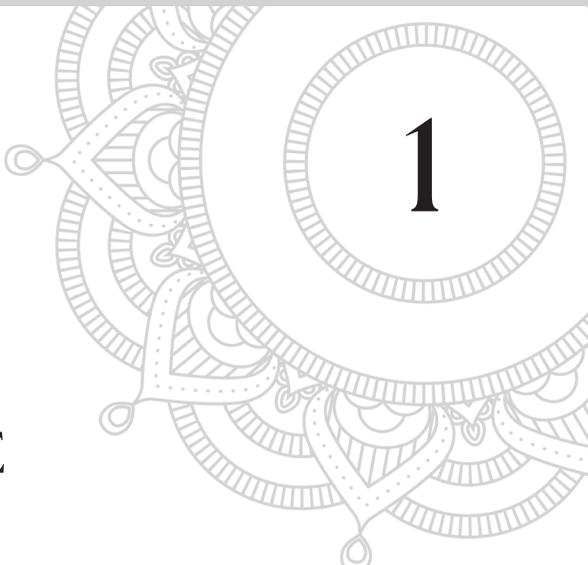


Contents

Scholarly Conventions.....	vii
Starting Points.....	xi
1. Indus Valley Civilization, 2600–1900 BCE	1
2. Ancient Migrants and Vedic Practices	17
3. Building and Renouncing Cities, 550–325 BCE.....	35
4. Ashoka’s Mauryan Empire	55
5. Mahabharata: A Tale of Ancient India	75
6. South Asians Traveling, 200 BCE–300 CE.....	95
7. Inequality, Pleasure, and Power in Early India.....	115
8. India in the World, ca. 700 CE	139
9. Medieval South India.....	159
10. Indo-Persian Rule and Culture, 1190–1350.....	181
11. The Long Fifteenth Century.....	201
12. Seeking God or Fame, 1500–1550.....	223
13. Ordinary and Extraordinary Lives in Early Modern India	243
14. Religious Communities and Elite Culture, 1600–1650	267
15. Aurangzeb’s Empire and Two Shudra Lineages.....	289
16. Regional Flourishing, 1720–1780	313
17. Company Bahadur	333

18. Sepoy Rebellion and Dawn of the British Raj.....	353
19. Knowing India and Indians, 1860–1900	373
20. Indians on the Move, 1880–1920	397
21. Advocating for Independence, Nationalism, and Equal Rights	419
22. Dividing India in 1947	441
23. New Nation-States, 1947–1990.....	461
24. Everyday Life in Contemporary South Asia	483
Afterword: Now	499
Historiography.....	505
Glossary	515
Illustrations and Sources	535
Postscript and Acknowledgments.....	541
Notes	547
Bibliography.....	611
Index	665



1

Indus Valley Civilization, 2600–1900 BCE

May the land of Meluhha load precious desirable carnelian,
mes wood of Magan, and the best abba wood into large
ships for you.

—“Enki and Ninhursag,” Mesopotamia (Sumerian), ca. 2000 BCE¹

In 2000 BCE, the most populous cities on earth thrived in northwestern India within a society called Meluhha by ancient Mesopotamians.² Today, most prefer the name “Indus Valley Civilization” for this ancient South Asian culture that flourished from 2600 to 1900 BCE and was centered partly around the Himalayan-fed Indus River.³ We do not know what the Indus Civilization inhabitants called themselves, because we cannot decipher their writing. But, through archaeology, we have recovered much about how the Indus people—ancient India’s first city builders—lived, including their trade relations with ancient Mesopotamia. I cover highlights of India’s first urbanization here, preceded by an account of how people came to populate the subcontinent in the first place and began to farm and domesticate animals. I close with the collapse of the Indus Valley Civilization by 1700 BCE, after which Indus cities were soon covered by dust. The ancient Indus Civilization constitutes an early flourishing of Indian urbanization and mercantile prosperity, which built upon thousands of years of human ingenuity and lifestyle changes.

First Indians

Humans initially populated the Indian subcontinent through waves of migrations. They hailed from Africa, as we all did originally, with the first homo sapiens setting foot on subcontinental soil as early as 120,000 years ago.⁴ These initial migrants left no surviving lineage, however.⁵ The first people from whom modern Indians are partially descended (i.e., the first Indians) arrived in South Asia maybe 65,000 years ago.⁶ They were succeeded by numerous other eastward-moving groups in subsequent millennia (e.g., the first farmers ca. 7000 BCE, Indo-European speakers ca. 1500 BCE that are discussed in chapter 2, and so forth). As migrants, the first Indians anchored South Asia, even in its prehistory era, as connected with other parts of the world.

The first Indians experienced a subcontinent rather different than it appears to modern people today. Many food items we take for granted as important to South Asian cuisines and cultures were unknown in prehistoric India, including dominant varieties of wheat, barley, and sugarcane; all new world crops (e.g., potatoes, tomatoes, and chilis); and maybe even sandalwood.⁷ When ancient migrants first arrived in the northwestern subcontinent, there were neither cities nor farming, and they survived as hunter-gatherers.⁸

Still, the first Indians encountered one thing that remains familiar in our time: the annual monsoon. Every spring and summer, water evaporates from South Asia's surrounding oceans, aided by rising temperatures. The moisture is moved north by winds and trapped by the high mountain peaks of the Himalayas, a towering range created by the geological collision of two tectonic plates fifty million years ago and still rising every year. The water cools and condenses as it is pushed upward, forming clouds that roll back across South Asia, dumping torrential summer rains in an annual pattern.⁹ South Asian monsoons have fluctuated in volume through the eras, but the basic phenomenon has been experienced by all humans who have made the subcontinent their home.

Archaeological evidence is meagre for the first 110,000 years of human habitation in India, until about 7000 BCE. That dearth of material explains why so many scholars, me included, talk around prehistory, about weather and the like. Still, even the scant archaeological record furnishes evidence of two trends: people continued moving around, populating various corners of South Asia, and they made art. For example,

people inhabited Bhimbetka, a site near Bhopal in central India, probably 100,000 years ago and lived there frequently thereafter, if not necessarily continuously.¹⁰ As early as 10,000 BCE, Bhimbetka inhabitants carved impressions on cave walls and rock shelters, and they painted red images of humans and wild animals, including hunting.¹¹ Humans arrived in Sri Lanka maybe 35,000 years ago as per skeletal evidence found in caves on the island, and they made adornments such as shell beads as early as 25,000 years ago.¹²

Between 7000 and 2500 BCE, numerous Indian communities began to farm and domesticate animals. These shifts toward sedentary life came on the heels of worldwide climate change as the last ice age ended about 12,000 years ago and the earth began to warm.¹³ Pollen trapped within lake sediment records the intertwined stories of climate change and farming, proffering clear evidence that the two converged temporally.¹⁴ Among India's first farmers were people who probably imported agricultural technology developed in Western Asia's fertile crescent. They, perhaps alongside groups who had lived on the subcontinent for longer, cultivated cereals such as barley and wheat at Mehrgarh in Balochistan (modern-day Pakistan) before 6000 BCE.¹⁵ Over the next several millennia, numerous discrete communities across the subcontinent—including in southern India, eastern India, Gujarat, and the Gangetic Basin—cultivated crops on their own, especially indigenous millets and rice.¹⁶ Material evidence indicates a roughly parallel pattern of multiple origins for domesticated animals in South Asia, with the earliest being goats, sheep, and cattle.

The move toward sedentary life—radical in the history of human experiences up until that point—enabled denser living conditions for some Indians and gave rise to early trade networks beyond South Asia. At Mehrgarh, people built multiroom houses in 5000 BCE or even earlier, painting the external walls red or with red, white, and black geometric patterns.¹⁷ Early inhabitants of Mehrgarh crafted human and animal clay figurines, threw pottery on wheels, and performed dental work, such as molar crowns.¹⁸ Some Indian communities figured out that they had natural resources for which others would pay handsomely, such as the brilliant blue gemstone lapis lazuli mined in Badakhshan (northeastern Afghanistan). We are not clear who exactly exported it, but Badakhshan-sourced lapis lazuli had reached Tepe Gawra on the Tigris River as early as 4100 BCE and was relatively common in Mesopotamia by 3550 BCE.¹⁹

By 3300 BCE, proto-cities began to emerge in South Asia, generally tied to the Indus River. These served as important predecessors to the large-scale urban centers of the Indus Valley Civilization 700 years later. For instance, Rehman Dheri was established around 3300 BCE, with a fortification wall, town planning, and perhaps a population of several thousand.²⁰ Founded roughly contemporaneously, Kot Diji in Sindh also lay along a branch of the Indus River and has become synonymous for a pre-Indus or early Indus Civilization.²¹ At many sites, even before 2600 BCE, northwestern Indians developed early versions of things that later became central to Indus culture, including seals, pottery techniques, and a standard ratio for bricks.²² It is critical to cognize that the Indus Civilization built on earlier foundations, stretching back millennia in the case of domesticated agriculture and centuries regarding definitional design elements and cultural features. Still, the scale of the Indus Valley Civilization—in both its largest cities and its broader cultural complex—were new as of around 2600 BCE and are worth setting apart.

India's First City Builders

The Indus Valley Civilization flourished in the northwestern subcontinent for 700 years (2600–1900 BCE). I focus in the next section on the Indus Civilization's economic position amid other river-based, urban Asian cultures of its day and in the section thereafter on its decline, dating to roughly 1900–1700 BCE. Here I outline the breadth of the Indus Civilization and key features of life, especially for its city dwellers who enjoyed an urban lifestyle without precedent in South Asian history. These early urbanites depended on a far larger rural population for their food, and so—as is still true today—sustained agriculture enabled cities. Still, urban dwellings set the Indus people apart, as a civilization (a word cognate with city), and so I focus here on life for South Asia's first city dwellers.

The Indus Valley Civilization stretched across roughly one million square kilometers, with urban sites clustered along three bodies of water: the Indus River, the (now largely dried-up) Ghaggar-Hakra River that ran roughly parallel a bit east, and the Arabian Sea along the Gujarat coastline.²³ All three areas were different than they appear today. The Indus River ran a different course in parts, the Ghaggar-Hakra was a robust river, and the Gujarat coast was more extensive than at present.²⁴

The Indus Civilization's biggest cities lay along the Indus River, including its three largest known urban centers: Mohenjo Daro, Harappa, and Lakhanjo Daro, which, at their heights, each housed tens of thousands of people.²⁵ Other cities were a fraction of the size, such as Dholavira in Gujarat (less than half of Mohenjo Daro's extent) as well as Rakhigarhi and Ganweriwala (both along the Ghaggar-Hakra River).²⁶ The Indus Civilization also included numerous smaller urban centers and towns, including trade outposts such as Lothal in Gujarat and Sutkagen Dor in Balochistan (near modern-day Pakistan's border with Iran).²⁷ Dozens of Indus sites have been excavated, although some remain nearly untouched (e.g., Lakhanjo Daro, which is largely located beneath the modern Pakistani city of Sukkur). All Indus sites shared certain features that mark them as part of a civilizational complex.

The Indus Civilization people erected cities, big and small, with well laid out streets and remarkable construction. They used consistently sized bricks and generally aligned their roads along the cardinal directions. Some major thoroughfares were quite broad, whereas streets in residential areas were so narrow you could touch the homes on either side as you walked. Houses were sometimes organized around courtyards, had multiple rooms, and stood up to two stories tall. Whether by design or organic usage, Indus cities often had discrete areas for specific crafts. Big cities also maintained some larger buildings, although their purposes remain uncertain with theories ranging from storage units to town halls.²⁸ People sometimes moved hundreds of kilometers from home to live in bustling metropolises like Harappa (figure 1.1).²⁹

Indus city builders were highly skilled at managing water, an important aspect of all urban planning and a cultural focus for this civilization. Each city developed its own method of ensuring drinking water for its populace, with Dholavira's residents using cisterns and reservoirs to collect rainwater while Mohenjo Daro residents dug wells every few houses. Today, some of Mohenjo Daro's wells are deceptive to view, standing high like towers due to excavation to levels further down. An unusual feature of Mohenjo Daro is the Great Bath, a tank measuring 12 meters by 7 meters that was watertight and filled by either rainwater or buckets. We do not know its purpose. But whether it served a practical function as a reservoir or a religious one as a ritual bathing site, it was surely of civic importance and underscores the centrality of water in Indus society.³⁰



Figure 1.1. Mound “F” excavation at Harappa, ca. 2450 BCE, Punjab, Pakistan.

Some city residents enjoyed private indoor bathrooms, including at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa, and the facilities were remarkable for the time, even while they had their downsides. The Indus peoples constructed their bathroom floors to be watertight, and some gently sloped downward for drainage to city streets. Also, some Indus Civilization bathrooms featured pots sunk into the ground that required regular cleaning, what we call “manual scavenging” in South Asia today. Certainly, such facilities were convenient for the elites, although less so for those (whether workers, servants, or slaves) who cleaned these latrines. And Indus cities likely stank of raw sewage, especially in hot summers.³¹

Signs of social hierarchy abound in the Indus Valley Civilization, including in city planning. Many Indus Civilization cities were walled, and while some walls served defensive purposes, others enforced social segregation. Large cities like Mohenjo Daro, Harappa, and Dholavira each comprised several discrete walled areas inhabited by distinct populations.³² The gate to each area was often narrow, which signals a high

degree of civil control regarding the movement of people.³³ Some groups lived just outside of Indus city walls, and they often had a poorer quality of life in comparison to their better-off brethren within the city proper. For instance, one archaeologist conducted an in-depth study of discarded animal bones at Gola Dhoro, a small Indus Civilization site in Gujarat. He found diet differences between residents within and beyond the walls for significant stretches of time, with the city dwellers enjoying a richer diet consisting of more fish and mutton (both ate beef).³⁴

We remain in the dark regarding the bases of social stratification in the Indus Valley Civilization. Did they discriminate based on ancestry, wealth, gender, skin color, language, religion, sexual orientation, age, or some combination thereof? Maybe they disregarded all of these, which are preoccupations of our times, and cared about other factors instead. At present, there is no way to know. Even without recovering the terms of their social organization, a hierarchy is evident in the material record and worth emphasizing here for two reasons. One, many features of life in the Indus Valley Civilization—such as wearing nice jewelry and having personal seals (both discussed next)—were not enjoyed equally by all inhabitants. We ought to be precise when we speak about elites and see how their lifestyle was enabled by unequal access to resources. Two, some have tended to idealize the Indus Civilization as egalitarian in ways that, to my eyes, project modern fantasies onto the past.³⁵ I seek to avoid rose-tinted glasses in my attempt to recover the Indus Valley Civilization and indeed the rest of South Asian history.

Indus Civilization people excelled in numerous crafts, which are notable for their artistry and as indicative of economic flourishing. They made distinctive jewelry, including orange and red carnelian beads etched with white designs and shell bangles crafted with a specialized bronze saw.³⁶ Some artists crafted animal and human figurines, with the two most famous being from Mohenjo Daro. A white steatite rock sculpture depicts a bearded man with adornments on his forehead and right arm and a decorated cloth slung over his left shoulder, measuring at around 7 inches tall (it may have been bigger originally).³⁷ Standing even shorter, at about 5 inches, a bronze statue shows a naked girl wearing a necklace and dozens of bangles, one hand poised on her hip in what some see as dancing.³⁸ Other celebrated Indus Civilization sculptures include terracotta carts and boats that were perhaps children's toys.³⁹ Animals, too, appear on Indus art items, especially seals that merit further discussion.



Figure 1.2. Indus Civilization unicorn seal and modern impression, 2600–1900 BCE, Punjab, Pakistan, steatite stone and clay, 3.8×3.8×1 cm.

Several thousand Indus Civilization seals—fired stones measuring 1 to 5 centimeters square or rectangular—are known today. The seals typically feature an animal, design, or a few characters of writing, and make a positive imprint when pressed on clay or another soft surface.⁴⁰ There are also a handful of cylindrical seals that work similarly. We cannot read the Indus script, and we are also unclear about the meaning of the most common animal on seals: a mythical unicorn (figure 1.2).⁴¹ Unicorns appear on seals throughout the entire time span of the Indus Civilization and in terracotta figurines.⁴² They are among the features that mark this civilization as distinct from later Indian cultures, in which unicorns are rare.

Even while we remain uncertain what, exactly, Indus seal iconography like the unicorn meant, we have a decent sense of how the seals were likely used. People carried Indus seals around, as evidenced by a semi-circular boss on the back of many for threading a cord. Indus seals have been found as far away as Mesopotamia. At Indus Civilization sites, seals are often discovered clustered in certain areas, such as in markets and around gateways, and they have also been found in some houses and not others.⁴³ A small concentration of seal impressions was found in Lothal, a trading outpost.⁴⁴ Collectively, these patterns suggests that seals may

have enabled access to specific urban areas, for some people, and facilitated trade. They were produced by specialist workshops in Indus cities (especially at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa, where the vast majority have been found) and seem to have been regulated by Indus elites. In brief, Indus seals set their users apart from others within their society.

Indus Civilization people also distinguished themselves internally through death rituals, even if we have a poor understanding of this. For instance, some groups were buried with shell bangles, whereas other were not.⁴⁵ Archaeologists have unearthed burial sites from across the Indus Civilization, although they have not found the number of burials one would expect within the world's most populous ancient civilization. The most likely explanation is the simplest one: many Indus people probably cremated their dead. Still, the relatively few burials we have found demonstrate inequality in death, likely reflecting inequality in life.

There are many things we do not know regarding the Indus Valley Civilization, including their governments, religions, languages, and warfare tactics. Many archaeologists have speculated on these Indus Civilization unknowns, but I decline to recount their various theories here because all are necessarily premised on perilously thin evidence.⁴⁶ Still, two things are important to note regarding Indus Civilization unknowns and theories thereof. First, a lack of excavated surviving stone structures does not constitute evidence for a historical absence. For instance, we have found no huge tombs for rulers at Indus sites, on the scale of the gigantic pyramids made for roughly contemporary Egyptian pharaohs. One might see it as prudent to not divert massive resources to constructing royal tombs, no doubt at the expense of everyday people, but, critically, we do not know whether the Indus peoples did this or not. We only know that we cannot identify any funerary structures at present, for which there are many possible explanations other than that they never existed (e.g., they did not survive, are unexcavated, or are presently misidentified). Two, we should not assume a static or singular nature for Indus Civilization unknowns. For example, the Indus peoples may well have had multiple successive governments, since few states survive for 700 years, or there may have been coexisting rulers in different areas. Indus society was likely religiously and linguistically diverse, given that pluralism in these areas is a persistent trend in South Asian history.

Undeciphered Script of the Indus Valley Civilization

A corpus of several thousand Indus Civilization objects bear writing, demonstrating hundreds of discrete script symbols. Still, Indus script examples are all brief and undeciphered. The vast majority of examples of the Indus script are a symbol or two in length, and the longest piece of surviving Indus writing is only seventeen symbols long.⁴⁷ Most known specimens of the Indus script are on seals, which are a few centimeters. The physically largest example of Indus writing is a 3-meter signboard of ten symbols (one of them repeats four times) found at Dholavira. We have no bilingual or bi-scriptal writing that includes the Indus script (e.g., like the Rosetta Stone that repeats the same edict in Greek, Demotic, and ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphics and thereby enabled archaeologists to decode Hieroglyphics). There have been dozens of claims to have cracked the Indus script in print over the last 150 years (and at least one forgery to get the job done⁴⁸), but none are widely accepted or convincing.

Deciphering the Indus script is an alluring prize given what access to writing has enabled us to learn about other ancient cultures. But we have a severe handicap when it comes to decoding the Indus script, since we do not know what language or languages the Indus Civilization people spoke or wrote. We do not even know what family tree (or trees) their language (or languages) belonged to nor whether their languages have known descendants today. Some have speculated about the Indus Civilization language tree(s), with Dravidian and Munda being the best guesses, but there is no conclusive historical evidence at present.⁴⁹ Many scholars believe the Indus script to be multilingual, similar to Cuneiform script that was used to write Sumerian and Akkadian, which further complicates decoding efforts.⁵⁰ Frustrated by a meagre archive, some propose that the full script has not survived.⁵¹

A minority of scholars propose that the Indus script does not represent language at all but rather consists of non-linguistic signs.⁵² This theory sees the “script” as likely a mixture of personal and professional identifications and talismanic symbols, akin (to resort to modern examples) to a swirl of logos, coats of arms, and emojis. The idea has gained little traction beyond its original proposers. We know certain things about the Indus script, such as that it was usually written from right to left. Some seals contain smushed characters on the left as the scribe ran out of room.⁵³ That might offer a beginning for decrypting, but there

remains no decisive evidence or scholarly consensus regarding whether the Indus script represents a language, languages, or non-linguistic communication.

Many historians hold out hope that the Indus script will be decoded someday, despite the obstacles that currently seem insurmountable. But, even if we can one day read what the Indus peoples wrote, we have only short bursts of writing from them and no texts beyond seventeen characters. As a result, even if we do decipher the Indus script, material evidence will likely remain our bedrock for analyzing the Indus Valley Civilization. We are fortunate to have good chances of further archaeological discoveries given that many Indus Valley sites are only partially excavated, such as Mohenjo Daro, and the vast majority remain unexcavated entirely.

Indus Civilization in a Global Context

The Indus Valley Civilization was one of the four centers of the ancient world, alongside Egypt, Mesopotamia, and China. The Indus Civilization was geographically larger than Mesopotamia and Egypt combined and probably significantly more populated.⁵⁴ It also coexisted with other slightly smaller civilizational structures on or near the subcontinent. For instance, the Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex flourished between 2300 and 1900 BCE (and perhaps a few centuries later too) around the Oxus River in northern Afghanistan.⁵⁵ Indus peoples connected through commercial and travel networks with these cultures and others, especially Mesopotamia.

Indus peoples cultivated a bustling trade of imports, exports, and goods that they re-exported. For instance, Indus traders imported lapis lazuli from Afghanistan, often exporting it to Mesopotamia and (perhaps through other intermediaries) to Egypt, where it was used for jewelry and pharaonic funeral masks. Indus peoples imported turquoise from Central Asia and probably copper from Oman.⁵⁶ Indus beads were widely sought after and may have inspired similar styles in China.⁵⁷ To measure these items—and perhaps goods harder to glimpse in the archaeological record such as spices and grains—Indus traders used standardized cubical weights. These weights were often fashioned from stone mined in Upper Sindh's Rohri Hills.⁵⁸ They have been found across the Indus Civilization and as far afield as Mesopotamia.⁵⁹

The Indus Civilization's largest transregional trading partner was Mesopotamia. A ca. 2300 BCE inscription of Sargon, founder of the Akkadian Empire, lists ships traveling to his realm from far away, with the furthest land named as Meluhha (i.e., the Indus Valley Civilization).⁶⁰ Despite the distance, the scale of Indus-Mesopotamian trade was likely quite large, including both sea and land routes.⁶¹ Indus peoples exported sesame oil, timber, beads, animals, lapis lazuli, and more to their Mesopotamian contemporaries. Indus Civilization carnelian beads have been found at the royal cemetery at Ur (ca. 2600–2550 BCE, in modern-day Iraq), material proof for ancient Sumerian texts that speak of “precious desirable carnelian” coming from Meluhha (see the chapter epigraph).⁶² A few centuries later, Sumerian texts speak of “slabs of lapis lazuli” coming from the east (lapis was mined in Afghanistan).⁶³ We are uncertain what the Indus Civilization imported from Mesopotamia in exchange for such riches, perhaps raw materials or other things that would not leave a clear archaeological record.⁶⁴

People, too, traveled west from the Indus Valley Civilization to Mesopotamia. Some Indus Civilization people perhaps worked as interpreters in Mesopotamia, with a cylindrical seal bearing the identification “Shu-ilishu, Meluhha interpreter.”⁶⁵ The existence of an interpreter implies there were Indians working in other capacities in Mesopotamia, perhaps as traders. Indeed, an Akkadian text from ca. 2300 BCE mentions Lu-Sunzida, a “man of Meluhha” who paid in silver to fix a broken tooth.⁶⁶ Several dozen Indus seals have been found in Mesopotamian cities, presumably carried there by their ancient Indian users.⁶⁷ Ancient Mesopotamians also used seals, although in different ways than their Indian counterparts.⁶⁸

Tracing cultural influences is a dicey proposition, especially for ancient history, but there are limited indications that aspects of the Indus Civilization were informed by cultures further west. Specifically, the Indus Civilization bears marks of Elamite culture, which flourished in west and southwest Persia in the third millennium BCE. Proto-Elamite script remains the best candidate for any known connection with the undeciphered Indus script.⁶⁹ More convincing is that Indus peoples adapted certain mythical ideas from Elamite traditions, whether they learned about them firsthand or through intermediaries. For instance, a famous seal from the Indus Valley Civilization depicts a known Eurasian deity, “lord of the animals,” who sits cross-legged with a “bulg-

ing loincloth knot” and a horned headdress.⁷⁰ The depiction is similar to proto-Elamite seals, including the seated position.⁷¹ Such borrowings also involved local adaptations, and in this case Indus peoples substituted what is typically a bull or bison headdress on proto-Elamite seals with a headdress from a water buffalo, an important animal in Indus culture.

In being open to outside influences and cultivating robust trade connections, the Indus Civilization people foreshadowed many subsequent Indian communities. Put another way, trends of Indians seeking transregional contact far outlived the Indus Valley Civilization. But this specific large-scale culture fell apart in the second millennium BCE, and I turn next to the evidence of its foundering and debates about possible causes.

Indus Civilization Collapse

The Indus Valley Civilization declined—meaning its cities lost population, saw a decrease in the quality of urban life, and were ultimately largely abandoned—between 1900 and 1700 BCE. For some Indus Civilization centers, the decline began even earlier. At Mohenjo Daro, the Great Bath fell into disuse around 2200 BCE as the city faced difficulties maintaining earlier construction.⁷² From 1900 BCE onward, things worsened in many Indus cities. In Harappa and Mohenjo Daro, residents suffered drain maintenance failures.⁷³ Dholavira was abandoned twice between 1900 and 1750 BCE.⁷⁴ Across the civilization’s expanse, the Indus script and cubic weights became rare, with the former ultimately ceasing altogether. Transregional trade reduced in this period. Like many other sites, the once bustling trade outpost of Lothal shrank to a “squatter’s settlement,” as people moved out and probably east.⁷⁵

Scholars have proposed an array of possible triggers for the fall of the Indus Civilization, with many current theories centering around climate change. Monsoon shifts about 4,000 years ago led to drier weather, which was perhaps unfriendly to urban life in northwestern India.⁷⁶ Droughts also likely brought on periodic flooding (although there is no evidence for a single catastrophic flooding event). Some key rivers dried up in parts, especially the Ghaggar-Hakra, and other rivers changed course, especially the Indus.⁷⁷ Some have expressed skepticism that climate change could have caused the Indus cities to fall, arguing that “even

while some [environmental] factors were pertinent to certain regions, none can account for the decline of the entire civilization.”⁷⁸ I fail to see why not. Although I do wonder about the possible biases of our own time, in which we are facing potentially civilization-ending climate change (chapter 24) and so are perhaps primed to see it elsewhere. Climate change is a popular explanation at present for major shifts in ancient cultures from the Hittites to Neolithic China.⁷⁹

A distinct issue is whether the end of Indus Civilization urbanity constituted a decline or improvement in human living standards in northwestern India. Certainly, for urban elites, much was lost. Still, even they escaped the smelly streets of Indus cities where backed-up gutters and litter were common by the end. But, for everybody else, returning to a mixture of rural and hunter-gatherer life had upsides. Indus cities had spread disease, with both tuberculosis and leprosy being attested in the skeletal record.⁸⁰ Also, cholera—an endemic Indian disease—perhaps spread amid decaying city infrastructure. In brief, as James Scott has recently argued for societies west of India, “The early states were fragile and liable to collapse, but the ensuing ‘dark ages’ may often have marked an actual improvement in human welfare.”⁸¹

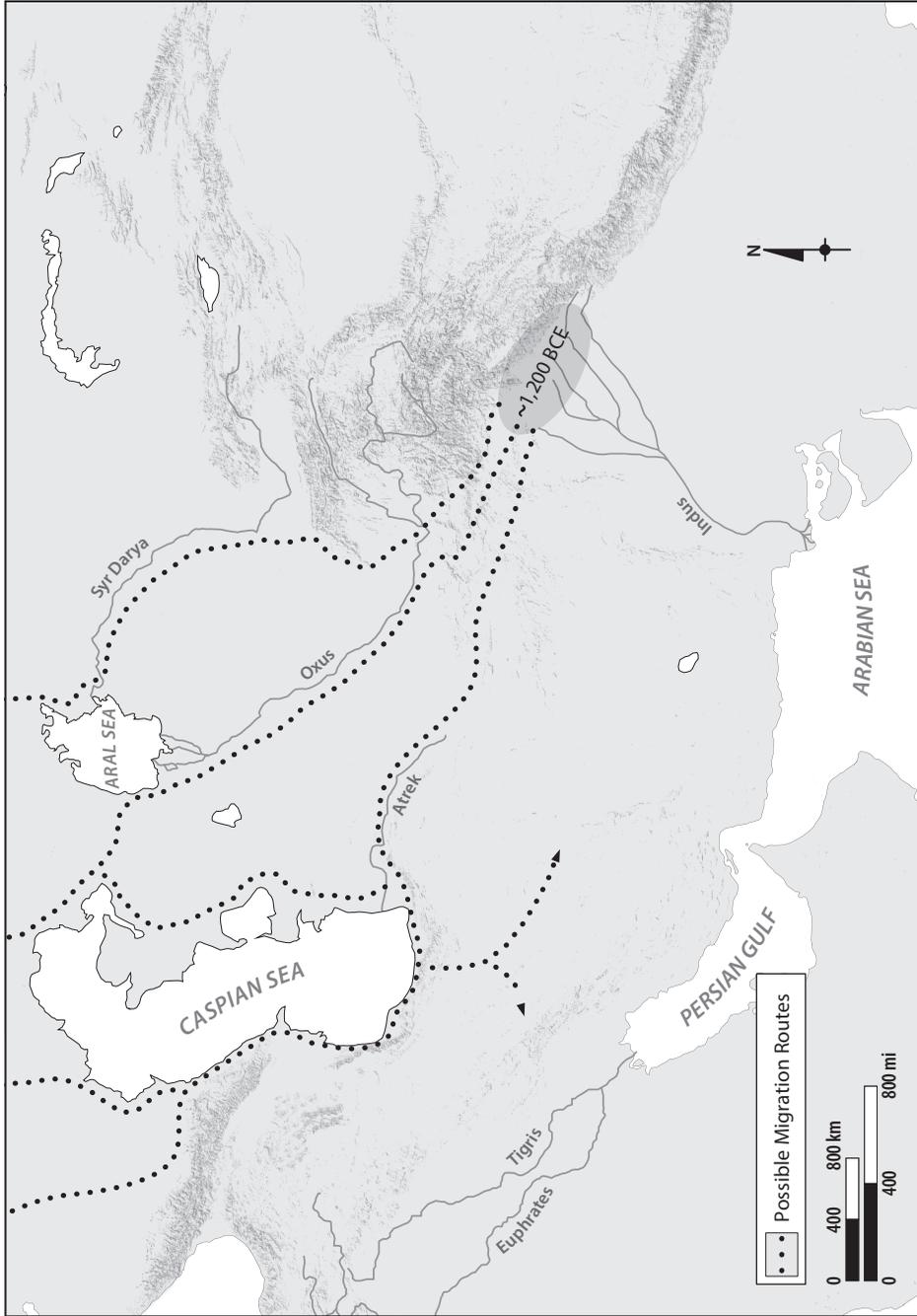
Elsewhere in South Asia, people probably did not even notice the decline of the Indus Civilization, since other Indian cultural formations developed on distinct timetables. Worth mentioning here are the large ashmounds of central and southern India, created between 2700 and 1200 BCE by people who burned cow dung and other material at high temperatures.⁸² We do not know why south Indians—who herded livestock, farmed, and exploited wild plants—created over 100 such mounds by burning dung, again and again at the same spot, over centuries.⁸³ Perhaps, at first, they were just cleaning up. But it soon became a deliberate act, and one of the largest ashmounds at Kudatini (in modern Karnataka) is 130 meters wide by 10 meters high.⁸⁴ The ashmounds are often situated within habitation areas and so were perhaps central to daily life for their creators.⁸⁵ It would have been quite the experience to witness one of the burnings, gazing up at an awesome fire show and feeling the radiating heat that sometimes exceeded 1,200 degrees Celsius.⁸⁶ Through repeated burnings, people deliberately created these monumental structures that are still easily visible millennia later as part of the human-altered landscape in the southern Deccan, northeast Karnataka, and western Andhra Pradesh.

Conclusion: Vanishing and Continuing

While Indus Civilization cities were largely abandoned by around 1700 BCE, Indus people and their descendants continued to live in the region or nearby, albeit with different lifestyles. There are surely points of continuity between the Indus Civilization and later South Asian cultures, although scholars have trouble sorting out precise links due to limited evidence. Perhaps the most easily identifiable point of continuity from the Indus Civilization were orange and red carnelian beads etched in white, which spread across South Asia and remained popular for centuries (chapter 3). Dice, too, are first attested in India in the Indus Civilization and recur in other premodern periods (notably, in the Mahabharata, chapter 5). Other civilizations of the period, too, had lasting cultural legacies. For example, the namaste gesture—common in South Asia today—has antecedents in the Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex around Afghanistan’s Oxus River ca. 2000 BCE.⁸⁷ On the other hand, many things died out with South Asia’s first cities, ranging from the Indus script to the Indus Civilization’s interest in unicorns (who rarely feature in later Indian cultures).⁸⁸ Also, Indians forgot about the Indus Civilization, and it was not rediscovered and properly identified until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries CE (chapter 19). Accordingly, this chapter of South Asian history stands apart, more than most others, from later Indian developments.

Further Reading

This is, by far, the most temporally expansive chapter of this book, and I drew accordingly on multiple discrete scholarly fields and subfields. On Indian prehistory, I relied on the work of David Reich on genetics, Dilip Chakrabarti on archaeology, and Yasodhar Mathpal on Bhimbetka. I found Tony Joseph’s book a solid overview, sans jargon, of some key points of Indian prehistory. I looked beyond South Asianists for certain ideas, finding work compelling by James Scott, Peter Bellwood, and others for thinking about the human turn to agriculture. For the Indus Civilization, Jonathan Mark Kenoyer’s scholarship is without parallel, and I also drew on Gregory Possehl, Nayanjot Lahiri, Rita Wright, and others, in addition to the online resource (maintained by scholars) harappa.com.



Indo-European-speaking migrations, ca. 1700-1200 BCE.

Index

Note: Page numbers in *italics* indicate figures.

- Abbasid Empire, 140, 149, 250
Aberigh-Mackay, George, 445
Abhinavagupta (premodern Sanskrit intellectual), 153
Abul Fazl (Mughal historian), 51, 249, 251, 255, 257–258
Achaemenid Empire, 37, 40–42, 52, 61, 67
Acts of Saint Thomas, 135–136
Adi-Hindu, 415, 419
Adil Shahi dynasty (Bijapur), 259–261, 262, 296, 301, 303, 345, 463. *See also* Bidyapur (city of knowledge); Bijapur
Adivasi communities, xvii, 360, 487, 490, 497
Advani, L. K., 490–491
Aesop's fables, 147–148
Afghanistan: Anglo-Afghan wars, 341, 354, 462; Ashokan inscriptions in, 59; Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex, 11, 15; Buddhism in, 69–70, 106, 109, 141, 142; climate change in, 497; lapis lazuli from, 3, 11, 12, 67; paleolithic inhabitants of, 66; pathan community, 318; Seleucid Empire and, 56; South Asian state, 461–462; Soviet invasion (1979), 471; Sur dynasty of, 223; Vedas and, 17. *See also* Aurangzeb (Mughal emperor); Ghurid dynasty
Afzal, Muhammad (Urdu poet), 328
Afzal Khan (Adil Shahi general), 301, 303
agamas, 167
Age of Consent Act (1891), 386–387
Agra: British East India Company and, 392; climate of, 237; Fatehpur Sikri and, 248; Jains and ahimsa, 272; mosque sponsored by Jahanara, 284; Mughal Empire and, 245, 286, 290, 301; population of (ca. 1700), 290; turkey displayed in, 277. *See also* Akbar's tomb; Taj Mahal
agriculture: conversion and, 270–271; forest clearing and, 186–187, 215; labor and, 168; origins on subcontinent, 2–3, 513, 548n7; technological advances in, 470
ahimsa. *See* himsa or ahimsa (violence or nonviolence); *see under* Jains and Jainism
Ahmad, Mirza Ghulam (Ahmadiyya leader), 388
Ahmadiyya, 388, 450, 467, 477
Ahmad Khan (Vijayanagara noble), 203–204
Ahmadnagar Sultanate, 211, 258, 261–264
Ahmadullah, Maulavi (martial Sufi figure), 365
Ain-i Akbari. *See* *Akbarnama* (Abul Fazl)
Ainnurruvar (or Ayyavole), 175–176
Ajanta caves, 105, 133
Ajivika (religious group), 43–44, 50–51, 53, 61–62, 65, 76, 91–92, 195
Akbar, Jalaluddin (Mughal emperor), 237–238, 240, 243–246, 248–251, 254–256, 264, 581n97
Akbarnama (Abul Fazl), 248, 251, 264, 577n43
Akbar Shah II (Mughal king), 351
Akbar's tomb, 286, 392
Akkadian Empire, 12
Akka Mahadevi (Kannada poet), 173–174
Akra (archaeological site), 37
Alauddin Ahmad II (Bahmani ruler), 203
Alavi, Seema, 351
Albuquerque, Afonso de, 226
Alexander of Macedon, 34, 40, 52, 56, 76, 189
Ali, Choudhary Rahmat, 442
Aligarh Muslim University, 388, 421
Allahabad, 264, 281, 346, 398, 419, 442, 580n70
All-India Adi-Hindu conference, 415, 419
All-India Muslim League, 421–422, 432, 442–443, 446–447, 449, 468
Amar, Abhishek, 199
Amatya, Ramachandrapant, 334
Ambani family, 484
Ambar, Malik, 259, 261–265, 300
Ambedkar, B. R., 416, 419, 431–432, 436–439, 464, 480, 495, 513
Amer, 244–245
Amnesty International, 493, 498
Amritakunda (Pool of Nectar), 192
Amrith, Sunil, 498
Amritsar, 425, 448, 451
Amritsar Golden Temple, 234, 355, 463, 475–476
Anandibai (eighteenth-century Maratha queen), 318

- Anawrahta (Burmese king), 161
Andaman Islands penal colony, 364–365
Andhra Pradesh, 14, 59, 62, 65, 105, 202, 559n33
Angkor Wat, 176
Anglo-Mysore war (1799), 339–340
Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference, 596n8
Anglo-Sikh wars, 356, 365
animals: animal sacrifice and meat eaters, 7, 22–23, 27, 61, 65–67, 152, 409; ashvamedha (horse sacrifice), 22–25, 131; caste and, 308, 361, 390; cow protection, 389–391, 424, 492; elephants, 39, 52, 56, 58, 68, 75, 143, 198, 346–347, 355; exports of, 56, 58, 98–99, 485; fables of (Panchatantra), 146–147; horses, 22–23, 102–103, 182, 198, 225, 259; peacocks, 65, 98, 355
Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han (Tod), 346
Annihilation of Caste (Ambedkar), 431, 436–439
antisemitism, 227, 435
Apadana tribute procession, 42
Appadurai, Arjun, 395
Appar (Shaivite), 153, 566n89
Arabia, 95, 155, 164, 343, 500
Arabian Sea, 4, 121, 178, 208–209
Arakan, 269, 339–340, 579n14
Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), 393–394, 606n53
archives and preservation, 106, 324, 392–394, 561n2, 577n52
Arcot, Nawab of, 318, 338
ardhanarishvara, 119, 120
Arikamedu (Tamil Nadu), 97, 99, 103, 108
Arjan (Sikh guru), 234
Arnold, David, 439
Arthashastra (Kautilya), 66, 131–132
artisan skills and crafts, 7, 37–39, 99, 170, 211, 248, 278, 282, 285. *See also under* Ashoka
arya (aryan), 18, 388–389, 391, 415–416, 424, 434, 514, 550n5
Aryan Migration Theory, 18–20, 550n7, 596n102
Arya Samaj and gaurakshas (cow protection), 389–391, 424
aryavarta (land of the pure), 74, 76, 111, 121, 359, 391
Arzu (Khan-i Arzu) (philologist and Persian poet), 19, 316
Asad Beg (Mughal ambassador), 259
Asaf Jahi dynasty, 319
asceticism, 29–30, 44, 52, 67, 87, 106, 134, 155, 169, 229, 278–281, 322, 329–330, 411. *See also* mathas; sanyasi; shramana ascetics
Asher, Catherine, 264–265
Asher, Frederick, 113, 132, 558n9
Ashoka: Ashokan pillars and, 54, 59, 68, 71, 72, 92, 347; Brahmi script and, 60, 555n27; Buddhism and religious policies of, 61–62, 69–70; death and Mauryan empire, 310; dhamma (morality) or dharma of, 62–65, 68, 71; forest people (atavika) and, 65–66, 79; with his queens, 61, 69; influence of, 55, 68, 70, 463; internal struggle for throne, 58–59; Kalinga acquisition, 62–65, 79, 555n38; Prakrit languages and, 60, 113; size of empire, 56, 330; slaughter of animals and, 65–67; stone and pillar inscriptions, 55, 59–60, 60, 61, 64–65, 67–68, 69, 71, 73, 77, 92, 188–189, 281–282, 554n22; stupas and, 108; women's roles, 61
Ashokavadana, 70
Ashtheadhyayi (Panini), 76
Ashvaghosa (Sanskrit poet), 113
Asif, Manan Ahmed, 351
Asoka (film), 489
Ataur Rahman Khan (East Pakistan politician), 466
Atharva Veda, 20, 27, 47
atman (soul or self), 32, 151
Atreyi, Apala (alleged Vedic contributor), 20
Atwal, Priya, 371
Auer, Blain, 199
Aurangabad (Khirki), 263, 294
Aurangzeb (Mughal emperor): conquests, 295–296; coronation, 291–292; Dacca muslim and, 270; death and burial site, 294, 310, 581n97; Hindu and Jain temples treatment, 298–299; Hindu epics and, 297; jizya tax and, 299; justice ('adalat) of, 294; Marathas and, 301, 316; Mughal court and, 328; at Muinuddin Chishti shrine, 293; Muslim communities and Sufism and, 292–294, 299, 300; mythology surrounding, 345, 581n5; at siege of Golconda, 295; Sikhs and, 234, 355, 365; size and population of empire, 289–290; succession struggle and brothers and, 290–291, 581n9; wives and, 294, 297
avatar (incarnation). *See under* Gandhi, Mohandas; Vishnu and Vaishnavas
Avesta, 19, 155
Awadh (Oudh), Kingdom of, 316, 318, 320, 323, 336, 354, 356–357. *See also* Lucknow
Ayodhya, 110–111, 213, 253, 391, 490–491, 493
Ayub Khan (Pakistani dictator), 468
ayurveda, 149, 192
Azad, Maulana, 443–444
Azamgarh Proclamation (1857), 362–364
Azam Shah (Mughal prince), 296

- Babri Masjid, 391, 490–491, 493, 606n53
Babur (Mughal king), 235–237, 241, 572n6, 581n97
Baburnama, 236
Bachchan, Harivansh Rai (poet), 458
Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex, 11, 15
Badami caves, 116
Badauni (Mughal historian and translator), 251
Badshahi Masjid (Lahore), 294
Bahadur, Gaiutra, 417
Bahadur Shah (Mughal king, d. 1712), 310
Bahadur Shah Zafar (last Mughal king), 351, 362, 365–366, 367, 371
Bahmani Kingdom, 199, 201–203, 205–213, 220–221, 225, 572n6
Bahujan Samaj Party, 480
Bairam Khan (Mughal regent), 240
Bakhle, Janaki, 439
Balban (Mamluk ruler), 183
Balchand (Mughal artist), 278
Balkh, 141, 149
Ballantyne, Tony, 371
Balwant Singh (Bhumihar ruler), 323
Bamiyan (Afghanistan), 109, 141, 142
Bana (premodern Sanskrit poet), 153, 566n79
Banarasidas (Hindi author and Jain merchant), 264
Bande Mataram (Hymn to the Mother) (Bankimchandra), 422–424
Bangha, Imre, 331
Bangladesh, 189, 403, 461–462, 471, 480, 484–486, 496–497, 591n6, 603n69
Bangladesh Genocide (1971), 473
Baqir, Muhammad (Mughal Persian poet), 244
Barani (Persian-medium historian), 189–190
Barbarikon, 97
Barmakids, 149
Barygaza (Bharuch, Gujarat), 95, 97, 104
Basavanna (Virashaiva leader), 173
Basham, A. L., 53, 195
Bates, Crispin, 371
Bayly, Christopher A., 318
Bedil (Persian poet), 316
beef, 7, 23, 65, 308, 361, 390, 409, 485, 492
Begada, Mahmud (Muzaffarid ruler), 240
Begum of Bhopal, 383, 416
Behl, Aditya, 241
Belatthiputta, Sanjaya (skeptic), 51–52
Bellwood, Peter, 15, 551n14
Benares (Varanasi, Kashi, Banaras), 145, 183, 228, 230–231, 273–277, 287, 298, 320–323, 330, 358, 391, 506, 582n40, 585n39
Bendrey, V. S., 311
Bengal: Arakanese refugees, 340; Asiatic Society of, 347; British deaths in, 335; British intermarriage and, 338; Company conflict at Buxar, 336; Company rule and, 335–338, 340, 360–361; day of “direct action” and, 447–448; Delhi Sultanate lost, 189; famine and disease in, 336–337, 445; forest dwellers in, 270–271; Grand Trunk Road and, 238; Habshi dynasty in, 261; Hindu Muslim violence, 448; Hindu reform movements and, 347–348; Islam in, 267, 270–271; Khalji conquest of, 183; mangrove forest, 497; Man Singh in, 245; Mughal successor states and, 318, 321, 335; Muslim conversions, 270–271, 287; partitions and violence, 421, 441–442, 449, 451, 473; Ramakrishna monastery (math) in, 411; Seth bankers, 335; Sher Khan takeover, 237; textiles, 270–271; trading hub, 96, 322; Vyasa’s Mahabharata in, 88, 91. *See also* Calcutta (Kolkata); Durga Puja
Bengal, Bay of, 121, 342
Bengal Boundary Commission, 449, 459, 600nn50–51
Benjamin, Walter, 506
Ben Yiju, Abraham (premodern trader), 178
Berar Sultanate, 211, 258
Berkwitz, Stephen, 269, 287
Bernier, Francois, 276
bhadrakok and bhadrakok societies, 347–348, 588n78
Bhagavadgita (Gita), 81–84, 92, 193, 246, 344, 409–410, 424–425, 445–446, 513
Bhagavata Purana, 88, 231, 389
bhajan, 415
bhakti (religious devotion): bhaktas (worshippers), 227, 377; caste and, 227–232, 306; Hindi poetry, 228–232, 238, 241; Hindu tradition of, 170, 223, 227–233, 389; *Manas* and, 273–274; Ramakrishna and, 407; saints, Kabir, Ravidas, and Mirabai, 228–232, 234, 507; Sikhism and, 233–234, 306; Urdu and, 328
Bharata, 306, 547n3
Bharatanatyam dance, 488
Bharatiya Jana Sangh, 473
Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), 478–480, 486, 489–490, 492–493, 495, 501, 503, 512, 602n16, 604n98
Bhargava, Meena, 330
Bharhut, 148
Bhartrhari (premodern Sanskrit poet), 129
Bhaskara (mathematician), 173
Bhawani, Rani (ruler of Natore), 321
bhikkhus and bhikkhunis (Buddhist monks and nuns), 46–50, 69, 70, 104–105, 108–109, 148

- Bhimbetka, art on cave walls, 3, 15
Bhimsen (Persian-medium historian), 168
Bhindranwale, Jarnail Singh (d. 1984), 475–476
Bhumihar (caste group), 320, 361
Bhumihar family, 320, 322–323
Bhutan, 461–462, 476
Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali, 472, 477
Bidar Sultanate, 202–203, 206, 210–211, 258
Bidyapur (city of knowledge), 259–260. *See also* Bijapur
Bihar, 40, 61–62, 68, 71, 106, 245, 333, 336, 399, 401, 448, 471
Bijapur, 211, 225–226, 258–261, 294, 296, 301, 303, 436, 583n88
Bikat Kahani (Muhammad Afzal), 328
Bilhana (Sanskrit poet), 160–161
Bindusara (Mauryan ruler), 58, 61
Birkenhead, Earl of, 425
Biruni (premodern intellectual), 166
Bodhgaya, 106, 110, 145, 194, 393
Bohras (Shia Muslim group), 300
Bombay, 117, 334–335, 346, 385, 394, 398, 400–401, 416, 420, 436, 452, 497. *See also* Mumbai
Bose, Subhas Chandra, 445, 459, 599n27
Bourke-White, Margaret, 454
Bozorjmehr, 148
Brahmaputra River and valley, 152, 194, 318, 496
Brahminism, 18
Brahmin life stages: ashrama, 124, 562n38; brahmacharin (celibate student), 124; grihastha (householder), 124; sanyasi (full renunciant), 124; vanaprastha (forest-dweller), 124; varnashramadharma, 78, 87, 124, 144, 206
Brahmin Peshwas, 313, 316–318, 321, 340, 362
Brahmins: artha (power and wealth), 126; aryavarta (land of the pure), 74, 76, 111, 121, 359, 391; Benares and, 267, 273–277, 320–323; Buddhists and Jains and, 150; child marriage for girls, 313, 318, 350, 383–384; criticism of, 309, 412–414, 416, 431; dharmashastra, 121, 123–124, 137, 168, 181, 305–306, 377, 563n96; distinctive dress of, 565n74; gotra (patrilineal descent), 31; Hindu laity and, 119; intermarriage and, 22, 277, 414–415; Islamic conversions, 220, 359; Karttikeya (Skanda and Kumara), 121; land gifts to, 133, 169; literacy and, 381; Mughal Empire and, 298, 303; Murugan (Murukan), 121; non-Vedic deities and practices, 78, 87, 116, 121, 213; as priests, 23–26, 117, 119, 159, 167, 170, 321, 421; Purvashikha Brahmins, 121; restrictive marriage of, 277; sacred thread, 153, 229, 235, 301, 307; Sanskrit and, 18–22, 112–113, 276–277; shishya (Sanskrit-speaking men), 76; Shunga dynasty and, 68, 70; six philosophical systems of, 150; slavery and, 183; social hierarchy of, 25–26, 437; women and, 122–123, 405–406. *See also* caste; tantra and tantric practices; varna, four-fold system
Brahmo Samaj, 348, 359, 375, 409
Breton, Joel, 33
Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, 28–31
Brihatkatha (Vast Story), 127
Brihatsamhita (Varahamihira), 162, 192
British colonialism: attitudes of British during, 333, 337–338, 354, 382; Benares and, 322–323; British history and, 587n35; doctrine of lapse, 354, 362; Hindu rulers and Muslim rulers, 345; historiography and, 507; intermarriage with Indian women, 338; Jama Masjid desecration, 365; premodern architecture, 394, 507; socio-religious practices and, 350; territory of, 353–354, 370, 589n2; tourism and, 346–347, 382; wealth to Britain, 336, 361, 380–381, 470. *See also* British East India Company; British East India Company military; British Raj (1858–1947); Sepoy Rebellion (1857)
British East India Company: archaeological site treatment, 392–394; company rule, 333–334, 353; famines and smallpox epidemics, 336–337; Indian intermediaries and, 335, 354; Mughal battle at Hugli, 335; Mughal emperors, treatment, 351, 366, 367; oppressive and racist policies, 337–338; right to collect revenue, 335–336; Sikh Kingdom and Awadh annexations, 354–357; slavery and, 342–343; subsidiary alliances, 339; trade of textiles and spices, 334–335; trade policies and, 336, 378
British East India Company military: Anglo-Mysore war (1799), 338–340; Anglo-Sikh conflict (1848–1849), 356; Battle of Plassey (1757), 336–337, 360; Buxar (Baksar) battle (1764), 336; Continental European troops and, 587n44; four major armies of, 590n50; standing army, 335. *See also* sepoy (Indian soldiers)
British Raj (1858–1947): and caste, 389, 412, 414, 431; census of British India, 374–378, 389, 591n6, 591n16; Dalits and, 415; famines and, 445, 470; Gandhi's arrests by, 428, 444; global travel of Indians, 400–411; Harappa excavation, 394; Hindu and Muslim tensions, 391–392, 446–448; impact on all Indians, 371, 395, 397,

- 399, 464; Indian allegiances in World War II, 444–445; Indian independence, 439, 441; Jallianwala Bagh massacre, 425–426; Mughal emperor deported by, 366, 367; Muslims and Sepoy Rebellion, 387–388; princes and princely states and, 383, 384, 370, 456; racism of, 382, 398; reform movements and, 420; surveying the subcontinent, 373–374; Tilak arrests by, 424–425; trade policies and, 378; transformation from Company rule, 360, 365; upper-caste elites and, 381; vaccines and, 416–417, 417; World War II and Congress leadership imprisonment, 444, 446
- British Salt Act, 428
- Brittlebank, Kate, 351
- Brockington, John, 560n72
- Brodbeck, Simon, 93
- Bronkhorst, Johannes, 53
- Brose, Benjamin, 157
- Brown, Katherine Butler, 310
- buddha (enlightened person), 108, 148
- Buddhists and Buddhism: *Anguttara Nikaya*, 36; asceticism in, 30, 46–50, 105, 108–109; bodhisatta, 105, 148; in Burma and Ceylon, 269; Chanda (Buddhist nun), 47–48; in China, 108–109, 145, 194; conversions to, 194, 438, 480; decline on subcontinent, 194–195, 571n87; founding of, 43; four noble truths, 104–105; Great Stupa (Sanchi), 92, 393; Hinduism and, 145; *Kalachakratanttra*, 194; liberation from samsara, 44–47, 105, 269; Mahabodhi Temple (Bodhgaya), 194; monasteries (mathas) of, 103, 133, 141–143, 194; Navayana tradition, 438, 480; Pali canon, 45–46, 104, 106–108, 269; stupas, 69–70, 104, 108; Theravada and Mahayana traditions, 105, 150; *Therigatha*, 46–48, 53; Third Buddhist Council (Pataliputra), 69; three treasures of, 143–144; Tissamaharama nuns, 70; trade routes and spread of, 104, 108, 145; Vasetthi (Buddhist nun), 47–49; wealth and, 105, 119; women in, 46, 70, 107. *See also* dharma (morality) or dhamma; Gautama Buddha
- Bullhe Shah (Punjabi poet), 328
- Burchett, Patton, 241, 331
- Burma, 269, 291, 339–340, 366, 373, 400, 424, 497, 594n18
- Burma's Pagan kingdom, 161
- Burnes, Alexander, 359
- Butalia, Urvashi, 459
- Calcutta (Kolkata), 334–335, 337–338, 348, 350, 353, 357, 381, 394, 416, 447–449
- Calicut, 198, 212, 224
- Canning, Charles John Viscount, 368
- caste: alcohol and, 124, 229, 231, 308, 324, 415; anti-caste activism, 412–416, 429–431, 436–439, 463–464; bania (traders), 271–272; bhakti and, 228–232; British census and, 377–378; colorism and, 88, 122, 307, 486; conversion to Islam and, 220, 325; discrimination, 89, 305–310, 324–325, 436, 480, 486, 501; endogamy and intermarriage, 36, 58, 77, 122, 277, 414–415, 437, 486; intercaste and interreligious event, 325–326; Khatri caste, 233–234; literacy and, 381, 471; losing one's caste, 359, 361, 365; Mandal Commission, 478–480, 512; manual scavenging and, 486; Nairs, 200, 212; non-Hindus and, 216, 309–310, 327; Sikhs and, 235; social fabrication, 306, 416; social segregation and, 77–78, 124, 310, 415, 565n74; svadharma (caste duty), 64, 122; upper caste, in South Asian American diaspora, 501; upper caste, norms and behaviors, 201, 235, 301–302, 324–325, 361, 390–391, 415, 424, 431, 465, 480, 492; violence and, 414. *See also* Brahmins; Dalits (untouchables); Rajputs; Shudras; varna, four-fold system
- Catherine II (Russian ruler), 25
- Central Asia, 11, 19, 22, 95–96, 98, 102, 140, 145, 163, 201, 205, 209–210, 214, 236, 238, 359. *See also* Silk Roads
- Ceylon, 268–270, 338, 378, 400, 409, 461–462, 594n18. *See also* Sri Lanka
- Chahra, Zeba (Konkani princess), 203
- chaitya caves, 108, 109
- Chakrabarti, Dilip, 15, 53
- Chakradhar (Marathi author), 193
- Chakravarti, Ananya, 265
- Chakravarti, Uma, 417
- Chalukya dynasty, 161–163, 169, 182–183, 195, 298
- Chandar Bhan Brahmin, 283, 286
- Chandayan* (Daud), 238–239
- Chandella dynasty, 162, 171–172, 298
- Chandogya Upanishad*, 28–29, 32
- Chandra, Satish, 330
- Chandragupta I (d. ca. 335 or 350 CE), 130–131
- Chandragupta II (d. ca. 415 CE), 130, 133
- Chandragupta Maurya (d. ca. 297 BCE), 55–58, 61, 70, 128, 130–131, 143
- charkha, 427, 597n34
- Charter of Vishnushena, 134–135
- Charvakas, 43–44, 50–51
- Chatterji, Joya, 459
- chaturanga, 148
- Chaturvedi, Vinayak, 439

- Chauhan, Sabalsingh (Hindi poet), 297
Chauhan dynasty, 71, 183, 188, 196–197
Chauri Chaura, 427
Chera dynasty, 103
Cherian, Divya, 324, 330
Chester, Lucy, 459
China, 11, 93, 109, 149, 176, 189, 194, 336, 380–381, 470, 549n54, 551n28, 569n106. *See also* Faxian; Silk Roads; Xuanzang
Chinghis Khan, 261
Chishti, Muinuddin Shrine, 189, 256, 292, 293, 294
Chola dynasty, 159–162, 167–170, 173, 176, 178–179, 186, 298, 342, 476, 506
Chopel, Gendun (Tibetan monk), 378
Christians and Christianity: British colonialism and, 338, 346, 358–361, 368, 380; caste and, 309–310, 325–327, 371; Dutch colonialism and, 268–269; founding in premodern India, 104, 135–136; Hindu holidays and, 392; Hindu reform movements and, 348, 389; Portuguese colonialism and, 224–227, 263–264, 309–310; religious minority in modern South Asia, 478, 492
Chughtai, Ismat (Urdu writer), 453–454
Churchill, Winston, 428
Cilappatikaram (Tale of an anklet) (Ilankovattikal), 130
Citizenship Amendment Act, 602n16
Claesz, Cornelis (Dutch artist), 260
climate change, 3, 13–14, 495–497, 575n62
Clive, Robert, 336, 343
Cobb, Matthew, 113
Code of Gentoo Laws, 345
Cohn, Bernard, 395
College of Fort William, 346
Congress party. *See* Indian National Congress (INC)
Coromandel coast, 96, 150, 156, 207
Costa, Palmira Fontes da, 241
Criminal Tribes Act (1871), 399
Cripps, Stafford, 444
Criticism of Child Marriage, by a Hindu Lady (Rukhmabai), 385–387
Cunningham, Alexander, 392, 394
currency, 23, 39–40, 58, 87, 100–102, 131, 140, 164–165, 183, 189, 238, 282–283, 351
Curzon, Lord George, 394, 421
Cyrus (Persian emperor), 41
Dalhousie, Marquis of, 354, 356–357, 362, 370
Dalit Panthers, 480, 501
Dalits (untouchables): activism, 412–416, 429–431, 436–439, 463–464; all-India Adi-Hindu Mahasabha conference, 419; Brahmin lust and, 306–309; British and lack of support, 414; Buddhism and, 195, 416, 438, 480; Chamars community, 320, 342, 390, 401, 415; constitution drafting and, 464; education and missionary schools, 412, 436; Hinduism and, 389, 438–439; human contact and, 124, 325; indenture, 401; Indian history and Aryan Invasion Theory, 415–416, 596n102; leather trade, 390; literacy and, 471; Mahar community, 318; manual scavenging, 486; Nehru Report and, 431; renaming of “untouchables,” 412; satyagrahas for access to public facilities, 436; separate electorate demand, 431–432; Sikhs and, 235, 390; in social hierarchy, 25, 306–307; slavery and, 342–343, 414, 430
Dalmia, Vasudha, 330, 395
Danish colonialism, 346
Darius (Achaemenid emperor), 41–42, 61
Darwin, Charles, 401
Das, Bhagwant (Kachhwaha leader), 282
Das, Suranjan, 459
dasas or dasyus, 22
Daud, Maulana (Hindi poet), 238
Daulatabad, 195–197, 199, 263
Davis, Donald, 137
Davis, Richard, 113, 179
Deb, Radhakanta, 348
Deccan: ashmounds of, 14; Buddhist caves at Ajanta, 133; caste in, 302; Chishti saints of, 189, 294; Dakhni vernacular, 208, 260–261; early modern period, 263, 265; languages of the, 327; long fifteenth century and, 572n6; Mughal conquest of, 259, 294, 296–297, 299; Muslims and Hindus in, 202–203; Prakrit poetry collection from, 88, 127, 130; raids and conquests of, 195, 197, 199, 206; sultanates and culture of, 258–259, 300; ties with Persia, 209–211
de Coutre, Jacques (traveler from Bruges), 260
Deeg, Max, 157
Dehejia, Vidya, 167, 179, 567n44
Delhi: Ashokan pillars and, 71, 282; Babur’s army and, 236; cultural influences of (ca. 1750), 316; dargah (shrines) of, 190; diversity in (ca. 1320), 197; Iltutmish, former slave as ruler, 184; Jama Masjid, 283, 365; Khusrav’s poetry and, 188, 191; megacity of, 484; Muslim culture in, 181–182; National Museum, 463;

- Nizamuddin's shrine (dargah) in, 190; population of, 290; Red Fort, 283–284, 314, 366; sack by Nadir Shah (1739), 283–284, 314–315; sack by Timur (1398), 209, 214–215; Sepoy Rebellion aftermath, 365; Tughluqs in, 71, 197; urbanization and growth of in premodernity, 187–188; weather and monsoons, 575n62
Delhi Gazette, 364
Delhi Sultanate: Ashokan pillars and, 71, 282; Ashokan pillars at Allahabad, 282, 580n70; Aybek, 183–184; Bengal conquest and textiles, 270; coins of, 183; forest clearing by, 186–187; Ilututnish, 183–184, 189; Mamluk (Slave) dynasty, 183–184; military feats of, 195; mosques and, 185; Raziyya, 184–185, 199; resettlement of forest dwellers and, 188; Sanskrit Hindu texts and, 191–192; scholarly work on, 199, 512; silver tanka coins, 189; slavery and, 193–194, 219; Sufi saints and, 190; Timur's raid and, 214; trade and, 207; Tughluq dynasty, 197, 202. *See also* Kafur, Malik; Khalji, Alauddin (Delhi Sultanate ruler)
de Orta, Garcia, 227, 241
De Re Coquinaria (Apicius), 99
Desai, Madhuri, 330
de Silva, Chandra, 287
Devagiri. *See* Daulatabad
Devanampiya Tissa of Lanka, 70
Devaraya I (Vijayanagara ruler), 203
Devaraya II (Vijayanagara ruler), 202–204
Devavimala (premodern Jain author), 257
Devi, Phoolan, 480
Devimahatmya, 116
Dhaka (Dacca), 270, 484–485, 497
Dhammapala (premodern Buddhist author), 47
Dhanapala (premodern Jain poet), 164
dharma (morality) or dhamma: *arya dharma*, 389; Ashoka's inscriptions and, 62–68, 71; Brahmin, definition of, 121; Brahmins and, 87, 309, 377; Buddhism and, 45–48, 62–68, 71, 105, 108–109, 143–144, 194–195, 269, 438; caste and varna system in, 78, 88, 303, 305, 377; criticism of, 85; Gandhi and, 427; Gita and, 80–84, 424–425; Hinduism and, 215, 269; inequality of caste and gender, 122; Jainism and, 257–258; Ramayana and, 110; Sikhs and, 233–234, 354; varnashrama-dharma, 78, 87, 124, 144, 206
Dharmanna, Kusuma (Telugu intellectual), 430
Dharmapala (Dom Joao) (ruler of Kotte), 268
Dharmapala, Anagarika (Sri Lankan Buddhist), 409
Dharma Sabha, 348, 350
dharmashalas (places of worship), 185, 234
dharmashastra (legal texts), 121–124, 126, 137, 168, 181, 305–306, 377
Dharmasvamin (premodern Tibetan monk), 194
Dhavan, Purnima, 241, 331, 371
Dholavira (Gujarat), 5–6, 10, 13
Dhyanaadhara (premodern Buddhist monk), 194
diaspora communities, 400, 402–403, 499–502
Digambara (branch of Jainism), 50, 150, 216
Dihlavi, Abdul Haqq Muhaddis (early modern Sufi), 230
Dikshita, Nilakantha (premodern Sanskrit thinker), 305
Discovery of India (Jawaharlal Nehru), 444
Disney, A. R., 241
Diwali (Dipavali), 193, 484
Doniger, Wendy, 33, 93, 137
Dow, Alexander, 345
Dreze, Jean, 481, 484
Dundas, Paul, 53, 133
Dungarendra Singh (Tomar ruler), 216
Dupleix, Joseph-Francois, 327
durbars (British colonial courts), 382, 384
Durga Puja, 321, 421
Dutch East India Company, 260, 270–271
Dyer, Reginald, 425
East Pakistan, 466, 472–473, 603n69. *See also* Bangladesh
Eaton, Richard, 163, 179, 199, 202, 221, 265, 271, 287, 310, 577n32
Egypt, 9–11, 57, 95–96, 178, 208, 400, 555n38
Ekoji (Maratha ruler), 307, 309, 583n88
Elephanta Island, 117, 346
Elizabeth I (queen of England), 334
Ellora, 116, 298
Emergency (1975–1977), 472, 474–475
English language and education, 343, 357, 358–359, 378
Ernst, Carl, 199, 331
Estado da India, 225–226, 241, 263
Ethiopia and Ethiopian descent, 102, 185, 210, 215, 217, 261–264, 281. *See also* Habshi or Sidi dynasties
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore (Nanjundayya), 377
Faiz, Faiz Ahmed (Urdu poet), 451
Falk, Harry, 73
Farrukh Beg (artist), 259, 261
Farrukhi (Persian poet), 165
Farrukh Siyar (Mughal emperor), 314
Fatawa-i Alamgiri (Hanafi legal judgments), 294

- Fatehpur Sikri (“city of victory”), 248, 256, 292, 319
- Faxian, 59, 110, 124, 393
- Fenech, Louis, 241
- Fergana (Uzbekistan), 236
- Findly, Ellison, 287
- Firdawsī (*Shahnama*), 147–148, 165, 211
- Firishṭa (Persian-medium historian), 211, 259, 345
- Firuz, Tajuddin (Bahmani ruler), 203, 208–209
- Fischel, Roy, 265, 576n15
- Fisher, Elaine, 311
- Fisher, Michael, 371
- Fitzgerald, James, 93
- Flatt, Emma, 221
- Flood, Finbarr, 179
- Francis, Peter, 113
- French colonialism, 224, 315, 327, 334, 401
- Friedman, Mordechai, 179
- Fuerst, Ilyse Morgenstein, 371
- Gabbay, Alyssa, 199
- Gabriel (Habshi), 263–264
- gadhegal (ass-curse stones), 208
- Gagabhatta (Benares Brahmin), 301–303
- Gahadavala dynasty, 183
- Gandhara, 41, 92, 106, 107
- Gandhi, Indira, 472–476
- Gandhi, Mohandas: arrests by British, 428, 444; assassination of, 435, 457–458; background of, 426–427; and caste, 431–432, 506; charkha (spinning wheel), 427; Churchill slur, 428; as divine avatar, 427; dress of, 427; hunger strike (1932), 432; indentured workers and, 402; Mahatma title of, 427; Muslims and, 422, 427, 432; nonviolent resistance strategy (satyagraha), 425–426; Quit India movement, 444–445; Salt March, 428–429, 429
- Gandhi, Rajiv, 476
- Gandhi, Rajmohan, 439
- Gandhi, Sanjay, 474
- Gandhi, Virchand (Jain lawyer), 409
- Gandhi Godse* (film), 489
- Gangadevi (premodern Sanskrit poet), 191
- Ganges River and plain: Ashokan pillars and, 59; Awadh annexation, 356; Cholas and, 162–163; climate change and, 496; early settlements, 18; forests of, 66; Magadha on the, 40, 42–43; Mauryan Empire and, 56; pollution and, 496; Rajgir (Rajagriha) on the, 38–39; staircases to river, 320; Shiva breaks fall of, 117, 496; Xuanzang, travels in, 141. *See also* Benares (Varanasi, Kashi, Banaras)
- Ganweriwala (Indus Civilization site), 5
- Gardizi (Persian-medium historian), 165
- Gautama Buddha: Ajanta cave carving, 133; images of, 104, 106–107, 107, 142, 170; conversations with other religious leaders, 51–52, 92; historical figure of, 44–45, 506; hagiography of, 43–46, 61; jataka tales, 105, 110, 148; nuclear bomb detonated on alleged birthday, 474; past lives of, 105; Rajgir visit, 39; relics of, 69–70, 69, 108; Sri Lanka footprint in rock, 198; Xuanzang and, 140, 143, 145
- Gawan, Mahmud (Bahmani official), 208, 210
- Geetha, V., 417
- Geniza documents, 178–179
- Gerety, Finnian M. M., 157
- Gethin, Rupert, 53
- Ghaggar-Hakra River, 4–5, 13, 548n24
- Ghasi (artist), 346
- Ghaznavid dynasty, 163–165, 179, 182
- Ghiyasuddin Shah (ruler of Malwa), 216, 218
- Ghose, Aurobindo, 439
- Ghosh, Durba, 351, 439
- Ghuri, Shihabuddin (Ghurid ruler), 184
- Ghurid dynasty, 182–183, 185–186, 189, 199
- Gilchrist, John, 346
- Gitagovinda* (Jayadeva), 193, 344
- global travel, premodern, into India, 2, 18–20, 135–136, 140–145, 155–157, 197–199, 209–210, 212, 259–260, 270, 276, 393. *See also* under migration
- Goa, 169, 207–208, 223–227, 241, 263–264, 268, 277, 334, 400, 456. *See also* Portugal and Portuguese
- Gobind Singh (Sikh guru), 234–235
- Godse, Nathuram, 435, 457–459, 478, 601n109
- Goitein, S. D., 179
- Gokhale, Gopal Krishna, 425
- Gola Dhoro (Gujarat), 7
- Golconda, 211, 258, 283, 294, 319, 583n88
- gold: coins, 101–102, 131, 292, 302, 351; import to India, 37, 100–102, 225, 559n37; jewelry, 100–101; mining, 67; statues, 144, 162, 176; thrones, 211, 283, 351, 356
- Goldman, Robert and Sally, 113, 560n72, 560n75
- Golwalkar, M. S., 435
- Gordon, Leonard, 459
- Gordon, Stewart, 157
- Gosala, Makkhali (Ajivika leader), 44, 50–51
- Gotama. *See* Gautama Buddha
- Gottschalk, Peter, 395
- Government of India Act (1858), 365
- Government of India Act (1919), 425
- Government of India Act (1935), 428, 464
- Govindadeva Temple (Vrindavan), 247–248

- Graham, Maria, 346–347
Grand Trunk Road, 56–57, 238
Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, 373
Grewal, J. S., 371
Gudimallam Lingam, 119, 561n13
Guha-Thakurta, Tapati, 395
Gujarat: agriculture of, 3; Akbar and, 245;
Aurangzeb and, 300; Charter of Vishnushena
in, 135; coastline during Indus Civilization, 4;
Delhi Sultanate and, 195; Gandhi's birthplace,
426; Garba dance, 502; Indus sites in, 5, 7;
Jainism in, 267, 271–272, 287; Malik Kafur
and, 197; Mauryan control of, 59, 68; Modi
and Muslims, 491–492; Rani ki Vav (Queen's
step well), 169; Sanskrit texts and, 77, 240;
Shatrughna Temple, 463; slavery in, 104;
temples of, 163, 185; traders from, 95, 271, 291,
401; Vasco da Gama and, 224
Gupta, P. L., 53
Gupta kingdom, 66, 71, 80, 118, 130–133, 186,
512, 563n68
Gwalior, 183, 215–216
Gwalior Fort rock carvings, 216
Gyanchandra (Jain monk), 346

Habshi or Sidi dynasties, 217, 261, 265, 318
Haffkine, Waldemar (scientist), 416
Hafiz (Persian poet), 190, 209–210
Haider Ali (ruler of Mysore), 339–340
Hala (Prakrit poet and king), 87–88, 127, 134,
561n1
Halhed, Nathaniel, 345
Hallisey, Charles, 46, 53
Hamida Banu (Mughal queen), 237–238
Hammira (Chauhan king), 196–197
Harappa, 5–6, 6, 9, 13, 394, 547n3, 548n21
harem (female living quarters), 125, 130, 203,
246, 248, 399
Hargobind (Sikh guru), 234
Harijan (weekly journal), 426
harijan (Gandhi's term for Dalits), 431, 436
Harishena (premodern Sanskrit poet), 132
Harsha (king of Kannauj), 143–144, 564n18,
564n20
Harshacharita (Bana), 143
Hart, George, 137
Hart-Celler Immigration Act (1965), 500
Hasan, Amir (Persian poet), 190, 211
Hastings, Warren, 344
Hatcher, Brian, 351
Hawley, Jack, 241
health and disease: alcoholism and Mughals,
264, 283; Black Death in India, 572n104;
cholera, 14, 294, 416, 590n58; forced steriliza-
tion, 474–475; Indus Valley Civilization
(IVC) and, 14; infant and child death in
premodernity, 178, 237; malaria, 52; modern
India and, 484, 485; paan, medicinal uses,
217; pepper, medicinal uses, 99–100; Sepoy
units and, 342; vaccines and, 416–417
Hedgewar, K. B., 434
Herat, 202
Herodotus, 41
Hess, Linda, 241, 560n73
High-Caste Hindu Woman, The (Ramabai), 407
Himalayas, 1–2, 40, 43, 162, 188, 373, 496
Himmler, Heinrich, 445
himsa or ahimsa (violence or nonviolence), 49,
62, 65, 82, 86, 92, 181, 272, 409, 425
Hind Swaraj (Gandhi), 426, 439
Hindu, The (daily newspaper), 381–382, 387
Hindu as racialized identity, 388–389, 404,
433–434
Hindu Kush Mountains, 18, 41, 66, 141
Hindu Mahasabha, 424, 435, 447–448, 454, 458,
465
Hindu-Muslim conflict, modern: Gujarat
pogrom, 491–492; historiography and,
506–507; violence and massacres, 441,
447–448, 491–492
Hindus and Hinduism: Advaita Vedanta (non-
dualistic Vedanta), 151; Agni, 24, 66, 90, 119;
anachronism of terms, 18, 324, 514; British
census and, 375–377; Buddhism and, 145,
269; caste and, 18, 26, 124–125, 206–207, 228,
388–389, 407; Chandalas, 125, 561n1; child
marriage and, 386–387; Christian Unitarian
ideas and, 348; conversions to, 155, 389–390,
566n89; cremation, 152, 230, 321; criticism of,
431; Daksha, 152; darshan (mutual sight of
devotee and god), 170, 246, 427; devadasis
(female entertainers), 488, 584n105; Durga,
116, 162, 321, 473, 488; Ganesha, 88, 152; the
Goddess and Shaktas, 116; Holi festival, 212,
293, 316, 317, 342; icon veneration, 116–121;
Indra, 116, 143–144; Kali, 408; kama (sensual
pleasure), 125–126, 172, 175, 217; Krishna, 78,
81–84, 86–87, 232, 248, 324, 328, 424, 446;
Kumbh Mela celebration, 398–399, 417, 593n6;
Lakshmi, 131; Manikarnika Ghat, 321; monas-
teries (mathas), 169; Mughal Empire and, 246,
248, 250–251, 254–255, 276, 278, 291–292,
296–300; Muslims and, 212, 248, 390–391;
non-Vedic aspects, 116; origins of terms, 203,
323–324, 348; Parvati, 87–88, 117, 119, 167;
Rama, 110–111, 116, 128, 175, 213, 251, 273–274,

- Hindus and Hinduism (*continued*)
391, 455, 491; reform movements, 347–359;
Saraswati, 260–261, 262, 488, 547n3, 548n24;
Sati (Shiva's wife), 152; sati (widow burning),
134, 190, 348, 350; Shiva and Shaivites, 87, 116,
143, 151–153, 154, 154–155, 167, 170–172, 213, 273,
566n79; Shiva and Virashaivas (Lingayats),
120, 173, 212–213, 348, 377; Shiva linga, 71, 118,
118–119, 162; shramana tradition in, 44; Soma,
24, 116; songs of praise, 260; Surya, 152, 175;
temple sculptures, 204, 204; Vallabhasam-
pradaya, 324; varnadharma, 82, 303, 309,
431; Varuna, 23, 116, 274; vegetarianism and
caste, 324–325, 342; Vijayanagara kings and,
203; wealth of temples and looting, 159,
161–163; widows and, 129, 389, 411. *See also*
bhakti (religious devotion); Brahminism;
Brahmins; dharmashastra (legal texts);
Kshatriyas; Shudras; Vedas; Vishnu and
Vaishnavas
- Hindustan, 188, 236, 244, 249, 362, 424, 453,
547n3
- Hindutva (Hindu nationalism): BJP and, 478,
490; British colonial ideas and, 579n16; cow
protection, 390–391, 424, 492; divisions in
movement, 439; fascism of, 434–435, 459,
502–504; Godse and, 457–458; Muslims and,
433, 493, 495; United States and, 501. *See also*
Modi, Narendra; Rashtriya Swayamsevak
Sangh (RSS); Sangh Parivar (RSS's family);
VHP-America
- Hindutva* (Savarkar), 433–434
- Hirasaubhagya* (Devavimala), 257–258
- Hiravijaya (Jain leader), 257–258
- historiography, 505–514
- History of British India* (Mill), 345
- History of Hindostan* (Dow), 345
- Hitler, Adolf, 445
- Hitopadesha*, 344
- Holkar, Ahilyabai (ruler of Indore), 321
- Holwell, J. Z., 337
- Hormuz, 209
- Hossain, Rokeya Sakhawat (author and activist),
399
- Hultzsich, Eugen, 73
- Human Rights Watch, 498
- Humayun (Mughal king), 206, 237–238, 240,
244, 572n6, 581n97
- Hunter, William, 388
- Husain, M. F. (artist), 488–489, 499, 504
- Hutton, Deborah, 265
- Hyderabad, 314, 319, 338, 340, 415, 441, 456
- Hyecho (Korean Buddhist pilgrim), 145
- Ibn Battuta (premodern Moroccan traveler),
197–199
- Ibrahim Adil Shah II (Adil Shahi ruler), 259–260
- Ilbert Bill, 382, 420
- Inayat Khan (Mughal figure), 278
- indenture, 400–402, 402, 500
- India (modern nation): agriculture of, 470; art
and national identity, 488–489; Bharatanatyam
dance, 488; Bollywood, 489; constitution
of, 464–465, 474, 602nn11–12, 602n16;
dam building, 470; economy of, 470–471,
484–487; elections in, 468, 469; electoral
autocracy, 490; flag of, 463; human rights
and, 492; Hyderabad invasion, 456; inde-
pendence and development of, 461–462;
Indus river water and, 472; “internal Emer-
gency,” 474–475; international relations of,
471; Kashmir and, 464, 473, 503; “Master-
pieces of Indian Art” exhibition, 462–463;
nuclear bomb and, 474, 603n72; Republic
Day and Independence Day, 464, 602n14;
state lines and linguistic divisions, 463;
unity as a goal, 463–464; Wildlife Protec-
tion Act (1972), 474. *See also* Emergency
(1975–1977); Gandhi, Indira; Modi, Narendra;
Nehru, Jawaharlal; partition, India and
Pakistan
- India (premodern sense of subcontinent),
xii–xiii, 509
- Indian Ladies' Magazine*, 399
- Indian Musalmans, The* (Hunter), 388
- Indian National Army, 445
- Indian National Congress (INC): beginnings of,
420–421; Bengal and Punjab Boundary Com-
missions and, 600n50; Dalits and, 436; day of
“direct action” (1946) and, 447; elections and,
468, 475; flag of, 427, 463, 597n34; Hindu
rights and, 465; Independence Day and, 452;
independence movement, 383, 419, 426–433;
Muslims and, 420–421, 431–432, 443; nonco-
operation and boycotts, 427; nonviolent
resistance strategy, 424, 426, 428; process of
partition and, 449; purna swaraj (full inde-
pendence) resolution, 428; rival parties of,
473; Sikhs and violence, 476; World War II
and, 444–445. *See also* Gandhi, Mohandas;
swadeshi movement
- Indian Slavery Act (1843), 401
- Indica* (Megasthenes), 57, 73
- Indo-European speakers, 17–20. *See also* Aryan
Migration Theory
- Indo-Muslim politics and rule, 164–165, 181–184.
See also Awadh (Oudh), Kingdom of; Delhi

- Sultanate; Ghaznavid dynasty; Khalji dynasty; Mughal Empire; Tughluq dynasty
- Indo-Persian culture, 190–192, 199, 211, 250, 294, 351, 489. *See also under* Mughal Empire, cultural achievements
- Indus River, 3–5, 41, 52, 56, 236, 314, 457, 472, 496
- Indus Valley Civilization (Indus Civilization, IVC): archaeology and, 4–9, 20, 394, 547n3; cities and pro-cities of, 4–5, 548n21; crafts and art in, 7–9, 549nn37–38; cultural influences and legacies, 12–13, 15, 38, 550n70; death rituals, 9; decline and collapse of, 4, 13–14; Elamite culture and, 12–13; foreign trade and travel, 11–12; Harappa excavation, 394; horses lacking in, 22; life and social hierarchy in, 5–8; Mesopotamia and, 1, 8, 11–12; terminology of, 513; territory of, 4; unicorns and, 8, 15; urbanization, first, 36; warfare question, 9, 549n46; written script of, 10–11
- Indus Water Treaty (1960), 472
- Iqbal, Muhammad, 442
- Isami (Persian-medium historian), 185, 571n93
- Ishopanishad* (Rammohan Roy), 349–350
- Ishq Caman* (Garden of love) (Nagridas), 328
- Islam and Muslims: Adhai ka Jhompra Mosque, 185; Allah, 192, 256, 447, 467; Aurangzeb and, 292–294; Babri Masjid, 391, 490–493, 606n53; Bengal and, 267, 270–271, 421–422, 447, 579n16; conversions to, 149, 196, 212, 220, 261, 263, 267, 270, 325, 359; destruction and desecration of mosques, 185, 323, 365, 491; diaspora and, 404, 501; din-i ilahi, 256, 577n63; fatwas (legal judgments), 294, 493–494; hajj, 246; Inquisition and, 226; Jainism and, 256, 257–258; jihad (holy war), 298, 365; Karramiya sect, 183; marriage practices, 198–199, 203, 212, 237, 244–246, 256, 261–262, 284, 297, 338, 355, 404; as mlecchas, 181, 193; mosque building by Muslims and non-Muslims, 176, 185–186, 204, 238, 283–285, 294, 355; Pakistan and, 442–444, 452, 466–467, 477–478; partition and, 442, 467; purdah (seclusion), 184, 356, 394, 468; qazis, 198, 228, 291, 296, 298, 303; Raziyya abandons seclusion, 184; statement of faith, 164–165, 256; Sufism and, 189; Sunni, 183; Sunni and Shia, 300; travel from Arabia, 155–156; ulama (learned men), 197. *See also* Ahmadiyya; Sufis and Sufism
- Islamicate, 164, 513–514
- Islamophobia, 366, 391, 424, 490–492, 579n16, 581n5
- Iyer, Muthuswamy (judge), 382
- Jackson, Peter, 199
- Jadруп (ascetic), 278–281
- Jafar, Mir, 335–336
- Jaffrelot, Christophe, 439
- Jagannatha Panditaraja (Sanskrit intellectual), 277
- Jagat Singh (Sisodiya leader), 254
- Jahanara (Mughal princess), 284, 290, 299
- Jahandar Shah (Mughal king), 314
- Jahangir (Mughal emperor), 234, 245–246, 247, 249, 251, 263–264, 272, 277–278, 279, 280, 281–283, 287, 581n97
- Jahangir, Asma, 477
- Jain, Shalin, 287
- Jains and Jainism: *Acharangasutra*, 49; ahimsa and, 49, 92, 272, 409; in America, 409; asceticism in, 49–50; conversions and, 153–154; Digambara (sky-clad) branch, 50, 150, 216; Gupta kingdom and, 133; Hindu relations with, 91–92, 116, 150, 153–154, 323–324, 389, 465; Jinaprabhasuri (Jain monk), 192; *Kalpasutra*, 49, 216; liberation from samsara, 44–45, 49–50; Mahavira as historical founder, 44, 49–50; Mughal Empire and, 256–258, 291, 298–299; Paryushan, 272; physical sites and, 116, 133, 164, 169, 171, 185, 216, 463; Sanskrit and, 44, 76–77, 113, 508; Shvetambara (white-clad branch), 150, 192, 271–272, 323; tantric practices and, 153; Tirthankaras (ford-makers, Jinas), 49–50, 133, 216; Tughluq dynasty and, 192, 197; in western India, 271–272, 313, 346; women in, 50; World Parliament of Religions and, 409; yatis, 313, 346. *See also* Mahavira
- Jaipur, 318–320
- Jai Singh (Kachhwaha leader), 301–303
- Jai Singh, Sawai (founder of Jaipur), 319–320
- Jalal, Ayesha, 459, 481, 599n15
- Jami (Persian poet), 210
- Jamison, Stephanie, 23, 33, 91
- Janata Party, 475, 478
- Jangam, Chinnaiah, 417
- Janjira, 318
- Jaswant Singh (Rathor leader), 302
- Jataka tales, 105, 110, 148
- Jatibhed Viveksar* (Criticism of caste divisions), 415
- jauhar, 240
- Jaunpur, 215, 261, 264, 323
- Jayadeva (premodern Sanskrit poet), 193, 344
- Jayanaka (premodern Sanskrit poet), 191
- Jayasi (Sufi poet), 239–240
- jewelry: bangles, 7, 103; carnelian beads, 7, 12, 15, 37–38; golden, 100–101; Indo-Pacific beads, 98–99; mangalasutra necklaces, 208; pearls, 173, 260; shell bangles, 7, 9, 38

- Jhaveri, Shantidas (early modern trader), 272, 291
Jilani, Hina, 477
Jinaprabhasuri (Jain monk), 192
Jindan. *See* Kaur, Maharani Jind (Jindan)
Jinnah, Muhammad Ali, 432, 442–443, 446–450, 452, 457, 459, 466, 468, 472, 599n15
Jnandev (Marathi poet), 82, 193
Jodhaa Akbar (film), 489
Johnson, W. J., 93
Jonaraja (Sanskrit-medium historian), 219–220
Jones, William, 19, 344, 347
Joseph, Tony, 15
Joshee, Anandibai, 405–407, 594n49
Joshee, Gopalrao, 405
Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 347
Judaism, 178, 227, 310

Kabul, 236, 238, 314
Kachhwaha dynasty, 244–245, 282, 301–302, 319–320, 325
Kachru, Sonam, 73
Kadambari (Bana), 153
Kadebakele (Karnataka), 36–38
Kafur, Malik, 195–197, 571n93
Kailasanathar Temple (Kanchipuram), 166
Kakka (Jain Sanskrit author), 195
Kakshivati, Ghosha (alleged Vedic contributor), 20
Kalhana (Sanskrit-medium historian), 141, 219–220, 251
Kalidasa (premodern Sanskrit poet), 128–129, 132, 178, 192, 344
Kalikapurana, 152
Kalila wa Dimna, 147, 205
Kalim, Abu Talib (Mughal poet), 286
Kalpasutra, 216
Kamakhya Temple (Assam), 152
Kamasutra (Vatsyayana), 125–127
Kanchipuram, 160, 166, 205
Kapalikas (tantric group), 152–153, 155
Karachi, 354, 451, 466, 468, 484, 549n37
Karaikkal, Mother of, 170, 172
Karikkannanar (Tamil poet), 103
Karishma, Noboru, 179
Karle caves, 105, 108, 109, 346
karma, 30, 43, 46, 49, 82, 123–124, 153, 204, 258, 416, 425
Karnal (area near Delhi), 314
Karnataka, 14, 37, 60, 67, 160, 168, 182, 196, 198, 212, 304
Kashmir: Baihaqi Sayyids, 220; Brahmin migrations to, 93; Brahmins in and from, 219–220, 342, 359, 379, 457; Buddhism and, 109, 141, 194; census of British India, 591n6; Dogra dynasty and, 457; geographic isolation, 217; India and Pakistan, conflict over, 457, 503; Indo-Muslim politics and rule, 219–220; languages of, 219; Line of Control, 457; Mughal gardens, 282–283; partition and, 456–457; Sufism in, 219; trade routes and trade goods, 37; Vyasa's Mahabharata version, 88, 91; women workers, 379; Xuanzang in, 141
Katyayana (Sanskrit grammarian), 76–77
Kaur, Maharani Jind (Jindan), 355–356
Kautilya (premodern Sanskrit author), 66, 131
Kavali brothers, 346
Kelly, Gwendolyn, 53
Kenoyer, Jonathan Mark, 15
Kerala, 88, 93, 96, 130, 151, 156, 178, 212, 225, 310, 557n34
Kerketta, Jacinta (Adivasi poet), 470
Kesari (Marathi newspaper), 405, 407, 411
Kesavapany, K., 179
Keshavadeva Temple (Mathura), 298
Khair-un-Nissa (of Hyderabad), 338
Khajuraho temples, 171, 568n78
Khalji, Alauddin (Delhi Sultanate ruler), 186, 195–197, 216, 239, 489, 507
Khalji, Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar (general), 183, 194
Khalji dynasty, 182, 188, 194, 196–197, 239
Khalsa, 235, 354–355, 359
Khan, Ghulam Hussain (Persian-medium historian), 337
Khan, Sher. *See* Shah, Sher (Sur dynasty king)
Khan, Yasmin, 458–459
Khandadeva (early modern Sanskrit intellectual), 276
Khazan Singh (Punjabi poet), 365
Khilafat movement, 427
Khilnani, Sunil, 493
“Khol Do” (Open It) (Manto), 452
Khusraw, Amir, 184, 188, 190–192, 195, 211, 283
Kim, Jinah, 199
Kindersley, Jemima, 346
King, Martin Luther, Jr., 428
Kinra, Rajeev, 287
Kirkpatrick, James Achilles, 338
Kishkindha, 213
Kitab-i Nauras (Book of nine essences), 260–261
Koch, Ebba, 287
Kodumanal (Tamil Nadu), 36, 38
Kodungallur (Kerala), 130
Koh-i Noor diamond, 283, 314, 355–356
Konbaung dynasty (Burmese), 339

- Konkan coast, 207, 210
Kosala (city), 143
Kosambi, Meera, 417
Kosmin, Paul, 57, 73
Kot Diji (Sindh), 4
Krishnadasa (Sanskrit grammarian), 254
Krishnadevaraya (Vijayanagara king), 206–208, 213
Krishnashesha (Sanskrit intellectual), 306
Kshatrapa dynasty, 130
Kshatriyas, 25, 26, 30, 78, 82, 85–90, 111–112, 181, 239–240, 244, 301–303, 377, 415–416, 565n74
Kshetraya (Telugu poet), 309
Kudatini (Karnataka), 14
Kulke, Hermann, 179
Kumar, Sunil, 199
Kumarajiva (Central Asian Buddhist), 145
Kurmapurana, 119
Kuru State, 552n45
Kushan dynasty, 87, 102–103, 105, 113
- Lagaan* (film), 489
Lahiri, Nayanjot, 15, 67, 73
Lahore, 164, 182, 184, 233, 259, 284, 289, 294, 355, 390, 449, 467
Lahore Resolution, 443
Laine, James, 300, 311
Lakhanjo Daro (Indus Civilization site), 5, 548n21, 548n25
Lakshmibai, Rani (ruler of Jhansi), 362
Lalit Kala Akademi, 487–488
Lalla (Lal Ded) (Kashmiri poet), 219–220
languages: Apabhramsha, 215, 571n66; Arabic, 147, 149, 156, 164–166, 185–186, 197, 203, 210, 215, 225, 238, 250, 276, 294, 323–324, 333, 343, 348, 514; Aramaic, 42, 76–77; Avadhi (Hindi dialect), 238; Bengali, 19, 345, 347, 422; Braj Bhasha (Hindi dialect), 234, 238, 323; Chagatai Turkish, 236; Dakhni (Dakani, Dakhani), 208, 261, 327; Dravidian languages, 10, 22, 121, 151, 347, 416, 424, 465, 549n49, 551n28, 565n64; English in South Asia, 333, 343, 344, 346, 348, 357–359, 366, 378, 381–382, 399, 420, 458; English-Hindoostanee dictionary, 346; Greek, 10, 19, 57–58, 60, 67, 76–77, 104, 147, 149, 250, 347; Gujarati, 19, 347; Hindi (Hindavi and Hindustani), 19, 110, 234, 238, 327, 323, 346–347, 424, 458; Indian state boundaries and, 463–464; Indian vernaculars, 327–329, 346, 366, 482; Kannada, 173–175, 208, 347; Khari Boli (Hindi dialect), 424; Latin, 19, 347; Linguistic Survey, 374; Malayalam, 136, 212, 224, 347; Marathi, 19, 193, 208, 227, 386; Munda languages, 10, 22, 551n28; Paishachi, 128; printing presses and, 358; Punjabi, 19, 208, 234, 328–329; Sindhi, 329–330; Sino-Tibetan languages, 551n28; Tamil, 88, 100, 110, 121, 129–130, 160, 176, 208, 273, 327–328, 347, 387, 514; Telugu, 175, 206–208, 304, 306, 347, 430, 489; Urdu (Rekhta), 19, 246, 255, 327–328, 330, 344, 346, 365, 424, 466, 586n75. *See also* Persian languages; Prakrit languages (including Pali); Sanskrit; scripts; translations
Latif, Shah Abdul (Sufi poet), 329–330
Lawrence, Bruce, 199
Lawrence, Henry, 355–356
League. *See* All-India Muslim League
Lefevre, Corinne, 287
Leonard, Karen, 417
Liaquat Ali Khan (Pakistani prime minister), 466–467
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), 476
Life magazine, 454
Lilavati (Bhaskara), 173
literacy, 64, 249, 342, 374, 375, 381, 397, 412, 436, 468, 471, 592n29
Lodi, Ibrahim (Delhi Sultanate ruler), 236
long fifteenth century, 201, 572n6
Lorenzen, David, 241
Los Angeles Times, 433
Lothal (Gujarat), 5
Lotus Sutra, The (Saddharmapundarikasutra), 108–109
Lubin, Timothy, 137
Lucas, Samuel, 357
Lucknow, 316, 356–357, 362, 364, 444
Lucknow Pact (1916), 422, 431
Lumbini, 44, 61, 69
- Macaulay, Thomas, 343, 378
Macedonian Empire, 40, 52–53
Mackenzie, Colin, 346
Maclean, Kama, 417
Madhumalati (Manjhan), 239
Madhya Pradesh, 3, 91, 134, 148, 321
Madras (Chennai), 335, 346, 359, 389, 394, 401, 420
madrasas (schools), 210–211, 355
Madras High Court, 382
Madras Mahajana Sabha, 414
Madras Presidency, 334, 338, 341–343, 360, 365
Madras University, 381
Magadha kingdom, 28, 39–43, 56–58, 61, 76, 194, 290. *See also* Rajgir (Rajagriha)
Mahabalipuram, 166

- Mahabharata: Aurangzeb praised in, 297; caste and varna system in, 78, 82–84, 87–89, 92; composition of, 78, 80, 556n9; dating of, 80, 513, 556n9; dice game, 15, 81; dissemination of, 93; Ekalavya and Drona tale, 89; epic genre, 79–80; forest people (atavika) and, 90; fratricidal violence in, 58, 290; Gupta kingdom and, 133; Harivamsha appendix, 88, 93; Hindi Mahabharata, 175, 216; Hindu gods in, 88; horses and, 87; Iliad and Odyssey comparison, 79; Khandava Forest burning, 66, 90; Mughal illustrations, 252, 254; as mythology, 78–80, 189, 507; Nala and Damayanti tale, 254–255; Nilakantha edition, 276; oral tradition, 556n9; Persian Mahabharata, 251, 252, 254–255; politics and violence of, 77, 79–81, 85–87, 90, 303, 403, 557n34; Sanskrit version by Vyasa, 75–80, 85, 87–89, 91–93, 556n9; Telugu Mahabharata, 175; Vedas and, 78, 85, 87, 90–92; women in (heroines), 91. *See also* Bhagavadgita (Gita); *Razmnama* (Book of war); *see also under* Shudras
- Mahal, Hazrat (Awadh royal), 362
- Mahal, Mumtaz (Mughal queen), 284–285, 287
- Maharaja Libel Case, 389
- Maharashtra: Aurangzeb burial, 294; bhakti in, 227; Brahmin communities of, 193, 274–275, 318, 457; Dalit activism in, 438; gadhegal stones in, 208; interreligious patronage in, 169; Jewish community of, 310; Karle caves, 105, 108, 109; literature of, 227; Nehru imprisoned, 444; Shivaji's Shudra origins, 302; statue of Poseidon, 99, 101; women from, 203
- Mahars. *See* Dalits (untouchables)
- Mahavamsa*, 108
- Mahavira, 43–45, 49–51, 164, 233, 507
- Mahendravarman (Pallava ruler), 155, 566n89
- Mahmud of Ghazna (Ghaznavid ruler), 163–166, 179
- Mahomed, Dean, 342
- Maitraka dynasty, 134
- Malabar coast, 130, 156, 178, 212, 224–225, 339
- Malapperumballam (Tamil Nadu), 168
- Malavikagnimitra* (Kalidasa), 128
- Malaviya, Madan Mohan, 424
- Malay Peninsula, 400, 594n18
- Maldives, 161, 198–199, 462
- Malindi (Kenya), 224
- Mallinson, James, 157
- Malwa, 153, 195–196, 216
- Mamallapuram (Tamil Nadu), 346
- Manasollasa* (Mind's delight), 182
- Mandal, B. P., 478
- Mandal Commission, 478–480, 512
- Mandu, 215, 216, 217, 218
- Mangal Pandey* (film), 489
- Mangal Pandey (sepoxy), 361
- Manjhan (Sufi poet), 239
- Man Mandir Ghat (Benares), 320
- Mantai (Sri Lanka), 97
- Manto, Saadat Hasan, 441, 451–453, 459
- Manu (dharmashastra author), 122–124, 143, 207, 324–325, 413
- Manuel I (king of Portugal), 224
- Manusmriti* (dharmashastra text) (Manu), 121, 436
- Mappila community, 212
- Marathas: Aurangzeb and, 296–297; Bhonsle family, 300–302; child marriage and, 318, 350; Company and, 334, 338; Deccan sultanates and, 262; Hyderabad and, 319; inheritors of Mughal power, 316; Malik Kafur, 195, 197; Peshwas and Brahmins, 313, 315–316, 318, 321, 340, 362; Rajput conversion of rulers, 300–303; Shudra lineage of rulers, 289–290, 300–302; slaves and, 343; *Take My Wife* (Shahji) performances, 307
- Markandeya Purana*, 123
- Markovits, Claude, 417
- Marwar, Rathor state of, 297, 302, 313, 318, 323–325, 330, 350, 374
- mathas, 169, 212, 322, 411
- Mathpal, Yasodhar, 15
- Mathura, 91, 106, 124, 298
- Mattavilasa* (Drunkards' play), 155
- Mauryan Empire: demise of dynasty, 71, 73, 310; establishment of, 56; forest people (atavika) and, 66; fratricidal violence in, 59; Grand Trunk Road, 238; Guptas and, 131–132; inscriptions in rock, 58–65, 68; Mauryan-Seleucid relations, 57–58; modern Indian use of symbols, 55, 463; Prakrit languages and, 60, 113, 188; religious practices of, 61–62; territory of, 62, 330
- Mazumdar, Pratap Chandra, 375
- Mecca, 188, 246
- Meenakshi Temple complex (Madurai), 305
- Megasthenes, 56–58, 73, 165
- Meghaduta* (Cloud Messenger) (Kalidasa), 128, 178, 569n115
- Mehrgarh (Balochistan), 3
- Meluhha, 1, 12, 547n3
- menstruation, 124, 127, 152, 281
- Meos people, 186–187
- Mesopotamia, 1, 8, 11–12, 18, 103, 403
- Metcalf, Thomas, 395
- Mewar Ramayana, 254, 577n52

- migration: Brahmins within subcontinent, 93, 121, 130, 169, 321, 416; Dravidian speakers, 549n49; Indo-European speakers to India, 16, 18–20, 102, 551nn13–14; migrant groups criminalized by British, 399; Muslims to India, 155–156, 189, 209–210, 220, 250; north Indians to south India, 327; prehistoric from Africa, 2, 548n4, 548n6; seasonal labor and, 399; to the United States, 404, 500. *See also* indenture; partition, India and Pakistan
- Milinda (Menander), 106
- Milindapanha* (Milinda's Questions), 106
- Mill, James, 345
- Minkowski, Christopher, 287
- "Minute on Education" (Macaulay), 343
- Mir (Persian and Urdu poet), 315, 328
- Mishra, Kamala, 330
- Mitra, Rajendra Lal, 377, 393
- Modi, Narendra, 490–493
- Mohenjo Daro, 5–7, 9, 11, 13, 548n25
- Mohenjo Daro* (film), 489
- moksha, 44–45, 49–50, 87, 273
- Mokshopaya*, 193
- Monius, Anne, 79, 113
- monsoons, 2, 13, 39, 96–97, 328, 336, 514, 575n62, 609n22
- Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms, 425
- Mountbatten, Louis, 448–451
- Mrauk U Kingdom, 339–340
- Mudrarakshasa* (Rakshasa's Ring) (Vishakhadatta), 70, 128
- Mughal Empire: beginnings of, 236–238; building projects of, 247–248, 283–286, 294; collapse of, 314–316; governance problems of, 296; Gujarat and Jains, 271; Islam and, 256–257, 286, 291–294, 298, 300; justice system of, 294; laborers of, 243–244, 248–249, 285; mansabdars of, 244, 248, 269; non-Islamic Indian rituals and, 246, 291–292; Peacock Throne, 283, 290–291, 314; pillar inscriptions, 71; Rajputs and, 244–248, 297, 576n23; religious minorities and, 296–300; Sikhs and, 235, 296, 299–300, 310; slavery and, 249; temples and political disputes, 298; territory of, 223, 290, 310; travel and tent cities, 248–249. *See also under* Marathas; Rajputs; Sur dynasty
- Mughal Empire, cultural achievements: art and architecture of, 277–278, 283–284, 287, 294; Birbal (Brahmin advisor), 249; European art, 260, 282, 580n77; Fayzi (poet), 250, 254–255; gardens, 236–237, 282–283, 285–286, 319; multilingualism and, 249; Naqib Khan (historian and translator), 249; Persian migration and, 250; Rahim (polyglot), 249; Sanskrit poetry and, 254; Sanskrit-to-Persian translations, 249–255; Sanskrit translation illustrations, 253, 254; Tansen (musician), 249; Urfi (poet), 249; world connections, 277. *See also* Abul Fazl; Taj Mahal
- Mughal Empire, military of: conquest of Bijapur and Golconda, 294, 296; Gujarat and, 245; Panipat battles, 236, 240, 315; Rajputs and, 244–248; Ranthambhor, 195–196, 216, 245; Satnami millenarian movement, 299; scorched-earth tactics, 296; siege of Chittor, 239, 245, 576n15
- Muhammad, Prophet, 155, 164–165, 256, 260
- Muhammad II (Bahmani ruler), 209
- Muhammad III (Bahmani ruler), 210
- Muhammad Shah (Mughal emperor), 314, 316, 317
- Mukaveti, Alagiyavanna (poet), 269
- Mukherjee, Rudrangshu, 371
- Mukhia, Harbans, 506
- Muller, Max, 382, 386, 592n44
- Mumbai, 484–485, 489. *See also* Bombay
- Munda tribal community, 487
- Mundigak (Afghanistan), 66–67
- Munir, Muhammad (judge), 468
- Musharraf, Pervez, 468
- Musmir* (Fruitful) (Arzu), 19, 316, 347
- Mussolini, Benito, 434
- Muzaffarid dynasty (of Gujarat), 240
- Muziri (Kerala), 97
- Mysore, 318, 338–340, 377
- Naccellaiyar, Kakkaipatiniyar (Sangam poet), 129
- Nadir Shah (ruler of Persia), 283, 314–315, 355
- Nagauri, Shihabuddin (Delhi Sultanate intellectual), 192
- Nagesha Bhatta (Benares Brahmin), 321
- Nagridas, Savant Singh (Urdu poet), 328
- Naidu, Sarojini, 428
- Nain Singh (Great Trigonometrical Survey of India surveyor), 373
- Nalanda, 133, 141–143, 145, 194
- Naladoratanamu* picturing Mother India, 430
- Nanak (Sikh guru), 223, 233–235, 507
- Nana Sahib (Sepoy Rebellion leader), 362, 364
- Nangai, Nambanambi Kadugal (premodern Tamil woman), 168
- Nanjundayya (Mysore-based intellectual), 377
- Nannaya (Telugu poet), 175
- Naomul, Seth, 354
- Naoroji, Dadabhai, 380–381
- Napier, Charles, 354
- Narottam (Hindi poet), 309–310

- Nath yogis, 229, 329
National Herald (Lucknow newspaper), 444
Naurasapur, 260
Navjivan (newspaper), 426
Nawabs of Awadh (Oudh), 316, 320, 323, 336, 357
Nawabs of Savanur, 318
Nayachandra (Jain Sanskrit poet), 216
Nayaka, Kapaya (Telugu chieftain), 211
Nayaka, Tirumalai (ruler of Madurai), 304–305
Nayaka ruling lineages, 289, 303–305, 509, 583n88, 584n105
Nayar, Pramod, 371
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 422, 426, 432, 444, 450, 458, 464, 470, 487, 512
Nehru, Motilal, 426
Nepal, 44, 59, 109, 131–132, 194, 341, 461–462, 476, 497, 503
New York Times, 442, 493
Nikitin, Afanasii (Khwaja Yusuf Khurasani) (early modern Russian traveler), 263
Nilakantha Chaturdhara, 93, 276
Nimatnama (Book of delicacies), 216–218
Nishadas (tribal community), 89, 111–112
Nishchala Puri (early modern Brahmin), 302
Nizam al-Mulk (ruler of Hyderabad), 319
Nizamuddin Awliya (Chishti Sufi saint), 190
Nizams of Hyderabad, 319, 384, 456
Nund Rishi (Kashmiri Sufi), 219
Nur Jahan (Mughal empress), 282–283, 287

O’Hanlon, Rosalind, 287, 417
Olivelle, Patrick, 33, 73, 121, 137, 157
Ollett, Andrew, 137
opium use and trade, 278, 283, 292, 336, 354, 380–381
Oppenheimer, Robert, 445–446
Order of the Star of India, 382
Orientalist knowledge: aryan as racial category, 388–389; Brahminical Sanskrit literature and, 344, 508–509; British production of, 343–347, 364; child marriage debates, 386–387; *Code of Gentoo Laws* authors, 345; denial of Indian history, 509; Hindu reform movements and, 347; historiography and, 508; Indian history and British history, 587n35; legal treatises, 345; religious forefronting and conflict, 343–345, 364, 375, 394; stereotype of religious wisdom, 407–408; temporal divisions of Indian history, 345, 509
Orsini, Francesca, 221, 331
Orta, Garcia de, 226–227
Overton, Keelan, 221, 265
Oxus River, 11, 15

paan, 201, 216, 217, 218, 259
Padmaavat (film), 489
Padmasagara (Jain author), 246
Padmavat (Jayasi), 239, 507
Padmavati (fictional wife of Ratsansen), 239–240
Pakistan: Awami League, 472; census of, 591n6; China and, 549n54; Constituent Assembly of, 467; East Pakistan breakaway, 472–473; economics of, 468, 470–471; geography and differences in, 466; Hudood Ordinances, 477; independence and development of, 461–462; Indus River waters and, 472; international relations of, 471; Islam and other religions, 466–467, 473, 505; lack of initial elections, 468; Lahore Resolution, 443; Law of Evidence, 477; meaning of the name, 442; Munir Doctrine, 468; Murree Brewery, 467; nuclear power and, 503; Pakistan People’s Party, 359; partition, India and Pakistan, 421, 442, 444, 450; truck art, 487; Women’s Action Forum, 477–478; Zia’s coup and Islamization program, 477–478. *See also* Ahmadiyya
Pallava dynasty, 130, 150, 155, 161, 166, 298
Panchaganga Ghat (Benares), 320
Panchatantra (Five topics), xvi, 139, 146–148, 157, 166, 205, 251, 513
Pandavas and Kauravas, 78–79, 81, 83, 85–87, 89, 91–92, 216
Pandya dynasty, 63, 103, 179, 196, 298, 567n60
Panini (Sanskrit grammarian), 32, 76
Panipat, battles of, 236, 240, 315
Paranar (Tamil Sangam poet), 100, 102
Parayar community, 414
Parker, Grant, 113
Parsis. *See* Zoroastrians (Parsis)
partition, India and Pakistan: administrative loose ends, 454–455; Bengal, 441, 442, 447–448, 449, 451; Bengal Presidency experiment (1905–1911), 421; general election (1945–1946) and, 446; Hindu supremacy and, 458; legal process of, 449–450; princely states and, 454, 456; Punjab, 441, 442, 447–450, 451, 455, 456; refugees and, 454–455, 455; Sunderlal Report, 456; violence of, 447–449, 451, 454–455, 459, 599n23. *See also* Bengal Boundary Commission; Punjab Boundary Commission
Pasteur, Louis, 416
Pataliputra (Patna), 43, 56–57, 62, 66–67, 69, 342
Patanjali (Sanskrit grammarian), 76–77, 122, 151
Patankar, Narayan Dikshit (early modern Brahmin), 321
Patel, Aakar, 493
Patel, Alka, 199

- Patel, Vallabhbhai, 426, 447–448, 450–451
Patton, Laurie, 33
Pauwels, Heidi, 331
Peacock Throne, 283, 290, 314
pearls, 98, 109, 144, 161, 173, 178, 207–208, 210, 249, 260
Periyar. *See* Ramasamy, E. V. (Periyar)
Persepolis, 41, 42
Persia, 12, 18–19, 37, 52, 148, 163–164, 209.
See also Achaemenid Empire; Nadir Shah (ruler of Persia); Safavid dynasty
Persianate, 164, 509
Persian languages, 19, 76, 147, 164–166, 182, 184, 186, 188, 190–192, 205, 208, 210, 215, 219, 234, 238, 239, 245–246, 254–255, 260, 274, 276, 277, 294, 303, 316, 324, 328, 333, 344, 346, 348, 351, 358–359, 514
Perso-Arabic world, 149, 165–166, 197, 215, 225
Phule, Jyotirao, 411–416, 436
Phule, Savitri, 412, 414–415
Pillai, Ananda Ranga, 315, 325–327
Piyadassi (king). *See* Ashoka
plagiarism, 569n115
Pliny, 98–99, 512
Pollock, Sheldon, 113, 132, 137
Polo, Marco, 176
Pondicherry, 97, 99, 103, 315, 324–325, 327, 334
Ponnambalam, G. G., 462
Poona Pact (1932), 432
Portugal and Portuguese, 223–227, 256, 263–264, 268–270, 316, 334, 462, 514. *See also* Goa
Poseidon, statue of, 101
positivism, 609n5
Possehl, Gregory, 15
Poverty and Un-British Rule in India (Naoroji), 380–381
Prabhakaran, Velupillai, 476
Prabhavatigupta (Gupta princess), 134
Prajnakara (premodern Buddhist intellectual), 141
Prakrit languages (including Pali), 44–45, 60, 76–77, 88, 106, 113, 126–130, 133, 137, 148, 188, 192–193, 215, 514
Prasad, Ritika, 417
Prasad, Siva, 391
Pratihara dynasty, 162, 183, 298
Premadasa, Ranasinghe, 476
premakhyān, 238–239
Presidency College, Calcutta, 381
Prinsep, James, 71, 347
printing press technology, 227, 358
Punch magazine, 354
Punjab Boundary Commission, 449, 600nn50–51
Punjab region: Ahmadiyya origins, 388, 467; Arya Samaj in, 389; border disputes, 456; day of “direct action” (1946) and, 447; Duleep Singh and, 359; Ghurids in, 182; Indo-Europeans in, 18; Indus River waters and, 472; opioid epidemic in, 380; partition of, 442, 448–451; Satnamis and, 299; Sikhs and, 223, 233–234, 354–355; Sikh state, 475
Purananuru (Four hundred songs) (Tamil), 102
Qadr, Birjis (Hyderabad prince), 362
Qandahar (Kandahar), 66–67, 238, 314
qasidas, 165
Qasim, Muhammad bin, 156
Qazwini (Persian-medium historian), 284
Quanzhou (China), 176
Quran, 186, 286, 298, 358, 467
Qutb Minar complex, 186, 187, 570n30
Qutb Shahi dynasty (Golconda), 294, 319
Radcliff, Cyril, 449–450, 472, 600n61
Raghunatha (ruler of Thanjavur), 304
Raghunatha Bhatta (mimamsa intellectual), 275
Raghuvamsha (Raghu’s lineage) (Kalidasa), 132
Raghuvanshi, U.B.S., 415
Rahim, Abdur (Mughal polyglot), 249–250, 254
Rahman, Abdur (Prakrit poet), 192
Rahman, Mujibur, 472–473
Rai, Lajpat, 465
Raidhu (Jain intellectual), 216
Rajabali (Royal lineage) (Mrityunjay Vidyalankar), 345
Rajadhiraja (Chola ruler), 162, 566n21
Rajadurai, S. V., 417
Rajagopalasvami Temple (Tamil Nadu), 307
Rajah, M. C., 431
Rajan, K., 53
Rajaraja I (Chola ruler), 160–161, 167
Rajarajeshvaram Temple (Thanjavur), 167, 186
Rajasthan, 164, 185, 192, 240, 244–245, 325, 342, 346, 390, 454, 456, 471
Rajatarangini (River of kings), 219, 251
Rajavinoda (King’s play), 240
Rajendra I (Chola ruler), 160–163, 173, 176
Rajgir (Rajagriha), 36, 38–39, 42–43, 56–57
Rajputs: destructions of mosques, 186, 298–299; historiography of, 346; Islam and, 240, 246, 309; jizya and, 299; Kachhwahas of Amer, 244–245, 247–248, 282, 302, 319–320, 325; Kshatriya caste identity, 240, 324; lower castes and, 320, 377; Mughals and, 244–246, 297, 300–301, 324; patronage of Benares, 273, 275, 320; princesses, 246, 297; Rathors of Marwar, 297, 302, 324–325;

- Rajputs (*continued*)
as sepoy, 342, 361; Shivaji claims of status, 301–303; Sikhs and, 355; Sisodiyas of Mewar, 244–245, 254, 297, 302; slavery and, 249, 343
- Rakhigarhi (Indus Civilization site), 13
- Ram, Anand (Mughal administrator), 315
- Ramabai, Pandita, 384–386, 397, 406–407, 411, 417, 595n85
- Ramakrishna (d. 1886), 375, 407
- Ramakrishna monastery (math), 411
- Ramanandis, 229, 337
- Ramanujan (ca.-1100-CE philosopher), 151
- Ramanujan, A. K., xiii
- Ramasamy, E. V. (Periyar), 430–431
- Ramayana: Buddhist and Jains retellings of, 110; caste norms in, 110–112, 274; condensation of, 512; dedicated to Aurangzeb, 297; Hindi version of Vishnudas, 216; Javanese version, 176–177; Kamban's Tamil version, 110, 273; as *kavya* (poetry), 111–112; Mewar Ramayana, 254, 577n52; Mughal illustrations, 253, 254–255; Persian translations, 246, 251, 255; *Ramcharitmanas* (Tulsidas), 110, 273–274, 297, 358; Savarkar and Gandhi argument over, 434; sexual violence and Sita, 110–111, 273–274, 455; Valmiki's Ramayana, 80, 95, 110–112, 116, 213, 246, 560nn72–73, 579n42; Vijayanagara and, 213
- Ramcharitmanas* (or *Manas*) (Tulsidas), 110, 273–274, 297, 358
- Ram Lila* (Rama's play), 274, 391, 580n47
- Ramsay, James. *See* Dalhousie, Marquis of
- Ram Temple (Ayodhya), 490, 493
- Ranade, Mahadev Govind, 387, 592n46
- Rana Raj Singh (Sisodiya leader), 298–299
- Rangila. *See* Muhammad Shah (Mughal emperor)
- Ranjit Singh (ruler of Sikh Kingdom), 354–356, 358
- Ranthambhor, 195, 196, 216, 245
- Rao, Anupama, 439
- Rao, Velcheru Narayana, 221, 311
- rasas (Sanskrit aesthetic emotions), 87, 128, 260
- Rashtrakuta dynasty, 160, 162, 169
- Rashtriya Swamsevak Sangh (RSS): Bajrang Dal and, 490, 492; BJP ties, 478, 490–491, 604n98; European influences on, 434–435, 458; fascism of, 433; Gandhi's assassination and, 457–459, 478; Modi as member of, 491; and Muslims, 434; partition and violence, 448, 454–455; private army, 598n75; Savarkar and, 434–435; spread overseas, 501; temporary ban of, 435, 459; VHP and, 490, 501–502; violence of, 434–435, 448, 454, 457–459.
- See also* Hindutva (Hindu nationalism); Sangh Parivar (RSS's family)
- Rawat, Ramnarayan, 417
- Ray (Iran), 163–164
- Rayavacakamu* (Tidings of the king), 306
- Raymond, Catherine, 287
- Razmnama* (Book of war) (Persian translation of Mahabharata), 251, 252, 254–255
- Razzaq, Abdul, 201–202, 205–206, 212
- Reade, E. A. (British colonial official), 366
- Record of Western Regions, The* (Xuanzang), 140
- Rehman Dheri (archaeological site), 4
- Reich, David, 15
- religious diversity: blending of religions, 164–165, 198, 269; ecumenical patronage practices, 61–62, 133, 169, 175–176, 185–186, 219, 249–250, 276, 303–304, 318, 319, 329, 355; historiographical theme, xi–xii, xiv–xvii, 509; interreligious royal marriages, 203, 244–246, 355; modern challenges to, 433–435, 477–478, 501–502
- Reply to the Charges against the King of Oude* (Wajid Ali Shah), 357
- Reporters Without Borders (Reporters sans Frontieres), 493
- Riaz, Fahmida, 493–495
- rice cultivation, 3, 160, 168, 215, 470
- Rig Veda, 20–25, 26, 26–27, 29–30, 33, 36, 78, 121–122, 213, 382
- Roberts, Emma, 351
- Robertson, Bruce, 351
- Rohtas Fort (modern-day Pakistan), 238
- Roman Empire, 95–96, 98, 103–104, 225, 558n11
- Row, Vennelacunty Soob, 358
- Rowlatt Acts (Black Acts), 425
- Roy, Arundhati, 439
- Roy, Rammohan, 333, 348–350, 370, 411
- RRR (film), 489
- Rudradaman, 71, 77
- Rukh, Shah, 202
- Rukhmabai, 383, 385–387
- Rushdie, Salman, 507–508
- Rustamji, K. E., 473
- Ryder, Arthur, 445
- Sadi (Persian poet), 186
- Safavid dynasty, 238, 250, 278, 314
- Sakhuja, Vijay, 179
- Salomon, Richard, 70, 311
- Salvadore, Matteo, 265
- Sama Veda, 20, 26
- Sambandar (Tamil poet saint), 153, 154
- samosas, 216–217