

Index

Note: Page numbers followed by “n” refer to notes.

- Abbas, Maulana Yasooob 165
- abduction
 - family-assisted 52
 - forcible 53
 - of Subhadrā 53
- adharma* 37, 40, 90, 90n7, 98, 107, 131
- Agni (fire) 54, 56–59, 78, 103
 - imagery 49, 62, 73–75, 77, 83
 - of self-restraint 75
- Agrawal, M. M. 80
- ahimsā* (nonviolence) 29, 42, 43n6, 55, 90, 114, 126, 128, 158
 - compatibility principle 126
 - Gandhi 161
- alliance-building 32, 36, 42
- Anderson, J. 88–89, 89n4, 91, 99
- ānṛśamśya* (absence of cruelty) 42, 55
- anukampā* (compassion) 55, 89
- Āpaddharma-parvan* 11
- Arthaśāstra*, Kauṭīlya 10, 14, 21, 98
- ascetic idealism 156
- asceticism 148, 161, 171
 - bodily 144, 147, 175
 - Gandhi 18, 156, 158
 - heroic form of 79, 82
 - nationalist 158–159
 - political 147, 156–159, 169–170
- ascetic-nationalist model 158
- Aśoka Maurya 28, 43, 43n6, 113n1, 114, 119–120, 125–129, 131
- āśrama* (life stage) 45, 50, 51
 - āśrama-dharma 41, 69, 90
 - brahmacarya 18, 45n10, 50–51, 171
 - gārhaṣṭya 45n10, 50–51
 - saṃnyāsa 45n10
 - vānaprasthya 45n10
- ātman* (self) 16, 19, 61–62, 65, 67–73, 76, 83, 89, 91, 93, 125, 128
 - defined 64n3
 - eternal 81, 86
 - immaterial 63, 64n3, 66, 138
 - immortal 64, 80
 - imperishable 63, 65–66, 71, 86, 97, 124, 133–134, 137
 - jīvātman 95, 96
 - kṣatriya-ātman 97
 - paramātman 95–98
 - physical body and 62–63
 - puruṣa vs. 64n3
 - timeless 134
 - unmanifest 95
- Aurobindo, Sri 17
- Batra, Dinanath 155
- Bhagwat, M. 149
- bhakti* (devotion) 17, 19, 29, 56–58, 64, 82, 84, 100, 101, 103, 114, 128, 140, 159, 161, 167–168
 - bhaktiyoga 29, 71
 - cosmology 122
 - democratized 102
 - devotionalism 115, 133, 136, 138
 - to Kṛṣṇa 62, 71, 81, 99, 102, 105, 132, 136, 138–139
 - religious 79–80
- bharatiya culture 157
- Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) 22, 35, 148–149, 162, 164, 168, 171, 173
 - anti-plurality 163
 - Congress vs. 165
 - “love jihad” laws by 173
 - ruled states, RSS in 155
- Bharatiya Shiksha Niti Ayog 155
- bheda* (split) 37, 38, 41, 43, 47, 49, 52, 57, 60
- Birla, O. 159–160
- BJP see Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)
- bodily asceticism 144, 147, 175
- Bolle, K. 27
- brahmacarya* (celibacy) 18, 45n10, 50–51, 157, 171
 - see also asceticism
- Brāhmaṇas 4, 74, 124, 125, 142n17, 151

- Brahmanism 54, 61, 124n10, 125, 138, 140, 144n1, 146, 160
 – attitudes and beliefs 9
 – authority 8, 29, 103, 119, 115, 125, 134–136
 – Classical 15, 27, 145
 – ideology 8, 9n10, 15, 27–30, 75, 113–115, 117, 120–125, 128–130, 135, 141, 144, 145, 147–149, 153, 156, 165–166, 174
 – interests 33, 84, 112, 116, 132, 139, 145, 152
 – orthodoxy 126
 – political thought 46, 57–58, 61, 73, 75–76, 97, 100, 114, 118, 122, 129, 133–134, 137–138, 142, 151
 – prestige, loss of 120, 122–123, 123n8, 132–133, 135
 – purity and 159
 – texts 4, 7, 119, 142, 149, 151
 – theology 139
 – traditional 4, 16, 24, 29, 132, 160
 – universalism 148, 174
 – varṇa system 40, 168
 British colonialism 1, 2n3, 4–5, 31–32
 Bronkhorst, J. 25–28, 30, 73, 120n6, 123, 123n8, 124n10, 131–132
 Brook, P. 31
buddhi (higher mind and intellect) 64, 66–68, 71–73, 75, 95, 97, 101, 138
 Buddhism 4, 24, 27, 79, 114, 116, 120–121, 126, 128, 134, 136, 161

 Cavell, S. 95
 Chattopadhyay, B. 5
 colonialism 172
 – British 1, 2n3, 4–5, 31–32
 – decolonization 142
 – (neo)colonialism 31, 141, 148
 communism 159
 comparative political theory 1, 6, 14
 conceptual analytic approach 30–31, 84, 113
 conceptual innovation 46, 56, 118, 124, 134
 conscience 29, 94, 98, 108n20
 – cosmological 137
 – internal 84, 108, 111, 113
 consequentialism 89, 91–92
 cosmic entropy 42
 cosmic self 83, 109–110
 – micro-cosmic self 93, 98
 – see also ātman (self)
 cosmological monotheism 100
 cosmology 10, 27, 43, 59, 73, 75, 91, 100, 127, 134, 139
 – bhakti 122
 – political 37, 61, 138
 cosmopolitanism 120, 122
 critical revivalism 142
 cyclical entropy 93, 99, 144
 cyclicity 31, 79, 129, 133, 147, 156

daṇḍa-nīti (science of punishment) 14, 97, 98
 deep ideology 8–9, 33–34, 62, 115, 139, 140–141, 144n1, 144–146, 149, 150, 158, 167
dehin (the embodied self) 61–63
 see also ātman (self)
 Devji, F. 2n4, 6n8, 17–18
dharma 29, 33, 40, 53, 58, 73, 80, 84, 88, 92, 96, 99–100, 119, 126–127, 137, 139, 163
 – āśrama-dharma 41, 69, 90
 – earthly and cosmic 70
 – ethics 90
 – kṣatriya-dharma 71, 93, 95, 107
 – kūla-dharma 41, 69, 90, 109
 – sādharma-dharma 90
 – strī-dharma 54
 – svadharma 69, 70, 83, 87, 95, 121
 – varṇa-dharma 27, 41, 69, 77, 90, 109, 119
 Dharmaśāstras 14
 dharmic disinterestedness 61, 67–69, 72, 74, 77, 101, 126, 147, 170, 174
 politics of effacement and 70, 83, 86–87, 92–93, 99, 109, 113, 125
 dharmic order 45, 65, 66, 69
 dharmic rule 40, 41, 44, 51, 59, 74, 79, 126
 Doniger, W. 150, 155
 Dvāpara Yuga 39, 40, 73, 90, 106, 138

 education 152, 154–155, 165
 egoism 70, 72–73, 80, 82, 93, 109, 147, 156–158, 161
 – non-egoism 28, 32, 41n4, 68–69, 81, 99, 158, 159, 169–170
 – sacrificing 78, 102
 equality 86, 136, 159, 169
 Erikson, Erik H. 17
 Eurocentrism 2

- false consciousness 9
- fate (*daiva*) 38–40, 50, 56, 108
- Fitzgerald, J. 28–30, 37n1, 44, 46, 49n11, 84n2, 90n6, 95, 111, 113, 118n4, 119–123, 125–126, 129, 134–135
- Fritzman, J. M. 84, 89n4, 97, 101n15, 104–110, 140
- gambling 39, 78–79
- Gandhi *see* Mahatma Gandhi
- gārhastya* (householder) 45n10, 50, 51
- Geuss, R. 7–8, 113–114, 116–120, 123–124, 130, 138, 139
- Ghoshal, U. N. 14
- Godrej, F. 18
- Godse, N. 161
- Goldman, Robert P. 13
- Goldman, S. S. 13
- Golwalkar, M. S. 151–152
- Gowda, N. 2n4, 24
- Goyandka, J. 153
- guṇas* (forces) 64, 69, 77, 77n8, 89, 136
- of *rajas* 56, 58, 65, 67, 75, 76, 81, 83
- of *sattva* 65, 72, 75–76, 83, 160
- of *tamas* 65, 75–76, 83
- Han, H-C. 95
- harmlessness *see* *ahimsā* (nonviolence)
- Hasan, M. 154
- Hedgewar, K. B. 151
- Hegarty, J. 129–131
- heterotheistic politics 33, 100–104, 111
- Herman, D. 113–114, 116–118, 139
- heroism 53, 61–62, 79–81, 83n1, 105, 172
- ascetic 79–80, 113, 170
- devotional 79–80
- martial 61, 82
- sacrificial 170
- spiritual 61
- hierarchy 26, 30, 51, 64, 74, 85–86, 125, 137–138, 146, 157, 169–170, 175
- cosmic 57
- integration 147
- ontological 86
- order 44, 73, 75, 98
- political 159
- purity/impurity 118, 138
- social 140
- sovereignty 39
- *varṇa* 27, 102, 115, 121
- Hiltebeitel, A. 37n1, 39, 58, 71–72, 76, 95, 97, 122
- Hinduism 4, 27, 34, 149, 153, 162, 165
- classical 136
- integral 168
- modern 17
- Hindu Mahasabha 154, 162
- Hindu nationalism 3, 7, 9–10, 22–24, 31, 34–35, 114, 147, 154, 156, 160, 163–166
- antipathy to pluralism 146
- authoritarian politics 146
- contemporary 152, 167–168, 174
- ideology 130, 155, 161, 163, 168
- modern 144, 146
- under Modi's leadership 162, 171
- propaganda 149
- Hindu Rashtra 151, 153, 165, 166
- Hindutva ideology 8, 145, 148, 150–151, 160–162
- Hitler, A. 145
- Howard, V. 18
- Hudson, E. 38
- ideological subversion 35, 167
- ideology 7–10, 113, 122, 133
- ascetic 160–161
- Brahmanical 8, 15, 26–30, 75, 113–115, 120–125, 128–130, 135, 141, 145, 147–149, 153, 174
- Brahmanical-Hindu 4, 8–9, 145, 156, 165–166, 174
- critique 8, 9n10, 13
- deep 8–9, 62, 115, 139, 140–141, 144n1, 144–146, 149, 150, 158, 167
- defined 114
- Hindu nationalist 153, 155, 161, 163, 168
- Hindutva 145, 148, 150–151, 160–162
- integrative 43, 144, 147
- *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti* 136, 138
- model 139
- political 8, 10, 16, 30, 84–85, 114, 116, 119, 128, 139, 142, 146
- impartiality 88, 89, 91, 92
- independence movements 6, 19, 164

- indriyas* (sense faculties) 63–64, 66, 69, 73, 83, 97, 138
- internal subversion 142, 150
- interventionist approach 104–105, 108–110
- Jaffrelot, C. 151, 155, 157, 159–160, 162–163, 168–173
- Jainism 4, 24, 79, 114, 116, 120–121, 134
- Jana Sangh 154
- jīvātman* (lower self) 95, 96
- jñāna* (knowledge) 64, 71, 73–75, 74
- justice 11, 84, 91–93, 99, 107, 109, 125
- kāla* (time), in political thought 38–39, 41–42, 53, 129–134, 141, 147
- Kali Yuga 16, 39, 40–41, 44, 73, 78, 90, 106, 107, 111, 123, 127, 131–132, 134, 138, 140, 147, 149, 151, 170
- karman* (actions from previous lives) 69, 74, 77, 78
- karmic retribution 26, 123, 131, 133, 140
- karmic theory 26, 134, 137
- Katz, R. C. 55, 55n15, 58, 79–81, 90, 96, 99n14, 100
- Khattar, M. L. 164
- Kloetzli, R. 39
- Kṛta Yuga 39, 40, 44, 73, 78, 134, 138
- kṣatriya varṇa* 18, 28, 40–42, 43n6, 47, 49–50, 70–74, 82, 84, 105–108, 111, 121, 124, 126, 128, 135
- Kṣatriya svadharma* 76–77
- kūla-dharma* (family duties) 41, 69, 90, 109
- Kwak, D-J. 95
- Lane, M. 10
- Levitsky, S. 163
- lokasaṃgraha* (world welfare) 84, 87, 89–92, 99, 106–107, 111, 113, 125, 127, 137
- Madhok, B. 152–153
- Mahatma Gandhi 3, 5–6, 163, 172
- asceticism 18, 156, 158
- leadership role in Indian independence movement 19
- nonviolence 17, 161
- role of Bhagavad-Gītā in life of 16–20, 34
- Majithia, R. 89, 89n4, 91–92
- majoritarianism 168
- Malinar, A. 29–30, 41n4, 46, 84n2, 100, 102
- manas* (lower mind) 64, 66, 69, 71, 73, 97, 138
- Mānava Dharmaśāstra* 4
- Matilal, B. K. 90, 107
- Mauryan 24, 26, 28, 43, 113, 119, 120, 122, 126–127, 128, 132, 135, 163
- māyā* (illusory power) 56, 65, 87, 96
- McGrath, K. 42–43, 72, 83–84n1, 94, 105, 111
- Modi, N. 145, 149, 155, 158–160, 164, 167
- democratic pluralism under 163, 168
- Hindu nationalism under 162
- self-proclaimed sacrificial and ascetic heroism 170
- see also Bharatiya Janata Party
- Mohan, A. 165
- mokṣa* (liberation) 17n15, 29, 44, 61, 65, 69, 76–77, 86, 91–92, 97, 126–127, 131–132
- devotion (see *bhakti* (devotion))
- knowledge to 64, 71, 73–75, 74
- paths to 64, 71, 131
- monarchical rule 15, 19, 30, 33, 45–46, 54, 56–60, 67, 72, 81, 83–84, 103, 106, 111, 137–139, 168–169, 170
- autarchic 43
- cosmic 84, 100–101, 113, 117, 127, 129, 137
- dyadic 100
- micro-monarchical rule 74
- monotheism 100–101
- Mukul, A. 153–154, 159–160
- Mussolini, B. 145
- mythology 11, 131n12, 134–135
- characters 131, 139
- Hindu 51, 117, 172
- narratives 114, 129, 136
- storyworld 139
- narrative 4, 19, 28, 40, 46–48, 52, 108n20, 113, 115–119, 130, 168
- apocalyptic 114, 120, 123–125, 139
- cosmological 45
- epic 38, 42, 48n11, 114, 122, 131, 149
- historical 11
- meta-narrative 59
- mythological 114, 129, 136
- narrative-analytic framework 30–31
- political 45, 154

- see also storyworld
- narrative-analytic framework 30–31
- National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS) 165
- (neo)colonialism 31, 141, 148
- neo-Hindu authoritarianism 167, 170, 173
- NEP *see* New Education Policy (NEP)
- New Education Policy (NEP) 165
- NIOS *see* National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS)
- niṣkāma-karma* (desireless action) 69, 80, 91, 161
- Orientalism 1, 2n3, 4–5, 5n7, 31–32, 141, 148
- Palshikar, S. 18
- paramātmān* (highest self) 95–98
- Parekh, B. 20–25
- Parel, A. 18
- partition 38, 51, 52
- see also *bheda* (split)
- Plato 2, 10, 106
- pluralism
 - democratic 9, 146, 148–149, 167–168, 175
 - ethnic and religious 10, 168
 - political 9, 10, 19, 146
- plurality 36, 43, 66, 100, 103, 115, 146, 161, 165, 172
 - cosmic 45
 - political 9, 149, 153, 162–163
 - religious 149, 153, 162
 - *saṅgha*-style politics with 67
- Poddar, H. P. 153
- political authoritarianism 8, 173
- political disintegration 37, 42, 43–44, 47, 52, 73, 83, 144, 147, 164, 167, 175
- political entropy 32, 37, 43–47, 59, 79, 93, 99, 144, 157
- political integration 32, 36, 39, 44, 47, 98, 121, 167, 174
 - through *Draupadī* 49
 - under *Yudhiṣṭhira Pāṇḍava* 59
- political unification 39, 62, 73–74, 83, 98, 151, 154
- politics of effacement 18, 32, 67, 70, 75, 82–83, 87, 92–93, 99, 109, 113, 125, 149
- Pollock, A. 5n7, 106, 120
- Popper, K. 10
- power 10, 23, 36, 39, 52, 124, 136, 173
 - ascetic 170
 - cosmo-political 57
 - cultural 130
 - illusory 56, 65, 87, 96
 - political 12, 26, 30, 50–51, 70, 75, 79, 100, 103, 116–117, 135, 139
 - waxing and waning 48
 - woman's choice 54
- prakṛti* (primal, material nature) 56, 63–66, 69–71, 76, 81, 83, 85–89, 91–93, 95–98, 108–109, 128, 137
 - see also specific elements or *guṇas*
- Prasad, R. 154
- Proferes, T. 39, 74
- public imagination 114, 123, 129–130, 133, 136, 141
- purity 65, 73–74, 138–139, 159, 161, 169
 - ascetic 156, 157
 - impurity 75, 76, 118, 138, 160
 - ontological 159
 - political 158
 - saintly 158–159
- puruṣa* 64, 64n3, 65
- Puṣyamitra Śuṅga* 114, 125, 127–129, 131
- Radakrishnan, S. 17
- Rājadharmā-parvan* 11
- rajas* (passion, emotion) 56, 58, 65, 67, 75, 76, 81, 83
- Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) 3, 142, 145, 148–149, 151, 154–158, 162, 165, 169, 173
- realist approach 114, 116, 119, 136, 138–139
- renunciation 43n6, 68, 156, 169
 - ascetic 73–74
 - as desireless action 80
- revivalism
 - Brahmanical 114
 - critical 142
 - Hindu 22
- RSS *see* Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS)
- Rudolph, Lloyd I. 158
- Rudolph, S. H. 158

- sabhā* (assembly, court) 42
 sacrifice 57, 59, 89, 156–157, 171, 174
 – ascetic 87
 – egoism 102
 – elements 103–104
 – heroism 170
 – political 58
 – results of actions to Kṛṣṇa 68–69, 78
 – ritual 26, 49, 76–77, 102–103, 128, 132, 136
 – sacrificial destruction 54
 – sacrificial fire 49, 55, 58, 75
 – sacrificial offerings 75, 78
 – sacrificial victims 54, 78
 – self-sacrifice 99, 158–159
 – war as 78n9
sādhāraṇa-dharma (universal duties) 90
 Sāṃkhyan dualism 62
saṃnyāsa (renunciate, wandering ascetic) 45n10
saṃsāra (cyclical rebirth) 26–27, 61, 69, 87, 93, 114, 123, 127, 136
 – mokṣa from (see mokṣa (liberation))
saṅgha (clan association, community) 42–43, 47, 52, 57, 59, 67, 100, 121, 137
Śānti Parvan 11, 14–15, 29, 112, 122
 Saraswati Shishu Mandirs 154
 Sathaye, A. 114, 117, 119
sattva (lucidity, purity, goodness) 65, 72, 75–76, 79, 81, 83, 160
satyameva jayate (truth alone wins) 20
 Savarkar, V. D. 151, 161–163
 self-control 18, 76, 89
 – ascetic 151, 156, 158, 160
 self-knowledge 61, 75
 Sen, A. 88–89, 89n4, 91–92, 104, 110
 Shulman, D. 39–40, 44, 140
 sovereignty 10, 74
 – hierarchical 39
 – Vedic conceptions of 39, 57
 Sreekumar, S. 91–92, 92n8
 storyworld 116, 126, 131, 135, 137, 140, 147, 152, 154
 – defined 117–118
 – epic 119, 136
 – ideological 128–129, 133
 – mythological 139
 – novelistic 165
 Strohmeier, J. 16
śūdra varṇa 26, 40, 73, 76, 102, 119, 121, 128, 138
 Sushma Swaraj 164–165
 Sutton, N. 43n6, 118n4, 125–126
svadharma (one's own, proper duty) 69, 70, 72, 78, 83, 87, 95, 121
svayamvara (self-choice) 48, 50–51, 53–54, 108

tamas (darkness, ignorance, illusion) 65, 75–76, 83
 temporality 30, 37, 38, 59, 61, 77–78, 93, 123, 133, 138, 144, 148, 156, 175
 – cyclical 16, 46, 79, 124–125, 134, 147, 149
 – epic 130, 170
 – ideologized 114
 – politicized 129
 Tharoor, S. 164–165
 theophany 46, 57, 77, 80, 94, 98, 108, 127
 Tilak, B. G. 3, 5, 17, 161
 Tretā Yuga 39, 40, 73, 138

 unity 9, 39, 58, 72, 94, 96, 100, 148, 160–161, 164, 168
 – authoritarian 146
 – disunity 147
 – ethnic 162
 – national 162
 – political 18, 147, 165
 – will to 8, 157, 175
 universalism 9, 31–32, 149, 156
 – Brahmanical-Hindu 148, 174
 – false 8
 – Orientalist-(neo)colonialist forms of 148
 – temporal 144, 147
 Upadhyaya, D. 157–158, 168

vaiśya varṇa 26, 40, 73, 76, 102, 121, 138
vānaprasthya (forest dweller) 45n10
 van Buitenen, A. B. 27–28, 37n2, 68n4, 53, 85, 101n16
varṇa (social group) 16, 26, 29, 73, 102, 137
 – -based social structure 138
 – brahmin (see Brahmanism)
 – duties 53, 70
 – hierarchy 27, 102, 115, 121
 – kṣatriya (see kṣatriya)

- obligations 28
- śūdra 26, 40, 73, 76, 102, 119, 121, 128, 138
- vaiśya 26, 40, 73, 76, 102, 121, 138
- varṇa-dharma 27, 41, 69, 77, 90, 109, 119
- varṇāśrama 44
- varṇāśramadharma system 45, 83, 109, 117, 121, 125, 128, 138, 157
- Vedas 28, 103, 114, 120–121, 153, 160, 163
 - Rg- 39, 103, 168
 - Sāma- 103
 - Yājur- 103
- Vedic Saṃhitās 4, 74, 124, 142n17, 151
- Vidya Bharati School system 154, 155
- violence 3, 22, 29, 46, 53, 97, 99, 126, 128, 137, 175
 - entropic 58
 - legitimating 45, 114, 125, 129
 - political 161
 - see also ahimsā (nonviolence)
- virtue theory 89, 92
- Vivekananda 17
- Vyāsa 12–13, 37–38n2, 48, 51n12, 135, 159
- Witzel, M. 128, 128n11
- women 12, 40, 49
 - ascetic self-control for 160
 - in political affairs 53–54
 - and self-determination 54
 - strī-dharma 54
- yoga (disciplined action) 64, 68
 - bhakti-yoga 29, 71, 101
 - jñāna-yoga 71
 - karma-yoga 29, 71
 - of self-restraint 75–76
- yogic rule 66–67, 71, 82
- yogic self-rule 61, 75, 93, 99, 102, 137
- yugas (ages) 79, 99, 123, 132
 - Dvāpara- 39, 40, 73, 90, 106, 138
 - Kali- 16, 39, 40, 41, 44, 73, 78, 90, 106, 107, 111, 123, 127, 131–132, 134, 138, 140, 147, 149, 151, 170
 - Kṛta- 39, 40, 44, 73, 78, 134, 138
 - Tretā- 39, 40, 73, 138
- Zaehner, R. C. 86
- Zibblatt, D. 163

