

Pref Contents

Preface	ix
1. Religious Nationalism	1
2. Religious Formations	25
3. Ritual Communication	78
4. Peregrinations	106
5. Conceptions of Time	138
6. Words and Gestures	165
Epilogue	193
Notes	203
Bibliography	223
Index	237

Index

Advani, Lal Kishan, 1, 4, 5, 6, 72, 178
Agastyasamhita, 166–67
Ahalyabai, queen, 150
Ahmad, Aijaz, 180
Ahmad, Imtiaz, 200
Ahmad, Mumtaz, 64
Ahmad, Sayyid, 115–16
Ahmadiyyas, 111, 127
Ahmadullah, Maulvi, 115
Ahmed, Rafiuddin, 59
Akali Dali, 74, i35
Akbar, 39, 90
Alaf Khan, 150
Aligarh University, 21
Alter, Joseph, 72
Ambedkar, B. R., 26–27
Amethavi, Maulvi Amir Ali, 154
Anderson, Benedict, 15–16, 84–85, 190,
194, 196; and novels, 176, 179; print-
capitalism, 78–79
Anupgiri, 48
Apte, Shivram Shankar, 130
Arabic, xiii–xiv, 79, 166, 169–72, 190
Archeology, 144–46, 147–48, 149–51,
157–59, 162
Area of Darkness (Naipaul), 138–39
Arthat, 163
Arya Samaj, 65–66, 69, 74, 76, 111, 113;
and Cow Protection Movement, 66,
91–92, 93
Asad, Talal, 30, 188, 195
Asceticism, 45, 72, 110–11; Hindu, 43–
53, 70, 90–98 *passim*, 166. *See also*
Devotionalism, Hindu
Asian Exclusion League, 114
Aurangzeb, 32, 33, 150, 151, 152
Aurobindo, 94–95

Authority: Brahman, 20, 53, 91–92, 132;
male, 85–86, 89–90, 99, 101–5; of
Sikh community, 75; of Vedas, 65, 91,
94–95
Awadh, 9, 48, 110, 154–55, 171
Ayodhya, x–xii, xv, 2–11, 94, 169, 194;
mosque, xi, 2–11, 146, 152–62;
pilgrimage, x, xi–xii, 8, 121, 123; and
Rama, xi, 2–9 *passim*, 123, 144, 146,
154–61, 178; and *Satanic Verses*, 186;
televised *Ramayana* and, 178, 190;
temple “rebuilding,” xii, xiii, 2–11,
138, 146, 152–62; and time
conception, 141, 146
Babar, 2, 9, 90, 146, 159–61
Babri Masjid mosque, Ayodhya, xi, 2–
11, 146, 152–62
Bacchan, Amitabh, 176
Bahadur, Himat, 48
Bahadur, Tegh, 54
Bajrang Dal, 5, 7
Bakker, Hans, 158–59, 161, 166–67
Bakr-Id festival, 86, 92–93, 94, 104–5,
155
Baksariyas, 110
“Bande Mataram” (Chatterjee), 125
Bangladesh, x, xi, 7, 10, 126, 172
Banjaras, 93, 105
Banu, Shah, 103, 104–5, 186
Barelwi, Sayyid Ahmad, 59
Bayly, Christopher, 44
Bengalis, 68–69, 172
Bhagavad Gita, 125, 133
Bhagavata Purana, 88
Bharatiya Janata party (BJP), 1–6, 70, 72,
178

- Bharat Mata, 125
 Bhave, Vinoba, 94–95
 Bhindranwale, Jarnail Singh, 74–75, 77
 Bhutan, 126
Bihisti Zewar (Thanawi), 100–101
 Blavatsky, Madame, 119
 Bloch, Maurice, 81–83, 105
 Body, 85–104; covering, 99–104, 130; cow's, 86–90, 98–99; female, 85, 86–90, 97–104, 113, 130; male, 104. *See also* Sexuality
 Booker Prize, 182–83, 184
 Brahmins, x, 29, 45, 51, 113, 166, 174; authority, 20, 53, 91–92, 132; and Cow Protection Movement, 87–88; devotionalism and, 45, 49, 51, 52; language, 166, 169; Maharashtrian, 71, 73, 96; *mahayajnas*, 173–74; *mantras*, 166–67; and religious tolerance, 67
 Brahmo Samaj, 69
 Brass, Paul, 29
 Brennan, Timothy, 179, 181
 British. *See* Great Britain
 Brotherhoods: Hindu ascetic, 46–53; Muslim (non-Sufi), 64, 116; nations as, xiv, 85–86; Sikh, 54–56, 73, 74–76, 76–77; Sufi, 34, 35–37, 39–42, 59–61, 128
 Buddhists, 27, 45, 135, 158–59; Sinhalese nationalism, xiii, 2, 11, 83–84, 118–19
 Bukhari, A. S., 171–72
 Bukhari, Imam, 187
 Burghart, Richard, 33
 Burma, 126
 Capitalism, 14, 15, 17, 18, 140; print-, 78–79, 165, 173; VHP and, 133
 Caribbean Hindus, 113–14
 Carnegie, Patrick, 153, 159–60
 Caste: associations, 19; colonialism and, 19–20, 26–27, 52; and conversions, 113, 135–36; and foreignness, 29; Hindu expansion and, 51–52; Hindu uplift, 28, 52, 70, 95–96, 135, 137; and jajmani system, 16; *mantra* and, 167; Shankaracharyas, 132, 137; tradition and, 17; tribals, 28, 52, 132, 135–36; VHP and, 132, 135–36; Yadavs, 5. *See also* Brahmins; Classes; Untouchables
 Celibacy: Hindu, 47, 50, 96, 97–98; Sufi, 36; and wrestling, 72
 Chatterjee, Bankim Chandra, 125
 Chatterjee, Partha, 18
 Chidananda, 136
 Chinmayananda, Swami, 130, 136–37
 Chishti brotherhood, 34, 39–42, 59–60, 61, 128; leaders, 39–43, 61, 127–28
 Christians, 1–2, 21, 56, 83; conversions, 135, 136; Roman Catholic, 66–67, 118–19; Rushdie and, 185–86; Sinhalese, 118–19; VHP and, 134. *See also* Protestantism
 Cinema, 8–9, 78–79, 112, 125, 172, 176–77
 Classes: of immigrants in Britain, 186–87; and martial arts, 72; Muslim, 26; peasant, 109–10, 132; and pilgrimage, 122; VHP, 132. *See also* Caste; Middle class
Code of Gentoo Laws (Halhed), 67
 Cohn, Bernard, 31–32, 44
 Colonialism, ix–x, 18–24, 31–32, 61, 186–87; census, 19, 25–27, 32; communication modes, 78; and Cow Protection Movement, 86, 91, 92–93; and development, 140; and education, 23, 32, 69; and Hindu reformism, 69; historiography, 142–43; and indentured labor, 113; and jajmani system, 16–17; and language, 170, 171, 183; and law, 32, 105; and Muslim *hajj*, 127; and Muslim reformism, 61–62; and nationalism's spread, x, xiii, 15–16, 30–32, 105; and public sphere, 107; and *rajas*, 93; and religious identity, 30–32, 55–56; and Sikhs, 55–56; and Somanatha, 148; and villages, 108–9. *See also* Great Britain
 Communalism, 17–18, 22, 32, 92–93, 121. *See also* Community
 Communication, 165–91; modes, 78–85; print, 78–80, 84–85, 92, 165, 173, 181; ritual, xiv, 78–105; sacred-profan, 165–66, 168. *See also* Languages
 Communism, 22, 140
 Community: language and, 78–80; local-wider, 106–8, 119–20; nation as, 84–85, 106–7, 201; rituals, 119–21. *See also* Religious community
 Congress party, 3, 5–6, 23, 132, 146; nationalism of, 22, 23, 198, 199; and Somanatha, 162
 Conversion, xiii, 25–56, 84; Buddhist, 27; Christian, 135, 136; Muslim, 25–26, 27–28, 42–43, 58, 113, 135–36, 201; televised *Ramayana* and, 177–78; of untouchables and tribals, 28, 113, 135–36
 Cow Protection Movement, Hindu, xiv, 66, 83–99 *passim*, 104–5, 107, 155

Culture, 195, 197; of British immigrants, 189–90; high, 13; homogenization of, 13–15; literary forms and, 182; “mainstream national,” 176–77; multiculturalism, 22, 178, 199–200; and nationalism, xiv, 193–96; and ritual, 81; syncretic, 198–201. *See also* Caste; Communication; Modernity; Pluralism; Religion; Secularism; Tradition

Cunningham, Alexander, 159

Currie, P. M., 128

Curzon, Lord, 148

Dadupanthis, 48, 52

Dalhousie, Lord, 55

Das, Veena, 200

Dassehra festival, 72–73

Datta, Narendranath, 69

Dayananda Saraswati, Swami, 20–21, 65, 69, 91–92

Democracy, VHP and, 133

Deobandi school, 59–60, 100, 129

Desire, management of, 85, 89–90, 104

Devotionalism, Hindu, 43–53, 168; and cow symbolism, 88; Gandhi and, 94–95, 97, 174; and gender, 101; and religious tolerance, 67–68; and televised *Ramayana*, 176, 178; and theater, 176. *See also* Asceticism

Dharmapala, Anagarika, 118–19

Divine Life Society, 136

Domination: ritual and, 83, 105. *See also* Authority

Dravidian movement, 168, 174–75, 190

Dumont, Louis, 16, 106, 196

Durga, 89

Durkheim, E., 152

Eaton, Richard, 34, 42

Economy: development, 140; migrant labor and, 112–13; moral/rational, 16. *See also* Capitalism; Trade

Education: colonialism and, 23, 32, 69; Islamic, 130; language and, 32, 172; and pluralism, 23; state-controlled, 13, 14, 130

Eknath, 67–68

English language, 168, 170, 172, 180, 182–83, 190–91

Enlightenment, 11–12, 17, 139; and literature, 183–84, 188, 191; and nationalism, 11–12, 21, 22; and orientalism, 21, 133

Epics: novels and, 179, 181. *See also* Religious stories

Equality, 18, 22

Europe: migration, 117; nationalism, 13–14, 15–16, 31, 117, 201; nation-state, 13, 21, 106–7; print technology, 80; and religious tolerance, 66–67; and transnational movements, 129; “universal civilization,” 139. *See also* Great Britain

Ewing, Katherine, 61

Expansion, 25–56; foreignness and, 29; Hindu, 35, 43–53, 95–96, 135–36; Islamic, 33–43, 59, 111; Sikh, 35. *See also* Migration

Family: female sexuality and, 85; laws about, 103; mother cow and, 90; and purdah, 99–100. *See also* Marriage; Men; Patriarchy; Women

Film, 8–9, 78–79, 112, 125, 172, 176–77

Fisher, Michael, 153

Foreignness, 29; and English language, 183; Hindu reformism and, 65–66, 70; Muslim, 10, 28–29, 31; VHP and, 134. *See also* Colonialism; West

Fox, Richard, 55–56

France, 31, 117

Freitag, Sandria, 106, 121

Frykenberg, Robert, 26, 134

Fundamentalism, 133–34

Gandhi, Indira, 3, 28, 125, 184

Gandhi, Mahatma (Mohandas K.), 23, 73, 94–99, 180, 197–98; and *Bhagavad Gita*, 133; and indentured labor, 117–18; mantra, 167; nonviolence, xv, 70–71, 96–97; and *Ramcaritmanas*, 174; saintly politician, xiii, 96, 98; and Somanatha, 149; and tolerance, xv, 73, 135, 160; and untouchables, 26–27, 28, 95–96, 135

Gandhi, Rajiv, 3, 183, 186

Ganges symbolism, 125–26

Geertz, Clifford, 111, 169, 195

Gellner, Ernest, 13–15, 31, 38, 40, 165

Gemeinschaft, 107

Gender: ritual communication and, xiv, 85–104. *See also* Men; Women

Gesellschaft, 107

Ghadir, 114

Gilani, Sayyid Asad, 102

Gilchrist, John, 170

Gita Press, 173

Godse, Nathuram, 96–97

Gods on Earth (van der Veer), xv

Gokarunanidhi (Dayananda), 91

Golden Temple, Amritsar, 11, 74, 75

- Golwalkar, M. S., 73, 131
 Gombrieh, Richard, xiii
 Goody, Jack, 79, 173
 Gopal, Sarvepalli, 160
 Government, xi, 6; and Ayodhya, 2–3, 5–7, 155–57, 162; and language, 171–72, 182; and Muslim conversions, 28; reservation policies, 4–5; and *Satanic Verses*, 184, 186, 189; and Somanatha, 147, 149–51, 162; Uttar Pradesh, 1, 6, 8. *See also* Law; Nation-state; Political parties
- Great Britain, 19, 20–21, 25–26, 31, 49, 105; and ascetic trader-soldiers, 49–50, 110–11; and Ayodhya, xi, 2, 7, 153–60; Booker Prize, 182–83, 184; census, 19, 25–26, 32; and Cow Protection Movement, 86, 90–95 *passim*, 105; and historiography of India, 142–43, 151; immigrants, 117, 186–90; and language, 170, 182–83; Maratha war bands and, 71; military labor, 110, 112; and Muslim *hajj*, 127; and Muslim identity, 40–41; Muslim jihad with, 116; and Nepal, 32; and novel in India, 180–81; Pax Britannica, 49; and *Ramayana*, 173; and religious identity, 29–30; religious reform and, 56, 65, 67, 69; and religious tolerance, 67; and Rushdie's *Satanic Verses*, 186–87, 188–90, 191; and Sikhs, 55–56, 73, 91; slavery abolished by, 111; and Somanatha, 148; and Sufi brotherhood, 41; and Swaminarayani, 49–50, 163; and villages, 108–9; and Wahhabism, 115
- Growse, F. S., 173
- Gujarat: migration, 111–12; Somanatha, 146–52; Swaminarayani-scholar dispute, 162–63
- Gupta, S. P., 159
- Guptas, 144, 158–59
- Guru Granth Sahib*, 167
- Gurus: Hindu, 43–53; 73, 137, 167; Sikh, 53–56, 74–75, 167. *See also* Saints
- Habib, Irfan, 53, 159
- Hacker, Paul, 68
- Halbfass, Wilhelm, 67
- Halhed, N. B., 67
- Handler, Richard, xiv, 195
- Hanuman, 72, 154
- Hanumangarhi temple, 153–55
- Harris, Marvin, 86–87
- Healing, religious reform and, 56–57, 68
- Heber, Reginald, 49–50
- Hedgewar, K. B., 71
- Hierarchy: Hinduism and, 68, 95–96; patriarchy, 85–86, 89–90, 99, 101–5. *See also* Authority; Caste; Classes; Domination
- Hindi, xiii–xiv, 79, 168–72, 190
- Hinduization, 28, 166. *See also* Expansion, Hindu; Sanskritization
- Hindu Mahasabha, 24
- Hindu nationalism, x, 1–2, 31, 104–5, 114, 195–96, 197–201; and Ayodhya, 3, 7–8, 10–11, 152–62; Cow Protection Movement, xiv, 66, 83–99 *passim*, 104–5, 107, 155; extremist, 174; Gandhi and, xiii, xv, 23, 26–27, 70–71, 73, 94–99, 117–18, 197–98; historical interpretation, 138–64; migration and, 114, 118; and Muslim foreignness, 10; national text, 172–78; and orientalism, 133; pilgrimage and, 124–26; pluralist/singularist, 31, 94; radical, 64, 73; reform and, 66, 70–73, 76–77, 135; ritual and, 83, 125–26; "sacrifice for unity," 83, 124–26, 136; and Somanatha, 146–52, 161–62; and territory, 106; and untouchables, 52. *See also* Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh; Vishva Hindu Parishad
- Hindus, 32, 46, 83, 134, 152; and Ayodhya temple, xi, 2–11, 138, 152–62; and BJP, 1; Caribbean, 113–14; census and, 19, 26–27; and Chishti shrine, 127–28; colonialism and, 19–20, 21, 26–27; and cow protection, xiv, 66, 83–99 *passim*, 104–5, 107, 155; historical interpretation, 140–64; identity, ix–x, 1, 29–32, 46, 50, 92; languages, xiii–xiv, 79, 92, 120, 166–72; migration, 109–14 *passim*; modern, 131–37; Muslim fusion and, 35; Muslim reformism and, 62–63, 76; and Muslim religious practices, 36, 37, 39, 42; and Muslim rule, 26; orientalism and, 20–21; pilgrimage, x, xi–xii, 44, 93, 120, 121–26; politician-saints, xiii, 8, 96, 98; *purdah* among, 99–100; reformist, 64–73, 76, 91, 95, 135; religious community, xiii, 19–20, 46–53; ritual, 6, 51–53, 84, 87, 88, 92, 125–26, 131, 166; vs. Sikhs, 55, 74; "spirituality," 69–71, 73, 118, 131–32, 160, 198, 202; and tolerance, xv, 66–68, 73, 135, 198–200. *See also* Conversion; Devotionalism, Hindu; Hindu nationalism; Sacred centers

- Hindustani language, 170
 Hindustani Workers of the Pacific Coast, 114
Hindutva, 1–2, 167, 197–98
 History, xii, 138–64, 181, 193–95; archeology and, 144–46, 147–48, 149–51, 157–59, 162; development in, 140; “facts,” 138, 142–64, 194; orientalism and, 133, 138, 143, 144, 145–46, 151; sacred centers in, 11, 146. *See also* Colonialism; Independence; Modernity; Postcolonial period; Precolonial period; Tradition
- Hobsbawm, Eric, ix, 117, 193–94, 196–97
 Holy men. *See* Gurus; Saints
 Husayn, Shah Gulam, 154
- Identity: language and, 165; personhood, 83–84; ritual and, 84; tribal, 40–41. *See also* Religious identity
- Ikhwan, 64
 Ilyas, Mawlana Muhammad, 128–29
Imagined Communities (Anderson), 165
 Independence, 2, 62, 144, 146, 147, 160, 162
 India: development idea, 140; historical sense, 138–44; Mother, 125. *See also* Culture; Economy; Government; History; Politics
- India Today*, 1
 Individualism, 12, 13, 18
 Internationalism. *See* Transnationalism
 Iran, 187, 191
 Islam. *See* Muslims
 Islamization, 64, 86, 102–3, 105, 130. *See also* Conversion, Muslim; Expansion, Islamic
- Jains, 11, 45, 123, 135, 158
 Jai Singh II, 32, 48–49
 Jajmani system, 16–17, 109
 Jama'at-i-Islami, 63–64, 77, 102, 105, 130
 Jameson, Fredric, 179–80, 183
 Jats, 53, 54–55, 73, 109
 Jawaharlal Nehru University, 159, 160, 163–64, 194
 Jeffery, Patricia, 36, 100
 Jerusalem, 11
 Jones, William, 143
 Joshi, M. C., 158
- Kabir, 167
 Kabirpanthis, 52
 Kali, 89
Kaliyuga, 65, 141
 Kampan, 172
 Kapferer, Bruce, 81, 83–84
 Kapur, Anuradha, 178
 Karpatri, Swami, 174
 Kashmir, 4
 Kelly, John, 113
 Keshabchandra Sen, 69
 Khalistan, 27, 75, 115
 Khalsa Sikhs, 54–56, 73, 74–75, 76–77
 Khatri clan, 53
 Khilafat movement, 94
 Khomeini, Ayatollah, 184, 187–88
 Kinkar, Ram, 177
 Kishan, Acharya Giraraj, 126
 Kolff, Dirk, 109–10
 Krishna, 47, 50, 88, 90, 121–22, 130, 144–45, 146
 Krishnaites, 47–48
 Kukas, 91
 Kumar, Nita, 72
- Labor: indentured, 111, 113, 117–18; industrial, 13; migration of, xii, 10, 109–15, 117; military, 109–11, 112; and televised *Ramayana*, 175–76
- Lakshmi, 88
 Lal, B. B., 145, 157–59, 162
 Languages, 165–72, 190; “communal,” 170; and community, 78–80; and education, 32, 172; English, 168, 170, 172, 180, 182–83, 190–91; Hindi, xiii–xiv, 79, 168–72, 190; Hindustani, 170; national, 165, 172, 179, 190; Persian, 169–72, 190; print, 78–79, 165, 173; public sphere, 163; Punjabi/gurmukhi, 167; *Ramayana*, 172–73; in Rushdie's novels, 184; Tamil, 167, 168; Urdu, xiii–xiv, 79, 168–72, 190. *See also* Sacred languages
- Latin, 15
 Law: colonialism and, 32, 105; and cow protection, 92, 105; Hindu, 65; Islamic, 40–41, 43, 64, 102, 103; Pakistani, 102, 103; and pluralism, 23; religious community and, 19, 32, 40–41; and religious tolerance, 67; slavery abolished by, 111; tribal vs. religious, 40–41; and women, 103
- Lawrence, Bruce, 133–34
 Leadbeater, Charles, 119
 Lelyveld, David, 170, 171–72
 Lévi-Strauss, C., 139
 Literacy, 79–80, 165, 173. *See also* Languages
- Literary forms, 179; Indo-English, 180, 182, 183, 191; newspapers, 164, 179.

- Literary forms (*continued*)
 182; novels, 176, 179–90. *See also*
 Epics; Religious stories
 Ludden, David, 142
 Lutgendorf, Philip, 173, 174, 175, 177
- Macauley, Lord, 183
 Madan, T. N., 12–13
 Mahabali affair, 123
Mahabharata, 144–46, 157
 Mahmud of Ghazni, Sultan, 149–50, 151,
 160
 "Management of Grief" (Mukherjee), 115
 Mandal Commission, 4–5
 Mandelbaum, David, 120
Mantras, 166–67
 Marathas, 71, 90–91, 97, 150
 Marriage: Gandhi and, 96; Hindu, 50; as
 management of desire, 89–90; Sufi, 36
 Marriot, McKim, 196
 Marxism, 14, 23, 109
 Masaryk, Thomas, 117
 Materialism, 17
 Maududi, Maulana Sayyid Abul A'la, 63–
 64, 102, 116, 130
 Mauritius, 126
 Mauss, Marcel, 100
 Mecca, 60, 115, 116, 126
 Meenakshipuram, and Muslim
 conversions, 28, 113, 136
 Mehta, Makrand, 163
 Men: patriarchy, 85–86, 89–90, 99, 101–
 5; and sexuality of women, 85, 100;
 Sufi, 36
 Metcalf, Barbara, 101, 187
 Metcalf, Thomas, 93
 Middle class, xiii; and English language,
 183; *Jama'at-i-Islami*, 63; pilgrim, 8,
 122, 127; religious reform and, xiii,
 56–58, 76; and Sufism, 60; television,
 8–9; VHP, 132, 136, 137
Midnight's Children (Rushdie), 184
 Migration, 107–19; Aryan, 109; to
 colonizer's land, 186–87; *hijra*, 109; of
 labor, xii, 10, 109–15, 117; to and from
 Pakistan, 62; religious, 108, 115–16,
 118; and transnational movements,
 129. *See also* Pilgrimage
 Military. *See* Soldiers
 Mir Baqi, 152
 Modernity, x, xv, 12–18, 108;
 fundamentalism and, 133–34;
Gesellschaft, 107; and nationalism, 12–
 14, 17–18, 107, 132–33; and reform,
 66–67, 76; and religious tolerance, 66–
 67; vs. tradition, x, 12, 15–18, 78, 79,
 109, 139, 179, 181, 197; VHP and,
 131–37. *See also* Modernization
 Modernization, 12–16; and development/
 underdevelopment, 140; and literacy,
 79; and religious reform, 57; and Sufi
 decline, 60–61. *See also* Modernity
 Moore, Sally Falk, 14
 Mosques, 37–38; Ayodhya, xi, 2–11, 146,
 152–62; Somanatha, 152
 Mother cow, xiv, 66, 83–99 *passim*, 104–
 5, 107
 Mother India, 125
 Movement, xi–xii. *See also* Migration;
 Religious travel; Transnational
 movement
 Mughals, 20, 33, 39, 44–45; Aurangzeb,
 32, 33, 150, 151, 152; and Ayodhya, 2,
 9, 146, 159–60; Babar, 2, 9, 90, 146,
 159–61; and Chishti shrine, 127–28;
 and Marathas, 71, 150; and military
 labor, 110; and Sikhs, 54; and
 Somanatha, 150, 151
 Muhajir Qaumi party, 116
 Mukherjee, Bharati, 115, 180
 Multiculturalism, 22, 178, 199–200
Muluki Ain, 32
 Munshi, K. M., 146–49, 150, 151, 162,
 195–96
 Muslim League, 24, 99
 Muslim nationalism, x, 10, 42, 197, 201;
 and *purdah*, 99–104; and reform, 58–
 64, 76; and state, 31; and universalism,
 108; Zia ul Haq, 86, 102–4
 Muslims, 2, 83, 152, 196; and Ayodhya,
 xi, 2–11, 152, 153–62; census and, 19,
 25–27; colonialism and, 19–20, 21,
 25–27, 61–62, 127; conversions, 25–
 26, 27–28, 42–43, 58, 113, 135–36,
 201; and Cow Protection Movement,
 86, 90–98 *passim*, 104–5;
 "ethnicization" of conduct, xiii, 98;
 foreignness, 10, 28–29, 31; gender
 issues, xiv, 99–104, 130; healing
 rituals, 68; in Hindu religious
 practices, 52; *Hindutva* and, 1–2; and
 historiography of India, 143, 151–52;
 identity, ix–x, 10, 29–32, 40–41, 58;
 "Indianness," 128; languages, xiii–xiv,
 79, 168–72; migration, 109, 111–12,
 115–16; names, 42–43, 109;
 orientalism and, 20–21; pilgrimage,
 60, 115, 116, 126–28; precolonial, 32;
 and *Ramayana*, 174, 177–78, 190;
 reformist, 41, 42, 58–64, 76, 111;
 religious community, xiii, 19–20, 37–
 43, 64, 202; religious tolerance and,
 67, 68, 199–201; ritual, 35–42 *passim*.

68, 84, 86, 92–93, 99, 104–5, 128, 200–201; and Rushdie's *Satanic Verses*, 184, 185–88, 189–90, 191; Shi'ite, 9, 110, 127, 154–55, 187; Sikhs and, 53, 54; and Somanatha, 146–47, 149–50, 151–52, 160; Sunni, 9, 111, 127, 153–55, 187; transnational movements, 10, 64, 115–16, 127, 128–30; *umma*, 37–43, 64, 202; and universalism, 68, 95, 99, 108; VHP and, 28, 134; wrestling, 72. *See also* Mughals; Muslim nationalism; Sufis

Muzaffar Khan, 150

Myths, Hindu, 50–51

Nadwat-al-ulama, 129

Naipaul, Shiva, 180

Naipaul, V. S., 138–39, 140, 180–81, 183

Nair, Mira, 112

Namdharis, 91

Names, Muslim, 42–43, 109

Nanak, 53, 54

Nandy, Ashis, 197–98

Naqshbandi Mujaddadi, 58–59

Narayan, Jayaprakash, 49–50, 94–95

Narayan, R. K., 180, 181, 182, 183

Nation, x, 85, 138, 193–94; as brotherhood, xiv, 85–86; as community, 84–85, 106–7, 201; and female body, 86–90, 97–104, 113; novel and, 179, 181–82; pilgrimage and, 120; ritual communication and, 84, 85–104. *See also* Nationalism; Nation-state

Nationalism, xii–xv, 13–18, 24, 30–33, 85, 105, 138, 193–202; Bengali, 172; communication modes and, 78; and culture, xiv, 193–96; and development, 140; “economic,” 140; European, 13–14, 15–16, 117, 201; and history, xii, 138–64, 193–95; Janus-face quality of, 107; migration and, 113, 117–18; and modernity, 12–14, 17–18, 107, 132–33; and novel, 180; “proto-,” 59, 193; religious reform and, 56; ritual and, 83–84; and secularism, 11–22 *passim*, 64, 98–99, 133, 152, 160, 162, 172, 194–97; and territory, 106–7; transnationalism and, xii, 128, 134. *See also* Religious nationalism

Nations and Nationalism (Gellner), 165

Nation-state, 14–15, 30–31, 32–33; and development, 140; education controlled by, 13, 14, 130; and *hajj*, 127; Hindu, 2, 90, 126; Islamic, 99, 103; Islam transcending, 116; and Muslim reformism, 62–64; and

pluralism, 22–23; religious tolerance and, 66–67; *Satanic Verses* and, 188; secular, 12–13, 21–23, 62, 83, 98–99, 133, 162, 188; territory, 106, 122; truly Indian, 12–13. *See also* Government; Nationalism

Nats, 93, 105

Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah, 48

Nayar, K. K. K., 156, 157

Nehru, Jawaharlal, 18, 23, 140, 146, 148–49, 155–56

Nehru family, 183

Nepal, 32, 33, 126

Newspapers (general), 164, 179, 182

New York Times, 156–57, 186

Nirankaris, 75

Nonviolence, Hindu, xv, 43–44, 70–71, 96–97

Novels, 176, 179–90

Obeyesekere, Gananath, xiii, 61, 118–19

Oil, 28, 113

Olcott, H. S., 119

Orientalism, x, xii–xiii, 18–24, 105, 119, 133, 196, 198; of Gandhi, 95, 98; and history, 133, 138, 143, 144, 145–46, 151; racist, 29; religious reform and, 56–57, 65–66, 68, 95

Orientalism (Said), 133

Orthodoxy: Hindu, 66, 91–92, 93, 113, 135, 136–37, 173–74; Islamic, 42, 43, 61–63, 169, 187. *See also* Religious reform

Pacifism, 43

Pakistan, x, 147; and Ayodhya, xi, 7; Bhutto, 102; colonial census and, 27; economy, 112–13; formation of, 2, 10, 27, 62, 99; and *hajj*, 127; Indian Muslim minority and, 10; India's relations with, 10; and Kashmir, 4; language, 172; migrant labor and, 112–13; *muhajirs*, 116; Muslim reform, 62, 63–64, 76; secularism and, 22, 64; Sufi shrines, 11; and VHP procession, 126; and women, 101–4, 105; Zia ul Haq, 39, 86, 102–3, 105

Pandey, Gyanendra, 22, 30, 92–93

Pant, Govind Ballabh, 156

Paramadev, 150

Paramahams, Ram Chander Das, 156–57

Parry, Jonathan, 79

Patel, Sardar Vallabhai, 147, 148–49, 156, 162

Patels, 112

- Patidars, 49
 Patriarchy, 85–86, 89–90, 99, 101–5
 Peasants, 109–10, 132
 Performance: language, 165; *Ramayana*, 173, 175–76; ritual, 81–83
 Perlin, Frank, 16–17
 Persian language, 169–72, 190
 Personhood, ritual and, 83–84
 Pilgrimage, 82, 107–8, 119–28; Hindu, x, xi–xii, 44, 93, 120, 121–26; Muslim, 60, 115, 116, 126–28; Sufi, 39
 Pingle, Manohar, 4
 Pluralism, 22–23, 62–63, 162, 178, 199–201; of Gandhi, 73, 94–96
 Poddar, Hanuman Prasad, 173
 Political parties, 1–2; BJP, 1–6, 70, 72, 178; in colonial period, 24; communist, 22; Pakistani, 63–64, 116; Sikh, 74, 75; Shiv Sena, 7; socialist, 22. *See also* Congress party
 Politicians: movie actor, 8; saintly, xiii, 8, 96, 98; Sikh priests, 75–76
 Politics, xiv, 24; and Ayodhya conflict, 157; and cinema, 176–77; colonial, 19; and historical interpretation, 164; immigrant, 119; of language, 165–66; Pakistani, 63–64; and religious reform, 62–64; and *Satanic Verses*, 187–88, 189–90; transnational movements and, 129–30, 131–32; and violence, 7–8. *See also* Government; Nationalism; Political parties; Politicians; States
 Population: colonial census, 19, 25–27, 32; Muslim, 19, 25–26, 27, 62; televised *Ramayana*, 175; untouchable, 51; Uttar Pradesh, 1; VHP membership, 132
 Postcolonial period, ix–x, 21–22, 32, 33; communication modes, 78; cow protection, 98–99; migration, 119; Muslim reformism, 62; pilgrimage, 122; untouchables, 52. *See also* Government
 Prasad, Rajendra, 149
 Precolonial period, 21, 105, 107–8, 201; communication modes, 78; pilgrimage, 122; religious identity, 32–33; untouchables, 51–52. *See also* Mughals
 Print communication, 78–80, 84–85, 92, 165, 173, 181; newspapers, 164, 179, 182; novels, 176, 179–90
 Processions, Hindu, xi–xii, 4, 123, 124–26
 Protestantism: and print communication, 80, 181; religious reform, xiii, 75; and religious text/literature, 181–82; and secular state policy, 12
 Public sphere, 106–7, 108, 120–21, 163–64
 Punjab: Arya Samaj, 74, 91; migration, 112; Sikhs, 53, 54–55, 73–75, 91, 112, 115, 167
 Purdah, 99–104, 130
 Pushtimarg, 163
 Racism: orientalist, 29; in Rushdie's work, 186–87, 191
 Radhakrishnan, Sarvepalli, 68, 70
 Radio, 78–79, 171–72
 Rajas, 93
 Rajputs, 109
 Rama, 50, 90, 123–24, 144–45; and Ayodhya, xi, 2–9 *passim*, 123, 144, 146, 154–61, 178; Dassehra festival and, 72–73; *kodanda*, 1; *mantras*, 166–67; and pilgrimage, 121–22, 123–24; Ramasami and, 174–75; *ramrajya*, 174; Sita marriage, 89. *See also* *Ramayana*
 Ramachander, M. G., 176
 Ramakrishna Mission, 68–69, 70, 118, 136, 137
 Ramakrishna Paramahansa, 69
 Ramanandis, x, xiii, 154, 167
 Rama Rao, N. T., 176
 Ramasami Naicker, E. V., 174–75, 190
Ramayana, 2, 144–46, 154–61 *passim*, 168, 172–78, 182, 190; televised, 8–9, 161, 175–78, 190
Ramcaritmanas (Tulsi Das), 168, 173–74, 175
 Ram Lila, 173, 176
 Ram Rajya Parishad, 174
 Rao, P. V. Narasimha, 6–7
 Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), 1, 70, 71–73, 77; and Ayodhya, 3–4, 7; martial tradition, 71–73, 96–97; and Muslim conversions, 28; and processions, 124; VHP founding, 130, 131
 Ravana, 174–75
 Raychaudhuri, Tapan, 69
 Reform: ritual and, 84; social, 28. *See also* Modernity; Religious reform
 Religion, 193, 196, 197–98; vs. Enlightenment ideals, 139; historical interpretation, 140–45; and language, 170–71; "natural," 66–67; and novels, 181–82; power-produced, 30; vs. secularism, x, 160, 198; universal, 68, 95, 99, 108. *See also* Religious community; Religious identity; Religious nationalism; Religious practices; Religious reform; Religious

- stories; Religious tolerance; Religious travel; Sacred centers; Sacred languages
- Religious community, x, xiii, 201; colonialism and, 19–20, 32; communication modes and, 80; formation of, 21, 25–77, 201; Hindu, xiii, 19–20, 46–53; historiography, 143–44; immigrant, 119; Muslim, xiii, 19–20, 37–43, 64, 202; pilgrimage and, 121, 122–23; precolonial, 21, 32–33; sacred languages and, 15; sacred texts and, 182; Sikh, xiii, 53–56, 73, 75. *See also* Brotherhoods; Communalism
- Religious identity, ix–x, xiv, 24, 29–30; communication modes and, 80; Hindu, ix–x, 1, 29–32, 46, 50, 92; Muslim, ix–x, 10, 29–32, 40–41, 58; precolonial, 32; sacred centers and, 11; Sikh, 55–56, 75–76; vs. tribal identity, 40–41. *See also* Buddhists; Christians; Hindus; Jains; Muslims; Religious community
- Religious nationalism, x–xv, 1–24, 197, 201–2; and communication modes, 80, 84–85; historical interpretation, xii, 138–64, 194–95; labor migration and, xii, 10, 114; orientalism and, 20–21, 56–57; pilgrimage and, 120–21; and previous construction of religious community, xiii, 25; radical, 23–24, 64, 73, 76, 77; religious reform and, 56–64, 66, 70–77, 135; ritual and, 84–85; and secular nationalism, 152, 160; Sikh, 31, 54, 56, 73–77, 114–15; Sinhalese, xiii, 11, 83–84, 118–19; and televised *Ramayana*, 176; transnational movements and, 130. *See also* Hindu nationalism; Muslim nationalism
- Religious practices: Caribbean, 113. *See also* Pilgrimage; Religious community; Rituals; Shrines
- Religious reform, xiii, 25, 56–77; and decadence, 56–57, 65; "hegemony" argument, 57; Hindu, 64–73, 76, 91, 95, 135; Islamic, 41, 42, 58–64, 76, 111; middle class and, xiii, 56–58, 76; "modernization" argument, 57; and religious nationalism, 56–64, 66, 70–77, 135; Sikh, 64, 73–77, 91; and tradition, 38; and tribal system, 41; VHP and, 135; Wahhabism, 42, 59–60, 115–16, 127
- Religious stories, 8–9, 120, 181–82; Krishna's, 88; *Mahabharata*, 144–46, 157. *See also* *Ramayana*
- Religious tolerance, 23, 66–67, 198, 199–201; Hindus and, xv, 66–68, 73, 135, 198–200; and secularism, 160, 198
- Religious travel, xi–xii, 108, 115. *See also* Pilgrimage; Processions
- Renan, Ernest, 193–94
- Reservation policies, 4–5
- Resistance, 31, 83, 96
- Richman, Paula, 175
- Riots, Hindu–Muslim, xi, 3, 5, 7, 73, 94, 155
- Rituals, 80–81, 119–21; as communication, xiv, 78–105; Hindu, 6, 51–53, 84, 87, 88, 92, 125–26, 131, 166; intention and, 81; language, 168; Muslim, 35–42 *passim*, 68, 84, 86, 92–93, 99, 104–5, 128, 200–201; performance, 81–83; pilgrimage, 125–26; RSS, 72–73, 131; VHP, 6, 131, 132. *See also* Religious travel; Sacred centers; Sacrifices
- Robb, Peter, 115
- Robinson, Francis, 29, 200
- RSS. *See* Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
- Rudolph, Lloyd, 97
- Rudolph, Susan, 97
- Rushdie, Salman, 103–4, 105, 115, 179, 182, 183–91
- Ruskin, John, 98
- Sacred centers, xiii, 10–11; Hindu, 11, 45, 94, 120, 121–25, 146–62; Muslim, 33–35, 60, 115, 116, 126–28. *See also* Mosques; Pilgrimage; Shrines; Temples
- Sacred languages, xiii–xiv, 15, 165–66, 179; Arabic, xiii–xiv, 79, 166, 169–72, 190; Sanskrit, xiii–xiv, 79, 92, 120, 141, 166–72, 190
- Sacred texts. *See* Religious stories
- Sacrifices: Brahmans and, 166, 173–74; *mahayajnas*, 173–74; "of learning," 136–37; "for unity," 83, 124–26, 136
- Said, Edward, 21, 133
- Saints, xiii; Hindu, 43–53, 94, 200; politicians as, xiii, 8, 96, 98; Sikh, 53; Sufi, xiii, 27, 33–43, 58–61, 200–201. *See also* Gurus
- Saketa, 158–60
- Sanatan Dharm, 113, 174
- Sandeepany Sadhanalaya, 130
- Sannyasi Rebellion, 49
- Sanskrit, xiii–xiv, 79, 92, 120, 141, 166–72, 190
- Sanskritization, 79, 120, 166
- Santoshi Mata, 125

- Satanic Verses* (Rushdie), 104, 115, 184–90
 Saurashtra, 147–49
 Savarkar, V. D., 1, 106, 167, 198
 Schutz, Alfred, 81
 Scindia, Vijaye Raje, 4, 6
 "Sectarian Literature and Social Consciousness" (Mehta), 163
 Secularism, 18, 160; historical interpretation and, 144, 152, 160; nationalism and, 11–22 *passim*, 64, 98–99, 133, 152, 160, 162, 172, 194–97; Pakistan and, 22, 64; religion vs., x, 160, 198; *Satanic Verses* and, 188; and Somanatha, 148; of state, 12–13, 21–23, 62, 83, 98–99, 133, 162, 188. *See also* Enlightenment
Seminar, 163–64
 Sexuality: female, 85, 88–89, 100, 103–4, 113. *See also* Celibacy; Marriage
 Shah, Ghanshyam, 163
 Shaivites, 45, 48, 53, 65, 154
Shame (Rushdie), 103–4, 184, 185
 Shankaracharyas, 132, 137
 Sharma, R. S., 159
 Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, 74
 Shiva, 45, 46, 50, 90, 121, 122, 146
 Shivaji, 71
 Shivananda, 136
 Shiv Sena, 7, 117
 Shrines, 161–62; Hindu, 141, 146–62; Sufi, 11, 37–41, 58, 60, 61, 63, 127–28, 200–201. *See also* Ayodhya; Mecca
 Sikhs, 2, 49, 52, 53–56, 66; and Chishti clan, 41; colonial census and, 26–27; and cow protection, 90–91; *Guru Granth Sahib*, 167; gurus, 53–56, 74–75, 167; migrant, 112, 114–15; nationalism of, 31, 54, 56, 73–77, 114–15; reformist, 64, 73–77, 91; religious community, xiii, 53–56, 73, 75; Singh Sabha, 73–77, 107, 122; temples (*gurdwaras*), 11, 74, 75, 77; VHP and, 135
 Singh, Bhai Bhalkar, 91
 Singh, Ghyani Bhupendra, 135
 Singh, Gobind, 54, 56
 Singh, Ranjit, 55
 Singh, Tara, 135
 Singh, V. P., 4, 5–6
 Singh Sabha, 73–77, 107, 122
 Sinha, B. P., 159
 Sinhalese nationalism, Buddhist, xiii, 2, 11, 83–84, 118–19
 Sirhindī, Ahmad, 58–59
 Sita, 89
 Sitaram, 141, 194
 Slavery, 111
 Socialists, 22, 102
So Far from India (Nair), 112
 Soldiers: and asceticism, 49–50, 72, 110–11; Hindu, 43–44, 48–50; Maratha, 71; mercenary, 109–11, 112; RSS and, 71–73, 96–97; Sikh, 54, 55; Sufi, 33–35
 Somanatha temple, 138, 146–52, 160, 161–62
 Sri Lanka, Buddhists, xiii, 2, 11, 83–84, 118–19
 Srinivas, M. N., 16, 120
 States: hegemony, 201–2; Hindu, 2; Muslim, 35; Sikh, 55–56, 74, 75. *See also* Colonialism; Government; Nation-state; Precolonial period
 Sufis, 33–43, 49, 169; brotherhoods, 34, 35–37, 39–43, 59–61, 128; decline, 60–61; and Hanuman, 154; Hinduism compared with, 46, 47; migration, 116; Muslim reformism and, 58–63, 76; *pir/murid* relation, 35, 41–42; rituals, 35–37, 39–40, 41–42, 84, 128; saints, xiii, 27, 33–43, 58–61, 200–201; shrines/tombs, 11, 37–41, 58, 60, 61, 63, 127–28, 200–201; syncretism and, 200–201; Tablighis and, 128–29
 Swaminarayans, 49–50, 112, 162–63
 Syncretism, 198–201
 Tablighi Jama'at, 108, 128–30
 Tambiah, Stanley, 80–81
 Tamil Nadu, 168
 Tantrik traditions, 97–98
 Tapovanam, 136
 Tariqa Muhammadiya, 59
 Taylor, Charles, 80
 Television, 8–9, 78–79, 161, 175–78, 190
 Telugu Desam, 125
 Temples, xi, xii, xiii, 2–11; Ayodhya, xii, xiii, 2–11, 138, 146, 152–62; "rebuilding," xii, xiii, 2–11, 138, 146–62; Sikh (*gurdwaras*), 11, 74, 75, 77; Somanatha, 138, 146–52, 160, 161–62
 Territory, 106–7, 122. *See also* Movement
 Thanawi, Ashraf Ali, 100
 Thapar, B. K., 149, 150–51
 Thapar, Romila, 145, 176–77
 Theater, 176
 Theosophists, 119
Three Women, Three Cultures (Gilani), 102
 Time conceptions, 138–64; cyclical, 140–41, 158. *See also* History
 Tipu Sultan, 32

- Tolerance. *See Religious tolerance*
- Tolstoy, L., 98
- Tombs. *See Shrines*
- Tönnies, Ferdinand, 107
- Tourism, Ayodhya, 8
- Trade: Hindu, 43–44; migrant labor and, 112; Sufi, 33–34
- Tradition, 196; and development, 140; and historical interpretation, 139, 140, 141–45; vs. modernity, x, 12, 15–18, 78, 79, 109, 139, 179, 181, 197; pluralist state and, 23; and reform, 38; storytelling, 179, 181; village, 108–9
- Transnationalism, xii, 127, 128, 202; of “Hindu spirituality,” 118, 131–32, 202; of Muslim *umma*, 37, 202; VHP and, 128, 130–32, 134
- Transnational literature, 180–91
- Transnational movement: migration, xii, 10, 108, 109–19; processions, 4, 124–26. *See also Pilgrimage*
- Transnational movements, 7, 128–37: Hindu, 128, 130–37; Indo-Muslim, 128–30; Islamic, 10, 64, 115–16, 127. *See also Transnationalism*
- Tribals, 28, 52, 132, 135–36
- Tripathi, Ram Raksha, 169
- Tulsi Das, 168, 173, 174, 175
- Two-nation theory, xiii
- “Universal civilization,” 139
- Universalism, religious, 68, 95, 99, 108
- Untouchables, 51–52, 68; conversions, 28, 113, 135–36; Gandhi and, 26–27, 28, 95–96, 135; and Hindu majority, 26–27, 28; and rituals, 126; and televised *Ramayana*, 175–76; uplift of, 28, 52, 95–96, 135, 137; VHP and, 52, 132, 135–36
- Urdu, xiii–xiv, 79, 168–72, 190
- Uttar Pradesh, x, 1, 6, 8. *See also Ayodhya*
- Vaishnavites, 45, 48–50, 53, 72
- Vaitarani ritual, 87
- Vajpayee, Atal Behari, 4, 72
- Vallabhacharyas, 163
- Valmiki, 172, 175–76
- Vaudeville, Charlotte, 47–48
- Vedanta, 68, 70
- Vedas, 20, 65, 91, 94–95, 141, 173–74
- VHP. *See Vishva Hindu Parishad*
- Victoria, Queen, 19
- Village autarky, 108–9
- Violence, 23, 31, 33; Ayodhya, xi, 3, 5, 7, 153–56, 161, 162; conversion as, 27; and Cow Protection Movement, 86, 91, 92–93, 94; Hindu-Muslim, xi, 3, 5, 7, 73, 86, 91–94, 97, 153–56, 161, 162; and nonviolence concept, 70–71; of processions, 4, 123; religious tolerance and, 67; ritual and, 83–84, 92–93; Sikh, 75, 91. *See also Soldiers*
- Vishnu, 45, 46, 47, 50, 121–22, 123
- Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP), 1, 98, 108, 114, 128, 130–37, 197, 198; and Ayodhya, 3–4, 6, 7, 10, 146, 161, 162, 178; and Muslim conversions, 28; processions, 4, 124–26; and reformism, 65, 68, 70; RSS and, 72; “sacrifice for unity,” 83, 124–26, 136; televised *Ramayana* and, 178; and untouchables, 52, 132, 135–36
- Vivekananda, Swami (Narendranath Datta), 20–21, 68–70, 94–95, 118, 136, 137, 198
- Wahhabism, 42, 59–60, 115–16, 127
- Wajid Ali Shah, 154
- Waliullah, Shah, 59, 60
- Warriors. *See Soldiers*
- Weberianism, 56, 60, 61–62
- West, 197; Gandhi’s influences from, 98; language and, 183; migration to, 119; modernity, 18, 133; nation as territory, 122; orientalism and, 20–22, 56–57, 133; religious reform and, 56–57, 66–67, 69–70, 76; Rushdie/*Satanic Verses* and, 185–89, 191. *See also Colonialism; Enlightenment; Europe*
- Wolf, Eric, 120
- Women: covering body, 99–104, 130; Hindu nationalism and, 88–90, 96, 97; Muslim nationalism and, 99–105; in Pakistan, 101–4, 105; and patriarchy, 85–86, 89–90, 99, 101–5; sexuality, 85, 88–89, 100, 103–4, 113; Sufis and, 36
- World Hindu Conventions, 131
- World Parliament of Religions, Chicago, 70, 118
- Wrestling, 72
- Xenophobia, 117
- Yadav, Laloo, 5
- Yadav, Mulayam Singh, 5
- Yagnik, Achyut, 163
- Yoga, 70, 118
- Zia ul Haq, 39, 86, 102–3, 105