolution of the Nehru dynasty. What were the common features and what were the differences among the three Nehru family Prime Ministers?

Week 15: The 'New' India (1990s-)

Outline

- A. End of the Nehru-Congress Dynasty
 - 1. 1989 election stops run of Nehru family PMs since 1947
 - 2. liberalisation & global capitalism close era of Gandhian ideals
 - 3. India enjoys significant economic growth

- B. Bharatiya Janata Party
 - 1. rightwing Hindu nationalist party
 - 2. increases electoral support throughout 1990s; part of coalition governments in New Delhi
 - a. benefits from backlash against increased quotas for low-caste and other marginal groups
 - b. gains from perceived Muslim threat from Pakistan/Kashmir
 - 3. 1992 co-organises the destruction of a mosque in Ayodhya
 - 4. 1999 comes to power as leader of coalition government
 - a. dramatic economic growth
 - b. violent communal riots

- C. Congress returns
 - 1. Congress-led coalitions win elections in 2004 and 2009
 - 2. Sonia Gandhi (widow of Rajiv) is leader but hands power to Manmohan Singh (current PM)

- D. Continuing trends
 - 1. Demographics and wealth distribution
 - a. population is over 1.2; 2% under 25 years
 - b. wealth distribution skewed
 - i. new middle-class, approx. 10-15% of population
 - ii. impoverished classes, approx. 30-35% of population

 - 2. National unity and regionalism
 - a. insurgencies unresolved in Kashmir, northeast, central India
 - b. new states created along linguistic-ethnic lines
 - c. caste
 - i. outlawed by 1950 Constitution
 - ii. violence against low-castes is daily reality
 - d. religious tensions
 - i. large scale anti-Muslim riots frequent
 - ii. no party for Muslims has emerged after 1947

 - 3. Paradoxes
 - a. wealth creation (dams, roads, etc) is catalyst to local rebellions
 - b. social progress by low-status groups engenders violence against them

- 1. Bombay terrorist attacks 2008: India firmly set in global context

Lecture

1. Another turning point

The 1990s were another fundamental transition in Indian history, like that of 1919-1920. If the latter set the country on a path of independence and economic and political self-

reliance, the former placed it firmly within the context of globalisation and consumer capitalism.

1989 saw the end of the Nehru dynasty, and Congress Party has yet to return as the predominant political force, although they have since ruled in two coalition governments (1991-1996, 2004-). Coalition (or minority) governments have, in fact, dominated elections since the turning point of 1989, symptomatic of the social and political fragmentation that has followed the end of the 'Independence-generation.'

No party and no leader has possessed the charisma or generated the enthusiasm of the Gandhi-Nehru years. Nevertheless, the economic growth of the country (approx. 7-9%) and the deregulation of industry have produced a vibrant and confident nation. For the middle classes.

2. Bharatiya Janata Party

As part of this transition from a (nominally) socialist ideology of Congress to a free-market capitalism, social and political forces on the right have gained popularity. The best example of this trend is the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which during the 1990s won a significant percentage of seats in the Lok Sabha in general elections and entered mainstream Indian society.

The BJP benefited from hostile reactions to the increase in quotas (up to 49.5%) for low-status groups in public sector jobs, universities and medical schools. It also formed alliances with other pro-Hindu organisation, notably the Vishva Hindu Parishad. The VHP is a social movement that broke two thousand years of tradition and became missionaries for Hinduism. As a demonstration of its Hindu credentials, in 1990 the BJP leader A.K. Advani undertook a national tour in a chariot dressed as Rama, the epic hero.

1992, however, was the decisive year. For more than a decade the VHP had been campaigning to build a Rama temple on the site of a Mughal mosque in Ayodhya, north India. Supporters claimed that the mosque had itself been built over an ancient Hindu temple and that they wished only to resurrect that older building. In December 1992, VHP members, BJP supporters and others converged on Ayodhya and tore down the mosque, sparking a series of Muslim killings across the country.

Another factor in the rise of the BJP was undoubtedly the perceived threat to the unity of the Indian state. Predictably, Muslims were identified as the enemy, ready to infiltrate from Kashmir and Bangladesh. India also abandoned its historic support for Palestine and began to sign agreements with Israel.

After India conducted three nuclear tests in 1998, Pakistan invaded Kashmir and a brief war was fought once again. This controversial decision to pursue nuclear weapons ended any hopes that India would sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Gandhi's non-violence was now dead and buried.

Also in 1998, the BJP were swept to power and reigned over a period of dramatic economic growth, but also communal violence. In 2002, Hindus in the state of Gujarat, provoked by what they considered an attack on Hindu pilgrims, unleashed a fury, killing a thousand Muslims and burning of Muslim shops and houses. The BJP's liberalisation of economic, banking and fiscal policy marked the end of a gradual departure from the centralised planning of the Nehru era. The free flow of money and labour released a new energy and led to remarkable wealth-creation and the blossoming of an IT industry

In 2004, the BJP were defeated by a coalition of the Congress and left-wing parties, and a similar result occurred in the last general election in 2009. In the latter contest, Congress turned to Italian-born Sonia Gandhi, widow of Rajiv, and last in the line of the Nehru dynasty. She campaigned effectively, in English, and refused to accept the post

of Prime Minister. Instead, she appointed Manmohan Singh, an Oxford-trained economist and her chief advisor.

3. Current trends

Since 1947, the population has trebled and now (2012) stands at 1.2 billion and rising. One quarter of that total is aged 25 or less.

Economic liberalisation has created a strong middle class, perhaps 10-15% of the population who can purchase a car. At the same time, another 30-35% live in poverty and ill health. Indians can no longer blame colonialism for poverty; they must confront and solve it themselves.

National unity, perhaps the greatest challenge to country with such geographic, ethnic and linguistic diversity, remains an elusive goal.

Kashmir and parts of the northeast are military zones, while the Himalayan border remains unresolved. Regionalism continues apace, and localism has grown with a more educated population and more access to new technologies. This decentralisation is illustrated by the recent fragmentation into more and more states: three new states were created in the 1960s, four in the 1970s, three in the 1980s and three more in the year 2000. Cohesion is also strained by the insurgencies still active in many parts of the country, especially in the hills and forests of central India.

The communal violence that accompanied the birth of the country in 1947 has also not disappeared. Anti-Muslim violence continues to erupt sporadically, and anti-Christian violence is also increasing. It is noteworthy that no Muslim party has emerged in post-Independence India. Even after the formation of Pakistan and Bangladesh, 11% of India's population is Muslim.

Caste discrimination was made illegal in the Constitution of 1950, and low-caste groups have benefited from legislation guaranteeing places in education and employment. However, in many localities, Untouchables (Dalits) are still prevented from taking water from wells, using burial grounds and entering temples. Violence against them by higher castes remains commonplace.

Two paradoxes help illustrate contemporary India. The first is that the very markers of economic progress—hydroelectric dams, mechanised agriculture, mining—are catalysts to protests by tribal (adivasi) groups, Untouchables (dalits) and other low status communities. A second paradox is that the greater the social progress achieved by low status groups, the greater the violent backlash against them.

The terrorist attacks in Bombay (Mumbai) in 2008 illustrate the extent to which India, once isolated by geography and language, has become integrated into the wider world, for better and for worse.

Reading

Required

Metcalf, *Concise History*, pp. 265-304

Khilnani, *The Idea*, chaps. 3 & 4

Recommended

Wolpert, *New History*, chaps. 25-29

French, *A Portrait*

Discussion Questions / Topics

1. Is modern India the 'world's largest democracy' or a caste-ridden political system?
2. How have foreign affairs influenced the course of modern Indian history?

Assignments

For this course, you will be reading texts closely and carefully, with an emphasis on critical thinking and synthesis. To help you make connections, there are a number of guiding questions that are listed for many of the weeks' readings.

The writing requirements for this course include seven 1,000-word unit essays, one for each unit, and a final essay. Your unit essays will address one of the topics or questions provided for that unit. Your 5,000-word final essay can be an expanded unit essay or on a new topic.

Unit I: Ancient India

Week 1: Indus Valley Civilization

1. Use a map to compare today's India with the 'historic' India (the Indian subcontinent).
2. Look at images of the Indus Valley seals and try to imagine what they represent.
 - a. (<http://www.flickr.com/photos/28433765@N07/sets/72157613010189937/>)
3. What is a 'civilization'? How does it differ from a 'culture'?
4. Which of the competing theories to explain the decline of the Harappan Culture/Indus Civilisation do you find most convincing and why?

Week 2: Vedic Age

1. The oral composition and transmission of the Vedas is a remarkable achievement. How does an oral/aural culture differ from an essentially graphic/visual culture?
2. Some scholars have likened the Buddhist break-away from Hinduism to the Protestant Reformation. Is there any merit in this argument?
3. What is a 'chiefdom'? And how does it differ from a 'tribe' and a 'state'?
4. What are the main sources for the history of ancient India? How do these particular sources determine the scope of historical knowledge?
5. Identify the key similarities and differences between Buddhism and Vedic Hinduism/Brahmanism.

Unit II: Classical India

Week 3: Mauryan Empire

1. For what reasons are the Mauryas considered the first 'empire' in Indian history?
2. Ashoka's edicts are among the most revealing archaeological remains of ancient India. Evaluate their importance in understanding the relationship between religion and state in that period.

Week 4: Gupta Empire

1. 'Golden Age' and 'classical pattern' are terms associated with the Gupta Empire. To what extent are they justified?
2. Describe social mobility under the Guptas.
3. What factors were important in the fall of the Gupta Empire?
4. Describe the 'classical pattern' that is said to have formed during the Gupta Empire.
5. Describe the 'classical pattern' that is said to have formed during the Gupta Empire.

Unit III: Medieval India

Week 5: South India

1. Locate the four southern kingdoms on a map. How does geography and topography help you understand their history?
2. What role did Brahmins play in early Tamil history?
3. In what ways was the Chola empire a replica of the Guptas? In what ways was the southern empire distinctive?

Week 6: Islam and Vijayanagar

1. What role did the Vijayanagar Empire play in medieval India?
2. Why were the Turks-Afghans successful in conquering north India?

Unit IV: Early Modern India

Week 7: Mughal Empire

1. Although celebrated as the most famous of all Indian empire, the Mughals adopted and adapted much from their predecessors. List as many of these borrowed features as you can.
2. Akbar's reign (virtually the same years as Elizabeth I of England) was remarkable for many reasons. Which of his innovations was most significant?
3. To what extent does a focus on political history of the Mughals distort the wider historical record of this period?
4. Does Akbar's reign illustrate the 'great man' theory of history or does it, instead, demonstrate how leaders are influenced by their context?

Week 8: Mughal Decline

1. The arch-enemies of the late 17th century, Aurangzeb and Shivaji, have become icons, respectively, of Muslim intolerance and Hindu nationalism. How can you complicate this simple polarisation of evil and good?
2. To what extent were the seeds of decline sown with the success of the Mughal Empire?
3. How can you explain the (short-lived but dramatic) success of the Marathas?
4. Select one feature of the Mughal Empire and explain why you think it has had the most significant influence on later Indian history.

Unit V: Colonial India

Week 9: East India Company

1. Identify the key features of the British colonialism up to 1857.

Week 10: Imperialism

1. Colonialism is a complex set of ideas, practices and institutions. Looking at the British Raj, can you explain why it lasted so long in India?
2. To what extent was the Indian National Congress a result of colonialism? How did a political system of domination contain its own destruction?
3. What were the main strands within the Indian response to colonialism?

Unit VI: 20th Century India I

Week 11: Nationalism

1. Why did Gandhi succeed? Was it his moral vision or his political acumen?
2. Explain the dilemma of Muslim elites in the Congress/Independence movement. Why did they form a separate political organisation?
3. In what ways are Gandhi's tactics applicable to other 'democracy' movements in the contemporary world?
4. In what ways did the Mutiny/Revolt of 1857-58 change Indian history?

Week 12: Independence

1. Was Independence the result of Gandhi's movement or the inevitable consequence of the end of the British Empire?
2. Discuss the argument that British colonialism engendered its own destruction.
3. Was Independence worth the cost of Partition?

Unit VII: 20th Century India II

Week 13: Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Contrast Nehru's policies and vision with those of Gandhi.
2. Nuclear weapons, wars, military force against those internal and external powers that refused to accede to the union of India, and internal insurrections across the country: this is not the popular image of India in the West.
3. The Constitution was both a colonial document and a blueprint for modern India this dual-identity is the energy and the curse of India.

Week 14: Indira Gandhi

1. Outline the Nehru dynasty. Was it merely a repetition of the father-son succession in the Mughal Empire?
2. A vast, divided country like India obviously requires a strong centre, and strong central leader. How did this lead to Indira Gandhi's successes and failures alike?
3. India's relations with its neighbours remain unstable and have affected every decade of its brief history as an independent state. What is similar about its encounters with Pakistan, Bangladesh, China, and Sri Lanka?
4. Trace the political evolution of the Nehru dynasty. What were the common features and what were the differences among the three Nehru family Prime Ministers?

Week 15: The 'New' India (1990s-)

1. Is modern India the 'world's largest democracy' or a caste-ridden political system?
2. How have foreign affairs influenced the course of modern Indian history?

Syllabus

Learning Outcomes:

By the end of this course, students should be able to do the following:

1. Discuss the major developments and texts found in the subject of the course.
2. Identify unique theoretical underpinnings and influential thinkers in the course topic.
3. Analyze the relationship between historical texts and the particular social, cultural, and biographical contexts of their production.
4. Research and critically evaluate historical, social, cultural, or biographical criticism relevant to the analysis of specific events.
5. Use secondary sources and close reading skills to produce a substantive critical essay relating a one or more specific historical texts to the economic, social, cultural, or biographical contexts of its production.
6. Demonstrate a balanced perspective and a deepened understanding of the cultures, times, people, and situations that produce these works.
7. Write coherent historical arguments that explore the relationships of various concepts and texts, and which provide a clear synthesis.

Course Goals:

1. To provide students with a broad perspective of approaches to world history and an understanding of the various ways in which they manifest themselves and to assess students' ability to express their perspectives through exams and essays.
2. To provide students with a deeper understanding of diverse historical and interdisciplinary traditions the course focus and to express this deepened understanding in written tests and a critical essay.
3. To provide an overview of historical analysis and interpretation methods and help students apply these skills in writing essay examinations and a critical essay.
4. To read widely and critically in a variety of historiographic and historical texts and to demonstrate the depth and breadth of this reading in essay examinations and a critical essay.
5. To do library research on a particular trend, event, concept, an individual theorist, or an issue in the area of history studies and to write a critical essay which incorporates this research.

Course Content:

1. Historical events and texts that have been designated as being produced within the category of the course topic.
2. Discussion of the theoretical, social, cultural and biographical contexts in which those works were produced.
3. Historical movements in various periods.
4. Discussion of the historical issues and questions related to theoretical, social, cultural, and biographical approaches to the study of the course topic.
5. Key ideas about how to evaluate and interpret historical events, texts, and approaches.
6. Criticism and reflection upon political and economic systems as reflected in literature.
7. Discussion of the relevance of course readings to the understanding of contemporary global issues.
8. Critical analysis and interpretation of history.
9. Conducting scholarly research on and off-line.

Course Outline:

For the detailed course outline, please see the study guide.

Course Readings:

The course readings for this course will be available through the Online Library, which will provide students access to selected journal articles, book chapters, and reference materials.

Course Preparedness:

This course is a history course which requires analysis, research, and writing. It assumes the mastery of prerequisite college-level skills in spelling, grammar, punctuation, paragraphing, and essay writing. It also assumes the ability to read and analyze literary texts. This course provides instruction in history and does not address remedial writing issues at the sentence, paragraph, or essay level. The California Department of Education "English-Language Arts Content Standards for California Public Schools" offers context for understanding the standard for writing at the college level. Students who do not meet the standards outlined in the "English-Language Arts Content Standards" will not pass this course.

In short, this course assumes that students already "write with a command of standard English conventions, write coherent and focused texts that convey a well-defined perspective and tightly reasoned argument, and use clear research questions and creative and critical research strategies" (California Standards, Grades Nine and Ten). This course focuses on texts and analysis and requires college-level writing skills that exceed those required at the secondary level.

Course Workload:

In accordance with accreditation standards, requires approximately two hours of outside work for every contact hour. For a 3-hour course, there are 48 contact hours, plus a minimum of 96 hours outside work. For a sixteen-week course, students can expect to devote a minimum of 6 hours of independent study per week in order to complete the coursework.

Grading Factors:**Discussion Board (20%)**

The Discussion Board provides the learner a place to respond to questions on the topic and to exchange ideas, reactions and analyses of the texts. Discussion questions concentrate on ideas, themes, and characters in literary works. There will be one question per week. Discussion Board questions will be responded to by all learners in the course and will be evaluated by the instructor. The Discussion Board is not available for OCW courses.

Journal (20%)

Your journal consists of your responses to questions in the Study Guide. These questions require you to reflect on the material and to write a one to two-paragraph response. At the end of the course, you will gather together all of your Study Guide responses and will turn them in as a final portfolio.

Essay (20%)

You will write an essay on one of the topics provided to you by your instructor in which you apply a critical paradigm from theorists or issues raised by the Study Guide questions. You should start your paper with a succinct thesis statement, describe the critical paradigm and the text(s) being analyzed. Be sure to cite critical passages to demonstrate support for your argument.

Length: 1,000—1,500 words. Essay topics will be assigned by the instructor and will reflect material covered in the Study Guide and the readings.

Exam (40%)

Students must complete the assignments, submit them, and take the proctored exam.

Definition of Grades:

Graduate Courses

- A** Outstanding Achievement
- B** Commendable Achievement
- C** Marginal Achievement
- D** Unsatisfactory *
- F** Failing *

* Students receiving this grade in a course that is required for his/her degree program must repeat the course.

- I Incomplete** A grade given at the discretion of the instructor when a student who has completed **at least two-thirds of the course class sessions** and is unable to complete the requirements of the course because of uncontrollable and unforeseen circumstances. The student must convey these circumstances (preferably in writing) to the instructor prior to the final day of the course. If an instructor decides that an "Incomplete" is warranted, the instructor must convey the conditions for removal of the "Incomplete" to the student in writing. A copy must also be placed on file with the Office of the Registrar until the "Incomplete" is removed or the time limit for removal has passed. An "Incomplete" is not assigned when the only way the student could make up the work would be to attend a major portion of the class when next offered.

An "I" that is not removed within the stipulated time becomes an "F." No grade points are assigned. The "F" is calculated in the grade point average.

- W Withdrawal** Signifies that a student has withdrawn from a course after beginning the third class session. **Students who wish to withdraw must notify their admissions advisor before the beginning of the sixth class session in the case of graduate courses, or before the seventh class session in the case of undergraduate courses.** Instructors are not authorized to issue a "W" grade.

Plagiarism:

Plagiarism is the presentation of someone else's ideas or work as one's own. Students must give credit for any information that is not either the result of original research or common knowledge. If a student borrows ideas or information from another author, he/she must acknowledge the author in the body of the text and on the reference page. Students found plagiarizing are subject to the penalties outlined in the Policies and Procedures section of the Catalog, which may include a failing grade for the work in

question or for the entire course. The following is one of many websites that provide helpful information concerning plagiarism for both students and faculty:

<http://www.indiana.edu/~wts/pamphlets/plagiarism.shtml>

Ethics:

Ethical behavior in the classroom is required of every student. The course will identify ethical policies and practices relevant to course topics.

Technology:

Students are expected to be competent in using current technology appropriate for this discipline. Such technology may include word processing, spreadsheet, and presentation software. Use of the internet and e-mail may also be required.

Diversity:

Learning to work with and value diversity is essential in every class. Students are expected to exhibit an appreciation for multinational and gender diversity in the classroom.

Civility:

As a diverse community of learners, students must strive to work together in a setting of civility, tolerance, and respect for each other and for the instructor. Rules of classroom behavior (which apply to online as well as onsite courses) include but are not limited to the following:

- Conflicting opinions among members of a class are to be respected and responded to in a professional manner.
- Side conversations or other distracting behaviors are not to be engaged in during lectures, class discussions or presentations
- There are to be no offensive comments, language, or gestures

Students with Disabilities:

Students seeking special accommodations due to a disability must submit an application with supporting documentation, as explained under this subject heading in the General Catalog. Instructors are required to provide such accommodations if they receive written notification from the University.

Writing Across the Curriculum:

Students are expected to demonstrate writing skills in describing, analyzing and evaluating ideas and experiences. Written reports and research papers must follow specific standards regarding citations of an author's work within the text and references at the end of the paper. Students are encouraged to use the services of the University's Writing Center when preparing materials.

The following website provides information on APA, MLA, and other writing and citation styles that may be required for term papers.

Online Library:

Our Online Library supports academic rigor and student academic success by providing access to scholarly books and journals electronically.